

**THE USES OF SECULAR RULERS AND CHARACTERS  
IN THE WELSH SAINTS' *LIVES* IN THE *VESPASIAN*  
LEGENDARY (MS. COTTON *VESPASIAN* A. XIV.)**

Inaugural-Dissertation  
zur  
Erlangung der Doktorwürde  
der Philologischen Fakultät  
der Albert-Ludwigs-Universität  
Freiburg i.Br.

vorgelegt von

Luciana Meinking Guimarães  
aus Salvador – Brasilien

WS 2008/2009

Erstgutachterin: Prof. Dr. Hildegard Tristram  
Zweitgutachter: Prof. Dr. Felix Heinzer

Vorsitzende des Promotionsausschusses  
der Gemeinsamen Kommission der  
Philologischen, Philosophischen und Wirtschafts-  
und Verhaltenswissenschaftlichen Fakultät: Prof. Dr. Elisabeth Cheauré

Datum der Disputation: 22. Juni 2009

## *Acknowledgments*

I would like to express my gratitude to all those who gave me the possibility to complete this dissertation. I am particularly indebted to my supervisors **Prof. Dr. Hildegard L. C. Tristram** and **Prof. Dr. Felix Heinzer** for their encouragement, support and valuable input in the course of this research. My sincere thanks to **Prof. Dr. Hans-Jochen Schiewer** for all his support and supervision in the initial phase of my project. Especially, I am obliged to **Dr. Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan** for her brilliant insights, challenging questions and for showing me her contagious passion for the Welsh language and people, **Prof. Dr. Erich Poppe** for his interest in my research, his supporting words and the invaluable corrections of my first drafts; **Dr. Morfydd Owen** for her supporting attitude towards my research on the Welsh saints; **Stefan Schustereder** for his help with the correction of this thesis and for our lively talks about Wales and England. I am grateful for the discussion held with all the above-mentioned people for stimulating my ideas; however, the responsibility for the views expressed here and for the errors is entirely mine.

Moreover, I would like to thank the Doctoral College “Lern- und Lebensräume im Mittelalter” of the University of Freiburg for providing the means to do the necessary research work and to gain practical experience in the academic world. Warmful thanks also to the following people for their great personal and professional assistance: **Dr. Judith Theben**, former coordinator of my Doctoral College, a great support in difficult moments; **Berit Gass** and **Lenka Jiroušková** (new friends); **Dominik Suwito and Melanie Bloß** (lovely and patient flatmates).

My sincere thanks to my family, especially my parents, **Ulisses and Cristiane Guimarães**, my brothers **Rafael** and **Eduardo** and my sister **Adriana**, to all of whom this work is dedicated.

# THE USES OF SECULAR RULERS AND CHARACTERS IN THE WELSH SAINTS' *LIVES* IN THE VESPASIAN LEGENDARY (MS. COTTON VESPASIAN A. XIV.)

## INDEX

<b>I</b>	<b>INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>II</b>	<b>THE RESEARCH SITUATION .....</b>	<b>9</b>
II.1	HAGIOGRAPHY, SACRED BIOGRAPHIES, SAINTS' <i>LIVES</i> , HEILIGENLEGENDEN.....	9
II.2	THE CONTEMPORARY HAGIOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH.....	14
II.3	THE STATE OF CONTEMPORARY RESEARCH ON WELSH HAGIOGRAPHY.....	18
II.3.1	<i>The Welsh tradition of writing Saints' Lives</i> .....	18
II.3.2	<i>The scholarly views on Welsh monastic practices</i> .....	23
II.3.3	<i>The historical context for the production of the eleventh- and twelfth-century Welsh Saints' Lives</i> .....	26
II.3.4	<i>The tradition of hagiographical studies relating to King Arthur</i> .....	33
<b>III</b>	<b>THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL JUSTIFICATION.....</b>	<b>35</b>
III.1.1	<i>Terminology</i> .....	37
III.1.2	<i>Hagiography and folklore</i> .....	43
III.1.3	<i>The miraculous as a connecting element</i> .....	49
III.2	THE MATERIAL.....	52
III.2.1	<i>The corpus – the eleventh- and twelfth-century Welsh Saints' Lives in the manuscript of the British Library Cotton Vespasian A. xiv</i> .....	52
III.2.2	<i>The Life of Saint Cadog as a base text</i> .....	54
III.2.3	<i>The manuscript</i> .....	55
III.3	THE EDITORS.....	58
III.3.1	<i>William Jenkins Rees and Canon Doble</i> .....	58
III.3.2	<i>Arthur Wade-Evans</i> .....	58
<b>IV</b>	<b>THE SAINTS' <i>LIVES</i> IN THE VESPASIAN LEGENDARY.....</b>	<b>61</b>
IV.1	THE <i>LIFE</i> OF SAINT CADOG BY LIFRIS OF LLANCARFAN.....	61
IV.1.1	<i>Dating, authorship and the development of the Vespasian VC1</i> .....	62
IV.1.2	<i>Content</i> .....	71
IV.1.3	<i>Structural analysis of the encounter-episodes</i> .....	72
IV.1.3.1	The secular characters in the <i>in vita</i> section of the VC1.....	72
IV.1.3.1.1	Arthur.....	74
IV.1.3.1.2	Maelgwn and Rhun of Gwynedd.....	88
IV.1.3.1.3	Pawl Penychen.....	93
IV.1.3.1.4	Sawl Benuchel.....	95
IV.1.3.1.5	Brychan, his son Rhain and Meurig son of Enhinti.....	96
IV.1.3.1.6	Minor secular characters.....	97
IV.1.4	<i>The secular characters in the post-mortem section of the VC1</i> .....	103
IV.2	THE <i>LIFE</i> OF SAINT GWYNLLYW.....	107
IV.2.1	<i>Dating and authorship</i> .....	107
IV.2.2	<i>Content</i> .....	108
IV.2.3	<i>Structural analysis of the encounter-episodes</i> .....	109
IV.2.3.1	The secular characters in the <i>in vita</i> section of the VGu.....	109
IV.2.3.2	Secular characters in the <i>post-mortem</i> section of the VGu.....	110
IV.2.3.2.1	The British versifier.....	110
IV.2.3.2.2	Gruffudd "of Gwynedd" and William the Conqueror.....	111
IV.2.3.2.3	Gruffudd "king of all Wales," Edward the Confessor and Harold Godwinsson.....	118
IV.2.3.2.4	Caradog "king of Glamorgan," William the Conqueror and William Rufus.....	120
IV.2.4	<i>Summary</i> .....	122
IV.3	THE <i>LIFE</i> OF SAINT ILLTUD.....	124
IV.3.1	<i>Dating and authorship</i> .....	124
IV.3.2	<i>Content</i> .....	125
IV.3.3	<i>Structural analysis of the encounter-episodes</i> .....	127

IV.3.3.1	The secular characters in the <i>in vita</i> section of the <i>Life</i> of Illtud .....	127
IV.3.3.1.1	Arthur .....	127
IV.3.3.1.2	Poulentus .....	130
IV.3.3.1.3	Meirchion .....	131
IV.3.3.2	Secular characters in the <i>post-mortem</i> section of the <i>Life</i> of Illtud .....	135
IV.3.3.2.1	Edgar .....	136
IV.3.3.2.2	William II .....	139
IV.4	THE <i>LIFE</i> OF SAINT TEILO .....	142
IV.4.1	<i>Dating and authorship</i> .....	142
IV.4.2	<i>Content</i> .....	145
IV.4.3	<i>Structural analysis of the encounter-episodes</i> .....	146
IV.4.3.1	The secular characters in the <i>in vita</i> section of the <i>VTel</i> .....	146
IV.4.3.1.1	The “Pictish” prince and his female servants .....	146
IV.4.3.1.2	The “inhabitants of the place” .....	149
IV.4.3.1.3	Robbers .....	151
IV.4.3.2	Posthumous miracles in the <i>VTel</i> .....	151
IV.5	THE <i>LIFE</i> OF SAINT DUBRICIUS .....	154
IV.5.1	<i>Dating and authorship</i> .....	154
IV.5.2	<i>Content</i> .....	158
IV.5.3	<i>Structural analysis of the encounter-episodes</i> .....	161
IV.5.3.1	The secular characters in the <i>in vita</i> section of the <i>VDu1</i> .....	161
IV.5.3.1.1	Gwyddgeneu and Arganhell .....	161
IV.5.3.2	Posthumous miracles in the <i>VDu1</i> .....	163
IV.6	THE <i>LIFE</i> OF SAINT DAVID BY RHYGYFARCH .....	166
IV.6.1	<i>Dating and authorship</i> .....	166
IV.6.2	<i>Content</i> .....	169
IV.6.3	<i>Structural analysis of the encounter-episodes</i> .....	170
IV.6.3.1	The secular characters in the <i>in vita</i> section of the <i>VD</i> .....	170
IV.6.3.1.1	The Irish Baia and his wife .....	171
IV.6.3.2	Posthumous miracles in the <i>VD</i> .....	176
IV.7	THE <i>LIFE</i> OF SAINT DUBRICIUS BY BENEDICT OF GLOUCESTER .....	178
IV.7.1	<i>Dating and authorship</i> .....	178
IV.7.2	<i>Content</i> .....	180
IV.7.3	<i>Structural analysis of the encounter-episodes</i> .....	181
IV.7.3.1	The secular characters in the <i>in vita</i> section of the <i>VDu2</i> .....	181
IV.7.3.2	Posthumous miracles in the <i>VDu2</i> .....	182
IV.8	THE <i>LIFE</i> OF SAINT BRYNACH .....	184
IV.8.1	<i>Dating and authorship</i> .....	184
IV.8.2	<i>Content</i> .....	185
IV.8.3	<i>Structural analysis of the encounter-episodes</i> .....	187
IV.8.3.1	The secular characters in the <i>in vita</i> section of the <i>VB</i> .....	187
IV.8.3.1.1	The daughter of a nobleman .....	187
IV.8.3.1.2	Clechre .....	191
IV.8.3.1.3	Maelgwn of Gwynedd .....	192
IV.9	THE <i>LIFE</i> OF SAINT PADARN .....	195
IV.9.1	<i>Dating and authorship</i> .....	195
IV.9.2	<i>Content</i> .....	197
IV.9.3	<i>Structural analysis of the encounter-episodes</i> .....	198
IV.9.3.1	The secular characters in the <i>in vita</i> section of the <i>VP</i> .....	198
IV.9.3.1.1	Maelgwn .....	198
IV.9.3.1.2	Arthur .....	200
IV.9.3.1.3	Caradoc Braichfras .....	204
IV.9.3.2	Posthumous miracles in the <i>VP</i> .....	205
IV.10	THE <i>LIFE</i> OF SAINT CLYDOG .....	206
IV.10.1	<i>Dating and authorship</i> .....	206
IV.10.2	<i>Content</i> .....	208
IV.10.3	<i>Structural analysis of the encounter-episodes</i> .....	209
IV.10.3.1	Posthumous miracles in the <i>VCLI</i> .....	209
IV.10.3.1.1	Ithel ab Æthelberth .....	209
IV.10.3.1.2	Two men from Llannerch Glas .....	210
IV.11	THE <i>LIVES</i> OF SAINT CYBI .....	211
IV.11.1	<i>Dating and authorship</i> .....	211
IV.11.2	<i>Content</i> .....	211
IV.11.3	<i>Structural analysis of the encounter-episodes</i> .....	213
IV.11.3.1	The secular characters in the <i>in vita</i> section of the <i>VK1/VK2</i> .....	213

IV.11.3.1.1	Edelig of Edeligion.....	213
IV.11.3.1.2	Crubthir Fintam.....	214
IV.11.3.1.3	Maelgwn of Gwynedd.....	216
IV.11.3.2	Posthumous miracles in the VK1/VK2 .....	217
IV.12	THE LIFE OF SAINT TATHEUS.....	218
IV.12.1	Dating and authorship.....	218
IV.12.2	Content.....	218
IV.12.3	Structural analysis of the encounter-episodes .....	219
IV.12.3.1	The secular characters in the <i>in vita</i> section of the VTa.....	219
IV.12.3.1.1	The rich man of Gwent.....	219
IV.12.3.1.2	Caradoc, king of either Gwent .....	220
IV.12.3.1.3	Gwynllyw's esquires .....	221
IV.12.3.1.4	Two robbers coming from Gwynllyw's court .....	223
IV.13	THE LIFE OF SAINT CARANNOG.....	226
IV.13.1	Dating and authorship.....	226
IV.13.2	Content.....	231
IV.13.2.1	Vita Prima Sancti Carantoci.....	231
IV.13.2.2	Vita Secunda Sancti Carantoci.....	232
IV.13.3	Structural analysis of the encounter-episodes .....	232
IV.13.3.1	The secular characters in the <i>in vita</i> section of the VCa1/2 .....	232
IV.13.3.1.1	Arthur.....	232
IV.13.3.2	Posthumous miracles in the VCa1/2 .....	236
V	CONCLUSION .....	237
V.1	THE STRUCTURE OF THE SAINTS' LIVES IN THE VESPASIAN LEGENDARY – THE USES OF SECULAR RULERS AND CHARACTERS.....	237
V.2	THE PURPOSES OF THE LEGENDARY .....	243
V.3	THE CHOICE OF SECULAR RULERS AND CHARACTERS.....	246
A	DEUTSCHE ZUSAMMENFASSUNG.....	I
A.1	UNTERSUCHUNGSGEGENSTAND.....	I
A.2	METHODOLOGIE.....	I
A.3	ERGEBNISSE.....	IV
A.4	DER ZWECK DES VESPASIAN-LEGENDARS.....	VIII
B	LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS .....	XIII
C	BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES .....	XV
C.1	BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND CATALOGUES.....	XV
C.2	EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS.....	XV
C.3	OTHER STUDIES.....	XIX
C.4	DICTIONARIES AND ENCYCLOPAEDIAS.....	XL
C.5	WEBSITES .....	XL
D	APPENDIX 1 .....	XLII

## LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1 IMPORTANT CITIES AND MONASTERIES IN ELEVENTH- AND TWELFTH-CENTURY WALES, INCLUDING SOME OF THE <i>VESPASIAN</i> SAINTS' MAIN CHURCHES. ....	23
FIGURE 2 ESTIMATE CHRONOLOGY OF THE PRODUCTION OF THE <i>VESPASIAN LIVES</i> .....	32
FIGURE 3 MAIN REGIONS MENTIONED IN THE <i>LIVES</i> OF SAINTS GWYNLLYW , CADOG AND ILLTUD.....	70

## I Introduction

The idea of this research arose from the study of the *instrumentalisation* of the figure of King Arthur in four Saints' *Lives* found in the manuscript of the British Library *Cotton Vespasian A. xiv*. Arthur's *instrumentalisation* in the Saints' *Lives* implied an examination of the claims which each hagiographer made by inventing or (re-)elaborating specific Arthurian anecdotes. The thought of grasping the "hagiographers' intentions" in their uses of Arthur in order to envisage what their possible religious and/or political claims could have been, suggested a change in the approach to the hagiographical material. It presupposed a certain distance from the use of the texts within the literary context of the *genre* of saintly biography – with its edifying tones to the greatness and holiness of the main characters – to one which concentrated on the *worldview* of the hagiographers and their responses to historical events. This, however, did not seem to be an uncontroversial task in view of the seemingly *literary* treatment given to the secular rulers in these writings.

After studying in detail the Arthurian Welsh *Lives* of Saints Cadog, Illtud, Padarn and Carannog, the hagiographers' treatments of *other* secular characters came to the fore in that they showed that not only Arthur, the "King," received much of the hagiographers' attention but also other greater or lesser kings with more established historical backgrounds in the Welsh context, as is the particular case with King Maelgwn of Gwynedd. This would beg the question of whether our modern understanding of the Arthurian legend has influenced our perception of the role that Arthur played in these medieval texts and of whether Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, with its appropriation and re-elaboration of Arthur's career, might have contributed to push into oblivion other candidates' chances to be invested with much more elaborated historical legends. Another important aspect was the acknowledgement of the difference with which the hagiographers treated secular characters like Arthur and Maelgwn – whose historical or pseudo-historical activities would be placed in the early middle ages – in opposition to the treatment given to contemporary or almost-contemporary historical rulers of Anglo-Saxon, Welsh and/or Norman origins, like Edward the Confessor, Harold Godwinsson, Gruffudd ap Llywelyn, Caradog ap Gruffudd ap Rhydderch and William the Conqueror. The few analyses of medieval hagiographical material written in Wales concentrated, however, on the hagiographers' treatments of their *hero-saints*, on the establishment of a biographical structure which, in its main pattern, followed not only that of main stream Western hagiography but also contributed to pinpoint specific Welsh



characteristics and to emphasise, therefore, the cultural differences pertaining to the Welsh people (cf. Rees 1936, Henken 1983, 1987 and 1991, Smith 1990: 338-343).

The encounters of the saintly protagonists with secular characters in the medieval hagiographical material of Wales belong, in fact, to one kind of episode slotted within their underlying biographical pattern. The saint, by proving himself in combat/conflict with the secular ruler, incorporates attributes equivalent to those of the folk hero, with similar consequences in both cases: acquisition of land and of the rights to rule a specific territory. This is much emphasised in the Welsh Saints' *Lives* in that the defeat of a secular ruler or even of a wondrous animal brings about the demarcation of lands and the privileges of exemption of taxation. Elissa Henken's study on the biographical patterning in Welsh hagiography has demonstrated how the hagiographers, in describing their protagonists, moulded them in the fashion of their *folk heroes*.<sup>1</sup> According to her, the pattern into which the Welsh Saints' *Lives* were modelled seemed to relate to the *rites de passage*, the most important life events in the life of a hero. These normally tend to attract popular interest and to foster, therefore, the development of narrative accounts (cf. Henken 1991: 2). She listed seven major stages of a Welsh Saint's *Life*:

1. Conception and birth;
2. Childhood (education);
3. Performing a miracle which indicates spiritual maturity;
4. Going out into the world – founding churches, making pilgrimages, retiring to the wilderness, journeying as a missionary;
5. Conflict with secular powers;
6. Ruling a territory;
7. Death (Henken 1991: 2).

---

<sup>1</sup> Henken, E. (1991) *Welsh Saints: A study in patterned lives*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer. The main ideas exposed in Henken's *Welsh Saints* were developed in previous articles, especially: Henken, E. (1983) 'The Saint as Folk Hero: Bibliographical Patterning in Welsh Hagiography,' in Ford, P. (ed.) *Celtic Folklore and Christianity*. Santa Barbara: McNally and Loftin Publishers; (1987a) *Traditions of the Welsh Saints*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer; (1987b) 'The Saint as a Secular Ruler: Aspects of Welsh Hagiography,' in *Folklore* 98: 226-232. Studies arguing for a uniform and basic pattern for heroic tales, particularly in considering the *mythological* origin of heroes, experienced a considerable growth during the second half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries with the works of Edward Tylor, Johann Georg von Hahn, Otto Rank, Lord Raglan and Joseph Campbell. For a review of their works and theories, see Segal 1990: i-xli. All these scholars recognised a *biographical pattern* in heroic secular tales, although disagreeing with the nature of its constitution, i.e. this pattern's basic elements and, most importantly, with what they considered to be the *function* and *origin* of myth heroes. In most recent times, the American folklorist Alan Dundes argued that the history of hero patterns falls under the folklorist notion of *legend* or *tale* rather than myth, drawing attention to the contribution of the works of the Russian Vladimir Propp on Russian heroic folktales, which I will introduce and comment later on in this section (cf. Dundes 1990: 180-187). Scholars working with saintly biographies have long recognised the adaptation of a specific heroic pattern to the *genre* of Saints' *Lives*. For the Welsh scholarship, see Rees 1936: 30-41 and Elissa Henken's articles quoted above. For Western European hagiography, see Boyer 1981: 27-36. A similar association between saintly and heroic biographies (found in heroic tales) was detected in Irish and Latin *Lives* of Irish Saints. See Bray 1992: 13-15.

My research is concerned with Henken's *fifth* element in the above-mentioned pattern. My focus is going to be, however, *not* on the characterisation of the hero-saint but on the uses made of the secular rulers and characters by the hagiographers. The intricate relationship between the *literary* use of representatives of secular rulers in Saints' *Lives* and the hagiographers' *authoritative* uses of pseudo-historical or historical characters cannot be easily separated. This difficulty lies indeed in the core of studies on sacred biographies. The discussion of literary scholars and historians on the historical uses of Saints' *Lives* is now older than a century. This fact only corroborates the difficulties inherent in this kind of literature as to how much factual and historical information can be obtained through the reading of a *Life* of a Saint *and* how much importance should be given to the hagiographers' uses of historical characters in their texts (cf. Lotter 1979, Heinzelmann 1992, Haarländer 2000). The implications of the hagiographers' treatment of the secular characters as elements of an underlying biographical pattern would necessarily beg the question of whether the idea of *instrumentalisation* mentioned previously would hold true in the case of the use of well-known (pseudo-)historical characters such as King Arthur and King Maelgwn of Gwynedd. Moreover, if saints have been described as "the Christianized form of the folk hero" (Henken 1983: 58), how much of the model for the regional folk heroes remained in the saintly biographies that adopted some of them as *secondary* characters?

This thesis analyses the uses of secular characters in the eleventh- and twelfth-century Welsh Saints' *Lives* found in the manuscript *Cotton Vespasian A. xiv*. It explores the relationship between the *literary* treatment of secular characters and their putative insertion in a *typological-associative* scheme, both of which will be explained in detail later on. The question of whether the historical responses that could until now be perceived in the *instrumentalisation* and uses of some specific secular figures belong indeed to the structure of the genre of saintly biographies is one of the concerns of this work. In order to tackle these aspects, this research begins by analysing the different approaches to the encounters between saints and secular rulers *within* the text of a Saint's *Life* – in their *in vita* sections – in comparison with the "indirect" encounters described in the *post-mortem* sections found in just a few of the texts in the chosen corpus. As will be argued in detail in the next pages, these encounters are directly related to the hagiographers' uses of *miracles* to ascertain the saints' powers. The miracles *must*, therefore, be taken into account because they throw light on the contemporary or almost contemporary acceptance of accounts of saintly interventions in the episodes in a Saint's *Life* relating to secular rulers and persons. In this respect, secular rulers

who oppose the saints and God's plans through His saints are used within what I call a *typological-associative structure* or *scheme*. In this scheme, they play the role of those who reject God's plans and oppose to His messengers.

## II The Research Situation

### II.1 Hagiography, Sacred biographies, Saints' *Lives*, Heiligenlegenden

The term *hagiography* is used in modern scholarship in mainly two senses: a. it refers to a *literary corpus* comprising a variety of literary genres in prose or in verse and b. it refers to a discipline or a field of study concerned with questions such as the historicity of the figures portrayed in *hagiographical texts*, their purposes and functions in a specific historical period, their religious and/or liturgical uses, their form and structure, etc. The notion of a *literary corpus* is useful because it helps to avoid an equivocal idea of hagiography as a *genre* in itself.<sup>1</sup> In this sense, we count as *hagiographical texts* such texts as Saints' *Lives*, hymns, *visiones*, reports of *inventiones* and *translationes*, sermons, eulogies, *exempla*, dialogues, and so forth. Each of these texts is subject to the rules of its own literary genre. Their differences are accounted for by the influences of specific historical periods, to the influences of the society or societies in which they were produced and, to the uses made of them in a specific religious context (cf. Dolbeau 1992: 49-52, Philippart 1994b: 1-2).

My main interest in this work is with Saints' *Lives*, but it is to be borne in mind that a clear-cut division between the different genres is, most of the times, difficult to be perceived. Saints' *Lives* frequently incorporate elements of other literary genres in their narratives, a very common example of this being the incorporation of posthumous miracles connected to reports of *inventiones* and *translationes* at the end of such texts (cf. Herbers 2000: xiv). The fact that there is generally much overlap of the different literary genres in *hagiographical texts* led some scholars to question the practical uses of this *genera* classification (cf. Van Uytfanghe 1993: 148, Herbers 2000: xvi).<sup>2</sup> Consequently, Marc Van Uytfanghe (1993: 148) came to adopt, for instance, the concept of *hagiographical discourse* to refer to the bulk of these texts, taking into consideration the *aspects* that unite them and, also, that distance them from being purely historical witnesses to the lives and deeds of the "holy people" that they purport to describe (cf. also Van Uytfanghe 1994: 203-204). These are common and recurrent aspects connected to the intention of the author and to the uses to which the texts were meant. Here I will quote the ones which I believe are the most relevant to the understanding of the *hagiographical discourse*: the *first* of these aspects is the very particular relationship of the main character to God or to the divine, which, at the end, helps to differentiate biographies of

---

<sup>1</sup> Criticism on the inflated use of the term *hagiography* as synonymous for Saints' *Lives* can be found in Heffernan 1988: 16. See also Dolbeau 1992: 51 and Van Uytfanghe 1993: 135-188, esp. pp. 147-149.

<sup>2</sup> For the advocates of such classification, see Delehaye 1905: 86-100 and Aigrain 1953: 206-246.

ordinary historical characters from those of the “saints” (cf. Delehay 1905: 2-3, Van Uytenghe 1993: 148-149). The *second* aspect relates to the figure of the *hero*. Since hagiographical texts are heirs to classical and biblical heroic models, they work with highly stylistically and literary models for their notions of heroic attributes and behaviours (cf. Ward 1982: 166-168). Thus, in the analysis of a Saint’s *Life*, for example, the consideration of the *topoi* used by the hagiographer is of extreme relevance (cf. Lotter 1979: 307). The *third* aspect is that of the putatively “oral” background of some of the stories incorporated in these texts and, with it, the temporal distance to the factual time in which the protagonists lived (cf. Van Uytenghe 1993: 148-149, Bratož 1994: 222). Finally, the *fourth* aspect relates to the *composition* of the text in terms of its functionality. The author’s intention is that of edifying the reader/listener and of apologetically idealising his/her main character(s). Furthermore, the influences of the society on the end-product also deserve attention: the hagiographer is writing for an audience whose tastes surely impinge on the text. The fact that a story is presented and/or fixated by the author in a *written* form is also of relevance since the text will be subjected to the constraints of its internal structure and internal justifications (cf. Lotter 1979: 321, Aigrain 1953: 243, Dolbeau 1992: 52-53, Bratož 1994: 222).

In this work, the terms Saints’ *Lives*, *Vitae* and saintly or sacred *biographies* are employed synonymously. The terms *Life* and *Lives* are direct translations of the Latin *Vita/Vitae*. The initial majuscule will differentiate the instances when the factual lives of the characters are referred to in opposition to the texts written about them. While there has been no difficulty in the use of the terms *Vita* or *Life* to refer to those texts concerned with the history of the lives of the saints, the use of the term *biography* has not always been uncontroversial in the history of medieval studies (cf. Berschin 1986: 17). Walter Berschin explained the avoidance of the term *biography* in medieval studies as being the result of the modern expectation for an “unbiased” judgment and evaluation of the life of the *biographee* on the part of his/her biographer (idem 1986: 17-21). That means that not only the expectations of modern audiences were transposed into the reading and interpretation of medieval texts but, also, that the changes in the literary tastes and rules of specific historical periods and societies were ignored. Be that as it may, the word *biography* – as well as its German equivalent *Lebensbeschreibung* – puts greater emphasis on the activity of the *author* than the more neutral terms *Life/Vita* (cf. Haarländer 2000: 1). The word *biography* implies the activity of a person who “graphically” draws the “life” of his/her biographee. It could therefore be employed with the purpose of emphasising the action of writing as a creative process, rather

than the sequence of *actions* within the text which the terms *Vitae/Lives* seem to stress. A final aspect that merits attention in relation to the use of the term *biography* is that most of the *sacred biographies* are, primarily, *not* dedicated to historical figures in the proper sense of the term – like kings and secular potentates – but to Christian saints. Consequently, they are to be dealt with as products of that edifying enterprise of *hagiography*, being subjected, therefore, to specific literary rules – especially to the *topoi*, which are perhaps the epitomes of *sacred biographies*.

The German term *Heiligenlegenden*, on the other hand, referring to the Saints' *Lives* produced in the middle ages, goes back to the original term used to designate the *Lives* of Saints which were meant to be read aloud by the priest during the Mass celebrated on the saint's *feast-day*: *legenda* (cf. Delehaye 1905: 8, Head 2000: xviii). In its current modern use in English, however, as in many other modern European languages,<sup>3</sup> a *legend* refers to narratives which are not necessarily historical, although they normally originate around the figures of historical people. Because of this, many scholars concerned with the historical uses of Saints' *Lives* have avoided to use the term *legend* and have restricted it to its modern connotation whenever necessary. In terms of its medieval uses, however, there is no reason to make such a distinction: the very word *legendary* was used by medieval writers to refer to a collection of Saints' *Lives* including or not other hagiographical texts (cf. Delehaye 1905: 8-9, Aigrain 1953: 126-128, Van Uytfanghe 1994: 205-206).

Having touched on the origin of the term *legenda*, I can now turn to the practical *uses* of Saints' *Lives* during the middle ages. I have just mentioned their reading during the Mass celebrated on the saint's *feast-day*, for example. Since the 1990s, however, there has been a strong movement questioning the view that *sacred biographies* were used for *purely* liturgical purposes. The new current, to which I submit for reasons which will become clear in the course of this work, can be best summarised in the words of Guy Philippart: "Il est temps de revenir de l'idée commune que la liturgie a conditionné la littérature hagiographique."<sup>4</sup> This is, of course, not to say that Saints' *Lives* were not used for liturgical purposes at all, but it

---

<sup>3</sup> The same applies to the use of the term "légende" in modern French, for example. In Portuguese, the development of the Latin word *legenda* gave way to "lenda," which also refers to narratives which are not considered to be historical. The word "legenda" in modern Portuguese is used to refer to subtitles in films or theatre plays and it keeps the original Latin meaning of the term as that "which is to be read."

<sup>4</sup> Comment made in the discussion of Dolbeau's 1981 article 'Notes sur l'organisation interne des légendiers latins,' p. 31. This was strengthened by Jacques Dubois (p. 30): "On a exagéré le rôle liturgique. On veut projeter dans le passé la notion de liturgie qu'on a eue après le Concile de Trente et jusqu'au XX<sup>e</sup>s. [...] Il faut penser que les moines avaient des recueils qui sont les ancêtres des *Acta Sanctorum*, qui ne visent pas à donner une vie de chaque saint mais toutes les vies, plus les homélies, plus les translations etc..."

must be emphasised that the liturgy alone was not the *only* factor which moulded the form and conditioned the production of such a narrative (cf. Dolbeau 1981: 18). I will refer to this problem when sketching the state of the research on hagiographical texts, but here it suffices to say that it is exactly in not viewing the liturgy as the primary goal of hagiographical texts, especially of Saints' *Lives*, that the uses of folkloric and/or secular material and their incorporation in the Saints' *Lives* can be better appreciated.

As regards the *function(s)* of Saints' *Lives*, they were composed by ecclesiastics to emphasise the glorious and hallowed deeds of exemplary witnesses to the Christian faith from as early as the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. This kind of edificatory literature developed throughout the centuries: a. according to specific conditions within the Church itself in the different periods of its consolidation as an institution, b. according to the development of different *ideals of sanctity* and, also, c. according to the influence of the Bible and of secular and "pagan" literature.<sup>5</sup> The development of different *ideals of sanctity* is an important instrument in the classification and study of hagiographical texts in general. This is where hagiographical texts can and should be used as a source for gaining historical insight, especially for the scholar interested in the *history of the mentalities*. Specific variations in the portrayal of a saint in a Saint's *Life*, for example, and also variations in the emphasis laid on one of his/her specific attributes – i.e. as a martyr, a confessor, a bishop, etc. – reveal the changing worldviews of the hagiographers and of the time when the texts were produced (cf. Lotter 1979: 314-320, Menestò 1994: 7).

The most important concept behind a sacred biography is the emphasis on the *imitatio Christi*. Being the figure of Christ on earth, the saint is able to imitate Christ's deeds, to follow and emulate his paths: he/she works *miracles* and comes in confrontation with the Evil. The saint's direct connection to the heavenly world enables him/her to make use of what is often referred to as "supernatural" powers (cf. Guenée 1977: 265, Vauchez 1981: 585, Heinzelmann 2002: 9, Goullet 2005: 210) – that means, powers which cannot be explained in earthly terms but which are easily understood as the manifestation of God's power in and through their earthly representatives. In fact, most hagiographical writings in Western Christendom were built up around the reports of *miracles*, seen as both manifestations of and witnesses to the saint's holiness. One of the original *functions* of Saints' *Lives* was, therefore, to urge the community united by the same faith to follow the examples of the saints and to live religiously moral lives. Reports of miracles were, to this purpose, a powerful means of

---

<sup>5</sup> For a detailed account of the development of *models of sanctity*, see Head 2000: xiii – xxxviii.

reminding the faithful of the saints' direct connection to God (cf. Dubois & Renaud 1981: 492, Bratož 1994: 222, Coon 1997: 1).

Saints' *Lives* normally begin with an apology made by the hagiographer for his poor rhetoric and feeble stylistic abilities (cf. Delehaye 1905: 53). However, this apology does not match his grammatical prowess and is one of the most common *topos* of hagiographical activity: the 'humility topos' (Hayward 1999: 122, cf. also Kerlouégan 1987: 87). Another *topos* is that of the hagiographer's stating in the preface that he wishes to portray an *exemplary* Christian figure, whose knowledge can be preserved for posterity: the 'exemplar-topos' (ibidem). The preoccupation with the preservation of a Saint's *Life* conforms, moreover, with that of medieval *historians*, for whom the preservation of what might "pass out of memory" was the function of the written work (Merdrignac 1987: 76, cf. also Delehaye 1905: 52-53). Indeed, *Historiae* and *Vitae* were produced side by side in the same scriptoria and by the same literate ecclesiastics who spent most of their lives learning Latin and understanding the Holy Scriptures so that there was also a natural tendency on the part of the *writer* of Saints' *Lives* and *Historiae* to mix both genres together (cf. Guenée 1977: 265, Van Uytfanghe 1994: 202). This is also a clue to understanding the overlap of the different literary genres in hagiographical texts, mentioned before. *History*, moreover, was understood as *sacred* history and used for the service of theology (cf. Guenée 1977: 261-265, Dubois & Renaud 1981: 492, Ward 1982: 202-203, Goetz 1992: 61-62, Merdrignac 2003: 177). This is one of the reasons why some medieval *writers*, in writing *Vitae* or *Historiae*, tried to codify their views that they were the people chosen by God next to the Israelites of the Old Testament (cf. Higham 2002: 38-73).<sup>6</sup> Following this desire, the authors of Saints' *Lives* not only wished to *actualise* contemporary history (cf. Dolbeau 1992: 51), but also inserted references to the best representatives of their 'peoples' into their texts with a keen eye on the political scenarios they experienced (cf. Goetz 1992: 72-73, Goetz 2006: 23-26).<sup>7</sup>

One further notion to be borne in mind, moreover, is that Saints' *Lives* were texts in which a religious and, therefore, *symbolic* language was used to portray events not only in the way that they happened or should have happened but also in the way that they were *supposed* to

---

<sup>6</sup> For a discussion of the theme of divine election in the middle ages, see Garrison 2006: 275-314.

<sup>7</sup> There has been a period in the history of the scholarship concerned with Saints' *Lives*, however, in which scholars tended to avoid and discredit them for not being reliable sources of *historical* information. I will refer to this period in detail below. For a broad definition of historiography in the middle ages and the corresponding bibliographical references, see Heinzelmann 2002: 23-61, esp. 24-25. For the record of miracles in *histories*, *annals* and *chronicles* of monastic writers, see Ward 1982: 201-207.



happen or to have happened (cf. Dolbeau 1992: 54-55, Goetz 1992: 63, Heffernan 1992: 48, Coon 1997: 6, Haarländer 2000: 2).<sup>8</sup> This is indeed a very important aspect to consider when analysing Saints' *Lives* and talking about the hagiographers' intentions.

Finally, a word must be given to the classification used to refer to Saints' *Lives* as regards the influences of classical writings and/or biographies on their form and style. Christian Saints' *Lives* written in Latin have normally been classified in mainly two types: 1. an aretalogic-hagiographical type and, 2. a rhetorical-idealising type. The first type would correspond to those Saints' *Lives* in which the saints are portrayed as martyrs, ascetics or confessors and in which miracles are understood as the manifestation of God's powers through some of His selected representatives. Structurally, these texts would resemble those of the Gospels, in which the miracle episodes form a closed unity in their own (cf. Lot 1927: 184-195, Lotter 1979: 308-312, Van Uytfanghe 1994: 203, Goullet 2005: 210). The second type, on the other hand, would apply to Saints' *Lives* with a marked influence of antique biographies. In these texts, the hero is idealised due to his acts and abilities. The concept of *virtus* is understood here not in terms of God's power and manifestation, but in terms of the saint's *earthly* virtues (cf. Lotter 1979: 308-311). This classification is, however, as controversial as the classification of hagiographical texts in different literary genres due to the development and appearance of *mixed* forms throughout the times (cf. Lotter 1979: 313, Van Uytfanghe 1994: 203-204).

## II.2 The contemporary hagiographical research

The research on hagiographical texts has aroused considerable scholarly debate since its origins in the seventeenth century. The bulk of the material which most researchers still make use of today was made available through the publication of two important works dedicated to the edition and analysis of a series of hagiographical texts: the *Acta Sanctorum* by the Bollandists in 1643 and the *Acta Sanctorum ordinis Sancti Benedicti* by the Maurists in 1668.<sup>9</sup> The main concern of both the Bollandists and the Maurists was with the *authenticity* of the events described in the Saints' *Lives* in order to accept or refute the historicity of the saints

---

<sup>8</sup> Or in the words of Dolbeau (1992: 54): "Entre le vrai et le faux, se déploie le champ immense du vraisemblable."

<sup>9</sup> Bolland, J. *et al.* (eds.) (1643-1910) *Acta Sanctorum, quotquot toto orbe coluntur*. Antwerp and Brussels: Typis Henrici Goemaere, Mabillon, J. (ed.) (repr. 1935 –) *Acta Sanctorum ordinis Sancti Benedicti*. Matiscone: Fratres Prototypographi Matisconenses.

whose lives and deeds were described in those texts (cf. Lotter 1979: 306, Van Uytfanghe 1994: 199, Haarländer 2000: 3).

Hippolyte Delehaye, one of the most distinguished Bollandists, continued the project of the *Acta Sanctorum* in his major work *The Legends of the Saints* first published in 1905. His other major contribution was the work ‘Cinq Leçons sur la Méthode Hagiographique’ published in the *Subsidia Hagiographica* in 1934. In his works, Delehaye concentrated his attention, mainly, on the figure of the saint and on his/her biographical history. To him, hagiography constituted one branch of history (cf. Delehaye 1934: 7). Nonetheless, he discredited much of the episodes found in Saints’ *Lives*, accentuating the fact that most of them contained layers of additions and interpolations pertaining to periods other than those when the saints lived and could not give, therefore, any *objective* information on the factual life of the saint (cf. Delehaye 1934: 7-17). In *The Legends*, Delehaye was trying to answer to the attacks under which Catholicism fell during the last decades of the nineteenth century: that of basically propagating historical “errors” in books used for cultic purposes and of perpetuating cults of saints that could not have existed or could not have worked the miracles told in many of their Saints’ *Lives*.<sup>10</sup> It was exactly by expounding the accretions of different layers in the Saints’ *Lives* that Delehaye intended to find out the *true* historical basis of each of the texts and demonstrate, if this was the case, their credibility (cf. Heffernan 1992: 57, Haarländer 2000: 3-4, Thompson 2003: 13-14). Delehaye contribution’s to the study of hagiographical texts was enormous and some of the notions currently applied today can be traced back to his main works, as for example the classification of the hagiographical texts in different literary genres (cf. Delehaye 1905: 86-100). Following Delehaye’s path, it is also worth mentioning the work by Rene Aigrain, *L’Hagiographie. Ses sources – ses méthodes – son histoire* published in 1953, which also called attention to the uncritical uses of hagiographical texts as sources for historical information (cf. Aigrain 1953: 167-170). Finally, connected to the work of the Bollandists was the beginning of the publication of the *Analecta Bollandiana* in 1882, which sought to systematically list and record the hagiographical manuscripts found in European libraries. Among the goals of the editors and main contributors to the *Analecta Bollandiana* was that of improving the work provided by the early issues of the *Acta Sanctorum* and to launch the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*.

---

<sup>10</sup> See O’ Loughlin’s ‘Introduction’ in Delehaye 1905: v-xix.

Apart from the theologians like Delehaye, there was also a group of historians at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century who, following a similar positivist approach to hagiographical texts as the Bollandists, tried to extract from them as much “reliable” and “objective” information on historical events as they could. This task proved very difficult, considering the highly typological character of many of the texts they analysed. This led many of them to discredit hagiographical texts, mainly Saints’ *Lives*, as purely “fictional” works and, therefore, as not appropriate for historical research. Ferdinand Lot’s assertion that “[l]’immense majorité [of *Vitae*] n’est qu’un odieux fatras” (1927: 185) exemplifies the attitude of many of these scholars to the hagiographical corpus in general (cf. Heffernan 1992: 57, Van Uytenghe 1994: 195, Coon 1997: 5, Goullet 2005: 230-231).<sup>11</sup> From the 1970s onwards, a series of scholars working with *New Historicist* methods – historians concerned with the cultural background in which a literary text was produced and its relationship to the contemporary literary production – contributed to the evaluation of medieval texts in a new light (cf. Deutsch 1981: 107-109). This was soon applied to hagiographical texts in general and came to influence the works of historians concerned with the *history of society*, the *history of the mentalities* and the *history of ideas*. These scholars made use of *hagiographical texts* for the study of medieval *daily life* in its most varied aspects, as for instance in the fields of medieval teaching and learning, in the study of medieval thoughts and worldviews, in the study of religious practices and the development of new cultic practices, in the study of medicine, of clothing, etc.<sup>12</sup> In opposition to the works and methods of the Bollandists, these scholars were able to go beyond the question of the

---

<sup>11</sup> For other examples of the attitudes of these historians, see Gibbon 1952: 467, for whom Saints’ *Lives* showed a “total disregard of truth and probability.” See also Burckhart 1853: 283.

<sup>12</sup> The number of bibliographical references relating to *New Historicist* uses of hagiographical texts is large and here I offer only some titles for the sake of illustration: Gajano, S. (1976) *Agiografia altomedioevale*. Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino; Gransden, A. (1976) ‘The Growth of the Glastonbury Traditions and Legends in the Twelfth Century,’ in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 27: 337-358; Lopez, R., and D’Amico, J. (1979) ‘The Practical Transmission of Medieval Culture,’ in Jeffrey, D. (ed.) *By Things Seen: Reference and Recognition in Medieval Thought*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press; Lotter, F. (1976) *Severinus von Noricum Legende und Historische Wirklichkeit – Untersuchung zur Phase des Übergangs von Spätantiken zu Mittelalterlichen Denk- und Lebensformen*. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann and, also, (1979) ‘Methodisches zur Gewinnung historischer Erkenntnisse aus hagiographischen Quellen,’ in *Historische Zeitschrift* 229: 298-356; Poulin, J.-C. (1977) ‘Hagiographie et Politique. La Première Vie de Saint Samson de Dol,’ in *Francia* 5: 1-26; Winterbottom, M. (ed.) (1972) *Three Lives of English Saints*. Toronto: Centre for Medieval Studies; Heist, W. (1981) ‘Hagiography, chiefly, celtic [sic !], and recent developments in folklore,’ in Riché, P., Patlagean, E. *Hagiographie, Cultures et Sociétés – IV<sup>e</sup> – XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*. Paris: Études Augustiniennes, pp. 121-141; Witalisz, W. (2001) ‘Orality and Literacy in Middle English Religious Literature on the Example of Medieval Lives of Christ,’ in *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia: An International Review of English Studies* 36: 275-88 and, by the same author, (1976) ‘Braint Teilo,’ in *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 26: 123-137; Witalisz, W. (2001) ‘Orality and Literacy in Middle English Religious Literature on the Example of Medieval Lives of Christ,’ in *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia: An International Review of English Studies* 36: 275-88.

historicity of the saints and concentrated, therefore, on the time when the hagiographers wrote their texts, i.e. on the texts' *contextualisation*.<sup>13</sup>

In this period, moreover, the work of linguists focusing on the connection between *oral* and *written cultures* also contributed to a new consideration of the hagiographer's relationship to his/her intended audience(s), and of the communication between the author and his/her public. One of the most important gains from this kind of study was to show how strong the influence of oral tradition was on the authors' and on their audience's understanding of the past (cf. Coon 1997: 6). This view can be found, especially, in the article "Das Mittelalter in der Typik oraler Gesellschaften" by Hanna Vollrath.<sup>14</sup> Vollrath showed that much of those parts of medieval daily life connected to knowledge, law, beliefs, moral and customs remained under the influence of orality, even though many medieval societies – to a greater or lesser degree – had already become acquainted and subjected to the realms of a writing and reading culture (cf. Vollrath 1981: 589-594). A corollary to this view was the re-evaluation of the "falsifications" present in hagiographical texts, from charters to Saints' *Lives*, which had been the object of most of their condemnation by the Bollandists and by historians like Ferdinand Lot at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century: it was possible, therefore, to understand these "falsifications" by inferring that many hagiographers had set out to "correct" history for the sake of modifying and serving the present and the near future (cf. Goetz 1992: 61-97, Dolbeau 1992: 54),<sup>15</sup> just as decades of oral history had purportedly been modified in the past to serve emerging political groups throughout Europe.

New approaches to hagiographical texts also emerged which focused on the definition of and on the historical developments of *models of sanctity* throughout the times. This branch of study examined the way in which a *symbolic* religious language was employed in hagiographical texts and how the religious imaginary of human beings developed historically. This can be better appreciated in the articles published by Sofia Boesch Gajano in *Agiografia altomedioevale* (cf. Menestò 1994: 7-9).<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> For important contributions on the *contextualisation* of texts in place and time, see the articles in Herbers & Bauer 2000, esp. the comments on pp. ix- xxviii.

<sup>14</sup> In *Historische Zeitschrift* 233: 571-594.

<sup>15</sup> For studies following such view, see, for instance, Herrick 2007 and Goetz 2006.

<sup>16</sup> See, also, Vauchez 1981: 585-596. For a sketch of the development of new *types of sanctity*, see Head 2000: xiii-xxxviii.

The beginning of the 1990s saw a series of major contributions to the study of hagiographical texts coming from the continued works of François Dolbeau, Martin Heinzelmann, Joseph-Claude Poulin and Guy Philippart. Their works focused on the establishment of an international critical study of hagiographical texts in which not only the form and content of the texts would be considered, but also their parallel transmission in different manuscripts and their places in the contemporary historical and literary scenarios. Their goal was, therefore, to establish *a chronology and geography of hagiographical documents* (cf. Heinzelmann 1992: 9) in order to decide on which *typical* or *atypical* elements occur in their narrative structures and which of these elements *conform* or not to the literary tastes or preferences of a specific region, group, etc. (cf. also Van Uytvanghe 1994: 207-208).<sup>17</sup> One of Heinzelmann's main contributions to the study of hagiography was that of calling attention to the importance of recognising a particular or proper *identity* to each hagiographical collection or text in a manuscript. Moreover, by taking and considering each manuscript individually, the questions of the interpolations and/or of the "falsifications" would be readdressed in terms of a "réécriture" in which specific *choices* were made on the part of the hagiographer(s), on the part of the copyist(s) or of the editor(s) of a medieval text and/or hagiographical collection. These choices would therefore mirror the tastes, preferences and even the attitudes of these people towards the array of themes, motifs, styles, etc., circulating in specific spans of time (cf. Heinzelmann 1992: 9-16). Another consequential aspect of this research was that of drawing special attention to the coexistence of *opposing world views* in one and the same hagiographical collection. These opposing views are manifest in the (formal, stylistic, thematic, etc.) *tension* produced through the side-by-side arrangement of the texts in a legendary or another kind of hagiographical collection.

## II.3 The state of contemporary research on Welsh hagiography

### II.3.1 The Welsh tradition of writing Saints' *Lives*

From the Bollandists' publications of some Welsh Saints' *Lives* to the application of *New Historicist* methods, scholars working with Welsh Saints were also faced with and influenced by the scholarly views of their times so that the early scholarly research has to be evaluated also within an evolution of methodological approaches towards literary and historical texts. Wales, compared to its historically close-related neighbours – Ireland, Anglo-Saxon England

---

<sup>17</sup> For a consideration of the whole research program and goals, see Phillippart 1994a: 17-47.

and Brittany – possesses a late tradition of writing Saints’ *Lives*. For the sake of comparison, for example, the earliest Breton hagiographical text, an anonymous *Vita* of St. Samson, probably dates back to the seventh century,<sup>18</sup> whereas the earliest extant Welsh *Lives*,<sup>19</sup> the *Lives* of St. David by Rhygyfarch and of St. Cadog by Lifris, were written at the end of the eleventh century (cf. Chadwick 1958: 124, W. Davies 1981: 515, Henken 1987: 230, Kerlouégan 1993: 11, Evans 1988: xxxix, Padel 2000: 37).<sup>20</sup> The dearth of hagiographical material in Wales has been explained in at least two ways: firstly, in comparison to Ireland, where the survival of written material in manuscript collections, in opposition to the situation in Wales, was explained by Nora Chadwick as a result of the Irish centres of learning having very soon found secular patronage of wealthy kings or chiefs who strongly supported intellectual production. She pointed out that calf-skin was abundant in Ireland and might also have contributed to the development of manuscript production “almost on commercial lines” (Chadwick 1958: 127). Secondly, the loss of medieval manuscripts due to political instability or due to damage caused by time has also been used as an explanation. This is perhaps the most probable scenario to be considered in the case of Wales. One needs only to remember the havoc wreaked by the Vikings in their incursions in the British Isles, documented by contemporary writers such as the West Saxon King Alfred, a time when monks were killed and books destroyed in a large scale.<sup>21</sup> If important monastic libraries were pillaged in the costal areas of Anglo-Saxon England, the situation might also have been very similar in Ireland and Wales. The *Annales Cambriae*,<sup>22</sup> for example, attest to the presence of “the gentiles” among the Irish in the entry to the year 796. Viking activities also appear in the entries for the years 850, 853 and 895 – when the Vikings apparently devastated areas as far

---

<sup>18</sup> For the text of the *Vita Samsonis*, see Duine, F. (1914) *Questions d’hagiographie et Vie de S. Samson*. Paris: H. Champion (henceforth VS). Canon Doble (1971: 88) and Emrys Bowen (1954: 36) dated the text to the beginning of the seventh century. Nora Chadwick (1969) affirmed, on the other hand, that the *Vita Samsonis* could not be earlier than the ninth century (263-264). For the political and ecclesiastical situation when the VS was written, see Poulin 1977: 1-26.

<sup>19</sup> John Tatlock erroneously ascribed as *Welsh* the *Lives* of SS. Samson, Paul Aurelianus and Malo which were produced in different monastic centres in Brittany (1950: 184).

<sup>20</sup> The edition – and respective translations – which I shall use for the *Lives* of SS. Cadog (henceforth VCI), Carannog (henceforth VCa1 and VCa2), Illtud (henceforth VI) and Padarn (henceforth VP) is: Wade-Evans, A. (ed. and trans.) (1944) *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. For the *Life* of Gildas by Caradoc of Llancarfan (henceforth VG), see Williams, H. (ed. and trans.) (1899, repr. 1990) *Two Lives of Gildas by a Monk of Ruys and Caradoc of Llancarfan*. Felinfach: Llanerch Publishers. For the *Life* of Cadog by Caradoc of Llancarfan (henceforth VC2): Grosjean, P. (1942) ‘Vie de S. Cadoc par Caradoc de Llancarfan,’ in *Analecta Bollandiana* 60: 35-67. For the *Life* of Saint David (henceforth VD): James, J. (ed. and trans.) (1967) *Rhygyfarch’s Life of St. David*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

<sup>21</sup> See King Alfred’s preface to the translation of Gregory’s *Pastoral Care* in Treharne 2004: 10-13.

<sup>22</sup> Ab Ithel, J.W. (ed.) (1860) “*Annales Cambriae*,” in *The Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland During the Middle Ages* 20. Henceforth AC.

as Gwent in southwest Wales.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, if one considers that most of the extant manuscripts of Welsh provenance were found to have been taken to England at a very early date, the probability that much material was lost due to these invasions turns out to be even higher (cf. Davies 1981: 517).<sup>24</sup>

Be that as it may, there are references in medieval Welsh writings to hagiographical texts that served as sources for hagiographers and historians alike. The ninth-century *Historia Brittonum* contains whole passages of what seems to have belonged to an early Welsh hagiographical tradition on St. Germanus, for instance (cf. Davies 1981: 518).<sup>25</sup> Rhygyfarch, the writer of the *Life* of St. David, refers to an early *historia* of St. Padarn as one of his sources (cf. Chadwick 1958: 159-160). Canon Doble (1971), when referring to the materials the twelfth-century writer of the *Life* of St. Illtud had at his disposal, affirmed that he might have used a probable *Life* of Illtud dating from the ninth century (122-123). Therefore, although inconclusive, there are hints pointing to a Welsh hagiographical tradition prior to the eleventh century. Taking into consideration that the Welsh hagiographical texts that survive have a much distinctive character in their themes – the veneration of bells and staffs, the stories about tamed oxen and deer, the cursing and blinding of kings and church violators by the saints, etc. – this would argue strongly for the *continuation* of a Welsh hagiographical tradition rather than to the beginning of new one in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (cf. Davies 1981: 518). Besides, this distinctive character finds parallels in Irish and Breton hagiography. A comparative study by Julia Smith (1990) on the *hagiographical traditions* in Wales and Brittany, based on similar features of the veneration of saints in these countries from about the 850s to the 1250s, reinforces this assumption. According to Smith, both Breton and Welsh hagiographers put much more emphasis on their saints' cult sites, on the popular reverence of saints' hand bells and staffs and on their association with specific landscape features – i.e. springs and wells – than on the commonly European veneration of

---

<sup>23</sup> A direct reference to a joint attack of “Danes and English” plunderers appears in the *Life* of Cadog, in its *post-mortem* section, which could be reminiscent of episodes of the tenth or eleventh century: “[...] *predonum multitudo Dacorum atque Anglorum uenit ad eos, qui, feretrum intuentes, ambierunt secum transportare [...]*” [...] a horde of plunderers, Danes and English, came to (or rushed upon) them, who, seeing the shrine, sought to take it away with them [...].

<sup>24</sup> On the Continent the fate of some Breton manuscripts was secured by monks who, facing Viking invasions during the ninth century, abandoned their monasteries carrying away manuscripts, books and relics to the greater cities in France (cf. Kerlouégan 1993: 11). François Kerlouégan affirmed that text production in Brittany was temporarily paralysed due to the Viking incursions in that region. The Vikings ravaged periodically the whole of the west coast, including Ireland, Great Britain and some areas of Manche. Nantes, for instance, was pillaged in 843 and the monks of the monastery of Saint Gildas de Rhuys took refuge in Questembert in 880 (ibidem).

<sup>25</sup> Mommsen, T. (ed.) (1894-98) ‘*Historia Brittonum*,’ in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Chronica Minora: Auctores Antiquissimi* 13, I: 15-222. Henceforth *HB*.

bones and other parts of saints' bodies (337-338). Smith claimed that, in the case of Brittany, there might have existed Saints' *Lives* that never came to be put into written form: the veneration of local saints might have been so well established in some regions that the ecclesiastics felt no need to emphasise their deeds in writing. She supplied evidence of Breton saints that only came to have a written *Life* when their cults were transferred to other religious communities, such as the *Vita Machutis* written by Billi in the late ninth century (idem: 332-333). Among the Welsh evidence, Smith cited St. Wenefred whose body laid at her nunnery in Gwytherin until the Normans translated it to Shrewsbury in the Welsh marches in 1138. Wenefred was associated with Holywell, where her name was connected to healing miracles. However, Wenefred's healing miracles never came to be written by the members of her local community. Their collection was only written later in the twelfth-century by the foreign order that controlled her cult and that had an interest in promoting the saint's cult (idem: 341).<sup>26</sup> By comparing the hagiographical situation in Brittany with that of Wales, one could speculate that there might have also been Welsh Saints' *Lives* that never came to be written. In this case, the ecclesiastics who normally presided over the cult of saints did not bother to write down the deeds of their local saints due to the strength of their popular veneration. This situation would drastically change with the coming of the Normans and their consequent establishment of alien cults of saints in Wales and England.

Additionally, Wendy Davies (1982) emphasised that "the habit of creating, recognizing and venerating local saints [in Wales] had developed at a very early stage – by the seventh century" (176). Evidence for the veneration of Welsh Saints can, for instance, be found in the surviving medieval Welsh secular literature. The tenth-century poem *Armes Prydein Vawr*, with its appeal to St. David as a protector against foreign invasions, is an example of this early veneration (cf. Dumville 1983: 145-159, Jarman 1991: 117-145). This view was also defended by Emrys George Bowen (1977), whose study concentrated, instead, on the *nature* of the saints' cults in Wales. According to him, the evidence of Welsh cult sites pointed to the spread of some cults of saints through the earlier Roman roads and also by sea in a line along the south and west coasts (81-110). This would corroborate the antiquity of the veneration of saints in Wales, dating back to very early times.

All the mentioned studies strengthen the view that hagiography in Ireland, Brittany and Wales had a very special relationship to the popular cult of saints and its practice. That means that

---

<sup>26</sup> For a detailed study of the surviving *Lives* of Saint Wenefred, see Winward 1999: 89-132.



the antagonism between a clerical culture and a popular one which is said to have predominated in western Europe during the early and high middle ages concerning the veneration of saints was, in those countries, weaker than one tends to assume. Therefore “secular” borrowings tinged with a regional character impregnated the hagiographical material produced by Welsh, Irish and Breton ecclesiastics and were, supposedly, not stigmatized. They are better appreciated in the abundance of *miraculous* accounts especially in connection to animals – tamed stags, oxen, swine – which are found in Continental hagiography in *comparatively* fewer numbers (cf. O’Riain 1982: 146-159, Smith 1990: 342, Merdrignac 1998: 106). Indeed, Julia Smith and Bernard Merdrignac have both called attention to the fact that the all-pervasive presence of miraculous accounts might have contributed to the attacks that “Celtic” hagiography suffered in the hands of hypercritical historians like Ferdinand Lot, whose views against its historical value I have previously mentioned (cf. Smith 1990: 343, Merdrignac 1998: 106).<sup>27</sup> Léon Fleuriot, when discussing the “oral” tradition and the “textes brittoniques” in the early middle ages, warned historians and hagiographers working with Irish, Breton and Welsh texts not to forget

[...] le côté celtique des choses, trop souvent sous-estimé par méconnaissance: les emprunts des hagiographes à leur littérature vernaculaire, les *échanges constants entre tradition écrite et tradition orale*. [...] Ce sont des sociétés pourvues pendant des siècles de « professionnels de la mémoire » (Fleuriot 1985: 225).<sup>28</sup>

Another aspect is that traditional secular tales were transmitted throughout generations with a rather successful outcome. For my present purposes, this situation in “Celtic” hagiography in general must be emphasised because it begs for a change in the way to interpret some of the episodes in the Saints’ *Lives* that incorporate characters like Arthur and Maelgwn. It is impossible to determine whether some motifs have been directly borrowed from circulating secular tales or whether they have been elaborated by the hagiographer himself by basing his material on secular tradition. The hint to understand these passages is, in my opinion, to take a look at the structure of the episodes to ascertain whether they contrast with each other in the way they are incorporated in the bulk of the Saint’s *Life*. The question of a putatively oral origin for some motifs and themes in the Saints’ *Lives* is a problematic one and will be

---

<sup>27</sup> The true nature of what some scholars, especially Breton ones, still refer as “Celtic” is much elusive and will receive special attention in the coming section. The term “Celtic,” originating in linguistic studies, has less of a cultural significance than scholars in the nineteenth century were ready to admit.

<sup>28</sup> Even if most of these scholars refer to the situation in the early middle ages, the same inferences can be made for the case of Welsh hagiographical material of the eleventh and twelfth centuries by means of comparing the hagiographies of Ireland, Brittany and Wales. Indeed, even in Brittany, this can also be inferred to be the case in the twelfth century: “L’importance de « professionnels de la mémoire » [...] dans la société profane transparait dans les *Vitae* bretonnes jusqu’en plein XII<sup>e</sup> siècle” (Merdrignac 1998: 108).

discussed in detail in the coming methodological section. Here it suffices to bear in mind that the texts analysed, however spurious traces of an “oral” origin they might contain, are already fixed in *writing*, being subjected, therefore, to textual and generic constraints.



**Figure 1** Important Cities and Monasteries in eleventh- and twelfth-century Wales, including some of the *Vespasian* Saints’ main churches.

### II.3.2 The scholarly views on Welsh monastic practices

Having referred to the situation of hagiographical texts in Wales and to the possible reasons for the small amount of surviving material, I mentioned studies which concentrated, mostly, on the cult sites and veneration of the early saints, their historicity, on the expansion of their cults and on the migration waves of Welsh saints to the area which came to be called,

afterwards, Brittany. Some scholars' image of early medieval Wales owes much to the mediation of Welsh *and* Breton medieval writers whose views misled many of them to assumptions about that period which are at least controversial. From the earliest texts written in Wales, like the *HB* and the *AC*, mentioned above, and from Breton *Vitae* like the *Vitae Samsonis*, *Machutis* and *Pauli*, we get the idea of saints like Patrick, Gildas and Teilo actively participating in the foundation of monastic communities throughout Britain, Ireland and Brittany during the fifth and sixth centuries (cf. W. Davies 1982: 178, R. Davies 2000: 172-173). These medieval "historians" and "hagiographers" began very early to work out patterns of sanctity to apply to their own societies: *monasticism* was but one form of their interpretation of Christian ideas. The writers of the eleventh- and twelfth-century Saints' *Lives* clung to these ideals of sanctity when asserting the rights of their communities in written form. What can be perceived from the ninth-century texts onwards is that Welsh writers looked back with praise to those individuals who had supposedly lived during the fifth and sixth centuries, in the so-called 'age of the saints,'<sup>29</sup> and attributed the foundation of many of their houses to them. Therewith, they wished to underline the ancientness of their religious communities in face of the Anglo-Saxon and, later, of the Anglo-Norman churches. Monasticism, *peregrinatio* and strong ascetic practices were the traits which were mostly emphasised. These traits ended up delineating a notion of 'Britishness' which was to influence almost all layers of Welsh medieval society. The notion of 'Britishness' also appealed to Bretons on the Continent and to that generation of later Bretons who would migrate to Britain during the Norman Conquest. Breton hagiographers themselves openly attributed the foundations of many of their religious communities to Irish and, especially, insular Britons, emphasising the period of British settlement in Brittany and their common descent.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the perceptions of a connected *monastic past* led medieval scholars to construct a *romantic* idea of a *Celtic* church that supposedly shared *Celtic* practices.<sup>30</sup> The main emphasis was placed on the origins and features of *monasticism* in Wales, Brittany and Ireland. Louis Gougaud, for example, discussed *Celtic* hagiography

---

<sup>29</sup> Term employed in: Chadwick, N. (1961) *The Age of the Saints in the Early Celtic Church*. London: Oxford University Press.

<sup>30</sup> Connected to the idea of a shared "Celtic" monasticism was, among other themes, the development of studies on the settlement of the "Britons" in Armorica and the importation of monastic practices from the British Island to the Continent. For the Breton settlement, see: De la Borderie 1883: 460-481, Loth 1883, Bowen 1944: 16-28, *idem* 1977, Chadwick 1969, McNeill 1974, Fleuriot 1980, 1987a and 1987b, Chédeville & Croix 1993, Merdrignac 1993a: 13-16, Kerlouégan 1993: 7-12, Irien 1994: 56-69, Largillière 1995, Rio 2000. For a criticism of the research methods by modern Breton historians, see Guillotel 1981: 350-357, *idem* 2002a: 35-48 and 2002b: 343-359.

and the ‘decline of Celtic Particularism’ (Gougaud 1932: 56, cf. also 386-425), placing much importance on the words of Jacques Chevalier that summarise the view of that generation and deserve, therefore, to be quoted in full:

Celtic Christianity, sombre and forbidding in aspect, often violent and of mixed nature, reveals itself, on closer acquaintance, as animated throughout by *the love of nature and of native country*, by a winning familiarity with our ‘unknown brothers’, animals or angels, and by *ardent passion* for spirituality [my emphasis] (Chevalier 1914; in Gougaud 1932: 56).<sup>31</sup>

Modern scholarship has adamantly opposed to this *Celtic* approach. Robert Davies (2000), for example, strongly criticised the use of the term ‘Celtic’ in the study of the characteristics of the religious communities in Wales, Ireland and Brittany. According to him and in regard to Wales specifically

[t]o talk of a ‘Celtic’ church is to overestimate its similarities with the early Irish church, whereas the differences are almost as marked. It is also to overemphasize the individuality of the Welsh church: many of the features which are often characterized as distinctively ‘Celtic’ are in fact common enough in other parts of the medieval church (Davies 2000: 172-173).

Wendy Davies, moreover, called into question the reality of monastic institutions in Wales. She pointed out that romantic views of a *Celtic* church, such as Chevalier’s and Gougaud’s, “spanning Celtic areas, with its own institutional structure and special brand of spirituality” (Davies 1982: 141) may have influenced the idea of a strong monasticism in Wales, which indeed can only be satisfactorily proven to have taken place in Ireland.<sup>32</sup> She recognised, nonetheless, that there were some hints in early British literature pointing to the existence of *monks* working in Wales such as Bede’s reference to the massacre of the *monks* of Bangor back in the seventh century and Asser’s reference to the community of St. David’s and its bishop in his *Life of King Alfred* (ibidem). These sources do not, however, provide any further evidence to the real *character* of early monasticism in Wales. It must be borne in mind, consequently, that not everything about the early period of monasticism to which the later Saints’ *Lives* point corresponds to the real situation of monastic organisation at the beginning of its establishment in Wales. Most of the time the portrayal of the society the eleventh- and twelfth-century writers provide can very plausibly be viewed as reflections of contemporary practices in Welsh ecclesiastical organisation. They are not true testimonies to a reality sixth hundred years earlier than theirs, although it is possible that they may reflect some traditional

---

<sup>31</sup> In his bibliography, Gougaud classified Chevalier’s article as an “authoritative survey,” with “judicious reasoning” (See his *Introduction*, p. liii).

<sup>32</sup> Among the defenders of the strength of ‘Celtic monasticism,’ see for example John Thomas McNeill: ‘The monastic ideal was soon to lay hold of the British church so strongly that a century after Ninian *all* British churchmen of note were monks, including those who were also bishops’ (McNeill 1974: 35) [my emphasis].

historical accounts. This takes us exactly to the question of the contemporary events which might have influenced the composition of the Saints' *Lives* and the compilation of the *Vespasian* legendary.<sup>33</sup>

### **II.3.3 The historical context for the *production* of the eleventh- and twelfth-century Welsh Saints' *Lives***

Some scholars have considered the appearance of the eleventh- and twelfth-century Saints' *Lives* in Wales mostly as a reaction to the swift encroachment of the Normans on Welsh property and lands from the time of the Norman Conquest of England onwards. To keep a firm hand on ecclesiastical structure was part of the agenda of the Norman Conquest. It was politically essential to subjugate the churches in England and Wales at the very beginning of the process of Conquest, not only because churches were a valuable source of wealth, but also because extensive areas of land came under the churches' direct or indirect sway. Their control would consequently help in the Norman settlement process in both countries. The Normans also seem to have believed that they had some sort of obligation to spread the recent papal reforms throughout their recently conquered lands (cf. Davies 2000: 182-183, Padel 2000: 37-38, Bartlett 1983: 598-613, Wade-Evans 1944: ix-x, Tatlock 1939: 345-65).<sup>34</sup>

One of the first moves of the Normans towards ecclesiastical control was the appointment of new representatives to the most important ecclesiastical centres in Britain. It was due to the ambition of these nominees that a rapid transformation in the Welsh religious practices took place. New diocese boundaries were delineated and ecclesiastical property was reduced or enlarged according to the interests of Norman barons and ecclesiastics, especially in the period from the 1090s to the 1120s under William II.<sup>35</sup> Some important church endowments that changed the Welsh ecclesiastical map were, for instance, the acquisition of the former states and income of the monastery of Llancarfan in the region of Glamorgan and those of Llanbadarn Fawr in Ceredigion by the abbey of St Peter's in Gloucester; the Abbey of Tewkesbury in Gloucestershire also acquired a great amount of land, churches and their tithes

---

<sup>33</sup> Comments on the monastic practices in pre-Norman Wales can be found in Thompson 1947: 91-111. For an archaeological discussion of the so-called 'Monastic cities' in Wales, see Butler 1978: 458-467. See, also, Chadwick 1958, Cowley 1977, W. Davies 1992: 33-40, Irien 1994: 56-69.

<sup>34</sup> By "recent papal reforms," I mean the reforms instituted mostly during the papacy of Pope Gregory VII's (1073-1085), such as compulsory celibacy among the clergy and the attacks on simony. For Gregory VII's papacy and the Gregorian reforms, see Cowdrey 1998. For papal reforms in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, see Blumenthal 1998.

<sup>35</sup> On the Norman Conquest of England and the Norman advance in Wales, see W. Davies 2003, Bates 1989: 851-880, R. Davies 1987, Barlow 1983, and Douglas 1969.

from the great Norman lord Robert fitz Hamo in the Vale of Glamorgan (cf. Davies 2000: 181, Pelteret 1997: 178, Ward 1981: 437).

Saints' *Lives* were, consequently, prominent among the written texts in which battles over diocesan or metropolitan disputes would be reflected. The other texts which helped to corroborate or deny claims to political and ecclesiastical control were the (pseudo-)historical documents contemporary to this hagiographical production, like Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* or William of Malmesbury *De gestis regum Anglorum*.<sup>36</sup> The assertions found in the Welsh Saints' *Lives* examined in this thesis are manifold: some of them praise the Norman organisation in a flattering tone, others reaffirm ancient claims to land property due to the discontent caused by the newly-arranged land boundaries, while others, moreover, emphasise the ancientness of local saints and their cult sites, wittily perceiving the threat caused by an alien people who themselves venerated other saints. It was in the search for the traditions hidden in forgotten charters and biographies of saintly founders that the Welsh ecclesiastics or even the newly Anglo-Norman appointees would go back to the ancient association between Welsh saints and secular lords to remind the newcomers of both venerable saints' and kings' traditions and to emphasise the respect of these as guarantors of ecclesiastical properties and rights. The organisation of the churches in Wales praised the continuous development of Christianity ascribed to the first missionaries who reached the island in the fourth or early fifth centuries. It credited the foundation of many of its monastic communities to the saints of the "age of the saints," mentioned previously. It also, crucially for the analysis of Welsh monastic practices, propagated ancient customs that were condemned by the eleventh-century reformers in Europe, like clerical marriage.<sup>37</sup> The mother churches in Wales seem to have included an abbot and a group of canons who lived as secular clerks sharing a common income. Some of these secular clerks were married and passed their property hereditarily to their children. This hereditary structure favoured the development and maintenance of clerical dynasties, whose organisational heads did not differ from lay potentates in the Welsh society. Both power groups possessed and administered their lands and retinues in similar ways, aiming at expansion and trying to secure their own land boundaries (cf. Davies 2000: 175-176, Pearson 2003: xx, xxiii-xxiv). Along with clerical

---

<sup>36</sup> Hammer, J. (ed.) (1951) *Geoffrey of Monmouth Historia Regum Britanniae – A variant version edited from manuscripts*. Cambridge (Massachusetts): The Mediaeval Academy of America. See also: Wright, N. (ed. and trans.) (1991) *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer. Henceforth HRB. Mynors, R, Thomson, R., and Winterbottom, M. (ed. and trans.) (1998) *William of Malmesbury's Gesta Regum Anglorum – The History of the English Kings*. Vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Henceforth DG.

<sup>37</sup> See footnote 34 above.

marriage, the consecration of bishops was another crucial problem for the Normans. The bishops in Wales just like those in Ireland and Scotland did not require a metropolitan for their consecration. They were, apparently, consecrated by the community of the other bishops in the earlier Welsh ecclesiastical structure. The churches were monastic and not hierarchical, being directly dependent on papal power (cf. Irien 1994: 56-69, Davies 2000: 189).<sup>38</sup>

At the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth centuries, the Anglo-Norman church of Canterbury began to affirm its metropolitan claims to the control of *all* other British dioceses. Canterbury's was a long standing claim that was brought to the surface again due to the military success of some Anglo-Norman barons in Wales. Lanfranc (1070-1089) and Anselm (1093-1109), the first two Norman-appointed archbishops of Canterbury, would not only try to assert Canterbury's claims – by affirming that Canterbury was the mother-church of the *whole* of Britain – but also demand that the bishops of the churches in Wales be consecrated by them. This had stronger implications than perhaps expected. It led to quarrels with York, whose see had similar aspirations in England and it exerted a strong influence on the organisation of the churches in Wales afterwards (cf. Richter 1976: 29, Gillingham 2003: 208). Anselm of Canterbury suspended both bishops Herewald of Llandaff (1059-1107) and Wilfrid of St. David's (? – 1115) and put Norman nominees in their places. St. David's and Llandaff were very important Welsh religious communities with claims of long ecclesiastical traditions. In 1107 Urban (d. 1134), a Welsh priest from the diocese of Worcester, was appointed bishop of Llandaff. He professed (attested) canonical obedience to the archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>39</sup> On the same lines, Bishop Bernard (1115-1147) was appointed by Henry I to preside over the see of St. David's,<sup>40</sup> while some other appointments were also made in other parts of the country.

Urban of Llandaff and Bernard of St. David's, although both had sworn fealty to the see of Canterbury, began one of the most interesting ecclesiastical disputes in the history of Britain. Their interests began to clash with those of Canterbury some time after their appointments.

---

<sup>38</sup> For the period between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries, see Cowley 1977.

<sup>39</sup> “*Ego Urbanus electus et a te consecrandus Clamorgatensis Ecclesiae antistes, quae in Walis sita est, canonicam obedientiam tibi promitto, et omnibus successoribus tuis tibi canonice succedentibus, on Anselme, Sanctae Dorobernensis Ecclesiae Archiepiscopo, et totius Britanniae Primas*” (Reg. Prior. et Convent. Cant. No. I, Haddan and Stubbs, Vol. I, p. 303).

<sup>40</sup> “*Ego Bernadus Ecclesiae Sancti Andreae et Sancti David, quae in Guualis est, electus, et a te, Reverende Pater Radulfe, sancte Cantuariensis Ecclesie Archiepiscopo et totius Britanniae primas, antistes consecrandus, tibi et omnibus successoribus tuis tibi canonice succedentibus debitam et canonicam obedientiam et subjectionem me exhibiturum fore profiteer*” (Reg. Prior. et Convent. Cant. No. I, Haddan and Stubbs, Vol. I, p. 307).

They came to control two Welsh dioceses that had already had a long history of territorial disputes and that had both produced the first known pieces of Welsh hagiography (cf. Loth 1894: 81-82, Thompson 1947: 93-103, W. Davies 1973: 337-338, R. Davies 1987: 179-192). The *Life* of St. David by Rhygyfarch – himself the son of Sulien, an earlier bishop of St. David's (d. 1091) – and that of St. Cadog by Lifris – son of the suspended bishop Herewald of Llandaff – were largely products of these diocesan early disputes over the control of small religious communities in neighbouring regions. Both *Lives* date back to the very end of the eleventh century and strongly influenced the production of hagiographical material and (pseudo-)historical documents in Wales as well as in the border regions afterwards. In the years following the nomination of these two bishops, St. David's was not only going to claim control over the churches dedicated to its patron-saint, David, but also to extend its claim to the north into the region of Cardigan, to Llanbadarn Fawr, where St. Padarn was venerated. Llandaff, in its turn, incorporated the churches whose venerated saints were Cadog and Illtud, i.e. Llancarfan and Llantwit Major, respectively. Urban and Bernard soon got involved in these territorial disputes, trying to protect their communities against the threats imposed to the properties associated with their houses not only by Welsh rulers but also by strong Norman barons in south Wales.

The period right after Bernard's and Urban's appointments corresponds to the first decades of the twelfth century. This period is responsible for the *production* and *réécriture* of important Saints' *Lives* which entail not only ecclesiastical but also political matters of a *cultural nationalistic* direction (cf. Gillingham 1990: 101), as it were, by the incorporation of historical or historicised characters in the anecdotes which they embody. The idea of "Welshness" (from the Latin *Britannicus*) in opposition to "Anglo-Normanness" began to be delineated. Gradually, Bernard's claims against Canterbury comprised affirmative distinctions in language, origins and customs between both peoples (cf. Richter 1976: 37-43). This is worth emphasising, because it discloses a change of focus from the ninth-century and tenth-century notion of a pan-Britishness to one of "Welshness," triggered by a third and alien element: the Normans. While Anglo-Norman ecclesiastics, such as Lanfranc in his attempt to claim superior status to Canterbury as the one and only British see, were working on notions of Britishness, an opposite move towards "Welshness" was being delineated. This can still be perceived some thirty to fifty years later, when the literary production about the British past, like Geoffrey of Monmouth's *HRB*, sets out as a counter-history to the view of Anglo-



Norman historians and hagiographers of the Welsh as a barbarian people.<sup>41</sup> In an undated letter addressed to Pope Innocent II (1130-1143), Bishop Bernard, in his defence of the primacy of St. David's in Wales, highlighted the distance between Canterbury and Wales, asserting the differences between the Welsh and the Anglo-Normans in terms of race, language, laws, customs, judgement and traditions.<sup>42</sup>

Urban, moreover, although recognising Llandaff's subjection to Canterbury, was not prevented from making open complaints about the disregard with which the Norman barons treated his church's properties (cf. W. Davies 1976: 58). The emphasis seen in *some* of the Saints' *Lives* on a shared Welsh and Breton past is an extension of the ninth-century idea of Britishness transmitted by texts such as the *HB* and the *AC*. It most probably appealed to the Bretons newly instated by the Normans to the control of some religious communities or secular properties in Wales and in England (cf. Dumville 1983: 152-154).<sup>43</sup> This notion of pan-Britishness differs, however, from that used by Lanfranc in that it sought to exclude the English from British history and incriminate their invasion of the island. Arthur was, for example, in this respect, a pan-British hero and his appearance in documents of this period as a historical figure attests to the Welsh search for this common British identity. In my opinion, *cultural nationalism* is a crucial term to the understanding of the production of Saints' *Lives* during this period in Britain and in Europe, however strong this production may have been connected to changes in the Welsh religious thoughts. One of the results of the attempts of the Roman Church to unify the doctrine, law and cult throughout Europe from the eleventh century onwards was to call attention to the differences among religious communities in Europe. Contrasting cultural backgrounds were soon emphasised by local communities as *ethnic* differences. In fact, they reflected the development and organisation of new political

---

<sup>41</sup> For the Welsh as a barbarian people in the words of William of Malmesbury, of the anonymous writer of the *Gesta Stephani* and, also, in the words of Orderic Vitalis, see Gillingham 1990: 99-118, esp. 106-108. My own position as to the purpose of Geoffrey's *HRB* follows that of John Gillingham's that the *HRB* was *not* simply a parody of current ecclesiastical practices in order to exalt non-monastic life styles (cf. Flint 1979), or written solely "for literary effect" (Lloyd 1939: 528), or even that Geoffrey's goal was to provide a humorous account of Welsh and English ecclesiastical pretensions (cf. Brooke 1958). In his article, Gillingham convincingly argues that Geoffrey intended to provide an answer to the contemporary condemnations of English, Anglo-Norman and Norman writers on the Welsh and their cultural background, that is, the *HRB* was concerned with *cultural nationalism*. This view fits best the thematic of the contemporary historical and hagiographical material written in Wales and in England. The phrase *cultural nationalism* helps to avoid notions of the growth of *nationalism* which permeated the works of Galfridian scholars in the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. For this, see Warren 1973: 153-155.

<sup>42</sup> "[...] *populos nostre provincie natione, lingua, legibus et moribus, iudiciis et consuetudinibus discrepare.*" [...] the people of our province [i.e. Wales] *differ* in race, language, laws and customs, judgement and traditions (the Anglo-Normans) [my translation]. Quoted from Richter 1976: 43.

<sup>43</sup> For the Bretons living in England and/or Wales during the Norman Conquest, see Keats-Rohan 1990: 157-172.

ties in Europe and, in this sense, Welsh ecclesiastics were not behind their English and Continental neighbours in trying to emphasise the cult of specific Welsh saints and their communities (cf. Davies 2000: 15-16, Davies 2003: 233-241, Brown 2003: 4).<sup>44</sup> Politics and cultural awareness are interconnected elements in the history of the gradual conquest of Welsh and English lands by the Normans. The Welsh seem to have become more aware of their own native laws in opposition to those of the Anglo-Normans with the attempts by the latter to assert control over the Welsh dioceses and over Welsh secular society, which began after their conquest of Welsh territory, especially in South Wales (cf. Charles-Edwards 1989: 10-11).<sup>45</sup> Thus, we have a situation in which the Welsh became gradually conscious of the differences between them and their neighbours not only in terms of the authority of the churches in Wales, but also in terms of their legal system.

Finally, another view to the appearance of Saints' *Lives* in Wales from the eleventh century onwards was offered by Wendy Davies, who thought that the emphasis on property and rights in the Welsh Saints' *Lives*, especially in the *Life* of St. Cadog, was part of an early preoccupation among Welsh ecclesiastics, not so much with the Norman appropriations of land but, instead, with the native aristocracy and its disregard for ecclesiastical property and rights. In fact, all of these factors might have contributed, together, to the revival of the hagiographical writings in Wales at that time (cf. Davies 1981: 516, 527). Indeed, the *composite character* of many of the *Lives*, with the authors drawing on early material as sources for their narratives, disclose several contrasting religious and political conceptions fixed in one and the same hagiographical compilation.

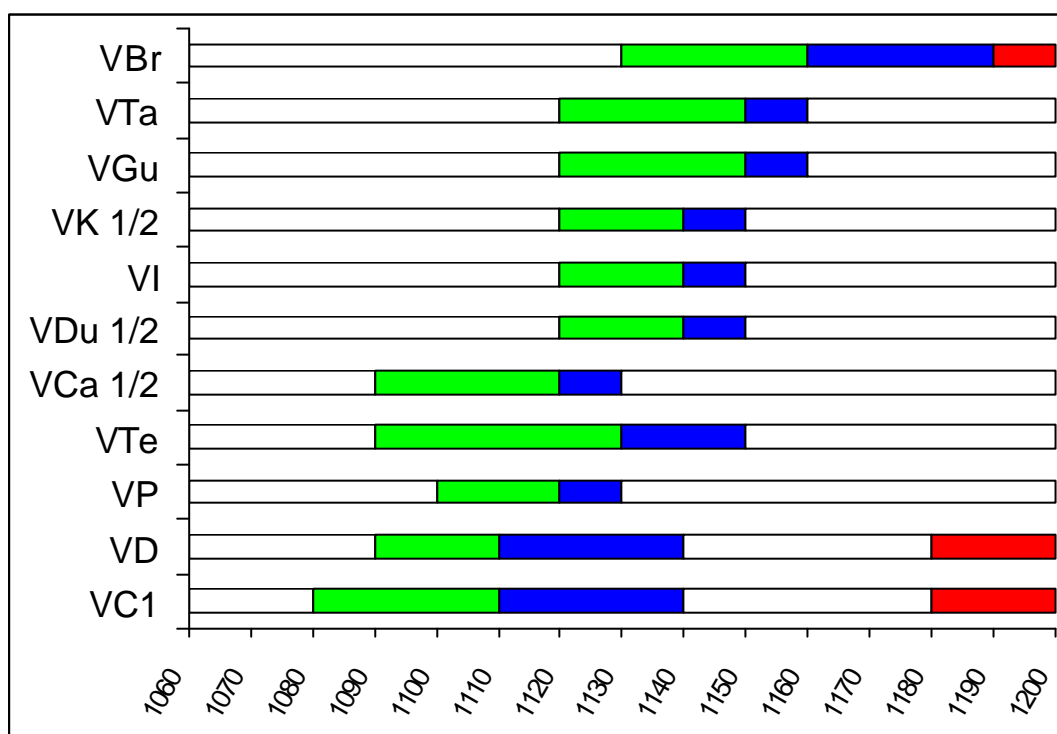
From the writings of the first Welsh *Lives* to the production of the *Vespasian* legendary in ca. 1200, the events in the reigns of three Anglo-Norman kings and their relations to the Church in Wales leave much room open to speculations about the textual response and the question of the texts' mutual horizontal influence. As the following figure on the chronology of the

---

<sup>44</sup> For a discussion of medieval "identity" and also of concepts of "ethnicity," see Geary 1983: 15-26.

<sup>45</sup> According to Thomas Charles-Edwards (1989: 10-11): "Some awareness of the separate individuality of Welsh legal tradition [...] must have existed for centuries. There had long been frontier regions in which Welsh and English law operated side by side [...]. The existence of the frontier between the English and the Welsh ensured that the Law of Hywel would be an aspect of the national consciousness of the Welsh." Hywel Dda was a tenth-century king of the region of Dyfed, who, after his relatives' death, acquired the rights to rule over most of Wales. The native law books, although connected to his name, survive in manuscripts dating to the thirteenth century and beyond. It is assumed, however, that there is a small core of material in the surviving manuscripts concerning public legislation which might go back to his time. The law books are concerned with punishments for state offences, compensation for crimes, public obligations towards the king, regulations of court life and so forth (cf. Jenkins 1986: xi-xv).

production and modification of the *Lives* in the *Vespasian* legendary shows, the period between the 1150s and 1200 was, conjecturally, the one which most influenced the conscious working with the texts about the Welsh saints and their deeds. Some political events in south Wales might have allowed for a period of literary flourishing, like the reign of Morgan ap Owain from 1136 to ca. 1154 at Caerleon in Glamorgan. Since the historical events of this period are relevant for my argument on the production of the legendary, I will postpone their exposition to the final and conclusive chapter of this work.



**Figure 2** The graph provides an estimate of the time when the *Vespasian* Saints' *Lives* might have been written. On the vertical axis of the graph, the abbreviations for the fourteen *Vespasian* *Lives* are given (see List of Abbreviations, sec. B of this thesis). The green bar represents the most probable time for the composition of the *Lives*; the blue bar represents the most probable time for the *changes* probably made to the original texts of the *Lives*. Finally, the red bar represents the most probable time for the changes which were done to the texts with the specific purpose of adding them to the *Vespasian* Legendary. The problem of the dating of each *Vespasian* text and the modifications they received throughout the twelfth century will be discussed in each single chapter dealing with a *Vespasian* Saint's *Life* in the coming sections of this thesis.

### II.3.4 The tradition of hagiographical studies relating to King Arthur

The traditional approach to the Arthurian material found in the Welsh *Lives* was that of comparing their portrayals of Arthur to that found in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *HRB*. In the *HRB*, Arthur is the greatest of all British kings and acquires a complete genealogy for the first time in any written document. As a consequence of the *HRB*'s influence on several writings in Wales and England in the twelfth century, most scholars tried to understand whether Arthur's appearance in the Welsh *Lives* was influenced by the *HRB* or not. This pushed into oblivion the possible influence of earlier texts on the production of the Arthurian *Lives* in the *Vespasian* legendary. Some scholars, following their pre- or post-Galfridian classification, assumed that *all* pre-Galfridian portrayals of Arthur carried *negative* connotations in opposition to Geoffrey's rather positive depiction of the king: Arthur was consequently seen as a 'tyrant' and capricious figure in all Welsh texts which had been written, supposedly, before the *HRB*.

Grant Loomis' was the first article to draw attention to an Arthurian element in the hagiographical material of Wales and Brittany. His approach to it, however, conforms to the description given above: he underscored the false assumption that pre-Galfridian portrayals of Arthur were characterised "by a certain *crudeness*" which contrasted with some of the "*refinements* which we are accustomed to date from that author [Geoffrey]" [my emphasis] (1933: 478). John Tatlock (1939), writing on the dating of the Arthurian *Lives* in the *Vespasian* legendary also emphasised the influence of the *HRB* in some of them. He affirmed that the Arthur that appears in the *Life* of Illtud, for example, "is totally unlike the *ridiculous, ill-behaved, and usually foiled* Arthur in other Welsh legends" [my emphasis] (355). While that is truly the image that some of Arthur's appearances might impinge on us, it reflects a modern evaluation of a medieval text. One cannot presuppose that the twelfth-century Welsh writers ascribed the same kind of moral evaluation to Arthur's behaviour as a modern audience does. Indeed, the analysis of the Welsh *Lives* and of earlier Welsh texts points to the opposite direction. If we closely looked at the image that Welsh and Breton hagiographers left of their saints, we would be forced to review Loomis' and Tatlock's assumptions: the saints are often ascribed "secular" characteristics – many saints are vindictive and often express the desire to punish chiefs, kings, soldiers, or whoever happens to come in conflict with them and their communities (cf. Davies 2000: 175, Henken 1991: 47-48). The texts mirror the characteristics of the heroic society in which their authors were raised:

Their [i.e. the saints'] properties and immunities were protected by the same code of privilege [...], honour [...], insult [...], and punishment [...] as that of lay society; and their right of vengeance, so central to the ethos of that society, was likewise jealously upheld in the name of the saint (Davies 2000: 175).

This characterisation confirms to which extent misunderstanding of the medieval Welsh society led to doubtful interpretation of Welsh texts. Many traits attributed to 'historical' or 'legendary' figures in charters, annals or hagiographical texts, mirror a society that had not changed much in structure until the advent of the Normans. This society does *not* seem to have condemned the attributes that their rulers or saints received in the written sources. Moreover, as will be shown in detail in the following methodological section, these attributes functioned within a scheme dictated by textual and contextual rules which justify the portrayal of secular rulers in a more "negative" or more "positive" fashion.

### III Theoretical and methodological justification

The similarities with which the secular rulers were treated in the *Vespasian Saints' Lives* and the fact that all of them seemed to be *functioning* in the same way within the encounter-episodes – i.e. that of being, mainly, the saint's *opponent* – directed my *initial* choice of undertaking a detailed analysis of these episodes' internal *structures*. This approach would allow for a better understanding of general structural trends within Welsh saintly biographies. The notion of the “functions” fulfilled by the characters was borrowed from Vladimir Propp, especially from his *Morphology of the Folktale* published in 1928.<sup>1</sup> Some of his notions seemed to be useful in explaining the structure of a few encounter-episodes, especially in the *Life* of St. Cadog, my base text. This could point, consequently, to some of these episodes' *purported* origin in folktales relating the deeds of some secular characters. According to Propp's *Morphology*, it would be possible to undertake the study of folktales according to the *functions* which each character fulfilled in them. These functions were understood in terms of the *actions* performed by the characters within the tale. For him, a structural division into functional aspects was possible since the plots were always based on the same *functions* performed by the characters.<sup>2</sup> Propp examined the way in which these functions were distributed among the *dramatis personae* and came up with the notion that the functions joined together according to specific *spheres* of actions: the sphere of action of the *villain*, of

---

<sup>1</sup> The first translation of Propp's *Morphology* into English only appeared in 1958, a fact that delayed its reception and use in Western Europe and America for some decades (cf. Propp 1968: 25-65). Propp's method was a product of the movement known as “Russian Formalism” of the 1920s and it can be seen as a consequence of the conflicts between classes that arouse during the Russian Revolution, in which attempts were made to subdue “imagination” for the sake of “form” (cf. Liberman, in Propp 1984: ix-lxxxix, Gilet 1998: 3).

<sup>2</sup> Propp (1928: 25-78) isolated thirty-one units of the folktale or, more specifically, of the wondertales which he analysed. These correspond to the *functions* that can be performed by each character. These are: I. One of the members of a family absents himself from home (absentation), II. An interdiction is addressed to the hero (interdiction), III. The interdiction is violated (violation), IV. The villain makes an attempt at reconnaissance (reconnaissance), V. The villain receives information about his victim (delivery), VI. The villain attempts to deceive his victim in order to take possession of him or his belongings (trickery), VII. The victim submits to deception and thereby unwittingly helps his enemy (complicity), VIII. The villain causes harm or injury to a member of a family (villainy), IX. Misfortune or lack is made known; the hero is approached with a request or command; he is allowed to go or he is dispatched (mediation), X. The seeker agrees to or decides upon counteraction (beginning counteraction), XI. The hero leaves home (departure), XII. The hero is tested, interrogated, attacked, etc which prepares the way for his receiving either a magical agent or helper (the first function of the donor), XIII. The hero reacts to the actions of the future donor (the hero's reaction), XIV. The hero acquires the use of a magical agent (provision or receipt of a magical agent), XV. The hero is transferred, delivered, or led to the whereabouts of an object of search (spatial transference between two kingdoms, guidance), XVI. The villain and the hero join in direct combat (struggle), XVII. The hero is branded (branding), XVIII. The villain is defeated (victory), XIX. The initial misfortune or lack is liquidated, XX. The hero returns (return), XXI. The hero is pursued (pursuit), XXII. Rescue of the hero from pursuit (rescue), XXIII. The hero, unrecognised, arrives home or in another country (unrecognised arrival), XXIV. A false hero presents unfounded claims (unfounded claims), XXV. A difficult task is proposed to the hero (difficult task), XXVI. The task is resolved (solution), XXVII. The hero is recognised (recognition), XXVIII. The false hero or villain is exposed (exposure), XXIX. The hero is given a new appearance (transfiguration), XXX. The villain is punished (punishment), XXXI. The hero is married and ascends the throne (wedding).

the *donor*, of the *helper*, of the *sought-for person*, of the *dispatcher*, of the *hero* and, finally, of the *false hero*.<sup>3</sup>

The fact that Saints' *Lives* have an underlying structure that is essentially that of traditional tales of *seeker-heroes*<sup>4</sup> allowed, at a first stage of my research, the application of some of Propp's notions in the analyses of encounter-episodes, especially in the encounter-episodes in the *Life* of Cadog. At first, Propp's method allowed for the inference that some of the episodes, by providing a rather complete structural scheme similar to that of a Proppian folktale, could have originated from secular folktales which became at some point associated with the figure of a specific saint.<sup>5</sup> As became clearer with the ongoing research, however, the role of the *villain* or of the saint's *opponent* in the encounter-episodes of most of the other Saints' *Lives* in the *Vespasian* legendary was deeply embedded, instead, in what I will call a *typological-associative* scheme or *associative typology*: the acts of a wicked secular ruler or character were understood as the emulation of the opposition to and rejection of God's plans and His sent messengers, similar to what Alan Charity referred to as the "typology of rejection, of judgement and condemnation" (Charity 1966: 148). The significance of this

---

<sup>3</sup> Propp, however, advocated that the characters' analysis should be made *not* by taking into account *who* they were but by taking into account the *actions* that they performed (cf. Propp 1928: 20-21). This disregard for the *dramatis personae* constitutes one of the greatest weaknesses of his model. Even if one accepts the idea that the actions in a tale are constant, but the actors, on the other hand, variable, one can not ignore the fact that there is a range of different semantic meanings involving a character when he/she is referred to as a king, queen, prince, witch, and so forth (cf. Dundes 1980: 35, Liberman, in Propp 1984: xxxi). Another weakness was his disregard for the language employed by the creator(s) of the tales and, consequently, for the stylistic nuances which could differentiate one tale from the other (cf. Liberman, in Propp 1984: xxx-xxxii, Gilet 1998: 3). However weak Propp's model may be in not recognising the importance of the *dramatis personae* and of the language used in the tales, he acknowledged, nonetheless, the fact that the creator of a tale "receives his material from his surroundings or from current realities," adapting them to the tale (Propp 1968: 112). This corroborates a very important premise in contemporary folklore studies – and also in contemporary hagiographical studies – of relating the texts to the culture(s) in which they were produced and consumed. Propp's acknowledgement would represent, as it were, a point of convergence between structural analyses and those analyses concerned with the *content* and/or the *context* of the tales. The discussion between *form* and *content* and, furthermore, between the *text* of a narrative and its *context* constituted indeed one of the main debates in the studies of folklore, myth and ritual during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as exemplified by the schools of Formalism, Structuralism, by the Psychological School, by the New Critics, New Historians and Deconstructionists. For an overall discussion of the textual, structural and contextual approaches: from Plato to the Formalist and Structuralist movements, the Psychological School and the Post-Structuralism and the Political Schools, see Gilet 1998: 3-42. See, also, Kellog 1989: 3-9. For the contemporary concerns of folklorists with the *language* and *context* of folktales, see Dundes 1980: 22-26, who defends the analysis of any item of folklore by considering what he calls its *texture*, its *text* and its *context*, i.e. the language employed in a specific folkloric item, its content and the specific social situation in which the item in question is employed.

<sup>4</sup> The studies by Elissa Henken (cf. Henken 1991) and Alwyn Rees (cf. Rees 1936), comparing Welsh saintly biographies to heroic folktales, corroborate this assumption. See section I of this thesis, footnote 1.

<sup>5</sup> Propp's analysis of the characters' functions in a folktale have been extended and applied to other written narratives with some degree of success (cf. Gilet 1998: 3-4). This is mostly true with medieval tales, especially in Western Europe, that have only survived in written form. Many medieval stories follow the scheme of a heroic biography and seem to have shared a common depository for themes and motifs recognisable in Propp's model (cf. Bordman 1968: 37, Davenport 2004: 17).

gradual and parallel crystallisation of a *typological-associative* model into a *hagiographical-literary* scheme opened the way to the recognition of a *tendency* in the treatment of miraculous accounts in these encounter-episodes whether they appeared in the *in vita* or in the *post-mortem* sections of the Saints' *Lives*. The miraculous interventions not only delineated the figure of the saint and his relationship to God, but also put the figures of secular rulers and characters into the mould of a *typological-associative* interpretation.

### III.1.1 Terminology

Before proceeding, however, I would like to give some explanation as to the choice of terms and/or methodological concepts introduced above: firstly, the ones that are important for the treatment of the secular characters in the Saints' *Lives*, like *folktale* and other terms adapted from Propp's and other models; secondly, those that are relevant to explain the treatment of the secular rulers within what I call a *typological-associative* scheme. This requires the very explanation of the classic concept of *typology*, and of what this concept presupposes when applied to hagiographical studies and when adapted to my methodological approach.

By *folktale* I understand a form of narration, not necessarily oral – as some would still insist today<sup>6</sup> – consisting of sequences of *episodes* that are, to different degrees of success, linked to each other by means of the *actions* performed by the characters. An important characteristic of folktales is that they are *traditional* in the sense that they have been transmitted throughout the times and have, therefore, a historical background connected to their production and dissemination (cf. Gwyndaf 1987: 78). In this respect, and very important to my discussion of secular motifs and themes in Saints' *Lives*, it must be emphasised that *folktales*, in the way that they were studied by Propp, were predominantly transmitted through the medium of *writing*, although relying on what Peter Koch and Wulf Oesterreicher coined *elaborate orality*, i.e. a style or mode of expression in a text which employs an artistic and aesthetic discourse in order to *fake* spoken utterances or situations (cf. Koch & Oesterreicher 1985: 29-31, Oesterreicher 1997: 191-197). I will return to the question of *orality* in due course. An *episode* is understood, on the other hand, as a part of a narration that consists of at least a *set* of *three* of those of Propp's functions in which due to either an *act* of villainy or

---

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, Gilet 1998: 9. Gilet defines a folktale as “an oral narrative belonging to a *non-literate* group of people” [my emphasis]. The insistence of relating folktales or, most precisely, the concept of the *folk* to illiteracy still persists today, especially in different fields of oral studies in which orality is still strongly connected with rural and illiterate or semi-illiterate groups. For a thorough discussion of the understanding of the “folk” in folkloric studies, see Dundes 1980: 1-19.



lack/insufficiency, a *response* from the hero occurs, which eventually leads to a *result*. Some *episodes*, when consisting of at least a set of *three* of the functions, as described above, may constitute a *closed group* and may be transmitted from one tale to the other, standing, therefore, independently.

Some studies in cognitive psychology and discourse analysis adopted by scholars investigating the structure of narratives reached a similar sequence for what constitutes an episode, although disagreeing in what they understood to be the main *unit of analysis*: an episode must include an *event*, a *response* and an *attempt*.<sup>7</sup> Sioned Davies, in her study of the Welsh tale 'The Lady of the Lake,' equated Propp's analysis of folktales and his *functions* to the main stages identified in studies following the approaches of cognitive psychology. These studies would provide a sequence defined in terms of 1. the protagonist's motives or reasons for his/her action(s), 2. the protagonist's carrying out of his/her plan, and 3. the consequences of the protagonist's behaviours (cf. S. Davies 1996: 339). The idea behind all these definitions is that the tale moves in a *causal* and *temporal* way. Considering the earliest trends in narratological studies, however, narrative *sequentiality* and *temporality* are *not* prerequisites for the acknowledgement of a narrative text *nor* is the emphasis on the *agent* of an episode and on his/her acts or functions relevant. Aspects, such as what has been coined "double teleology," i.e. the fact that the characters' plot and the implied author's plot also contribute to raise a text's narrativity, and the "cognitive experientiality" on the part of the reader/audience, are also of paramount importance for a present-day consideration of different types of narrative, including post-modernist literature (cf. Fludernik 1996: 108-114).<sup>8</sup> Propp does not mention the importance of the characters' *goals or purposes* or their interplay with the implied author's plotting in his analyses of folktales: folktales, in fact, lack this dynamism in

---

<sup>7</sup> For a summary of some of these psychological approaches, see Davies 1996: 335-360, esp. 338-340. For a comparison between the historical, mythological, textualist and cognitive approaches, see Sjöblom 2004: 59-72. A discussion of the choices of the main *narrative unit* can also be found in Propp's *Morphology*. There, he criticises Stith Thompson's choice of the *motif* as the "smallest element in a tale having the power to persist in tradition" (Thompson 1951: 415) for not taking into account the *transference* of motifs from one tale to the other and for failing to recognise that the final unit of division in his classification of motifs does not often represent a logical whole (cf. Propp 1968: 8-9). See also Anatoly Liberman's introduction to Propp's methods in Propp 1984: xxii-xxix.

<sup>8</sup> I follow Monika Fludernik's (1996) understanding of narrativity as a "function of narrative texts which centre on experientiality of an anthropomorphic nature" (114). Experientiality is, in her model, understood, firstly, to "combine a number of cognitively relevant factors, most importantly those of the presence of a human protagonist and her experience of events as they impinge on her situation or activities, and her emotional and physical reaction to this constellation, which introduces a basic dynamic factor." Secondly, "since humans are conscious thinking beings, (narrative) experientiality always implies and sometimes emphatically foregrounds the protagonist's consciousness. Narrativity can emerge from the experiential portrayal of dynamic event sequences which are already configured emotively and evaluatively, but it can also consist in the experiential depiction of human consciousness. Any extended piece of narrative relies on both of these building stones" (119).

their model of narrative structure (idem: 110). Nonetheless, the application of some of Propp's notions of characters' functions does *not* compromise my study of some of the episodes in Saints' *Lives*: causal and temporal connectedness still hold true of most narrative texts in the traditional analysis of Structuralists like Propp. Saints' *Lives*, with their low level of "narrativity" in the sense carried on by the latest developments on *narratological* studies render themselves, just like folktales, adaptable for studies centring on the *sequentiality* of the episodes, on the characters' *roles* and on the *chronological arrangement* of the episodes.

As regards classical *typology*, there has been much controversy in the story of this term's use by modern biblical exegetes and, also, by literary critics when applying the term to the analysis of medieval texts. Traditionally, and before it was used as a tool for interpreting medieval literature in general, typology, or the *typological* or *allegorical* level, belonged to the four-fold paradigm of medieval scriptural exegesis. The other three levels were the *literal* level or sense, the *tropological* (or moral) sense and the *anagogical* (or eschatological) sense. Behind the typological level or sense is the idea of providing a Christian hermeneutic interpretation of the Scriptures, considered as God's revelation and truth. In this sense, the *veritas* of the Scriptures is demonstrated by the fact that both the Old and the New Testaments *accord* with each other and that events or characters in the Old Testament *prefigure* or are *fulfilled* in analogous ones in the New Testament, especially, and most importantly, in Christ (cf. Réau 1955: 190, Sutherland 1975: 1, Lacy 1979: 127). In fact, the very notion of "accomplishment" or "fulfilment" in Christ permeates the New Testament. Christ Himself, according to Matthew's Gospel, asserts that he has not come "to destroy, but to fulfil" the Old Law and the prophecies of the prophets,<sup>9</sup> whereas in Luke the notion of "accomplishment" is fully emphasised.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, developing the idea of "accordance" or "concordance" between the Scriptures, the Evangelists provided concrete examples of what is currently

---

<sup>9</sup> "Nolite putare quoniam veni solvere legem aut prophetas non veni solvere sed adimplere." [Do not think that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets. I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil] (Mt 5: 17) [my emphasis].

<sup>10</sup> "Adsumpsit autem Iesus duodecim et ait illis ecce ascendimus Hierosolyma et consummabuntur omnia quae scripta sunt per prophetas de Filio hominis. Tradetur enim gentibus et inludetur et flagellabitur et conspuetur et postquam flagellaverint occident eum et die tertia resurget et ipsi nihil horum intellexerunt et erat verbum istud absconditum ab eis et non intellegebant quae dicebantur" [Then Jesus took unto him the twelve and said to them: Behold, we go up to Jerusalem; and all things shall be *accomplished* which were written by the prophets concerning the Son of man. For he shall be delivered to the Gentiles and shall be mocked and scourged and spit upon. And after they have scourged him, they will put him to death. And the third day he shall rise again. And they understood none of these things, and this word was hid from them: and they understood not the things that were said] (Lk 18: 31-34) and "Et dixit ad eos haec sunt verba quae locutus sum ad vos cum adhuc essem vobiscum quoniam necesse est impleri omnia quae scripta sunt in lege Mosi et prophetis et psalmis de me." [And he said to them: These are the words which I spoke to you while I was yet with you, that all things must needs be *fulfilled* which are written in the law of Moses and in the prophets and in the psalms, concerning me] (Lk 24: 44) [my emphasis].

called *Christian typological interpretation*, as for example, when, in Matthew, the explicit comparison between Jesus and Jonah is asserted: “For as Jonah was in the whale's belly three days and three nights: so shall the Son of man be in the heart of the earth three days and three nights.”<sup>11</sup> Paul, moreover, in several passages of his epistles, shows his typological understanding of the Old Testament and his view of the fulfilment of its *topoi* in Christ, so that the origin of Christian typological interpretation has been very often traced to him (cf. Auerbach 1938: 75, Emerson 1992: 8-9).<sup>12</sup> The notion was subsequently developed by the Church Fathers and it found in Augustine one of its strongest expounders. It is Augustine who, using strong associative imageries, crystallises the interpretation of events in the Books of Kings, Solomon and Psalms in the figure of Christ and the Church.<sup>13</sup>

The major work relating to typology applied to the interpretation of medieval literary texts is undoubtedly Erich Auerbach's ‘Figura.’ According to him, *figural* or *typological* interpretation establishes the causal connection between two events or persons that are separate in time and in which one of them, the *figura* or type, *ad-umbrates*, i.e. “forth” shadows the second one. This latter is its fulfilment, its *imago* or *umbra*. Whereas the fulfilment of most events in Christ's birth, death and resurrection is of outmost importance, behind this interpretation is also the idea of a final fulfilment in the kingdom of God, which nourishes an understanding of history which is eternal and cyclical, transcending time (cf. Auerbach 1938: 81). One of Auerbach's main arguments was that both *types* and their *antitypes* are *historical* (cf. *ibidem*: 65-67). While the relationship between them is an abstract one because their very understanding is a spiritual act, the events and persons connected in a typological way belong to a *concrete* period of time: they are real *historical* events and persons. This historical aspect, the very concreteness of the connected events, and, moreover, the fact that any moral sense remains outside the interpretation of the historical events in question are, according to Auerbach, the aspects that differentiate the figural or typological interpretation from other forms of allegorical interpretation throughout the middle ages (cf. Auerbach 1938: 77-78, Auerbach 1953: 13).

---

<sup>11</sup> “*Sicut enim fuit Ionas in ventre ceti tribus diebus et tribus noctibus sic erit Filius hominis in corde terrae tribus diebus et tribus noctibus.*” (Mt 12 : 40). I owe the attention to these Gospels' passages to Réau 1955: 193-194.

<sup>12</sup> See, for instance, the passages mentioned by Auerbach in his ‘Figura:’ Rom 5: 12-14, 1 Cor. 10: 6, 1 Cor. 11, 1 Cor. 15:21, 2 Cor. 3: 14, Gal. 4: 21, Col. 2: 16-17 and Heb. 9: 11-14.

<sup>13</sup> For instance, in his explanation of the division of the kingdom of Israel in his *Civ. Dei*, XVII, Ch. 7, Augustine affirms: “For the Old Testament, from the Mount Sinai, which genders to bondage, profits nothing, unless because it bears witness to the New Testament. Otherwise, however long Moses is read, the veil is put over their heart; but when any one shall turn thence to Christ, the veil shall be taken away.”

This differentiation between the typological interpretation and other forms of medieval allegorical interpretative methods has been shown to be very problematic. For the literary use of typology in Saints' *Lives*, Auerbach's definition must be expanded particularly because he rules out this moral implication. A series of studies on typology and its development throughout the middle ages has shown that it is, in reality, very difficult to separate a figural interpretation from its moral aspects in several medieval texts. Richard Emmerson, for example, in his study of the *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, suggested that "at least in the high and late Middle Ages [...] there was no "pure" form of typology distinct from tropology and anagogy" (Emmerson 1992: 27). He cited various examples in which typological parallels were drawn in both these works that could not be separated from the idea of man's sin or lack of trust in Christ.<sup>14</sup> In his book on typology in Dante's *Commedia*, A. C. Charity argued, moreover, for an *ethical* and *moral* imperative present in *any* typological statement, what he termed "applied typology." According to him, the Scriptures demand from the Christians a very individual involvement to the idea of salvation history, a kind of "subfulfilment" in Christ that depends on one's own Christian *attitude* towards the whole of Christian history (cf. Charity 1966: 159). In some medieval narratives, therefore, for which Charity coined the phrase "echoing narratives," the emphasis rests upon *conformity* with a Christian view of history which gives room to the discernment of ethically or morally apprehensible characters or situation even in texts that establish a dim typological association in Auerbach's sense (cf. Charity 1966: 152; cf. also Paxson 1991: 366-367).

In Saints' *Lives*, it is exactly with this "applied typology" in Charity's terms that we are concerned, a typology which renders itself as a typology of *conformity* as formulated above. The secular rulers and characters that are portrayed as the saints' opponents participate in a *typological structure* which stands due to the concept of the *imitatio Christi*. In this *typological structure*, there is no type and antitype as such but, as I want to propose, a *typological association* between the emulation of the life of Christ and the lives of the saints concerned.<sup>15</sup> The secular characters are analogously conceived, therefore, in terms of their

---

<sup>14</sup> Emmerson cites, for instance, a passage in the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* in which the narrator affirms that the sin of a Christian shall be, in a cyclical understanding of history, again responsible for Christ's crucifixion. See Emmerson 1992: 25-26.

<sup>15</sup> There is a range of terms found in the Old and New Testaments and, moreover, in early Christian exegetical tradition, which have helped form the image of God's "just" and "elected" men. In the Old and New Testaments, the "vita iusti" condensates the biblical idea of "just" men as it is to be found in Sir 44:1, Hebr 11: 32-38, and Mk 16:17-18. The idea of the "vir Dei" can be found in connection to Moses, Samuel, David, Elias and Elisha in, respectively, Deut 33:1, 1 Sam 9:6, 2 Chr 8: 14, 1 Kin 17, 18, 2 Kin 19: 16.

opposition to God's plans on earth. This opposition is, in the Biblical understanding of history, cyclical, so that from the Israelites' opposition to Moses in the Old Testament up to their opposition to Christ in the New, each event in a Saint's *Life* that emulates that of Christ's participates in this bigger *typological-associative* frame. The *imitatio Christi* on the textual level has its counterpart in the *imitatio* which is expected from a Christian audience. The individual, according to James Earl:

by conforming the patterns of his moral behaviour to the larger patterns of history, enters into a typological relationship with that history. Insofar as all good men enter into this relationship, their lives conform to a universal pattern. Thus the lives of the just are more than similar: they are, in a sense, identical (James 1975: 18).<sup>16</sup>

By analogy, the same is true of those who do *not* conform to this life pattern and who acquire, consequently, a place in a typological structure of judgement or condemnation. Both typology of conformity and its analogously functioning typology of judgement and punishment belong to the scheme which I refer variously as *associative typology* or as a *typological-associative* scheme. On the textual level of Saints' *Lives*, furthermore, both *good* and *evil* aspects are reiterated by the uses of miraculous interventions. The saints' miracles that emulate miracles in the Old and New Testament are *in essence* typological; they can be seen as "the intrusion of eternity in the flux of history" (Earl 1975: 19). By being so conventional and thoroughly attributed to different saints, they recall that transcendence of time expected from an understanding of Christian history. In this way, miracles are fundamental elements for the delineation of the *typological-associative structure* or *scheme* to which I referred previously.

I will discuss the differences in the uses of the miraculous in the Welsh Saints' *Lives* in due time, especially in their emphasis on miracles which convey the idea of *punishment* and *judgement* –which would fall into this scheme of a *typological-associative* interpretation – and miracles which convey the idea of *wonder* or *amazement* from the part of a secular character towards saintly interventions. These latter seem to be derived from local and legendary stories concerning each specific saint. This is noteworthy because it points to *how* the connection between an inherited textual structure and the heroic and/or regional folkloric

---

<sup>16</sup> As Auerbach himself called attention to, the world of interrelations brought about by means of typological interpretations permeated not only the world of medieval theologians but was also influential in and familiar to medieval laymen through the all-pervasive religious representations in iconographic medieval art in the churches, through sermons directed to this audience, and even in secular literature. See Auerbach 1945: 93 and Auerbach 1953: 7.

one, with its own structuring patterns and motifs, might have originated.<sup>17</sup> In order to make the connection clearer, I will now turn to discuss works which attempted to connect folkloric and hagiographical studies and try to establish, subsequently, a frame with which to connect their results with the idea of a typological-associative scheme which governs the uses of secular rulers and characters in the Saints' *Lives*.

### III.1.2 Hagiography and folklore

Vladimir Propp's study of folktales came to influence the works of Claude Lévi-Strauss in the early 1950s. Lévi-Strauss tried to apply a structural analysis not to the study of folktales but to the study of myths, which were his main concern. In opposition to Propp's, Lévi-Strauss' method attempted to relate the *structure* that he saw in myths with the culture(s) in which they were created.<sup>18</sup> According to Lévi-Strauss, myths were organised structurally. Their structures were similar in that they revolved around some contradiction that had to be solved. One example of such a contradiction manifested in myths would be the opposition between nature and culture (cf. Lévi-Strauss 1978). For him, the very message of myths *was* their structure and their contents were a means of conveying this structure to human beings. It was by putting so much emphasis on the structure conveyed by the mythological tales that Lévi-Strauss disregarded their process of transmission and the interplay between the mode of transmission and the message conveyed by a tale. The attempt to relate myths to the cultures in which they were produced is, however, one of his main contributions to the studies of contemporary scholars and researchers. My reference to the studies of Lévi-Strauss is necessary due to the application of reworked and improved forms of his and also of Propp's methods to the study of hagiographical material in general. This is where I would like to establish the link between the approaches and methods applied to the study of *hagiography* and those applied to study of *folklore*.<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>17</sup> The interest here lies in the *literary* accounts of these miraculous events in the Saints' *Lives* and how, through the application of literary criticism, intertextual elements between them and the Bible or between them and secular literature can be identified and analysed to demonstrate the principles of organisation of each text.

<sup>18</sup> Contrariwise to Propp, Lévi-Strauss' approach is referred to as "paradigmatic" because it is based on a series of binary oppositions allegedly underlying the folkloristic texts, such as life/death, male/female, etc. Propp's analysis, on the other hand, called "syntagmatic," follows the chronological order of events as they appear in the linear sequence within the texts (cf. Gilet 1998: 25-26).

<sup>19</sup> *Folklore* is understood here in agreement with William Heist's use of the term (cf. Heist 1981: 121-141), i.e. it is understood in its widest sense, including the study of myth, ritual and "popular culture." Moreover, the term is also understood to comprise literature delivered orally *or* in written form.

The evolution of the studies concerning hagiography were dealt with in chapter II so that here I will concentrate on the studies which attempted to make use of *structural* analyses for the assessment of Saints' *Lives* and on the extent to which they succeeded in doing so. The relationship between *hagiography* and *folklore* or between *hagiography* and *myth* was recognized very early by folklorists or myth scholars. This can be detected in much of the material found in well-known collections of folklore such as those of the Brothers Grimm or even Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*. Just to cite three examples, Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk Literature* incorporated stories associated to well-known European saints like SS. Peter, Martin, Nicholas and the Irish Patrick,<sup>20</sup> whereas the Brothers Grimm incorporated in their section of children's legends, for instance, tales which are undoubtedly hagiographical in their tones, like "The twelve apostles" (cf. Lüthi 1970: 36-37). Another example is Grant Loomis' 1948 book *White Magic – An Introduction to the Folklore of Christian legend*. Loomis tried to survey the *miraculous accounts* found in the Christian writings of Europe, making use of the Saints' *Lives* published in the Bollandists' *Acta Sanctorum*, among others collections of this kind. In order to be able to present as wide a range of miracle lore as possible, he divided the miracles into categories to try to show the analogues between the many different miraculous accounts found in those narratives. The categories he found were: the Wonder Child, the Four Elements, the Senses, Animals, Divine Foresight and Knowledge, Power over Matter, Transportation, Miraculous Growth, Taboos and Punishments, and Healing. Interestingly, some of these are very similar to the categories found in folklore studies concerning the attributes of the hero. Some of them are also reproduced in the structural scheme of Saints' *Lives*, shown previously. The miracle lore would be, according to Loomis, "relatively representative of the *folk* imagination in the Christian areas of Europe and of the near East" (Loomis 1948: 8-9) [my emphasis].

For Saints' *Lives*, the *Christian* tradition of Western Europe has to be taken into account. The work by Loomis seems to offer, in this respect, a more reliable list of motifs and themes than that Stith Thompson's because it revolves around some *Western Christian specifics* found in the material analysed. For hagiographical studies, however, motif indexes such as that of Stith Thompson and of other Finnish scholars – with their rigorous theoretical approaches to the collection of material – although illuminating of recurring themes and motifs found in a tale, do not render themselves satisfactory. Their material encompasses a wide range of texts from

---

<sup>20</sup> For St. Peter, see examples in the *Motif-Index* under L432, K18.1.2, J1263.4.2, etc. For St. Martin, see V411.8 and T362.1. For St. Nicholas, see F382.5, N816, R165.1 and V412.1. For St. Patrick, see A182.3.0.1.1, E751.3., F251.13, etc.

different periods of time. It disregards the texts' *genres* and the purposes for which they were composed. Although listing miracles which are relevant for the analyses of the Welsh Saints' *Lives*, the material does *not* distinguish between the uses of one and the same miracle in the *in vita* or the *post-mortem* sections so that episodic nuances cannot be fully grasped. Moreover, there is no reference to the connection of some of the motifs with biblical passages and their subsequent reworking by the hagiographers. Hagiographical texts were preserved in *written* form and the fixation of the text in writing underwent a series of personal choices on the part of the hagiographer and/or their editors/compiler. Although many sources for hagiographical texts may have stemmed from "oral tradition" collected, *in whatever form*, in a religious community, these were subsequently reworked and re-written by the hagiographers and the continuators of their works. These subjected their material, to different degrees of success, to their hagiographical discourse (cf. Utley 1960: 103-104).<sup>21</sup>

This leads one inevitably to the question of the purported *oral* origin of some episodes in Saints' *Lives* and to the somewhat interrelated question of the opposition between *oral* and *written* within a society. This aspect has often been thought of solely in terms of a polarisation between the folk, illiterate, and the literate majority of the clergy. Here some important works must be mentioned. In his book *Once upon a time*, Max Lüthi argued that even though fairy tales, local legend and saints' legends tended to retain the generic distinctions in the way they were structured, they dealt and worked with similar themes: they were concerned with events worth of *retelling*, which explained man and man's history or man's relation to nature.<sup>22</sup> The basic difference between them was, according to him, to whose members of society they were entrusted, their actual mode of production and transmission, and the function of these texts in society. While folktales might sometimes have been, according to him, disregarded by the clergy for their focus on secular and heroic elements, local legends and saints' legends circulating in the community were watched over by the ecclesiastics and cared for because they were a means of maintaining the saint's cult alive and of enriching it with new elements (cf. Lüthi 1970: 35-44).

Lüthi's is an interesting point for calling attention to the relationship between a monastic religious community and the faithful that sustained the cult of particular saints. However, it

---

<sup>21</sup> For instances of studies on oral sources of Saints' *Lives*, see Kerlouégan 1981: 200-201, Smith 1990: 309-343.

<sup>22</sup> Lüthi called attention to some traits which he found to be characteristic *not only* of folktales *but also* of local legends and saints' legends: the high degree of repetition, the lack of descriptive detail, the seemingly clarity of conception and the polarisation of the characters' actions (cf. Utley, in Lüthi 1970: 12-13).



does not allow for a bilateral influence in the production of legends or Saints' *Lives*, a point raised some ten years later by Edgar Slotkin in his 'Folkloristics and Medieval Celtic Philology: A Theoretical Model.' In that article, Slotkin not only recognised the well-known relationship between *folklore* and *literature* as delineated by Archer Taylor in his 'Folklore and the Student of Literature' of 1948,<sup>23</sup> but also showed how folklore itself could *imitate* literature. His examples concerned some *local legends* about St. Patrick that were, according to him, modelled on the traditional literature on the saint, the Saint's *Life* – with both its oral and written forms – that served as propagandistic material for a specific religious community.<sup>24</sup> Slotkin's study highlighted the weak distinction between *popular* or *folkloric* traditions and a higher culture or literature detained by the clergy (cf. Slotkin 1983). This weakness was also shown by studies on Breton hagiographical material and the interplay between the hagiographers and the so-called Breton "professionnels de la mémoire." These belonged, purportedly, to a class of professional *storytellers* within Breton medieval society, the professional "bearers of tradition,"<sup>25</sup> who were responsible for transmitting the traditional lore, be it historical, legendary, or both at the same time, throughout the generations.<sup>26</sup> The case of the Breton *Lives* of Saints mentioned by Bernard Merdrignac finds parallels in Irish and Welsh hagiographical material, as mentioned in II.3.2. Merdrignac's conclusion reiterates Slotkin's results as to the *Lives* of Patrick and the way in which *folkloric* and *literary* intermingles:

En effet, les traditions qu'il est d'usage de qualifier par commodité de « populaires » ou de « folkloriques » sont alors largement partagées à tous les niveaux de la société laïque. De plus un constant *mouvement de va-et-vient* s'établit entre les clercs qui recourent à des motifs folkloriques et les professionnels de la mémoire qui empruntent des thèmes issus de la culture savante (Merdrignac 1998: 114) [my emphasis].

<sup>23</sup> Taylor summarised three kinds of relationship between folklore and literature: 1. "[F]olklore is, in many cultures, indistinguishable from literature;" 2. "[L]iterature contains elements borrowed from folklore;" and 3. "[W]riters have imitated folklore." See Taylor 1948: 216-223.

<sup>24</sup> For similar results, see also Francis Lee Utley's introduction to Lüthi's *Once upon a time* in Lüthi 1970: 3-4, where he gives examples of how a modern oral tale, Griselda (Thompson's Type 887), very popular in Germany and Scandinavia, for instance, unquestionably derived from the writings of Boccaccio, Petrarch and Chaucer, whereas the "Cupid and Psyche legend," "a prolific oral tale," "existed long enough ago to give rise to a famous literary version long thought to be its ancestor," i.e. the version in Apuleius's *Golden Ass*.

<sup>25</sup> The term was employed by Joseph Nagy in his analysis of medieval Irish literature. See Nagy 1997: 4-5.

<sup>26</sup> A similar class has been described as having existed in Wales and, especially, in Ireland. The *professional* Welsh storyteller, referred to as *cyfarwydd*, had the probable task of entertaining the court and might have belonged to the privileged class of Welsh learned men. For this, see Davies 1993: 10-13. In Ireland we find the native class of learned men, the *fili*. For this, see Bray 1992. By analysing the Welsh marginalia in the Lichfield Gospels, Dafydd Jenkins and Morfydd Owen (1983) have called attention to the fact that some of the marginalia notes might suggest that the *cyfarwydd* "had not only a repertoire of history and fiction but also the function of retaining the memory of legal rights" (53).

One important historian's contribution to the discussion of the dichotomy between 'popular religion' and 'literate religion' came from Peter Brown in his book *The Cult of the Saints*. In that work, Brown argued for the Enlightenment critique of 'popular religion' to have influenced generations of historians who viewed 'popular' forms of devotion as failing to follow a normative trend, i.e. by failing to follow literate and 'purely Christian values' dictated by the Scriptures and conforming to 'vulgar' and old-fashioned 'superstitious' cultic practices. Brown tried to institute a more dynamic view of "popular" religion in that he emphasised the exchanges between 'popular' or 'illiterate' and 'literate' classes through the complicity of the 'elite' in 'superstitious' practices, especially in relation to the use of *miracles* to promote a saint's cult (cf. Brown 1981: 22). Recent studies, like Simon Yarrow's *Saints and their Communities – Miracle Stories in Twelfth Century England* have emphasised, moreover, the interactions between monasteries and the laity as being mediated through the miraculous (cf. Yarrow 2006: 13-15). This is a most important point in view of the tendency perceived in the Welsh Saints' *Lives* of employing different types of saintly miraculous interventions depending on whether the miraculous accounts appeared in connection with long established historical or pseudo-historical characters or with contemporary or almost-contemporary ones.

The distinction, therefore, between *oral* and *literary*, and even between the different literary genres can be very problematic when applied to the analysis of medieval narratives with a high level of episodic repetition. As Paul Zumthor argued, these terms draw artificial lines within fields of *discourse* which are themselves rather unlimited (cf. Zumthor 1983: 36). Saints' *Lives* follow a *hagiographical discourse* in which the episodes, themes and motifs are elaborated and structured to promote the saints' holiness. However, this discourse constantly tries to subject other culturally enhanced discourses through *negotiation*: this may produce a literary tension within a compilation made up of much discursive overlapping, such as the *Vespasian* legendary. This hagiographical discourse is highly *typological-associative* and demands from the reader/listener a *typological-associative* approach to history and to the lives of individual Christians. The very repetitive character of the encounter-episodes and the low number of different miraculous types serve to emphasise the continuities and similarities within the Christian understanding of history.<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>27</sup> See Earl 1975: 15-46.

Finally, another study worth mentioning is James Doan's 'A Structural Approach to Celtic Saints' Lives.' Doan tried to make use of Propp's, Lévi-Strauss' and Slotkin's structural analyses to examine four Welsh and Breton Saints' *Lives*: the '*Life*' of St. Germanus as it appears in the *Historia Brittonum*, Rhygyfarch's *Life* of St. David, the Breton *Life* of St. Samson of Dol and the *Life* of St. Gildas, written by a monk of the monastery of Rhuys in Brittany. Doan was interested in the conflicts between the saints and the secular rulers, which he interpreted as deriving from oral traditions of *Christian* and *pagan* origins. He identified the cults of some of the studied saints with ancient pagan cults and interpreted, *structurally*, the conflicts between the secular potentates and the saints in terms of an opposition between "the old pagan religion and the new Christian one" (Doan 1983: 25). I do *not* agree with Doan's subjecting the conflicts between the saints and the secular rulers to the mere opposition between Christianity and paganism: he disregards the historical *context* in which these texts were produced, showing a complete unawareness of the early Christian history of Wales. Differently from the situation in Ireland, for example, one cannot assume for Wales such a polarity between Christianity and paganism, especially when considering texts that were written in the ninth century (at the earliest) when no such antagonism would be expected from a society then converted to Christianity for about four or five centuries. His study, moreover, did not attempt to explain the hagiographers' choice of characters or to relate it to the contemporary literary production containing relevant parallels to these conflicting encounters.

I assume that it is possible to apply a methodological approach in which both the *structure* of the Saints' *Lives* – with the aspects proper to their genre – and their *contents* can be analysed in terms of the historical *context* in which they were produced. In the traditional scholarly analysis of these Welsh Saints' *Lives*, the important aspect of their texts built within a hagiographical discourse, and, most importantly, within a *typological-associative* scheme – which also plays a role in conditioning the uses and choices of representative secular rulers – has been disregarded for the sake of historical analyses that underscored these texts' political uses. While I do not deny the political uses of these texts in the ecclesiastical politics of Wales at that time, I argue that a valuable understanding of the *Vespasian* legendary as a whole would be gained by not only examining the purposes of the collection subjected to an specific historical moment but also its hagiographical aspects in more detail. As will be shown, my research allows a new reading of the legendary through the consideration of the *literary* religious attitude of the Welsh in face of an alien model brought with the Norman

colonisation. The consideration of the legendary as a whole – as a *collective literary enterprise* which considers the works not only of the first hagiographers but also those of their successors – helps, moreover, to overcome the vexatious question of the accretive evolution of the text through, perhaps, several decades of development in the cases of some of the *Lives* in *Vespasian*. In the analysis of each Saint's *Life*, therefore, while the question of dating and authorship shall be tackled, the most relevant aspect considered is the structuring of the encounter-episodes, their reelaboration of biblical passages within a *typological-associative* scheme or the way in which putative secular themes and motifs are adapted to the hagiographical discourse of each text.

### III.1.3 The *miraculous* as a connecting element

The key to understanding how the exchanging relations between secular and religious elements took place on the textual level of the Saints' *Lives* analysed seems to lie in their *miraculous* accounts. It is my contention that conflicting meanings arise in the description of encounter-episodes within the text of one and the same Saint's *Life* through the parallel and contrasting occurrence of *in vita* and *post-mortem* miracles. In Dorothy Ann Bray's study of miracles and wonders in early Irish Saints' *Lives*, she called attention to the possibility of exploring the compositional principles of Irish Saints' *Lives* as displayed in the *structure*, *configuration* and use of *miracle stories* (Bray 2003: 143). Bray suggested that the image of the saint is formed and constantly reiterated in these kinds of miraculous-formulaic episodes. This can be very neatly applied to the analysis of the Welsh Saints' *Lives* in the *Vespasian* legendary: all the direct encounters between secular rulers and saints in these *Lives* are linked, to different degrees, to miraculous accounts. It is normally after the saint's performance of a miraculous deed that the king and his retinue are made to repent of their sins.

When one thinks in terms of the conventionality and repetition of one and the same miracle for different saints conditioned by a *typological-associative* reading of the *Life* of a saint, one perceives how miracles can be seen as the connecting elements between the textual and contextual levels of a Saints' *Life*: it is through the concept of the *miraculous* that the narrative works to *unbalance* the motifs and the textual coordinates of a Saint's *Life*. The constant repetition of structurally and thematically similar miracles in the *in vita* sections is part of a *textual strategy* which searches to transmit a basic *pattern* of encounter(s) between a religious and a secular character. It emphasises the virtues of the saint as protector of the

interests of his community and his/her superiority over secular potentates. Analogously, and within this same *typological-associative* scheme, it also forms the image of the secular potentates as the saints' opponents, as explained previously. This pattern is, consequently, symbolically *transmitted* within the culture it relates to. However, this "transmission" does not happen smoothly: it requires a *negotiation* of meanings on both the level of the text itself and, also, on the level of the final product, the legendary.

On the textual level, there is, for Saints' *Lives*, the question of the work of the continuators and adaptors, mentioned above, and which relates – or which may relate – to the accretions of *post-mortem* sections, for example, into the bulk of an already existing material on a specific saint. These accretions, differently from re-writings of entire Saints' *Lives* – establish a *horizontal* conflict dictated by the overlapping of contrasting religious views, mediated in their turn, by the miraculous. There seems to be a higher degree of freedom from the hagiographer's part in his uses and description of secular characters when these are inserted in the *post-mortem* sections of some Saints' *Lives*. It is in these sections that contemporary or almost-contemporary events are translated into the hagiographical discourse, whereas in the bulk of the text of the Saint's *Life*, in the *in vita* section, minor conflicts between the saint and secular rulers are described by the text's following of a generic structure that is more difficult to be "unbalanced."

The *in vita* sections of the Welsh *Lives* provided the models, as it were, for the secular characters in the *post-mortem* sections by their incorporation of purportedly fifth- or sixth-century kings such as Arthur, Maelgwn of Gwynedd, Gildas' father Caw, and so forth. The *in vita* sections felt the strong constraints of Christian models borrowed from Biblical accounts. In this sense, the textual structure governs the scene and the depicted characters belong to a *typological-associative* structure or scheme in which they are the necessary analogous evil figures to the good saints or, to put it in Proppian words, they *function* in the same way: they are *villains* who oppose the powers of the saint. The repetition of specific miracles functions, therefore, as an *exemplum* with the restricted narrative elements putting in relief the antagonism between the saints and the secular characters. The fate of the secular characters in the *post-mortem* sections, on the other hand, points to the approximation of these sections to the world of the hagiographers and their audience. *Post-mortem* sections, due to their closing position in the narrative of a saint's deeds, have the intrinsic characteristic of being a rather "open" section in which room for contemporary addition or "updating" was left. It is not

therefore without significance that the twelfth century witnessed a rise in the collection of posthumous miracles and the subsequent production of miracle collections to foster the cult of saints within the communities in which they were venerated. All throughout Western Christendom posthumous miracles were not only recorded to strengthen the faith and convince unbelievers of the intercession of particular saints but also to promote their cults and function as advertisements of their shrines (cf. Ward 1982: 20-32).<sup>28</sup> In situation of conquest and colonisation the uses of posthumous miracle collections or lists are multifaceted and all the influencing factors that moulded their final production very difficult to be grasped. On the level of the legendary, of the final product, therefore, there also arises a tension – we might call it a *vertical* tension – through the necessity, as it were, to *negotiate* with other contemporary textual monuments another pattern for the exchanges between religious and secular characters within Welsh culture(s).

Scholars concerned with hagiography, in discussing the differences of these two sections in Saints' *Lives*, have mostly emphasised the difference in the conception of *time* between the two kinds of miracle accounts, emphasising that the miracles isolated within a *Life* had the permanent dimension of an *exemplum*, whereas the second group, the miracles in the *post-mortem* sections or in collections of miracles tended to approximate hagiography and historiography, once they were bound to the historical time of the saints' cults and sanctuaries (cf. Heinzelmann 1981: 235-259, Goullet 2005: 26-27). This seems to be true and seems to allow, moreover, for an appreciation of the contemporary reluctance, as it were, to portray specific kinds of miracles in some of these narratives when the events related have a more straightforward impact – due to their relative closeness in time – on the lives of the writers and of their audience.

But what is then the place of the *Vespasian* legendary in the context of this changing attitude towards miracles and saints' cults? That the historical context of the encroaching Norman administration in Welsh monasteries was responsible for much of the production of Saints' *Lives* in south Wales during this period, as described in section II. 3.3., is not to be denied. However, how is the *religious* attitude of the Welsh hagiographers to be understood within this historical context? The very structure and ordering of the *Lives* in the *Vespasian* legendary point to an incipient changing attitude in the Welsh understanding of miracles. This

---

<sup>28</sup> Martin Heinzelmann and Karl Herbers emphasised the fact that the production of miracle stories, from the early middle ages onwards, distanced itself gradually from the theoretical conceptualisation of miracles to more practical reasons connected to the promotion of a saint's cult (cf. Heinzelmann 2002: 19).

will be understood after the analyses of all the *Lives* and their ordering into the legendary. The *Lives* and their treatment of secular rulers are decisive to an unveiling of the place of this legendary in the context of Welsh religious production during the twelfth century.

One last aspect related to the use of miraculous accounts in the encounter-episodes in the *Vespasian* legendary must still be mentioned: the Latin terms employed by the hagiographers of the different *Lives*. In this regard, it is highly significant that the different conceptions in the uses of the miraculous in the Welsh *Lives* are *not* reflected in the choice of specific words to designate a miraculous intervention. *Miraculum*, *signum* and *prodigium* are employed synonymously in the episodes relating to secular characters.

Finally, the “historical” information on the secular characters studied here was taken not only from the Welsh chronicles and *historiae* but also from the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman ones. The use of quotation marks for the word “historical” reflects the scholarly doubts on the utilization of some of the sources as valid *historical* material and, consequently, the debate on the veracity of the medieval *historiae*. The comparison between the Welsh and Anglo-Saxon and/or Anglo-Norman sources throws light not only on the cross-cultural influences in the literature current in South Wales, in the Welsh marches and in England during the period studied, but also on the fame that some of the Welsh characters acquired in some courts across the border. The dating of the historical events referred to in this work is that adopted in the works of J. E. Lloyd (cf. Lloyd 1948) and R. R. Davies (cf. Davies 1987), taking into account their important contribution to the research of Welsh medieval history. Whenever a source lacks dates or whenever the dates given by the editors are of a problematic nature, square brackets are used.

## **III.2 The material**

### **III.2.1 The corpus – the eleventh- and twelfth-century Welsh Saints’ *Lives* in the manuscript of the British Library *Cotton Vespasian A. xiv***

The material analysed in this thesis comprises eleventh- and twelfth-century Welsh Saints’ *Lives* contained in the manuscript of the British Library *Cotton Vespasian A. xiv*. The manuscript will be fully described in what follows and each *Life*, in its turn, will be described in detail in separate chapters. The fourteen *Lives* under consideration are of the following saints (in their order of appearance in the manuscript): i. St. Gwynllyw (f. 13); ii. St. Cadog

by Lifris (f. 17); iii. St. Illtud (f. 43v); iv. St. Teilo (f. 52); v. St. Dubricius (f. 56); vi. St. David by Rhygyfarch (f. 61); vii. St. Dubricius by Benedict of Gloucester (f. 71); viii. St. Brynach (f. 77); ix. St. Padarn (f. 80v); x. St. Clydog (f. 84v); xi. St. Cybi (f. 86); xii. St. Tatheus (f. 88v); xiii. St. Carannog (f. 93); xiv. St. Cybi (f. 94v).

Two *Lives*, the *Lives* of SS. Aedh (f. 96v) and Brendan (f. 104v), are also found in this collection. They are of Irish origin and do not pertain to an analysis of Welsh hagiographical material. The *Life* of St. Brendan is not even listed by the main hand in the contemporary list of contents at the beginning of the collection and shall only be dealt with when similarity in the treatment of miraculous accounts in relation to secular characters can be perceived. The *Life* of St. Aedh, on the other hand, seems to have formed part of the original compilation and shall be referred to when necessary, although not receiving a chapter of its own. Its presence in *Vespasian* is part of that collective enterprise mentioned previously and reflects the interest(s) of the medieval twelfth-century Welsh compiler(s) for its text in the course of the preparation of the legendary. Differently from St. Brendan, who is never mentioned in any of the other *Lives* in the *Vespasian* legendary, Aedh figures in the *Life* of St. David by Rhygyfarch as one of David's Irish disciples. He is said to have accompanied him in one of his journeys to found religious settlements in Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire.<sup>29</sup> He also seems to have been associated with SS. Cadog and David as their companion in founding monasteries in Ireland (cf. Baring-Gould & Fisher 1907: 16-26). In fact, Irish saints appear in most of the Saints' *Lives* in *Vespasian* as either the masters of many of the Welsh saints or as their disciples. This reflects the recognition of the importance of Irish monastic practices to Welsh ecclesiastics.

Welsh *Lives* found in other manuscripts or hagiographical collections, like the *Lives* of SS. Cadog and Gildas by Caradog of Llancarfan, to cite only two examples, also receive due attention. The secular characters portrayed in these texts and their treatment by Caradoc are discussed in relation to passages or recurring elements found in some of the *Lives* in the *Vespasian* legendary. Furthermore early medieval Breton or Irish Saints' *Lives* that are known to have exerted influence in Welsh historical or religious literature have also been considered, as well as existing studies on their texts and on their influence on the Welsh hagiographical production (cf. Cartwright 2003, Merdrignac 1993, Doan 1983). My analysis took into consideration the existing studies of Welsh Saints' *Lives*, such as Elissa Henken's *Welsh*

---

<sup>29</sup> In the *VD*, §15.



*Saints: A study in patterned lives*, mentioned in the Introduction. Henken's material was useful as an additional tool for the comparison undertaken here since she analysed the encounters between the saints and their secular counterparts in her studies.

### III.2.2 The *Life* of Saint Cadog as a base text

A choice that must be justified is that of a base text of a Saint's *Life* to guide my analysis of the *Vespasian* legendary. The text chosen is that of the *Life* of St. Cadog by Lifris of Llancarfan. This choice relates to the methodology and to my approach to the text of this *Life*. When discussing eleventh- and twelfth-century Welsh hagiographical material, one situation imposes itself: the scarcity of the surviving material. I already touched on this matter before and here it suffices to recall that not many *Lives* of Welsh provenance survived to our days. They are also relatively late if compared with the hagiographical production of Ireland, Brittany and England, for example. The *Life* of St. Cadog by Lifris of Llancarfan and that of St. David by Rhygyfarch are the oldest surviving Welsh *Lives*, both dating to the end of the eleventh century (cf. Wade-Evans 1944: xi-xii, Lloyd 1948: 158, and Borst 1983: 14). There is no consensus as to which of these *Lives* is earlier but, for my present purposes, the *Life* of Cadog by Lifris is of *greater* importance. Firstly, because of its highly composite character: this most likely points to the existence of parallel traditions around some episodes in the life of that saint, such as his conception and birth. Secondly, because its Arthurian episodes seem to have influenced other Welsh Saints' *Lives* written in the twelfth century, not only in their choice of Arthur, but also in their intertextual relation to the *Life* of Cadog. A sketch of the composite character of this *Life* will be shown by comparing the results obtained by Hywel Emanuel in 1952 in his "An analysis of the composition of the 'Vita Cadoci'" (cf. Emanuel 1952: 217-227) and my own results obtained through the examination of all the surviving recensions of this *Life* in the extant manuscripts.

The existence of different traditions concerning the life of Cadog could also possibly point to different traditions relating not only to St. Cadog but to the character of King Arthur when meeting the/a saint. Arthur appears at least five times in this composite text and it is possible that his first two most important appearances were added right before or even during the production of the *Vespasian* legendary, as will be shown below. My examination of the Arthurian Saints' *Lives* in the *Vespasian* legendary strengthens my assumption that the *Life* of Cadog by Lifris exerted a great influence on the treatment of Arthur's encounters with Welsh

saints in the other Arthurian Saints' *Lives* in the *Vespasian* legendary. There is probably much more of mutual hagiographical influence in the characterisations of Arthur in these Saints' *Lives* than has previously been thought of. In addition to this, the *Life* of Cadog is relevant because it seems to have set the trend, as it were, for a kind of "Welsh" hagiographical treatment of secular characters. It is a landmark in the development of Welsh hagiography which triggered the subsequent creative adaptation of hagiographical material for the *Lives* of lesser figures in the religious or political context of Welsh life. All these aspects have conditioned, consequently, my decision to start the analysis of the *Vespasian Lives* by examining the *Life* of Cadog. This necessarily required an inversion of the manuscript ordering of the *Lives*. The *Life* of Gwynllyw is, therefore, analysed *after* the *Life* of Cadog. Afterwards, the analysis of the *Lives* follows the legendary. It is therefore with an eye on the influences exerted by the *Life* of Cadog on the other *Lives* and on its composite character that this approach can be justified.

### III.2.3 The manuscript

The manuscript *Cotton Vespasian A. xiv* is a composite volume containing *three* distinct manuscripts which were bound together by Sir Robert Cotton in the seventeenth century, from whom the Cottonian collection gets its name. These are the following: 1. The sixteen *Lives* of Saints to which I have referred previously,<sup>30</sup> from ca. 1200 (ff. 1-105); 2. Bede's accounts of Gregory the Great's responses to St. Augustine from the *Historia Ecclesiastica* (ff. 106-113), of the late twelfth century alongside a poem called "Altercatio inter Urbanum et Clementem" on f. 113; 3. Letters of Alcuin and other texts dating from the eleventh century (ff. 114-179).<sup>31</sup> The part containing the fourteen Saints' *Lives* which concerns my work will be referred to, henceforth, as the *Vespasian* legendary. This is a manuscript in vellum, made of 105 leaves of ca. 20,30 by ca. 13,30 centimetres. The gathering is: i<sup>10</sup> (added leaves at the time of binding), ii<sup>4</sup>, iii-iv<sup>8</sup>, v<sup>8</sup> (f. 32 was inserted by the corrector), vi<sup>5</sup> (f. 40 is an inserted leaf), vii-xi<sup>8</sup>, xii<sup>7</sup> (f. 8 is an inserted leaf), xiii-xiv.<sup>8</sup> The leaves contain one column with 35 lines to the page. The *Lives* begin on folio 13, with f. 12r. being left blank. The heading on f. 12v. reads "*Incipiunt capitula in Vitas Sanctorum Walensium.*" Apart from the Saints' *Lives*, this part of the

<sup>30</sup> Including the two Irish Saints' *Lives* of Aedh and Brendan.

<sup>31</sup> The manuscript *Cotton Vespasian A. xiv* was fully described by a former librarian of the British Library, Dr. Robin Flower, and published in Arthur Wade-Evans' *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae* in 1944, pp. viii-xi. To his description of the manuscript, I owe most of the important palaeographical details given in this section. See, also, James 1967: xxiv-xxv.

manuscript also contains a *Church Calendar* (f. 1r.),<sup>32</sup> a Latin-Old Cornish Glossary (f. 7r.) and the text of the *De Situ Brecheniauc* (f. 10v.).<sup>33</sup>

The hagiographical material in the MS. *Cotton Vespasian A. xiv*, including the Calendar and the genealogy in *De Situ*, can be understood under the development of what has been referred to as “dossiers hagiographiques:” collections containing numerous hagiographical texts ordered under some determinable or, for the modern reader, undeterminable project. These dossiers appeared in Carolingian times and multiplied quickly up until the end of the twelfth century (Dolbeau 1992: 51-52).<sup>34</sup> This specific hagiographical collection did not seem, up to now, to follow any specific order of classification, at least none that could be discerned with a modern mind. At a first stage, it could be said that the compilation centred on the life of St. Cadog: 1. this is the longest *Life* and the one that received more attention from the hagiographers that worked on the legendary; 2. the genealogies found in the legendary concentrate much on Cadog’s family; and finally 3. the manuscript seems to follow, at least at the beginning, a chronological order which would introduce Cadog’s father and mother and their ways of life before Cadog’s birth. As already emphasised, my study will provide a new hypothesis as to the reason for the legendary’s production which advocates a consciously arrangement of the texts in order to initiate a change in or, rather, an actualisation of, specific Welsh religious practices.

As regards the origin of the manuscript, there are three main theories: the first one by Dr. Robin Flower, former librarian of the British Library, who advocated that the *Vespasian* legendary was a product of the *scriptorium* in Brecon Priory due 1. to the associations of the manuscript with one of its former owners, Sir John Price of Brecon, who had a lease of Brecon Priory in the sixteenth century and 2. due to the strong connections of some of the *Vespasian* texts, like *De Situ Brecheniauc*, and the genealogies appended to some of the *Lives*, to Brecon and the region of Breconshire (cf. Wade-Evans 1944: viii- xi). Flower’s theory would justify the appearance of a number of south west Welsh saints like Cybi, Brynach and Carannog in the calendar and some of their *Lives* in the legendary. The festival of all these saints were celebrated at St. David’s during the twelfth century and Brecon

---

<sup>32</sup> The Calendar was studied in detail by Silas Harris in 1953. See Harris 1953: 3-53.

<sup>33</sup> The edited text of the Latin-Old Cornish Glossary can be found in Zeuss, C. (1868) *Grammatica Celtica*. Paris: Maisonneuve & Co. The *De Situ Brecheniauc* was edited by Wade-Evans in his *VSB*, pp. 313-315.

<sup>34</sup> The term “hagiographical dossier” was already employed by Hippolyte Delehaye (cf. Delehaye 1905: 101-118) meaning, instead, a *method* used by the medieval scholar to collect all the information available on the life of a saint in Saints’ *Lives*, *miracula*, etc.

belonged indeed to the diocese of St. David's (cf. Hughes 1958: 184). The second theory was advanced by Silas Harris, who argued for the *Vespasian* legendary and Calendar to have been written at Monmouth Priory due to the insertion, among other things, of the very uncommon Continental saint, Dochelinus, in the *Vespasian* calendar. Dochelinus was the patron-saint of Allones and Varrains, near Saumur on the Loire, both places connected to Saint-Florent. The only monastery connected to Saint-Florent in Wales in the twelfth century was Monmouth, founded in 1080 by a Breton called Gwethenoc (cf. Chambers 1927: 16-17, Harris 1953: 3-53, Hughes 1958: 185). Harris argued, moreover, that the character of the legendary, showing a thoroughly Welsh penchant, would be justified by a place of origin for its production which had, from early times, been uncontrolled by Norman administration (cf. Harris 1953: 16). Finally, Kathleen Hughes, while agreeing mostly with Silas Harris' hypothesis of a Monmouth origin for *Vespasian*, called attention to the Gloucester element underlying many of the *Lives* contained in the manuscript. This would explain the insertion into the *Vespasian* legendary of the *Lives* of the West Welsh SS. Padarn, Brynach, Carannog and Cybi – otherwise unexplained by Harris – and, moreover, the presence of the Irish *Lives* of Aedh and Brendan. Hughes also called attention, moreover, to the strong presence of a Llandaff element in the *Vespasian Lives* of Teilo, Dubricius and Illtud (cf. Hughes 1958: 54-59).<sup>35</sup>

The Calendar attached to the *Lives* belonged originally to the legendary, since the same hand that copied the last gathering containing the *Lives* of Carannog, Cybi, Aedh and Brendan also copied the initial two gatherings containing the Calendar and *capitula*. All the saints whose *Lives* are in the legendary have their feast days marked in the Calendar. Both Flower and Harris saw the Calendar and the *Lives* to have had a purely liturgical purpose, whereas Hughes considered it to have served rather as a *documentation* of historical value for Welsh and Norman ecclesiastics. It is difficult to come up to any conclusion whether it was originally intended to be used in the liturgy, as Silas Harris advocated (cf. Harris 1953: 20).<sup>36</sup> I disagree, however, with Kathleen Hughes in her assumption that the legendary and the Calendar served a historiographic motive (cf. Hughes 1958: 200). They definitely had a liturgical *purpose* due to the perceived attempt to influence specific religious concepts, especially in regard of miraculous accounts and the fostering of tomb-miracles to promote a

---

<sup>35</sup> Hughes herself did not explain the rather obscure insertion of the Breton Dochelinus into the Calendar, but accepted that the name of the saint could have come into the Calendar via Monmouth.

<sup>36</sup> The presence of calendars in hagiographical collections, however, does not mean necessarily that the legendary was used in the liturgy (cf. Dolbeau 1981: 18).

saint's cult. A theoretical explanation for the purpose of the legendary will be offered in the concluding section of this thesis, after the analyses of the *Lives* have been presented.

### **III.3 The editors**

#### **III.3.1 William Jenkins Rees and Canon Doble**

William Rees published his *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints* in 1853, offering an edition and translations of some of the *Lives* found in *Vespasian*. His edition was the object of strong criticism by scholars of “Celtic” history and literature for the “hundred of mistakes” in the transcription of proper names and for his misreading of the Latin in the manuscript (Hughes 1958: 183, cf. also Grosjean 1942: 36-37). In 1900, Kuno Mayer published in the *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. 13, twenty pages of corrections to Rees’ edition, never being able, however, to finish his task (cf. Mayer 1900: 76-96). Between the appearance of Rees’ edition and that of Arthur Wade-Evans’ in 1944, various scholars have offered translations and/or edited passages of some of the *Lives* found in *Vespasian*, as is the case with the various translations offered by Canon Doble in his *Lives of the Welsh Saints*, reprinted and re-edited by Simon Evans in 1971, and also in Doble’s publications for the *Cornish Saints’ Series*. Doble’s transcriptions and translations into English are much more accurate than Rees’ and he provides, moreover, exhaustive information on the churches and chapels in Wales, Cornwall and Brittany where the saints in question were venerated (cf. Doble 1929: 3-47, *idem* 1932: 3-41, *idem* 1941: 3-51, *idem* 1965: 3-48).

#### **III.3.2 Arthur Wade-Evans**

Arthur Wade-Evans published his *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae* in 1944. In the introduction to the *VS*, he states the purpose of his edition of providing “more reliable copies of texts than those printed in 1853” by William Rees (Wade-Evans 1944: viii). He definitely succeeded in this, although some criticism is necessary as regards his choice and omission of texts to be published. His transcriptions are much more careful and accurate than Rees’ and he supplies, in the introduction, a very good description of the *Vespasian* manuscript, as given by Dr. Robin Flower, whose theory of the origin of the manuscript at Brecon Priory was presented above. Nine Saints’ *Lives* out of eleven were taken from *Vespasian* legendary. Wade-Evans curiously omitted, without explanation, the *Vespasian Lives* of Teilo, Clydog,

Aedh and Brendan, together with a *Life* of Saint Dubricius (also found in the *Book of Llandaff*) entitled *De primo statu Landauensis et uita Archiepiscopi Dubricii*, alongside a *Life* of Dubricius written by Benedict of Gloucester. All these were published by Rees in his *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints* and there seems to be no reason why Wade-Evans would not have corrected their inaccurate transcriptions as well.

Conway Davies, who reviewed Wade-Evans' *VSBG* in 1947, suggested that the Irish saints were omitted from his edition because they did not pertain to a collection dedicated to Welsh saints and the other omitted texts for having appeared in printed publications elsewhere (cf. Davies 1947: 141-153).<sup>37</sup> This is not the case, however, with the *Life* of Teilo, whose *Vespasian* recension presents an earlier text, free from many of the additions found in the *Book of Llandaff* as printed by Gwenogvryn Evans and John Rhys in 1893 in their *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv. Reproduced from the Gwysaney Manuscript*. The rubric in the *Vespasian Life* of Teilo is unique for presenting its author as someone called Geoffrey, referred to as a "brother" of Bishop Urban of Llandaff, which led to Evans and Rhys' assumption that Geoffrey of Monmouth himself wrote this text (cf. Evans/Rhys 1893: xx).<sup>38</sup>

Wade-Evans' succinct introduction supplies little information on the editorial practices employed in the edition of the Saints' *Lives* found in his *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*. There is no explanation as to what was made of some of the marginal glosses found in the manuscript, which he simply added into the texts of the *Lives* without indication or explanation. There is also no reference to difficult passages in the manuscript or what could be attributed to the scribe's or scribes' idiosyncrasies. Moreover, in many instances he chooses to highlight the hexameters found in the *Lives* of Cadog, Illtud and Tatheus, for example, without indicating that these are not identified as such in the manuscript, but are rather a choice of his own which undoubtedly leaves a wrong impression on the reader(s) about the significance of these passages to the hagiographer(s).<sup>39</sup> The most problematic editorial decisions were taken in the *Life* of Cadog. Due to its highly composite character and to the detailed study undertaken by Hywel Emanuel in the 1950s, many of Wade-Evans' editorial pitfalls could be detected. Wade-Evans inserted, for example, two whole chapters

---

<sup>37</sup> See, also, Rees 1853: 332-354

<sup>38</sup> "Incipit uita Sancti Teliaui Episcopi a Magistro Galfrido (i. [d est] Stephano) fratre Urbani Landauensis Ecclesie Episcopi dictate" (VTe, f. 52). Kathleen Hughes suggested that the *Vespasian Life* of Teilo was a product of the Llandaff School, adapted a second time for the insertion into the *Book of Llandaff* (cf. Hughes 1958: 193-194).

<sup>39</sup> Cf., for example, *VC1*, § 19.

found in an inserted slip folio in the *Vespasian* legendary into the bulk of the printed *Life* of Cadog without any indication whatsoever that these chapters were inserted by a *later* corrector of this text.<sup>40</sup> Conway Davies, moreover, drew attention to Wade-Evans' use of capitals in almost all the *nomina sacra* appearing in this *Life*. This could leave a wrong impression on the significance of these words to the scribe(s): the scribe(s) employed consistently minuscule, for example, for words like *deus* and *dominus* (cf. Davies 1947: 143). Criticism must also be made on the translation of some terms used to describe Welsh ecclesiastic institutions, ecclesiastical establishments and social relations in secular and religious realms. This topic was fully tackled by Conway Davies in relationship to the *Life* of Cadog. Davies concentrated, specially, on technical terms which were directly connected to the organisation of the Church in Wales and to its social history. Davies criticised, for example, the careless translation of words like *monasterium* and *cenobium*, always rendered monastery, and *ecclesia*, *capella*, and *cella*, rendered church, chapel, and cell, respectively. Davies based his criticism on the fact that the problem of what these places of worship really meant within the structure of a Welsh mother church and its dependencies is still unresolved. Another problematic word was *ciuitas*, which Wade-Evans variously translated as monastery, city or community. In cases where this word surely denotes a civil division, his choice of monastery is misleading, as is the case with *ciuitate Breue* or *ciuitatem Beneuentana*, which should be rendered as *city* and not monastery, as was his choice in both examples (cf. Davies 1947: 146-147). To these remarks on Wade-Evans' translations, I would add, at this point, another one concerning the translation of terms employed to designate secular parentage and relations. The word *tirannus* is the most extreme example of an unfortunate translation due to the consequences that it brought to the analyses of the Arthurian *Lives* in *Vespasian*. The negative connotation of the modern English equivalent *tyrant* led many scholars to a rather hasty interpretation as to the portrayal of Arthur in the Saints' *Lives* of Cadog, Padarn, Illtud and Carannog. References to the unfortunate translation of specific terms by Wade-Evans will be directly made in the analyses of the *Lives* with the examination of the context in which they appear. Readers shall be referred to the above-mentioned article by Conway Davies for a discussion of the terms relating to ecclesiastical office in other *Lives* in the *Vespasian* legendary.

---

<sup>40</sup> These correspond to chapters 18 and 20 in his edition, whose headings are: §18 *De mansionem sancti Cadoci quadragesimali tempore* and §20 *De conuersione sancti Cadoci apud flumen Ned*. See the table in the Appendix I, section D, of this thesis.

## IV The Saints' Lives in the *Vespasian* legendary

### IV.1 The Life of Saint Cadog by Lifris of Llancarfan

The *Life* of St. Cadog<sup>1</sup> is the second *Life* to appear in the *Vespasian* legendary (ff. 17 – 43r). It follows the *Life* of St. Gwynllyw, who is referred to as Cadog's father in both these texts.<sup>2</sup> It seems, at a first stage, that the compilation is following a chronological order of events by placing Gwynllyw's biography before that of Cadog's. The texts, however, offer highly different accounts as to some major events in the lives of both saints, especially regarding Cadog's conception.<sup>3</sup> Another explanation may be suggested, therefore, for this arrangement of material in the legendary: it might be possible that the compiler or compilers wished to underscore the *post-mortem* sections of the three first *Lives*, an idea briefly advanced in the methodological and theoretical chapter of this thesis.

In what follows, I will firstly give some historical information about the time when the *VCI* was written and under which historical conditions it was produced. By mentioning some historical events related to the author's main monastery, Llancarfan, and to the situation of southwest Wales during his writing activity, I will introduce and comment on some of the *Life*'s encounter-episodes without making any initial attempt to analyse their structure. This will proceed after the discussion of the *Life*'s composite character, in which I compare my own research results with those of other scholars. Although attributed to one author, the *VCI*,

---

<sup>1</sup> St. Cadog also appears as "Cadoc" in the literature. His name might have been conflated with those of two other saints, the Breton Cadfan (Catamanus, Catman) and the Scottish saint Cadoc. This discussion remains, however, unresolved (See *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, Cadog). See, also, Loth 1908: 22-248 and, Watson 1927: 1-12, esp. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> The *Life* of Cadog by Lifris of Llancarfan will be henceforth referred to as *VCI*, and the *Life* of Gwynllyw, as *VGu*. The edition used for the *Vespasian Saints' Lives*, unless otherwise specified, is: Wade-Evans, A. (ed. and trans.) (1944) *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. All the references to the chapters come from Wade-Evans' numbering.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the abduction of Cadog's mother by Gwynllyw (with her subsequent pregnancy) in *VCI*, Preface, with the account of Gwynllyw's betrothal of his wife in *VGu* §2: "*Exin quam plures ad patrem uirginis direxit legatos, quo sibi eandem in coniugem despondi obnoxius postularent. Pater uero puelle, accepta legatione indignatus, furoreque repletus, filiam suam illi despondere renuit, atque nuntios despexit, eosdemque sine honore dimisit [...]. Quo audito, rex nimia debachans furia, trecentos quamtocius armavit uernulas, quo premissam puellam ui raperent.*" [Accordingly he sent very many messengers to the virgin's father to the end that they might more resolutely demand that she might be given to him as wife. But the father of the girl, having received the message, was indignant, and, full of anger, refused to bestow his daughter on him, and slighted the messengers, and dismissed them without honour. [...] When he (i.e. Gwynllyw) had heard, the king, raving with excessive fury, armed with all possible speed three hundred of his young men to take the aforesaid girl by force] (*VCI*, Preface); and "*Dum uoluit communi consilio ciuium uxorare, misit legatos ad Brachanum, regem Bregcheiniacensium, dum audita fuerat mansuetudo et pulchritudo Guladus sue filie. Illa postulata et promissa est coniugalis; data fuit, ut frueretur legalibus nuptiis.*" [When by common advice of his fellow-citizens he wished to marry, he sent messengers to Brychan, king of the Brycheiniog folk, as the gentleness and beauty of Gwladus, his daughter, had been heard of by him. She was asked for as wife and promised; she was given that he might delight in lawful marriage] (*VGu* §2).



as found in the *Vespasian* legendary, presents layers of additions and interpolations that cannot be neatly separated from the supposedly “original” work of Lifris. The notion of an “original work” is not relevant for my analyses of the Saint’s *Lives*. Nonetheless, in the particular case of the *VCI*, it is important to discuss some of the additions made into this text in order to understand the literary character of the two Arthurian episodes that this *Life* contains. This procedure allows me to draw some conclusions as to which *set of episodes* around the life of St. Cadog might represent or at least point to the earliest phases of this *Life*’s composition. Most importantly, it also allows me to argue for the independent character of the first Arthurian episode in the *Prologue*. Afterwards, I will concentrate on the text’s structure and the characters’ *uses* in detail.

My major contention in this part is for the two main Arthurian episodes in the *VCI* to have stemmed from traditional heroic tales surrounding the figure of Arthur. These heroic tales, transmitted in either an oral *or* written form and regardless of whether it had its origins within or without an ecclesiastical community were associated with the figures of SS. Gwynllyw and Cadog in a very elaborate way, becoming fixed in the text of the *VCI*. The two Arthurian episodes in this *Life*, however, do *not* belong to the same period and both disclose different levels of adaptation of the Arthurian material to the hagiographical discourse of Saints’ *Lives*. The first one, as I shall argue, maintains the tone of heroic narratives to the highest degree: it does not subordinate the “unnatural” story events to the miracles wrought by the saint. The second one, however, has been most neatly adapted to serve the hagiographical purposes to which it was designed. The *Life* has, therefore, a composite character which allows for much speculation as to the process of its textual formation and as to the dating of the different parts put together in the form found in the legendary.

#### **IV.1.1 Dating, authorship and the development of the *Vespasian VCI***

The *Life* of Cadog in the *Vespasian* legendary is a highly composite text. Any analysis of its episodes and of their relation to historical events must take, consequently, this composite character into account. Scholars normally date the *VCI* to a period between 1067 and 1100 (cf. Tatlock 1939: 349, Wade-Evans 1944: xi, Lloyd 1948: 158, Tatlock 1950: 185, Emanuel 1952: 217, Hughes 1954: 364, Chadwick 1958: 175-176, Kirby 1969: 297, Evans 1984: 12, Tanguy 1989: 164-165). It is ascribed to *Lifris* who in chapter forty-four apologises for his

lack of cleverness – a typical hagiographical *topos* – claiming to be forgiven for his sins.<sup>4</sup> Lifris appears in the contemporary *Book of Llandaff*, a collection of Saints' *Lives* and land grants of about the middle of the twelfth-century, as the 'magister' of *Llancarfan* in the region of Glamorgan and son of bishop Herewald of Llandaff (cf. Wade-Evans 1944: xi, Borst 1983: 2, Tanguy 1989: 161).<sup>5</sup> *Llancarfan* was Saint Cadog's principal foundation in Wales, situated eight miles from Llandaff.

Herewald and Lifris belonged to one of the most influential ecclesiastical Welsh families of the period. Like other ecclesiastical families in Wales they controlled large extensions of land and struggled to maintain their control against the interests of secular powers. The Normans directed the control of *Llancarfan* to the monks of Gloucester sometime between 1095 and 1104, the year of Herewald's death.<sup>6</sup> We can assume that Lifris finished writing his *Life* of Cadog before his principal house came to be under the rule of Anglo-Norman ecclesiastics in Gloucester. Be that as it may, it is not to be denied that Lifris and the writer of the *Life* of David, Rhygyfarch (d. 1099)<sup>7</sup> – as well as their continuators and/or adaptors – all attempted to affirm the interests of their monasteries and glorify the names of their patron-saints in face of the changing ecclesiastical and political arrangements with which they were confronted.

---

<sup>4</sup> "Nemo potest fari miracula gesta Cadoci; est quia non solers presens hic more loquendi; det ueniam Christus, terrarum conditor orbis, cui scripsit uitam, culparum nomine Lifris." [None can tell the miracles done by Cadog; it is because this present writer is not clever by way of speech. May Christ, the creator of the round world, pardon him who wrote [this] life – his sins, by name Lifris ] (*VC1* §44).

<sup>5</sup> "De clericis testes sunt Hereuualdus episcopus [...] Lifris filius episcopi archidiaconus & magister sancti Catoci" (*LL*, p.271). Herewald was Bishop of "Glamorgan," Llandaff, from 1056 to 1104. The establishment of Llandaff as a diocese, in opposition to Glamorgan, which represented the territorial division, has traces of its growth in the *Book of Llandaff*. Urban is still called 'Bishop of Glamorgan' in 1107 (cf. Doble 1942: 209). The *Lives* of the other saints whom the diocese of Llandaff claimed to belong to its sphere – Samson, Dubricius, Teilo and Oudoceus – were also incorporated in the *Book of Llandaff* (cf. Loth 1894: 81-82, Richter 1976: 15, Henken 1987: 231). The edition used for the *Book of Llandaff* is: Evans, J, and Rhys, J. (eds.) (1893, repr. 1979) *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv. Reproduced from the Gwysaney Manuscript*. Aberystwyth: The National Library of Wales Press. Henceforth *LL*.

<sup>6</sup> Christopher Brooke argued that the church of Saint Cadog in *Llancarfan* was given to Gloucester by the Norman Robert fitz Hamon between 1095 and 1100 as an offering of what he called "first-fruits" for the outset of his conquest of Glamorgan (cf. Brooke 1963: 276-277).

<sup>7</sup> The *Life* of David by Rhygyfarch (henceforth *VD*), who lived between 1056/7 and 1099. Rhygyfarch was the son of Sulien, Bishop of St. David's from 1072/3 to 1078 and a second time from 1080 to 1085. Rhygyfarch's main claim was that David had been consecrated archbishop by St. Dubricius, implying, perhaps, that St. David's was not subject to the control of Canterbury (cf. Henken 2003: 34). The edition used for the *Life* of David is James, J. (ed. and trans.) (1967) *Rhygyfarch's Life of St. David*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. Scholars disagree as to which of these *Lives* is earlier. See Wade-Evans 1944: xi-xii, Lloyd 1948: 158, Brooke 1963: 285, James 1967: xi-xii and Borst 1983: 14. I will comment on the dating of the *VD* when talking about the relationship of some of its passages to the *VC1* and discussing the available scholarly opinion. My own position, which will be detailed later, is that the *VC1* is the earliest of the Welsh *Lives*, taking into account the "original" works by Lifris and Rhygyfarch.

Attempts to understand the composite character of the *Life* of Cadog in the *Vespasian* legendary have taken into account either the differences or the similarities between its reports of major events in the life of the saint and those found in other Saints' *Lives*. The *Lives* in which correspondences of events can be found are those of SS. Teilo, Padarn, Illtud, Finnian, David, Aedh and Gildas. By correspondence of events, I mean that the *Lives* either share episodes in which two or more saints are actually said to have participated *or* episodes which may have been borrowed from one *Life* to the other and in which the protagonists were, consequently, changed. Apart from SS. Finnian and Gildas, all the saints mentioned above are represented by *Lives* in the *Vespasian* legendary. These correspondences of events have long been recognised by scholars in that they tried to analyse the motif-borrowings from one *Life* into the other, with their changes and adaptations, in order to “reconstruct” an “original composition” for some of the *Lives* (cf. Emanuel 1952, Hughes 1954, Brooke 1963, James 1967, Kirby 1969). The relevant events analysed were: 1. the account of a synod assembled by St. David in the absence of Cadog; 2. the account of the taming of wild stags by one of Cadog's disciples; 3. the account of a bell made by Gildas and handed over to Cadog; 4. the account of Illtud's taking of the monastic habit and, 5. the account of a trip undertaken by David, Padarn and Teilo to Jerusalem.<sup>8</sup> This procedure, however, disregards the *fluidity* of motifs and the adaptation of one and the same episode to different saint-protagonists in Saints' *Lives* and, therefore, can be much problematic. Motifs and themes belonged to a *cultural repository*, as it were, to which the hagiographers recurred in composing their texts so that they could be reworked and/or repeated in several contemporary *Lives*, especially when connected to miraculous accounts. The miraculous accounts also conformed to literary and historical precedents and often lost, as a consequence, their particularity. Within such textual practices, identifying an “original” source or composition remains a highly speculative matter.

It was exactly the concern with an “original” text written by Lifris that led Hywel Emanuel to investigate the composition of the *VCI* in 1952. The initial trigger of his study was the great length of the *VCI* when compared with the other Welsh *Lives* in the *Vespasian* legendary. His main contention was that Lifris' “original” text was not extant and that the text in the *Vespasian* legendary had undergone a series of additions and adaptations that blurred the original design of his composition. To him, the *VCI* contained not only the contents of Lifris' “original” text but also additions made to the text *before* and *after* the execution of the

---

<sup>8</sup> For a discussion of the dating of the elaborate episode-versions of the Jerusalem-episode in the *Lives* of Padarn, David and Teilo, see section IV.9.3. of this thesis.

*Vespasian* legendary. For my present purposes, I will concentrate on the chapters describing Cadog's posthumous miracles and on the ones centring on the figure of St. David: these were decisive for all scholarly analyses about the relationship between Lifris' and Rhygyfarch's *Vitae*, and, consequently, for the discussion of their dating. I shall also examine the *VCI*'s *Prologue* because of the Arthurian material that it contains.

Emanuel thought that the *Prologue*, the *Preface* and the David-chapters were adapted to Lifris' *Life of Cadog* before the *Vespasian* legendary was produced. The David-chapters in the *VCI* are all thematically related: they tell of David's calling of a synod in the absence of St. Cadog and of Finnian's revelation to Cadog that the synod had taken place. These correspond, respectively, to chapters 13 and 17 in Wade-Evans' edition.<sup>9</sup> Both chapters do *not* connect to the neighbouring ones, although there have been clear attempts to insert connecting phrases for this purpose, as for example at the beginning of chapter 13 in which a *quo hec complebantur*, "wherein these things were being accomplished" was added. Chapter 14, which tells how Cadog travelled to Brittany on his way to Jerusalem, seems to provide an explanation as to why Cadog was not able to take part in the synod. This could justify the separation of chapters 13 and 17. Chapter 15 mentions Cadog's return and the punishment of a certain *lictor* who, for envy of Cadog's peregrination, had killed one of his kinsmen in his absence.<sup>10</sup> Finally, chapter 16 relates how the servants of a certain secular ruler took food and drink from Cadog's monastery by force and were therefore punished. Cadog's clergy is here seen actively participating in the punishment of the men. In chapter 17, however, the scene changes abruptly to a gathering of disciples who are afraid of telling Cadog of the synod. Chapters 16 and 17 present entirely different environments: in one, a monastic community is portrayed with the figure of Cadog's leadership; he represents the abbot figure that organises the communal life. In chapter 17, there seems to be a retrospective interpretation of a historical event, the synod of Brefi, to which the idea of the saint and his disciples in their incipient monastic lives was deeply connected. The tone of these episodes is built within entirely different conceptions of monastic organisation.

---

<sup>9</sup> Their rubric-headings are: §13 "*Qualiter sanctus David ex angelica iussione sinodum congregavit*" and §17 "*De indulgentia sancto David facta pro collecta sinodo.*"

<sup>10</sup> Their rubric-headings read: §14 "*De peregrinatione uiri Dei, et conceptu sterilis regine eius precibus,*" §15 "*De quodam satellite, qui uelut fumus disparuit a facie Cadoci*" and §16 "*De predonibus tellure absortis.*"

As regards the *post-mortem* section, Emanuel affirmed that chapters 40 up to 44<sup>11</sup> were at odds with the hagiographer's statement in chapter 36 that he had finished describing Cadog's miracles.<sup>12</sup> The chapters in question were, according to him, added right after the *Passio* and, in fact, even disagreed with it as regards the places where the relics of the saint were kept.<sup>13</sup> With this analysis, Emanuel came to the following conclusion as to the relationship between Lifris' and Rhygyfarch's *Lives*:

First, Lifris wrote his 'Vita Cadoci' probably *circa* 1090. A few years later, Rhygyfarch composed his 'Vita S. David', possibly as a reply to Lifris's eulogy of Cadog [...]. Then a few years later still, probably in the early years of the twelfth century, a Llancarfan or Llandaff writer composed three rejoinder chapters in support of Cadog, two of which he fitted into the body of the existing 'Vita Cadoci' in positions which he thought suitable, adding the third at the end of the 'Vita'. This may have been this later writer's way of making his contribution to the struggle for primacy between Llandaff and St. Davids which reached its climax in the first half of the twelfth century (Emanuel 1952: 222).

The third chapter to which Emanuel refers is chapter 69 in Wade-Evans' edition. It is undoubtedly a later addition, coming not only after the *post-mortem* section, but also after the genealogies of St. Cadog and the charters.<sup>14</sup> It would perhaps be too hasty to attribute this chapter to the group of chapters 13 and 17 since it lacks any thematic connection to them. The story it tells, however, of Maelgwn's donation of lands in Gwynlliog to Cadog "like the

---

<sup>11</sup> Their rubric-headings are, respectively: §40 "*De mugitu feretri sancti Cadoci a quodam percussi, et percutientis interitu,*" §41 "*De boue, in frustis conciso et elixo, rursus uite restituto,*" §42 "*De ruptione circularum ferreorum,*" §43 "*De procuratore trucidato denuoque rediuiuo*" and §44 "*De arboris reflexione sub pedibus predicatoris.*"

<sup>12</sup> "*Ceterum, quum nimis laboriosum est uniuersa miracula atque prodigia huius almi patroni stilo digerere, hec pauca de pluribus deuote legentibus sufficiant. Cunctos enim ipsius mirandos actus nemo compos est enucleare, nisi ipse Cadocus resurgeret a morte. Nunc quemadmodum a Britannia ad Beneuentanam ciuitatem in alba nube translatus fuerit, opere precium duximus calamum diuino nutu uertere.*" [But as it is too laborious to set in order with a pen all the miracles and prodigies of this holy patron, let these few from many suffice those who read devoutly. For no one is able to unfold all his wondrous acts, unless Cadog himself were to rise from death. Now to tell in what manner he was translated in a white cloud from Britain to the Beneventan city, we have thought it worth while with the divine approval to turn our pen] (*VC1*, §36).

<sup>13</sup> The first chapter in the *post-mortem* section affirms that, due to an invasion by a joint force of English and Danes, the clergy of Cadog fled from Llancarfan carrying the shrine of the saint and other relics to the monastery of *Mammelliat* (*VC1*, §40) whereas the *Passio* affirms that the relics were kept in a church in the Beneventan city, that is, they were not kept in Britain, but on the Continent (*VC1*, §39). According to Bartrum (1993: 79), Mamheilad is a mountain retreat near Treveithin, a Cadog church, in Gwent. As we shall see later, these stories represent two traditions relating to Cadog's shrine. The *Passio*, it could be argued, reads like an attempt to explain the absence of Cadog's body in his main monastery, whereas the *post-mortem* section, with its setting in Wales, attempts to justify miracles attributed to Cadog by subjecting them to the presence of his relics.

<sup>14</sup> The rubric-heading reads: "*De obcecatione Mailguni regis.*" This chapter, in fact, reproduces with accuracy the structure of the Maelgwnian episode in chapter 23 of the *VC1*. It sought to include the reference to St. David and the names of some new characters. Compare the structure of both chapters: 1. Maelgwn sends his men to Gwynlliog to collect tribute from the population; 2. Maelgwn's men abduct the daughter of one of Cadog's officers; 3. the men of Gwynlliw pursue the abductors and kill many of them; 4. Maelgwn, infuriated, prepares to plunder and devastate the whole country; 5. Cadog acts as mediator in the conflict; 6. Maelgwn grants land to Cadog's community.

refuge of saint David in Vallis Rosina”<sup>15</sup> undoubtedly recalls an attempt to supersede St. David’s claims.

The main response to Emanuel’s dating came from Christopher Brooke, who argued that 1. the David’s chapters in question formed part of “the earliest stratum” of Lifris’ *Life* and were inspired by Rhygyfarch’s *Life* of David and not *vice-versa*; 2. that the *post-mortem* section was *not* a later addition to the *Life* and, 3. that the *Passio* of Cadog was not a product of Lifris’ pen (Brooke 1963: 285). Brooke’s results are exactly the opposite of Emanuel’s. However, Brooke did not take into account the manuscript transmission of the *VCI*, which would have been more illuminating than the comparison of episodes and historical events described in both *Lives*. Apart from the text in the *Vespasian* legendary, recensions of the *Life* of Cadog by Lifris can also be found in the MSS. of the British Library *Cotton Titus xxii*, *Cotton Tiberius E. i* in the MSS. of the Bodleian Library *Ashmole 794*, *Ashmole 1289*, *Tanner 15* and in the MS. of the National Library of Wales *Peniarth 385*. The *Life* of Cadog attributed to Caradoc of Llancarfan can be found in MS. *Gotha I. 81*. All these manuscripts are late, belonging mainly to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The history of the criticism of the *VCI* has been surrounded by wrong assumptions arising from hasty conclusions about the relationship between the manuscripts, especially in regard to the abridged versions. The main sources for the criticism of this *Life* can be mainly found in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century manuscript catalogues.<sup>16</sup> Both William Black (1845) and Thomas Hardy (1862) offered *equivocal* views as to what they considered to be the relationship between the main sources of the abridgements. My research led me to come up with the following results: *firstly*, there are indeed two different “abridged” versions of the *Life* of Cadog and not only *one* as one is led to think by the available literature. Only *one* of them has been edited from *Tiberius E* and *Tanner 15*, whose recensions of the *VCI* are literally the same. Thus, I refer to them jointly as *Tiberius/Tanner*. The abridged *Tiberius/Tanner Life* appeared in 1901 in Carl Horstmann’s *Nova Legenda Angliae*. Horstmann’s *NLA* offered a collation of the MSS. *Tiberius* and *Tanner* and also of a recension

---

<sup>15</sup> “[...] simile refugio sancti Daudi in Rosina Ualle.” (*VCI*, §69).

<sup>16</sup> Black, W. (1845) *A descriptive, analytical and critical catalogue of the manuscripts bequeathed unto the University of Oxford by Elias Ashmole: also of some additional mss. contributed by Kingsley, Lhuyd, Borlase and others*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Hackmann, A. (1860) *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae. Codices viri admodum reverendi Thomae Tanneri, S.T.P., episcopi Asaphensis complectens*. Vol. 4. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Hardy, T. (1862) *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland, to the end of the reign of Henry VII*. London: Longman. Horstmann, C. (1901) *Nova Legenda Anglie*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

found in a sixteenth-century printed edition by Winkyn de Worde that carried the same title. The other abridged version is in MS. *Ashmole 1289* and has never been edited. *Secondly*, Hardy's assumption that the *Life of Cadog in Tiberius/Tanner* was an abridgement of the *Vespasian* text does *not* stand: the *VCI* alone could not have been the only source for the *Tiberius/Tanner* abridgement because this abridgement contains two chapters which are *not* found in the *Vespasian VCI* at all. These are, however, found in all other surviving manuscripts.

By comparing all the manuscripts and dividing their texts in chapters and subchapters according to the original rubrics in the *Vespasian VCI*, I concluded that there might have been *two independent traditions* relating to the *birth* of Cadog, his *education* by an Irish hermit and to the death of his father. The text in *Tiberius/Tanner* seems to be related to that in the *Gotha* MS. rather than to the *Vespasian VCI*. Indeed, even allowing for the deliberate cutting off of some passages by the hagiographer(s) of the two abridged *Lives* in *Tiberius/Tanner* and in *Ashmole 1289*, there are striking similarities between some chapters *omitted* in them and the omissions in the *Gotha* text. These omissions could point to their working with sources that did *not* contain these passages. Arthur Wade-Evans, who edited his *VSC* in 1944 using *Vespasian* as his base manuscript added to his edition some passages from *Titus* which he affirmed were “missing” from *Vespasian* (Wade-Evans 1944: xiii). These passages were not “missing” from *Vespasian* but might have been in fact written at a later stage or even been unknown to the compiler or compiler(s) of *Vespasian* at the first stage of its production. The insertion of a leaf, in a hand of the thirteenth century, containing three episodes that later appear in *Titus* and *Ashmole 789* proves this to be the case.

Emanuel, for whatever reasons, disregarded the existing abridged versions of the *VCI* in the MSS *Tiberius/Tanner* and in *Ashmole 1289*. He mentioned them briefly, for example, when he pointed out that the *post-mortem* section of the *VCI* was not found in the abridgment made by John of Tinmouth about 1360, i.e. in *Tiberius/Tanner*. By examining all the surviving manuscripts, I realised that my research corroborated Emanuel's assumption about the David's episodes and the *post-mortem* section. The attached table found in the *Appendix 1* of this thesis (in section D) will ensure the understanding of my results. It compares all the recensions in the surviving manuscripts and the episodes described in each “chapter,” as they were divided by the rubricator in *Vespasian* and followed by Wade-Evans' chapter division, with due adaptations. The table shows all the episodes found in *Vespasian* up to the *post-*

*mortem* section. It leaves behind Cadog's genealogies, the Llancarfan charters and chapter 69 mentioned above, since there can be no doubt whatsoever that all of them are later insertions to the preceding material. Contrary to Brooke's view and in corroboration to Emanuel's, the transmission of episodes in the *Life* of Cadog in whichever of its recensions or abridgements seems to indicate that not only the David episodes were transmitted independently but also the *post-mortem* ones. John of Tinmouth's abridgement as found in *Tiberius/Tanner* might have relied on a source that did not contain any reference to David's summoning of the synod rather than on the *Vespasian VCI*, as one is led to think. Tinmouth probably worked with a copy that resembled Lifris' "original," as maintained by Emanuel. The omissions of the *Preface*, the *Prologue*, of chapters 4, 10 and 11 (which surely belonged in content to the same block), 13, 17, 33-35 and all the *post-mortem* section (§41-45) in MSS. *Tiberius/Tanner* and *Gotha* are therefore noteworthy and would afford a re-examination of Caradoc of Llancarfan's sources for his *Life* of Cadog found in the *Gotha* manuscript. The relationship between *Gotha*, *Tiberius/Tanner* and *Ashmole 1289* is also significant but for the present purposes it suffices to emphasise that *Ashmole 1289* also omits the *post-mortem* section. As regards the three remaining manuscripts – the MSS. British Library *Cotton Titus xxii*, Bodleian Library *Tanner 15* and National Library of Wales *Peniarth 385* – their comparison confirms Emanuel's opinion that they were all copies of the *Vespasian VCI*, even following the instructions given by the *Vespasian* corrector as to what to omit or add from or into specific passages (cf. Emanuel 1952: 224-225).

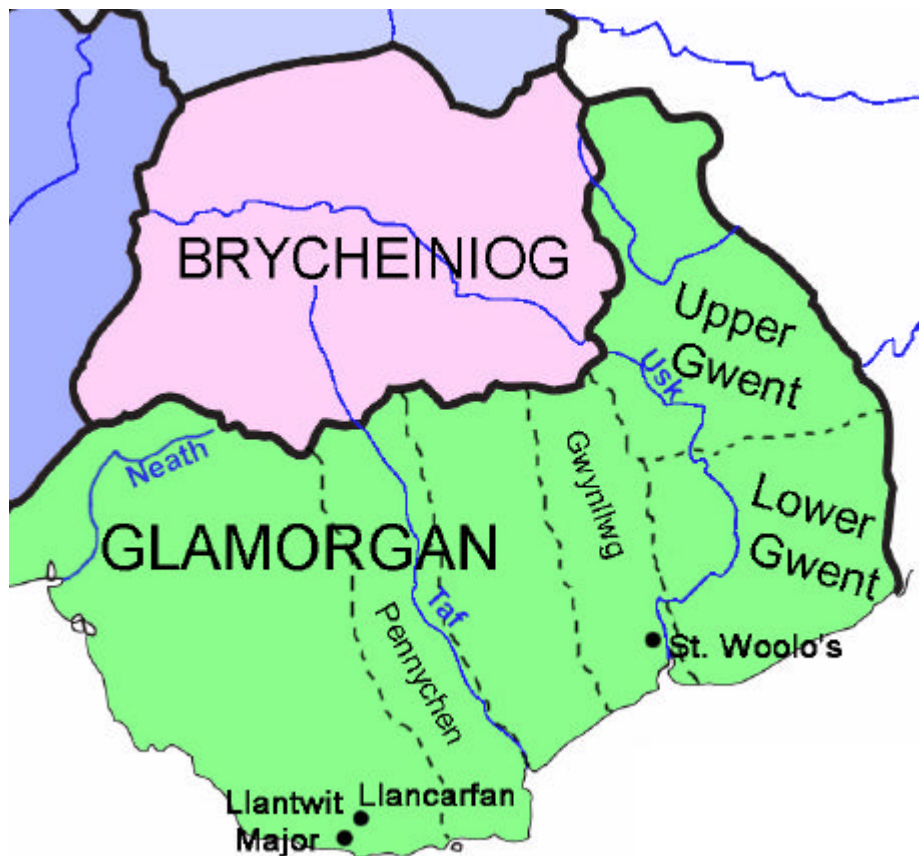
The importance of analysing the transmission of these episodes goes, for my purposes here, beyond that of the dating and of the relationship between Lifris' and Rhygyfarch's *Lives* of Cadog and David. The evidence given by the attached table (Appendix 1) suggests that the *Prologue* in the *Vespasian VCI* carries all indications of having been an independent section relating more directly to St. Gwynllyw than to Cadog himself, whose name is not even mentioned.<sup>17</sup> It could be inferred, therefore, that sometime between Lifris' *Life* was finished and its insertion into the *Vespasian* legendary, hagiographers were relying on secular heroic material and adapting them to their hagiographical purposes. My suggestion is that Lifris was one of the first hagiographers, if not the first, to create or elaborate an Arthurian anecdote in a

---

<sup>17</sup> This is also pointed out by Emanuel in that he cites the *Prologue* and the *Preface* as found independently from any *Life* in the fifteenth-century manuscript of the National Library of Wales *Peniarth 50* (cf. Emanuel 1952: 219). However, by checking the *Peniarth 50*'s microfilm in the National Library of Wales, I found out that only the *Preface* is to be found, followed by a genealogy of Saint Cadog. Indeed, these two sections in the MS. *Peniarth 50* precede genealogical tracts of Welsh kings and saints, among them Brutus and Arthur and SS. Padarn, Cybi and Bueno. See Evans 1898, sub entry *Peniarth 50*.



Welsh Saint's *Life*, a trend that was followed afterwards by other hagiographers throughout south Wales. The *Prologue*, therefore, with its elaborate Arthurian anecdote, was incorporated into the bulk of Lifris' *Life* later on and was not a product of his pen. It might have been the presence of Arthurian references in the bulk of the *Life* that allowed for the inclusion of this material into Lifris' text. Moreover, by analysing the composition of the *VCI*, one perceives how a series of episodes are organised around a similar structural and thematic pattern and, moreover, around similar miraculous accounts. How and in which form the hagiographer(s) adapted this tale to their hagiographical discourse is what concerns me most in the next sections.



**Figure 3** Main regions mentioned in the *Lives* of Saints Gwynllyw, Cadog and Illtud.

#### IV.1.2 Content

The *VCI* follows the basic pattern of Welsh saintly biographies as delineated by Elissa Henken in 1991.<sup>18</sup> The hagiographer proceeds in a chronological order to describe the main events in the life of Cadog, from his birth and upbringing up to his death. All the main events in the saint's life are strongly imbued with miraculous descriptions that normally replicate biblical passages. The *Life* begins with a *Preface* that carries an eponymic explanation of the region of *Glywysing* and its surrounding areas. The eponym serves to position, from the very beginning, the land possessions of Cadog's ancestors and his noble lineage.<sup>19</sup> Ten brothers divided their father's kingdom in ten different regions, all of which being consequently named after them.<sup>20</sup> The emphasis on ancient royal lineage was characteristic of aristocratic societies (cf. Davies 2000: 56-57). For the author of a Saint's *Life*, however, it presented an ambiguous depiction of his/her protagonist's relationship to secular power. The hagiographer highlighted the saint's noble genealogy and, at the same time, had to underscore the saint's avoidance of secular power and his/her dedication to spiritual matters (cf. Henken 1991: 45-47).

The *Preface* also illustrates an important aspect of Welsh medieval politics: the absence of strong political unities with the exception of some temporary kingdoms rapidly emerging and disappearing through military force and hereditary rights (cf. R. Davies 2000: 14-15, Jenkins 1986: xi, W. Davies 1982: 76-77, Richter 1976: 17). Robert Rees Davies (2000) called attention to the consequences of these small political unities in Wales and to the role assigned to kings and chiefs in the Welsh society, especially how they were portrayed in the native law-texts:

---

<sup>18</sup> Henken's scheme is: 1. Conception and birth; 2. Childhood (education); 3. Performing a miracle which indicates spiritual maturity; 4. Going out into the world – founding churches, making pilgrimages, retiring to the wilderness, journeying as a missionary; 5. Conflict with secular powers; 6. Ruling a territory; 7. Death (Henken 1991: 2). See the introductory section of this thesis (I. Introduction).

<sup>19</sup> The mention of *Glywysing* underlines the antiquity of the hagiographer's sources or his/her knowledge of regional history, since the name of that region had been substituted by *Morgannwg* (later Glamorgan) already by the eleventh century (cf. Brooke 1963: 302).

<sup>20</sup> "*Quondam in quibusdam finibus Brittanice regionis que Demetic[a] uocabatur quidam regulus nomine Gliuguis, regnabat, a quo tota ipsius regionis monarchia omnibus diebus uite sue Gleuguissig nuncupabatur, qui x liberos progenuisse fertur, cuius primogenitus Gundleius uocabatur, a cuius etiam nomine post patris obitum ipsa quam rexit patria Gundliauc usque in presentem diem uocatur, cuius germani [...] fratres natalicio more [...] patrium regnum inter se secundum eorundem numerum, unicuique suam prouinciam, diuiserunt [...]*" [Formerly within certain borders of the Britannic country, which was called *Dyfed*, there reigned a certain regulus, Glywys by name, from whom throughout all the days of his life the whole monarchy of that district took the name Glywysing. He is said to have begotten ten children, of whom the first-born was called Gwynllyw, from whose name too after the death of his father that country which he ruled is called Gwynllyg to the present day. His brothers [...] in accordance with natal custom divided their father's kingdom among themselves according to their number, to each one his own province [...]] (*VCI*, Preface).

The native law-texts [...] assume that Wales is a land of many countries or kingdoms, that the men of one country are not necessarily bound by the rules of an alien country [...] and that a king would lead his warband on plundering raids into such neighbouring countries regularly (R. Davies 2000: 14-15).<sup>21</sup>

This resembles the situation found in the first episode in which *Arthur* appears. This episode is, in my opinion, the most important Arthurian episode in the *VCI*.<sup>22</sup> In this episode, which I will examine in detail below, Cadog's father Gwynllyw abducts his future wife from her father's house, causing much indignation from the latter's part. After the description of Cadog's birth and education, the *Life* stresses the saint's many peregrinations and his foundations of monasteries in Ireland, Scotland, Brittany and Wales. Finally, his death is surrounded by miraculous events: an angel of the Lord announces his final departure from Britain. He is, consequently, transported to the Continent involved in a white cloud. On the Continent, he is made bishop of the city of Beneventum, a position also previously heralded by an angel. His chosen death through martyrdom is subsequently narrated: Cadog is pierced with a lance by a horseman who enters the church where the saint was celebrating mass. During his funeral, a series of miraculous events, such as cures and healings, crowns his acceptance into the heavenly kingdom. An account of Cadog's posthumous miracles follows the saint's *Passio* in a separate *post-mortem* section.

### IV.1.3 Structural analysis of the encounter-episodes

#### IV.1.3.1 The secular characters in the *in vita* section of the *VCI*

Most of the secular rulers in the *VCI* are defined in terms of the *regions* that they control, in terms of their *statutes* – *reges*, *duces*, *principes*, *reguli* and *domini* – and of their *lineage*. This kind of formulaic description can also be found in the tales of the *Mabinogi*, to which a description of the particular place in which the ruler is found at the moment of narration is also often added (cf. Davies 1993: 36-37).<sup>23</sup> Some rulers, especially if related to the saint's

---

<sup>21</sup> By "native law-texts" is meant the laws associated with the tenth-century king Hywel Dda (d. ca. 950), already referred to in section II.3.3. (footnote 45) of this thesis.

<sup>22</sup> In the *Prologue* of the *VCI* (cf. Wade-Evans 1944: 24-28).

<sup>23</sup> All translated passages and quoted pages are, unless otherwise specified, from: Jones, G., Jones, T. (trans.) (1957) *The Mabinogion*. London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd. There exist eleven medieval Welsh tales conventionally known in the scholarship by the collective term *Mabinogion/Mabinogi*. These tales have been the object of study of a great number of scholars concerned with 'Celtic' heroic and/or mythological narratives and with Arthurian tales. (cf. Davies 1993: 19-20) They survive mainly in two manuscripts: the White Book of Rhydderch (Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS. *Peniarth 4-5*) and the Red Book of Hergest (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. *Jesus College III*), dated to the second half of the fourteenth century and beginnings of the fifteenth century, respectively (cf. Davies 1993: 9). Although the manuscripts are of a later date, it is

bloodline, acquire a very short genealogy and the frontiers of their lands – and of what will be passed on to the saint’s community – are clearly stated. The only exception to this scheme is Arthur, who lacks any kind of genealogical information and is not connected to any specific geographical location in the *VC1*. Physical descriptions of the rulers are, furthermore, rare. Traces of their “personalities” can be inferred by their actions and the direct reproaches made by the hagiographer. In cases where dialogues are found, they are allowed to speak a language which only confirms the attributes given previously to them by the hagiographer. They are highly *stereotypical* figures in the sense that they represent and mirror members of the Welsh higher classes who indulge in games, in hunting of wild animals, in waging war against their neighbours, and so forth. The only exception to the lack of physical description of secular characters in the *VC1* is the description of Gwladus, the female counterpart of Gwynllyw. The hagiographer’s puts emphasis on the details of Gwladus’ silken garment, on her beautiful form and elegance. This detailed description, which positions her as the “most noble” *female* descendant of Brychan,<sup>24</sup> is unique in the *VC1*.<sup>25</sup>

---

commonly agreed that the tales were written between ca. 1050 and ca. 1190, some of them, however, having their roots in even older oral Welsh tradition (cf. Mac Cana 1958: 184-187, Charles-Edwards 1970: 298). From the eleven tales, *four* seem to have been conceived as a distinct group and are commonly known as ‘The Four Branches of the Mabinogi,’ according to the closing formula found in both manuscripts at the end of each of these branches (‘And so ends this branch of the Mabinogion’ in the First Branch, p. 21; in the Second Branch, p. 34; in the Third Branch, p. 46 and in the Fourth Branch, p. 64). It is difficult to ascertain what the connecting elements between the four branches are. They all possess stories of mortals encountering supernatural characters, like giants, shape-shifters, magicians and so forth. The only hero to appear in all four branches with decidedly varying levels of emphasis on his figure is Pryderi, whose birth and death are introduced in the First and Fourth Branches, correspondingly (cf. Davies 2007: x-xi). Be it as it may, the Four Branches are the result of the work of many different authors who mastered Welsh traditional lore. The tales of the Four Branches developed independently from one ‘author,’ up to the time when they were written down by a specific writer in the form fixed in the surviving manuscripts (cf. Davies 1993: 11-12). As regards the question of authorship, various suggestions have been made over the years. Proinsias Mac Cana, for example, suggested that the writer must have been a cleric, calling attention to the fact that monasteries were the actual centres of learning in medieval Wales. He recalled the fact that the same cultural environment that had fostered the production of the *HB* and of the *HRB* was responsible for the actual interest in native tradition and literature found also in the Four Branches (cf. Mac Cana 1958: 182-183). Indeed, there are various instances in the Four Branches in which the virtuous behaviour of some of the characters and their rather ‘monastic’ qualities, like chastity, patience, and the endurance of suffering, are emphasised (cf. Davies 1993: 13-14). Mac Cana raised the possibility that the literary activities of the family of Bishop Sulien of Llanbadarn, twice bishop of St. David’s, could have been linked to the production of the Four Branches. Sioned Davies, on the other hand, did not discard the possibility of the writer’s clerical origins but also left room open to the writer’s activities as a court poet, as a cleric either at court or in a monastery or as a member of a Welsh ‘clas’ church (cf. Davies 1993: 15-16). Of the seven remaining tales, three have been shown to be adaptations of Chrétien de Troyes’ *Perceval*, *Erec et Enide*, and *Yvain*: these are ‘Peredur son of Efrog,’ ‘Geraint son of Erbin,’ and ‘The Lady of the Well’ (cf. Edel 1996: 315, Lloyd-Morgan 2004: 41-58, Davies 2007: x-xi).

<sup>24</sup> Brychan is the eponym founder of Brycheiniog. He appeared in the hagiographical material of Wales as the forefather of many known saints (cf. Wade-Evans 1906: 19, Bowen 1954: 26, Henken 1983: 60). The earliest surviving account of Brychan’s family is the one found in *Vespasian A. xiv* in the Latin tract *De Situ Brecheniauc*, ff. 10v-11v (cf. Phillimore 1886: 105-106). For *De Situ Brecheniauc*, see Wade-Evans 1906: 18-50. For the edited text, see: Wade-Evans, A. (ed. and trans.) (1944) *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, pp. 313-315. Reference to the three main lines of medieval Welsh ruling families, including Brychan’s, can be found in one Welsh Triad: “Tair Gwelygordh Saint Ynys Prydain o Vam Gymreig: Plant Brychan Brycheiniawc, a phlant Cunedha Wledic, a phlant Caw o Bryd(yn)” [Three Families of

#### IV.1.3.1.1 Arthur

Arthur's first appearance in the *VC1* takes place in the *Prologue*. He and his two companions, Cai and Bedwyr, witness the flight of Cadog's father Gwynllyw after the abduction of the latter's future wife, Gwladus, from a neighbouring region.<sup>26</sup> The passage reads as follows:

[...] ecce, tres heroes strenui, Arthurus cum duobus equitibus suis, Cei, uidelicet, et Bedguir, super cacumen supradicti collis cum alea ludentes consedere. Illis enimuero cernentibus regem cum puella sibi appropinquantem, Arthurus ilico libidine in amorem adolescentule nimium succensus, ac iniqua cogitatione plenus, consodalibus inquit, 'Scitote me uehementer in concupiscentiam puelle huius, quam ille miles equitando deuehit, accendi.' At illi prohibentes eum dixerunt, 'Absit a te tantum scelus patrari, nos enim soliti sumus inopes anxiosque iuuare. Quocirca huic angustato prelio certaminis concurrentes cicius subueniamus.' At ille, 'Quum ambo mauultis ei succurrere quam puelam mihi ab eo uiolenter dirripere, pergite obuiam eis, ac quis illorum sit heres diligenter huius terre sciscitami.

[...] lo, three vigorous champions, Arthur with his two knights, to wit, Cai and Bedwyr, were sitting on the top of the aforesaid hill playing with dice. And these seeing the king with a girl approaching them, Arthur immediately very inflamed with lust in desire for the maiden, and filled with evil thoughts, said to his companions, 'Know that I am vehemently inflamed with concupiscence for this girl, whom that soldier is carrying on horseback.' But they forbidding him said, 'Far be it that so great a crime should be perpetrated by thee, for we are wont to aid the needy and distressed. Wherefore let us run together with all speed and assist this struggling contest that it may cease.' But he, 'Since you both prefer to succour him rather than snatch the girl violently from him for me, go to meet them, and diligently inquire which of them is the owner of this land (*VC1*, Prologue)

Tatlock (1950) suggested that the rebuke Arthur received from his companions and the implication of the idea of helping the "needy and distressed" pointed to the development of the "Briton hope," which was, according to him, "the liveliest tradition of Arthur before

---

Saints of the Island of Britain, by Welsh mothers: The Children of Brychan Brycheiniog, and the Children of Cunedda Wledig, and the Children of Caw of Pictland] (*Trioedd*, §81) [my emphasis].

<sup>25</sup> "[...] rex Gundleius [...] quandam nobilissimis ortam natalibus puellam elegantii quidem specie, sed et forma ualde decoram sericisque redimitam uestibus, cuius nomen Guladus, cuiusdam reguli filiam, qui uocabatur Brachanus, pro eius dulcissima fama flagranti affectu sibi legitimo copulari coniugio gestiuit." [...] king Gwynllyw [...] desired with ardent affection on account of the excessive sweetness of her fame that a certain girl should be joined to him in lawful wedlock, born of most noble lineage, of elegant appearance, very beautiful moreover in form, and clad in silk raiment, whose name was Gwladus, the daughter of a certain regulus, who was called Brychan] (*VC1*, Prologue). The detail of the 'silk raiment' recalls the association with the nobility in Welsh secular literature. In the First Branch of the *Mabinogi*, for instance, Teyrnon and his wife assume that the boy Pryderi has noble descent due to the silken clothing that he is wearing when they find him in their barn. Most of the kings and queens who appear in the Four Branches wear silken brocaded clothes. Cf. *Mabinogi*, First Branch, p.18. See also pp. 5, 11. Silk was a precious article in the middle ages due to the nature of its trade into the British Isles. This expensive product would be, therefore, accessible only to the nobility, justifying this association in the literature. In Wales in the early and high middle ages, clothing, together with gold, are the most often quoted precious objects in secular and religious literature (cf. Davies 1982: 48).

<sup>26</sup> In both episodes in the *VC1*, Arthur is accompanied by Cai and Bedwyr, who are known from other secular Arthurian stories. Cai appears in 'How Culhwch won Olwen,' in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *HRB*, and also in the three 'romances' of the *Mabinogi* influenced by the works of Chrétien de Troyes: 'Peredur son of Efrog,' 'Gereint son of Erbin,' and 'The Lady of the Well.' Bedwyr, on the other hand, appears in the poem 'What Man is the Gatekeeper?' in the Black Book of Carmarthen (ed. by Evans & Pennar 1989), together with Cai in 'How Culhwch won Olwen' and in the Triads as one of the three diademed battle-leaders of the Island of Britain (cf. *Trioedd*, §21). For Cai and Bedwyr's roles in the *Mabinogi*, see S. Davies 2007: 246, 263. See, also, Sims-Williams 1991. For the three 'romances' and the influences of Chrétien de Troyes's works, see Edel 1996: 311-334 and Lloyd-Morgan 2004: 41-58.

Geoffrey” (185).<sup>27</sup> This passage might reflect, instead, a development of his role in the ninth-century *HB* and in the tenth-century *AC*: a *Christian* who defended the afflicted Britons against their enemies, although the tone with which the hagiographer describes him might tend towards a moral bias against Arthur’s attitude of wanting to abduct the girl for himself.<sup>28</sup> The hagiographer’s words *seem* to condemn Arthur’s behaviour, as could be inferred from the characterisation of his intention to abduct the girl as *iniquitous* (cf. *VC1*, Prologue). The unfortunate translation of *iniqua cogitatione plenus* as “filled with evil thoughts” raises unnecessary connotations associated with evilness or the act of being *filled*, i.e. possessed by evil, a meaning which the passage does not corroborate. It may also be possible, however, as I will argue in short, to think of this putative “bias” as a constraint originated within the structure of the episode itself.

The fact that Cadog’s father had abducted the girl is never criticised. This scene reflects the paradoxical situation in which the authors of *Saints’ Lives* had to place their protagonists. While it is true that the role of the many portrayed kings and chiefs being rebuked by the saints might have been to remind secular rulers of the divine dangers of acting against ecclesiastical communities, some hagiographers followed the trends of their times and assented to many other practices of their Welsh contemporary society, like harbouring of

---

<sup>27</sup> The ‘Briton hope’ refers to the British expectation of Arthur’s aid against invading enemies. Its origins might go back to the ninth century, relating to a period when military and political powers developed into fundamental tools in the British society for the protection against its Anglo-Saxon enemies. Arthur was not the only figure on which the Welsh put their expectation: Cadwaladr, who also figures in the *HB* and in the later *HRB*, was another candidate for the role of defender of the Britons (cf. Richter 1976: 75, Henken 1996: 25). The ‘British’ hope on the coming of a saviour/defender was transferred to the ‘Britons’ in Brittany during an unknown time. It is especially in reference to the Bretons that the ‘Briton hope’ is quoted in the scholarly literature. It refers to the Breton hope on Arthur’s *return* to help fight their enemies (cf. Padel 1994: 9-10). The earliest written evidence of the Breton hope appeared in a text by Herman of Laon, *De Miraculis S. Mariae Laudunensis* (ca. 1145). This text described a fund raising journey of nine Laon canons throughout Britain in 1113. Probably somewhere in Cornwall (or Devon), the Laon canons are told that they are in Arthur’s country. At Bodmin, a quarrel arises between a local and one of their group as to whether Arthur was still alive. The whole scene points to the “Britones” hope that Arthur would still return one day (cf. Tatlock 1950: 204, Padel 1994: 9-10, Coe and Young 1995: 44). For a discussion of the date of the canons’ journey, see Tatlock 1933: 454-465. For the journey as a fundraising enterprise, see Ward 1982: 134-140. For a discussion of the Briton hope, see Bullock-Davies 1981: 432-40.

<sup>28</sup> In my opinion, very soon after his “historicisation” during the eighth and ninth centuries, Arthur came to be regarded as the *protector* of the Britons, fulfilling the role of a redeemer hero. By historicisation, I understand the gradual transformation of a legendary Arthur into a ‘historicised’ one, whose deeds were put into written form and used for the achievement of various political goals during the ninth century. The best representative of this historicised Arthur is found in the ninth-century *HB* and later in the tenth-century *AC* (cf. Padel 1994, Higham 2002). Eleventh- and twelfth-century ecclesiastics probably took an ambiguous position towards his figure. On the one hand, his mention in the *Lives* served to perpetuate his heroic role, a role which was definitely important in the face of the threat occasioned by the recent Anglo-Norman invasions. On the other hand, they sought to extract from him the “veneration” he might have earned over time, positioning him on the side of secular characters which needed to be exemplarily punished within a very Christian understanding of salvation history. For a discussion of the redeemer heroes in Welsh literature and their expected roles, see Henken 1995: 22-29. See, also, Henken 1996.

fugitive thieves, murders and usurpers. The speculation that Arthur could have become Cadog's father had he succeeded in abducting Gwladus is implicit in the scene so that, arguably, the title of king could mirror the way the audience/readers might have already known Arthur and would reinforce the noble descent of Cadog, had this been the outcome of the abduction.

Besides a hagiographical interpretation, this episode seems to make a clear distinction between secular and clerical realms. That abduction as such is not condemned and the fact that the secular characters are described in their leisure activities contributes to form a clear-cut division between both social realms. By emphasising the idea of helping the needy and distressed, the text seems to provide a model for a "good" king in relation to his subjects.

In the *VCI*, Arthur is firstly portrayed as a "hero." This word had mixed connotations during medieval times: it not only meant a hero in the modern sense but also a chief, a lesser king or land proprietor.<sup>29</sup> Next he is called a "rex," then the "dominus" whom his companions had to obey. This is perhaps the earliest written text "in any language" to call him "rex," as Oliver Padel correctly noticed (2000: 40). Moreover, he appears playing dice with his two companions, which is a leisure activity shown in connection with *kings* and *chiefs* throughout the *VCI*: Cadog is shown, as a child, reproaching his father's household against playing dice;<sup>30</sup> Rhun, son of the famous king Maelgwn of Gwynedd, also appears playing dice with his eunuchs before coming in conflict with Cadog (§24). Although getting the title of *rex*, Arthur is *not* associated with any specific territorial property. He is the *rex illustrissimi Britannia*,<sup>31</sup> whereas the other kings or chiefs that appear in the *VCI* are *either* always associated with the region they rule *or* belong to a known Welsh noble family: Maelgwn is also called the *rex* who *in tota Britannia regnabat* – the *rex Guinedotorum* [of the region of Gwynedd] (§23); king Rhun is king's Maelgwn's son; Rhain is Cadog's cousin (§25), and so forth.

The use of noble titles throughout the *VCI* is not consistent. *Reges*, *duces*, *principes*, *reguli* and *domini* all come into conflict with Cadog, which at the end serves to demonstrate the divine approval of Cadog's work against that of each and every one of the secular rulers. The

---

<sup>29</sup> Georges, K. (2002, repr.) *Lateinisch-Deutsch. Ausführliches Handwörterbuch. Elektronische Ausgabe der 8. Auflage (1913-1918)*. Berlin: Directmedia.

<sup>30</sup> "*O ceca mens hominum, que semper transitoria appetit et terrena respicit*" [O blind mind of men ever to seek transitory things and look to earthly things!] (*VCI*, §5).

<sup>31</sup> "the illustrious king of Britannia" (*VCI*, §22).

meanings of these titles were possibly disregarded because they reflected the changing political situation in Wales during the hagiographer's and/or the continuators' time. It could also perhaps point to the use of earlier sources containing these noble titles by the hagiographer(s): over the course of time some of the titles may have lost their original meaning and were simply incorporated into later material. The other possibility would argue for a rhetorical device used by the hagiographer(s) in order to avoid repetition of the same terms. This rhetorical device blurred the distinction between the titles, if there had ever been one to the hagiographer(s). The same titles used to describe one person can be found some passages later in connection with rival characters. King Maelgwn, for instance, calls Arthur *heroum fortissimus* (§23).<sup>32</sup> *Fortissimus*, however, is used in an earlier passage to refer to Arthur's own enemy. King Maelgwn of Gwynedd also appears, like Arthur, as "king of Britain," an idea which was not new in Wales.<sup>33</sup>

This first Arthurian episode is neatly structured, arranged around a *lack/insufficiency*, a *response* from the hero, and a *result*, following the Proppian scheme of an episode's structure within a folktale, already referred to in the methodological section of this thesis.<sup>34</sup> Thus, structurally, the *hero*, here Gwynllyw, *lacks* a bride. This lack propels the first move in this episode. In Propp's analysis, *lack/insufficiency* (Propp's VIIIa) is analogous to cases of villainy that normally introduce a tale. Sometimes *lack/insufficiency* can also be transferred to the beginning of a tale, substituting villainy, and changing the tale's focus from an instance of misfortune in the life of the hero to a more direct and practical need (cf. Propp 1928: 36). As a consequence of Gwynllyw's lack of a bride, messengers are dispatched, dishonoured and ill-treated by the bride's father. The insult reaches the ears of the hero, who reacts against it by abducting the girl from her father's house. The abduction, in its turn, impels the bride's father towards a *reaction* which then makes way to a *pursuit* (Propp's *Pr*). Brychan gathers an army and pursues the hero throughout his territory. Arthur and his companions appear, afterwards, as the hero's *helpers* in the sense that they *rescue* the hero from pursuit and allow for the *liquidation* of lack (Propp's *K* and *Rs*). More than one sphere of action was, moreover, distributed among the individual characters. Thus, Gwynllyw is not only the *hero-seeker* but also ends up incorporating the role of the *victim-hero*: he is pursued, he meets people who are eventually responsible for the liquidation of the lack and, finally, he marries Gwladus at the

---

<sup>32</sup> "the bravest of heroes" (*VC1*, §23).

<sup>33</sup> The identification of the Welsh nobility with the notion of Britishness dates back to the ninth century, when the *Historia Brittonum* was written (cf. W. Davies 1982: 80). According to Wendy Davies, from the ninth century onwards, "kings began to call themselves – or to be called – kings of the Briton" [my emphasis] (*ibidem*).

<sup>34</sup> In section III.1.



end of the tale (Propp's *W*). Brychan, on the other hand, reacts to the abduction of his daughter and *pursues* the hero. Whereas pursuit (Propp's *Pr*) is connected to the sphere of action of the *villain* in Propp's model, Brychan's denial of his daughter to Gwynllyw could be reminiscent of his role as the princess' father, who ascribes difficult tasks to the hero as a condition for him to marry his daughter (Propp's *M*). Finally, Arthur and his companions conflate the spheres of actions of the *helper* and the *donor*. Although they do not provide Gwynllyw with a magical object as expected from the donor in Propp's scheme, they are encountered accidentally and it is this encounter that ensures the liquidation of lack (Propp's *XI*); moreover, they also greet and interrogate the hero (Propp's *XII.2*), who reacts to their greetings (Propp's *XIII.2*). What follows from this interrogation is that Arthur and his companions fight against Brychan and achieve victory for Gwynllyw (cf. Propp *XVIII.1*).

The *Prologue* was intended to be inserted chronologically before Cadog's birth in order to provide an explanation for his parents' union. In order to warrant a smooth transition from the *Preface* to the *Prologue*, some connecting phrases and words were added at its beginning.<sup>35</sup> The same strategy was employed again at the beginning of §1.<sup>36</sup> However unperceivable this transition might be, there is *nothing* in the *Prologue* that can be considered hagiographical. Cadog is not even mentioned by name in this section. As stated above, the *Prologue* stands independently and it is indeed quite entertaining for the motifs and themes that it introduces. These are all secular in character and are connected to themes found in the native law-texts, for example, and native heroic literature, like hunting wild animals, abduction of women, etc. In the *Prologue*, moreover, admonitions from the part of the hagiographer are almost inexistent; in fact, only the use of the adjective *iniquitous* to refer to Arthur's wish to abduct Gwladus could perhaps account for admonition. If one examines this episode again in detail, the suggestion is that there is *no* connection between Arthur's thoughts and his moral weakness. This interpretation only stands if one reads this episode as a piece of hagiographical writing. Gwynllyw's act is not condemned at all and the reason for this is *not* his saintly connection to Cadog: what is at stake here is the fact that Arthur, if following his *iniquitous* thoughts, is going to act against a ruler whose wife Gwladus is originally meant to be. Arthur's act of abducting Gwladus would have implied his incorporation of the role of the *villain*, which was, *structurally*, not possible. This Arthurian story was incorporated into the bulk of Cadog's *Life* with little structural modification. The *result* that ensues from the afore-

<sup>35</sup> "Post multum uero temporis interuallum prefatus rex Gundleius, iam regno fretus [...]" [After a long interval of time the aforesaid king Gwynllyw, depending now on his kingdom [...]] (*VC1, Prologue*), [my emphasis].

<sup>36</sup> "Igitur peractis his omnibus [...]" [All these things therefore being done [...]] (*VC1, §1*).

mentioned moves does not relate, moreover, to any kind of *miraculous* account: it is the heroic attributes of both the *seeker-hero* and the *helper* that are emphasised. The main characters are Cadog's father, Gwynllyw –here portrayed as a warrior-king taking risks to find a bride for the well-being of his kingdom – and Arthur and his two companions, who help Gwynllyw fight Gwladus' father Brychan and ensure their longed-for union. This episode's independence may also account for its abrupt ending, without any continuation whatsoever to be resumed in another point of the *Life*.

On the other hand, by examining the other encounter-episodes in the *VCI*, including the second Arthurian episode, some significant aspects can be detected: one recognises a “basic pattern” for the encounter-episodes which also recurs in the *in vita* sections of most *Vespasian Lives*. This basic pattern is formed by the arrival of the secular ruler in the region occupied by the saint, which normally belongs to the ruler in question. The saint, either living in a monastery or in some secluded place, is confronted by the ruler or by some of his men. Confrontation occurs for reasons which are mostly connected to the idea of *possession* and in which secular and religious values are designed to oppose each other: the ruler demands something from the saint, challenging the saint's control over the region. Also common are the scenes in which some of the rulers' men rob the saint's community. The rulers' demands cause God's intervention through the miracles worked by the saint(s). The ultimate outcome of this is the ruler's repentance and the acquisition of either land or exemption of taxation for the saint's monastery. As will become clear through the analyses of the coming episodes, this “basic pattern” is conditioned by a *typological-associatively* scheme in which the rulers represent the general “idea” of secular opposition to the activities of God's followers on earth.

The right of Cadog's Llancarfan to give sanctuary to fugitives is the theme of the second episode in which Arthur appears. This was one form of immunity claimed by Welsh ecclesiastics in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It apparently dated back to one or two centuries earlier and meant that clerics had the right to protect public offenders in their properties, not only preventing legal processes to take place but also controlling violent human hunts across their territories. The right to give sanctuary was an incredible source of power in society, especially because the majority of the public offenders in crimes of murder, rape, abduction and assault belonged to the Welsh nobility (cf. W. Davies 1982: 167-168).<sup>37</sup>

---

<sup>37</sup> Already in the words of Gildas, writing in the sixth-century, one can perceive the admonishments coming from an ecclesiastic against the acts of secular rulers, like their disrespect for churches, the waging of wars and chasing of thieves. See *DE* §27-36.

Atonement for their crimes was expected, mostly in the form of gifts to the communities that harboured them. As Davies stated:

The power, moral and spiritual, to enforce recognition of status and to demand compensation for the infringement both of privilege attached to status and of protection appears to have been the greatest weapon that clerics had in their dealings with kings and with the laity, for we do not hear of clerics taking up arms to defend their rights and properties (W. Davies 1982: 168).<sup>38</sup>

Together with tax exemption, sanctuary right appears emphatically in the *Vespasian Lives*, attesting to the importance of this issue to the members of some religious communities. The *VCI* supplies the most extreme example of this sort of claim. It is, therefore, significant that Arthur is the character chosen to assert this right. This episode refers to a certain *dux*, “Brittannorum fortissimus, uocabulo Ligessauc” who “tres milites Arthurii illustrissimi Brittannie, trucidauit” [my emphasis] (§22).<sup>39</sup> Ligessauc comes as a fugitive to Cadog’s monastery. The saint secures him for seven years in his community at the end of which time Arthur gets to know his hiding place. Arthur comes to the river Usk with a great force of soldiers in order to demand compensation for the crimes. He consents in having the case judged by saints coming from different parts of Britain, who decide that Arthur should be given one hundred cows as the worth of the killed men.<sup>40</sup> Arthur, while agreeing with that arrangement, behaves insultingly, demanding from Ligessauc multi-coloured cows: “cows distinguished in their fore part with a red colour and in their hind part with white.”<sup>41</sup> When the cows start crossing the river, however, where Arthur’s men waited, they suddenly turn into bundles of fern. Arthur recognises in this a miracle – “prodigium” – and humbly asks Cadog to be forgiven for his sins.<sup>42</sup> The *Life* then proceeds by reassuring that whoever shall come

---

<sup>38</sup> There is, in fact, a description of monks taking arms to defend their monastery in the *Life* of Illtud, in its *post-mortem* section. See VI, §26.

<sup>39</sup> “[...] a certain brave leader of the British [...] called Ligessauc [...] slew three soldiers of Arthur, most illustrious king of Britannia [...]” (*VCI*, §22).

<sup>40</sup> According to the surviving medieval Welsh laws, which were extensively copied during the twelfth century, the compensation for certain kinds of injury to a king was fixed at a hundred cows for every *cantref* of his lordship. This is, for instance, the compensation for homicide (cf. Jenkins 1986: 154). The *VCI* reads “*Alii uero c. uaccas illi in precium prescriptorum uirorum tribuendas sanxerunt, a priscis enim temporibus apud Brittones huiusmodi iudicium ac istud precium de regum ducumque ministris constitutum erat.*” [But others ordained that one hundred cows should be given to him as the worth of the aforesaid men, because from ancient times among the Britons judgement of this sort, and that price, had been determined upon by the ministers of kings and chiefs] (*VCI*, §22). For the use of the laws during the twelfth and thirteen centuries, see Charles-Edwards 1989: 10-11.

<sup>41</sup> “[...] *in anteriori parte rubei, in posteriori uero candidi coloris distinctas plurima tergiuersatione gestiuit*” (*VCI*, §22).

<sup>42</sup> *Prodigium* is an interesting choice which could be in contrast with the aforementioned *diuino magnalio*. Both terms are found in Jerome’s translation of the Bible, the former one being borrowed and adapted from traditional pagan terminology (together with *signum*, *portendunt* and *ostendunt*), whereas the latter is often found in the Old Testament’s direct references to the mighty works of God. Whether this tells us something about the hagiographer’s understanding and application of different terms to refer to miracles directly worked by God or those worked with the intercession of the saint remains to be studied. I could not notice, however, any significant

into Cadog's district as a fugitive is to be received by the community and to be allotted to his service *usque ad ultimum uite sue terminum*.<sup>43</sup> Arthur corroborates that statement, cursing the ones who would try to break the arrangement.<sup>44</sup> Differently from the other kings throughout the *VCI*, Arthur, after repenting before the saint, does *not* grant him any property. There was no such place with which the hagiographer could associate him *yet*: it is only in the Welsh *Lives* written in the first decades of the twelfth century that Arthur became associated with different regions in Wales. However, some of the hagiographer's contemporaries might have believed in Arthur's historicity and heroic fame. This is exactly why he appears four more times in the *Life* mentioned by kings who corroborate the rights granted previously by him to the *familia* of Cadog. The apparent pattern used by the hagiographer clearly intends to make the rulers' swearing solemn and to emphasise their submission to Cadog: 1. the kings are brought into conflict with Cadog; 2. a miracle is performed; 3. they repent of their sins and 4. they swear fealty to the saint for the rest of their lives, cursing those who would try to break the arrangement:

*Affirmabo [Maelgwn] et ratum faciam refugium, quod tibi heroum fortissimus, Arthurius, impendit, ut ex mea sobole qui breuiauerit sit maledictus, et qui seruauerit sit benedictus, teque hodie confessorem mihi, si tibi beneplacitum fuerit, inter Dextrales pre omnibus eligo.*

I will confirm and ratify the refuge, which Arthur, the bravest of heroes, bestowed on thee, so that whoever of my progeny shall abbreviate it, let him be accursed, and whoever shall keep it, let him be blessed, and to-day I choose thee to be my confessor, if it shall be wellpleasing to thee, above all others among the men of the South (*VCI*, §23);

[...] *rex adauxit refugium eius utpote prius Arthurius et genitor premissi Rhun constituerunt, ratum illud faciens, sententiam diuerse qualitatibus exerens, 'Si quis,' inquit, 'refugium tuum infregerit, sit excommunicatus. Qui uero custodierit, a Deo et hominibus exstat dilectus.*

[...] the king added his refuge as Arthur previously and the father of the aforesaid Rhun had settled it, ratifying it, using a sentence of different kind. 'If anyone', says he, 'shall infringe thy refuge, let him be excommunicate. But whoever shall observe it abides beloved of God and men' (*VCI*, §24);

[...] *Rein [...] qui [...] confirmauit refugium, quod prius Mailgunus et Arthurius ei [Saint Cadog] rato federe contulerant.*

[...] Rhain [...] who [...] confirmed the refuge, which previously Maelgwn and Arthur had granted to him by a ratified treaty (*VCI*, §25);

---

difference between the uses of "miraculum" and "prodigium" in the miracles analysed in the *VCI*. For a fully discussion of the medieval terminology for *miracle*, see Heinzelmann 2002: 23-61.

<sup>43</sup> "*Si quis uero alienigena [...] atque ad pristinum refugii sui locum denuo remeauerit, secundum seniorum traditionem usque ad ultimum uite sue terminum seruicio ipsius deputandus ac alacriter recipiendus est*" [If any stranger...should return anew to the original place of his refuge, he is according to the traditions of elders to be allotted to his service to the last limit of his life and eagerly received] (*VCI*, §22).

<sup>44</sup> "*Arthurius uniuersisque duces eiusdem cum totius Brittannie senioribus corroborantes [...]*" [This Arthur and all his captains with the elders of all Britannia corroborating...] (*VCI*, §22).

[...] *mandauitque* [Saint Cadog] *quo conseruarent* [king Meurig and his wife Dibunn] *refugium suum pro pacto, quod antea cum Mailguno et Arthurio atque Rein pepigerat.*

[...] and [Saint Cadog] commanded that they should keep his refuge in accordance with the pact which he had previously concluded with Maelgwn and Arthur and Rhain (*VCI*, §25).

The second Arthurian episode contains two *moves*, as it were, or two main sequences with their own internal motivations. Ligessauc's killing of Arthur's men is an act of *villainy*, an action, which prompts a reaction from Arthur. Disregarding for a moment the second sequence, Arthur could be seen in this part as the *hero*, who, after prompted to move and react due to the villain's acts, pursues him around his territory. In this first sequence, Ligessauc is described in terms of his family relations, he is the son of someone called Eliman and is surnamed *Llaw Hir*, Long Hand,<sup>45</sup> whereas Arthur is the illustrious king of Britannia. The specification of the seven years of protection given by Cadog to Ligessauc contrasts with the first Arthurian episode in which time does not play any significant role for the structuring of the tale. Indeed, if my interpretation of the first Arthurian episode is correct, we are dealing with a tale inserted at the beginning of the *VCI* without much adaptation to the hagiographical discourse. Within a heroic tale such as that time is governed by the tale's moves and by the characters' actions. Contrariwise, the hagiographical discourse submits the frame of a secular heroic tale to its symbolic or referential notion of time.<sup>46</sup> A passage from Matthews 10:28 closes this sequence by reminding the audience that God's powers are greater than those of secular kings like Arthur, whom one should not, consequently, fear.<sup>47</sup> There follows the passage in which Arthur arrives at the banks of the river Usk for the sake of making suit against Ligessauc, demanding the multi-coloured cows:

---

<sup>45</sup> The adjective *Hir* (tall/long) or the epithet *Llaw Hir* (long hand/long arm) is found in some post-medieval legends and poems associated with the figure of Maelgwn of Gwynedd and his relatives. See Bartrum 1993: 439. Tallness seems to have been an important physical description in medieval Wales.

<sup>46</sup> Within one episode time might nevertheless be mentioned as an extra-textual allusion, for example. In one of the charters attached to the *VCI* right after the *post-mortem* section, we find the duration of the refuge at Llancarfan being stated as taking *seven* years and penitence for homicide as taking *fourteen* years, so that here the hagiographer could have added information which is relevant for the regional and political contextualisation of the tale. The Cartulary attached to the *VCI* corresponds to chapters 55 to 68 in Wade-Evans' edition. The statement of the period of seven years of refuge is found in §69 in connection to the story of Maelgwn's invasion of Gwynlliog, referred to previously. As stated in IV.1., this chapter did not belong to the *VCI* originally, having been inserted after the *post-mortem* section of the *VCI*. The information, however, that it gives on the duration of refuge in Llancarfan is significant and might reflect eleventh- and/or twelfth-century practices: "*Sanctus quoque Cadocus tradidit spacium refugii .uii. annos, et septem menses .uii. que dies [...]*" [Also saint Cadog gave as the duration of his refuge seven years, seven months, and seven days [...]]. For the fourteen years of penance for homicide, see §57: "*At illi satisfactionem Euan suscipientes xiiii. annos penitencie iniunxerunt ei [...]*" [And they, accepting satisfaction from Euan, enjoined upon him fourteen years of penance [...]].

<sup>47</sup> "*Nolite timere eos, qui corpus occidunt, animam autem non possunt occidere, sed potius eum timete, qui potest animam et corpus mittere in gehennam*" [Fear not those who kill the body, but cannot kill the soul, but rather fear him who is able to cast soul and body into hell] (*VCI*, § 22).

[...] in anteriori parte rubei, in posteriori uero candidi coloris distinctas plurima tergiuersatione gestiuit. Illi quippe, quo huiusmodi coloris peccora repperirentur, penitus ignorantes, quid consilii super his caperent hesitabant. Quocirca uir Dei in trium Personarum nomine imperauit iuuenibus de concilio quatinus ix., siue, uelut quidam fatentur, c. iuuenicas, ad se minare, cuiuscunque coloris forent. Ut autem prenotata animalia pre oculis ipsius et aliorum Dei famulorum adducta fuerunt, diuino magnalio<sup>48</sup> ex praua Arthurii cupidine, in prelibatis coloribus pro beniuolo iustorum precatu & desiderio statim mutata fuere [my emphasis].

[...] he desired cows distinguished in their fore part with a red colour and in their hind part with white. And they, being altogether ignorant as to where cattle of this sort of colour were to be found, doubted what plan they should adopt concerning these things. Wherefore the man of God in the name of the Three Persons ordered young men of the council to drive to him nine, or, as some maintain, one hundred heifers, of whatever colour they might be. When the aforesaid animals were brought up before the eyes of him and of the other servants of God, they were immediately changed by the divine power, in accordance with Arthur's perverse desire, into the aforesaid colours at the benevolent prayer and desire of the righteous [my emphasis] (VCI, §22).

The hagiographer seems to combine the idea of a miraculous deed with traditional wonderful motifs: the colours of the demanded cows are red and white, colours commonly associated with the supernatural Otherworld – *Annwfn* – in both Welsh and Irish tradition. In the First Branch of the *Mabinogi*, for instance, the same motif is also found in relation to dogs: Pwyll, prince of Dyfed, encounters a pack of dogs from *Annwfn* that were “a brilliant shining white, and their ears red” (Jones & Jones 1957: 3). Interestingly, the same motif is also found in Irish Saints' *Lives*: in the introduction to his edition of medieval Irish *Lives* of Saints from the Book of Lismore, Whitley Stokes refers, for example, to miracles of a special significance that are related to animals, plants and minerals, and which he classifies as miracles of an “external nature.” Among the miracles related to animals are those of cows of a “precious kind:” white and red-eared (cf. Stokes 1890: xciii).<sup>49</sup> This episode seems to subject, therefore, a marvellous description associated with folkloric tales to the miraculous intervention of the saint: instead of reporting uncanny or wonderful events as the intrusion of a different and magical world, an incomprehensible “Other” world, as is the case with the Welsh *Annwfn*, a Saint's *Life* works to subject the “unnaturalness” of the event to a deeper religious meaning (cf. Lüthi 1970: 40-45). Here, the clerics summoned by Cadog are *penitus ignorantes*, “altogether ignorant” (VCI, §22), where such cows could be found. Cadog is then able to transform ordinary cows into white and red-eared ones so that the oddness of the cows'

<sup>48</sup> This is the manuscript's reading and transcription by Wade-Evans, see p. 70 in his *VS*.

<sup>49</sup> Most of the literary references to white, red-eared cows come from Ireland (cf. Hemming 2002: 71). Jessica Hemming has suggested that due to the scarceness and careful selection of red-eared white cattle in Welsh and, to a lesser extent, in Irish breeding stocks, this type might have acquired an otherworldly and magical association. The magical associations of the colour white in many cultures (meaning purity, holiness, etc.) might have helped to strengthen the unnaturalness of red-eared white cattle (2002: 71-82). The fact that the motif appears in the First Branch of the *Mabinogi* in relation to *dogs* makes me believe, instead, on the stronger literary character of the motif, although the development of any mythological tale concerning the origin of the cattle is plausible.

colours is subtly explained to the audience in terms of the intervention of the divine power through the invocation of the Trinity.<sup>50</sup>

Cadog's deception of Arthur by turning the cows into bundles of fern might suggest, furthermore, the association of the saint with the figure of the *trickster* in secular literature. In 1981, William Heist emphasised the role of tricksters played by some Irish saints in folkloric accounts and hagiographical writings. One of his examples recalled the acts of the Irish saint Ruadán (or Ruadhán) against a certain king Diarmat, who pursued Aed Guaire, the king of Uí Maine, throughout his territory. Ruadán hides Aed Guaire in a pit under his oratory. The conflict between the two kings is mediated by the saint, who gives Diarmat thirty blue horses in compensation for his surrender of Aed Guaire. The magical horses return to their place of origin, the sea, shortly afterwards, leaving Diarmat with no compensation at all. St. Brigid, moreover, is said to have trained a wild fox to save a poor man from the anger of a rich man, whose tame fox he had inadvertently killed. The wild fox returned to its natural state as soon as the poor man was freed (cf. Heist 1981: 125-126). In collections of hagiographical motifs, this is normally referred to as the 'deception motif' (cf. Bray 1992: 16-17). The transformation of the cows into bundles of fern in the *VCI* serves, moreover, to explain the topography of the place and the origin of the place-name where the pleading took place. This situates the episode within the interests of the local community:

*Ab illo enim die ille locus Britannico fatu Tref redinauc, i[d est], uilla filicis, uocatur.*

For from that day that place in British speech is called Tref redinauc, *Tredunnoch*, that is, fern homestead (*VCI*, §22).

It could be argued that the hagiographer's particular interest in place-names caused him to connect them to the deeds of the saint not only to define the boundaries of the community's lands but also to provide a written testimony for the ancientness of the land donations. It is, as it were, a means of inserting that particular place into the story of the saint and appropriate it historically, making it "real" within that community's understanding of their region's history. Nevertheless, toponymic explanations and the direct connection between a saint's foundation and his deeds are not new in the history of hagiography: it should be noted that some of the

---

<sup>50</sup> One interesting reference to a red-eared white bull appears, on the other hand, in the Laws of Hywel Dda in the statement for the compensation of homicide to the king of Aberffraw (cf. Jenkins 1986: 154) If one discards the explanation of the subjection of the "supernatural" to the miraculous given above, one would still have to accept that the point of this episode is the "transformation" of normal cows into cows of an "unnatural" kind. The astonished reaction of Cadog's clergy to the unnaturalness of the demanded cows still makes me tend towards an interpretation of a more dichotomic nature between a secular motif and a religious one.

‘classical’ models of Western hagiography, like Jerome’s *Vita Hilarionis* (henceforth *VH*), written ca. 390, had a textual structure known as the *itinerarium*, in which the life of a saint was presented according to his journeys around his/her region and the then known world. The main characteristic of Jerome’s *VH* is that Hilario’s itinerary is structured in order to connect the saint with place-names and topographical information intended for the audience to relate to in different ways.<sup>51</sup> In seventh-century Ireland, some hagiographers might have deliberately chosen this pattern for their *Lives* because it offered them a means of establishing an association between saints and specific territories. The vernacular narrative tradition of Ireland, which, like the Welsh, also associated place-names with regional heroes,<sup>52</sup> might have influenced the hagiographers’ adoption of the *itinerarium* for some Irish *Lives* (cf. Picard 1985: 80). If not directly influenced by early hagiographical models, the Welsh penchant for topographical information associated with saints could have been either indirectly influenced by Irish models or might have followed as a natural hagiographical development aided by the occurrence of the same trait in Welsh secular narrative tradition.<sup>53</sup>

The only extant parallels to the *Prologue* or, to a lesser extent, to the second Arthurian episode of the *VC1* in Welsh hagiography are the Arthurian episodes found in the *Life* of Gildas written by *Caradoc of Llancarfan* sometime during the first half of the twelfth century.<sup>54</sup> In the *VG2*, Arthur and Gildas are, as far as evidence allows, firstly associated with Glastonbury.<sup>55</sup> It is worth examining the Arthurian episodes in the *VG2* so that the process of insertion of a heroic “tale” into a Saint’s *Life* can be better appreciated. The other surviving *Life* of Gildas is of Breton origin and probably dates to the end of the ninth century.<sup>56</sup> Arthur

---

<sup>51</sup> In Morales, E., Leclerc, P. (ed. and trans.) (2007) *Jérôme. Trois Vies de Moines (Paul, Malchus, Hilarion)*. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf.

<sup>52</sup> The interest for toponymic explanations – connected or not with onomastic phrases – can be found in Welsh heroic literature as is the case with some tales of the *Mabinogi* (cf. Davies 2007: xv).

<sup>53</sup> For the importance of place-names as a mnemonic device, see Davies 1996: 358.

<sup>54</sup> Caradoc of Llancarfan was a contemporary of Geoffrey of Monmouth. Geoffrey mentioned him at the end of his *HRB* as the one whom he allowed to continue his *Historia* (cf. Tatlock 1938: 140). The *Life* of Gildas cannot be later, therefore, than Geoffrey’s death in ca. 1155. The edition used for the two versions of the *Life* of Gildas is: Williams, H. (ed. and trans.) (1899, repr. 1990) *Two Lives of Gildas by a Monk of Ruys and Caradoc of Llancarfan*. Felinfach: Llanerch Publishers. The Breton *Life* will be referred to, henceforth, as *VG1*, and the Welsh *Life* by Caradoc, as *VG2*.

<sup>55</sup> It has been suggested that he was commissioned by the monks of Glastonbury to write a *Life* of Gildas as part of a great program to bolster the image of their house (cf. Gransden 1976: 346, cf. also Lloyd 1948: 134-135). Caradoc was not the only hagiographer or historian from other monasteries whom the Glastonbury monks had invited – and probably paid – to promote the prestige of their house. *William of Malmesbury*, for instance, had already been commissioned by them and written a *Historia* of Glastonbury. See: Scott, J. (ed. and trans.) (1981) *The Early History of Glastonbury – An Edition, Translation and Study of William of Malmesbury’s De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie*. Suffolk: The Boydell Press.

<sup>56</sup> According to Hugh Williams (1899: 8), the last chapters of the *VG1* were accretions to the original *Vita* and the date 1008 given in chapter 34 would be too late to apply for the whole composition. The original material might have been written ca. 870 and was closely connected to the production of the *Lives* of Paul and Samson. It



is not mentioned in this text, so that Arthur's appearance in Caradoc's VG2 might have been influenced by Arthurian texts or tales circulating in Wales at the time of the *Life*'s production.

Arthur appears in four chapters of Caradoc's VG2. Chapter 5 introduces him as the king of the whole of Britain and as someone whom Gildas loved and desired to obey.<sup>57</sup> This first story takes place on the border regions between Scotland and Britain, where Gildas' brothers used to rise up against Arthur, refusing to accept him as their king. Hueil, Gildas' eldest brother was pursued and killed by Arthur on the Isle of Man for having often come down from Scotland and devastated the northern parts of Britain.<sup>58</sup> Gildas hears of the death of his brother and prays for both Arthur's and Hueil's spirits, following an apostolic commandment by Luke that exhorts the people to love those they hate.<sup>59</sup> In chapter six, Gildas meets Arthur in Britain. Arthur repents of his sins and accepts the unexplained penance imposed by all the chief bishops and abbots of Britain.<sup>60</sup> The contention between Hueil and Arthur and the situation on the northern British border is the most emphasised element in these two chapters. Gildas' connection to Hueil, which is only found here, reads like a device of an author who

---

was probably the date given in chapter 34 and the almost contemporary events mentioned in the final chapters that led authors like Ferdinand Lot (1907: 230-231) to date it to 1045. See, also, Bowen 1969: 95, who affirmed that the *Life* might have been written before the Norse raids in Brittany in the tenth century. For this, see Kerlouégan 1987: 83-87.

<sup>57</sup> "*Contemporaneus Gildas [...] fuit Arturi regis totius maioris Britanniae, quem diligendum diligebat, cui semper cupiebat obedire.*" [...] Gildas was the contemporary of Arthur, the king of the whole of Britain, whom he loved exceedingly, and whom he always desired to obey] (VG2, §5).

<sup>58</sup> "*Confratres tamen xxiii resistebant regi rebelli praedicto, nolentes pati dominum, sed crebro fugabant et expellebant a saltu et bello. Hueil maior natu belliger assiduus et miles famosissimus nulli regi obedevit, nec etiam Arthuro. Affligebat eundem, commovebat inter utrumque maximum furorem. A Scotia veniebat saepissime, incendia ponebat, praedas ducebat cum victoria ac laude. Unde rex universalis Britanniae audiens magnanimum iuvenem talia fecisse et aequalia facere persecutus est victoriosissimum iuvenem et optimum, ut aiebant et sperabant indigenae, futurum regem. In persecutionem autem hostili et in conventu bellico in insula Minau interfecit iuvenem praedatorem. Post illam interfectionem Arthurus victor remeavit, gaudens maxime quod superaverat suum fortissimum hostem.*" [Nevertheless his twenty-three brothers constantly rose up against the afore-mentioned rebellious king, refusing to own him as their lord; but they often routed and drove him out from forest and the battle-field. Hueil, the elder brother, an active warrior and most distinguished soldier, submitted to no king, not even to Arthur. He used to harass the latter, and to provoke the greatest anger between them both. He would often swoop down from Scotland, set up conflagrations, and carry off spoils with victory and renown. In consequence, the king of all Britain, on hearing that the high-spirited youth had done such things and was doing similar things, pursued the victorious and excellent youth, who as the inhabitants used to assert and hope, was destined to become king. In the hostile pursuit and council of war held in the island of Minau, he killed the young plunderer. After that murder the victorious Arthur returned, rejoicing greatly that he had overcome his bravest enemy] (VG2, §5).

<sup>59</sup> "*Orate pro persequentibus uos et benefacite his qui oderunt uos*" [Love those who persecute you, and do good to them that hate you] (cf. Lk 6: 27).

<sup>60</sup> "*Audito adventu Gildae sapientis ab Arthuro rege et primatibus totius Britanniae episcopis et abbatibus convenerunt innumerabiles ex clero et populo, ut Arthurem pacificarent ex supra dicto homicidio. [...] Hoc peccato rex Arthurus dolens et lacrimans accepit ab episcopis adstantibus paenitentiam et emendavit in quantum potuit, donec consummavit vitam.*" [When king Arthur and the chief bishops and abbots of all Britain heard of the arrival of Gildas the Wise, large numbers from among the clergy and people gathered together to reconcile Arthur for the above-mentioned murder. [...] When this was done, Arthur, in grief and tears, accepted the penance imposed by the bishops who were present, and led an amended course, as far as he could, until the close of his life] (VG2, §6).

skilfully elaborated on these Arthurian episodes, adapting them to a religious discourse centred on the figure of Gildas and on the heroic attributes of the main characters, both secular – with the emphasis on their martial skills – and religious, with the emphasis on Gildas’ endurance.

The third and fourth chapters in which Arthur appears serve to justify the absence of Arthur in Gildas’ *De Excidio Britanniae*: the first reason given is Gildas’ resentment for Arthur’s murder of his brother; the second, which is the theme of chapters 10 and 11, is Gildas’ probable resentment for Arthur’s siege of Glastonbury during the time when Gildas was writing his *historias de regibus Britanniae*. Melvas, king of Somerset, had abducted Queen Gwenhwyfar, Arthur’s wife, seeking refuge in Glastonbury. The motif of a queen’s abduction also appeared in the *Prologue* of the *VCI* and served to impel the ruler’s reaction. Arthur, called a “tyrant” and a “rebellious king,”<sup>61</sup> spends one year searching for his wife until he finds out that she is kept at Glastonbury.<sup>62</sup> The “wicked” action of Melvas, the abduction of the queen is the act of *villainy* that introduces the tale. Gwenhwyfar’s husband *reacts* to the abduction and *pursues* Melvas throughout the region. The localised character of this story is latent: this is a conflict between a king of Somerset against someone, Arthur, who can gather an army from Devon and Cornwall in order to rescue his wife. Gildas and the Glastonbury clergy act as the *mediators* of the dispute, advising Melvas to restore Arthur’s wife.<sup>63</sup> This story is a literary product skilfully created or adapted to a hagiographical text. It was not only meant to provide an answer to the question of the relationship between Arthur and Gildas and between both and Glastonbury, but also to be a piece of *heroic entertainment* within a hagiographical literary work. As such, no “supernatural” or “wondrous” happening has to be justified and Gildas is definitely not the main character: he plays the role of one among many

<sup>61</sup> Much speculation has been made on Caradoc’s use of the term “rex rebellis” to qualify Arthur. Considering the fact that Gildas’ *De Excidio* was one of Caradoc’s direct sources, it is no wonder to find Arthur described as such. If Caradoc tried to provide an answer for Arthur’s absence in Gildas’ text, he most probably might have thought of Arthur as one of the Welsh rebellious kings or “tyranni” that Gildas had described in his *De Excidio Britanniae*. See *De Excidio Britanniae*, especially chapters 2, 20 and 27.

<sup>62</sup> “*Obsessa est (i.e. Glastonia) itaque ab Arturo tyranno cum innumerabili multitudine propter Guennuvar uxorem suam violatam et raptam a praedicto iniquo rege (i.e. Melvas) et ibi ductam propter refugium inviolati loci propter munitiones arundineti et fluminis ac paludis causa tutelae. Quaesiverat rex rebellis reginam per unius anni circulum, audivit tandem illam remanentem. Illico commovit exercitus totius Cornubiae et Dibneniae; paratum est bellum inter inimicos.*” [It was besieged (i.e. Glastonbury) by the tyrant Arthur with a countless multitude on account of his wife Gwenhwyfar, whom the aforesaid wicked king had violated and carried off, and brought there for protection, owing to the asylum afforded by the invulnerable position due to the fortifications of thickets of reed, river, and marsh. The rebellious king had searched for the queen throughout the course of one year, and at last heard that she remained there. Thereupon he roused the armies of the whole of Cornubia and Dibneria; war was prepared between the enemies] (VG2, §10).

<sup>63</sup> A very simplified Proppian scheme for this episode could be summarised thus: lack/insufficiency (VIIIa) ? pursuit (Pr) ? liquidation of lack (K and Rs), although the roles of the characters are not easily distinguished so that only their actions (villainy, pursuit, etc.) can be recognised.

other mediators. After the reconciliation between Melvas and Arthur, the story resumes with Gildas' wish to live an eremitical life in a place near Glastonbury. This rather lengthy excursus into the *VG2* is useful in illustrating that little structural elaboration of heroic stories is intrinsically connected to the *lack of wondrous elements* which could be subjected to the miraculous within a hagiographical discourse.

#### IV.1.3.1.2 Maelgwn and Rhun of Gwynedd

Another secular character found in the *VCI*, to whom reference has often been made, is King Maelgwn of Gwynedd. From the time of John Edward Lloyd's *History of Wales* onwards, no scholar has, in contrast to Arthur's, ever doubted Maelgwn's historicity (cf. Lloyd 1948: 124-131, Snyder 1998: 43-47, Higham 2000: 48, 50-60).<sup>64</sup> He firstly appeared in the sixth-century *De Excidio Britanniae* as one of the five British princes whom Gildas admonished for his sins. As Lloyd pointed out, Gildas' portrayal of Maelgwn, although reproachful, was "not without a certain tincture of nobleness" (1948: 128, cf. also Higham 2000: 125) and, indeed, the description of his sins is built up upon the contrast with his military prowess and appearance.<sup>65</sup> Other later written sources, like the *Historia Brittonum*, portray him as a powerful king. In the *HB*, being his ancestor would add fame to a king or chief. He is connected to the line of Cunedda, who was responsible for the expulsion of the Irish from "all the British regions."<sup>66</sup> Together with Arthur, Maelgwn is one of the most important 'secular' characters to figure in the eleventh- and twelfth-century Welsh Saints' *Lives*. He not only appears in the *VCI*, but also in the *Lives* of Brynach, Cybi and Padarn. Like Arthur, he is a secular potentate who repents of his sins before the saints and who gives privileges to the

<sup>64</sup> Late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Arthurian scholarship was marked by debates on Arthur's historicity with attempts to find out the sites of Arthur's twelve battles as described in the *HB* and the reasons why Gildas did not mention him in his *DE*. For this early debate, see Anscombe 1905: 103-123, Malone 1924: 463-491, Malone 1924: 367-374, Collingwood 1929: 292-298, Jackson 1945: 44-57, Jackson 1949: 48-49, Jackson 1958: 152-155 and Jackson 1973: 188-89.

<sup>65</sup> See, for example, *DE* §33: "*Quid tu enim, insularis draco, multorum tyrannorum depulsor tam regno quam etiam vita [...] Quid te non ei regum omnium regi, qui te cunctis paene Brittanniae ducibus tam regno fecit quam status liniamento editiorem, exhibes ceteris moribus meliorem, sed versa vice deteriorem?*" [What of you, dragon of the island, you who have removed many of these tyrants from their country and even their life? [...] The King of all kings has made you higher than almost all the generals of Britain, in your kingdom as in your physique: why do you not show yourself to him better than the others in character, instead of worse?].

<sup>66</sup> "*Mailcunus magnus rex apud Brittones regnabat, id est 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, centum quadraginta sex annis antequam Mailcun regnaret, et Scottos cum ingentissima clade expulerunt ab istis regionibus et nusquam reversi sunt iterum ad habitandum.*" [King Maelgwn the Great was reigning among the British, in Gwynedd, for his ancestors, Cunedda, with his sons, to the number of eight, had come from the north, from the country called Manaw Gododdin, 146 years before Maelgwn reigned, and expelled the Irish from these countries, with immense slaughter, so that they never again returned to inhabit them] (*HB* §62, ed. Morris 1980).

saints' monastic houses. Finally, he also appears in the recension of the *Life* of Teilo found in the *Book of Llandaff*, where the cause of his death is said to have been an outburst of what was called the *pestis flava*, the Yellow Plague.<sup>67</sup> Here the hagiographer seems to be following the *Annales Cambriae*, the earliest text to attribute Maelgwn's death to a plague.<sup>68</sup> Even if rebuked by the saints, the most important feature of their presence in the *Lives* is their very *naming*, which fixes them in a localised realm of Welsh Christian history.

Following the *basic pattern* of the *in vita* encounter-episodes mentioned previously, we find Cadog meeting Maelgwn, king of Gwynedd, and his son Rhun. These encounters happen, respectively, in chapters 23 and 24 of the *VCI*. These chapters are connected not only by their similar structure and grouping but also by the hagiographer's emphasis on certain miraculous aspects. In §23, Maelgwn, the king "who was reigning over all Britannia," sends his young men to collect tribute in the region of Gwynllwg.<sup>69</sup> They arrive at the house of one of Cadog's officers and forcibly seize his daughter from him. The men of Gwynllyw, infuriated, pursue Maelgwn's men, killing many of them. The survivors flee to Maelgwn, relating their losses.<sup>70</sup> Maelgwn, full of indignation, assembles his armies and encamps in the region of Gwynllwg, preparing a plundering attack for the next day. Gwynllyw's men report the matter to Cadog, begging him to make peace with the king. Through Cadog's prayer a "column of mist goes before him" and descends over the encampment:

*Mane autem facto, ab oratione surrexit, et ecce columpna nubis precedebat eum, que tentoria cuncta quoque agmina prescriptis regis ope[r]iens obscurauit, et facta est dies ueluti tetra nox apud illum, ita ut nullus alterum contemplari ualeret. Tum in medio calignis almus uir ante regis papilionem apparuit, salutans eum et ait, 'Salue, rex. Queso, si in oculis tuis gratiam inueni, uerba mea benigne percipe.'*

---

<sup>67</sup> For a detailed account of the medieval and post-medieval sources to mention Maelgwn, see Wood 1984: 103-117. See, also, Bartrum 1993: 438-442. The *Life* of Saint Oudoceus (henceforth *VO*) in the *LL* also mentions the "Yellow Pestilence," in what seems to be a paraphrase of its accounts in the *Life* of Teilo in that same collection (cf. *VO*, §1).

<sup>68</sup> "*Mortalitas magna in qua pausat Mailcun rex Genedotae.*" [The great death in which Maelgwn, king of Gwynedd, died] (*AC*, s.a. 547).

<sup>69</sup> "*Aliud namque miraculum omnibus liquidum Brittonibus in ipsis partibus degentibus de eodem almo patronu asseritur. In diebus itaque illius rex quidam, nomine Mailgunus, in tota Britannia regnabat, qui suos tirones ad regionem Guunliauc, ut inde censum acciperent, direxit.*" [Another miracle known to all the Britons living in those parts is asserted of the same patron. In his days a certain king, Maelgwn by name, was reigning over all Britannia, who sent his young soldiers to the region of Gwynllyw that they might there receive tribute] (*VCI*, §23).

<sup>70</sup> "*Qui ad beati Cadoci pretoris domum uenientes, eiusdem formosissimam filiam uiolenter rapientes, secum adduxerunt. Conuenientes siquidem Gunliuenses persecuti sunt eos, et assecutos quosdam prostrauerunt, plurimos uero uulnerauerunt, reliqui uero ad dominum suum fugerunt.*" [These, coming to the house of blessed Cadog's officer, seizing forcibly a most beautiful daughter of the same, took her away with them. Gwynllyw's men gathering together pursued them, and destroyed some of those whom they followed, and wounded very many, whilst the rest fled to their lord] (*VCI*, §23).

When it was morning, he rose from prayer, and behold, **a column of mist went before him**, which, covering all the tents and the troops of the aforesaid king, beclouded them, and the day became to them as black as night, so that none was able to observe another. Then in the midst of the darkness the holy man appeared before the tent of the king, and saluting him says, ‘Good health, o king. I beseech thee, if I have found favour in thine eyes, kindly to hear my words.’ (VC1, §23) [my emphasis].

Wade-Evans’ translation of *columpna nubis* as a “column of mist” is unfortunate, especially for the connotations associated with the word “mist” in relation to things “Celtic.” The *Vulgate* reads *columpna nubis* for what has been traditionally translated as a “pillar of cloud.” There is a tinge of contrasting irony in the speech of the saint, who asks the ruler to find favour in his *eyes* and to *hear* his words: considering the temporary blindness of the king caused by the cloud, the saint’s words highlight the connection between blindness and the ruler’s acts *against* God’s servant and his people. Maelgwn repents of having wanted to invade the region and Cadog absolves him from his sins. Immediately afterwards, the sun miraculously shines over the camp so that they all recover their sights. Maelgwn falls on his face, ratifies the refuge made previously by Arthur and becomes Cadog’s confessor.<sup>71</sup>

Chapter 24, on the other hand, begins by describing Rhun’s wishes to rob the possessions of the southern Britons. Maelgwn warns him not to inflict any harm on Cadog for he had become his confessor. This interdiction is violated by Rhun’s men without his knowledge. They demand milk from the steward responsible for Cadog’s barn and, when this is denied, they try to set Cadog’s barn on fire. The barn does not burn, only smokes, and the smoke rises and covers the whole region, reaching Rhun’s encampment and all his army, who are consequently blind. Rhun finds out that his men’s acts are responsible for their blindness and summons Cadog to his presence. Cadog pardons him and Rhun ratifies the bond made preciously by his father and Arthur.<sup>72</sup> Rhun gives Cadog, moreover, his best stallion and three of his chief weapons: a shield, a sword, and a spear.<sup>73</sup> What ensues from this gift-giving is a

---

<sup>71</sup> “Uir Dei respondit, ‘Remittentur tibi pregandia facinora tua.’ Adhuc eo loquente, en, estiuā lux extimplo desuper effusa nimia serenitate in castris refulsit. Dum uero rex miraculum perspexisset, de regali cathedra surgens, procidit in faciem suam, dicens, [...] teque hodie confessorem mihi, si tibi beneplacitum fuerit, inter Dextrales pre omnibus eligo.” [The man of God replied, ‘Thy very great crimes shall be forgiven thee.’ While he was still speaking, lo, the light of summer immediately being poured from above shone with great serenity on the camp. When the king perceived this miracle, rising from his royal chair, he fell on his face, saying [...] and to-day I choose thee to be my confessor, if it shall be wellpleasing to thee, above all others among the men of the South] (VC1, §23).

<sup>72</sup> This is an interesting account in view of the presence of *punishment for arson* in the Welsh law texts, among theft (*latrat*), violence (*treis*), homicide (*dynniorn/galanas*) and breach of peace/protection (*naud*) (cf. Davies 1976b: 128).

<sup>73</sup> The distribution and receiving of gifts, including weapons, cattle, clothing and jewels appear prominently in the lists of rich gifts in medieval Welsh poetry. See Davies 1982: 47-48.

list of Cadog's negotiations with other regional kings in exchange for half a share of the fish of the rivers Usk and Neath.<sup>74</sup>

Attention should be drawn to the use of direct speeches in both episodes not only 1. between the saint and the secular rulers, 2. between Cadog and the region's inhabitants but, also, 3. between the rulers and their servants.<sup>75</sup> Cadog's speech pinpoints his role as a councilor. The great number of dialogues and biblical references serves, moreover, to enrich the narrative thread and to sharpen the elements which the hagiographer wants his reader/audience to be confronted with: the above mentioned speech of Cadog to Maelgwn, by emphasising the contrast between hearing and seeing, clearly shows an epistemological distinction between man's *seeing* and *hearing* and man's *understanding* of God's messages.

The same idea is again reiterated in the ludicrous description of Rhun's playing dice with his eunuchs, when he is not sure whether he is the only one who has lost his sight due to the smoke covering his eyes:

*In illius plane hore momento, dum prelocutus Run in tabernaculo ludens in alea cum suis eunuchis consedisset, fumus ad instar lignei postis de sancti Cadoci horreo procedens, recto tramite per mane se ad ipsius papilionem tetendit, lumenque oculorum omnium ibidem commanentium obcecauit. At rex quod accidit indicare erubescens, eunuchos ludere cohortatur. 'Ludite', inquit. At illi referunt, 'Apertis oculis nichil uidemus.' Tunc demum rex sibi similiter euenisse confessus est.*

---

<sup>74</sup> Both Maelgwn's and Rhun's ratifications of the bond made with Cadog emulate, moreover, cartulary language found in the charters attached to the *Life* of Cadog after the *post-mortem* section. Compare, for example: "[...] *ut ex mea sobole qui breuiaret sit maledictus, et qui seruauerit sit benedictus [...]*" [...] so that whoever of my progeny shall abbreviate it, let him be accursed, and whoever shall keep it, let him be blessed [...] (VCI, §23) and "*Si quis [...] refugium tuum infregerit, sit excommunicatus. Qui uero custodierit, a Deo et hominibus exstat dilectus*" [If anyone [...] shall infringe thy refuge, let him be excommunicate. But whoever shall observe it abides beloved of God and men] (VCI, §24) with the same kind of *formula* found in the charters §55 to §62. §55 has, for instance: "*Sciendum est, quod Theudor filius Mouric dedit gladium uestimentumque Catoco et familie eius, quatinus emerent terram in sustentacionem eiusdem. Conigc uero Abbas altaris sancti Cadoci, tribuit gladium illum uestimentumque Spois et Rodrico pro uilla [...] qui concesserunt hanc Cadoco et eiusdem ecclesie possidendam iure perpetuo, qua annua pensione persolueret premissis Conig ac prelibate familie per manum Spois et filiorum eius in eternum nouem modios ceruise, panem quoque carnem ac mel.*" [It is to be known that Theudor son of Mouric gave a sword and vestment to Cadog and his familia, that they might buy land for the support of the same. But Conigc, the abbot of the altar of saint Cadog, gave that sword and vestment to Spois and Rodric for the township [...] who granted it to be possessed of Cadog and the same church in perpetual right, from the annual pension of which it should pay to the said Conigc and the aforesaid familia by the hand of Spois and his sons for ever nine modii of beer, also bread, flesh and honey] (VCI, §55). See also charters §62 and §65.

<sup>75</sup> See, for example, in §23, a. when Gwynllyw's men report the abduction of his servant's daughter by Maelgwn's men, b. when the natives of Gwynlliog ask for Cadog's protection against Maelgwn, c. the greetings between Cadog and Maelgwn. In §24, see a. Maelgwn's warning to Rhun not to invade and plunder Cadog's territory, b. the suggestion of one of Rhun's men to the others to demand milk to Cadog's steward and the steward's answer to their demand, c. Rhun's dialogue with his eunuchs, d. Rhun's orders to find out the men that had burnt Cadog's barn, e. Rhun's speech to the guilty men, f. Rhun's conversation with Cadog.

In the moment of that very hour, whilst the aforesaid Rhun was sitting in his tent playing at dice with his eunuchs, **the smoke like unto a wooden post** proceeding from the barn of saint Cadog, stretched itself right across throughout the morning to his tent, and **darkened the light of the eyes of all who were present in that place**. But the king, ashamed to mention what had happened to him, incites the eunuchs to play. ‘Play,’ said he. And they reply, ‘Though our eyes be open, we see nothing.’ Then at last the king confessed that it had likewise happened to him (VCI, §24) [my emphasis].

It is not only the structure of the episodes that is repeated – i.e. 1. the rulers’ wish to invade and collect tribute/plunder, 2. the saint’s reaction – but also the nature of the miracle, which has to do with the rulers’ temporary “blindness.” In both stories, there is the presence of a *cloud* or of *smoke* which temporarily blinds the rulers and which is the factor responsible for their recognition of Cadog’s saintly powers through God. The hagiographer connects here one biblical motif with two of its latent meanings. Firstly, the *columpna nubis* in §23 recalls the mighty presence of God as the “pillar of cloud” in Exodus. In the context of the Israelites’ crossing of the desert, the pillar of cloud represents the presence of God as a guide, providing help and defending His people from all adversities (cf. Wilms 1979: 145-150). The similar wording leaves no doubt as to which source was used by the hagiographer and which symbolism the image of the “pillar of cloud” was meant to recall: “*Dominus autem praecedebat eos ad ostendendam viam per diem in columna nubis, et per noctem in columna ignis: ut dux esset itineris utroque tempore*” (Ex 13: 21) [my emphasis].<sup>76</sup> In a subsequent passage in Exodus, the connection between the appearance of the cloud and the people’s acceptance to *hear* Moses’ words is made: “The Lord said to him: Lo, now will I come to thee in the darkness of a cloud, that the people may hear me speaking to thee, and may believe thee for ever. And Moses told the words of the people to the Lord” (Ex 19: 9),<sup>77</sup> so that the hagiographer’s pun in §23 and in §24 between *seeing* and *hearing* can be qualitatively appreciated. Secondly, the smoke, *fumus* recalls the punitive aspect of the “pillar of cloud.” The “wooden post” can be interpreted as a rewording of *column* and *fumus* is here used due to the image of a burning wooden stick.<sup>78</sup> The cloud/smoke image is that of a punitive element which does *not* move before the saint but which arises on its own to punish Rhun’s men. This

---

<sup>76</sup> “And the Lord went before them to show the way, by day in a pillar of a cloud, and by night in a pillar of fire; that he might be the guide of their journey at both times.” Compare this quotation with the episode about Maelgwn’s blindness quoted above (VCI, § 23).

<sup>77</sup> “*Ait ei Dominus: Jam nunc veniam ad te in caligine nubis, ut audiat me populus loquentem ad te, et credat tibi in perpetuum. Nuntiavit ergo Moyses verba populi ad Dominum.*”

<sup>78</sup> The motif of an object which, being on fire, does not burn, might also recall the spirit of God on the saint’s side, as in the episode of Moses and the burning bush. Cf. Ex 3: 2: “*Apparuitque ei Dominus in flamma ignis de medio rubi: et videbat quod rubus arderet, et non combureretur.*” [And the Lord appeared to him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush: and he saw that the bush was on fire and was not burnt].

recalls God's cloud against the pursuing Egyptians, which positions itself between them and the Israelites, bringing them darkness whereas the Israelites remain in light.<sup>79</sup>

#### IV.1.3.1.3 Pawl Penychen

Cadog's encounters with Pawl Penychen also follow the basic encounter-pattern delineated above. Pawl is mentioned in the short genealogy in the *Preface* to the *VCI* as a brother of Cadog's father Gwynllyw, who acquired the region of *Pennichen* after Glywys' death. He then reappears in the *VCI* as a *sub-regulus*, in an episode that tells how Cadog arrived at Pawl's land (*VCI*, §8). One day, when praying under a tree, Cadog frightens the swine feeding in the area. The animals flee to the herdsman, who, assuming Cadog to be a thief, tries to strike him with his lance. The herdsman's hand suddenly stiffens and he loses the sight of both eyes.<sup>80</sup> Scared and begging for mercy, he is sent by Cadog to his lord, Pawl. Pawl comes to meet Cadog, thinking that his nephew had come to reclaim his father's kingdom, abandoning the service of religion. Emphasis is laid on Cadog's despising of earthly things by not wishing to become a king. This, together with the emphasis put on God's power, is stressed by Cadog's references to the biblical passages.<sup>81</sup> At the end, Pawl gives Cadog land in which to build his main monastery, Llancarfan.

This episode is slightly different from the last discussed two in that here the saint is the one who enters the land of a secular lord. Moreover, the ruler does not oppose Cadog directly, either by demanding anything from him or by performing an act of villainy: this occurs

---

<sup>79</sup> "Tollensque se angelus Dei, qui præcedebat castra Israëli, abiit post eos: et cum eo pariter columna nubis, priora dimittens, post tergum stetit, inter castra Ægyptiorum et castra Israëli: et erat nubes tenebrosa, et illuminans noctem, ita ut ad se invicem toto noctis tempore accedere non valerent." [And the angel of God, who went before the camp of Israel, removing, went behind them: and together with him the pillar of the cloud, leaving the forepart, stood behind, between the Egyptians' camp and the camp of Israel: and it was a dark cloud, and enlightening the night, so that they could not come at one another all the night] (Ex 14: 19-20).

<sup>80</sup> "Sed Deus ex alto nequitiam subulci prospectans, **protensum lacertum ilico fecit obrigescere**, ita ut nec illum ad se retrahere, nec inantea extendere ualuit, **uisumque utrorumque luminum statim amisit**." [But God, seeing from on high the wickedness of the swine-herd, caused **his extended arm at once to stiffen**, so that he could neither draw it to him nor henceforth extend it, and **immediately he lost sight of both eyes**] (*VCI*, §8) [my emphasis]. "Lacertus, i" is found especially in Classic literature and means the upper arm, the arm and/or shoulder. It is, interestingly, found metonymically with the sense of a strike, a throw made with the arm. Cf. *Lacertus, i.* in Georges, K. (2002, repr.) *Lateinisch-Deutsch. Ausführliches Handwörterbuch. Elektronische Ausgabe der 8. Auflage (1913-1918)*. Berlin: Directmedia.

<sup>81</sup> For instance: "Qui ceci nati oculos aperuit, et quatruiduanum Lazarum de monumento suscitauit, ipse tuos oculos aperiat [...]." ['He, who opened the eyes of one born blind, and raised Lazarus after four days from the tomb, the same will open thine eyes [...]]; and also "Diuine religionis cultum pro fallacis mundi oblectatione nullatenus deseram, nec celestibus terrena preponam, neque sempiterna pro momentaneis spernam, ceterum unius tugurii locus de tota terra tua michi sufficiet." ['I will by no means abandon the service of divine religion for the delights of the deceitful world, nor will I prefer earthly things to heavenly, now will I despise things eternal for things momentary, but a site for a single hut of all thy land will suffice me'] (*VCI*, §8).



through one of his servants. Two interrelated miraculous accounts are described: one is again *blindness*, emphasised by the reference to Christ's restoration of sight; the other is the stiffening of the servant's hand, which can also be understood through the reference to Lazarus, since the power attributed to the resurrection is one of healing the flesh, of healing the man's body.

The next episode in which Pawl appears, §19, finds parallels in the *Life* of Illtud (VI), as we shall later see. Both the *VCI* and the *VI* affirm that Illtud served Pawl Penychen as a *princeps militie*, the captain of Pawl's guard.<sup>82</sup> Pawl is described as a *regulus* and there is no hint that he is one of Cadog's relatives. The episode centers on Illtud's conversion by Cadog and it seems to be thematically connected to the previous episode in §16:<sup>83</sup> in both §16 and §19 the soldiers of a *regulus* take food and drink from Cadog and/or his clergy and are subsequently swallowed up by the earth. The food and the drink survive, miraculously, untouched. It is this miracle that impels Illtud's conversion in §19. The biblical motif of being swallowed up by the earth is emphasised by the narrator's direct reference to the words of David in Psalms:

[...] *in ictu oculi in profundum abissi demerguntur, secundum illud Dauitici, 'Aperta est terra, et deglutiuit Dathan, et operuit super congregationem Abiron.'*

[...] in the twinkling of an eye they are submerged in the depth of an abyss, according to that word of David, 'The earth opened, and swallowed up Dathan, and covered the congregation of Abiram' (*VCI*, §19).

The structuring of both §16 – which I will discuss in short below – and §19 around the same biblical motif discloses the work of the hagiographer on his/her main source: Psalm 105.<sup>84</sup> The direct reference to Dathan and Abiram's fate as given in Psalm 105 establishes a straightforward *typological-associative* interpretation for the fate of those who dare react against God's plan.

---

<sup>82</sup> In the *VI*, he is referred to as *Poulentus*, king of the Glamorgan folk: *rex Gulat Morcanensium* (*VI*, §2).

<sup>83</sup> Considering the analysis of the composition of the *VCI* in section IV.1.1., chapter §17, relating to the synod of Brefi summoned by David, did not originally belong to an "early" stage of the *VCI*. Wade-Evans' insertion of §18 can be deceiving because this chapter corresponds to a passage in the *Life* of Cadog written by Caradoc of Llancarfan found in a *slip folio* inserted into the *Vespasian* MS. in the thirteenth century. Therefore §16 would have been followed by §19: the similar thematic also confirms this assumption. As shown previously in the episodes relating to Maelgwn and Rhun, one can detect the hand of a hagiographer who tries to provide a logical sequence of events in this *Life* due to the sequence of episodes and to the establishment of narrative links.

<sup>84</sup> "*Aperta est terra, et deglutivit Dathan, et operuit super congregationem Abiron.*" [The earth opened and swallowed up Dathan: and covered the congregation of Abiram] (Ps 105: 17). The story is told in Numbers 16: 31. The motif also occurs in several *Lives* of Irish Saints (cf. Bray 1992: 18).

#### IV.1.3.1.4 Sawl Benuchel

In §16, a new secular ruler, Sawl Benuchel, is introduced. Reference to Sawl, the “High-head” or “Proud” one, is found in one of the Welsh triads. There he is described as one of the “three arrogant men” of Britain. In the *VCI*, Sawl and his men rob Cadog’s monastery of food and drink in the absence of Cadog, causing the monks great distress. Therefore, in both §16 and §19, the rulers’ men take food and/or drink from Cadog’s community and are, consequently, punished by God for their wicked acts. Here, however, the story of Cadog’s revenge on the men is introduced with a detailed account of his censure of the men by mutilating their horses and shaving off half of their beards:

*[...]sanctus uir adueniens, causam tante mestitie [...] eis inquisiuit, quibus occasionem allegantibus integro uulto ait, [...] Sinite eos corda sua in crapula et ebrietate grauare, temulentique simul consopientur. Eisdem uero sopore depressis, acutissimi nouaculis dimidiam partem barbarum comarumque suarum in obprobrium illis sempiternum raditote, nec non et labra suorum caballorum auresque pariter incidite.’ [...] Tunc uir Dei dixit clericis suis, ‘Induatur unusquisque uestrum uestimento suo et calciamento, euntes sibi obuiam, alioquin morte moriemini, reuertetur enim hostis noster et interfeciet nos gladio a maiore usque a minorem, ubi se a nobis illudi animaduernerit.’ [...] Cumque conscendissent quendam aceruum, Sauuil Pennuchel et satellites eius descendebant in occursum eorum. Tunc coram oculis serui Dei terra aperuit os suum, et absorbit tirannum uiuum cum suis propter illorum nequitiam, ne Dei uirum cum clericis eiusdem atrociter necarent.*

[...] the holy man arrived [...] and inquired of them the cause of so much sorrow. After they had related the reason he says to them with unchanged countenance, ‘[...] Suffer them to steep their hearts in debauchery and drunkenness, so that being drunk they will fall into heavy sleep together. Then, when they are oppressed with sleep, **shave off with sharpest razors the half part of their beards and hair as an eternal disgrace against them, and also cut off the lips of their horses and their ears as well.**’ [...] Then the man of God said to his clergy, ‘Let each one of you put on his clothing and shoes to go to meet them, or ye will perish in death, for our enemy will return and will slay us with the sword from the greatest to the least, when he shall perceive that he was mocked by us.’<sup>85</sup> [...] And when they ascended a certain mound, Sawyl Benuchel and his satellites descended to meet them. The before the eyes of the servant of God **the earth opened its mouth, and swallowed up the tyrant alive with his men on account of their wickedness**, lest they should cruelly murder the man of God with his clergy] (*VCI*, §16) [my emphasis].

The only known parallel to such a vengeance story in Welsh literature is found in the Second Branch of the *Mabinogi*.<sup>86</sup> There, Branwen, sister of Bendigeidfran, the giant king of Britain, is given in marriage to Matholwch, the king of Ireland. Branwen’s half-brother Efnisien, infuriated for not being consulted about the marriage, mutilates Matholwch’s horses.<sup>87</sup> The Irish king is pacified in that Bendigeidfran gives him new horses and gifts, including a magic

---

<sup>85</sup> Perhaps a better translation to *animadvertere* in this context would have been “to censure,” “to express blame” or even “to punish.” That the revenge was a form of mock is an interpretation of the scene, but the idea is one of punishment. As will become clear, judging from a similar occurrence of a vengeance episode in Welsh secular literature, the idea is that such act was considered to be humiliating and, therefore, a form of punishment.

<sup>86</sup> Henceforth *Mab2*. For the tales of the *Mabinogi*, see footnote 23 above.

<sup>87</sup> “And thereupon he [Efnisien] set upon the horses and cut off their lips to the teeth, and their ears to their heads, and their tails to their back, and wherever he could clutch their eyelids he cut them to the very bone. And he maimed the horses thus till there was no use could be made of the horses.” (*Mab2*, p. 27)

cauldron, and he returns to Ireland with his new wife Branwen. It is impossible to affirm with any certainty what the relationship between these two accounts is but in the *VCI*, God is the ultimate “pacifier” in that He prevents the men from revenging themselves back by means of a miraculous intervention.<sup>88</sup> After the men’s final punishment, Cadog and his clerics return to their monastery: they all rejoice by singing the *Te Deum*, meant as thanksgiving to God for having escaped the rage of the enemy. The *Te Deum* demarcates the realm of the religious in detriment of a mere natural event that was responsible for the men’s death.<sup>89</sup> This might explain why the hagiographer does *not* provide, in mentioning that the ditch wherein the ruler and his men were swallowed up remained open as a witness of that miracle, any onomastic information for this. In fact, no geographical reference is made. The episode ends by comparing the “twelve shavers” to the twelve apostles and by emphasising their sound judgement and counsel. The brutality of the scene is thus alleviated due to this expected judgemental “soundness” on the part of Cadog and his clergy.

#### IV.1.3.1.5 Brychan, his son Rhain and Meurig son of Enhinti

Brychan of Brycheiniog is mentioned again as Cadog’s grandfather in §11. In this chapter, no encounter between Cadog and the ruler takes place, although Cadog receives land from Brychan after having performed the miracle of finding a subterranean house filled with clean wheat during a period of famine. This is worth noticing because the provision miracle alone, which is highly elaborate, causes the grant of land.<sup>90</sup> The secular ruler is, in this case, the one who recognises and admires the miraculous deeds of the saint.<sup>91</sup>

---

<sup>88</sup> Proinsias Mac Cana raised the possibility that the author of *Branwen*, having read about the humiliation of Sawl in the *VCI*, was influenced by its account of the mutilation of horses, adapting it to Efnisien’s vengeance on Matholwch in the *Mab2*. See Mac Cana, P. (1958) *Branwen Daughter of Llyr – A Study of the Irish Affinities and of the composition of the second branch of the Mabinogi*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, p. 158.

<sup>89</sup> The *Te Deum* hymn was one of the most important pieces of medieval religious practice. It was sung not only in strict liturgical contexts (in the holy office, especially at the end of matins in monastic environments) but also in processions, consecration rites etc., as a sign of thanksgiving to God. In strict non-liturgical contexts like in the solemnity of a royal coronation or in a public agreement of peace, it symbolically represented God’s approbation of men’s deeds. For this see: Henry, H. (1912) ‘The *Te Deum*,’ in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. New York: Robert Appleton Company. See also: Häußling, A. (1999) ‘*Te Deum*,’ in *Lexikon des Mittelalters (Brepolis Medieval Encyclopaedias - Lexikon des Mittelalters Online)*. Stuttgart: Metzler.

<sup>90</sup> “*Quocirca in illius diei articulo contigit quendam murem, de sua egressum cauerna, granum frumenti in ore ad beatum Cadocum concite deferre, et super tabulam ante ipsum positam ludenter illud suis obtutibus preponere. Idem etiam mus septies eundo et redeundo, totidem triticea grana famulo Dei aduexit. [...] Tandem uero itidem musculum comprehendens pede ligauit, ut huius rei archanum diligenter indagaret. [...] Cadocus a quadam uidua prolixum ac gracilem filum peciit et accepit. Quo pedes muris innexo, se precedentem laxato filo sequitur, donec idem reptile ad quendam tumulum, sub quo erat pulcherrima subterranea domus, antiquitus fabricata, purgato tritico referta, uenisset.*” [Wherefore on that very day it happened that a mouse, having come out of its hole, bore quickly in its mouth to the blessed Cadog a grain of corn, and playfully placed it under his eyes on a writing-tablet set before him. The same mouse, going and returning seven times, carried to the servant

In §25, Rhain, Brychan's son, leads a plundering expedition into Gwynlliog which results in his being taken captive by the local population.<sup>92</sup> Cadog rescues him and he corroborates the refuge granted previously by Arthur and Maelgwn. The use of cartulary language for Rhain's promise resembles that employed in Arthur's and Maelgwn's agreement of refuge.<sup>93</sup> Indeed, the hagiographer lists this episode and the miracle ensuing from it as the *third* one that gives evidence of the refuge of Cadog's stock in Gwynlliog. This demonstrates how Arthur's, Maelgwn's and Rhain's episodes were designed to centre on the miraculous interventions, on their effects on the secular rulers and on the theme of refuge. The structure of this episode resembles that of Maelgwn and his son Rhun and their invasion of Cadog's land: the ruler wishes to plunder Gwynlliog, which causes the population's reaction. The ruler is then "delivered" by the saint, either by being rescued or by the saint's restoration of a temporary inability caused by a punitive miracle.

#### IV.1.3.1.6 Minor secular characters

Of the minor secular characters that come in contact with Cadog in the *VCI*, two are severely punished by the saint because of their wickedness, two are raised from the dead and one is blessed with pregnancy. In chapter seven, a rustic called Tidus is punished for refusing to give coal to Cadog, a punishment for his obstinacy, according to the hagiographer. The young Cadog curses the man, his house and all his progeny and prays to God that he should be destroyed. In his prayer, Cadog asks for the immediate burning down of the man and his threshing-floor.<sup>94</sup> The vengeance is justified in that Cadog, relying on several passages of the

---

of God as many grains of wheat. [...] At length in like manner laying hold of the little mouse, he tied it by the foot, that he might search diligently into the mystery of this affair. [...] Cadog sought and received from a certain widow long and fine thread. This being tied to the foot of the mouse, he follows it as it proceeds with the thread relaxed, until that vermin arrives at a certain tumulus, under which was a very beautiful subterranean house, built of old, and filled with clean wheat]] (*VCI*, §11).

<sup>91</sup> "[...] *latius hoc miraculo per prouinciam cresbrescente, Brachani auribus, aui beati Cadoci, digna admiratione letus rumor insonuit, qui partem agri illius, in quo triticum repertum est [...] uiro Dei donauit [...]*" [...] as this miracle was being noised farther abroad throughout the province, the glad report sounded with meet admiration in the ears of Brychan, the grandfather of the blessed Cadog, who gave to the man of God the part of that field, wherein the wheat was found [...] (*VCI*, §11).

<sup>92</sup> Rhain is mentioned in the *DSB* as Brychan's son: *Rein filius Brachan* (*DSB*, §11). It seems the region called Rheimwg or Rheinwg, probably comprising Brycheiniog, Radnorshire and Buellt, was named after him (cf. Bartrum 1993: 551-552).

<sup>93</sup> "*Quum liberasti me hodie*, inquit, *'omnis, qui ex mea gente ortus fuerit, si minus seruauerit gentem Gunliuensem, et pactum, quod cum sancto Cadoco pepigi, preuaricatus fuerit, maledictus sit.*' ['Since thou hast freed me today,' said he, 'may every one who shall spring from my race, be cursed, unless he have protected the race of Gwynlliw, and if he violate the pact which I have concluded with saint Cadog'] (*VCI*, §25).

<sup>94</sup> "*Nam puer reuertendo in rusticum respexit [...] Dominum [...] dicens, 'Queso te Deum [...] quatinus iste rusticus suorum fomento titionum cum trituratorio et farre suo pariter concrementur [...] suaque soboles aliis gentibus sit subiecta.*" [For the boy in returning looked back at the rustic [...] besought the Lord, saying, 'I

Bible, affirms that the punishment would make the divine power and virtue manifest in the world.<sup>95</sup> A “horrid fountain” that caused a black bog to appear at the place of the rustic’s house is mentioned as a record of the event, although no precise geographical location is mentioned. This merits attention because it associates a topographical feature that already carries, as it were, a negative connotation through the use of the colour black with the punishment of a wicked character. The punitive miracle by *immediate destruction* finds, moreover, parallels in other *Lives* in the *Vespasian* legendary, as in the *Life* of David, for example, when fire from heaven destroys the house of a wicked chieftain. Its main characteristic is the justification of the punishment through biblical quotations and/or a direct comparison with a biblical event. Cadog then returns to his master carrying the coals of fire in his garment without getting burnt. This second miraculous event contrasts with the first in that it calls attention to the saint’s wonderful powers: he, differently from the rustic, cannot be burnt by fire.<sup>96</sup> The image of carrying coals of fire without being burnt can be found in Proverbs and there it intensifies the chastity and purity of those who, among other things, shun adulterous ways.<sup>97</sup> The image was subsequently extended through the commentaries of Patristic writers, such as Augustine who, in his *Exposition on the Psalms*, equates the punishments by fire falling from heaven, melting like wax, or the burning fire from within – in relation to the burning of a garment – with the effects of the *fire of lusts*.<sup>98</sup> Both uses of the

---

beseech thee, God [...] that that rustic may, by the kindling of his won fire-brands, with the threshing-floor and grain be burnt together [...] and that his progeny may be subject to other folks] (VC1, §7).

<sup>95</sup> “Non ideo, Domine, his obsecrationibus bonitati tue supplicavi, quo prescriptum peccatorem optarem in suo flagitio condemnari, cum Dominus dicat, “Nolo mortem peccatoris, sed magis ut conuertatur et uiuat.” Et Paulus: “Non reddentes malum pro malo, nec maledictum pro maledicto, sed e contrariis benedicientes”; uerum uti uirtus diuinaque potestas in hoc mundo esset scelerosis manifesta, teque magis pauent, tibi quoque ministrantibus resistere abhorrerent, quemadmodum in Daniele legitur, “Paueant omnes habitantes terram Deum Danielis, quia ispe est liberator et saluator, faciens mirabilia in celo et in terra.” [I do not, O Lord, by these entreaties, so supplicate thy goodness that I should wish the aforewritten sinner to be condemned in his wickedness, since the Lord says, “I will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live.” (Eze 33: 11) And Paul, “Not rendering evil for evil, nor cursing for cursing, but contrariwise blessing” (in fact 1Pet 3:9, but see also Rom 12: 17); but that the divine virtue and power might be made manifest in this world to the wicked, and that they might the more fear thee, and that they might shrink from resisting those who minister to thee, as it is read in Daniel, “Let all who inhabit the earth fear the God of Daniel, because he is a Deliverer and Saviour, performing wonderful things in heaven and in earth (Dan 14: 40-42)”] (VC1, §7).

<sup>96</sup> The chronological order of the episode is, however, inverted in that firstly we are told that Cadog returns to his master with the coal and that he afterwards, on his way back, curses the rustic who is consequently consumed by fire. The miraculous carrying of coals of fire is therefore repeated twice.

<sup>97</sup> “Numquid potest homo abscondere ignem in sinu suo, ut vestimenta illius non ardeant?” [Can a man hide fire in his bosom, and his garments not burn?] (Prov 6: 27). Since one quotation was taken directly from Ezekiel 33: 11 (in footnote 95 above), one can also assume a strong influence from this book, in which the image of fire consuming the inhabitants of Jerusalem is given as a punishment for the general corruption. See, for example, Eze 22: 31: “Et effudi super eos indignationem meam; in igne iræ meæ consumpsi eos: viam eorum in caput eorum reddidi, ait Dominus Deus.” [And I poured out my indignation upon them, in the fire of my wrath I consumed them: I have rendered their way upon their own head, saith the Lord God].

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Cleveland, F., Schaff, P. (ed. and trans.) (1995) Augustine’s *Expositions on the book of psalms*. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, *Exposition on Psalm 58*: 12-13: “Hear ye the punishment of ungodly men: Like wax, he says, melted they shall be taken away. I have said that through their lusts this thing to them is done. Evil lust is

miraculous fire, firstly as a punishment, secondly as a means of underscoring Cadog's qualities, afford a straightforward contrast between the saint's purity and the rustic's obstinacy.<sup>99</sup>

In chapter 14, God's power is again emphasised in that a barren queen is able to conceive after beseeching Cadog to cure her sterility. This happened in Brittany, on Cadog's way to Rome. The story relates to the birth of *Elli*, one of Cadog's most loved disciples, whom the queen offers him afterwards as a child oblate. The emphasis here is on the husband's despal of the wife in that he reproachingly affirmed that her womb had been cursed by God.<sup>100</sup> The name of Cadog's disciple, *Elli*, and the direct borrowings from the Book of Samuel reveal the hagiographer's main source for this miraculous event: in 1 Sam 1: 1-19, Samuel's mother Hannah, or Anna, had her womb cursed by God and was unable to conceive, which led her to seek for the help of *Eli*, the priest. Through his blesses, she gives birth to Samuel. The

---

like a burning and a fire. Doth fire consume a garment, and does not the lust of adultery consume the soul? Of meditated adultery when the Scripture was speaking it says, Shall one bind fire in his bosom, and his garments shall he not burn up? (Pr 6: 27) Thou bearest in your bosom live coals; burned through is your vest; you bear in thought adultery, and whole then is your soul? But these punishments few men do see: therefore them the Spirit of God does exceedingly recommend to our notice. Hear the Apostle saying, God has given them up unto the lusts of their heart (Rom 1: 24). Behold, the fire from the face of which like wax they are melting. For they loose themselves from a certain continence of chastity; therefore even these same men, going unto their lusts, as loose and melting are spoken of. Whence melting? Whence loose? From the fire of lusts. God has given them up unto the lusts of their heart, so that they do those things which beseem not, being filled full of all iniquity. There has fallen upon them fire, and they have not seen the sun. You see in what manner he speaks of a certain punishment of darkening. Fire has fallen upon them, fire of pride, a smoky fire, fire of lust, fire of wrath."

<sup>99</sup> Bede, in his *Life* of Cuthbert, also interpreted the fact that saints were able to control the powers of fire because of their daily piety and virtue, by means of which they "learned both to overcome the lusts of the flesh and to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked one," (Eph 6: 16), quoting, moreover, for corroboration, the prophet Isaiah "When thou walkest through the fire thou shalt not be burned; neither shall the flame kindle upon thee" (VCuth, §14).

<sup>100</sup> "Ascendit [Cadocus] autem inde ad quandam regionis illius ciuitatem, in qua ditissimus quidam rex degebat, cuius uxor sterilis existebat, quam uerbis sepe numero exprobrando irritabat, dicens, 'Discede a me, quia conuigali marito non digna es, tua namque uulua constat a Domino maledicta, quum nos das fructum in terra.' [He [Cadog] the goes up to a certain city of that region, in which a certain rich king was living, whose wife was barren, whom he used to provoke with frequent reproaches, saying, 'Withdraw from me, for thou art unworthy of a wedded husband, seeing it is agreed that thy womb is cursed of the Lord, since thou bearest no fruit on earth'] (VC1, §14). The theme of closed wombs appears in more than one instance in the Old Testament, as for example in Genesis, in connection to Abimelech's taking of Sara – Abraham's wife. As a punishment, the wombs of all women and handmaidens were closed up by God until Abimelech returned Sara to his husband (cf. Gen 20: 17-18). Samson's mother, who was also barren, is able to conceive after the appearance of an angel of God who announces that she will have a son who will deliver the Israelites from the Philistines (cf. Judg 13: 1-5). The motif of the cursed womb was also reproduced in early Saints' *Lives*, like Jerome's *Life* of Hilarion (ca. 390). In the *VH*, a barren woman from Eleutheropolis, a city near Gaza, seeks the saint due to the reproaches of her husband on account of her sterility. The woman conceives within a year after the saint has prayed in her intercession. See: Morales, E., Leclerc, P. (ed. and trans.) (2007) *Jérôme. Trois Vies de Moines (Paul, Malchus, Hilarion)*. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, ch. 7, pp. 231-232.

dialogues between Cadog and the barren queen are direct quotations from the dialogues between Hannah and Eli.<sup>101</sup>

Chapter 15 also deals with a punitive miracle. A certain *lictor* named Caradoc Pendiuin – said to have been a kinsman of Cadog – murders Cadog’s cousin for envy of Cadog’s peregrinations. Knowing of Cadog’s return to Britain, Caradoc flees away from him. In the pursuit that ensues, the lictor is destroyed by vanishing like “smoke or dust” before Cadog’s eyes.<sup>102</sup> Although Christ’s presence and his power are praised, the man’s punishment is explained as a sign that God exalts those who believe in Him through the citation of an Old Testamental punishment from Ps 138: 17.<sup>103</sup> The lictor’s fate, together with *melting like fire*, an example of which will be seen in the *post-mortem* section below and, also, immediate *destruction by fire*, all punishments which have a direct relation to Old Testamental passages, especially from the Book of Psalms.<sup>104</sup> It is a model, therefore, which seldom, in the textual level, allows for conversion and which warns the readers/audience about their fates in the Judgement Day.

Finally, two examples of reanimation of the dead are given in chapters 21 and 26. Chapter 21 offers an explanation of the name of the town *Llanllywri*. It creates an onomastic tale to

---

<sup>101</sup> “‘*Uade in pacem. Deus det tibi petitionem quam rogasti.*’ At illa subiunxit, ‘*Utinam inueniret ancilla tua gratiam in oculis tuis*’ ” [‘Go in peace. May God grant thee the petition which thou hast asked.’ And she added, ‘O that thy handmaiden might find grace in thine eyes] (VC1, §14). Compare this with 1Sam 1: 17-18.

<sup>102</sup> “[...] *sancto uiro illum persequente, sub oculis eius tanquam puluis aut fumus a facie uenti, nutu tonantis, euanuit.*” [...] as the holy man pursued him, he vanished under his eyes like dust or smoke before the wind, by the will of the Thunderer] (VC1, §15).

<sup>103</sup> “*Tu affuisti, Christe, tue maiestatis potentiam exrecendo, qui ubique humiles in te credentes exaltas, ut scriptum est, ‘Nimis honorati sunt amici tui Deus’, etc.*” [Thou was present, O Christ, exercising the power of thy majesty, who in every place exaltest the humble who believe in thee, as it is written, ‘Thy friends, O God, are much honoured’, and so forth] (VC1, §15). Compare Ps 138: 17: “*Mihi autem nimis honorificati sunt amici tui, Deus; nimis confortatus est principatus eorum.*” [But to me thy friends, O God, are made exceedingly honourable: their principality is exceedingly strengthened].

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Ps 36: 20: “*Quia peccatores peribunt. Inimici vero Domini mox ut honorificati fuerint et exaltati, deficientes quemadmodum fumus deficient.*” [Because the wicked shall perish. And the enemies of the Lord, presently after they shall be honoured and exalted, shall come to nothing and vanish like smoke]; Ps 57: 9-10: “*Sicut cera quæ fluit auferentur; supercecidit ignis, et non viderunt solem. Priusquam intelligerent spinæ vestrae rhamnum, sicut viventes sic in ira absorbet eos.*” [Like wax that melteth they shall be taken away: fire hath fallen on them, and they shall not see the sun. Before your thorns could know the brier; he swalloweth them up, as alive, in his wrath]; Ps 67: 2-3: “*Exsurgat Deus, et dissipentur inimici ejus; et fugiant qui oderunt eum a facie ejus. Sicut deficit fumus, deficient; sicut fluit cera a facie ignis, sic pereant peccatores a facie Dei.*” [Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered: and let them that hate him flee from before his face. As smoke vanisheth, so let them vanish away: as wax melteth before the fire, so let the wicked perish at the presence of God]. Considering the daily recitation of the Psalms in a monastic context, I assume that one of the most immediate sources for these kinds of miracles in Saints’ *Lives* came through the Psalms and the adaptation or creation of stories that would illustrate the punishments and wonders found in them.

justify the use of the prefix *llan-* in connection with the name Llywri,<sup>105</sup> who in the story is said to have been a murdered master-builder who helped Cadog erect a church near the banks of the Neath. It is clear that, for the hagiographer, the meaning of *llan-* was connected with the notion of a religious settlement linked to the figure of a saint or holy man. He tries, consequently, to provide a picture of the master-builder that accentuates his good and just character with his subsequent murder – almost a martyrdom – necessary for the onomastic justification: Llywri comes with his children from Ireland, driven by poverty and wishing to acquire food for his family by the exercise of his art. For envy of his skills, twelve workers slay him, amputating his head. Through Cadog's prayers, the man reappears carrying his head on his bosom. Cadog fixes Llywri's speaking head on his trunk and Llywri tells him how he was murdered.<sup>106</sup> Cadog gives him the choice of living again or going back to eternal life, the latter of which Llywri prefers. Although apparently dealing with an evangelical miracle of resuscitation, this episode does not present a "typical" reanimation/resuscitation story, like Jesus' resuscitation of Lazarus (cf. Jn 11: 44-45), for example, or Jesus' resuscitation of the dead daughter of Jairus (cf. Lk 8, Mr 5, Mt 9). A typical reanimation story in Evangelical terms would emphasise Christ's power over death and the faith of those who await a miraculous cure from Jesus. The normal scenery of such a reanimation story is Christ's being summoned to cure or to attend to an ill person who dies before his coming and whom he then resuscitates (cf. Charlier 1987: 76). This episode elaborates, instead, on the crudity of the murder and the shocking appearance of the dead. It draws heavily on dramatic elements, such as the wailing of the children, the murderers' denial of their crime and the details of Llywri's disfigured form after his murder in order to underscore the spectacular character of the miraculous events surrounding Llywri's death. Two distinct miracles can be said to have been conflated here: firstly, the miracle of the decapitated head that can speak and, secondly, the miracle of the headless body that carries his/her own head in his/her hands, known as *céphalophorie*.<sup>107</sup> Biblical references or quotations are lacking, a fact that could be explained

---

<sup>105</sup> The prefix *llan-* in Welsh place-names originally meant an enclosure, an enclosed piece of land, later the piece of land associated to a parish church or monastic community. Of the many Welsh place-names containing the prefix *llan-*, most were formed by adding the name of a saint to this prefix, so that Llandewi, for example, is the church dedicated to St. David (*Dewi* in Welsh). The story justifies the good character of the man and his martyrdom from whose name the place-name derived.

<sup>106</sup> "[...] *ecce, repente, decollatus artifex, caput in sinu suo gestans, magnumque lapidem supra tergum ferens, madidus atque cruentus truci horridaque specie, uenerabili uiro suisque discipulis apparuit. [...] 'Serue Dei, fige me supra collum in pristinum statu, referamque tibi cuncta, que de hac re hactenus tibi sunt incognita.' Fecitque prout petiit.*" [...] behold, suddenly, the beheaded worker, bearing his head in his bosom, and carrying a great stone on his back, wet and bloody, of maimed and horrid aspect, appeared to the venerable man and his disciples. [...] 'Servant of God, fix me upon the neck in the original position, and I will relate to thee all things which are unknown to thee so far in this matter.' And he did as he asked] (*VCI*, §21).

<sup>107</sup> *Céphalophorie*, from the Greek *képhalê* (head) and *phorein* (to carry). The word does not exist in English. "Cephalophorous" saints carry their heads with their hands and express their wishes regarding the place where



as a conscious choice of the hagiographer so that he is able to extrapolate the meanings associated with specific miraculous accounts, raising their dramatic effect, by avoiding a direct fixation of a textual model into his text.

Chapter 26 introduces Cadog on a peregrination to Scotland, where he spends seven years. While digging the ground about his monastery, Cadog finds a collar bone of “some ancient hero, monstrous and enormous,” a “giant” who is brought back from hell through Cadog’s prayers and who serves him as a digger for the rest of his life.<sup>108</sup> The giant tells Cadog not only his name – Caw Prydyn – the famous Caw of Britain, Gildas’ father in the *VG2*,<sup>109</sup> but also the reason of his death: he was slain in battle as a punishment for devastating and plundering the lands of another king. This idea is reinforced by the given biblical quotation: *Potentes potenter tormenta patientur*.<sup>110</sup> Interestingly, Caw attributes his evil-doing to a diabolical instinct:

*Ultra montem Bannauc quondam quampluribus annis regnavi. Contigit autem **diabolico instinctu** me cum meorum predonum cuneis ad has oras aduenisse causa diripiendi easdem atque uastandi.*

Beyond mount Bannog formerly I reigned for many years. It happened that by **devilish impulse** I with troops of my plunderers arrived on these coasts for the sake of pillaging and wasting them (*VC1*, §26) [my emphasis].

The devil, as we shall clearer see, is mostly absent in the *Vespasian* legendary. In most of the *Vespasian Lives*, the devil only appears in contexts in which the hagiographer seeks for an explanation of an evil *behaviour*, and not, as is the case with most contemporary English

---

they would like to be buried either by means of an oral declaration or by means of a miraculous walk. One of the most famous Continental examples of a “cephalophorous” saint is St. Denis of Paris. The origin of the stories of decapitated saints is unknown and polemic, but the high recurrence of the motif in early medieval hagiographical texts points to its literary nature. For a discussion of *céphalophorie*, see Coens 1963: 931. Coens’ main argument is that, contrary to the assumptions of mythologists and folklorists that the motif was already available in Classic literature and folkloric legends, several biblical passages – with which the medieval monks would be much more acquainted and most easily recall – bring forth the motif of decapitation which could easily have become associated with martyrdom, as is the case with Judith’s decapitation of Holofernes (Jdth 13: 1-11), or John the Baptist’s decapitation (Mt 14: 1-12, Mr 6: 14-29). John the Baptist’s story unites the images of the decapitated martyr with the separate burial of his body by Jesus’ disciples (cf. Coen 1963: 27-29). In Irish and Breton *Lives of Saints*, the motif of the decapitated speaking head became associated with a giant or a giantess and, also, in some instance, with the fate of a heathen in hell (cf. Strijbosch 1999: 369-389). The stories about decapitated martyrs constituted an exception to the hagiographical stories of the *uncorrupted* bodies of deceased saints in the middle ages due to the separation of the head from the body. This, however, served the purposes of the cult of saints’ relics in that a part of a saint/martyr’s body was kept separately in a reliquary (cf. Angenendt 1997: 151-152).

<sup>108</sup> “[...] *quoddam os collare cuiusdam prisci herois monstruosum ac incredibilis quantitatis inorme inuenit* [...]” [...] he found a collar (or neck) bone of some ancient hero, monstrous and enormous, of incredible bulk [...] (*VC1*, §26).

<sup>109</sup> See *VG2*, §1.

<sup>110</sup> “*Exiguo enim conceditur misericordia; potentes autem potenter tormenta patientur*.” [For to him that is little, mercy is granted: The mighty shall be mightily tormented] (Wis 6: 7).

*Lives*, as taking possession of a person so that the saint can practice an exorcism. As I shall show, it is only in the *Lives* connected with Llandaff that the idea of exorcism and miraculous cures related to the saint's tomb start appearing in a Welsh context. The "devilish impulse" here serves, therefore, to justify an evil behaviour on the part of a king.

Cadog, by bringing Caw back to life, gives him the possibility of living longer and serving God, so that he can redeem himself of his sins and achieve salvation after his final death. Due to the resuscitation, the "kings of the Scottish folk" give to Cadog twenty-four homesteads. It is nowhere specified where these were, apart from the information that the episode took place "on this side of mount Bannog [...] in the middle of Scotland." Caw's episode serves as an introduction to the subsequent one in which Gildas is said to have been his son, who came from "the coasts of the Irish."<sup>111</sup> This is a story that not only connects St. Gildas to Cadog, but also that, through the idea of punishment of kings and other mighty people taken from the Scriptures, subjects the perhaps then known idea of an ancient giant hero connected to Caw to a story in which he, as a king, is given an opportunity to redeem himself in face of the saint. Nothing in his gigantic appearance is wondrous anymore but the fact that he was brought back to life from hell by the intervention of the saint.

#### **IV.1.4 The secular characters in the *post-mortem* section of the *VC1***

The final words of the *Passio Cadoci* emphasise that the saint performed miracles not only during his lifetime but also after his "transit from the prison-house of this deceitful world," accomplishing "innumerable marvels and signs" through the power of God.<sup>112</sup> The *post-mortem* section following this short note is composed of five chapters and seems to be the work of someone who thought it proper to accomplish the unfinished work of his/her predecessor. This section presents, consequently, contrasting attitudes towards posthumous miracles in the treatment of certain central thematic aspects dealt with in the *in vita* episodes.

The first posthumous miracle is told in §40 and relates to the transference of Cadog's shrine from Llancarfan to Mammelliat by the clergy of Cadog on the eve of an invasion of

---

<sup>111</sup> "[...] scriptor optimus, nomine Gildas, filius Cau, callidus artifex, ab Hiberniensium finibus illac adueniens [...]" "[...] a very good writer, Gildas by name, son of Caw, a skilful craftsman, arriving thither from the coasts of the Irish [...]" (*VC1*, §27).

<sup>112</sup> "Iste non modo in uita sua miracula gessit, uerum et post transitum de huius seculi fallacis ergastulo, uirtutum innumera prodigia peregit, patrante Domino nostro Iesu Christo, qui cum Deo Patre et Spiritu Sancto uiuit et regnat in seculo seculorum." (*VC1*, §39).

Glamorgan by “a certain sheriff of the English” named Eilaf.<sup>113</sup> The miracles that occur in series in this episode are punitive and relate directly to the shrine: 1. the men are unable to move the shrine; 2. when struck, the shrine gives forth a loud bellow which is followed by an earthquake; 3. the violator that takes and returns the gilded wind from the shrine melts away like wax in front of all the people.<sup>114</sup> The loud bellow from the shrine relates to the great earthquake and connects a natural phenomenon to the miraculous reaction of the shrine to its being struck. Here, however, the inexplicable happenings prepare the way to the final punishment, which is again the emulation of a biblical fate. Two themes were connected here: the theme of land invasion, known from several episodes in the *in vita* section, and that of the violation of Cadog’s shrine in Wales, which is newly introduced in this *post-mortem* section. This can be understood as an attempt to relocate Cadog’s shrine and relics in Wales, in his main monastery: the return of Cadog’s relics to Britain had been adumbrated in the preceding *Passio* in the form of a prophecy by the clergy of the Beneventan monastery, where Cadog was said to have died. The *post-mortem* section, therefore, represents a later contribution to the *Life* of Cadog in that it attempts to provide a justification, as it were, for the working of miracles by Cadog: the miracles are either attributed to his relics or take place directly in front

---

<sup>113</sup> “[...] quidam uicecomes Anglorum, uiribus preualidus, nuncupatione Eilaf dictus, ad Morcannentium regionem cum magna classe satellitum predandi uastandique causa peruenit. Porro clerici preclari Cadoci, accepta illius impietatis fama, de Lancaruan fugerunt cum feretro sancti et aliis reliquiis, presidii locum querentes, usque ad Mammelliat locum, ibique se abdiderunt. Cumque parumper eo morarentur cum feretro et reliquiis, predonum multitudo Dacorum atque Anglorum uenit ad eos, qui, feretrum intuentes, ambierunt secum transportare [...]” [...] a certain sheriff of the English, very strong in troops, called by the name Eilaf, came to Glamorgan with a large company of followers to plunder and devastate. The the clergy of the renowned Cadog, having heard the report of his impiety, fled from Llancarfan with the shrine of the saint and other relics, seeking a place of safety, as far as the monastery of Mammelliat, and there hid themselves. And whilst they were sojourning there awhile with the shrine and relics, a horde of plunderers, Danes and English, came to (or, rushed upon) them, who, seeing the shrine, sought to take it away with them [...] (VCI, §40). According to Erik Björkman (1910: 32-34), *Eglaf* was earl Godwine’s brother-in-law through Godwine’s Danish second wife Gytha (Gyða) Thorkelsdóttir (the equivalent in ON. would be Eilifr < \*Eileifr or \*Eilafr; these represented the OE. *Eglaf*, Latinized *Eglavus*). *Eglaf* signs some of Cnut’s charters as a witness between 1018 and 1024 (cf. Napier & Stevenson 1895: 27-28, 139-142). Eilaf is the form given in the *Annales Cambriae*, in the entry to the year 1022, when he is said to have invaded Wales and devastated the region of Dyfed. Eilaf (in the form *Eglaf*) appears in the ASC (EF) s.a. 1025 together with his brother Jarl Ulf opposing King Cnut in Denmark. For *Eglaf*, *Eilaf*, see also Lehist 1958: 9-10.

<sup>114</sup> “Quo perculso, ingentem mugitum, uelut taurus edidit, et omnem exercitum ualde perterrituit, statimque terremotus in illis partibus factus est magnus. Relicto tandem ab eis feretro, quidam ceteris infelictor, auuiditate ductus, pinnaculum eius deauratum bipenni incidit, ei in gremio ipsius occuluit, quod sine mora sinum illius quasi ignis exussit, atque dolore ardoris stupefactum concite pinnaculum in loco suo apponere coegit, quod appositum, ueluti compactum auri cudone fuisset, firmiter adhesit. Quo facto, feretri illius infaustus uiolator in conspectu totius exercitus liquefactus est, prout cera ante faciem ignis. Hoc prodigio conspicato, quique pauore stupidi, a predix extorres, inde repedarunt [...]” [On its being struck, it gave forth a loud bellow like a bull, and terrified exceedingly the whole army, and immediately a great earthquake occurred in those parts. At length, when the shrine had been abandoned by them, one more wretched than the rest, drawn by greed, broke off its gilded wing with an axe, and concealed it in his bosom, and it immediately burnt his bosom like fire, and compelled him, astonished with the pain of the heat, quickly to put back the wing in its position. When it had been put back, it adhered firmly as tough it had been joined by a welding of gold. When this was done, the sorry violator of that shrine melted away in the sight of the whole army, like wax in front of the fire. When they had seen this prodigy, all, struck with terror, withdrew from that place [...] (VCI, §40).

of his altar.<sup>115</sup> This is, as I will demonstrate, an incipient development in the history of Welsh hagiography.

The themes of land invasion and refuge appear again in chapter 41. Here, Maredudd, king of Rheinwg,<sup>116</sup> invades Glamorgan gathering loot and oxen to his camp. When his men try to cook an ox taken from St. Cadog's townsmen, the flesh cannot be boiled. The king returns the stolen cattle to their owners and the slaughtered ox reappears unhurt among the others. The assembled people glorify God and praise St. Cadog for this miracle. No donation ensues from this and not a single word is said of repentance on the king's part. The scene reproduces the basic pattern of the encounter-scenes seen in the *in vita* section. The miracle takes place, moreover, without the presence of Cadog's relics. Not even the presence of Cadog's clergy is necessary for the miracle to be attributed to him. He is acclaimed by the population living under the protection of the saint's community from whom the ox was stolen.

Returning to the theme of Cadog's relics and shrine, in chapter 42, iron rings bending three strangers together break into pieces on the saint's festival when they happen to enter Cadog's church. The rings are hung over the altar so that the miracle would be manifest to all.<sup>117</sup> Chapter 43, on the other hand, returns to the theme of land possession and, indirectly, refuge. It tells of a miracle in Ireland, in which a steward from one of Cadog's community is murdered by a hundred armed men and is, subsequently, brought back to life. This resuscitation causes the regional king to enlarge the bounds of the fields belonging to Cadog's community.

Finally, in chapter 44, a ruler named Cynan Carwyn,<sup>118</sup> also a king of the neighbouring region of Rheinwg, assembles a great army and encamps on the banks of the river Neath, wishing to invade Glamorgan. An unnamed king of Glamorgan beseeches the clergy of St. Cadog's to take the saint's relics to Cynan's presence and beg him not to inflict undeservedly injuries on them. This agrees with the statements in the previous chapters, i.e. in chapters 40 and 42, as to the presence of Cadog's relics in Wales and on their uses by the community of one of

---

<sup>115</sup> The *Passio*, on the other hand, provided an explanation for the absence of Cadog's relics in his main monastery.

<sup>116</sup> For the name of the region and which regions it might have comprised, see footnote 92.

<sup>117</sup> In the *Vita et Miracula Sancti Oswaldi* written by Eadmer of Canterbury sometime between 1095 and 1116, a foreigner from Saxony is also freed from his iron rings by approaching St. Oswald's tomb (cf. *Miracula Sancti Oswaldi*, ch. 2).

<sup>118</sup> Cynan 'Garwyn,' 'of the white chariot,' is well attested in the earliest Welsh genealogical tracts as a famous prince of Powys (cf. Bartrum 1993: 167).

Cadog's churches. One priest climbs onto a tree in order to address the king on the other margin of the river. Miraculously, the tree bends itself and allows the priest to cross the river and talk to Cynan face to face. The king confers the protection of peace to the whole of Glamorgan and returns to his own land. Refuge is again the theme of this miraculous episode but here the presence of the saint is authenticated by stressing the power conferred to his relics.

Comparing these five episodes, two remarkable features can be perceived: the main conflicting themes between the community of St. Cadog and a secular character remain the same in the *post-mortem* section, i.e. land invasion, refuge and the punishment for the infringement of both. In this section, there is a conflation of miraculous accounts: miracles modelled on biblical passages appear together with miracles relating to purely natural phenomena, as for example in the case of the earthquake connected to the violator's melting like wax. Most importantly, a new emphasis on the saint's shrine and relics is introduced. This approximates these episodes, chronologically, with a series of Anglo-Norman Saints' *Lives* that intended to foster the saint's cult at the site of the saint's shrine which were extensively written and rewritten from the end of the eleventh century onwards as a reaction or as a consequence to the introduction of Norman religious practices in England. In contemporary or almost contemporary English and/or Anglo-Norman Saints' *Lives*, the presence of separate and highly elaborate *miracula* sections emphasising evangelical healings and cures taking place at the saints' tombs abound. A further contrast to the Welsh *Lives* in the *Vespasian* legendary is the stress on cases of exorcism and the presence of the devil as the saints' opponent in most of the texts.<sup>119</sup>

---

<sup>119</sup> The *Lives* used for comparison, in their respective editions and translations, were: Turner, A., Muir, B. (ed. and trans.) (2006) *Eadmer of Canterbury – Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; Winterbottom, M., Thompson, R. (eds.) (2002) *William of Malmesbury Saints' Lives – Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; and Lapidge, M., Winterbottom, M. (ed. and trans.) (1991) *Wulfstan of Winchester – The Life of St Æthelwold*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

## IV.2 The *Life* of Saint Gwynllyw

### IV.2.1 Dating and authorship

The *Life* of Saint Gwynllyw<sup>1</sup> is the first *Life* in the *Vespasian* legendary (ff. 13r – 16v). For my present purposes, it is also one of the most important *Lives* in this collection because of its *choices* of secular characters to emphasise the saint's powers in opposition to that of secular potentates. If one considered that the original design of the legendary centred on St. Cadog, then the order of the texts would imply a chronological intention on the part of the compiler(s): it would constitute an introduction to the factual lives of both Cadog's mother, Gwladus, and father, Gwynllyw, and to Cadog's birth and boyhood.

According to Arthur Wade-Evans, the *VGu* originated in the eponymous district of Gwynllwg, where the saint's main church was located (cf. Wade-Evans 1944: xii, cf. also Duine 1918: 368). The church is now called St. Woolo's and is located in the town of Newport in Monmouthshire. Wade-Evans referred to the *Life*'s use of partly poetical "older material" but dated it to about 1130 on account of its reference to a "Bishop of Llandaff."<sup>2</sup> François Duine also argued for a date in the beginning of the twelfth century due to the fact that the author mentions a) the death of Harold Godwinsson in the Battle of Hastings (1066), b) an episode referring to William Rufus (d. 1100) and c) an episode referring to bishop Herewald of Llandaff (d. 1104). These last two seem to indicate a proximity to the time of writing, according to Duine (cf. Duine 1918: 368). John Reuben Davies argued, instead, for a date of composition "some time in the sixth decade of the twelfth century" and ascribed the authorship of the *Lives* of SS. Gwynllyw, Cadog, Gildas, Tatheus, Illtud and Cungar to *Caradoc of Llancarfan* (2003: 134).<sup>3</sup> His assumption was based on what he considered features of Caradoc's Latin style found in all these *Lives*: the use of leonine verses, of rhyming prose and paronomasia, apart from the reworking and repetition of motifs and themes common to most of these texts. Davies argued, moreover, for Caradoc to have been the author or reviser of the *Book of Llandaff*, which would elucidate many of the connections between Llandaff and some of these *Lives* (cf. J. Davies 2003: 132-142). A simple comparison between the *Lives* of Gildas and Cadog attributed to Caradoc of Llancarfan and those of Illtud, Tatheus and Gwynllyw suffices indeed to recognise the stylistic parallels and,

---

<sup>1</sup> The *Life* of St. Gwynllyw will be referred to, henceforth, as *VGu*.

<sup>2</sup> This title only began to be used in the second half of the twelfth century.

<sup>3</sup> For Caradoc's *Life* of Gildas, its Arthurian episodes, and for references to Caradoc's works, see section IV.1.3. of this thesis.

moreover, the characteristic use of a selected vocabulary and of similar subject matters (cf. J. Davies 2003: 134-142, 194-201). Davies assumed that Caradoc had worked for the monks of Gloucester,<sup>4</sup> for whom he might have written the *Lives* of Gwynllyw, Tatheus and Cadog.<sup>5</sup> Jeremy Knight, however, on whose studies John Reuben Davies had based his research, thought that the *Lives* of Gwynllyw and Tatheus were based on Caradoc of Llancarfan's known *Lives* of Cadog and Gildas rather than being products of his own pen. His arguments concerned the use of the Latin *ecclesia* and *templum* for 'church' throughout both *Lives*, a "personal mannerism" which, according to him, appeared "to be absent in other works of Caradoc and his school" (Knight 1970: 31).

#### IV.2.2 Content

The *VGu* is a short *Life* containing many of the elements of the heroic biographical structure described in the introduction. The *VGu* begins by giving an eponymic explanation of the name of the ancient region of Gwynllwg and of Gwynllyw's noble ancestors. After praising Gwynllyw's attributes as a peaceful and rightful king, it turns to his betrothal of a wife.<sup>6</sup> This is Gwladus, who is described as the most beautiful and gentle daughter of King Brychan of the region of Brycheiniog. After much emphasis on a lawful marriage,<sup>7</sup> there follows a brief description of Cadog's birth and his prominent holiness among his contemporaries. An angelic revelation is the cause of Gwynllyw and Gwladus' renunciation of their properties and of their dedication to a religious life, with the subsequent choice of a site for their habitation. Much emphasis is also laid on Cadog's admonitions of his parents for their living a pious and sinless life. Cadog is also the one who, together with Bishop Dubricius of Llandaff, blesses Gwynllyw at his deathbed. The emphasis on Cadog's holiness is the hagiographer's measure for recognising Gwynllyw and Gwladus' saintliness. This would corroborate the suspicion

<sup>4</sup> The Normans directed the control of Llancarfan to the monks of Gloucester sometime between 1095 and 1104.

<sup>5</sup> The *Life* of Tatheus, henceforth *VTa*, is also in the *Vespasian* legendary. The *Life* of Cadog by Caradoc of Llancarfan, henceforth *VC2*, survives in the MS. *Gotha I. 81* (cf. J. Davies 2003:108). For the edited text of the *VTa*, see Bell, H. (1909) *Vita Sancti Tatheï and Buched Seint Y Katrin – Reedited, after Rees, from the MSS. in the British Museum*. Bangor: The Bangor Welsh Manuscripts Society. For an analysis of the *VTa*, see Knight 1970: 29-36. For analyses of the *VC2* in relation to the *VC1*, see Grosjean 1940: 90-103.

<sup>6</sup> The *Life* of Cadog, which is earlier than the *Life* of Gwynllyw, undoubtedly relies on an older image of king Gwynllyw as a rather trouble-making king. Cf. *VC1*, §1: "*Quadam uero nocte quidam ex Gundlei latronibus ad quoddam oppidum, in quo quidam religiosus Hibernensis heremita Deo deuotius seruans, nomine Meuthi, habitabat, furnadi causa peruenerunt, quum prenotatus Gundleius oppido fures diligebat eosque sepius ad latrocinia instigabat.*" [One night some of Gwynllyw's brigands arrived for loot at a certain town, in which dwelt a certain religious hermit, Meuthi by name, who served God very devoutly, inasmuch as the aforesaid Gwynllyw was very partial to thieves, and used to instigate them somewhat often to robberies].

<sup>7</sup> The reference to a lawful marriage in the *VGu* contrasts directly with the description of Cadog's conception in the *Life* of Cadog in *Vespasian*. See section IV.1.2. of this thesis.

that the *VGu* was composed by someone connected to Llancarfan, who had contacts to Llandaff and perhaps access to Llandaff hagiographical material.<sup>8</sup> It would, moreover, corroborate the focus on St. Cadog which is easily detectable in the first three *Lives* of the legendary. A brief reference to a visitation of angels about Gwynllyw's burial place and to miraculous healings of sick people follows in this same short chapter about his death. The next section introduces Gwynllyw's posthumous miracles.

### IV.2.3 Structural analysis of the encounter-episodes

#### IV.2.3.1 The secular characters in the *in vita* section of the *VGu*

In the *Life* of Saint Gwynllyw, in opposition to most of the other Welsh Saints' *Lives* in *Vespasian*, no direct encounters between the saint and secular rulers are described. It is in the *post-mortem* section, with its highly miraculous tone, that secular characters are introduced. The first posthumous incident, as I will demonstrate, has a completely different tone from the ones which follow it. It relates a story involving a "versifier," a poet, who is saved from drowning by composing verses in honour of St. Gwynllyw. The remaining ones relate mostly to the Norman Conquest of England and Wales and to the political situation of the Welsh marches. In what follows, I will examine these episodes in their order of appearance in the *Life*. As regards the ones involving well-known Welsh, English and Norman rulers, I will argue that the *VGu*, by emphasising the prominent role of the community of St. Gwynllyw in the historical events related to the Conquest and the Norman penetration in South Wales, was unambiguously searching for Norman sympathy to the detriment of English interests. The choice of specific miraculous types to convey this political message will also be dealt with, especially in connection with other *Vespasian Lives* in which parallel miraculous interventions can be found. In order to provide historical information relevant to the interpretation of the *post-mortem* episodes in the *VGu*, this section shall be structured slightly differently from the analyses of the other *Lives*.

---

<sup>8</sup> The references to Cadog as the *abbas Nancarbanensis*, "the abbot of Nantcarfan" who hold "both the government and the abbacy of the Nantcarfan valley," *utrumque tenes regimen et abbaciam Nantcarbanice uallis*, are reminiscent of Caradoc of Llancarfan's style. Apart from the reference to Dubricius, mentioned before, the *post-mortem* section also mentions the activities of Herewald, Bishop of Llandaff from 1056 to 1104, emphasising the text's connection to that house.



#### IV.2.3.2 Secular characters in the *post-mortem* section of the *VGu*

##### IV.2.3.2.1 The British versifier

This first posthumous miracle in the *VGu* tells of a sea-flood which covered the low and flat land of Glamorgan, killing all the population with the exception of a “British versifier,” who was saved by composing verses in honour of St. Gwynllyw in the moment when the flood invaded the land. This miraculous event, although different in tone from the rather historiographic subsequent ones, serves, however, as a cunningly introduction to the theme of the violation of St. Gwynllyw’s church and the awaited respect towards church property: it reminds the reader/audience of a concept of salvation history which judges and punishes those who do not abide by the church and their saints. This story introduces a Welsh discourse, however subtle this might be, that will permeate the next episodes:

*Britannus* quidam uersificator, *Britannice* uersificans, composuit carmina *a sua gente* et *Brittannico sermone* laudabilia de conuersione sanctissime Gunlyu et de miraculis conuersati [...].<sup>9</sup>

A certain **British** versifier, **versifying in British**, composed verses **on his own race**, and in the **British speech** praises concerning the manner of life of the most holy Gwynllyw and of his life’s miracles [...] (*VGu*, §11) [my emphasis].

Firstly, this could be read like an allegory for the *writing* activity of the hagiographer himself in that he, like the versifier whom he describes, praises St. Gwynllyw and his life in the language with which he has the liberty and the tools to compose praises for the saint, in this case, Latin. Secondly, differently from the coming episodes, the hagiographer does not use the word “Walia” for Wales: although using the word *Britannus* to refer to the man’s origin, by specifying the language as *Britannice* and *Brittannico sermone*, he delineates a linguistic community in Glamorgan whose “poets” are able to compose verses in honour of their own “gens.” The explanatory contrast between *Britannus* and *Britannice* emphasises the awareness of different people occupying the same geographical space but also the fact that the *Britannice* language applies only to one of them. The *flood*, moreover, with its symbolism of

---

<sup>9</sup> The emphasis on the *Brittannico sermone* recalls Geoffrey of Monmouth’s polemic reference to an old book written in the “British tongue,” which he affirmed to have received from Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, and to have used to write his *HRB*: “*Reges Saxonum Guillelmo Malmesberiensi et Henrico Huntingdonensi permitto; sed de regibus Britonum tacere jubeo, cum non habeant illum librum Britannici sermonis, quem Gualterus, Oxinefordensi archidiaconus, ex Britannia advexit, quem de historia eorum veraciter editum hoc modum in latinum sermonem transferre curavi*” (*HRB*, XII, 20). This reference has led to a fervent scholarly discussion whether this book, if it really existed, was of Welsh or Breton origin. This contemporary passage in the *VGu*, if indeed written by Caradoc of Llancarfan – whom Geoffrey explicitly mentions in his *HRB* – corroborates the understanding of the language to have been Welsh, not Breton. For this discussion, see De la Borderie 1882: 225-46, esp. 239-241, who argued that the language was undoubtedly Breton. See, also, Tatlock 1939: 364, Fleuriot 1980: 277. Against the Breton interpretation, see Paris 1883: 367-376, esp. 373-374, Faral 1929: 260-261, 392-393.

destruction, and the desolation it leaves in the area, recalls a religious discourse of punishment and, most importantly, of the *election* of a people to survive it. Like Noah surviving the Deluge for his trust and faith in God (cf. Gen 6, 7, 8), the poet, whose task is also one of praise, is saved from the flood. It is therefore the subtle idea of the *people elect* that the contrast between the language and the *gens* masterly conveys, with a penchant for the Welsh, whose language still disclosed who the “original” inhabitants of the island were.

#### IV.2.3.2.2 Gruffudd “of Gwynedd” and William the Conqueror

The first important Welsh ruler mentioned in the *VGu* is Gruffudd “of Gwynedd.” He appears in two consecutive chapters whose order of events does not correspond to the factual historical chronology. In the first chapter in which he appears (*VGu* §12), an event that took place during the time of William the Conqueror is told, whereas in the following chapter Edward the Confessor and Earl Harold Godwinsson are mentioned (*VGu* §13). The Gruffudd of this *Life* is a king of *Gwynedd* and is said to have been driven from his territories due to the results of war. It is in the description of his sail from the Orkney Islands down south to the mouth of the river Severn that the hagiographer’s story about Gruffudd begins. Gruffudd’s character is described in a seemingly contemptuous manner by the hagiographer in that he emphasises his proneness for doing and inciting evil:

*Grifudus, rex Guinodocie, expulsus ab omnibus finibus Brittannie ex bello et pro timore timens insidias, quas inimici meditabantur illi inferre, Willelmo rege antiquo Anglorum regnante, Anglicis deuictis et subiectis pro eodem uictore, nauigauit ad Orcades insulas cum festinatione **deuitando hostes crudelis uictorie**, uolens tutari et frui tutamine. Ilico manens inter utrumque, **cupiens predari et non construere**, uindicare preparans pro expulsione, commonuit multos insulares ad piraticam artem, ad letale lucrum et inuasionem.*

Griffudd, king of Gwynedd [...], driven from all the borders of Britannia as the result of war, and fearing for fear the plots, which his enemies were designing to lay against him, William the old king of the English then reigning, the English having been conquered and subjected because of that same conqueror, sailed to the Orkney Islands with speed to avoid his enemies **who had gained this cruel success**, wishing for protection and to enjoy protection. Abiding there between this plan and that, **desiring to spoil and not to construct**, preparing to take vengeance on account of his banishment, he incited many of the islanders towards the practice of piracy, to **death-bringing gain and invasion** (*VGu*, §12) [my emphasis].

Even if the chosen adjectives and phrases qualify Gruffudd and his men in a seemingly negative way, passing a judgement on their “evil” deeds – such as shown by *cupiens predari et non construere* and by *ad letale lucrum et inuasionem*, for example – the way in which the narrative slowly develops the preparation for the plundering, from the recruiting and training of his men, from the navigation in the Irish sea up until the arrival in Glamorgan, leaves an

impression of a rather sympathising tone for the theme of military prowess: the image conveyed by the taking of axes and spears, by their entering the woods “courageously” (*uiriliter*) and the result of obtaining “very much plunder” (*predations maximas*), leaves no doubt on the rather elaborate intentional description of this scene:

*Nequiter itaque conragati et commoti, et ex congregatis inuasoribus .xx.iiii. longis nauibus impletis, Grifudo ducente, nauigauerunt per mare Hybernicum, et post immensam et formidolosam nauigationem peruenerunt ad Safrinicum [.i. Sauerna] fretum interluens ripas Gutlatmorcanensium. Inde per longitudinem freti transfretantes, audissimi tendentes ad predas, in ostio fluminis Uisc submerserunt anchoras. **Classe retenta, capiunt bipennes et lanceas; armati uiriliter ambiunt campos et siluas; his ambitis, congregant predationes maximas;** fugiunt indigene cauti per excubias, et incauti ducuntur ad classem per manus impias. Pirate nequissimi uidentes ecclesiam sancti Gunlyu esse seratam existimantes res preciosas esse intrinsecus ad securitatem et custodiam, fregerunt seram, et intrauerunt [uiol]atores post fracturam. Quicquid preciosum et utile repertum fuerat rapuerunt; post **rapinam sacrilegam** templum Dei spoliatum deseruerunt.*

And so being mischievously assembled and excited, and twenty-four ships being manned from the assembled invaders, they sailed under Gruffudd’s command through the Irish sea, and **after an endless and fear-fraught voyage** arrived in the Severn channel which washes the banks of the Glamorgan folk. Then sailing along the length of the channel, very greedily making for plunder, they dropped anchor in the estuary (or on the shore) of the river Usk. **Their fleet being secured, they take their battle axes and spears. Armed they courageously encompass fields and woods. These being encompassed, they collect very much plunder.** The natives who were on the lookout through watches escape, and those not on their guard are taken to the fleet by impious hands. The iniquitous pirates, seeing that the church of saint Gwynllyw was barred, reckoning that precious articles were inside for safety and protection, broke the bar, and after breaking as **violators** entered. Whatever precious and useful thing was found, they took. After the **sacrilegious theft** they left the church of God plundered (VGu §12) [my emphasis].

The parallelism of the men’s actions confirms the writer’s elaboration of the scene:

*Classe retenta, capiunt bipennes et lanceas;  
armati uiriliter ambiant campos et siluas;  
his ambitis, congregant predationes maximas*

A paradox arises in the representation of the church’s violation, where the condemnation for the men’s acts is complete: they are “violators” and their action is “sacrilegious.” The miracle that ensues from their violation is in form of a *vision* of the pursuing and punishing saint:

*Deinde regressi sunt onerati ad naues [...] Dum hinc inciperent uela erigere [...] uidebant **unum terribilem equitante** die et nocte, et **persequentem illos** ex omni parte. **Eques iste terribilis** sanctus erat Gunlyu, qui celitus missus fuerat, ut obsisteret sacrilegis.*

Then they returned to their ships burdened [...] When from this place they began to hoist sails [...] they saw **a single being, one terrible, riding** day and night, and **pursuing them** on every side. **That terrible rider** was holy Gwynllyw, who had been sent from heaven to withstand the sacrilegious ones (VGu §12) [my emphasis].

All the ships but two sink and Gruffudd survives. The hagiographer stresses the fact that Gruffudd was unwilling to participate in the robbery and had waited on the shore for his

companions to come back with the booty, in what could be interpreted as an explanation as to why he managed to survive the *tempest* sent by the saint to punish the church's violators:

*Naues erant uelate, sed uelamina nequibant pro uentoso rigore uentis resistere. Quanto remiges plus regebant remigium, tanto amplius undositas retrudebat per transuersum. [...] Quedam enim ex nauibus prorupte fuerant ex rupibus, unaqueque autem prora ruebat in alteram **quasi coacta humanis nisibus**; tota classis submersa est, meritis illorum exigentibus, exceptis duabus de classe nauibus, antequam peruenirent ad optatum litus. **Iste due euaserunt et potuerunt deuotare periculum, rex enim Grifudus illas possidebat, qui tantum interfuerat, non uastauit tamen, nec particeps rapine uoluit esse, nec intrauit templum, sed expectabat in litore cum suis sociis piratarum aduentum.***

The ships were under canvas, but the sails could not face the winds for their raging violence. The more the rowers rowed in one direction, by so much the more did the billows thrust them back athwart. [...] For some of the ships had been broken on the rocks, whilst each vessel drove on other, **as if driven by human efforts**. The whole fleet was overwhelmed, their desserts requiring it, two ships of the fleet excepted, before they could reach the wished-for shore. **Those two escaped and were able to avoid the danger. For king Grifudd owned them, who had been present only; he, however, wasted not, nor even willed to be participant in the robbery, nor even entered the church**, but waited on the shore with his companions for the coming of the pirates (VGu §12) [my emphasis].

William the Conqueror is then mentioned:

*Iste remeans post interualum temporis et pacificans Willelmo, regi Anglie, **nuntiauit miracula, que manifeste uiderat** peracta pro sanctissimi Gundlyo sanctitate.*

He [Gruffudd] returning after an interval of time and making peace with William, king of England, **related the miracles which he had clearly seen done** on account of the sanctity of the most holy Gwynllyw (VGu §12) [my emphasis].

By stressing the *personal* experience of the miracle and the *conversation* between the two kings, the nature of the miracle gains in significance. The scene conflates religious and political spheres in that the miracle extrapolates the realm of ordinary popular intervention to seek significance in a higher social stratum. A series of natural phenomena is attached to the vision, like the gusts of wind. This not only symbolises the saintly powers over nature but, also, is a kind of miraculous attribution that can hardly be contested due to its personal character: it is a matter of interpretation that a tempest is associated with the saint's punishment. For this kind of miraculous account, there is no need of witnesses for the phenomenon itself. Gruffudd not only tells William what happened to his men, but, most importantly, he specifically tells him of a miracle that he *saw manifestly* done. The text seeks authoritative recognition of the tempest as a miraculous intervention in that two prominent figures are made to interact and recognise the event in religious terms.

As regards these prominent figures and the historical background which might have influenced this and the next episodes, Gruffudd's title as king of Gwynedd in north Wales

seems to reflect the activities of *Gruffudd ap Llywelyn*, who reigned from about 1039 up to his death in 1063. For William I to be mentioned, a date after the Norman Conquest of England in 1066 would have to be inferred but, as we shall see, the hagiographer anticipates and conflates some episodes relating to William and the period right before Gruffudd's death in 1063. This conflation might have been caused by the discrepancy in the dates of the written or even, perhaps, oral sources used by the hagiographer.

Gruffudd ap Llywelyn appears prominently not only in most Welsh chronicles but is also referred to in English ones. He seems to have left a long-lasting impression in his contemporaries as the only Welsh ruler who managed to dominate the whole of Wales. His dominion reached as far as the region of Glamorgan in the south (cf. M. Davies 2002: 207-248). It is exactly with this region that we are concerned in the analysis of his appearance in the *Life* of St. Gwynllyw. His appearance in English historical texts, such as in most recensions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and in John of Worcester's *Chronicon ex Chronicis* allows us to catch a glimpse on the significance of his achievements in the realm of English politics and affairs during the first decades of the twelfth century.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, as a representative or symbol of Welsh unification and due to his military and political achievements, his figure also seems to have quickly become material for folktales, as in Walter Map's description of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn and his wife in his *De Nugis Curialium*.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> The editions used are: Baker, P (ed.) (2000) *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle – MS. F*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer; Cubbin, G. (ed.) (1996) *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle – MS. D*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer; Irvine, S. (ed.) (2004) *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle – MS. E*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer; O'Keeffe, K. (ed.) (2001) *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle – MS. C*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer. Henceforth ASC, with the respective recensions in parentheses. And: Darlington, R., McGurk, P. (eds.) (1995) *The Chronicles of John of Worcester – Volume II – The Annals from 450 to 1066*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, henceforth CC.

<sup>11</sup> James, M. (ed.) (1914) *Walter Map De Nugis Curialium*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Henceforth DNC. The DNC dates to 1181-1192 or 1193 and is of extreme relevance for the folktale-like narratives that it contains. On the whole, Map's attitude towards the Welsh is ambiguous. While he, mostly, only recognises their value for their subordination to the English, he praises their military actions, their fierceness in the military assaults and their resistance. Map deals with Gruffudd ap Llywelyn in two tales (DNC Dist. ii. cc. 22-23). In these, he conflates the figure of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn with that of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, his son. This conflation already confirms the suspicion that there was much disinformation on the many Welsh Gruffudds or on the many sons of Gruffudd within English or even Welsh circles. The first tale tells how Gruffudd, for jealousy of his wife, puts a young man into prison upon hearing that he dreamed of having an affair with the queen. A "pre-eminent" person is asked to consult on the case and to follow the customs of the ancient laws of Wales, in which, as Map tells us, the compensation for the offence of "outraging the consort of the King of Wales" corresponded to 1000 cows. The judge decides that, once the offence had not been real, for it took place in a dream, the compensation would have to be accounted for in the same manner: the accused young man would have to place 1000 cows in the king's sight on the bank of a lake, so that the reflection of the animals on the water surface would belong to the king. The decision is executed under the angry protests of Gruffudd. This kind of anecdote strongly resembles that found in the *Life* of Cadog by Llifris. In Llifris' *Life* of Cadog, the compensation demanded by Arthur for the murder of his men, a hundred cows, turned into fern in front of his eyes. The second tale told by Map refers to Gruffudd's boyhood and tells how, under his sister's reproaches for being a "feeble creature" who had "become a scorn and a byword to everyone" (DNC Dist. ii, c, 23), he submits to the Welsh custom of going out in the first

Before proceeding with Gruffudd's mentions in the *VGu*, however, I would like to refer to what is known of him in English and Welsh historical sources: firstly, in the Welsh *AC* (BC) and *ByT* (Pen. 20 and RB) and, secondly, in the corresponding English entries in the *ASC* (CDEF) and in the *CC* for the same period.<sup>12</sup> The following entries give an account of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn's activities in south Wales from the time of his accession up to his death in 1063. They are intended as a tool for the understanding of his military achievements and for the understanding of the historical events brought in connection with St. Gwynllyw's church and community mentioned in the *VGu*.

The accounts of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn's accession in 1039 appear in texts B and C of the *AC* and in both *Brutiau* (*ByT* Pen. 20 and RB).<sup>13</sup> In these entries, his victory against the English at Rhyd-y-Gors is mentioned. The *ASC* (C) and the *CC*, on the other hand, omit any reference to Gruffudd while mentioning the deaths of *Eadwine*, Earl Leofric (of Mercia)'s brother, and of some other English nobles *in the hands of the Welsh* in the year 1039.<sup>14</sup> Following this action, Gruffudd ap Llywelyn managed to drive his rival *Hywel ab Edwin*, the *then* king of south Wales, from the region of Deheubarth. This seems to have been the beginning of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn's expansionist policy to conquer most of the Welsh territories in the south. Hywel ab Edwin was one of his adversaries and had been ruling in the south since 1033. Gruffudd defeated him in battle at the mouth of the river Tywi (cf. Maund 1962: 126-127). In 1046, the *ASC* (C) refers to Gruffudd's associations with Earl Swegn, son of Earl Godwine of Wessex, and of their ravaging of Wales:

*Her on bysum geare for Swegn eorl into Wealan? Griffín se norþerna cyng forð mid him [...]*

In this year went Earl Swegn to Wales and Gruffudd, the northern king, went with him [...] (*ASC* (C) s.a. 1046) [my translation].

From the English part, not only Swegn seems to have sided with Gruffudd ap Llywelyn. Earl Ælfgar, son of Earl Leofric of Mercia – whose brother Eadwine was killed by Gruffudd in

---

night of the year with other young men to raid and steal or to listen or eavesdrop at someone's house. He becomes, afterwards, one of the best raiders in Wales.

<sup>12</sup> I owe most of the accounts on the Welsh sources referring to Gruffudd ap Llywelyn to Maund, K. (1962, repr. 1991) *Ireland, Wales, and England in the Eleventh Century*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press. The editions used for the Welsh *Chronicles of the Princes* are: Jones, T. (trans.) (1952) *Brut y Tywysogion, or, the Chronicle of the Princes. Peniarth MS. 20 Version*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press; Jones, T. (ed. and trans.) (1973) *Brut y Tywysogion, or, the Chronicle of the Princes. Red Book of Hergest Version*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press and, Williams (Ab Ithel), J. (ed.) (1860) *Annales Cambriae*. London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts.

<sup>13</sup> *AC* (B) s.a. [1038], *AC* (C) s.a. [1040], and *ByT* (Pen. 20) s.a. 1037 and *ByT* (RB) [1039].

<sup>14</sup> “[...] ? Wealas slogon Eadwine Leofrices broðor eorles ? þurcil ? Ælfget ? swiðe fela godra manna mid heom [...]” (...and the Welsh slew Eadwine, Earl Leofric's brother, and Thurkill and Ælfgeat and many other good men with them...) [my translation], *ASC* (C) s.a. 1039.

1039 – is also mentioned in association with Gruffudd in two later entries of the ASC.<sup>15</sup> The events of 1046, appearing in the ASC and in the CC, opened up a period of confrontation between the Godwine’s family and King Edward the Confessor, which culminated in the 1050s with the dispossession by the latter of Godwine’s lands and the subsequent exile of many of his family’s members (cf. Maund 1962: 131). In 1049, both the ASC (D) and CC mention a raid of thirty-six Hiberno-Scandinavian ships in the river Severn that ravaged that area with the help of Gruffudd. While the ASC (D) refers to this Gruffudd as “the Welsh king,”<sup>16</sup> John of Worcester’s “Southern Welsh”<sup>17</sup> identifies him with *Gruffudd ap Rhydderch*, king of Deheubarth ca. 1044-55. In 1052, one Gruffudd, “the Welsh king,” is mentioned again by the ASC (D) and the CC as ravaging Herefordshire near Leominster and defeating many of the English.<sup>18</sup> The relevant recensions of the ASC (CDE) for this period, however, especially in using the epithet “the Welsh king” for some of Gruffudd’s appearances, do not seem to differentiate clearly between the two Gruffudds (cf. Maund 1962: 132).

Together with Harold Godwinsson, *Gruffudd ap Rhydderch* was one of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn’s most powerful contemporaries. It was Gruffudd ap Llywelyn’s defeat of Hywel ab Edwin in 1039 that opened up the way to Gruffudd ap Rhydderch’s dominion of Deheubarth in the south. It is with Gruffudd ap Rhydderch’s name that Gruffudd ap Llywelyn’s seems to have become conflated in the historical records, especially those of the English.<sup>19</sup> Gruffudd ap Rhydderch’s sons, *Rhys* and *Caradog ap Gruffudd ap Rhydderch*, also receive much attention from the Welsh chroniclers, although not so much is said of the former. Both seem to have held power in south Wales (cf. Maund 1962: 66-67) and I shall go back to Caradog ap Gruffudd ap Rhydderch soon because of his appearance in the *VGu*.

In 1055, the ASC (CDEF) and the CC mention a punitive expedition led by Earl Harold Godwinsson against the Welsh for their ravaging of Hereford and for Gruffudd ap Llywelyn’s defeat of Earl Ralf of Hereford. The death of Earl Ralf directed Harold’s interests in Herefordshire and within ten years he would have acquired a large number of possessions in the area (cf. Williams 1992: 6). It was probably Gruffudd ap Llywelyn’s defeat of Gruffudd ap Rhydderch in 1055 x 56 that allowed him to move his army across the English border to

---

<sup>15</sup> ASC (C) s.a. 1055, ASC (D) s.a. 1055 and 1058, ASC (E) s.a. 1055, ASC (F) s.a. 1055. See also CC s.a. 1055 and 1058.

<sup>16</sup> “[...] *mid Gryfines [...] þæs wæliscan cynges*” (ASC (D) s.a. [1050]).

<sup>17</sup> “[...] *et cum adiutorio Griffini regis australium Brytonum [...]*” (CC s.a. 1049) [my emphasis].

<sup>18</sup> CC s.a. 1052, ASC (D) s.a. 1052.

<sup>19</sup> William of Malmesbury, for instance, in his *DG* confuses the two Gruffudds and connects Earl Harold directly with Gruffudd ap Llywelyn’s slaying (cf. Thompson 1999: 186-187, 215).

sack Hereford (cf. J. Davies 2003: 18). The Welsh raid of Hereford is also mentioned in the *AC* (BC) and the two *Brutiau* (Pen. 20 and RB).<sup>20</sup>

Further accounts relating to Harold Godwinsson and Gruffudd ap Llywelyn's conflicts follow in the entries for 1056 and 1058, culminating in the account of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn's head being taken to Earl Harold in the entry for 1063. Although the *ASC* (DE) and *CC* mention Harold's intensive campaigns against the Welsh, with the subsequent betrayal and death of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn by his own men,<sup>21</sup> the *AC* and the *Brutiau* omit any reference to Harold and emphasise, instead, the betrayal committed by the Welsh against their own king.<sup>22</sup> It is important to notice that the omission in the Welsh chronicles of Gruffudd's association with the English reveals their preference, as it were, for portraying him as the "scourge" of the English (Maund 1962: 126). The English chroniclers, on the other hand, seem to be interested in recording his military actions and the associations of particular English lords with the Welsh.

Finally, after Gruffudd ap Llywelyn's death, the last entry which is relevant for the understanding of the characters in the *VGu* is that of the year 1065. This entry concerns Earl Harold's building of a hunting lodge at Portskewett in south Wales, which was attacked and destroyed by *Caradog ap Gruffudd ap Rhydderch*. Maund interpreted this attack as an attempt by Caradog ap Gruffudd ap Rhydderch to drive the English out of Wales (1962: 141). Regarding Caradog's rather confined interests in Welsh politics and his later recognition of Norman baronial control, this attack could be seen as an attempt to defend his own territory, pushing Harold out of Gwent. This event did not receive any attention from the part of the Welsh chronicles, although two versions of the *ASC* and also John of Worcester's *CC* deemed it important to be recorded.<sup>23</sup>

To go back to the text of the *VGu*, by means of his "historical" references the hagiographer is trying to make sense of the events that took place in south-east Wales from 1050 onwards. His main focus in this *post-mortem* section is, as will become clearer with the exposition of the next examples, on the two Welsh rulers whose actions brought much damage and devastation to Glamorgan due to their reaction against or due to their coalition with the

---

<sup>20</sup> *AC* (B) s.a. [1055], *AC* (C) s.a. [1058], *ByT* (Pen. 20) s.a. 1054, *ByT* (RB) s.a. [1056].

<sup>21</sup> *ASC* (D) s.a. 1063, *ASC* (E) s.a. 1063, *CC* s.a. 1063.

<sup>22</sup> *AC* (B) s.a. [1061], *AC* (C) s.a. [1064], *ByT* (Pen. 20) s.a. 1061, *ByT* (RB) s.a. 1060.

<sup>23</sup> *ASC* (CD) s.a. 1065, *CC* s.a. 1065.



English and/or Norman newcomers: *Gruffudd ap Llywelyn* and *Caradog ap Gruffudd ap Rhydderch*. The activities of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn's contemporary and enemy Gruffudd ap Rhydderch were conflated just like in the English and Welsh historical texts mentioned above, a fact which only contributed to expand *Gruffudd ap Llywelyn*'s notoriety. The hagiographer's attitude towards the Welsh rulers seems to represent an attempt to gather sympathy from the Norman lords, as is the case in the *Vespasian Life* of Illtud, as I shall demonstrate. This is best shown in the emphasis on Gruffudd's reconciliation with William after the incident in the church of St. Gwynllyw.

#### IV.2.3.2.3 Gruffudd "king of all Wales," Edward the Confessor and Harold Godwinsson

The next episode relating to Gruffudd is retrospective and recalls Welsh and English commercial relations within Welsh territory:

*In tempore Grifudi, regis fortis totius Wallie, Edwardo rege Anglie regnante, mercatores frequenter ueniebant de Anglia, et in ostio fluminis Uysc commutabant commercia. Post finita reddebant theloneum; et si non reddidissent constitutum consuetudinarium, non habituri amplius essent licentiam applicandi ac mercandi per ostium. Contigit autem una uice quod nolabant reddere; hoc audito, Rigrif filius Imor, nepos Grifudi Regis, egressus est ad ostium cum furore, et plenus indignatione precepit reddi debitum; nec pro precepto reddiderunt. Postea in derisione et in dedecore Angligenarum amputauit funem anchore, et anchoram solutam fecit deferri ad sancti Gunlyu templum. Naute reuersi et mercatores ad Haraldum comitem, nuntiauerunt illatum dedecus et derisionem. Comes igitur, maliuolus, commotus per furorem nimium, et uindicare uolens, congregauit exercitum. Hoc congregato, irruit in Gulat Morgantiam, hostiliter disponens comburere et deuastare regionem totam. [...] Postquam uenit exercitus, combussit et uastauit, nulli parcens, totum rapiens quod inuenit.*

In the time of Grifudd, **the valiant king of all Wales**, Edward, king of England, then reigning, merchants frequently came from England, and exchanged wares at the mouth (or harbour) of the river Usk. After finishing they paid toll and if they had not paid **the usual custom**, they would no more have had leave to land and to traffic up the river mouth. But it happened on one occasion that they were unwilling to pay. When this was heard, Rhiryd son of Ifor, nephew of king Grifudd, proceeded to the river mouth (or shore) with anger, and full of indignation, ordered the debt to be paid, but for all such commandment they did not pay. Afterwards in derision and to the disgrace of the Englishmen he cut the rope and their anchor, and caused the freed anchor to be taken away to the church of saint Gwynllyw. The sailors and the merchants having returned to the earl Harold, narrated the disgrace and the derision inflicted on them. Therefore the earl, **ill-disposed, moved with great anger and wishing to take vengeance**, assembled an army. This being assembled, he invaded Glamorgan, hostilely determined to burn and to lay waste the whole region.[...] After the army had come, it burnt and ravaged, sparing none, seizing everything it found [my emphasis] (*VGu* §13) [my emphasis].

The hagiographer clearly stresses the arrangement between the English and the Welsh regarding the payment of toll. This was made *constitutum consuetudinarium*, according to the "usual custom." It is the English refusal to pay the agreed toll that causes the indignation of Gruffudd's nephew, who apparently takes the anchor to the church not only for vengeance but

also in search for compensation. Following Harold's invasion of Gwynllyw's church, two miracles are told which cause Harold's and his men's astonishment:

*Anchora [...] que fuit origo uastationis et rapine, a nullo fuit uisa, et erat tamen in interiori angulo ecclesie. Casei diuisi sunt a predonibus; dum inciderentur uero, apparuerunt sanguinei intrinsecus; obstupefactus est totus exercitus, reddens omnia, que rapuerat, promptis manibus. Insuper de suis obtulit altari comes Haraldus in primis compunctus penitentia formidabili; inde regressus est, uehementer timens maiorem uindictam fieri, promittens nunquam uiolaturum esse refugium uenerabilis templi.*

But the [...] anchor, which was the cause of the devastation and rapine, **was seen by none**, and yet it was in an inner corner of the church. **Cheeses were divided** by the robbers, but, **when they were being cut into, they appeared bloody within; the whole army was astounded**, restoring everything which it had seized with ready hands. Moreover, **the earl Harold among the first offered of his own to the altar, being pricked with terrible compunction**. Thence he returned, greatly fearing that more revenge would be taken, promising never to violate the sanctuary of the venerable church (VGu §13) [my emphasis].

A remarkable contrast can be perceived in the description of Gruffudd's and Harold's invasions of Glamorgan and their violation of the church of Gwynllyw. There is a clear difference in the way that the hagiographer treats the Welsh and the English, even if, in the end, their invasion of the church and the booty collected is similarly admonished and punished. In the preceding chapter, the hagiographer took enough care to stress that Gruffudd was *not* present at the moment of the violation of the church, whereas Harold himself did not respect one of God's sanctuary. The contrast is even greater if one compares both episodes' endings. While Gruffudd makes peace with William, Harold's defeat against the Normans at Hastings is attributed to his and his army's violation of the church of Saint Gwynllyw:

*Continuo in proximo mense pro illa nequitia et pro aliis transgressionibus deuictus est in bello Hastingsensi a Willelmo rege et interfectus.*

Forthwith in the next month **for that iniquity and for other transgressions** he was conquered in the battle of Hastings by king William and slain (VGu §13) [my emphasis].

The Conquest of 1066, which is the last of the events related to the affairs of the Godwine's family, is therefore interpreted in a series of interconnected events linked to Glamorgan, to the political situation in the Welsh marches and the affairs between the English and the Welsh during that period. There is a clear attempt to construct the image of the Welsh as more reliable vassals than the English and to gather sympathy from the part of the Normans towards its rulers. Surely, what is at stake here is that fact that secular rulers should not violate the privileges of the saint's church, but there is a tendency to sympathise with the Welsh rather than with the English, even if repentance and punishment are expected from

both. The Welsh are here able to “keep their word” in opposition to the English rather untrustworthy attitude.

#### IV.2.3.2.4 Caradog “king of Glamorgan,” William the Conqueror and William Rufus

The violation of church’s privilege is also the theme of the subsequent chapter:

*Ednyuein Guinedoticus, Caradoci regis Gulatmorganensium familiarissimus, **diabolica suasion**e transuersus, fracta sera, intrauit noctu ecclesiam sancti Gundlyu. Et post nefandum introitum rapuit calicem et ecclesiasticas uestes [...]*

Ednywain of Gwynedd, a most intimate friend of Caradog, king of the Glamorgan folk, led astray by **persuasion of the devil**, entered the church of saint Gwynllyw by night after breaking the bar. And after his abominable entrance he stole the chalice and church vestments [...] (*VG*u §14) [my emphasis].

In what follows, the unidentified Ednywain goes mad and is found by the priest in the hour of matins tied up with stoles by the church altar. He is taken to be judged at Caradog’s court and Herewald, bishop of Llandaff, decides that instead of blinding him or cutting his hands, as some proposed, the man had already been judged by God by turning dull-witted. The connection between the bishop of Llandaff and Caradog seems to be confirmed by the fact that one of the Llandaff charters in the *Book of Llandaff* (*LL* 278) was supposedly granted by Caradog. The *LL*’s list of the churches subjected to Llandaff in the time of bishop Herewald mentions Caradog reigning in Gwent Uch-Coed and Gwynllwg (cf. J. Davies 2003: 19). This episode stresses the fact that, no matter what rank and which connections one possesses, the privileges of the church are not to be violated. The violators, moreover, not only submit to earthly laws, but, more importantly, are subjected to divine ones. In this case, miraculous is the man’s turning “dull-witted,” which stands, in the hagiographer’s didactic and political purposes, for the lack of good sense in not respecting the church’s properties. The fact that the man is described as a friend of Caradog’s justifies the explanation that his acts were performed due to a persuasion of the *devil*. As seen in the *VCI*,<sup>24</sup> the evildoing here is attributed not to man himself, but to an external force. Significantly, although a “persuasion of the devil” is given as an explanation for the man’s behaviour, this case still differs from cases of “possession” by the devil in that the punishment is a direct consequence of the violation and does not mean to emphasise the saint’s ability to practice exorcism.

---

<sup>24</sup> See IV. 1.3.1.6. of this thesis.

The next episode seems to be reminiscent of the post-Conquest baronial rebellions that occurred between 1067 and 1081 against William the Conqueror when Norman barons rebelled against Norman rule with the aid of the Welsh.<sup>25</sup>

*Tres legitimi milites Normannigene diffamati sunt nimium insidias fecisse Willelmo antiquo, regi Anglie, post uictoriam habitam in Anglos in primo certamine; hoc comperto, rex uoluit capere et incarcerare, ut in captura aut profiterentur culpam, aut negare ualde. [...] [N]olentes exspectare capi, uenerunt ad Caradocum, regem Gulatmorganensium, in fugam. Ille recepit eos honorifice, fide data nunquam iussu regio eos lesurum esse, quamuis amitteret omnia que tenebat a rege. Rex itaque audiens illos insidiatores [...] Caradocum regulum adiisse, ac eundem tale pactum supradictum inique contra suum dominum confirmasse, misit legatos, imperans Caradoco aut reduc[er] et captos aut expelleret ex sua possessione, sicut dominari uellet in sua hereditate. Caradocus uero, uir beniuolus, magis timens et deuitans infamiam quam regem dominum, noluit capere nec expellere extra suum dominium, sed tenere [et] honorare sicut suum filium. [...] Indignatione et ira commotus, remisit Willelmum Rufum suum filium, adhuc iuuenem, strenuum tamen et bellicosum, cum immensa expeditione et armatis militibus ad Gulatmorganantiam, que deuastata fuit et combusta, amittens totam pecuniam.*

*Three liege knights of Norman birth were very much decried for having formed a conspiracy against the old William, king of England, after the victory which he gained over the English at the first contest. When this was discovered, the king wished to take and imprison them, that in their taking they might either confess to having done wrong or altogether deny it. [...] Unwilling to wait to be taken, they came in flight to Caradog, king of the Glamorgan folk. He received them honourably, his good word being given that he would never by royal bidding do them damage, though he should lose everything which he held from the king. The king, therefore, hearing that these conspirators had [...] gone to Caradog the under-king, and that that same man had unjustly established such a compact aforesaid against his lord, sent ambassadors, commanding Caradog either to return them captive or to expel them from his possession, if he should wish to be master in his own inheritance. But Caradog, a benevolent man, fearing and shunning infamy more than the king, his lord, was unwilling to take them nor to expel them out of his dominion, but wished to keep and respect them, as his own son. [...] Stirred by indignation and wrath, he sent William Rufus his son, still a young man, but strenuous and warlike, with an immense expedition and armed soldiers to Glamorgan, which was devastated and burnt, losing the whole of its wealth [my emphasis] (VGu §15) [my emphasis].*

Although the rebels are not English, the idea lying behind this passage is that of a conspiracy supported by the Welsh. The passage makes clear that Caradog held some kind of allegiance to William, whose territory he seemed to be occupying as an *under-king*, although the land belonged to him through “his own inheritance,” *sua hereditate*. The hagiographer emphasises the fact that the Normans were the invaders, the ones who militarily occupied Glamorgan, although recognising *and* accepting their control of the territories.

The theme of keeping one’s word is again present in this passage. It seems to act as a reminder of the Welsh internal laws and customs. There seems to be a justification to the harbouring of fugitives in the stress of Caradog’s respect for having given his word of protecting the fugitives at his court. He is not only “benevolent” but, mainly, he represents the customs of his own court and people: he fears the infamy of not keeping his word rather than

---

<sup>25</sup> These insurgences justify some expeditions made by William into Welsh territory (cf. Maund 1962: 139-146).

the disobedience to the Norman king. There seems to be a certain tinge of nobleness in the hagiographer's description of Caradog's attitude to be able to abdicate of his possessions for the sake of his opposition to William. He even makes use of familiar emotional ties when he affirms that Caradog would treat the fugitives as his own sons. John Reuben Davies and A. G. Williams interpreted this episode in the *VGu* as reminiscent of the fate of William fitz Osbern's son, Roger de Breteuil, in his rebellion against William the Conqueror in 1075 (cf. J. Davies 2003: 20, Williams 1992: 454). In the ensuing description, William Rufus' men pitch their tents about the church of St. Gwynllyw and, although the population had fled and left their houses full with divers sorts of grain, not a single horse could be fed with it. Famine consequently struck the whole army. Just as in the description of the flood, the hagiographer shows his predilection for describing a miraculous scene in a rather blooming and dramatic way:

*Non hic pastus immo fames odiosa, nullus equus pregustavit de auena. Summus Deus noluerat aperiri domos clausas. Sanctus Gunlyu exoravit, quem exaudiuit Deitas.*

Here was no provender, but rather grim famine. Not a horse got a taste of the oats. The most high God had not desired to suffer the closed houses to be opened. Saint Gwynllyw prayed, whom the Deity heard (*VGu* § 15).

The young William recognises in this a miracle and kneels down before St. Gwynllyw's altar, *promittens sancti Gunlyu terram amplius non uiolare*, promising not to violate the land of saint Gwynllyw again. In his way back to England, he magnifies the powers of St. Gwynllyw. Just like Harold, William is "among the first" to offer presents to God and to kneel down before the altar,<sup>26</sup> a symbolic reference to the political recognition of religious property and rights.

#### IV.2.4 Summary

Before turning to the analysis of the next Saint's *Life* in the *Vespasian* legendary, some important aspects brought about by the *VGu* must be discussed and highlighted. In the *VGu* one recognises the higher degree of freedom from the hagiographer's part in his uses and description of secular characters in the *post-mortem* section. By taking side with the Welsh in his attempt to play down the English rulers' attitudes in their dealings with the Normans, the

---

<sup>26</sup> "[...] Willelmus [...] in primis obtulit preciosa munera Deo et ecclesie, postulando misericordiam et ueniam de domuum fractione [...]" "[...] William [...] among the first offered precious gifts to God and to the church, asking mercy and pardon for the breaking of the houses] (*VGu* § 15).

hagiographer engages in a rather historiographic activity, as it were, which finds parallels in the literary approaches employed by Norman historians, for example, writing in their vernacular between the 1130s and the 1180s.<sup>27</sup> The hagiographer, by employing literary and hagiographical conventions, offers his interpretation of the Norman Conquest of England and of the Norman activity in Glamorgan. By emphasising the prominent role of the community of St. Gwynllyw and by contrasting the English and the Welsh rulers in his version of the historical events related to the Conquest, the hagiographer of the *VGu* was unambiguously searching for Norman sympathy to the detriment of English interests in south Wales. Be it by opposing them to the English or by reminding the Normans of the different customs of the Welsh, he seeks to emphasise the *Welshness* of that community and of the secular rulers portrayed in the *Life*. Conscious of his hagiographical penchant he submits one of the most important events in the history of England – Harold’s defeat at Hastings – to the powers of a Welsh saint. The historiographic activity in which he engages directs his use of the miraculous interventions: by describing a vision and subjecting a natural catastrophe, such as a tempest, to the vengeance of the saint, he reworks a hagiographical concept of the miraculous which would be unambiguously accounted for and corroborated by the very *personal* experience of the characters involved.

---

<sup>27</sup> The historical works referred to are the works of Geoffrei Gaimar, *L’Estoire des Engleis*, Wace’s *Le Roman de Rou* and Benoît de Sainte Maure’s *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*. For an analysis of the approaches adopted by these three writers and of their intended audiences, see Eley & Bennett 1999: 47-78.

### IV.3 The *Life* of Saint Illtud

#### IV.3.1 Dating and authorship

St. Illtud<sup>1</sup> was the founder of the famous monastery of *Llanilltud*, an important centre of monasticism and learning during the early middle ages. This can be inferred from the descriptions of the saint's school found in some early Breton *Lives*, like the *Lives* of St. Samson (ca. 7th-9th century), of St. Paul Aurelian (9th century) and Gildas (ca. 9th-10th century). These *Lives* all refer to their protagonists as Illtud's pupils. They emphasise the fame of his school and the great number of pupils who supposedly sought his teachings in the fifth century (cf. Duine 1918: 369, Chadwick 1969: 263-264, Doble 1971: 88-129). *Llanilltud* corresponds to modern Llantwit Major in the region of Glamorgan in south-west Wales.

At the beginning of the twelfth century, Norman control of the whole region of Glamorgan was almost consolidated (cf. Wade-Evans 1909: xx, Maund 1991: 141-153, Coplestone-Crow 1998: 6-7, J. Davies 2003: 21-23). The new lords followed a pattern of feudal landholding and service along Norman lines that helped change the religious landscape of the region. Due to the strong Norman encroachment, the monastery of Llanilltud and others, like Cadog's Llancarfan, were disbanded in the last years of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century. Their revenues and control were directed to Anglo-Norman churches. The abbey of Tewkesbury on the Severn profited from Llanilltud's wealth and traditions by the hands of the Norman lord Robert fitz Hamon. Llanilltud became, subsequently, a parish-church under foreign control (cf. Tatlock 1939: 353-354, Doble 1971: 137, Coplestone-Crow 1998: 9). It is not certain whether Llanilltud's disbandment took place before the diocese of Llandaff began to claim control of St. Illtud's lands and church. It seems probable that the *Life* of St. Illtud (ff. 43v – 51v) was written after Urban's appointment to the bishopric of Llandaff in 1107.<sup>2</sup> The *Life*'s internal evidence points to that in the emphasis it puts on Illtud's consecration by Dubricius, 'bishop of Llandaff,' in at least two passages.<sup>3</sup> Since the bishops of that part of

---

<sup>1</sup> He is also referred to as Illtyd, Eltut and Hildutus. See Farmer, D. (ed.) (1978) *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Illtud also appears in the ninth-century *Historia Brittonum* and in the *Vespasian Life* of Cadog. His *Life* will be referred to, henceforth, as VI.

<sup>2</sup> John Reuben Davies (2003) argued that the *Book of Llandaff*, whose manuscript dates to ca. 1150, played down the status of Llanilltud in Glamorgan. This would corroborate an attempt to (re-)write a *Life* of Illtud which would recognise Llandaff's supremacy in the region (16).

<sup>3</sup> While the reference to Llandaff points to the influence of that house on the composition of the *Life*, the association between St. Illtud and St. Dubricius in the written sources dates back, at least, to the ninth century. Both saints are portrayed as contemporaries in the Breton *Vita Samsonis*, written by an ecclesiastic in the monastery of Dol in Brittany. In the *Vita Samsonis*, Dubricius was referred to as an *episcopo* in four of the

Wales only began to call themselves “bishops of Llandaff” after Urban’s building of a cathedral church at Llandaff in 1120,<sup>4</sup> it is probable that the *VI* was written *after* that year (cf. Tatlock 1939: 47-48, Wade-Evans 1944: xii, J. Davies 2003: 9). Wade-Evans (1944: xii), probably accepting John Tatlock’s inference that the *VI* had been influenced by Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *HRB*, dated the *VI* to ca. 1140. After the publication of John Reuben Davies’ book on the composition and authorship of the *Book of Llandaff*, the existing scholarly suspicion as to the authorship of the *Lives* of Illtud, Cungar, Gwynllyw and Tatheus by *Caradoc of Llancarfan* seems to have been corroborated.<sup>5</sup> Davies’ arguments have already been discussed in the section dedicated to the *Life* of Gwynllyw.<sup>6</sup> His comparison of the texts, showing their structural and stylistic similarities, makes his assumptions the more reliable.

### IV.3.2 Content

The first chapter of the *VI* deals with Illtud’s genealogy. He was born in Brittany and much emphasis is placed on the relationship between *Brittannia Minor* and *Brittannia Maior*. An ideal of ancestral bond is supplied in the personification of the two countries: *Brittannia* is Brittany’s mother from ‘whom’ it learnt to be great in wars.<sup>7</sup> The British nobility is highly praised and the noble descent of Illtud is likewise emphasised.<sup>8</sup> Illtud’s father, who was a “miles famosissimus,” married the daughter of Anblaud, called ‘Brittannie rex’ (*VI*, §1).

---

surviving manuscripts. He is the one who ordained Samson deacon (*VS*, §13). For the *VS*, see Duine 1914, Poulin 1977: 1-26.

<sup>4</sup> Until 1120, references to a bishopric of “Glamorgan” are the rule (cf. J. Davies 2003: 9).

<sup>5</sup> Early authors have all played with the possibility of Caradoc’s authorship in their analyses of these Saints’ *Lives*. See Doble 1971: 120, for example, who, although recognising the similarities of style and the parallelisms between the *VI* and the other *Lives* written by Caradoc (i.e. the second *Life* of Cadog and the *Life* of Gildas), thought that Caradoc could not have written the *VI* because he was not a clerk of Llanilltud, belonging, as he did, to the rival church Llancarfan. The question of rivalry can be reverted, however, if one considers that Caradoc was employed by the ecclesiastics of Llandaff to write the *Lives* of the saints whose churches they claimed control within Glamorgan, working from material available to them from those houses. Caradoc seems to have been a professional hagiographer who offered his works to different clients, as was the case with the *Life* of Gildas, which he wrote to the monks of Glastonbury, probably very early in his career (cf. Tatlock 1938: 139-152). For other works that pointed to the similarities and parallelisms of the *Lives* of Illtud, Cungar, Gildas and Cadog (*VC2*), see Robinson 1919: 97-108, Robinson 1921: 15-22, Grosjean 1942: 35-67, and Knight 1970: 29-36.

<sup>6</sup> Readers shall be referred to section IV.2.1. for an exposition of Davies’ argument and for references to his work on the *Book of Llandaff*.

<sup>7</sup> “*Diues prouincia uictoriosa, potens in armis, uictrix (.i. Britannia Minor, Letauia) nulla potentior in laude bellica, sumpsit originem a matre, Britannia. Erudita fuit a matre filia; sequitur natam tota uictoria.*” [Victorious Letavia (that is, Lesser Britannia, Brittany), a rich and successful province, powerful in arms, none greater in warlike fame, took its origins from its mother, Britannia. The daughter was taught by the mother; full success in wars attends the daughter] (*VI*, §1).

<sup>8</sup> François Duine argued that the *Life* of Illtud represented the renewal of contact between Wales and Brittany that followed after the Conquest of England by William the Conqueror, which would justify the praises to Brittany and the connections between the Bretons and the Welsh (cf. Duine 1918: 371).



Anblaud appears in Welsh genealogical sources as Amlawdd Wledig, descending from the line of Cunedda Wledig. Amlawdd seems to have been a legendary character that seems to have first appeared either in the *VI* or in the *Mabinogi* tale ‘How Culhwch won Olwen’ (henceforth *CO*).<sup>9</sup> Illtud’s mother is brought to Brittany and the marriage takes place. Illtud’s birth is the result of a “coniunx legitima,” which contrasts with the abduction of Cadog’s mother seen in the *VCI* and which resulted in Cadog’s birth.<sup>10</sup> The hagiographer rewrites some episodes found in the *Life* of Cadog by Lifris, pointing to that text as one of its sources.

As a child, Illtud is instructed in the seven arts, but after the completion of his studies, he dedicates himself to military training. Canon Doble suggested that the association of Illtud with military terms might have arisen due to the presence of the Normans in Glamorgan (cf. Doble 1971: 103). This suggestion was also followed by John Tatlock who argued that the use of the terms “magister militum” and “militum princeps” to describe Illtud in the *VI* reflected contemporary Norman military terms (cf. Tatlock 1939: 355). However, military prowess is one of the most important traits of Welsh kings and heroes in texts which could date to before the Norman Conquest of England and Wales.<sup>11</sup> John Tatlock disregarded the use of the terms “princeps militie” and “miles” in reference to Illtud found in the *VCI* (§19).<sup>12</sup> Illtud’s description agrees with that of his father in the same *Life*, who is also praised for being a soldier. In the context of a hagiographical text, the concept of the saint as a *miles Christi* could also have made the connection between his military and saintly achievements more latent.<sup>13</sup> The development of military and secular imagery of the soldier of Christ in a Saint’s *Life* can be best illustrated by Bede’s *Life* of Cuthbert, in the description of Cuthbert’s settling in an island near Lindisfarne:

*Verum intranet eam milite Christi, armato galea salutis, scuto fidei, et gladio spiritus quod est uerbum Dei [...]. Qui uidelicet miles Christi ut deuicta tyrannorum acie monarcha terrae quam adierat factus est, condidit ciuitatem suo aptam imperio, et domos in hac aeque ciuitate congruas erexit.*

---

<sup>9</sup> For the translation of the *CO*, see: Jones, G., Jones, T. (trans.) (1957) *The Mabinogion*. London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., p. 95. In *CO*, Amlawdd is the father of Goleuddydd, Culhwch’s mother.

<sup>10</sup> This emphasis agrees with the “correction” offered by Caradoc of Llancarfan in his *Life* of Cadog as to the birth of that saint. Canon Doble suggested that “the writer’s insistence on *legaliter perfectis, coniunx legitima concepit* may be due to his having read, and been shocked by, the story of *Ebrdil* in the *Vita Dubricii* or that of *Nonna* in the *Vita David*” (Doble 1971: 104).

<sup>11</sup> See for example the verses of the *Y Gododdin*, praising the military skills of the warriors who went to the battle of Catraeth. Just to cite a few examples from the many concerning the soldiers’ military skills (*God* v. 268-271, v. 318-320).

<sup>12</sup> Reference to a “magister militum” in the *VI*, to which Tatlock also referred, can already be found in the literature of the Romans that describe the history of Britain, especially the attacks of the Picts and the Scots (cf. Snyder 1998: 13, 18-19, 21, 31, 98, 118, 233).

<sup>13</sup> For the influence of military terminology on early Christian hagiographical writings, see Bratož 1994: 239.

[...] the soldier of Christ entered, armed with the “helmet of salvation, the shield of faith, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God” [...] (Eph 6: 16-17). The soldier of Christ as soon as he had become monarch of the land he had entered and overcome the army of the usurpers, built a city fitted for his rule, and in it equally suited to the city] (*VCuth*, § 17).

Moreover, as can be seen from the quotation from St. Paul’s Epistle to the Ephesians, the image of the armoury is already present in the New Testament. After his conversion, Illtud retires to live an eremitical life, experiences conflicts with secular rulers, robbers and wild animals, provides food for his community during a time of famine, and returns to his native Brittany to die and be interred at the monastery of Dol.<sup>14</sup> All his wanderings are accompanied by the performance of miracles which emphasise his saintliness.

### IV.3.3 Structural analysis of the encounter-episodes

#### IV.3.3.1 The secular characters in the *in vita* section of the *Life* of Illtud

##### IV.3.3.1.1 Arthur

In the *VI*, Arthur appears in an episode which does not follow the “basic pattern” for the encounters between saints and secular rulers detected in the *in vita* section of the *VC1*.<sup>15</sup> In this episode, it is Illtud who seeks Arthur for, as the hagiographer affirms, he has heard of his “cousin’s” great fame in Britain. It is apparent that Illtud’s connection to Arthur is meant to add fame to the saint’s lineage:

---

<sup>14</sup> The accounts of Illtud’s death in the earlier Breton *Life* of Samson do *not* refer to Illtud’s death at Dol. It carries, instead, the idea that Illtud died in his own monastery. This connection with Dol has puzzled many scholars but no satisfactory explanation has been given as to why the author (or reviser) of the *VI* chose Dol as Illtud’s burial site. Two suggestions can be made: firstly, in the context of the ascension of Llandaff in the region and its attempts to foster the cults of saints Dubricius, Teilo and Oudoceus, it could be justifiable that the Llandaff writer/reviser of the *VI* would translate the body of that saint to a foreign monastery so as to avoid cultic competition. It is also possible that, on the absence of the saint’s relics, an explanation was sought: his relics were, consequently, said to have been in his native country. The same had already been made by “Lifris” with saint Cadog, who makes Cadog abandon Britain to die as a bishop in foreign lands. Secondly, one cannot forget the Norman struggle to secure control of Brittany since the time of William the Conqueror and the important part that Dol played in the Norman campaign: William besieged Dol twice after the Conquest of England, being twice withdrawn by Alain Fergent, with whom he subsequently made peace and to whom he gave his daughter Constance in marriage. Matilda, daughter of Henry I of England, was also given in marriage to Conan III, and Constance, the only daughter of Conan IV of Brittany was given to Geoffrey, third son of Henry II. All these arranged marriages secured the annexation of Brittany and many lords of Breton descent accompanied the Conqueror and his descendents in their conquest of English and Welsh lands (cf. Keats-Rohan 1990: 157-172). The *Life* of Teilo in the *LL* also contains local details about Dol and its neighbourhood (cf. Doble 1940: 9).

<sup>15</sup> See IV.1.3.1. of this thesis.

*Audiens, interea, miles magnificus Arthurii regis sui consobrini magnificentiam, cupiuit uisitare tanti uictoris curiam. Deseruit quam uocamus Ulteriore Britanniā, et peruenit nauigando, ubi uidit maximam militum habundantiam, ibidem quoque receptus honorifice, et munificatus ad desiderium militare. Impleto autem deisderio capiendi munera, recessit gratissimus a regali curia.*

In the meantime the **magnificent soldier** hearing of the **magnificence of his cousin**, king Arthur, desired to visit the court of so great a conqueror. He left what we call Further Britannia, *Brittany*, and arrived by sailing, and here he saw a very great company of soldiers, being also honourably received in that place, and being rewarded as regards his military desire. His desire to receive guerdons being also satisfied, he withdrew very pleased from the royal court (VI, §2) [my emphasis].

In fact, within the *Vespasian* legendary, this appears as a strategy to historicise, as it were, the saint and his relatives through the fixation in writing of direct or indirect genealogical connections.<sup>16</sup> Both Arthur and Illtud are magnificent: one as a *miles*, the other as a *uictor*. Arthur is, moreover, depicted as a bounteous king. He has a court, he is surrounded by a great number of soldiers, whom he receives honourably and to whom he confers gifts. These details concerning Arthur led John Tatlock to argue for the influence of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *HRB* on the *VI*. To him, it was "hard to believe that the mere *teulu*<sup>17</sup> or household of a twelfth-century Welsh petty king was model for the account in *Illtud*" (Tatlock 1939: 355). He denied, moreover, that gift-giving could be applied for a Welsh king (*ibidem*). However, gift-giving among Welsh kings might not have been as uncommon as Tatlock thought, at least not in early historical works or contemporary and/or almost contemporary literary texts. Christopher Snyder called attention, for example, to Gildas' words in the *DE*, from which it can be inferred that the "tirannus" Maelgwn "maintained (and distributed) a treasury based on gold and silver" (Snyder 1998: 85). In the verses of the Gododdin, moreover, king Mynyddog is praised for maintaining a great number of warriors for a year in his court, not only conferring honour on them but also the best mead available in his court.<sup>18</sup> In the *Mabinogi*, moreover, Arthur's household in 'How Culhwch won Olwen' is notorious for the great number of brave soldiers.<sup>19</sup> In this story, Arthur is acknowledged for his hospitality and for the nightly gatherings in his hall: he is the sovereign who is able to summon troops from all

<sup>16</sup> Direct genealogical connections refer to the genealogical lists appended to the *Life* of a Saint, such as is the case with the *Lives* of Cadog and Carannog. Indirect genealogical connections are better exemplified by this Arthurian episode in which the saint and a "famous" king are made relatives.

<sup>17</sup> For the concept of the Welsh *teulu*, i.e. a Welsh ruler's household, from the early middle ages until ca. 1283, see S. Davies 2002: 413-454.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. for example, *God* (ed. Jarman): v. 79, 102-103, 212, 240-243, etc..

<sup>19</sup> Doris Edel, in her study of 'Culhwch ac Olwen,' argued for this tale to consist of a number of "originally independent Arthurian adventures" stemming from "native epic-heroic tradition" which were "brought together within the framework of the story of Olwen's wooing by Culhwch [...]" (Edel 1983: 7). Interestingly, Arthur is referred to as Culhwch's *cousin* in the episode in which Culhwch's stepmother curses him never to have a wife until he gets Olwen, daughter of the giant Ysbaddaden Bencawr. His father, in seeing his son's worries about the curse, comforts him thus: "It is easy for you to get that, son. [...] Arthur is your cousin. Go to Arthur to have your hair trimmed, and ask him for that as your gift" (*CO*, p.180).

over Britain to fight internal and external threats.<sup>20</sup> In other tales of the *Mabinogi* which do not show obvious influences of Geoffrey's *HRB*, powerful kings, whose courts are described as magnificently as Arthur's in the *VI*, are also encountered.<sup>21</sup> It is also possible that the image of Arthur's household was influenced by the *VC1* where Arthur appears with his two 'knights' or 'riders' – *cum duobus equitibus suis (Prologue)* – and with a very great force of soldiers – *cum plurima militum copia (VC1, §22)*.<sup>22</sup> As regards Arthur's court, already in the *Liber Floridus* by Lambert of Saint-Omer, unquestionably finished in ca. 1120,<sup>23</sup> there is a reference to a "palatium" of "Arturi militis" located in the "terra Pictorum" (cf. Faral 1929: 256).<sup>24</sup> This palace was built with "various and wondrous arts" and in it, "the deeds of all his [Arthur's] acts and wars are seen to be sculpted" (Coe 1995: 6). Right after this description, Lambert's text follows the *Historia Brittonum* and describes Arthur's battles. It not only shows the evolution of Arthur's fame since the time of the *HB*, but also rebuts Tatlock's arguments.<sup>25</sup>

In fact, there is nothing in this passage of the *VI* that could not have derived from the reference to Arthur in the *HB* and from the models available for mighty secular rulers in Welsh heroic tradition. In the *HB*, Arthur is the great 'victor' and defender of the island against the Saxons. In the accounts of the wonders of Britain in the *HB*, moreover, Illtud is the only Welsh saint mentioned, whereas Arthur, on the other hand, is the *only* secular character to be named together with his son. Therefore, it might not be coincidence that both characters became associated in later writings.<sup>26</sup> Arthur's appearance in the *VI* as Illtud's cousin was a

---

<sup>20</sup> See *CO* p. 181, when the gatekeeper of Arthur's court meets Culhwch: "You shall have food for your dogs and corn for your horse, and hot peppered chops for yourself, and wine brimming over, and songs to entertain you. Food for fifty shall be brought to you in the hostel. There travels from afar eat, together with the sons of other lands. [...] A woman to sleep with you and songs to entertain you."

<sup>21</sup> See *Mab1*, p. 5, for example, in the description of Arawn's court; p. 9, the description of Pwyll's court at Arberth.

<sup>22</sup> Compare this with the *Vita Illuti*'s "*maximam militum habundantiam*" [my emphasis] (§2), where its author uses common synonyms for "plurima" and "copia."

<sup>23</sup> That is, before Geoffrey's *Historia*. For a detailed analysis of the journey of the Laon canons, see Yarrow 2006: 63-99, Ward 1982: 134-138 and, Tatlock 1933: 454-465. See also Dumville 1976b: 103-122.

<sup>24</sup> "*Est palatium in Britannia, in terra Pictorum, Arturi militis, arte mirabilis et varietate fundatum, in quo factorum bellorumque ejus omnia gesta sculpta videntur. Gessit autem bella xii contra Saxones, qui Britanniam occupaverunt*" (cf. Faral 1929: 256).

<sup>25</sup> Sabine Baring-Gould and John Fisher saw no influence of Geoffrey's *HRB* in the *VI*, arguing that nothing in the *Vita* referred to Arthur's extraordinary achievements. Moreover, they doubted that, if influenced by Geoffrey's *HRB*, the *VI* would have continued calling Dubricius "Bishop of Llandaff" whereas in Geoffrey he is "Archbishop of Caerleon" (cf. Baring-Gould & Fisher 1911: 304).

<sup>26</sup> There are strong indications that the *VI* used the *HB* as one of its sources. In the list of the *mirabilia* of Britain found in the *Historia Brittonum* (§71), Illtud's fame as a *hermit*, living and praying in a cave apart from the rest of society, is stressed. In the *mirabilia*, two men sailing in a ship arrive at St. Illtud's cave. They carry the dead body of a saint in their ship. The man's face is covered by an altar, suspended in the air by God's command. The two men inform St. Illtud that they brought the body to be buried in his region. The name of the dead saint is not revealed and whoever tries to look under the altar loses his sight and dies within a month. Much importance is

fabrication of a person acquainted with an early connection between the two characters in the *HB*. Instead of submitting the figure of Arthur to the hagiographical idea of secular kings as contenders for secular or religious territory, the hagiographer makes use of another strategy common in Saints' *Lives*: that of connecting famous secular rulers to the genealogy of the saint.<sup>27</sup> In this case, no miraculous account is necessary: the short episode reads as an anecdote containing an important piece of genealogical information. The real "villain" of the *VI* was yet to come and Arthur, as a soldier and victor, perpetuates the description of Illtud's militarily family supplied in the previous episode.

#### IV.3.3.1.2 Poulentus

After leaving Arthur's court, Illtud comes to "Poulentus," the king of the Glamorgan folk. This corresponds to the episode in which Illtud becomes a monk due to his encounter with Cadog, described previously in the analysis of the *VCI*.<sup>28</sup> Poulentus, seeing that Illtud is a court soldier, honourably receives him *cum magna dilectione*<sup>29</sup> and chooses him to preside over his household.<sup>30</sup> The rather positive light with which Poulentus is described recalls his appearance in the *VCI*. Neither here nor in the *VCI* does Poulentus take part in the robbery of Cadog's food.<sup>31</sup> Just like in the account found in the *VCI*, Poulentus also grieves when Illtud

---

ascribed to Illtud's place of praying and to his founding of a church about the man's body. The same episode was incorporated in our *Life* of Illtud in a much abridged form. It is striking to see how the hagiographer elaborated on the text of the *Historia Brittonum* (§71). He changed adjectives and nouns for other simple synonyms and did not bother to keep the same verbal structure of the sentences found in his source. Compare the *Historia Brittonum*'s "*ecce nauis [...] et duo uiri navigantes eam*" (*HB*, §71) and the *VI*'s "*respexit duos uiros honestissimus in navicula remigantes*" (*VI*, §22); the *HB*'s "*et processit homo dei obuiam illis* [Illtud]" and the *VI*'s "*sanctus [...] Illtud migravit in obuiam*" (*VI*, §22) [my emphasis].

<sup>27</sup> The Triads mention the three families of Saints of Britain as being the descendants of Brychan Brycheiniog, Cunedda Wledig and Caw of Pictland, who were all important secular figures in Welsh tradition. Cf. *Trioedd*, §81.

<sup>28</sup> See IV.1.3.1.3 of this thesis.

<sup>29</sup> "with much affection" (*VI*, §2).

<sup>30</sup> "*Miles autem erat extrinsecus secundum militarem habitum; intrinsecus uero sapientissimus Britannigenarum. Propterea constitutus a rege Poulento magister militum propter subtilissimam facundiam et incomparabilem intellectum.*" [A soldier he was outwardly in soldier's dress, but inwardly the wisest of British-born. Wherefore he was by king Poulentus made the master of the soldiers for his very fine fluency and incomparable mind] (*VI*, §2).

<sup>31</sup> "*Contigit die quodam, cum duceret familiam regalem uenando per territorium sancti Cadoci, illa quiescens misit ad abbatem preclarum cum rigidis uerbis, ut sibi prandium dirigeret; sin autem ui cibium tolleret. [...] Nam pro illicita petitione et sacrilega offensione tellus deglutiuit iniquam turbam, que omnino euanuit propter tantam nequitiam.*" [It happened on a certain day, when he (i.e. Illtud) was conducting the royal household for hunting through the territory of saint Cadog, while it rested, it sent to the renowned abbot in stiff terms that he should prepare for it a meal, otherwise it would take food forcibly. [...] For on account of the unlawful demand and sacrilegious offence the earth swallowed up the unrighteous throng, which vanished away completely for such great iniquity] (*VI*, §2).

decides to take the monastic habit.<sup>32</sup> There is a subtle implication that the good relationship between both Arthur and Poulentus is based on their recognition of Illtud's military status. Structurally, the episode in which Poulentus' soldiers are swallowed by the earth after having demanded food from St. Cadog is similar to that in the *VCI*: 1. Poulentus' men *wish* to take food from Cadog's community, 2. Cadog submits to their demands, 3. Poulentus' men prepare to eat the food, 4. God intervenes through a punitive miracle. Following this sequence, Illtud asks Cadog to be forgiven for having abandoned the religious life to which he had been educated and is converted by Cadog. Poulentus' *household* epitomises the secular powers that threaten the saint's refuge. The miracle of the earth swallowing the robbers alive, already examined in connection to the similar (Pawl's) episode in the *VCI*, corroborates the message of punishment meant to be conveyed.<sup>33</sup> The derivative character of this episode in the *VI* is clear: it not only keeps the structure taken from the *VCI* but also makes the biblical quotations irrelevant for an interpretation or explanation of the punishment. They are, consequently, omitted.

#### IV.3.3.1.3 Meirchion

All the remaining episodes in the *in vita* section of the *VI* deal with a king called Meirchion, surnamed the Wild (*uesanus*), and his household, who act against Illtud's refuge or even try to expel him from Hodnant valley, the place where Illtud is said to have built his monastery. There is no information on who exactly Meirchion was, apart from being a king of Glamorgan. Although divided into different chapters and sections in Wade-Evans' edition and in the *Vespasian* manuscript, Meirchion's episodes are sequentially interconnected. The first episode in which he appears (*VI*, §8) makes use of the motif of a tamed wild animal, known from many Irish Saints' *Lives* (cf. Bray 1992: 89). The king is hunting a stag that hides in Illtud's hermitage. Miraculously, it becomes tame. Meirchion turns his anger towards Illtud for having settled in his territory without consent,<sup>34</sup> but eventually recognises the saint's

---

<sup>32</sup> “*Deinde reuersus ad Poulentum regem habitaque licentia subtraxit se a seculari seruitio. Exinde rege condolente et regina et omnibus de sua recessione [...]*” [Then having returned to king Poulentus, he, having received permission, withdrew himself from secular service. Then the king grieving, the queen too, and all, owing to his withdrawal ...] (*VI*, §3).

<sup>33</sup> See section IV.1.3.1.3. of this thesis.

<sup>34</sup> “*Cum rex Merchiaunus, cuius prenomen Uesanus, die quondam uenaretur, instigauit suos canes post unum ceruum. Ille exagitatus fugax preiuit, donec intrauit sancti Oeltuti cubiculum, quase humanum more querendo ab illo refugium [...]* *Iratus est ualde habitanti, quia sine sua licentia habitauerat heremum, qui uenatibus aptior erat secundum eius iudicium.*” [When king Merchion, **surnamed the Wild**, was one day hunting, he set his hounds on a stag. Roused, it ran on in flight until it entered the sleeping place of saint Illtud, as if seeking

miracle, presenting him with the tamed stag. Right after that, the narrative changes abruptly and the king is invited by Illtud to have breakfast with him in his cave. Cunningly contrasted, Meirchion's "wildness" is pacified when he enters Illtud's cave just like the wild stag was "tamed" by the saint *quasi humano more*, i.e. after the manner of men:

*Post hec prefatus rex esuriens prandere uoluit, quem sanctus Illutus ad prandium inuitauit. Inuitatus humiliter descendit, et a uesania, quam solebat habere, mitigatus, resedit.*

After these things the aforesaid king, being hungry, desired to breakfast. Being invited he **descended humbly**, and sat down, **pacified from the madness which was wont to possess him** (VI, §8) [my emphasis].

In what follows, Meirchion does not find suitable for a king to be offered fish without bread and salt. Illtud's prayers make the fish miraculously taste of several kinds of food in one sort.<sup>35</sup> The same happens again with the water available, which acquires the taste of several liquors. The idea of making water *taste* like liquor can be seen as a variation of the Biblical motif of changing water into wine, which was highly popular in the neighbouring Anglo-Saxon hagiography (cf. Magennis 1986: 7), as for example in Bede's influential prose *Life* of St. Cuthbert.<sup>36</sup> In the *VCuth*, a servant that drinks from bishop Cuthbert's cup affirms that the water seemed to him to taste like wine, which was corroborated by another brother in order that he should also witness the miracle (cf. *VCuth*, §35). In this way, the miracle approximates the saint's deeds to the ideal of the *imitatio Christi*, replicating Christ's miracle at Cana. The fact that liquor, instead of wine, is mentioned should not cause surprise. In examples found in earlier Irish Saints' *Lives*, for instance, the malleability of the motif is already attested: in Cogitosus' *Life* of St. Brigit, Cogitosus compares Brigit's turning water into *ale* with Christ's water-wine miracle at Cana (cf. Bray 1992b: 109-110). The same applies to the transformation of bread and fish, which although not at all straightforwardly, can be understood as a miracle of provision. The theological and spiritual message behind these miracles, which was already present in the provision miracles in the Old and New Testaments, is a *symbolic* one: the provided bread symbolises the nourishing word of God and the water

---

sanctuary with him after the manner of men. [...] He was very angry with the occupant, because without his permission he had occupied the waste, which in his judgement was more fit for hunting] (VI, §8) [my emphasis].

<sup>35</sup> "Attractum et assatum [i.e. the fish] apposuerunt regi; appositum noluit gustare, quia sine pane et sale indecens sibimet uidebatur apponi. [...] At Oeltutus [...] orabat [...] His rogatibus auditis, non est ausus rex rebellis respuere, sed comedit, et habuit diuersorum generum ciborum saporis in una specie.." [Taken and broiled they placed it before the king; when placed before him he would not taste it, because it seemed unbecoming that it should be placed before him without bread and salt. [...] But Illtud [...] prayed [...]. These requests being heard, the king dared not rebelliously refuse, but did eat and had the tastes of divers kinds of food in one sort] (VI, §8).

<sup>36</sup> Colgrave, B. (ed. and trans.) (1940, repr. 1985) *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Henceforth *VCuth*.

quenches the thirst *for* God's message (cf. Charlier 1987: 112-113). The changing of taste, either of the bread and fish or of the water, strengthens the idea that the saint is one of God's elect and can, therefore, through his/her faith, perform such a miraculous deed.

After eating and drinking, the king becomes very tired and falls asleep. In his dreams, described in §9, an angel admonishes him for preferring to allow wild beasts to live in his lands instead of worshippers of God.<sup>37</sup> The angel prophesises, moreover, the grandeur of Illtud's monastery. His speech is full of biblical allusions, introducing the story of David and Goliath to imply that Illtud's humility would prevail against the ruler's powers.<sup>38</sup> In one single speech, the angel touches upon all the relevant themes behind Meirchion's appearances: allowance for the saint to settle down in the region, refuge, the privilege of tax exemption and freedom of all services for him and his community.<sup>39</sup> When the king awakes, he grants Illtud his habitation. These episodes, therefore, follow the basic encounter pattern between saints and rulers. The king epitomises all secular rulers' wickedness. A new dramatic element is introduced in that the contrast between the king's madness and the taming of a wild animal is highlighted. New miraculous motifs are introduced in each sequence, such as the water-liquor miracle, although each sequence's structure remains the same: it revolves around the ruler's *wish* that goes against the saint's rights. The miracles ensure the final result, which is the grant of land and freedom of service.

Meirchion is mentioned again twice in connection to stories centring on the wicked deeds of his stewards. Both steward-sequences are similarly structured not only in terms of the thematic – due to the stewards' acts the saint is compelled to hide and live in caves – but also

---

<sup>37</sup> “*Tu rex uesanus et nequissimus hactenus fueras, et nunc permanes. Emendato, sic commendo, et emendationem ne differas. Malles, ut hic bestie inutile habitarent quam Dei cultores, qui habitare debent. Ne prohibeas, sed permittas remanere, destinatum et concessum locum istum excolere.*” [Thou hast been hither to a mad and very wicked king, and remainest so now. Amend, so I advise thee, and defer not thy amendment. Thou wouldst rather that useless beasts should dwell here than worshippers of God, who ought to occupy it. Forbid them not, but permit them to remain to cultivate this destined and conceded place] (VI, §9).

<sup>38</sup> “*Abbas insuper erit uenerabilis, magnificus et exaltabilis. [...] Caueto, itaque, ne pereas; nulla a modo nocumenta faciat tua rigiditas. Rigidissimus olim fuerat Goliath; deuicit tamen fortissimum humilis puerilitas. Ille fungebatur hasta et gladio, Dauid uero minima funda in prelio.*” [He will, moreover, be an abbot, venerable, distinguished, and exalted. [...] Beware, therefore, lest thou perish; from now let thy obstinacy do him no injuries. Goliath of old was very stark, yet humble childhood overcame the most brave. He employed spear and sword, but David a tiny sling in battle] (VI, §9).

<sup>39</sup> “*[...] permittas remanere, destinatum et concessum locum istum excolere. [...] Sic iste Æltutus [...] confidit, ut conuincat per humilitatem, quatinus hic maneat et habeat firmam stabilitatem. [...] Congregabantur multi per suam conuersationem, refugium erit et sustamen [...]. Inuiolabilis erit eius protectio a regibus et a principibus in hoc regno.*” [...] permit them to remain to cultivate this destined and conceded place. [...] So this Illtud [...] trusts that he may conquer by humility so as to remain here and to possess secure stability. [...] Many will be brought together by his manner of life, he will be a refuge and support [...]. His protection will be inviolable with kings and with princes in this kingdom] (VI, §9).



in terms of their punitive miracles: the first group corresponds to chapters 17, 18 and 19; the second, to chapters 20, 21 and 22. In §17, a steward called Cyflym, which the writer explains as meaning *totus acutus*, “very acute,” used to accuse the king’s subjects so that they might lose their goods. In an attempt to make Illtud pay tribute to his king without the king’s knowledge, he melts away like wax,<sup>40</sup> fulfilling the precepts from Psalms that the wicked shall perish and melt by the heat of fire: “*Sicut cera quæ fluit auferentur; supercecidit ignis, et non viderunt solem*” (Ps 57: 9).<sup>41</sup> The death of his steward infuriates Meirchion, who persecutes the saint.<sup>42</sup> The saint shuns Meirchion’s troops and also the people who prevent him from praying. He thus hides in a cave for one year (VI, §18). In the cave, Illtud is miraculously provided for by heavenly food (VI, §19).<sup>43</sup> Another steward, Cyfygydd by name, offending the saint and his clergy, is swallowed by a marshy land as a punishment for his villainy (VI, §20).<sup>44</sup> Meirchion arms himself and his troops in order to kill Illtud and is also swallowed by the earth (VI, §21).<sup>45</sup> This replicates, as seen in the analysis of the *VCI*,<sup>46</sup> the

---

<sup>40</sup> “*Prepositus Meirchiauni, regis Glatmorcanensium, nomine Cyblim, maliuolus quod Latine sonat totus acutus, realiter adimplens secundum hoc quod erat nominatus. Accusabat enim subiectos accutissime apud regem Meirchiaunum, ut sua perderent. [...] Multa iniuste direpta fingebat exegi a domino, illo inscio, et sine ipsius precepto. [...] Exaltabat se regendo prelaturam; immo se subprimebat, quia diligebat nequitiam. [...] Sed Deus, summus Ultor, fecit illum, quasi mollitam et liquefactam ceram ardore igneo liquecere, et sic eius maliciam amplius non apparendo desinere, nam uoluerat sanctum atque liberrimum Illutum fieri tributarium, et tributa mittere ad regale castellum.*” [The steward of king Meirchion king of the Glamorgan folk was a malevolent person, Cyflym by name, which in Latin means *totus acutus*, very acute, really living up to this which he was called. [...] Many things unjustly snatched away by him he feigned to have been demanded by his master, the latter being ignorant of the matter and not having given the order. [...] But God, the supreme avenger, caused him to melt like wax softened and melted by heat of fire, and so to cease from his malice, he not appearing anymore, for he had wished the holy and most free Illtud to become tributary and to send his tributes to the king’s fortress] (VI, §17).

<sup>41</sup> “Like wax that melteth they shall be taken away: fire hath fallen on them, and they shall not see the sun.”

<sup>42</sup> “*Liquefacto sacrilego preposito, rex Meirchiaunus commotus est nimio furore, uolens Illutum innocentem uirum interficere, locum et clerum destruere [...] Querit ubique latebrosam securitatem, ubi posset abscondere faciem.*” [The sacrilegious steward having melted away, king Meirchion was moved with excessive wrath, wishing to kill the innocent man Illtud, and to destroy the place and its clergy [...]. He seeks everywhere for secret security, where he might hide his face] (VI, §18).

<sup>43</sup> In Jerome’s *Life of Paul the Hermit*, Paul and Antony, both of whom the hagiographer in this point explicitly mentions, are provided for with a loaf of bread brought by a raven (cf. *VPau*, §10). This miracle is found in the Old Testament associated with the figure of Elias, who was fed by ravens (1Kin 17: 6) while he dwelt in the caves of the mountains (1Kin 19: 9) or in the clefts of the torrents (1Kin 17: 3). The *VI* omits the animal without omitting the miracle, affirming that one loaf of barley bread was sent to Illtud daily from heaven every ninth hour. Like Paul and Antony, it says, Illtud used to draw water for himself “in the hollow of his hands” (cf. *VI*, §19).

<sup>44</sup> “[...] *quidam prepositus nomine Cefygid aduersari et offendere sanctum et clerum frequentissime, in arcendis pascuis et concluduris pecorum et armentorum sepissime. [...] Summo uero celestis Uindex uidens illum nolle emendare quod deliquerat, concessit ut tellus palustris eundem degultiret [...]*” [...] a certain steward Cyfygydd by name, began to oppose and to offend the saint and clergy very frequently by enclosing pastures and very often by impounding cattle and herds. [...] But the supreme Avenger in heaven, seeing that he was unwilling to amend what wrong he had done, caused that a marshy land should swallow him up [...] (VI, §20).

<sup>45</sup> “*Rex Meirchiaunus, uesania plenus, audiens in suo dampno de suo fiduciali preposito tale infortunium contigisse, doluit et iratus cupiuit in sanctum Illutum irruere aut interficere, aut penitus de suo dominium expellere. [...] Dum ita staret paratus ad homicidium perpetrandum [...] terra absorbit maliuolum [...]*” [King Meirchion, full of madness, hearing that such misfortune had happened in his loss of his trusty steward, grieved, and being infuriated desired to rush against saint Illtud either to kill him or to expel him outright from his

punishment of Dathan and Abiram in Ps 105: 17.<sup>47</sup> However, and most significantly for the use of specific miraculous accounts in this *Life*, it also sets forth the list of punishments introduced with Ps 57: 9, quoted above, reproducing the punitive miracle in the subsequent verse: “*Priusquam intelligerent spinæ vestræ rhamnum, sicut viventes sic in ira absorbet eos*” (Ps 57: 10).<sup>48</sup> Finally, to close the parallel structuring of the miracles and their consequences in the life of the saint, Illtud retires again to a cave for a period of three years, burdened by the multitude that sought him after these miracles became known. In this cave, he is also provided for by an angel (VI, §22 and §23). This repetitive grouping pattern and the punishments of both the stewards and the king raise the dramatic effect upon the last and definitive punishment, when Meirchion finally dies swallowed by the earth.

As seen in the *VCI*, stories about a king’s steward collecting taxes from a saint’s region seem to have been commonplace in Welsh hagiography. The punitive miracles derive from biblical models, especially from the Book of Psalms. The biblical allusions that admonish evil deeds against God abound in both groupings. It is worth noticing that although the structure of the episodes is very similar to those found in the *VCI*, for example, there is a subtle distinction in the *individual* villainy of the stewards. Surely, Meirchion reacts to the deaths of his men, but, differently from the *VCI*, this king has already recognised the saint’s refuge and freedom from every form of tribute. In the *VCI*, constant invasion of Glamorgan is emphasised so that there is a greater need to stress Cadog’s right to offer sanctuary and refuge, whereas in the *VI*, it is the solution of “internal” conflicts within the region, as it were, that is decisive for its well-being. The remarks in both episodes that the stewards or soldiers acted *without* the kings’ knowledge begs the question of whether the writer critically assesses the kings’ position in a hierarchy in which he loses control of the activities of his vassals. Villainy and evilness are still the characteristic traits of this secular ruler and of his stewards.

#### IV.3.3.2 Secular characters in the *post-mortem* section of the *Life* of Illtud

The *VI* lists posthumous miracles which disclose a Welsh bias to the detriment of the English in the stories in which English rulers or characters appear. The posthumous miracles

---

dominion. [...] While he remained so prepared to perpetrate homicide [...] the earth absorbed the malevolent man [...] (VI, §21).

<sup>46</sup> See section IV.1.3.1.3. of this thesis.

<sup>47</sup> “*Aperta est terra, et deglutivit Dathan, et operuit super congregationem Abiron.*” [The earth opened and swallowed up Dathan: and covered the congregation of Abiron].

<sup>48</sup> “Before your thorns could know the brier; he swalloweth them up, as alive, in his wrath.”

correspond to chapters 25 and 26, the last ones in the *Life*. On the absence of a careful and detailed palaeographical and stylistic study of the *VI* in the *Vespasian* legendary, it is difficult to precise with any certainty whether these two chapters were additions made to the bulk of the *VI* or whether they were originally connected to it. The surviving abridged version of the *VI* in John of Tinmouth's *NLA* does not show any traces of these posthumous miracles, allowing for the speculation that these chapters might have not belonged to an "original" *VI*. However, the punishment by death of an English king after the invasion of a Welsh region is a motif found in other *Lives* attributed to Caradoc of Llancarfan, as the *Lives* of Gwynllyw and Cungar. This would approximate these *Lives* thematically and also allow for the inference that Caradoc, as a writer or, perhaps more appropriately, as a reviser or rewriter of Saints' *Lives*, might have received the task of bringing those Saints' *Lives* in line with new cultic practices as then common in neighbouring England.

#### IV.3.3.2.1 Edgar

The first miraculous episode in the *post-mortem* section of the *VI* relates to a punitive expedition led by Edgar (d. 975) – king of the English – into Glamorgan. Edgar and his troops violate many churches throughout the region and, on invading Illtud's church, carry away Illtud's bell to England.<sup>49</sup> The significance of Illtud's bell was already stressed in one episode in the *in vita* section.<sup>50</sup> According to this *post-mortem* passage, the bell could be seen in Illtud's church "to this day." In the context of the next miracle narrated, it is very significant that the king that violates Illtud's sanctuary is "English" and that the reason given for the invasion of Glamorgan is the "disobedience" of the Glamorgan folk.<sup>51</sup> It is on their way back to England that a miraculous event takes place:

<sup>49</sup> "*Anglorum rex Edgarus, bachanti furore commotus, commouit exercitum suum propter Glatmorganensium inobedientiam atque ad eandem regionem adduxit, uiolando sanctorum territoria et ipsa templa [...]. In hac itaque inuasionem ablata fuit nola sancti Illuti ab ecclesia eiusdem, ac perlata a quodam predone ad Anglicam tellurem.*" [Edgar, king of the English, moved by raging fury, moved his army **on account of the disobedience of the Glamorgan folk** and led it to that same region, violating the territories of the saints and their very churches [...]. And so it was that in this invasion the bell of Saint Illtud was taken away from his church, and carried off by a certain looter to English soil] [my emphasis] (*VI*, §25).

<sup>50</sup> Illtud's bell was made by St. Gildas, according to the *VI*. It was meant as a present from Gildas to St. David, but, miraculously, the bell did not sound when given to David, who returned it to Illtud, the one who had wished it for himself (cf. *VI*, §19). The same motif of Gildas' bell is found in the *VC1*. There, however, a fictitious pope Alexander is the one to whom Gildas sends his bell and Cadog is the saint before whom the bell melodiously tolls (cf. *VC1*, §27).

<sup>51</sup> Edgar is one of the pre-Conquest West-Saxon rulers remembered at least two times in the *LL*. See the English translation of the *LL* in: Rees, W. (1840) (ed. and trans.) *The Liber Landavensis, Llyfr Teilo*. Llandover: W. Rees Press, pp. 502 and 509.

*In meridiana autem hora, dum rex quiesceret in tentorio campestri in planicie affixo, diuidereturque maxima predatio, uisum est regi quod quidam terribilis miles suum pectus lancea perforasset, atque post perforationem nemini uisum. [...] Timoratus imperauit sacrilego exercitui reddere Deo et sanctissimo Illtud totam predationem, promittens deinceps emendationem, atque in honore eiusdem sancti edificauit templum, et seruentibus in templo concessit in quo stetit territorium. **Hec emendatio tamen profuit suo spiritui, recessit enim ab hoc seculo .ix.<sup>no</sup> die propter nequitie uindictam.***

At the hour of noon, while the king rested in a field-tent put up on a plain, and the immense booty was being divided, **it seemed to the king that some terrible soldier had pierced his breast with a spear**, and after the piercing he was seen of none. [...] Full of dread he bade his sacrilegious army to restore to God and to the most holy Illtud all the plunder, promising thereafter amendment, and in honour of the same saint he built a church, and to those serving in the church he granted territory in which it stood. **This amendment, however, profited his spirit, for he departed from this life on the ninth day as punishment for his wickedness (VI, §25) [my emphasis].**

The miraculous intervention is related to a *vision* in a dreamlike state. This finds parallel in the *VGu*, analysed previously. The *vision* leaves the interpretation of the miraculous intervention at a very *personal* and *individual* level, as it were, for it appears as an experience of the king alone. The emphasis here is not only on Edgar's punishment, but on the fact that, by having returned the booty, his soul could still be saved: an *amendment*, as the hagiographer stresses. Edgar's punishment in the *VI* finds parallels in another *Life* attributed to Caradoc of Llancarfan, the fragmentary *Life* of St. Cungar. This fragment, dated to the twelfth century, breaks off in the middle of a section called *De obcecatione Edgaris regis*. Thus, punishment through blindness is expected to the king due to his invasion of the land of St. Cungar. Since this *Life* is incomplete, this can only be inferred from its chapter heading. In the fifteenth-century *Life* of Cungar by Wynkyn de Worde, printed in Carl Horstmann's *Nova Lengenda Angliae* in 1901, Edgar also dies *nine* days after having thus offended the saint, although in this version the king is said to have *unknowingly* invaded the saint's oratory.<sup>52</sup> As seen in the *VGu*, the death of an English ruler is here also attributed to the violation of a Welsh church. There seems to be a subtle attempt to stress the problems of secular invasion of ecclesiastical property without *direct* mention to the Normans. In this, the Welsh – in the figure of Caradoc of Llancarfan – seem to have produced, differently from the English and from the Italian *Lives* of Saints written under the same condition of Norman colonisation and land invasion, the most experienced hagiographical response to the Norman arrival. Contemporary or almost contemporary English *Lives* sought for recognition of their Anglo-Saxon saints, mostly bishop-saints, by fostering Norman sympathy for the tradition of their houses, by praising the Norman administration in the figures of Lanfranc and Anselm and by showing the English

<sup>52</sup> "Rex Anglorum Edgarus die quondam, dum venaretur in nemore, ignoranter accessit ad locum beati viri: quemque regibus videre non erat licitum, locum incaute intuitus est [...]. Regressus autem formidolosus de venatu, in palatio regio se recepit: ac valido languore oppressus nono die diem clausit extremum." For the edited fragment of the *Life* of St. Cungar, see: Robinson, J. (1919) 'A Fragment of the Life of St Cungar,' in *Journal of Theological Studies* 20: 97-108. See, also, Robinson 1921: 15-22.

zeal in adopting the reforms brought by the Normans. The Saints' *Lives* produced contemporarily in Italian monasteries such as Montecassino and Casauria, for example, which also had their lands threatened by Norman newcomers, mostly dealt with miracles of prevention or punishment to the oppressors of the monasteries' lands, a situation similar to that of the Welsh *Lives*. The main characters punished *are*, however, Norman, although their deaths are also interpreted as a consequence of divine vengeance.<sup>53</sup>

Regional and national contemporary affairs slide into the text of the *VI* and the punishment is made to interfere with the history of one of the most important West-Saxon kings, king Edgar. This is a masterly attempt to seek Norman sympathy in detriment to the English even though dealing with the theme of invasion and loss of ecclesiastical property in Welsh lands. The reasons behind Caradoc's choice of Edgar seem to lie in the contemporary production of Saints' *Lives* in the neighbouring Anglo-Norman lands, with which he might have been acquainted. Caradoc, as already mentioned, wrote the *Life* of Gildas to the clergy of Glastonbury.<sup>54</sup> It is through Glastonbury that he might have had access to English/Anglo-Norman *Lives*, which praised the lifetime of Edgar and his support of the English church by founding and constructing churches and monasteries. One such *Life* was the *Life* of Dunstan (ca. 1126) by William of Malmesbury.<sup>55</sup> The *VDunI* had been commissioned by the monks of Glastonbury to counter the claims of Canterbury that Dunstan had been Glastonbury's *first* bishop. This went against the monks' claims for the antiquity of their house. In the *VDunI*, William tells of Edgar's death (d. 975) and burial in Glastonbury<sup>56</sup> and strongly criticises earlier versions of the *Life* of Dunstan<sup>57</sup> for propagating the story that Edgar had raped a nun

---

<sup>53</sup> The miraculous accounts found in Italian *Lives* produced in Montecassino and Casauria resemble the ones found in the *Vespasian* legendary, especially in the *in vita* sections. There are examples of Capuan nobles who, in trying to steal the monasteries' properties, end up going in circles or find it impossible to lift some of the monasteries' provisions, etc. There are also examples of Normans who die for having wished to invade one such monastery. For the Italian *Lives* and the miracles used by their hagiographers, see Loud 2005: 109-121, esp. 115-116.

<sup>54</sup> See section IV.1.3.1.1. of this thesis.

<sup>55</sup> The editions used for the *Lives* of Dunstan are: Winterbottom, M., Thompson, R. (eds. and trans.) (2002) *William of Malmesbury Saints' Lives – Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*. Oxford: Clarendon Press (henceforth *VDunI*) and, Turner, A., Muir, B. (ed. and trans.) (2006) *Eadmer of Canterbury – Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald*. Oxford: Clarendon Press (henceforth *VDun2*).

<sup>56</sup> “*Interea Edgarus renuntiavit uitae, uir omni aeuo predicandus. Namque non infirma inter Anglos fama est nullum nec eius <nec> superiores aetatis regem in Anglia aequilibri iuditio comparando Edgardo.*” [Meanwhile Edgar gave up this life, a man to be praised in every age; indeed there is a strong tradition among the English that no king of theirs, of that or any earlier time, could justly be compared with him] (*VDunI*, ii. 18. c.1).

<sup>57</sup> As for example, in Eadmer of Canterbury's *Life* of Dunstan, written probably in the end of the eleventh century or in the first decade of the twelfth century: “*Quadam enim uice idem rex (i.e. Edgarus) in monasterium uirginum quod Wiltuniae situm habetur uenit, ibique captus specie cuiusdam puellae [...]. Arreptumque uelum detraxit capiti eius, illa conatu quo poterat frustra obnitente. Abusus siquidem ea est, et graui scandalo quique per Angliam religiosi ex hoc mente uulnerati sunt.*” [For on a certain occasion this same king (i.e. Edgar) came to a monastery of virgins, which is located at Wilton, and there, (was) captivated by the beauty of a certain

in the monastery at Wilton.<sup>58</sup> By mentioning Edgar and not a Norman ruler, Caradoc avoids any direct confrontation with the current rulers of the area. However patterned this episode might still seem, with Edgar “encountering” the fathom of Illtud in order to be symbolically *pierced* by him and to repent of the violation of Illtud’s church, the attribution of his death to this incident rewrites English history. It inserts this Welsh saint into the realm of English and Welsh politics. This kind of historical ‘contribution’ offers a rather Welsh view of the occupation of southeast Wales and can be contrasted with contemporary sources written by English or by Norman ecclesiastics. It is the product of an ecclesiastic who is very conscious of the colonisation process and of the importance to defend ecclesiastical interests against secular ones. Caradoc subjected, therefore, the story of Edgar’s early death – Edgar died two years after his official coronation – to the history of a south-western Walian church in his search for sympathy on the part of the Norman invaders.

#### IV.3.3.2.2 William II

The second posthumous episode in the *VI* refers to King William as king of the English and to the time when the region of Glamorgan was under the control of Robert fitz Hamon, one of his barons. Robert fitz Hamon assumed the control of the region of Gwynllwg and of Cardiff in about 1093. He pushed further west in the subsequent years, establishing his control over lands in the Vale of Glamorgan. Fitz Hamon had a number of castles built in the region, putting them in the hands of trustworthy barons. The relatively unproductive upland areas of Glamorgan were left to the native Welsh rulers with the condition that they recognised Norman overlordship. This was reinforced sporadically by the collection of tribute. It was during his lordship in Glamorgan that a general spirit of revolt arose among the Welsh, resulting in a series of attacks to Norman castles and posts (cf. Coplestone-Crow 1998: 7-8).

---

young girl [...]. He grabbed and dragged the veil from her head, while she resisted in vain with whatever strength she had. Thereupon he abused her, and the grave scandal caused by this wounded the spirit of every religious person throughout England] (*VDun2*, §56). Much of Edgar’s posthumous fame relates to his connection to Dunstan, who was his chief-minister in religious matters. Most of the corrections to Osbern’s *Life* of Dunstan have to do with Edgar’s seven years of penance for having violated the nun at Wilton and to Edward’s consequent parentage. For a discussion of all the versions of the *Life* of Dunstan, see Stubbs 1874: ix, lxii, xcix.

<sup>58</sup> “*Nec minus quod Edgarum regem, unicum scilicet totius religionis tutorem, cum sanctimoniali uolutatum asseuerat. Illud cum omni historiarum testimonio careat, etiam si probari posset, magis pie dissimulari quam improbe propalari et in uulgus efferi deceret.*” [It is just as bad that he (i.e. Osbern) asserts that king Edgar, who was actually a supreme guardian of religion in all its aspects, took his pleasure with a nun. There is absolutely no evidence for that; and even it could be shown to be true, it would be better for it to be passed over piously than circulated and publicised with malice] (*VDun1*, i. prologue, cc. 6-7).

The union of the northern and southern Welsh against Norman rule told in this episode in the VI could be reminiscent, therefore, of the great Welsh rebellions of 1093 x 1095 against Norman control in Glamorgan. The hagiographer tells how the *north* and *south* Welsh rebelled against Norman control over the region of Glamorgan and how the parishioners defended themselves against the invaders. His tone seems to be reproachful of the rebellious attitude of the Welsh. He accuses them of injuring the “*Angligenis et Normannigenis ciuibus*,” i.e. the English and Norman citizens.<sup>59</sup>

*Rege Anglorum Willelmo regnante per Britanniam, et Roberto principe, Haimonis filio, regente Gulatmorcantiam, ceperunt Aquilonares Britanni acriter regi resistere, et Australes postea communi et firma coniuratione. Uastabant et incendebant uillas et menia. Ueniebant hostes de nemoribus, ut nocerent Angligenis et Normannigenis ciuibus. [...] Interea commotus est exercitus a Walensibus circiter tria milia armatorum equitum et peditum, ut deuastarent et incenderent Gulatmorcantiam. Hoc audito, pro hostili incursu clerus sancti Illtuti cum suis parrochianis muniuit per fossam et per sepem supra ripam equoream fimirter factam, et sic munita intrauit conans protegere sub tutamine pecuniam.*

When William, king of the English, was reigning throughout Britain, and prince Robert fitz Hamon was ruling over Glamorgan, **the Northern Britons began zealously to resist the king, and afterwards in common and firm confederacy with them the Southern Britons.** They wasted and burnt villages and towns. The foe came from the woods to injure their English-born and Norman-born fellow-countrymen. [...] In the meantime an army was put in motion by the Welsh of about three thousand armed horsemen and footsoldiers to waste and burn Glamorgan. When this was heard, the clergy of saint Illtud with the inhabitants of their district, on account of the hostile attack, fortified themselves by means of a ditch and by means of a hedge firmly made above the sea shore, and so fortified they entered, endeavouring to protect their wealth by defence (VI, §26) [my emphasis].

Here, the names of the secular rulers, William II and Robert fitz Hamon, are mentioned on passing: it is the Welsh and their rebellious resistance against the Normans which is put into question. It continues, as it were, the theme of “disobedience” introduced as the reason of the invasion of Glamorgan by Edgar in the previous chapter. The hagiographer deemed it important to show how the clergy of St. Illtud’s defeated the Welsh coalition even if being in comparatively small numbers. The whole historical incident is interpreted in the light of a miraculous intervention by Illtud, although, judging by the hagiographer’s own doubts, it seemed that there was a failure in the strategy of the Welsh in their decision to attack the monastery during the night, a fact that led to their defeat.<sup>60</sup>

---

<sup>59</sup> Wade-Evans’ translation of *ciuibus* as “fellow-countrymen” is unfortunate because it renders an emotional tie between the Welsh writer and the Norman and English citizens which might not have been in the writer’s intention. The episode refers to the presence of Welsh, English and Norman citizens in Glamorgan, a situation which is attested by other contemporary sources. See, for example, Williams 1992: 445-466, esp. 448-449.

<sup>60</sup> The mistaken strategy seems to be emphasised twice: “[...] uenerunt incauti hostes noctu ante portam, nam si per diem uenissent, habuissent uictoriam.” [...] the incautious foe came by night before the gate, for if they had come by day, they would have had success] (VI, §26) and again in the passage in the main text quoted above.

What is at stake in this passage is the interpretation of a historical incident important to St. Illtud's community. The hagiographer's statement is clear: the clergy of St. Illtud's, helped by the whole community, positioned themselves against Welsh rebellion *to Norman rule*. By previously mentioning Edgar, and by naming William and Robert fitz Hamon, the hagiographer is writing his version of the history of the region's relationship with the English and of the Norman occupation of Glamorgan. The miraculous lights that appear over the fighters strengthen the position of the clergy of St. Illtud's:

*Nocturna igitur pugna orta est inter acies utrasque, donec multi ceciderunt exanimis ex iactu lapidum et lancearum uibratione, et alii quamplures uulnerati condolebant plangentes in certamine. Dum talia agebantur, dense scintillule crebro apparebant in aere inter templum sancti Illuti et castellum regis Meirchiauni, iuxta quod erat bellum. Choruscabat ualde quasi fulgura, ad protegendum populum catholicum; apparuerunt signa angelica. Quanto plus oppugnabant due acies, tanto ardentius effulgebant in ethere ignee species. Refugium Dei et sanctissimi Illuti fuit uiolatum; propterea tria milia ante castellum diuicta sunt a minori numero. Femine inermes administrabant arma pugnantibus; pueri imbecilles non cessabant interius. [...] Leuis poterat ascensus fieri ad triumphum, sed fortis Illutus non concessit ascensum. Si per lucem oppugnassent, ascendissent leuissime, sed **Lux summa et Lux uera hoc nolebat concedere.***

Therefore a nocturnal fight began between the two battle-fronts, until many fled dead from the hurling of stones and the vibration of spears, and others, very many, wounded, suffered greatly, groaning in the contest. Whilst such things were being done, **thick sparks frequently appeared in the air between the church of saint Illtud and the fortress of king Meirchion, near which was the battle. They shone intensely like lightening, to protect the catholic people; angelic signs they appeared to be.** The more the battle-fronts attacked, the more ardently did the fiery figures blaze in the upper air. The refuge of God and of the most holy Illtud was violated, wherefore three thousand were overcome before the fortress by a small number. Unarmed women administered arms to the combatants; weak boys were not inactive within. [...] Smooth might the ascent to triumph have become, but brave Illtud granted no ascent. If they had attacked by daylight, they would have ascended most smoothly, but **the supreme Light and the true Light was unwilling to allow this** (VI, §26) [my emphasis].

God as the supreme light and the lights that incessantly shine over the monastery symbolise the community's virtues in the battle and God's protection of the community, as explicitly stated. The violation of the church causes the death of thousands in a re-emphasis of the theme of church violation with subsequent death, as seen in the example of Edgar.



## IV.4 The *Life* of Saint Teilo

### IV.4.1 Dating and authorship

St. Teilo, along with SS. Dubricius (Welsh *Dyfrig*) and Oudoceus (Welsh *Euddogwy*), is one of the patron saints of Llandaff and, supposedly, one of its first bishops. His early cult is attested by the ninth- or tenth-century marginal notes inserted in the Book of St. Chad under the declined forms of *Teliaui*, *Eliudo*, *Teiliau* and *Eliudo* (cf. Loth 1894a: 67, Doble 1971: 162-163). According to the *Life* of Teilo (ff. 52 – 55v),<sup>1</sup> his name derived from the Greek *Elios* and was corrupted by the ordinary people to *Eliud*.<sup>2</sup> Joseph Loth believed that two different saints, apparently one Welsh and the other Breton, were conflated in one and the same figure (cf. Loth 1894a: 67).<sup>3</sup> St. Teilo has, in fact, numerous dedication sites both in Wales and Brittany.<sup>4</sup>

The question of authorship of the *VTel* is much problematic and must be seen in connection to an existing recension of this *Life* found in the Book of Llandaff. While this recension, to which I will refer henceforth as *VTe2*, is anonymous, the *VTel*, in its rubric heading, attributes it to a certain Geoffrey, brother of Bishop Urban of Llandaff with an inserted *i.e. Stephen*, over Geoffrey's name.<sup>5</sup> Both *Lives* differ from each other in a number of "omitted" or "added" passages that deal with Teilo's sojourn in Brittany. In fact, the Breton connections claimed by the *VTe2* are its most pervasive aspect and one should recall, for the sake of finding an explanation to the Breton penchant, Llandaff's attempts to approximate itself to Dol through the figure of St. Samson, to which I referred previously.<sup>6</sup> The idea was advanced

---

<sup>1</sup> Henceforth *VTel*. The edition used is that by Loth, J. (ed.) (1894a) 'La Vie de Saint Teliau d'après de le Livre de Llandaf,' in *Annales de Bretagne* 9: 277-286. Joseph Loth collated the text of the Book of Llandaff with that in *Vespasian*, giving all the variant readings in the latter. The translation was taken, with due adaptation, from Rees, W. (1840) (ed. and trans.) *The Liber Landavensis, Llyfr Teilo*. Llandovery: W. Rees Press.

<sup>2</sup> "*Post incrementum autem etatis, uirtutum et sapientie congruo nomine Helios a sapientibus nuncupatus est. Elios autem grece, latine sol interpretatur: fulgebat enim ut sol ejus doctrina, fidelium illustrando corda. Sed illiteratis hominibus extremum uocabuli corrupte proferentibus, adoleuit quod non Helios sed Heliud appellatus est.*" [After he grew up in age, virtue, and wisdom, he was called by intelligent persons by the suitable name of Helios; and Elios, in Greek, is interpreted in Latin by Sol for his learning shone as the sun, by illuminating the hearts of the faithful. But illiterate men corruptly pronouncing the termination of the word, it came to pass, in course of time, that he was called not Helios, but Eliud] (*VTel*, §2).

<sup>3</sup> For an exhaustive discussion of the name Teilo, see Loth 1894a: 66-67. The *Life* of David by Rhygyfarch reads: "*Eliud scilicet qui nunc Teliau uulgo uocatur*" [Eliud, who is now commonly called Teilo] (*VD*, §44).

<sup>4</sup> Teilo's cult is widespread in South Wales, especially in Carmarthenshire, where his main church at Llandeilo Fawr was located, and, also, moreover, in Pembrokeshire. For a list of the Breton churches dedicated to Saint Teilo, see Loth 1894a: 83.

<sup>5</sup> "*Incipit uita S. Teliaui episcopi a magistro Galfrido fratre Urbani Landauensis ecclesia episcopi dictata.*" [Here begins the *Life* of Saint Teilo, bishop, composed by master Geoffrey, brother of Urban, bishop of the church of Llandaff] (*VTel*, §1).

<sup>6</sup> See section IV.3.2. (footnote 14). See, also, section IV.9. (footnote 7) of this thesis.

by Joseph Loth, who interpreted Llandaff's and St. David's attempts to connect David, Teilo and Dubricius to Samson to have arisen during the time when the archbishopric of Dol seems to have been recognised by the Roman popes, i.e. between 1076 and 1143 (cf. Loth 1894a: 74). François Duine saw the accounts of Teilo's sojourn in Armorica/Brittany as an attempt to connect Teilo and Samson during the time of Bishop Baudry (d. 1130). Duine thought that Urban and his "brother" collected local stories in Brittany on their way to Rome to claim protection of Llandaff's properties against St. David's and Hereford (cf. Duine 1918: 377-378).

The rubric heading of the *VTel* led Gwenogvryn Evans to identify Geoffrey/Stephen with Geoffrey of Monmouth (cf. Evans/Rhys 1893: xx). His suggestion was vehemently opposed by Joseph Loth who emphasised that the claims made by Llandaff through the Book of Llandaff and by Geoffrey of Monmouth throughout his *HRB* relating to the Church in Wales were completely incongruous. Loth mentions, for instance, that in the Book of Llandaff, Dubricius was consecrated archbishop by SS. Germanus and Lupus and that the seat of his archbishopric was in Llandaff, whereas Geoffrey of Monmouth maintained that, during the time of Pope Eleutherius, Britain was divided into three archbishoprics: York, London and Caerleon, without any mention of a connection between Dubricius and Llandaff. Moreover, Geoffrey's *HRB* makes Dubricius the archbishop of Caerleon, where he consecrates Arthur king.<sup>7</sup> Other differences between Geoffrey's *HRB* and the *LL* are in their treatment of St. Samson. In the latter, Samson is consecrated deacon, priest and bishop by Dubricius and goes to Brittany to found the monastery of Dol, whereas in the former, Samson is firstly made archbishop of York and, subsequently, archbishop of Dol (cf. Loth 1894b: 101-104). Furthermore, according to Loth, there existed only one reference to a brother of Bishop Urban, whose name, instead of Geoffrey, was *Esni* (cf. Loth 1894c: 369),<sup>8</sup> so that the question of whom this person really was remains unresolved.

The fact that the recension found in the Book of Llandaff is longer than that in the *Vespasian* legendary led many scholars to speculate on the relationship between these two texts and,

---

<sup>7</sup> The development of a wide array of legends relating to Pope Eleutherius, mentioned by Geoffrey in his *HRB*, goes back to the *Liber Pontificalis*, a document dating, in its earliest parts, to the sixth century. The *Liber Pontificalis* mentions that a certain British 'king' called Lucius received a letter from Pope Eleutherius (ca. 174-189) which led him, consequently, to convert to Christianity (Duchesne 1883: 491-493). This idea was elaborated in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, in the *Historia Brittonum*, in the Book of Llandaff, in Geoffrey's *HRB*, among other works of the twelfth century.

<sup>8</sup> *Esni* is first mentioned as brother of Urban in the *Life* of Dubricius (*VDu1*) in the Book of Llandaff. See section IV.5.3.2. in this thesis for the passage's quotation.

consequently, on the question of their *dating*. François Duine assumed that the *VTe1* was an abridgement of the *VTe2* (cf. Duine 1918: 376), which, after a careful study of the differences between the two texts, cannot to be maintained. Both *Lives* preserve the introductory words to the “beloved brethren,”<sup>9</sup> indicating the *Life*’s liturgical use, but the *VTe2* is, as correctly indicated by Canon Doble, too long to be read in the church service (cf. Doble 1971: 165).<sup>10</sup> Some passages in the *VTe2*, absent from the *VTe1*, make too strong a claim for the superiority of Llandaff over other churches of Teilo and are clearly insertions to the text. One such claim is already perceived in the use of the title of *archiepiscopus* by the *VTe2*, whereas the *VTe1* ascribes to Teilo the moderate title of *episcopus*.<sup>11</sup> There are, moreover, word omissions in the *VTe2* that offer unintelligible renderings of some of the text’s passages, whereas they are found in a perfectly acceptable form in the *VTe1*.<sup>12</sup> Be that as it may, for my current purposes, it is worth emphasising that *both* recensions were produced under the influence of Llandaff ecclesiastics.

The *VTe1*, as we shall see, cannot be earlier than Rhygyfarch’s *Life* of David,<sup>13</sup> from which it seems to copy two episodes: the story of the opposition to David’s settlement by a certain chieftain at the *Rosina Vallis* and the episode of two stags tamed by the Irish St. Aedh. Whereas Rhygyfarch refers to the chieftain as Irish, the *VTe1* refers to him as a Pict. The attribution of a Pictish settlement to a region as far south as St. David’s was explained by Joseph Loth as due to a confusion between the Picts and the Scots, i.e. the Irish, peoples that both lived in the northern parts of Britain; the Irish/Scotti settled temporarily in many of the regions in the south of Britain, including Dyfed (cf. Loth 1894a: 69).<sup>14</sup>

Apart from the *VD*, the *VTe1* presents some resemblances to the *Life* of Padarn (henceforth *VP*) in the episode of the journey of Padarn, David and Teilo to Jerusalem, which I will discuss in detail in the analysis of the *VP*.<sup>15</sup> Considering the relationship between these three *Lives* and their borrowings of motifs and episodes, the most probable date for the production of the *VTe1* would be between 1100 and 1130 due to the presence of Llandaff claims for the

---

<sup>9</sup> “*Sanctus iste, fratres karissimi, ab infantia Dei cultor extitit.*” [This holy man, dearly beloved brethren, was from his infancy a worshipper of God] (*Vte1*, §1).

<sup>10</sup> John Reuben Davies called attention, however, to the fact that a scribe of the twelfth- or thirteenth-century divided the *LL* text of the *Life* of Teilo into nine readings, showing that, even with the additions, it continued to be used liturgically afterwards (cf. Davies 2003: 112).

<sup>11</sup> For a detailed account of the inserted passages, see Hughes 1958: 194.

<sup>12</sup> For a list of the omissions, see Doble 1971: 165.

<sup>13</sup> Henceforth *VD*.

<sup>14</sup> Comments on the story of the *Irish* Baia will be made in section IV.6.3.1.1. of this thesis, in the analysis of the *VD*.

<sup>15</sup> See section IV.9.3.1.2. of this thesis.

supremacy of all Teilo churches in south Wales, which recall the territorial disputes between Llandaff and St. David's. It must necessarily be, moreover, earlier than 1128/1129, the latest possible date of the Hand A that copied the *VTe2* into the Book of Llandaff (cf. Davies 1973: 339), with all the additions pertaining to Teilo's connection with Brittany.<sup>16</sup>

#### IV.4.2 Content

According to the *VTe1*, Teilo was born of noble parents in south Wales. He was instructed by St. Dubricius who, very early recognising Teilo's wisdom, chose him to be his successor. Due to his zeal for the understanding of the Scriptures, Teilo leaves Dubricius and finds in the figure of Paulinus a new master. Abiding with Paulinus in a place not mentioned by the hagiographer, Teilo finds in St. David a companion. The bond of love between both saints is highly emphasised by the hagiographer,<sup>17</sup> an emphasis which is absent in the *Vespasian VD*. After this episode, Teilo appears with David in the *Rosina Vallis*, experiencing the opposition to their religious settlement in the area by a "Pictish" chieftain, a character that also appears in the *VD*. Also similar to the *VD*, moreover, is the account of the *taming* of two stags by St. Aedh.<sup>18</sup> To this miraculous episode – which is also found in reworked forms in the *Lives* of St. Aedh, in the *Vespasian VCI*, in the *Life* of Cadog by Caradoc of Llancarfan<sup>19</sup> – the *VTe1* adds the name of his main saintly protagonist, St. Teilo. The details pertaining to both these episodes will be discussed in short.

Leaving St. David's, Teilo, David and Padarn travel to Jerusalem. In the Jerusalem-episode, also found in the *Lives* of Padarn and David,<sup>20</sup> the three saints receive gifts from the pope, although Teilo is here given a prominent role. In comparison to the other two versions of the Jerusalem-episode, it is noteworthy that *VTe1* relies on a high number of scriptural references in order to emphasise the prominence of its protagonist. In returning from Jerusalem, Teilo

---

<sup>16</sup> For a discussion of the hands in the Book of Llandaff and their relevance for the dating of some of the *Vespasian Lives*, see the coming section VI.3.1. of this thesis.

<sup>17</sup> "*Ibique sanctum David perfectissime vite hominem sibi associavit. Quos tanta conjunxit dilectio et spiritus sancti gratia quod, in agendis et non agendis rebus idem velle et idem nolle esset ambobus.*" [And he had there for a companion St. David, a man of most perfect life, to whom he was united by so much love, and the grace of the Holy Spirit, that in their transactions, they both had the same thought with respect to what was to be done, and what to be left undone] (*VTe1*, §4).

<sup>18</sup> The same episode is also told in the *VCI* in connection with the Irish Saints Finian and Macmoil. In this *Life*, Cadog's wrath turns to his disciples for having left the book that they were reading unattended. The two tamed stags provide the toponymic explanation to the valley where Llancarfan is situated, but no such emphasis on the miracle of the tamed animals is given as is the case in the *VTe1*. See *VCI*, §12.

<sup>19</sup> See *Vita S. Aidiui*, §12; *VCI*, §12; *VC2*, §11, 26.

<sup>20</sup> See sections IV.6.3.1. and IV.9.3.1. of this thesis.

finds his country devastated by the “Yellow Pestilence,” a disease that nearly destroyed the whole nation. Teilo is warned by an angel of God to leave his land and remains in an unknown “distant country” for sometime. In a blurry transitional passage, Teilo is seen again dying in Britain. A dispute arises between the clergy of three of his churches for obtaining his body. This is judged and decided upon by Christ Himself, who provides *three* bodies of Teilo, one for each church. At Teilo’s tomb(s), many healings take place. In his final words, the hagiographer exhorts the “brethren” to celebrate the festivity of the saint and to imitate him in good works.

#### **IV.4.3 Structural analysis of the encounter-episodes**

##### **IV.4.3.1 The secular characters in the *in vita* section of the *VTel***

###### **IV.4.3.1.1 The “Pictish” prince and his female servants**

As mentioned before, after leaving Paulinus, Teilo goes to St. David at the *Vallis Rosina*, where he helps in the establishment of David’s religious settlement. This episode, located as it is around the region of St. David’s, clearly revolved around the figure of that community’s saint. In the *VD*, it occupies the space of six whole chapters in Wade-Evans’ edition, whereas in the *VTel*, it is condensed in three, with the hagiographer’s inversion of the names of David and Teilo in order to give more emphasis to his biographee.<sup>21</sup> From these three chapters, the first one functions as an introduction to the settlement of the “Picts” in Dyfed. Teilo was already mentioned in the earlier *VD*, together with SS. Aedh and Ysrael, as one of David’s disciples so that the association between the two, at least for the clergy of St. David’s, was a latent and long-standing one. At St. David’s, the saints face the opposition of a secular chieftain of “Pictish” origin. In opposition to the *VD*, which recounts the same episode, the *VTel* stresses the arrival and settlement of this *foreign* people and their destruction of houses and saints’ churches: this chapter reads like a historical introduction to the foreign settlement. The explanation as to who the Picts were and from whence they came, taken from Bede and Isidore of Seville (cf. Davies 2003: 113), points to the hagiographer’s interest in showing the conflicts arising from the alien occupation of the area. Differently from the *VD*, in which the *chieftain* is said to have already lived in the region, the *VTel* pictures the *prince*’s gradual coming and his establishment of a “palace.” The fire lit by David on his arrival, which is, in the *VD*, symbolically interpreted as a portent that someone powerful came to occupy the area,

---

<sup>21</sup> All the relevant episodes in the *VD* mentioned here are quoted and examined in the section dedicated to the *Life* of David, in IV.6. of this thesis.

is, moreover, also omitted. It is only after David's "complete" settlement that the prince notices the presence of the servants of God and the probity of their lives, being consequently punctured with envy. Seeing that the use of reproachful language could not lessen their faith, he sends his female servants to tempt them:

*Precepit itaque mulieri sue ut ad sanctos suas pedisequas dirigeret et sanctorum visibus se offerrent ut fatuis motibus sui corporis et meretriciis blandimentis sanctorum mentes a sancto proposito conarentur pervertere.*

**He therefore ordered his housekeeper to send her female servants to the holy men**, and offer themselves to their sight, that by their immodest deportment, and their meretricious blandishments, they might endeavour to withdraw the minds of the holy men from their holy purpose (VTel, §6) [my emphasis].

In the *Vespasian VD*, it is the chief's *wife* that sends the women to tempt the saints, a version that put much emphasis on the trickery and evilness of the chief's *female* counterpart. The prince's attitude is rather one of resignation in face of David's arrival. Here, on the other hand, the great female role, characteristic of the *Vespasian VD*, is insignificant. The women's naked bodies are used to advance the idea of men's perdition by women's temptation. Important in this episode, in comparison with the *VD*, is the difference with which the resulting confrontation between the chieftain and the female servants is treated. The miracles employed in both *Lives* are of a different nature, and their different emphases allow a glimpse in the understanding of miraculous intervention in both these texts. In the *VD*, David's disciples are tempted by the presence of the naked women and complain to their spiritual leader. The means by which David shuns temptation is *fastening*: the emphasis therefore is on David's ascetic practices. The structuring of the confrontation stresses the saint's role in *deciding* how to avoid temptation. In the *VTel*, on the other hand, from the sending of the female servants up to their actual presence in front of the monks, the ensuing *madness* of the women prevents any real confrontation of taking place. The text accentuates, instead, the *behaviour* of the women, their immodesty and their "meretricious" blandishments. It is by faking madness that they become mad at the spot:

*Que dum domine sue exequendo mandata se quasi insanas esse simularent, insane facte sunt; quippe, quia sicut dicitur: **qui in sordibus est dignum est ut magis sordescat.***

Who, whilst they executed the orders of their mistress, and counterfeited madness, became really mad, as it is said, "**He that acts in a filthy manner, deserves to become more filthy**" (VTel, §6) [my emphasis].

Madness is here explicitly treated as a "punishment" for the women's act through a reworking of a message found in the Apocalypse of John: *Qui nocet, noceat adhuc. Et qui in sordibus*

*est, sordescat adhuc. Et qui justus est, justificetur adhuc. Et sanctus, sanctificetur adhuc* (Rev 22: 11).<sup>22</sup> The idea of punishment of the wicked, therefore, contrasts directly with the holiness of David and his disciples. The women's punishment by loss of their mental faculty is again emphasised in the coming section, for which a most appropriate translation would emphasise, through the use of *deturpare*, the women's *ruin*, their *disfiguration* with such an incurable disease as madness:

[...] *Deus illas impudicas mulieres tali immedicabili opprobio deturpavit* [...].

[...] God had **punished** these impudent women with **incurable disgrace** [...] (VTe1, §7) [my emphasis].

The intermediate scenes in the *VD* that show the chieftain and his household insulting David and the consequent death of their cattle is here left out, so that the scene is crowned by their *baptism*. This is, it could be said, a continuation of the hagiographer's "historical" awareness that the newcomers partook of another faith. Their baptism is described with a fully flourishing language as a form of "conciliation" with God:

*Quo viso, predictus persecutor et tota domus sua gratia sanctorum catholicam fidem susceperunt et ab eisdem in Christi nomine baptizati sunt. Beatus itaque fuit qui scienter persequatur justos ut nescienter justus efficeretur. Sanctos temptabat ut sanctus fieret; litigabat cum hominibus ut cum Deo reconciliaretur; despiciebat humiles ut humilitatem diligeret.*

Which the aforesaid persecutor, and all his family, observing, they, by the favour of the servants of God, **received the catholic faith**, and **were baptized by them in the name of Christ**. He therefore was blessed, who persecuted the just knowingly to become just ignorantly, who tempted holy persons so as to become holy, who quarrelled with men to become reconciled to God, who despised the humble so as to take delight in humility (VTe1, §6) [my emphasis].

Contrary to the *VD*, their punishment does *not* end in the death and disappearance of the secular characters. The text conveys, instead, the idea of hope in their *salvation* by faith. This contrast between "salvation" and "punishment" is one that pervades the *Vespasian* legendary and one whose tension places the collection in a significant turning point in the history of Welsh religious practices. By mentioning the *baptism* and stressing the possibility of the ruler's change of attitude by converting to the Christian faith, the black-and-white portrayal of secular rulers and characters known from some of the other *Vespasian Saints' Lives* is suspended. The good and bad dichotomy which accounted for the rulers' characters is now circumscribed by a concept of personal change, by what has been called a *spiritualisation of the miracle* (cf. Van Uthyfang 1981: 210), in the sense that the most important miracle is

<sup>22</sup> "He that hurteth, let him hurt still. **And he that is filthy, let him be filthy still.** And he that is just, let him be justified still. And he that is holy, let him be sanctified still."

*conversion* itself, the change by faith with all its possibilities.<sup>23</sup> This shows a strong influence of New Testamental miraculous accounts, including conversion, on this text than, contrastingly, from rather mechanical punitive miracles reproduced from the Old Testament, found, for example, in the *VCI*.

#### IV.4.3.1.2 The “inhabitants of the place”

The next episode which deserves attention is the one of the tamed stags. Although this episode is not structured around the evil-doings of a secular ruler or character, it must be taken into account due to its mention of the “inhabitants of the place” and of their *recognition* of the miracles worked by the saints. The *VTel* characteristically deals with the *concept* of miracle and its explanation, relying heavily on biblical quotations or allusions. In this scene, the “inhabitants of the place” seem to refer to the monastery brethren but this does not rule out the possibility of the participation of lay people in this community. In this episode, Teilo and Aedh are interrupted from reading in the courtyard of the monastery by *a servant* who tells them that wood was wanting for the preparation of the brethren’s supper. They immediately go to the forest to fetch wood. On their way, they meet two yoked stags that offer themselves to their service. The scene is arranged for the power of Christ to be stressed by the animated speech of the stags. This forces a contrast between the beasts and men by the formers’ recognition of God’s power:

*[...] duo(s) biiuges cervi mansuetissimi occurrerunt et colla prebuerunt, quasi dicerent: Deus videns quare solliciti sitis et exuit no(bi)s ferocitatem nostram et fecit nos mansueta pecora ut laborem quem vos initis subeamus. Quibus subjugatis, laudabant Dominum dicentes: “Benedictus Deus et pater domini nostri Ihesu Christi qui misericorditer servos suos pro fratibus respexit laborantes, faciendo mansueta pecora de feris silvarum que nostri laboris sarcinam sustinerent.”*

Two very tame stags yoked together met them and **offered their necks to their service, as if they said** “God seeing your anxiety, **has deprived us of our wildness**, and made us tame animals, in order that we might perform the labour which you have undertaken.” Which being harnessed, praised the Lord saying: “Blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has mercifully regarded his servants **labouring for the brethren**, by **making tame animals of the wild beasts of the woods**, that they might sustain the burden of our labour (*VTel*, §8) [my emphasis].

Highly significant is, moreover, the reaction of the inhabitants to the miraculous taming:

---

<sup>23</sup> This concept arose out of the controversy in early Christianity regarding the nature of some miracles and their veracity. The spiritualisation of miracles, in the sense that Christian authors tried to put much emphasis on the inner Christian attitude of a person and his/her attempts to emulate a Christian life, was a somehow natural reaction to the multiplication of demonstrative healing miracles (healing of the mute, deaf, paralytic) which were doubted for by people in different periods of the history of Christianity (cf. Van Uthyfang 1981: 210).



*“O domini fratres, quam manifeste hodie illustrati estis divina gratia, quibus **irrationabiles fere famulantur!** Nos vero infelices, qui sanctis non obdivimus donec, per bruta animalia monemur obedire!”*

“O divine brethren, how manifestly have you be distinguished this day by divine grace, for **the irrational brutes have become your servants**. We, therefore, **are unhappy persons, who have not obeyed the saints** until we are admonished by brute animals to obey them” (*VTe1*, §9) [my emphasis].

The fully dislocated statement that the people have disobeyed the saints is not explained. The whole speech is intended to emphasise the miracle of the animals’ subjection to the saints by explicitly contrasting men and beasts. The motif of a wild animal tamed by the saint was encountered in the *Life* of St. Illtud, for example, and there, it also functioned as a straightforward contrast between the *naturalness* with which animals subject to God’s commands in opposition to men’s stubbornness. The obedience of animals, such as birds and beasts, to saints was a much cherished element in Christian hagiography. It finds one of its first models in the *Life* of Anthony by Athanasius, in which wild animals are said to have lived in peaceful terms with the saint. This ability has been interpreted as symbolically representing a high degree of perfection achieved by the saint in that men re-establish, as it were, a primeval paradisiacal state interrupted with men’s first sin (cf. Bartelink 1994: 52, 57, Cavill 1999: 16).<sup>24</sup> In the *VTe1*, the animals *sense* the holiness of the saints, subjecting themselves *naturally* to their purposes. This conception – which can also be found in the *Life* of Cadog<sup>25</sup> – is consistent with what has been referred to as “Celtic” theology: animals are, within this conception, allowed a *naturalness* outside of any doctrinal purpose (cf. Cavill 1999: 19).<sup>26</sup> That the *Life* of Teilo follows this conception is confirmed by the contrast between the animals and the inhabitants of the place, for these latter have lost their *natural* faculty of recognising *goodness*. The conception of “natural good” was opposed to by Bede in his re-writing of the anonymous *Life* of Cuthbert, for example, in that he has the animals ministering to the saint as part of his theological view that animals, for also being part of God’s creation, submit to those who serve God “most faithfully and wholeheartedly” (*VCuth*, §21).<sup>27</sup> Although apparently keeping to an *inherited* theological concept such as this by

---

<sup>24</sup> This is the message conveyed in Job 5: 22-23, which was one of the sources for the *Life* of Anthony by Athanasius: “*In vastitate et fame ridebis, et bestias terræ non formidabis. Sed cum lapidibus regionum pactum tuum, et bestiae terræ pacificæ erunt tibi.*” [In destruction and famine thou shalt laugh: and thou shalt not be afraid of the beasts of the earth. But thou shalt have a covenant with the stones of the lands, and the beasts of the earth shall be at peace with thee].

<sup>25</sup> See *VCI*, §12.

<sup>26</sup> Cavill is referring to Ireland as being the source of the conception of “natural good,” which, according to him, is thought to have influenced Anglo-Saxon religious thoughts (cf. Cavill 1999: 19).

<sup>27</sup> “*Non sola autem aeris sed et maris animalia, immo et ipsum mare sicut et aer et ignes [...] uiro uenerabili praebeuere obsequium. Qui enim auctori omnium creaturarum fideliter et integro corde famulatur, non est mirandum si eius imperiis ac uotis omnis creatura deseruiat. At nos plerumque iccirco subiectae nobis creaturae dominium perdimus, quia Domino et creatori omnium ipis seruire negligimus.*” [Moreover not only the creatures

reproducing the story of tamed animals, the *VTel* works with a *programmatic scheme* in which through the stressed *contrast* between men and animals, the concept of naturalness loses its force and is subjected to the notions of repentance and consequent *conversion*, as it shall become clearer with the next and last episode examined in this *Life*.

#### IV.4.3.1.3 Robbers

A not very common encounter-scene appears in the *VTel* in the episode in which SS. Teilo, David and Padarn are on their way to Jerusalem. They are met by robbers who, by recognizing the simplicity of their ways, repent from having robbed the saints, restituting what they had taken from them and guarding them until they reached a place of safety. There is no direct mention of a miracle and the significance of this episode's insertion lies once more on the idea of *conversion* by acting, conversion in this sense as an experience of a *change* in the robbers' attitude:

*Sic de ignotis fiebant noti et persecutoribus summi efficiebantur amici.*

[...] thus by unknown persons, they became known, and robbers became their greatest friends (*VTel*, §9).

This example continues the understanding of the *conversion* by faith and believing, anticipated not only in the story of the tamed stags but also in the one relating to the Pictish chieftain.<sup>28</sup>

#### IV.4.3.2 Posthumous miracles in the *VTel*

In the *VTel*, there is no extra *post-mortem* section which elaborates on posthumous miracles appearing in connection with secular rulers or characters. After Teilo's death, as previously mentioned, the clergy of three of Teilo's churches witness a miracle that arouse out of their dispute for the saint's body. This miracle offers an explanation to the parallel claims of the

---

of the air but also of the sea, yes, and even the sea itself, as well as air and fire [...] did honour to the venerable man. For if a man faithfully and wholeheartedly serves the maker of all created things, it is no wonder that all creation should minister to his commands and wishes. But for the most part we lose dominion over the creation which was made subject to us, because we ourselves neglect to serve the cord and Creator of all things] (*VCuth*, §21).

<sup>28</sup> A similar story is told in Jeromē's *Life* of Paul the First Hermit. In the *VPau*, robbers come to the eighteen years-old Paul in search for something to carry off. By confronting the saint and recognising his firmness and faith, confess their sins, promising to lead a strict life in the future. Here the emphasis is also on a change of attitude allowed for by the acceptance of a new faith (cf. *VPau*, §12).

three churches to possess the body of the saint. Since in all of them miraculous healings at the tomb(s) of the saint were said to have taken place, such a tale is of extreme importance for the use of the miraculous as a straightforward “solution” for such an impending problem. It is noteworthy that the miracle was not modified in the *VTe2*: in the *LL* recension, an account is added as to *why* each church happened to claim the saint’s body for itself<sup>29</sup> and as to *why* it was “certainly” taken to Llandaff:

*Miraculis quidem quampluribus cognitum est omni populo et monimentis antiquorum seniorum indubitanter Landaviae esse allatum.*

It was, however, **known to all people**, by the great number of miracles, and the accounts of **ancient writers**, that he was certainly taken to Llandaff (*VTe2*, § 9) [my emphasis].

The recourse to the “people” who know about the saint’s posthumous miracles and to the “ancient” writers who have purportedly written about them is very similar to the claims found in *Lives* connected to Llandaff and in the *LL* itself. The recourse to these unspecified oral or written testimonies reiterates a change in the emphasis laid in the “regulation” of miracle-places that arouse with the twelfth-century new attitudes towards miraculous interventions for the processes of canonisation and saintly recognition by the Roman Catholic Church: all the people, probably the community, become *witnesses* of the miracles that took place at Llandaff, and this, judging from the “ancient writings” is a continuation of things that began to occur in the past. It is therefore significant to note that the search for authority in the community and in spurious written sources is absent in the earliest *Vespasian* version of the *Life* of Teilo. This fact points to the changes in the arguments used by the ecclesiastics at Llandaff from the writing of the *VTe1* to its rewriting culminating with the *VTe2*.

One last interesting aspect is the absence of the division of the saint’s relics in a situation where this could also have been a solution for the three Teilo’s churches. In Continental hagiography of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it is common to find reports of parts of saints’ bodies – teeth, hands, fingers, finger nails and even skulls – being taken from the

---

<sup>29</sup> “[...] una quidem ob sepulchrum patrum suorum et hereditarium jus, Pennalun videlicet; secunda ob conversationem suam et solitariam vitam quam inibi duxit per tempus super ripam Tyvi, et quod ibi vitam gloriose finierat; tertia vero Landavia, ob sedem episcopalem, ob ejus privilegia et dignitates, ob consecrationes et obedientiam, ob totius parrochiae concordem vocem, et sancti Dubricii per omnia et aliorum patrum priorem statum et constitutionem.” [...] one, of which was Pennalun, and which claimed because it was there his ancestors had been buried, and therefore, the proper place by hereditary right; the second church, which was situated on the banks of the Towy, claimed it because it was the place of his residence, where he lived retired, and because there he gloriously ended his life; the third was Llandaff, and urged its claim on account of its having been his episcopal see, of its privileges and dignities, its consecrations and obedience, and of the unanimous voice of all the diocese, and especially because of its former state, and the appointment of St. Dubricius, and other fathers] (*VTe2*, § 9).

saints' tombs so that the relics can be venerated in different cultic places. This practice seems to have been considered sacrilegious up until the tenth century with a change in attitude beginning in the eleventh century (cf. Angenendt 1997: 152-155). This is noteworthy in view of the *transitional* attitudes towards miraculous accounts which I have been exposing by emphasising the *post-mortem* sections in the *Vespasian Lives*. It shows that certain trends of Continental saintly veneration had not *yet* been adopted or considered in the Llandaff setting. Finally, what this lack of a *post-mortem* section also shows, especially in a text with such a programmatic stress on *conversion*, is that the hagiographers tried to actualise or modernise religious concepts *within the bulk* of the text of a Saint's *Life*, through re-writing, *réécriture*, and not only through the addition of *post-mortem* sections.

## IV.5 The *Life* of Saint Dubricius<sup>1</sup>

### IV.5.1 Dating and authorship

St. Dubricius, together with SS. Teilo, Oudoceus and Peter, is one of the patron-saints of Llandaff. Not much is known about the historical Dubricius. He is mentioned in the *Vespasian Life* of Illtud, a text which discloses a strong influence of Llandaff in its composition, and which was dated to ca. 1120.<sup>2</sup> In the *VI*, Illtud, the famous founder of the monastery of Llanilltud, modern Llantwit Major in Glamorgan, is said to have been consecrated by Dubricius. The association between Dubricius and Illtud, however, is older than the *VI*. Dubricius already appears in an old Breton source whose dating has been controversially estimated between the seventh and the ninth centuries: the Breton *Life* of Saint Samson,<sup>3</sup> written by an ecclesiastic in the monastery of Dol in Brittany (cf. Duine 1914: 35, Duine 1918: 273-277, Gougaud 1932: 54, Bowen 1954: 36, Chadwick 1969: 263-264, Doble 1971: 56-57, 88, Poulin 1977: 2-3, Kerlouégan 1981: 196-197). In the Breton *VS*, Dubricius and Illtud are portrayed as contemporaries. In four of the surviving manuscripts of the *VS*, Dubricius is referred to as *episcopus* and, in one, he is the person who ordained St. Samson deacon (cf. Doble 1971: 56).<sup>4</sup>

The claims that Dubricius had been a bishop are, therefore, older than the *VDuI*. The most intriguing fact is that, in the Breton *VS*, there is no reference to the diocese in which Dubricius exerted his office. This seems to have been the gap which the hagiographer of the *Life* of Dubricius chose to fill in the history of the saints connected to South West Wales by linking Dubricius with the recently created see of Llandaff: it is to Llandaff that his relics are brought according to the account of the *translatio* attached to the end of the *Life*, although no direct reference to Llandaff is made throughout the *Life*. The Llandaff diocese, if it ever existed before Urban's episcopate, might most likely have been dedicated to St. Teilo. The

---

<sup>1</sup> The Latin quotations were transcribed directly from the manuscript *Vespasian A. xiv* and collated with this *Life*'s recension from the Book of Llandaff edited by: Evans, J, and Rhys, J. (eds.) (1893, repr. 1979) *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv. Reproduced from the Gwysaney Manuscript*. Aberystwyth: The National Library of Wales Press, pp. 78-86. Evans and Rhys supplied a table with the variant readings in the *Vespasian* legendary. These can be found on pages 358 to 362. The translated passages were taken and adapted from Rees, W. (ed. and trans.) (1853) *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*. London: Longman. The *Life* of Dubricius in the *Vespasian* legendary will be referred to, henceforth, as *VDuI*.

<sup>2</sup> See IV.3.1. of this thesis.

<sup>3</sup> Henceforth *VS*. There is also a version of a *Life* of Samson in the Book of Llandaff, based on the Breton *Life*, which received some modifications in order to add relevant insular information related to the diocese of Llandaff (cf. Duine 1918: 275). For the *VS*, see sections II.1.3. (footnote 18) and IV.3. (footnotes 13 and 14).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *VS*, §13.

rededication of the church of Llandaff to SS. Dubricius and Oudoceus was probably meant to establish Llandaff's claims to the churches dedicated to these three saints in and around the region of Glamorgan (cf. Baring-Gould 1907: 232, Duine 1918: 367, Brooke 1958: 218-219).

The *Vespasian* legendary contains two different *Lives* of Dubricius, one by an anonymous writer, which will be discussed in detail below (ff. 56 – 60v), and the other one by Benedict of Gloucester.<sup>5</sup> The texts of both *Vitae* are very similar in what concerns Dubricius' early life, although for the latter career of the saint, Benedict of Gloucester draws largely on Geoffrey of Monmouth's *HRB*, an influence absent in the anonymous *Life*.<sup>6</sup> The *VDuI* contains all the indications for a Llandaff provenance: a similar text is also found with some minor but relevant differences in the Book of Llandaff, in a text which some have considered "older and better" than the *Vespasian Life* (cf. Davies 1947: 142).<sup>7</sup> The immediate reason for the composition of the *LL VDu* seems to have been the *translatio* of Dubricius' corporeal remains from Bardsey Island to Llandaff, an enterprise coordinated by Bishop Urban in 1120 and described in detail in the end of the *Life*. The *translatio* provides a *terminus post quem* for this *Life*'s composition. The *LL VDu* follows, moreover, the canonical procedures instituted by twelfth-century Church reformers of mentioning the election of a bishop by the members of the clergy *and* by the people, which can only be found in Welsh documents from the 1120s onwards (cf. W. Davies 1976a: 57-58). This was kept by the scribe of the *VDuI*. The *LL VDu* also seems to be earlier than Geoffrey of Monmouth's *HRB*, finished sometime between 1135 and 1138.<sup>8</sup> It shows, differently from the version written by Benedict of Gloucester, no perceivable influence from his text. The *VDuI* reproduces the account of the *translatio* of Dubricius relics from the *LL VDu*. The *Vespasian* scribe, however, betrays his working with a perhaps borrowed *libellus* containing the *LL VDu* – or a very similar text to it – because he

<sup>5</sup> This will be discussed in section IV.7. of this thesis and will be referred to, henceforth, as *VDu2*.

<sup>6</sup> The rubric heading of this *Life* in *Vespasian* reads "*Incipit Vita sancti Dubritii Archiepiscopi Urbis Legionum xviii. kl' Dec*" which shows that the rubricator was aware of the title of Archbishop of Caerleon given to Dubricius by Geoffrey of Monmouth in his *HRB*. The rubric heading of the *LL Life* dates from the late fifteenth century and reads "*Lectioes de uita sancti Dubricii*" (cf. Huws 2000: 152, J. Davies 2003: 111).

<sup>7</sup> I will henceforth refer to the *Life* of Dubricius in the *LL* as *LL VDu*. For the production of the Book of Llandaff, see the introductory words in Evans, J. and Rhys, J. (eds.) (1893, repr. 1979) *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv. Reproduced from the Gwysaney Manuscript*. Aberystwyth: The National Library of Wales Press. See, also, Loth 1893: 81-85, 277-286, 438-446, Brooke 1958: 201-243, *idem* 1963: 258-320, W. Davies 1973: 335-351, *idem* 1976a: 53-73, Brooke 1986: 1-127; J. Davies 2003.

<sup>8</sup> The estimated date of composition of Geoffrey's *HRB* is 1135 x 1138. For the dating of the *HRB*, see Griscom 1926: 129-156, Tatlock 1950: 434. The existing scholarly literature on Geoffrey's *Historia*, its functions and purposes, in the context of twelfth-century ecclesiastical and political history, is huge and varied. For this, see: Tatlock 1931: 206-224, Parry 1938: 271-277, Hanning 1966: 121-176, Ditmas 1972: 451-461, Roberts 1976: 29-40, Meehan 1978: 36-46, Miller 1978: 373-389, Flint 1979: 447-468, Ashe 1981: 301-23, Padel 1984: 1-27, Wright 1984; *idem* 1986: 27-59, Crick 1986: 157-161, Gillingham 1991: 99-118, Fries 1998: 88-99, Robertson 1998: 42-57. For studies on Geoffrey's *HRB* (from a Breton perspective), see: Fleuriot 1974: 1-6, *idem* 1974: 31-41, *idem* 1981: 197-213, *idem* 1985: 225-234, *idem* 1987a: 7-28, *idem* 1987b: 97-119.

copies, inadvertently, the “ualete” at the ends of the *Life*, the final farewell words indicating an exchange of material between two houses. This suggests, at first, that the *Vespasian Life* was *not* copied at Llandaff although the source *Life* might have come from that house. The same copying of a concluding farewell happened in the end of the *Life* of Teilo, a fact noted by Kathleen Hughes (1958: 196). This shows that, for the compilation of the *Vespasian* legendary, Saints’ *Lives* were borrowed from other monasteries and that the scriptorium at Llandaff was one of important contributor. Judging from the claims found in the *LL VDu* as to the birth of Dubricius in the region of Eryng (English Archenfield) and the emphasis on his royal descendent from a king of that region, it could also be inferred that the *LL VDu* mirrors the disputes between the dioceses of Llandaff and Hereford over the regions of Eryng and Ewyas,<sup>9</sup> attested by Urban’s appeals to Rome found in the Book of Llandaff<sup>10</sup> and corroborated by the reference to Urban’s appeal to Pope Honorius II in 1128 by Florence of Worcester in his *Chronicon ex Chronicis*.<sup>11</sup>

The relationship between the *LL VDu* and the production of the *LL* has imposed, however, serious problems to scholars, especially in what concerned the dating of the various hands that wrote down the *LL*. Kathleen Hughes, writing in 1958, believed that the *LL VDu* post-dated the death of Urban in 1134. Her view seems to have been based on Christopher Brooke’s article published in that same year that the *Life*’s reference to Urban, in the *translatio*, as a *uir bone memorie* “certainly means that he was dead” when the *Life* was finished (Brooke 1958: 204, cf. Hughes 1958: 193). Although allowing for the possibility that this sentence could have been an addition made by the compiler of the *LL*, Brooke carried out his assumption because, for him, this date agreed with his estimation that the main hand that wrote the *LL*

---

<sup>9</sup> John Reuben Davies pointed out to the connection between the text *De primo statu Landauensis ecclesie* and the *Life* of Dubricius which follows it (in the Book of Llandaff). Both texts lay much emphasis on the connection between Dubricius and Efrddyl, a saint venerated in Eryng, said in the *Life* to have been Dubricius’ mother. In the context of the production of the *LL*, this emphasis is explained by the interests of Llandaff in the region of Eryng against the claims of Hereford (cf. Davies 2003: 78-80).

<sup>10</sup> “*Millesimo centesimo uigesimo octavo Incarnationis Dominicae anno, Vrbanus Landauensis Episcopus Romam requisivit cum clericis suis, inuitatis Episcopis Bernardo Minvensi Episcopo et Ricardo Herfortensi, cum facta ab eo appellatione in pleno concilio, facta Lundoniae, presente Willelmo Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo. Et audita sua querimonia a beato Honorio Papa, et a Romano conuentu, rediit saisitus de parrochia Guhir, Cetgueli, Cantrebican, et Ercycg; et ita inuestitus per manum Apostolicam, et data sibi in monumento inuestiturae baculo suo, et cum datis litteris Archiepiscopo W[illelmo], Regi Henrico, et parrochianis, simul et priuilegio*” (*LL*, Haddan and Stubbs, Vol. I, p. 321).

<sup>11</sup> “*Urbanus Glamorgatensis seu Landavensis Episcopus, quia de quarundam rerum querelis, quas anno praeterito in generali concilio super Bernardum Episcopum de Sancto David promoverat, non juste erga se agi persenserat, emensa festiuitate Purificationis Sanctae Mariae, mare transiit, Romam iuit, Apostolico Papae causam itineris certa attestazione suorum intimavit; cuius idem Apostolicus votis ac dictis favit, et Regi Anglorum Henrico et Willelmo Archiepiscopo et omnibus Angliae Episcopis litteras direxit, omnibus Apostolica mandans auctoritate ut justae exactioni illius nemo obstaret in aliquo*” (Contin. Flor. Wig. in an. 1128, Haddan and Stubbs, Vol. I, p. 321).

should be dated to between 1134 and 1140. Brooke considered 1140 as the latest possible date for the composition of the *LL* due to the fact that the *LL* provided no entry related to the consecration of Urban's successor, Uhtred, in 1140. He believed that the *LL* was produced to supply Urban's successor with a detailed account of his achievements during the time of his episcopacy (cf. Brooke 1958: 204-205, 218-219). Wendy Davies' exhaustive studies on the composition and style of the *LL* have brought forth, however, new suggestions as to the relationship between the texts. Carefully examining the hands and the contents of the *LL*, Davies argued that the *LL* was a product of Urban's episcopate and that it should be seen as a "part of his expansionist policy" (Davies 1973: 339). According to her, the narrative work of hand A – the hand responsible for the copying of the description of Llandaff's foundation, of the *Lives* of Dubricius, Teilo and Oudoceus, and of the charters recording the grants made by secular characters to the three saints – probably represented evidence as that taken to Rome by Urban in 1128/9, mentioned above, to demonstrate the ancientness of his diocese and the rights to the properties granted to Llandaff throughout its history. The work written by hand A contains lists of property claimed by Urban in 1128/29 but *not* retained by Llandaff after papal legates in London and Winchester reversed, in 1133, much that had been confirmed to him previously by the Pope. In view of these facts, Davies argued that the end of Llandaff's vacancy in 1140 after Urban's death seemed to be the latest possible date for the composition of hand A, with a strong likelihood of 1120-1129 (cf. Davies 1973: 339).

Considering the text's mention of Gruffud ap Cynan (d. 1134) as one of the testimonies of the *translatio* of Dubricius' relics to Llandaff and the apparent lack of influence from Geoffrey's *HRB*, it is probable that the *LL VDu* was written in a very short period of time, sometime between 1134 and 1138. The *VDu1* in the *Vespasian* legendary must, consequently, post-date this period. However, although the *VDu1* does not show any influence from Geoffrey's *HRB*, judging from its rubric heading *and* from a passage which, deviating from the *LL VDu*, seems to be an almost verbatim borrowing from the *VDu2*, the scribe was acquainted with Benedict of Gloucester's version of the *Life* of Dubricius. If this can be maintained, it is possible that the *Vespasian* scribe had parallel access to both the *LL VDu* and the *VDu2* when copying the *VDu1*. This would exclude the possibility that the *Vespasian* legendary was composed at Gloucester: there seems to be no justification for a scribe from Gloucester, firstly, to insert both *Lives* in the same legendary – for the sake, one may argue, of preserving two different versions of the life of the saint – and *yet* change one of them to conform with an account of



the other, such as the passage relating to the survival of the saint's mother. This consideration will be discussed in detail in the analysis of the *VDu2*.

#### IV.5.2 Content

The *VDu1* begins by introducing Dubricius' descendants, his grandfather Pebiau, a king of the region of Ergyng, and his mother Eurddil. On a certain occasion, when coming back from a military expedition against his neighbours, Pebiau notices the advanced pregnancy of his daughter and, infuriated, orders her to be put into a sack and cast into a river so "that she might suffer whatever might befall" (*VDu1*, §1).<sup>12</sup> This episode casts light into the hagiographer's understanding of Dubricius and his mother's sanctity, since it represents a kind of *judicial ordeal* which leaves the judgement of the saints to God's will. It anticipates, in the text, their saintly status for they survive their ordeal.<sup>13</sup> The failed attempt of murder leads to another one by *fire*, which Eurddil again survives. This time she is found holding her newly born son in her lap:

*Mane autem facto missis legatis a patre scitum siquid ossium nate residuum foret. Inuenerunt eam incolumem filiumque quem in medio pire pepererat iuxta saxum quod ibidem testimonium natiuitatis pueri positum est. In gremium tenentem, uestibus illius atque capillis ab omni combustione illesis. Locus autem a uulgo Matle apellatus est.*

In the following morning, the messengers who had been sent by her father to ascertain whether any of the bones of his daughter remained, found her untouched, holding her son in her lap, in the middle of the spot where a stone was placed in testimony of the nativity of the boy, who had his clothes and hair untouched by the whole fire. And the place is called Madley (*VDu1*, §1).<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup> "Quidam rex [fuit] Ercychi regionis Pepiau nomine Clauorauc uocatus brittanice, latine uero spumosus, qui super inimicos suos iuit in expeditione et inde rediens precepit filie sue Eurddil ut ablueret sibi caput quod cum conaretur percepit exipsius grauitate fuisse pregnantem. Unde rex iratus iussit illam includi inutro quodam et precipitari influuium ut cunquoque sors uoluisset deferetur." [There was a certain King of the region of Ergyng of the name of Pebiau, called in the British tongue Claforawg, and in Latin, Spumosus, who undertook an expedition against his enemies, and returning from thence he ordered his daughter Eurddil to wash his head, which, when she endeavoured to do, he perceived from her enlarged form, that she was pregnant. The King therefore being angry, ordered her to be put into a sack, and cast headlong into the river, that she might suffer whatever might befall] (*VDu1*, §1).

<sup>13</sup> For the idea of God's *judgment* in some of the tribulations experienced by Breton, Irish and Welsh saints in Saints' *Lives*, see Millin 1989: 125-140 and Merdrignac 1995: 74-92.

<sup>14</sup> This passage is expanded in the *VDu1*: the details of the boy's clothes and hair, absent from the *LL VDu*, were taken almost verbatim from Benedict of Gloucester's *Life* of Dubricius *or*, as it is also possible, from a text very similar to his.<sup>14</sup> As Gwenogvryn Evans correctly indicated, the expansion in the *VDu1* was made by a different hand that filled the space left by the original scribe, compressing the text which consequently spread outside both margins (cf. Evans 1893: 359). In the *LL VDu*, this passage reads: "*Mane autem facto missis legatis a patre scitum siquid ossium nate residuum foret, tenentem filium ingremio quem pepererat adsaxum quod ibidem positum est in testimonium mire natiuitatis pueris. Locus autem a uulgo Matle apellatus est.*" An omission mark was inserted after "foret" pointing to the words "eam inuenerunt" in the margin. This marginal addition was done by a different, probably later, hand. In the *VDu2*, this passage reads: "*In crastino autem mane dum funditus rebatur socis exusta, missis a patre legatis scitum siquid ossium genite inustum remaneret. Inuenerunt eam incolumem filiumque quem in medio pire pepererat tenentem in gremio, uestibus illius atque capillis ab omni*

Survival from fire symbolises for both Dubricius and his mother a process of acceptance and/or purification. Fire is an element which fulfills, in the Bible, the divine command of God, symbolising not only God's judgment, as in the case when fire falling from heaven destroys men and their creations (e.g. the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah in Gen 19: 1-38) but it is also seen as a sign of God's acceptance of men's oblations (cf. Lev 9: 10). It is only after their ordeal that the boy is able to perform his first miracle: both are brought to Pebiau and the king is wonderfully healed from an incurable disease by taking his grandson in his arms. Changing his attitude towards his daughter and grandson, he makes the infant the heir of his nativity place, Madley, in the region called *Ynys Eurddil*, the Island of Eurddil. This is modern *Ynys Efrddyl*, on the banks of the Wye.<sup>15</sup>

A short description of Dubricius' education then follows, with emphasis on the motif of the *puer senex*.<sup>16</sup> After becoming a man in "growth, age, and wisdom" his fame spreads throughout Britain and many religious men seek his company for the sake of religious education. Afterwards, the hagiographer relates how Dubricius, staying for another period of time in the district of *Ynys Efrddyl*, instructed his disciples in religious studies. In this district, an angel of God appears to him one day, instructing him to look for a white sow with piglets that would show the site on which he should build an oratory and a habitation – *oraculum* and *habitaculum* – in the name of the Holy Trinity.<sup>17</sup> The motif of an animal that shows the site of a religious habitation or a dwelling place appears in both biblical and classical writings. In the Bible, cows bring the Ark of the Covenant to an appropriate place (cf. 1 Sam 6: 10-14), whereas in Virgil, for example, a white sow with thirty piglets is the divine sign given to Aeneas as to the place where he should build his city after reaching Italy (cf. *Aeneid*, Bk. III, ll. 390-396). After these things have been accomplished, a list of Dubricius' miracles

---

*combustione illesis. Pergrande namque saxum iuxta quod enixa est filium in ostensionem nativitatem pueri ibidem positum est. Locus autem in quo puer ortus est Britanice Matle appellatus est.*" See section IV.7. of this thesis.

<sup>15</sup> "[...] *et de loco illo Matle, scilicet, mat, bonus, le, locus, inde Matle hoc est bonus locus, fecit illum hereditarium cum tota insula, sumpto sibi nomine a matre Eurdil, id est, Inis Ebrdil, que ab aliis uocatur Mais Mail Lochou.*" [...] and of that place, Madley, that is, Mad, good, le, place, and whence Madley, a good place, he made him heir; and also of the whole island, which took its name from his mother Eurddil, that is, Ynys Eurddil, which by others is called Maes Mail Lecheu] (*VDuI*, §2).

<sup>16</sup> "*Et quamuis puer etate, uir maturus statim cum magna prudentia et scientie eloquentia.*" [Although a child in age, he was soon a man in maturity] (*VDuI*, §2).

<sup>17</sup> "[...] *precedente nocte apparuit ei angelus per sompnum dicens ei, locum proposuisti et elegisti in crastino uade ut circue pertotum et ubicunque inueneris suam albi coloris cubantem cum suis porcellis, ibi funda et conde in nomine sancte Trinitatis habitaculum simul et oraculum.*" [...] during the preceding night, an angel of the Lord appeared to him in a dream, and said, "See that thou, on the morrow, go all round the place which thou hast proposed and chosen, and where thou wilt see a white sow lying with her pigs, there lay a foundation, and build in the name of the Holy Trinity a habitation, and an oratory] (*VDuI*, §3). Both terms *oraculum* and *habitaculum* find parallels in the Breton *Lives* of Samson and Paul Aurelian (cf. J. Davies 2003: 112).

modelled on Christ's miracles in the Gospels is given. Afterwards, in a passage taken from the VS, the hagiographer tells how Samson was ordained deacon, priest, and bishop, respectively, by Dubricius. Interestingly, the reason for Dubricius' visit to the monastery of St. Illtud is said to have been the need to correct "what wanted amendment and confirm what should be observed," since the many clergy who resided there were affected with envy.<sup>18</sup> A very similar sentence is found in the LL in a bull of Pope Honorius II to Bishop Urban, concerning the territorial disputes between Llandaff, St. David's and Hereford. This establishes, again, a connection between the production of the *VDuI* / *LL VDu* and Llandaff (cf. *LL*, p. 579, ed. Rees).

The only secular ruler who figures in the *VDuI* is then introduced. A wealthy man named Gwyddgeneu beseeches the saint to cure his daughter. Dubricius, right after this healing episode, being described as a man of old age, resigns his office and retires to live as a hermit in the Island of Bardsey. There he finishes his life, in an island described as the burial place of twenty thousand holy confessors and martyrs.<sup>19</sup> In the short description of the island,<sup>20</sup> a series of well-known motifs from classic literature and folkloric tales is employed which connects Bardsey Island with the image of the paradise island: a fertile land, visited by dolphins, free from serpents and frogs and where no one died in the life time of a brother who

---

<sup>18</sup> "[...] uir beate memorie, Dubricius, uisitauit locum beati Illuti tempore quadragesimali ut que emendanda corrigeret, seruanda consolidaret. Ibidem enim multi conuersabantur sanctissimi uiri, multi quodam liuore decepti." [...] Dubricius of blessed memory visited the residency of St. Illtud, in the season of Lent, that he might correct what wanted amendment and confirm what should be observed. For there resided at the place many very holy persons, and also many who were affected with envy] (*VDuI*, §4).

<sup>19</sup> "*Videns beatus uir uitam suam non sufficientem sibi ipsi et populo, infirmitatibus quibusdam et senio fatigatus laboriosum opus episcopii dereliquit et heremitalem uitam cum pluribus sanctis uiris et discipulis suis labore manuum suarum uiuentibus in insula Enli multis annis solitarie uixit et uitam gloriose finiuit, que more britannico uocatur et antiquitus et in prouerbio Roma britannice propter longinquitatem et periculosum transitum maris in extremitate regni sita, et propter sanctitatem loci et honestatem cum .xx. milia sanctorum in ibi iaceant corpora tam confessorum quam martirum.*" [The holy man observing that his life was no sufficient for himself and the people, and being weary through infirmities and old age, resigned the laborious office of a bishop, and for many years lived solitarily, leading the life of a hermit, with many holy men and his disciples, who lived by the labour of their hands, in the isle of Bardsey, and there he gloriously ended his life. Which island is, according to the British custom, and anciently, and as a proverb, called the Rome of Britain, on account of the dangerous passage by sea to it, and its distance, being situated at the extremity of the kingdom, and for its sanctity, because there were buried therein the bodies of twenty thousand holy confessors and martyrs] (*VDuI*, §7).

<sup>20</sup> "*Illa quidem insula cum sit circumdata undique mari et eminenti promontorio orientali plaga, occidentali uero plana et fertili gleba, humida fonte dulcifluo et partim maritima, et delfinis copiosa que omni caret serpente et omni rana et in qua nullus fratrum in ea conuersantium iunior quidem morte preoccupatur cum senior super est et hac presenti uita.*" [...] That island was surrounded on all sides by sea, having a lofty promontory on the eastern side, and its western coast plain and fertile with a sweet flowing fountain; was partly maritime and abounded with dolphins; was completely free from serpents and frogs, and no one died therein in the life time of a brother who was older than himself] (*VDuI*, §7). The description of Bardsey Island is found almost verbatim in the *Life* of Edgar the Hermit in the Book of Llandaff, in a handwriting which is, according to Doble, later than that of the *Life* of Dubricius in the same book (cf. Doble 1971: 76).

was older than himself.<sup>21</sup> A short note is then given by the hagiographer on the records of the saint's miracles which were either destroyed by "enemies" or carried away by "banished citizens."<sup>22</sup> The hagiographer, finally, implies that he had had as sources writings found in the sepulchres of holy men in Bardsey and the writings of "very ancient authors."<sup>23</sup> Dubricius died, according to the *Life*, on November 14 of the year 612, a date also recorded in the *Annales Cambriae*.<sup>24</sup> There follows then the description of the removal of his relics from Bardsey Island to Llandaff on May 7, their arrival at Llandaff on May 23, an account of the miracles that took place before the altar of St. Peter, and the date when the great monastery of Llandaff began to be built under the auspices of Urban on April 14.

### IV.5.3 Structural analysis of the encounter-episodes

#### IV.5.3.1 The secular characters in the *in vita* section of the *VDuI*

##### IV.5.3.1.1 Gwyddgeneu and Arganhell

As mentioned before, the only secular character to figure in the *VDuI* is a wealthy man named Gwyddgeneu, whose daughter Arganhell was possessed by a demon:

*Confugientibus populis ex solito ad beatum uirum Dubricium et recuperantibus sanitatem animarum et corporum. Aduenit quidam potens uir regali prosapia procreatus Guidguetiuai, orans et flexis genibus ut filiam suam Arganhell nomine captam a demonio liberaret que in tantum uexabatur quod uix funibus cum ligatis manibus poterat retineri quin mergeretur flumine quin comburetur igne quin consumeret omnia sibi adherentia dente. [...] Audita prece prius patris orauit ad Dominum et effusis lacrimis procidens in terram deprecatus est Deum ut intercessione beati Petri apostolorum principis omniumque sanctorum succurreret languenti. [...] Ieuacuato maligno spiritu cum recuperata sanitate et plenaria scientia [...]*

<sup>21</sup> The motif finds parallels in Wrdisten's Breton *Life* of Saint Guénolé written during the ninth century. In Wrdisten's account, in the monastery of Landévennec, in Brittany, elderly monks related to him that the monks used to die in order of age, no young monk dying before the death of an older one: "*Sed tamen hoc ne unquam oblivioni tradatur, quod nemo in eodem loco potuit mori, nisi senectute gravaretur, mors enim nequaquam illuc intrare permittebatur, senectus autem aetate succedente vetari non valebat, libet hoc interserere loco*" (*Vita Winwaloe*, Lib. II, § 26).

<sup>22</sup> "[...] quippe cum fuerint aut ignibus hostium exusta aut exilij ciuium classe longius deportata." [...] because they were either consumed by the fires of the enemy or carried away to a far distance in the fleet of citizens when banished] (*VDuI*, §7).

<sup>23</sup> "*Quod uero postmodum inuestigatum est et adquisitum monimentis seniorum et antiquissimis scriptis litterarum [...]*" [But what were afterwards discovered and obtained from the monumental tombs of old persons, and the writings of very ancient authors [...]] (*VDuI*, §7).

<sup>24</sup> "*Conthigirni obtius, et Dibric episcopi*" (*AC* (B), s.a. 612). This would make Dubricius almost two hundred years old, if the saint had really been a contemporary of St. Germanus of Auxerre, as the hagiographer first affirmed in the *De primo statu Landauensis ecclesiae*.

As the people were, according to custom, flying for succour from St. Dubricius, and recovering the health of their souls and bodies, there came a certain wealthy man, descended from royal ancestors, named Gwyddgeneu, beseeching him on bended knees, that he would release his daughter Arganhell, who was possessed by a demon, and was so far afflicted, that when her hands were bound with cords, one could hardly hold her from being drowned in the river, or burnt in the fire, or from destroying every thing about her with her teeth. [...] The pious father having heard his entreaty, prayed to the Lord, and falling to the ground with flowing tears, besought God that by the intercession of saint Peter the prince of the apostles, and of all the saints, he would succour the diseased. [...] the evil spirit completely left her, her health and entire reason were recovered [...] (*VDuI*, §7).

This episode follows, structurally, a list of evangelical miracles ascribed to Dubricius by his hagiographer throughout the *Life*. The *VDuI* extensively quotes Dubricius' miracles modeled on the Gospels written by the Evangelists: firstly, Dubricius heals his grandfather as a child by means of his *touch*; he is said to have healed the sick from various diseases; he helps Samson to fill the empty vessels of the cellars with wine, in an episode replicating Christ's miracle in the Galilean town of Cana. The exorcism at the end crowns his imitation of Christ for Christ is, in the message conveyed by the Gospels, the "supreme exorcist" as referred to in Mt 4: 24 and Mr 1: 27 (cf. Vatter 1978: 41).

The *Life's* main goal is, in fact, to edify Dubricius' acts to the detriment, as it seems, of an established model of Welsh hagiography begun by Rhygyfarch and Lifris in the end of the eleventh century. In this, the *Lives* connected to Llandaff seem to have been the precursors. From contextually insignificant and sparse mentions of the devil's influence found in some of the *Lives*, such as the *Life* of Cadog and the *Life* of Gwynllyw,<sup>25</sup> the sphere of the devil, through a consequent working with the concept of the *imitatio Christi*, is significantly enlarged. Evilness does not appear as a matter of the devil's *dissuasion* anymore, but of the devil's ultimate possession of a person who needs be, consequently, healed. Gwyddgeneu epitomises, therefore, the *faithful* person who seeks God's intercession before one of His disciples. The practiced exorcism by Dubricius on Arganhell crowns Dubricius' career. His retirement as a hermit and his death – a reward for his earthly achievements – closes his earthly life. It seems that in the absence of traditions relating Dubricius to secular regional figures, the hagiographer resorts to well-known Christian miracles to accentuate Dubricius' holiness. His choice of an exorcism miracle represents a modernisation of the miraculous, as it were, in that it follows current twelfth-century practices in the Western Church of increasing the number of tomb and medical miracles to the detriment of punitive and vindictive miracles. This topic will be much more elaborate in the final section of this thesis.

---

<sup>25</sup> *VCI*, §26 and *VGu*, §14.

#### IV.5.3.2 Posthumous miracles in the *VDuI*

The *post-mortem* section in the *VDuI* corresponds, in fact, to the account of the *translatio* of Dubricius' relics from Bardsey Island to Llandaff. Accounts of *translationes* are a hagiographical genre on their own and follow their own internal rulers. As mentioned previously, the event of a *translatio* normally marks the necessity for the production of a Saint's *Life* and this kind of hagiographical writing is the one with the greater propagandistic intention from the part of a religious community. The hagiographer commits this historical moment to writing, ascertaining not only the solemnity of the act in religious terms – by explicitly referring to the miracles that took place before the altar when the relics were brought into the church – but also ascertaining the political importance of the event by naming secular figures who took part in the ceremony: in this case, Gruffudd ap Cynan (d. 1134), king of Gwynedd in north Wales, is said to have been present at the event of the *translatio*.

Apart from the list mentioning ecclesiastical and political personalities, no story is elaborated that resembles the rather historiographic activity found in the *post-mortem* sections of other *Vespasian Saints' Lives* such as the *Lives* of Gwynllyw and Illtud, for example. Similar to the miracles told in the *post-mortem* sections of those *Lives* is, nonetheless, the symbolic interpretation of a natural phenomenon to the power of the saint, in this case, to the power of the saint's relics: after a period of draught, it rains again in Glamorgan when the relics reach Llandaff.<sup>26</sup>

The nature of the other miracles is telling of an attitude towards the miraculous which, as I have been arguing, might have represented a change in the cultic practices at Llandaff during the time of Bishop Urban, in the sense that there is a conscious attempt to bolster the cult of the saint by means of emphasising, among all other miracles, the miracles taking place at the *tomb* of the saint and/or the church's altar:

---

<sup>26</sup> “[...] *et in cuius aduentu (i.e. reliquiarum copia) fit pluuiæ copiosa, multum populo necessaria; nam non pluerat octo septimanas a Deo amplius antea pertotam parochiam Gulatmorcanensem; nec etiam stillaverat gutta.*” [...] on whose arrival (i.e. the abundance of relics) which was much wanted by the people, for God had not willed that it rained even a drop for seven weeks and throughout the district of Glamorgan] (*VDuI*, §8).

*«In» quarta etiam noni eiusdem mensis et in quarta feria idem predictus episcopus, uir bone memorie, et post laborem et pre tanto et ecclesie sue gaudio adepto pro tanto patrono, et facto ieiunio et oratione finita, aduocauit canonicos suos «et» fratrem scilicet Esni decanum eiusdem ecclesie uirum castimonie et summe prudentie. Cappellanumque suum Isaac nomine uirum magne astucie et ualentie. Et appositis solo sacris reliquiis beati Dubricii, et locatis ad unum ut prepararentur pro tanto itinere et separato; et missis **propriis suis manibus** [...] in tria baccinia **ante altare** Petri apostoli, et sanctorum confessorum Dubricii, Teliui, Odocei, **statim intinctis sacris reliquiis ebulliuit aqua undique, miro modo ac ueluti immisso grandi calido et rubeo lapide.** Non tantum pro ebullitione multimoda per totum bacinium mirabantur stupefacti, uerum et tantam aquam nimium calefactam sentiebant. Nec parua horae aut spatio momenti, sed tam etiam diu alternatim mouebantur ab illis communiter in aqua, quamdiu usque ad finem ablutionis, crescebat calor in aqua; **non tantum uis et tactu sentiebant miraculum, imo auditus, audientes caloris, et humidi sonitum et tumultum. His visis, auditis, et tactis, ut est** “mirabilis Dominus in sanctis suis,” accepit **Episcopus unum os de brachio,** et prae nimio gaudio remisit in aquam, et missum ad fundum aquae mouit se in fundo, nullo se movent nisi diuino tutamine, per unam horam. Quod cum uidisset solus imprimis **aduocauit Decanum sibi adhaerentem, ut uideret ossis et aquae motionem, simul et capellanum; et referunt grates Deo (ut in ore duorum aut trium sit omne testimonium) pro tanto miraculo.***

And already in the fourth (week) of the ninth month and on the forth feast-day, the above-mentioned bishop, a man of good memory, was, together with his church, filled with great joy for the great patron after the service, after fasting and in the end of his his prayers, he called his clergy to him, surely the brother Esni, deacon of this church, a pure and prudent man as well as his chaplain, called Isaac, a man of much method and bravery. And the sacred relics of St. Dubricius being laid on the ground, were placed together that they might be prepared, the dust separated, and be washed with water after so long a journey. Being put **with their own hands** [...] into three basins **before the altar** of Peter the apostle, and the holy confessors Dubricius, Teilo, and Oudoceus, **immediately, by the touch of the holy relics, the water bubbled on all sides in a marvellous manner, as if a great red hot stone had been thrown into it.** And they did not only wonder, being amazed at the various ebullitions throughout the whole bason, but also because they perceived the water to be very hot. Not only for a short time, or space of a moment, but also, so long the water increased in heat to the end of the ablution; **and not only the sight and touch perceived this miracle, but the hearing likewise, for the sound of the bubbling of the heated liquid was heard.** Those things having been seen, heard, and felt, as the ‘Lord is wonderful among his saints,’ the Bishop took a bone of the arm, and hanging it, for great joy put it into the water, and when it was at the bottom of the water, it moved itself there for the space of more than an hour, no one moving it but the power of God. Which he alone having at first seen, **he called the Dean to him, who was near, that he might see the moving of the bone, and water, and also the Chaplain; as every testimony should be in the mouth of two or three witnesses; and they thanked God for so great a miracle** (VDu1, §8 and 9) [my emphasis].

As the passages in bold demonstrate, much care is taken to accentuate not only the location of the relics before the altar but also, most significantly, the miraculous phenomena which can be perceived by means of *three senses* – sight, touch and hearing: their importance for the apprehension of the miracle is recognised by the hagiographer’s insistence in this aspect. It brings about the miraculous experience not only to the more ordinary level of seeing and, consequently, accepting a miracle, but also of experiencing it with most of the human senses. This is, on the other hand, strengthened by the emphasis on the *testimonies*: the testimony of a single individual is understood to have less credit than those of three people, an idea borrowed from Deut 19: 15 and found again repeated in Mt 18: 16.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> “Non stabit testis unus contra aliquem, quidquid illud peccati, et facinoris fuerit: sed in ore duorum aut trium testium stabit omne verbum.” [One witness shall not rise up against any man, whatsoever the sin or wickedness be: but in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall stand] (Deut 19: 15); “Si autem te non audierit, adhibe tecum adhuc unum, vel duos, ut in ore duorum, vel trium testium stet omne verbum.” [And if he will not

This *translatio* account works, at the literary level, as a counterpart to the attitudes towards the miraculous seen in most of the other *Vespasian Lives*. In the *Lives* connected to Llandaff, as pointed out in the analysis of the *VTeI*, the recourse to New Testamentary models is much stronger than in the other ones. Instead of reworking on strong Old Testamentary ideas of punishment, the hagiographers recur to the New Testament, to Christ's deeds as narrated in the Gospels and in the epistles of the Apostles, stressing the possibility of salvation for those who have faith in Christ and his disciples. However, and most importantly, it shows the adaptation of a concept of miraculous acceptance taking place at Llandaff, probably influenced by the contacts to the Papal curia established during the time of Urban in his appeals against St. David's and Hereford.

---

hear thee, take with thee one or two more: that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may stand] (Mt 18: 16). The recourse to the testimonies, with their position in the church's hierarchy and the mention of their names is part of a development in the formalization of cultic practices which boomed during the twelfth century. This can be neatly followed in contemporary English *Lives* and collections of miracles, as for example, in Reginald of Durham's *Libellus de Admirandis beati Cuthberti Virtutibus* written in the 1160s. Reginald adapted many of Cuthbert's miracles told previously in Bede's *Life* of Cuthbert, specifying the testimonies of contemporary healing miracles performed by St. Cuthbert (cf. Crumplin 2005: 182-183).



## IV.6 The *Life* of Saint David by Rhygyfarch

### IV.6.1 Dating and authorship

The *Life* of St. David<sup>1</sup> (ff. 61r – 70v) in the *Vespasian* legendary is attributed to Rhygyfarch (ca. 1056/7-1099), who left his name in a colophon at the end of the *VD*.<sup>2</sup> Rhygyfarch was one of the sons of Bishop Sulien of St. David's.<sup>3</sup> He and his brothers belonged to a highly literate class, whose works have survived in the form of poems, martyrologies, and other writings (cf. Lloyd 1941: 1-6, idem 1948: 459-461). Their main monastery was that of Llanbadarn Fawr, south of Aberystwyth in Ceredigion.<sup>4</sup>

Apart from the *VD* in the *Vespasian* legendary, shorter texts of Rhygyfarch's *VD* survive in manuscripts of the mid or late twelfth century, as is the case with the texts found in the MSS. *Cotton Nero E.I.* and *Digby 112*.<sup>5</sup> There are, moreover, other *Lives* of David surviving in texts by later writers, such as the *Life* of David written by Giraldus Cambrensis (cf. James 1967: xii, Evans 1988: xli) and the Welsh version *Buchedd Dewi*, whose earliest manuscript dates to 1346 (cf. Wade-Evans 1914: 2-4, Vendryes 1928: 141, Chadwick 1958: 136-137). These last two were proved to have been based on Rhygyfarch's *VD*, although both *Lives* present different accounts of some events concerning the life of the saint (ibidem, cf. also Bowen 1983: 9, Evans 1988: xlii). I already discussed the problematic dating and, to some extent, the problematic composition of the *Life* of David in relationship to Lifris' *Life* of St. Cadog in the section dedicated to the *VCI*.<sup>6</sup> Scholars disagree as to which of these *Lives* is the earliest.

---

<sup>1</sup> For the earliest extant references to David, the famous sixth-century missionary and patron-saint of Wales, and his significance in the context of the early Welsh Church, see Dumville 2000: 1-41, Wooding 2007: 1-19. One of the oldest references to St. David found in the Breton *Vita Pauli Aureliani* by Wrmonoc (ca. ninth century), calls him *aquaticus*, which seems to have been related to the known austerity of the saint of only drinking water during his lifetime. *Aquaticus* is a term also employed in the surviving recensions of the *Life* of David so that this epithet might have been based on existing traditions on David circulating in Brittany and Wales (cf. Duine 1918: 365). The edition and translation used for the *VD* are from: Wade-Evans, A. (ed. and trans.) (1914) *Vita Sancti David per Ricemarchum*. Stow-on-the-Wold: J.H. Alden and Wade-Evans, A. (ed. and trans.) (1944) *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. All the collated passages quoted are from: James, J. (ed. and trans.) (1967) *Rhygyfarch's Life of St. David*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

<sup>2</sup> "*Michi autem, qui Ricemarchus nominor, quique ingenioli mei capacitatem his [...] subdidi.*" [And as for myself, who am named Rhygyfarch and who have [...] applied the capacity of my little intelligence to these things [...]] (*VD*, § 67).

<sup>3</sup> Sulien was bishop of St. David's from 1073 to 1078 and, a second time, from 1080 and 1085.

<sup>4</sup> For the situation of Llanbadarn Fawr, of the region of Ceredigion under Norman rule, and of the relationship between the *Life* of David and the *Life* of Padarn, see IV.5.1. of this thesis.

<sup>5</sup> For a full description of these manuscripts, see James 1967: xii. Richard Sharpe (2007: 93) has argued that the versions found in Nero and Digby, which he henceforth calls Nero-Digby, "are in reality one and the same, being two family groups of manuscripts witnessing to what is essentially one text."

<sup>6</sup> See IV.1.1. of this thesis, esp. in relation to the chapters in the *VCI* centering on St. David. These, as I argued, did not belong to the *Life* written by "Lifris" originally, but were inserted sometime before the execution of *Vespasian* legendary.

Arthur Wade-Evans emphasised the occurrence of two main political events during Rhygyfarch's life that might have prompted the production of David's biography: firstly, William the Conqueror's "visit" to the shrine of St. David in 1081 and, secondly, the donation by Rhys ab Tewdwr, the then king of the region of Deheubarth, of the cantref of Pebydiog to St. David's. This donation ensured unprecedented territorial lordship to the bishops of St. David's (cf. Wade-Evans 1914: 1-2). Nora Chadwick conjectured that Sulien, Rhygyfarch's father, was responsible for the meeting between the Conqueror and the Welsh leaders Rhys ab Tewdwr and Gruffudd ap Cynan at St. David's in an attempt to bolster the case for St. David's metropolitan status within the Welsh Church and before the Roman Church (cf. Chadwick 1958: 175-176, Bowen 1983: 15-17, J. Davies 2007: 160). J. W. James, however, saw in that visit no attack on the ecclesiastical independence of St. David's and suggested a date of composition of about 1095, when Anselm, the then Archbishop of Canterbury, was claiming primatial authority over the bishops of Llandaff and St. David's (cf. James 1967: xi).

The most important point to bear in mind is that both the *VD* and the *VCI*, regardless of which is the oldest, are the earliest surviving Saints' *Lives* from Wales and have subsequently influenced the production of saintly biographies in that country. In this respect, it is highly significant that both *Lives* in the *Vespasian* legendary can be compared in regard to their choices and uses of *secular* characters: whereas the most distinguished characters in the *VCI* are the *Welsh* Arthur and Maelgwn, the *VD* has the *Irish* Baia and his wife as the main opponents to the saint's religious activity. These facts reveal much of the regional influences upon both Lifris, Rhygyfarch and, also, upon their continuators or revisers. It might reveal, moreover, that the *Life* of Cadog, in the context of Welsh hagiography, had a much stronger impact on later Welsh Saints' *Lives* in its choice of characters and elaboration of the encounter-scenes than the *Life* of David.

In 1967, J. W. James offered an edition of Rhygyfarch's *Life* of David that sought to surpass both editions published by Wade-Evans in 1914 and 1944.<sup>7</sup> According to him, the shorter versions of Rhygyfarch's *Life* of David preserved in the mid-twelfth century manuscripts which he examined (i.e. the *Nero-Digby* family group) provided a closer text to Rhygyfarch's original than that found in the *Vespasian VD*, from which Wade-Evans had edited his text. His main point concerned the additions which – he argued – the *VD* received first at St. David's during the time of Bishop Bernard and, second, at the monastery where the *Vespasian*

---

<sup>7</sup> See footnote 1. The 1944 edition is Wade-Evans' *VSB*.

legendary was produced. This he assumed to have been either Brecon or Monmouth Priory (cf. James 1967: xxxi-xxxv).<sup>8</sup> As regards the modifications made during Bernard's time (1115-1148), James mentioned the episode containing the joint travel of David, Padarn and Teilo to Jerusalem. This, he argued, was meant to minimise the role of SS. Padarn and Teilo.

The *Vespasian VD* seems to have indeed modified an already existing episode of the Jerusalem travel in order to bolster the image of David as the most prominent saint in south Wales (cf. James 1967: xxix-xxx). However, this does not necessarily mean, as James assumed, that this episode could not have been written by Rhygyfarch himself.<sup>9</sup> As shown by Richard Sharpe, James' assumptions here are at odds with his own analyses of the manuscripts' transmission: if James were right in suggesting that Bernard's modifications to Rhygyfarch's *Life* of David are reflected in the mid-twelfth century manuscripts which he examined, then "whatever Bernard *omitted* from the story [of the Jerusalem-episode] must be irrecoverable. What we read about David's consecration by the patriarch is there still in the Nero-Digby text, §§ 44-8; so is his being accompanied by Teilo and Padarn [...]" (Sharpe 2007: 100).

James mentioned, moreover, that the *Vespasian VD* shared several words and phrases with the *Lives* of Gildas and Cadog by Caradoc of Llancarfan and with the *Vespasian Lives* of Cadog, Illtud and Dubricius. By this, he implied that these specific parallels reflected modifications made by the Brecon/Monmouth scribe, being, consequently, not penned by Rhygyfarch. This, again, contradicts his examination of the extant manuscripts. As Sharpe argued, if one explains these verbal parallels in *Vespasian* as having originated due to Caradoc of Llancarfan's authorship (cf. Davies 2000: 109-131), then the work of Caradoc is the proof that the text of the *Life* of David as it survives in the *Vespasian* legendary was already known by Caradoc back in the mid-twelfth century (cf. Sharpe 2007: 99-100). From this evidence, there are no grounds to give priority to the mid-twelfth century texts over the *Vespasian VD* as the original work of Rhygyfarch. One further argument in favour of the *Vespasian VD* was advanced by John Reuben Davies, who also argued for the primacy of the *Vespasian* text over

---

<sup>8</sup> For the discussion on the place where the *Vespasian* legendary was produced, see III.2.3. of this thesis. David Kirby also raised a similar case for the *Life* of David by Rhygyfarch to have been twice modified during the first decades of the twelfth century in relation to the passages bearing on the metropolitan status of St. David's (cf. Kirby 1969: 292-297).

<sup>9</sup> Rhygyfarch mentions a *historia* of St. Padarn as one of his sources. If, as I will argue, the Jerusalem-episode constituted indeed one of the first episodes written by a Llanbadarn author in the form still preserved in the *Vespasian Life* of Padarn then Rhygyfarch's text seems to bear, in fact, strong intertextual relations with it. This would argue for Rhygyfarch to have already modified it for his own purposes.

those of the *Nero* and *Digby* recensions. His main contention is that, based on features of style, vocabulary and content, the *Vespasian* text present a reading that would not fit a mid-twelfth century context, as suggested by James (cf. J. Davies 2007: 156-160). My analyses of the encounter-episodes in the *Vespasian Lives* also point in this direction: the *Lives* of Cadog by Lifris and of David by Rhygyfarch share, in this respect, religious ideas and commonplaces which are seldom found in the *Lives* produced in the middle of the twelfth century, which would argue for their production at the end of the eleventh century.

#### IV.6.2 Content

The *VD* begins with an account of how David's birth was foretold to his father and to St. Patrick thirty years before he was born.<sup>10</sup> His parents are named Sant/Sanctus, who was a ruler in Ceredigion,<sup>11</sup> and Non/Nonnita, who is only described in terms of her beauty and grace. Their names point to the fictitious character of the saint's genealogy. David's conception is attributed to Sant's rape of Nonnita. No negative evaluation of this act is made by the hagiographer, apart from his emphasis of her choice of living a chaste life afterwards.<sup>12</sup> Miraculous accounts surround Nonnita's pregnancy and David's birth, including an episode in which St. Gildas is prevented from preaching in a church due to the presence of the pregnant Nonnita. This emphasises David's superiority over Gildas. Right before David's birth, a certain "tyrant" living in the region, hearing the prophecies of his "magicians" about the birth

---

<sup>10</sup> "*Nam quodam tempore pater eius [...] angelica in somnis monitus audiuit [...] reserues fauum scilicet partemque piscis et cerui, que custodienda filio ex te nascituro trans mitte ad Maucanni monasterium [...]*" [For on a certain occasion, his father [...] was warned in dreams by the voice of an angel [...] reserve a honeycomb, a part of the fish and of the stag, which send to be kept for a son who shall be born of the to the monastery of Maucannus] (*VD*, §2); "*Deinde Patricius, Romanis eruditus disciplinis [...] Ceretice gentis regionem adiit, in qua per aliquantulum temporis conuersatus Demetica intra rura, ibique perlustrans tandem ad locum qui Uallis Rosina nominabatur peruenit, et gratum agnoscens locum deuouit Deo ibi fideliter deseruire. Sed cum hec secum meditando reuolueret, apparuit ei angelus Domini, "Tibi," inquit "non istum locum Deus disposuit sed filio qui nondum est natus nec nisi peractis prius triginta annis nascetur."* [Next, Patrick, experienced in Roman learning [...] came to the country of the people of Ceredigion, where he sojourned a little while. He enters the parts of Dyfed, and there wandering about arrived at length at the place which was named *Vallis Rosina*; and perceiving that the place was pleasant, he vowed to serve God faithfully there. But when he was revolving these things in his mind, and angel of the lord appeared to him, "For thee," said he "God has not disposed this place, but for a son who is not yet born, nor will he born until thirty years are done"] (*VD*, §3).

<sup>11</sup> "*[...] pater eius, meritis et nomine Sanctus, Ceretice gentis regali potentia fretus [...]*" [...] his father, called Sanctus by name and for merits, who exercised royal power over the people of Ceredigion [...] (*VD*, §2).

<sup>12</sup> "*Inuenitque rex obuiam sibi sanctimonialem, nomine Nonnitam uirginem, puellam pulchram nimis et decoram, quam concupiscens tetigit ui oppressam, et concepit fillium suum Dauit agium, que nec antea nec postea uirum agnouit, sed in castitate mentis et corporis perseuerans fidelissimam duxit uitam.*" [And the king met a nun, the virgin called Nonnita, a very beautiful and graceful girl; and lusting after her seized her by force and violated her. And she conceived her son, the holy David, but neither before nor after did she know a man, continuing in chastity of mind and body, and leading a most faithful life [...]] (*VD*, §4).

of David and his future control over the region, decides to kill Nonnita.<sup>13</sup> She miraculously escapes this danger and gives birth to the boy. The hagiographer stresses that the marks of her hands in the stone on which she leaned are still impressed as on wax for those who look at it. This reads like an account elaborated to explain a regional topographical feature connected to the name of the saint.

Details on David's baptism and education are then described, followed by a series of descriptions of the monasteries he founded after he had left his master, called Paulinus. The foundation of his main monastery at St. David's together with "his three most faithful disciples" Aedh, Teilo and Ysrael, and the struggle with the Irish ruler Baia and his wife are then told. This is followed by a detailed account of the monastic life at St. David's and the monks' labours and daily activities. Some episodes follow afterwards describing the miracles performed by David's disciples, his journey to Jerusalem accompanied by Padarn and Teilo and the description of his high place in the Synod of Brefi, held to deal with Pelagianism in Britain.<sup>14</sup> Finally, his death is described amidst the cries of distressed disciples, the choirs of angels and splendid odours which ensue after his body is "taken to heaven."

#### **IV.6.3 Structural analysis of the encounter-episodes**

##### **IV.6.3.1 The secular characters in the *in vita* section of the *VD***

There is only one encounter-scene in the *VD*. This relates to an *Irish* chieftain called Baia and to his wife. The reference to an Irish settler occupying south-west Dyfed finds historical explanation that might have influenced the literary development of a tale relating to the conflicts between the Welsh and Irish settlers in earlier times. During the fifth and sixth centuries, Irish settlers known to modern archeologists and historians as the Deisi, coming from south-eastern Ireland, extensively occupied the region south of Aberaeron down to most of the northern parts of modern Pembrokeshire. This is confirmed by archeological findings, like inscribed stones in Latin and Old Irish and by the survival of a large number of places and farm names of Irish origin (cf. Bowen 1954: 61, Chadwick 1958: 121, Bowen 1983: 35-36). Rhygyfarch's father, Sulien, is known to have had close contacts with Ireland, where he

---

<sup>13</sup> "*Interea quidam ex confinio tyrannus habebatur, qui ex magorum uaticinio audierat filium suis in finibus nasciturum, cuius potestas totam occuparet patriam. Ipse [...] magno inuidie liuore crutiabatur.*" [In the meantime, a certain man in the neighbourhood, who was accounted the lord, had heard from a vaticination of the magicians that a son was about to be born in his borders, whose power should fill the whole country. He [...] was racked with the malice of great envy] (*VD*, §6).

<sup>14</sup> This episode has been discussed in the chapter dedicated to the *Life* of Saint Padarn. See IV. 9. of this thesis.

spent more than ten years completing his religious education. It might have been through him that the Irish element so impregnated the writings of his son and/or the literary tastes at St. David's.<sup>15</sup> Irish monasticism has left a strong impact in most of the *Lives* written in south-west Wales. These impact and influence are also attested in historical writings of earlier dates such as the *HB*, one of whose parts extensively borrowed from Irish chronicles.<sup>16</sup> In the *VD*, this is also attested by the *Irish* origins of two of David's disciples: SS. Aedh and Finnian.<sup>17</sup> Most important than their names, however, is the presence of literary commonplaces found in secular writings from Ireland in the *VD* and how the hagiographer uses them to fit his religious discourse.<sup>18</sup>

#### IV.6.3.1.1 The Irish Baia and his wife

Baia's first appearance in the *VD* is caused by David's arrival with his followers Aedh, Teilo and Ysrael at the *Vallis Rosina*. David lights a fire whose smoke covers the whole of the island, reaching as far as *Ireland*.<sup>19</sup> Baia is then introduced as an "Irish chieftain" and "magician" who inhabits the vicinity of the place where David settles. The words in quotation marks are only found in the *Vespasian VD*. The accounts relating to Baia are much elaborate and reveal a certain care with the literariness of this episode. In the context of other *Vespasian Lives*, the reference to "magicians" is only found in the *VCal* in the circumstance of

<sup>15</sup> The exchanges between Wales and Ireland during the so-called "Age of the saints" can be attested not only in Welsh but also in Irish writings. St. David is a case worth mentioning since some of the earliest references to his name come from Ireland. The *Catalogue of the Saints of Ireland* – dated now to between the mid-eighth century to a later date in the ninth century – mentions that Irish monks received a new liturgy of the Mass from SS. David, Gildas and Docco of Wales. See Haddan & Stubbs 1869: 115, 141. For a discussion of the different "Orders" of Saints described in the *Catalogue*, see Chadwick 1961: 71-80. Docco has been interpreted by some scholars to have been St. Cadog (cf. Watson 1927: 3, Gougaud 1932: 67-70). David's name also appears under March 1 in the Irish martyrologies of *Oengus* and that of *Tallaght* (cf. Bowen 1954: 60, *idem* 1983: 11). Irish *Lives*, like that of St. Finnian, for instance, also attest to the relations that existed between the two countries (cf. 1954: 353-372). See, for example, the *VFi* (p. 222, ed. Stokes) which tells of the joint activities of Finnian, Gildas and Cadog in Wales.

<sup>16</sup> For this, see Dumville 1976a: 345-354, *idem* 1977: 173-192, *idem* 1986: 1-26, *idem* 1994: 406-434.

<sup>17</sup> Aedh can also be spelt Aidan and Aeddán. Aidan is a diminutive coming from Old Irish Oed, later Aedh, Aodh or Haodh (cf. Baring-Gould 1907: 116). St. Aedh is one of the two Irish saints who received a *Life* in the *Vespasian* manuscript, the other one being St. Brendan. The St. Finnian in the *VD* is Saint Finnian of Clonard, called *Findian* in Stokes' edition of his Saint's *Life*. Finnian is also mentioned in the *Life* of Cadog in *Vespasian* (cf. Hughes 1954: 353-372).

<sup>18</sup> I owe much of the important references to Irish secular and religious traditions found in the *VD* to Vendryes' study on Rhygyfarch's *Life* of David (cf. Vendryes 1928: 141-172).

<sup>19</sup> "*Quandam uero die David et tres eius fidelissimi discipuli [...] conueniunt, Aidanus scilicet, Eliud, et Ismahel, pariterque una concorde dilectione locum [...] id est Rosinam Uallem [...] in qua, primo accenso in nomine Domine foco, fumus in summis eleuatus, totam ut apparebat, insulam necnon et Hiberniam circumgirans, implebat.*" [On a certain day David and his three most faithful disciples [...] meet together, to wit, Aeddán, Elydd, and Ysrael, and with one mind they go together to the place [...] *Rosina Vallis* [...] in which place, when the first hearth had been kindled in the name of the Lord, the smoke rose upwards and circling round filled, as it seemed, the whole of the island and Ireland besides] (*VD*, §15).

Carannog's conversion of the Irish.<sup>20</sup> This is relevant because of the numerous Irish references found in Saints' *Lives* written in south-west Wales incorporated into the *Vespasian* legendary<sup>21</sup> and the later addition of the *Lives* of SS. Aedh and Brendan in the legendary.

Baia interprets the smoke as a portent that the kindler of the fire will be more powerful than him in his region, forgetting to eat the meal that his wife had prepared for him. He grieves and resents David's arrival the whole day. Baia's lack of action and resignation is contrasted with the rapid and defensive response of his wife. She, knowing the motives of her husband's grief, urges him to take up arms against the newcomers and to kill them for having settled in their lands without permission. The *Vespasian* text is the only one that gives the *unauthorised settlement* as a reason for killing David and his followers. Another noteworthy difference between *Vespasian* and the *Nero* and *Digby* recensions is the stress on the wife's rage and the elaboration of her speeches. In this and the next passages quoted below, the parts in brackets correspond to those only found in the *Vespasian VD*. They add to the dramatic and moralising character of this scene:

*Cui coniunx [in insania uersam,] "Surge" inquit "acceptaque seruorum turba, [uirum illum et seruos suos ignem accendentes super agros tuos absque precepto tuo,] tale ausos facinus, strictis insecutus gladiis, cunctos interime."* [Uenerunt Baia satellitesque eius ut occiderent David et discipulus eius, sed febris subito per uiam gradientes tenuit eos, nec potuerunt occidere David aut pueros eius, sed blasphemaerunt Dominum et David agium, malaque uerba dixerunt;]<sup>22</sup> *neque enim nocendi uoluntas deerat, quamuis eterno prohibita numine operandi facultas exinaniret. Domum inde regressi, obuiam inuenerunt coniugem. "Pecora" inquit ["nostra et iumenta et oues et omnia animalia mortua sunt." Et lamentauerunt Baia et coniunx eius et tota familia eius ualde, et ululauerunt omnes pariter et dixerunt "Sanctus illi et discipuli eius, quos blasphemauius, mortificauerunt pecora nostra;"]<sup>23</sup> reuertamur itaque, flexisque poplitibus misericordiam postulantes, seruum Dei adoremus ut si uel sic et nostri et pecorum misereatur." Reuertentesque seruum Dei adeunt, lacrimis et orationibus misericordiam petentes, "Terra" inquit "in qua es, tua in sempiternum fiat". [Deditque Baia eadem die David agio totam Rosinam Uallem perpetuo possidendam.] Seruus autem Dei, [David,] respondens benigno animo, "Pecora" inquit "uestra reuiuiscunt." [Inuenitque Baia domum reuersus pecora sua uiua ac sana.]<sup>24</sup>*

<sup>20</sup> In the *VCA1*, the plural form "magi" is used (*VCA1*, §2). See quotation in IV.13.1. of this thesis, footnote 8.

<sup>21</sup> The use of the Latin "satrapa," rendered in the English translation "chieftain," is also unique in the context of the other *Vespasian Saints' Lives*. *Satrapa*, *ae* (also *satrapes*, *ae*) is a word of Greek origin originally meaning a governor of a province or a king's deputy (cf. *Georges*, 'satrapes').

<sup>22</sup> All the other manuscripts read this passage thus: "*Hoc facto, grande pacti scelus ingenti per uiam gradientes febre correpti eneruauere. Viribus tamen inualidi spurcissimis opprobriorum blasphemiis oppugnant.*" [He did so, and the partners in great evil set out; but on the way they were stricken with a fever and became enfeebled. But although deprived of their strength, they assailed them with the filthiest and most blasphemous taunt [...]] (*VD*, §16, ed. James).

<sup>23</sup> All the other manuscripts read this passage thus: "'*Pecora*,' inquit, '*nostra subita morte perierunt.*'" [Our cattle have been destroyed by a sudden death] (*VD*, §16, ed. James).

<sup>24</sup> All the other manuscripts read "*Inuentum est ut promisit.*" [...] and they find the promise fulfilled] (*VD*, §16, ed. James).

His wife, [enraged] said to him, “Arise, and take a troop of servants, [and pursue that man and his servants who have dared such a trespass as to kindle a fire on thy lands without thy bidding,] and slay them all with drawn swords”. [Baia and his followers came to slay David and his disciples, but a fever suddenly took them as they were on the way, and they could not slay David or his young men, but blasphemed the Lord and holy David, speaking evil words,] for the desire to hurt them was not wanting, although the power of doing so was thwarted by the will of the Eternal, and rendered void. When they had returned thence home, they met his wife who said, “Our cattle [and beasts of burden and sheep and all the animals are dead]”. And Baia and his wife and all his house-host lamented bitterly, and they all wailed together and said, “That saint and his disciples whom we blasphemed, have caused the death of our cattle.”] And they return and approach the servant of God and ask for mercy with tears and entreaties. “The land”, say they, “on which thou art, shall become thine for ever”. [And Baia gave holy David that day the whole of *Rosina Vallis* for a perpetual possession]. And [David,] the servant of God, answering with a kindly mind, “Your cattle,” said he, “shall be restored to life”; [and Baia when he returned home found his cattle alive and well] (*VD*, §16).

As can be seen, the *Vespasian* reading emphasises the *miraculous* aspects of the scene: the sudden fever that prevents the men from attacking David and the subsequent death of the cattle. The grieving and wailing of Baia, his wife and the servants, give a complementary dramatic effect to the subsequent episodes: what seemed here as repentance from their part turns into more evil doing from the part of Baia’s wife. In the *VCI*, one also encountered an episode in which smoke from a fire covered an entire region. In that *Life*, however, the smoke did *not* symbolise possession of land, as seems to be the case here, judging by Baia’s despairing reaction. It emulated, instead, God’s punishing acts through the pillar of cloud or smoke found in Exodus and Psalms.<sup>25</sup> A similar symbolic idea connected to the lighting of a fire as an indication of coming danger can be found in the *Life* of St. Patrick, for example, in which a fire lit by Patrick during Eastern signalled the threatening arrival of the new faith to the Irish king Loegaire and his magicians.<sup>26</sup> This similarity strengthens the Irish element in the text of the *VD*. In the subsequent scenes, Baia acts as a secondary character and the actions are pushed into movement by his wife’s attempts to expel David and his disciples from the region. In chapter 17, Baia’s wife calls together her female servants and orders them

<sup>25</sup> See chapter IV. 2.4.1.2. of this thesis.

<sup>26</sup> “*Erat quoque quidam mos apud illos (i.e. apud paganos), per edictum omnibus intimatus, ut quicumque in cunctis regionibus sive procul sive iuxta in illa nocte incendisset ignem antequam in domum regia, id est in palatio Temoriae, succenderetur, periret anima eius de populo suo. Sanctus ergo Patricius, sanctum pasca celebrans, incendit divinum ignem valde lucidum et benedictum [...]. [...] magi responderunt: ‘[...] Hic ignis [...] insuper et omnes ignes nostrae consuetudinis supergradietur; et ille qui incendit et regnum superveniens a quo incensus est in hac nocte superabit nos omnes [...].’*” [They (i.e. the heathens including king Leogaire) also had a custom, which was made known to all by proclamation, that if anyone in any part of the country, be it near or far, lit a fire before one was kindled in the king’s house, in the palace of Tara, his soul would perish from among his people. So St. Patrick, as he celebrated holy Easter, lit a divine fire, very bright and blessed [...]. And [...] the wizards replied: ‘[...] This fire [...] will surpass all the fires of our practice; and he who lit the fire and the coming kingdom by which it was lit this night will overcome us all [...]’] (*VPa*, §15). This element and also the explicit mention of Patrick at the beginning of the *Life* of David led Vendryes to argue for the *VD* to have used the *Life* of Patrick as one of its sources. The theme of the guardian angel accompanying a saint, common in Irish hagiographical tradition, also seems to have been borrowed from the *Life* of Patrick, just to cite another example of the influence of that *Life* on the *VD* (cf. Vendryes 1928: 145-146). In *VD* §49, in the episode of the synod of Brefi, Paulinus, one of the participating bishops, refers to David as one who is always accompanied by an angel, just like Victorius, the guiding angel, in the *Life* of Patrick (cf. *VPa*, §7 and §11).



to go with their naked body to the river where St. David's monks assembled in order to provoke them:

*"Ite" inquit ["ad flumen quod dicitur Alun,] et nudatis corporibus in conspectu sanctorum ludicra exercentes, impudicis utimini uerbis". Ancille obediunt, impudicos exercent ludos, concubitus simulant, blandos amoris nexus ostendunt; monachorum mentes quorundam ad libidines protrahunt, quorundam molestant. [Cuncti uero discipuli eius illam intolerabilem iniuriam non ferentes, dixerunt David agio "Fugiamus de hoc loco quia non possumus hic habitare propter molestiam muliercularum malignantium".] Sanctus autem pater [David] patientie longanimitate solidus, cuius anima nec prosperis mollita dissolueretur nec aduersis fatigata terreretur, "[...] Nos debemus manere, Baia autem deficere". His dictis, discipulorum corda roborauit, et ieiunauit David in illa nocte et discipuli eius usque mane.*

"Go you," said she, "[to the river which is called Alun,] and with naked bodies make sport in the sight of the saints and indulge in lewd talk." The female servants obey, they make shameless sport, they counterfeit carnal connection, they display alluring embraces of passion. They entice the minds of some of the monks to wanton thoughts, and disturb those of the others. [All his disciples, **unable to bear this intolerable affront, said to holy David "Let us fly from this place because we are not able to dwell here owing to the annoyance caused by these spiteful sluts".**] But the holy father [David] **firm in patient long-suffering**, whose purpose was neither broken when softened by prosperity, nor terrified when weakened by adversity, "[...] We ought to remain, and Baia to leave." With these words he strengthened the hearts of the disciples, and **David and his disciples fasted that night till the morning** (VD, §17) [my emphasis].

Here, a lengthening description of the disciples' reaction, of their *waning faith*, is contrasted with David's *perseverance*. The women's malice, especially the premeditated actions of Baia's wife, is highly emphasised. Noteworthy is the recourse to the *nudity* of the women as an attempt to throw away the "enemy." Parallels can be found in the literature of the Irish, for example, in the *Táin bó Cúalnge*,<sup>27</sup> although the idea of the female body as a source of temptation is recurrent in Christian hagiographical material of early times, as is the case with the *Life* of Benedict of Nursia by Gregory the Great.<sup>28</sup> In the *Vespasian* legendary, the VI also elaborates on the fact that the body of a woman is to be shunned, in the scene in which Illtud, admonished by a saint of God, decides to abandon his wife.<sup>29</sup> The way with which David overcomes the "intolerable" acts of the women is by means of *fasting*, which Vendryes has shown to be characteristic of many Irish religious tales (cf. Vendryes 1928: 164). Here, the

<sup>27</sup> In the Irish tale *Táin Bó Cúalnge*, Cú Chulainn's thirsty for battle and adventure is quenched through Conchobor's sending of one hundred and fifty naked women in order to shame him. The great hero hides his face from the women's nakedness and can be, subsequently, controlled by Conchobor, his uncle (cf. *Táin bó Cúalnge*, pp. 170-171).

<sup>28</sup> In Gregory's *Life* of St. Benedict, a monk called Florentius tries to disturb the ascetic practices of young monks at Benedict's monastery by sending seven naked young women into the monastery's garden. Here, Gregory associates Florentius' acts with "envy." Benedict then leaves the monastery and settles in another place. See Lambert, B.-M. (ed.) (1995) *Gregorius Papa. Der hl. Benedikt: Buch II der Dialoge*. St. Ottilien: EOS-Verlag, p. 133.

<sup>29</sup> "[...] atque in reditu [i.e. uxora sua] uidit beatus Celtutus corpus nudatum, uentoso flamine dispergente crines circa latus femineum. Doluit dum aspexit; muliebrem formam uilem computauit; talem adamasse uehementer penituit." [...] and on her (i.e. his wife's) return the blessed Illtud saw her naked body, the blowing wind dispersing her hair about her woman's side. He grieved when he looked at it; he deemed the female form as of little value; he deeply regretted having loved such a thing] (VI, §5).

saint's *fasting* is a means of confronting *evilness*, calling attention to the saint's moral strength. His recourse to fasting also recalls strong monastic practices, which are described in vivid details in the chapters which follow the Baia-sequence.<sup>30</sup> Chapter 18 and most of chapter 19 in Wade-Evans' edition are passages only mentioned briefly in the other surviving recensions of the *VD*. In the *Vespasian VD*, however, very significant details relating to the calculated murder of Baia's daughter by Baia's wife are to be noted.

*In illa die dixit coniunx Baia ad priuignam suam "Eamus simul ad uallem Alun, et queramus cucumeros illius ut inueniamus nuces in eis." Ac illa humiliter sue nouerca respondit dicens, "En ego prompta assum". Perrexerunt pariter ad profunditatem uallis predicte; cumque peruenisset illuc, nouerca sedens delicate ait ad priuignam suam, Dunaut nomine, "Tribute caput tuum in sinu meo, uolo enim cirros tuos leniter inuestigare"; ac **illa puella innocens, que ab infantia sua pie ac caste inter pessimas mulierum turmis uixerat, uertit caput innocuum in sinum nouerce sue**; illa uero nouerca insanens cito euaginauit nouaculam suam, amputauitque caput illius **felicissime uirgini**; sanguis uero eius in terram fluxit, **fonsque lucifluus ab eo loco surrexit, qui multos hominum languores abunde sanauit**, quem locum Martirium Dunaut usque in hodiernam diem uulgus uocitat. Illa uero nouerca a Baia fugit, nemoque sub celo nouit quam morte uitam finiuit; hinc Baia satrapa amariter fleuit, David uero cum puerem suis laudem Deo eterno decantauit.*

On that day the wife of Baia said to her stepdaughter "Let us proceed together to the valley of the Alun, and let us seek *cucumeri* that we may find nuts in them". And she humbly answered her stepmother saying, "Behold, I am ready". They went together to the bottom of the aforesaid valley, and when they had come there the stepmother sat down and spoke softly to her stepdaughter, whose name was Dunod, "Place thy head in my lap, for I wish quietly to examine thy locks"; and that **guileless girl, who from her youth had lived piously and chastely amid crowds of the worst women, bends her inoffensive head of the lap of her stepmother**. And the savage stepmother quickly drew forth her knife, and cut off the head of that **most happy virgin**. Her blood flowed on the ground, and **there arouse from that spot a clear running well, which healed in abundance many human diseases**. This place the people call to this day *Martyrium Dunaut* [i.e., Merthyr Dunod]. That stepmother fled from Baia, and no one under heaven knows by what death she ended her life. And so Baia the chieftain wept bitterly, but David with his young men praises to the eternal God (*VD*, §18) [my emphasis].

The murder of Baia's daughter, a kind of premeditated sacrifice to which no direct reason has been given in the episode, represents a further unsuccessful attempt to expel David from the region. Moreover, this episode seeks to explain an ancient place-name near St. David's, whose well people associated with healing miracles. By putting emphasis on the girl's *piety* and *chastity*, the hagiographer surely intended to create a story which explained the topography of the place in religious terms: it makes of Dunaut a *martyr*, an idea originated with, apparently, a false etymology for the Welsh word *merthyr*.<sup>31</sup> The hagiographer cunningly connects this story with the struggles of David against Baia and, indirectly,

<sup>30</sup> The "rigor of monastic life" at St. David's is described in ten chapters, from chapters 21 to chapter 31 in the *VD*.

<sup>31</sup> Arthur Wade-Evans argued that the word *merthyr*, from the Latin *martyrium*, "seems to have meant among Goidelic speaking Christians a place of relics" (Wade-Evans 1914: 46), suggesting that this meaning of the word, when it was being forgotten, caused the creation of martyrdom tales to explain the various place-names containing it. Moreover, he points out that the *merthyr* place-names are to be found in areas known to have connections with the Irish family of Brychan Brycheiniog (cf. *idem* 1914: 47).

attributes the death of the chaste girl to envy or jealousy. Finally, chapter 19 deals with Baia's punishment and death:

*Sicque destinavit Baia ut David agium occideret, at filius Paucaut, inimicus suus, Lisci nomine, in arce sua caput eius amputavit; erat enim porta illius diluculo aperta, cum hostis inopinatus de naue uenisset; moxque ignis de celo cecidit totumque edificium suum cito combussit. Nemoque dubitet quod Dominus propter David seruum suum percussit Baia et uxorem eius [...]*

And so Baia determined to kill holy David, but the son of Paucaut, who was his enemy and whose name was Lisci, cut off his head in his citadel, for his gate lay open at daybreak, when his enemy arrived unexpectedly from his ship; and soon **fire fell from heaven, and quickly burnt up the whole of his building. Let none doubt that it was the Lord who struck down Baia and his wife for David, His servant's sake** (VD, §19) [my emphasis].

This kind of *immediate* punitive miracle by fire falling from heaven was exhaustively discussed in the analysis of the *VCI*.<sup>32</sup> There, the idea conveyed through the miracle was the same found here: God Himself is the one that punishes His servants' opponents on earth. Both *Lives'* understandings of the immediate destruction by fire do *not* leave any room for repentance or conversion from the part of the sinners, as was the case with the Baia-episode in the *Life* of Teilo.<sup>33</sup> The messages here and in the *VCI* reproduce, one could argue, a rather Old Testamentary model where the idea of God as the supreme avenger prevails. Jesus' New Testamentary message of pardoning and of changing of one's inner attitude does not find its place in this text. Differently from the *VCI*, however, the hagiographer does *not* justify the punishment by relying on Biblical quotations or allusions, although his last threatening words for the audience could be said to substitute such direct references: the hagiographer adamantly rules out any doubts on the part of the recipient that *God* was responsible for the deaths of both Baia and his wife.<sup>34</sup>

#### IV.6.3.2 Posthumous miracles in the VD

Following the pattern already identified for the *Lives* written in south-west Wales, the *VD* does not contain a *post-mortem* section. The *Vespasian* text adds, right after a genealogical section, three extra chapters containing passages of a Mass of St. David, with the *Secreta* and *Postcommunio*. Taking into consideration the other south-west Walian *Lives* in the *Vespasian* legendary, it is significant that the *Vespasian VD* contains a genealogy of the saint, which would again strengthen the point for a late eleventh-century dating. This genealogy connects

<sup>32</sup> See section IV.1.3.1.6. of this thesis.

<sup>33</sup> See section IV.4.3.1.1. of this thesis.

<sup>34</sup> The text presents, however, an internal contradiction: on the one hand, it affirms that no one knew the fate of Baia's wife and, on the other hand, it explicitly affirms that both Baia *and* his wife were struck down by God.

David and his father Sant to the line of Cunedda and resembles, moreover, the first genealogical list found in the *VCa2*.<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup> The genealogical list found in the *VCa2* can be seen in section IV. 13.1. (footnote 6) of this thesis.

## IV.7 The *Life* of Saint Dubricius by Benedict of Gloucester

### IV.7.1 Dating and authorship

Comments on St. Dubricius have already been made in the section dedicated to the anonymous *Life* of Dubricius in the *Vespasian* legendary.<sup>1</sup> The second version of the *Life* of Dubricius present in the *Vespasian* legendary was written by a monk called Benedict from St. Peter's in Gloucester.<sup>2</sup> Nothing is known about this person, and the *Life* of Dubricius is the only surviving text claiming his authorship. A Gloucester connection with the compilation of the *Vespasian* legendary was already suggested by Kathleen Hughes (cf. Hughes 1958: 192-193). However, the fact that there are two different versions of the *Life* of Dubricius in one and the same hagiographical collection begs for some elucidation.<sup>3</sup> It is difficult to understand the reasons why the anonymous version would still be copied down into the manuscript if the *Vespasian* legendary was compiled in Gloucester.

The two *Lives* of Dubricius in the *Vespasian* legendary are separated by Rhygyfarch's *Life* of David. Judging by the rubric heading of the anonymous *VDu1*,<sup>4</sup> it is obvious that whoever planned its insertion into the *Vespasian* legendary was either acquainted with the *HRB* written by Geoffrey of Monmouth<sup>5</sup> or was aware of the existence of the *VDu2*, since it is only in both these texts that Dubricius is made archbishop of Caerleon on the Usk. In fact, Benedict seems to have rewritten the *LL VDu*<sup>6</sup> in order to conciliate Dubricius' life's deeds with the claims made by Geoffrey of Monmouth in his *HRB*, especially as regards Dubricius' archiepiscopacy. Another necessity might have been the connection between Dubricius and Arthur, a creation by Geoffrey of Monmouth which undoubtedly shook the twelfth-century ideas of early Welsh political and ecclesiastical organisation.<sup>7</sup> With such an explicit influence of Geoffrey's text, a date after 1135 x 1138 should be inferred for the composition of the *VDu2*. Amongst the dedicatees of Geoffrey's *HRB* was Robert, earl of Gloucester, who was in

---

<sup>1</sup> In section VI.5. of this thesis.

<sup>2</sup> Henceforth *VDu2*.

<sup>3</sup> The *Vespasian* legendary also contains two texts of the *Life* of Cybi but none of these is a rewriting or reworking of the other. Their differences are basically on the level of vocabulary and style and no different accounts about the life of the saint are given. See section IV.11. of this thesis.

<sup>4</sup> The rubric heading of the *VDu1* in the *Vespasian* legendary reads "*Incipit Vita sancti Dubritii Archiepiscopi Urbis Legionum xviii. kl' Dec.*"

<sup>5</sup> The edition and translations used (with due adaptations of the Welsh spellings) are those found in Griscom, A. (ed. and trans.) (1929) *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth*. London: Longmans, Green and Co. and, Hammer, J. (ed.) (1951) *Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae – a variant version edited from manuscripts*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Medieval Academy of America.

<sup>6</sup> See section IV.5. of this thesis.

<sup>7</sup> A list of relevant bibliographical references to Geoffrey's *HRB* was provided in section IV.5. (footnote 8).

charge of the administration of Llandaff during the period of vacancy which ensued after Urban's death, i.e. from 1134 to 1140. One could infer, therefore, that during this period much hagiographical material was exchanged between Llandaff and Gloucester and that a new version of the *Life* of Dubricius was commissioned by the monks of Gloucester to comply with the claims found in the *HRB*. Since the *VDu1* might have been (re-)written or copied, as I argued before, before the appearance of Geoffrey's *HRB*, Geoffrey's portrayal of Dubricius might have triggered a straightforward adaptation of the main existing text of the *Life* of Dubricius in line with the latest information on the lives of Dubricius and Arthur. The survival of both versions of a *Life* of Dubricius in the same legendary attests to a certain reluctance, as it were, to discard the earliest versions bearing information on the life of the saint.

Of the *Vespasian Lives*, the *VDu2* is the one with the most recognised "debt" to hagiographical "conventions" in the sense that Benedict aimed to follow a traditional rhetorical and stereotypical model for the *structuring* of his text. The *VDu2* opens with a *prologue* which serves to introduce the author and precise the *reasons* for the composition of the text. Well-known hagiographical "prototypes" are employed:<sup>8</sup> Benedict talks of patronage, of the necessity to write down the deeds of Dubricius before they fall into oblivion, of the feeble style of the old sources, etc. This is not an introduction to the text proper but a rhetorical justification typical of saintly biographies, especially Continental ones, and also very common in English *Lives* of the same period. These "conventions," however, seen in terms of the adherence to classical *topoi*, conceal an interpretation which is of extreme importance for an appreciation of the author's relationship to his contemporary literary milieu: as we shall see, neither were Benedict's sources old and in danger of oblivion nor were they written in a feeble style. His main sources, as I already pointed out, were the *LL* *VDu/VDu1* and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *HRB*. The function of the prologue in relation to the following text gains, therefore, in significance: here is an author who seeks for authoritative recognition of his text by mendaciously re-configuring a classical paradigm for hagiographical prologues. This is a form of extrapolating traditional constants much in the same way done by Geoffrey, for example, in his claims to have used an old and spurious book in the "British" tongue, or even by Gerald of Wales, in his claims to have "translated" into

---

<sup>8</sup> Michael Goodich has thus summarised the main traits of most saintly biographies and their "adherence to stereotypical prototypes:" 1. dedication to a patron, 2. reference to the author's personal acquaintance with the biographee or mention of trustworthy eyewitnesses, 3. reference to Biblical or other hagiographical sources, 4. description of the saint's role in the scheme of salvation, 5. rhetorical excuses for the author's lack of skill, 6. sketch of the *Life*'s structure (cf. Goodich 2007: 5).

Latin, with the help of experts in the Welsh language, a book found in Gwynedd about some obscure prophecies of Merlin Sylvester of Celidon.<sup>9</sup> This allows an appreciation of this author's intellectual confrontation with inherited literary models. Since this is the only text attributed to him, it is impossible to advance any further conclusions as to his literary achievements, but this fact alone shows the extent to which a dialogical relation was established between Welsh and Anglo-Norman literates.

#### IV.7.2 Content

Right after the prologue, Benedict follows the *LL VDu* (or a text similar to it) in the description of Dubricius' grandfather Pebiau and his mother Eurdil. He manages to raise the dramatic effect of Eurdil's ordeal by not only emphasising the predestination of the unborn child – God's mercy and protection towards him – but also by detailing the horror of other girls before the prospect of Eurdil's being burnt alive.<sup>10</sup> Benedict's *Life* follows the *LL VDu* up to the mention of Dubricius' disciples and the building of his oratory. He then leaves this text and turns to the accounts of the spread of the *Pelagiana Heresia* in Britain (*LL*, pp. 68-69; *VDu2*, §3) and to Dubricius' consecration as archbishop, both taken from *De primo statu Landauensis ecclesie*, which precedes the *LL VDu* in the Book of Llandaff.<sup>11</sup> The only marked

---

<sup>9</sup> *Expugnatio*, pp. 254-257.

<sup>10</sup> “*Quamobrem Rex nimis ira succensus, iussit eam in quodam utre includi et in flumen praecipitari [...]. Quod quia Deo minime placuit, fieri nequiuit. Iam priusquam proles, quam in utero habebat, nasceretur, dignatus est Dominus misericordiam et pr(o)tectionem exhibendo, cujus meriti foret ostendere, cum genitrix ejusdem nullo modo potuit undis submergit [...]. Cujus ad praeceptum rogos illico praeparatur ad ipsius interitum et ad aliarum terrorem puellarum; in quem praelibati Regis nata Eurdil viva flagrantibus incendiis mittitur. In crastino autem mane dum funditus rebatur focus exusta, missis a patre legatis scitum siquid ossium genitae inustum remaneret, inuenerunt eam incolumem filiumque quem in medio pire pepererat tenentem in gremium, uestibus illius atque capillis ab omni combustionem illesis. Pergrande namque saxum juxta quod enixa est filium in ostententem nativitatibus pueri ibidem positum est.*” [On that account, the king, being very angry, ordered her to be put into a sack and cast into the river [...]. What God does not will, it cannot be done. Because even before the offspring was born, he was shown to have received mercy and protection from God, whose merits he would display, so that his mother could in no manner be drowned [...]. For whose destruction, and for the terror of the other young girls, a funeral pyre was immediately prepared into which his daughter Eurdil was thrown alive. In the following morning, the messengers who had been sent by her father to ascertain whether any of the bones of his daughter remained, found her uninjured, holding her son in her lap, whose clothes and hair had survived untouched by the fire. A big stone was placed there in testimony of the nativity of the boy] (*VDu2*, §1) [my translation]. Compare the quoted passage in the *VDu1* in section IV.5.2. of this thesis (footnote 14). This detailed account seems to have stemmed from Benedict's own pen: the same section in the *Vespasian VDu1* seems to have been copied by a different hand from that of the main text, who adds much of this scene's detail from Benedict's *VDu2*.

<sup>11</sup> The *De primo statu Landauensis ecclesie* in the *LL* reads: “*Super omnes autem Britannos dextralis partis Britannie beatum Dubricium summum doctorem a rege et ab omni parrochia electum archiepiscopum consecrauerunt. Hac dignitate ei a Germano et Lupo data. Constituerunt ei episcopalem sedem concessu Mourici regis, principum cleri et populi apud podum Llantam in honore sancti Petri apostoli fundatam.*” [And over all the Britons of the southern part, they consecrated the eminent doctor St. Dubricius, who was elected by

difference is that in Benedict's *Life*, the saint is consecrated archbishop of *Caerleon*, a reading which follows Geoffrey of Monmouth's *HRB*. The more trustworthy account that the episcopal site was given to him by king *Mouric* before all the clerics and the people found in the *De primo statu* is changed to his consecration by *Ambrosius Aurelius*.<sup>12</sup> Finally, after condensingly relating the events of Arthur's campaign on the Continent also taken from Geoffrey's *HRB*, Benedict resumes his accounts of Dubricius' eremitical life and his death at Bardsey Island. The text of the *translatio* of Dubricius' relics from Bardsey Island to Llandaff taken from the *LL VDu* is then reproduced with the omission of the state of the old church at Llandaff.

### IV.7.3 Structural analysis of the encounter-episodes

#### IV.7.3.1 The secular characters in the *in vita* section of the *VDu2*

Benedict's *Life* of Dubricius reproduces the exorcism performed by Dubricius on the daughter of a wealthy man taken from the *LL VDu*, without making any significant changes as to the nature of the miracle. The place of the exorcism is not mentioned and he omits the woman's name.<sup>13</sup> As regards Benedict's uses of the *HRB*, Arthur is also, in this text, the most

---

the king and the whole district to be Archbishop] (*LL*, p. 69). The *De primo statu* is also found in the *Vespasian* legendary, added right before the *VDu1*.

<sup>12</sup> "Super omnes utique dextralis Britanniae beatum Dubricium metropolitanum Archipresulem ab Ambrosio Aurelio rege totius Brittonum monarchie filio Constantino fratre quoque Uther patris Arthuri magni necnon et ab omni clero et populo illius Archidioceseos canonicè delecto consecrauerunt. [...] Igitur paucis annorum cursibus euolutis, insignis rex Ambrosius Aurelius ueneno perimitur. Huic itaque Uther cognomento Pendragon, i.e. caput draconis, ejusdem germanus in regno succedit; nec ipse diu degens, in exitium pene totius Britanniae leto debitum pendit. Quo defuncto, conuenerunt ex diuersis provinciis magnates Brittonum in urbes Silcestrie, Dubricio Urbis Legionum Archiepiscopo suggerentes, quatinus Arturum filium Uther Pendragon in regem coronaret." [Over all the Britons of the southern part, the blessed Dubricius was consecrated metropolitan archbishop by Ambrosius Aurelius, king of the whole of the British monarchy, son of Constantine, brother of Uther, father of the great Arthur and also canonically chosen to be consecrated by all the clergy and people of those archbishops. [...] Within the evolution of some years, the distinguished Ambrosius Aurelius was killed by poison. He was succeeded on the throne by his brother Uther, surnamed Pendragon, that is, the dragon's head. But he himself did not remain alive for a long time, for the destruction of almost all of Britain he pays out his debt with death. Being dead, British princes from different regions came together in the city of Silchester, suggesting to Dubricius, the Archbishop of Caerleon to consecrate Arthur, the son of Uther Pendragon, king] (*VDu2*, §4-5). The *HRB* reads: "Fontem itaque aggressi sunt nefandi proditores, ipsumque undique affecerunt ueneno, ita ut manans aqua tota corrumperat. Ut igitur potauit ex ea rex, festine morti succubuit. [...] Defuncto igitur Uther Pendragon conuenerunt ex diuersis prouinciis procures Britonum in ciuitatem Silcestrie ad Dubricium, Urbis Legionum archiepiscopum, suggerentes ut Arturum filium regis in regem consecraret." [This and the nearby springs the wicked traitors (i.e. the Saxons) poisoned; so that when Uther drank the water, he died [...]. Being thereofre dead, British nobles from different regions came together in the city of Silchester, suggesting to Dubricius, the Archbishop of Caerleon, to consecrate Arthur, the son of Uther Pendragon, king] (*HRB*, VIII, xxiv and IX.i.) [my translation].

<sup>13</sup> Interesting in his paraphrase is the use of a rather rare Greek word for "possessed:" *energoúmenos*, *méne*, *rmenon*, which originally referred to a person who is being led, guided. This word developed, already in the fourth century, to mean a person possessed by the devil or by a demon (cf. *Houaiss*, "energúmeno"). Instead of the *LL VDu* "Aduenit quidam potens uir regali prosapia procreatus Guidguetiui, orans et flexis genibus ut



prominent secular ruler and the one with whom Dubricius has most contact. They meet on the occasion of Arthur's consecration, in an account which seems to preach for the harmonious relationship between church and state. This is significant because it is not only Arthur's consecration that is dependent on the presence of the great archbishop, but also Dubricius' consecration as archbishop depends itself upon the king's presence, in this case, Ambrosius Aurelius. This is somehow at odds with the canonical procedures of the 1120s in Wales, as I already mentioned in the analysis of the *VDu1*.<sup>14</sup> In the *VDu1*, the emphasis is on Dubricius' consecration by the *clergy* and the *people*, a statement that agrees with the early twelfth-century ecclesiastical politics which condemned any intrusion of secular powers in the consecration affairs of a diocese. The fact that the production of the *VDu2* seems to be intrinsically related to the patronage of Robert of Gloucester and the fact that the see of Llandaff, in its vacancy period, was administered by him, seems to explain the emphasis conceded to secular consecration, although the same claim is already present in Geoffrey's *HRB*.<sup>15</sup>

#### IV.7.3.2 Posthumous miracles in the *VDu2*

The accounts of Dubricius' life in the *VDu2* end with the *translatio* of his relics from Bardsey Island to Llandaff. In this section, Benedict follows again the text of the *LL VDu*, reproducing the miraculous accounts from his main source. In the description of the miracles taking place at the saint's tomb, although generally paraphrasing his main source, Benedict adds interesting words as to the role of the testimonies:

*Quod cum primum praelibatus praesul inspexisset; decano protinus cum capellano praememorato ascitis, contemplari commotionem ossis iubentur, ut in ore duorum uel trium testium stet omne uerbum; intuendoque miraculum Deo gratias agant, qui sua ineffabili pietate sanctos suos mirabiliter glorificat.*<sup>16</sup>

---

*filiam suam Arganhell nomine captam a demonio liberaret*" (*VDu1*, §7), he has "*Quidam potens uir regali prosapia procreatus Guidguetiui nomen flexis genibus eum adiit ut filiam suam energuminam a demonio supplicationibus erueret*" (*VDu2*, §7).

<sup>14</sup> See section IV.5.1. of this thesis.

<sup>15</sup> Valery Flint argued that one of Geoffrey of Monmouth's purposes in writing his *HRB* was to put into question the celibacy attacks by the church on the secular and married clergy, especially by diminishing the role of the church in political affairs and decisions. According to her, Geoffrey created, in the *HRB*, a world not of "celibates and monks but [of] kings and queens with heirs" (Flint 1979: 467).

<sup>16</sup> The *LL VDu* reads: "*Quod cum uidisset solus imprimis aduocauit Decanum sibi adhaerentem, ut uideret ossis et aquae motionem, simul et capellanum; et referunt grates Deo (ut in ore duorum aut trium sit omne testimonium) pro tanto miraculo.*" [Which he alone having at first seen, he called the Dean to him, who was near, that he might see the moving of the bone, and water, and also the Chaplain; as every testimony should be in the mouth of two or three witnesses; and they thanked God for so great a miracle (*VDu1*, §9).

The bishop having at first **observed** (the miracle), he immediately called the Dean and the aforesaid chaplain to him that they might **recognise** and see the moving of the bone, as every pronouncement should be in the mouth of two or three testimonies. Admiring the miracle, they gave thanks to God, whose unpronounceable piety miraculously glorifies His saints (*VDu2*, §12) [my emphasis].

As mentioned in the analysis of the *VDu1*, the need of witnesses to corroborate the occurrence of tomb-miracles was already present in that text, as well as in the *LL VDu*. In both texts, it pointed to an ongoing formalisation in the recognition of miraculous events. The use of *inspexisset* and *ascitis* in Benedict's text presents, however, a more technical vocabulary for the description of the same miracle: it implies regulation and the necessity for ecclesiastical control of the occurrence of miracles.

## IV.8 The *Life* of Saint Brynach

### IV.8.1 Dating and authorship

The *Life* of St. Brynach (ff. 77 – 80r) is one of the Welsh Saints' *Lives* about which almost nothing has been written.<sup>1</sup> It is an anonymous text only found in the *Vespasian* legendary. This is, therefore, the only source of information available on this saint of south-west Wales. Arthur Wade-Evans contended that the *VB* was written in north Pembrokeshire, where Brynach's main church at Nevern was located. Nevern is a small village located between Cardigan and Newport. The church of St. Brynach's used to lie on the pilgrimage route leading to St. David's and it is possible that the *VB* might have entered the legendary via St. David's. Arthur Wade-Evans argued for a dating of this text in the twelfth century because of, firstly, the *Life*'s use of the word *Cambria* for Maelgwn's title as *rex Cambrie*, which only started spreading after Geoffrey of Monmouth used it to refer to Wales in his *HRB* (cf. Wade-Evans 1944: xi) and, secondly because of the text's reference to the building of a church at the foot of the mount Carningli in Pembrokeshire. This church, according to him, could "hardly be other than St. Mary's Church" at Newport, "in which case it must be dated late in the century" (Wade-Evans 1944: xi).

Apart from Wade-Evans' suggestion of a twelfth-century dating, Sabine Baring-Gould and John Fisher argued that the *VB* was composed in the tenth or eleventh century, without, however, justifying their assumption (cf. Baring-Gould & Fisher 1907: 321). This would make the *VB* one of the earliest Welsh hagiographical productions, a fact which does *not* match its derivative character. There might be a hint as to the *VB*'s twelfth-century date of composition, moreover, in the examination of Brynach's position in the Calendar and of his *Life* in the legendary. Brynach is the only saint whose name occurs twice in the *Vespasian* Calendar (cf. Harris 1953: 29, Hughes 1958: 188). Although both Silas Harris and Kathleen Hughes pointed out to this fact, they did not elaborate on the consequences of the Calendar's insertion of Brynach's date of *translatio* on June 26. This could only have come from a local calendar of one of Brynach's churches. In the context of the *Vespasian Lives* and of the changes in the religious practices in Welsh monasteries at the time, it is highly significant that a feast of *translatio* is provided for this saint in this manuscript.<sup>2</sup> The first *translatio*

---

<sup>1</sup> Henceforth *VB*.

<sup>2</sup> According to Silas Harris, most of the Welsh festivals in the *Vespasian* Calendar were added towards the end of the twelfth century (cf. Harris 1953: 6).

celebrated in a southern context of which there is an extant written account is the one seen in the *Life* of Dubricius written at Llandaff and reproduced in *Vespasian* in the form of the *VDul*. The second existing one, the *Vita et translatio S. Wenefredae*, was written by Robert of Shrewsbury in ca. 1140. It contains the account of the *translatio* of this saint's relics from north Wales to Shrewsbury Abbey (cf. Winward 1999: 89-96). The feast of St. Wenefred is, however, absent in the *Vespasian* Calendar but this is justifiable since this Calendar's interests centered on saints from the south-east and west of Wales. Judging from the absence of *translatio* accounts in most of the Welsh *Lives* and by the fact that Urban's enterprise of bringing Dubricius' relics to Llandaff seems to have been the first recorded event of a *translatio*, it seems possible that it soon set a trend followed by other houses. This does not explain why the date of Dubricius' *translatio*, being the only *translatio* text in the legendary, did not enter the calendar, but at least calls attention to a twelfth-century setting for the introduction of this new practice in Wales.<sup>3</sup>

The traditions about St. Brynach himself are confused and he might have become associated, at some point, with an Irish saint bearing a similar name, St. Brannock, abbot of Braunton in Devonshire. These saints might have not been the same person since the entries in the Exeter Martyrology, dating to the twelfth century, provide for both saints two different feast days, one agreeing with the date given in the *Life* of Brynach, i.e. 7 April, while the other gives 7 January for the saint's festival (cf. Baring-Gould 1907: 321-327).

#### IV.8.2 Content

The hagiographer of the *VB* seems to have been at pains to provide Brynach with a noble genealogy. As the text makes clear, there was probably no information available on the saint when he set out to write his *Life*. It is possible that there had never been a written *Life* of this saint before and the fact that there was a *translatio* of his relics might have caused the production of the text. In the first chapter, the hagiographer mentions God's choice of Brynach as one of His elects amongst the sons of Israel. The evasive manner with which the hagiographer mentions Brynach's illustrious stock betrays his lack of information on the saint: he makes use of common hagiographical allusions to emphasise Brynach's noble

---

<sup>3</sup> This note might, however, throw some light on *Vespasian*'s provenance since it is to be expected that the record of a *translatio* feast would only have made sense in the context of a house which had clear connections with the cult of Brynach, and which deemed it important, therefore, to mark the transference of his relics to another place.

progeny and, at the same time, connects them with the idea of the saint's avoidance of all terrestrial allurements. In a very condensed form, chapter one relates, in a much pompous way, not only his birth and progeny but also his pilgrimage to Rome.<sup>4</sup> In chapter two, we are told of a beast that was ravaging *Romania* when Brynach arrived. The saint managed to kill it by means of fervent prayers. François Duine thought that the hagiographer was making use of the "legend of the Roman dragon," also found in the Breton *Life* of Gildas written by a monk of the monastery of Rhuys, probably about the end of the ninth century (cf. Duine 1870: 115).<sup>5</sup> The passages in both texts bear similarities which could justify the hagiographer's acquaintance with the story. After this deed, Brynach's fame spreads throughout *Romania* and he decides to seek another place to live.<sup>6</sup> Chapter three relates his arrival in Brittany and the

---

<sup>4</sup> "Elegit sibi Dominus uirum de filiis Israel iuxta cor suum, Bernacius nomine, uenustis ornatum moribus, titulisque uirtutum insignibus excellentem [...]. Ab uberibus, igitur, matris sue Dei sui nomen amplectens, eiusque mandata non preteriens, elegit potius abiectus esse in domo eius quam in palatiis principum delicatius uersari. Ab illustri siquidem parentum prosapia ortum ducens, meritumque fame laudabilis non minimum obtinens, diuiciis quoque, quibus allici solent animi secularium, admodum locupletatus, nec non protensis dilatatus patrimoniis, nec non parentum solacio nec fame preconio nec diuiciarum capi uoluit deliciis nec patrimoniorum includi legibus. Quid ergo? Terram natiuitatis sue non suam reputans, extra patriam se portans, patriam uoluit acquirere peregrinando, uoluit repatriare. [...] Terrarum spacia transeundo, uerborum Christi semina disseminando, Romam ingressus est." [The Lord chose for himself from the sons of Israel a man according to his heart, Brynach by name, adorned with pleasing manners, and excelling in tokens and signs of virtues [...]. From his mother's breasts, therefore, embracing the name of his God, and not neglecting his commandments, he chose rather to be of no account in his house than to dwell more luxuriously in the palaces of princes. Tracing his descent from an illustrious stock of progenitors, and obtaining no little merit of laudable fame, much enriched too with wealth, with which the minds of worldlings are wont to be allured, also endowed with broad patrimonies, he would not be captivated by the solace of ancestry or the extension of fame or the delights of riches or be restrained by the rights of hereditary estates. What therefore? Deeming not the land of his birth as his own, taking himself outside his country, he would acquire a country by pilgrimage, he would return to that country. [...] By crossing stretches of lands, by sowing the seeds of Christ's words, he entered Rome] (VB, §1).

<sup>5</sup> The story of the "dragon" in the *VG1* reads: "Sanctus [...] Gildas [...] audivit Romanos cives graviter dolere ob pestiferum flatum draconis, qui erat latens in caverna cuiusdam montis, qui multos Romanorum et aliorum circumquaque vicinorum pestilenti flatu intermerat." [St. [...] Gildas [...] heard that the citizens of Rome were being grievously afflicted owing to the noxious breath of a dragon which was hiding in a cavern in some mountain, and which, by its pestiferous breath, had killed many of the Romans and of others dwelling in the neighbourhood] (*VG1*, §13).

<sup>6</sup> "Eo tempore in Romanie partibus seuebat quedam belua pestifera, que, quoscunque conspiceret homines, aut cruentis lacerabat faucibus aut solo flatu uenenoso ad mortem inficiebat. [...] At uir sanctus, humanorum miseriis cupiens subuenire, quod populorum nequibat multitudo, nuda precium instantia beluam mortiferam ad terram enecando prostrauit, pro quo necnon et pro aliis spectabilibus factis cuncti sanctum mirificabant magnificisque incessanter extollebant laudibus. Uidens autem uir Dei se plus solito diuulgatum, malensque soli Deo, cui cordis occulta patent, in occulto placere, quam in ore populi, qui sola solet exteriora perpendere, famosius uersari, quamdiu inhabitauerat Romam et ubi quasi certam sibi parauerat mansionem, clanculo deseruit." [At that time a certain pestiferous beast was raging in the parts of Romania, which either lacerated with bloody jaws, whatever persons it saw, or infected them unto death with its poisonous breath alone. [...] But the holy man, desiring to relieve the miseries of men, which the multitude of people could not do, on the bare urgency of prayers threw the deadly beast to the earth and killed him off; for which and also for other notable deeds all magnified the saint and extolled him continuously with loud praises. The man of God, seeing that as long as he had lived in Rome, where too he had prepared for himself as it were a fixed dwelling, he was more known than usual, and preferring to please God alone in secret to whom the hidden things of the heart are open, than to dwell more famously in the mouth of the people, who are wont to consider outward things alone, privately left] (VB, §2).

miracles that he performed there. Once again, due to his increasing fame, he decides to leave Brittany and sails to Wales, harbouring at Milford in Dyfed.<sup>7</sup>

In Dyfed, the daughter of a local nobleman falls in love with him and eventually, due to the unrequited love, manages to wound the saint. After surviving the attempt of murder, Brynach proceeds to found his main church at Nevern. In this region, he meets secular lords in peaceful and conflicting situations, the most notorious of them being Maelgwn of Gwynedd. These encounters will be examined in detail below. Finally, the *Life* emphasises the saint's ascetic practices, like his continual fastings, frequent vigils, and immersion in cold water, ascetic practices typically found in Irish and Breton Saints' *Lives*.<sup>8</sup> Finally, his death on April 7 is mentioned in the last chapter of the *Life*.

### IV.8.3 Structural analysis of the encounter-episodes

#### IV.8.3.1 The secular characters in the *in vita* section of the *VB*

##### IV.8.3.1.1 The daughter of a nobleman

The first secular character to meet the saint in Wales is the daughter of a nobleman, mentioned above. The attribution of the woman's love of the saint to the deeds of the Devil is significant in this encounter. The Devil is referred to in a language which follows a long hagiographical tradition:

---

<sup>7</sup> "Deinde longum iter arripiens, et, quocunque deueniret, imitandum cun[c]tis prebens bonitatis exemplum [...] Minorem Britanniam ingressus est. Ibi quidem per multos annos commoratus, beneficia potiora magnasque uirtutes operatus est. [...] Congratulabatur sanctus, quod per Dei gratiam inidgentibus posset proficere. Tristabatur, tamen, et moleste ferebat, quod se cunctis fama uolans non cessabat propalare. Unde ipsam quasi monstrum uitans inplacabile, latenter et solus accessit ad mare, et, cum nauem non inuenisset, petram quandam in unde superficie apte locauit, fideliter recolens, quod, qui de petra in deserto aquam produxit, potens esset et facere super aquam petram nadare. [...] Et in hostio Milfordie in Demetica regione ad ripam fluminis Cledyf applicuit." [Then undertaking a long journey, and, wherever he came, giving an example of goodness to be imitated of all [...] he entered Lesser Britain. There having remained for many years, he performed greater services and mighty miracles. [...] The saint rejoiced, because by the grace of God he was able to profit the poor. Nevertheless he was sad, and bore it ill, because flying fame ceased not to make him known to all. Wherefore, avoiding that as an implacable monster, secretly and alone he approached the sea. And as he did not find a ship, he aptly placed a certain rock on the surface of the water, faithfully considering that he who from the rock produced water in the desert was able to make a rock swim on the water. [...] And he landed in the harbour of Milford in the country of Dyfed on the bank of the river Cledyf] (*VB*, §3). This is a variant of the motif of the marvellous crossing of the sea, known from several Saints' Lives of Breton, Welsh and Irish origins, as for example the Lives of Malo, Tathan, Theneu and Brendan (Milin 1989: 125-140).

<sup>8</sup> "Continuis corpus ieiuniis macerabat, crebrisque extenuabat uigiliis. Carnis insolentiam uestium cohibebat asperitate, gelideque quam subibat cotidie aque in frig[i]dacione." [He wasted his body with continual fastings, and reduced it with frequent vigils. He checked the insolence of the flesh with the roughness of his garments, and in chilliness of cold water which he entered daily] (*VB*, §9). Compare also the ascetic practices attributed to David and his disciples at St. David's in the *VD* (cf. *VD*, §22 to §31).

[...] *antiqu[us] humani generis aduersarius noua sue semper fingens commenta nequicie, ad expugnandam fortius castimonie puritatem continuo accinctus **filiam optimatis [...] in amore sancti acrius incitauit.** Ista uero, ut queque fere mulier diabolo uetus armatura malignitatis uas amplum, et omne facinus inuincibiliter preparata, temptat omnimodis famulum Dei illecebrose uoluptatis sue laqueis uinculare, et a consummatione melioris propositi conatur auertere. Sue luxurie miscet aconita, uenereisque munimentis formose indusiata, non cessat illi propinare, quod miscuit inepte. [...] sanctus Dei famulus, sed respuit, et, **ut monet apostolus, fugit fornicacionis assultus.** In hoc etenim conflictu melius pugnat, qui cedit, quam qui resistit; fortius uincit, qui fortius fugit. Puella uero puellarem abdicans modestiam, qui stabilem animum ad amorem nefarium non potuit inclinare, amorem uertens in odium sancti uiri, sanctum corpus uoluit ab anima separare. Mulier, quidem, in amore repudiata, excogitat omne malum, et quem paulo ante usque ad diuisionem corporis et anime dilexerat, nunc in odium eius inflammata, ad omne genus mortis perducere conatur. Qui[a], ut ille morum egregius informator, Seneca, ait, 'Aut odit aut amat mulier; nichil est medium.' Misit, ergo, quosdam uiros crudeles ad persequendum sanctum [...] Accelerant uiri nefandi, et ad malum suum currunt obcecati. Quem secuntur [...] unus eorum mitem uirum lancee diro confodit uulnere. Irruunt et alii uolentes perimere, sed assistunt nutu Dei quidem presentes, qui uirum sanctum a manibus carnificum festinant eripere. At ille, **qui uulnus infixit, Dei statim ultione percussus, toto corpore pediculis alatis obsessus, postquam diu languore et inedia afflictus fuerat, morte tandem miserabili miseram finiuit uitam.** Sanctus Dei famulus ad fontem, qui iuxta erat, accessit, et aquam subintrans, sanguinem abluit. Unde usque in hodiernum diem fons ille Fons Rubeus uocatus est, ubi etiam ob honorem sancti misericors Deus multa sanitatum infirmis prestat beneficia, nec mora, Domino mediante, uulnere sanitate recepta.*

[...] **the old adversary of human kind**, ever forming new plans for his wickedness, always ready to attack more boldly the purity of chastity, sharply **urged the daughter of a nobleman [...] into love of the saint.** She, in fact, as almost every woman is for the devil old armour, a vessel full of malignity, and prepared invincibly for every crime, tries in every way to bind the servant of God alluringly with the snares of her charm, and attempts to divert him from the consummation of a better design. To serve her wantonness she mixes wolf's-bane, and being gaily clothed in alluring attire she ceases not to give him to drink what she improperly mixed. The holy servant of God [...] refused it, and, **as the apostle advises, he flies from the assaults of fornication.** For in this conflict he fights better, who retires, than he who resists; he conquers more bravely, who more bravely flies. The girl, in fact, rejecting girlish modesty, who could not bend his firm mind to impious love, turning her love into hatred of the holy man, would separate his holy body from his soul. A woman, rejected in love, excogitates every evil, and whom a little before she had loved to the dividing of body and soul, she now, inflamed into hatred of, tries to lead to every kind of death. For, as that distinguished instructor of morals, Seneca, says, 'A woman either hates or loves; there is no medium.' Therefore she sent certain cruel men to persecute the saint [...]. The wicked men hasten, and rush blindly to their evil deed. Whom they follow [...] one of them pierced the meek man with a dreadful wound from a spear. The others, too, rush in desiring to slay him, but by the will of God certain present assist, who hasten to snatch the holy man from the hands of the scoundrels. But he **who inflicted the wound, being immediately struck by the vengeance of God, beset on his whole body by winged lice, after he had been long afflicted by weakness and poverty at length finished his wretched life with a miserable death.** The holy servant of God went to a well, which was near, and going into the water, washed away the blood. Wherefore unto this day that well is called Fons Rubeus, *red well*, where also in honour of the saint the merciful God bestows many benefits of health on the infirm, the healing of wounds through the mediation of the Lord being received without delay (VB, §4) [my emphasis].

Reference to the Devil as men's adversary is already found in the Bible, in 1 Pet 5: 8: "*Sobrii estote, et vigilate: quia aduersarius vester diabolus tamquam leo rugiens circuit, quærens quem devoret.*" [Be sober and watch: because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, goeth about seeking whom he may devour]. The quick spread of the idea, however, in the West was mainly due to the *Dialogues* by Gregory the Great, in which Gregory tells of Benedict's tribulations against the Devil, the "old adversary" – *antiquus hostis* – of the human

race.<sup>9</sup> This lively and detailed description of the woman's cunningly tricks to seduce the saint reminds one of the descriptions of the naked women sent by the Irish chieftain to distract David and his disciples from their religious activities in the *Life* of Teilo.<sup>10</sup> There, as here, the emphasis is on the woman's act as an act of evilness, especially because it would prevent the saint from living a pure Christian life. The description of the drink made of wolf's bane and of the woman's alluring attire carries a set of underlying references to "machinations" typical, within a medieval mentality, of women, such as is the use of love potions and beautiful clothes to seduce men. Drawing on biblical misogynist views on women, most probably from Paul's epistles, the hagiographer follows, consequently, the associations of the temptations of the flesh with women's act.<sup>11</sup> The sentence '*Aut odit aut amat mulier; nichil est medium,*' attributed here to Seneca, but in fact stemming from Publilius Syrus' *Sententiae*,<sup>12</sup> presents an interesting source for this hagiographer's understanding of an unrequited love, which he directly connects to a more demonological and misogynist (Pauline) view.

Moreover, the death of the man who struck the saint is a direct punishment by God for his acts. Here, significantly, no immediate death is told and the conception of a theology of salvation is to be perceived: due to his evilness, the man *endures* a wretched life, poverty strikes him and he finally dies a miserable death. Within such a theological view, there is no salvation for those who do not repent and who continue living in evil ways. That this *Life* works with a concept of the influence of the Devil in human lives, moreover, is corroborated by the description, in the following episode, of how Brynach, after surviving the murder, frees a place called Pontfaen from unclean spirits that rendered the place uninhabitable:

---

<sup>9</sup> See *VBen*, ed. Lambert, p. 106.

<sup>10</sup> See section IV.4.3.1.1. of this thesis.

<sup>11</sup> Paul, in his Epistle to the Ephesians, explicitly admonishes men to avoid fornication and any other kind of "uncleanness" in order to achieve the status of a "saint:" "*Estote ergo imitatores Dei, sicut filii carissimi, et ambulate in dilectione, sicut et Christus dilexit nos, et tradidit semetipsum pro nobis, oblationem et hostiam Deo in odorem suavitatis. Fornicatio autem, et omnis immunditia, aut avaritia, nec nominetur in vobis, sicut decet sanctos: aut turpitudine, aut stultiloquium, aut scurrilitas, quæ ad rem non pertinet: sed magis gratiarum actio.*" [Be ye therefore followers of God, as most dear children; And walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us, and hath delivered himself for us, an oblation and a sacrifice to God for an odour of sweetness. But fornication, and all uncleanness, or covetousness, let it not so much as be named among you, as becometh saints: Or obscenity, or foolish talking, or scurrility, which is to no purpose; but rather giving of thanks]. The idea also appears in his Epistle to the Corinthians: "*Scripti in epistola: Ne commisceamini fornicariis: non utique fornicariis hujus mundi, aut avaris, aut rapacibus, aut idolis servientibus: alioquin debueratis de hoc mundo exiisse. Nunc autem scripsi vobis non commisceri: si is qui frater nominatur, est fornicator, aut avarus, aut idolis serviens, aut maledicus, aut ebriosus, aut rapax, cum ejusmodi nec cibum sumere.*" [I wrote to you in an epistle, not to keep company with fornicators. I mean not with the fornicators of this world, or with the covetous, or the extortioners, or the servers of idols; otherwise you must needs go out of this world. But now I have written to you, not to keep company, if any man that is named a brother, be a fornicator, or covetous, or a server of idols, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner: with such a one, not so much as to eat].

<sup>12</sup> Publilius Syrus' *Sententiae* were transmitted in the Middle Ages as the work of Seneca and/or other writers (cf. Beckby 1969: 13).



*Sanctus Bernacius, longius proficiscens, ad locum iuxta flumen Gueun uenit, qui nunc Pons appellatur Lapideus, ubi, ponens mansionem, locum illum a spiritibus immundis liberauit, quem ipsi, omni nocte oberrantes diris clamoribus, horrendisque replentes ululatus, usque ad illum diem inhabitabilem reddiderunt.*

Saint Brynach, proceeding farther, came to a place by the river Gwaun, which now is called Pons Lapideus, Pontfaen, where, fixing his residence, he freed that place from unclean spirits. They, roving about it every night with dreadful outcries, and filling it with horrid howlings, rendered it uninhabitable till that day (VB, §5).

The idea of an uninhabitable place freed from the demons by a saint is common in early medieval Saints' *Lives*, especially of the Desert Fathers. The saint, as for example in Jerome's *Life* of Hilarion, seeks for a place where the Devil and his host inhabit so as to free it from their evilness. Other examples can also be found in *Lives* of early English saints, such as in the *Life* of Cuthbert by Bede (VCuth, §17) and the *Life* of Guthlac by Felix of Crowland (VGuth, §34). The lively description of the outcries and the howling of the unclean spirits are also very marked in the *VH* (VH, §43). The saint's direct confrontation with the Devil is explained within the idea of the *imitatio Christi*, since Christ himself is said to have come to this world to free it from the Devil (cf. Dinzelbacher 1989: 649), according to the message conveyed in 1John 3: 8: *Qui facit peccatum, ex diabolo est: quoniam ab initio diabolus peccat. In hoc apparuit Filius Dei, ut dissolvat opera diaboli* [He that committeth sin is of the devil: for the devil sinneth from the beginning. **For this purpose, the Son of God appeared, that he might destroy the works of the devil**] (my emphasis).

Moreover, this direct reference to the Devil and to unclean spirits locates the *Life* in a twelfth-century milieu, according to the views which I have been defending in this thesis. It is my contention that the absence of the Devil in most of the Welsh Saints' *Lives* is due to the non-propagation of the Rule of St. Benedict in Wales in earlier times. Welsh monasteries, differently from England, did not follow the Rule, which also accounts for the supposedly little interest in the Dialogues of Gregory the Great containing the *Life* of Benedict. Both works account for the spread of the idea of the Devil as an ever-tempter and adversary of mankind, especially of elected men who choose to follow a Christian path. It is only through the renewed contacts between monasteries in England and on the Continent impelled by the Norman Conquest that new religious ideas started impinging on Welsh religious texts. These new changes found their best representatives in the *Lives* written under the auspices of Llandaff.

#### IV.8.3.1.2 Clechre

The first secular ruler who meets Brynach in the *VB* is called Clechre. He is presented as a just man of advanced age, wherefrom he is also named *Senex*, the Old one. Just like St. David in the *VD*, Brynach lights a fire on his arrival at Dyfed. The fire and the smoke that ensues from it and that covers the entire valley are straightforwardly interpreted by Clechre as a sign of the saint's power. He urges, therefore, his twenty sons to go to Brynach and to submit themselves to the saint:

*'Filii mei, auribus percipite, quia aduenit uir ille, quem diu nobis promissum nouimus, cuius fama bonitatis super faciem terre dilatabitur et in altissimis celebrabitur, et sicut uidetis fumum eius diffusum expandi, ita potestas prelacionis eius, et multo latius. Eamus, ergo, et procidamus ante faciem eius, et subiciamur ei, quia diuine uoluntati nullatenus contradicere seu resistere debemus.'*

'My sons, give ear, because the man is arrived, whom we have long known to have been promised to us, the **report of whose goodness will be spread abroad on the face of the earth** and will be celebrated in the highest, and **as ye see his diffused smoke to be spread out, so it will be the power of his preferment, and much more widely**. Let us, therefore, go, and fall down before his face, and let us submit ourselves to him, because we ought by no means to contradict the divine will, or to resist it' (*VB*, §8) [my emphasis].

Emphasis is laid on Clechre's age and, therefore, on his good and sensible judgement. He wisely interprets the sign given by the smoke as portending the arrival of a mighty person. It is significant that he is said to have such a high number of sons and that they, apparently unconcerned with territorial disputes, accept to submit themselves to the saint. Clechre's speech highlights the idea of not offering resistance to a saint's settlement since this would mean to turn against divine plans. Brynach receives Clechre's twenty sons under his protection and instructs them in monastic training, which calls attention to the fact that the text claims that most of the original community of monks following Brynach came from the local nobility and from one and the same family. Clechre is then said to have left to Cornwall, where he ended his life in the service of religion. The *VB* is structured for this episode to provide an example of a reasonable attitude of a secular ruler, who, by offering no resistance to the saint's settlement, contributes to the development of God's plans on earth. This contrasts with the next episode, in which king Maelgwn of Gwynedd is made to oppose to the saint and his disciples.

#### IV.8.3.1.3 Maelgwn of Gwynedd

The Maelgwnian episode in the *VB* revolves around the saint's miraculous provision of food to a secular ruler within his cave or cell, found in the *Vespasian* legendary also in the *Life* of Illtud, for example.<sup>13</sup> A series of interconnected elements are presented in order to allow the encounter between the saint and Maelgwn to take place: firstly, the saint's abilities to tame wild animals, like the two stags that draw a cart and help Brynach to carry the furniture to be taken into the new settlement and, also, a tamed wolf that, in the manner of a herdsman, takes heed of a most especial cow that the saint had separated from the others due to its abundant milk. The motif of tamed stags and wolfs appear in the *Lives* of Illtud and Carannog, for example, and are also very common in Irish *Lives* (cf. Bray 1992: 89).<sup>14</sup> The hagiographer displays, therefore, a vivid interest in conflating common hagiographical motifs found in Welsh Saints' *Lives* and is able to provide, therewith, a fluid and creative text. The first note to be made concerning Maelgwn's encounter with Brynach is that Maelgwn leaves his northern region of Gwynedd to enter Dyfed, which points to the coming of the ruler to a territory already occupied by the saint. The language employed to describe Maelgwn is reminiscent of his description from other *Lives* in the *Vespasian* legendary, as for example the *Life* of Padarn. There, he is described as a tempter of saints.<sup>15</sup> The idea of Maelgwn's loosing his temper resembles, moreover, his description in the *VCI*.<sup>16</sup> In journeying throughout Dyfed, near Brynach's cell, Maelgwn orders that the saint should prepare supper for him. Differently from Illtud in the *VI*, Brynach adamantly refuses this, taking for granted that his monastery should be free from such suit:

*Sanctus, uero, uolens se et suos necnon et loca sue ex omni actione liberare, asseruit se regi nullam debere cenam, nec iniusto eius precepto in aliquo uelle parere. [...] Rex, ut erat facilis a mentis tranquillitate moueri, proniorque ad nocendum quam ad subueniendum promptior dinoscebatur, nichil pietati, nichil sanctitati, nichil modestie deferrens, misit satellites, qui uaccam sancti adducerent et exinde sibi cibaria pararent.*

The saint, wishing that he and his and also his loca, *monasteries*, should be free from every suit, asserted that he owed no supper to the king, nor was he willing in any way to obey his unjust command. [...] The king, **as he was easily moved from tranquillity of mind, and was known to be more prone to hurting than prompt to succour**, conceding nothing to piety, nothing to sanctity, nothing to modesty, sent his satellites, who should fetch up the saint's Cow, and therefrom prepare victuals for him (*VB*, §11) [my emphasis].

<sup>13</sup> In the episode in which Illtud meets king Meirchion. See section IV.3.3.1.3. of this thesis.

<sup>14</sup> See sections IV.3.3.1.3. and IV.13.3.1.1. of this thesis.

<sup>15</sup> See section IV.9.3.1.1 of this thesis.

<sup>16</sup> See section IV.1.3.1.2. of this thesis.

The motif of the flesh that does not cook – i.e. a punitive miracle – is employed together with that of the tamed wild animal, in this case the wolf, that runs to the saint and prostates itself before him to warn him that the cow had been stolen. This represents the saint's power over nature and is meant to convince the king of the saint's superiority. The king and his household are tortured by hunger and, in recognising in this a miracle, are struck by fear of the saint. They come to him barefoot and ask him for mercy. Brynach, taking Maelgwn's right hand, raises him from the floor, indulging him "with confident hope in the compassion of the Most High" (VB, §13).<sup>17</sup> In order to ease the king's mind, Brynach invites him to spend the night at his cave. A direct comparison is made between the saint's former refusal to offer supper to Maelgwn and this spontaneous invitation from his part<sup>18</sup> – it is after Brynach's resuscitation of the cow and the corroboration, as it were, of God's power in opposition to that of a secular king like Maelgwn, that the invitation takes place. It was necessary, therefore, that the words of *hope* coming from the saint reached Maelgwn's ears so that the way would be open for Maelgwn's recognition that the saint should be left undisturbed to carry on his religious activities in the region. A miraculous provision of food for the king and his retinue take place, followed by a direct comparison with provision miracles found in the Old Testament:

*Quid faciat, qui nichil aut modicum habet in penu, quod apponat discumbentibus, nisi sperare in Deo ut ipse faciat, qui filiis Israel esurientibus cibaria misit in habundantia, pluitque illis manna ad manducandum? Accessit, ergo, ad quercum, que prope stabat, et pro foliis dependentes triticeos decerpit panes, quotquot habet necessarios. Unde et quercus illa 'quercus panis', dum stabit, uocabitur. Accessit ad torrentem Caman, qui prope fluebat. Pro aqua hausit uinum ad affluentiam. Pro lapidibus de eodem torrente pisces extraxit ad saturitatem.*

What is he to do, who has nothing or little in store, that he might place before them who recline at table, except to hope in God that he might do it, who sent food in abundance to the children of Israel in their hunger and rained manna upon them for to eat? He went up, therefore, to an oak, which stood near, and plucked off wheaten loaves, which were hanging instead of leaves, as many as he deemed necessary. Wherefore also that oak will be called Bread Oak, as long as it shall stand. He went up to the torrent, Caman, which flowed near. For water he drew wine in abundance. For stones he drew forth fish from the same torrent to repletion (VB, §15) [my emphasis].

In the morning of the next day, the expected result of their encounter is confirmed:

*Rex [...] secundum hospicii legem gratias soluens, sancto Bernachio dixit, 'Quia gratuitam beneficentiam tuam accepi, ego munificentiam meam tibi gratis largiri non dedignor. In nomine Dei et Domini nostri Iesu Christi te, et locum tuum, totumque territorium ad locum tuum pertinens, necnon omnes in eo commanentes, ab omni regia exactione in perpetuo liberi [...]. Qui, ergo, contra hanc donationem omniumque fidelium Christi et meam celeriter incurrat.' Munus regis sanctus Dei gratanter suscipiens, gratias egit ipsique sequentibus suis mente deuota benedixit.*

<sup>17</sup> "[...] et sperande pietatis Altissimi fiduciam indulsit."

<sup>18</sup> "[...] et quod paulo ante fronte obstinata negauerat, hoc nunc largiflua caritate et mente beneficia gratuito optulit." [...] and what shortly before he had refused with stubborn front, this he now offered gratis with overflowing charity and generous mind] (VB, §14).

The king [...] **in accordance with the law of hospitality** giving thanks he said to Saint Brynach, 'Because I have received thy free beneficence, I do not refuse to bestow on thee freely my munificence. In the name of God and our Lord Jesus Christ I exempt for ever from all royal exaction thee and thy locus, *monastery*, and all the territory pertaining to thy locus and also all dwelling therein [...]. Who, therefore, shall have presumed in the future to contravene this my donation, may he quickly incur the malediction of God gratefully accepting the king's gift, gave thanks, and blessed him and his followers with a devout mind (VB, §15) [my emphasis].

The main theme here is, therefore, that of non-violation of church properties. The authority of Maelgwn's donations of land was sought to secure Brynach's rights in the region. Furthermore, by mentioning the "law of hospitality," the hagiographer locates his message again within a New Testamental conception, also seen in the *Life* of Tatheus, there explicitly shown through the biblical quotation of the passage from Mt 25: 35-36.<sup>19</sup> The "law of hospitality," as I already called attention, was propagated through the use of the Rule of St. Benedict and this agrees with my assumption as to the propagation of instances of presence of the Devil and exorcisms, noticed before in this same *Life*.

The *Life* ends right after their departure from each other, with the hagiographer's reference to several miracles performed by the saint both *in vita* and posthumous. No *post-mortem* section follows the text of the *Life*, though. Judging from its homiletic character, this is justifiable in that the *Life* seems to have been meant to be read for a religious community, so that a separate list of miracles would be unnecessary. This would be justifiable by assuming that the *Life* of Brynach was produced on the event of a *translatio*. The insertion of posthumous miracles collected in the church to which the relics were taken would have probably taken some time to become attached to the main text of the Saint's *Life* or were kept in a separate *libellus* which did not find its way into the *Vespasian* legendary.

---

<sup>19</sup> "Esurivi, et dedistis mihi manducare: nudus fui, et copuistis me: hospes fui, et collegistis me." [For I was hungry, and you gave me to eat; I was thirsty, and you gave me to drink; I was a stranger, and you took me in].

## IV.9 The *Life* of Saint Padarn

### IV.9.1 Dating and authorship

Llanbadarn Fawr in modern Ceredigion was an important centre of learning traditionally associated with St. Padarn,<sup>1</sup> its founder and patron-saint. It seems that the *Vespasian Life* of Padarn (ff. 80v – 84r) stemmed from Padarn’s Llanbadarn Fawr. It is an anonymous work, dated to ca. 1120 by Wade-Evans on account of the *Life*’s claims in favour of a diocesan bishop at Llanbadarn, a claim that would have no support after the advent of Llandaff’s disputes with St. David’s on metropolitan status and after both St. David’s and Llandaff’s disputes with Canterbury (cf. Wade-Evans 1944: xii-xiii).<sup>2</sup> The *Vespasian VP* is most probably a collection of references to Padarn’s life taken from different sources (cf. Duine 1970: 69, Duchesne 1893: 238, Doble 1941: 5-9). It bears a connection with the *Life* of David by Rhygyfarch, who states in his *Life* that he had access to an early *historia* of Padarn.<sup>3</sup> Sulien, Rhygyfarch’s father – who was consecrated bishop of St. David’s in at least two occasions – was a native of Llanbadarn Fawr. François Duine dated the *VP* to between 1040 and 1081. He did not explain under which grounds he came up with this dating, although he was probably considering the reference to the *historia Paterni* in the *VD*, which would imply that the *VP* was earlier than the *VD* (cf. Duine 1870: 69). Joseph Loth dated the *VP* to sometime between the tenth and the eleventh centuries. In his opinion, the *Life* of Padarn was earlier than the *Lives* of David and Teilo. He read the *Life* as referring to the seven bishops of *Brittannia* instituted by Nominoé in 850, confirmed by its mention of Samson and which aimed to submit Vannes to Dol (cf. Loth 1894a: 73). David Kirby argued, on the other hand, that this *historia Paterni* would be none other than the extant *Life* of Padarn in the *Vespasian* legendary. According to him, the chapter in the *VD* containing the details of the joint trip of

---

<sup>1</sup> He is also referred to as *Paternus*. His name and feast day are often confused with that of *Paternus* of Avranches, according to the *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*. See also Grosjean 1949: 384-400. The *Life* of Padarn will be henceforth referred to as *VP*.

<sup>2</sup> The *Life*’s claims are stated in a section listing the possessions of the lands of Saint Padarn: “*Presente, igitur, patriarcha Ierusalem, successerunt tria regna dextralia Britannorum sub tribus episcopatibus trium sanctorum. Regnum Seisil consecrationem ecclesiarum, et impositionem graduum ecclesiasticorum, et confirmationem episcopalis baptismi, oleumque crismale, et omnia debita episcopalia ab episcopatu sancti Paterni accepit. Regnum autem Rein hec predicta iura ab episcopatu sancti David accepit. Ac regnum Morgant a sancto Eliud episcopalia debita suscepit. Itaque tercius episcopalis locus est apud Dextrales Brittanos ciuitas sancti Paterni episcopi.*” [Whilst then the patriarch of Jerusalem was present, the three southern kingdoms of the Britons succeeded under the three episcopacies of the three saints. The Kingdom of Seisyll, *Seisyllwg*, received the consecration of churches, and the imposition of ecclesiastical degrees, and confirmation of episcopal baptism, and the chrismal oil, and all episcopal duties from the episcopacy of saint Padarn. The Kingdom of Rhain, *Rheinwg*, received these aforesaid rights from the episcopacy of saint David. And the Kingdom of Morgan, *Morgannwg*, received episcopal duties from saint Eiludd, Teilo] (*VP*, §30).

<sup>3</sup> *VD*, §44; the numeration of the chapters and the translation are from Wade-Evans, A. (ed. and trans.) (1914) *Vita Sancti David per Ricemarchum*. Stow-on-the-Wold: J.H. Alden.

Teilo, David and Padarn to Jerusalem was a later insertion in the *VD* and did *not* belong, therefore, to Rhygyfarch's original *Life* of David (cf. Kirby 1969: 294-295). I am inclined to agree with Kirby's assumption: the text "fixed" in the *Vespasian* legendary already gives all indications for a conflation of *Lives* belonging to different saints, as we shall see. Since one of the saints in question was St. Patern of Vannes and since there is an implied connection between Padarn and Brittany – through Dol – in the *Vespasian VP*, it seems more probable to consider the *Vespasian* text as a *réécriture* of earlier texts. These points will become clear in the exposition of some of the *Life*'s episodes.

The *VP* works with themes and motifs found in Rhygyfarch's *Life* of David and also in the anonymous *Life* of Teilo in the *Vespasian* legendary. Although much has been written about the possible borrowings from one *Life* into the other,<sup>4</sup> it is difficult to ascertain with any precision in which centres some of the motifs and themes originated. The similar motifs and themes locate, however, the three works within the *same literary milieu*. Whenever relevant to the analysis of the encounter-episodes, they will be dealt with accordingly.

St. Padarn's sphere of influence, together with that of St. Carannog, was claimed by the diocese of St David's since the end of the eleventh century, when there was an increasing pressure on churches in Wales to follow the delineation of diocesan boundaries in line with Roman practices. One wonders whether these territorial claims were carried on when Sulien occupied the bishopric of St. David's. Be it as it may, in Rhygyfarch's *VD*, Padarn's virtues and saintliness are emphasised and both saints appear in *almost* equal terms.

The region of Ceredigion was apparently granted by Henry I to a secular Norman lord, Gilbert fitz Richard de Clare in 1110 x 1115 (cf. Doble 1941: 35, Brooke 1963: 265-267, Davies 2000: 39). According to John Tatlock, Llanbadarn Fawr became afterwards "a mere cell of Gloucester" (1939: 349) for at least the first decades of the 1130s, when the Welsh recovered the region from the Normans (cf. Brooke 1963: 267). Kathleen Hughes argued, therefore, for the *Vespasian VP* to have been compiled soon after Gloucester obtained the church of Llanbadarn. According to her, it was through Llanbadarn that Gloucester acquired some of the West Welsh legends containing versions of the *Lives* of Padarn, Brynach, Carannog and Cybi, in corroboration with her views that the *Vespasian* legendary bore a connection to Gloucester (cf. Hughes 1958: 58-59). The whole history of the occupation of Ceredigion is

---

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, Loth 1894: 81-85, 277-286, 438-446, esp. 72-73, Brooke 1963: 258-320, James 1967: xxxi-xxxv and, Kirby 1969: 292-297.

uncertain and the little information we possess makes it difficult to assert to which extent this “occupation” had a real impact on the ecclesiastical situation of the region.

#### IV.9.2 Content

The *VP* tells us that Padarn was born of saintly parents in Brittany. Much emphasis is laid on the connection between Wales and “Letauia,” just like in the *Life* of Illtud. Padarn’s father, Petran, was a saint who founded a monastery in Ireland, where he went to live in seclusion. In order to visit his father and dedicate himself to God, Padarn leaves “Armorica” with 847 other monks and lands in Wales. After the founding of a church and the establishment of a monastery in Ceredigion, he leaves his companions to go to Ireland, where he finally meets his father. Returning from Ireland, he builds ‘monasteria et ecclesias per totam Cereticam regionem.’<sup>5</sup> After a sojourn in Jerusalem, the saint returns to Ceredigion. A king called Caradog Braichfras is then introduced, under whose requests Padarn leaves Ceredigion and returns to his native Brittany. In this part, in what is undoubtedly a conflation between the *Life* of a Welsh saint and a Breton one, the hagiographer tells us that the city of Vannes was the seat of Padarn’s episcopacy, which is at odds with an earlier statement in the same *Life* that Teilo, David and Padarn had divided Wales into three episcopacies (*VP*, §20).<sup>6</sup> This confirms the suspicion of a conflation of texts dealing with different saints.<sup>7</sup> Padarn then leaves Brittany and goes to the land of the Franks where he dies and is interred. Two posthumous miracles are added after his death, followed by a list of the possessions of lands belonging to St. Padarn based on Welsh material.

---

<sup>5</sup> “*Tunc Paternus monasteria et ecclesias per totam Cereticam regionem edificauit [...]*” [Then Padarn built monasteries and churches throughout the whole Ceredigion country [...]] (*VP*, §14).

<sup>6</sup> “*Urbs autem Guenet sedes episcopatus sancti Paterni est, in qua Petrus apostulus unam ecclesiam tenet.*” [The city of Vannes is the seat of the episcopacy of saint Padarn, in which Peter, the Apostle, holds one church] (*VP*, §27).

<sup>7</sup> Canon Doble showed how the author/reviser of the *Vespasian VP* identified the Welsh *Paternus* with St. Patern of Vannes, whose name had already been conflated with that of St. Patern of Avranches. This latter had a *Vita* written by Venantius Fortunatus in the sixth century. The connection of the Welsh Padarn with Dol is noteworthy: the relics of SS. Patern and Samson seem to have left the Abbey of St-Magloire at Paris, where they had been taken on the advent of the Norsemen’s occupation of Brittany in the tenth century, to be taken to Dol probably during the eleventh century (cf. Doble 1941: 1-6, 36-37). Joseph Loth saw the connection of Padarn and Samson in the *VP* as a response to the chapter of St. David’s claim that Samson had taken the *pallium* of St. David to Dol. Loth saw St. David’s and Llandaff’s attempts to connect their saints to Samson to have arisen during the time when the archbishop of Dol seems to have been recognised by the popes, i.e. between 1076 and 1143 (cf. Loth 1894: 74).



### IV.9.3 Structural analysis of the encounter-episodes

#### IV.9.3.1 The secular characters in the *in vita* section of the *VP*

##### IV.9.3.1.1 Maelgwn

Maelgwn is described in the *VP* as the king of the northern Britons. He comes to Ceredigion with his troops in order to subdue and conquer the southern Britons. Encamping at the mouth of the river Clarach, he sends two of his messengers to Padarn in order to try the saint. Maelgwn is described as the “ever tempter of the saints,” which seems to indicate that the hagiographer was acquainted with Maelgwn’s stories in connection with other Welsh saints.<sup>8</sup> This episode seems to have originated around an onomastic explanation of a nearby river, Graban, which is here given as the name of one of Maelgwn’s messengers. The Maelgwnian episode in the *VP* brings forth a rather original and elaborate confrontation between the saint and the ruler. The king still epitomises the wicked ruler but in this episode the emphasis is laid on his wicked *scheme* to test the saint. The messengers fill some bags with moss and gravel and order the saint to take care of them, pretending the bags contained royal valuables, until the king returns from his conquest of the south. After their return, they accuse the saint of *theft* and threaten the existence of the monastery in case the saint fails to return the valuables.<sup>9</sup> Padarn, recalling a decree passed by “the king throughout the whole of Britannia” in which a liar should be discovered by putting his/her hands into boiling water, immerses his hands in the water, which miraculously feels cold as snow. The wickedness of the messengers is disclosed and they both die with scalded hands. The origin of the name of the river Graban is then explained in that the messengers’ souls fly in raven-forms to the bed of the river

---

<sup>8</sup> “*Interea Mulgun, rex Borealiū Brittonū Australes Brittannos ad debellandos et subiciendos uisitans, cum forti exercitu adusque ostium fluminis Clarauch uenit. Ac quum ipse semper temptator sanctorum aderat, duos precones se precedere iussit, ut sanctum Paternum aliquo malicioso modo temptarent. Dicebantur autem Graban et Terillan.*” [In the meantime Maelgwn, king of the Northern Britons on a journey to the Southern Britons to vanquish and subdue them, comes with a strong army as far as the mouth of the river Clarach. And when he, ever tempter of the saints, was at hand, he ordered two heralds to precede him, that they might try Padarn in some wicked way. They were called Graban and Terillan] (*VP*, §15).

<sup>9</sup> “*Rex preterit, precones secuntur. Pacifice reuertitur rex, pacatis Brittannis. Et misit precones malignos, ut temptarent sanctum. Tunc celeriter cellam adeunt, fiscos attolunt, interiora eorum exinterant, muscos et glareas deponunt, proterue exclamant omnes regis thesauros furtim raptos, et pro eis glareas et muscos esse inmissos. Sanctus e contra respondit ut dimissos ita fore inuentos. At illi ruinam totius celle minabantur, si non tesauri redderentur.*” [The king passes on, the heralds follow. The king returns in peace, the Britons being subdued. And he sent the malign heralds to try the saint. Then quickly do they approach his cell, they take up the bags, they empty their contents, they deposit the moss and gravel, they impudently cry out that all the treasures of the king had been taken by stealth, and that gravel and moss had been put in instead of them. The saint on the other hand replies that as put in so they were found. But they began to threaten the ruin of the whole cell, if the treasures were not restored] (*VP*, §17).

bearing that name.<sup>10</sup> Maelgwn turns *blind* at the spot and repents of his sins. Maelgwn's granting of land to Padarn delineates his territory in Ceredigion. The episode's structure revolves around the desire to *temp* the saint with *trickery* and on Padarn's own testing of the messengers, which leads to the king's blindness and to the messengers' death.

The exposition of the miraculous intervention in this episode is noteworthy. Apart from the punishment by *blinding*, which is indeed the only "miracle" named by the hagiographer, there is the image of the messengers' souls flying in raven-form, *in specibus coruinis*, to the river bed after their death. The image functions as an inversion of the death scene attributed to good and just characters in hagiographical texts: good and saintly characters have their souls migrate to heaven, with the aspect of the *upwards* movement towards heaven emphasised. Here the souls, in going to the river bed, do the opposite movement, they go *down* to earth. The symbolism of the raven, moreover, with its image as one of the beast of battles that feeds on dead corpses and which pervaded secular heroic tradition since classical times,<sup>11</sup> seems to have been used as a counterpart to the well-known hagiographical motif of ascending to heaven either accompanied by the appearance of angels or lights.<sup>12</sup>

One last and important aspect that must be emphasised is the lack of biblical quotations or allusions to accompany the punitive miracle of taking and giving sight to Maelgwn. The episode, as inferred by the reference to Maelgwn's evil deeds, works with an already existing

---

<sup>10</sup> "[...] Paternus suam manum ilico in aquam feruentissime ardoris misit, que deposita alba ac frigida ut nix apparuit. Mox coguntur precones ut manus suas in aquam mittant. Mox manus eorum exuste maliciam mentium declarant. Et extemplo precones toti combusti uitam finiunt. Anime in specibus coruinis alueum aduolant, quod nomine altero usque hodie uocatur, id est, Grabani." [Immediately Padarn placed his hands in the water at its greatest heat, which when placed in appeared white and cold as snow. Soon the heralds are constrained to put their hands in the water. Soon their scalded hands show the malice of their minds. And the heralds forthwith being entirely burnt, end their life. Their souls in raven-forms fly to the river bed, which unto this day by the name of one of them is called, to wit, Graban] (VP, §18).

<sup>11</sup> In classical tradition the raven was seen as a treacherous animal. In Anglo-Saxon heroic poems, it was, together with the eagle and the wolf, one of the "beasts of battle," feeding on dead corpses, as for example in the Battle of Maldon, a poem written probably in East Anglia in the late tenth or early eleventh century (see *The Battle of Maldon*, ll. 106-107, ed. Treharne. The same idea is found in medieval Welsh heroic poetry, as for example in the *Gododdin*, in which the bodies of the young warriors are presaged to end as food for the ravens (cf. Klausner 1993: 247-263). In Anglo-Saxon Saints' *Lives*, on the other hand, a raven is normally portrayed as a *thief* (cf. Cavil 1999: 7) so that there could be an interpretation in the same direction in the VP since in this passage Padarn is accused of *theft* by the two messengers, who are in fact the ones who wish to rob the saint of his possessions. As seen in the VI, Saints' *Lives* influenced by Jerome's *Life* of Paul the Hermit employed the image of the raven as providing daily to the saint with a loaf of bread (cf. VI, §19).

<sup>12</sup> For instance, in Jerome's *Life* of Paul the Hermit, in which Antony sees Paul ascending to heaven in snow white robes among a band of angels and the choirs of prophets and apostles: "uidet inter angelorum cateruas, inter prophetarum et apostolorum chorus, niueo Paulum candore fulgentem in sublime condescere (VPau, § 14); or in Bede's *Life* of Cuthbert, in which Cuthbert sees the soul of a holy man ascending to heaven in the arms of angels (Cf. VCuth, §34).

tradition connecting Maelgwn to Welsh saints and the author's interest is, in this case, less hagiographical than literary:

*Tunc rex ipse Mailgun in sua statione cecatur oculis, infirmatur corde, genibus titubat. Se morituum confitetur propter reatum sue nequitiæ in sanctum Paternum. Illico rex Paternum adiit, cui genuflecti, indulgentiam petit. Ac sanctus Paternus indulgentiam dedit. Rex ille remunerat quantitate agri [...]. In illa hora rex sanatur oculis, uegetatur corde, genibus subsisti. Pacabiles ab inuicem recedunt, sanctus Paternus et rex, Deus autem in Paterno, Paternusque in Deo, per hoc miraculum."*

Then King Maelgwn himself is **blinded at the spot, he is weakened in heart, he totters at the knees**. He confesses that he is about to die by reason of the impeachment of his iniquity against saint Padarn. Straightway the king went to Padarn, before whom he bends the knee, **he asks pardon**. And saint **Padarn granted him pardon**. That king remunerates him with a quantity of land [...]. In that hour the king is **cured in the eyes, he is quickened in heart, he stands firm on his knees**. They withdraw from each other appeased, **saint Padarn and the king**, whilst **God is in Padarn, and Padarn in God**, through this miracle (VP, §19) [my emphasis].

The hagiographer reduces the biblical references and stresses, instead, the development of the narrative elements, its dramatisation: this can be perceived in the detailed account of Maelgwn's repentance, in the use of short sentences which have the purpose of speeding up the pace of the narrative in this dramatic moment and, finally, in the use of parallelism in the structuring of the sentences.

#### IV.9.3.1.2 Arthur

Right after the Maelgwian episode, an important story is introduced which tells of a joint trip to Jerusalem undertaken by SS. David, Padarn and Teilo. This relates to Arthur's appearance in the VP and will be dealt with in detail. This episode finds parallels in both the *Lives* of David and the anonymous one of Teilo in the *Vespasian* legendary, as already seen. Both *Lives* of Padarn and David attach much importance to their patrons' "gift of tongues," i.e. the ability to talk to other people in other languages<sup>13</sup> and to the gifts they receive from the Pope. However, in the VD, contrariwise to the VP, the ability to speak a foreign language is *only* given by God to David. The Pope, moreover, gives David *alone* four wondrous gifts: an altar, a bell, a staff and a tunic woven with gold. The staff, above the other gifts, is praised by the

---

<sup>13</sup> This finds parallels in Jerome's early *Lives*: in Jerome's *Life* of Paul the Hermit, Antony, in his search for Paul in the desert in Syria, meets a strange mythological creature, a Satyr, and is able to understand him and communicate in the creature's language (Cf. VPau, §8). In Jerome's *Life* of Hilarion, moreover, the Emperor Constantius is able to communicate with the saint in "pure Syriac" whereas his native language was French and Latin, as Jerome affirms. The saint understands the emperor, answering, however, in Greek so that the interpreters who were present could understand his answer. In this example, Constantius is possessed by a demon so that it is the devil that is responsible for this gift of tongues (Cf. VH, §13).

hagiographer of the *VD* as the *gloriosus choruscus miraculis*,<sup>14</sup> which is understood because the staff is a sign of episcopal jurisdiction. Welsh tradition, however, normally ascribed a staff to be the most important object of St Padarn's, not of David's (cf. Davies 2000: 206). The other two saints, Padarn and Teilo, although also being consecrated by the Pope, do not receive any gifts. This does not match the previous episode in the *VD* describing the virtues of both Padarn and Teilo, whom David summons to go to Jerusalem, following the commands of an angel of God *nor* the subsequent detail that the patriarch arranged for the gifts to be sent to the *three* saints in their respective monasteries.<sup>15</sup>

In the *Life* of Teilo, on the other hand, Padarn is given a staff and a cape, David an altar and Teilo a bell. An elaborate story was created by the hagiographer of the *VTe* to highlight Teilo's importance in opposition to that of the other two saints.<sup>16</sup> The *VP*, in its turn, is much more 'generous' in its description of David and Teilo. All three of them have the "gift of tongues;" all of them receive gifts from the Pope after their consecration, although Padarn himself is, just like in the *VTe*, the only one to get a double-gift: a staff and a tunic.<sup>17</sup>

In terms of structure and of the connection of the episodes, the *VP* is much more elaborate than the other two. In the *Life* of David after the Jerusalem episode the theme of the next chapter changes abruptly to that of the synod of Brefi and the discussion of the "Pelagiana heresia" by the British bishops. In the *VP*, however, there is a neat connection between the chapter containing the journey to Jerusalem and the coming one: the Jerusalem-episode ends with the three saints' returning to Britain, where they divide the land into three episcopacies, "did not the malice of tyrants afterwards disturb them."<sup>18</sup> This last mention of the tyrants of Britain introduces the Arthurian episode in which Arthur is, correspondingly, described as a *tyrant*. It is exactly because of Padarn's tunic that Arthur comes in conflict with the saint: the *VP* presents a more structured and perhaps earlier version of this episode than in the *VD*<sup>19</sup> in

<sup>14</sup> That is, "resplendent with glorious miracles" (*VD*, §48).

<sup>15</sup> "'Sed quia' inquit Patriarcha 'laboriosa uobis sunt in itinere ad ferendum, ad patriam redeuntes, in pace reuertimini. Ego autem post uos transmittam.'" ["But because" said the Patriarch, "they are a labour for you to carry on the journey, go back to your country and return in peace. I shall send them over to you"] (*VD*, §48) [my emphasis].

<sup>16</sup> In the *Life* of Teilo, before the encounter with the patriarch and the granting of the gifts, the hagiographer highly elaborates on the story of the three seats appointed by the Jerusalem clergy for the Welsh saints to sit on and of Teilo's choice of the mostly unadorned one, a fact which stressed his humility and election before the other two (Cf. *VTe*, §9).

<sup>17</sup> Joseph Loth saw this as a resignation on the hagiographer's part since St. Padarn's church at Llanbadarn Fawr had belonged to St. David's since ca. 720 (cf. Loth 1894: 72).

<sup>18</sup> "[...] nisi postea malicia tyrannorum turbaret" [my emphasis] (*VP*, §20).

<sup>19</sup> Joseph Loth also thought that this episode in the *Life* of Padarn was earlier than those in the *Lives* of David and Teilo. See footnote 7 above.

that it seeks to concatenate the Jerusalem and the Arthurian episodes into a logical grouping. Thus, it provides a causal and very material cause for Arthur's conflict with Padarn:

*Cum autem Paternus esset in ecclesia requiescens post tantum laborem marinum, deambulabat **quidam tirannus** regiones altrinsecus, Arthur nomine, qui quadam die uenit ad cellam sancti Paterni episcopi. Et dum Paternum alloqueretur, **aspexit tunicam, quam, confossus zelo auaricie, petiuit**, ut sua fieri. Respondens sanctus ait, 'Non habitu cuiuslibet maligni hec tunica condigna est, sed habitu clericatus.' Ille bacando monasterium exiuit. Iterumque indignando reuertitur, **ut tolleret tunicam contra comitum suorum consilia**. Unus autem discipulorum Paterni, uidens illum in furore reuertentem, cucurrit ad sanctum Paternum et ait, 'Tirannus, qui hinc antea exiuit, reuertitur. Insultans, subiciens, **plantis terram placat**.' Respondit Paternus, '**Immo absorbeat eum tellus**.' Cum dicto statim terra aperit sinum sue profunditatis, **absorbetque Arthurum adusque mentum**. Qui ilico agnoscens suum reatum incipit Deum pariter Paternumque laudare, donec ueniam petens terra illum sursum emitteret. Ab illo loco sanctum flexis genibus poposcit indulgentiam, cui sanctus indulsit. Ille uero Paternum sibi sempiternum accepit patronum, ac sic discessit.*

When Padarn was in his church resting after so much labour at sea, **a certain tyrant, Arthur by name**, was traversing the regions on either side, who one day came to the cell of saint Padarn the bishop. And while he was addressing Padarn, **he looked at the tunic, which he, being pierced with the zeal of avarice, sought for his own**. The saint answering said, 'This tunic is not fitting for the habit of any malign person, but for the habit of the clerical office.' He went out of the monastery in a rage. And again he returns in wrath that he might **take away the tunic against the counsels of his own companions**. One of the disciples of Padarn seeing him returning in fury, ran to saint Padarn and said, 'The tyrant, who went out from here before, is returning. Reviling, stamping, **he levels the ground (beneath) with his feet**.' Padarn answers **Nay rather, may the earth swallow him**.' With the word straightway the earth opens the hollow of its depth, and **swallows Arthur up to his chin**. He immediately acknowledges his guilt begins to praise both God and Padarn, until, while he begs forgiveness, the earth delivered him up. From that place on bent knees he begged the saint for indulgence, whom the saint forgave. And he took Padarn as his continual patron, and so departed (VP, §21) [my emphasis].

Firstly, some remarks must be made on the word 'tirannus.' This word does not carry negative connotations as the translation might lead one to believe.<sup>20</sup> It most likely corresponds to the use found in Gildas' *De Excidio*, meaning the powerful Welsh kings who waged war against each other and very often came into conflict with the church (cf. Snyder 1998: 85, Doel and Lloyd 2003: 72).<sup>21</sup> The emphasis on the translated form *tyrant* and, therefore, on Arthur's portrayal as such was elaborated by John Tatlock, for whom Arthur was, in this episode, an "ill-behaved" figure (1939: 349). Tatlock's aim was to contrast Arthur's portrayal in the *HRB* and in the Welsh Saints' *Lives*, but his choice of *tirannus* for such comparison is rather unfortunate. In addition, he affirmed that the use of "*quidam tirannus*" seemed to point to the author's *unfamiliarity* with Arthur's personage (ibidem). His focus on Geoffrey's *HRB* as the most important text to the development of Arthur's image in Welsh literature prevented

<sup>20</sup> It is now current practice, however, to translate the word *tyrannus* as tyrant in editions of medieval texts. My argument is, therefore, against the emphasis put by Tatlock on the translated form "tyrant" without reference to its medieval signification.

<sup>21</sup> Christopher Snyder showed how the words "tyranni" and "iudices" were used "rhetorically" by Gildas "as interchangeable epithets for *reges*" (1998: 85). Bernard Merdrignac, in quoting the *Life* of Padarn, compares Arthur's treatment as "tyrant" with the Breton form "tiern" for a regional king or petty-king (Merdrignac 1993b: 25).

him from examining the Welsh *Lives* in correlation to each other. The use of “quidam” plus “noun” is a repeated *formula* in hagiographical texts. It appears at least *eight* times in the *Vespasian Life* of Cadog. This, as we shall see, might have been one of the sources used by the hagiographer of the *VP* for his description of Arthur. In Cadog’s *Life*, the formula introduces ‘familiar’ characters like Cadog himself, Gildas, King Maelgwn and Illtud, just to mention the most important ones.<sup>22</sup> If any negative connotation is to be ascribed to Arthur’s figure, it is to be found in the way Arthur’s “zeal of avarice” is described by the hagiographer. Arthur is “pierced” (*confossus*) by desire to have Padarn’s tunic. This resembles the situation found in the *VCI* in which Arthur was “inflamed” (*succensus*) by an *iniquitous* desire to abduct Cadog’s mother (*VCI*, *Prologue*). “Desire” is a key word to connect with Arthur’s appearance in both *Vitae*. Here, however, the author is writing hagiography and Arthur’s *desire* to have the tunic is seen therefore as the act of a wicked person.<sup>23</sup>

If we take a detailed look at the episode again, we see that not only the desire-motif could have been taken from the *VCI*, but also, and most importantly, the reference to Arthur’s companions. Nowhere in the *VP* are Arthur’s companions mentioned. However, Padarn’s hagiographer affirms that Arthur stole Padarn’s tunic “*contra comitum suorum consilia*.” The first known episode to infer that Arthur could have acted according to his desire *against* the advice of his companions is the one found in the *Prologue* of the *VCI*. Another significant detail is that no benefit is granted by Arthur to the saint – no region is named in which Arthur reigned – just like in the *Life* of Cadog.<sup>24</sup>

The tension between secular and clerical values is shown by Padarn’s speech to Arthur that the tunic is not fit for the use of a “malign” person. Arthur represents, therefore, a secular ruler who acts against the possessions of the church. The ironic preparation for Arthur’s punishment enriches the episode: it is Arthur’ ragingly levelling of the ground beneath his feet which evokes his punishment. He is swallowed by that same earth that he wrathfully stamped.

---

<sup>22</sup> See *VCI*, §11 (“acceperat quondam famosum rethoricum”), §16 (“erat quidam dux nomine Sauuil”), §19 (“erat enim quidam princeps eiusdem militia, Illtutus nomine”), §22 (“in eodem igitur tempore dux quidam Brittanorum fortissimus”), §27 (“quidam Brittanus [...] nomine Gildas”), §39 (“quidam miles”), §40 (“quidam uicecomes Anglorum [...] Eilaf dictus”) and §53 (“fuit quidam sacerdos preclari nominis Catocus”).

<sup>23</sup> In my opinion, Arthur’s appearance in the *VP* was influenced by the hagiographer’s use of a recension of Cadog’s *Life* which already contained the *Prologue* added to Lifris’ original text.

<sup>24</sup> This inference could be relevant for a discussion of the dating of the *VP*. If this assumption is correct, the *VP* might belong indeed to the first decades of the 1100s, revealing a depiction of Arthur in line with his use within the text of the *VCI* which already contained the *Prologue* section. One could also make some inferences that 1. the *Prologue* of the *VCI* was added therefore within twenty years of Lifris’ composition of the *Vita Cadoci*, since the *VP* borrows exactly from this passage or 2. that the author of this passage in the *VP* was acquainted with the tale which was afterwards adapted to the *VCI*.

The motif of the earth swallowing God's enemies was taken from the account of Dathan and Abiram's death in the Old Testament and, as already described, is also found in the *VCI*.<sup>25</sup> The detail of the *half* punishment, as it were, should be noticed because Arthur, although not being mentioned anymore throughout the *VP*, does *not* die: he is swallowed by the earth up to his chin, having his life cunningly spared by the hagiographer.<sup>26</sup>

#### IV.9.3.1.3 Caradoc Braichfras

Following Arthur's appearance, another ruler is introduced: Caradoc Braichfras, the "stout-arm." Caradoc's encounter with the saint is of a rather different nature than Arthur's. The ruler, by extending his dominions over Brittany, is compelled by the "Armoricans" to call out their countryman Padarn lest he wishes them to be appeased with his rule. Caradoc traverses his kingdom and entreats Padarn with prayers that he should go back to Brittany. The episode opens up the Breton section of the *Life*. Padarn's intimation to the ruler that he should make laws meant to protect his churches in Wales continues the thematic frame within which, after such an exchange, the saint receives exemption and protection from a secular ruler. It is interesting that, in the context of a deliberate conflation of two different *Lives*, the hagiographer/reviser chose to mention a secular character that was probably already well-known from contemporary Welsh secular tales, but who found, interestingly, no mention in the other surviving Welsh hagiographical material.<sup>27</sup> It is also significant that, as a connecting episode, no care is taken to submit it to a religious message: *no* miracle is mentioned. It is the choice to conflate the two *Lives* that guides the hagiographer in offering a solution for Padarn's return to Brittany. In this episode, moreover, the exchanges involve a group of people, each with its dependencies, instead of only the saint and the ruler: it is the Armoricans who demand from Caradoc that Padarn should return to Brittany. Caradoc, acting as an intermediary for the sake of the well-being of his kingdom before his vassals, ends up

<sup>25</sup> See section IV.1.3.1.3. of this thesis.

<sup>26</sup> It is worth remembering the circulation of legends relating to the lack of information on Arthur's grave and, consequently, his death as commented, for instance, by William of Malmesbury in his *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*: "*Sed Arturis sepulchrum nusquam uisitur, unde antiquitas neniarum adhuc eum uenturum fabulatur.*" [Arthur's grave, however, is nowhere to be found, whence come the traditional old wives' tales that he may yet return] (*DG*, iii. 287.2.).

<sup>27</sup> Caradoc Braichfras or *Freichfras*, the 'stout-arm,' is mentioned in some of the *Mabinogi* tales. In *Rhonabwy's Dream*, he appears in connection with Arthur as one of his chief counsellors, speaking boldly to him. This tale mentions the historical Iorwerth ap Maredudd and his brother Madog, ruler of Powys. It cannot be dated, therefore, to before 1130 x 1160 (cf. Lloyd-Morgan 1991: 184, Bartrum 1993: 102). Considering this ruler's mention in the *VP*, one would have to either consider the circulation of tales connected to him already before his insertion in *Rhonabwy's Dream* or that this section was modified and added to the *VP* after 1130.

submitting to the saint's demands for laws that would strengthen the saint's churches in Wales.

#### IV.9.3.2 Posthumous miracles in the *VP*

The posthumous miracles told in the *VP* relate to the transportation of Padarn's bones from the land of the Franks to Brittany and do not mention any kind of conflict with secular rulers. In the list of Padarn's possession which relates to Welsh material rather than to Breton matters, there is a short story on how one of Padarn's servants was beheaded by thieves on one occasion when he had gone to the woods near the monastery. The servant's head miraculously responds to the saint's questions and the community is consequently able to locate his corpse. Head and body are conjoined and the man resurrected:

[...] *siluam adiens, uocauit [i.e. Paternus] ministrum suum proprio nomine, dicendo, 'Responde Reaus magistro.' Tunc capud, reuulsum a cadauere, respondit, 'Hic assum, domine.' Cum qua uoce peruenit episcopus ad locum responsionis, ubi uidit seiunctum a corpore capud minsitri.*

[...] going to the wood [i.e. Padarn], he called his servant by his proper name, saying, 'Reply, Reaus, to thy master.' Then the head, torn off from the corpse, replied, 'Here I be, sir.' With which word the bishop came up to the place whence had come the reply, and he saw separated from its body the head of his servant (*VP*, §31).

This miracle of resurrection resembles the one seen in the *VCI* in which one of Cadog's build workers had the choice to be resurrected after he had been decapitated. The miracle is connected here to the motif of the decapitated head that can speak.<sup>28</sup> What ensues from this miraculous event is the granting of a specific stretch of land between the rivers Rheidiol and Paith in Ceredigion to the monastery of St. Padarn by the thieves' master, called Eithir. This episode seeks to explain regional boundaries connected to Padarn's monastery. It was definitely not meant to function in a *post-mortem* section for it is retrospective, taking place in Padarn's time. As a corroboration to this, it naturally follows the practice of *not* quoting or alluding to any biblical reference. This seem to confirm the position of the *VP* in connection with the first hagiographical writings of Wales for, just like the *VCI*, there seems to have been no original *post-mortem* section attached to these early *Lives*.

---

<sup>28</sup> For a full discussion of this motif, see section IV.1.3.1.6. of this thesis.



## IV.10 The *Life* of Saint Clydog

### IV.10.1 Dating and authorship

St. Clydog – also known as Clodock or Clitauc – was, according to his *Life*,<sup>1</sup> a young king who ruled over Ewyas, the early medieval Welsh commote that corresponds to modern Clodock and Longtown in Herefordshire.<sup>2</sup> The eponymous church of Clodock, near the river Monnow in the Black Mountains, is said to have been the place where Clydog was martyred and buried. In fact, all the information about this saint and about the founding of his church comes from the accounts found in the *Vespasian* and in the *LL* texts of the *Life* of Clydog. As is once more the case, a discussion of the dating of this text must take into account the differences that can be perceived by comparing both recensions. Many of the historical, paleographical and literary tools for such a comparison were already supplied in the analyses of the other *Vespasian Lives* with parallel texts in the *LL*, as was the case with the *Lives* of Dubricius and Teilo, so that much of the information provided in those sections will be referred to for the analysis of the Clydog material.

The group of texts arranged under the heading of a “*Life*” of Clydog in the *Vespasian* legendary (ff. 84v – 85v) can be divided into five main stories: a) the account of Clydog’s martyrdom, i.e. his *Passio*; b) the account of a posthumous miracle which ended up with the restitution, by a powerful man, of a meadow that had belonged to the church of Clydog; c) the account of an unbroken pact sworn by two men at the tomb of St. Clydog; d) the account of the settlement of three hermits around Clydog’s church, their improvement of the church with the consent of the bishop of Llandaff and their division of the land; e) a charter that records the grant of *Merthyr Clydog* to the church of Llandaff. The Book of Llandaff arranges this material differently, with the story of the restituted land (b) placed after the charter relating to *Merthyr Clydog* (e). In fact, what the *Vespasian* legendary calls a *Vita* is recorded in the *LL* in the form of charters following the *Lives* of Elgar, Samson, Dubricius, Teilo and Oudoceus. The charters are the only material in this group of texts that can be dated with some certainty. According to Wendy Davies’ study of the *LL* charters, judging from stylistic and linguistic

---

<sup>1</sup> Henceforth *VCLI*. The Latin quotations were transcribed directly from the manuscript *Vespasian A. xiv* and collated with the Clydog’s accounts from the Book of Llandaff edited by: Evans, J, and Rhys, J. (eds.) (1893, repr. 1979) *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv. Reproduced from the Gwysaney Manuscript*. Aberystwyth: The National Library of Wales Press. This edition gives a table with the variant readings from the *Vespasian VCLI* on page 362. The translated passages were taken and adapted from Rees, W. (1840) (ed. and trans.) *The Liber Landavensis, Llyfr Teilo*. Llandoverly: W. Rees Press, pp. 444-449.

<sup>2</sup> A *commote* or *commot*, an anglicised form of the Welsh *cymwd/kymwt*, was an administrative and territorial division subordinate to the *cantref*, which corresponds to one hundred towns or villages.

features and, moreover, from the evidence of the persons named as witnesses or granters of land, the Clydog charter in the *LL* could go back to a charter of. ca. 740 (cf. Davies 1979: 114). All the hagiographical material in the *LL*, however, including the accounts about Clydog, was written by the same hand. In the form found in the *LL*, therefore, the Clydog material cannot be later than 1130.<sup>3</sup> It seems probable that the account of Clydog's martyrdom arose from a false interpretation of the Welsh *merthyr* in the charter of *Merthyr Clydog*. From the Latin *martyrium*, meaning a burial or relic place, i.e. the burial place of "Clydog," the idea of the place where he was martyred might have developed. As to that, Arthur Wade-Evans called attention to the creation of martyrdom tales to explain various place-names throughout Welsh territory after the original meaning of the word *merthyr* had been forgotten and reinterpreted (cf. Wade-Evans 1914: 46-47).<sup>4</sup>

The rest of the Clydog material is anonymous and seems to have derived from accounts that were arranged together at different times due to their similar subject-matter (cf. Davies 2003: 124). There is no doubt that the account of Clydog's 'Life' in the *Vespasian* legendary derived from the Llandaff material: in both recensions, much emphasis is laid on the presence of the bishop and clergy of Llandaff. The textual differences, moreover, in terms of omissions and additions between the *Vespasian* "Life" and the *LL* charters are minimal: they consist basically of crossed-out words or prefixes that were probably forgotten by the copyist of one or the other manuscript.<sup>5</sup> Judging by the more logical arrangement of the material in *Vespasian*, in which the posthumous miracles follow the description of the saint's death and burial (cf. Hughes 1958:193-194, Davies 2003: 124), it seems that the *Vespasian* hagiographer's goal was to provide, from the loose material from Llandaff, a *Vita* for the saint to be inserted into the legendary. He did not have at his disposal, however, any information on the birth and life of the saint, so that he could only arrange his material chronologically, without implementation of the text.

---

<sup>3</sup> For the dating of this hand, called Hand A by Wendy Davies, see section IV.5.1. of this thesis.

<sup>4</sup> One such example was seen in the analysis of the *VD*, in which a martyrdom tale was created, apparently, to explain the place-name *Merthyr Dunod*. See section IV.6.3.1.1. of this thesis.

<sup>5</sup> Compare the variant readings between the *LL* and *Vespasian* listed by Gwenogvryn Evans on page 362 of his edition.

#### IV.10.2 Content

According to Clydog's *Passio*, Clydog, the son of a certain Clydwyn, was a very just, peaceful and chaste king.<sup>6</sup> The story of his martyrdom is one of jealousy. Due to Clydog's unrequited love, a wealthy man's daughter refuses all her suitors. One of the king's companions, filled with envy and desire for the woman, kills the king in a place near the river Monnow on a hunting day when the king was waiting to meet his hunters.<sup>7</sup> Some oxen are then joined to a carriage by the king's acquaintances, friends and relatives in order to remove the body from the place. When they try to cross the Monnow by a ford, the yokes of the oxen begin to break and the oxen stand still. Despite the various attempts to move the animals, they cannot proceed because of the weight of Clydog's body. This causes much wonder and admiration on the part of the people present, who begin to render praises to God. The reasons for this wonderful event are then enumerated: Clydog led an excellent and holy life, his death was through martyrdom and, moreover, his burial place was divinely chosen.<sup>8</sup> On the night following his burial, a column of fire is seen on his tomb and the bishop and the clergy of Llandaff decide to build an oratory for the martyr. Clydog was thus held in veneration from that day onwards.

---

<sup>6</sup> "*Rex Clitauc filius Clitguin cum esset in regno suo tenens pacem et rigorem iusticie factus est martir uirtute et meritis et corona celistis glorie cum palma carnalis castimonie.*" [King Clydog son of Clydwyn, when he was in his kingdom enjoying peace and administering justice, became a martyr through his virtue, and had a crown of heavenly glory, with the palm of carnal chastity] (*VCLI*, § *Passio*).

<sup>7</sup> "*Quedam uirgo nata cuiusdam potentis ad amauit illum dicens requerentibus se nulli nuptura nisi uiro preclaro Clitauc. Audito puelle responso et omnibus abnegante ut solito. Quidam de sodalibus regis clauso sibi utero uirginis inflatus maligno spiritu et spiritus ardoris muliebris et accipiens fundamentum afece temeritatis et luxurie liuore. Quadam die inuenatu occidit regem Clitauc innocentem uelut pium agnum iuxta flumen Mingui expectantem uenatorum conuentum.*" [A certain young woman, daughter of a wealthy man, was in love with him, and said to those that sought her, that she would marry no one but the illustrious Clydog. The answer of the girl being heard, and she refusing all persons as usual, one of the companions of the king, because he could not obtain her, was filled with an evil spirit and intense desire respecting her; and receiving excitement for bad conduct from the malignity of rashness, and the malice of luxury, on a certain day he killed king Clydog, innocent as a lamb, near the river Monnow, while he was waiting for the meeting of hunters [...]] (*VCLI*, § *Passio*).

<sup>8</sup> "*Et uidentibus omnibus et admirantibus remansit corpus in loco sibi preparato diuinitus. Et populus statim propter uitam preclaram quam in sancto uiderat uiro et sanctitatem et finem ductum coronam martirii. Et post finem mirabilem leuitatem corporis in secundo grauitatem nimiam et immobilem laudes retulit Deo.*" [And all beholding and wondering, the body remained in the place which was divinely prepared for it; and the people immediately, on account of the excellent life which they had known the holy man to lead, and his sanctity, and his death which obtained for him the crown of martyrdom, and the wonderful lightness of his body in the first place after his death, and secondly its very great weight, which caused it to be immovable, rendered praises to God] (*VCLI*, § *Passio*).

### IV.10.3 Structural analysis of the encounter-episodes

#### IV.10.3.1 Posthumous miracles in the *VCli*

##### IV.10.3.1.1 Ithel ab Æthelberth

In this *Life*, there is no such encounter-episode of the kind that has been analysed so far, but there are noteworthy episodes involving secular rulers and miracles of punishment which deserve attention. After the *Passio*, there follow the accounts of posthumous miracles which show a direct relation to Llandaff and its property claims. This seems to corroborate the raised connection between Llandaff's cultic propaganda and the emphasis on miraculous accounts connected with a saint's tomb and church, a very localised and fixed place of veneration. The first posthumous miracle relates how a certain Ithel ab Æthelberth, *Ethelwirth* – a rich man – goes to hear the Sunday mass at the church of Clydog accompanied by his wife and retinue. On their way to church, he falls pray to a “diabolic suggestion” and lies with his wife in a meadow near the Monnow. For this “lurid” act, they are immediately “punished:”

*Iudhayl filius Ethelwirth quidam potens uir in Eugias ueniens comite sibi uxore dominica die ad audiendum seruitium diuinum ad Sanctum Clitauc, **monitus est diabolica suggestione, et stimulo luxurie**, cum muliere sua in prato uno super ripam Mingui concumbere, et ita quod in eodem concubitu, uolens perpetrato peccato separari, nullo modo potuit segregari; imo junctus uxori remansit inseparabilis.*

Ithel son of Ethelwirth, a certain rich man in Ewyas, went, accompanied by his wife one Sunday to hear divine service at the Church of Clydog, when, commanded by **a diabolical suggestion and by a luxurious urge** to lie with his wife in a meadow on the banks of the Mynwy, and thus, in their act, wishing to separate after having committed sin, became unable to separate from each other. Indeed he remained joined to his wife and inseparable (*VCli*, § *Passio*) [my translation and emphasis].

The man, crying to his companions, orders them to go to Clydog's church and to swear on his behalf that he would return the meadow which he had unjustly taken by force from the church of Clydog, with exemption of laical service. After this, he and his wife are restored and Ithel confirms his grant to SS. Dubricius, Teilo, Oudoceus and to all the bishops of Llandaff in perpetuity. The grant is approved by the kings of Glamorgan, who are not named. Differently from the other cases seen in the *post-mortem* sections of the *Lives* of Gwynllyw, Illtud and Cadog, although this episode involves a secular ruler, there is no *vision* in the sense that the ruler dreams or “sees” the saint punishing him for his evil-doings but a *direct* recognition of the saint's vengeance for the ruler's taking land from Clydog's church. There are some details which are of paramount importance in the light of the other analyses of *Vespasian Lives*. The first one is the ruler's origins: he is the son of a certain Æthelberth, *Etheuirth*, which is undoubtedly an Anglo-Saxon name. Here, again, a person of Anglo-Saxon origin is punished

for having taken land by force from the territory belonging to a Welsh saint. The second detail is the approbation of the grant by unnamed kings of Glamorgan,<sup>9</sup> although the territory in question is in Ewyas. This suits the claims made by Llandaff in the disputes against St. David's over Ewyas and Archenfield: the Book of Llandaff lists, in this respect, seven cantrefs belonging to Glamorgan, the last one being Gwent-Uchcoed, and Ystradyw and Ewyas."<sup>10</sup> The last and final aspect is the attribution of the sexual act to the suggestion of the Devil, which, as I have now managed to prove, applies to *Lives* and hagiographical texts connected to Llandaff.

#### IV.10.3.1.2 Two men from Llannerch Glas

The second episode involving secular characters relates to a quarrel which two men from Llannerch Glas decide to solve before the sepulcher of Clydog. There, they swear to confirm peace between each other. This promise is broken by treachery: one of the men kills the other and is punished with his own life afterwards. Stress is laid on the violation of a *covenant* sworn on the saint's tomb. Here one notices, again in a text connected to Llandaff, the aspect of direct cultic veneration before the saint's tomb:

*Pergamus ad locum istum martyris uidelicet Clitauc et ad sepulcrum illius, adbreuiato itinere nostro, et remanente proposito, et super illius tumulum concordemur, et confirmemus firmandam pacem a modo inter nos perpetuam. Et confirmato federe, unus in reditu, rupta pace, et violata fide, occidit alterum fraude, immo semetipsum, ut dicitur, "Quicumque alium molitur ledere, primum ipsum se iaculo percutiet proprio."*<sup>11</sup> *Et statim, facto homicidio, et sic dicam simul cum perjurio, semetipsum propria lancea perforauit in utero, plaga ducente eum ad interitum, socium dico perductum ad perhenne gaudium.*

Let us go to the place of the martyr, that is Clydog, and to his sepulchre, and shortening our journey, and our desire remaining, let us on his tomb agree and confirm perpetual peace between us. But after the compact was confirmed, one of them in return, breaking the peace, and violating the covenant, killed the other treacherously, and also himself, as it is said: Whoever contrives to injure another, will first smite himself with his own weapon. For immediately after having committed murder, and as I might say, perjury, he stabbed himself with his own lance in the belly, and from the wound he died, and his companion, I say, was taken to eternal joy (*VCl*i, § *Passio*).

Finally, all the remaining episodes in Clydog's "Vita" correspond to charters recording donations from secular rulers to the church at Llandaff or its dependencies.

<sup>9</sup> If one considers, however, that the *Vespasian* material was rearranged from the Llandaff's accounts, one of the kings in question would already have been mentioned as king "*Pennargaut*."

<sup>10</sup> According to the bulls of Popes Calixtus II and Innocent II attached to the Book of Llandaff, these popes confirmed Urban's claims as to Llandaff's possessions of Archenfield, Ewyas and Ystradyw, although this confirmation did not seal the disputes with St. David's over Ewyas (cf. Thompson 1947: 96-97).

<sup>11</sup> Taken from Caius Caelius Sedulius' *Diui Prosperi Epigrammata super diui Augustini sententias* (cf. Davies 2003: 123).

## IV.11 The *Lives* of Saint Cybi

### IV.11.1 Dating and authorship

St. Cybi is the patron-saint of churches in Cornwall and Wales. In Cornwall, two parishes are dedicated to him, St. Cuby by Tregony and Duloe. In Wales, he is celebrated in Holyhead (Welsh *Caergybi*) in Anglesey and in several small villages named after him – Llangybi – spotted in Monmouthshire, Gwynedd and Ceredigion. Two short *Lives* of Cybi are found in the *Vespasian* legendary. Arthur Wade-Evans edited them synoptically and, for the sake of convenience, I shall refer to the *Life* in the left column as *VK1* (ff. 86r – 88r) and to the one in the right column as *VK2* (ff. 94v – 95v). A careful comparison between the two texts suggests that both hagiographers either drew from the same source(s) or that one *Life* is an attempt to elaborate *or* simplify the other. Sabine Baring-Gould suggested that both *Lives* were translations from a Welsh text, without explaining, however, the reasons for this assumption (cf. Baring-Gould 1907: 202). There is no hint in the manuscript or in the Latin text which could corroborate it. Both Canon Doble and Paul Grosjean thought of the *VK2* as a rewriting of the *VK1*, although their judgments of the *Lives* differ markedly from one another: while Grosjean refers to the *VK2* as an *elegant* attempt to rewrite the *VK1*, Doble condemns its hagiographer as a “pedant” delighting to show off his knowledge of Greek (cf. Doble 1929: 5). Be that as it may, the differences between both texts are mainly stylistic and lexically so that the descriptions which follow will be based upon the text of the *VK1*, although reference will be made to the variant readings in the *VK2* whenever relevant for my analysis of the encounter-episodes.

### IV.11.2 Content

The *Life* of Cybi begins with a short preamble explaining the saint’s feast day on November 8. This provides him with a short, although very important, genealogy. He is said to have been born in Cornwall and to have been the son of a certain “Salomon, son of Erbin, son of Gereint, son of Lud.”<sup>12</sup> Gereint’s is an important mention in the context of Arthurian literature, since he is connected with the Geraint/Erec of later Arthurian romances. Cybi’s pedigree in the *VK1* recalls the one found in the *Bonedd y Saint*, the *Pedigree of the Saints*,

---

<sup>12</sup> “*Ortus autem fuit de regione Cornubiorum [...] cuius pater Salomon fuit, Erbin filius, filius Gereint, filius Lud*” (*VK1*, §1). Salomon, whose Welsh form of the name is *Selyf* (diminutive form *Selevan*), has been identified with St. Levan, a parish in Cornwall (cf. Doble 1929: 13).

whose earliest manuscript is of the early thirteenth century. Wade-Evans thought that the intention of the author of the *Bonedd y Saint*<sup>13</sup> was to record the three or four saints of the family of Gereint and his son Erbin, namely *Cybi*, *Constantine*, *Iestin* and *Cyngar*.<sup>14</sup> Of those, *Cyngar* is the only one who appears in the *VKI* as *Cybi*'s uncle. The pedigree in the *ByS* differs, however, from that in the *VKI*: the *ByS* makes Gereint the son of Erbin, whereas in the *VKI*, the opposite is the case. The names of these two figures also appear in the title of the poem *Gereint filius Erbin* found in the manuscripts currently known as the *Black Book of Carmarthen* of the middle of the thirteenth century and the *White Book of Rhydderch* of the fourteenth century. This poem, translated into English as "Gereint son of Erbin," is vaguely dated to between the ninth and eleventh centuries (cf. Sims-Williams 1991: 46-49, Coe 1995: 116). It praises the heroic fame of Gereint in the battle at Llongborth. Judging from the lack of the genitive form in the Latin examples, it is easy to see where the confusion between "Erbin, son of Gereint" and "Erbin's son, Gereint" came from.

A short mention of *Cybi*'s education as a child is given after his genealogy. *Cybi* spends twenty-seven years in Cornwall, going afterwards in pilgrimage to Jerusalem. His visit to Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, is then described. From him, *Cybi* receives his episcopal degree. In the context of the reputed life of St. *Cybi*, who might have lived during the third or fourth half of the fifth century, this account presents an anachronism, since Hilary of Poitiers is recorded to have died in 368 (cf. Doble 1929: 15, Bartrum 1993: 159). Canon Doble argued that the story was probably taken from some version of the Irish *Life* of St. Enda, which the author of the *VKI* might have used a source. This *Life* mentions Enda's visit to Pope Hilary in Rome in the company of two other holy men, namely Helueus and Pubeus. According to Doble, the author of the *VKI* thought that Pubeus or Pupeus was the Irish form of Kebius or Kepius due to the frequent representation of Irish *K* as *P* in Welsh and Cornish (cf. Doble 1929: 21-25).

*Cybi* is said to have stayed in Poitiers for fifty years in which period he performed a series of typical New Testamental miracles, like giving sight to the blind and curing the paralytics. He is then admonished by an angel of God to return to Britain. In Cornwall, he refuses to become king of the Cornish people and proceeds to the region of Edeligion, which received its name from king Edelig, who was reigning at that time. After experiencing some conflicts with this

---

<sup>13</sup> Henceforth *ByS*.

<sup>14</sup> All these saints are honoured in churches in Cornwall: *Constantine* in mid-Cornwall; *Cyngar* in the parish of Lanivet near Bodmin, and *Iestin*, if the name can be identified with that of Saint Just, is the patron of two Cornish churches, Penwith, near St. Levan, and Roseland (cf. Doble 1929: 13-14).

king, Cybi goes to Mynyw, St. David's. From there, he sails to Ireland, to the Isle of Aran, where he remains for four years with his companions. It is during his stay in Ireland that a series of episodes relating to a figure called Crubthir Fintam is told. Fintam adamantly opposes Cybi's occupation of his land. From Ireland, Cybi and his disciples sail to Anglesey in Gwynedd. In this section, a confrontation with king Maelgwn of Gwynedd is shortly described. Finally, the saint's death is recorded on November 8.

### **IV.11.3 Structural analysis of the encounter-episodes**

#### **IV.11.3.1 The secular characters in the *in vita* section of the VK1/VK2**

##### **IV.11.3.1.1 Edelig of Edeligion**

On their arrival in south-east Wales, Cybi and his disciples pitch their tents in the region of king Edelig, who sends one of his servants to find out who the new settlers are. Knowing that they are monks, Edelig immediately gathers his household in order to drive them out of his lands. On his way, Edelig falls from his horse. The animal immediately dies and the king and his entire household become blind. The king repents of his intentions and offers his body and soul to God and to St. Cybi. Following Cybi's prayers, all recover their sights and the horse is revived. It is due to these miracles that Edelig gives Cybi land where to build two of his churches, Llangybi-on-Usk and Llanddyfrwyr-yn-Edeligion. This episode corresponds, structurally, as it was shown in many different instances in the analyses of other *Lives*, to the typical encounter-scene between a saint and a secular ruler found in the *Vespasian* legendary. It is interesting, in the context of the regional divisions of south-east Wales, that each one of the *Vespasian Saints' Lives* seems to have appropriated kings whose dynasties gave origin to the whole of the Glamorgan region. King Edelig appears in the *VC1* as the younger son of king Glywys of Glywysing, the ancient name for Glamorgan. He is the brother of St. Gwynllyw, Cadog's father.<sup>15</sup>

There is no direct *desire* or *wish* from the part of the secular ruler to plunder, to violate a territory or to take something from the saint by force as seen in the episodes about Maelgwn and Rhun in the *VC1* or in the episodes about Maelgwn and Arthur in the *VP*, just to cite two examples. The structure resembles that of the Baia episode found in the *VD*, in which David's arrival at Baia's region threatens the continuation of the latter's power due to the

---

<sup>15</sup> See *VC1*, *Preface*.



establishment of a monastic community. There is no direct comment on the hagiographer's part as to the punishment of the king and his household to have been caused due to their *opposition* to God's plans, although this is certainly the case.

#### IV.11.3.1.2 Crubthir Fintam

Crubthir Fintam was an Irishman who in the *VKI* opposed St. Cybi's settlement in Ireland. According to Doble, the name Crubthir or Criumther is a corrupted form of the Latin *presbiter*, priest, via the vulgar form *prebiter* (cf. Doble 1929: 27). That Fintam represents some kind of religious authority with territorial possessions is made clear by the *Life*. Crubthir constantly affirms that Cybi is occupying his territories which causes Cybi to curse him and wish that Fintam's *churches* may remain deserted all throughout Ireland. Although no secular ruler in the strictest sense, Fintam's encounter with Cybi and his relentless attempts to expel him and his monks from his territories resemble the kind of encounter scene which I have been examining and deserve, therefore, to be analysed as such. Having such an extension of land as the *Life* emphasises, Fintam acts as a secular ruler, defending his interests against those of the newcomers.

Fintam's episodes occupy a large portion of the *VKI* – from chapter 10 to chapter 15. The preceding chapter introduces Cybi's arrival in the island of Aran. On behalf of Cyngar, who is said to have been unable to eat solid food due to his old age, Cybi buys a cow and a calf to provide him with daily fresh milk. The *Life* also mentions the monks' work on the land.<sup>16</sup> Chapter 10 introduces a quarrel between Fintam and one of Cybi's disciples, Maelog, arising when the latter began to dig the soil in front of Fintam's lodging. The strife is solved through the intervention of the abbot of the island, Enna (*Enda*),<sup>17</sup> but resumes again when Cybi's cow feeds off Fintam's crops, making Fintam's disciples bind it to a great tree.<sup>18</sup> In chapter 11,

---

<sup>16</sup> “*Inde transfretauit Hiberniam ad insulam Aruin, in quo iiii. annis mansit [...]. Consobrinus autem eius Kengar erat senex, cui sanctus Kepius emit uaccam cum uitulo suo, quia alium cibum propter senectutem suam manducare non poterat. Et discipuli eius fortiter terram coluerunt.*” [From thence he sailed across to Ireland to the island of Aruin, in which he remained for four years [...]. His kinsman Cyngar was an old man, for whom saint Cybi bought a cow with its calf, because other food he was not able to eat for reason of his old age. And there his disciples bravely tilled the land] (*VKI*, §9).

<sup>17</sup> Probably St. Enda, from whose *Life* Canon Doble thought the hagiographer of the *VKI* might have taken the association between Cybi and Hilary of Poitiers (cf. Doble 1929: 21-25).

<sup>18</sup> “*Quodam die itaque contigit, quod unus de discipulis sancti Kepii, Maelauc nomine, ad ostium cubiculi Crubthir Fintam fodere terram exiret. Uidens autem Crubthir Fintam, iratus, uenit ut prohiberet illum, et ait, 'Noli fodere terram in ostio mei'. Inde sanctus Kepi et Fintam exierunt pariter ad abbatem insule Aruin qui Enna uocabatur, et pacificabat illos. Factum est autem quodam die ut uitulus uacce Kengar pergeret in messem Crubthir Fintam, et uenerunt discipuli Crubthir Fintam, et tenuerunt uitulum et alligauerunt eum ad arborem*

Cybi sends one of his disciples to ask Fintam to loose the calf, which he refuses. Through Cybi's prayer that Cyngar might not die for lack of milk, a miracle is performed and the calf returns to its mother together with the tree to which it was bound.<sup>19</sup> Chapter 12 introduces an angry Fintam who prays to the Lord to have Cybi destroyed and expelled from that island, "because God loved him." An angel appears to Cybi urging him to leave that place and head towards the east. Cybi prays that Fintam may be destroyed, with which bid the angel agrees.<sup>20</sup> Chapter 13 brings Cybi and his disciples to Meath, where they remain for forty days and nights until Fintam reappears and forces him to leave. This situation is repeated two more times.<sup>21</sup> In the last episode, Fintam tells Cybi to leave Ireland and Cybi, angered, curses Fintam's religious activities in Ireland.<sup>22</sup> Finally, when Cybi and his disciples are building a

---

*magnum.*" [One day it happened that one of the disciples of saint Cybi, Maelog by name, went to dig the ground at the door of the lodging of Crubthir Fintam. And Crubthir Fintam, seeing him, being angry, came to stop him, and said, 'Dig not the ground at the door of my lodging.' The saint Cybi and Fintam went out together to the abbot of the island of Aruin, who was called Enna, and he pacified them. But it chanced one day that the calf of Cyngar's cow went into the corn of Crubthir Fintam, and the disciples of Crubthir Fintam came, and took the calf, and bound it to a great tree] (VK1, §10).

<sup>19</sup> "*Misitque sanctus Kepi unum ex discipulis suis ad C[r]ubthir Fintam ut solueret uitulum; et non soluit, sed adhuc Crubthir Fintam in sua iracundia perseuerabat. Sanctus Kepius uero agius orauit Dominum ut uitulus ad matrem suam ueniret, quia senex Kengar pene mortuus erat propter inopiam lactis, quia sine uitulo uacca illa nichil lactis impendebat.*" [And saint Cybi sent one of his disciples that he might loose the calf; and he loosed it not, but Crubthir Fintam continued still in his anger. But the holy saint Cybi prayed the Lord that the calf might come to his mother, because the old man, Cyngar was almost dead by reason of lack of milk, for without her calf that cow gave no milk] (VK1, §11).

<sup>20</sup> "*Exaudiuit Deus deprecationem sancti Kebii, et mirabiliter uitulum ad matrem suam cum arbore illa, cui alligabatur, et cum radicibus suis dimisit. Tunc Crubthir Fintam deprecatus est Dominum, ut fugaret uel deleteret sanctum Kebium de insula Aruin, quia Deus amauit eum. Et uenit angelus Domini in sompno ad sanctum Kebium, dixitque ei, 'Uade de hac insula ad orientalem plagam.'*" Cui sanctus Kepius respondit dicens, '*Deleat Deus Crubthir Fintam de insula hac.*' Dixitque angelus, '*Sicut erit.*'" [God heard the prayer of saint Cybi, and in wondrous fashion sent the calf to its mother together with that tree, to which it was tied, and together with its roots. Then Crubthir Fintam prayed the Lord that he might put to flight and delete saint Cybi from the island of Aruin, because God loved him. And an angel of the Lord came in a dream to saint Cybi, and said to him 'Go from this island towards the east.' To whom saint Cybi replied, saying, 'May God delete Crubthir Fintam from this island. And the angel said 'So it will be'] (VK1, §12).

<sup>21</sup> "*Inde uenit sanctus Kepius ad australem plagam regionis Mide, et ibi .xl. diebus et noctibus permansit. [...] Audiens autem Crubthir Fintam quod ibi sanctus Kepius habitaret, uenit et dixit ei, 'Perge ad alium locum. Mea est adhuc ista terra.'*" Tunc sanctus Kepius tribus diebus ieiunauit, ut Deus ostenderet ei quid inde ageret. Dixitque idem angelus sancto Kepio, '*Perge ad orientem.*' Fecitque sanctus Kepius ita, et uenit ad campum Bregh.[...] Audiens autem adhuc Crubthir Fintam, adversarius eius, uenit ad eum, et dixit sancto Kepio, '*Perge ad alium locum.*' Tunc sanctus Kepius dixit, '*Deprecor Deum omnipotentem, ut ostendat mihi quid faciam.*' Cui dixit angelus, '*Perge ad dextralem plagam.*' Fecitque ita." [Then saint Cybi came to the south side of the region of Meath, and there he remained for forty days and forty nights. [...] Crubthir Fintam, hearing that saint Cybi dwelt there, came and said to him, 'Go to another place. Mine is this land as well. Then saint Cybi fasted that God might show him what then he should do. And the same angel said to saint Cybi, 'Go eastwards.' And saint Cybi did so, and came to the plain of Bregh. [...] And again on hearing it Crubthir Fintam, his adversary, came to him and said to saint Cybi, 'Go to another place.' Then saint Cybi said 'I pray Almighty God that he may show me what I am to do.' To whom the angel said, 'Go to the south.' And he did so] (VK1, §13).

<sup>22</sup> "*Et uenit ad regionem Vobyun, et ibi moratus est xii. diebus. Adhuc Crubthir Fintam secutus est eum, et dixit ei, 'Kepi, perge trans mare.'*" Tunc sanctus Kepius, iratus, dixit ei, '*Omnes ecclesie tue in tantum sint deserte, ut nunquam tres ecclesie inueniantur canentes ad altare tuum in Hibernia insula.*'" [And he came to the region of Vobyun, and there sojourned twelve days. Still Crubthir Fintam followed him, and said to him, 'Cybi, go across the sea.' Then saint Cybi, angered, said to him, 'May all thy churches be so much deserted that there may never be found three churches [and men] singing at thine altar in the island of Ireland'] (VK1, §14).

boat in order to sail back to Wales, Fintam puts them into test by telling them to sail without hide. This they miraculously do, landing safely on the island of Anglesey.<sup>23</sup> Fintam is not mentioned anymore in the following episodes.

All the episodes introduced show both religious characters more or less in their roles of secular figures, as it were, even if for the sake of the establishment of a new monastic community, as it is Cybi's case. The monks are seen tilling the land, Fintam worries about his crops and the losses caused by Cybi's cows. The main idea conveyed is that of a strong competition for the control of the land not only for religious but also for economic reasons. The hagiographer seems to justify Fintam's repeated expulsion of Cybi and his disciples: he prays to God and the justification is that God loves him so much as to grant him his wish. This justifies both sides' recourse to God in order to expel each other. The final episode in this sequence provides, in the context of the *Life*, a kind of anti-climax. Although so much room is dedicated to Cybi's dispute with Fintam, Cybi does not succeed in staying in Ireland. Judging from the silence on Fintam's destiny afterwards, room is left for the interpretation that Fintam did not receive any kind of punishment for his testing of Cybi and his followers, and in this respect, the fate of secular or religious 'rulers' differs significantly. Indeed, Fintam's prayer succeeds in expelling his main adversary from Ireland.

#### IV.11.3.1.3 Maelgwn of Gwynedd

On his arrival at Anglesey, Cybi is confronted by Maelgwn, king of Gwynedd, who one day happened to be hunting a she-goat that sought protection at Cybi's cottage:

---

<sup>23</sup> "Tunc sanctus Kepius misit suos ad siluam, ut inciderent materiam lembi. Statim etenim inicderunt, et edificauerunt eum. Factoque lembo, uenit Crubthir Fintam, et ait illis, 'Intrate in lembo sine corio, si serui Dei estis.' [...] Et ingressus est sanctus Kepius cum discipulis lembum, carentem corio. Et confestim tempestas ualida in mare uenit, et timuerunt ualde discipuli eius, et fortiter sanctus Kepius Deum rogauit, cuius rogatione diuisit Deus scopulum in duas partes, et prosiluit lembus sursum inter duos scopulus, demumque abplicuerunt Monie insule." [Then saint Cybi sent his disciples to a wood to cut timber for a boat. And immediately they cut, and built it. And the boat being done, Crubthir Fintam came, and said to them 'Enter into the boat without hide, if ye be servants of God.' [...] And saint Cybi entered the boat, lacking hide, with his disciples. And immediately a strong wind came on the sea, and his disciples feared greatly, and saint Cybi prayed powerfully to God, by whose prayer God divided a rock into two parts, and the boat leapt up between the two rocks, and at last they landed on the island of Anglesey] (VKI, §15).

*Et secutus est eam rex Mailgun usque ad casulam Kepii. Et dixit ad eum rex, 'Dimitte capram.' Et ait Kepius, 'Non dimittam, nisi dederis ei uite refugium.' Dixitque rex iracundus, 'Si non dimiseris, eiciam te omnino de ista terra.' Et ait beatus Kebius, 'Non est in tua potestate, ut eicias me de ista terra, sed in potestate Dei est. Sed tamen dimittam tibi capram istam, si immolaueris Deo omnipotenti et mihi totam terram, quam circueat ante molossum (.i. canem) tuum.' Et ait rex, 'Libenter immolabo.' Et dimisit sanctus Kepi capram, et secutus est molosus illam per totum promuntorium, et reuersa est ad casulam sancti Kepii iterum.*

And king Maelgwn pursued her as far as Cybi's cottage. And the king said to him 'Let go the she-goat.' And Cybi said, 'I will not let her go, unless thou grant her protection of life.' And the king angry, said, 'If thou dost not let her go, I will eject thee altogether from this land.' And the blessed Cybi said, 'It is not in thy power to eject me from this land, but it is in the power of God. But still I will let go this she-goat for thee, if thou wilt sacrifice to Almighty God and to me the whole land, which she may go about in front of thy molossian (i.e. dog).' And the king said 'Freely will I sacrifice it.' And saint Cybi let go the she-goat, and the molossian followed her through the whole ridge, and she returned again to the cottage of saint Cybi (VKI, §18).

The following episode<sup>24</sup> reads rather like an abridged passage: it mentions another conflict which arose between Cybi and Maelgwn, without entering in detail as to what exactly was at stake. The result, however, of this dispute is Maelgwn's grant of his fortress to Cybi and God in perpetual alms. The rather simple and straightforward use of direct speeches seems to be characteristic of the hagiographer and highlights the 'negotiation' between both characters. As regards the adjectives used to describe the secular characters and Crubthir Fintam in their conflicts with Cybi, note must be given to the fact that they relate basically to their responses to a threat to their possessions or to things that pertain to their possessions, such as is the case with the she-goat claimed by Maelgwn. In this regard, there is no marked difference between Cybi's reactions and theirs: all the characters are described as "angered" and reacting against the others in order to expel the newcomers or to secure their belongings.

#### IV.11.3.2 Posthumous miracles in the VKI/VK2

The VKI/VK2 do not incorporate any *post-mortem* section, following a pattern which I have already identified for *Lives* written in south-west Wales.

---

<sup>24</sup> "*Et postea ortus est conflictus inter regem Mailgun et sanctum Kepium, sed non poterat resistere seruo Dei. Et ideo contulit castellum suum Deo omnipotenti et agio Kepio in perpetua elemosine oblatione.*" [And afterwards a conflict arose between king Maelgwn and saint Cybi, but he was not able to withstand the servant of God. And so he conveyed his fortress to Almighty God and the holy Cybi as a perpetual offering of alms] (VKI, § 19).

## IV.12 The *Life* of Saint Tatheus

### IV.12.1 Dating and authorship

The *Life* of St. Tatheus (ff. 88v – 92v) in the *Vespasian* legendary is the only source of information available on this saint of south-east Wales.<sup>1</sup> As the *Life*'s encomium in the final section makes clear, the *Life* was written to be read at the saint's festival. It was, most probably, made for the church of Tatheus in Caerwent, Gwent, this saint's main church. In the section dedicated to the analysis of the *VGu*, I mentioned the close stylistic and thematic similarities between that *Life* and the *Life* of Tatheus.<sup>2</sup> Both have been attributed either to Caradoc of Llancarfan or to someone who used Caradoc's *Life* of Cadog as one of his sources (cf. Brooke 1958: 234, Knight 1970: 33, Davies 2003: 134). As such, a date of composition after 1120, probably in the 1130s, would be expected (cf. Grosjean 1942: 35-45). This is corroborated by the reference to a "bishop" of Llandaff, a term which only began to be used by Bishop Urban of Llandaff after 1120.

### IV.12.2 Content

The *VTa* is divided into two sections, a minor one which relates to the saint's youth in Ireland and a major one relating to his arrival and settlement in Caerwent. His birth is not described in the first section and he is introduced as the son of an Irish king called Tathalius, who reigned in an unknown region in Ireland. As a youngster, Tatheus is praised for his moral qualities and for shunning earthly allurements. With the imminent death of his father, it is decided by the counsel of citizens that Tatheus should rule after him. After hearing the voice of an angel urging him not to set aside his religious life, Tatheus proceeds, together with eight disciples, to the sea harbor in order to cross over the sea to *Britannia*. This voyage is miraculously accomplished without sail and oar.<sup>3</sup> On their arrival in Gwent, Tatheus and his disciples are received by a rich man from the neighbourhood who provides them with much hospitality. Miracles are then performed that call attention of a neighbouring king, Caradoc. Caradoc desires therefore to meet Tatheus. From him, Tatheus receives land in which to build his first monastery. A series of well known hagiographical miracles happens, including the

---

<sup>1</sup> Henceforth *VTa*. The name *Tatheus* comes from the name of the apostle Thaddeus and seems to have been a much appreciated form in Ireland as it appears in the ninth century Martyrology of Oengus and in other Irish sources (cf. Knight 1970: 29).

<sup>2</sup> See IV.2.1. of this thesis.

<sup>3</sup> The "Celtic" motif of crossing the sea in the most adverse conditions has been studied by Milin. See Milin 1989: 125-140.

resuscitation of a stolen cow, the death of a herd of horses belonging to king Caradoc's men, their subsequent resuscitation, and the taming of wild animals. Tatheus' death is described in the last chapter of the *Life* and no *post-mortem* section follows.

### IV.12.3 Structural analysis of the encounter-episodes

#### IV.12.3.1 The secular characters in the *in vita* section of the *VTa*

##### IV.12.3.1.1 The rich man of Gwent

Tatheus, on his arrival in Gwent with his followers, is warmly received by a "rich man." This man, seeing them wearied with their journey, does not deem himself worthy of bathing before the strangers themselves have entered the bath:

*Quidam diues uicinus, balneo parato, ut consuetudo erat in sabato, uidit illos lassos ex itinere et nauigio aduenientes; illis uisis, noluit balneare, donec prius balnearent hospites balnei lauacro digniores. Postquam uenerant et intrauerant, **recepti fuerunt honorabiliter a domestico, ut debent recepi aduene**; commemorabat enim sermonem Dominicum uenturi iudicis in supremo die, qui dicet, **'Hospes fui et recipistis me.'***

A certain rich man in the neighbourhood, having prepared a bath, as was his custom on Saturday, saw them coming, wearied with their journey and voyage. Seeing them, he refused to bathe, until first the strangers, more worthy of bathing, had entered the bath. After they had arrived and entered, **they were honourably received by his servants as strangers ought to be received**, for he remembered the word of the Lord, who shall come as a judge on the last day, who shall say: **'I was a stranger and ye took me in.'** (*VTa*, §4) [my emphasis].

This episode revolves around the Christian notion of helping the needy and of showing hospitality through the quotation "Hospes fui et recepistis me," taken from Mt 25: 35-36: "*Esurivi, et dedistis mihi manducare: nudus fui, et copuistis me: hospes fui, et collegistis me.*"<sup>4</sup> This emphasises the promptness with which the newcomers are received at the rich man's place. This encounter, therefore, modeled on a New Testamental passage, skips the need for a direct confrontation between a secular and a religious person and underscores the rich man's following of a Christian precept. Both secular and religious men, therefore, by following Christian paths, coexist pacifically, without threat for the secular part of loosing land or influence in his/her region. What follows right afterwards is a miraculous description of a tamed stag that held the rope of the newcomers' little ship with its feet *more humano*, "in

---

<sup>4</sup> "For I was hungry, and you gave me to eat; I was thirsty, and you gave me to drink; I was a stranger, and you took me in." The idea of giving hospitality to strangers was repeated in and widespread through the Rule of St. Benedict: "Omnes superuenientes hospites tamquam Christus suscipiantur: quia ipse dicturus est. Hospes fui: et suscepistis me" (Rule of St. Benedict, §53: 1, *De hospitibus suscipiendis*).

a human manner”<sup>5</sup> This phrase is used in the *Life* of St. Illtud, also attributed to Caradoc of Llancarfan. In that *Life*, the theme of violation of the saint’s property is also used, together with the motif of a tamed wild animal.<sup>6</sup> The stag, taken to the court, offers its neck to be sacrificed. This is poetically told by the use of rhyming prose in the final syllables of clauses, which have been identified as one of Caradoc of Llancarfan’s stylistic characteristics (cf. Davies 2003: 136):

*Precipitur, tandem, cito dilaniare iacentem  
Extendit collum, monstrabat se moriturum.  
Tendit ad interitum, res mira peracta per istum.  
Ut cerui feritqꝫ sancti leniret ad escqꝫ.*

It is ordered at length to cut the stag hastily in pieces as he lieth;  
He extends his neck; he showed himself about to die;  
He proceeds towards death, **a marvel wrought by himself**,  
**That the wildness of the stag might be calmed for the saint’s food** (VTa, §5) [my emphasis].

Once more in a *Life* attributed to Caradoc, stress is laid in the animal’s *wildness* being subjected to the saint’s needs, in this case, specifically, to the saint’s necessity of food. This miraculous episode conflates the motif of tamed wild animal with the idea of a provision miracle favouring the saint.

#### IV.12.3.1.2 Caradoc, king of either Gwent

Through the performance of miracles, Tatheus’ fame spreads throughout the region, reaching the ears of Caradoc, referred to as the king “of either Gwent” (Lower and Upper Gwent). Caradoc sends messengers to Tatheus, beseeching him to come to his court and to preach to him and his people:

*At ille humiliter legatis respondit, ‘Rex uester, si cupiat nos uisitare, huc ueniat. Ego autem regem secularem et regis copiosam familiam non uisitabo.’ Legatis redeuntibus et renuntiantibus que audierant, rex non dedignans, sed magis obtemperans, xx. iiii.<sup>or</sup> militibus comitantibus, uisitauit honorabilem doctorem, rogans immensis precibus, ut ad Urbem Guentoniensem tenderet, et illico studium regeret, quia ciues diligebant eius aduentum, qui inter eos stabile retineret magisterium.*

<sup>5</sup> “[...]ceruum more humano cum pedibus funem retinentem, ne nauicula submergeretur ad ammissionem. Admirans et stupefactus ualde cum festinatione rediit, et quod uiderat ammiratiue magistro et ceteris renuntiauit.” [...]a stag holding the rope with his feet in a human manner, lest the little ship should be sunk and lost. Wondering and very amazed he returned with speed, and related to the master and the rest what a marvel he had seen] (VTa, §4).

<sup>6</sup> See IV.3.3.1.2. of this thesis.

But he **humbly** answered the messengers, ‘Your king, if he desires to visit us, let him come hither, **but I will not visit a secular king and the rich household of a king.**’ When the messengers returned and related what they had heard, the king not disdaining but rather obeying, visited the honourable teacher in company with his twenty-four knights, requesting with large prayers that he should proceed to Caerwent, and direct his religious pursuits in that place, because his citizens were pleased with his arrival, as one who would retain amongst them a stable leadership (VTa, §5) [my emphasis].

Tatheus’ denial to visit Caradoc’s court, which could perhaps be taken as an affront to a secular king, is explained cautiously in terms of the saint’s religious convictions of despising earthly things and riches. “Humbly” he responds to Caradoc’s messengers and the justification is therefore given lest his denial should be misinterpreted by the king. Caradoc’s request that Tatheus should go to Caerwent clearly states the king’s agreement and provision of land for Tatheus to settle down. Significantly, Caradoc is made to yield the whole city of Caerwent to Tatheus and to move his royal court to another place. One could speculate whether the significant choice of the fictitious figure of a king called “Caradoc” reigning in both Lower and Upper Gwent at the time when this *Life* was written could have anything to do with the figure of *Caradog ap Gruffudd ap Rhydderch*, about whom much was said in the analysis of the *Life* of Gwynllyw.<sup>7</sup> Be that as it may, it is Caradoc who beseeches Tatheus – guided by God – to look for a place where to build the royal and civic palace:

*[...]ammonitus angelica ammonitione, precatus est iterum celestem cultorem, quatenus in crastino equitaret, et monstraret edificii locum, quia donaretur Deo et sibi regale et ciuile palacium. Ille summo mane equum ascendit, et sine freno et capistro, quocunque Deus regeret et duceret, ire concessit.*

[...] being admonished by angelical admonition, he again besought the worshipper of the heavenly One that he should ride forth on the morrow and show him a place for building that it might be given to God and to himself for a royal and civic palace. He very early in the morning mounted his horse, and without bridle and halter suffered him to go wheresoever God might direct and lead him (VTa, §9).

It is, as it were, the corroboration that the secular realm is subjected to God’s choice and, in an earthly plan, to the designs of religious men.

#### IV.12.3.1.3 Gwynllyw’s esquires

The following episode relates the coming of King Gwynllyw’s esquires with a hundred and forty-seven horses to a meadow belonging to St. Tatheus. The horses are let loose and end up trampling the meadow, to the indignation of Tatheus’ herdsman. As is clear, this episode relates to the property rights of the community. A punitive miracle ensues:

---

<sup>7</sup> See section IV.2.3. of this thesis.



*Sanctus uero pacienter sustinuit, nolens irasci, sed orauit pro malefactoribus, ut se conuerterent et emendarent in melius. Exaudita oratione a summo Auditore, qui dixit, Michi uindictam et ego retribuam, omnes equi, qui pratum uiolauerant, defuncti inuenti sunt. Armigeri nequissimi, uidentes dignam uindictam fieri de corruptione prati, festinanter narrauerunt regi mortiferam caballorum pestilentiam.*

But the saint bore it patiently, refusing to be angry, but prayed **for the malefactors that they might be converted and later for the better**. The payer being heard by the supreme Auditor, who has said **‘Vengeance is mine and I will repay’**, **all the horses, which had injured the meadow, were found dead**. The very wicked esquires, seeing that meet vengeance was taken for the spoiling of the meadow, quickly informed the king of the deadly sickness of the horses (VTa, §8) [my emphasis].

The king, recognising in this a divine punishment, castigates his esquires for having inflicted harm on the saint and expels them from his court. He begs the saint for pardon:

*Ille electus Deu seruius perdonauit quod deliquerant, nolens precari ut dampnarentur, quamuis essent dampnabiles, commemorans Dominicum sermonem et euangelicum, qui dicit, ‘Nolo mortem peccatoris, sed ut conuertatur et uiuat.’*

That elect servant of God pardoned what injury they had done, unwilling to pray that they should be damned, although they were worthy of damnation, remembering the evangelical word of the Lord, who says, **‘I desire not the death of the wicked, but that he should be converted and live’** (VTa, §8) [my emphasis].

The biblical quotation, adapted from Eze 33: 11,<sup>8</sup> had already been used in the *VCI*, in the episode in which Cadog cursed a rustic for refusing to give him coal. The rustic was consequently severely punished by being burnt down together with his whole house.<sup>9</sup> The hagiographer of the *VTa*, however, rewrites the interpretation attributed to the biblical passage: in the *VCI*, Lifris justified the saint’s act by affirming that the saint punished the rustic *not* out of vengeance but in order to make the virtue and power of God manifest in the world. Here, the emphasis is on *conversion* and the king’s making *amendments*, to which purposes the saint’s *prayers* – not the saint’s curse and malediction as in the *VCI* – are indeed directed. Indeed, early on in the episode, through the quotation of *‘Michi uindictam et ego retribuam,’*<sup>10</sup> he had already made clear his point of emphasising *not* the saint’s but God’s punishment of men. The most important aspect emphasised is *conversion*. This is supported by the justification of the miracle of the resuscitation of the horses:

<sup>8</sup> “Dic ad eos: Vivo ego, dicit Dominus Deus, nolo mortem impii, sed ut convertatur impius a via sua, et vivat.” [Say to them: As I live, saith the Lord God, I desire not the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way, and live] (Eze 33: 11). The quotation appears *verbatim* in Gildas’ *De Excidio*, one of Caradoc of Llandarfarn’s sources for his *Life* of Gildas. It was also used in two *Lives* also attributed to him, the *Life* of Teilo and the *Life* of Oudoceus in the Book of Llandaff, which John Reuben Davies affirmed to have been revised by Caradoc of Llandarfarn (cf. Davies 2003: 142).

<sup>9</sup> In section IV.1.3.1.6. of this thesis.

<sup>10</sup> From Dt 32: 35: “Mea est ultio, et ego retribuam in tempore ut labatur pes eorum: juxta est dies perditionis, et adesce festinant tempora.” [Revenge is mine, and I will repay them in due time, that their foot may slide: the day of destruction is at hand, and the time makes haste to come].

*Emendatione donata et impleta, cunctis ibi uidentibus, mirabilius equi uiuificati sunt..*

**When amendments were made and completed**, the horses, in the sight of all there, were made alive in a wonderful manner (*VTa*, §9) [my emphasis].

Moreover this is also supported by the fact that in the *VTe*, the episode of Cadog's fetching coal for his master, in this case, Tatheus, is reworked: Cadog's curse is omitted and the emphasis is, contrastingly, laid on the miracle of the saint's carrying the burning coals in his mantle without being injured by the fire.<sup>11</sup> In fact, by working with the themes of hospitality, fervent prayers, patience and, moreover, by emphasising pardon instead of cursing through the use of selected biblical quotations, one could infer that the hagiographer is working – for the characterisation of St. Tatheus – towards a Pauline concept of love and charity, as found in Paul's Epistle to the Romans.<sup>12</sup>

#### IV.12.3.1.4 Two robbers coming from Gwynllyw's court

The last episode involving a secular ruler in the *VTa* relates to king Gwynllyw himself. Two robbers coming from Gwynllyw's region steal a cow from Tatheus and his disciples, taking it to Gwynllyw's court. Tatheus, following the footprints of the cow, is lead to the palace gate, intending to reclaim the robbed animal:

---

<sup>11</sup> See *VTe*, §12.

<sup>12</sup> In Rom 12: 12-21: "*Spe gaudentes: in tribulatione patientes: orationi instantes: necessitatibus sanctorum communicantes: hospitalitatem sectantes. Benedicite persequentibus vos: benedicite, et nolite maledicere. Gaudere cum gaudentibus, flere cum flentibus: idipsum invicem sentientes: non alta sapientes, sed humilibus consentientes. Nolite esse prudentes apud vosmetipsos: nulli malum pro malo reddentes: providentes bona non tantum coram Deo, sed etiam coram omnibus hominibus. Si fieri potest, quod ex vobis est, cum omnibus hominibus pacem habentes: non vosmetipsos defendentes carissimi, sed date locum irae. Scriptum est enim: Mihi vindicta: ego retribuam, dicit Dominus. Sed si esurierit inimicus tuus, ciba illum: si sitit, potum da illi: hoc enim faciens, carbonem ignis congeres super caput ejus. Noli vinci a malo, sed vince in bono malum.*" [Rejoicing in hope. **Patient in tribulation.** Instant in prayer. Communicating to the necessities of the saints. **Pursuing hospitality. Bless them that persecute you: bless, and curse not.** Rejoice with them that rejoice; weep with them that weep. Being of one mind one towards another. Not minding high things, but consenting to the humble. Be not wise in your own conceits. **To no man rendering evil for evil.** Providing good things, not only in the sight of God, but also in the sight of all men. If it be possible, as much as is in you, have peace with all men. Revenge not yourselves, my dearly beloved; but give place unto wrath, for it is written: **Revenge is mine, I will repay**, saith the Lord. But if thy enemy be hungry, give him to eat; if he thirst, give him to drink. For, doing this, thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head. Be not overcome by evil, but overcome evil by good].

*Rex Gunlyu, **adhuc nequam**, uidens innocentem uirum et suos consocios aduenientes, precepit seruiantibus deponere caldarium, aqua feruida plenum, et cooperire iuncis et desuper lineo panno ad sedile dolosum; sanctus uir iustissimus, ut intrauit, locatus est per tales insidias super caldarium, cui profuit celeste sustentaculum; dum putant dolosi malefactores illum cadere in feruorem medium, sedile fuit solidatum, quasi lapideum. Rex, cernens diuinitatis amatorem protectum fuisse diuina tutela, inclinauit ad genua, obsecrans misericordiam tribuere ex dolositate nequissima. Ille more religiosissimi uiri ex sua parte **indulsit malefactum**, tali pacto ut non repeterent sui familiares latrocinium. Post hec uacca ei fuit restituta. His dictis **carnem et ossa posuerunt super corium. His ita compositis reuixit, et, coram omnibus surgens, consociando remeauit.***

King Gwynllyw, **who was still wicked**, seeing the innocent man and his associates approaching, ordered his servants to set down a pot full of hot water, and to cover it with rushes, with a linen cloth on top, to form a false seat. The holy and most just man, as he entered, placed himself by such tricks on the pot, whom the succour of heaven delivered. Whilst the deceitful knaves are thinking that he would fall into the boiling heat, the seat was made solid as though it were of stone. The king seeing that the lover of the Godhead had been protected by divine guardianship, fell on his knees, beseeching him to grant mercy for that most wicked trickery. He for his part in the manner of a most religious man **forgave the evil deed** on this condition, that his servants should not repeat their robbery. After these affairs the cow was restored to him. These things being said, **they put the flesh and bones upon the hide. These being so put together, the cow lived again, and rising in the sight of them all returned in company with them** (VTa, § 11) [my emphasis].

The reference to a time when Gwynllyw was “still” wicked betrays the hagiographer’s knowledge of stories revolving around Gwynllyw’s figure and his conversion through his son Cadog, as told in the *Life* of Gwynllyw. This is not surprising considering the possibility of authorship of both *Lives* by Caradoc of Llancarfan. Caradoc could have been the one responsible for Gwynllyw’s deliberate conversion in the *VGu* for the sake of the holiness of Cadog: to emphasise, therefore, the fact that Cadog was indeed born of saintly parents. One wonders what kind of traditions revolving around Gwynllyw might have existed before the *VGu* definitely inserted Gwynllyw into the hagiographical tradition, taking into consideration this kind of reticent note about his conversion or even the episode in the *Life* of Cadog in which he is seen abducting his future wife with the help of Arthur. It seems probable, therefore, that stories about Gwynllyw’s acts were also in circulation at the time. Some were, consequently, adapted to a hagiographical setting. In terms of Caradoc’s authorship, it seems, therefore, to be no coincidence that right after this episode and the mention of Gwynllyw’s wickedness a miracle relating to Cadog is told: the episode tells of Cadog’s instruction under *Tatheus*, who one day sends the young Cadog to fetch coal, mentioned above. Here, however, Cadog’s Irish master *Meutheus* is identified with *Tatheus*. The connection here stems through *Tatheus*’ origins since Cadog’s master was said to have come from Ireland in the *VC1*. In terms of this *Life*’s thematic, on the other hand, the hagiographer repeats the idea of *pardon* and *conversion* in that the saint forgives Gwynllyw’s trickery.

Finally, it is worth noticing the second use of a resuscitation miracle relating to animals in this episode. Firstly Gwynllyw's horses were resuscitated, now Tatheus' cow is brought back to life. Most significantly, the hagiographer does not give up the traditional set of miracles associated with Welsh saints: apart from the resuscitation of animals, the typical encounter of the saint with a secular ruler, the taming of wild animals, some well-known stories are also told in the *Life*: a maiden is martyred, a spring flows from the earth, a pigeon belonging to Tatheus is restored by a kite, and, finally, a she-wolf is mitigated.<sup>13</sup> The hagiographer, however, modernises the concept of the saint's virtues by rewriting the notion of holiness or of a good Christian behaviour according to New Testamental precepts. These, as we have seen, preach for *conversion*, for the following of a *Christian* life in which pardoning and peaceful existence belong together: a didactic direction towards the *emulatio Christi* on the part of the audience.

---

<sup>13</sup> In *VTe*, §13, 14, 15 and 16, respectively.

## IV.13 The *Life* of Saint Carannog

### IV.13.1 Dating and authorship

Carannog<sup>1</sup> was the patron-saint of Llangrannog on the shores of Cardigan Bay, in south-west Wales.<sup>2</sup> There are two surviving *Vitae* of St. Carannog. These have conventionally been called *Vita Prima* and a *Vita Secunda* (ff. 93r – 94r).<sup>3</sup> Compared to the other Welsh *Vitae* of interest to this thesis, the most striking difference between them lies in their *length*. Carannog's *Vitae* are the shortest ones in the *Vespasian* legendary. Judging from its opening, the *VCa1* was conceived as lessons to be read on the saint's feast-day, which, according to the *Life*, took place on May 16.<sup>4</sup> The *VCa2*, on the other hand, is not a *Vita* in the proper sense: it is constituted by two sections of genealogical material, a short note on the boundaries of the lands belonging to the descendants of Cunedda and a short story on how Carannog built his main monastery in Wales.<sup>5</sup>

Some suggestions have been made as to the dating of both *Lives* and their authorship. Firstly, in 1928 Canon Doble suggested that the *VCa1* dated to the beginning of the twelfth century on the grounds that it did not show any signs of having been influenced by Geoffrey of Monmouth's portrayal of Arthur in his *HRB*. Following François Duine, he also pointed out to some similarities between the *VCa1* and the *Vespasian VCI*: both use the word *graphyum* for a written charter that testifies to a land donation, both quote from Sulpicius Severus' *Vita Martini* and both make use of genealogical material (cf. Duine 1870: 118-119, Doble 1928: 9-10). I will return to this in short.

---

<sup>1</sup> He also appears as Carantoc and Carentoc in the literature, according to the *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*. The names Carantocus and Caractacus, both very common in Wales, Cornwall and Brittany, seem to have been confused and made to apply to different saints (cf. Doble 1928: 18).

<sup>2</sup> Another foundation dedicated to the saint was Capel Crannog, St. Dogmaels, in Pembrokeshire (cf. Harris 1953: 27).

<sup>3</sup> Henceforth *VCa1* and *VCa2*, respectively.

<sup>4</sup> “*Ueneranda est hec solempnitas omnibus hominibus in Deo credentibus, quando assumptus est in celum beatus Carantocus, Ceretici filius [...]*” [This festival is to be solemnized by all people believing in God, since the blessed Carannog, son of Ceredig [...]] (*VCa1*, §1).

<sup>5</sup> A much abridged and revised version of these *Lives* was made by John of Tinmouth in his *Sanctilogium* in the fourteenth century. Tinmouth rearranged the order of chapters, conflating the *VCa1* and the *VCa2* and omitting most of the place-names found in the *Vespasian Lives* of Carannog into what he thought of, apparently, as a more logical order (cf. *NLA* I, 177-9).

Both *Lives* of Carannog trace the saint's genealogy to *Ceredig*, the famous eponymous king of Ceredigion and also to none other than the Virgin Mary.<sup>6</sup> The Welsh genealogies in the eleventh-century manuscript Harleian 3859 – which also contains the *Annales Cambriae* and the *Historia Brittonum* – make Ceredig the son of Cunedda and this association might have influenced the hagiographer of the *VCa2*. Indeed, one of the main purposes of the *Vita Secunda*, if this *Life* was indeed written later than the *VCa1*, seems to have been the necessity to emphasise Carannog's descent from the line of Cunedda which was not present in the first *Life*: a type of “updating” which underscored the fact that Carannog was the legitimate heir of the whole region of Ceredigion.

Arthur Wade-Evans in his *VSB* dated both *Lives* to the beginning of the twelfth century. According to him, the *VCa1* was written shortly after Rhygyfarch's *VD* – that is, about 1090 – and the *VCa2*, somewhat later, showing a “new archidiaconal arrangement, which fixes the southern boundary of Ceredigion not at the river Teify but at the river Gwaun, where Fishguard stands” (Wade-Evans 1944: xi-xii). Nora Chadwick followed Wade-Evan's suggestions, calling attention to the fact that the longer *Life* of Carannog i.e. the *VCa1*, aimed at superseding the *Life* of David by Rhygyfarch (cf. Chadwick 1958: 157-158). There are, in fact, some internal indications that could point to the writer of the *VCa1* to have used the *VD* as one of his sources, as suggested by Chadwick. From the *VD*, for instance, he might have taken the detail that St. Patrick had lived *thirty* years before the birth of David. Since the hagiographer makes Carannog and Patrick contemporaries, living together in Ireland and being highly praised by the Irish, he uses the same thirty-year interval between the lives of his protagonist and David.<sup>7</sup> The hagiographer not only wished to bolster up the fame of St

---

<sup>6</sup> “[...] tam facile est generationem illius deducere ad Mariam, matrem Domini, quo nemo inter reges Britonum alciorhabetur.” [...] so easy it is to trace his genealogy to Mary, the Mother of the Lord, for which reason none is accounted higher among the kings of the Britons] (*VCa1*, §1); “*Quodam tempore fuit uir, nomine Keredic. Rex erat. Et hic uir habuit multos filios, quorum unus erat Carantocus nomine, filius Keredic, mab Cuneda, mab Ethern, m. Patern Pes Rudauc, m. Tacit, m. Kein, m. Guorchein, m. Doli, m. Gurdoli, m. Domn, m. Guordomn, m. Amguoloid, m. Amguerit, m. Omnid, m. Dubunn, m. Britguenin, m. Eugen, [m.] Aballach, m. Canalech, m. Beli, et Anna, mater eius, quam dicunt esse consobrinam Marie Uirginis.*” [There was once upon a time a man, Ceredig by name. He was a king. And this man had many sons, one of whom was named Carannog, son of Ceredig son of Cunedda, son of Ethern, m. Patern Pes Rudauc, m. Tacit, m. Kein, m. Guorchein, m. Doli, m. Gurdoli, m. Domn, m. Guordomn, m. Amguoloid, m. Amguerit, m. Omnid, m. Dubunn, m. Britguenin, m. Eugen, [m.] Aballach, m. Canalech, m. Beli and Anna, his mother, whom they say was cousin to the Virgin Mary] (*VCa2*, §1). This genealogy follows that of Cunedda given in the Harleian MS. 3859 (Cf. Phillimore 1888:170).

<sup>7</sup> Compare the accounts in the *VD* of St. Patrick's arrival in Ceredigion and his coming to the *Rosina Uallis*, the site of St. David's main church with the information given in the *VCa1*: “*Deinde Patricius, Romanis eruditus disciplinis [...] Ceretice gentis regionem adiit, in qua per aliquantulum temporis conuersatus. Demetica intrat rura, ibique perlustrans tandem ad locum qui Uallis Rosina nominabatur peruenit, et gratum agnoscens locum deuouit Deo ibi fideliter deservire. Sed cum hec secum meditando reuolueret, apparuit ei angelus Domini, ‘Tibi’ inquit ‘non istum locum Deus disposuit, sed filio qui nondum est natus nec nisi peractis prius triginta annis*

Carannog in Ireland – where St. David was also venerated – but also wanted to emphasise his missionary contribution to the conversion of the Irish against the pagans.<sup>8</sup> Apart from the *VD*, moreover, the other probable source used by the hagiographer or reviser of the *VCa1* was the *Life* of Cadog. The similarities which led Canon Doble to argue for “Lifris” authorship (cf. Doble 1928: 9-19), mentioned before, would rather argue for the *VCI* to have been one of the sources of the *VCa1*: this would justify the use of the word *graphyum*, for example, as a borrowing from the *VCI*. Furthermore, Sulpicius Severus’ *Vita Martini* was a well-known *Vita* emulated by many western hagiographers throughout the middle ages and the quotation found both in the *VCa1* and *VCI* could have sprung directly from it. Additionally, the genealogical penchant found in both *VCa1* and *VCI* seems to be, instead, characteristic of the time, with genealogies being produced and re-produced in an attempt to ascertain descent and, consequently, land boundaries.<sup>9</sup>

Be that as it may, both *Lives* seem to be indeed products of the first decades of the twelfth century. I believe, however, that the material in the *VCa2* represents an earlier version of Carannog’s *Life* than that found in the *VCa1*. The *VCa1* is an attempt to connect and identify St. Carannog with the Irish St. Cairnech. It discloses its relation with the *VD* and a subtle attempt to raise Carannog’s fame in opposition to David’s in Ireland. The hagiographer of the *VCa1* knew of the fest-day of that Irish saint under May 16 in Irish martyrologies and “sent,” consequently, his saint to preach and convert the Irish even before Saint David’s birth.<sup>10</sup> If anything, this *Life* justifies the absence of Carannog’s relics in Llangrannog or in any other of his churches in Wales. The *VCa1* is rather in line with the production of Saints’ *Lives* in southwest Wales at this time: like the *VP*, it tries to conflate the deeds of different saints into

---

*nascetur.*” [Next, Patrick, experienced in Roman learning [...] came to the country of the people of Ceredigion, where he sojourned for a little while. He enters the parts of Dyfed, and there wandering about arrived at length at the place which was named Vallis Rosina; and perceiving that the place was pleasant, he vowed to serve God faithfully there. But when he was revolving these things in his mind, an angel of the Lord appeared to him, “For thee,” said he “God has not disposed this place, but for a son who is not yet born, nor will he be born until thirty years are done”] (*VD*, §3); “XXX. annis ante natiuitatem sancti Dauid filii Sant, bene Carantocus susceptus est in Hibernia [...] et mutauit nomen eius in lingua eorum Cernach.” [Thirty years before the birth of saint David, the son of Sant, was Carannog well received in Ireland [...] and he changed his name in their language to Cernach] (*VCa1*, §2).

<sup>8</sup> “Sic [like the apostles Peter and Paul who had led many regions to the faith] *Carantocus deduxit regiones Hibernensium, inuitis cetibus magorum am regibus honoratus.*” [Thus Carannog led the districts of the Irish, honoured along with kings, although against the will of the companies of the *magi*] (*VCa1*, §2).

<sup>9</sup> The Harleian MS. 3859 (mentioned previously) attests to this interest in genealogical material. Other contemporary examples can be found in the *Hanes Gruffudd ap Cynan*, for instance (cf. *Hanes*, §1). The amount of genealogical lists found in Wales astonished Giraldus Cambrensis in his *Itinerarium Kambriae*, as is to be inferred by his comments throughout that work (cf. *Itinerarium*, L. I, c. xvii). As I have shown in my analysis of the *VCI*, the genealogical material related to Cadog was probably attached to Lifris’ *Life* and may, consequently, not be ascribed to him. See IV.1.1. of this thesis.

<sup>10</sup> Saint Cairnech’s feast-day is given under May 16 in the Martyrology of Tallagh, which dates to about the end of the eighth century (cf. Doble 1928: 13, Chadwick 1961: 101).

one single *Life* in face of the more powerful claims of neighbouring monasteries as to the fame of their patron-saints. Highly significant is also the fact that in this case it is *not* a Breton saint but an Irish one that is chosen to be associated with the Ceredigion saint, although versions following the *VCa2* are found in Brittany in a source of the late middle ages: the *Breviary of Léon*.<sup>11</sup> The lessons of the *LB* for May 16 begin with the same account found in §3 of the *VCa2* in what seems to have been a well-structured account of the saint's wanderings in Ceredigion and Ireland together with his disciples and followers. For the sake of comparison, I quote below the passage from the *VCa2* in full, followed directly by Doble's translation of the *LB* (cf. Doble 1928: 19-20):

*Keredic autem tenuit Kerediciaun, et ab illo nuncupata est. Et postquam tenuerat, uenerunt Scotti et pugnauerunt cum eis, et occupauerunt omnes regiones. Keredic autem senex erat, et dixerunt ei seniores, 'Senex es, domine, tu non potes dimicare. Oportet nos unum ordinare regem de filiis tuis. Quis est senior?' Dixerunt, 'Karantoc.' Oportet illum esse regem.' Karantoc autem plus diligebat regem celestem terreno regno, et Domini sui uoluntatem quam humanam fauorem. Et ille, postquam audiuit, fugam iniit, ne inueniret eum. Prius emit meliorem baculum cum sarculo a quodam paupere. Et uenit in locum, qui dicitur Guerit Carantoc, et mansit ibi per aliquod tempus. Et uoluit illic orare Deum, et quando esset, et cum operari uoluisset, uenit columba [et] traxit omne, quod radebat de baculo cotidie. Et illi dixit, 'Domine, quo trahit?' atque pepigit in mente, 'Uadam et uidebo quo trahit hoc.' Et surrexit, quo ibat, per siluam, per saltum. Uenit columba, descendit in loco, ubi est ecclesia hodie, et dimisit illic. Et ille uidit et dixit, 'Hic oportet me esse, quia Deus uoluit.' Et mansit per aliquod spatium, ubi deuotas Deo persoluit gratias."*

Ceredig held Ceredigion, and from him it was named. And after that he had held it, the Irish came and fought with them and took all the regions. But Ceredig was an old man, and the elders said to him, 'Thou art old, sir, thou canst not fight. It behoves us to appoint one of thy sons to be king. Who is the eldest?' They said, 'Carannog. He ought to be king.' But Carannog preferred the heavenly king to an earthly realm, and the will of the Lord to human favour. And when he had heard, he took to flight, lest they should discover him. He first bought a better bachall together with a hoe from a poor man. And he came to the place which is called Gweryd Carannog and there he sojourned for some time. And he wished to pray to God in that place. And when he was there and whenever he wished to labour, a dove came [and] took away all that he whittled daily from his bachall. And he said, 'Lord, whither does she take it?' And he resolved in his mind 'I will go to see whither she takes this.' And he arose [to follow] whither she went through wood, through forest. The dove came, and descended on a spot where is a church to-day and left it there. And he saw and said, 'Here it behoves me to be, because God has willed it.' And he remained there some time, where he rendered devout thanks to God (*VCa2*, §3).

The *LB*, in its turn, tells how Carannog, here called Karadocus, left his father's court to avoid being made king. The lessons are the following:

"1st lesson: Once upon a time there was a man named Cereticus, and this man had many sons: of whom one was named Karadocus. In those days came the Scots and occupied the British region. Now Cereticus was an old man, and the older men said, "Thou art an old man, thou canst not fight, thou must appoint one of thy sons, who is the oldest." They said to Karadocus, "Thou must be king." But Karadocus loved to be a heavenly king rather than an earthly (king) and after he heard (that he had been chosen king) he took to flight, that they might not find him. Karadocus therefore took a wallet (peram) with a stick and a little sack from a certain poor man, and he came to a place which is called Guerith Karantoc and abode there for some time.

---

<sup>11</sup> Henceforth *LB*.



But after many days there came to saint Karadocus a voice from heaven and commanded him, because here he could not be hid and the more he was unknown and removed from his own people the more useful a servant of God he would be, to follow Patrick into Ireland. Karadocus therefore went down into Ireland, and there began to build a monastery. It was told to Karadocus that in those parts, in the possession of a certain tyrant, named Dulcemius, was a certain tree, adorned and dear, which had been his father's. Karadocus came and asked for the tree. "Art thou better," saith the tyrant, "than all the saints who have asked for it?" "I am not," saith Karadocus; 2nd lesson: The tyrant saith, "Call upon thy God, however, and if it falls it is thine." Karadocus answered, "Nothing is impossible to God." And after saying this he prayed to the Lord. When he had finished his prayer, the tree fell, plucked up by the roots, and the unbelievers stood amazed. The tyrant therefore believed and was baptized, and all (his subjects) with him were turned to the faith and received the sacrament (of baptism). This log the workmen carried next day to the work (i.e. the building of the monastery), which was begun, and cut it into four bases (to act as foundations for the walls)."

The third lesson tells how a saint in Ireland called Tenenanus was healed from leprosy by St. Carannog. Now it should be observed that as breviary lessons, the author might surely have abridged his text from an existing *Vita*. As the reading of both passages make clear, the first lesson of the *LB* corresponds to §3 of the *VCa2*. It is impossible to make any inference as to the relationship between these two versions, considering that the *LB* is found in a manuscript of the late middle ages. However, as a depiction of an encounter-scene between a secular ruler and a saint in a Saint's *Life*, the *LB* offers, instead, a more complete and well structured narrative than the seemingly dislocated section in the *VCa2*, in line with the encounter pattern between saints and secular characters that I have described so far for most *Lives* in the *Vespasian* legendary. Moreover, the version in the *LB* bears strong reminiscences with passages in the *VCa1*, which would shun any suspicion of mere coincidence. The style of the chapters' openings in the *VCa1* is very similar to the version in the *LB*: both use the voice of an angel of God as a triggering element for the narrative to move – the formula "postea uenit uox illi de cello" (*VCa1*, §5) or "uenit autem uox illi de cello" (*VCa1*, §5). One could therefore speculate whether the reviser of the *VCa1* and *VCa2* deliberately modified an older and/or more complete version of the *Life* of Carannog – not necessarily corresponding to the version surviving in the *LB* – to emphasise 1. Carannog's superiority over David in Ireland and 2. to introduce an Arthurian element which would bring the saint to Cornwall and Somerset, most probably due to the influences exerted by the almost contemporary *Lives* of Cadog, David and Padarn in his work. The *VCa2*, as it survives in the *Vespasian* legendary, could therefore be older than the *VCa1*: it could be a fragment of an early *Life* fixed in the *Vespasian VCa2* as a witness to the building of Carannog's monastery in Ceredigion, once the *VCa1* only accounts for Carannog's monasteries in Ireland and Cornwall.

## IV.13.2 Content

### IV.13.2.1 Vita Prima Sancti Carantoci

In the *VCa1*, Carannog is praised for his noble descent. Nothing is said of his birth, but his boyhood is briefly described: he preserved his innocence and spent most of his time in a cave studying the Old and New Testaments. He then proceeds to Ireland to meet and live with St. Patrick, who had gone thither before him. Due to their great number of disciples, they decide to part from each other, Carannog proceeding “towards the right side, but Patrick towards the left.”<sup>12</sup> Chapter 2 adds the information of the birth of St. David, and recedes in time to tell how Carannog was well received in Ireland and how he changed his name to *Cernach/Chernach*, the modern Irish Cairnech. No mention of Patrick is made in this section and Carannog’s healings and high position among the Irish are enumerated with exaggerated verbosity.<sup>13</sup> The style of this section contrasts markedly with the subsequent ones, in which Carannog is made to return from Ireland to Ceredigion and in which his wanderings throughout Cornwall and his meeting with Arthur are described. The last chapter resumes the rather exaggerated rhetorical style and tells of the saint’s return to Ireland to be interred in the monastery of *Chernach* on 16 May.<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup> “*Et perrexit Carantocus ad dexteram partem, Patricius autem ad sinistram.*” (*VCa1*, §1).

<sup>13</sup> “*Et quocunque isset, uirtutes et prodigia faciebat innumerabilia ex nutu Dei. Sanauit multa hominum milia, uariis doloribus impleta, cecos, claudos, lunaticos, atque his similia. [...] Beati Cernachi opera leguntur in Hibernia per totam patriam, sicut leguntur in Roma beati Petri apostoli prodigia [...] Talis itaque est timendus et adorandus, qui potens est in excelso throno ex bono opere, et potens saluare corpora in terris ab omnibus languoribus. Fortis fuit et fidelis, in pace ministrabilis, mirum namque in modum consimilis fuit angelis, sub presentia solis fortis miles, mirabilis, spiritalis, summus abbas, longanimis preceptor fidelitatis, iusta nuncians, omnibus iustis, preco regni celestis.*” [And wheresoever he went, he performed miracles and wonders innumerable by the will of God. He healed many thousands of persons filled with divers diseases, the blind, the lame, lunatics, and the like. [...] The acts of the blessed Cernach are read in Ireland throughout the whole country, as are read in Rome the prodigies of the blessed apostle, Peter [...]. It follows that such a person is to be feared and adored, who by good work is powerful on his highest throne and is powerful to save bodies on earth from all ailments. He was brave and faithful, fitted to minister in peace, for in a wonderful manner he was like the angels. In the presence of the sun he was a brave soldier, wonderful, spiritual, a supreme abbot, a patient preacher of fidelity, proclaiming just things to all just people, a herald of the heavenly kingdom] (*VCa1*, §2).

<sup>14</sup> There has been no attempt to analyse the composition of the *VCa1*, but as my suggestions indicate, chapters §2 and §6 seem to have been written by one and the same person. The style of both these chapters contrasts markedly with the remaining ones in this *Life*. The introductory chapter §1 might have also been written by this hagiographer, although surely drawing from different sources on Saint Carannog. The hagiographer is at pains to conciliate his readings of the *VD* in order to connect Carannog’s and Patrick’s activities in Ireland. This might have been the person responsible for the identification of St. Carannog and the Irish Cernach/Cairnech. The date of Carannog’s festival in the *Vespasian* Calendar at January 16 is an error, as shown by Silas Harris. It disagrees with the most correct date of May 16 given in the *Life* and in some later Welsh Calendars (cf. Harris 1953: 27).

#### IV.13.2.2 Vita Secunda Sancti Carantoci

The *VCa2* is composed of genealogical material connecting Carannog to the line of Cunedda and of a short story relating to the building of his monastery in Ceredigion. This short story reads like the beginning of a Welsh *Vita* in which succession to the throne is at stake and the moribund king is therefore impelled to choose an heir because he is unable to defend his country. The situation allows the saint to confirm his choice of a heavenly kingdom instead of an earthly one.<sup>15</sup> Carannog flees from his father and is later shown by a dove sent by God where the site of his monastery should be. The *Life* ends rather abruptly after this passage. It is clear that this was one excerpt taken from a *Life* of St. Carannog deliberately cut and inserted in its current place to tell the story of how the saint's main monastery in Ceredigion was built. The last sentence confirms this assumption in that it mentions in a much known formula from saintly biographies that the saint remained in that place for "some time," leaving the audience to wait, perhaps, for one of the typical wanderings of Welsh saints.

#### IV.13.3 Structural analysis of the encounter-episodes

##### IV.13.3.1 The secular characters in the *in vita* section of the *VCa1/2*

###### IV.13.3.1.1 Arthur

Of the six chapters of the *VCa1*, Arthur appears in two of them in a story somewhat different from those we have seen so far in the *Lives* of SS. Cadog, Illtud and Padarn. He appears *reigning* together with someone named *Cato* in a place called *Dindraithov*. Together with four Irish leaders who invaded "Brittanniam," Cato and Arthur are, excepting Carannog's relatives, the *only* other secular characters to be named in this *Life*. Carannog comes to Arthur's region following a miraculous *altar* which Christ had given him. The altar, once cast into a river, showed the direction the saint had to go next:

*Et postea uenit iterum ad suam propriam regionem Kerediciaun ad suam speluncam cum clericis multis [...]. Et dedit illi Christus altare honorificabile de excelso cuius nemo intelligebat colorem. Et postea ad Sabrinam amnem uenot, ut nauigaret, et misit altare in mare, quod et precedebat, ubi Deus uolebat illum uenire.*

---

<sup>15</sup> Just like Saint Cadog in the *VCI*, Carannog shuns the secular life which is offered to him. Both are meant to be kings and succeed their fathers.

And afterwards he came again to his own native district of Ceredigion, to his own cave, with many clerics [...]. And Christ gave him an honourable altar from heaven, the colour of which no one fathomed. And afterwards he came to the Severn river that he might sail across, and he cast the altar into the sea, which also preceded him whither God wished him to go (*VCaI*, §3).

This passage serves as an introduction to the Arthurian episode which follows. It is noteworthy for the elements which it introduces: the fact that Carannog was given a present by Christ himself and the fact that this present is a wondrous altar, judging by its colours which no one could fathom. I will come back to these elements again soon. Arthur is then introduced in the next chapter:

*In istis temporibus Cato et Arthur regnabant in ista patria, habitantes in Dindraithov. Et uenit Arthur circuiens, ut inueniret serpentem ualidissimum, ingentem, terribilem, qui uastauerat .xii. partes agri Carrum. Et uenit Carantocus et salutauit Arthorum, qui gaudens accepit benedictionem ab illo. Et interrogauit Carantocus Arthorum, utrum audisset, ubi applicuisset altare suum. Et Arthur respondit, 'Si habuero precium, nunciabo tibi.' Et illi dixit, 'Quid precium postulas?' Ille respondit, 'Ut deducas serpentem, qui inprope est tibi, si seruus Dei est, ut uideamus.' Tunc beatus Carantocus perrexit, et orauit ad Dominum. Et ilico uenit serpens cum sonitu magno [...]. Inclinauitque caput suum ante seruum Dei [...]. Et dedit stolam suam circa collum eius [...]. Deinde perrexerunt una ad arcem, et salutauerunt Catonem, et bene suscepti sunt ab eo. Et duxit illum serpentem in media aula, et cibauit illum coram populo, et conati sunt occidere illum. Non reliquit eum occidi, quia dixit quod ex uerbo Dei uenisset, ut deleter peccatores, qui in Carrum erant, et ut ostenderet uirtutem Dei per illum. Et postea perrexit extra portam arcis, et Carantocus dissoluit illum [...]. Et accepit altare, quod cogitauerat Arthur in mensam facere, sed quicquid apponebatur super illam, iactabatur in longinquo. Et postulauit rex ab illo, ut reciperet Carrum in sempiternum graphyo. Et postea edificauit ecclesiam ibi.*

In those times Cadwy<sup>16</sup> and Arthur were reigning in that country, dwelling in Dindraithov. And Arthur came wandering about that he might find a most formidable serpent, huge and terrible, which had been ravaging twelve portions of the land of Carrum. And Carannog came and greeted Arthur, who joyfully received his blessing from him. And Carannog asked Arthur, whether he had heard where his altar had landed. And Arthur replied, 'If I shall have a reward, I will tell thee.' And he said, 'What reward dost thou ask?' He answered, 'That if thou art a servant of God, thou shouldst bring forth the serpent, which is near to thee, that we may see it.' Then the blessed Carannog went and prayed to the Lord, and immediately the serpent came with a great noise [...] and it bent its head before the servant of God [...]. And he placed his stole about its neck [...]. Then they went together to the citadel and greeted Cadwy, and they were welcomed by him. And he led the serpent down the middle of the hall and fed it in the presence of the people, and they tried to kill it. He did not allow it to be killed because he said that it had come at the word of God to destroy the sinners who were in Carrum, and to show the power of God through him. And after this he went outside the gate of the citadel and Carannog loosed it [...]. And he received the altar which Arthur had thought to convert into a table, but whatever was placed upon it was thrown to a distance. And the king asked of him that he should accept Carrum for ever by a written deed. And after this he built a church there (*VCaI*, §4).

The image of Arthur chasing a wondrous animal is known from other Welsh sources. In 'How Culhwch won Olwen,' for example, Arthur and his men chase the boar Twrch Trwyth out of Cornwall after a detailed and lively account of the chase. It is also significant that Arthur is,

---

<sup>16</sup> This is Wade-Evans' spelling of the name. The manuscript rendering is *Cato*, which finds, as far as I know, no parallel in Welsh literature. Canon Doble argued for the scribe to have been a Norman clerk who was unacquainted with Welsh and misread an original Welsh name, substituting it for the Roman Cato. He notes that John of Tinmouth, in his version of the *Life* of Carannog has the form *Catho*, which would be closer to the form found in the Genealogy of Saint Winnoc as *Cathov filius Gerentonis* (cf. Doble 1928: 15).

just like in *CO*, associated with Cornwall and the region around the Severn.<sup>17</sup> The hagiographer's description of Arthur's encounter with the saint seems to imply a degree of familiarity. Arthur's request of the serpent allows us to catch a glimpse of the hagiographer's understanding of the supernatural and its adaptation to the hagiographical discourse. The serpent is "near" (*inprope*) Carannog not in physical terms, because the animal only appears after his prayers to God, but it is significantly "near" to the saint for also possessing supernatural powers ("*in-gens*"). All the inexplicable characteristics of Carannog's deeds, including the taming of the serpent, subject the supernatural to the powers of God.<sup>18</sup> As is shown by Arthur's request, the preoccupation of the hagiographer is to show that the secular ruler is testing the saint in his powers of dealing with wondrous/supernatural elements. The other noteworthy element appears in the previous quotation and is completed in the Arthurian episode: Carannog's altar has colours which are "unintelligible" and this reminds one of the multicoloured cows demanded by Arthur in the *VCI* and the fact that this unintelligibility poses no problems to the saints. The altar, furthermore, almost animatedly "refuses" to be used as a table by Arthur, which again recalls the emphasis on the fact that religious objects are not fit for the use of a secular person found in the *VP* in an episode which is also connected with Arthur.<sup>19</sup>

After having received his altar, the saint casts it again into the sea (or river) and it lands at the mouth of a river called "Guellit." Arthur "rex" gives Carannog twelve parts of the land where the altar was found and the saint builds another monastery called afterwards "Carrov" (§5). The place-names mentioned in these two Arthurian passages have been identified with places in Somerset and Cornwall. *Carrum* was, according to Doble, the ancient name of Carhampton on the coast of Somerset which is close to the river Willett, the river *Guellit* mentioned in the *VCal* (cf. Doble 1928: 14, Padel 2000: 41-42). There exist a long tradition associating Carannog with churches in both Cornwall and Somerset: the churches at Crantock and Carhampton are both dedicated to him. The incorporation of this singular story relating to Arthur and Carannog's identification with those two regions – which had by the time

---

<sup>17</sup> In the *Life* of Gildas by Caradoc of Llancarfan, Arthur's activities are also connected to Cornwall and Somerset (*VG2*, §10-11). Geoffrey of Monmouth in his *HRB* also makes the apparent connection between Arthur and Cornwall. For the significance of Cornwall in Geoffrey's *HRB*, see Ditmas 1972: 451-461 and, Padel 1984: 1-27.

<sup>18</sup> In the early Breton *Life* of St. Samson, the saint defeats a mostly wondrous serpent by singing the Psalms. The animal, in seeing the saint approaching, twists, hissing and foaming, and gnaws its tail with its own mouth. It becomes tame at the spot and is unable to do the saint any harm. Cf. *VS*, §32.

<sup>19</sup> Attempts have been made to connect this mention to the idea of Arthur's Round Table but the explanation does not take the context of the Saints' *Lives* and their mutual influence into consideration. See Kelly 1976: 223-225.

belonged to England for more than a century – could be explained by the historical fate of Ceredigion at the beginning of the twelfth century. The hagiographer might have been influenced by the Norman presence in the region, attributing Arthur's activities to have taken place in England, near the places where the Clare family had possessions of land (around Chepstow, Usk and Gloucester, for example).<sup>20</sup> For lack of information on the occupation of Ceredigion and the origin of the retainers of the great Norman lord of Ceredigion, nothing more can be suggested of a connection between the two regions. The churches dedicated to St. Carannog in Cornwall and Somerset could also possibly help to explain the hagiographer's reasons. There could have been a close connection between St. Carannog's foundation in Llangrannog and those two in Cornwall and Somerset which dated from before the twelfth century. The hagiographer might have wanted to explain the origins of the two churches dedicated to his protagonist in those regions and added the figure of a famous character to assert his claim.<sup>21</sup>

A last word must be still given to the choice of Arthur and not of any other Welsh king to grant lands to the saint. This takes us again to the sources used by the hagiographer of the *Life* of Carannog and maybe also to the reasons behind the production of *Lives* of Saints of South West Wales. The *Life* of David as a source for the *VCaI* has already been mentioned. Another *Life* might also lie behind Arthur's appearance in Carannog's *Life*: the *Life* of Padarn, the other great saint of Ceredigion. If we take the *Lives* of David and Padarn in consideration, Carannog's activities in the region were ignored by both their hagiographers. It seems that Carannog's hagiographer wanted to underscore his patron's importance in the region in face of the complete disregard of his figure found in the hagiographical material of saints with an apparent joint missionary activity. From the *Life* of David he took the altar-motif and its wondrous description.<sup>22</sup> From both *Lives* he took the motif of receiving gifts from a superior figure in the Christian hierarchy. Instead of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Carannog receives a gift from *Christ* himself. Finally, from the *Life* of Padarn he borrowed the structure of his Arthurian story: firstly the saint receives a wondrous gift and, secondly, he comes into conflict with Arthur. The Arthur of both stories tries to possess the saints' gifts, which are not meant to be used by secular rulers, as both episodes highlight.

---

<sup>20</sup> The family of the Norman lord Gilbert fitz Richard de Clare to whom Henry I gave the region of Ceredigion in 1110.

<sup>21</sup> It is worth calling attention to the distribution-pattern of the churches dedicated to St. Carannog. According to Bowen (1954), Carannog seems to have belonged to a group of associate saints whose sphere of influence spread from the southern regions of Cornwall and Devon down to the northern regions of Brittany (91).

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *VD*, §48. A wondrous floating altar was also mentioned in the *Historia Brittonum* in connection with St Illtud. Cf. *HB*, §71.

Apart from Arthur, no other secular ruler is mentioned in the fragmented *Lives* of St. Carannog. It seems therefore that his use was a deliberate choice of a reviser who intended to connect St. Carannog's activities with a character perhaps already known to have connections with Somerset and Cornwall. Apart from *rex*, there is no other qualitative title ascribed to him, and he even seems to be ruling conjointly with someone called Cato. As such, he is very much of a local ruler. He, moreover, by testing the saint's powers, also incorporates the idea of rulers as "testers" of saints, seen, for example in the *VP* in the case of Maelgwn.

#### **IV.13.3.2 Posthumous miracles in the *VCa1/2***

Following the pattern of the other *Lives* of Saints in *Vespasian* that have been written at the end of the eleventh century or at the beginnings of the twelfth, or even, if my suspicion is correct, following a pattern recurrent in *Lives* of West Welsh saints during this time, the *Lives* of St. Carannog do not possess any *post-mortem* section or any interpolated narration of posthumous miracles.

## V Conclusion

### V.1 The structure of the Saints' *Lives* in the *Vespasian* legendary – the *uses* of secular rulers and characters

In order to assess the information obtained through the analyses of the Saints' *Lives* in the *Vespasian* legendary, it is necessary to summarise the general formal trends perceived in the course of this doctoral research. Firstly – and of foremost relevance – is either the presence or the absence of *post-mortem* sections in a legendary with an overt interest in miraculous accounts.

Of the fourteen Welsh *Lives* examined in this thesis, three possess elaborate *and* separate *post-mortem* sections: the *Lives* of SS. Gwynllyw, Cadog and Illtud, which are, in this order, the first *three* texts in the legendary. Of these, the *post-mortem* section of the *Life* of Cadog was proved to have been a late addition to the original *Life* written by Lifris of Llancarfan. The two *Lives* of Dubricius possess *post-mortem* episodes which are perfectly in line with twelfth-century cultic propaganda. These do *not* constitute a separate *miracula*-section. The posthumous miracles take place at the saint's *tomb* in the event of the *translatio* of the saint's relics to Llandaff and both *Lives* put much emphasis on the miraculous properties of the Dubricius' *relics*. The *Life* of Dubricius by Benedict of Gloucester is the only *Life* in the *Vespasian* legendary that follows traditional conventions of saintly biographies, well-known and used in contemporary England and on the Continent, such as the *Life*'s introduction by a *prologue* detailing the patronage of the work, its use of typical hagiographical *topoi*, like the humility *topos*, etc. This fact finds justification in the fact that Gloucester, an English Benedictine monastic house, was heir to a hagiographical tradition in line with English literary and religious practices. Such introductory prologues and traditional saintly biographical *topoi* are well-attested in the hagiography of England since the middle of the eleventh century, as can be seen, for example, in the *Life* of St. Ecgwine by Dominic of Evesham of ca. 1100 (cf. Lapidge 1978: 67, 72), in the *Life* of St. Oswald by Eadmer of Canterbury of ca. 1095 x 1116 (cf. Turner & Muir 2006: cvi) and in William of Malmesbury's *Life* of Wulfstan, written for the monks of Worcester in ca. 1126 (cf. Winterbottom 2002: xxx). All these monastic houses were *Benedictine* and this is one of the most important aspects to bear in mind when tracing and explaining the differences in the treatment of the miraculous in the *Vespasian Lives* written in monastic houses *with* or *without* close contact with Anglo-Norman religious institutions. I will return to this in short. In the *Life* of Clydog, the saint's martyrdom takes place in the first lines of the *Life* so that it tells, consequently, of



posthumous miracles without possessing a separate *post-mortem* section. This is in fact a *Passio* followed by some material taken from Llandaff charters to serve as an account of the saint's posthumous interventions. The remaining *Lives*, the *Lives* of Teilo, David, Brynach, Padarn, Cybi, Tatheus and Carannog, showed no traces of having possessed a list of the respective saints' posthumous miracles which was initially meant to be added into the legendary.

*Cadog* is undoubtedly the most prominent saint in the legendary. This position can be ascribed to him not only 1. by the length of his *Life* but also 2. by the insertion by the *Vespasian* compiler(s) of genealogical information and charters relating to *Cadog* or connected to his churches' possessions; 3. by the perceived chronological intention on the part of the legendary's compiler(s) to provide information on *Cadog* in the *Life* of his father Gwynllyw – narrating his birth and his responsibility in convincing his parents to lead a religious life – and 4. by his prominence among other south Walian saints, like St. Illtud, in whose *Life* he is also given an outstanding position.

To say that the legendary has a chronological and genealogical intention based solely on the veneration of *Cadog* (cf. Harris 1953: 22) means, however, to simplify the compilation's purpose to a certain degree. The position of the first three *Lives* in the legendary, being the only ones to which *post-mortem* sections seem to have been deliberately intended, bespoke another interpretative direction that my arguments pursued. This offered a more satisfactory answer to the *Vespasian* "enterprise" in the context of Welsh hagiographical and historiographic literature: the legendary provided a *programmatic goal* whose intention was to *actualise* or *modernise* Welsh religious texts and, accordingly, Welsh religious practices. In order to understand *how* this actualisation worked on the textual level of the *Lives*, a detailed analysis of the *in vita* and *post-mortem* sections of the *Vespasian Lives* was undertaken. This examined, specifically, the encounter-episodes between saintly and secular rulers or characters in the *Vespasian Saints' Lives*.

This work's focus on the *uses* of secular characters in the encounter-episodes of the *Vespasian Lives* found its justification in the various scholarly interpretations of the texts on the basis of a straightforward *historical* response to events in eleventh- and twelfth-century Wales: the events narrated in the *Vespasian Saints' Lives* were diversely interpreted by scholars as mirroring historical events important to the politics of medieval Wales in the eleventh and

twelfth centuries. That the purpose of the legendary cannot *only* have been “historical,” as argued by Kathleen Hughes in 1958, in the sense that it intended to historically fix the name and life-deeds of Welsh saints for the acquaintance by an envisaged Norman audience (cf. Hughes 1958: 200), was made clear by this research’s delineation of structural and literary trends – on both hagiographical but also, to a lesser extent, historiographic levels – arising through the interaction of the *Lives* on a *horizontal* level. i.e. through the arrangement of the texts into the legendary and, moreover, through their interaction on a *vertical* level, through the textual exchanges and underlying mutual influences perceived in the *Lives*.

Taking the *Life* of Cadog by Lifris as a *base text* – due to its influence in the contemporary and subsequent production of Saints’ *Lives* in Wales, as thoroughly explained in chapter III – the encounter-episodes in that *Life*’s *in vita* section could be, for the sake of elucidation, classified into three main types: the *first type* is best illustrated by the *Prologue* and its Arthurian episode. It shows how something that probably used to be a secular heroic tale was inserted into a Saint’s *Life* without much adaptation of its content and, to a certain degree, of its structure, to the religious discourse of a saintly biography. The absence of the saint, the consequential lack of saintly interventions, the absence of the miraculous and the emphasis on the heroic qualities of secondary characters confirm this assumption. The other extant example of this kind of encounter-episode in an *in vita* section of a Welsh Saint’s *Life* was found in the *Life* of Gildas by Caradoc of Llancarfan (VG2), which was contrasted to the *Prologue* of the *Life* of Cadog (VC1). Both Arthurian episodes in the VC1 and in the VG2 provided entertaining pieces of heroic literary character which unbalanced the hagiographical discourse of their texts: the texts’ main hagiographical assets were temporarily suspended and the narrative’s focus was directed to function as a dislocated explanation to one specific point made in the *Lives*. In the case of the first Arthurian episode in the *Prologue* of the VC1, it provided information on Cadog’s birth; in the VG2, on the other hand, it served to explain Gildas’ resentment towards Arthur for both his murder of Gildas’ brother and for Arthur’s siege of Glastonbury.

The *second type* of encounter-episode is best illustrated by the second Arthurian episode in the VC1. This episode seemed to point to the adaptation *or* creation of a heroic story connected to the figure of Arthur in order to demonstrate the saint’s power over that of a well-known Welsh hero. The subjection of secular motifs and also the use of a heroic character found in other pieces of Welsh literature to the intervention of the saint allowed a better

understanding of which channel was used to adapt secular material into the hagiographical discourse: through the subjection of the *uncanny*, of the *unnatural*, to the miraculous.

The *third type* of encounter-episode corresponds to the episodes centring on Maelgwn, Pawl, Sawl, Brychan and Rhain. In these episodes, traces of a much elaborate literary structure – in hagiographical terms – were perceived. Here, although naming characters that would probably have been known by the intended audience, the strongest model for the structuring of the narrative and for the choice of themes and motifs was *biblical*: it was by referring to biblical passages and by using motifs found in internationally known Saints' *Lives* that the author(s) elaborated his/their narrative(s). The listing of well-known international miracles and the subjection of marvellous descriptions found in contemporary secular literature to the miraculous intervention of the saint positioned him regionally and internationally among the saints whose virtues had been recognised by the Roman Church and its subjects. The secular rulers participated, moreover, in a *typological-associative* scheme pertaining to the genre of saintly biographies so that a mere allusion to their wicked acts in relation to a specific type of miracle sufficed to locate the audience in the understanding of a badly Christian behaviour. In some few cases, secular rulers typified, analogously, aspired models of “good” kingship. These, also following biblical ideals of just kings, did not refrain from fomenting the practice of religion in their realms. To this third type of encounter-episodes belonged most of the examples found in the *in vita* sections of the *Vespasian Saints' Lives*.

Another important aspect was the gradual disappearance of the qualifications “illustrious,” “noble,” and the like to characterise the secular rulers in this third type of episode. Some phrases used to introduce the secular characters disclosed, moreover, the tension in the hagiographers' portrayals of known Welsh heroic or regionally famous figures as *secondary* characters: these were still heroic in a sense but this quality did *not* prevent them from being portrayed as *villains* in these episodes.

It is significant to note that most of the *Vespasian Lives* which did *not* receive a separate *post-mortem* section drew on this third kind of encounter-episode, a fact which could point to a then well-established hagiographical practice in what concerns the treatment of secular rulers and characters in Welsh saintly biographies. It was by contrasting this pervasive third type of encounter-episode with the miracles portrayed in the posthumous episodes in the *Vespasian*

*Lives*, especially the ones with separate *post-mortem* sections, that hints of a new delineation of religious practices and views were perceived.

The *Lives* with a separate *post-mortem* section, especially the *Lives* of Illtud and Gwynllyw, put much emphasis on a *historiographic* activity, as it were, by mentioning prominent characters and regionally important events known in the politics of eleventh- and twelfth-century Wales and England. This observation does not diverge from the historiographic scholarly interpretations mentioned previously, but I would complement it by stressing the *tendency* perceived in these *Lives*' posthumous episodes of subjecting natural phenomena, like earthquakes and tempests, to the intervention of a saint. Another relevant aspect is the very personal level of interpretation ascribed to miraculous interventions: the *personal experience* of the miraculous by regionally known secular characters leaves little room to a dissident interpretation of the described events in the *Lives* as directly *resulting* from a saintly intervention.

Furthermore, the *Lives* which showed a direct influence from Llandaff were proved to have partaken of new religious views and practices in Wales either by directly dealing with *tomb* and *relic veneration*, like the *Life* of Dubricius or, as is the case with the *Life* of Teilo, by emphasising aspects of *conversion* and religious change in detriment of punishment and vengeance by the saints. The most straightforward difference to the punitive miracles found in the *in vita* sections of most of the *Vespasian Lives* is, for example, that the Llandaff *Lives* leant strongly on New Testamental miracles: the "true" miracles, as it were, expected to be performed by the saint, were those that emulated Christ's healing miracles and exorcisms and, moreover, His abilities to *convert* the people through His examples.

In the *post-mortem* section of the *VCI*, on the other hand, we dealt with a first stage of the development of posthumous narrative accounts in Welsh saintly biographies. Neither of the earliest Welsh *Lives*, the *Lives* of Cadog and David, might have possessed separate *post-mortem* sections. With new political and ecclesiastical bonds being formed during the twelfth century, thrust by the Norman presence in Wales, *post-mortem* sections were added and adapted to a probable already existing hagiographical material and this seems to have been the case with the five posthumous miracles added to the *VCI*. The five *post-mortem* chapters in the *VCI* conflated the punitive, Old Testamental, miracles which were neatly inserted in a *typological-associative* frame in the *in vita* section of the *VCI* with "actualised" tomb and

relic-connected miracles. In what concerned the thematic and the choice of secular rulers, the continuator(s) of Lifris' *Life* worked upon a model found in the *in vita* episodes of the *VCI* through the maintenance of relevant thematic aspects of land possession and refuge. Significantly, the rulers mentioned might have belonged to Welsh historical or legendary traditions, as could be inferred by their epithets and by the very fact that some of their names could be attested in other contemporary literary sources. In the *post-mortem* section, however, there was a much localised aspect of the miraculous happenings in the sense that they leaned upon the saintly very *physical sphere of influence*, either on the aspects of his church or on the aspects of his relics. This contrasts straightforwardly with what has been described as characteristic of the so-called "Celtic" hagiographical writings and practices, i.e. the emphasis on *natural* cultic and veneration places, as for example the stress on bogs, wells, stones, etc. with curative effects and religious meanings for a local and regional population (cf. Brett 1989, Merdrignac 1993b, Merdrignac 1998). Indeed, most of the Welsh *Lives* in the *Vespasian* legendary do not put much emphasis on the connection between the saints' working of miracles and their relics. Just a few of them, in fact, mention miracles taking place at the saints' tombs or in the presence of their relics, as briefly summarised before. When one analyses the provenance of the *Vespasian Lives* which emphasise tomb and relic veneration, one can then clearly see the influence of Anglo-Norman and Continental religious practices in the final production of the legendary.

Generally, in contemporary Continental and Anglo-Norman texts, posthumous miracles foreground the ubiquitous presence of a saint on the earth. His/her physical absence is attenuated by the presence of his/her corporeal relics and it is normally through the miraculous that the connection between the heavenly and earthly worlds is assured. Theologically, the saint *is* present at the moment when the miracle takes place, a fact accentuated by the presence of the relics. These marked differences point to the extent to which newly brought Norman practices and reforms influenced the understanding of cultic practices in Wales. In this respect, two important conclusions were drawn: firstly, that the Llandaff ecclesiastics were mostly responsible for an actualisation of religious views and practices in Wales which are visible in the *Vespasian Lives* bearing a direct or indirect Llandaff connection. The religious views had to do with a change in Welsh cultic practices, which started to emphasise relic veneration and tomb-miracles. Furthermore, a gradual change from the *typological-associative* scheme described above – with its exemplary punitive miracles – took place in these Llandaff *Lives*: they underscored the possibility of *salvation* in

the episodes relating to secular rulers and characters to the detriment of the use of punitive miracles and their straightforward “solution,” on the textual level, for evil and wicked characters. The concept of the miraculous was re-elaborated and reworked in that motifs and themes which seemed to have belonged to a traditional hagiographical depository set out to emphasise *conversion* as the highest achievement human beings could aspire for. This was also perceived in the *post-mortem* sections of other Saints’ *Lives* which introduced contemporary or almost-contemporary characters, such as the *Lives* of Gwynllyw and Illtud. In these cases, the *Lives* either resembled the contemporary *historiographic* activity concerned with the differences between the Welsh and the Anglo-Normans or reflected the gradual adaptation of religious ideas to the discourse and the cultic understanding expected from the Roman curia, with whom Llandaff kept in contact since the time of Bishop Urban.

As the last two *Lives* mentioned make clear, the hagiographical production of *Caradoc of Llancarfan* seems to have constituted a watershed in the awareness of the need to modernise or actualise Welsh religious texts relevant for regional religious purposes. This was best perceived in the change of focus from evil-doing as an intrinsic personal characteristic of secular characters to evil-doing as a result of the Devil’s persuasion and possession of a person – implying the practice of exorcism – or, moreover, in the miracles’ emphasis on very localised altar- and tomb-miracles.

## **V.2 The purposes of the legendary**

On the basis of these observations concerning the *in vita* and *post-mortem* sections of the Saints’ *Lives* in the *Vespasian* legendary, especially the *Life* of Cadog by Lifris, it was possible to come out with an explanation for the production and purposes lying behind the compilation of this important hagiographical collection in twelfth-century Wales. The legendary was definitely not only intended to insert and present, historically, the names of Welsh saints for an Anglo-Norman audience. Nonetheless, it *participated* in a historical frame which tells as much of politics as of religious practices and exchanges between Welsh and Anglo-Norman ecclesiastics in the twelfth century.

The purposes of the *Vespasian* legendary could be said to have been *meta-liturgical*: by actualising and modernising religious views using the most important southern Welsh saints and their cults as a foundation, the legendary spread changes in the cultic and veneration

practices on Welsh soil. *Liturgical* here is taken symbolically in that religiosity, or the religious life of a Christian community and its cultic practices, is actually *affected* by the programmatic goal of the textual material. Since very few Welsh liturgical texts have survived from earlier times (cf. Haddan & Stubbs 1964: 138), it is impossible to ascertain through comparison whether aspects of the liturgy of the Mass or of the Divine Office were directly affected, i.e. modified, by newly instituted cultic practices, but there is no reason for thinking otherwise. *Meta-liturgical* represents, furthermore, the legendary's *dialogue* with the selection and *réécriture* of the texts it contains, the legendary's "ability," as it were, to communicate a message about itself as a liturgical product.

Saints' *Lives*, moreover, being texts that established a dialogic connection to the Sacred Scriptures, paid an important contribution to the medieval exegesis in general. They provided ways to interpret the biblical texts and allowed for an actualisation of the understanding of a Christian life and its value. Since the actualisation or modernisation of religious views can only be understood under the historical and political events of the time, *meta-liturgical* also implies that the whole process of the legendary production involved political matters which ended up reflecting on the religious map of Wales. In this sense, there is one aspect which highly influenced the changes perceived through the analysis of the legendary: the contact and exchanges between important Welsh monastic centres, like St. David's and Llandaff, with English and, to a lesser extent, Continental *Benedictine* houses. It was, supposedly, by following specific trends in the hagiographical production of main English *Benedictine* houses – with which the Welsh houses got in dependent contact through the church endowments made by Norman barons in Welsh territories – that the focus on certain hagiographical aspects appearing in the Saints' *Lives* began to change.

The most direct example of this programmatic change affecting religious and liturgical practices was the *translatio* of Dubricius' relics to Llandaff: by detailing the paths through which the clergy and the bishop attended to the *ceremony* of relocating the saint's relics into the new church at Llandaff, it symbolically introduces a *ritual* of relic veneration very much localised within the church's walls. Through the combination and exchange of this fixed historical event in the text of a Saint's *Life* and through the *Life's* textual contrast with the other *Lives* in the legendary, the focus of the whole compilation is suddenly shown by means of a very marked difference between the *Lives'* religious discourses, especially in the episodes

that dealt with the *punishment* of secular rulers and characters and the consequent *role of the saints* within a religious community.

Another important Benedictine contribution might have been, in my opinion, the focus on Christian *hospitality* propagated, as shown, in the Rule of Benedict, on ideas of *conversion* and on the evilness of human beings stemming from their possession by the Devil or by evil spirits. *Hospitality* and *conversion* influenced the *Lives* written by Caradoc of Llancarfan, as shown in the analysis of his *Lives*. Moreover, it is to be expected that Benedictine houses cultivated the readings of Gregory the Great's *Life* of Benedict found in Gregory's *Dialogues*. In this text, Gregory lively portrays Benedict's probations by the Devil and the exorcisms performed by the saint.<sup>1</sup> This might explain the absence of the Devil in Welsh *Lives* written before or at the beginning of the twelfth century, since it was only with the advent of the Normans that the Rule of Benedict probably started receiving due attention within Welsh monasteries.

With the gradual Norman colonisation and the delineation of new political and religious boundaries in Wales, the Welsh and newly-instated Anglo-Norman ecclesiastics helped to disseminate religious views and practices common in Benedictine houses in England. The strong movement of Saints' *Lives* production in England since the eleventh century had as its main protagonists the principal larger English Benedictine foundations such as Monmouth, Worcester, Glastonbury, Canterbury, Gloucester, Bury, Durham and Evesham (cf. Winterbottom 2002: xxx, Harris 1953: 21). By recalling the theories on the origin of the *Vespasian* legendary and by recalling the monasteries from which most of the *Lives* might have stemmed, it is possible to infer that many of these English houses might have influenced the religious views of Welsh ecclesiastics. In this respect, I am inclined to agree with Silas Harris and his theory of a Monmouth provenance for the *Vespasian* legendary for Monmouth was the only Benedictine house whose interests and sympathies, through its foundation and origins, were rather Angevin-Breton than Anglo-Norman (cf. Harris 1953: 21). This allowed the Monmouth ecclesiastics the freedom of observing the festival of some Welsh saints, especially from South Wales, in the celebrations of their house. For this, they set out to modernise and actualise the material they had at their disposal and contributed, consequently, to raise the position of the church in Wales to a standard similar to that of Anglo-Norman houses.

---

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Lambert, B.-M. (ed.) (1995) *Gregorius Papa. Der hl. Benedikt: Buch II der Dialoge*. St. Ottilien: EOS-Verlag, pp. 107, 111, 123, 133.



### V.3 The choice of secular rulers and characters

I have already summarised how the encounter-episodes between saints and secular rulers, i.e. the *uses* of secular characters in the encounter-episodes, have influenced the programmatic goal of the legendary. The *choice* of specific secular characters who come in conflict with the saints was also highly significant for my research results. The relevant question here was how the hagiographers' choices of specific secular rulers matched my argument of an actualisation of religious views. For this purpose, I resorted to the historical interpretation of events, taking into consideration, however, a broader spectrum than that offered by Kathleen Hughes.

The production of the *Vespasian* legendary and the production of most of the *Vespasian* Saints' *Lives* in the middle of the twelfth century *must* be seen within the entirety of the most relevant Welsh and Anglo-Norman literary production of the time. As for that, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *HRB* and the several Saints' *Lives* and historiographic writings contemporarily produced in England – often referred to throughout this research – participate in an intertextually dictated choice of characters and thematic aspects which are also prominent in the *Vespasian* legendary. All of these texts, to a greater or lesser degree, dealt with matters *Welsh* and contributed to create and/or propagate a rather *negative* image of the Welsh in opposition to the English. In this, I follow both Geoffrey Barrow's and John Gillingham's views on Geoffrey's *HRB* and their assumptions that Geoffrey was trying to guarantee "cultural respectability for his own nation" (Gillingham 1990: 100, cf. Barrow 1980: 305).

Gillingham's study has shown in detail how Geoffrey's text seems to have reacted to the assertions appearing in twelfth-century English writings, especially histories, as regards the place of the Welsh in the politics and religion history of the British Isles (cf. Gillingham 1990: 99-118, Barrow 1980: 305). These assertions constituted, in fact, a development of an animosity begun centuries earlier with two of the most famous texts produced in Britain. Firstly, the attacks on the sins of the Britons in Gildas' *De Excidio* written in the sixth century, reused by Bede in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, contributed to spread a rather hostile and adverse view of the Welsh, i.e. the immediate descendants of the old Britons, in terms of their historical background, religious structures and "civilisation." Gildas' and Bede's works were, together with the accounts found in the *Historia Brittonum*, the only pieces of historical information on the Britons before Geoffrey's *HRB*, as reminded by both William of Malmesbury and Geoffrey of Monmouth in their *De gestis regum* and *HRB*, respectively. While William's remarks on the Britons' lack of "history" functioned as an acrimonious

criticism of their role in twelfth-century politics, Geoffrey's remarks and consequent literary contribution sought to remedy this situation.<sup>2</sup>

Following as a natural corollary to this lack of "history," a historian such as Henry of Huntingdon, with his concrete views that *history* is what differentiates rational beings from brutes, followed Bede in portraying the Britons as a "barbarian" people.<sup>3</sup> Through the works of William of Malmesbury and, certainly, during the second half of the twelfth century as a reaction to a series of Welsh revolts against Anglo-Norman domination, especially in South-Wales (cf. Gransden 1981: 413, Crick 1999: 61, Rodway 2005: 21-44), this adverse view of the "Britons" was further motivated and delineated in the writings of other Anglo-Norman writers. Gillingham has shown how this view seems to have originated with William of Malmesbury's *De gestis regum Anglorum* of ca. 1125. In the context of English affairs on Welsh soil, William's remarks on Harold Godwinsson's campaigns against the Welsh before the Conquest of England is noteworthy: William affirmed that Harold subordinated the Welsh "barbarity" and thus also reacted to some of his and Geoffrey's contemporaries when commenting on Anglo-Norman campaigns in Wales or on the deployment of Welsh soldiers in military campaigns by some English and/or Norman barons.<sup>4</sup> This image of the Welsh seems to have quickly reached the Continent in the circle of the most renowned literate of the time, as for example Orderic Vitalis, who compared the Welsh with the infidels, a barbarian people albeit their Christian backgrounds (ca. mid-1130s); or the writer of the *Gesta Stephani* (ca. 1140) who, although conceding that Wales was a much promising land for its natural resources, regretted that it was populated by an untamed and barbarian people and, moreover, even Chrétien de Troyes in his *Le Conte du Graal* (ca. 1180s), who compared the Welsh to beasts grazing on the pastures (cf. Gillingham 1990: 106-108).

The situation of the Welsh literate or of Welsh sympathisers in the second half of the twelfth century is one of *defensive* counter-attack. Neither Geoffrey nor his contemporary Caradoc of Llancarfan, from whose pen some of the most important *Lives* in *Vespasian* stemmed and who was responsible for the revision of the Book of Llandaff (cf. Davies 2003: 132-142),

---

<sup>2</sup> In the words of William of Malmesbury: "[...] what notice the Britons had attracted from other peoples they owed to Gildas" (*DG*, i, 24); Geoffrey, on the other hand, showed his "surprise" on the fact that "apart from the mention of them [i.e. the Britons] by Gildas and Bede, I have not been able to discover anything at all on the kings who lived here before the Incarnation of Christ, or indeed about Arthur and all those who followed on after the Incarnation" (*HRB*, i.1).

<sup>3</sup> "[...] brutes, whether they are men or animals, neither know nor wish to know anything about their origins or their history" (*HH*, 2-3). Later on in his *Historia Anglorum* (of ca. 1130), Henry explicitly refers to the Welsh, i.e. the descendants of the ancient Britons, as barbarians (cf. *HH*, 18).

<sup>4</sup> *DG*, I, 237; cf. ii, 376, 472, 477.

pleaded for Welsh political independence. They provided, instead, cultural and religious counterparts to the English in the figure of the Welsh directed towards an Anglo-Norman audience. The contemporary production of most of the *Vespasian Saints' Lives* and the culmination of a programmatic actualisation of religious practices in the form of the *Vespasian* legendary in ca. 1200 must be seen in this light. Both are intrinsically connected with a development of Welsh religious practices in the direction of a modernisation which goes against the then propagated view of the Welsh as an *old-fashioned* and *barbarian* people.

Geoffrey had provided a counter-attack to these views in terms of *political* matters. The *Vespasian Lives*, on the other hand, provided the *religious* counter-attack of ecclesiastics who, although not refraining from using commonplaces pertaining to Welsh literary and supposedly hagiographical practices, attempted to secure the Welsh respectability in the figure of the Welsh *saints* and their *cults*. This might have satisfied the tastes of an envisaged readership, not much in terms of a rhetorical and stylistic expertise, but in terms of the *choices* of specific Welsh and, most importantly, regional/local characters and aspects. In this sense, the intended readership would have felt, through familiarity with these textual elements, that the cults and venerations of their saints were accepted.

Seen under this light, Valerie Flint's interpretation that Geoffrey of Monmouth was mocking Caradoc of Llancarfan's depiction of Arthur in his Saint's *Lives* shows a complete misunderstanding of hagiographical commonplaces and a weakness in not connecting historical and hagiographical contemporary sources in terms of a network of intertexts.<sup>5</sup> Caradoc's interests in the depiction of Arthur was not, as Flint put it, "in the triumph and humiliation of kings" (Flint 1979: 457). His interest and the interests of those who sometime later ended up contributing in a direct or indirect way to the *Vespasian* "enterprise" had to do with rewriting hagiography for the purpose of actualising and, consequently, *asserting* Welsh religiosity. As shown in this research, Arthur, Maelgwn and most of the other famous Welsh (pseudo-)historical characters worked within a *typological-associative* scheme in which they functioned as the saints' opponents. This has nothing to do with "humiliation" of kings, but

---

<sup>5</sup> Flint was referring to Geoffrey's much quoted reference to William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon and Caradoc of Llancarfan in his *HRB*: "But as for the kings that have succeeded among them in Wales, since that time, I leave the history of them to Caradoc of Lancarvan, my contemporary; as I do also the kings of the Saxons to William of Malmesbury, and Henry of Huntingdon. But I advise them to be silent concerning the kings of the Britons, since they have not that book written in the British tongue, which Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, brought out of Brittany, and which being a true history, published in honour of those princes, I have thus taken care to translate" (*HRB*, Bk. 12, c. 20)

with a scheme which familiarises the audience not only with *resonant* frames from biblical sources but also with regional characters and local elements which authenticate the history of their religion. Flint affirmed, moreover, that there was nothing in the writings of Caradoc and of the “company of professionals” who dealt with the history of the Welsh saints “to suggest that he was interested in history of kings” (idem: 457). However, the great majority of the Welsh saints in the *Vespasian* legendary *were* kings: they descended from the highest ranks of the Welsh nobility. That this not only works as a hagiographical *topos* is confirmed in the additional insertion of genealogical information within the text of most of the *Lives* and even by Caradoc’s connection of Arthur’s bloodline to that of Illtud, one of the great saints of Glamorgan. Caradoc’s saints are all themselves kings from specific Welsh regions and, most importantly, are portrayed as Arthur’s contemporaries: this means that Caradoc, just as Geoffrey, also provided a historical framework to the lives of Welsh kings, filling a gap in the religious history of Wales. It is within a programmatic goal to secure respectability for the Welsh in terms of a historical and religious background that Geoffrey’s remarks to William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon and Caradoc of Llancarfan have to be understood: while Geoffrey warned the former two to steer clear of Welsh history, he allowed Caradoc to continue his work on Welsh kings.

As for the relationship between the most important British literate of the time, another aspect relating to Geoffrey’s *HRB* seems to be clarified through his acquaintance with Caradoc’s hagiographical works. As I showed in the analysis of Caradoc’s *Life* of Gwynllyw, Caradoc’s reference to a *lingua Britannica* in the episode of the British versifier clearly meant the Welsh language. It drew attention to the different linguistic communities of twelfth-century Glamorgan and disclosed a subtle claim of who the first inhabitants of the land were. Geoffrey’s reference to an old book written in the *lingua Britannica*, although raising a series of interpretations tending for a Breton provenance of the spurious book and, moreover, showing some undoubted Breton connections of Geoffrey of Monmouth, must have necessarily referred to the Welsh language and not to the Breton. This is at least how his contemporaries thought about and reacted to Geoffrey’s reference.<sup>6</sup> That a certain Breton

---

<sup>6</sup> In fact, Geoffrey himself explains at the end of his book that the remnants of the Britons who occupied the forest of Wales did not call themselves Britons anymore but Welsh, “*iam non vocabantur Britones sed Gualenses*” (*HRB*, i.2, xii 16, 17, 19). This is also shown by Lewis Thorpe in his comments to his translation of Geoffrey’s *HRB* (cf. Thorpe 1969: 39). John Gillingham has listed other examples from contemporaries who commonly explained that “the Britons are now called Welsh,” as for instance in William of Malmesbury’s *De gestis regum*, in Orderic Vitalis’s *Historia Ecclesiastica*, in Gaimar’s *Estoire des Engleis* (cf. Gillingham 1990: 104–105). Antonia Gransden has also shown, in the scathing reactions of contemporaries to Geoffrey’s *HRB*, that some of them acknowledged the direct descent of the Welsh from the ancient Britons, as for example William of

penchant can also be found, just as in Geoffrey's *HRB*, in some of the *Vespasian Lives* agrees with the intention of a circle of Welsh literates and Welsh sympathisers: this goes back to the notions of a common descent of the Welsh and the Breton and might have appealed to newly-instated Breton ecclesiastics and barons after the Conquest of England and the gradual conquest of Wales by the Normans.<sup>7</sup>

The choices of characters in the *Vespasian Lives* make clear that there was a conscious depiction of important and probably well-known *regional* or *pan-regional* secular characters like Arthur and Maelgwn as the saints' main opponents. The fact that purportedly well-known secular rulers of Welsh history were portrayed as *villains* within a *typological-associative* scheme pertaining to the saintly biographies worked as a strategy to emphasise the powers of a Welsh saint over that of secular potentates. This textual frame might have contributed to remind a putatively-envisaged Anglo-Norman audience that even Welsh rulers conformed to the internal Welsh religious rules. On the other hand, in what concerned the depiction of English and Norman rulers, the legendary, through the *Lives* of Caradoc of Llancarfan, explicitly contrasts English and Welsh customs, portraying the Welsh as more trustworthy vassals as the English. Through the Llandaff *Lives*, the legendary shows connections to Brittany, stressing a common descent which diverged from the English also in religious aspects. Through most of the *Lives*, moreover, the legendary acknowledged Irish monasticism although with a critical eye on early Irish settlement and occupation in Wales, as in the *Lives* of David and Teilo. All these aspects highlight differences in religious, cultural and historical practices between the Welsh and the English. To return briefly to the question of the legendary's provenance, the *Breton* background of Monmouth's foundation<sup>8</sup> and the fact that Geoffrey referred to himself as "from Monmouth" with both recognised Welsh and Breton sympathies, would make even stronger a claim for a Monmouth origin of the *Vespasian* legendary.

---

Newburgh in his *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, when commenting on the Welsh rebellions of 1157 (cf. Gransden 1981: 413, 416-417, cf. also Crick 1999: 60-61).

<sup>7</sup> Moreover, as Nerys Ann Jones and Morfydd Owen have shown in their study of twelfth-century Welsh poems in the vernacular dedicated to Welsh saints, the Breton element in Welsh hagiography predominated during the twelfth-century (cf. Jones & Owen 2003: 48). Jones and Owen call this a "twelfth-century renaissance in Welsh-Breton connections" (2003: 6), drawing attention to the presence of Bretons in the Welsh marches, to the position of Breton ecclesiastics in Welsh monasteries, such as Bangor, and the noticeable connections of Geoffrey of "Monmouth" with Brittany.

<sup>8</sup> Monmouth was given to a Breton nobleman from Dol called Gwethenoc (his name is spelt variously as Guihenoc, Guienoc, Wethenoc, Wihenoc) in ca. 1080, who gave the churches and tithes of Monmouth to the abbey of Saint-Florent at Saumur on the Loire. Monmouth remained in the hands of Gwethenoc's descendants, the Baderons, up until the reign of Henry I (cf. Chambers 1927: 16-18, Harris 1953: 10).

Finally, the path from the composition of the separate Welsh *Lives* to their compilation in a single “entirety” which constituted the *Vespasian* legendary was an enterprise of *special grandeur* within Welsh twelfth-century religious politics, one that raised the awareness of Welsh and non-Welsh ecclesiastics to the differences in religious and cultic practices between the Welsh and the English. This awareness, ironically enough, started in the territorial disputes of Welsh houses like St. David’s and Llandaff and, afterwards, in their disputes for freedom from control of Canterbury. The words of Bernard, bishop of St. David’s, seems to have found echo in the works of contemporary Llandaff ecclesiastics, in the works of Caradoc of Llancarfan and in the writings of later generations of English, Welsh and Norman writers who responded positively or negatively to the Welsh cause:

*populos nostre provincie natione, lingua, legibus et moribus, iudiciis et consuetudinibus discrepare*

the people of our province [i.e. Wales] differ in race, language, laws and customs, judgement and traditions [from the other people, i.e. the Anglo-Normans] [my translation].<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> Written in an undated letter addressed to Pope Innocent II (1130-1143) in Bishop Bernard’s defence for the primacy of St. David’s in Wales. Quoted from Richter 1976: 43.

## A Deutsche Zusammenfassung

### A.1 Untersuchungsgegenstand

In der vorliegenden Arbeit wurde die Rolle säkularer walisischer Herrscher in den *Viten* der um 1200 entstandenen Handschrift *Cotton Vespasian A. xiv* der British Library untersucht. Das *Vespasian* Legendar enthält vierzehn *Viten* von süd-walisischen Heiligen, die viel über die literarische, politische und religiöse Stellung dieser Sammlung im Kontext ihrer Entstehung aussagen. Die vierzehn Heiligen, deren *Viten* in der Reihenfolge ihres Erscheinens in der Handschrift analysiert wurden, sind: i. Hl. Gwynllyw (f. 13); ii. Hl. Cadog von Lifris von Llancarfan (f. 17); iii. Hl. Illtud (f. 43v); iv. Hl. Teilo (f. 52); v. Hl. Dubricius (f. 56); vi. Hl. David von Rhygyfarch von Llanbadarn Fawr (f. 61); vii. Hl. Dubricius von Benedict von Gloucester (f. 71); viii. Hl. Brynach (f. 77); ix. Hl. Padarn (f. 80v); x. Hl. Clydog (f. 84v); xi. Hl. Cybi (f. 86); xii. Hl. Tatheus (f. 88v); xiii. Hl. Carannog (f. 93) und xiv. Hl. Cybi (f. 94v).

### A.2 Methodologie

Ausgehend von „Begegnungsszenen“ zwischen den Hauptprotagonisten, d. h. den Heiligen, und den walisischen säkulären Herrschern sowie anderen weltlichen Figuren wurde die Rolle der beiden letztgenannten in den Heiligenviten untersucht. Dabei standen die funktionellen Aspekte der Darstellung und Charakterisierung im Vordergrund. Die ähnliche literarische Behandlung der säkularen Herrscher in den Texten des *Vespasian* Legendars und die Tatsache, dass sie oft die gleiche *funktionelle Rolle* in den Begegnungsszenen einnehmen, d. h. dass sie öfters die Rolle eines *Gegners des Heiligen* übernehmen, führte zu einer ersten Analyse der internen Struktur der Begegnungsszenen. Diese Analyse diente dazu, allgemeine strukturelle Tendenzen in walisischen Heiligenbiographien zu beschreiben und zu kontextualisieren.

Der *Funktionen*-Begriff wurde aus Vladimir Propps *Morphologie des Märchens*<sup>1</sup> adaptiert. Propp zufolge ist es möglich, eine strukturelle Untersuchung der Zaubermärchen durchzuführen, indem die *Funktionen* der Hauptfiguren analysiert werden. Propp versteht

---

<sup>1</sup> Vladimir Propps *Morphologie des Märchens* erschien 1928 in Russland. Die erste Übersetzung ins Englische erschien 1958, was die Rezeption und Anwendung von Propps Theorie in Westeuropa und in den USA verzögerte (cf. Propp 1968: 25-65).

den Funktionsbegriff in einer Erzählung in Bezug auf die *Handlungen* einer Person. Die *Funktionen* einer Person in einem Märchen werden durch die Bedeutung ihrer Aktionen für den Verlauf der Handlung definiert. Da die Handlungsebene (*histoire, plots*) immer auf den gleichen Funktionen der Hauptfiguren basiert, ist es demnach möglich, eine strukturelle Unterteilung der Erzählungen nach funktionellen Aspekten durchzuführen. Propp untersucht folglich die Zuordnung dieser Funktionen zu verschiedenen *dramatis personae*, den sogenannten *Aktanten* eines Märchens: der Gegenspieler oder Widersacher, der Held, das Opfer, der falsche Held, der Geber des Zaubermittels und der Aussender des Helden (*deliverer*). Er stellt dabei fest, dass sich eine gattungstypische Tiefstruktur erkennen lässt, deren Elemente normalerweise in bestimmten Reihenfolgen in den Märchen anzutreffen sind. Die Handlungsrollen sind an bestimmten Stellen in den Märchen austauschbar und können, laut seiner Ergebnisse, sowohl unterschiedliche als auch identische Funktionen annehmen.

Da *Heiligenviten* eine Tiefstruktur besitzen, die im Grunde genommen der Struktur traditioneller Heldenerzählungen entspricht, entschied ich mich dafür, einige von Propps Ansätzen in der Untersuchung der Begegnungsszenen der *Viten* umzusetzen, vor allem in den Begegnungsszenen in der Legende des Hl. Cadogs. Propps Methode schien zunächst zu dem Schluss zu führen, dass manche Episoden in den *Viten* wahrscheinlich in säkularen Volkserzählungen ihren Anfang nehmen, da sie dem vollständigen strukturellen Schema eines proppschen Märchens entsprechen. Es wurde aber im Rahmen der Analysen der Begegnungsszenen in den meisten anderen *Viten* im *Vespasian* Legendar immer deutlicher, dass die Rolle des Widersachers oder des Gegners des Heiligen in einem festen Schema verwurzelt ist, das ich *typologisch-assoziativ* oder *assoziative Typologie* nenne: Die Handlungen eines „bösen“ weltlichen Herrschers oder einer „bösen“ weltlichen Figur lassen sich auf der Textebene als Nachahmung – *emulatio* – des Widerstands und der Ablehnung Gottes und seiner irdischen Repräsentanten verstehen. Das entspricht etwa dem Phänomen, das Alan Charity in seinem Buch *Events and their afterlife: the dialectics of Christian typology in the Bible and Dante* als „typology of rejection, of judgement and condemnation“ (Charity 1966: 148) bezeichnet.

Die Bedeutung einer parallelen und allmählichen Kristallisierung von diesem *typologisch-assoziativen* Schema in einem hagiographisch-literarischen Modell weist auf eine Tendenz in der Behandlung der Wunderberichte hin, die abhängig davon ist, ob ein Wunder in dem *in vita* Teil oder in dem *post-mortem* Teil einer Heiligenlegende zu finden ist. Das wunderbare



Eingreifen eines Heiligen beschreibt und definiert sowohl die Heiligen selbst als Figuren in den Vitenerzählungen als auch eine Begrenzung der Rolle der weltlichen Herrscher innerhalb einer *typologisch-assoziativen* Interpretation. In diesem *typologisch-assoziativen* Schema gibt es *typus* und *antitypus* nicht im klassischen typologischen Sinn, sondern, wie meine Arbeit zeigte, eine *typologische Assoziation* zwischen der *emulatio* des Lebens Christi und dem Leben der betroffenen Heiligen. Die säkularen Herrscher werden dementsprechend als irdische Widerstandfiguren zu den Plänen Gottes dargestellt. Dieser Widerstand ist, dem biblischen Geschichtsverständnis gemäß, *zyklisch*. Infolgedessen funktioniert jedes Ereignis in einer *Heiligenvita*, die das Leben Christi nachahmt, innerhalb eines *typologisch-assoziativen* Rahmens.

Auf der Textebene hat die *imitatio Christi* ihr Gegenstück in der *emulatio Christi*, wie sie von einem christlichen Publikum erwartet wird. In Übereinstimmung mit Earl James, stellt das Individuum eine *typologische Verbindung* mit seiner Gesellschaft her, wenn es sein gesellschaftliches Verhaltensmuster in Konkordanz mit großen christlichen, geschichtlichen Mustern anpasst. Wenn alle „guten“ Menschen miteinander in dieser gesellschaftliche Verbindung stehen, dann entspricht ihr Leben einem universalen Muster, so dass das Leben der Gerechten und der Guten sich sehr ähnlich präsentieren (cf. James 1975: 18). In Analogie dazu erwerben die „Ungerechten“ und „Widersacher“ einen Platz in einem typologischen Schema der Strafe Gottes und der Verdammung. Sowohl die Typologie der Konformität als auch die Typologie der Verdammung und der Strafe Gottes gehören zu dem Rahmen, den ich *typologisch-assoziativen* nenne. Auf der Textebene von *Heiligenviten* werden „gute“ und „böse“ Aspekte der Verhältnisse der Hauptfiguren durch das *mirakulöse Eingreifen* wiederholt und hervorgehoben. Alle *Mirakula*, die die Wunder aus dem Alten und dem Neuen Testament anklingen lassen, sind im Wesentlichen *typologisch-assoziativ*. James Earl folgend dürfen sie als eine Art Eingreifen der Ewigkeit in den Lauf der Geschichte verstanden werden (cf. Earl 1975: 19). Da die *Mirakula* konventionsfolgend sind und bei verschiedenen Heiligen in verschiedenen hagiographischen Texten angewendet werden, erinnern sie an jene von einem christlichen Publikum erwartete zeitliche Transzendenz. Sie sind deshalb grundlegende Elemente für die Formation und Beschreibung des *typologisch-assoziativen* Schemas. Durch dieses methodologische Verfahren war es möglich, zu wichtigen Schlussfolgerungen bezüglich der Intention der Zusammenstellung der *Viten* im *Vespasian* Legendar zu gelangen. Diese sollen im Folgenden zusammengefasst werden.

### A.3 Ergebnisse

Mit der Analyse der Begegnungsszenen in den oben genannten vierzehn *Heiligenviten* ist es mir gelungen, strukturelle Merkmale und religiöse Tendenzen zu beschreiben, die relevant sind, um die Frage nach dem Zweck des *Vespasian* Legendars zu beantworten. Zu allererst ist anzumerken, dass, obwohl das Legendar ein offensichtliches Interesse an wunderbaren Ereignissen und am miraculösen Eingreifen von Heiligen in das alltägliche Leben einer Gemeinde zeigt, nur ein paar seiner *Viten* komplette *post-mortem* Teile enthalten. Von den vierzehn analysierten *Viten* enthalten nur drei komplette und in sich geschlossene *post-mortem* Teile: die *Viten* der Heiligen Gwynllyw, Cadog und Illtud. Diese *Viten* sind, in eben dieser Reihenfolge, die ersten drei Texte des Legendars. Durch die Vergleiche der verschiedenen Kapitel der Legende des Hl. Cadog wurde gezeigt, dass ihr *post-mortem* Teil eine spätere Ergänzung zum Haupttext der von Lifris von Llancarfan geschriebenen Legende ist.

Die zwei *Viten* des Hl. Dubricius enthalten posthume Episoden, die mit den für das 12. Jahrhundert typischen Praktiken der Heiligenverehrung übereinstimmen. Diese posthumen Episoden bilden keinen gesonderten *post-mortem* Teil der *Viten*, sondern entsprechen einem Bericht der *Translation* des Hl. Dubricius von der Insel Bardsey nach Llandaff, und der dabei geschehenen Wunder an Dubricius Grab. Beide Dubricius *Viten* legen großen Wert auf die miraculösen und heiligen Kräfte der Heiligenreliquien. Die Legende des Hl. Dubricius von Benedict von Gloucester ist die einzige Legende im *Vespasian* Legendar, die den zeitgenössischen in England und auf dem Kontinent bekannten traditionellen Konventionen für die Struktur einer *Heiligenvita* folgt, wie zum Beispiel die Einleitung der *Vitenerzählung* durch einen Prolog, der normalerweise Auftraggeber und Adressaten des Werkes und die Anwendung hagiographischer *Topoi* expliziert. Die Gründe dafür wurden in Gloucester gefunden, einer klösterlichen Gemeinschaft, die die religiösen und literarischen Traditionen der Benediktiner pflegte. Solche einleitenden *Vitenprologe* und traditionell verwendete *Topoi* sind für die hagiographische Produktion der Benediktiner in England seit der Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts gut belegt; man kann sie zum Beispiel um etwa 1100 in der Legende des Hl. Ecgwines von Dominic von Evesham (cf. Lapidge 1978: 67, 72) finden oder auch zwischen 1095 und 1116 in der Legende des Hl. Oswalds von Eadmer von Canterbury (cf. Turner & Muir 2006: cvi) und in William von Malmesburys Legende des Hl. Wulfstans, die er um 1126 für die Mönche von Worcester schrieb. Alle diese monastischen Gemeinschaften gehörten dem Benediktinerorden an. Dies ist ein relevanter Aspekt für die Skizzierung und Erklärung

der Unterschiede in der Behandlung der *Vespasian Viten*, die in monastischen Gemeinschaften *mit* oder *ohne* (engem) Kontakt zu anglo-normannischen religiösen Institutionen geschrieben wurden. In den ersten Zeilen der Legende des Hl. Clydops wird der Märtyrertod des Heiligen genannt. Der Text der Legende ist genau genommen eine *Passio*, die aus verschiedenen Materialien aus Llandaff geformt wurde, so dass die *Vita* zwar von posthumen Episoden erzählt, ohne aber einen separaten *post-mortem* Teil zu enthalten. Die *Viten* Teilos, Davids, Brynachs, Padarns, Cybis, Tatheus und Carannogs enthalten keine separaten *post-mortem* Teile.

Cadog ist zweifellos der prominenteste Heilige im Legendar. Diese Bedeutung wird ihm zuteil 1. aufgrund der Länge von Cadogs Text im Vergleich zu den anderen Texten des Legendars; 2. aufgrund des von dem Sammler oder den Sammlern des *Vespasian* eingefügten genealogischen Materials und den Gründungsurkunden von Kirchen, die Cadog geweiht sind; 3. durch die offensichtliche chronologische Absicht des Sammlers oder der Sammler des *Vespasian*, Informationen über das Leben Cadogs in die Legende seines Vaters, der Hl. Gwynllyw, einfließen zu lassen, wie zum Beispiel die Auskunft über Cadogs Geburt und seine Verantwortung für die religiöse Bekehrung seiner Eltern und 4. durch Cadogs prominente Stellung in den Legenden anderer süd-walisischer Heiliger, wie zum Beispiel in der Legende des Hl. Illtud, in der Cadog auffallend häufig auftritt. Wenn aber das Legendar unter dem Aspekt einer intendierten chronologischen Anordnung der *Viten* durch einen oder mehrerer Sammler und unter dem Aspekt der Verehrung des Hl. Cadogs zu erklären versucht wird (cf. Harris 1953: 22), so geht man das Risiko ein, dabei den Zweck des Legendars bis zu einem gewissen Grad zu vereinfachen. Die Position der ersten drei *Viten* im Legendar, die die einzigen sind, die angeblich für das *Vespasian* Legendar beabsichtigte komplette *post-mortem* Teile besitzen, lässt eine andere Erklärungsrichtung erkennen, die meine Untersuchung der Texte verfolgte. Diese argumentative Richtung bot eine zufriedenstellende Antwort auf die Frage nach dem Zweck des *Vespasian* Legendars im Kontext walisischer hagiographischer und historiographischer Literatur des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts: Das Legendar hat eine programmatischen Intention, nämlich eine Aktualisierung oder Modernisierung walisischer religiöser Texte, um infolgedessen walisische religiöse Praktiken einzuführen.

Um diese Aktualisierung oder Modernisierung walisischer religiöser Praktiken auf der Textebene der Heiligenviten zu verstehen, wurde eine detaillierte Analyse der *in vita* und *post-mortem* Teile aller *Vespasianlegenden* durchgeführt. Dabei wurden speziell die

Begegnungsszenen zwischen den Heiligen und den weltlichen Herrschern oder weltlichen Figuren in den Texten analysiert. Der Schwerpunkt dieser Untersuchung der *Viten*-Begegnungsszenen stützte sich auf die verschiedenen wissenschaftlichen Interpretationen der Texte auf der Grundlage einer unmittelbaren Textantwort auf historische Ereignisse in Wales im 11. und im 12. Jahrhundert. Die in den *Vespasianlegenden* erzählten Ereignisse wurden bereits öfters von Forschern dahingehend interpretiert, dass sie die wichtigsten historischen und politischen Ereignisse in Wales im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert widerspiegeln.

Kathleen Hughes Auffassung hinsichtlich des Ziels der Zusammenstellung des Legendar, nämlich die historische Verankerung der Namen und der Leben von walisischen Heiligen im Bewusstsein eines normannischen Zielpublikums (cf. Hughes 1958: 200), wurde durch die Abgrenzung von *hagiographischen strukturellen Merkmalen* in meiner Recherche widerlegt: Letztere entstehen durch die Interaktion der *Viten* auf der horizontalen als auch auf der vertikalen Ebene im Legendar, d. h. durch das Arrangement der Texte in der Sammlung selbst, durch den Textaustausch und die wahrgenommenen gegenseitigen Einflüsse der *Viten* untereinander.

Als Haupttext für die Analyse dieser strukturellen Merkmale wurde die Legende des Hl. Cadogs ausgewählt, da dieser Text die zeitgenössische und spätere Produktion von Heiligenlegenden in Wales sehr stark beeinflusst hat. Die Begegnungsszenen in den *in vita* Teilen dieser Legende wurden in drei Hauptkategorien eingeteilt, die Auskunft über ihre Entstehungen in einem literarischen, hagiographischen Prozess geben: Die *erste* Kategorie wurde durch den Prolog der Legende des Hl. Cadogs illustriert, der die erste bekannte Artus-Episode in einer walisischen Heiligenvita darstellt. Der Prolog zeigt die Art und Weise, wie eine angeblich säkulare, heroische Erzählung in den Text einer Heiligenvita eingefügt wurde, ohne dass ihr Inhalt und zu einem gewissen Maß ihre Struktur dem religiösen Diskurs einer Heiligenvita adaptiert worden wäre. Diese Annahme wird durch die Abwesenheit des Heiligen, der als Konsequenz dieser Abwesenheit Mangel an Wunder und Heiligeninterventionen und durch die Emphase der heroischen Attribute sekundärer Erzählfiguren bestätigt.

Das andere überlieferte Beispiel dieser Art von Begegnungsszenen in einem *in vita* Teil einer walisischen *Heiligenvita* ist in der Legende des Hl. Gildas von Caradoc von Llancarfan zu finden, welches dem Prolog der Legende des Hl. Cadogs gegenübergestellt wurde. Beide

Artus-Episoden in der Legende des Hl. Cadogs und in der Legende des Hl. Gildas beinhalten unterhaltsame Episoden von heroisch-literarischem Charakter, die den hagiographischen Diskurs ihrer Texte in ein Ungleichgewicht bringen: Die zentralen hagiographischen Elemente werden vorübergehend ausgeblendet und der Fokus der Erzählung wird auf eine isolierte Erklärung für bestimmte Aussagen im Haupttext der Legende gerichtet, wie z. B. in der Legende des Hl. Cadogs auf eine Erklärung für Cadogs Ursprung oder wie in der Legende des Hl. Gildas auf eine Erklärung für Gildas Schweigen über Artus in seinem *De Excidio Britanniae*.

Die zweite Kategorie entspricht der zweiten Artus-Episode in der Legende des Hl. Cadogs, die eine Adaptation bzw. eine Kreation einer heroischen Artus-Episode zu illustrieren scheint, die die Macht eines Heiligen der eines bekannten, säkularen walisischen Herrschers gegenüberstellt. Das Hauptmerkmal dieser zweiten Art einer Begegnungsszene in einem *in vita* Teil ist die Adaptation eines hagiographischen Konzepts des Wunders von dem, was man in einer heroischen Erzählung oder in einem Märchen als das *Unheimliche* bzw. das *Unnatürliche* bezeichnet.

Die dritte Kategorie von Begegnungsszenen entspricht dem, was man für die Hagiographie als „typisch“ bezeichnen könnte: Die ausgewählten Gegner der Heiligen waren angeblich für das Zielpublikum entweder aus literarischen oder (pseudo-) historischen Werken bekannt oder das Hauptmuster für die Strukturierung einer Szene in Bezug auf das Hauptthema und das Hauptmirakel waren *biblisch*. Die Episoden stützen sich auf ausgewählte biblische Modelle oder auch auf Passagen von anderen bekannten, west-europäischen Heiligenlegenden.

Die Nennung allgemein im lateinischen Westen bekannter Wunder und die Adaptation „unnatürlicher“ Ereignisse in das Eingreifen eines Heiligen, positioniert ihn neben den Heiligen, die die Anerkennung der römisch-katholische Kirche schon verdient hatten. Entsprechend partizipieren die weltlichen Herrscher in dem zuvor erwähnten *typologisch-assoziativen* Schema von Heiligenviten. Eine einfache Andeutung der „bösen“ Taten der Herrscher in Bezug zu einem spezifischen, nachahmenden biblischen Wunder genügte damit dem Publikum, um auf das Verständnis einer „bösen“ bzw. unangemessenen christlichen Situation aufmerksam zu machen. In manchen Fällen stellen die weltlichen Herrscher analog gesehen ein erwünschtes Modell eines „guten“ bzw. gerechten, biblischen Königs dar und

werden in den Texten nicht als Gegner der Heiligen, sondern als Unterstützer der religiösen Aktivitäten eines Heiligen präsentiert.

Es ist bemerkenswert, dass viele der *Vespasian Viten*, die keine abgesonderten *post-mortem* Teile oder posthume Episoden beinhalten, sich auf diese dritte Sorte von Begegnungsszenen stützen. Das könnte auf ein etabliertes, walisches, hagiographisches Modell hinsichtlich der Darstellung säkularer Herrscher in walisischen Heiligenlegenden im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert hinweisen. Durch den Vergleich dieses dritten und häufig angewandten Modells der Begegnungsszenen in den *in vita* Teilen der *Vespasian Viten* mit den posthumen Episoden, die in manchen *Vespasian Viten* gefunden wurden, wurde eine Wahrnehmung und Skizzierung widersprüchlicher religiöser Perspektiven möglich.

Die Legenden, die einen abgesonderten *post-mortem* Teil enthalten, wie beispielsweise die Legende des Hl. Illtud und des Hl. Gwynllyws oder diejenigen, die posthume Episoden erzählen, wie z.B. die Legenden des Hl. Dubricius und des Hl. Clydogs, tragen besondere Merkmale, die sie von den meisten Legenden im *Vespasian* Legendar unterscheiden. Diese sind entweder mit einer Form historiographischen Interesses an relevanten Ereignissen in der Geschichte von Südwales verbunden oder spiegeln zeitgenössische Praktiken von Grab- und Reliquienverehrung wider, die sich angeblich durch den Einfluss von Klerikern aus Llandaff im südwalisischen Gebiet Glamorgans ausgebreitet haben. Der Einfluss Llandaffs ist auch in den Legenden zu spüren, die eine direkte Verbindung mit diesem Kloster gehabt haben, wie z.B. die Legende des Hl. Teilo, die, wie auch die von Caradoc of Llancarfan geschriebene Legende, eine Emphase auf den Aspekt der *conversio* – der Bekehrung – im Gegensatz zur Bestrafung und der Rache der Heiligen legen. Sowohl der Aspekt der Bekehrung als auch der Aspekt der Bestrafung der Heiligen wird auch in den *in vita* Teilen der *Viten* betont, deren Klöster in irgendeiner Weise mit Llandaff in Verbindung stehen. Bemerkenswert ist vor allem, dass in den *in vita* Teilen dieser Legenden die Zahl der auf dem Neuen Testament basierenden *Mirakula* größer ist als diejenigen, welche die *Mirakula* des Alten Testaments nachahmen.

#### **A.4 Der Zweck des *Vespasian*-Legendars**

Wenn man die Herkunft der *Vespasian Viten* analysiert, die in ihren *post-mortem* Teilen ein Interesse an Grab- und Reliquienverehrung sowie ein Interesse an historischen Ereignissen

zeigen, oder wenn man die Herkunft der *Viten*, die in ihren *in vita* Teilen *Bekehrung* und *Vergebung* emphasieren, untersucht, so betrachtet man den Einfluss anglonormannischer und kontinentaler religiöser Trends auf die Produktion des Legendar und auf seine Auswahl von Texten. Das Legendar diente nicht nur dazu die Namen und Taten süd-walisischer Heiliger historisch zu fixieren und für ein anglonormannisches Publikum zu präsentieren. Es spielte auch eine große Rolle im historischen Kontext des 12. Jahrhunderts, da es nicht nur viel über walisische Geschichte und Politik, sondern auch über subtilen, religiösen Austausch und Einfluss zwischen walisischen und anglonormannischen monastischen Institutionen erzählte.

Den Zweck des Legendar bezeichne ich als *meta-liturgisch*. Das Legendar benutzt die Legenden wichtiger süd-walisischer Heiliger als Grundlage für die Verbreitung von aktualisierten und modernisierten religiösen Praktiken bezüglich der Verehrung und Feier der Heiligen in Wales. Aktualisierung und Modernisierung von religiösen Praktiken werden hier im Sinne einer Annäherung an zeitgenössische, in benediktinischen, anglonormannischen und kontinentalen Institutionen verbreitete, religiöse Praktiken verstanden. Folglich bedeutet „meta-liturgisch“, dass das Legendar nur unter historischen und politischen Ereignissen seiner Zeit verstanden werden kann, was den ganzen Prozess der Sammlung der Texte bis hin zu der Entstehung der Handschrift und dem Einfluss einzelner Texte auf das Verständnis der Verehrung eines Heiligen impliziert und berücksichtigt. „Liturgisch“ ist hier symbolisch zu verstehen, in dem Sinne, dass Religiosität, das religiöse Leben und religiöse Praktiken einer christlichen Gemeinde durch das programmatische Ziel des Textmaterials beeinflusst werden. „*Meta-liturgisch*“ stellt den Dialog des Legendar mit der Auswahl und dem Umschreiben – *réécriture* – der *Viten* dar, die „Fähigkeit“ des Legendar, eine Nachricht über sich selbst als ein liturgisches Produkt zu übermitteln.

Offensichtlich wurde die Zusammenstellung von *Heiligenviten* in walisischen Klöstern – mit der Emphase auf bestimmten hagiographischen Aspekten der Heiligenverehrung und der Heiligenlebensbeschreibung – durch die Nachahmung von Texten, die in anglonormannischen bzw. kontinentalen Institutionen der Benediktiner geschrieben wurden, stark beeinflusst. Das folgt als Konsequenz der Besetzung von kirchlichen Ämtern in den von den Normannen eroberten Regionen in Wales mit Amtsträgern aus anglonormannischen bzw. kontinentalen, benediktinischen Institutionen. Mit der allmählichen normannischen Kolonisation und Demarkation neuer politischer und religiöser Grenzen in Wales halfen die walisischen und die

neu eingesetzten anglonormannischen Geistlichen in der Verbreitung von religiösen Ansichten und Praktiken, die in benediktinischen Klöstern in England geläufig waren. Der Beginn einer bedeutsamen, englischen, hagiographischen Literaturproduktion liegt im 11. Jahrhundert. Die Hauptzentren dieser Produktion bildeten die größten benediktinischen Klöster Englands, wie zum Beispiel Monmouth, Worcester, Glastonbury, Canterbury, Gloucester, Bury, Durham und Evesham (cf. Winterbottom 2002: xxx, Harris 1953: 21).

Neben den oben erwähnten Aspekten der in den *post-mortem* Teilen emphatisierten Grab- und Reliquienverehrung, dem Interesse an historischen Ereignissen und neben den Aspekten der in den *in vita* Teilen betonten Bekehrung einer „bösen“ Figur und ihre consequenten Erlösung in einem christlichen Leben, bekommt auch das Konzept der *Gastfreundlichkeit* eine eminente Position in vielen *Vespasian Viten*. Das Konzept scheint mir eine andere, wichtige Konsequenz des Kontaktes monastischer, walischer Institutionen mit den Benediktinern zu sein. Die Regel des Hl. Benedikts betont nicht nur *Gastfreundlichkeit*, sondern auch Bekehrung und menschliche Erlösung durch Christus. Meine Recherche zeigte, dass alle diese Aspekte eine große Rolle in den *Viten*, zum Beispiel in denen von Caradoc of Llancarfan spielen. Da die frühesten walisches *Viten* kaum über die Täuschungen des Teufels berichten und da die in der Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts geschriebenen *Viten* nach und nach die Anwesenheit des Teufels einzuarbeiten beginnen, führte dies zu der Annahme, dass dieser Aspekt auch die in benediktinischen Klöstern kultivierte Lesung der Legende des Hl. Benedikts von Gregor dem Großen ihren Einfluss zu verdanken hat.

In den einzelnen Kapiteln über jeden Heiligen im *Vespasian* Legendar wurden Informationen zur angeblichen Herkunft bzw. zum angeblichen Autor jeder *Vita* gegeben, die auf eine Verbindung zu einem benediktinischen Kloster hinweisen könnten. Auch die drei Haupttheorien zur Entstehung des Legendars in Monmouth, Brecon oder Gloucester (cf. Wade-Evans 1944: viii-xi, Harris 1953: 16, Hughes 1958: 54-59) deuten auf diese benediktinische Verbindung hin. Unabhängig von der Produktion des Legendars haben seine Produzenten und die Sammler der Heiligenlegenden damit die Möglichkeit gehabt, die Festtage mancher wichtiger süd-walisischer Heiliger in ihren Klöstern zu zelebrieren. Damit versuchten sie das Material über die walisischen Heiligen, das entweder in ihren eigenen oder in verbrüdeten Klöstern vorhanden war, zu modernisieren und aktualisieren. Die Absicht besteht darin, die Kirche in Wales gegenüber der Kirche in England unter Berücksichtigung zeitgenössischer hagiographischer Standards zu stärken.



Durch die Analyse der Begegnungsszene in den *Vespasian Viten* wurde deutlich, dass eine bewusste Darstellung von wichtigen, regionalen weltlichen Herrschern gewählt wurde, die dem literarisch-hagiographischen Muster in dem oben genannten *typologisch-assoziativen* Schema folgte. So wurden König Artus und König Maelgwn von Gwynedd zum Beispiel als wichtige Antagonisten zu den Heiligen dargestellt. Indem die Hagiographen bewusst eine Auswahl der Figuren trafen, funktionierte dieses Schema als Strategie, um die Macht eines walisischen Heiligen über einen weltlichen Herrscher durch die Darstellung weltlicher Herrscher als Gegner und Widersacher eines Heiligen zu akzentuieren. Ein derartiger Textrahmen diente wahrscheinlich unter anderem dazu, ein anglonormannisches Zielpublikum daran zu erinnern, dass sich sogar walisische weltliche Herrscher an innerwalisische, religiöse Regelungen anpassen mussten. Auf der anderen Seite und in Bezug auf die Darstellung englischer und anglonormannischer Figuren in den *Viten* von Caradoc von Llancarfan, gab es eine bewusste Hervorhebung der kulturellen Unterschiede zwischen den Walisern und den Engländern, indem die *Viten* die walisischen Herrscher als vertrauenswürdiger und zuverlässiger Untertanen als die Engländer stilisierten. Durch die *Llandaff-Viten* zeigte das Legendar außerdem ein besonderes Interesse an der Bretagne. Die *Viten* legten Wert auf einen gemeinsamen Ursprung und den kulturellen Kontakt zwischen Wales und der Bretagne und schließen dadurch indirekt aus, dass die Engländer jemals zur ehemaligen „Britannia“ dazugehörten. Dazu berücksichtigt das Legendar auch durch viele seiner *Viten* die Rolle der Iren im religiösen Leben vieler früher walisischer Heiliger, wie z. B. in den Legenden des Hl. Davids und des Hl. Teilo, in denen die walisischen Heiligen irische Mönche als Herren und spirituelle Führer hatten. Alle diese Aspekte heben nicht nur einen unterschiedlichen historischen Hintergrund von Walisern und Engländern hervor, sondern betonen auch die Unterschiede in ihren religiösen und kulturellen Praktiken.

Der Weg von der Entstehung jeder einzelnen Legende bis zu ihrer Sammlung im *Vespasian Legendar* hatte eine spezielle Bedeutung in der religiösen Politik in Wales im 12. Jahrhundert. Das Legendar stärkte das Bewusstsein von walisischen und nicht-walisischen Geistlichen bezüglich der Unterschiede zwischen walisischen und englischen religiösen Praktiken. Dieses Bewusstsein begann ironischerweise mit dem Streit walisischer, monastischer Klöster untereinander, wie z. B. zwischen St. David's und Llandaff, die später auch um ihre Unabhängigkeit von Canterbury kämpften. Die Bemerkungen Bernards, Bischof von St. David's, scheinen sich in den Texten zeitgenössischer Geistlicher, in dem Werk Caradoc von Llancarfans und in den Werken von Generationen von englischen, normannischen und

walisischen Schriftstellern niedergeschlagen zu haben, welche sich sowohl positiv als auch negativ auf das walisische Anliegen ausgewirkt haben:

*populos nostre provincie natione, lingua, legibus et moribus, iudiciis et consuetudinibus discrepare*

die Menschen in unserer Provinz [d.h. Wales] unterscheiden sich in Rasse, Sprache, Gesetzen und Gebräuchen, Standpunkten und Traditionen [von den anderen Menschen, d.h. den Anglo-Normannen] (eigene Übersetzung).<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> Zitat von einem undatierten Brief an Papst Innocent II. (1130-1143) für die Prominenz von St. David's in Wales und gegen die Kontrolle von Canterbury. Zitiert von Richter 1976: 43.

## B List of Abbreviations

<i>Aeneid</i>	Virgil's <i>The Aeneid</i> , ed. Lewis
AC (B)	The B-text of the <i>Annales Cambriae</i> , ed. Williams
AC (C)	The C-text of the <i>Annales Cambriae</i> , ed. Williams
ASC (C)	The C-text of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ed. O' Keeffe
ASC (D)	The D-text of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ed. Cubbin
ASC (E)	The E-text of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ed. Irvine
ASC (F)	The F-text of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ed. Baker
<i>ByT</i> (Pen. 20)	<i>Brut y Tywysogion</i> (MS. Peniarth 20), ed. Jones
<i>ByT</i> (RB)	<i>Brut y Tywysogion</i> (Red Book of Hergest), ed. Jones
CC	John of Worcester, <i>Chronicon ex Chronicis</i> , ed. Darlington & McGurk
CO	<i>Culhwch ac Olwen</i> , <i>The Mabinogi</i> , ed. Jones & Jones
DE	Gildas, <i>De Excidio Britanniae</i> , ed. Mommsen
<i>Descriptio</i>	Gerald of Wales, <i>Descriptio Kambriae</i> , ed. Dimock
<i>De Invect.</i>	Gerald of Wales, <i>De Invectionibus</i> , ed. Dimock
<i>Expugnatio</i>	Gerald of Wales, , <i>Expugnatio Hibernica</i> , ed. Dimock
DG	William of Malmesbury, <i>De Gestis Regum Anglorum</i> , ed. Mynors & Thompson
DNC	Walter Map, <i>De Nugis Curialium</i> , ed. James
<i>God</i>	<i>Y Gododdin</i> , ed. and trans. ed. Jarman
<i>Hanes</i>	<i>Hanes Gruffudd ap Cynan</i> , ed. Jones
HB	<i>Historia Brittonum</i> , ed. Lot
HH	Henry of Huntingdon, <i>Historia Anglorum</i> , ed. Greenway
HRB	Geoffrey of Monmouth, <i>Historia Regum Britanniae</i> , ed. Giles
<i>Itinerarium</i>	Gerald of Wales, <i>Itinerarium Kambriae</i> , ed. Dimock
LL	<i>Liber Landauensis</i> , ed. Evans & Rhys
<i>Mab1</i>	The First Branch of the <i>Mabinogi</i> , ed. Jones & Jones
<i>Mab2</i>	The Second Branch of the <i>Mabinogi</i> , ed. Jones & Jones
<i>Mab3</i>	The Third Branch of the <i>Mabinogi</i> , ed. Jones & Jones
<i>Mab4</i>	The Fourth Branch of the <i>Mabinogi</i> , ed. Jones & Jones
Táin bó Cúalnge	Táin bó Cúalnge, ed. and trans. O'Rahilly
<i>Trioedd</i>	The Triads of the Island of Britain, ed. Bromwich
VB	<i>Vita Sancti Bernachi</i> , <i>The Life of Saint Brynach</i> , ed. Wade-Evans
VBen	<i>Vita Benedicti</i> , Gregory the Great's <i>Dialogues</i> , Bk. II, ed. Lambert
VC1	<i>Vita Sancti Cadoci</i> , <i>The Life of Saint Cadog</i> by Lifris of Llancarfan, ed. Wade-Evans
VC2	<i>Vita Sancti Cadoci</i> , <i>The Life of Saint Cadog</i> by Caradoc of Llancarfan, ed. Grosjean
VCa1	<i>Vita Prima Sancti Carantoci</i> , <i>The Life of Saint Carannog</i> (Vita 1), ed. Wade-Evans
VCa2	<i>Vita Secunda Sancti Carantoci</i> , <i>The Life of Saint Carannog</i> (Vita 2), ed. Wade-Evans
VCLI	<i>Vita Sancti Clidocii</i> , <i>The Life of Saint Clydog</i> , ed. Wade-Evans
VCuth	<i>Vita Cuthberti</i> , <i>The prose Life of Saint Cuthbert</i> by Bede, ed. Colgrave
VD	<i>Vita Sancti Daudi</i> , <i>The Life of Saint David</i> by Rhigyfarch, ed. Wade-Evans
VDu1	<i>De primo statu Landauensis ecclesie et uita Archiepiscopi Dubricii</i> , <i>The Life of Saint Dubricius</i> , ed. Evans & Rhys
VDu2	<i>Vita Sancti Dubricii</i> , <i>The Life of Saint Dubricius</i> by Benedict of Gloucester, ed. Wharton

<i>VDun1</i>	<i>Vita Sancti Dunstani</i> , The <i>Life</i> of Saint Dunstan by William of Malmesbury, ed. Winterbottom
<i>VDun2</i>	<i>Vita Sancti Dunstani</i> , The <i>Life</i> of Saint Dunstan by Eadmer of Canterbury, ed. Turner & Muir
<i>VFi</i>	<i>Vita Finniani</i> , the <i>Life</i> of Saint Finnian, ed. Stokes
<i>VG1</i>	<i>Vita Sancti Gildae</i> , anonymous work of the Breton monastery of Rhuy, ed. Williams
<i>VG2</i>	<i>Vita Sancti Gildae</i> , The <i>Life</i> of Saint Gildas by Caradoc of Llancarfan, ed. Williams
<i>VGu</i>	<i>Vita Sancti Gundleii</i> , The <i>Life</i> of Saint Gwynllyw, ed. Wade-Evans
<i>VGuth</i>	<i>Vita Sancti Guthlaci</i> , Felix's <i>Life</i> of Saint Guthlac, ed. Colgrave
<i>VH</i>	<i>Vita Hilarionis</i> , The <i>Life</i> of Hilarion by Jerome, ed. Morales
<i>VI</i>	<i>Vita Sancti Illuti</i> , The <i>Life</i> of Saint Illtud, ed. Wade-Evans
<i>VK1</i>	<i>Vita Sancti Kebii</i> , The <i>Life</i> of Saint Cybi ( <i>Vita</i> 1), ed. Wade-Evans
<i>VK2</i>	<i>Vita Sancti Kebii</i> , The <i>Life</i> of Saint Cybi ( <i>Vita</i> 2), ed. Wade-Evans
<i>VO</i>	<i>Vita Oudicei</i> , The <i>Life</i> of Saint Oudoceus, <i>LL</i> , ed. Evans & Rhys
<i>VPa</i>	<i>Vita Patricii</i> , The <i>Life</i> of Saint Patrick by Muirchu, ed. Hood.
<i>VPau</i>	<i>Vita Pauli</i> , The <i>Life</i> of Paul the Hermit by Jerome, ed. Morales
<i>VP</i>	<i>Vita Sancti Paterni</i> , The <i>Life</i> of Saint Padarn, ed. Wade-Evans
<i>VS</i>	<i>Vita Samsonis</i> , The <i>Life</i> of Saint Samson, ed. Fawtier
<i>VSB</i>	<i>Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae</i> , ed. Wade-Evans
<i>VTa</i>	<i>Vita Sancti Tatheii</i> , The <i>Life</i> of Saint Tatheus, ed. Wade-Evans
<i>VTel1</i>	<i>Vita Sancti Teliauui</i> , The <i>Life</i> of Saint Teilo, <i>LL</i> , ed. Evans & Rhys
<i>VTel2</i>	<i>Vita Sancti Teliauui</i> , The <i>Life</i> of Saint Teilo, <i>LL</i> , ed. Evans & Rhys

## Secondary abbreviations

<i>AASS</i>	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i> , ed. J. Bollandus, etc. (Antwerp and Brussels, 1643-)
<i>AB</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> , Brussels.
<i>MGH</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
<i>RS</i>	<i>Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores</i> (251 vols., London, 1858-1896), "Rolls Series."
<i>Georges</i>	Georges, K. (2002, repr.) <i>Lateinisch-Deutsch. Ausführliches Handwörterbuch. Elektronische Ausgabe der 8. Auflage (1913-1918)</i> . Berlin: Directmedia.
Haddan and Stubbs	Haddan, A., and Stubbs, W. (eds. and trans.) <i>Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Houaiss	Houaiss, A. Dicionário Eletrônico Houaiss da Língua Portuguesa.

## C Bibliographical references

### C.1 Bibliographies and Catalogues

Black, W. (1845) *A descriptive, analytical and critical catalogue of the manuscripts bequeathed unto the University of Oxford by Elias Ashmole: also of some additional mss. contributed by Kingsley, Lhuyd, Borlase and others.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hackmann, A. (1860) *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae. Codices viri admodum reverendi Thomae Tanneri, S.T.P., episcopi Asaphensis complectens.* Vol. 4. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hardy, T. (1862) *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland, to the end of the reign of Henry VII.* London: Longman.

### C.2 Editions and Translations

Baker, P (ed.) (2000) *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle – MS. F.* Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.

Beckby, H. (ed.) (1969) *Die Sprüche des Publilius Syrus.* München: Ernst Heimeran Verlag.

Bell, H. (ed.) (1909) *Vita Sancti Tatheï and Buched Seint Y Katrin – Reedited, after Rees, from the MSS. in the British Museum.* Bangor: The Bangor Welsh Manuscripts Society.

Bolland, J. *et al.* (eds.) (1643 – 1910) *Acta Sanctorum, quotquot toto orbe coluntur.* Antwerp and Brussels: Typis Henrici Goemaere.

Bromwich, R. (ed. and trans.) (2006) *Trioedd Ynys Prydein – The Triads of the Island of Britain.* Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Cleveland, F., Schaff, P. (ed. and trans.) (1995) *Augustine's Expositions on the book of psalms.* Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson.

Coe, J., and Young, S. (eds. and trans.) (1995) *The Celtic sources for the Arthurian Legend.* Felinfach: Llanerch Publishers.

Colgrave, B. (ed. and trans.) (1940, repr. 1985) *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

— (ed. and trans.) (1956) *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cubbin, G. (ed.) (1996) *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle – MS. D.* Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.

Darlington, R., McGurk, P. (eds.) (1995) *The Chronicles of John of Worcester – Volume II – The Annals from 450 to 1066.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Davies, S. (trans.) (2007) *The Mabinogion.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- De la Borderie, A. (ed. and trans.) (1882) 'L'Historia Britannica avant Geoffroi de Monmouth et la vie inédite de saint Goeznou,' in *Bulletin de la société archéologique du Finistère* 9: 225-46.
- Dimock, J. (ed.) (1868) *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*. London: Longman, Green, Reader, and Dyer.
- Dumville, D. (ed.) (1985) *The Historia Brittonum – The Vatican Recension*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.
- Evans, D. (ed.) (1988) *The Welsh Life of St David*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Evans, J. and Rhys, J. (eds.) (1893, repr. 1979) *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv. Reproduced from the Gwysaney Manuscript*. Aberystwyth: The National Library of Wales Press.
- Evans, J. (ed.), Pennar, M. (trans.) (1989) *The Black Book of Carmarthen*. Carmarthen: Llanerch Enterprises.
- Fawtier, R. (ed.) (1912) *La Vie de Saint Samson – Essai de Critique Hagiographique*. Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion.
- Giles, J. (ed. and trans.) (1967, repr. 1844) *Galfredi Monumetensis Historia Britonum: nunc primum in Anglia ; novem codd msstis collatis*. New York: Franklin.
- Greenway, D. (ed. and trans.) (1996) *Historia Anglorum. The History of the English People. Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Griscom, A. (ed. and trans.) (1929) *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth*. London: Longmans, Green and Co.
- Grosjean, P. (ed.) (1942) 'Vie de S. Cadoc par Caradoc de Llancarfan,' in *Analecta Bollandiana* 60: 35-67.
- Haddan, A., and Stubbs, W. (eds. and trans.) (1869, repr. 1964) *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Hood, A. (ed. and trans.) (1978) *St. Patrick. His writings and Muirchu's Life*. London: Phillimore.
- James, J. (ed. and trans.) (1967) *Rhigyfarch's Life of St. David*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- James, M. (ed. and trans.) (1914, repr. 1994) *Walter Map De Nugis Curialium*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Jarman, A. (ed. and trans.) (1990) *Aneirin: Y Gododdin – Britain's oldest heroic poem*. Llandysul: Gomer Press.
- Jenkins, D. (ed. and trans.) (1986) *The Law of Hywel Dda – Law texts from medieval Wales*. Llandysul: Gomer Press.

- Jones, A. (ed. and trans.) (1910) *The History of Gruffudd ap Cynan – The Welsh text with translation, introduction, and notes*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Jones, G., Jones, T. (trans.) (1957) *The Mabinogion*. London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd.
- Jones, T. (trans.) (1952) *Brut y Tywysogion, or, the Chronicle of the Princes. Peniarth MS. 20 Version*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- (ed. and trans.) (1973) *Brut y Tywysogion, or, the Chronicle of the Princes. Red Book of Hergest Version*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Hammer, J. (ed.) (1951) *Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae – a variant version edited from manuscripts*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Medieval Academy of America.
- Horstmann, C. (ed.) (1901) *Nova Legenda Anglie*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Irvine, S. (ed.) (2004) *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle – MS. E*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.
- Lambert, B.-M. (ed.) (1995) *Gregorius Papa. Der hl. Benedikt: Buch II der Dialoge*. St. Ottilien: EOS-Verlag.
- Lapidge, M. (ed.) (1978) 'Dominic of Evesham "Vita S. Ecgwine Episcopi et Confessoris,"' in *Analecta Bollandiana* 96: 65-104.
- Lapidge, M., Winterbottom, M. (ed. and trans.) (1991) *Wulfstan of Winchester – The Life of St Æthelwold*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Lewis, C. (trans.) (1952, repr. 1986) *Virgil's The Aeneid*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lot, F. (ed.) (1934) *Nennius et L'Historia Brittonum – Étude Critique suivie d'une édition des diverses versions de ce texte*. Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion.
- Loth, J. (ed.) (1894a) 'La Vie de Saint Teliu d'après de le Livre de Llandaf,' in *Annales de Bretagne* 9: 66-77, 81-85, 277-286, 438-446.
- Mabillon, J. (ed.) (repr., 1935 –) *Acta Sanctorum ordinis Sancti Benedicti*. Matiscone: Fratres Prototypographi Matisconenses.
- Mynors, R., Thomson, R., and Winterbottom, M. (eds. and trans.) (1998) *William of Malmesbury's Gesta Regum Anglorum – The History of the English Kings*. Vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Mommsen, T. (ed.) (1894) 'Vita Gildae – Auctore Monacho Ruiensi,' in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Chronica Minora – Auctores Antiquissimi* 13: 91-106.
- (ed.) (1894) 'Vita Gildae – Auctore Caradoco Lancarbanensi,' in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Chronica Minora: Auctores Antiquissimi* 13: 107-110.
- (ed.) (1894-98) 'Historia Brittonum,' in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Chronica Minora – Auctores Antiquissimi* 13, I: 15-222.

- (ed.) (1898a) ‘De Excidio Britanniae,’ in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Chronica Minora Saec. IV-VII* 3: 1-85.
- Morales, E., Leclerc, P. (ed. and trans.) (2007) *Jérôme. Trois Vies de Moines (Paul, Malchus, Hilarion)*. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf.
- Morris, J. (ed. and trans.) (1980) *Nennius – British History and the Welsh Annals*. London: Phillimore.
- Napier, A., Stevenson, W. (ed.) (1895) *The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents now in the Bodleian Library. Anedocta Oxoniensia, VII, Medieval and Modern Series*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- O’Keeffe, K. (ed.) (2001) *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle – MS. C*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.
- O’ Rahilly, C. (ed. and trans.) (1984) *Táin Bó Cúalnge from the Book of Leinster*. Dublin: Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies.
- Parry, J. et al. (eds.) (1822 - ) *Transactions of the Cymmrodorion, or Metropolitan Cambrian Institution*. London: W. Marchant.
- Phillimore, E. (ed.) (1888) ‘The *Annales Cambriae* and Old-Welsh Genealogies from *Harleian MS. 3859*,’ in *Y Cymmrodor* 9: 141-183.
- Rees, W. (ed. and trans.) (1840) *The Liber Landavensis, Llyfr Teilo*. Llandoverly: W. Rees Press.
- (ed. and trans.) (1853) *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*. London: Longman.
- Scott, J. (ed. and trans.) (1981) *The Early History of Glastonbury – An Edition, Translation and Study of William of Malmesbury’s De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie*. Suffolk: The Boydell Press.
- Stokes, W. (ed. and trans.) (1890) *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Stubbs, W. (ed.) (1874) *Memorials of Saint Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury*. London: Longman.
- (ed.) (1889) *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gestis Regum Anglorum, libri quinque: Historiae Novellae, libri tres*. London: H.M.S.O.
- Thorpe, L. (trans.) (1969) *Geoffrey of Monmouth: The History of the Kings of Britain*. London: Folio Society.
- Treharne, E. (ed. and trans.) (2004) *Old and Middle English c. 890 – c. 1400. An Anthology*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Turner, A., Muir, B. (ed. and trans.) (2006) *Eadmer of Canterbury – Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.



- Wade-Evans, A. (ed. and trans.) (1909) *Welsh Medieval Law – Being a text of the Laws of Howel the Good*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- \_\_\_\_ (ed. and trans.) (1914) *Vita Sancti David per Ricemarchum*. Stow-on-the-Wold: J.H. Alden.
- \_\_\_\_ (trans.) (1930) ‘Beuno Sant,’ in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 85: 315-341.
- \_\_\_\_ (ed. and trans.) (1944) *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Wharton, H (ed.) (1691) *Anglia sacra sive collectio historiarum partim antiquitus partim recenter scriptarum de archiepiscopis et episcopis Angliae. Vol. 2. Plures antiquas de vitis & rebus gestis praesulum anglicorum historias sine certo ordine congestas complexa*. London: Chiswel.
- Williams, H. (ed. and trans.) (1899, repr. 1990) *Two Lives of Gildas by a Monk of Ruys and Caradoc of Llancarfan*. Felinfach: Llanerch Publishers.
- Williams, J. (ed.) (1860) *Annales Cambriae*. London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts.
- Winterbottom, M. (ed.) (1972) *Three Lives of English Saints*. Toronto: Centre for Medieval Studies.
- \_\_\_\_ (ed. and trans.) (1978) *Gildas: The Ruin of Britain and Other Works*. London: Phillimore & Co. Ltd.
- Winterbottom, M. (ed. and trans.) (1998) *William of Malmesbury’s Gesta Regum Anglorum – The History of the English Kings*. Vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Winterbottom, M., Thompson, R. (eds. and trans.) (2002) *William of Malmesbury Saints’ Lives – Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Wright, N. (ed. and trans.) (1991) *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.

### C.3 Other Studies

- Aigrain, R. (1953) *L’Hagiographie. Ses sources – ses méthodes – son histoire*. Poitiers: Bloud et Gay.
- Angenendt, A. (1997) *Heilige und Reliquien. Die Geschichte ihres Kultes vom frühen Christentum bis zur Gegenwart*. München: Verlag C. H. Beck.
- Anscombe, A. (1905) ‘Local Names in the ‘Arthuriana’ in the ‘Historia Brittonum,’ in *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 5: 103-123.

- Ashe, G. (1981) "'A certain very ancient book:': traces of an Arthurian source in Geoffrey of Monmouth's History,' in *Speculum* 56: 301-23
- Auerbach, E. (1938, repr. 1967) 'Figura,' in Auerbach, E. *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur romanischen Philologie*. Bern und München: Francke Verlag.
- \_\_\_\_ (1945) 'Figurative texts illustrating certain passages of Dante's Commedia,' in Auerbach, E. *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur romanischen Philologie*. Bern und München: Francke Verlag.
- \_\_\_\_ (1953) *Typologische Motive in der mittelalterlichen Literatur*. Krefeld: Scherpe Verlag.
- Baring-Gould, S., and Fisher, J. (1907) *Lives of the British Saints*. London: Charles J. Clark.
- Barlow, F. (1983) *The Norman Conquest and Beyond*. London: The Hambledon Press.
- Barrow, G. (1980) 'Wales and Scotland in the Middle Ages,' *Welsh History Review* x: 302-319.
- Bartlett, R. (1983) 'Rewriting Saints' Lives: the case of Gerald of Wales,' in *Speculum* 58: 598-613.
- \_\_\_\_ (1993) *The Making of Europe: conquest, colonization and cultural change, 950 – 1350*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- \_\_\_\_ (1999) 'Cults of Irish, Scottish and Welsh Saints in twelfth-century England,' in Smith, B. (ed.) *Britain and Ireland 900-1300. Insular responses to Medieval European Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bates, D. (1989) 'Normandy and England after 1066,' in *The English Historical Review* 104: 851-880.
- Berschin, W. (1986) *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter. I. Von der passio Perpetuae zu den Dialogi Gregors des Grossen. II. Merowingische Biographie, Italien, Spanien und die Inseln im frühen Mittelalter*. Stuttgart: Hiersemann.
- Björkman, E. (1910) *Nordische Personennamen in England in alt- und frühmittel-englischer Zeit: ein Beitrag zur englischen Namenkunde*. Halle: Niemeyer.
- Blumenthal, U.-R. (1998) *Papal reform and canon law in the 11th and 12th centuries*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Bordman, G. (1968) 'Folklore and the medieval romance,' in Beck, H. (ed.) *Folklore in action*. New York: Kraus Reprint Co.
- Borst, K. (1983) 'A Reconsideration of the *Vita Sancti Cadoci*,' in Ford, P. (ed.) *Celtic Folklore and Christianity*. Santa Barbara: McNally and Loftin Publishers.
- Bowen, E. (1944) 'The travels of the Celtic Saints,' in *Antiquity* 18: 16-28.
- \_\_\_\_ (1945) 'The Settlements of the Celtic Saints in South Wales,' in *Antiquity* 19: 175-186.

- \_\_\_ (1954) *The Settlements of the Celtic Saints in Wales*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- \_\_\_ (1959) 'From Antiquarianism to Archaeology in Cardiganshire,' in *Ceredigion* 3: 257-264.
- \_\_\_ (1977) *Saints, Seaways and Settlements in the Celtic Lands*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- \_\_\_ (1983) *Dewi Sant – Saint David*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Boyer, R. (1981) 'An attempt to define the typology of medieval hagiography,' in Bekker-Nielsen, H., Foote, P. *et al.* (eds.) *Hagiography and Medieval Literature – A Symposium*. Odense: Odense University Press.
- Bratož, R. (1994) 'Der "heilige Mann" und seine Biographie (unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von: Eugippius, Leben des heiligen Severin),' in Scharer, A., Scheibelreiter, G. (eds.) *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*. Wien: R. Oldenburg Verlag.
- Bray, D. (1992a) *A List of Motifs in the Lives of the Early Irish Saints*. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.
- \_\_\_ (1992b) 'Saint Brigit and the Fire from Heaven,' in *Études Celtiques* 29: 105-113.
- \_\_\_ (2003) 'Miracles and wonders in the composition of the Lives of the early Irish Saints,' in Cartwright, J. (2003) *Celtic Hagiography and Saints' Cults*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Brett, C. (1989) 'Breton Latin Literature as Evidence for Literature in the Vernacular, A.D. 800-1300,' in *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 18: 1-26.
- Bromwich, R., Jarman, A. and Roberts, B. (eds.) (1991) *The Arthur of the Welsh – The Arthurian Legend in Medieval Welsh Literature*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Bromwich, R., and Simon Evans, D. (1992) *Culhwch and Olwen: An edition and study of the oldest Arthurian text*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Brooke, C. (1958) 'The Archbishops of St. David's, Llandaff and Caerleon-on-Usk,' in Chadwick, N., Hughes, K., Brooke, C. and Jackson, K. (eds.) *Studies in the Early British Church*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- \_\_\_ (1963) 'St Peter of Gloucester and St Cadoc of Llancarfan,' in Jackson, K., Blair, P., *et al.* *Celt and Saxon – Studies in the Early British Border*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- \_\_\_ (1986) 'The Church and the Welsh Border in the Central Middle Ages,' in *Studies in Celtic History* 8: 1-127.
- Brown, A. (2003) *Church and Society in England, 1000 -1500*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Brown, P. (1981) *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*. Chicago: SCM Press Ltd.
- Burckhart, J. (1853) *Die Zeit Constantin's des Grossen*. Leipzig: Seemann.
- Bullock-Davies, C. (1981) "'Exspectare Arturum:' Arthur and the Messianic hope,' in *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 29: 432-40
- Butler, L. (1978) "'The Monastic City' in Wales: Myth or Reality?,' in *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 28: 458-467.
- Campbell, J. (1975) 'The Age of Arthur,' in *Studia Hibernica* 15: 177-85.
- Cartwright, J. (2003) *Celtic Hagiography and Saints' Cults*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Cavill, P. (1999) 'Some Dynamics of Story-telling: Animals in the Early Lives of St Cuthbert,' in *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 43: 1-20.
- Chadwick, N. (1958) 'Intellectual Life in West Wales in the Last Days of the Celtic Church,' in Chadwick, N., Hughes, K. *et al* (eds.) *Studies in the Early British Church*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- \_\_\_ (1961) *The Age of the Saints in the Early Celtic Church*. London: Oxford University Press.
- \_\_\_ (et al.) (1963) *Celt and Saxon: Studies in the Early British Border*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- \_\_\_ (1969) *Early Brittany*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Chambers, E. (1927, repr. 1964) *Arthur of Britain*. Cambridge: Speculum Historiale.
- Charity, A. (1966) *Events and their afterlife: the dialectics of Christian typology in the Bible and Dante*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Charles-Edwards, T. (1970) 'The Date of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi,' in *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion – Session 1970*: 263-298.
- \_\_\_ (1989) *The Welsh Laws*. Cardiff: The University of Wales and the Welsh Arts Council.
- \_\_\_ (1991) 'The Arthur of History,' in Bromwich, R., Jarman, A. and Roberts, B. (eds.) *The Arthur of the Welsh – The Arthurian Legend in Medieval Welsh Literature*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Chédeville, A., and Croix, A. (1993) *Histoire de la Bretagne*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Coens, M. (1963) 'Nouvelles Recherches sur un Thème Hagiographique: La Céphalophorie,' in *Subsidia Hagiographica* 37: 9-31.

- Coon, L. (1997) *Sacred Fictions. Holy Women and Hagiography in Late Antiquity*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Collingwood, W. (1929) 'Arthur's Battle,' in *Antiquity* 3: 292-298.
- Coplestone-Crow, B. (1998) 'Robert de La Haye and the Lordship of Gwynllwg: the Norman Settlement of a Welsh Cantref,' in *Gwent Local History* 85: 3-49.
- Cowdrey, H. (1998) *Gregory VII*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Cowley, F. (1977) *The monastic order in South Wales, 1066-1349*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Crick, J. (1986) 'The Manuscripts of the works of Geoffrey of Monmouth: a new supplement,' in *Arthurian Literature* 6: 157-161.
- (1999) 'The British Past and the Welsh Future: Gerald of Wales, Geoffrey of Monmouth and Arthur of Britain,' in *Studia Celtica* 23: 60-75.
- Crumplin, S. (2005) 'Modernizing St Cuthbert: Reginald of Durham's Miracle Collection,' in Cooper, K., Gregory, J. *Signs, Wonders, Miracles. Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press.
- Davenport, T. (2004) *Medieval Narrative: An Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Davies, J. (Conway) (1947) 'Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae,' in *Journal of the Historical Society in Wales* 1: 141-153.
- Davies, J. (Reuben) (2003) *The Book of Llandaf and the Norman Church in Wales*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.
- (2007) 'Some observations on the 'Nero', Digby', and 'Vespasian' recensions of the Vita S. David,' in Evans, J., and Wooding, J. *St David of Wales – Cult, Church and Nation*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.
- Davies, M. (2002) 'Gruffudd ap Llywelyn, king of Wales,' in *The Welsh History Review* 21: 207-248.
- Davies, R. (1987) *Conquest, Coexistence, and Change – Wales 1063 – 1415*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- (1994) 'The Peoples of Britain and Ireland 1100-1400. V. I. Identities,' in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (6) 4: 1-20.
- (2000) *The Age of Conquest*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Davies, S. (2002) 'The teulu c. 633-1283,' in *The Welsh History Review* 21(3): 413-454.
- Davies, S. (1993) *The Four Branches of the Mabinogi. Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*. Llandysul: Gomer Press.

- \_\_\_\_ (1996) 'The Reoralization of the Lady of the Lake,' in Tristram, H. (ed.) *(Re)Oralisierung*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.
- Davies, W. (1973) 'Liber Landavensis: its construction and credibility,' in *The English Historical Review* 88: 335-351.
- \_\_\_\_ (1976a) 'The Consecration of Bishops of Llandaff in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries,' in *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 26: 53-73.
- \_\_\_\_ (1976b) 'Braint Teilo,' in *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 26: 123-137.
- \_\_\_\_ (1978) *An Early Welsh Microcosm: Studies in the Llandaff Charters*. London: Royal Historical Society.
- \_\_\_\_ (1979) *The Llandaff Charters*. Aberystwyth: The National Library of Wales Press.
- \_\_\_\_ (1981) 'Property rights and property claims in Welsh «Vitae» of the eleventh century,' in Riché, P., Patlagean, E. *Hagiographie, Cultures et Sociétés – IV<sup>e</sup> – XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*. Paris: Études Augustiniennes.
- \_\_\_\_ (1982) *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.
- \_\_\_\_ (1992) 'The Myth of the Celtic Church,' in Edwards, N., Lane, A. (eds.) *The Early Church in Wales and the West. Oxbow Monograph* 16: 33-40.
- \_\_\_\_ (2003) *From the Vikings to the Normans*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- \_\_\_\_ (2004) 'Looking backwards to the early medieval past: Wales and England, a contrast in approaches,' in *The Welsh History Review* 22(2): 197-221.
- De la Borderie, A. (1883) 'L'Émigration bretonne en Armorique,' in *Revue Celtique* 6: 460-481.
- Delehaye, S. (1905, repr. 1998) *The Legends of the Saints*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
- \_\_\_\_ (1934) 'Cinq Leçons sur la Méthode Hagiographique,' in *Subsidia Hagiographica* 21: 5-147.
- Deutsch, R. (1981) '«La Nouvelle Histoire» – Die Geschichte eines Erfolges,' in *Historische Zeitschrift* 233: 107-129.
- Dinzelbacher, P. (1989) 'Der Kampf der Heiligen mit den Dämonen,' in *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano Di Studi Sull'Alto Medioevo* XXXVI: 647-695.
- Ditmas, E. (1972) 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Breton Families in Cornwall,' in *The Welsh History Review* 6: 451-461.
- Doan, J. (1983) 'A Structural Approach to Celtic Saints' Lives,' in Ford, P. (ed.) *Celtic Folklore and Christianity*. Santa Barbara: McNally and Loftin Publishers.

- Doble, G. (1929) 'Saint Cuby (Cybi), A Celtic Saint. Patron of Duloe and Tregony, Cornwall, and of Holyhead and Llangybi (Card. Carn. and Mon.),' in *Cornish Saints Series* 22: 3-47.
- \_\_\_ (1932) 'S. Carantoc, Abbot and Confessor,' in *Cornish Saints Series* 14: 3-41.
- \_\_\_ (1941) 'S. Patern,' in *Cornish Saints Series* 43: 3-51.
- \_\_\_ (1942a, repr. 1971) 'Saint Teilo,' in Evans, D. (ed.) *Lives of the Welsh Saints*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- \_\_\_ (1942b) 'Saint Oudoceus I,' in *The Journal of Theological Studies* 43: 204-216.
- \_\_\_ (1942c, repr. 1971) 'Saint Paulinus of Wales,' in Evans, D. (ed.) *Lives of the Welsh Saints*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- \_\_\_ (1943a) 'Saint Oudoceus II,' in *The Journal of Theological Studies* 44: 59-67.
- \_\_\_ (1943b, repr. 1971) 'Saint Dubricius,' in Evans, D. (ed.) *Lives of the Welsh Saints*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- \_\_\_ (1944, repr. 1971) 'Saint Illtud,' in Evans, D. (ed.) *Lives of the Welsh Saints*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- \_\_\_ (1945) 'Saint Congar,' in *Antiquity* 19: 85-95.
- \_\_\_ (1965) 'Saint Cadoc in Cornwall and Brittany,' in *Cornish Saints Series* 40: 3-48.
- Doel, F., Doel, G., and Lloyd, T. (2003) *König Artus und seine Welt – Ein Streifzug durch Geschichte, Mythologie und Literatur*. Essen: Magnus Verlag.
- Dolbeau, F. (1981) 'Notes sur l'organisation interne des légendiers latins,' in Riché, P., Patlagean, E. *Hagiographie, Cultures et Sociétés – IV<sup>e</sup> – XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*. Paris: Études Augustiniennes.
- \_\_\_ (1992) 'Les Hagiographes au travail: collecte et traitement des documents écrits (IX<sup>e</sup> – XII<sup>e</sup> siècles),' in Heinzelmann, M. (ed.) *Manuscripts Hagiographiques et Travail des Hagiographes*. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag.
- Douglas, D. (1969) *The Norman Achievement: 1050 – 1100*. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode.
- Driscoll, M. (1996) 'The Oral, the Written, and the In-Between: Textual Instability in the Post-Reformation LYGISAGA,' in Tristram, H. (ed.) *(Re)Oralisierung*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.
- Dubois, J., Renaud, G. (1981) 'Influences de Vies de saints sur le développement des institutions,' in Riché, P., Patlagean, E. *Hagiographie, Cultures et Sociétés – IV<sup>e</sup> – XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*. Paris: Études Augustiniennes.
- Duchesne, L. (1883) 'Eleuthère et le roi Breton Lucius,' in *Revue Celtique* 6: 491-493.
- \_\_\_ (1893) 'Saint Patern,' in *Revue Celtique* 14: 238-240.

- Duine, F. (1914) *Questions d'hagiographie et Vie de S. Samson*. Paris: H. Champion.
- \_\_\_ (1918) 'Memento des Sources Hagiographiques de L'Histoire de Bretagne,' in *Bulletin et Mémoires de la Société Archéologique du Département D'Ille-et-Vilaine* 46: 243-457.
- Dumville, D. (1976a) 'On the North British Section of the *Historia Brittonum*,' in *The Welsh History Review* 8: 345-354.
- \_\_\_ (1976b) 'The Liber Floridus of Lambert of Saint-Omer and the *Historia Brittonum*,' in *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 26: 103-122.
- \_\_\_ (1977) 'Sub-Roman Britain: History and Legend,' in *History* 62: 173-192.
- \_\_\_ (1983) 'Brittany and "Armes Prydein Vawr,"' in *Études celtiques* 20(1): 145-159.
- \_\_\_ (1986) 'The Historical Value of the *Historia Brittonum*,' in Barber, R. (ed.) *Arthurian Literature VI*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.
- \_\_\_ (1994) '*Historia Brittonum*: an insular history from the Carolingian Age,' in *Historiographie im fruehen Mittelalter* 32: 406-434.
- \_\_\_ (2000) 'Saint David of Wales,' in *Kathleen Hughes Memorial Lectures on Mediaeval Welsh History* 1: 1-41.
- Dundes, A. (1980) *Interpreting Folklore*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- \_\_\_ (1990) 'The Hero Pattern and the Life of Jesus,' in Segal, R. (ed.) *In Quest of the Hero*. Princetown: Princetown University Press.
- Earl, J. (1975) 'Typology and Iconographic style in early medieval hagiography,' in *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 8: 15-46.
- Edel, D. (1983) 'The Arthur of 'Culhwuc and Olwen' as a Figure of Epic-Heroic Tradition,' in *Reading Medieval Studies* 9: 3-15.
- \_\_\_ (1996) 'The 'Mabinogionfrage': Arthurian Literature between orality and literacy,' in Tristram, H. (ed.) *(Re)Oralisierung*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.
- Eley, P., Bennett, P. (1999) 'The Battle of Hastings according to Gaimar, Wace and Benoît: rhetoric and politics,' in *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 43: 47-78.
- Emanuel, H. (1952) 'An analysis of the composition of the 'Vita Cadoci,' in *The National Library of Wales Journal* 7: 217-227.
- Emmerson, R. (1992) '*Figura* and the Medieval Typological Interpretation,' in Keenan, H. *Typology and English Medieval Literature*. New York: AMS Press.
- Evans, C. (1981) 'The Celtic Church in Anglo Saxon Times,' in *Études celtiques* 18: 215-228.
- Evans, D. (ed.) (1984) *Lives of the Welsh Saints*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.



- Evans, J. (1992) 'The Survival of the *Clas* as an institution in Medieval Wales: Some Observations on Llanbadarn Fawr,' in Edwards, N., Lane, A. (eds.) *The Early Church in Wales and the West. Oxbow Monograph* 16: 33-40.
- Evans, J. (L.) (2001) 'The Viking Raid on St. Woolos,' in *Gwent Local History* 90: 3-7.
- Evans, S. (1987) *Medieval Religious Literature*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Faral, E. (1929) *La Légende Arthurienne – Études et Documents – Tomes I et II*. Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion.
- Fisher, J. (1906-07) 'Welsh Church Dedications,' *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* 15: 76-108.
- Fleuriot, L. (1974) 'Old Breton Genealogies and Early British Traditions,' in *The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 26: 1-6.
- \_\_\_\_ (1974-5) 'Les Fragments du texte brittonique de la "Prophetia Merlini,"' in *Études Celtiques* 14: 31-41.
- \_\_\_\_ (1980) *Les Origines de La Bretagne*. Paris: Payot.
- \_\_\_\_ (1981) 'Sur quatre textes Bretons en Latin, le "Libre Vetustissimus" de Geoffroy de Monmouth et le séjour de Taliesin en Bretagne,' in *Études Celtiques* 18: 197-213.
- \_\_\_\_ (1985) 'Brittonica et Gallica – I. Brittonica: Tradition orale et teste brittoniques du Haut-Moyen-Âge,' in *Études Celtiques* 22: 225-234.
- \_\_\_\_ (1987a) 'Langue et société dans la Bretagne ancienne,' in Fleuriot, L., and Ségalen, A-P. *Histoire Littéraire et Culturelle de la Bretagne – Tome I*. Paris and Genève: Champion-Slatkine.
- \_\_\_\_ (1987b) 'Histoire et légendes,' in Fleuriot, L., and Ségalen, A-P. *Histoire Littéraire et Culturelle de la Bretagne – Tome I*. Paris and Genève: Champion-Slatkine.
- Flint, V. (1979) 'The *HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE* of Geoffrey of Monmouth: parody and its purpose. A Suggestion,' in *Speculum* 54: 447-468.
- Fludernik, M. (1996) 'Towards a 'Natural' Narratology,' in *Journal of Literary Semantics* 25(2): 97-141.
- Fries, M. (1998) 'The Arthurian Moment: History and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*,' in *Arthuriana* 8 (4): 88-99.
- Gajano, S. (1976) *Agiografia altomedioevale*. Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino.
- Garrison, M. (2006) 'Divine Election for Nations – A Difficult Rhetoric for Medieval Scholars?,' in Mortensen, L. (ed.) *The Making of Christian Myths in the Periphery of Latin Christendom (c. 1000 – 1300)*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.

- Geary, P. (1983) 'Ethnic Identity as a situational construct in the early middle ages,' in *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 113: 15-26.
- Gibbon, E. (1952) *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Gilet, P. (1998) *Vladimir Propp and the Universal Folktale – Recommissioning an Old Paradigm – Story as Initiation*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.
- Gillingham, J. (1990) 'The context and purpose of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of England*,' in *Anglo-Norman Studies* 13: 99-118.
- (2003) 'Britain, Ireland, and the South,' in Davies, W. (ed.) *From the Vikings to the Normans*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Giot, P-R., Guigon, P., Merdrignac, B. (2003) *Les Premiers Bretons D'Armorique*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes.
- Goetz, H.-W. (1992) 'Die Gegenwart der Vergangenheit im früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Geschichtsbewußtsein,' in *Historische Zeitschrift* 255: 61-97.
- (2006) 'Constructing the Past – Religious Dimensions and Historical Consciousness in Adam of Bremen's *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*,' in Mortensen, L. (ed.) *The Making of Christian Myths in the Periphery of Latin Christendom (c. 1000 – 1300)*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.
- Goodich, M. (2007) *Miracles and Wonders – the Development of the Concept of Miracle, 1150 – 1350*. Hampshire: Ashgate.
- Gougaud, L. (1932) *Christianity in Celtic Lands – A History of the Churches of the Celts, their origins, their development, influence, and mutual relations*. London: Sheed & Ward.
- Goullet, M. (2005) *Écriture et réécriture hagiographiques. Essai sur les réécritures de Vies de saints dans l'Occident latin médiéval (VIII<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> s.)*. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers.
- Gransden, A. (1976) 'The Growth of the Glastonbury Traditions and Legends in the Twelfth Century,' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 27: 337-358.
- Griscom, A. (1926) 'The Date of Composition of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*: New Manuscript Evidence,' in *Speculum* 1: 129-156.
- Grosjean, P. (1940) 'De Codice Hagiographico Gothano,' in *Analecta Bollandiana* 58: 90-103.
- (1949) 'S. Paterne d'Avranches et S. Paterne de Vannes dan les anciens martyrologes,' in *Analecta Bollandiana* 67: 384-400.
- Guenée, B. (1977) 'Y a-t-il une historiographie médiévale?,' in *Revue Historique* 258: 261-275.
- (1980) *Histoire et Culture Historique dans L'Occident Médiéval*. Paris: Editions Aubier-Montaigne.

- Guillotel, H. (1981) 'Compte rendu des Origines de La Bretagne de L. Fleuriot,' in *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne* 58: 350-357.
- (2002a) 'La Borderie et les sources historiques,' in *Bulletin et Mémoires de la société archéologique et historique d'Ille-et-Vilaine* 106: 35-48.
- (2002b) 'Le poids historiographique de La Borderie,' in *Mémoires de la société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne* 80: 343-359.
- Gwyndaf, R. (1987) 'The Welsh Folk Narrative Tradition: Continuity and Adaptation,' in *Folk Life* 25: 78-100.
- Haarländer, S. (2000) *Vita Episcoporum – Eine Quellengattung zwischen Hagiographie und Historiographie, untersucht an Lebensbeschreibungen von Bischöfen des Regnum Teutonicum im Zeitalter der Ottonen und Salier*. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann.
- Hanning, R. (1966) *The Vision of History in Early Britain – from Gildas to Geoffrey of Monmouth*. New York and London: Columbia University Press.
- Harris, S. (1953) 'The Kalendar of the *VITAE SANCTORUM WALLENSIUM*,' in *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales* 3: 3-53.
- Hayward, P. (1999) 'Demystifying the role of sanctity in Western Christendom,' in Howard-Johnston, J., Hayward, P. (eds.) *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Head, T. (ed. and introd.) (2000) *Medieval Hagiography*. New York & London: Routledge.
- Heffernan, T. (1992) *Sacred Biography – Saints and Their Biographies in the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Heinzelmann, M. (1979) 'Une source de base de la littérature hagiographique latine: le recueil de miracles,' in Riché, P. (ed.) *Hagiographies, Cultures et sociétés, IV<sup>e</sup>- XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*. Paris: Études Augustiniennes.
- (1992) *Manuscrits Hagiographiques et Travail des Hagiographes: L'exemple de la tradition manuscrite des Vies anciennes de Sainte Geneviève de Paris*, in Heinzelmann, M. (ed.) *Manuscrits Hagiographiques et Travail des Hagiographes*. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag.
- (2002) 'Die Funktion des Wunders in der spätantiken und frühmittelalterlichen Historiographie,' in Heinzelmann, M. et al. (eds.) (2002) *Mirakel im Mittelalter: Konzeptionen – Erscheinungsformen – Deutungen*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Heinzelmann, M. et al. (eds.) (2002) *Mirakel im Mittelalter: Konzeptionen – Erscheinungsformen – Deutungen*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Heist, W. (1981) 'Hagiography, chiefly, celtic [sic !], and recent developments in folklore,' in Riché, P., Patlagean, E. *Hagiographie, Cultures et Sociétés – IV<sup>e</sup> – XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*. Paris: Études Augustiniennes.

- Hemming, J. (2002) 'Bos primigenius in Britain: or, why do fairy cows have red ears?,' in *Folklore* 113: 71-82.
- Henken, E. (1983) 'The Saint as Folk Hero: Bibliographical Patterning in Welsh Hagiography,' in Ford, P. (ed.) *Celtic Folklore and Christianity*. Santa Barbara: McNally and Loftin Publishers.
- \_\_\_\_ (1987a) *Traditions of the Welsh Saints*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.
- \_\_\_\_ (1987b) 'The Saint as a Secular Ruler: Aspects of Welsh Hagiography,' in *Folklore* 98: 226-232.
- \_\_\_\_ (1991) *Welsh Saints: A study in patterned lives*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.
- \_\_\_\_ (1995) 'Three forms of a hero: Arthur, Owain Lawgoch, and Owain Glyndwr,' in *Proceedings of the Harvard Colloquium* 15: 22-29.
- \_\_\_\_ (1996) *National Redeemer – Owain Glyndwr in Welsh Tradition*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- \_\_\_\_ (2003) 'Welsh hagiography and the nationalist impulse,' in Cartwright, J. (ed.) *Celtic Hagiography and Saints' cults*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Herbers, K., Bauer, D. (2000) *Hagiographie im Kontext. Wirkungsweisen und Möglichkeiten historischer Auswertung*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Herrick, S. (2007) *Imagining the Sacred Past – Hagiography and Power in Early Normandy*. London: Harvard University Press.
- Higham, N. (2002) *King Arthur: myth-making and history*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Hughes, K. (1954) 'The Historical Value of the Lives of St. Finnian of Clonard,' in *The English Historical Review* 69: 353-372.
- \_\_\_\_ (1958) 'British Museum MS. Cotton Vespasian A. xiv ('Vitae Sanctorum Wallensium'): its purpose and provenance,' in Chadwick, N., Hughes, K., Brooke, C. and Jackson, K. (eds.) *Studies in the Early British Church*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- \_\_\_\_ (1973) 'The Welsh Latin chronicles: Annales Cambriae and related texts,' in Dumville, D. (ed.) *Celtic Britain in the early Middle Ages*. Suffolk: The Boydell Press.
- \_\_\_\_ (1980) 'The A-text of the Annales Cambriae,' in Dumville, D. (ed.) *Celtic Britain in the early Middle Ages*. Suffolk: The Boydell Press, pp. 86-100.
- Huws, D. (2000) *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*. Aberystwyth: The University of Wales Press.
- Irien, J. (1994) 'Aux origines de l'Eglise Celtique,' in *Britannia Monastica* 3: 56-69.
- Jackson, K. (1945) 'Once again Arthur's Battles,' in *Modern Philology* 43: 44-57.

- \_\_\_ (1949) 'Arthur's Battle of Breguoin,' in *Antiquity* 23: 48-49.
- \_\_\_ (1958) 'The site of Mount Badon,' in *The Journal of Celtic Studies* 2: 152-155.
- \_\_\_ (1973) 'The Figure of Arthur by Richard Barber,' in *Medium Ævum* 42: 188-89.
- Jarman, A. (1991) 'The Merlin Legend and the Welsh Tradition of Prophecy,' in Bromwich, R., Jarman, A. and Roberts, B. (eds.) *The Arthur of the Welsh – The Arthurian Legend in Medieval Welsh Literature*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Jenkins, D., Owen, M. (1983) 'The Welsh Marginalia in the Lichfield Gospels. Part I,' in *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 5: 37-66.
- Jones, C. (1947) *Saints' Lives and Chronicles in Early England – Together with first English translations of The Oldest Life of Pope St. Gregory the Great by a monk of Whitby and the Life of St. Guthlac of Crowland by Felix*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.
- Jones, N., Owen, M. (2003) 'Twelfth-century Welsh Hagiography: the Gogynfeirdd poems to saints,' in Cartwright, J. *Celtic Hagiography and Saints' Cults*. Cardiff: University of Wales, 45-76.
- Keats-Rohan, K. (1990) 'William I and the Breton Contingent in the Non-Norman Conquest 1060-1087,' in *Anglo-Norman Studies* 12: 157-172.
- Kellogg, J. (1989) *Medieval Artistry and Exchange – Economic Institutions, Society, and Literary Form in Old French Narrative*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Kelly, S. (1976) 'A Note on Arthur's Round Table and the Welsh «Life of Saint Carannog»', in *Folklore* 87: 223-225.
- Kerlouégan, F. (1981) 'Les Vies de Saints Bretons les plus anciennes dans leurs rapports avec les Iles Britanniques,' in Herren, M. (ed.) *Insular Latin Studies*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies.
- \_\_\_ (1987) 'La littérature latine religieuse et profane,' in Fleuriot, L., and Ségalen, A-P. *Histoire Littéraire et Culturelle de la Bretagne – Tome I*. Paris and Genève: Champion-Slatkine.
- \_\_\_ (1993) 'Les Pays Celtiques de III<sup>e</sup> au IX<sup>e</sup> Siècle,' in *Connaissance des Prères de l'Eglise* 49: 7-12.
- Kirby, D. (1969) 'A Note on Rhigyfarch's Life of David,' in *The Welsh History Review* 4(3): 292-297.
- Klausner, D. (1993) 'The Topos of the Beasts of Battle in Early Welsh Poetry,' in Taylor, R. et al. (ed.) *The Centre and its Compass. Studies in Medieval Literature in Honor of Professor John Leyerle*. Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University.
- Knight, J. (1970) 'St. Tatheus of Caerwent: An Analysis of the Vespasian Life,' in *The Monmouthshire Antiquary* 3(1): 29-36.

- Koch, P., Oesterreicher, W. (1985) 'Sprache der Nähe – Sprache der Distanz. Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit im Spannungsfeld von Sprachtheorie und Sprachgeschichte,' in *Romanistisches Jahrbuch* 36: 15-43.
- Lacy, N. (1979) 'Typology and Analogy,' in *French Literature Studies* 6: 126-130.
- Largillière, R. (1995) *Les Saints et l'organisation chrétienne primitive dans l'Armorique Bretonne*. Crozon: Éditions Armeline.
- Le Duc, Gw. (1972) 'L'Historia Britannica avant Geoffroy de Monmouth,' in *Annales de Bretagne* 79(4): 819-835.
- \_\_\_ (1994) 'L'évêché mythique de Brest,' in *Britannia Monastica* 3: 170-199.
- \_\_\_ (1996) 'La Date de la Vita Gueznovei,' in *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Finistère* 125: 263-281.
- Lehiste, I. (1958) 'Names of Scandinavians in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,' in *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 73(1): 6-22.
- Lévi-Strauss, C. (1978) *Myth and meaning*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Lloyd, J. (1941) 'Bishop Sulien and his family,' in *The National Library of Wales Journal* 2(1): 1-6.
- \_\_\_ (1948) *A History of Wales – from the earliest times to the Edwardian Conquest*. Vol. 1. London: Longmans, Green and Co.
- Lloyd-Morgan, C. (2004) 'Medieval Welsh Tales or Romances? Problems of Genre and Terminology,' in *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 47: 41-58.
- Loomis, C. (1933) 'King Arthur and the Saints,' in *Speculum* 8: 478-82.
- \_\_\_ (1948) *White Magic – An Introduction to the Folklore of Christian legend*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Medieval Academy of America.
- Lopez, R., and D'Amico, J. (1979) 'The Practical Transmission of Medieval Culture,' in Jeffrey, D. (ed.) *By Things Seen: Reference and Recognition in Medieval Thought*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press.
- Lot, F. (1901) 'Nouvelles Études sur la provenance du cycle Arthurien,' in *Romania* 30: 1-21.
- \_\_\_ (1907) *Mélanges D'Histoire Bretonne (VI<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> Siècles)*. Paris: Champion.
- \_\_\_ (1927, repr. 1951) *La fin du monde antique et le début du Moyen Âge*. Paris: Éditions Albin Michel.
- Loth, J. (1883) *L'Emigration Bretonne en Armorique*. Rennes: Imprimerie E. Baraise et C<sup>ie</sup>.
- \_\_\_ (1894b) 'Gaufrei de Monmouth et le Livre de Llandaf,' in *Revue Celtique* 15: 101-104.

- \_\_\_ (1894c) 'Remarques sur le Livre de Llandaf,' in *Revue Celtique* 15: 369-370.
- \_\_\_ (1908) 'Les Noms de Saints Bretons,' in *Revue Celtique* 29: 222-248.
- Lotter, F. (1976) *Severinus von Noricum Legende und Historische Wirklichkeit – Untersuchung zur Phase des Übergangs von Spätantiken zu Mittelalterlichen Denk- und Lebensformen*. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann.
- \_\_\_ (1979) 'Methodisches zur Gewinnung historischer Erkenntnisse aus hagiographischen Quellen,' in *Historische Zeitschrift* 229: 298-356.
- Loud, G. (2005) 'Monastic Miracles in Southern Italy, c. 1040-1140,' in Cooper, K., Gregory, J. *Signs, Wonders, Miracles. Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.
- Lüthi, M. (1970, repr. 1976) *Once upon a time – On the nature of Fairy Tales*. Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press.
- Mac Cana, P. (1958) *Branwen Daughter of Llyr – A Study of the Irish Affinities and of the composition of the second branch of the Mabinogi*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- \_\_\_ (1992) 'On the early development of written narrative prose in Irish and Welsh verse,' in *Études Celtiques* 29: 51-67.
- Magennis, H. (1986) 'Water-Wine Miracles in Anglo-Saxon Saints' Lives,' in *English Language Notes* 23: 7-9.
- Malone, K. (1924) 'The Historicity of Arthur,' in *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 23: 463-491.
- \_\_\_ (1924/25) 'Artorius,' in *Modern Philology* 22: 367-374.
- Maund, K. (1962, repr. 1991) *Ireland, Wales, and England in the Eleventh Century*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.
- McNeill, J. (1974) *The Celtic Churches: a History A.D. 200 to 1200*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Meehan, B. (1978-80) 'Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Prophecies of Merlin*: New Manuscript Evidence,' in *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 28: 36-46.
- Menestò, E. (1994) 'Presentazione,' in *Hagiographica* 1: 7-9.
- Meyer, K. (1900) 'A Collation of Rees' Lives of the Cambro-British Saints,' in *Y Cymmrodor* 13: 76-96.
- Merdrignac, B. (1987) 'Folklore and Hagiography: A Semiotic Approach to the Legend of the Immortals of Landevennec,' in *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 13: 73-86.
- \_\_\_ (1993a) 'Le Monachisme Celtique,' in *Connaissance des Pères de l'Eglise* 49: 13-16.

- (1993b) *Les Vies de saints bretons durant le haut Moyen Âge – la culture, les croyances en Bretagne (VII<sup>e</sup>- XII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*. Rennes: Éditions Ouest-France.
- (1995) 'Les Navigations fabuleuses dans les Vies de Saints bretons,' in Tanguy, B., Clôître, M.-C. *Saint-Mathieu de Fine-Terre à travers les âges*. Brest: Les Amis de Saint-Mathieu.
- (1998) '« Ut uulgo refertur... » : Tradition orale et littérature hagiographique en Bretagne au Moyen Âge,' in Laurent, C., Merdrignac, B., and Pichot, D. (eds.) *Mondes de l'Ouest et villes du monde. Regards sur les sociétés médiévales*. Rennes: Press Universitaires de Rennes.
- (2003) 'The process and significance of rewriting in Breton hagiography,' in Cartwright, J. (ed.) *Celtic Hagiography and Saints' Cults*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Milin, G. (1989) 'La traversée prodigieuse dans le folklore et l'hagiographie celtique: essai de typologie,' in *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Finistère* 118: 125-140.
- Miller, M. (1978-80) 'Geoffrey's Early Royal Synchronisms,' in *The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 28: 373-389.
- Morris, R. (1982) *The character of King Arthur in Medieval Literature*. Cambridge: Brewer.
- Nagy, J. (1997) *Conversing with angels and ancients – Literary Myths of Medieval Ireland*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
- Ó Riain, P. (1982, repr. 1994) 'The Irish Element in Welsh Hagiographical Tradition,' in Ó Corráin, D. *Irish Antiquity*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
- Oesterreicher, W. (1997) 'Types of Orality in Text,' in Bakker, E., Kahane, A. *Written Voices, Spoken Signs. Tradition, Performance, and the Epic Text*. London: Harvard University Press.
- Padel, O. (1984) 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and Cornwall,' in *Cambridge Medieval Studies* 8: 1-27.
- (1994) 'The Nature of Arthur,' in *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 27: 1-31.
- (1995) 'Recent Work on the Origins of the Arthurian Legend: A Comment,' in *Arthuriana* 5.3: 103-114.
- (1998) 'A New Study of the *Gododdin*,' in *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 35: 45-55.
- (2000) *Arthur in medieval Welsh literature*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Paris, G. (1883) 'Compte-rendu sur l'Historia Brittonum,' in *Romania* 12: 367-376.
- Parkes, M. (1991) 'The Literacy of the Laity,' in *Scribes, scripts and readers: studies in the communication, presentation and dissemination of medieval texts*. London and Rio Grande: The Hambledon Press.



- Parry, J. (1938) 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Paternity of Arthur,' in *Speculum* 13 (3): 271-277.
- Pearson, M. (2003) *The Welsh Cathedrals (Bangor, Llandaff, St Asaph, St Davids)*. London: University of London Press.
- Pelteret, D. (1997) 'The Preservation of Anglo-Saxon Culture after 1066: Glastonbury, Wales, and the Normans,' in Szarmach, P. and Rosenthal, J. (eds.) *The Preservation and Transmission of Anglo-Saxon Culture*. Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications.
- Philimore, E. (1886) 'A Fragment from Hengwrt MS. No. 202,' in *Y Cymmador* 7: 89-154.
- \_\_\_\_ (1888) 'The Annales Cambriae and the Old-Welsh Genealogies from Harleian MS. 3859,' in *Y Cymmador* 9: 141- 183.
- Philippart, G. (1981) 'L'édition médiévale des légendiers latins dans le cadre d'une hagiographie générale,' in Bekker-Nielsen, H., Foote, P. *et alli* (eds.) *Hagiography and Medieval Literature*. Odense: Odense University Press.
- \_\_\_\_ (1994a) 'Le manuscrit hagiographique latin comme gisement documentaire – Un parcours dans les «Annalecta Bollandiana» de 1960 à 1989,' in Heinzelmann, M. (ed.) *Manuscripts Hagiographiques et Travail des Hagiographes*. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag.
- \_\_\_\_ (1994b) 'Hagiographies et hagiographie, hagiologes et hagiologie: des mots et des concepts,' in *Hagiographica* 1: 1-16.
- Picard, J.-M. (1981) 'The marvellous in Irish and Continental Saints' Lives of the Merovingian Period,' in Clarke, H., Brennan, M. *Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism*. Oxford: B.A.R.
- \_\_\_\_ (1985) 'Structural Patterns in Early Hiberno-Latin Hagiography,' in *Peritia* 4: 67-82.
- Poulin, J.-C. (1977) 'Hagiographie et Politique. La Première Vie de Saint Samson de Dol,' in *Francia* 5: 1-26.
- Propp, V. (1928, repr. 1968) *Morphology of the Folktale*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- \_\_\_\_ (1984) *Theory and History of Folklore*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Pryce, H. (2001) 'Welsh Custom and Canon Law,' in *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law. Monumenta Iuris Canonici* 11: 780-797.
- \_\_\_\_ (2003) 'The Christianization of Society,' in Davies, W. (ed.) *From the Vikings to the Normans*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ray, R. (1974) 'Medieval Historiography through the twelfth century: problems and progress of research,' in *Viator* 5: 33-59.
- Réau, L. (1955) 'Typologie hagiologique,' in *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, I. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

- Rees, A. (1936) 'The Divine Hero in Celtic Hagiology,' in *Folklore* 47: 30-41.
- Rees, W. (1836) *An Essay on the Welsh Saints or the primitive Christians, usually considered to have been the founders of churches in Wales*. London: Longman.
- Riché, P. (1992) 'Les Bretons victims des lieux communs dans le haut Moyen Age,' in Le Menn, G. *Bretagne et Pays Celtiques: Langue, Histoire, Civilisation*. Saint-Brieuc: Skol Uhel ar Vro.
- Richter, M. (1976) *Giraldus Cambrensis – The Growth of the Welsh Nation*. Aberystwyth: The National Library of Wales Press.
- Rio, J. (2000) *Mythes fondateurs de la Bretagne. Aux origines de la celtomanie*. Rennes: Éditions Ouest-France.
- Roberts, B. (1976) 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and Welsh Historical Tradition,' in *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 20: 29-40.
- \_\_\_\_ (1984) 'From Traditional Tale to Literary Story – Middle Welsh Prose Narratives,' in Arrathoon, L. (ed.) *The Craft of Fiction – Essays in Medieval Poetics*. Rochester (Michigan): Solaris Press.
- Robertson, K. (1998) 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Translation of Insular Historiography,' in *Arthuriana* 8 (4): 42-57.
- Robinson, J. (1919) 'A Fragment of the Life of St Cungar,' in *Journal of Theological Studies* 20: 97-108.
- \_\_\_\_ (1921) 'The Lives of St Cungar and St Gildas,' in *Journal of Theological Studies* 23: 15-22.
- Rodway, S. (2005) 'The Date and Authorship of Culhwch ac Olwen: A Reassessment,' in *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 49: 21-44.
- Schwab, G. (2002) 'Travelling Literature, Travelling Theory: Literature and Cultural Contact between East and West,' in *Studies in the Humanities* 29(1): 5-13.
- Segal, R. (ed.) (1990) *In Quest of the Hero*. Princetown: Princetown University Press.
- Sharpe, R. (2007) 'Which text is Rhygyfarch's *Life* of St David?,' in Evans, J., and Wooding, J. *St David of Wales – Cult, Church and Nation*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.
- Sims-Williams, P. (1991) 'The Early Welsh Arthurian Poems,' in Bromwich, R., Jarman, A. and Roberts, B. (eds.) *The Arthur of the Welsh – The Arthurian Legend in Medieval Welsh Literature*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Sjöblom, T. (2004) 'Mind-Stories: a Cognitive Approach to the Role of Narratives in Early Irish Tradition,' in *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 47: 59-72.
- Slotkin, E. (1978) 'Medieval Irish Scribes and Fixed Texts,' in *Éigse* 17(4): 437-450.

- \_\_\_\_ (1983) 'Folkloristics and Medieval Celtic Philology,' in Ford, P. (ed.) *Celtic Folklore and Christianity*. Santa Barbara: McNally and Loftin Publishers.
- \_\_\_\_ (1996) 'What allowed fixed texts to enter Gaelic Oral Tradition?,' in Tristram, H. (ed.) *(Re)Oralisierung*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.
- Smith, J. (1990) 'Oral and Written: Saints, Miracles, and Relics in Brittany, c. 850 – 1250,' in *Speculum* 65: 309-343.
- Snyder, C. (1998) *An age of tyrants: Britain and the Britons – AD 400 – 600*. Stroud: The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Strijbosch, C. (1999) 'The Heathen Giant in the Voyage of St Brendan,' in *Celtica* 23: 369-389.
- Sutherland, R. (1975) 'Theological Notes on the Origin of Types, "Shadows of things to be,"' in *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 8(1): 1-13.
- Tanguy, B. (1989) 'De la Vie de Saint Cadoc à celle de Saint Gurtiern,' in *Études Celtiques* 26: 159-185.
- \_\_\_\_ (1994) 'De l'origine des les évêchés bretons,' in *Britannia Monastica* 3: 6-33.
- \_\_\_\_ (1998) 'Et Maxime débarqua à Portus Calvosus... Quelques réflexions sur la géographie de l'émigration bretonne en Léon, d'après le Livre des faits d'Arthur et la Legenda sancti Goeznovei,' in *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Finistère* 127: 237-240.
- Tatlock, J. (1931) 'Certain Contemporaneous Matters in Geoffrey of Monmouth,' in *Speculum* 6(2): 206-224.
- \_\_\_\_ (1933) 'The English Journey of the Laon Canons,' in *Speculum* 8: 454-465.
- \_\_\_\_ (1938) 'Caradoc of Llancarfan,' in *Speculum* 13(2): 139-152.
- \_\_\_\_ (1939) 'The dates of the Arthurian Saints' Legends,' in *Speculum* 14(3): 345-65.
- \_\_\_\_ (1950) *The Legendary History of Britain – Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae and its early vernacular versions*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Taylor, A. (1948) 'Folklore and the Student of Literature,' in *The Pacific Spectator* 2: 216-223.
- Thompson, A. (1947) 'The Welsh medieval dioceses,' in *Journal of the Historical Society in Wales* 1(2): 91-111.
- Thompson, A. (2003) *Everyday Saints and the Art of Narrative in the South English Legendary*. Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company.

- Thomson, R., Winterbottom, M. (1999) *William of Malmesbury's Gesta Regum Anglorum – The History of the English Kings. General Introduction and Commentary*. Vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Thompson, S. (1951) *The Folktale*. New York: The Dryden Press.
- (1955) *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Tristram, H. (ed.) (1996) '(Re)Oralisierung,' in *(Re)Oralisierung*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.
- Utiley, F. (1960) 'Folklore, Myth, and Ritual,' in *Critical Approaches to Medieval Literature*. New York and London: Columbia University Press.
- Van Uytenghe, M. (1981) 'La controverse biblique et patristique autour du miracle, et ses répercussions sur l'hagiographie dans l'Antiquité tardive et le haut Moyen Âge latin,' Riché, P., Patlagean, E. *Hagiographie, Cultures et Sociétés – IV<sup>e</sup> – XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*. Paris: Études Augustiniennes.
- (1993) 'L'hagiographie: un "genre" chrétien ou antique tardif?,' in *Analecta Bollandiana* 111: 135-188.
- (1994) 'Die Vita im Spannungsfeld von Legende, Biographik und Geschichte (mit Anwendung auf einen Abschnitt aus der Vita Amandi prima),' in Scharer, A., Scheibelreiter, G. (eds.) *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*. Wien: R. Oldenburg Verlag.
- Vatter, H. (1978) *The Devil in English Literature*. Bern: Francke Verlag.
- Vauchez, A. (1981) 'L'influence des modèles hagiographiques sur les représentations de la sainteté, dans les procès de canonisation (XIII<sup>e</sup> – XV<sup>e</sup> siècle),' in Riché, P., Patlagean, E. *Hagiographie, Cultures et Sociétés – IV<sup>e</sup> – XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*. Paris: Études Augustiniennes.
- Vendryes, J. (1928) 'Saint David et le roi Boia,' in *Revue Celtique* 45: 141-172.
- Vollrath, H. (1981) 'Das Mittelalter in der Typik oraler Gesellschaften,' in *Historische Zeitschrift* 233: 571-594.
- Wade-Evans, A. (1906) 'The Brychan Documents,' in *Y Cymmador* 19: 18-50.
- (1925) 'St. David and Glastonbury,' in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 5: 365-371.
- (1930) 'Bueno Sant,' in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 85: 315-341.
- (1932) 'The Llancarfan Charters,' in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 87: 151-165.
- Ward, B. (1982) *Miracles and the Medieval Mind – Theory, Record and Event – 1000 – 1215*. London: Scolar Press.
- Ward, J. (1981) 'Fashions in Monastic Endowment: the Foundations of the Clare Family, 1066-1314,' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 32: 427-451.

- Warren, W. (1973, repr. 2000) *Henry II*. New Foreword: Judith A. Green.
- Watson, W. (1927) 'The Cult of St. Cadoc in Scotland,' in *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 2: 1-12.
- Weston, J. (1957) *From ritual to romance*. Garden City: Doubleday.
- Williams, A. (1992) 'Norman Lordship in South-East Wales during the reign of William I,' in *Welsh History Review* 16: 445-466.
- Williams, C., and Lewis, C. (1969) *Arthurian Torso – containing the posthumous fragment of the Figure of Arthur and a commentary on the Arthurian poems of Charles Williams*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Williams, H. (1894) 'Some aspects of the Christian Church in Wales during the fifth and sixth centuries,' in *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* Vol. 1893-4: 55-132.
- Williams, I. (1954) *Lectures on Early Welsh Poetry*. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
- Williams, J. (1984) 'Gildas, Maelgwn and the Bards,' in Davies, R., Griffins, R. at al. (eds.) *Welsh Society and Nationhood*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- \_\_\_\_ (1991) 'Brittany and the Arthurian Legend,' in Bromwich, R., Jarman, A. and Roberts, B. (eds.) *The Arthur of the Welsh – The Arthurian Legend in Medieval Welsh Literature*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Wilms, F.-E. (1979) *Wunder im Alten Testament*. Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet.
- Winward, F. (1999) 'The Lives of St Wenefred (BHL 8847-8851),' in *Analecta Bollandiana* 117: 89-132.
- Witalisz, W. (2001) 'Orality and Literacy in Middle English Religious Literature on the Example of Medieval Lives of Christ,' in *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia: An International Review of English Studies* 36: 275-88.
- Wood, J. (1984) 'Maelgwn Gwynedd: A Forgotten Welsh Hero,' in *Trivium* 19: 103-117.
- \_\_\_\_ (1988) 'Classifying Folk Narrative using the Type/motif Method,' in *Folk Life* 27: 95-103.
- Wooding, J. (2007) 'The figure of David,' in Evans, J., and Wooding, J. *St David of Wales – Cult, Church and Nation*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.
- Wright, N. (1984) *The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.
- \_\_\_\_ (1986) 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and Bede,' in *Arthurian Literature* 6: 27-59.

— (1986) ‘Knowledge of Christian Latin Poets and Historians in early Medieval Brittany’, in *Études Celtiques* 23: 163-185.

Yarrow, S. (2006) *Saints and their Communities – Miracle Stories in Twelfth Century England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Zumthor, P. (1983, repr. 1990) *Oral Poetry: an Introduction*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

#### **C.4 Dictionaries and Encyclopaedias**

Bartrum, P. (1993) *A Welsh Classical Dictionary – People in History and Legend up to about A.D. 1000*. Cardiff: National Library of Wales Press.

Georges, K. (2002, repr.) *Lateinisch-Deutsch. Ausführliches Handwörterbuch. Elektronische Ausgabe der 8. Auflage (1913-1918)*. Berlin: Directmedia.

Latham, R. and Howlett, D. (eds.) (1975) *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Niermeyer, J. (ed.) (1976) *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Pappas, T., Mackenzie, M., Braucher, L. *et alli.* (eds.) (2003) *Encyclopaedia Britannica Deluxe Edition CD-Rom*.

Farmer, D. (ed.) (1978) *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

*The Oxford Latin Dictionary*. (1968) Oxford: Clarendon Press.

#### **C.5 Websites**

(n.d.) “Harlian 3859: The Early History of Britain” 21. Feb. 2005.  
<http://www.ancienttexts.org/library/celtic/ctexts/index.html>

Barret, S. (2004) “Diplomatique. Les Cartulaires” 28. May 2005.  
<http://www.ccr.jussieu.fr/urfist/menestrel/medcartu.htm>

Bourgès, A.-Y. (2007) “En tournant les pages du Bréviaire imprimé de Léon de 1516: Quelques réflexions sur l’hagiographie bretonne à la fin du Moyen Âge” 20. Feb. 2008.  
<http://andreyvesbourges.blogspot.com/2007/07/en-tournant-les-pages-du-brviaire.html>

Frey, R. (n.d.) “Les Anciens évêchés bretons” 2. Jun. 2005.  
<http://www.infobretagne.com/eveche-breton.htm>

Green, T. (2001) “A Gazetteer of Arthurian Topographic Folklore” 20. Feb. 2006.  
<http://www.arthuriana.co.uk/concepts/folkgazt.htm>

\_\_\_\_ (2001) "The Historicity and Historicisation of Arthur" 20. Feb. 2006.  
<http://www.arthuriana.co.uk/historicity/arthur.htm>

\_\_\_\_ (2001) "A Bibliographic Guide to Arthurian Literature" 20. Feb. 2006.  
<http://www.arthuriana.co.uk/concepts/arthlit.htm>

Henry, H. (1912) "The Te Deum," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. New York: Robert Appleton Company. 16. July 2008. <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/14468c.htm>

## D Appendix 1

### Comparison of the episodes in the surviving versions of the *Life of Saint Cadog (VCI)*

In the table, the nil (0) indicates that the episodes or some passages within the specified episodes were found in each version of the corresponding manuscript. The (0\*) indicates the episodes found in a slip folio in *Vespasian*. The slash (/) indicates the absence of the episodes. The boxes (□) in *Peniarth 385* and *Ashmole 789* indicate lost folios so that it is impossible to know whether the episodes belonged, originally, to these manuscripts' versions or not and in which form. The chapters and rubrics follow Wade-Evans' edition with the exception of §36, which is repeated twice in order to convey the idea that the version in question explicitly mentions the *ending* of the *Vita*.

	Vespasian	Gotha I 81	Tanner / Tiberius	Ashmole 1289	Peniarth 385	Titus D xxii	Ashmole 789
Prefatio	0	/	/	0	□	0	□
Prologus	0	/	/	0	0	0	□
§1 De angelica reuelacione et natiuitate sancti C.	0	0	0	0	0	0	□
§2 De celariis plenis copia mellis et lactis nutu Dei	/	0	0	0	0	0	□
§3 De augmentacione bonorum	/	0	0	0	0	0	□
§4 Qualiter puer C. sancto Meuthio traditur	0	/	/	/	0	0	□
§5 De pia religione pueri et sua admonicione...	/	0	0	/	0	0	□
§6 De fonte subito erumpente ad baptismum pueri...	0	0	/	0	0	0	□
§7 De animaduersione rustici puero C. ignem dare...	0	0	0	0	0	0	□
§8 De discessione C. ab eius preceptore...	/	0	/	0	0	0	□
§9 Qualiter uir Dei primum monasterium construxit	0	0	/	/	0	0	□
§10 Quomodo C. ad Hiberniam transfretauit	0	/	/	0	0	0	□
§11 Quomodus C. ab Hibernia repatriauit	0	/	/	0	0	0	□
§12 De reditu C. ad eius precipuum monasterium	0	0	/	/	0	0	□
§13 Qualiter sanctus D. sinodum ... congregauit	0	/	/	0	0	0	□
§14 De peregrinacione uiri Dei et conceptu sterilis regine...	0	0	0	0	0	0	□
§15 De quondam satellite qui ... disparuit a facie C.	0	/	0	/	0	0	□
§16 De predonibus tellure absortis	0	/	0	/	0	0	□



	Vespasian	Gotha I 81	Tanner / Tiberius	Ashmole 1289	Peniarth 385	Titus D xxii	Ashmole 789
§17 De indulgentia D. facta pro collecta sinodo	0	/	/	0	0	0	0
§18 De mansione C. quadragesimali tempore	0*	0	0	0	0	0	0
§19 Quomodus tellus raptore absorbit uiuos...	0	/	0	/	0	0	0
§20 De conuersatione C. apud flumen Ned	0*	0	/	0	0	0	0
§21 De architecto a C. resuscitato	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
§22 De altercacione inter C. et regem Arthurum...	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
§23 De uindicta in regem Guinedotorum ob iniuria uiri Dei	0	/	0	0	0	0	0
§24 De obcecacione regis Rúnn pro illata sancto C. iniuria	0	/	0	0	0	0	0
§25 De ereptione Regis Rein de manibus Gunliuitarum	0	/	0	0	0	0	0
§26 De profectione sancti C. in Albaniam...	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
§27 De nola quam sanctus Gildas...	0	/	0	/	0	0	0
§28 De obitu Gundleii regis patris sancti C.	0	0	/	0	0	0	0
§29 De submersione sanctorum Barruci et Walees ...	0	0	/	0	0	0	0
§30 De lupis in lapidibus transformatis	0	0	0	/	0	0	0
§31 Quomodus sanctus C. ... fontem salubrem... produxit	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
§32 De commixtione Iordanice aque in Cornubiensi fonte	0*	0	/	/	0	0	0
§33 De fure qui bouem furatus est	0	/	/	/	0	0	0
§34 De euangelio Gilde	0	/	/	/	0	0	0
§35 De religionis edificio ... in Armorica	0	/	/	/	0	0	0
§36 De rustico qui busta auditorum C. conspicatus est	0	0	/	/	0	0	0
§36 Explicit uita Cadoci, qui et Sophie	0	/	/	/	0	0	0
§37 Quomodus sanctus C. ... Beneuentum fuit translatus	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
§38 Qualiter sanctus Ellinus beatum C. annuatim uisere...	0	/	/	/	0	0	0
§39 Quomodo C. in episcopum Beneuentanum sullimatur	0	0	0	/	0	0	0
§40 De mugitu feretri sancti C. a quodam percussi...	0	/	/	/	0	0	0
§41 De boue in frustis conciso et elixo rursus uite restituto	0	/	/	/	0	0	0
§42 De ruptione circulorum ferreorum	0	/	/	/	0	0	0
§43 De procuratore trucidato denuoque rediuuio	0	/	/	/	0	0	0
§44 De arboris reflexione sub pedibus predicatoris	0	/	/	/	0	0	0