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DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM, UK.
Ph.D. THESIS.

THE BRITISH CHURCH AND ANGLO-SAXON EXPANSION: THE EVIDENCE OF SAINTS' CULTS.

ABSTRACT

In this thesis, ethnic relations on the Anglo-British frontier between the sixth and eleventh centuries are studied through the medium of saints' cults. The author argues that through the examination of popular beliefs, of which saints' cults are one manifestation, we can gain important knowledge of what 'living on a frontier' meant to local populations. The notion is challenged that Anglo-Saxon political expansion into western Britain should be viewed against a backdrop of ethnic hostility, and evidence of peaceful co-operation is highlighted.

It is proposed that Anglo-British ecclesiastical relations can best be understood in terms of an existing similarity of institutions and practices, and of a community of popular belief. It is this that informs the 'continuity' of structures of secular and ecclesiastical administration noted by previous commentators. It is demonstrated that there are occasions on which we can suppose a political purpose behind the promotion of cults in frontier zones, but that the success of such operations was predicated upon the willing participation of those at whom the cults were directed. The fallacy of casting the people of the Anglo-British frontier in the role of victims is thus exposed.

The analysis is conducted within a tripartite geographical framework, which enables parallels and contrasts to be developed. Chapter one deals with southwestern Scotland, chapters two and three with southeastern Wales, the west midlands and southwest of England. These areas became frontier zones at different times and in different ways. That all three were targets of expansionist Anglo-Saxon polities cannot be questioned, but the evidence of saints' cults indicates that political absorption was not an entirely one way process and permits us to talk instead in terms of cultural assimilation, and of the fruits of extended interaction.

MARK REGINALD WAKEFORD

THE BRITISH CHURCH AND ANGLO-SAXON EXPANSION: THE EVIDENCE OF SAINTS' CULTS

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Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
University of Durham, Department of History.

1998

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ABBREVIATIONS

NOTE
The footnote references use the author-date system.
They refer to the list beginning below, p. 359.

AC	*Annales Cambriae*, the Welsh Annals, cited *sub anno*; ed. (to year 954) E. Phillimore, 'The Annales Cambriae and Old Welsh Genealogies' (*Y Cymmrodor* 9, 1888, 152-69), and thereafter ed. J. Williams ab Ithel, *Annales Cambriae* (London, 1860, Rolls Series 20); trans. J. Morris, *Nennius: The British History and the Welsh Annals* (Chichester, 1980), pp. 45-9.
Acta SS	*Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur vel a catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur*.... (ed. J. Bollandus et al., Antwerp, Paris and Brussels, 1643-).
Adamnan	*Vita Sancti Columbae*, The Life of St. Columba, cited by book and chapter; ed. and trans. A.O. Anderson and M.O. Anderson, *Adomnan's Life of Columba* (London, 1961, reprinted Oxford, 1991).
ASC	Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, cited *sub anno* and, where necessary, by the conventional manuscript sigla, A-G; ed. J. Earle and C. Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel* (2 vols.; Oxford, 1892-99); trans. D. Whitelock et al., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (London, 1961), and in D. Whitelock, *English Historical Documents, c.500-1042* (London, 1955), pp. 135-235.
Asser	*Ælfredi Regis Res Gestæ*, Asser's Life of King Alfred, cited by section; ed. W.H. Stevenson, *Asser's Life of King Alfred* (Oxford, 1904); trans. S. Keynes and M. Lapidge, *Alfred the Great: Asser's Life of King Alfred and Other Contemporary Sources* (Harmondsworth, 1983), pp. 66-110.

BCS	W. de Gray Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*: *A Collection of Charters Relating to Anglo-Saxon History* (3 vols. and index; London, 1885-99), cited by charter number.
BL	British Library, London.
Br.	Brittonic (linguistic).
DB	Domesday Book, cited by county and section number (thus *DB Devon*, 17.69); ed. and trans. C. and F. Thorn (Chichester and London, 1975-92).
Felix	*Vita Sancti Guthlaci auctore Felice*, the Life of Saint Guthlac by Felix, cited by chapter; ed. and trans. B. Colgrave, *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac* (Cambridge, 1956).
GP	*Gesta Pontificum*, William of Malmesbury's Deeds of the Bishops, cited by book and section; ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton, *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gestis Pontificum Anglorum Libri Quinque* (London, 1870, Rolls Series 52).
GR	*Gesta Regum*, William of Malmesbury's Deeds of the Kings, cited by section; ed. W. Stubbs, *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gestis Regum Anglorum, Libri Quinque* (2 vols., London, 1887-99, Rolls Series 90), vol. 1; trans. J. Stevenson, *The Church Historians of England* (London, 1853) reprinted separately as *William of Malmesbury*: *The Kings Before the Norman Conquest* (Lampeter, 1989).
HB	*Historia Brittonum*, the British History of Nennius, cited by section; ed. T. Mommsen, *Historia Brittonum cum additamentis Nennii*, in *Chronica Minora sæc. iv, v, vi, vii*, MGH Auctores Antiquissimi, xiii (Berlin, 1898); trans. J. Morris, *Nennius: The British History and the Welsh Annals* (Chichester, 1980), pp. 9-43.

HDE — *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesie*, the History of the Church of Durham attributed to Symeon of Durham, cited by book and chapter; ed. T. Arnold, *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia: Historia Ecclesiæ Dunhelmensis, eadem historia deducta, incerto auctore usque ad A.D. MCXLIV. Sequuntur varii Tractatus, in quibus de Sancto Cuthberto et Dunelmo agitur. Epistola Symeonis de Archiepiscopis Eboraci*, (2 vols., London, 1882, Rolls Series 75), vol. 1, pp. 3-169; trans. D.W. Rollason, *Symeon of Durham's History of the Church of Durham: A Working Translation* (Durham, unpublished, 1988).

HE — *Baedae Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, cited by book and chapter; ed. and trans. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford Medieval Texts; Oxford, 1969).

HR — *Historia Regum*, the History of the Kings, cited *sub anno* or by chapter; ed. T. Arnold, *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia* (2 vols., London, 1882, Rolls Series 75), vol. 2, pp. 3-283; trans. J. Stevenson, *The Church Historians of England*, London, 1855, vol. 3, part ii, pp. 425-617, reprinted separately as *Simeon of Durham: A History of the Kings of England* (Lampeter, 1987).

HSC — *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, the History of St. Cuthbert, cited by section; ed. T. Arnold, *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia* (2 vols., London, 1882, Rolls Series 75), vol. 1, pp. 196-214; trans. D.W. Rollason, *The Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*: *A Working Translation* (Durham, unpublished, 1988).

Hymnus — *Hymnus Sancti Nynie Episcopi*, the Hymn of Saint Ninian the Bishop, cited by stanza number; ed. K. Strecker, *MGH Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, vol. iv, part ii (Berlin, 1923), pp. 961-2.

LL	*Liber Landavensis*, The Book of Llandaff, cited from *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv*, ed. J.G. Evans, with J. Rhys (Oxford, 1893). References are by charter number, as used in Davies, *The Llandaff Charters* (Aberystwyth, 1979), being the page numbers of Evans' edition, and distinguishing a, b, c, where more than one begins on the same page, except where the document cited is not a charter (in which case conventional page-numbers are given).
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica.
MNE	*Miracula Nynie Episcopi*, the Miracles of Ninian the Bishop, cited by line number; ed. K. Strecker, *MGH Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, vol. iv, part ii (Berlin, 1923), pp. 944-61; trans. W.W. MacQueen, 'Miracula Nynie Episcopi' (*TDGNHAS* 38, *recte* 37, 1961), pp. 21-57.
NLW	National Library of Wales · Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru.
OC	Old Cornish (linguistic).
OE	Old English (linguistic).
OE Bede	Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* in Old English, cited by book and chapter (the same as the Latin); ed. T. Miller, *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (2 vols., London, 1890-98).
OS	Ordnance Survey.
PRO	Public Record Office, London.
RCAHMS	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (Historic Scotland).

RCHME — Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England (English Heritage).

S — P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*: *An Annotated List and Bibliography* (London, 1968). Cited by charter number.

VCA — *Vita sancti Cuthberti auctore anonymo*, the anonymous Life of St. Cuthbert, cited by chapter; ed. and trans. B. Colgrave, *Two Lives of St. Cuthbert* (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 59-139 and notes, pp. 310-40.

VCM — *Vita* (*Metrica*) *Sancti Cuthberti*, Bede's metrical Life of St. Cuthbert, cited by chapter; ed. W. Jaager, *Bedas metrische Vita sancti Cuthberti* (Palaestra 198; Leipzig, 1935).

VCP — *Vita sancti Cuthberti auctore Beda*, Bede's prose Life of St. Cuthbert, cited by book and chapter; ed. and trans. B. Colgrave, *Two Lives of St. Cuthbert* (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 141-307 and notes, pp. 341-59.

VN — *Vita sancti Niniani auctore Ailredo*, Ailred of Rievaulx' Life of Saint Ninian, cited by chapter; ed. A.P. Forbes, *The Historians of Scotland, vol. 5: Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern* (Edinburgh, 1874), pp. 137-57; trans. W.W. MacQueen, *apud* J. MacQueen, *St. Nynia, with a Translation of the Miracula Nynie Episcopi and the Vita Niniani by Winifred MacQueen* (Edinburgh, 1990), pp. 102-124.

VPSS — *Vita* (*Prima*) *Sancti Samsonis*, the first Life of St. Samson, cited by book and chapter; ed. R. Fawtier, *La Vie de Saint Samson* (Paris, 1912), pp. 93-172; trans. T. Taylor, *The Life of St. Samson of Dol* (London, 1925, reprinted, Lampeter, 1991).

VSMb — *Vita beatae ac Deo dilectae virginis Mildburgae*, the anonymous Life of St. Milburga, cited in the text by page number of A.J.M. Edwards, *Odo of Ostia's History of the Translation of St. Milburga, and its Connection with the Early History of Much Wenlock Abbey* (unpublished master's

thesis, University of London, 1960, pp. 40-91), an edition without section or line numbers, and in Appendices A (II) and A (III) by line number of the present author's computer-ready text.

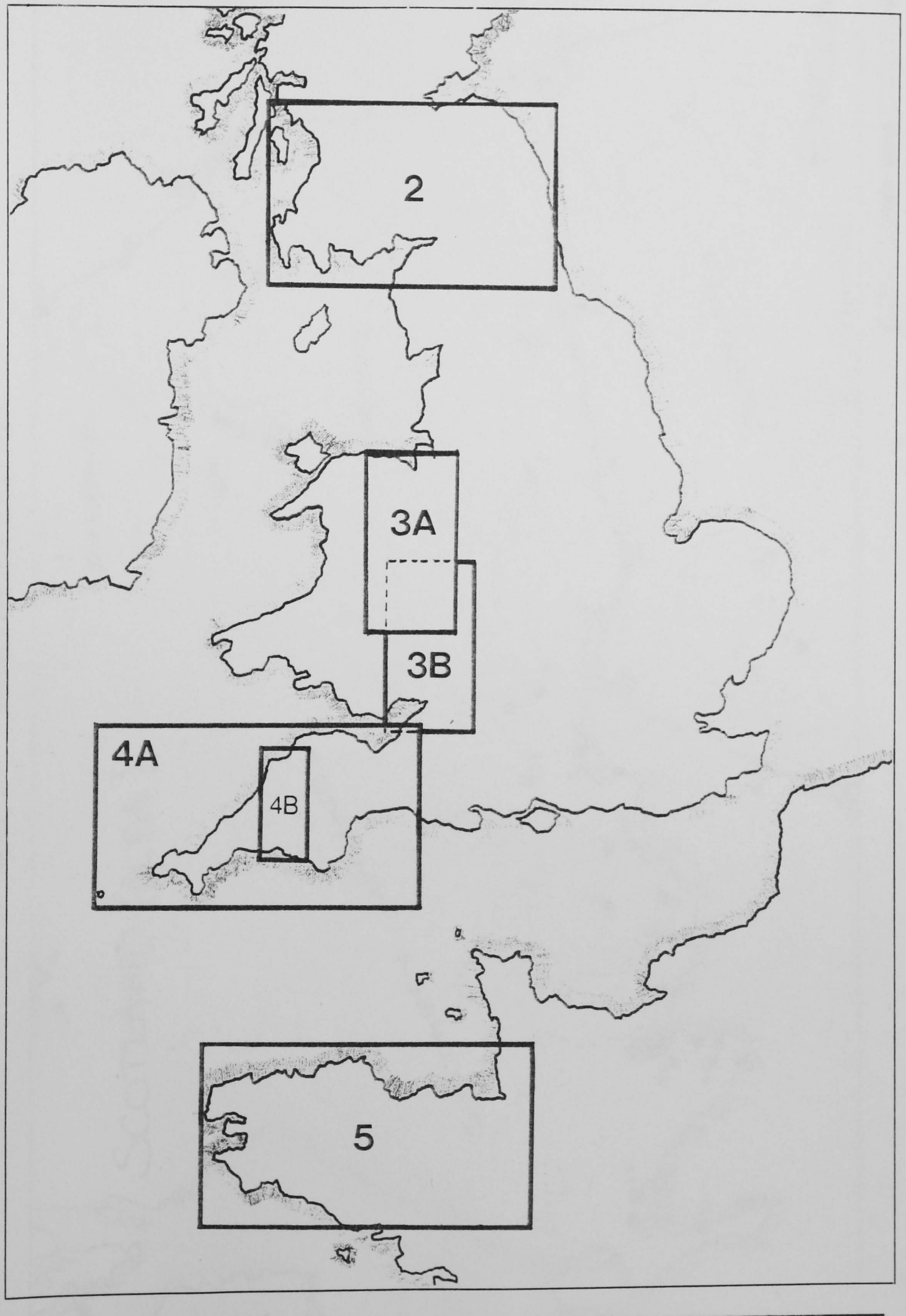
VSMd — *Vita Deo dilectae virginis Mildrethae,* Goscelin of St. Bertin's Life of St. Mildryth, cited in Appendices A (II) and A (III) by line number of the present author's computer-ready text; ed. D.W. Rollason, *The Mildrith Legend: A Study in Early Medieval Hagiography in England*, London, 1982, pp. 108-43.

VW — *Vita sancti Wilfrithi Deo digni episcopi*, the Life of St. Wilfrid by Stephanus, cited by chapter; ed. and trans. B. Colgrave, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus* (Cambridge, 1927; reprinted 1985).

MAPS

MAP 1

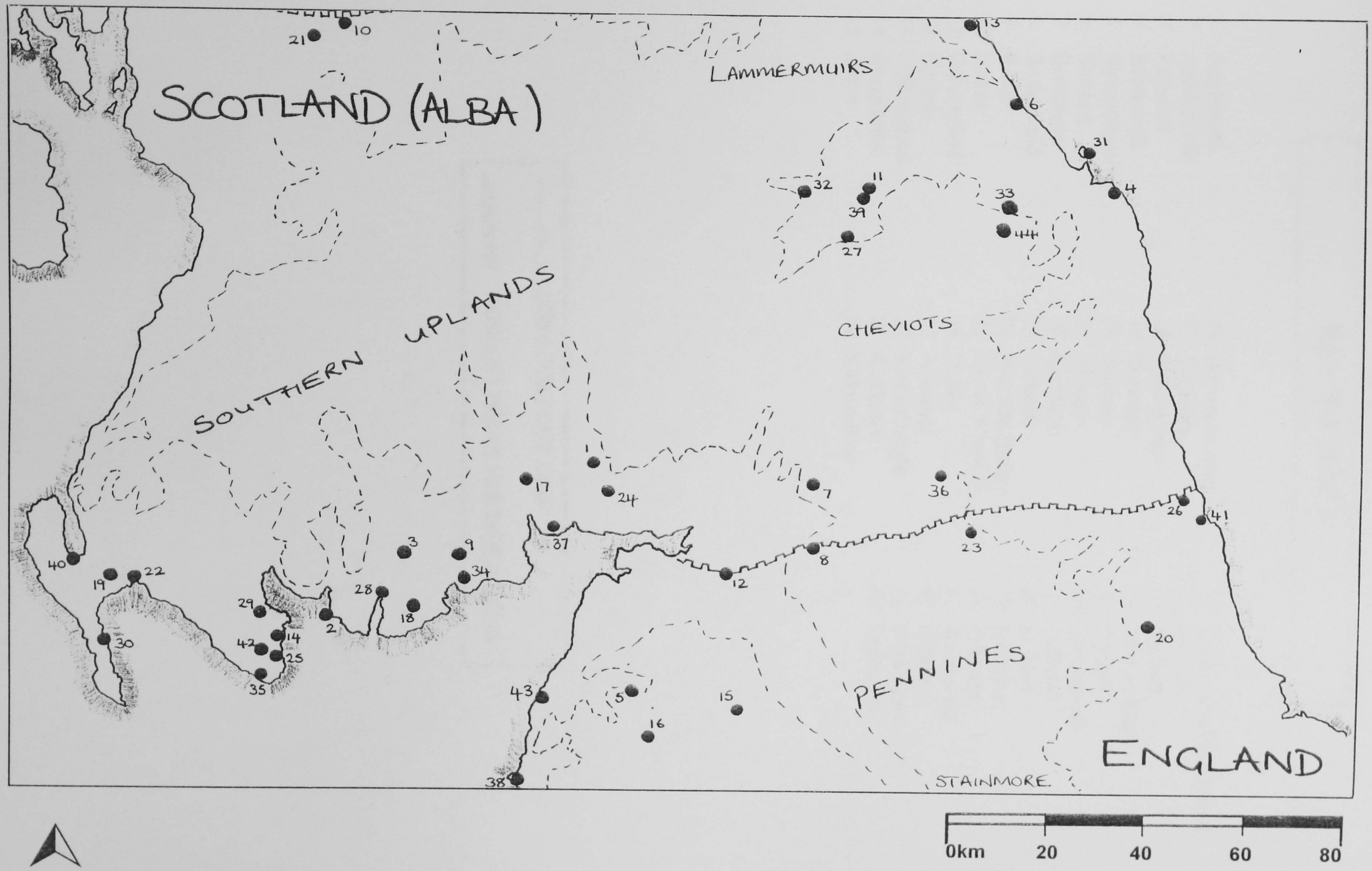
BRITISH ISLES
SHOWING AREAS COVERED BY THE MAPS



INSETS INDICATE MAP NO.

0km 100 200 300

MAP 2 NORTHERN BRITAIN



KEY TO MAP 2

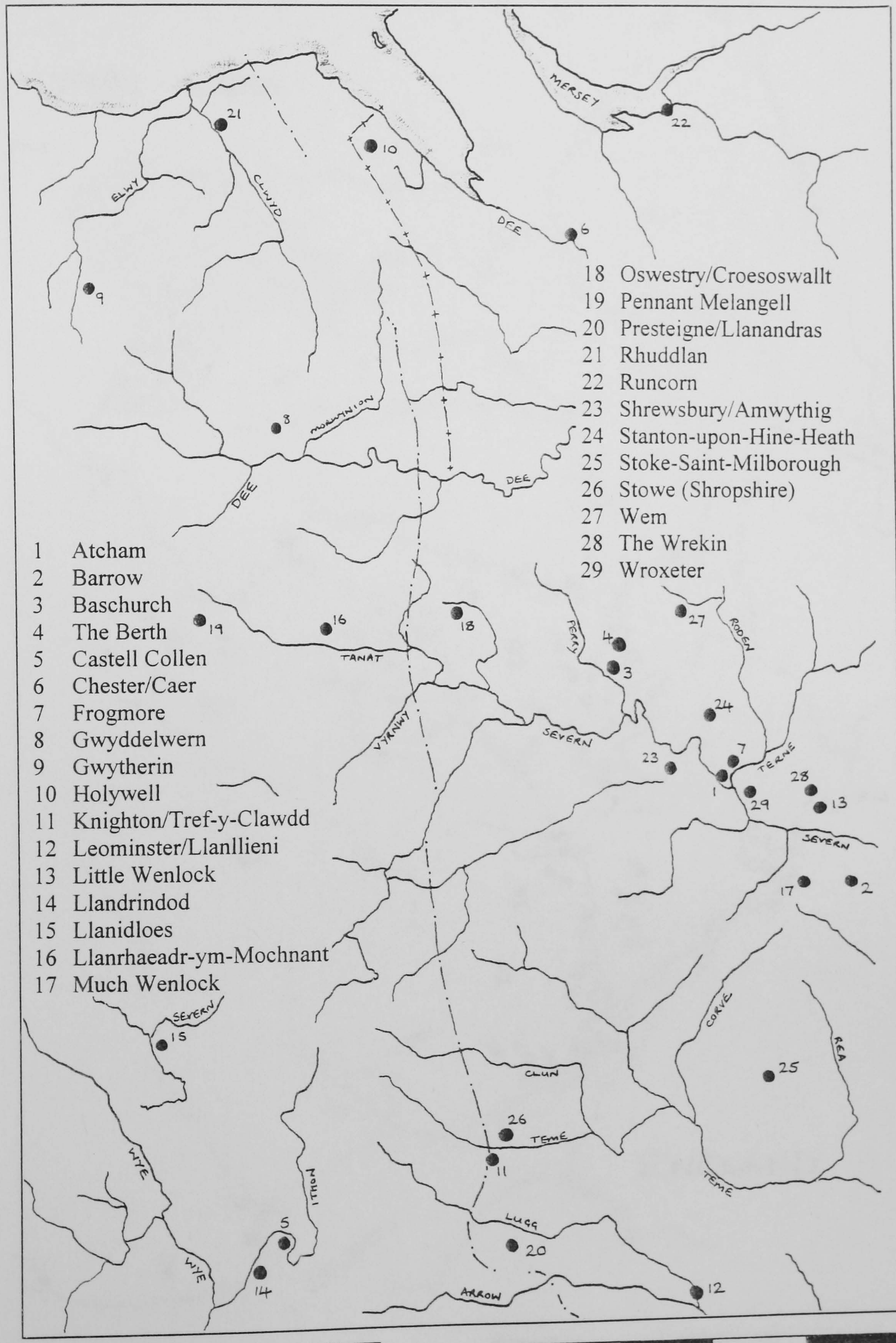
1 Applegarth
2 Ardwall Isle
3 Arsbuttil
4 Bamburgh
5 Bassenthwaite
6 Berwick
7 Bewcastle
8 Birdoswald
9 Buittle
10 Cadder
11 Calchvynyd
12 Carlisle
13 Coldingham
14 Cruggleton
15 Dacre
16 Derwentwater
17 Dumfries
18 Dundrennan
19 Dunragit
20 Durham
21 Glasgow
22 Glenluce
23 Hexham
24 Hoddom Bridge
25 Isle of Whithorn
26 Jarrow
27 Jedburgh
28 Kirkcudbright
29 Kirkinner
30 Kirkmadrine
31 Lindisfarne/Holy Island
32 Melrose
33 Milfield
34 Mote of Mark
35 Physgill
36 Redesmouth
37 Ruthwell
38 St. Bees
39 Sprouston
40 Stranraer
41 Wearmouth
42 Whithorn
43 Workington
44 Yeavering

200M CONTOUR LINE

ROMAN LINEAR FORTIFICATIONS

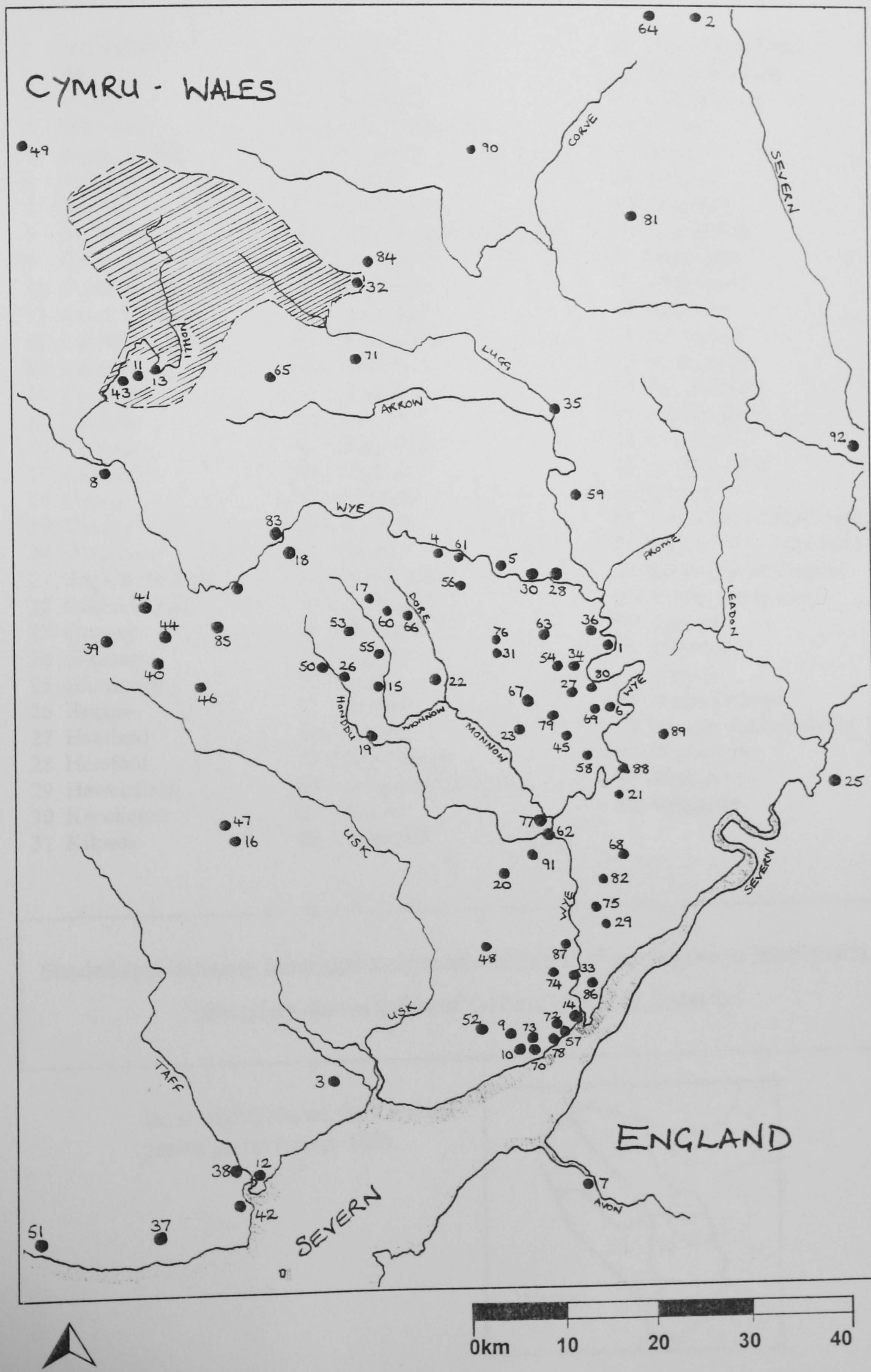
MAP 3A

CENTRAL BRITAIN: NORTH
WITH RIVERS AND LINEAR EARTHWORKS



MAP 3B

CENTRAL BRITAIN: SOUTH
WITH RIVERS



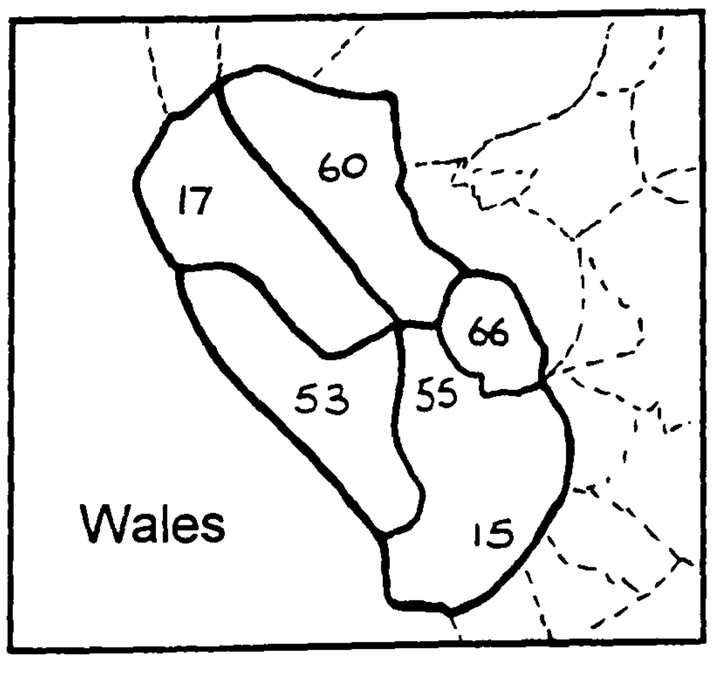
KEY TO MAP 3B

1 Ballingham
2 Barrow
3 Bassaleg
4 Bredwardine
5 Bridge Sollers
6 Bridstow
7 Bristol
8 Builth
9 Caerwent
10 Caldicot
11 Capel Maelog
12 Cardiff
13 Cefnllys
14 Chepstow
15 Clodock
16 Clydach
17 Craswall
18 Cusop
19 Cwmyoy
20 Dingestow
21 English Bicknor
22 Ewyas Harold
23 Garway
24 Glasbury
25 Gloucester
26 Henllan
27 Hentland
28 Hereford
29 Hewelsfield
30 Kenchester
31 Kilpeck
32 Knighton
33 Lancaut
35 Leominster
36 Little Dewchurch
37 Llancarfan
38 Llandaff
39 Llandefaelog
40 Llandefaelog-tre'r-Graig
41 Llandefalle
34 Llandinabo
42 Llandough
43 Llandrindod
44 Llanfilo
45 Llangarron
46 Llangors
47 Llangottwg
48 Llangwm
49 Llanidloes
50 Llanthony
51 Llantwit
52 Llanvaches
53 Llanveynoe
54 Llanwarne
55 Longtown
56 Madley
57 Mathern
58 Marstow
59 Maund Bryan
60 Michaelchurch Escley
61 Moccas
62 Monmouth
63 Much Dewchurch
64 Much Wenlock
65 New Radnor
66 Newton
67 Orcop
68 Orepool
69 Peterstow
70 Portskewett
71 Presteigne
72 Pwllmeyric
73 Runston
74 St. Arvans
75 St. Briavels
76 St. Devereux
77 St. Maughans
78 St. Pierre
79 St. Weonards
80 Sellack
81 Stoke-Saint-Milborough
82 Stowe (Gloucestershire)
83 Stowe (Herefordshire)
84 Stowe (Shropshire)
85 Talgarth
86 Tidenham
87 Tintern
88 Welsh Bicknor
89 Weston-under-Penyard
90 Wistanstow
91 Wonastow
92 Worcester

Shaded area indicates minimum early medieval extent of unit known as Maelienydd.

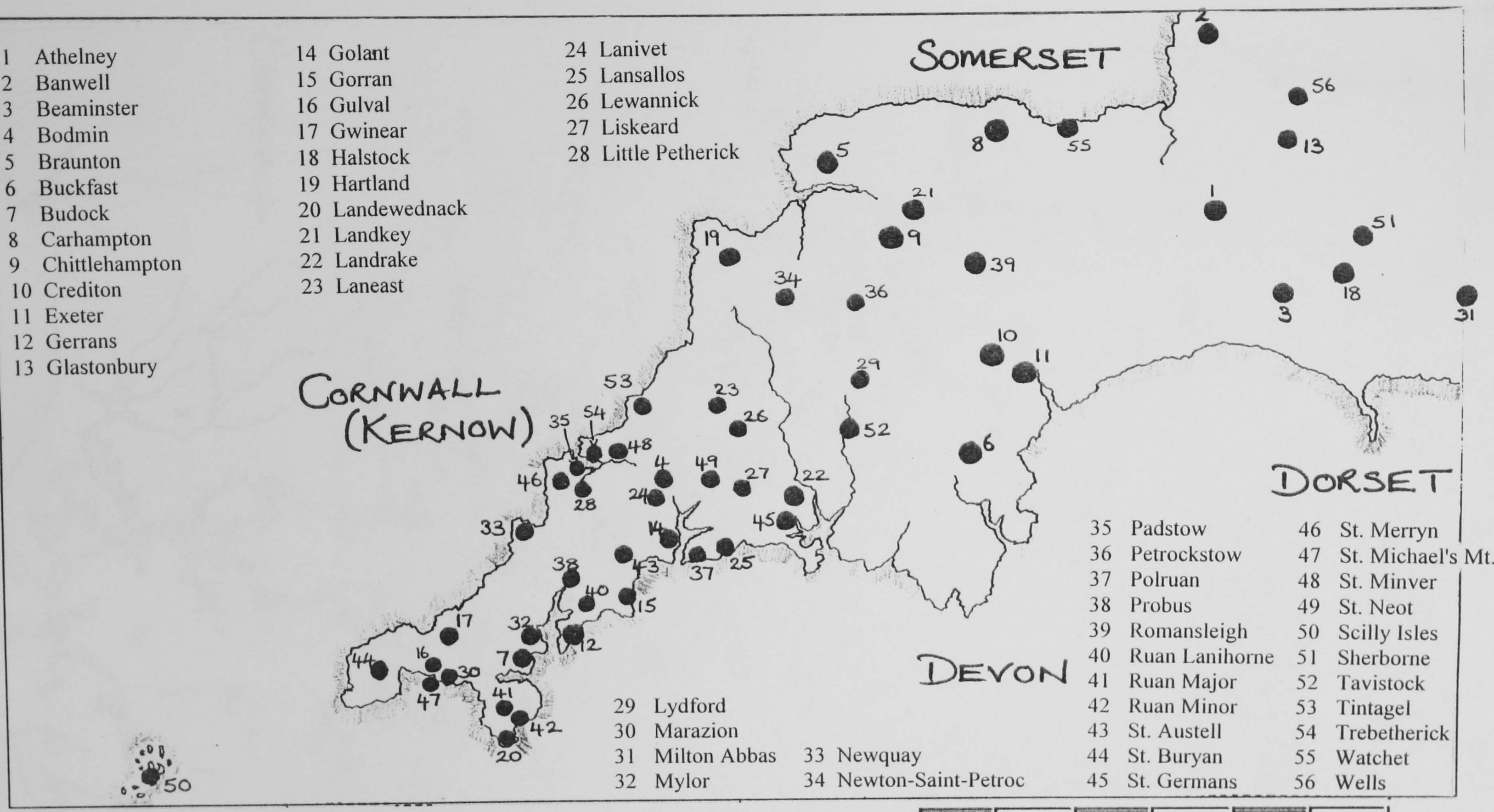
(Boundary shown is that of the later medieval cantref.)

Inset (right) shows the Clodock parish group (see p. 160).



MAP 4A SOUTHWESTERN BRITAIN

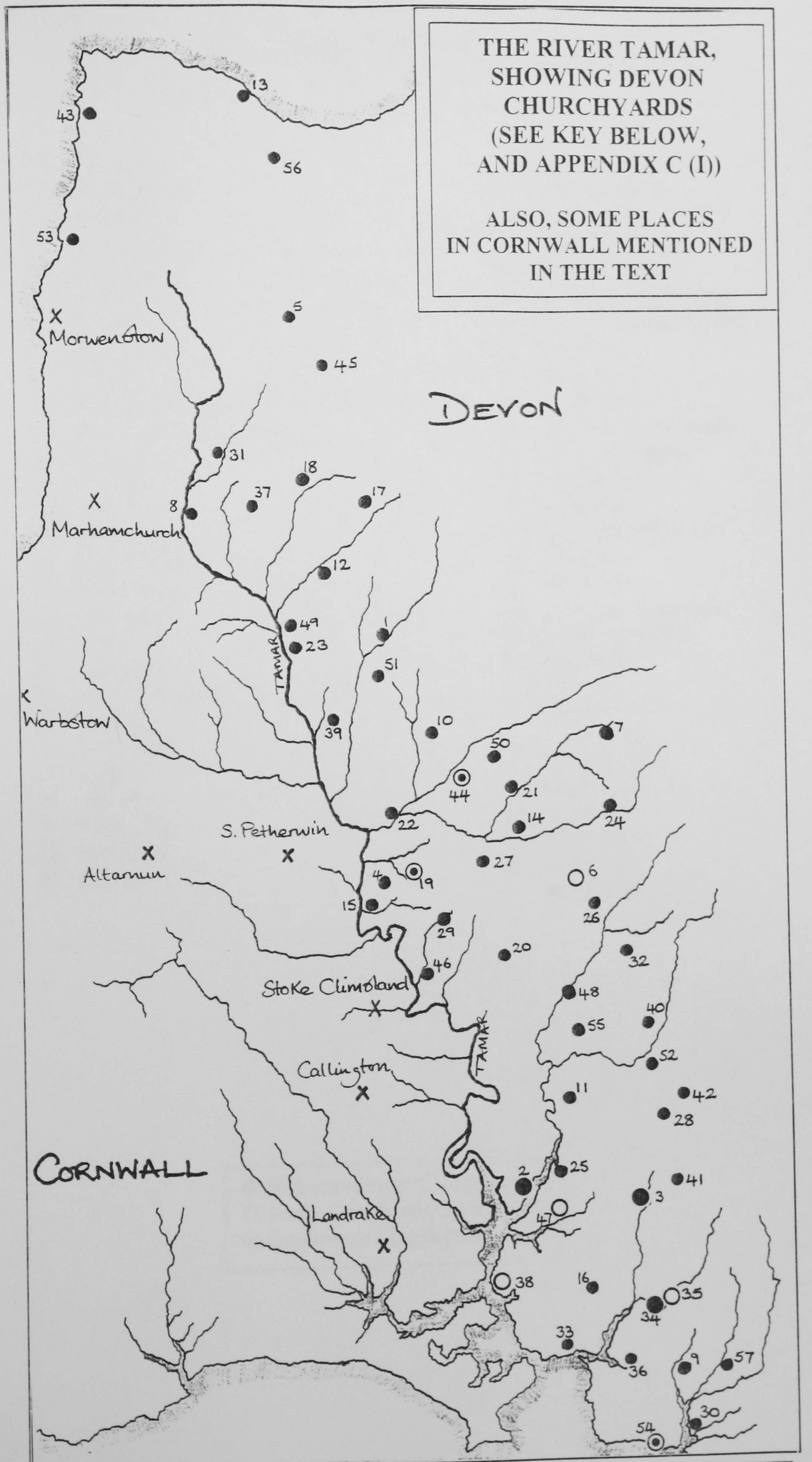
1 Athelney
2 Banwell
3 Beaminster
4 Bodmin
5 Braunton
6 Buckfast
7 Budock
8 Carhampton
9 Chittlehampton
10 Crediton
11 Exeter
12 Gerrans
13 Glastonbury
14 Golant
15 Gorran
16 Gulval
17 Gwinear
18 Halstock
19 Hartland
20 Landewednack
21 Landkey
22 Landrake
23 Laneast
24 Lanivet
25 Lansallos
26 Lewannick
27 Liskeard
28 Little Petherick



29 Lydford
30 Marazion
31 Milton Abbas
32 Mylor
33 Newquay
34 Newton-Saint-Petroc
35 Padstow
36 Petrockstow
37 Polruan
38 Probus
39 Romansleigh
40 Ruan Lanihorne
41 Ruan Major
42 Ruan Minor
43 St. Austell
44 St. Buryan
45 St. Germans
46 St. Merryn
47 St. Michael's Mt.
48 St. Minver
49 St. Neot
50 Scilly Isles
51 Sherborne
52 Tavistock
53 Tintagel
54 Trebetherick
55 Watchet
56 Wells

0 Miles 10 20 30 40 50 60

MAP 4B

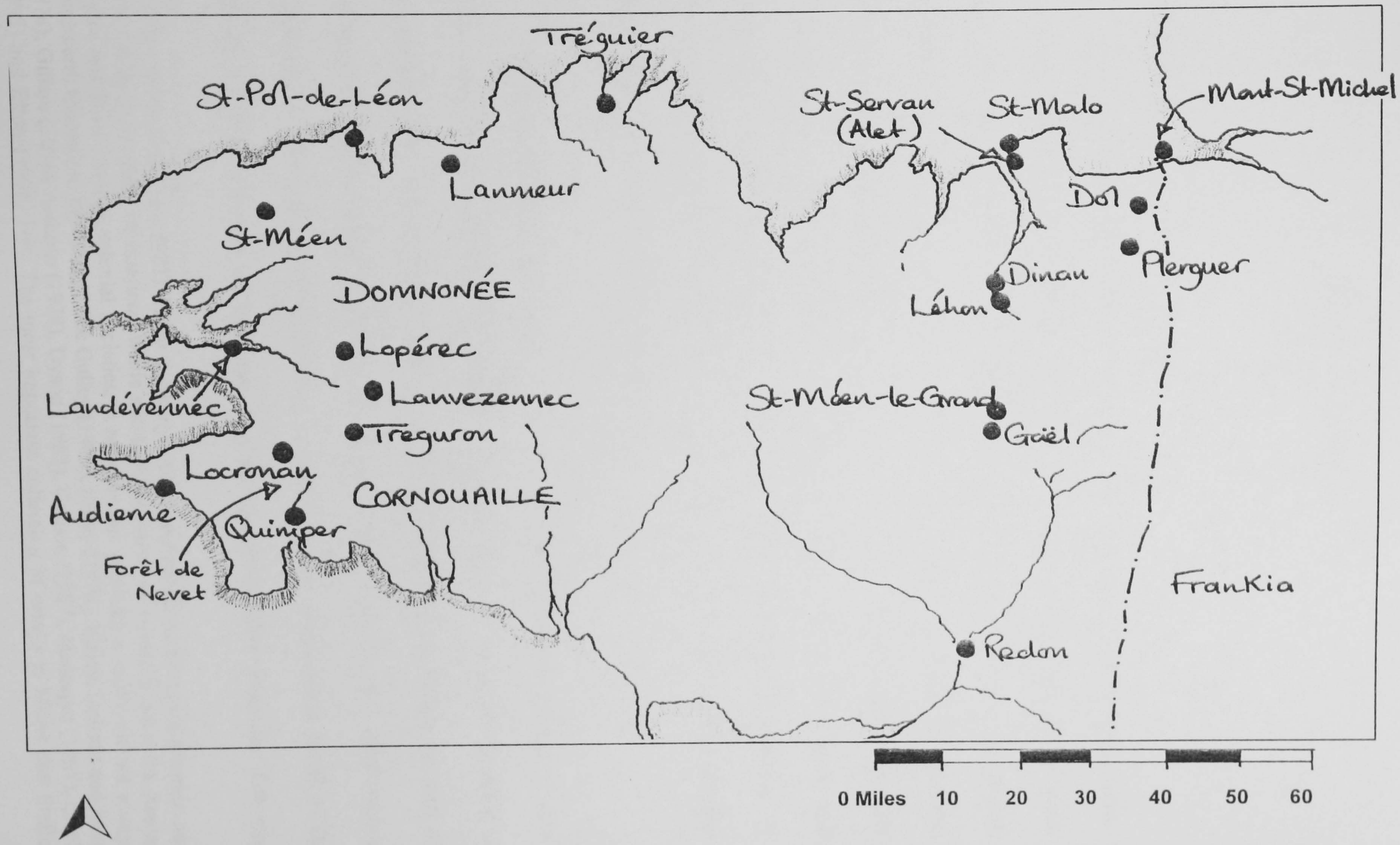

THE RIVER TAMAR, SHOWING DEVON CHURCHYARDS (SEE KEY BELOW, AND APPENDIX C (I))
ALSO, SOME PLACES IN CORNWALL MENTIONED IN THE TEXT
DEVON
CORNWALL
Morwenstow
Marhamchurch
Warbstow
S. Petherwin
Altarnun
Stoke Climsland
Callington
Launceston
TAMAR
0km 5 10 15 20

KEY TO MAP 4B

1 Ashwater
2 Bere Ferrers
3 Bickleigh
4 Bradstone
5 Bradworthy
6 Brentor
7 Bridestowe
8 Bridgerule
9 Brixton
10 Broadwoodwidger
11 Buckland Monachorum
12 Clawton
13 Clovelly
14 Coryton
15 Dunterton
16 Eggbuckland
17 Hollacombe
18 Holsworthy
19 Kelly
20 Lamerton
21 Lew Trenchard
22 Lifton
23 Luffincott
24 Lydford
25 Maristow
26 Mary Tavy
27 Marystow
28 Meavy
29 Milton Abbot
30 Newton Ferrers
31 Pancrasweek
32 Peter Tavy
33 Plymouth Sutton
34 Plympton-Saint-Mary
35 Plympton-Saint-Maurice
36 Plymstock
37 Pyworthy
38 St. Budeaux
39 St. Giles on the Heath
40 Sampford Spiney
41 Shaugh Prior
42 Sheepstor
43 Stoke-Saint-Nectan
44 Stowford
45 Sutcombe
46 Sydenham Damerel
47 Tamerton Foliot
48 Tavistock
49 Tetcott
50 Thrushelton
51 Virginstow
52 Walkhampton
53 Welcombe
54 Wembury
55 Whitchurch
56 Woolsery
57 Yealmpton

● Non-curvilinear Churchyard
○ Partly Curvilinear Churchyard
◉ Curvilinear Churchyard

MAP 5 BRITTANY - BRETAGNE - BREIZH



INTRODUCTION

0.1 FRONTIERS

In early medieval Britain, the area beyond the furthest extent of pagan Anglo-Saxon burial is characterized by the greater density of British place-names and more frequent recovery of Romano-British artefacts. This was an area that became peripheral during this period in the same measure that it lost its political independence. In more popular terms, it is the frontier of 'Celt' and 'Saxon'. In this thesis, saints' cults are used to examine ethnic relations on the Anglo-British frontier, between the sixth and eleventh centuries. The author believes that through the study of popular beliefs, of which saints' cults are one manifestation, we can gain important knowledge of what 'living on a frontier' meant to local populations.

The historical study of frontiers owes its origins to Frederick Jackson Turner and its development to classical scholarship.[1] Whereas Turner's idea of the Frontier in the American West was essentially that of an ever-receding line bounding an area of settlement, Fabricius, herald of the school of *Limesforschung*, saw it as a zone whose institutions set the seal on its distinction as much as the independent spirit of its population. This difference of emphasis resulted understandably from the different

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[1] Turner (1894); Fabricius (1927). There is a burgeoning literature about historical frontiers and about the historiography of frontiers. While much of this takes its examples from the Roman Empire and from modern colonial societies, it nevertheless provides a useful (if not always transparent) theoretical framework. See Gulley (1959), Birley (1974), Birley, Dobson and Jarret (1974), Gillam (1974), Jackson (1978), Dyson (1985), Cronon (1987), Hedeager (1987), Carrié (1995) and Elton (1996, 1-9). The most important collection of essays is Miller and Steffen (1977).

historical contexts of the North American and Roman frontiers, but both approaches shared a common conceptual inheritance. For both, the key problem was how to reconcile a defined line of contact with a zone of interaction.

The idea of a line of contact is rooted in both physical geography and in the semiotics of cartographic representation. As employed by the modern states system and mediated through political thought, it has become a border, a line drawn on a map that divides peoples, nations or systems. Such borders are mental shortcuts rather than observable facts. They are by no means the natural or inevitable result of the development of a frontier. Humans are associative animals. That so many geographical frontiers have come to represent the borders of ethno-linguistic groupings is a factor of their presence as 'mating barriers' rather than of the deliberate creation of opposed political entities.[2]

Since it exists at the intersection of a (concrete) use to refer to some externally observed condition and an (abstract) use to signify 'something to be gone beyond', the Frontier can only ever be subjectively defined. To use a modern illustration, no people ever judged their homelands to be *terra incognita* but what is certain is that these lands were charted at the same time as they were conquered. It is plain that the significations of the term are therefore extensive and subjective, and that the person or collective that thinks in terms of 'the Frontier' (thus Imperial Rome) is marked out as a potential conqueror.

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[2] These preliminary comments are drawn from a paper delivered by the author at Durham in 1996. The most useful introductions are Fawcett (1921), East (1938), Wood (1992) and MacEachren (1995, 217-43).

If we recognize that a frontier does not have to be defined in terms of ethnic or military confrontation, or as a bounding line of military expansion, but rather as a cultural zone, a number of other and perhaps more useful models come into play. Chief among these are the related concepts of 'internal colonization' and of 'core-periphery'. The latter draws its foundation from local models founded on observable spatial relationships. Both assume the existence of a unitary geographic area and posit differences within it. Simply expressed, peripherality is a way of looking at a region from a particular geo-political standpoint. For a region to be described as peripheral it must be geographically distant from the centre of economic and political power, be objectively different in some sense (usually socio-economic) and be of insufficient strength to challenge the identification.[3]

Internal colonization is the description of the process whereby the core extends its influence into the periphery, be this through physical settlement or through the externalization of that area's economic and political linkages.[4] The term also invokes a psychological extension in which the people of the periphery themselves recognize the validity of the model and acculturate to the values promoted by the core. Linguistic change is one major reflection of this. The concepts of core-periphery and internal colonization may be combined with the identification of the frontier zone as one of co-operation and peaceful exchange, and help to explain what was happening within it.

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[3] Deacon, George and Perry (1988, 25-30, 40-41) provide the most accessible modern interpretation of the idea (applied, in this instance, to Cornwall). See also Wakeford (1992, Introduction).

[4] See Hechter (1975); Page (1977), Hind (1984), and note the shortcomings of the approach as explained there.

Late classical and early medieval Europe offer opportunities to watch frontiers in action as zones of assimilation. To take a Romano-British illustration, Coventina's Well at Carrawburgh on Hadrian's Wall shows the adoption by Romans of the cult of a British water-nymph 'at every military and social level',[5] whilst the civilian settlements (*vici*, *coloniae*), adjoining Roman forts across Europe are examples of the integration and interaction of the conquerors into and with their environment. Cast in a medieval context, the frontier often becomes an area with its own body of legal custom and procedure (Ireland, the Welsh Marches).[6]

Since we believe early medieval frontiers to have an unalloyed base in cultural distinction, rather than in the politics of state-formation, and since popular religion is acknowledged to be an observable constituent of 'culture', it would appear that the study of the transmission of saints' cults in frontier areas can contribute meaningfully to the wider debate. It remains to be seen if the Frontier could -at least in this respect- take on different characteristics in different areas or at different periods.

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[5] Richmond and Gillam (1951); Breeze and Dobson (1976), 263.

[6] On medieval frontiers, see Lewis (1958), Duffy (1983), Halperin (1984), Burns (1988), Smith (1992, 1-8, 205) and Bartlett (1993). The most useful collections are Bartlett and MacKay (1989), and Barry, Frame and Simms (1995). In several of these accounts, religion is made to constitute a frontier in its own right.

0.2 SAINTS' CULTS

The cult (*cultus*) of a saint is the machinery through which his memory is perpetuated. It may comprise the celebration of his birth or death, the physical veneration of his body or relics, and the transmission of stories about him.[7] Saints' cults bear a well delineated relationship to royal and ecclesiastical power in the Anglo-Saxon period, and were used by both rulers and religious communities in efforts to enhance their own prestige and power and to influence popular perception and belief. Royal houses and aristocracies provided the means whereby the church could realize its potential as a powerful force for social cohesion through its function as guarantor of spiritual security. The possession of relics could boost the power of rulers (or, more correctly the perception of that power), by the spiritual energy (*virtus*) they were believed to impart. This symbiosis is demonstrated by the foundation and patronage of *monasteria* by kings and nobles, and by such communities' reception of royal or noble family members, sometimes of dubious religious vocation, who might under the right circumstances (if either the family or the institution stood to gain from it) be remembered as saints.

The relevance of the cult to the frontier zone is self-evident. As a nexus of church-state authority, the implantation of a cult and promotion of a saint's spiritual solicitude could hope to secure the adherence of new converts to the faith, but at the same time the recognition of the right of the conquering power and of the inviolability of ecclesiastical lands. In areas where the assumption of political power was over a

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[7] On saints and relics generally see Förster (1943), Bonser (1962), Thomas (1974, 337-9), Rollason (1989a), and Bate (1990). On their political context see Nelson (1973), Bullough (1981), Rollason (1983; 1986a; 1986b; 1989a, 105-63; 1989b), Thacker (1985), and Ridyard (1988).

fully Christian people, it was not necessary to start from scratch since the emotional allegiance of the people to their own saints, focussed on existing cult-centres meant that control only need be exercised through these centres for political allegiances to be secured. To take a fairly straightforward example, in the case of Bodmin (Cornwall) there seems to have been a simple transfer of patronage of a stable secular mynster and bishopric from the Dumnonian to the West Saxon royal house.[8] In this case, the acquisition of relics or the promotion of hagiography served to confirm or enhance the royal associations of the centre and saint; in other cases they were necessary to establish it.

Translated into institutional terms, religio-political expansion in border areas could use three methods:

(i) the establishment of new religious outposts, bishoprics or mission-stations,

(ii) the expansion of the conquering power's monastic communities to become frontier institutions through the royal requisition and re-grant of lands, and

(iii) the suborning wholesale of existing 'native' centres.

The most familiar accounts of missionary activity relate to the New World, and to the European colonies, where Christian missionaries acted in the capacity of an advance guard, the effect of whose work was to soften the natives' response to imminent conquest.[9] The examples from medieval Europe are however no less

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[8] See below, chapter three, pp. 202-6.

[9] The suppression of the Portuguese and Spanish missions to Japan and Indochina offers a rare example of undoubted failure. In both cases local rulers realized that the missions signalled a European threat to their independence.

profound. On the frontier of Moslem and Christian in North Africa and Iberia, conversion -on a personal level- constituted a political statement and necessary insurance, but the promotion of the faith nevertheless remained a primary concern of secular authorities. It was not by coincidence that Boniface laboured at a time of Frankish expansion, that Denmark received its first churches at the time of Cnut's 'North Sea Empire', or that the Ottonian Empire expanded to the same extent as it evangelized. A papal commission might lend the missionary a supra-political authority, but he was in practice seldom a free agent. The logistics of missionary work alone entailed that he have weighty, far-sighted, consistent and well-organized political support. Whatever Bede may have said about Augustine's conflict with the British bishops, it is therefore clear that the papal mission to the Anglo-Saxons of 597 must have had considerable intercourse with the British church and with British secular leaders. The important place of the mission in the social psychology of the frontier, meant that evangelization undertaken by a holy man might become an important hagiological motif in its own right, existing above and beyond the circumstances that had given birth to it.

While a case can be made for the 'religious outpost' in the Northumbrian bishopric of Abercorn from the mid to late seventh century, this concept is generally more applicable to expansion into non-Christian lands, or areas viewed as non-Christian for technical reasons (as the Irishries). Where frontier zones possessed their own ecclesiastical structures, it was logical that kings sought access to the conduits of loyalty the saints represented. The patronized cult, or the royal saint represented a tapping of this flow of loyalty, since in the first instance the church in receipt could be expected to endorse the benefactor among its flock, and in the second the connection of

the ruler with revered sainthood was self-evident. Such was the recognition of the cult as a social adhesive that 'native' cults with useful political attributes appear also to have been confected by the occupying power, according to requirements. Cults that stressed saints' religious orthodoxy may, at different times, have been of political use in presenting religious subsumption as an historical inevitability. The exercise of power through the church was consequently psychological as well as administrative.

A close connection has been established between royal power, the centres of the tenth-century English monastic reform and the promotion of saints' cults.[10] In newly unified areas, the re-establishment of strategic *monasteria* about lapsed cults (for instance that of Æthelthryth at Ely in former East Anglia) was clearly intended as a political statement (in this case the West Saxon assumption of the mantle of the East Anglian kings). That secular mynsters like Chester-le-Street or Bodmin were not reformed is not evidence that homogenization was not attempted (for both communities received extensive patronage from the West Saxon kings), but rather that reform was considered inappropriate.

The whole country was a Norman frontier zone, and yet not only is there a dearth of Norman cults, but a long term adoption of existing Anglo-Saxon saints, with -in Edward the Confessor- the creation of a prominent new one.[11] A claim to legitimacy through continuity perhaps, but also an objective recognition of sanctity. It is not enough to think simply in terms of domination in the guise of assimilation:

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[10] John (1966); Banton (1982). On the reform, the most useful collections are Parsons (1975), Yorke (1988) and Ramsay, Sparks and Tatton-Brown (1992).

[11] Initial scepticisms were soon overcome. See Ridyard (1987).

common institutions and thought structures on the frontier between Christian peoples meant that the cult could become a vehicle of mutual respect and affinity too.

Saints' cults were not of course an indispensable adjunct of political expansion: this would have taken place without them. Their linkage arose from the institutional dependence of the church upon them.

0.3 SOURCES

The texts of use for this thesis probably represent only a small fraction of those that would have been available in the Anglo-Saxon period and caution is therefore required when making assumptions and generalizations from those that are extant. The use of saints' lives (*vitae*) as evidence for the pre-Conquest cult of saints presents particular problems.

For the majority of Anglo-Saxon, and for all Welsh and Cornish saints the hagiographical record is entirely post-Conquest, and in some cases very late indeed. Such texts generally tell us nothing of historical value about the personal histories of their subjects. They need therefore to be approached with caution and not to be deployed as evidence without due reserve. Others have recognized that many hagiographical texts contain an important folkloric element, and that 'the accounts of miracles and wonders that they contain, although not to be treated as factual narratives, provide evidence bearing on the veneration of these saints', that is upon popular, orally transmitted beliefs, only rarely captured in writing.[12]

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[12] Doble (1943); Rollason (1983), 1. The most widely cited, but least investigated post-Conquest source is the *Sanctilogium Anglie*, a collection of saints' lives assembled by John of

Whilst the conventional rule of the 'authority' of earlier texts and of earlier manuscripts above later must be adhered to where these exist, in itself, the date of a manuscript only indicates that the texts it contains must be of or earlier than the date of its writing. Although texts recording the traditions of many pre-Conquest saints may date to the later-medieval period, or be preserved in late manuscripts, there is often reason to believe that these may be based upon, expand, revise, translate, incorporate or abbreviate earlier documents. In some cases questions of authority can be resolved through the use of advanced techniques of literary and linguistic analysis.[13]

Place-names and church dedications also offer valuable evidence. The linguistic origin of the elements within a place-name indicate that people speaking that language once dwelled in the area; relationships between elements, their phonological structures and characteristics of use may further refine when the name may be judged to have come into existence and the processes by which it has been transmitted to the present day. None of these factors need indicate ethnicity, but they may add up to a presumption of ethnicity.

Except where the dedication of a church forms part of a place-name for which a date may be suggested on other grounds, or is explicitly mentioned in an authoritative early medieval source, it will generally have been first recorded in late medieval documents or by early modern antiquaries. The concept of dedication to a saint appears to have originated in Italy in the late fourth century. A formal act of dedication did not take place in a majority of cases and arose simply through constant association. It was

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Tynemouth, monk of St. Albans in the early fourteenth century. See Horstmann (1901, I, ix-lxviii), Diverres (1968, 171-2), Lucas (1970) and Richards (1981b).

[13] Rollason (1983), 1. See below, Appendix A, and the literature cited there.

often never recorded and in such a case the church's patron remains unknown. In others, the place-name may have fostered a spurious saint and dedication. We tend to think that a church should have a singular and immutable dedication, a 'name', if you like, but it was clearly the case that in earlier times the name of the church represented the saint or saints whose altars or relics were in it. Dedications might therefore change as new relics were acquired or different cults popularized. The use of dedications as an historical source is accordingly fraught with difficulty, as there is often no way of determining the date at which the first recorded dedication came into use (or even if that record was correct).[14]

Certain cults are more frequently encountered in particular ethnic or chronological contexts. In the most simplistic terms this means that a dedication to Saint Geneviève is more likely to be found in Paris than in London. It also means that in England, where there is a viable context, where there is other evidence by which to date the church, a dedication to Saint Andrew is more likely to be of Anglo-Saxon than of later origin. By extension, where a dedication appears to occur in an unusual spatial or chronological context, there is likely to be a very specific reason for it. The 'ethnicity of sainthood' is thus a problematic concept but relationships and patterns exist that show that it is not an entirely fallacious one.

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[14] Morris (1983), 1. The dedications catalogued by Orme (1996) include instances of repeated change.

0.4 RATIONALE

In the following chapters, the Anglo-British frontier is split into three geographical regions, the northwest, Central Britain and the southwest.[15] A tripartite arrangement is not only necessary from a practical standpoint, but also helps us to define the frontier, by offering parallels and contrasts. Was there a 'frontier hagiology' permeated by a common frontier ethos as historians of the American West would doubtless suppose, or was each of the three zones considered here different in kind?

Whilst the general framework is the same for the three regions, the evidence was (to say the least) variable. The reader will notice the influence of this variability in the methodologies adopted. Further, the role of the saint's cult naturally cannot be examined without focussing on particular saints, and pressures of space have resulted in some saints or centres being omitted or treated less fully than I should have liked. The saints' cults discussed here all illuminate the Anglo-Saxon relationship with the British church, and have been selected for that reason, but they are not the only ones that might have been used.

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[15] 'Central Britain' is a compromise of a term. It refers in this thesis to the area sometimes known as the 'West Midlands' (which should not be used because of its limited modern association with the Birmingham hinterland, and its 'English' geographical orientation) or as the 'Welsh Marches' (a term properly relating to a later period).

CHAPTER ONE

NORTHWESTERN BRITAIN c. AD 550-950

1.1 HISTORICAL ORIENTATION

In the post-Roman period, the British kingdom or federation of Rheged emerged from the lands of tribal groupings variously known as the *Novantae*, *Carvetii*, *Brigantes* and (with less confidence) the *Selgovae*.[1] The remainder of the intramural area became the kingdoms of Strathclyde (northern *Dumnonii*) and Gododdin (*Votadini*).[2] In the period of initial contact with the Anglo-Saxons, Rheged appears to have encompassed the Pennine fringe of Durham and Northumberland, Cumbria, Dumfriesshire and Galloway, where the presence of Dunragit ('fort of Rheged'), east of Stranraer (*Rerigonium*: 'very royal place') may indicate that Galloway was an area of political importance.[3] Catterick in North Yorkshire (*Catraeth*) was suggested to be the capital of Rheged by the thirteenth-century redactor of the poems of 'Taliesin', but the early Anglian archaeology of the site counts against this.[4] Carlisle, former *civitas* capital of the *Carvetii*, an important sub-Roman settlement seems a more likely

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[1] The most useful and concise assessment of the post-Roman political geography of northern Britain is Smith (1990, 274-80).

[2] Rivet and Smith (1979), 425-6; Thomas (1981), 276-7; Hartley and Fitts (1988), 116. A minimalist interpretation of Rheged is put forward by MacQueen (1956, 110; 1990, 60-67), but is vitiated by his concentration on peripheral late Welsh traditional material.

[3] Watson (1926), 156; Reid (1951); MacQueen (1956), 111; Rivet and Smith (1979); Thomas (1981), 252; (1992a), 16; Fellows-Jensen (1991), 77-8.

[4] Williams (1968) 2-3; Pennar (1988), 47-52; Moloney (1996); Wilson and Cardwell (1996).

candidate.[5] It is possible that the cross at Bewcastle marked the shrunken eastern extent of the kingdom at the time it was incorporated into Northumbria in the eighth century.[6]

The name *Bryneich* (*Bernicia* in Latin), by which the northernmost of the two Northumbrian kingdoms was known is of a British root related to *Brigantes*. That the cultural cross-fertilization which must have formed its defining characteristic probably speeded the reception of Northumbrian rule is suggested by the pattern of Anglian colonization which was one of political presence at key nodes and along key routes perhaps three generations in advance of settlement.[7] Northumbrian expansion into the Tweed basin has been characterized as a 'reclamation' of 'the archaic core of an earlier tribal kingdom', and if this model is to be applied more widely, ethnic Anglo-Saxons are likely to have formed but a small, motivated élite beyond their eastern heartland.[8] Their power is reflected most strikingly in the re-occupation and ultimately the supplanting of British hill-forts and palisaded enclosures by lowland *urbes regiae*.[9] The Mote of Mark (Dumfriesshire) is an important example of Anglo-Saxon hill-fort reoccupation, while Yeavering-Milfield and Coldingham (Northumberland) comprise examples of hill-fort complexes shifting focus to lowland palaces.[10] The analysis of cropmarks at Sprouston, northeast of Kelso has further highlighted an Anglian

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[5] On Carlisle, see below, pp. 23-7.

[6] Bailey and Cramp (1988), 19-22, 61-72; Cramp (1995), 13.

[7] Jackson (1953), 701-5; Blair (1956), 41-3; Smith (1990) 204, 209. The standard account of Bernicia's early years is Blair (1959).

[8] Smith (1990), 241, 256, 260.

[9] Alcock (1988); Smith (1990), 202 and *passim*.

[10] Curle (1914); Laing (1973a, 1973b); Swindells and Laing (1978); Longley (1982); Hope-Taylor (1977); Alcock, Alcock and Foster (1986).

settlement's relation with a Romano-British defended enclosure 'best interpreted as a fort'.[11] The power and influence of the Anglo-Saxon elite can be judged also through the diffusion of artistic motifs, and through the ultimate replacement of the British language.[12] Shared building traditions, cultural and administrative forms nevertheless indicate that influence flowed both ways and that the Bernicians were anything but alien to the Britons falling progressively under their control.[13]

That Bernician contact with the rulers of Rheged can be construed in terms of diplomacy as well as of hostility is illustrated by the British bishop *Rhun map Urbgen*'s baptism of King Edwin (recorded in the *Historia Brittonum*) and King Oswy's marriage to *Rieinmelth*, princess of Rheged (recorded in the *Annales Cambriae*).[14] Bede of course says that it was Paulinus, one of Pope Gregory's missionaries who had baptised Edwin,[15] but the marriage of Oswy receives independent confirmation from the appearance of a *Rægnmæld* at the head of the list of Northumbrian queens in the Lindisfarne *Liber Vitae.*[16] The most recent commentator on the traditions of the

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[11] St. Joseph (1982); Smith (1983), 29-30; (1990) 222-5, 233, 235; (1991) 270-74; Dent and Macdonald (1997), 72-5.

[12] Art: Crawford (1937); Cruden (1956); Radford (1956); De Paor (1963); Cramp (1960, 1983, 1984); Laing (1974); Graham-Campbell, Close-Brooks and Laing (1976); Wilson (1969, 1973); Bailey and Cramp (1988); Cassidy (1992); Craig (1992). Language: Jackson (1953, 1959).

[13] Jolliffe (1926); Chadwick (1963b), 323-35; Hope-Taylor (1977), 281-2.

[14] *HB* §§ 57, 63; *AC* 626. Both sources are of disputed authority but have usually been accorded the benefit of the doubt (Dumville, 1986). The passages cited have been extensively discussed. See Chadwick (1963a, 158-9, 164), Jackson (1963a, 41, 60), Smyth (1984, 22), Kirby (1991, 90, 143), Mac Lean (1992, 59, 63) and Koch (1997, cx-cxxvii).

[15] *HE* II.15, and hence the gloss *id est Paulinus Eboracensis Archiepiscopus* to Rhun in the *HB.* See Jackson (1963a, 33, 50) and Koch (1997, xxxiii-xxxiv) for two ways of reconciling these statements.

[16] London, British Library, Cottonian MSS, Domitian vii, fol. 16^{r} (*saec.* ix^{1}). For palaeographical and codicological considerations see Gerchow (1988, 110-24).

Historia Brittonum dates them to the later eighth century and argues that they form part of a propaganda exercise on the part of British clergy, who, venerating Rhun as a saint, wished to remind the Northumbrians of the debt owed to their British allies, at a time when, with the sponsorship of the Northumbrian king Ecgfrith, the Roman party of bishop Wilfrid may have been in open conflict with the British church.[17]

The ecclesiastical organization of northwestern Britain in the late and sub-Roman periods will remain a matter for dispute. It is though fair to assume that bishops with sees coterminous with the major civil or tribal units would have based their ministry about a number of key urban seats. The high tide of Northumbrian power was reached between the mid seventh and the early eighth centuries, recorded in the appointment of the Anglian Trumwine to *Abercurnig* (Abercorn on the Firth of Forth), and the installation of bishop Pecthelm at *Ad Candidam Casam*, Whithorn in Galloway.[18] The political nature of Trumwine's office is made clear by Bede's language. Trumwine had been appointed bishop 'for the province of the Picts, which was at that time subject to the dominion of the English'.[19] From Stephanus, we are made aware of a Northumbrian bishop's imprisonment in Dunbar (*circa* 681), where there was an Anglo-Saxon sheriff, from the lives of Saint Cuthbert of the movement of Northumbrian churchmen between a number of lowland and Cumbrian monasteries of undoubtedly British origin.[20] With the death of the Northumbrian king Ecgfrith in battle against the Picts at *Nechtanesmere* (Dunnichen) in 685, Trumwine was expelled, but

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[17] Koch (1997), cxii-cxvii.

[18] Bede, *HE* III.4, IV.26, V.23.

[19] *HE* IV.12 (Whitelock, 1955, 654). On Trumwine, see Kermack (1943) and Wainwright (1948).

[20] *VW* § 38; Thomas (1981), 291-2; Alcock (1988), 15-18; Holdsworth (1991).

relations were restored by the beginning of the eighth-century when we learn how a Pictish king requested skilled masons from Jarrow to build him a church of stone.[21]

The mutual dependence of political and ecclesiastical power is thus well evidenced, and it should come as no surprise that a number of ecclesiastical sites in the region show signs of continuity from the post-Roman to the Anglo-Saxon period. We may take Durham and Jedburgh as examples. In 762 we read in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle of the consecration of Pehtwine, Bishop of Whithorn at *Aelfet ee,* a place whose identification with the Elvet of Durham is made virtually certain by its location in the thirteenth-century text known as the *De Eo Quod Episcopi, inter fluvium tese et tyne*.[22] The origins of the name *Elvet*, now applied to a low-lying district on the eastern bank of the river Wear opposite the cathedral are not clear cut, but allow a British interpretation. An Anglo-Saxon derivation from *aelfet* (a swan) was suggested by Ekwall. The addition of *ee*, properly *eg* by the Chronicle would in this case favour the derivation 'swan island', and provide a passable Anglo-Saxon meaning.[23] This may indeed be how the name was interpreted at the time of the annal's composition, but supporters of a British origin might point to the existence of the area-name *Elfed* (*Elued*, *Elmet*) in Welsh sources.[24]

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[21] *HE* V.21. An event worryingly unknown to the contemporary author of the *Vita Sancti Ceolfridi*.

[22] London, British Library, Additional MSS, 25014, fol. 118[b]; Brentano (1953b). On the significance of this text, see below, note 138 and p. 83.

[23] Mawer (1920), 75; Ekwall (1960), 163, 166; Gruffydd (1994), 77; Cambridge (1995), 149.

[24] See Jackson (1963a, 32), Richards (1969, 66) and Thomas (1981, 246, 252; 1994, 129, note 16).

Adwythig sgwydog, Madog Elfed appears in the *Gododdin*, a poem of allegedly sixth-century date redacted in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. Gwallawg, *ae rivat yn ygnat ar elvet* ('ordained magistrate of Elvet') features among Taliesin's verses, while the *Moliant Cadwallawn*, an archaic text that 'possesses the characteristics of an early bardic composition' hopes that the Welsh will 'kindle fire in the land of Elvet' and expel Edwin of Deira.[25] These references are normally supposed to refer to *Elmet*, a British kingdom in the area of Leeds mentioned once by Bede and surviving in a handful of place-names, but the author of the *Historia Brittonum*, who provides or updates many place-names in the British vernacular 'in keeping with standard spelling in Wales *circa* AD 830' perhaps significantly prefers *Elmet* to *Elued*, when narrating the expulsion of Ceretic, thought to be this territory's king.[26] The construction to be put on the passage cited above rests with the adjacent description of Edwin as a harsh ruler over the Bernicians. Only the Durham *Elued* was in Bernicia, which would here be considered a friendly Anglo-British kingdom subject to an untrustworthy Deiran king.

At the time of the first assembly of the *Historia Brittonum* in the early ninth century, *Elued* was evidently not acceptable as a rendering of (Bede's) *Elmet* and Welsh traditional material circulating at this time which does include the name *Elued* might therefore refer to some other area. Consonant shift from *-m-* to *-f-*, if possible, would be

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[25] *Y Gododdin*, § 93, line 918 (Jarman, 1988, 62-3); line 1179 (Koch, 1997, 50-51); Taliesin XII, line 21 (Williams, 1968, 14; Rowland, 1990, 100-101; Gruffydd, 1994, 70); *o Gymru dygýnneu tân yn tir Elued* (Gruffydd, 1978, 27-34, cited by Koch, 1997, xxxiv; Bromwich, 1961, 268, 294-5).

[26] *HE* II.14; *HB* § 63; Koch (1997), cxxi. Bede tells only of an unidentified monastery *in silva Elmete* that preserved an altar from a Deiran royal residence at *Campodonum*, which, he says, had been replaced by one *Loidis regio*. He does not set *silva Elmete* within *Loidis regio*. Manuscripts of the Old English Bede (below, note 140, and p. 112) omit the sentence (Miller, 1890, 141). See Bromwich (1954, 84), Jackson (1963b, 70; 1969), Williams (1968, lvii), Jarman (1988, xxxv, 145), Kirby (1991, 70), and Koch (1997, xxx-xxxiv, 175).

unusual for this date, so the identification of the *Elued* of the poems with Bede's Elmet has less to recommend it than that of Elvet in Durham.[27] The presence of Gwallawg at the battle of *Metcaud* (Lindisfarne) in 547 suggests in addition that Elvet was closer at hand than South Yorkshire.[28] Jackson recognized that the twofold division of Northumbria in the sixth century appears partly to be explained by the existence of the Durham hills as an area of intractable country characterized by the absence of early Anglian archaeology and survival of British river names, and this would offer a context for the survival of a small, British-named kingdom.[29] The assimilation of a British name to Anglo-Saxon from its phonetic proximity to a word of different derivation was a not uncommon occurrence and Durham's *Ælfæt ee* may belong to this class.[30]

There exists the possibility therefore that the Durham peninsula began life as an Iron-Age and British hill-fort deriving the name of Elvet from a hinterland that included an ecclesiastical site on the opposite side of the river. The unusual size of the parish of Elvet alerts us to this.[31] The pairing of secular and ecclesiastical *foci* would be paralleled from the British centre of Bamburgh-*Metcaud*, while at Tintagel in Cornwall, amphorae sherds recovered from the yard of St. Materiana's church appear to indicate that it stands in some relationship with the high status post-Roman secular settlement

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[27] Jackson (1953); Jackson (1963a), 31, note 3.

[28] *HB* § 63. The conventional date arises from the combination of the chronology provided for the early Bernician kings in the 'memoranda' attached to the Moore manuscript of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* with an assumption that it marks the first arrival of the Saxons at Bamburgh, recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

[29] Jackson (1953), 210, 220.

[30] Compare Hereford, below, p. 143.

[31] Cambridge (1984), 79.

on Tintagel Island.[32] The complex at Durham would probably have fallen into Anglo-Saxon hands by the beginning of the seventh century, and may have continued in both secular and ecclesiastical capacities up to and beyond the consecration of Pectwine. If the account of the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesie* is to be credited, the secular functions of the peninsula may have been abandoned by 995, when Earl Uchtred of Bamburgh had to 'cut down and uproot the whole forest and make the place habitable', but that the community of St. Cuthbert should have been enticed from Chester-le-Street to Durham at all suggests the continued existence of a settlement and church in the vicinity.[33] This is reinforced by the pre-Cuthbertine date that may be assigned a cross-shaft from St. Oswald's, the parish church of Elvet.[34]

For Jedburgh the earliest record belongs to the tenth century and tells of the foundation of the church by Ecgred of Lindisfarne in 854.[35] If one accepts that the fragments of a sculptured stone shrine displayed in the Abbey Museum belong at Jedburgh, an Anglian ecclesiastical presence is taken back to the later eighth century.[36] Since there is a long-cist cemetery in the vicinity of the Abbey,[37] there is clearly potential for the transition of an ecclesiastical community from British to Anglo-Saxon control as a going concern. Smith defined Jedburgh as the lowland focus supplanting the Romano-British fort at *Dunion*, and tribal centre at *Calchvynyd.* If this

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[32] Nowakowski and Thomas (1990), 2, 22-5; Nowakowski, Thomas and Crowe (1992), 1, 3.

[33] *HDE* III, 1-2.

[34] Cramp (1984), 66-7.

[35] *HSC* § 9; *HR* 854.

[36] Craster (1954); Cramp (1983), 280-82, *pace* Radford (1955), 46-7.

[37] RCAHMS (1956), I, 37; Henshall (1958), 275.

interpretation is correct then the site would constitute another example of the close coexistence of ecclesiastical and secular power.[38] In the cases of Durham and Jedburgh, continuity does not touch directly upon hagiography. At others it does, and it is to these that we now propose to turn.

1.2 MELROSE, CARLISLE AND SAINT CUTHBERT

The biography of Saint Cuthbert illustrates the cosmopolitanism of ecclesiastical power in seventh-century Northumbria. Cuthbert was the product of an Irish education imparted to him by his master Boisil at the Anglian monastery of Old Melrose.[39] The place of Boisil's training is unknown, but Iona is a possibility. Melrose tradition held that the monastery had been founded by Aidan or by Oswald and populated with Ionan monks.[40] Iona's influence was maximized in the intra-mural zone between the late sixth and later seventh centuries, but it had its limits and one should be careful not to project onto lowland Scotland a type of monasticism more appropriate to early medieval Ireland.[41]

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[38] Smith (1983), 14; (1990), 198, 280-83.

[39] *VCA* § 14. Cuthbert and other Melrose brethren were expelled from the new monastery of Ripon for failure to accept Roman practices after the Synod of Whitby (*VCP* §7). A useful synopsis of the sources for the 'Melrose period' of Cuthbert's life is provided by Stancliffe (1989, 29-31).

[40] Wade (1861), 83.

[41] Bede (*HE* III.26) does not, it should be noticed claim that Aidan 'founded' Melrose, merely that Eata, who was Abbot when Cuthbert entered the monastery was Aidan's protégé. The *Chronicle of Melrose* (Anderson, Anderson and Dickinson, 1936) begins by reproducing the chronological summary of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* (*HE* V.24) and so casts no light on the matter.

Old Melrose is believed to have been an ecclesiastical centre of British origin that passed into Anglian hands in the sixth century. The evidence of developed, literate Christianity in middle Tweeddale explains what appears to have been a greater resilience to the undoubted paganism of Anglian settlers, and the consequent perpetuation of the British name *Mailros*, 'a bare promontory'.[42] During his time at Old Melrose, we are told that Cuthbert 'went forth from the monastery to correct the errors of… sinners… and came to the neighbouring villages', where, in accordance with 'the custom at that time among the English people' (*moris eo tempore populis Anglorum*) all would gather round to hear him preach.[43] This suggests that the church at Old Melrose had responsibility for the pastoral care of the local inhabitants, and that despite its Irish associations was anything but 'monastic'. Although Bede refers to monks keeping a rule, Cuthbert is termed priest and prior, and Eata priest and abbot.[44] Churches with such a combined aspect are most familiar from Anglo-Saxon England, but British institutions seem to have been similar, and Bede's description does not therefore necessarily imply the 'Anglicization' of the church at Old Melrose.[45]

The site of Boisil's monastery, 3 km east of the present town of Melrose and situated within a meander of the Tweed is comparable to other ecclesiastical sites of British origin, like Glasbury and Welsh Bicknor.[46] A *vallum* can still be traced across

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[42] Smith (1990), 262, 285-301.

[43] *VCP* § 9; *HE* IV.27.

[44] *VCP* §§ 6, 7, 9, 19 etc. *VCP* § 11 suggests that *monachus* was considered a grade on the ladder to becoming a *presbiter*.

[45] See the comments in the Glossary under 'British' and 'Mynster', and sources there cited.

[46] *HE* IV.27; V.12. For the Welsh sites, see the following chapter.

the neck of the promontory.[47] Though it is low-lying by comparison, like Durham it perhaps originates as a defended settlement.[48] The medieval chapel of St. Cuthbert stood on a knoll in the woods behind the nineteenth-century villa (beneath which more substantial remains were thought to lie),[49] but it is probable that some buildings also stood on the flats inside the meander. Despite being twice destroyed, the settlement was probably not abandoned until the early eleventh century when Boisil's relics arrived in Durham.[50]

Cuthbert is also associated with Carlisle. Uninterrupted occupation of the town has been supposed from a variety of bases, all of which are necessarily tentative.[51] These are chiefly the place-name, found as *Luel* in British sources and *Lugubalia* in Latin, a form still known to Bede,[52] the continued importance of Roman roads and Bede's account of the 'citizens' conducting Cuthbert on a tour of the walls in order to view a remarkable *fons*.[53] Though excavation is yet slight, it has failed to demonstrate continuous occupation, rather than the phased reuse of sites, and the early Christian

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[47] RCAHMS (1956), 303-4, and plate 88; Wade (1861), 82-102, 336; Wood and Richardson (1995), 20-21.

[48] Thomas (1971), 35-6, fig.11; Smith (1983), 13, 25, 40; Smith (1990), 202.

[49] Bower (1852), 8. A corbel of red sandstone was found on the site (Curle, 1929, 363).

[50] *HDE* III.7 (Arnold, 1882, I, 88).

[51] The case for Carlisle's importance is put by Thomas (1981) and McCarthy (1982, 1993). O'Sullivan (1980b, 61-5) provides a more critical assessment.

[52] Thomas (1968a), 114-6; (1981), 291. Armstrong et al. (1950, I, 40-42) and Jackson (1959, 77; 1963b) trace the development of the name. *Luguvalium* is attested on tablets dating to the 80's AD (McCarthy, Summerson and Annis, 1990, 4). It is possible -though unlikely- that an abandoned site might retain its name.

[53] *VCP* § 27; McCarthy et al. (1991), 60; McCarthy (1993), 35.

associations of *Lugubalia* remain hard to pin down, for the town itself has produced no monuments or inscriptions of fifth-, sixth-, or seventh-century date.

The *Confessio* and letters of St. Patrick, which carry weight because they are more or less contemporary with the events described, appear to lend credence to the continuity of the Roman town as an administrative centre. It is thought that Patrick's family's lands at *Banna* were in the region of Birdoswald, on Hadrian's Wall, where excavation has revealed the construction of timber halls above the granaries of the Roman station in the fifth and sixth centuries.[54] It is argued that Patrick's father could not, as we are told, have belonged to the *Ordo,* the Roman public service, were not civil life to have continued uninterrupted at a neighbouring large settlement, and that therefore Carlisle must be the place at which other members of his family had risen to ecclesiastical office, and in which Patrick himself underwent his initial training. From this grows the belief that Carlisle must have had a bishop. All of this is plausible enough, but none of it is proven. It is particularly strange that Patrick does not mention Carlisle anywhere in his autobiography, were it to have been of formative importance for his early life.

A stronger case may be made for Carlisle's importance in the seventh century. The lives of Cuthbert, in the words of one commentator 'make a point of linking the saint to Carlisle'.[55] In the 670's, Bishop Wilfrid had taken Cumbrian lands into his

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[54] Breeze and Dobson (1976), 274; Thomas (1981), 310-14; Wilmott (1989, 1997). This lends support to the view that we should regard timber halls in the north as 'in point of technique essentially British', for the arrival of Anglo-Saxons in the area would otherwise be brought impossibly close to Patrick's own time (Smith, 1990, 229, 234; 1991, 277).

[55] Thacker (1989), 116.

control, and Northumbrian authority clearly extended to Carlisle in the decade following.[56] Bede confirms the existence of a mynster at Dacre and tells us of the presence of a Northumbrian reeve at Carlisle at the time of Cuthbert's visit.[57] He identifies four Anglian ecclesiastical settlements in the near vicinity, one of them a nunnery or double-monastery of the highest status.[58] We are told that Irminburg, second wife of the Northumbrian king Ecgfrith stayed at 'her sister's monastery' in Carlisle while her husband battled against the Picts, and later retired there. Cuthbert, meanwhile was invited 'to a neighbouring monastery to dedicate the chapel' and then 'into Carlisle to ordain some deacons to the priesthood'.[59] Bede adds that a priest with the Anglo-Saxon name Herebert visited Cuthbert annually from his hermitage on St. Herbert's Island in Derwentwater.[60] Cuthbert's presence indicates that Carlisle occupied an important place in the bishop's tour of his diocese, the existence of royal monasteries how ecclesiastical significance might be an expression of political control.

The *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto,* a 'narrative cartulary' of the later tenth century records the grant of Cartmel and other Cumbrian lands to Cuthbert by Ecgfrith and recounts the sponsorship and consecration of a Danish king by Eadred, 'the holy abbot of Carlisle' towards the end of the ninth century. Northumbrian control of Carlisle may have been in doubt by the early years of the tenth century, when the community of

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[56] *VW* § 17; Colgrave (1927), 37; Haddan and Stubbs (1868), II.i, 5; Koch (1997), cxvi-cxvii.

[57] *HE* IV.32; *VCA* IV.9; McCarthy (1993), 35.

[58] Although *HSC* § 5 and *HDE* § 9 imply foundation, Bede -our earliest witness- does not, and it may therefore be incorrect to claim (McCarthy et al., 1990, 372; McCarthy, 1993, 34) that Cuthbert 'founded' any monastery in Carlisle.

[59] *VCP* §§ 27, 28.

[60] *VCA* IV.9; *VCP* § 28; *HE* IV.29. O'Sullivan (1980a), 74; Rose (1982), 132.

St. Cuthbert tried to embark for Whithorn from Workington (not the most logical choice) and in around 910 Abbot Tilred of Heversham was forced to flee east across the Pennines by Viking raids.[61]

The influence of the Northumbrian church in Cumbria can also be identified inferentially from Anglo-Saxon names of places with parish churches, and from Anglo-Saxon dedications, of which Cuthbert and Oswald are the chief.[62] St. Cuthbert's church, lying on the edge of the areas in the west of Carlisle that have produced Anglo-Saxon finds, and which significantly respects a Roman road, is believed to be the oldest in the city.[63] Although the establishment of the see of Carlisle in 1133 provides an equally appropriate context, it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the historical links of Cuthbert with this region, as presented by Bede, led to his pre-Conquest commemoration.[64] The form of the name *Cudbriht* assigns in all probability the dedication at Kirkcudbright (Dumfriesshire) to the Anglo-Saxon period.[65] Visited by Ailred, Abbot of Rievaulx (Yorkshire) in 1164, Reginald of Durham's account leaves

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[61] *HSC* §§ 5, 6, 13, 20, 21; Haddan and Stubbs (1868), II.i, 6; Whitelock (1955), 261; O'Sullivan (1980a), 73; Bailey and Cramp (1988), 5; Dumville (1997), 25.

[62] Oswald: MacKinlay (1914), 233-5, 245-58; Meyvaert (1994), 149, fig. 8; Binns (1995), 245, 252, 257, fig. 8.

[63] McCarthy et al. (1990), 181-3, 372; (1991), fig. 42; McCarthy, Summerson and Annis (1990), fig. 6; McCarthy (1993), 34-40. Apart from a couple of Northumbrian coins of the ninth century, the finds are not closely datable, but include pins that may be taken back as far as the later seventh on stylistic grounds. Excavation has shown that the site of the present cathedral only became important in the tenth century.

[64] Rose (1982), 130, 134; Summerson (1994), 378.

[65] Brooke (1991a), 299, 305, 311. For an unusual view of the Scottish Cuthbert dedications, see Boyle (1976).

little doubt that this was a decayed collegiate church that had maintained its secular character into the post-Conquest period, to the disgust of ecclesiastical reformers.[66]

Arguments for Carlisle's post-Roman political and ecclesiastical importance also draw upon the definition of Cumbria as a whole as an area with a continuing and vital British heritage, but these are less strong. It is clearly the case that early Christianity in Cumbria, in common with the rest of the Western seaboard must be supposed to fall within a British rather than Anglo-Saxon paradigm of development, but the Cumbrian settlement landscape is a palimpsest in which Anglo-Saxon, Strathclyde-British and Scandinavian overlays obscure any British substratum. British names rate a high 29% in Cumbria, but this may well be misleading.[67] The earliest names in the region hence appear to be those of Anglo-Saxon origin.[68] The coincidence of clusters of Anglian and 'Viking-Age' sculpture in a few lowland areas may equally indicate the adoption of the new forms by Anglian patrons as the transfer of such estates to Hiberno-Norse control during the tenth century.[69] Unless the Scandinavians intruded themselves exclusively into the poor-quality British uplands, already marginalized by the Anglo-Saxon lowland presence, the almost complete absence of genuinely early British names in Cumbria must be the result of very significant Anglicization of the region during the Northumbrian hegemony. Analysis of place-names in Galloway has

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[66] Reginald of Durham, *Libellus*, §§ 84-5 (Raine, 1835, 178-9); Oram (1988), 257-9; Hill (1997), 23-4. He records how Ailred witnessed priests (*scolastici*, *clerici*) bull-baiting in the cemetery on St. Cuthbert's day.

[67] Jackson (1963b); Bailey and Cramp (1988), 5-6.

[68] Fellows-Jensen (1985), 75-6; O'Sullivan (1985), 26-7. Brigham, Addingham, Heversham and Workington are among the more important examples.

[69] For contrasting views on this, see the contributions by Higham, Bailey and Fellows-Jensen in Baldwin and Whyte (1985).

raised the possibility of the existence there of discrete blocks of British territory in tribute to Anglo-Saxon and later to Hiberno-Norse lords, but this does not appear to have been true of Cumbria.[70]

The only saint peculiar to Cumbria for whom a 'Celtic' pedigree is claimed is St. Bega, eponymous foundress of the church and monastery of St. Bees (*Sancte Bege de Kirkeby*, 1291) and dedicatee of Bassenthwaite (*Bechokirk*, 1302).[71] According to her twelfth-century life, she came as a refugee from Ireland in the seventh century after being told that she must marry a Viking prince (*filius regis Norwagensis*). She led the life of a hermit at her chosen spot, founded a nunnery, was an exemplary abbess, was forced to flee to Northumbria where she attracted the attention of bishop Aidan and the king and added to her reputation as a miracle-worker, returning thence to Cumbria, where she died and where her relics were venerated.[72] *Beāg* was Old English for 'ring' or 'bracelet', so there is probably a linguistic connection between the name *Bega* and a cross-incised Hiberno-Norse arm-band or bracelet (*armilla habens signum sancte crucis in summitate*) once preserved as a relic at St. Bees.[73] Given the late date of Bega's tradition it is not however possible to determine which is earlier.

The *vita* is clearly a work of synthesis, highlighted by the chronological impossibility of Bega's seventh-century marriage to a Viking. Previous commentators

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[70] Brooke (1991a), 300; (1994), 51-5.

[71] Armstrong et al. (1950), II, 430-31; Graham and Collingwood (1925), 17.

[72] London, British Library, Cottonian MSS, Faustina B.iv, fols 122^{r}-138^{v} (*saec. xiii ineunte*). On the authorship and date of the *vita* see Last (1953, 59-64).

[73] Graham and Collingwood (1925), 15-16; Butler (1966), 95-101; O'Sullivan (1980a), 69-70. An analogous case is presented by St. Mary's, Beaminster (*Bega Monasterium*) in Dorset, but here *beāg* is interpreted as 'ringwork' (Barker, 1982b, 107-8).

have drawn attention to the use of material proper to Begu, visionary nun of Hackness, related by Bede.[74] The Anglo-Saxon context of Cumbria between the late seventh and tenth centuries raises the possibility that a cult of Begu at St. Bees was of Northumbrian inception. The references to Begu (mediated through Bede) would thus be the original element, the remainder accretions arising from the local context of the cult in an area subject to Hiberno-Norse settlement. The account of the translation of Begu's relics from Hackness to Whitby in 1125 that forms part of the *Vita Sanctae Begae* was written at St. Bees, but clearly derives from a Whitby source. William Meschin refounded St. Bees as a cell of St. Mary's, York in 1120, but St. Mary's had no claim on Whitby in this period, so over and above the two houses' competition for Bega's relics, the account would appear to demonstrate an existing connection of St. Bees with Whitby.[75]

St. Bees lies within an estate-cluster ('township') by the Old English name of *Preston* that may be co-extensive with its original endowment. The site of its church has not produced any Anglian material, but has not been examined in sufficient detail to determine whether it conceals structures of Anglian date.[76]

The commemoration of St. Ninian is known from Cumbria.[77] Writing between 1135 and 1140, Gaimar was under the impression that the Picts converted by Ninian

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[74] *HE* IV.23; O'Sullivan (1980a), 68-72.

[75] *Vita Sanctae Begae* (Wilson, 1915, 508); Binns (1989), 84; Rose (1982), 127; Butler (1987), 92.

[76] O'Sullivan (1980a), 311-2; Winchester (1985), 97.

[77] Graham and Collingwood (1925), 9; O'Sullivan (1980a), 199-214.

were the *Westmaringas* or the men of Westmorland.[78] Others have supposed that Cumbria represented the missionary's first training ground, Carlisle his place of origin. Cumbrian dedications might thus be supposed to relate to his historical influence.[79] Critics have dismissed the commemoration of Ninian as resulting from his later medieval popularity, but the possibility of an earlier origin is raised by the Northumbrian sponsorship of his cult at Whithorn in Galloway in the eighth century. They would be tokens not therefore of an historical British saint, but of the cultural pull of an Anglo-Saxon church that was a centre of pilgrimage.[80]

The excavation to date of three Cumbrian parish church sites has not indicated pre-Anglian use.[81] Examination of other indications such as the curvilinearity of churchyards has not progressed far enough to produce meaningful results.[82] The characteristics of multiple estates have been traced in the Cumbrian parish system, but while the dedications of Cumbrian churches may appear to be typologically distinct from the Anglo-Saxon, this is most probably the misleading result of Strathclyde and Scottish influence from the tenth century and later. The earliest stone sculpture is certainly of Anglian form, its closest affinities being with that of Hexham, Hoddom and Ruthwell, a confirmation of the commonality of Northumbrian administration on both sides of the Solway from the eighth century.[83] In the current state of knowledge it is

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[78] *L'Estoire des Engleis*, lines 967-970 (Bell, 1960, 29); Simpson (1945), 92.

[79] Simpson (1940), 26; (1950), 158; Thomas (1981), 283.

[80] See below, pp. 37-86.

[81] Ninekirks, Brougham (O'Sullivan, 1980b, 203-14 and figs. 6.2-3), Dacre (Bailey and Cramp, 1988, 3) and St. Michael, Workington (Flynn, 1997).

[82] A preliminary survey indicated that only one in ten Cumbrian yards might be considered curvilinear (O'Sullivan, 1980a, 212; 1980b; 1985, 31-2).

difficult therefore to speak with confidence of the Anglo-Saxon church in Cumbria, but we can at least state that the evidence for it is at least as great as that arguing for the British origin of Cumbrian ecclesiastical institutions.

1.3 DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY

The lands of the Solway's northern shore have proved particularly rich in datable and detailed evidence relating to Anglo-Saxon political and ecclesiastical influence. The runic poem and artistic motifs of the Ruthwell cross establish a secure Anglian presence in the east of the region by the closing years of the seventh century, whilst the appointment of a bishop to Whithorn establishes that Northumbrians were in control there by the early eighth.[84] The political and ecclesiastical structures of Northumbrian rule may nevertheless owe much to pre-existing British forms. Divided from east to west by a succession of rich alluvial valleys, and bounded by intractable uplands to the north, the physical geography of Dumfriesshire and Galloway has had a strong influence on settlement and administrative patterns. The rivers Urr and Cree served as the boundaries of medieval deaneries and probably reflect ancient demarcation-lines, whilst the northern watershed (one of the earliest types of boundary) might represent the border between the British kingdoms of Strathclyde and Rheged.[85] The region shows patterns of dispersed settlement common to British areas, and has defended hilltop centres of Iron-Age origin, namely Cruggleton, the Mote of Mark and

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[83] Graham and Collingwood (1925), 12-15; Bailey (1980), 83; Rose (1982), 132; Winchester (1985), 92-3, 98; Bailey and Cramp (1988), 10-11, 23.

[84] Bailey and Cramp (1988), 19-22, 69-71; Cassidy (1992) *passim*; Mac Lean (1992), 70.

[85] Hare (1942), 355, 359; Oram (1988) 306; Phythian-Adams (1995). The reader is referred to Dumville (1997, 26-7) for a summary bibliography of the speculations concerning the *Gall-Gaidhil* and Galloway's early ethnic history. I would not wish to augment them.

the Isle of Whithorn.[86] Centres of settled Anglian authority similarly conform to models noted elsewhere in Northumbria, being on lower ground at key nodal points or adjacent to an existing high status settlement.[87] The names *Arsbuttil* and *Buittle*, which contain the Old English element *botl* ('hall') occur at sites of arguably British origin, while the importance of places with Old English names as estate *capita* may be indicated by their dominant position within their parishes.[88]

Topographical evidence supports the idea of large *paruchiae* originating in a pre-Northumbrian network of multiple-estates and following the primary divisions dictated by geography.[89] The differences presented by the pattern of parishes in the east, where fragmentation is the norm and in the far west, where Glenluce, Kirkinner and Penninghame are very large can be explained in terms of the church of Whithorn's extended exercise of central control over its hinterland.[90] The distribution of sculpture confirms the longevity of the threefold administrative division of the region, for while Anglian sculpture of the types known from the Northumbrian heartlands is found in the east, there is a dearth of excavated sculpture from Kirkcudbright and a clear block of sculpture in the Whithorn area, post-Anglian in style and demonstrating the influence of Hiberno-Norse forms.[91] This may in part have been influenced by the availability of suitable stone, but the repetition of motifs first employed in Wigtownshire on

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[86] Cruggleton: Ewart (1985), cited by Hill (1997, 14); Brooke (1991b), 5-7; Stell (1991), 146-8. Isle of Whithorn: RCAHMS (1912), 177; Thomas (1992a), 11.

[87] Brooke (1991a), 298, 301-2, 308-9, 314.

[88] Oram (1988), 299-300, 327; Hill (1997), 14.

[89] Brooke (1991a), 303, 313-4.

[90] Cowan (1967), 76, 120-21, 163; Craig (1992), I, 213, 294, fig. 10; (1994), 73.

[91] Craig (1990); (1992), I, 214-8, 266, 272, 277-8; figs. 1, 11; III, *passim*; IV, plates 100-191.

monuments of the sixth century indicates rather that a choice was made to adhere to an established corporate identity.[92] The distribution of tenth-century sculptures belonging to this 'Whithorn school' at places that were later to become parish-centres indicates that they marked the subordinate estates of the church.[93]

The sculptural distribution and pattern of parishes in western Galloway is a powerful argument against William of Malmesbury's assertion that the church of Whithorn was abandoned through Viking attack in the tenth century, and for its continuous existence as a landlord before and beyond the Northumbrian period.[94]

1.3.1 HODDOM AND SAINT KENTIGERN

The establishment of Northumbrian rule from Carlisle to Whithorn in the eighth century may be thought to have been characterized by the organization of pastoral provision within the context of a system of mynsters. Evidence from Kirkcudbright, Hoddom Bridge, and Whithorn appears to bear out the collegiate character of important churches.[95] At Hoddom, excavation to the north of the ruinous church has revealed buildings thought to belong to the 'service sector' of a secular collegiate community, while tenurial connections suggest that it was the mother church

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[92] The greywackes of the Rhinns and Machars are suitable for flat-formed slabs but not for the heavy moulding deployed for instance on the Ruthwell Cross, a monument of red sandstone.

[93] Craig (1992), I, 212-4, 274-5.

[94] *GP* III, § 118 (Hamilton, 1870, 256-7). For a re-assessment of the potential for Viking disruption at Whithorn and other places see Dumville (1997).

[95] See above, pp. 26-7 for Kirkcudbright, previous page and below, pp. 75-6 for Whithorn.

of Applegarth in upper Annandale.[96] Since the site is the focus for a cluster of high-quality Anglian sculpture of the eighth century, the inference is that the status of Hoddom results from Anglo-Saxon foundation or re-foundation.[97]

In the later twelfth century, Jocelyn of Furness, the hagiographer of St. Kentigern, patron of the church of Glasgow retailed a tradition that 'the holy bishop, building churches in *Holdelm*, ordaining priests and clerics… placed his see there for a time.'[98] If this source reliably reproduces early British traditions and it is true that a British bishop ruled from Hoddom at the beginning of the sixth century, the Northumbrian mynster would represent an important example of continuity from British to Anglo-Saxon control.[99]

It is clear however that this statement is of little historical worth. The see of Glasgow was (re-) founded by royal fiat at the beginning of the twelfth century. The earliest reference to it dates to around 1109.[100] Since the bishops of Glasgow did not recognize the Archbishop of York as their metropolitan, they were brought into conflict with the pope and more locally with the bishops of Whithorn who vaunted their

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[96] RCAHMS (1920), 93-4; Radford (1953b); Lowe, Craig and Dixon (1991); Craig (1992), I, 268-9; Lowe (1993). The church was abandoned in 1609 (Keppie, 1994, 39). On Applegarth see Reid (1928, 159-64; 1957).

[97] The majority of Anglian sculpture recovered from the site in the 1930's was used as roadstone during the last war (Radford, 1953a, 153, 155; Lowe, 1993, 88-9). The extant fragments are discussed by Craig (Lowe, Craig and Dixon, 1991, 27-34; 1992, I, 116-140; II, 128-267; IV, plates 42-69).

[98] *Vita Sancti Kentigerni*, § 33.

[99] On the *Vita* see Jackson (1958), on this passage MacQuarrie (1987, 15).

[100] Shead (1969), 222-3.

submission to the English see.[101] In the eleventh century, Scottish rule had extended to Stainmore in Westmorland. Cumbrian lands had been abandoned to Norman control in the 1090's but were still contested territory.[102] The *Vita Sancti Kentigerni* was a work of propaganda designed to support the claims of the Bishop of Glasgow for a see coterminous with the maximum extent of Scottish political power, in contravention of papal decree, against Whithorn and against the new diocese of Carlisle, established by Henry I .[103] It is in this cause that Jocelyn tracks Kentigern through Cumbria, and associates him with St. Ninian. Whilst he shows some familiarity with British traditions that may have an early origin, these appear to relate exclusively to Kentigern's birth.[104] For the rest, even in the most charitable opinion, the *vita* contains nothing of value that can be projected beyond the tenth century.[105] Traditions derived from other *vitae* and other churches are piled one upon the other. The saint is tutored by St. Servanus, is respectfully treated by St. David and St. Columba, makes St. Asaph his protégé, and (not to press the point with the pope) journeys no less than seven times to Rome, where his episcopal rank is confirmed by Gregory the Great.[106]

With this in mind it would be unwise to read anything into the juxtaposition of two important churches associated with Kentigern and Ninian in Dumfriesshire and Galloway or the association of the saints inferred from an oft-quoted passage of

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[101] Rose (1982), 124-5. See below, pp. 83-6.

[102] Smyth (1984), 230.

[103] Lawrie (1905), 49-53, 292: nos. XLIII-XLIV, LV; O'Sullivan (1980a), 66; Rose (1982).

[104] Koch (1997), lxxvi-lxxx.

[105] Jackson (1958); Shead (1969).

[106] *Vita Sancti Kentigerni*, §§ 4, 23-7, 31, 39.

Jocelyn's *vita*, in which we are told that Kentigern 'came by a straight road... as far as *Cathures* [which is now called *Glasgu*],... and then... halted near a certain cemetery which had long before been consecrated by St. Ninian... that cemetery where no other man had yet lain.'[107] *Cathures* (Cadder) was a Roman site on the Antonine Wall north of Glasgow. Whilst it is perfectly plausible that the tradition draws on Welsh material relating to St. Ninian, it is important to see this passage for what it is: a claim by Glasgow on an existing church of St. Ninian that may have acquired its association with him at any time up to the twelfth century.[108]

The *Vita Sancti Kentigerni* evidently presupposes the existence of a saint whose dedications might be used to support a current political claim. It presupposes that Hoddom was associated with him by the time of the *vita*'s composition in the 1180's. It does not establish the date of that association, let alone take it back to the sixth century. As one scenario, we might suggest that Hoddom knew nothing of Kentigern until the tenth century, when under the expanding political influence of Strathclyde, the promotion of a pan-Cumbrian cult originating perhaps in the region of Glasgow would have been appropriate.[109] The collegiate church of Hoddom obtained some relic at this period, perhaps later encasing it in the eleventh century staff-shrine 'drop' discussed by Radford.[110] When Jocelyn was commissioned to write the *Vita* of

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[107] *Vita Sancti Kentigerni*, § 9. The interpolation in square brackets was probably already present in Jocelyn's source. See Forbes (1874, 123-33, 243-52), Radford (1953a, 153), MacQueen (1956, 112-3), and MacQuarrie (1987, 4, 6, 10-13).

[108] Chadwick (1950, 37-42), MacQueen (1990, 69-71) and Brooke (1994, 25-7) constitute startling examples of wishful thinking.

[109] Rose (1982), 133.

[110] Radford (1955), 115-9. Another, of twelfth-century date, is discussed by Michelli (1986, 388). The presence of such shrines need not (*pace* Scott, 1991, 40, 43) indicate the burial of bishops or abbots.

Kentigern by his namesake the bishop of Glasgow, Hoddom, like Cadder had to be introduced into the life, their claims considered and dismissed in Glasgow's favour. More specifically, the church of Glasgow had recently contested control of Hoddom with the Brus lords of Annandale, and the bishop may have thought it appropriate to draw a line under the issue.[111]

There is, as it happens, evidence that an area adjacent to Hoddom church may have been in use in the sub-Roman period.[112] But as it stands, Jocelyn's statement cannot be used to support the idea that the Northumbrians patronized an existing cult.

1.4 WHITHORN AND SAINT NINIAN

1.4.1 THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

The archaeology of Whithorn comprises excavations on the site of Whithorn Priory and the fields adjacent to it, sampled between 1949 and 1975, but begun in earnest by the Whithorn Trust in 1986, plus the analysis of inscribed monuments, sculpture and small finds recovered from Galloway's southwestern peninsulas, in particular from sites associated with the cult of Ninian, saint of Whithorn.[113] It enables us to state with certainty that Christians were present in the area continuously from the sixth century if not before. The issue becomes more complex however when we attempt to define this presence in terms of ethnicity or of political or ritual allegiance.

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[111] Scott (1991), 44.

[112] Lowe (1993), 91-2.

[113] Radford (1950, 1957a); Radford and Donaldson (1953), 4, 20; Tabraham (1979); Hill (1987, 1988a, 1988b, 1990, 1991a, 1997); Pollock (1990, 1993, 1995). On the mostly later medieval stones from the cave at Physgill see Johnston (1883), Maxwell (1885a, 1885b, 1887) and Radford (1951). On the Luce Bay finds, see Cormack (1965).

The excavations on the southern slope of the knoll on which the remains of the medieval cathedral stand have uncovered a complex of perhaps Romano-British origin that was the scene of significant consumption in the post-Roman period. Its find assemblage equals or surpasses many high-status British sites.[114] Important early medieval buildings of inferred ecclesiastical use were terraced into the southern slopes of the knoll. Rectangular and trench-cut, two of these employed heavy timbers supported by posts and overlay structures of wattle and daub characterized by curved-corners and cavity-walls. The third had a stone footing and was identified as a mortuary or 'burial chapel'. The wooden structures were joined at a later date to form a building featuring on its south side a full-length arcade, which the excavators interpreted as a church, subsidiary to a more important structure and shrine on the summit to the north.[115] Any remains here would probably have been destroyed by twelfth- century levelling of the knoll, but excavations at the east end of the cathedral revealed traces of a lime-washed structure of early medieval date associated with Northumbrian and pre-Northumbrian oriented burials, while that of the northward slope of the knoll has confirmed that the whole area was occupied in the Northumbrian and pre-Northumbrian periods.[116]

Multiple churches are not unknown, but are chiefly associated with double-monasteries. The Whithorn 'church', in the mid range of the structures posited is unlikely to have been a religious focus in its own right.[117] It may be compared (if on a

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[114] Hill (1997), 297-326.

[115] Radford (1957a, 181), cited by Hill (1997, 10); Hill (1997), 41-5.

[116] Radford (1950); Thomas (1981), 283; Pollock (1993, 1995).

[117] Hill (1997), 44, fig. 2.12.

smaller scale) with the timber halls known from Anglo-Saxon secular sites such as Atcham, Birdoswald, Cheddar, Kirkconnel, Milfield, Old Dunbar, Sprouston and Stratford, and it is therefore possible that its identification as a church is premature. There is admittedly a dearth of insular timber churches with which to compare the Whithorn structure but an external arcade would surely be unusual for a building with a religious function. Given the parallels from the eastern borders, and lack of comparable structures of earlier date in Galloway, the timber buildings may indicate the adoption of an eastern technique. Although this does not presuppose the arrival of a new ethnic group, in the case of Whithorn, this is likely on other grounds.[118]

A sequence of open-air 'shrines' was also brought to light by the excavation, none of which appears to have been a structural relative of the corner-post structures posited by Thomas for Ardwall Isle (Kirkcudbright) and St. Ninian's Isle and Papil, Burra (Shetland), but which support the theory that the ecclesiastical site at Whithorn started life as an enclosed 'developed cemetery'.[119] The Whithorn 'shrines' stood on raised circular or near-circular platforms, possibly surrounded by wattle fencing. A stone later inscribed LOCI PETRI APUSTOLI is believed to have comprised one element of the 'shrine' of the pre-Northumbrian and early Northumbrian periods. The foundation technique is known from earlier platform settlements, but in the case of Whithorn, the small diameter of the circular stake-built structures upon them point away from habitation.[120] Associated with, if not overlying focal burials, their status as

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[118] See above, notes 9 and 54, and below, chapter two, p. 89. See also Laing (1969), Rahtz (1970, 1979), Reynolds (1980, 52-8), James, Marshall and Millett (1984) and Gates and O'Brien (1988).

[119] Hill and Pollock (1992), 6-7; Hill (1997), 34, 89-94. On developed cemeteries, see Thomas (1966, 1967, 1968b, 1971, 1973, 1983).

[120] Feachem (1963).

'ritual foci' lies in their longevity and impact on the surrounding patterns of burial and usage. It is clear that in the Northumbrian period, existing foci were respected, and if, as dendrochronological dating indicates, Northumbrians arrived perhaps a generation in advance of the construction of the terrace range, then they may also have been responsible for the shrine's relocation at the end of the seventh century.[121]

The excavators were convinced that the site was organized according to a 'double curvilinear design', a 'master plan' in which concentric boundaries divided areas of decreasing religious significance (travelling outwards from the centre), that were organized radially by function.[122] If this is correct, then Whithorn would constitute a parallel for Irish sites like Armagh and Nendrum.[123] The basis for the claim appears however to rest only on one shallow curved ditch from the Glebe field (which may well have been a drain) which 'probably continues on the north side of the hill'.[124] The radial divisions are acknowledged to be 'insubstantial at best', while 'there seems to have been no formal boundary between the inner precinct and outer zone for most of [the early] period.'[125] It is certainly possible that there were contacts with the early Irish church in the post Roman period, but the topography of the site (a church on a knoll) indicates

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[121] Pollock (1995), 3; Hill (1997) 18, 37, 130, 134-5, 141. The dates come from the latest round-cornered structures of the 'pre-Northumbrian' period (phases I.10-I.12), which show design preferences beginning to change.

[122] Hill (1997), 30-33, 67 fig. 3.1. The concept is of some significance for the Hill account, since it serves as a framework for Pollock's reconstructions (Hill, 1997, figs. 2.2-7, 2.9-12. 2.21-3).

[123] Edwards (1990), 105-112.

[124] Pollock (1995, a reference I have been unable to trace there), cited by Hill (1997, 31).

[125] Hill (1997), 35.

that any curvilinear features and functional divisions might have a wholly utilitarian origin.[126]

Whithorn and its environs have yielded Early Christian inscribed stones. Whilst their most common role must have been as burial markers, they could also serve as boundary stones, foundation stones or ritual foci.[127] The stone from Whithorn inscribed TE D[OM]INU LAUDAMUS LATINUS ANNORUM XXXV ET FILIA SUA ANN IV IC SINUM FECERUNT NEPUS BARROVADI is believed to be the earliest Christian monument at Whithorn, and to date to the later fifth or early sixth century. The inscription has been disputed but appears to mean that *Latinus*, descendent of *Barrovadus* and his daughter erected the stone in honour of the Lord. This is not epigraphically the best reading, but is presupposed by the plural verbs. The stone was not therefore intended as a funerary monument, but as a declaration of faith.[128] That bearing the words LOCI PETRI APUSTOLI is thought to be of similar date, but to have been re-cut in bookhand display *capitalis* with this inscription in the eighth century to reflect the importance of regularity of observance after the synod of Whitby.[129] At Kirkmadrine, 35 km away to the northwest, stones bearing the names VIVENTIUS, MAVORIUS and FLORENTIUS, *sacerdotes,* are generally interpreted

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[126] Thomas (1992a), 18-19.

[127] Thomas (1992a), 6-7, 19; Hill (1997), 28, 38.

[128] RCAHMS (1912), 165; Collingwood (1925), 205-6; Macalister (1945), 499-501, 520; Radford (1957a), 170; Craig (1992), III, 285-9 and *apud* Hill (1997), 614-6; Hill (1997), 619-20. This reading is closest to Macalister's. Thomas -while introducing a further confusion- has revised his opinion in this direction. Contrast Thomas (1981, 283-4) with (1992a, 5-6) and (1992b, 3, 7).

[129] Collingwood (1925), 211-2; Macalister (1945), 320, 519; Thomas (1992a), 10-11; Craig (1992), III, 188-98 and *apud* Hill (1997), 616-7; Hill (1997), 38.

as testament to the presence of continental missionaries in the sixth century.[130] The inscriptions argue *per se* for the presence of a Romano-British élite who had the means to foster the cult of a great man or early missionary, and hint that Whithorn's saint Ninian might have been so commemorated.

The evidence from the 1986-1996 excavations indicates that between the seventh and eighth centuries a religious site of some antiquity was expanded and re-developed. New construction techniques were employed, but the transition was achieved without noticeable disruption. Of itself it does not argue for the presence of a new population group, but when viewed in the light of place-names and of the historical evidence provided primarily by Bede, it becomes clear that there were undoubtedly newcomers in the area at this time and moreover that they were Anglians.[131]

1.4.2 THE NINIAN CORPUS

Saint Ninian is in many respects the classic example of a saint whose cult was influenced by its political context. A small corpus of historical and hagiological material relating to the church and cult of Ninian form the foundation of our knowledge. Aside from the *Miracula Nynie Episcopi* and *Hymnus Sancti Nynie Episcopi*, two eighth-century poems which are considered in more detail below, the pre-Conquest evidence for the cult comprises Bede's brief notice of Ninian's mission to the 'Southern Picts' in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, written about 731,[132] and a letter of

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[130] Starke (1890); Robertson (1909); (1918); Collingwood (1918); (1925), 209-211; (1938): Macalister (1936); (1945), 516-8; Thomas (1981), 284-5; Thomas (1992a), 7-9; Craig (1992), III, 115-34, and *apud* Hill (1997), 617-9.

[131] Brooke (1991a).

[132] *HE* III.4.

Alcuin to the community at Whithorn in which the scholar speaks of his delight in two or more *carmina metricae artis* about St. Ninian and sends a silk shroud in which to wrap the saint's body (*corpus*). The letter bears no date and is not addressed to a bishop. A date of between 782 and the 790's is likely on the bases (i) of the evident fact that Alcuin had just received the poems, and that they could not have been at York before his departure and (ii) that if they are to be identified as the *Miracula* and *Hymnus*, then they must have been composed before the 790's when he (apparently) made use of them for his *Versus de Patribus, Regibus et Sanctis Eboracensis Ecclesiae*.[133] Of post-Conquest sources we have the *Vita* written by Ailred, Abbot of Rievaulx in the twelfth century,[134] and histories of varying date that include information derived from Bede.[135] Ninian's day is 26th August. His chief liturgical commemorations are comprised by the nine lections of the *Officium Niniani* in the Breviary of Aberdeen, a document of the fifteenth century and by a predominantly late fourteenth-century vernacular versification attributed to John Barbour, possibly read in the church of Whithorn. Like the abbreviated *vita* made by John of Tynemouth in the mid fourteenth century, both derive their information from Ailred's *Vita Sancti Niniani*, and suggest the absence of texts of the *Miracula* from England and Scotland in the high Middle Ages.[136]

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[133] Haddan and Stubbs (1868), II.i, 8; Dümmler (1895), 431-2; Constantinescu (1974), 55.

[134] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud MSS, Misc. 668, fols. 78-89 (*saec. xii*); Forbes (1874), 137-57.

[135] John of Worcester, William of Malmesbury, Symeon of Durham, Roger of Wendover: Henry of Huntingdon, Roger of Howden, Geffrei Gaimar and Bartholemew de Cotton. These authors are useful only in tracing the development of Whithorn's name.

[136] Forbes (1872), 40-47; Horstmann (1882), 147-51; Metcalfe (1889), 40-47; (1904); Horstmann (1901), II, 218-24. Ninian is also found in the Aberdeen martyrology (*saec. xvi*: Laing, 1859, 268) and in the calendars of the Drummond, Ferne and Arbuthnot Missals, of similar date.

There are in addition a number of historical references to pre-Conquest Whithorn that do not bear directly on the cult of Ninian. The most important is an undated letter written by Boniface to Pecthelm, regarding whether a godfather can marry the widowed mother of his godchild. A similar concern with canon law and the degrees of marriage link it with two other letters that cannot have been written before 735, but there is no reason why Boniface should not have had a continuing interest in such matters, and the letter to Pecthelm may be earlier.[137] Others concern the prosperity of the eighth-century Northumbrian see noted by Bede (and later writers), the succession of its bishops to around 800 recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and northern annals (and perhaps updated to *circa* 833 in one ninth-century bishop list), and the alleged visit of the community of St. Cuthbert *circa* 880.[138] A reference to Whithorn during the undocumented tenth and eleventh centuries may be provided by *Njal's Saga*, a document of around 1280. In this we are told that from *Bretland* an Icelandic party sailed *norðr til Beruvíkr ok settu upp skip sitt ok fóru upp í Hvítsborg í Skotlandi ok váru með Melkólfi jarli þau misseri*, a statement that may be questioned from place-name evidence, but not on grounds of geographical or political improbability.[139]

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[137] Tangl (1916), 55-6 (no. 32); Kylie (1911), 74-5; Emerton (1940), 41-2; Rau (1968), 66-8.

[138] *HE* V.23; *ASC* (D, E) 763, 776, 777, 791, 796; *HR* 764, 777, 790, 796; *HDE* II.5 (*anno* 802), II.12 (*anno* 880); Haddan and Stubbs (1868), II.i, 9; Hill (1991b), 42; (1997), 18-19, 21-2. On the value of the original Northumbrian material post-dating the death of Bede included with 'Symeon of Durham's' history, see Blair (1963). On the disputed *Heaðored* of the bishop list in London, British Library, Cottonian MSS, Vespasian B.vi (fol. 109^{r}: *saec. ix ineunte*), see Page (1966) and Craig (1992, I, 51-3, 57). The most precise information on the dates and places of consecration of the bishops of Whithorn from Friðuwald to Badwulf is found in the *De Eo Quod Episcopi* (above, note 22) where it appears to derive from a version of the 'northern annals' more complete than that found either in Symeon's *Historia Regum* or in the (E) version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. The reader is referred to Craig (1992, I, 44-59) for a fuller discussion of the sources here cited, with this one exception.

[139] Webbe-Dasent (1861), 345; Sveinsson (1954), 461; Magnusson and Pálsson (1960), 332-4. On the disputed *Hvítsborg*, see Taylor (1937, 340-41), Oram (1988, 5-7), and Cowan (1991, 65, 69-70). Bretland has been identified as Cumbria or Wales, but this cannot be right since Berwick (and *Beruvíkr* must be Berwick) is on the east coast. The identification of *Bretland* as

In the following discussion it will be assumed that Whithorn is to be identified with the place known to Bede and other Latin writers as (*Ad*) *Candidam Casam* although the first explicit use of an Anglo-Saxon equivalent is made in the 'Old English Bede', a Mercian translation of ninth-century origin.[140] *Candida Casa* and Whithorn both mean 'the white house'. Since *ærne*, the second element of the Anglo-Saxon name is uncommon, but is found elsewhere in Galloway, the identification may nevertheless be thought fairly secure.[141]

The Ninian *corpus* is cohesive enough to enable a fairly accurate assessment of the development of the saint's cult from the eighth century. What it does not permit us to do is to establish Ninian as an historical figure of the fifth or sixth.[142] As signaled by Thomas' all-round cynicism and by Broun's critical appraisal, 'it is surely more profitable to view [his] biography not as a repository of fact but as a reflection of Whithorn's response to new demands and opportunities in a changeable world.'[143] A stage of perspective and reflection is now legitimate and necessary. It should be with this in mind, that we examine the texts. There are but two things that we can

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Brittany is prohibited by the Saga's statement that Flosi sailed from there across the channel to commence a pilgrimage. An identification with Cornwall is perhaps supported by the further information that Kari sailed from Dover 'west around *Bretland*'. For this usage see Fawtier (1912, 77-8).

[140] *OE Bede* V.23: *Æt Hwitan Ærne* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner MSS, 10: Winchester, *saec. x ineunte*: Miller, 1890, 478). The translation of Bede's 'mountains' as 'moorlands' (*OE Bede* V.9) in common with *ASC* (E, and hence A) 565, which excerpts *HE* III.4, may indicate that *HE* III.4 was present in some versions of the *OE Bede*. On this text, see the introductions to Miller's edition (1890, 1898) and Whitelock (1962).

[141] Brooke (1991a).

[142] The failing common to much writing on the matter and felicitously christened *Ninianismus* by one observer (Anonymous, 1935).

[143] Broun (1991), 146; Thomas (1992a), 14-19.

realistically ask of them. Firstly, is it possible to establish a link between a British cult and its propagation by an Anglo-Saxon church, and secondly do they provide evidence of Anglo-Saxon settlement in western Galloway?

1.4.3 THE CULTURAL MILIEU OF EIGHTH-CENTURY WHITHORN

The two most important texts are undoubtedly the *Miracula* and *Hymnus.*[144] The poems are found in Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Misc. MSS, Patr. 17, formerly Bamberg, Ducal Library MSS, B. II. 10, respectively at fols. 157^{v}-161^{v} and fol. 161^{v}.[145] This is a composite manuscript of 162 leaves, assembled in two volumes perhaps as early as the eleventh century and rebound in the fifteenth. The second volume includes a *florilegium* (fols. 133-162) of varied materials attributed to Alcuin from the inclusion of the adonic poem *Albinus Credulus* at its close.[146] This poem, it should be noted, was re-copied in the fifteenth century. The remainder of the *florilegium* belongs to the early eleventh century and is executed by a single scribe of the Mainz school who uses a clear and consistent Caroline minuscule ruled in two columns, without erasure or gloss. *Capitalis rustica* is used for the title *Miracula Nynie Episcopi* and for the opening letter of each line, a larger minuscule for the section titles and for the title of the *Hymnus*. Conventional abbreviations are employed, but are not preponderant. There are several

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[144] Strecker (1923), 944-62.

[145] A plate of the first fourteen lines of the *Miracula* will be found in Anderson (1964), facing page 65. The present author has examined the complete texts in photocopied form. For provenance, codicological and palaeographical considerations see Leitschuh and Fischer (1903, 363-6), Vollmer (1905, xiv-vii), Dengler-Schreiber (1979, 21-2, 94-5, 102-104, 221), and Hoffmann (1986, 168, 232, 263, 266). On the content, relations and attribution of the manuscript see Constantinescu (1974).

[146] On which, see Lapidge (1979, 294-5).

corrections in the same hand and one suggested emendation highlighted by a dotted line beneath the word.[147] It will be seen that association of the *florilegium* with Alcuin is inferred. Although the presence therein of liturgical materials of York provenance means that it does not rest entirely with the Ninian poems (assumed to be those referred to in his letter to Whithorn) and the final hymn, these features nevertheless constitute the foundation of the attribution.

The *Miracula Nynie Episcopi* presently comprises 504 lines, divided into fourteen titled sections. The poem is defective at line 277, and several lines have evidently been lost. It is possible that the chapter headings were added subsequently on the model of Bede, knowledge of whose prose *Vita Sancti Cuthberti* is implied from the identification of Ninian's Picts as *Naturae* (recte *Niduarae*), but they could certainly be contemporary. They must at least be prior to the loss of the section after 277 because that of § 9 refers to the saint's tomb, of which there is no further mention.[148] The first chapter is without a title (unless it is to be identified with the main title itself) and this leads one to suppose that material has also been lost from the beginning of the text. Comparison with similar texts suggests that it should have included a *praefatiuncula* or other preliminary material. The *Miracula* is a 'hermeneutic' text composed in the florid language employed in Anglo-Latin verse of between the later eighth and tenth centuries, whose chief characteristic is the lavish redeployment of phrases borrowed

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[147] *MNE* 416, *celo* for *olimpo*.

[148] Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Misc. MSS, Patr. 17, fol. 159^{v}, col. 2, first line. The scribe does not acknowledge this in any way. From the length of the adjacent chapters we might have expected the poet to have continued for at least another fourteen lines. See Strecker (1920, 9) and below, p. 71.

from other authors.[149] The *Hymnus Sancti Nynie Episcopi* is an alphabetical acrostic of twenty-seven paired line verses with repeated half-lines at beginning and end.

The analysis of the *Miracula*'s metre and more general considerations of style confirms its membership of the 'Northumbrian' group of poems which includes Alcuin's *Versus*,[150] composed on the continent in the 790's and Æthelwulf's *De Abbatibus,* a poem thought to have been composed between 803 and 821 at or for an unnamed Northumbrian monastery subject to Lindisfarne.[151] Orchard concluded that the high number of dactyls and absence of fully spondaïc lines associates the *Miracula* with these authors rather than with Boniface or Aldhelm, perhaps indicating differences in the teaching of metrical skills between northern and southern England. If Northumbrian in metre, the poem nevertheless shared other stylistic features with southern poems like the *Epitaph of Bugga*, which led him to place it in more general terms between the Northumbrian and 'Southumbrian' groups.[152] This medial position is confirmed by the comparative analysis of the vocabulary of the *Miracula* against Æthelwulf's *De Abbatibus* and Aldhelm's *Carmina Ecclesiastica.*[153]

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[149] Lapidge (1975).

[150] Rheims, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 426, fols. 210^{r}-214^{v} (*saec. xii ineunte*). Edited by Godman (1982).

[151] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodleian MSS, 163 (Peterborough, *saec. xi ineunte*); Arnold (1882), 265-94; Campbell (1967). The house has been identified with Crayke, near Whitby (*HSC* § 20; Craster, 1954). Æthelwulf's familiarity with the diction of the York school need not mean (*pace* Lapidge, 1989b, 171) that the poet worked in Yorkshire.

[152] Orchard (1994), 247, 260-65, 289-91, 293-8.

[153] Æthelwulf's knowledge of the *Miracula* is indicated by a number of borrowings (Campbell, 1967, xlvii). While he did not borrow so shamelessly, Alcuin's stylistic profile places him in close company with Æthelwulf and the poet of the *Miracula* (Godman, 1982, lxxiii).

In the view of Levison, Orchard and Lapidge, the *Miracula* was 'nothing but a mosaic of borrowings', 'a cut-and-paste pastiche' or 'a cento of verses from… earlier poets'.[154] The poet shares with the Southern group a heavy reliance on Aldhelm, in his case arising probably from the combination of a mechanical method of construction and the paucity of available materials at Whithorn. While it may be the case that the style of the poem is therefore irrecoverable by traditional methods, the poet was still exercising his creative faculties in choosing which phrases (usually no longer than four or five words) to borrow. There can be little doubt that he had his favourite words and phrases. To take an example at random, the poet uses the phrases *haec ubi dicta dedit* and *mirum dictu* each three times.[155] Neither occurs in Aldhelm's *Carmina Ecclesiastica*, nor in Aethelwulf, nor in Alcuin's *Versus*, nor in Bede's *Vita Metrica*,[156] so irrespective of whether these phrases were borrowed from some other source, they demonstrate that at least in respect of these usages, the poet was his own man, departing both from his favoured texts and from the training he had received.

In recognizing the poem's mechanical construction, the quantitative analysis of vocabulary therefore helps us interpret the poet's style in a very direct way. The poet's vocabulary profile indicates how the *Miracula* lies closer to Æthelwulf and the contemporary Northumbrian tradition, than to Aldhelm, while its further resolution reinforces the family resemblance of the authors.[157] The stylistic evidence means that there can be little doubt that the *Miracula* is the product of a Northumbrian milieu.

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[154] Levison (1940), 283; Lapidge (1985a), 232; Orchard (1994), 260.

[155] *MNE* 132, 179, 265; 228, 319, 437.

[156] In so far as this was remarked by Strecker (1923) and Jaager (1935).

[157] See below, Appendix A (I).

Alcuin writes that *carmina* about Ninian were *nobis per fideles nostros discipulos, Eboracensis aecclesiae scolasticos, directa,* but at three places in the *Miracula*, the poet uses phrases approximating to 'our monastery'.[158] Since Ninian is not known to have been culted anywhere else in the pre-Conquest period (including York), this has usually been taken to imply that the poet worked at Whithorn.[159] Strecker believed, additionally, that the flattery of Alcuin's letter of thanks indicated that he was still living there.[160] It is certainly possible that Whithorn possessed a scriptorium whose library included the works of Aldhelm, Bede and perhaps a small number of classical authors used in the poems, for Pecthelm had himself been a student of Aldhelm at Malmesbury, and is shown by a letter of Boniface to have been considered a man of considerable erudition.[161] Although the excavations at Whithorn have failed to uncover a scriptorium, three *styli* have been recovered from displaced contexts, together with other implements whose use in the production of manuscripts may be argued.[162]

We know the poet of the *Miracula* to have been familiar with Bede's *Vita Metrica Sancti Cuthberti* from a number of borrowings in the poem.[163] Knowledge of another of his works there is arguably demonstrated by the *Hymnus Sancti Nynie Episcopi*.[164] It cannot be established that this was the second of the *carmina* sent to

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[158] Dümmler (1895), 431; *MNE* 82, 99, 324; Strecker (1920), 16.

[159] On the late arrival of the cult of St. Ninian at York see Palliser (1986, 60-61). He is absent from the ninth-century York calendar (Wilmart, 1934, 65-8).

[160] Strecker (1920), 8, 16.

[161] *HE* V.18; Tangl (1916), no. 32, 55-6; Strecker (1920), 18.

[162] Hill (1997), 35, 122, 378-9. An eighth-century date is possible for these.

[163] Jaager (1935), 8, and *apparatus*; Lapidge (1989a).

[164] Strecker (1923), 962. The *Hymnus* is translated below, as Appendix D (I).

Alcuin from York, but their juxtaposition at the conclusion of the *florilegium*, and common continental transmission make this highly likely.[165] Its authorship in common with the *Miracula* may be inferred from numerous borrowings from the longer poem, and its equally prodigious use of Aldhelm.[166]

The *Hymnus* is composed in the same abstruse style as Bede's *Hymnus Sanctae Edilthridae*, on which it is almost certainly modelled and from which it occasionally draws, but without any of that poem's redeeming features.[167] Correspondences with Bede's poem include:

(i) the use of floral similes in the description of Mary's virginity (verse F).[168]

(ii) the reference to the saint's entombment (verse P).[169]

(iii) the presence of the Devil as a snake (verse Y of both texts).[170]

(iv) the singing of hymns (verse E of the 'Amen').[171]

In contrast to the *Hymnus Sanctae Edilthridae* the saint is first mentioned in verse (K) rather than (N) and, unlike Æthelthryth, Ninian appears again in verse (X), possibly reflecting the greater importance attached to the advertisement of his name.

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[165] Strecker (1920), 25.

[166] Strecker (1923), 962, *apparatus*; Orchard (1994), 291.

[167] *HE* IV.20; MacQueen (1991), 23. On the independent transmission of Bede's hymn, see Jaager (1935, 53).

[168] *Hymnus Sanctae Edilthridae*, verse 8 (H).

[169] *Hymnus Sanctae Edilthridae*, verse 20 (U).

[170] *Ydrus*. Bede's *Ydros* also serves for *hydrops* (dropsy).

[171] Strecker (1920, 25-6; 1923, 962) also noted several correspondences of vocabulary.

The precise function of hymns in this style is unclear but their structure makes them suited for singing antiphonally and other hymns were clearly liturgical.[172] Since it contains no 'historical' material not in the *Miracula*, the *Hymnus Sancti Nynie* has been understandably neglected, but it may nevertheless constitute evidence of how Northumbrian liturgical practices had entrenched themselves at Whithorn by the later eighth century. Although one might highlight a greater sense of physical detachment from Ninian's church (expressed through the use of *istic* and *illic* rather than *hic*), the poem is more likely to have been composed at Whithorn than at York.[173]

A York connection is nevertheless presupposed by Alcuin's letter, by consecrations made to Whithorn by bishops of York (at York and Durham), and by bishop Badwulf's function (it seems) as a suffragan or *choriepiscopus* between 795 and 802.[174] The poems were not, it is considered, known to Bede, and their composition is likely to be later than 731, their transmission south certainly after 781, the year that Alcuin left for the continent. The *Miracula*'s stylistic relationship with Æthelwulf suggests that the poet belonged to the same school, and was trained at York. What makes the composition of the *Miracula* at Whithorn more likely than York is the more limited range of the poet's literary borrowings and the contrast they offer with the

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[172] Strecker (1920), 25; Lapidge (1993), 6-7.

[173] Both *istic* and *illic* are used in the *Miracula*, but the sense is different. The *illic* of the *Miracula*'s closing line refers only to the heavenly halls, whereas that of the *Hymnus* (verse 27) supports a dual interpretation.

[174] *ASC* (E) 795, *HR* 796, *HDE* II.5 (*anno* 802). Whithorn was York's furthest see. It seems unlikely that Badwulf would have attended consecrations at York on these three occasions were he not to have been there for much of the time.

extensive claims made for the library of the York school by Alcuin.[175] That the *Miracula* is heavily dependent on Aldhelm and never rises above 'a duffer's work' illustrates the limited number of sources available to him.[176] Copies of the poems remained in the York library where their use in teaching may have influenced Æthelwulf and account for parallel usages in the *De Abbatibus*.[177] Alcuin borrowed several of the *Miracula*'s phrases for his lives of saints and one (possibly) for his York *Versus,* believed from internal evidence to have been a project undertaken during the 790's.[178] No further use was made of the work in England and it is likely that the copies at York and (undoubtedly) Whithorn were lost before the eleventh century. It may therefore be proposed that the *Miracula*, and probably the *Hymnus* too, were products of an author trained at York, but writing at Whithorn in the 780's.

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[175] *pace* Lapidge (1989b), 166, note 29. On the Library of the school at York, see Leach (1915, 60-63), Stallbaumer (1971, 290-92), Lapidge (1979, 292-4; 1985b, 45-9), and Godman (1982, lxv-lxxiii).

[176] Strecker (1920), 22. Strecker appreciated that many of the Miracula's classical borrowings might be better understood as indirect and via Aldhelm or Bede, but nevertheless believed it possible that the works of Juvencus, Cyprianus Gallus, Sedulius and Dracontius (if not Venantius) may have been in the Whithorn Library (Strecker 1920, 19-20, 24; Orchard, 1994, 263). Given the 'more or less shared character' of the Anglo-Latin poems, he concluded that only in exceptional cases would it be possible to determine the immediate origin of a phrase.

[177] Strecker (1920), 21-3; Æthelwulf's use of the *Miracula* is charted by Campbell (1967, xlvii-viii) and Lapidge (1989b, 167-70).

[178] Strecker (1920), 23-4; Godman (1982), xlv-lii; Lapidge (1989b), 166. It would be difficult to trace more than these instances of borrowing, since the *Miracula* consists almost entirely of reused word-groups from authors also known to Alcuin.

1.4.4 THE CHARACTER OF NINIAN'S EIGHTH-CENTURY CULT

The *Miracula* has important information to disclose about the influences present in the cult of Ninian in the later years of the eighth century. This may be recovered from the comparative assessment of the hagiological motifs it employs. This approach is best conducted in parallel to the consideration of the poet's use of earlier materials relating to the cult of Ninian and his poem's relationship with the *Vita Sancti Niniani* of Ailred of Rievaulx.

The *Vita Sancti Niniani* is outwardly a late life of a familiar sort that has little to recommend it as the record of an eighth-century cult. Although he believed that the *Miracula* was unknown to Ailred, the poem's editor noted that there were a number of linguistic correspondences between the texts that might be attributed to derivation from a common source of ultimately British origin.[179] This supposition rests on the presence of exclusive information in either source which is not in Bede and which can sometimes be linked to later Welsh traditions. The clearest case may be made for the *Miracula*'s treatment of a miracle (5 below) relating to the hoof-print of a bull in rock. The miracle is of a common and long-lived topographical and aetiological class designed to explain natural features and names, of a type almost wholly unknown from Anglo-Saxon *vitae*, and most frequent in later traditions, where the features referred to are frequently rocks and springs.[180] For such a miracle to succeed, it has to have a

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[179] Strecker (1920), 11-16.

[180] Strecker (1920), 15; Levison (1940), 286; Thompson (1932), A 972, A 972.1, A 972.4, B 256; Brewer (1884), 241-2. The *Mirabilia Brittanniae* of the *HB* (§ 73), a section dating to the ninth century, record the tradition of a dog's pawprint at *Carn Cafal* near Builth (Morris, 1980, 6, 42, 83). The currency of such traditions in the twelfth century and later is reflected by the *Vita Sanctae Milburgae* (below, pp. 119-20) which records how the saint's donkey set its print in stone 'as if into pliant mud', by the Chronicle of Melrose, *sub anno* 1165 (Anderson, Anderson and Dickinson, 130) which records a print of the Devil's horse at *Scardeburch*, and

punch-line usually in the form of a place-name or consisting in the statement that the feature 'is there to this day to prove it'.[181] In the *Miracula* we are told simply that *mirum dictu torvus vestigia taurus impremit silici velut in mollissima cera*; *unguibus et teneris cessit firmissima cautes* and it is left to Ailred to add *et ob vestigium loco nomen designans. Adhuc enim ipse locus anglice Farres Last, latine Tauri Vestigium, nuncupatur*.[182] *Farres Last* is Old English for 'the bull's hoof-print'. It is hence apparent that the poet of the *Miracula* is abbreviating: like Bede's metrical reworking of his *Vita Sancti Cuthberti*, gone are many names, places, features and much incidental information. In their place stands universalization and generalization.[183]

It is clear therefore that the *Miracula* must be based on an earlier source or sources, and that a written tradition with information not in the *Miracula* was known to Ailred. This is supported also by Ailred's statement that he was recasting a life written in a *sermo barbaricus*, *sermone rustico*, *nimis barbarico stilo,* into *lucem latine locutionis*.[184] An Old English recension of the lost text has been supposed from the inclusion of the place-name *Farres Last.* A case for a British or Gaelic tradition underlying this recension rests in turn on the assumption that *Farres Last* must have been a translation from or approximation to an earlier British name.[185] Both are

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by 'the mark of the shoe of Beuno's horse on *Maen Beuno*', Cwm, Flintshire (Wade-Evans, 1930, 329).

[181] Levison (1940), 286-7. Adamnan, III.17 provides an example of the onomastic legend in its simplest form.

[182] *MNE* 227-30; *VN* § 8. The place is unidentified.

[183] Jaager (1935), 4-5.

[184] Forbes (1874), 137-8. *lucem latine lingue* is a neater alliteration than *lucem latine locutionis*. Had he meant this, Ailred would surely have said it.

[185] Forbes (1874), 29; Metcalfe (1889), 29; MacQueen (1991), 17, 20.

possible, but there is no reason to suppose that an Old English name cannot have been present in a Latin text. Ailred moreover is precise: he does not say *barbarica lingua*, but *barbarico stilo*, further *nimis barbarico stilo*, and this can only refer to a work of rusticated Latin inferior to his refined tastes.[186] Elucidation of the question awaits the further examination of the style, vocabulary and structure of the *Vita Niniani*.[187] The tradition used by Ailred would either have been a precursor of the *Miracula* or a contemporaneous counterpart, a fuller treatment written by the same author in the tradition of the *opus geminatum*, popular in the eighth century.[188] Even if the 'lost life' preceded the *Miracula* by some years, it need not have been of pre-Northumbrian date.[189] Its textual tradition survived at Whithorn until the twelfth century.

Examination of the deployment of hagiological motifs in the *Miracula* might help to establish the extent of pre-Northumbrian tradition at Whithorn. The key motifs are the following:[190]

(1) A king temporarily blinded for being unreceptive to the saint (104-149).

(2) A speaking newborn baby resolves disputed paternity (150-182).

(3) The rapid growth of vegetables out of season in the monastery's garden (189-208).

(4) Stupefied cattle-thieves and the resuscitation of their leader (209-226, 233-249).

(5) A bull imprints its hoof on a rock just as in molten wax (227-232).

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[186] Strecker (1920, 5-7, 15-16), *pace* MacQueen (1990, 5).

[187] A composite concordance of the two texts confirms only the small number of correspondences detected by previous commentators (work conducted by the author).

[188] Godman (1981); (1982), lxxiv-vii; Berschin (1989), 99, 101; MacQueen (1991), 17.

[189] Strecker (1920), 16.

[190] Compare Strecker (1920, 9-11) and now the table in Hill (1997, 3). I have omitted the 'biographical' motifs. Ninian's mission to the Picts (*MNE* 63-70) is considered below, pp. 77-81.

(6) The saint is born aloft by angels in a blaze of glory (269-277).[191]

(7) Various healings, what Bede would have called *signa sanitatum*, mostly posthumous (250-256, 278-373).

(8) The transformation of the mass host into the Christ-child (374-449).

To these may be added four motifs that are only present in the *Vita Sancti Niniani*:

(1) The cattle of (4) above are constrained by a circle drawn on the ground with the saint's bachall, and their theft is prevented (§ 8).

(2) The saint's wonted protection from rain fails when he has an *illicita cogitatio* (§ 9).

(3) A boy steals the bachall and flees the monastery in a hideless coracle but is brought safely to land (§ 10).

(4) The bachall thereupon sprouts into a tree. A spring rises at its base (§ 10).

A number of parallels may be drawn. Although the scriptural basis of several motifs is clear, scripture did not provide direct models for the hagiographer. Of those in the *Miracula*, the first, third, fourth and fifth are common enough in British hagiology. The first has as its theme the conventional concretization of scriptural 'light', arising in part from Matthew 6. 22-3. Instances may be cited from Anglo-Saxon *vitae*, but in the form in which it occurs here, the closest parallels are with west British and Breton lives. The ninth-century *Vita Sancti Machutis* by Bili provides one that is

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[191] Brewer (1884), 7-8; Thompson (1932), E 754.2.2. It is unclear whether the poet envisaged this as a miracle properly speaking or whether, like the dreamlike appearance of Ninian to a paralysed boy (*MNE* 313-317), it is merely formulaïc. For Northumbrian parallels, see Colgrave (1935, 213-4).

particularly close.[192] Although miracles of 'unwonted growth' more often involve cereals than vegetables (leeks if we are to credit Ailred), we might compare the barley of Bede's *Vita Sancti Cuthberti* and the corn of the *Vita Sancti Columbae*.[193] A parallel for the stupefaction of thieves is found in Wrdisten's *Vita Sancti Winwaloei*, a Breton life of the ninth century. This is close because the thieves are constrained during the night, and the saint finds and releases them in the morning.[194] Resuscitation and resurrection by prayer are hagiological commonplaces found in British and Anglo-Saxon lives. The *Vita* (*Prima*) *Sancti Samsonis* provides perhaps the earliest and closest parallel, but similar motifs occur in the lives of Columba, Cuthbert and Wilfrid.[195]

The motif of the speaking child is known from for instance the *Vita Sancti Cuthberti*, where the saint is upbraided by a three year old, but the specific form in which it occurs here, allied with the accusation of a man of God and the resolution of paternity, is paralleled most closely from the *Historia Brittonum*, where it is said to relate to St. Germanus of Auxerre, and from the medieval lives of Aldhelm. Given the chronological uncertainties attending the compilation of the *Historia Brittonum*, it is impossible to say whether the British life of Germanus was influenced by traditions

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[192] *Vita Sancti Machutis*, I.48, I.49 (Le Duc, 1979, 133-5; Yerkes, 1984, 62-5). MacQueen (1962, 120) cites a similar miracle from the thirteenth-century *Vita Sancti Kebii*, §§ 6-7 (Wade-Evans, 1944, 236-7; Doble, 1964, 108). See also MacQueen (1980, 11-12) and Wakeford (1994, 13-14, 52-3) where twenty-six instances are cited from medieval sources treating Anglo-Saxon saints, of which eleven are anchored in the Anglo-Saxon period.

[193] *VCP* § 19; Adamnan, II.3. Thompson (1932), F 815.1; Merdrignac (1986, D 2145.2.2; D 2157.2.1) cites two later instances from Breton lives.

[194] Thompson (1932), Q 555, 555.1; *Vita Sancti Winwaloei*, §§ 23-4 (Doble, 1962, 74).

[195] *VPSS* I.28, I.49; Adamnán, II. 33; *VCP* § 32; *VW* § 23; Thompson (1932), E 121.4, E 121.5; Brewer (1884), 78-84.

attached to Ninian, or vice versa. If the motif was associated with Aldhelm at Malmesbury before 735, it may of course have been known to Pecthelm. As there are no linguistic parallels between either passage and that of the *Miracula*, we can venture no further than this.[196]

The foregoing motifs were all therefore of a well-worked stock. This cannot however be said of the miracle of the transubstantiation.[197] The Whitby *Liber Beati Gregorii,* written in the initial decades of the eighth century, recounts an 'ancient story' set in Rome in which a doubting woman is shown the host in the form of a bloody finger. Whereas in this instance, the priest prays that *Christus filius Dei vivi dignaretur ostendere an verum corpus eius esset*,[198] the Whithorn priest we are assured was no doubter but wanted simply to see Christ in the flesh.[199] The visual demonstration of transubstantiation was therefore a motif not unknown to the Anglo-Saxons, yet the manner in which it occurs in the *Miracula*, if cast in the language of others, was genuinely unheard of before.[200] Typologically distinct from the other miracles in that neither is it performed by the saint nor through his intercession, but results instead from a request made in prayer to God, it forms the climax of the *Miracula* and occurs

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[196] *VCP* § 1; *HB* § 39; Faricius, *Vita Sancti Aldhelmi* § 2 (*saec. xi*: Migne, 1863, col. 69); *GP* V, § 219 (*saec. xii*: Hamilton, 1870, 366); Thompson (1932), H 481, T 585.2, T 615.1; Brewer (1884), 355-6. On the British Germanus see below, chapter three, notes 250 and 269.

[197] Thompson (1932), T 39.4; Brewer (1884), 489-95.

[198] *Liber Beati Gregorii*, § 20 (Colgrave, 1968, 104-8).

[199] *MNE* 395-7.

[200] The borrowings respectively from Aldhelm and Bede in this miracle may be found in the lists compiled by Orchard (1994, 289-91) and Strecker (1923, 957-9, *apparatus*).

fittingly at its close.[201] It contains a number of common subsidiary hagiological motifs, but as a demonstration of the literal truth of the Eucharist, appears to arise as much from an expository as hagiological background.[202] The derivation of the motif from some lost text circulating in eighth-century Northumbria is made singularly unlikely by the miracle's solitary occurrence, and the context of its employment at Whithorn would thus appear to have been one of theological discussion within the community there.

The miracle was so unusual that in the ninth century it was used as an *exemplum* by the theologian Radbertus Paschasius of Corbie. The close correspondence of phraseology means that there can be no doubt that Radbertus, who describes his source as *de Gestis Anglorum* was working from the *Miracula*, and his tract provides the only recovered use of the Miracula during the period of its continental transmission.[203] Why therefore is it not present in the *Vita Sancti Niniani*? The most obvious solution would be to suggest that the miracle was not present in the text used by Ailred, and is hence an original addition made by the Northumbrian poet from a tradition current at Whithorn during the episcopate of Pecthelm or his successors, but not in the 'pre-Northumbrian' life. That Pecthelm would have been interested in such matters is suggested by the letter of Boniface. Internal evidence exists however of Ailred's knowledge of the miracle, for in that which takes its place in the *Vita* he tells us that the skin of a leper was *restituta... sicut caro parvuli* ('restored just like the flesh of a little child'), an illogical

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[201] The miracle admittedly takes place above the saint's altar, but his involvement is not explicit.

[202] The breaking of the Eucharist by angels is paralleled from *VPSS* I.44, and from later Breton lives (Merdrignac, 1986, V 242.2.1).

[203] *Liber de Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, XIV, 5, quoted in full by Strecker (1923, 957-9). See also Strecker (1920, 6-8), Levison (1940, 6-7), Bulloch (1953) and MacQueen (1990, 7). On subsequent continental incarnations of the miracle, see Brewer (1884, 491) and Browe (1938, cited by Levison, 1940).

association.[204] The *Miracula* uses *restituit* in the closing lines of the miracle before the child (*puer*, *pignus*, *infans* there) resumes its former appearance. The last miracle of the *Vita* is of a quite different style than those preceding and its suffocating use of scriptural parallels (thirteen of twenty-six lines) may indicate that Ailred was extemporizing. In the light of the inclusion of similar motifs on the one hand by Jocelyn in his life of Ailred's childhood friend Waldef of Melrose, and on the other by the similarly Cistercian *romanciers* of the *Queste del Saint Graal*, working early in the next century, Ailred's omission is most interesting. Radbertus, whose works may have been known to him, had attracted controversy and discussion of the moment of transubstantiation was still current in the twelfth century.[205] We can only suppose that Ailred, or his sponsor Bishop Christian of Whithorn was unwilling to court a charge of unorthodoxy.[206]

The *topoi* of saintly proof against rain, and the miraculously undamaged book are common, the way in which they are used here less so.[207] Ninian, we are told, was affected *cogitatione illicita, etiam desiderio quodam suggestione titillabatur*

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[204] *VN* § 12 (Forbes, 1874, 39).

[205] Bulloch (1953); Matarasso (1969), 261-2, 274-6, 303. The kneeling Lancelot's imprecation of Christ bears a close resemblance to the beseechings of the priest of the *Miracula*, and the continental authors would of course have been familiar with Radbertus.

[206] MacQueen (1991), 21-2.

[207] Thompson (1932), F 930.1, F 971.5.1, F 971.7. Forbes (1874, 290) notes parallels from Jocelyn's *Vita Sancti Kentigerni* (§ 35) and from the *Vita* of St. Aidus of Ferns, MacQueen (1962, 122) from the similarly late *Vita Cainnici* (§ 16). With the undamaged book can be compared Adamnan, II.8, the *Vita Sancti Machutis*, I.10 (Le Duc, 1979, 53) and *HDE* II.12, where Saint Cuthbert's book is brought to land on the opposite shore of the Solway. There are others. Such miracles reflect the high value of books apart from anything else.

demonica.[208] His book formerly kept spotless from the rain was momentarily blotted. The letter of Boniface to Pecthelm (730 x 735) and biographical information provided by Bede (*circa* 731) establish the bishop as a theologian of some repute. They provide an appropriate context for the study and production of books at Whithorn.[209] We note that amongst the material attributed to Pecthelm by Bede is found the motif of the two books set before the dying man. The book offered by the demons recorded *omnia* [*eius*] *scelera, non solum quae opere vel verbo, sed etiam quae tenuissima cogitatione pecca*[*verat*].[210] In counterpointing entrenched sins with puny virtues it may be compared to the account of the vision of a monk of Much Wenlock in Shropshire known to Boniface by 716, and possibly shared with Pecthelm.[211] The Wenlock monk tells of how king Ceolred of Mercia was protected *quodam umbraculo contra impetum demoniorum quasi libri alicuius magni extensione et superpositione*, and of how it was removed when the angels were apprised of his crimes.[212] Writing *circa* 730, the author of the *Vita Sancti Guthlaci* compares (what may be interpreted as) a rainstorm to a band of demons.[213] It is with these accounts that we should compare the second miracle contributed by Ailred. The poet of the *Miracula*, writing we have

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[208] *VN* § 9 (Forbes, 1874, 151): 'by an unlawful thought: by the devilish promptings of desire'.

[209] Tangl (1916), 55-6; Haddan and Stubbs (1868), II.i, 310.

[210] *HE* V.13.

[211] Tangl (1916), 7-15. See below, chapter two, note 122.

[212] Idem, 14; Sims-Williams (1990), 271.

[213] Felix, §§ 31-3 (Colgrave, 1956, 100-109).

supposed in the 780's, may therefore have had to chose from motifs deriving from the time of Pecthelm's episcopate.

Whithorn has been identified with *Futerna*, *Rosnat* or *Magnum Monasterium*, a renowned monastic school mentioned in the eleventh-century Irish *Hymnus Sancti Mugintii* and in the *vita* of Finnian of Moville. A web of tendentious associations has been constructed from references to saints known in Irish sources by the common soubriquets *Uinniau* and *Mo-nenn*.[214] Ninian was certainly culted in Ireland, and Cardinal Ussher refers to an Irish life (also seen by the Bollandists) which held that Ninian had retired to the Irish monastery of *Cluain Conaire* and was entombed there.[215] The miracles of the saint's bachall have in this context been adduced as evidence of Irish influence at Whithorn either in the earliest years of the church or between the tenth and twelfth centuries.[216] There is some archaeological evidence of Irish input in the latter period, but the Irish character of these elements is not unimpeachable. Similar miracles exist in a fair number of lives of Irish saints, but the motifs have a wider distribution.[217] Fifteen parallels for the spring have been cited from Breton *vitae*, of which at least one might be as early as the seventh century.[218] The magic circle occurs

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[214] Forbes (1874), 292-4; Bernard and Atkinson (1898), I, 22-3; II, 112-3; Fahy (1964); Wilson (1964, 1969); Boyle (1967, 1968, 1969, 1973); MacQueen (1990), 41-2; Hill (1997), 3-4.

[215] Ussher (1639), 209; Boyle (1968), 59.

[216] Hill (1997), 2, 59-60.

[217] Miraculous voyages: Thompson (1932), D 1277, D 1567.4, D 1388.1.1, D 1567.4; Loomis (1948), 205. Saint's Bachall: Thompson (1932) classes D 927.1, D 1254, D 1567.6, F 971.1; Brewer, (1884), 53-54; MacQueen (1962), 122; (1980), 6-7, 18-19. Magic circle: MacQueen (1962), 121.

[218] *VPSS* I.41 (Fawtier, 1912, 136-7); Merdrignac (1986), D 1567.4. Doble (1998, 35) recovered two instances in the lives of Anglo-Saxon saints (neither of which I have been able to trace). The twelfth-century *Vita Sancti Kebii*, § 15 (Wade-Evans, 1944, 243-5) presents a close parallel, but is surely derivative.

in the twelfth-century life of the Breton saint Sulien.[219] The miracles of Ninian's bachall must undoubtedly be treated with caution, since the largest number of parallels is from post-Conquest lives. The miracle of the book nevertheless shows that the poet of the *Miracula* may indeed (as he tells us) have omitted miracles from his account, and so an earlier origin for the legends of Ninian's bachall, if unlikely, cannot be ruled out. If they are early, they can equally have resulted from British as from Irish influence.

The largest class of miracles -three in the *Miracula*, and four in the *Vita Sancti Niniani*- are the records of cures effected at Ninian's tomb and/or cave.[220] That these were believed to constitute the most important element of the poem is perhaps indicated by the emphasis laid on healing at the first mention of Ninian's foundation.[221] The same miracles are repeated, but with some abbreviation in the *Vita*, which provides an additional account of the cure of two lepers beside a spring, perhaps that referred to earlier in the life. The *Miracula* names the participant of the first as a one-time brother of the monastery by the name of *Pethgils*, while the others are dated to the Northumbrian period by Ailred's inclusion of Old English personal names of eighth-century type.[222] The posthumous cure of leprosy, paralysis and blindness at a saint's tomb or by his relics is an overpowering feature of saints' cults.[223] The *Miracula*'s emphasis on healing specifically through 'incubation' beside the tomb is somewhat less

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[219] Cited by MacQueen (1962, 121, note 23).

[220] *MNE* 278-324; 325-340, 341-373; *VN* §§ 12-15; Hill (1997), 19-20. See below, pp. 73-5.

[221] *MNE* 92, 94-96: *Hec domus est domini, quam plures visere certant... nam curant multi morbo contracti vetusto, prompta salutifere capessunt munera cure; omnibus et membris sancti virtute virescunt.*

[222] See below, note 262.

[223] Thompson (1932), D 2161.1, D 2161.3, D 2161.5.1, F 952; Merdrignac (1986), D 2161.1.1-2161.3.1; V 221.1-V 221.12. The cures have an obvious ultimately scriptural derivation.

common.[224] Later traditions record similar cures, but, none goes back to the eighth century.[225] For earlier dates the correspondence appears to be limited to the continental observation of the cult of St. Martin, with whom, as Bede and the *Miracula* inform us, the church of Ninian was specially associated.[226] Martin was known at Canterbury in the eighth century and the lives by Sulpicius Severus and Gregory of Tours were no doubt widely available. The presence at Whithorn of ecclesiastical personnel from southern England provides a context for the cult's transmission.[227]

The emphasis on incubation at eighth-century Whithorn may therefore have been arrived at independently, may have absorbed existing British traditions or may have resulted from the Northumbrian cult of Martin. Whilst it undoubtedly stands in some sort of relation with the near-eastern cult of Asklepios, it is unnecessary to suppose the programme's fifth- or sixth-century genesis at Whithorn through direct contact with Gaul at this early period, particularly since all the miracles relating to incubation are Northumbrian.[228] The importance of healing at Whithorn in the Northumbrian period is supported by the presence of medicinal herb assemblages, and

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[224] Levison (1940), 286; Hill (1997), 20. The verb *incubo -are* occurs twice, at *MNE* 369 and 406.

[225] *Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium*, III.5 (*saec. ix exeunte*: Brett, 1989, 201); *Vita* (*Prima*) *Sanctae Wenefredae*, § 46 (*saec. xii*: Wade-Evans, 1944, 306-7: strictly resurrection); *Vita Sancti Ronani/Rumonis*, § 14/9 (*saec. xi eueunte/xii*^{2} : Grosjean, 1953, 396). See Merdrignac (1986, 55-6) for further citations. We should probably except the tale of Cuthbert's shoes healing a paralytic during the night (*VCP* § 45), as resulting from secondary relics.

[226] *HE* III.4; *MNE* 88, 91; Gregory of Tours, *Historiae Francorum*, VIII.16 (Thorpe, 1974, 448); Alcuin, *Epistolae* (Dümmler, 1895, no. 245).

[227] Jaager (1935) 3-4; Levison (1946), 34, 259; Wilson (1968).

[228] Flint (1991), 347-50.

it is likely that the unusual emphasis that the aspect receives in the *Miracula* relates to the organized promotion of the site as a centre of pilgrimage.[229]

The strong, tightly-structured biographical element characteristic of comparable Anglo-Saxon *vitae*, like Bede's lives of St. Cuthbert is lacking in the *Miracula*, but this does not call into question the Northumbrian milieu of the poem. The reasons are twofold. The first is that the Anglo-Saxon lives of saints of the eighth century (namely those of Cuthbert, Wilfrid, Ceolfrid, Guthlac and Gregory) were dealing with historical figures of known biography. Only in the case of the *Liber Beati Gregorii* had the subject lived some years beyond living memory.[230] Ninian's hagiographer, by contrast, was treating a figure believed to have lived in the remote past. St. Alban would form the closest parallel for St. Ninian in early Anglo-Saxon hagiography, but notwithstanding the information of Gildas and Bede's summary (in part derived from Gildas, for the rest from the continental *Passio Albani*), we really have no way to assess what shape the life would have taken.[231] The second is that in any case, the *Miracula* does not claim to be biography but, as indicated by its title, first and foremost an account of the saint's miracles. The practical rationale behind the cult's propagation is more obvious than in the other eighth-century lives, and it is therefore not at all clear whether we are comparing like with like. If the *Miracula* lacks the sense of movement and chronological direction common to the other lives, this might be as much a factor of its purpose as of the nature of the tradition available to the poet. The

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[229] Hill (1997), 40, 124.

[230] Very roughly in each case 15 years (*VCA, VCP*), 10 years (*VW*), 10 years (*Vita Sancti Ceolfridi*), 15 years (Felix) and 110 years (*Liber Beati Gregorii*).

[231] *HE* I.7, I.18, I.20; Gildas, *De Excidio Britonum*, §§ 10-11 (Winterbottom, 1978, 19-20, 92).

structural comparison of the *Miracula* with other Anglo-Saxon lives of the eighth century does not therefore enable us to answer questions relating to the complexion of the community at Whithorn.

Similar problems attend the comparison of the *Miracula* with the 'Celtic' hagio-biographical tradition. The structural differences with Adamnán's *Vita Sancti Columbae*, written roughly a century earlier need hardly be highlighted. Like the *Miracula* it discusses a person beyond living memory (if one of known existence), and like the *Miracula* it demonstrates a preponderance of miraculous over strictly biographical content. It differs however in the nature of the motifs employed. Adamnan grouped Columba's miracles into three thematic blocks, treating almost exclusively of the powers of the saint whilst he was alive.[232] The *Miracula*, on the other hand, seeks to weigh the miracles of Ninian in favour of the contemporary context of the tomb of the saint. There is no prediction, telepathy, postcognition or unwonted knowledge in the *Miracula*, none, that is, of the *prophetiae spiritus*,[233] common to Bede, Felix and Adamnan.[234] Neither is there control over the elements (another feature common to the *vitae* of Columba and Cuthbert), although this factor was obviously present in the

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[232] Adamnán, III.1.

[233] *VCP* §§ 11, 24, 34 and Felix, § 43 use the phrase (borrowed from Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* II.11).

[234] Prediction: *VCP* §§ 8, 11, 12, 13, 15, 24, 33; Adamnán, I.1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24, 25, 27, 29, 30, 31, 33, 35; II.4, 5, 9, 14, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 29, 31, 32, 34, 39, 40, 43; III.9, 23, 24; Felix, §§ 50, 52. Telepathic visions (chiefly deaths and invocations): *VCP* §§ 27 (King Ecgfrith in battle), 34; Adamnán, §§ I.7 (King Aidan in battle), 8, 23, 29, 33, 34, 35; II.12, 14, 25, 34, 41, 43; III.8 (clearly autosuggestion), 10, 11, 12, 13, 14; Felix § 43. Postcognition: Adamnán, §§ I.35; II.5, 40, 43; III.9, 16; Felix, §§ 40, 44. Knowledge: Adamnán, §§ I.10, 13, 26, 28, 32, 35; II.18; III.17; Felix, §§ 46-7.

material used by Ailred.[235] There is a further absence of typical animal motifs.[236] Though wrongs directed against the saint are punished, he does not make direct threats or deliver death-dealing curses, allegedly 'Celtic' features which occur in the lives of both Columba and Samson, and in a large number of later texts.[237] In terms of the progression of motifs, *Miracula* and *Vita* are similar to west British *vitae*, where we also regularly find noble or royal birth, the journey to Rome, the encounter with non-believers, the meeting with a recalcitrant king (or queen) and at length the foundation of a religious community.[238] This would appear to confirm their membership of that group of generalized, vaguely formulaïc traditions, existing structurally apart from the life of Columba.

The miracles attributed to Ninian in the *Miracula* and *Vita* fall into a class of motifs akin to but not explicitly paralleled from Anglo-Saxon lives, while the miracles added by Ailred seem more directly comparable to material with a British context. The *Miracula* belongs to a structural tradition that is British rather than Anglo-Saxon, but it cannot be determined that the poet was working from a pre-Northumbrian source. What is clear is that the content of the *Miracula* represents a selection made in the cause of promoting Whithorn as a centre of pilgrimage among the Anglo-Saxons. The miracles offer a range of motifs that probably reflect the different influences present at Whithorn

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[235] The favourable breeze that filled Ninian's sails and wafted him to the continent at lines 32-34 is a formula rather than a hagiological motif (in this instance). Compare *VW* § 7 and *VCP* § 3.

[236] *VCP* § 10, 12, 20, 21; Felix, §§ 37-39.

[237] Adamnán, I.29, 31; II.21, 23 ('prophecy of death'), 24, 26, 27, 34; *VPSS* §§ 26, 55.

[238] The *Vita* (*Prima*) *Sancti Petroci* (*saec. xi/xii*, below chapter three, p. 227) may serve as an example with most of these elements. Where it is accorded, the name of the king in these lives invariably begins *Tud-*. *MNE* 104 calls him *Tudvael*, in the *Vita* (*Prima*) *Sancti Petroci* (§ 8) he is *Teudur*. Both are attested British names, neither (*pace* Simpson, 1935, MacQueen, 1990 *et alii*) is probably an historical figure. See Doble (1960, 106).

in the eighth century. The emphasis on incubation indicates how the community was apprised of the continental traditions associated with St. Martin and in touch with southern England. The importance of bishop Pecthelm, a West Saxon, is reflected in his consultation by Boniface on a matter of doctrine, and can be inferred on other grounds.[239] The transubstantiation miracle is evidence of theological discussion at Whithorn in the eighth century, while the parallels adduced for the miracle of the rain-shower suggest that the tradition used by the poet of the *Miracula* and known to Ailred was of the time of Pecthelm's episcopate or shortly thereafter.

Given the focus of the surviving early Anglo-Saxon lives on historical figures, the *Miracula* in fact offers a unique opportunity to study how an Anglo-Saxon hagiographer would cope with an early insular saint. He assembles the -no doubt complex and contradictory- local traditions (most likely lines 1-149 and 189-249), adds new material and perhaps invents a spurious historical structure to bring order to his composition.

1.4.5 THE SETTING OF THE *MIRACULA NYNIE EPISCOPI* AND THE ORGANIZATION OF THE MYNSTER

The Ninian corpus also provides some direct information about the complexion of the community at Whithorn in the eighth century, with which to supplement the archaeological record. This is essentially of two types, and relates on the one hand to the topography, architecture, and cultual foci of the site and on the other hand to the people living and working there, their offices and functions.

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[239] See above, pp. 44, 58-60, and below, p. 78.

Ailred provides some additional topographical information, but this may relate to his own time and should doubtless be used with caution. The question of Ailred's reliability in matters of local topography rests on whether he is believed to have visited Whithorn. The evidence is conflicting. He is known to have visited Dundrennan in connection with the promotion of reformed Cistercianism against the remaining secular collegiate churches, of which Whithorn appears to have been one. Reginald of Durham recorded his presence at Kirkcudbright in 1167. He was evidently friendly with Bishop Christian of Whithorn, who commissioned the new life, but his local geography appears more than once to be seriously awry.[240] In any event, his evidence is inconclusive for the eighth-century church, and we must fall back on the *Miracula.*

Poets writing in the hermeneutic style were conventionally obscure or outlandishly periphrastic when describing physical things. Without the benefit of an allusive *Candida Casa* and without the continuity of the cult of Ninian at Whithorn, we should, as is the case with Æthelwulf's *De Abbatibus*, not have the faintest idea of the location of the church described in the *Miracula.*[241] Like his colleague our poet prefers *templum*, *aula,* or *basilica* to *ecclesia.*[242] If the descriptive phrases in neither author should be taken at face value, it must nevertheless have been true that they bore some relation to reality. Thus when the *Miracula* describes the *coctilibus muris* of the church at Whithorn, he is not describing brick walls literally, for bricks were not used by the Anglo-Saxons, but he cannot be describing a timber church. There is no doubt that the

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[240] *VN* §§ 3, 10; Forbes (1874), 290-92; Hill (1997), 2.

[241] *MNE* 84. *Candida... Casa* is twinned with *candida Roma* (*MNE* 49).

[242] The single occurrence of *ecclesia* is in the title to § IX.

building was of stone and substantial. When he talks of the 'lofty walls of the temple' he implies not only its physical elevation but also its status.[243] The descriptions he gives must have a factual base, since it was his purpose to attract pilgrims, and it would have been in his interest to live up to his promises. Assembling the miscellaneous architectural references we can safely say that the main church, a building of some stature both literally and figuratively was set on a hill, possibly built of stone and had a securable door. It may have been associated with a garden plot, and have been bounded by a wall.[244]

Interpretation begins to get more difficult when we move on to the tomb. It is singularly unfortunate that the text of the *Miracula* is deficient at exactly the point where we might expect the poet to describe the tomb of the saint in some detail,[245] but it is at least clear from the use of *corpus* here and in Alcuin's letter that the community venerated the (entire) relics of Ninian.[246] If Ailred's description was taken from an eighth-century source used in common with the *Miracula*, and not from contemporary information, the poet may have continued that Ninian was placed in a stone sarcophagus next to the altar and that many people were healed at this spot.[247] Ninian's tomb (*tumba*, *tumulus*, *busta*) was we are told *sulcato marmore, defossae viscera*

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[243] *MNE* 399.

[244] *MNE* 296, 399; 310; 192, 202; 324. See Thomas (1966, 111) and below, Appendix B (I).

[245] *MNE* 277. See above, note 148.

[246] *MNE* 7, 295, XI title, 326, 350, XIII title, 378, 401, 456, 461.

[247] *VN* § 11: *sepultus... in sarcophago lapideo iuxta altare, sacratissimum tumulum*; MacQueen (1990), 121.

petre.[248] The compressed and allusive language with which the poet describes it may be interpreted in either of three ways.

The first would suppose a stone shrine, partly above floor level and incorporating a 'rock-cut hollow'. This may have been in origin either a slab shrine of Irish type, a 'stone coffin', or a lined cist, over and about which the original church had been built.[249] The tomb seems to have been adjacent to the altar, and this raises the possibility that the poet is in fact describing a 'composite altar' of the type proposed for Ardwall Isle, and sites in western Britain, such as at St. Helens (Scilly) or at Perran Sands (Cornwall).[250] Such altars sometimes had accesses cut in them so that the relics of the saint might be touched by hand, and this would coincide with the poet's implication that it was possible for the sick to 'enter' the tomb whilst in the church. If so, this would be strong evidence of the British origin of the hilltop church and cult, since the use of composite altars is not known to have been a Northumbrian practice.

The second would suggest a 'crypt' containing a stone shrine, beneath the altar of the church. This would explain why only the region of the shrine had a stone floor and would make the descriptions *sub gremio terre* ('in the bosom of the earth') and *penetralia saxi* ('chambers of stone') rather apt.[251] Such an arrangement would have reflected early Northumbrian practice,[252] and have been paralleled from Ripon and

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[248] *MNE* 326, 349.

[249] Thomas (1966); (1967), 141, 167-8.

[250] *MNE* 400-401; Dexter (1921); Thomas (1967) 135-7; (1971), 178-81; Todd (1987), 290-92.

[251] *MNE*, 322, 407, 425; 279; 350. Gilbert (1974); Campbell, (1982), 82; Radford and Donaldson, (1953), 11, 19-20; Pollock, (1990), folds 10-11.

[252] Taylor (1961), 8.

Hexham, with which latter church Whithorn was traditionally connected.[253] Wilfrid's crypt at Hexham was multi-cameral and the use of *penetralia* could therefore be precise. It is also possible that the 'crypt' was in fact a *hypogeum* or relic-chamber. Greek *ὑπόγειον* ('under the earth'), these small walled chambers, whilst not unknown from Anglo-Saxon England, are not found in British areas and were more common on the continent.[254] Were one to have existed at Whithorn it would confirm the continental contacts of the church suggested by the emphasis on incubation and the mention of St. Martin, but date these to the Northumbrian rather than the pre-Northumbrian period. The early hilltop at Whithorn is believed to have comprised two ridges of outcropping greywacke surrounded by only thin layers of boulder-clay and soil, so either structure would necessarily have been 'hollowed from solid rock'. That -above ground level- of the medieval cathedral at Whithorn, which may have housed Ninian's relics dates back only as far as the thirteenth century. The levelling of the knoll at the time of its construction would explain well enough why no traces of an earlier structure remain.[255]

The third interpretation requires us to think in more abstract terms. The language used by the poet in the miracle of the blind girl implies that it was possible, literally, for someone to enter the presence of saint and to lie 'in the hollowed out cave'. Ninian was entombed in *penetralia saxi*, yet these same *penetralia* are apparently crossed by the girl after her recovery.[256] St. Ninian's cave at Physgill, 6 km away on the

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[253] Richard of Hexham, *Historia Hagustaldensis Ecclesie*, § 15, to the effect that Acca (bishop from 709-731) was said to have 'begun and made ready' (*inceperit et praeparaverit*) the see at Whithorn (Raine, 1864, I, 35; Forbes, 1874, xliv).

[254] Todd (1987), 290.

[255] Pollock (1995), 2.

coast was a destination of medieval pilgrims and the presence there of a runic inscription indicates its use in the Northumbrian period.[257] The phrases cited above as relating to a tomb, altar or *hypogeum* in the church at Whithorn might have been suggested to the poet through his knowledge of the cave, and not therefore to be interpreted as realistic descriptions of the shrine. Yet the girl was brought to the church (*templum*), and the shrine of the saint must have been there rather than in the cave. The problem can be solved if we assume the poet to have intended by his multivalent diction, to suggest the spiritual presence of Ninian (and of the *virtus* imparted by his *corpus*) throughout the local ritual landscape. He might thus apply description more appropriate to a cave to the tomb at Whithorn and vice versa, but neither need impugn his description of actual features at either place. The poet's train of thought might have run as follows. Ninian prayed *horrende noctis in antro*: in this respect he followed Martin: both brought light to a darkened world.[258] The site of the church at Whithorn where he was entombed was the seat of his ministry, figuratively the once dark cave to which he brought light. Christ and Lazarus were entombed in caves: from these their bodies were resurrected.[259] It is possible that he was influenced by scripture, by traditions about St. Martin, known at Whithorn, and by accounts of the Christian holy

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[256] *MNE* 369: *fronte premit terram defossoque incubat antro*. *MNE* 371-2: *gaudens penetralia nota... transcurrere plantis.*

[257] Maxwell (1887), 139; Brooke (1991a), 309.

[258] *MNE* 91, 489; Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Beati Martini*, § 10 (*saxo superiecti montis cavato*), whence the motif of the (episcopal) cave-hermitage probably passed to British writers (*VPSS* §§ 41, 50-51).

[259] Matthew 27. 60, Mark 15. 46 and Luke 23. 53 provide us with a tomb *quod erat excisum de petra.*

places.[260] The body of Ninian was for the poet 'present' in more than one place. Cave, church and shrine collectively constituted Ninian's 'tomb'.

From the poet's references we can therefore suppose a stone 'composite altar' or a *hypogeum* at Whithorn church. Of the two types of shrine perhaps the latter is more likely because of the emphasis laid on the burial of the saint's *corpus*. We infer that healings took place not only at the saint's tomb but in a cave (most probably that at Physgill) where the sick were taken to spend the night.

The role of the community as a college of secular clerks, living in common within the church precincts but ministering to a local Anglian or Anglo-British community is deduced plainly from the *Miracula*. The poem names *Pethgils* and *Pectgils* as priests (*presbiteri*). Another priest, 'who performed the office of baptist' was accused of fathering a child, an event attributed to the lifetime of Ninian but where the terminology is probably of the eighth century.[261] The *Vita* supplies *Adelfrid* and *Deisuit* as the names respectively of the leprous man and blind girl cured at Ninian's tomb. *Pethgils* was the paralytic boy previously brought to the church by his parents, while *Deisuit* is thought to represent the Anglo-Saxon name *Dægswith*.[262] Ninian himself is always referred to as a priest, a 'senior priest' or bishop, not as a monk or abbot.[263] His

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[260] Adamnán's *De Locis Sanctis* was known to Bede (*HE* V.15-17). Wilfrid (*VW* § 22) had quite possibly seen the catacombs at Rome, and his crypts at Hexham and Ripon (Gilbert, 1974, 82-9; Gem, 1983, 3; Bailey, 1991, 1993) may be one tangible result.

[261] *MNE* 150: *presbiter interea baptiste munere functus.*

[262] *MNE* 324, 374; *VN* §§ 13, 14; Levison (1940), 286; MacQueen (1990), 4. The orthography may show British influence.

[263] See below, Appendix B (II).

journey from the monastery to bless the herds on a neighbouring farm, where he stayed overnight may also reflect eighth-century practice. The importance attached to the priesthood at Whithorn suggests that a primary role of the community was the provision of pastoral care. That it cannot have been monastic as such is in any event pre-supposed by its status as an episcopal church. In both respects we might we might compare the structure of the mynster of Bodmin in Cornwall, made transparent by the clerical witnesses to more than fifty manumissions.[264] The terms employed to describe the church at Whithorn in the *Miracula* do not include any (like *cella*, *coenobium* or *oraculum*) that might be definingly monastic. *Sedes episcopalis* or *pontificalis* is used by Bede, whilst *bisceopsteole*, *mynster*, *cyrice* and *stowe* (for *locus*) are found in Old English sources.[265]

Unlike communities like Bede's Jarrow, episcopal churches were probably 'monastic' only in so far as their chapters, a core group of priests, lived in common. Thus the *Miracula* apprises us of communal dining arrangements and of the church's vegetable garden. If there were interns at Whithorn they would probably have been the scholars of the church, those engaged in education or book production (like the poet) rather than in its day-to-day administration. Ailred states that that the nobles sent their children to be educated at the church. His comments have often been linked to the monastic school referred to in the Irish *Liber Hymnorum*, but there is in fact no reason why they could not have applied to the Northumbrian period and have been present in the tradition used by the poet of the *Miracula*. Similar situations are reflected from Anglo-Saxon England and from across Europe. The presence of boy pupils in such

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[264] See below, chapter three, pp. 203-4. This evidence relates to the tenth century.

[265] *HE* III.4, V.23; *ASC* (*E*) 565; *OE Bede* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner MSS, 10), V.23.

communities, amongst whom may be numbered the *adolescens* referred to by Ailred, would have been usual.[266] *Monachi* and *monastica iure* appear in the *Miracula* in reference to the many (unnamed) churches founded by Ninian throughout the countryside. Neither term is applied to *Candida Casa*, and we should take them as generalizations. That they were used at all nevertheless signifies the respect held in the eighth-century Northumbrian church for the type of life the terms represented.[267]

The lack of excavated church sites from British areas means that it is difficult to interpret the allusive evidence the poet provides on the church's architecture and on Ninian's tomb. The tomb in particular may be thought to demonstrate either British, Northumbrian or continental influences. His evidence of the composition and function of the community is clearer. Nothing that he tells us is necessarily inconsistent with what we otherwise know of Anglo-Saxon collegiate churches or episcopal seats.

1.4.6 THE ECCLESIASTICAL IMPORTANCE OF NINIAN

Bede tells us that Ninian had converted the 'southern Picts' many years before Columba's ministry.[268] What is curious therefore is that the Ninian of both *Miracula* and *Vita* is not Ninian the Roman missionary, but Ninian the bishop, the famous priest renowned for his founding of churches, his healings and other good works. In the

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[266] *VN* § 10. At tenth-century Bodmin we find a *lector* and a *discipulus*.

[267] *MNE* 73-4.

[268] *HE* III.4, a passage that has spawned a substantial literature (mostly devoted to trying to find Ninian's Picts). See Simpson (1935, 88-98; 1940); Anderson (1948), MacQueen (1961; 1990, 32-41, 44-53), MacQuarrie (1988), D. Brooke (1989) and the more sceptical Thompson (1958), Kirby (1973) and Duncan (1981).

Miracula Nynie Episcopi, Ninian's mission warrants scarcely a mention. In the *Hymnus* it is not mentioned at all. The same can be said of the tradition of Ninian's apprenticeship at Rome. We have to explain how it was that the very elements that had defined Ninian for Bede in 731, his 'orthodox education' and his missionary work had apparently lost their potency by the time of the composition of the poems in the 780's. It is too much to hope that either element reflects a locatable historical event. Both are motifs. Their variability of emphasis nevertheless demonstrates how the cult of Ninian was manipulated in different ways at different times to suit different ends.

The passage about Ninian in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* is an insertion performed by the author in the chapter he had already written about Columba, on the basis of information received most probably from bishop Pecthelm.[269] Hence it is clear that both mission and Roman orthodoxy were present in the tradition of Ninian at Whithorn, by or shortly after 731, and that the *Miracula*'s (and Ailred's) knowledge of these 'events' comes from some source other than Bede. We cannot reconstruct the form taken by these traditions in the earliest Whithorn material, but that the *Vita Sancti Niniani* is hardly more expansive on both accounts means that it is likely that it was present in the lost source shared with the *Miracula* in roughly the same form. Pecthelm, we have already noted, is stated by Bede to have trained with Aldhelm (possibly at Malmesbury), and Aldhelm was of course a vigorous promoter of the Roman rite among the West British, so there is every possibility that these traditions stem from his episcopate. Since neither motif can have been directly relevant to the Whithorn of the

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[269] The omission of *HE* III.4 from the *OE Bede* does not appear to be significant (above, note 140). Analysis of style indicates that the chapter -in its entirety- was most probably written by Bede, even if it was assembled piecemeal (work performed by the present author).

730's, what Bede has in effect done is to resurrrect them and set them in their correct context: that of opposition to the church of Iona.[270]

At the synod of Whitby in 664, the Northumbrian church had rejected its Ionan heritage, and cast its lot with the Roman party of bishop Wilfrid. Iona itself held out against the Roman rite. By the time of Adamnán's writing (the 680's), traditions of Columba's missionary activity were beginning to be overtaken by the memory of the saint's gift of prophecy. The *Vita Sancti Columbae* nevertheless still constituted a powerful claim to ecclesiastical supremacy in the north. The idea of a mission to the Picts dates naturally between 664 and the reception of the Roman Easter at Iona in 716, when the community there was persuaded to change by Ecgberht, an Anglian bishop who had also worked in Ireland. Since it is archaeologically possible that Northumbrians had arrived at Whithorn at or before the turn of the eighth century, it is conceivable that the ecclesiastical community was in contact with Ecgberht and had played some part in his activities.[271]

It is also possible that the motifs arise from competition with hagiological traditions begun at Abercorn at the time of Trumwine's episcopate, and perhaps reinvigorated in the early decades of the eighth century. [272] When Nectan's embassy arrived at Jarrow, twenty-five years after Trumwine's expulsion it becomes clear that the northern Picts on whose border the Anglian bishop had been installed were not

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[270] Anonymous (1935); Grosjean (1958); Fahy (1964), 40.

[271] *HE* III.27, V.9-10.

[272] Higham (1992), 98.

pagans but had followed the Ionan rite.[273] After 710, Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastics must have been welcomed to eastern and northern Pictland to help remould the church along Roman lines. One result may have been the fabrication of Roman missionary saints like Boniface, Servanus and Tredwell (*Triduana*), whose *vitae* were 'clearly invented to support the Roman party in Pictland'.[274] In both the 680's and the 710's, competition with Iona would have been an important consideration, and it is more than probable that a similar situation greeted the arrival of Northumbrian churchmen in Galloway.

By the 730's the paschal controversy was over -except for Bede, for whom mission and regularity were evidently important in a way that they were not for other authors. Bede had talked of Columba partly as an introduction to the establishment of the Northumbrian church from Iona and partly because it was over the Columban church that Roman regularity had triumphed at Whitby, an episode whose length and detail shows it to be of pivotal importance to the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Even if we can imagine Bede to have been apprised by Pecthelm of the life of Ninian *in toto*, it would therefore be predictable that he should fasten upon these two features to the exclusion of others, and that they should enter his chapter on Columba. By the 780's the conflict at Whitby was ancient history, and the *Miracula* is interested in a new project: the promotion of Whithorn as a centre of pilgrimage. Though the influence of Bede's *Vita Sancti Cuthberti* on the *Miracula* is palpable, no more so in the appearance of *Niduarae*

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[273] *HE* V.21.

[274] Williams, Smyth and Kirby (1991, 94-5, 213), and the sources there cited. On Boniface, 'a hagiological problem difficult of solution', see MacKinlay (1914, 479-82). Lamb (1995) is the most recent exponent of an Anglo-Saxon origin for the Boniface and Peter dedications on Papa Westray (Orkney). See also Morris (1989, 7-9) and Selkirk and Selkirk (1997, 378).

(the Picts visited by Cuthbert) in one of the titles,[275] there is no reason why the motif of the mission cannot have preceded Bede and have belonged to the first period of the Northumbrian presence at Whithorn: to a context of opposition to recalcitrant devotees of the Ionan rite within and beyond Galloway. The cursory way in which Ninian's Pictish 'mission' is treated in the *Miracula* is an expression of its declining political relevance in the eighth century, of its relegation to a motif in the narrowest sense of the word.

To recapitulate, the tradition of Ninian as a missionary bishop who had visited Rome need not in itself be Northumbrian, since these elements are common in British hagiology. Ninian may not originally have been a 'contra-Columba' but the ideas of the mission to the Picts and of the saint's religious orthodoxy (*Romae regulariter fidem et mysteria veritatis edoctus*) were almost certainly of Northumbrian origin.

1.4.7 THE POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF NINIAN

The simple model of the frontier bishopric should not be applied to the Northumbrian see at Whithorn for a number of reasons.[276] First of all, Bede's language (*cuius sedem episcopalis... iam nunc Anglorum gens obtinet*) implies that the see was

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[275] *VCP* § 11; *VCA* II.4. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Misc. MSS, Patr. 17, fol. 158^{r}, § III, title (emended); Levison (1940), 288-9. This may have been suggested to the poet by association with the river name Nith (which makes geographic nonsense of Bede's account). There is no mention of *Niduari* in the *Vita Sancti Niniani* (which, as we have seen provides more proper names than the *Miracula*) and this counts against the appearance of *Niduari* in the *Miracula*'s source or prose counterpart. On the date of the titles see above, p. 47.

[276] See above, Introduction, pp. 6-7.

already in existence when the first Northumbrians arrived.[277] Second, the archaeology and traditions of Whithorn suggest the adaptation of an existing community to Anglo-Saxon forms, and that it continued to function after the eclipse of Northumbrian power. Third and most importantly, there is no record of the aggressive military conquest of Galloway by the Anglo-Saxons to compare with the Pictish wars of Ecgfrith that led to the establishment of Abercorn. The evidence of place-names instead suggests that Anglo-Saxons populated discrete blocks of land. We can interpret this to indicate accommodation rather than conquest. Whithorn was evidently not a bishopric established in the wake of military conquest and slated to fail with the first military setback.

Even given its ecclesiastical traditions, it is unlikely nevertheless that a place so far west as Whithorn should have been chosen to be a Northumbrian see, were it not for some other factor. Whithorn was by no means central to the Anglo-Saxon Northumbria of the eighth century. Northumbrian naval strength remains enigmatic and the settlement pattern indicates the continued importance of land-based communication. Then, as today, Whithorn would, from an Anglo-Saxon perspective have been assuredly out on a limb.[278] The absence of pre-Conquest secular records from Galloway means that this must remain an hypothesis, but it is at least possible that a settlement was reached with the local ruler, that the driving force for such an arrangement was

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[277] *HE* III.4. There is no necessary contradiction with *HE* V.23 (*Pecthelm in ea, quae Candida Casa vocatur, quae nuper... in sedem pontificatus addita ipsum primum habet antistitem*), which means simply that Pecthelm was the first bishop officially recognized by the Northumbrian church.

[278] Brooke (1991a) 301, 311. I would disagree with those (Morrison, 1991, 1-3 for instance) who have argued for Whithorn's ongoing geo-political centrality.

British and Galwegian rather than Anglo-Saxon, and that the events of a later period might help us understand how and why this happened.

The medieval Lords of Galloway were involved, early in the twelfth century, in negotiations with both the papacy and the Archbishop of York regarding the 're-establishment' of the bishopric of Whithorn.[279] At this period, only Galloway, whose rulers styled themselves kings, was not subject to direct Scottish control.[280] The Scots had recently set up the bishopric of Glasgow and were claiming for it the most extensive territories possible, outside of the jurisdiction of York.[281] As a response to this threat to the independence of the Galwegian church, an effort was made to restate the ancient status of the see of Whithorn within the English archdiocese in no uncertain terms. The profession of obedience made by bishop Gilla-Aldan of Whithorn to Thurstan, Archbishop of York in 1127 stated that *episcopus Candidae Casae ab antiquo debeat ad matrem suam Eboracensem metropolim respicere, et in his quae ad Deum pertinet obtemperare*.[282] A York document of the thirteenth century, entitled *De eo quod episcopi candide case esse debeant subiecti archiepiscopo eboracensi* reproduces a list of the eighth-century Anglian bishops of Whithorn and may have been produced as evidence in these proceedings, to be reused in the 1290's in those provoked

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[279] Lawrie (1905), 53-4, nos. LXIII-LXIV; Oram (1991b). On the status of the diocese between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries more generally, see Donaldson (1950, 1953), Oram (1988, 14-17, 21-3, 252-321) and Brooke (1994, 90-91, 135-8, 171-2). It is unlikely in fact that the church was 're-established' in any meaningful sense. Rather its continued existence was brought to general notice.

[280] Oram (1988), 26-232, particularly 47-53; (1991a).

[281] See above, pp. 34-5.

[282] London, British Library, Cottonian MSS, Claudius B.iii, fol. 22[a]; Lawrie (1905), 54, no. LXIV.

by a disputed succession.[283] By encouraging outside input into the Church, the native Lords of Galloway made an important step in the direction of acceding to the rights and privileges of the Anglo-Norman élite, without having become the object of serious military conquest. It is now thought that the high number of *mottes* in Galloway (comparable only to the Welsh Marches) implies rather the adoption of a useful defensive structure by the local nobility rather than Anglo-Norman colonization.[284]

In both eighth and twelfth centuries, the rulers of Galloway might then have invoked the support of a massive southern power against near neighbours whom they believed to represent a threat. The native nobility had intelligence enough to realize its own weakness and to see that a religious allegiance to the more distant Northumbrian or English kingdom provided an access to power that probably would not involve political servitude. The Anglo-British character of the cult of St. Ninian was a natural result of this. In the later seventh century the threat may have come from Strathclyde, yet free from Anglian domination and from Dalriada whose settlement was complete and whose rulers may have turned their gaze towards the mainland. That Strathclyde was indeed a threat may be confirmed by a Northumbrian intervention of the mid eighth century,[285] while we note that Columba was the national saint of Dalriada, and that the promotion of regularity which may have claimed more space in the earlier traditions of Ninian might also therefore be interpreted in the light of political hostility to the Scots.

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[283] Brentano (1953a); (1953b); (1959), 97-107. See above, notes 22 and 138.

[284] Oram (1988), 233-49; Stell (1991), 145-9.

[285] *Bedae Continuatio*, *sub anno* 750; *HR* 756.

As the earliest Anglian traditions of Ninian's mission appear to have had a politico-religious purpose, so too must Ailred's *Vita Sancti Niniani* have been written in a political context. This rests not on his dedication of the work to Bishop Christian of Whithorn (1154-1177) but on the fact that Ailred was no friend of the Galwegians. Born into the Northumbrian nobility of the Hexham-Durham area, he had been apprenticed at the court of David I, Fergus of Galloway's nominal overlord and dynastic enemy. In his *De Standardo* (*circa* 1155), the work chronologically closest to the *Vita*, he had reported that the Galwegians had, as allies of the invading Scottish army, been responsible for atrocities in northern England. Nor does Reginald of Durham mention Ailred's veneration of Ninian on his visits to the region on Cistercian business.[286] It is possible that the real impetus for the work had come from York.

Sufficient similarities exist between the circumstances of the cult's 'revival' in the eighth and 're-revival' in the twelfth century for us to suppose that in the eighth century, the Northumbrians (and their church) had come to Galloway as allies rather than occupiers. In the background lies the idea that the adoption of a local saint would enhance Northumbrian influence, but this may have been mellowed by the political context. The origins of Fergus of Galloway are obscure, but that he gave his eldest son the anachronistic name Uchtred might suggest that links between the Galwegian nobilty and the Northumbrians had continued through the obscure times of the ninth and tenth centuries, for Uchtred was a name favoured by the earls of Bamburgh, the inheritors of the Bernician kingdom after the collapse of Northumbria. An alliance with the rulers of

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[286] On Ailred's biography see Powicke (1950, vii-cii), Ritchie (1954, 246-55) and Squire (1960). On his *œuvre* see Squire (1961).

Bamburgh, if it indeed existed, would play a part in explaining why the Lords of Galloway emerge as such partisans of York in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

1.5 CONCLUSION

Northwestern Britain presents in the early medieval period a fluctuating and permeable frontier that leads us to classify the whole of Anglo-Saxon Bernicia as a frontier zone. The social and cultural intercourse common to frontier zones took place here, but within a balance of power that, at least until the later ninth century favoured an Anglo-Saxon polity. British rulers were replaced by Anglo-Saxons, or entered into arrangements with them that may ultimately have been to their disadvantage. There appears to have been no master-plan for domination and control, and the territories were acquired piecemeal and through various means.

The ecclesiastical history of the region indicates how an incoming power might seek to adapt or adopt cultural forms. Again we cannot point to any single model: thus at Carlisle and Melrose, ecclesiastical centres of some antiquity acquired associations with an important Anglo-Saxon saint, who was himself the product of a British and Irish training, while at Whithorn the circumstances of Northumbrian settlement resulted in the adoption of a native cult.

The corpus of materials relating to St. Ninian suggest that traditions about a British holy man (Ninian's name can only be British) were adopted at the turn of the eighth century by an Anglo-Saxon community, which had taken over an ecclesiastical site with a history stretching back to early Christian times. It is clear that the motifs of Ninian's orthodoxy and of his mission to the Picts belong to the post-Whitby period

when the supporters of the Roman rite had withdrawn from Northumbria, but yet remained in Iona, Strathclyde and Pictland; the period of Adamnan's personal conversion and of bishop Ecgberht's visit to Iona. In the 730's the recognition of the church of Whithorn as of episcopal status probably led to the rewriting of its early history in a formal manner. Several motifs may be attributed to the influence of bishop Pecthelm, his associates or successors. A young scholar from York was employed in the 780's to compose a *carmen* or an *opus geminatum* outlining Ninian's achievements and to promote the church as a centre of pilgrimage. That the Northumbrian community at Whithorn should have engaged in this exercise probably reflects a long history of peaceful interaction with British people and institutions, in which influences flowed in both directions.

The lasting importance of Whithorn and Saint Ninian is that, whereas the majority of lives for British (Welsh, Cornish) saints are post-Conquest products, whose information can only be taken back to the Anglo-Saxon period with some trepidation, the *Miracula Nynie Episcopi* and *Hymnus* are securely anchored in the eighth century. They therefore comprise our only example of securely dated Anglo-Saxon hagiography of a British saint, and (arguably) our only example of what direction an Anglo-British cult might take. In this case the episcopal status of the cult-centre ensured its survival, but Ninian's cult may perhaps be taken as a paradigm for other, less exalted native cults for which we have no reliable information. Rather than being classic cases of adoption by an incoming power 'asserting a relatively novel claim to rule, and with no traditions of its own to support this claim', the religio-political context of the cult of St. Ninian suggests that there may have been more complex factors at work.[287]

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[287] Rollason (1986a), 101.

CHAPTER TWO

CENTRAL BRITAIN c. AD 600-1100

2.1 HISTORICAL ORIENTATION: THE NORTHERN FRONTIER

Bede tells how Bishop Finan led a Northumbrian mission to Mercia at the request of Peada, son of the pagan king Penda. He describes the installation of the Hiberno-Northumbrian Diuma as bishop of the Mercians *circa* 653 and the establishment of a bishopric at Lichfield (*Lyccidfelth)*, under the Hiberno-Northumbrian Chad.[1] There are nevertheless reasons why we should be sceptical of Bede's account of Mercian paganism, at least in so far as it involves western Mercia. Penda had allied with Christian Britons against Northumbria, whilst at Lichfield there was already a functioning Christian cemetery.[2] To the south, at Worcester in the land of the Hwicce, two sixth-century British priests were buried on the site of the present cathedral.[3] It is clear that there was the potential for continuity in the ecclesiastical structures and religious beliefs of the region.

The territories with which we are concerned in this chapter, *Wreocensætan*, *Magonsætan*, *Ergyng* and *Wentsætan* appear to be the offspring of late-Roman

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[1] *HE* III.21, IV.3; Finberg (1961b), 219.

[2] *HE* II.3, II.20, III.24; *HB* §§ 64-5; Finberg (1971), 460; Rowland (1990), 134-5; Bassett (1992b), 31-4; Gould (1993).

[3] Barker and Cubberly (1974). Their dates were confirmed through the carbon dating of bone and from the style of the gold braid used in their clothing. See also Barker (1968) and Bassett (1991b).

administrative units.[4] This may be inferred in part from their names, which are taken respectively from Roman cantonal centres at *Uroconium Cornoviorum* (Wroxeter), *Magnis, Magana* (Kenchester, Maund),[5] *Ariconium* (Weston-under-Penyard), and *Venta Silurum* (Caerwent), and in part on their administrative geography and systems of land tenure.[6] Since, (with the exception of the *Cilternsætan*), territories with the Old English suffix *-sæte or -sætan* appear on the fringes of Mercia, adjacent to areas under British rule, the element may have been used to refer to lands in which dwelled a mixed population.[7]

The archaeology of *Uroconium* (Wroxeter) shows that the town continued to function as a high status settlement after the departure of its Roman garrison in the middle of the fifth century. The last occupation phase, reaching into the middle of the sixth century consisted of a suite of elegant trench-built wooden buildings on the site of the former *basilica.*[8] Although the hill-fort on the Wrekin does not appear to have been re-occupied, in the seventh century timber halls were constructed at nearby Frogmore.[9] The northern extent of the territory once ruled from *Uroconium* remains unclear, but it is possible that it extended to the Dee. Chester (*Deva*) was a legionary fortress rather

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[4] *Ergyng* and the *Wentsætan* are discussed in their proper place, below, pp. 133-6.

[5] Heys and Thomas (1963), cited by Pretty (1989, 179).

[6] Ekwall (1936, 1954); Davies (1979b); Jones (1979); Hooke (1986a), 8, 12; (1986b); Croom (1989); Pretty (1989), 179.

[7] Hart (1971), 139-42, 151; Hooke (1986a), 2-5; Gelling (1989), 199-201; Higham (1993), 85-92. For the *Cilternsætan*, see Davis (1982).

[8] Barker (1975, 1979); White (1990), 6-7; Webster and Barker (1991), 27-8.

[9] Kenyon (1942, 1957); Rahtz (1975, 1976a); Stanford (1984); (1991), 110, 113; Gelling (1989), 187; (1992), 25. On timber halls, see above, chapter one, notes 9, 54 and 118.

than a tribal capital and the second-century geographer Ptolemy had placed it in the land of those same *Cornovii* who were associated with Wroxeter.[10] As we first encounter the *Wreocensætan* in the Tribal Hidage, a document whose origins are believed to lie in the later seventh century, it may be a shrunken unit.[11] Since no rulers of the *Wreocensætan* are known to history, there exists the possibility that its northern reaches were lost to Mercian rule shortly after the Northumbrian retreat in the mid seventh century.

The *Magonsætan* is omitted from the Tribal Hidage. Its name is first attested in charters of the ninth century.[12] By the tenth its western boundary extended at least to the river Arrow, its northern boundary with the *Wreocensætan* was presumably at Wenlock Edge, and the southern with *Ergyng* on the upper Wye.[13] The bounds of Hereford diocese (with which *Magonsætan* is often supposed coterminous) were described by Bishop Athelstan between 1012 and 1056, but are deficient on the west.[14] As we encounter them, the rulers of the *Magonsætan* have expanded their rule northwards into the area of Much Wenlock (Shropshire) which logically falls within the hinterland of Wroxeter and cannot originally have been subject to them. While it is possible that the rulers of the *Magonsætan* opportunistically claimed these lands at the

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[10] Higham (1993), 30-33, 68-77, particularly figs. 2.1 and 3.2. For the *Cornovii*, see Richmond (1963) and Webster (1974, 1975).

[11] London, British Library, Harleian MSS, 3271, fol. 6^{v} (*saec. xi*^{1}). On this text see Dumville (1989).

[12] S 1264, S 1782. See Sims-Williams (1990, 35-42).

[13] S 677, S 1782; Finberg (1961), 141; Hooke (1986a), 9; Pretty (1989), 182.

[14] Cambridge, Pembroke College MSS 302 (gospels, *saec. xi med.*), cited by Finberg (1961c).

time of the Northumbrian intervention, it is more likely that their dispersed endowment results from an alliance with Mercia.[15]

By the end of the eighth century, these units, if still recognizable, must have lost the last vestiges of political independence. In the 780's, King Offa of the Mercians 'had a great dyke built… from sea to sea'.[16] The Dyke appears to presuppose the existence of opposed ethnic identities, and to pre-empt the establishment of Wales and England as separate administrative entities, but recent work has been inclined to interpret it as much as a means of regulating trade and protecting stock in a wild country as a strident statement of political control. This role may be reflected in its archaeology.[17] That the Dyke cannot have been a border in any real sense is demonstrated by its spatial relationship with settlements bearing Anglo-Saxon names, with administrative units and with curvilinear churchyards, and most importantly by its absence in the area of the middle Wye, from Bridge Sollers south to English Bicknor.[18] Mercia's very name (Old English *mierce*, *myrcna*) means 'frontier zone', with the interaction and assimilation the term may imply. It was not a country of closed lineal borders, and that such a project could be undertaken at all implies Anglo-British co-operation. It is clear that the Dyke cannot have arisen from a developed sense of ethnic identity.

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[15] Hooke (1986a), 12-13; Pretty (1989), 176. Nevertheless, if the rulers of the *Magonsætan* were Northumbrians or allies of Northumbria, and the Tribal Hidage were a Northumbrian (rather than a Mercian) tribute list, this would neatly explain their absence from it (Finberg, 1961b).

[16] Asser, § 14; Fox (1955), 281-2; Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 236.

[17] D. Hill (1974, 1991); Noble (1983).

[18] Stenton (1970), 196; (1971), 214; Musson and Spurgeon (1988), 107; Gelling (1989), 199; (1992), 104-11; Brook (1992), *passim*. There is no onomastic reason why we should assume English settlements west of the Dyke necessarily to have been earlier than it.

In the tenth and early eleventh centuries Mercia and her British neighbours were attacked by Scandinavian forces. Independent marauders appear to have taken advantage of the disorder. As a result both peoples became reliant upon the naval strength and developed defence system of the West Saxons, who by the reign of Athelstan had assumed the mantle of kings of all England.[19] Southern and mid Wales had evidently become a kind of protectorate by the second quarter of the tenth century, when Welsh kings attest West Saxon charters as *subreguli.*[20] The apogée of West Saxon power came in 973 when King Edgar was rowed on the Dee by the British kings.[21] Such public demonstrations of British subordination must also have brought with them a more acute awareness of ethnic difference. As Athelstan and his successors forged an English unity to the east of the Dyke they sowed the seeds of Welsh unity to its west and cast the earthwork in a new and familiar role. If popular religion is embedded in socio-political context, as we imagine it to be, then these developments are likely to be reflected in the cult of saints.

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[19] Asser, §§ 80, 81; Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 262-3; Lloyd (1912), I, 353; Loyn (1981), 285-6; Davies (1982a), 114-6.

[20] BCS 663, 675, 677, 689, 702, 703, (1344), 716, 718, (719), 815, 882, 883, (721), (697). The regular cast is Hywel Dda (Dyfed), Idwal (Gwynedd) and Morcant (Morgannwg), with guest appearances by Tewdwr (Brycheiniog) and Owain (Gwent).

[21] *HR*, *sub anno*; Stevenson (1855), 93.

2.2 CULTS OF THE *WREOCENSÆTAN*

In this area, diagnostically British dedications and place-names, as opposed to those resulting from later resettlement of lands by Welsh speakers are sparse. There is a significant number of curvilinear yards in western Cheshire, but if these indicate the taking over of existing religious sites, their dedications were almost certainly changed.[22]

Seventeen kilometres to the northwest of Wroxeter, the village of Baschurch sits in the lee of a moated but not easily defensible Iron Age hill-fort that was re-occupied in the post-Roman period.[23] Its unremarkable church is dedicated to All Saints. As *Eglwysau Basa*, Baschurch features as a royal burial-place in the *Canu Heledd*, one of a number of Welsh saga poems composed for the ruling dynasty of Powys sometime between the ninth and eleventh centuries.[24] The *Marwnad Cynddylan* relates how Cynddylan, a prince of Powys, launched an attack on Lichfield (*Caer Luitcoed*), where he defeated an unnamed enemy and killed his churchmen, the *Canu Heledd* how later he was killed and taken to *Eglwysau Basa* for burial.[25] Heledd cries for her dead brother upon *Dinlle Ureconn* (the Wrekin) and laments the loss of the royal seat of *Pengwern*

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[22] Palmer (1889); Charles (1963), 96-110; Higham (1993), 81-4.

[23] The lack of a thorough archaeological examination means that the evidence for re-occupation is slight (Barker et al., 1984, 322; S. Stanford, 1997, pers. comm.). The present literature consists of a discussion about a bronze cauldron (R. Smith, 1907, 324-6; Chitty, 1957, 182) and a number of bold but vague suggestions for the use of the site (Pretty, 1975, 66, 93; Tyler 1981; Morris and Gelling, 1991; Stanford, 1991, 113; Dark, 1994a, 79). Plans are provided by R. Smith (1907, facing 324) and Stanford (1991, 47).

[24] Both texts were edited (in Welsh) by Williams (1935). The *Marwnad* was translated by Jones (1964), the *Canu Heledd* by Rowland (1990, 483-94). The poems are discussed by Williams (1932), Jackson (1935, 326-7), Richards (1973, 140-44), Finberg (1964a, 79-80), Kirby (1977, 36-8), C. Brooke (1989, 168-9), Gelling (1989, 187-90), Rowland (1990, 120-89), Gelling (1992, 72-6), Higham (1993, 88-90), and Koch (1997, xcii-vi).

[25] *Marwnad Cynddylan*, lines 47-60; *Canu Heledd*, §§ 45-51.

(a place in the region of Shrewsbury) and the dismemberment of his kingdom.[26] Since in the view of its most recent commentator, there is no reason why the cycle cannot draw on materials of seventh-century origin, it may provide important evidence of the high status and British origin of the church at Baschurch. The poet writes in an anti-English vein and highlights what he believes to be the English name of Baschurch in order to press his point that lands once Welsh were lost in war to the Mercians. He was probably wrong on both counts. We are elsewhere told that Cynddylan was an ally (*kynhorthwy*) against the Northumbrians at the battle of *Cogwy* (Bede's *Maserfelth*).[27] So if the enemy was English (and there is no evidence that he was), he is therefore more likely to have been Northumbrian than Mercian.

Baschurch (*Basa-circe*) appears at first glance to contain an unusual Anglo-Saxon personal name.[28] *Bassa* was the grandfather of Ceolwulf of Mercia, *Bassus* a soldier of Edwin, *Bass* a priest of Reculver.[29] There exist two place-names in which the element is combined with the early suffix *-ingaham*.[30] However, Bassaleg, a church site west of Newport, occurring as *Bassalec* and *Basselek* in *Liber Landavensis* raises the alternative that the name is derived from Latin *basilica*, used as a simplex.[31] In this case, Anglo-Saxon *Basacirce* would be a tautology from a British root and *Eglwysau*

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[26] *Canu Heledd*, §§ 1, 40-44, 81. On *Pengwern*, see Giraldus, *Itinerarium Kambriae*, I.10 and *Descriptio Kambriae* I.4. Also Finberg (1964a, 78-9), Rowland (1990, 572-4) and Gelling (1992, 75-6).

[27] *HE* III.9; *Canu Heledd*, § 111 (Rowland, 1990, 125, 494), a stray verse found in only one manuscript.

[28] Gelling and Foxall (1990), 30-31; Rowland (1990), 139, 591.

[29] *HE* II.20; *ASC* 669; Sweet (1885), 170 (Northumbrian genealogies); Searle (1897), 80.

[30] Bassingham, Lincolnshire, twice (Ekwall, 1962, 141, 143).

[31] *LL* 272, 319, 323, 333; Binns (1989), 62.

Basa a Welsh re-interpretation of the Anglo-Saxon, coined after its original meaning had been lost. The uncommon use of *basilica* may indicate that this church was considered of high-status.[32] The plural *eglwysau* (churches of Basa) reinforces this impression, and suggests that the church was believed to have housed more than one shrine.[33]

At Wroxeter itself, the presence of Christians in the Roman town is suggested by a letter warning of the imminent arrival of *Bilonicum... canem Arii*,[34] and in the post-Roman period by the stone inscribed CUNORIX MACUS MAQUI COLINE.[35] The evident status of the church of St. Andrew at Wroxeter as an 'old mynster' at Domesday, the topography of its parish, its isolated situation in the southwestern corner of the Roman defences, and the characteristically early fabric of the building combine to alert us to the continued use of an existing site.[36] A British origin may also be proposed for St. Andrew's church at nearby Stanton-upon-Hine-Heath, a valley-floor nucleation with a typically Anglo-Saxon name. Sub-curvilinear in its present form, its churchyard is raised an average of 150 cm from fields to the south and east. An internal bank of 125 cm fronts all but the south where it merges with the level of the yard. The present church is clearly too large for this embankment and has presumably replaced a

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[32] Brook (1981), 142; Roberts (1992), 41-2.

[33] Gelling (1989), 189; (1992), 75.

[34] Fletcher (1904), cited by Thomas (1981, 126-7).

[35] Wright and Jackson (1968); Barker (1981), 18; Pretty (1989), 172; Gelling (1989), 187; (1992), 25-7; Higham (1993), 64; Thomas (1994), 271. The orthography is obviously Q-Celtic, so the supposition is that this person was an Irish immigrant. His Christianity is implied only from the employment of a Christian commemorative practice.

[36] Radford (1957c); Moffett (1989, 1990); Bassett (1990), 11-12; (1992a), 2, 17-19; (1992b), 35-9.

smaller building. If we consider the outer raised area to represent an extension, then the original elevation may have been as much as 3 m in places.[37] Stanton's yard shows unmistakable characteristics of having been adapted from an earlier *lan*.[38] Saint Andrew was a favourite saint of the early Anglo-Saxon church, and these dedications, like that at Presteigne (Llanandras), where archaeology supports the early origin of the site, most likely indicate the displacement of British patrons.[39] They are a nice illustration of how continuity can be inferred on one level and discontinuity on another.

We can, nevertheless, point to two instances of the preservation of British cults in the *Wreocensætan*, if for different reasons. Melangell (*Monacella*) was patroness of Pennant Melangell, in the Cambrians 16 km west of Oswestry, and 13 km west of the Dyke. With the exception of its latest recension, the twelfth-century Welsh genealogy known as the *Bonedd y Saint* accords her father the Germanic name *Ricwlff*.[40] Despite evidence of Anglo-Saxon influence at the mother church of nearby Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant, where an eleventh century cross-slab of Mercian decoration is inscribed COCOM FILIU EDELSTAN, neither church appears to have developed along Anglo-Saxon lines.[41] If the area came under Mercian influence, it appears to have had little

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[37] Site assessment, August 1996.

[38] Gelling (1992), 90-91.

[39] Levison (1946), 262; Taylor and Taylor (1963), 243; (1965), II, 497-9; Davies (1982a), 141-2; Ortenberg (1993), 169-72.

[40] *Bonedd y Saint*, § 53. See Wade-Evans (1944, xvii-xix) for the manuscript tradition. The earliest manuscript is of the early thirteenth century. *Ricwulf* is uncommon as a pre-Conquest Old English name, and (if it is not a misreading of a British name) a continental connection or post-Conquest origin must be supposed (Searle, 1897, 400-401). In either case, its appearance in the *Bonedd* is to be remarked.

[41] Athelstan has been identified as *Elstan Glodrudd*, born at Hereford in the days of Hywel Dda (Nash-Williams, 1950, 180; Radford and Hemp, 1957, 111-4).

impact, and Melangell's may in consequence illustrate the natural course of development of a 'local' cult.

Archaeological investigation has indicated a late eighth-century origin for the yard, which may have developed about a focal grave.[42] At this spot a tradition was preserved of a girl of royal stock discovered praying by Prince Brochwel of Powys, who was hunting hare with his dogs. The prince invested her with control of the land thereabouts, and she duly founded a nunnery where she lived until her death. A cleft rock was known locally as 'Melangell's bed'. The legend is preserved in slightly different form in two manuscripts of the seventeenth century, is recounted in a travelogue of the eighteenth and is represented in the displaced oak carvings of the rood-loft or screen.[43] *Monacella* appears to be a Latin rationalization ('monastic cell'), but *Melangell* is a good British personal name. Its first element may be compared with that of Saint Milburga, its second with *Arganhell* or *Arianell*, a spring and saint of Ergyng.[44]

Radford believed the tradition to have been brought to its present form by about 1300, but its transmission appears to have remained predominantly oral. If the case of Nonna of Altarnun (Cornwall), described by Leland, is typical, a short account of the

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[42] Radford and Hemp (1959), 85; Finberg (1964a), 78; Britnell (1989).

[43] Anon. (1848a), 138-42; (1848b); (1923), 403-4. The first manuscript is termed 'one of Mr. William Maurice's MSS in the Wynnstay Library, written A.D. 1640' and bore the ascription *Ex MSS Powelianis Ruabonens*. The second was a manuscript of Llanfyllin. Both are apparently now lost.

[44] *LL* 83. Also *Marchell* in the Brychan genealogies and *Vita Sancti Cadoci* (Wade-Evans, 1944, 118, 313-8, 322). In Melangell's case an association appears to have been made with Welsh *-acgel*, *-angel* ('angel'), as in *Mihacgel* (Michael), *Llanvihangel*, or with a local stream of the name *Angell*. See also Baring-Gould and Fisher (1907, III, 463), and below, pp. 171-3.

saint may have been kept in her shrine, but if so little interest can have been taken in it until the end of the middle ages, when a local lord sponsored a more imposing replacement.[45] The protection of animals, the emphasis on ecclesiastical sanctuary and topographical legend all bear a British imprint, while the legend of the hunting prince occurs for instance in the life of Saint Milburga, where there are independent reasons why it should be attributed a British origin.[46] Given the lateness of the tradition it is clear that we should not expect to attach a date to these motifs. That of Melangell's flight to Britain from Ireland to escape an arranged marriage is most certainly late, and may be compared with the legend of Bega.[47] All that can realistically be said of Pennant is that it was believed to commemorate an otherwise unknown saint, that this saint was believed to have been female, and that given that its cemetery may date as early as the eighth century, the cult may have arisen at that date.

The cult of St. Winifred, a saint for whom a similarly 'local' origin may be posited, offers something of a contrast. Winifred, known in Welsh as *Gwenfrewi* and Latin as *Wenefreda* was patron of the church and spring at Holywell (*Trefynnon*), in Flintshire above the south bank of the Dee, and 6 km east of the Dyke. Two independent Latin lives exist. The first must date before 1138, since it declares the saint to lie at Gwytherin, whilst the second, a more diffuse account, was written by Robert of

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[45] Radford and Hemp (1959), 82, 110; Wormald (1938, 15), citing Charles Henderson. Risdon similarly found a *vita* of St. Urith at her Westcountry shrine (below, chapter three, p. 241).

[46] The pursued animal taking refuge with a saint is paralleled from for instance the *Vita Sancti Iltuti*, § 8 (Wade-Evans, 1944, 204-5) and the *Vita* (*Secunda*) *Sancti Neoti* (*Acta SS*, Julii VII, 324; Whitaker, 1808, 59-60, 114). On Milburga, see below, pp. 116-20.

[47] Thompson (1932), T 311.1; Merdrignac (1986), 221. See above, chapter one, p. 28.

Shrewsbury shortly after her translation from Gwytherin to the town in that year.[48] A further notice is constituted by part of the Welsh *Hystoria o Uuched Beuno*, a text whose earliest manuscript is of the fourteenth century.[49] The *Buchedd* conflicts with the Latin lives on a number of points and is believed to derive from a lost (and potentially older) Latin text.[50]

We are apprised in the *Buchedd* that Saint Beuno was granted a place to pray on the bank of the Dee. It goes on to relate, in common with the Latin lives, how Beuno encountered Winifred and how her death occurred at a place that had a notable well. From the description of it, this must presumably be Holywell, called *Guenphennaun* ('White Well') in the Latin lives, *Ffynnon Gwenvrewy* in Welsh, and known by its present English name from at least 1093.[51] Whereas the Welsh tradition has Beuno expelled from *Gwydelwernn* (Gwyddelwern) before he arrives at Holywell, the Latin lives tells us that Winifred's monastery was at *Guytherin* (Gwytherin).[52] Both lay considerably more emphasis on Holywell than the *Buchedd*, and the second seeks to be inclusive of dedications in the regions of Denbigh and Rhuddlan.

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[48] London, British Library, Cotton MSS, Claudius A.v, fols. 138-145[b]; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud MSS, Misc. 114. The former is edited by Wade-Evans (1944, 288-309), the latter by De Smedt in *Acta SS*, Novembris I, 706-759. See Lucas (1893, 421-2), Baring-Gould and Fisher (1907, III, 185-6) and Wade-Evans (1944, xvi). Subsequent versions, including the fourteenth-century abbreviation by John of Tynemouth (Horstmann, 1901, II, 415-21) derive from either one or the other.

[49] Oxford, Jesus College MSS, 2 (*circa* 1346). Henceforward 'Buchedd'.

[50] Lucas (1893), 422; Wade-Evans (1930), 322; (1944), xix.

[51] *Buchedd*, §§ 11-13; *Vita* (*Prima*) *Sanctae Wenefredae*, §§ 4-14; Lucas (1893), 429.

[52] *Buchedd*, § 10; *Vita* (*Prima*) *Sanctae Wenefredae*, § 20. Different places, but pronounced similarly.

The key common elements are:

(i) that Winifred (Gwenfrewi) was beheaded at or near Holywell by a rapist (a Welsh prince) as she fled to her parents (who were in church).

(ii) that a spring arose where her head fell. This spring has notable properties.

(iii) that Beuno reunited her head and torso.

The *Buchedd*'s similar explanation of the name *Ffynnawn Digiwc* (*Tygiuc*'s Spring), indicates that the resurrection of murdered maidens was a motif especially associated with Beuno.[53] Since the *Buchedd Beuno* tells us that Ynyr Gwent gave Beuno three estates in Ergyng, it is of some interest that in the Latin *vitae* of Winifred, he is offered three estates (including Holywell) of the Cadelling king of Dyfed.[54] It is transparent that one of the miracles is a doublet.

The unwanted advance, the severed head, and topographic or aetiological miracles are ubiquitous features of British saints' lives.[55] Although the parallels are of post-Conquest date, there can be little doubt that St. Winifred is in origin a British saint. Her legend would appear to have been abstracted from that of Beuno, and re-assimilated by it, after it had taken root around Holywell. Most legends have as their purpose the assertion of a church's right to its lands. Clynnog Fawr (in the Lleyn

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[53] *Buchedd,* §§ 17-20. It implies that the place is near Carnarvon, but *Tygiuc* had been fetched from Ynyr Gwent, so there is the possibility that this is a reflection of a southern place-name. *LL* 183a, 230b refer to a (*Hen*)*lann Tituuc* (gloss) *or Ecclesia Tytiuc* (*super ripam Guy*), which may be Dixton in Monmouthshire (Rollason, 1974, 54-5). On this problem, see Wade-Evans (1930, 336-7).

[54] *Buchedd,* § 4; *Vita* (*Prima*) *Sanctae Wenefredae*, § 5; Baring-Gould and Fisher (1907), I, 210; IV, 363-6. On Beuno's connection with Llanveynoe in Ergyng, see Llewellin (1919, 89) and Rollason (1978, 74, note 4), *pace* Jones (1967, 111).

[55] Below, chapter three, pp. 241-7.

peninsula) was Beuno's pre-eminent church in north Wales, and it is with it that the northern lands mentioned in the *Buchedd* were associated.[56] Nevertheless, since Clynnog Fawr is not known to have claimed churches in Gwent or Ergyng, the purpose, provenance and construction of the *Buchedd* remains a mystery. Gwenfrewi and/or *Tygiuc* were most likely local saint(s) associated with springs, subsequently brought into a formal tradition replete with genealogical and topographical rationales. It is at least possible that the tradition attached to Gwenfrewi was of ultimately mid- or southern-Welsh origin.

The equation of Gwenfrewi and Winifred, *Wenefreda* in Latin, is not an action that one would readily attribute to the Anglo-Norman period, when Anglo-Saxon saints were stigmatized for their uncouth names. The change must presumably arise from a context in which Old English was still the second language of the Church and her cult must thus have been known in England in the pre-Conquest period.[57] How and when did the solidification of Winifred's cult take place, and how can we explain her cult at Shrewsbury (*Scrobbesbyrig*) where her relics were translated in 1138?

The early tenth century saw the refortification of the Mercian *burhs*.[58] This was also the period when Oswald was transferred back into Mercia from Bardney, when St. Bertelin was translated to Runcorn and when Werburga was removed from Hanbury to

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[56] *Buchedd,* §§ 14-16; Wade-Evans (1910), 84, 86-7.

[57] Searle (1897, 499-501) provides no instances of *Winifred* as a girl's name, but *Wini-* and *-fryð* are both elements used in Old English. We note Winfrith, bishop of the Mercians (*HE* IV.3, IV.5: 672-4) and Wynfrith (St. Boniface: *circa* 675-754). See also Baring-Gould and Fisher (1907, III, 190-91).

[58] *ASC* (Mercian Register) 907 (Chester), *ASC* (D) 909 (*Bremesbyrig*). Shrewsbury is nowhere mentioned, but levies were collected from there and Chester in 1016.

be established as the patroness of Chester. All of these actions resulted from the personal sponsorship of Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians.[59] Æthelflæd and her husband were present at Shrewsbury in 901, where they made a grant to Wenlock, and a mint is attested there from Athelstan's reign.[60] The acquisition of Rhuddlan from Idwal Foel of Gwynedd had occurred before 921, when it was turned into a *burh*, under the name *Cledemutha*.[61] We note that the parish church of Cwm (Dymeirchion), southeast of Rhuddlan and 3 km west of the Dyke was believed by the eighteenth-century antiquarian Edward Lhuyd to have had a *Ffynnon Feuno* (Well of Beuno) in the vicinity, and Whitford, between there and Holywell paid Beuno special reverence in the sixteenth century.[62]

The spring at *Gwenffynnon* had obviously been in Mercian hands for over a century by 921, but places associated with Beuno, must, in the tenth century, have been brought under direct Mercian control. It may be that Gwenfrewi's first association with the famous spring dates from this period, for as they are given in the *Vita* (*Prima*) the first of the miracles performed there is clearly of tenth-century date.[63] The politics of the period provide a feasible context for a British saint to make a successful crossover, and Gwenfrewi's ethnic transmutation into Winifred may have been one result. In the absence of information to the contrary it is at least possible that the church of

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[59] Thacker (1982), 203-4; (1985), 18-19; Bassett (1991a), 10; Rollason (1986a), 95; (1986b), 40-42; Binns (1989), 68; Higham (1993), 130.

[60] S 221. On the origins of the *burh*, see Bassett (1991a).

[61] *ASC* (D, Mercian Register), *sub anno*; Wainwright (1950), 208-9; Manley (1982, 1984).

[62] Baring-Gould and Fisher (1907), I, 184; Wade-Evans (1910), 101-2; (1930), 329.

[63] *Vita* (*Prima*) *Sanctae Wenefredae*, § 21, which refers to 'the time of the Danes in *Tegeingl*'.

Shrewsbury already had some proprietary interest in her cult by 1138, and that this dated to the tenth century.[64]

The poets of the *Canu Heledd* cycle make it clear that Heledd blames herself (and is objectively to blame too) for Cynddylan's death.[65] If Cynddylan's family were the last generation of British rulers of the *Wreocensætan*, a Mercian marriage may have been arranged for Heledd. This speaks of diplomacy rather than war. Although Wroxeter argues for political and ecclesiastical continuity, the dedications here, at Baschurch and throughout the north of the region indicate that most British cults must early have been submerged beneath those resulting from Northumbrian and Mercian influence or settlement. Whereas Pennant's marginal location may have secured the survival of the cult of Melangell, St. Winifred's formalized tradition appears to have resulted from political adoption rather than from organic development.

2.3 THE *VITA SANCTAE MILBURGAE*

Milburga was the eldest daughter of king Merewalh of the *Magonsætan* (fl. 660). Her *Vita* is ostensibly a none-too-remarkable account written more than 350 years after her death.[66] There is no statement in it to this effect, but the *Vita Sanctae Milburgae* has normally been attributed to the hagiographer Goscelin of St. Bertin

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[64] Binns (1989), 50.

[65] *Marwnad Cynddylan*, lines 69-70; *Canu Heledd*, §§ 57, 86.

[66] Most importantly, in British Library, Additional MSS, 34, 633, fols. 206^{r}-216^{v} (*saec. xiii*, Canterbury, henceforward 'A') and Gotha, Landesbibliothek MSS, I. 81, fols. 166^{v}-175^{r} (*saec. xiv med.*, henceforward 'G'). A was edited (with numerous errors) by Edwards (1960, 40-91). The Gotha manuscript of hagiological texts, still not edited integrally, was 'dictated by someone with an Anglo-Norman accent', somewhere in the west of England (Grosjean, 1956a, 138). See also Grosjean (1940a, 99-100) and Lapidge (Dumville and Lapidge, 1985, lxxix-lxxx).

(*circa* 1035-*circa* 1108), to whose lives of Milburga's sister, St. Milðryth of Thanet and of St. Werburga of Chester it bears some superficial resemblence.[67] It may be related to an *Inventio* composed by Odo, cardinal bishop of Ostia on the occasion of the recovery of Milburga's relics at Much Wenlock in 1101.[68] Since it does not mention the discovery, the *Vita* must be earlier or of a similar date. The association of an abbreviated text with the *Inventio* in two liturgical manuscripts raises the possibility that the works represent a collaborative effort.[69]

The *Vita Sanctae Milburgae* is comparable in length to the *Vita Sanctae Mildrithae*, and both are characteristically late eleventh- or early twelfth-century in style. The *Vita Sanctae Mildrithae* may indeed have been used or imitated by the author of the *Vita Sanctae Milburgae*.[70] It was certainly known to Odo.[71] Conventional statistical analysis of representative samples from the texts proved inconclusive, the differences between them not being such as to confirm multiple authorship, but neither so close as to make common authorship inevitable.[72] A more focussed examination of vocabulary and phraseology however makes inescapable the conclusion that the two

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[67] Edwards (1960), 137-8. See note 129 below. For the latter texts, see respectively Rollason (1982) and Horstmann (1887, xix-xxvi). Goscelin's biography is obscure. The presumed chronology of his writings is set out by Talbot (1955, 8-15) and by Hamilton (1973, II, 123-4).

[68] Lincoln, Cathedral Library MSS, 149 (*saec. xii exeunte*). The text is edited and discussed by Edwards (1960, 274-305; 1964). While his visit to Wenlock at this time was certainly fortuitous, there appears to be no reason to deny Odo its authorship.

[69] The Lincoln MS previously cited and London, British Library, Lansdowne MSS, 436 (*saec. xiv*).

[70] Hence the similarities noted by Edwards (1960, 107-8).

[71] Edwards (1964), 143.

[72] Work conducted by the present writer.

vitae cannot have been composed by the same hand.[73] This is especially significant in view of the text's inclusion of at least three discrete segments.

The most widely known of these is the so-called 'Testament of Saint Milburga', a narrative cartulary detailing grants of land made in the seventh and eighth centuries to Milburga's monastic community at Much Wenlock.[74] This document appears to have been assembled in its present form in the tenth century, and is structurally akin to the similarly dated Testament of St. Egwine (an eighth-century bishop of Worcester), found in the *Vitae Sancti Ecgwini* by Byrhtferth and (in expanded form) by Dominic of Evesham.[75] However, unlike Egwine's testament (which is self-evidently fraudulent) the dispositions of Milburga's grants share the stylistic conventions of the periods to which they profess to relate. The Testament tells us that the lands which formed the initial endowment of Much Wenlock had been purchased from the Abbot of St. Botulf's (Iken, Suffolk), a community founded in 654.[76] The reference is a strong argument for the authenticity of the materials comprising the Testament, since it is a most unusual association and cannot have been relevant to a later context. There would hence be little reason not to suppose a genuine basis for the charters.[77] Statistical analysis reassuringly indicates that the style of the Testament is different from the rest of the text, though this

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[73] See Rollason (1982, chapter 2, note 60) and below, Appendices A (II) and A (III).

[74] *VSMb* 62-6 (A, fols. 210^{v} col. 1 - 211^{r} col. 2; G, fol. 170^{r} col. 2 - 170^{v} col. 2); Edwards (1960), 183-98; Finberg (1961a).

[75] London, British Library, Cottonian MSS, Nero E.i (Worcester, *saec. xi med.*); Hereford, Dean and Chapter MSS, P.7.vi (*saec. xii*^{2}). The charters are similar to ones that are found separately, but include linking material with some additional information. See Finberg (1961, 33, 89-90, 183) and Lapidge (1977, 1978).

[76] *ASC*, *sub anno*; Edwards (1960), 216-21, 224.

[77] Edwards (1960), 209-12, 238-9, 249-50; Finberg (1961a), 207-13, *pace* Croom (1989, 253-4).

need of course only imply that the section is of independent composition to the *Vita*.[78] The two other segments that concern us are the legend of King Merewalh's conversion and the Miracles of *Landmylien*, and these are treated below.[79]

The Testament alerts us to the author's access to earlier historical materials, whilst the attribution of the text to an unknown (and presumably local) writer rather than to a hired hack means that it is more likely that the main text of the *Vita* also has important information to disclose about the religious development of the *Magonsætan*.

2.4 SAINT EADFRITH AND KING MEREWALH

The genealogical material that prefaces the *Vita Sanctae Milburgae* gives no hint of Merewalh's British ancestry.[80] This is partly because it is taken from a Kentish text interested rather in the family of his wife *Eafa*.[81] Though this states him to be Penda's son (*Pendan sunu cynges*), Merewalh's Old English name means 'famous Welshman'.[82] *Walh* remained a popular element in Mercia and Wessex, and was clearly given to those without British ancestry, but in an early and west Mercian context, its meaning will surely have been explicit.[83] Were Merewalh to have been part-British, the

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[78] Work conducted by the present writer.

[79] *VSMb* 46-52; 89-91. See following page and below, pp. 118-28.

[80] *VSMb* 42-6, 52-5.

[81] 'Kentish Royal Legend', Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MSS, 201 (Winchester, *saec. xi ineunte*); Liebermann (1889), 1-8, on which see Rollason (1982, 27-8, 41-4, 73-87).

[82] *ASC* (E) 656; Liebermann (1889), 3-4; Edwards (1960), 259-60; Finberg (1961b), 217-9; (1964a), 70-71; Pretty (1989), 176. *Merewalh* is probably the correct form. The name necessarily appears in Latin as *Merwaldus*, so the perpetuation of *Merewald* is mistaken (Hillaby, 1995, 13).

[83] See Cameron (1980, 5-6, 25) and the sources cited there.

name would indicate that Penda had taken a British wife. Merewalh's sons were called *Merchelm*, *Merefin* and *Mildfrith*, his daughters *Milburga*, *Mildrith*, and *Mildgyth*. *Mil-* owes nothing to the Kentish name stock, but is attested as a British name element.

The preamble of Milburga's Testament highlights Merewalh's possession of lands in the area known as Hampton (*Homtun*) east of Leominster.[84] The *Vita* includes an account of his 'conversion' at Leominster by a Northumbrian priest called Eadfrith. It is preserved in a number of redactions of which the four most important are:

(1) the Life of St. Milburga in British Library, Additional MSS, 34, 633, fols. 207^{r} col. 2 - 208^{r} col.2 (*saec. xiii*),[85]

(2) the Life of St. Milburga in Gotha, Landesbibliothek MSS, I.81, fols. 167^{v} col.2 - 168^{v} col.1 (*saec. xiv med.*),

(3) the abbreviation made by John of Tynemouth and included in his *Sanctilogium Anglie* (*saec. xiv med.*),[86] and

(4) the *Legenda de Sancto Etfrido presbitero de Leominstera* of British Library, Harley MSS, 2253, fols. 132^{r}-133^{r} (*saec. xiv med.*).[87]

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[84] *VSMb* 63; Rennell (1963), 315; Coplestone-Crow (1989), 9.

[85] *VSMb* 48-52.

[86] London, British Library, Cottonian MSS, Tiberius E. i (Horstmann, 1901, II, 189).

[87] Hardy (1862), 257-8; Ker (1965), xxi-xxiii; Hillaby (1987), 564-7; Sims-Williams (1990), 55, 101-2; Hillaby (1995), 7 (dated to 1346).

The legend of Eadfrith is stylistically akin to the rest of the *Vita*.[88] Though it may have been abstracted from there, it is possible that it was of earlier origin. That it could stand by itself is indicated by its singular appearance in the Harley manuscript.

We are told, in brief, that Eadfrith informed of his mission *celesti oraculo*, travels to a place in Mercia called *Reodesmuthe*, where he takes lodgings and dreams that a fierce lion shares his bread, becomes gentler than a lamb and falls at his feet. This is taken as a portent of a king's conversion. The priest is brought to King Merewalh and delivers an allegorical interpretation of a nightmare,[89] which meets with the royal approval.[90] The king is converted and baptized. The story concludes with the statement that where Merewalh, the lion, had become a lamb according to Eadfrith's vision, he founded a church which came to be known as *Leonis Monasterium*, and over which he was set in charge.

The title and marginal numeration of the Harley manuscript presuppose that Eadfrith's office was read at Leominster by the middle of the fourteenth century. *Eadfrid* appears in an eleventh-century Herefordshire calendar, and as *Entferð* again amongst the *confessores* of a litany of similar date. In both texts he keeps company with a mysterious *Æþelmod*, who appears to be peculiar to Leominster, where his relics were by 1286.[91] We can be reasonably certain therefore that the two documents derive from

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[88] Work conducted by the present writer.

[89] He is torn apart by dogs, in perpetual death. The *VSMb* was not alone in its deployment of this motif (Merdrignac, 1986, Q 415.1).

[90] No-one else could tell the king what the dream meant. Compare Genesis 41. 1-36.

[91] London, British Library, Cottonian MSS, Nero A.ii, respectively on 9 January and 26 October (Wormald, 1934, 30, 39) and Galba A.xiv, fol. 93^{v} (Lapidge, 1991, 166); Doble (1942), 58; Hillaby (1995), 6-7. On the provenance and date of these manuscripts see also Muir

'a Leominster prayer-book', and that Eadfrith was commemorated at Leominster before the composition of the *Vita Sanctae Milburgae*.

The river names of Leominster's hinterland are exclusively British. The administrative topography of the area suggests that the place had once formed the *caput* of a large multiple estate.[92] No evidence of early Christian activity has been found near the church but the insular site would be suitable for a Romano-British foundation.[93] In later Welsh sources, Leominster is termed *Lannllieni*, 'church at the meeting of the streams', and claimed as a foundation of St. David.[94] Such a tradition suggests that its church was considered of British origin.[95]

If the term *Lannllieni* was indeed Leominster's earliest name, then a phonetic sequence *Lannllieni*, *Lieni-mynster*, *Leena-mynster*, *Leämynster*, *Leömynster*, *Lemster (Leominster)* may be supposed. The fact that *Lannllieni* cannot be obtained through reverse-translation from *Leominster* suggests strongly that it is an earlier name rather than a later Welsh equivalent. *Lunmustre* is recorded in a manuscript of the early

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(1988, xi-xiii: Winchester), Lapidge (1980, 83-6: St. Germans) and below, chapter three, pp. 257-9.

[92] Rennell (1963), 303-5, 314, 322-6; Hooke (1986a), 21-24; Coplestone-Crow (1989), 6-9, 76, 123, 156; Stanford (1991), 116; Gelling (1992), 199-200; Hillaby (1995), 5.

[93] Hillaby (1987), 605-613; Pretty (1989), 178; Parsons (1995), 64.

[94] *Vita Beati Davidis* (British Library, Cotton MSS, Nero E.i, *saec. xii med.*): *hinc Leuministre monasterium fundavit* (Wade-Evans, 1913, 42; James, 1967, 8); *Historia o Uuched Dewi* (Oxford, Jesus College MSS, 119, fol. 95[a], *circa* 1346): *Odyna yr adeilawd Lannllieni y glann Hafuren* (Evans, 1988, 4, 39: incorrectly, the Lugg, not the Severn).

[95] Davies (1948), I, 342; Hillaby (1995), 9.

fourteenth century,[96] while *Lemster* is recorded from the seventeenth century. The present form *Leominster* appears to result from hyper-correction.[97]

The story of the lion (*leo*, *leonis*) is clearly aetiological. It must either postdate the development of the first element of Leominster's name into the form *Leo*-, or itself provide a reason for that change.[98] The first recorded use of *Leo*- in the name comes in the *Secgan*, the earliest list of the resting places of the saints of Anglo-Saxon England, where we are given the form *Leomynstre*.[99] The reference falls in the part of the list in which places are located from their proximity to rivers, and which is believed to have originated at the turn of the tenth century.[100] The use of *leon* or *lion* in the designation of Leominster's hinterland is first attested from the bounds of a charter of Edgar of 958, where lands are described as the property of the *Lionhina* or *Leonhiena*, 'the community of Lene'.[101] It therefore emerges that the legend of the lion, far from being a necessarily late invention might be at least as old as the end of the ninth century.

The omission of Eadfrith from the *Secgan* will have been noticed, and the possibility is raised that Eadfrith's developed legend is of entirely late date, being

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[96] PRO E 164/1 (Neath, *saec. xiv ineunte*); Butler (1987), 100. A Norman French list of saints' resting-places, bound up with the Breviate of Domesday.

[97] Broughton (1941), 95, 114. On 'hyper-correction' see Padel (1988, 42-3).

[98] John of Tynemouth (Horstmann, 1901, II, 190) remarkably leaves out the explicit identification of this church as Leominster, but states correctly that it was dedicated to St. Peter.

[99] Liebermann (1889), 13 (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MSS, 201; *saec. xi med.*). An earlier redaction (London, British Library, Stowe MSS, 944; *circa* 1031) gives the name as *Leomynster*. *ASC* (C, D) records *Leomynstre* and *Leo mynstre*, also from the eleventh century.

[100] Rollason (1978), 63; (1983), 5.

[101] BCS 1040; S 677; Whitelock (1955), 515; Finberg (1961), 142; Rennell (1963), 315.

confected in order to explain unidentified relics then in the church.[102] This explanation is made less likely in the light of the identification of the Leominster region as a royal centre of the seventh century in the Testament of Saint Milburga. The year in which it is set, 660, four years before the synod of Whitby, two years after the end of the Northumbrian occupation, and seven years after the conversion of Peada and foundation of the see of the Mercians is appropriate. We might perhaps identify Leominster's Eadfrith with Bede's Adda, priest of the Northumbrian mission.[103] In the second place, the *Vita* also indicates that Merwalh's youngest daughter Milgitha became a nun *in terminis northanhymbrorum*, and that the king and his wife founded and endowed a church of Oswald at Gloucester, something that cannot be correct, since the mynster there was not founded until the 890's and not associated with Oswald until 909.[104] Both statements tell of a belief that Northumbrian influence was strong during Merewalh's reign.

In addition, the legend's biographical sparseness and repertoire of motifs are very Northumbrian. The journey and task advised to a priest in a dream bears comparison with that of Trimma to find and translate Edwin's bones.[105] The place-

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[102] He is probably not to be identified with the *Æþelred* of the *Secgan*, whose name can hardly have been confused. On this saint, see Stenton (1970, 202), Doble (1942, 61-2) and Finberg (1961b, 220).

[103] *HE* III.21. Atcham church outside of Wroxeter, uniquely dedicated to the Northumbrian Eata, is unlikely to bear any relation to Adda or Eadfrith, since the place-name appears to be a contraction from *Attingham*. The combination of a saint's name with *-ham* would be unusual, and with the early kin-based element *-ingaham* unheard of. See Ekwall (1960, 18; 1962, 149-50), Taylor and Taylor (1963, 241), Sylvester (1969, 93), Hooke (1986a, 32), and Gelling (1989, 189; 1992, 74).

[104] *VSMb* 52, 55. John of Tynemouth omits the whole paragraph of the Additional (fol. 208^{v}, col. 1) dealing with the foundation, but had read it, as his use of the phrase *possessionibus... ditatur* indicates. He may have recognized the improbability of the claim.

[105] *Liber Beati Gregorii*, §§ 18-19 (Colgrave, 1968, 102-5).

name *Reodesmuthe* probably refers to Ridgemouth near Leominster,[106] but a closer match is found with the Northumbrian place *Redesmouth*, at the confluence of the North Tyne and Rede northwest of Hexham, and this might indicate the misinterpretation of the name by a Northumbrian author.[107] If the legend were to have been transmitted from Northumbria, a parallel would be presented by the knowledge of northern places demonstrated by the Old English Bede, a ninth-century western Mercian text believed by its editor to have been preserved at Much Wenlock.[108]

On the balance of probabilities, Merewalh is as unlikely to have been a pagan in 660 as Leominster is to have been a foundation *de novo*. The pagan king who was baptized and founded a church was a well-worn hagiological motif by the eleventh century. Taking into account the Anglo-British complexion of the *Magonsætan* and the Mercian affiliation of its royal family, the preservation of the memory of a missionary Northumbrian priest at Wenlock and Leominster suggests an attitude of religious tolerance as much as political acumen. Eadfrith remains elusive, but everything we know of the *Magonsætan* warns us against interpreting this as a cult imposed upon (rather than received into) a British or once-British area.

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[106] J. Hillaby (1997), pers. comm.

[107] A: *Reodesmuthe*, G: *Reodesmonht*, Harley: *Reodesmunde*, Tynemouth: *Reodeswode*. The *-nd-* must result from the cross-bar of *-ð-* being taken for a mark of abbreviation.

[108] Miller (1890), lvii-lix; (1898), x-xii, xxi. But see Whitelock (1962, 63-5, 83-4).

2.5 MUCH WENLOCK

Botulf and Mildryth were associated with the Frankish house of Chelles, and that the house's first known abbess should be called *Leobsynde* suggests Frankish influence on the early community.[109] Excavation indicates that the site at Wenlock had, in the Anglo-Saxon period, been shared by two churches, and thus that it was a double monastery.[110] The supposition is that the site of the parish church of Holy Trinity, features of which have sometimes been dated to the late Saxon period, was that of the nuns' church, whilst that of the male members of the community was on the site of the priory.[111] By the time of the visit of Cardinal Odo, Wenlock appears to have been an all-male community, and the nuns' church had clearly fallen into disrepair.

The medieval churches respected an existing, perhaps plastered, structure that featured an 'internal apse' or niche in its easternmost wall.[112] If this were the remains of a Roman villa, Wenlock would bear comparison with a number of insular and continental sites, perhaps most significantly with the British community at Llandough.[113] Whilst evidence from the site of the priory is yet lacking, burials of Roman date have been recovered from Wenlock's main street.[114]

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[109] Edwards (1960), 299; Finberg (1961a), 208-9; Hillaby (1987), 581.

[110] Edwards (1964), 137, 139-40, 147, 149; Jackson and Fletcher (1965), 20-21; Woods (1987), 37-8.

[111] Graham (1939), 117-23; Taylor and Taylor (1965), III, 1074-5; Jackson and Fletcher (1966), 35-8. But see Cox and Watson (1987), who reiterate Cranage's view (1901, I, 215-230) that the church of Holy Trinity is entirely post-Conquest.

[112] Cranage (1922), 107-8 (7th century following a Roman practice); Jackson and Fletcher (1965), 22, 28, 32 (7th century); Woods (1987), 42, 50, 58-60 (Roman). But see Biddle and Biddle (1988).

[113] Percival (1976), 183-99; Morris and Roxan (1980), 175-209; Morris (1983), 26, 41-5; Woods (1987), 63-5; Owen-John (1988); Croom (1992), 31; Thomas and Holbrook (1994, 1996).

Wenlock appears in the earlier part of the *Secgan* (*saec. xi*) as *Wenlocan* and in the 1101 *Inventio* as *Winloc*.[115] These names . are believed to derive from British *gwyn-loc* meaning 'white monastery', or from a combination of British *gwyn-* and Old English *-loca*, meaning 'area enclosed by white cliffs'.[116] The name *Wimnicas*, used in the earliest charter of Milburga's Testament, appears to include the Old English element *wim* ('filfth' or 'mud') which is found at *Wem*, north of Shrewsbury.[117] It is clear that if *Wimnicas* is Wenlock, some disjunction is implied by the independent derivation of the names, but that the Old English element might still have arisen from a misinterpretation of British *gwyn*. The topography, boundaries and field-systems of the Wenlock area indicate beyond doubt that British patterns of estate organization and land-use continued into the Anglo-Saxon period, and that Wenlock is likely to have been an estate centre. The cantref of *Wentloog* or *Gwynllwg* (the area between the Rhymni and the Usk) indicates that the British term *-loc* could also be used to refer to an area, and so it is possible that the Wenlock estate was known by this name, and that *Wimnicas* was its *caput*.[118] We note also:

(i) That the curvilinearity and elevation of the yard of the Saxon church of St. Giles at Barrow, which Wenlock possessed at Domesday are shared with a large

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[114] Staelens (1985, 1995).

[115] Liebermann (1889), 11-12; Rollason (1978), 89; Edwards (1964), 144.

[116] Ekwall (1960), 506; Gelling and Foxall (1990), 304-5.

[117] *VSMb* 63. See Finberg (1961a, 201-2) and Mills (1991, 351), *pace* Edwards (1960, 223), Finberg (1964a, 74), Gelling (1989, 193), and Gelling and Foxall (1990, 303). That *Wimnicas* is to be preferred to *Wininicas* (A, G) is demonstrated by the independent witness of charter of 901 (British Library, Cotton MSS, Charters, viii.27: S 221: *saec. x ineunte*) and by other mistakes in A, where Merchelm once appears as *inerchelin*.

[118] Richards (1969), 229; Hooke (1986a), 25-30; Croom (1988); 71-3; (1992), 18-19, 31.

number of Welsh sites.[119] If the Barrow area was, as supposed by Croom, one of late settlement, then the early fabric of the church may indicate the site to have been of an importance sufficient to outweigh its marginal position.[120]

(ii) That in a letter of 716 to Abbess Eadburga of Thanet, Boniface relays a vision experienced by a monk of Wenlock.[121] This has only three close parallels and all have some British connection. That of Drihthelm comes from Ayrshire, the furthest extent of Northumbrian power in the eighth century, whilst Guthlac had lived among the British and Fursey was an Irishman.[122]

Archaeological and historical evidence indicate therefore that whilst the community and church at Much Wenlock may outwardly have been of Anglo-Saxon form and foundation, they may equally have assimilated British features, or built upon British antecedents.

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[119] Site assessment, August 1996. Brook (1992) does not discuss the yard, but it would clearly be curvilinear by her criteria. See Cranage (1901, 176-83), Baldwin-Brown (1925, 443), Taylor and Taylor (1965, I, 49-51), Jackson and Fletcher (1966), Taylor (1971) and Fletcher (1988, 179).

[120] Croom (1989), 71.

[121] Kylie (1911), 78-89; Tangl (1916), 7-15; Rau (1968), 30-43; Sims-Williams (1990), 243-72.

[122] *HE* V.12; Felix, §§ 31-33; *HE* III.19. See above, chapter one, p. 62. The Wenlock monk may have been familiar with Fursey's vision, and Boniface certainly embellished his account from there, but neither alters the fact that the vision occurred at Wenlock. All show some influence from Virgil, *Aeneid* VI, lines 235-899 (Austin, 1977). Such visions launched an ethnic stereotype (Sims-Williams, 1986).

2.6 THE CHARACTER OF MILBURGA'S CULT

We can seek to clarify the ethnic affinities of the community at Much Wenlock by examining the motifs of the *Vita Sanctae Milburgae*. In order, the miracles of the main body of the *Vita* are:

(i) While outside the monastery, at *Stochas* (Stoke-Saint-Milborough),[123] Milburga and her companions are surprised by a hunting prince and his men. He tries to rape her but she flees across the *Corf* (river Corve),[124] whose waters rise to prevent his passage. The prince is suitably chastened by this demonstration of divine protection and promises not to attempt such a thing again (A, fol. 213^{r} cols. 1-2; G, fols. 172^{r} col. 2 -172^{v} col. 1).

(ii) She tells wild geese (*aucas indomitas*) not to feed in her fields at *Stochas*. They obey her command and in subsequent years alight in her fields but feed elsewhere (A, fols. 213^{r} col. 2 - 213^{v} col. 1; G, fol. 172^{v} cols. 1-2).

(iii) Her veil is suspended on a sunbeam (A, fols. 213^{v} col. 1 - 214^{r} col. 1; G, fols. 172^{v} col. 2 - 173^{r} col. 1).

(iv) Enveloped in a heavenly fire, she reluctantly raises a dead boy to life (A, fols. 214^{r} col. 2 - 215^{r} col. 1; G, fols. 173^{r} col. 2 - 174^{r} col. 1).

The last two of these may be dismissed as 'symbolic… indications of the saint's holiness and of her fellowship with all other great saints'; as the type of stock motif that was clearly fashionable at the time of composition.[125] They fit well with the countless pages of vacuous pious rambling which constitute approaching two thirds of the text,

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[123] Thus A. G: *Stokas*; Tynemouth: *Stokes*.

[124] This spelling in all MSS.

[125] Edwards (1960), 115, 155.

and which are presumably the author's original contribution.[126] British parallels can however be adduced for the first two miracles, and 'it is therefore permissible to hope that the life of St. Milburga contains in its miracle stories something older than the fruit of [the author's] fertile imagination and receptive memory.'[127] Although the protection of crops from birds had evidently become a commonplace by the late eleventh century, similar miracles involving geese occurring in the lives of Werburga and the Flemish Amelburga,[128] it is also a motif prominent in the lives of British saints.[129] One is reminded of Illtud's injunctions against crows in a life of the middle of the twelfth century and of the very late topographical tradition known at St. Neot but related in neither medieval life of that saint, to mention but two.[130] Considering the dearth of early British lives, and the incestuous relationships of the later ones we cannot of course confirm that the motif is a genuine reflection of Milburga's cult in the Anglo-Saxon period, but given the ubiquity of the motif in British and Irish sources, it would be imprudent to dismiss the possibility.

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[126] *VSMb* 56-61, 70-74, 79-80, 85-8.

[127] Edwards (1960), 150.

[128] *Vita Sanctae Wereburgae* (Horstmann, 1887, xxii-xxiii); *GP* IV, § 172 (Hamilton, 1870, 308-9); *De Sancta Werburga Virgine* (Horstmann, 1901, II, 423). Amelburga: *Acta SS*, Julii III, 98. See Finberg (1961a, 200), Grosjean (1961, 163-4), and Hamilton (1973, II, 20). The Wenlock geese were for a long time the identifiers of the hagiographer as Goscelin, for in the more confidently attributed *Vita Sanctae Wereburgae* it is stated that *tale prorsus miraculum in vita beatissimae virginis Amelbergae, quam nostro stylo recudimus, legitur, quatenus in eodem opere eadem fides utriusque, licet diverso tempore et loco exstiterint, comprobetur*. Because this life was unknown to English commentators, Amelburga was mistakenly identified with the saint of the *Vita Sanctae Milburgae*.

[129] Thompson (1932), B 33.1; Merdrignac (1986), B 33.1.2-3 (203).

[130] *Vita Sancti Iltuti*, § 14 (Wade-Evans, 1944, 212-5); Horstmann (1901), II, 53-4; Whitaker (1808), 17-19, 46; Doble (1998), 87.

There are no extant lives of Anglo-Saxon female saints written in Anglo-Saxon England. Bede comes closest in his extended descriptions of Hild, Æthelthryth, Ælfflæd, and of the community of Barking, but these accounts are biographical rather than hagiological and we really do not know what anecdotes Bede would have deployed were he to have been commissioned to write a life of Hild on the scale of his prose life of Saint Cuthbert.[131] We might infer from the continental lives of the period that he would have aimed for sober dignity rather than sensation.[132]

With the exception of Goscelin's own account of Wulfhilda of Barking,[133] we can say that the handmaiden of Christ pursued by the amorous prince is not a motif to be found in the canon of lives of Anglo-Saxon female saints and we note here instead its affinities with the legends of Gwenfrewi and Melangell. Of course, these instances might just reflect the borrowings of post-Conquest hagiographers, the influences of courtly romance, or indeed of persistent and regenerative folk traditions,[134] but in this case, the *Vita Sanctae Milburgae* itself contains more than a clue as to the British origin of the motif, for bringing up the rear of the life comes a discrete section of miracles pertaining to three stones at a place known as *Landmylien* (A, fol. 216^{r} col. 1 - 216^{v} col. 1; G, fols. 174^{v} col. 2 - 175^{r} col. 2).[135] They comprise:

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[131] *HE* IV.7, IV.19, IV.23; *VCP* §§ 23-4, 34.

[132] The Merovingian lives are assembled in translation by McNamara and Halborg (1992).

[133] Esposito (1913); Horstmann (1901), II, 506-510.

[134] Thompson (1932), N 711.1.

[135] *VSMb* 89-91; Appendix D (II) below. Sylvester (1969, 321), uses the form *Llan Meilien,* while the word is inexplicably spelled *Lanchmylien* by Finberg (1961a, 210; 1964, 74) and by Grosjean (1961, 164). Both spellings are without authority.

(a) A stone that is a 'memorial of the divine punishment' of a Welsh king who was struck down for trying to rape Milburga (this probably means she was believed to have turned him to stone).

(b) The hoofprints of her mule in rock. The water collected in them had healing properties, particularly against fevers and eye-ailments.

(c) A stone on which Milburga used to sit was found to be repellant to animals.[136] It was bounded by bushes. Later a church was constructed opposite it. Moral: do not enter the house of God like dumb animals.

The first miracle is evidently the same story as recounted in the main body of the *Vita*, but with a different and more appropriate dénouement. The story might of course indicate that a property claim on lands at Stoke-Saint-Milborough and in Corvedale more generally had been appropriated by a church in Wales acquired by Wenlock at a later date, but given the possibility of a British origin for the leading family of the *Magonsætan*, we might alternatively suggest that the tradition preserved at *Landmylien* was the original one and was later adopted for use at Wenlock.

Nineteenth-century antiquaries recorded a tradition from Stoke-Saint-Milborough that the saint fled her enemies and their hounds either on horseback or astride a white mule. She reached the site of Stoke-Saint-Milborough after an arduous journey of two days, whereupon she collapsed and knocked her head on a stone.[137] Her mount struck a rock from which water flowed.[138] This place, so the tradition held, was

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[136] Thompson (1932), Q 558.14.1. Brutishness affronts sanctity, and vice versa.

[137] From where was she travelling? Evidently not Wenlock.

[138] Thompson (1932), A 941.1.

St. Milburga's Well at the foot of Brown Clee Hill above the church; Milburga's blood could still be seen on the stone there and its water was good against eye-infections. Milburga goes on to bring to harvest in a single day the barley just then being sown by the peasants on the understanding that they should tell her pursuers that she had passed that way as they were sowing it, so throwing them into confusion.[139]

These legends appear to draw on the material of both the main text of the *Vita Sanctae Milburgae* (for the location) and on the appendix of Welsh miracles (for the mule), but also contain a second motif present in neither of them. The rapid growth of crops is ubiquitous, and if its appearance here is not simply the result of local genius, it is possible that it represents an element of earlier British tradition edited out by the author of the *Vita Sanctae Milburgae*.[140] The miracle(s) of the donkey's hoof put us in mind of the miracle of the bull's hoof in the *Miracula Nynie Episcopi* and *Vita Sancti Niniani.*[141] It might be thought unlikely for such a strong topographical tradition to take root at a site only lately acquired by the community at Wenlock, and *Landmylien*'s association with Milburga could therefore be of some antiquity.

2.6.1 LOCATING *LANDMYLIEN*

Landmylien was the only church in Wales dedicated or named after Milburga at the time of the composition of the account of the Welsh Miracles, but we are explicitly told that this was not always the case:

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[139] Hope (1893, 140-41), citing Burne (1883, 418-9); Edwards (1960), 154-5.

[140] Merdrignac (1986), D 2157.2.1; Dähnhardt (1910, 61), cited by Thompson (1932, D 2157.2). See above, chapter one, note 193.

[141] *MNE* 228-9; *VN* § 8; Thompson (1932), A 972.4. See above, chapter one, note 180.

Plura namque preter hunc locum [Landmylien Wallice dictum] predia possessionum ibi dudum possederat iure monasteriali ipsa vite monastice magistra virgo Milburga. Quibus iam amissis, rerum variis eventibus, stat adhuc ut ita dicam; uno tantum in loco antiqui nominis umbra.[142]

Milburga had been deprived of all but a shadow of her ancient Welsh possessions. The one place which still commemorated her was *Landmylien*, but the church of Wenlock no longer had any rights there. If the miracles of this place in Wales are an original and early feature of Milburga's cult and if they influenced the cult as it developed at Wenlock and Stoke-Saint-Milborough, then they comprise additional evidence of the hybrid character of the *Magonsætan*, and lend support to the impression that Merewalh's western boundary was within present-day Wales.

The extent of these lands clearly depends on the identification of *Landmylien*. It cannot be Wenlock or Stoke-Saint-Milborough because the author is certain that it is somewhere else, 'there', 'in Wales'.[143] Llanfilo, in Breconshire west of Talgarth, which occurs as *Lanbylien* in the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of Nicholas IV (1288-92) and as *Lanbilio*, *Lanbiliou*, *Llanbiliowe* and *Llanbillio* in later documents has been a popular choice.[144] The church is not mentioned in the Testament of Saint Milburga, and its

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[142] *VSMb* 89-90. G has *possiderat* and *Mildburga*, but is otherwise identical to A.

[143] *in Wallia* (*VSMb* 89); *pace* Sylvester (1969, 95, 321) and Rowley (1972, 51). Though what a Wenlock author of 1100 might mean by this is by no means secure (R. Davies, 1987, 5-7; R. Frame, 1997, pers. comm.)

[144] London, British Library, Cottonian MSS, Tiberius C.x, fol. 389^{b} (*saec. xiii exeunte*: Astle, Ayscough and Caley, 1802, 273). Cited by Edwards (1960, 233), Baring-Gould and Fisher (1907, I, 204), Finberg (1961a, 210; 1964a, 74), Grosjean (1961, 164) and Yates (1973, 12). Fisher (1906, 107) sounded a lone voice of dissent. Also spelled *Llanvilo* (Wade-Evans, 1910, 39), *Llanfillo* (Finberg, 1961a, 210; Richards, 1969, 123; Pretty, 1989, 177), and *Lanvillo* (Fisher, 1906, 107; Grosjean, 1961, 164).

ascription to her goes back no further than an antiquary's statement that "in some old documents, this church is expressly called *Ecclesia Sanctae Milburgae Virginis*, and a well in the neighbourhood takes the name of the saint but is corruptly pronounced *Ffynon Villa*."[145] These old documents have never come to light, if they ever existed. Neither is there any evidence that the well ever bore Milburga's name.

The form of the place-name in the *Taxatio* is problematic. Lenition of either of *-m-* or *-b-* to *-f-* or *-v-* was one of the commonest phonetic changes in the Celtic languages: witness the many *Llansanfraidd*s (Brigit). In the case of Llanfilo, support for a change from *-b-* to *-f-* is provided by the appearance of Byliau once as *Felis* in a Brycheiniog genealogy.[146] Against this can be set the common change of *-m-* to *-f-* or *-v-* in *Llanfair* (Mary) and *Llanvihangel* (Michael). One is tempted to agree with Grosjean, that *Lanbilien* is the result of scribal error, and that *Lanbilieu* was in fact written. After all *-lieu*, *-ieu* would have been familiar enough endings for an Anglo-Norman scribe.[147] This is made almost certain by the present unique ascription of the church to the Brycheiniog princess *Byliau*. If this saint is not to be identified with Milburga (and despite their common backgrounds there is nothing to suggest that she should be) then Byliau is in fact likely to be the genuine dedicatee.

Llanfilo is at the hub of an area which also gives us the names *Llandefaelog* and *Llandefalle*, and in these cases the presumption is that there is a shift of *-m-* to *-f-*, for

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[145] Jones (1805, II.ii, 563), cited by Edwards (1960, 232).

[146] *Ach Kynauc Sant,* § 3 (Oxford, Jesus College MSS, 3: *saec. xiv*: Wade-Evans, 1944, 319).

[147] Grosjean (1961), 164-5; Finberg (1964a), 74-5. Take, for instance, the several English places named *Beaulieu*. An analogous case is the substitution of the *-oir* ending for *-or* elsewhere in the document.

Llandyfaelog tref-y-Graig was known as *Landemayloc* in 1291 and had a chapel dedicated to Maelog that was subordinate to Llanfilo.[148] There are approaching twenty similar place-names in Wales and whilst concentrated in particular areas, they are widely dispersed. This group does not encompass all churches commemorating saints known as Maelog, Maelon, and Maelig but a large proportion of places with such a name are so dedicated.[149] If sometimes bestowed separately, these names probably also served as diminutives for names in *Mael-* (*Myl-, Mil-, Mel-*) and might therefore refer to a number of saints, including *Mylien* or Milburga.[150] The ridiculous farrago of a life confected by Baring-Gould warns against attempting to treat them as the reflections of a singular holy man by the name of Maelog.[151] There are, as it happens, independent reasons why Milburga should be identified with the *Maelog* whose churches rub shoulders with that at Llanfilo, but as it has been presented by previous commentators, the association of Llanfilo with *Landmylien* does not stand scrutiny.

An equally valid, and perhaps more appropriate location for *Landmylien* can be suggested. A church of Maelog, stood until the sixteenth century in farmland east of Llandrindod (Radnorshire), where its site has now given way to housing development.[152] Excavation revealed that a single-cell church of the eleventh century

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[148] *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, fol. 390 (Astle, Ayscough and Caley, 1802, 273); Wade-Evans (1910), 39.

[149] Yates' enumeration (1973, 13) is too conservative.

[150] One *Maelog Cam*, for instance, was killed in 907, according to the *Brut y Tywysogyon* (Jones, 1952, 6; 1955, 10-11).

[151] Baring-Gould and Fisher (1907), III, 401-6.

[152] Britnell and Spurgeon (1990), 29, 82, 89. Henceforward 'Capel Maelog'. The foundations of the church itself were removed, and in 1986 reconstructed beside Llandrindod's ornamental lake.

overlay stone-lined focal burials.[153] The excavators were of the conviction that the site was predominantly late, but the assigning of dates to the skeletal material was made impossible through the deterioration associated with the acidity of the soil. The earliest carbon-data related to the fifth century, and the cemetery itself appeared to follow a process of development similar to the model proposed for Merthyr Uny, Ardwall and Papil, Burra.[154] While the possibility exists that the original enclosure served a secular purpose,[155] the evidence does not rule out the idea that the site was in use in a religious context during the Mercian hegemony. The development of this church's name may be presented as a table.[156]

DEVELOPMENT OF THE NAME CAPEL MAELOG

Form	Date	Source
Llandyfaelon Llanfaelon	-------	Posited (Britnell and Spurgeon, 1990)
Landmylien	c.1250	*Vita Sanctae Milburgae* A
Lonvayloir	1291	*Taxatio Ecclesiastica*
Landemaylon	1291	*Taxatio Ecclesiastica*
Lanmýlýen	c.1340	*Vita Sanctae Milburgae* G
Llando Vaylon	1399	Ep. Reg. St. Dav.
Landovaylon[157]	1400	Ep. Reg. St. Dav.
Llandyvaylan	1513	Writ
Llanvaylor	1517	Writ
Llanvailon	1732	Deed
Llan Faelon	1811	N. Carlisle
Capel Vaelon	1833	S. Lewis
Llanfaelog	1858	J. Williams
Cartre Faelog	1917	T. Morris
Capel Maelog (field)	1917	T. Morris

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[153] Britnell (1984, 1985, 1986a, 1986b); Anon. (1987); Jones (1988); Britnell and Spurgeon (1990).

[154] Thomas (1966, 1967, 1968a, 1968b); (1971), 50-58; Morris (1983), 51.

[155] Dark (1994a), 79.

[156] Based on the information in Morris (1917) and Britnell and Spurgeon (1990).

[157] This and the preceding form are influenced by the contemporary description of Llandrindod old church as *Llando*, 'church of God'.

The form *Landemaylon*, recorded from the *Taxatio* of 1291, like the *Landmylien* of the *Vita Sanctae Milburgae* (and unlike the forms of Llanfilo's name) has the medial *-d-*. A settlement underlying Llandrindod is likely to have formed the *caput* of the southernmost commote of the cantref of *Maelienydd*, a semi-independent 'Welsh' lordship, definitively lost to the Normans only in the mid thirteenth century.[158] At its approximate northeasternmost extent this came to within 45 km of Wenlock, and within 25 km of Stoke-Saint-Milborough. It seems to have had no dominant centre, and its furthermost commotes were possibly administered rather loosely, but the proximity of the Roman fort of Castell Collen (2 km northwest) and of the cantrefal castle of Cefnllys (2 km east) argue for the long-term importance of the Llandrindod area and potentially of the church of Maelog. Cefnllys castle stands on an outcrop within a loop of the river Ithon which, as a 'natural stronghold of great importance,' was quite possibly the site of a hill fort.[159]

Maelienydd is usually spelled *Maelenyd* in manuscripts of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. Taking the *Brut y Tywysogyon* as an example, we find that only once, in a fourteenth century manuscript tradition does the name appear with medial *-i-*.[160] If the medial *-i-* of the form *Maelienydd* has any justification it would however offer an important parallel to the *-mylien* of *Landmylien*. Since other names (take Byliau for instance) exist in dual forms with and without the *-i-*, it is quite possible that

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[158] R. Davies (1978), 102-3; (1987), 217, 246-7; Reeves (1983), 37-8. Richards (1969, 148, 229, 287) outlines the structure of the cantref. The name is presently applied to an area southeast of Llanbister.

[159] Lloyd (1912), I, 255. It has not been excavated to my knowledge.

[160] *Brut y Tywysogyon*, *sub anno* 1195 (Jones, 1955, 174). *Vaelyenyd* in 'T' MS group, originating with Peniarth MS 19 (*saec. xiv exeunte*).

-i- was more frequent in earlier forms of the name. Noting that the *Vita Sanctae Milburgae* explains *Landmylien* not as 'the church of Milburga' but as *terram Milburgae*, it is tempting to identify *Maelienydd* with the *plura praedia possesionum* lost to Milburga. *-ydd* or *-eth* is a common Welsh area suffix, and that *Maelienydd* must mean 'land of *Maelien*' is a demonstrable fact.[161] *Meirionydd* may be cited by way of parallel.[162] The *Landmylien* of the *Vita Sanctae Milburgae* might therefore be understood on two distinct levels: as the single place still commemorating the saint and as the name for her former patrimony.[163]

There exists the possibility that the later *Maelienydd* might be a contraction of an earlier area including both Capel Maelog and Llanfilo. As a cantref, *Maelienydd* is obviously shrunken since Ceri and Gwerthrynion are within the medieval deanery of the same name,[164] and *Maelienydd*, with *Elfael*, Builth, *Deuddwr* and Radnor are thought to have comprised an earlier unit termed *Rhwng Gwy a Hafren*, taking us to the borders of Brecon Talgarth, just 4 km north of Llanfilo.[165] Both areas were within the later archdeaconry of Brecon. But in so far as the *Vita Sanctae Milburgae* refers to a single place, Capel Maelog must be preferred since, as if to clinch the argument, there

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[161] *VSMb* 89; Lloyd (1912), I, 255; Britnell and Spurgeon (1990), 82. I am aware that the name has also been derived from one of the many Maelgwn's of Welsh history.

[162] Davies (1982a), 89 (*Meiriaun*); R. Davies (1987), 20.

[163] *Haliwerfolc* (Durham) and *Oswaldslow* (Worcester) are other ecclesiastical names in the latter category.

[164] Lloyd (1912), I, 255.

[165] R. Davies (1987), 9; Britnell and Spurgeon (1990), 79. The assertion there that the term is attested 'from the early eighth century' appears without justification. It seems unlikely nevertheless that it should have been coined when the Severn no longer appreciably served as a boundary, implying as it does a unit extending to southern Shropshire (and including Wenlock).

have never been any large stones at Llanfilo,[166] whilst two are attested for Capel Maelog. The excavators discovered that a former menhir had been deliberately buried in a pit at an unknown date, while the farmer, a Mr. Price, had in 1917 told a credulous enquirer tales about another that was standing within memory.[167] Were the dedication of Llanfilo to Milburga to stand scrutiny, the identity of the neighbouring *Maelog* with Milburga would reinforce Capel Maelog's claim on linguistic grounds. But such support is not required, for, unlike Llanfilo's, Capel Maelog's claim is multivalent.

In sum, early twelfth-century Wenlock is linked to Wales through the section of Welsh miracles appended to the *Vita Sanctae Milburgae*. These form a discrete section which, like the legend of Eadfrith and the Testament of Milburga, is surely of earlier composition. Milburga herself may be linked to Wales through the *Vita*'s presentation of her lands there as ones of great antiquity (*dudum*, *antiqui nominis*), very unfortunately lost (*iam*) in modern times, through the Welsh affinities of her name, through the possible status of Wenlock as the *caput* of a British estate and through the possibility that her family was in origin at least partly British. Wenlock and Milburga may be associated with Capel Maelog rather than Llanfilo because, unlike the latter

(a) It is a site demonstrably of some antiquity.

(b) The place referred to in the *Vita Sanctae Milburgae* was famous for its miraculous stones.

(c) It is within an area known as *Maelienydd* which not only seems to preserve the form *Mylien* recorded by the *Vita Sanctae Milburgae*, but also offers an explanation for that source's definition of a place-name as an area.

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[166] Grosjean (1961), 165.

[167] Morris (1917), 400; Britnell and Spurgeon (1990), 39, 58 and figure 3 (pit 990). The stone recovered measured 1.9 m x 1.2 m x 0.8 m.

(d) It has never been associated with any saint apart from *Maelog*, a unspecific diminutive, whereas Llanfilo was dedicated to the Brycheiniog princess Byliau from at least the thirteenth century.

At some time between the seventh and the early twelfth centuries the community had lost its Welsh lands and Milburga became an English saint with a rather small patrimony concentrated about Wenlock and the lands to the south on the border with Ergyng. A recasting of her legend seems to have taken place, in which traditions of Welsh origin, some of which may originally have related to *Landmylien* were re-worked and made relevant to a new situation through the securing of claims to lands about Wenlock and Leominster that were still within Milburga's orbit, and from which some legends were jettisoned.[168] We need not doubt the authenticity of the charters that form the Testament, none of which refer to *Landmylien*, but consider that document to have been an assembly of the tenth or eleventh centuries, representing a selection of materials designed to boost the claim of Much Wenlock to lands then in England, after the *realpolitisch* abandonment of claims to a more substantial block of lands then in Wales.

To recapitulate, examination of the cult of St. Milburga may indicate that in the seventh century and earlier, the kingdom that came to be known as the *Magonsætan* had extended into present day Radnorshire, Montgomeryshire and northern Breconshire. During the years following Milburga's death, her cult may have been adopted by the British population (*plebs indigena*) of the Welsh lands of the *Magonsætan* as well as at *Magonsætan* political foci in latterday England. The Dyke

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[168] Thus the insertion of *Corf* and *Stoke* into the *Vita*.

would appear to indicate that Milburga's western patrimony was not brought under direct Mercian rule, but the construction of fortifications of mixed Anglo-British character,[169] and the infiltration of Old English speakers west of the Dyke probably indicate that in the eighth and ninth centuries these lands remained in the hands of Merewalh's British kindred.[170] During this period, despite the occasional fracas, the Mercians seem to have enjoyed a working relationship with their British counterparts, doubtless partly the result of their own mixed origins.

The loss of Much Wenlock's Welsh lands clearly relates to a period in which ethnic identities and antagonisms had had time to develop and flourish, and in which graded cultural boundaries had begun to harden into rigid political borders. If we are to assign a date, it must be later than the tenth century, yet earlier than the twelfth: the period of renewed Scandinavian assault, the period of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn's overlordship, the period in which Anglo-Norman marcher lords were balanced against an independent Maelienydd.[171] As the loss of these lands yet rankled with the community at Wenlock, perhaps we might prefer a post-Conquest date. Henceforward, Milburga's cult appears to have assumed an increasingly monocultural complexion.

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[169] Spurgeon (1981), 30, 44-5, 58-9; Musson and Spurgeon (1988), 107-8; Dark (1994a), 35-6, 38, 58, *pace* the post-Conquest dates offered for one such site by Arnold and Huggett (1995).

[170] See above, note 18.

[171] See Davies (1981, 516), (1982a, 117) and R. Davies (1987, 9) for summaries.

2.7 THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER

2.7.1 *LIBER LANDAVENSIS*

For the early history of southwestern Herefordshire, Monmouthshire and western Gloucestershire the *Liber Landavensis*, extant in a unique manuscript of the twelfth century, constitutes an independent source of great value.[172] In the form we have it, it is designed to support a claim by Bishop Urban of Llandaff (1107-1134) to lands in southern Herefordshire, Monmouthshire and Gloucestershire then falling under the jurisdiction of Hereford. It is a composite document comprising the lives of Llandaff's patron saints Teilo, Dubricius and Oudoceus, a cartulary, plus papal correspondence related to Urban's cause. The cartulary draws on records assembled at Llandeilo Fawr and perhaps also at other declining houses like Llancarfan, Llantwit and Llandough.[173] The Llandaff memoranda are of a form found widely in British lands until the tenth century, but their witness lists include persons thought to have lived in the sixth and seventh centuries.[174] The inference intended by the compilers is that the right of the church of Llandaff to these lands was as ancient as the witnesses in the memoranda, for none omit to state that whatever lands were granted, were granted to the church of Llandaff. This is however a chronological absurdity, since the very existence of an ecclesiastical community at Llandaff is questionable until the end of the tenth century. Llandaff means 'church on the Taff' and is a strict companion to Cardiff, 'fort on the Taff', and its importance must clearly be related to the growing regional

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[172] Wales, National Library MSS, NLW 17110E. For codicological considerations, see most recently Huws (1987).

[173] Wade-Evans (1932); (1943); James (1973), 24; Davies (1975); (1998), 107.

[174] Wade-Evans (1932); 151-65 (from Llancarfan); Davies (1972), 461-2, 485; (1978), 7-8; (1982b); examples from the Redon cartulary cited, Davies (1988, 2); further examples referenced, Davies (1998, 110). But see the criticisms offered by Broun (1995, 38-41). The most significant characteristic is the lack of dating clause.

dominance of the latter.[175] The cartulary is followed by a list of Llandaff's churches and a record of the acts of the eleventh century bishop Herewald (d. 1104).

The criticism of these texts undertaken by James and Davies has demonstrated:[176]

(i) that there is some stylistic and orthographic evidence that the memoranda were compiled in nine separate groups, and may be supposed to have originated at different ecclesiastical communities, and to have been gathered together at Llandaff on separate occasions before being recopied into the extant manuscript;[177]

(ii) that structural features are shared with documents of unimpeachable authority like the ninth century memoranda from Llandeilo Fawr preserved in the Lichfield Gospels;[178]

(iii) that area and price units are used that were long obsolete by the twelfth century;

(iv) that much of the information in the memoranda was superfluous from a twelfth-century perspective, or cannot have been of direct use or relevance to Bishop Urban's case against Hereford.[179] This is particularly true of grants of unidentified lands and of the record of punishment and recompense.[180]

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[175] Wade-Evans (1943); Davies (1973a), 336; (1978), 135-6.

[176] James (1955, 1959, 1970a, 1970b, 1973); Davies (1972, 1973a, 1973b, 1978, 1979). The following points derive mostly from Davies (1973a), but, in light of the use made of the source, need to be restated.

[177] Davies (1973a), 342-3; (1978), 8-14, 20-22; (1979), 11-16, 23; (1998), 107.

[178] Davies (1972), 462; (1973a), 346-7. For the memoranda, see Evans and Rhys (1893, xlii-viii) and Jenkins and Owen (1983, 1984).

[179] Davies (1973a), 340-41; (1973b), 112.

[180] For instance, *LL* 271-3; Birch (1912), 227-9; Davies (1978), 188; (1979), 129; *pace* Sims-Williams (1982, 129).

On these bases, it is fair to assume, with Davies, that while several memoranda may be spurious and all have undergone manipulation, the core of their content is genuine, and does indeed relate to the transactions of between the sixth and eleventh centuries, which they profess to record. If Davies' use of the witness lists of the memoranda as their primary dating criterion may be criticised, the twelfth-century compilers' considered judgements of date, of which these witness lists may form a part, are likely in most cases to have been near to the mark.[181] We should nevertheless note that, were witness lists to have been confected or expanded, the rationale of the enterprise would pull the compilers towards earlier rather than later dates. These cautions apart, for the compilation to stand even a remote chance of success its documents had to be inherently plausible not only in form, but most importantly in content. Plausible moreover in the eyes of the bishop of Hereford, at whom it was directed. Twelfth-century churchmen may not have known much about events of the sixth, seventh or eighth centuries, but it was clearly thought that the bishop of Hereford at least recognized that his western lands were Welsh and might rightfully be subject to a Welsh bishop. Without this, the document loses its impact. This, in short, is the mark of its veracity.

If we examine the political situation of southwestern Herefordshire at any time between the seventh and tenth centuries, we would have to conclude that if the core content of the memoranda is genuine, many of them are at least as likely to have pertained originally to mynsters of this area as to centres further west like Llancarfan or Llandeilo, for the bishop of Hereford was functioning in a partly Welsh context

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[181] Davies (1978), 14-22; (1979), 35-7, 41-53, 59-69. For criticism see Sims-Williams (1982, 126), Dark (1994b, 140-48), and Broun (1995).

throughout this period. Accepting on the one hand that the witness lists are suspiciously uniform, and on the other that the appearance of Llandaff and the Llandaff saints as grantees are surely fictitious, we emerge with a body of dateless data whose characteristics identify it with other Celtic charter material of later date. Leaving the witness-lists to one side, the assumption of a sixth or seventh century date for some of the memoranda is based partly on the idea that a period of 'Welsh rule' in Herefordshire must fall before 'the Anglo-Saxon period'. These terms of reference are exclusionist. While a seventh century or earlier context is certainly believable for the transactions, so too are dates between the eighth and tenth centuries, for throughout this period, southwestern Herefordshire combined Anglo-Saxon and British political and ecclesiastical influences.

2.7.2 LOCATION OF *ERGYNG*, *EWYAS* AND THE *WENTSÆTAN*

From the *Liber Landavensis* it is clear that the lands of southwestern Herefordshire, west of the Wye were thought in the twelfth century to comprise a distinct unit, definable in terms of its historical development, of its religious and political allegiances. This unit is there named as *Ergyng*:

Septimus cantref: wenthuccoyt et ystradyw et ewyas; qui ambo vocantur semper dew wur laweys went huc coyt, de went huc coyt sunt; et insuper hoc ergyn, et anergyn, sicut in isto gres Teliau reperitur, per totum finem morgannuc per circuitum.[182]

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[182] *LL* 247-8; Birch (1912), 208. "*Gwent-Iscoed*, *Ystrad Yw* and *Ewyas* belong to *Gwent-Iscoed*, the latter two always being called the two true sleeves of *Gwent-Iscoed*; and additionally *Ergyng* and *Anergyng* as it is set out in this book of Teilo, all describing the circuit of Morgannwg's boundaries".

Ergyng presents similar problems of geographical definition as *Magonsætan* and *Wreocensætan*, and for similar reasons. In historical sources (like the book of Llandaff), the name occurs late. Since the twelfth-century bishops of Llandaff were in the process of defining an area they believed to come within their purview, it would be unwise to trust too much to the several appearances of the name in the memoranda themselves. As it appears in *Liber Landavensis*, the unit seems to lie within the bounds of the rivers Wye and Monnow: this is the area to which pertain a large number of the Llandaff memoranda.[183] The *Liber Landavensis* seeks to establish (i) the Wye as a definitive diocesan boundary between Llandaff and Hereford and (ii) that Ergyng was an integral part of the seventh cantref of the kingdom of Morgannwg. Llandaff had been the principal bishopric of Morgannwg from the tenth century and the compilers therefore go to some lengths to suggest the lordship of the kings of Morgannwg in Ergyng, and refers to them in a number of memoranda. It was doubtless these lands to which the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle applied the term *Yrcingafelda*, which Domesday Book knew as *Arcenefelde* and which constituted the core of the rural deanery of that name attested from the *Taxatio* of 1291.[184]

Neverthless, if the name Ergyng is derived from *Ariconium*, it would appear that it had previously included lands east of the Wye.[185] This is confirmed by a West Saxon

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[183] See Lloyd (1912, I, 280), Gelling (1992, 114) and Sims-Williams (1990, 43). James (1973, 16) preferred Wye, Dore and Worm. Broughton (1941, 111) defined its northwestern boundary as 'an almost straight line stretching from the Wye valley near Bredwardine in the north to St. Devereux and the Monnow valley in the south'.

[184] *ASC* 915; *DB Hereford*, A.1 (fol. 179^{b}); *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, fol. 230 (Astle, Ayscough and Caley, 1802, 160); Freeman (1986), 63.

[185] See Coplestone-Crow (1989, 4-5) for some additional and less certain indications.

document of the early tenth century known as the 'Ordinance of the *Dunsæte*'.[186] It discloses that the country of the *Dunsæte* was north of Gwent, that they were part English and part Welsh and that they were divided by a river. There is no reason why the document cannot have applied to *Ergyng*, for the river might least problematically be seen as the Wye.[187] In this case Ergyng might be envisaged as extending to the Leadon in the east and possibly to the Severn in the southeast.[188] The trans-riverine extent of Ergyng may receive confirmation from the existence of cross-Wye estates at Domesday, and by the tentative explanation of *Anergyng* as 'the northern part of Ergyng', that is 'Ergyng over the Wye', equating to the Herefordshire hundred of Webtree.[189]

The passage quoted above also refers to areas by the names of *Ystrad Yw* and *Ewyas*. In common parlance, *Ewyas* is taken to be a component of a wider Ergyng, but *Liber Landavensis* unmistakably suggests that it had a separate identity.[190] At the present day the term is applied to the region of Ewyas Harold, from the Dore to Honddu valleys, where the place Cwmyoy (Cwmiou, *Comyou* in 1291) provides a further use of the specific (*yw*, *ew*, *yoy*, *iou),* either 'yew' or 'sheep'.[191] The linguistic affinity of *Ewyas* and *Ystrad Yw* suggests an earlier unit extending west to Talgarth. Broadly speaking

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[186] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MSS, 383 (London, *saec. xi exeunte*); Liebermann (1903), I, 374-9; III, 214-8; Noble (1983), 103-9; Coplestone-Crow (1989), 5; Gelling (1992), 113-8.

[187] Stenton (1955), xviii; (1970), 198.

[188] Charles (1963); Gelling (1992), 114-7.

[189] Freeman (1986), 63-5; Richards (1969), 6.

[190] *LL* 196, for instance.

[191] Richards (1969), 52; Ekwall (1960), 171; Coplestone-Crow (1989), 6. Brittonic, but the elements are also similar in Old English (yew: *iw*, *eow*; ewe: *eowu*). See Bannister (1902) for a history of Ewyas Harold and its region.

one might therefore describe Ewyas as 'the district between the river Dore and Brycheiniog'.[192]

Defining Ergyng within its accepted boundaries raises the problem of what to call the area south of the confluence of the Wye and Monnow at Monmouth, astride the Wye and bounded on the east by the mature Severn and on the west by the plain of the lower Usk. In Welsh sources we encounter the terms *Glywysing*, *Gwent*, *Morgannwg* and *Gwlat-Morcant*, a terminological palimpsest encompassing lands from Newport in the west to Chepstow in the east.[193] This area falls within the compass of the Book of Llandaff but mostly outside the bounds of the diocese of Hereford, which stretched down the east bank of the Wye to its confluence with the Severn. The inclusion of memoranda relating to it in *Liber Landavensis* would thus appear to represent a defensive posture on the part of the church of Llandaff: the recognition, that the English dioceses of Hereford (Mercian) or Gloucester (West Saxon) might consider themselves entitled to land in Monmouthshire. In effect it represents Llandaff's admission that these lands were in the past under Anglo-Saxon control. The penultimate clause of the 'Ordinance of the *Dunsæte*' here comes to our aid. It says that 'formerly the *Wentsæte* belonged to the *Dunsæte*, but more correctly they belong to the West Saxons, and they have to send tribute and hostages there.'[194] It may be assumed that the *Wentsæte* are the people of Gwent; for present purposes, the term will be applied to Monmouthshire and the farthest west of Gloucestershire.

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[192] Wade-Evans (1930), 326.

[193] See Davies (1978, 90-92) and Knight (1984, 317, 367).

[194] Liebermann (1898), I, 378; Noble (1983), 108-9; Gelling (1992), 118.

2.7.3 THEIR PRE-CONQUEST STATUS

Ergyng has no genealogies but the *Liber Landavensis* refers to four kings for whom it favours dates in the sixth and seventh centuries.[195] No kings are known from Ewyas and the *Wentsætan*. It is possible that Ergyng had maintained an independent nobility during a period of accommodation with the Mercians between the seventh and tenth centuries in which it functioned as a type of buffer-state.

Ergyng lies beyond the extent of known pagan burials, which, with the exceptions of Wyre Piddle and Bromfield, are not found northwest of the river Avon or west of the confluence of the Alne and the Warwickshire Arrow, and which are absent west of the Severn.[196] Nevertheless, pagan Saxons occur in a number of later Welsh hagiological sources. From the 'Iolo manuscripts' we derive the information that king Clitauc, (whom the *Liber Landavensis* states to have been killed by a jealous retainer) lost his life at the hands of a pagan Saxon, while at Llanvaches (*Merthyr Maches* in an eighth-century memorandum of *Liber Landavensis*), in the land of the *Wentsætan*,[197] a late tradition held that a Welsh girl named *Maches* was stabbed by another 'pagan Saxon' while offering alms.[198] Such traditions may be studied in their contemporary contexts, but cannot be related to historical Anglo-Saxon paganism.

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[195] *LL* 72b, 75, 76a, 161, 162a, 163b; Davies (1978), 88. *Teudiric* (*LL* 141) may be excluded since he has a place in the genealogies of Morgannwg: his kingdom was Glywysing.

[196] Pretty (1975), 40, 68-74; (1989), 175.

[197] *LL* 211b; Birch (1912), 171; Davies (1978, 179; 1979, 119).

[198] Rees (1836, 233), cited by Birch (1912, 171); Wade-Evans (1910), 79.

Our evidence for ethnic strife in *Ergyng* consists of doubtful anecdotes from the *Liber Landavensis* and of Welsh annals, whose references to 'Saxon' *vastationes* appear rather to be a reflection of the actions of 'English' Vikings.[199] Strangely enough, such references multiply, the further in time the writer is from the events described. Where information can confidently be thought to have an early date, it presents a rather different picture. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle relates that in 743, the Mercian and West Saxon kings 'Æthelbald and Cuthred fought against the British'.[200] Whichever British Æthelbald fought against, they can hardly have been those of Ergyng, since a memorandum of around this time dates a battle near Hereford *in tempore telpaldi et ithaili regum brittannie* a phrase that indicates an Anglo-British alliance.[201] Following this idea through, it is clear that the "most unfaithful" Saxons involved in the fighting of this memorandum must have been operating beyond the authority of Æthelbald. The scent of battle is not entirely absent, but the record is thus one of co-operation and compromise. Again, Æthelflæd's men stormed a palace at Llangors Lake (Breconshire) in June 916, but this was not an example of unprovoked aggresion but a very specific response to the breach of agreements, in this case of safe-passage for a Mercian abbot.[202] Similarly, rather than indicate her capture in time of war the purchase of unidentified lands *pro xx iiii [vaccis] et saxonica muliere et gladio pretioso et equo*

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[199] How else to explain the statement of *Brut y Tywysogion* (Red Book of Hergest version, *saec. xiv exeunte*) that, in 1039, 'Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ap Seisyll… pursued the Saxons and the other Gentiles [*y Saesson a'r Kenedloed ereill*] and slaughtered and destroyed them' (Jones, 1955, 22-3)? The Peniarth MS 20 version (*saec. xiv med.*) has simply 'pagans and Saxons', but the Red Book is believed at this point to have a more faithful text (Jones, 1952, 160). The query may also be raised with *Brut y Tywysogyon* 992 and 1012, *sub annis* (Jones, 1952, 11, 148; 1955, 18-19).

[200] *ASC*, *sub anno*.

[201] *LL* 192; Birch (1912), 151; Davies (1978), 105-6; (1979), 113; (1982a), 113.

[202] *ASC* (Mercian Register) *sub anno*; Whitelock (1955), 195-6; Thomas (1994), 132, 157. In light of what was said above, is it not possible that the unfortunate Abbot Ecgberht might have been an abbot of Wenlock visiting the southwestern outposts of *terram Milburgae*?

valente recorded in one memorandum should be taken more generally in the ongoing context of slavery in early medieval Britain.[203] No-one would suggest that the numerous British slaves manumitted by English lords over many years at Bodmin (Cornwall), in the tenth century, were captured in war, and as there is no reference to warfare in this instance, neither should it be inferred here.[204]

Ergyng appears to have contributed troops to joint defensive and pre-emptive campaigns waged alongside its Mercian neighbours against Vikings from the ninth century.[205] Domesday Book records a special place for the Archenfield Welsh in the order of battle, and requires priests of the 'three royal churches in Archenfield' to know Welsh in case they were needed as diplomats. Both provisions are likely to have been of some antiquity.[206] The 'Ordinance of the *Dunsæte*' had sought to bring into some formal relationship Welsh and English customary law, particularly with respect to manslaughter, cattle-rustling, and freedom of movement. Through its use of the terms *wiliscan* and *ængliscan*, it illustrates that the Wye became a theoretical boundary in the tenth century, but legal distinctions must have been somewhat artificial, for the same people were acknowledged to live on both sides of the river.[207] Special legal

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[203] *LL* 185 (*circa* 740); Birch (1912), 144-5; Pretty (1975), 91; Davies (1978), 174; (1979), 111; Sims-Williams (1990), 52-3; Pelteret (1981); (1995), 131-63; *vaccis* first suggested by Rees (1853), cited by Birch (1912, 145).

[204] Förster (1930); Hooke (1994), 70-82. See Davies (1978, 43-7, 110) and the memoranda cited there. Another *ancilla* was, so Boniface tells us (Tangl, 1916, 13), the joint property of two Wenlock brothers, one a monk.

[205] Thus *ASC* 893, when 'a section of Welsh' helped repulse Hæsten's Danish army near the Severn.

[206] *DB Hereford*, A.1, A.9 (fol. 179[b]).

[207] Noble (1983), 106; Liebermann (1903), III, 215.

arrangements were still made for the people of Archenfield at the time of Domesday, but applied, it would appear only to Ergyng west of the Wye.[208]

The 'Ordinance of the *Dunsæte*' clearly implies that the *Wentsætan* was in the earlier tenth century a client state or protectorate of the West Saxons, a relationship analogous to that of Ergyng with Mercia. Aldhelm's letter to the Dumnonian king Geraint indicates that the western Welsh bishops had entered a dialogue with the West Saxon church by the close of the seventh century and that priests following the Roman rite dwelled beyond the Severn.[209] There is insufficient information to chart how this relationship developed in succeeding years, but we know that by *circa* 886, Alfred could recruit Asser from St. Davids and that he travelled to and fro without difficulty between there and Alfred's court.[210] From episcopal lists we gather that at least one Welsh bishop was personally invested by the West Saxon king.[211] Such contacts presuppose the acquiescence of the people of the *Wentsætan*.

Whether influence took the shape of a formal political clientage cannot realistically be determined. A context of peaceful interaction may nevertheless be reflected in references to the regulation of trade. Thus for instance, the grant of *Yscuit Cyst*, recorded in *Liber Landavensis* and dated to *circa* 895 implies that Welsh seagoing

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[208] Llewellin (1919), 66; Stenton (1970), 193; Rollason (1974), 98-9; Coplestone-Crow (1989), 5. *Gavelkind* (freehold inheritance) and *metreth* (renders in kind) were the most important survivals.

[209] Aldhelm, *Epistola ad Geruntium* (Ehwald, 1913, 484; Lapidge and Herren, 1979, 158).

[210] Asser, § 79.

[211] Davies (1974), 67-8, 70-71.

vessels travelled the navigable Severn.[212] Similar documents indicate that Welsh fishermen landed on both banks of the Severn and Wye to maintain fish-weirs.[213] At Lancaut, *Lancevid* in *Liber Landavensis*,[214] a peninsular site on the Gloucestershire bank of the Wye, 3 km north of Chepstow, we have a settlement whose name commemorates an obscure British saint *Cewydd*, and whose inaccessible position except by river suggests ministry to a fishing community. Although the Dyke effectively seals off the Lancaut peninsula, there is little reason to interpret this as a hostile statement on the part of the Mercians, nor to suppose that the settlement's demise was the result of its abandonment to Anglo-Saxon control.[215]

By the mid eleventh century, Gruffudd ap Llywelyn had united the Welsh kingdoms. That the loyalties of Ergyng, Ewyas and the *Wentsætan* may have been tested more and more, as ethnic tensions heightened is borne out by the *Liber Landavensis*' statement that in around 1035 a compact had been reached between Mouric, King of *Gulatmorcant* and Edwin, son of Guriat, King of *Gueniscoit* to unite against the men of Brecon, and *contra omnes inimicos suos Anglos videlicet ex una parte, dextrales britannes ultra montanos ex alia parte presente*.[216] The *dextrales brittanes ultra montanos*, are almost certainly the people of Ergyng.

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[212] *LL* 234; Birch (1912), 196; Davies (1978), 61, 183; (1979), 123. Perhaps St. Pierre Pill (notice the commendation to St. Peter as well as to the Llandaff saints) rather than Pwllmeyric (which in any case appears under that name) or Portskewett itself.

[213] *LL* 235b; Birch (1912), 197-8 (circa 895); BCS 928: Robertson (1956), 204-7 (no. 109): S 1555 (*circa* 1060); Fox (1955), 280.

[214] *LL* 165, 174; Davies (1978), 125, 135; (1979), 105, 108; Parry (1990), 55. A confusion with *Lann Coit* (*LL* 166-7, Llangoed, Breconshire) was effectively disposed of by Wade-Evans (1910, 41-2).

[215] *pace* Parry (1990, 55, 57).

[216] *LL* 255; Birch (1912), 216.

Perhaps a majority of references to Anglo-Welsh conflict in the pre-Conquest period have been contaminated by contemporary antagonisms. Thus the eighth-century *bellum inter Brittones et Saxones, id est Gueith Hirford* recorded by the *Annales Cambriae* may be a gloss on some other incident, influenced by the historical battle of 1055, when Gruffudd turned his forces on the town.[217] There is little doubt that bloodshed occurred in central Britain in the Anglo-Saxon period, but this need not be set in the defined ethnic contexts that *Liber Landavensis* and the other sources offer us.[218] Neither (as the comparative rarity of such entries argues) can it have been the normal state of affairs.

2.8 THE CHARACTER OF THE DIOCESE OF HEREFORD

In the twelfth century, the bishop of Llandaff believed that lands of Welsh custom and predominatly Welsh speech should not be administered from an English see. In the Anglo-Saxon period however, the question would not have been considered in these terms, for there are indications that the see of Hereford operated in a partly Welsh context until the eleventh century, and that its jurisdiction was in no way prejudicial to the ecclesiastical organization or cultual observances of the people of Ergyng.

It appears to have been British practice for a bishop to represent a territory (often co-terminous with a kingdom). Though he might come to be associated with one

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[217] *AC* 760 (Morris, 1980, 88). The *Dunnagual* (*Dyuynwal, Dyfnwal*) whose death is also recorded in this year cannot be identified from genealogies. The earliest manuscript of the *Annales* is of *circa* 1100 (London, British Library, Harleian MSS, 3859).

[218] *LL* 161, 192; Birch (1912), 118-9, 151-2; Davies (1978), 170, 176; (1979), 103, 113-4.

ecclesiastical community, his office need not have wedded him to a single seat. In identifying such places one has to choose from two types of site. First, there are those of alleged episcopal association like Hentland (sixth-century seat of Dubricius), Kenderchurch (*Lann Cinitir*, *Llangynidr*, *Clas Kenedyr*),[219] Glasbury and Welsh Bicknor.[220] Into a second category fall dominant monastic communities like Llancarfan, Llantwit and Llandeilo. Since none of the former ever developed, whilst all of the latter were outside the historical borders of Ergyng, this highlights the fact that in the Anglo-Saxon period, Ergyng was without an obvious ecclesiastical focus. The position of Hereford is thus cast in sharp relief. Was this church British in origin and does this partly account for its later importance?

Though the town has not yielded conclusive evidence of post-Roman activity, excavation has revealed an Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical presence of the later seventh century, and episcopal lists and charters suggest that the place had been the seat of an Anglo-Saxon bishop for some time by the ninth.[221] If the name Hereford (*here|forda*: 'army-ford': 'bridgehead') is only spuriously Anglo-Saxon and arose from phonological similarity to British *Caerffawydd*, then its church may have been founded by Geraint ap Erbin.[222] In common with a number of churches of British origin, Hereford's cathedral stands on a peninsular, riverine site.

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[219] *LL* 275, 277; Birch (1912), 231, 233; Coplestone-Crow (1989), 109.

[220] *LL* 176b; Birch (1912), 138-9; Davies (1982a), 158-9, citing Fleuriot (1978); Davies (1979), 109; Rollason (1974), 10-25, 104.

[221] BCS 309 (S 1431), 312, cited in Stenton (1970); Whitehead (1980), 1-6.

[222] Davies (1861), 118; Ekwall (1960), cited by Coplestone-Crow (1989, 101); Charles (1963), 87; Whitehead (1982), 90; Pretty (1989), 178; *pace* Gelling (1992, 163). The forms *Henfford[d]* and *Henford* ('old ford') used in later sources like the *Brut y Tywysogyon* (Red Book version, respectively six and five times) probably reflects the Old English name *via* intermediate *Herfordia*, *Hirfortensis* (*Liber Landavensis*) and *Hirford* (*Annales Cambriae*).

Bede states that *eis populis qui ultra amnem Sabrinam ad occidentem habitant Ualchstod [erat] episcopus*.[223] Walchstod, who appears as *Wealhstod* in the Old English Bede and as *Wahlstot* in the Testament of Saint Milburga must have been a bishop of the *Magonsætan*. His name means 'interpreter of Welsh', and the clear implication of his bilingualism is that he was ministering to a partly or wholly British flock.[224] An inscription quoted by William of Malmesbury suggests that his seat was considered to have been Hereford by his successors, and that his body was believed to lie there still.[225] Hereford's diocesan boundary in the northeast is coterminous with that of the *Magonsætan* and it is therefore possible that we should extend to Hereford the comment passed on the British characteristics of Leominster and Much Wenlock. [226]

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle provides two further references to a British bishop operating in the Hereford area:

(i) In 915, 'a great pirate host came over from the south, from Brittany, under two jarls Ohtor and Hroald… They seized Cyfeiliog (*Cameleac*, *Camelgeac*), bishop of Archenfield, and took him with them to the ships, but King Edward ransomed him afterwards for forty pounds.'[227] Cyfeiliog is absent from lists of the bishops of Hereford, appearing instead as *Cymelliauch* among the bishops of

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[223] *HE* V.23.

[224] *VSMb* 66; Finberg (1961a), 203; (1964a), 77; Gelling (1992), 100. *Wahlstod* was also the name of one of the Lindisfarne brethren who witnessed the death of St. Cuthbert in 687 (*VCP* § 38).

[225] *GP* IV, § 163 (Hamilton, 1870, 298-9); Hillaby (1995), 2-3.

[226] Pretty (1989), 181.

[227] *ASC*, *sub anno*.

Llandaff.[228] There is however no reason to assume that it was there that he had his seat, for Llandaff may barely have been functioning as an ecclesiastical centre at this time.[229]

(ii) In 1055, 'Tremerig, the British bishop (*se Wylsca biscop*), passed away: he was bishop Athelstan [of Hereford]'s deputy (*gespelia*) after he became an invalid.'[230] *Tremerig* is a British name and the bishop must be of British stock, yet 'the British bishop' might also be interpreted as 'bishop of the British people of Ergyng'. It is possible that Tremerig is otherwise known to us as Tremerin, bishop of St. Davids, and if so, his co-operation with bishop Athelstan offers a proof of the continuing relationship of St. Davids with the Anglo-Saxon church, that Asser's biography shows probably to have been established back in the ninth century.[231]

It is possible therefore that a special arrangement existed in the diocese of Hereford whereby Ergyng and Ewyas, within their later, restricted, boundaries were served by a suffragan bishop, whose function may offer an ecclesiastical parallel to the *Wealhgerefa* or 'British reeve' whose death the Chronicle records in 896.[232] Rather than predicate the 'irregularity' of the church of Ergyng, the existence of a 'British bishop'

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[228] *LL* 231-7, 303, 312; Page (1966); Davies (1974), 71, 73. Doble's apparent identification of *Cyfeliog* with the earlier bishop *Comereg* (1971, 87) is mistaken.

[229] *pace* Stenton (1970, 197); Davies (1974), 70.

[230] *ASC*, *sub anno*; John of Worcester, *sub anno* (Thorpe, 1848, I, 214); Brooke (1958), 233; Davies (1974), 66; Smyth (1995), 496 *pace* 422.

[231] Harmer (1959), 94; Finberg (1961), 66; Grosjean (1961), 166.

[232] *ASC*, *sub anno* (Whitelock, 1955, 189).

should rather be seen in the pragmatic light of providing leadership for a congregation whose primary language must have been British. Hereford's inclusion of sites such as Leominster and *Ariconium* raise the possibility of British origin. It is unfortunate that the present state of the archaeological evidence does not allow this supposition to be confirmed, but if this were the case, and if the see's southwestern lands were coextensive with the kingdom of Ergyng, then at least some of the charter memoranda of the *Liber Landavensis* are likely to have derived from the lost Hereford cartulary or an analogous document.

2.9 SAINT GUTHLAC

The cults of Hereford confirm its mixed cultural background. We have remarked above how feasts of local saints peculiar to Leominster appear in a calendar and litany of Herefordshire origin, and one of these also commemorates a number of British saints who may be located in southwestern Herefordshire.[233] Dubricius and David feature in the Hereford rite, and by comparison with other Anglo-Saxon sees it is clear that the liturgical observance of its church had something of a British complexion.[234]

The two cults associated particularly with Hereford are however those of the 'Anglo-Saxon' saints Æthelberht the Martyr and Guthlac. Of Æthelberht, an East Anglian king murdered at Sutton Walls on the orders of Offa in 794, there is no hint of

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[233] British Library, Cottonian MSS, Galba A.xiv, fols. 93^{v}-94^{r} (*saec.* xi^{1}); Doble (1942), 61; Muir (1988), 126-7; Lapidge (1991), 166.

[234] Frere and Brown (1915), 255, 261-2; Harris (1940), 20-23, 37-8, 47; (1953), 31.

Britishness.[235] Æthelberht had clearly been translated to Hereford by the opening years of the tenth century since it is there (*þam biscopstole... neah þare éa Wæge*) that he appears in the earlier part of the *Secgan*.[236] We need only note that the introduction of the cult to Hereford, probably in conjunction with the construction of a new church, indicates that the then bishop, recognized that his see was yet without the tangible focus offered by a major shrine. Writs of the mid eleventh century indicate that St. Æthelberht's had become the pre-eminent minster church of Hereford by that date, but there is evidence that this was at the expense of other churches, particularly that of St. Guthlac, which stood on the site of Hereford Castle until the twelfth century.[237] A will indicates that it was considered of equal status to St. Æthelberht's in the closing years of the tenth century, and seventh-century evidence from the site suggests it to be the older of the two churches.[238]

There are indications that Guthlac's life and early cult should be assessed within a western Mercian and Anglo-British context. As we know him, Guthlac, the Mercian clan-chief who retreated to the Fenland fastness of Crowland, is the creation of Felix, who wrote his *Vita* in the 730's for Ælfwald, king of East Anglia (713-49). It is commonly assumed that the author, an East Anglian, was working only from his own knowledge and the eyewitnesses whom he tells us he has interviewed, rather than from

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[235] James (1917) edits and discusses the saint's hagiography. This identification of the *Suttun* of the twelfth-century *passio* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MSS, 308, fol. 3[a], col. 1, *saec. xii ineunte*) is widely accepted (thus Stenton, 1971, 210; Richardson, 1995, 15), though it is not definitive. The accounts appear to disagree on the location of Æthelberht's first resting place, and on the date and circumstances of the body's recovery and translation (James, 1917, 219; Finberg, 1961b, 221-2).

[236] Liebermann (1889), 11-12; Rollason (1978), 89; (1983), 9.

[237] Harmer (1952), 227-8, 230; Heys (1960), 353; Thacker (1985), 16.

[238] S 1534; Whitehead (1980, 1982), cited by Gelling (1992, 160-61).

traditions already current, or supplied him in coherent form.[239] This is hard to reconcile with the British references of the life and in particular with the famous passage in which the saint is tormented by hosts of demons in the guise of marauding Britons.[240] Could such information have been derived from Felix' East Anglian contacts? Is it not more likely that Guthlac's cult had already begun at his native place, and that Felix tapped it so well that he effectively stifled it at birth? Felix' use of the phrase *ut illius gentis gnari perhibent* in connection with the explanation of Guthlac's name in Latin possibly indicates that he was employing materials originally composed for a British audience.[241] That the cult of Guthlac at Hereford may go back at least to the ninth century is illustrated by his appearance in the *Mercian Martyrology*.[242]

In the light of Guthlac's noble ancestry and exploits as a warrior, the restriction of his western Mercian cult to Hereford is interesting. Like other 'Anglo-Saxon' saints, Guthlac was not commemorated in latter-day Ergyng. Was this because his cult was born of anti-British feeling? Most probably not. While Guthlac's mother had the Anglo-Saxon name *Tette*, his father, we are told, bore the name *Penwalh*, which, like *Merewalh* may imply mixed ancestry.[243] When Felix tells us that Guthlac had lived amongst the Britons long enough to acquire their speech, he obscures the likelihood

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[239] Felix, Prologue (Colgrave, 1956, 62, 64).

[240] Felix, § 34 (Colgrave, 1956, 108-10); Whitelock, (1955), 711. It is more usual to ponder (Stenton, 1955, xx-xxi; Colgrave, 1956, 185-6) how these Britons came to be in the east Midlands, or to dismiss the account as pure allegory. Both interpretations approach the passage from the wrong direction.

[241] Felix, § 10 (Colgrave, 1956, 76-8): 'as those who know about that people [the English] claim'.

[242] Thacker (1985), 6.

[243] Felix, § 1 (Colgrave, 1956, 72); Whitelock (1955), 709. The name translates as 'chief Welshman' (Sims-Williams, 1990, 26, *pace* Colgrave, 1956, 176).

that he had probably acquired it from his immediate family.[244] True, the life implies that Guthlac had taken part in armed confrontations, yet nowhere does Felix identify Guthlac's enemies as British. Furthermore, his own warband was *diversarum gentium*.[245] The alliance of Æthelbald and Iudhail suggested by *Liber Landavensis* indicates instead that these activities should perhaps be seen in the light of police operations or local feuds. The events alluded to by Felix relate as much to problems of coexistence as to politically sanctioned military campaigns. If Guthlac's cult did not spread in Ergyng or western Mercia this was probably due to its early appropriation by a distant East Anglian house. The family lands of Guthlac cannot be identified, but the dedication at Hereford, the only such in Herefordshire may indicate that his origins lay in Hereford's near vicinity.

2.10 THE 'LOCAL SAINTS' OF *LIBER LANDAVENSIS*

At a local level, an attitude of tolerance might be expected to show itself in continuity of parochial structures, at church sites and most significantly in the survival of the cults of British saints.[246] That we can point to such continuities in Ergyng testifies not only to the stability of population but possibly also to some vestige of political independence, for the ecclesiastical power transmitted from wider Anglo-Saxon geopolitical ascendancy might otherwise have been expected to have brought the eclipse of existing traditions.

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[244] *nam... aliorum temporum... inter illos exulabat, quoadusque eorum strimulentas loquelas intelligere valuit* (Felix, § 24; Colgrave, 1956, 110); Whitelock (1955), 711.

[245] Felix, § 17 (Colgrave, 1956, 80); Whitelock (1955), 709.

[246] See Glossary, 'Local Saint'.

The exhaustive historical and chronological study of *Liber Landavensis* has tended to obscure the equally important role that hagiology plays in the compilation. This consists primarily of the lives of the Llandaff's alleged founders, of the saints whose cults were celebrated there, and whose relics were in the church,[247] but there are also four instances in which traditions relating to particular churches are quoted in the memoranda themselves. They are:

(i) the legend of king Clitauc of Clodock, Herefordshire (fols. 57-8).[248]

(ii) the legend of king Tewdrig of Mathern, Monmouthshire (fol. 42).[249]

(iii) a legend about a holy well near St. Maughan's, Monmouthshire (fols. 79-80).[250]

(iv) a tale of the martyrdom of the child Typhei, putative saint of Pennalun, Pembrokeshire (fol. 37).[251]

The first of these relates to a church within Ergyng, more precisely within Ewyas, while the second and third relate to lands in the *Wentsætan*. Although they preface (dated) grants of lands to Llandaff, we can only say for sure that the legends pre-date the composition of *Liber Landavensis* and are likely to have existed independently at their respective churches for some while previously.[252] They are important because they illustrate the survival of British cults in areas that must have been subject to extended Anglo-Saxon influence.

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[247] Namely, Elgar, a mysterious Devonshire hermit (fols. 1-2), Samson of Dol (fols. 2-8), Dubricius (fols. 23-5), Teilo (fols. 28-34), and Oudoceus (fols. 39-41). See the next note.

[248] *LL* 193, 195, 196. The foliation of Evans and Rhys (1893) is given. The text was refoliated in 1980, this and the following two legends becoming respectively, fols. 85^{r}-86^{v}, 69^{v}-70^{v} and 107^{v}-108^{r}.

[249] *LL* 141.

[250] *LL* 264b.

[251] *LL* 127a, 130; Wade-Evans (1910), 32; Birch (1912), 82-3, 87; Davies (1978), 35-6, 167; (1979), 96; (1981), 525. Outside the present compass.

[252] Harris (1953), 20, 24-5, 30-31.

2.10.1 CLODOCK AND SAINT CLITAUC

Clitauc's is the longest tradition in the *Liber Landavensis* about any Ergyng church and includes an unusually extended perambulation.[253] It is clear that the legend and its pendant land grants formed a discrete subset within the compilation, and that given the detailed and unusual character of some of its motifs, this subset was probably preserved at Clitauc's own church. It is certainly not very likely that those struck by the power of St. Clitauc should donate their lands to the saints of the church of Llandaff, and such clauses may confidently be supposed to have supplemented simple donations to Clitauc himself.[254] The legend has six elements. The first relates his martyrdom while the others are posthumous tales associated with his church:

(i) King Clitauc is murdered by a jealous retainer near the river Monnow. His bier cannot be taken across the river but remains on the river bank. His retainers therefore decide to bury him there. That night a column of fire is seen coming from the spot. An *oraculum* is founded there [by counsel of the community of Llandaff]. The place of the martyr is still venerated.

(ii) Two men from *Llanerch Glas* who had quarrelled, make a pact to swear friendship in the church of Dubricius at *Matle* (Madley). On their way there they decide instead to make the pledge of friendship above the tomb of Clitauc. On their homeward journey, one breaks the pledge and stabs the other to death with a dagger. Badly wounded, the murderer commits suicide, and goes to hell. His victim goes to heaven.

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[253] Rollason (1974), 56.

[254] Indicated in square brackets in the following précis.

(iii) Three hermits from *Pennichenn* found a better church (*ecclesiam melioratam*) on the site of Clitauc's burial in Ewyas [with the help of the Bishop of Llandaff] and live out their lives there. King *Pennbargaut* [of Morgannwg] grants them lands on both sides of the river, to be held forever, tax-free and with rights of commonage. The third hermit had five sons, and the lands of their church were resultingly divided into five parts, after their day.

(iv) Iudhail, [son of Morcant, King of Glywysing (eastern Morgannwg) in the time of bishop Berthguin] confirms the *totum territorium* of *Merthirclitauc*, as it had been granted *tribus heremitis Libiau, Guruan, Cinuur, primis habitatoribus et cultoribus illius loci post martirium clitauci martiris*, tax-free in perpetual dedication to the martyr Clitauc [and to the saints of the church of Llandaff]. The bounds are defined in Welsh with the exception of the opening and concluding formulae.

(v) A powerful man in Ewyas, by the name of *Iudhail map Edelvirth* has sexual relations with his wife in a meadow alongside the Monnow while they were on their way to mass one Sunday. He is appropriately punished and as a result pledges to return some lands he had unjustly taken from the church, with the proviso that prayers should be said for his good health daily by the *clerici* there. His emissaries make the donation to the martyr Clitauc [and to the bishops and saints of Llandaff] above a gospel book, and Iudhail repeats this after his punishment has been reversed by the saint's intercession. The grant is confirmed by the kings and princes [of Morgannwg].

(vi) The sons of *Cinbleidiou* grant *Lechuit* to the martyr Clitauc [and to the church of Llandaff], with bounds in Latin.

The life of Clitauc occurs also in a hagiographical collection redacted at Monmouth and Gloucester about 1200.[255] It was this version that was abridged by John of Tynemouth in the fourteenth century.[256] The compilers of the Vespasian re-arranged the six elements of the legend into what they considered a more appropriate order terminating with the comprehensive perambulation of Clodock's bounds (iv, above), but it cannot be established whether this indicates access to a different tradition.[257] Notwithstanding the Llandaff editors' deployment of materials that must have originally been collected in the region of Monmouth, and Gloucester's interest in properties in Ewyas,[258] the Vespasian's use of an opening sentence which occurs elsewhere in *Liber Landavensis*, might indicate that the life of Clitauc present at Gloucester had come via Llandaff.[259]

Clitauc's identity and date are problematic. *Liber Landavensis* does not identify his kingdom, but (iii) and (v) place his church in Ewyas. Like the *Liber Landavensis*, the Brychan genealogies, beginning with the eleventh-century *De Situ Brecheniauc* make him a son of *Clytwyn*, grandson of Brychan Brycheiniog and brother of an unplaceable saint *Dettu*.[260] Clitauc's day is noted in the calendar of the Vespasian and in

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[255] British Library, Cottonian MSS, Vespasian A.xiv, fols. 84^{v}-86^{r} (*saec. xiii ineunte*). See Harris (1953) and Hughes (1958).

[256] London, British Library, Cottonian MSS, Tiberius E.i; *Acta SS*, Augustii III, 733; Horstmann (1901), I, 190.

[257] The few departures from the Llandaff text are noted by Evans and Rhys (1893, 362).

[258] Hughes (1958), 196-7.

[259] *Rex Clitauc... cum esset in regno suo tenens pacem et rigorem iustitie...* Compare *Rex Teudiric cum esset in regno suo tenens pacem cum populo et iustitiam...* (*LL* 141); Evans and Rhys (1893), xxxiii-iv.

[260] *De Situ Brecheniauc*, § 11: *Clydouc* (BL Cotton MSS Vespasian A.xiv, fol. 7^{r}, *saec. xiii ineunte*); *Ach Kynauc Sant*, § 2: *Clytawc* (Oxford, Jesus College MSS, 3, *circa* 1300); *Cognatio*

the 'Iolo manuscripts'.[261] The dates vary. In the Vespasian manuscipt we have *III Non. Novembris* (3 Nov) and this is repeated at the beginning of his legend.[262] 19 August has appeared as an alternative from at least the early seventeenth century, and 16 and 19 November are also attested.[263] These confusions may indicate that there was more than one saint of the name.

Clitauc or *Clydog* (Pr.W. *Clœdōg*, OW *Clitauc*, Brit. *Clutācos*) could not have been a unique name in early medieval Wales, but neither was it common.[264] One *Llawddog*, son of *Dingat*, 'king of Usk' (the presumed dedicatee of Dingestow) appears in Welsh materials of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Were not the centres of his cult to be in Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire, it would be tempting to identify him with the saint of Clodock. Clitauc's name moreover is always recorded with a hard *-c-* while *Llawddog* was, it appears, pronounced *Loudoc*.[265] *Clywedog* is found above Llanidloes, Montgomeryshire while another *Llwyddog* is the reputed dedicatee of Llanychllwydog or Llanychlwydog, Dyfed,[266] where the church may date as early as the eighth century.[267] The local legends of the latter saint, who has left no substantive hagiological trace show (at least as they were recorded by a nineteenth-century

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Brychan, § 14: *Clydauc* (British Library, Cotton MSS, Domitian I, fols. 157[b]-160, *circa* 1525); Wade-Evans (1944), xiii, 314, 317-8.

[261] Harris (1953), 30; Baring-Gould and Fisher (1907), II, 154.

[262] A plate of the relevant page (fol. 6[a]) will be found in Davies (1982a), 175.

[263] Rees (1836), 146; Baring-Gould and Fisher (1907), II, 154; Llewellin (1919), 30.

[264] On its linguistic origins, see Jackson (1959, 82) and below, note 282.

[265] Baring-Gould and Fisher (1907), II, 344; III, 369-74; IV, 426-9.

[266] Ibid., II, 154; III, 383-4. Also recorded as *Llanerch|lwydog*. It is therefore possible that the termination of the generic ('glade') has become attached to the specific in this name.

[267] Murphy (1987).

enquirer), clear influence from the Llandaff legend.[268] If credited, this would imply the near equivalence *Ll-* and *Cl-* in such names. The 'Culhwch and Olwen' cycle, whose earliest elements appear to be of the eleventh century, may also show knowledge of the cult of Clitauc at Clodock when it records that *Llwydawg Gouynnyat*, a ferocious man-boar was hunted and slain in *Ystrad Yw*.[269] Such references aside, the only Clydog reliably attested from the historical record, and who is described as a king appears in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle where, in 918, he swears allegiance to the West Saxon Edward.[270] This individual is presumably the brother of Hywel Dda murdered by Meurig in 920 according to Welsh sources.[271]

The first element of the legend explains the Welsh place-name *Merthirclitauc*, under which Clodock appears in *Liber Landavensis*,[272] and is similar to many such legends. The employment of *merthyr* in (i) suggests that Clodock was, in the twelfth century, believed to have been the place of a martyrdom, and that there may have been a *martyrium* or shrine in the church.[273] The origin of the place-name Clodock in the personal-name Clitauc was nevertheless disputed by Llewellin who pointed to Welsh

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[268] Jones (1865, 182-3), cited by Baring-Gould and Fisher (1907, III, 384).

[269] Gantz (1976), 21, 24, 173. If so, *Ystrad Yw* is used expansively to include Ewyas in this passage.

[270] *ASC*, *sub anno* (Whitelock, 1955, 198).

[271] *Brut y Tywysogyon*, *sub anno* 920 (Jones, 1952, 6; 1955, 10-11).

[272] *Merthir Clitauc* (*LL* 195b, title); *merthirclitauc* (*LL* 195b) *ad sanctum Clitauc* ('to Saint Clitauc's', *LL* 196b).

[273] Davies (1978), 121, 132. But see Grosjean (1961, 168).

clydach, 'sheltered stream', as an appropriate topograph, found also at Clydach, near Llangottwg (between Bryn Mawr and Abergavenny).[274]

Davies' assessment of the 'undatable legendary material' (elements i, ii, v) is negative. It may relate, she infers, to any date between the ninth and eleventh centuries, but is unlikely to be of the twelfth considering the irrelevance of the detail of legends like (v) to Llandaff's claim.[275] Element (vi) may likewise be dismissed on the basis that it lacks structure or witnesses. One is tempted to suggest nevertheless that the absence of a formal structure indicates that this element, but for the final *et ecclesie landavie* is unadulterated in form. Perhaps such records, with the concision characteristic of marginalia were entered in the Clodock gospel book mentioned in (v).

Whilst Davies dated element (iv) to *circa* 740 on these bases,[276] neither the *Morgannwg* references of (iii), (iv) and (v) nor the ecclesiastical witness of (iv) are securely original. It is probable that the references to *Morgannwg*, *Glywysing* and to the church and saints of Llandaff have been introduced into existing legends. The Iudhail of the disembodied grant (iv) which forms the centrepiece of the Clitauc material and which provides the fullest bounds might preferably be identified as the grantee of element (v), which in the form *Liber Landavensis* gives it is so unspecific as to be meaningless. It is clear that legends (iii, iv, v, vi) designed to define and protect the lands of *Merthirclitauc*, cannot have arisen were not Clitauc himself to have been their sole recipient and focus. The design of the second element is not immediately obvious,

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[274] Llewellin (1919), 30.

[275] Davies (1978), 75, 176; (1979), 114-5; (1982a), 174.

[276] Birch (1912), 153; Davies (1978), 176; (1979), 114.

but appears to indicate a local rivalry with the church of Madley. Since we do not know where *Llanerch Glas* is, we cannot say to which church the companions might have been expected to venture or therefore whether the two men were deliberately slighting Dubricius. In its present form, the element must date after the shift of the focus of Dubricius' cult from Moccas.[277]

The *ligamen horribilis* or *infesta coniunctio* of element (v) echoes the phrase *uterus clausus*, used in element (i) to describe how Clitauc's murderer was rejected by a woman who would only marry the king. The account of (v) is based upon the description of *vaginismus*.[278] The motif of sticking as punishment is universal, being found for instance in the *Märchen* collected by the Grimms, but the sexual form in which we find it here is uncommon.[279] There is some evidence that it represents a peculiar attribute of the saint, for in the thirteenth-century *passio* of the Cornish saint Gwinear we find: *Super sarcophagum venerabilis cuiusdam episcopi, qui de contubernalibus fuerat regis clitonis, corruptor quidam gremia cuiusdam mulieris incestare praesumpsit; qui more canum in ipso opere turpitudinis inseperabiliter copulati; nulla poterant ratione ab invicem separari. Adducuntur tandem ad memoriam martyris gloriosi Guigneri, ubi merito testis Christi et intercessione fidelium liberantur.*[280] It cannot be coincidence that the king of the Cornish legend is called *Clito* or that the 'Taliesin Pedigree' of the 'Iolo Manuscripts' has *Clydog ab Gwynnar*.[281] We

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[277] See below, pp. 175-8.

[278] S. Justice (1997), pers. comm.

[279] Carter (1982), 161-8; Merdrignac (1986), Q 551.2.1.

[280] *Acta SS*, Martii III, 459; not translated by Doble (1960, 104). See below, chapter three, note 285.

[281] Cited by Baring-Gould and Fisher (1907, II, 153).

might note the affinity of the name with Greek *κλείω* and Latin *includo* (to shut up, close, confine), and suggest that some confusion (deliberate or otherwise, through Brittonic or through Latin) has arisen with Greek *κλειτός*, Latin *inclitus* or *inclutus* (renowned, glorious, illustrious), the defining element of Clitauc's name.[282] For we are told in element (i) of the Llandaff legend that Clitauc was a *vir praeclarus*. However that may be, the motif does not occur in Anglo-Saxon saints' lives and it must be concluded that its deployment is a British characteristic, perhaps one of a fairly late date.[283]

As the *Liber Landavensis* and Vespasian present it, the legend is certainly not anti-English in tone. Indeed it does not even mention the English except to inform us that the father of the Iudhail of element (v) had the very English name of *Edelvirth*, probably Anglo-Saxon *Æthelfrith*. The legend was nevertheless metamorphosed in later Welsh tradition, where we find that *Clydawc Sant, Ei Eglwys ef yn Evas lle ai llas ef gan y Paganiaid Saeson*.[284] The attribution of Clitauc's death to 'pagan Saxons' illustrates the revising influence of subsequent Anglo-Welsh hostility. The presence of unrevised legends in *Liber Landavensis* and the Vespasian nevertheless ensured that the original version remained known. Writing between 1495 and 1555, Richard Whytford wrote for instance that "in England, the feast of Saint *Clitauke*, a martyr, a king's son of strait justice, a lover of peace and of pure chastity, and of straight and perfect life, who was cruelly slain by a false traitor, at whose death were shewn many miracles and at his

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[282] See Thomas (1992a, 4; 1994, 55, 62-5, 350) for a late fifth-century *Clutorig* (renowned king) and other parallels.

[283] There is a similar motif in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick (cited by Doble, 1943, 328; 1960, 105).

[284] *Iolo MSS*, 119, cited by Llewellin (1919, 28).

tomb after, many more".[285] It was unusual for a local saint (for such Clitauc undoubtedly was) to have developed a cult that included formal trappings like a *Vita*. If this may be supposed to be a possible indication of Anglo-Saxon influence, this impression may be confirmed from other factors.

The village of Clodock lies just to the east of the present-day boundary of England and Wales.[286] The church, whose fabric dates between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, is situated at valley bottom on the west bank of the young Monnow.[287] The land here is not as favoured as in the valleys further east, but there is valuable meadowland immediately adjacent to the river.[288] The settlement, in sight of the Black Mountains, evidently grew about a crossing of the river, and though it might today be described as nucleated, it fits seamlessly into a wider pattern of dispersed dwellings straggled along the neighbouring lanes. While the church may therefore be near the centre of its village, it adjoins a road and open fields to the north and the river and open fields to the south. Clodock's churchyard is raised between 75 and 100 cm throughout its boundary, but the similar level of the field on the opposite side of the road to the north shows this to be deceptive.[289] There are however traces of a raised ovoid level immediately surrounding the church and marked by trees to the south, and it is possible that this represents an original *lan*, subsequently expanded, in a situation

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[285] Quoted by Baring Gould and Fisher (1907, II, 155) and by Llewellin (1919, 28).

[286] Also spelled *Cloddock* and *Clodoch*. *Ecclesia de Sancto Cladoco* in 1291, Coplestone-Crow (1989, 56) gives the later medieval form *Cleddoc*. Also see above, notes 264 and 274.

[287] Llewellin (1919), 141; RCHME (1931), 179-81.

[288] Broughton (1941), 111. The estate delineated in element (iv) above is predominantly of 'Major Category II' (medium quality) soil (Rollason, 1974, 91).

[289] Site assessment, August 1996.

analogous to Stanton.[290] There is a holy well nearby. Such a feature is not diagnostically British or Anglo-Saxon, but early churches of both categories were frequently adjacent to springs and this may therefore confirm the early origin of the site.

Anglo-Saxon influence on this area may be indicated by the large size of Clodock's parish and the reference to priests (*clericis ecclesie*) in element (v). Clodock's was, unusually for Herefordshire a multi-township parish, serving as well the villages of Llanveynoe, Longtown, Newton and Craswall.[291] The primacy of Longtown within this unit arises from the presence of the Norman castle and should be discounted. Parish boundaries suggest that Michaelchurch-Escley is also likely to have once fallen within Clodock's *paruchia*, and confirmation of a sort is provided by the five-fold division of element (iii). This legend is of familiar type, and can be used as evidence for the (British) practice of partible inheritance at the time of composition.[292] In its present form, it must date to a period subsequent to the crystallization of parishes, and after the separation of Michaelchurch-Escley from the unit comprised by this parish and its neighbour Craswall.[293] At least in respect of its organization and parochial scope, the church of Clodock appears to resemble an Anglo-Saxon mynster. The Welsh bounds of element (iv) above, as determined by Rollason confirm the considerable extent of the church's own *territorium* at about 1100 acres, an area roughly (and unusually)

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[290] See above, pp. 95-6.

[291] Sylvester (1969). Her figures for single-township parishes were 15/90 for Cheshire against 165/211 for Herefordshire.

[292] Davies (1978), 55; (1979), 114.

[293] Kain and Oliver (1995), 205. See Map 3B, inset.

commensurate with the later parish of Clodock.[294] The boundaries of the Longtown group, encompass an area of 3000 acres and this bears comparison with the similarly extensive lands of Madley,[295] something that might, in the light of element (ii) above, suggest that Madley and Clodock were the two principle churches of this area. Both blocks of land may have begun life as a multiple estates. Clodock's was certainly a viable unit. If the evidence of Llandinabo and Garway, cited below, is indeed early, then the provision of such an area by the priests of Clodock might reflect a mutation of a system of local churches with resident priests.

The presence of high-ranking Anglo-Saxons in the area of Clodock might be inferred from the Anglo-Saxon personal name of (v) above. A further memorandum of *Liber Landavensis* for lands far to the south of Ergyng indicates that the cousin of a certain March ap Peibio was named Beorhtwulf, *circa* 900.[296] We can interpret both instances either to indicate intermarriage of incoming Old English speakers with an existing British population or an Anglicizing fashion in name giving amongst the British élite. There is really no way to determine which. The names *Beorhtwulf* and *Æthelfrith* are both common in the ninth and tenth centuries, but are used throughout the Anglo-Saxon period. Neither is geographically restricted.[297]

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[294] Rollason (1974), 56-69, 95.

[295] Ibid., 69.

[296] *LL* 235a; Davies (1978), 183; (1979), 123. Relating to Bishton, near Caldicot.

[297] Searle (1897), 37, 98. Thus King Beorhtwulf of Mercia (*ASC* 851), but Ealdorman Beorhtwulf of Essex (*ASC* 897). So King Æthelfrith of Bernicia (592-617: *HE* I.34), but also West Saxon king's thegn Æthelfrith (*ASC* 897). A similar name, *Edilhirth filius edrit* (Eadric) occurs as a witness to a charter relating to Tryleg near Monmouth (*LL* 217) and dated to *circa* 960 (Davies, 1979, 120).

That a tenth or eleventh-century context for the Cloddock *Edelvirth* is perhaps most likely is suggested by an inscription from nearby Llanveynoe, which records an Anglo-Welsh name in a hybrid half-uncial book script.[298] The inscription, running horizontally along the right side of a small slab at right angles to an incised simple cross, reads HAERDUR FECIT CRUCEM ISTAM.[299] The 'angle-bar' A's, alone of the letters, are inscribed vertically and are certainly meant to represent the letter as found in illuminated manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon origin.[300] The legend of king Clitauc tells us, of course, that there was a gospel book at Clodock, from which such letter-forms might be obtained, but whilst 'angle-bar' A was more common in earlier manuscripts, on stone the practice was extended. The monument cannot be closely dated, but an Anglo-Saxon presence here between the ninth and eleventh centuries would be consistent with the picture we have given of *Merthirclitauc*.

If it is difficult therefore to assign a date to the Clitauc material of *Liber Landavensis*, we can nevertheless say that it suggests that a cult of a saint with a British name peculiar to this place flourished in the twelfth century or before, and that, if it is pre-Conquest, as a number of factors suggest it might be, then this would have been a period in which the area of Clodock may be thought to have been subject to Anglo-Saxon influence.

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[298] For the church site, see RCHME (1931, 173), for Beuno's connection with it, see above, p. 100. It is also spelled *Llanfaino* and *Llanfeuno* (Llewellin, 1919, 89; Wade-Evans, 1930, 326).

[299] Allen (1902); Macalister (1945), no. 1065; Nash-Williams (1950), no. 410; Stanford (1991), 111-2; Parsons (1995), 67.

[300] A manuscript derivation was acknowledged by Thomas (1994, 243) for kindred southwestern inscriptions.

2.10.2 SAINTS TEWDRIG AND MAUGHAN

Set on a shallow bluff facing the Caldicot Levels on the south and southeast, the church of St. Tewdrig at Mathern (*Merthir Teudiric*) stands in a raised, rectilinear yard showing signs of extension, and is adjoined by the buildings of Innage Farm and by a small number of modern dwellings. The present centres of population in its parish are Pwllmeyric and Newton Green. The isolation of the churchtown, the presence of a holy well and the name in *merthyr* combine to indicate the antiquity of the site, and, as at Clodock suggest the preservation of relics and shrine.[301]

The structure of Mathern parish indicates that, like Clodock, the church was at the head of a large unit with subordinate chapels analogous to the *paruchia* of an Anglo-Saxon mynster. Thus, in a memorandum of *circa* 900 we are told that *Villa Cyniv*, *membrum de territorio merthir teudiric* was made over to the cathedral church of Llandaff.[302] This place is identified with Runston, an abandoned settlement northwest of Mathern, which was once a chapelry of that church. If it is true that the vanished *martyrium* of *Merthyr Gerein*, thought to have been near Tintern was also subject to Mathern, then this is surely evidence of the latter's ancient status as a mother church.[303] *Villa Cyviv* looks to have been a subordinate chapel within Mathern's wider *territorium*, and its charter may witness the beginnings of the fragmentation of the unit. By *circa* 1075, another vill had been abstracted from its territory,[304] but the continuing importance of the church is suggested by three twelfth-century elements of *Liber*

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[301] Davies (1978), 132.

[302] *LL* 235; Birch (1912) 196-7, Davies (1978), 183; (1979), 123.

[303] Wade-Evans (1910), 79; Parke and Webster (1974).

[304] *LL* 274; Davies (1979), 129.

Landavensis. The first and second are the references to *Villam Merthir Teudiric [villam mertyr teudiric] cum ecclesiis* in Bulls of Calixtus II and Honorius II dated respectively 16 October 1119 and 19 April 1128,[305] the third, the reference to *Ecclesia de Matharne cum capellis* in the list of prebends belonging to the period 1193-1218.[306] In both documents, the descriptions are paralleled only by those applied to the church of *Lan Cum* or Llangwm, east of Usk, whose obscure British dedicatees *Mirgint*, *Cinficc*, *Huui* and *Erven* were known as the *quattuor sanctis de lanncum*.[307] Both places evidently fostered local cults; both occupied the highest status in the twelfth century, and appear towards the top of lists of churches.[308]

Although it prefaces a charter, Tewdrig's legend is not entirely relevant to Llandaff's claim, and it must be assumed that it is local in origin. [309] In contrast to the legend of Clitauc however, the standpoint of the hagiographer is clearly anti-English and this probably indicates a reworking of the tradition before it found its way to Llandaff. The legend relates how King *Teudiric*, who had retired to Tintern "when the Saxons began to invade his land" is told by an angel that if he helps his son Mouric in the coming battle in the region of *Rit Tindryn* the enemy will flee "as far as *Pwll Brochmaill*" and not cause trouble again for thirty years, but that he himself will be

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[305] *LL* 90, 31; Birch (1912), 242, 248.

[306] *LL* 284-6; Birch (1912), 278-80. The name re-occurs twice as *Matherne* in a thirteenth-century charter concerned with tithes, appearing on *LL* 291-2.

[307] *LL* 90, 31 (*Villam lann Cum [villam lann cum] cum ecclesiis*); *LL* 284 (*Ecclesia de lan Cum. Cum pertinentibus*.). For the saints, see *LL* 269, 274, Wade-Evans (1910, 81), Davies, (1978, 132, 188), (1979, 129) and (1982a, 174). Erven is probably the same saint as at St. Arvans, north of Chepstow. The others are unidentified. Llangwm *Isaf* and *Ucha* (SO 433007) are not to be confused with the Llangwm (ST 425999) of *LL* 173.

[308] *Ecclesia de Matharne* thus heads up the list of churches in *inferioris Wencie* (*Gwent Iscoed*).

[309] *LL* 141; Birch (1912), 96-7; Davies (1981), 525.

fatally wounded.[310] Teudiric dutifully stands "in the battle on the banks of the *Guy*, near the ford of *Tindrin*" whereupon he is wounded by an arrow. His carriage having come to a stand "at a place near a meadow towards the Severn", the king dies, whereupon Mouric orders the erection of *oraculum et cimiterium*, and that the land be made over to the bishop and saints of Llandaff.[311] This latter is surely an addition, since the purpose of the legend would appear to be to explain the names of *Merthyr Tewdrig* and of neighbouring Pwllmeyric.[312]

The Tewdrig legend did not, it will have been noted, actually identify the meadow by the Severn as Mathern but this can be confidently established from the charter bounds. Mathern is a name also used for at least one and possibly two other places in the *Liber Landavensis*, and must therefore have been a common place-name element.[313] The presence of one *Teudric rex in Garthmathrim* in the Brecon genealogical material probably demonstrates the influence of the Mathern legend, though since the occurrence of the name *Merthyr Tewdrig* for Mathern is itself late, it is conceivable that the legend was only belatedly associated with Mathern.[314] That the name Pwllmeyric may not have anything to do with an historical Mouric is suggested by the existence of *Meurig* as the name of the local stream.

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[310] On the derivation of the name *Teudiric*, see Thomas (1994, 135-6). 'Brochmail's pool' is probably Brockwell on the Gloucestershire bank of the Wye, 10 km north of Chepstow, but in Monmouthshire.

[311] *locum unum iuxta pratum unum versus Severnam.*

[312] *LL* 31, 43, 90; *LL* 323 (*ecclesia de Pulmeuric*).

[313] *Mafurn* (Valley Dore, *LL* 162b, 165, 171b, 192) and *Mathru* (Mathri, *LL* 127b). The latter is in Pembrokeshire and can be discounted.

[314] *Cognacio Brychan*, § 2 (Wade-Evans, 1944, 315, later *Madrum*); *De Situ Brecheniauc*, § 2 (Wade-Evans, 1944, 313, later *Methrum*).

It is clear that the Tewdrig of the legend is an anti-English saint, yet the cult must have survived a period when the Kings of Morgannwg were clients of the West Saxon kings. Like later versions of the Welsh legend of Clitauc, the Saxons may here have replaced a British enemy at a period when the English were considered universal bogeymen.

The second legend from the *Wentsætan* relates to St. Maughans, on the Welsh bank of the Monnow northwest of Monmouth.[315] *Liber Landavensis* relates how

"one day, *Riuguallaun*, son of *Tutbulch* came, whipped up by anger and fury to *Lann Mocha*, his men with him, and pillaged the people of that church.[316] As he was making off with his spoil, the stolen relics of the church in train behind him, he fell, with a great shout and groan into Oir Well.[317] In such disbelief had he been at seeing a large fish in the well that his horse had reared up, hurling its rider to the ground. Half dead and with a broken arm he summoned his men, returned the plunder and in that very spot generously donated his hereditary land to saints Dubricius, Teilo and Oudoceus and to Bishop Joseph and all the bishops of Llandaff."[318]

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[315] *LL* 264b; Birch (1912), 223; Davies (1978), 187; (1979), 128.

[316] *populum illius ecclesie*. This suggests a community of clerks.

[317] *fontem Oir*, later *finnaun Oir*. Birch (1912, 223) claims 'Cold-Well' to be the English equivalent. Orepool, north of Trow Green is probably intended.

[318] 'Returned the plunder': quitclaimed: *quietam clamavit.* As Birch (Ibid.) notes, the phrase, which occurs in two other memoranda is characteristic of later diplomatic. Though the passage has obviously been restyled, this need not affect its validity as a record of local belief in the powers of the saint's well in the eleventh century. 'Hereditary land': *terram hereditariam*. For a discussion of this concept see Davies (1978, 55).

The Rhiwallon of this legend appears to have lived in the early eleventh century.[319] Although the parallels for similar fish legends are of a date commensurate with or later than the compilation of *Liber Landavensis*, and although Orepool's function here is to define the furthest extent of the lands granted to the church, traditions like this may nevertheless have existed in the later Anglo-Saxon period. As in the case of Clitauc, it was not entirely sensible for the nobleman, knocked to the ground by the power of the saint whose church he had violated to make a grant to the saints of a church over 50 km away, and the last sentence can be assumed to be an emendation or addition. More importantly the record refers to the keeping of relics in the local church, and in light of the punishment, these may be assumed to be those of the founder saint.[320] To make so much out of so little, and so dubious a little at that is perhaps unwise, but since it is unlikely that the areas of St. Maughan's and Orepool escaped Anglo-Saxon influence, the survival (if it is a survival) of this tradition about a well might be a further illustration of the easy relationship between the British and Anglo-Saxon churches.

2.11 OTHER SAINTS AND THEIR CHURCHES IN *ERGYNG* AND THE *WENTSÆTAN*

The *Liber Landavensis*, of course, casts its shadow far wider. Together with the evidence of place-names and dedications, it enables us to build up a detailed picture of the structure of the church during the pre-Conquest period and of the overall character of the people's belief. The most striking aspect of the dedication distribution is the almost complete absence of 'Anglo-Saxon' saints and the relative abundance of 'British'

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[319] Davies (1979), 184.

[320] Merdrignac (1986), B 175; *Vita* (*Secunda*) *Sancti Neoti*, § 28 (*Acta SS*, Iulii VII, 323); *Vita Sancti Nectani*, cited by Doble (1943, 328).

saints. Around twenty-five Herefordshire places commemorate or may be supposed originally to have commemorated British ecclesiastical patrons.[321] Some of these are figures peculiar to their respective churches, for whom the term 'local saints' is employed.[322] A second category is comprised by saints whose foremost association is with some other (more important) religious house, for instance Llandaff, and a third by 'universal saints', that is, saints of the universal church: the Virgin Mary, the Evangelists, Apostles and early martyrs, whose ethnic associations may be argued. Several saints in each category are found at places bearing the Old English name element *-stow*, and these will be treated separately.[323]

2.11.1 'LOCAL SAINTS'

Where a 'local saint' is recorded only in a dedication or name, as is most often the case, and has left no hagiographical or liturgical trace, the confirmation of the antiquity of the commemoration must be sought through the physical examination of the site. The church of Llandinabo presents one such opportunity.[324] Here, set back from the Hereford to Ross road, sits an unprepossessing church on a near-circular *lan*, accompanied only by the buildings of Llandinabo Court. The earliest maps do not suggest this to be a shrunken village and there is every indication that it was always an isolated church associated with a single estate. The church is termed *podum* and *lann* in

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[321] Enumerated by Charles (1963, 89-91, 95). See also Richards (1969, 66-7).

[322] For instance *Budgualan* at Ballingham (Davies, 1978, 171, *pace* Coplestone-Crow, 1989, 32), and *Gweinerth* at St. Weonards.

[323] See below, pp. 183-6, and Glossary.

[324] RCHME (1931), 166-7; Moir (1974).

Liber Landavensis.[325] The imprecision of the bounds of the chief Llandinabo charter led Evans and Rhys to misidentify the church as Bredwardine,[326] but the identification with Llandinabo, first proposed by Rees is clearly the correct one. The lands granted in the charter neither correspond with the present parish, nor do they include the site of the church. Parish and grant may represent remnants or fragments of a larger estate, perhaps including Pencoyd and Llanwarne, the present population nuclei.[327] Since *iunabui, presbiter* is one of the witnesses of the charter, it is inferred that the church was named and dedicated after its first or most distinguished priest. One Iunabwy is numbered among the twenty followers of Dubricius in the Llandaff *vitae* and bears the same name as the seventh (and probably mythical) bishop of Llandaff.[328] So, irrespective of the date of the Llandinabo charters,[329] it is clear that the Llandaff compilers thought Iunabwy to have been a person of some importance for the early church in Ergyng.

Llandinabo's small curvilinear yard was found to be raised from surrounding field levels by 50 cm or below to the west, increasing to 100-150 cm on the south, 175 cm on the east, and by as much as 250 cm on the north. No internal differentiation of

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[325] *LL* 73a: *lann Iunabui* (title), *podum Iunabui* (text); *LL* 165a: *Lann iunabui* (title and text); *LL* 192a: *Lann Iunabui*; *LL* 275b: *Lann hunapui*. Coplestone-Crow (1989, 131) for later spellings. The lost *Terra in Arcu* gravestone and *Landinabow* chalice incidentally indicate that Welsh speech had certainly died out here by the early eighteenth century. The present *Ll-* is probably hypercorrect.

[326] *LL* 73a; Evans and Rhys (1893), 364. A misidentification perpetuated by Coplestone-Crow (1989, 42-3, 131; Gelling 1992, 115).

[327] RCHME (1931), 177-9; Rollason (1974), 70-75, 77, 95-6.

[328] *LL* 80, 115; Evans and Rhys (1893), 303, 311; Birch (1912), 27, 123. It is possible that the *guernapui guritpenni* of witness lists including that attached to *LL* 165 is intended for the same person. Davies (1979, 106) dates these lists to between 555 and 625.

[329] *LL* 73a: *circa* 585; *LL* 165: *circa* 625; *LL* 192: *circa* 745 (Davies, 1979, 93).

levels was detected. The church itself, so thoroughly restored in the nineteenth century that only the barest traces remain from the medieval period, must be assumed to have been constructed on the site of an earlier building. On the basis of the examination and its isolated position, it can be concluded that this is almost certainly an early site.[330] That the church was not simply swallowed up into a neighbouring parish seems to indicate an unwillingness to abandon it altogether, and may reflect traditions of its early origin and importance.

The memorandum for the remote church of Garway offers a parallel for the local cult of a distinguished priest, but this time the priest is a royal appointee, and was not already in residence.[331] Called *Lann Guorboe*, the church is explicitly stated to have been dedicated to the Trinity. *Guoruoe* was set over it as priest.[332] The memorandum is dated to *circa* 615 from its witnesses, but the dedication is probably connected to the twelfth-century custodianship of the Templars, being introduced into the text at Llandaff. It is in consequence not established whether the reference to this dedication here, at *Bolgros*,[333] and at *Mochros* (Moccas) indicates the pre-Conquest eclipse of a British saint by a cult favoured of the Anglo-Saxons. The memorandum clearly implies a gift to *Guoruoe* and his successors, and again it is clear that this cannot have been a

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[330] Site assessment, August 1996.

[331] See RCHME (1931, 69-71) and Brabbs (1985, 52-3) for the site.

[332] *LL* 162a; Birch (1912), 119; Davies (1978), 170; (1979), 103-4: *et ibi guoruoe sacerdotem suum posuit, et sibi locum commendavit serviendum ad utilitatem ecclesie permansurum.* The identification has been unconvincingly questioned by Coplestone-Crow (1989, 91).

[333] *LL* 161; Birch (1912), 118; Coplestone-Crow (1989), 169. Thought to be Bellimoor. It is there said that Gurodius of Ergyng founded a church *in honore sancte trinitatis et sancti petri.*

gift to the church of Llandaff or its saints. The place-name forms *Langarewi* and *Gareway* are attested respectively from *circa* 1189 and *circa* 1230.[334]

At St. Briavels, in Gloucestershire, 3 km to the east of the Dyke, we find a dedication to an obscure and presumably British saint combined with an unremarkable yard.[335] If it is not a Norman foundation, the church's proximity to the twelfth-century castle may indicate the choice of a site of existing religious significance, for church and castle are separated from the main nucleation of the village and are clearly the oldest structures in the area. The antiquity of ecclesiastical sites in the Gloucestershire Wyelands is suggested by the nearby curvilinear yard at Hewelsfield.[336]

Llandinabo, Garway (and possibly St. Briavels) illustrate the seldom observed process, common in the British west whereby a place might gain a unique name and often a unique dedication.[337] The preservation of these place-names and local charter records (and presumably therefore of the memory and cult of the founder) confirms that such cults were not suppressed during the Anglo-Saxon period.

Liber Landavensis also offers a fleeting glimpse of what may be interpreted as a localized cult of a female saint associated with springs or streams between or in the

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[334] Coplestone-Crow (1989), 90; but see Freeman (1986, 69-70).

[335] James (1884); Arnold-Forster (1889), II, 531; Doble (1964), 116; Smith (1964), III, 242-3; Millard et al. (1989), 101; Farmer (1992), 70. James identified him with St. Évroul (and accordingly thought the church Norman) while Doble thought him to be St. Brioc, and hence favoured an earlier date.

[336] Site assessments, August 1996. There has been no proper archaeological investigation of the site of St. Briavels church, but for a 'Roman altar' with 'debased Christian inscription', see Heighway (1984, 235).

[337] Fisher (1906), 77.

vicinities of Pencoyd and St. Maughans. The unidentified *Arganhell* occurs in the boundary clauses of the memoranda relating to these places, dated respectively to *circa* 555 and to *circa* 860. In the first we have *usque ad Arganhell*, in the second *Licat arganhell artraus ir coit; arhit i pant trui i coit bet licat argannel.* The common spelling presumably indicates that the bounds have been subject to revision in the twelfth century.[338] Although it is possible that a widespread topographical feature is being described, Pencoyd and St. Maughan's are only 11 km apart and it is not beyond the limits of credibility that this feature formed a common boundary between the two estates. Rollason believed both boundaries to refer to streams named *Arianell* or 'silver' (Latin *argentum*),[339] while Coplestone-Crow has identified a feeder of the river Gamber as the *Arganhell* of the Pencoyd memorandum.[340]

From the *Vita Sancti Dubricii* however it emerges that *Arianell* might also be used as a girl's name, for we are told how *advenit quidam potens vir ... ut filiam suam Argenhell nomine captam a demonio liberaret, que in tantum vexabatur quod vix funibus cum ligatis manibus poterat retineri quin mergeretur flumine quin comburetur igne, quin consumeret omnia sibi adherentia dentibus.*[341] After Dubricius had exorcised the demon, she lived as a nun until her death. This miracle might of course simply be Llandaff's way of claiming lands around a stream named *Arianell*, by the association of a spurious personal name with an unnamed *flumen*. However, naturalistic girls' names and *-ell* endings are found in early Welsh and it is equally possible that this miracle

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[338] *LL* 75, *LL* 171b (p. 173); Davies (1978), 166, 172; (1979), 94, 107.

[339] Rollason (1974), 71.

[340] Coplestone-Crow (1989), 161.

[341] *LL* 82-3; Birch (1912), 29.

records a genuine tradition attached to a stream.[342] If this is so, then the name *Arganhell* may be considered as a commemoration as well as a conventional description. The survival (if it is early) or genesis (if it is late, but pre-Conquest) of such a tenuous local tradition would again testify to the tolerant attitude of the Anglo-Saxon church of Hereford toward the systems of belief of its western congregation.

2.11.2 FAMOUS BRITISH PATRONS

Of saints whose cults are known to have been propagated by powerful ecclesiastical interests, the most important appear to be Dubricius and David, whose commemorations in Ergyng number respectively six and four. Dubricius was one of the patrons of Llancarfan and Llandaff, while David was culted by St. Davids and of course went on to become the Welsh national patron, in which capacity, his wider fame led to the dedication of churches far beyond the purview of St. Davids itself. The manuscripts recording the substantive liturgical celebration of the two saints at Hereford are late and cannot realistically be used as evidence for observance during the Anglo-Saxon period.[343] It would therefore be easy to dismiss their dedications out of hand, but in both cases (particularly in that of Dubricius) the recorded traditions suggest that the associations are more ancient.

The *Vita Sancti Dubricii* exists in both *Liber Landavensis* and the Vespasian collection, and was summarized by John of Tynemouth.[344] It is a twelfth-century

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[342] See above, note 44.

[343] Harris (1940), 20-22, 37-8, 47; Doble (1971), 82-3.

[344] *LL* 78-86; Birch (1912), 26-31, 395-9; Wade-Evans (1944), ix (fols. 56-61, 71-7); Horstmann (1901), I, 267-71.

composition, but study of its structure and motifs has suggested the incorporation of older material.[345] Dubricius' appearance in the *Vita Prima Sancti Samsonis* may indicate that his cult is very old indeed, and it has on these bases been suggested that Dubricius was an historical bishop.[346] The preliminary sections of the *Vita Sancti Dubricii* relate to Ergyng, and, with important exceptions in southern and southeastern Wales, this is the area in which his cult was most closely observed. It is possible of course that legends really pertaining to other, obscure and local, saints were assembled under the name of Dubricius in order to support the claim of Llandaff to Herefordshire lands. It is also possible that more than one saint of the same name was identified. If so, little can have been known of the early life of the southern Welsh Dubricius, for the *Vita* places his very birth in Ergyng. Indeed, the Llandaff compilers appear to have considered Dubricius a saint of Ergyng *par excellence*. His origin legend relates that King Pepiau of Ergyng, having exhausted various methods of killing his pregnant daughter *Ebrdil* (in a stock motif that bears comparison with the origin legends of Kentigern and Budoc),[347] fostered her precocious child and raised a stone at the spot where she had given birth, alongside the river Wye.[348] The king made the boy heir to royal lands at *Matle*, called 'good place' on this account.

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[345] Doble (1971), 56-87.

[346] *VPSS* §§ I.13, 33, 43-44; II.7 (Taylor, 1925, 19-20, 37, 44-6, 67-8); Bowen (1977), x-xi, 67-8, 167. For the *Vita* (*Prima*) *Sancti Samsonis*, see below, chapter three, pp. 223-7.

[347] Peibiau tries to have her drowned and then burned alive. Kentigern's mother (*Vita Sancti Kentigerni*, §§ 2-3) was pushed over a cliff and cast adrift in a boat, Budoc's cast adrift in a barrel. See Forbes (1874, 36-40), MacQueen (1956, 122-4; 1980, 14-15), Doble (1964, 3-4) and Milin (1990).

[348] *LL* 79; Birch (1912), 26-7. The Llandaff *Vita* hints that Peibiau was the father, and a marginal note states this explicitly (Evans and Rhys, 1893, 337).

Occurring only in the Llandaff version of the *Vita*, the episode of the stone may be designed to explain the place-name Childerstone.[349] It can be compared to Rhygyfarch's account of the conception and birth of St. David. Both traditions appear to attest the one-time existence of ritual places of childbirth and are of undoubted antiquity.[350] Nevertheless, since it is possible that the Llandaff legend is derivative, it cannot constitute evidence for the survival of such a tradition in Herefordshire.

Matle is certainly Madley, but the etymology presented by the *Vita* is dubious, particularly as in the one true memorandum in which it is referred to the place does not bear this name.[351] There is little to recommend the present location of Madley church as an early site, the yard being large, flat, and not significantly raised, whilst the settlement itself is an unremarkable nucleation focussed on a cross-roads.[352] Mawer was of the opinion that the name is in fact Anglo-Saxon *Magda-leāh* ('Madda's clearing').[353] This is supported by early forms like Domesday's *Medelagie*, and by the Shropshire place Madeley, where this derivation is explicit.[354] The use of *-leigh* or *-ley* (*lēah*) a common suffix in cleared land, marginal or wooded regions would date the growth, if not the origin of the settlement to the late Saxon or early post-Conquest

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[349] Coplestone-Crow (1989), 140.

[350] *Vita Beati Davidis*, §§ 4, 6 (Wade-Evans, 1913, 37-8).

[351] *LL* 76a (*Conloc*). The identifiction of Madley with *Lann Ebrdil* (*LL* 159a) offered by Coplestone-Crow (1989, 139) may be discounted. The effort made to explain the name Madley is scarcely conceivable, were *Lann Ebrdil* known to have existed as an alternative.

[352] RCHME (1931), 191-6; site assessment, August 1996.

[353] Communication cited by Doble (1971, 73).

[354] Edwards (1960), 248; Coplestone-Crow (1989), 139; Gelling and Foxall (1990), 190-91.

periods, [355] whilst the present dedication to the Virgin might argue for a previous connection with Mary *Magdalene*.[356] Nevertheless, as element (ii) of the legend of King Clitauc, cited above, indicates, the compilers of *Liber Landavensis* conceived of Madley as dedicated to Dubricius in the twelfth century and that of the *Vita Sancti Dubricii* believed the name needed to be explained and the association made more explicitly. His action is suspicious and implies the recent origin of the church, and a claim upon its importance. The disappearance of the cult from Madley, and the derivation of its place-name make it less credible as the site of Dubricius' birth. The church was important in the twelfth century, but the origins of that importance are unlikely to rest with Dubricius' cult.

Moccas and Hentland by contrast are sites whose association with Dubricius may be more ancient. Close, but not adjacent to the Wye, and accompanied only by Moccas Court to its northeast, Moccas' small twelfth-century church stands in a heavily manicured sub-rectilinear yard forming a bluff consistent with surrounding ground to the north, and sloping steeply on the south from a height of over 200 cm. On the southwest, a low wall conceals a 150 cm difference in height, which one suspects is the result of the levelling of the neighbouring field. If soil irregularities to the northeast of the yard indicate the line of a *lan* the church might well overlie an earlier structure. In contrast to that at Moccas, the church of St. Dubricius at Hentland occupies a shallow

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[355] Hooke (1986a), 18.

[356] A dedication found predominantly between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, but earlier ones are not unknown. See Arnold-Forster (1899, I, 90-93) and Ortenberg (1992, 250-56). The church at Hewelsfield is so dedicated.

slope at the bottom of the wooded valley of a tributary of the Wye. Its yard is raised and sub-curvilinear.[357]

In the *Vita Sancti Dubricii* the two churches feature respectively as the first and second monasteries established by Dubricius for the instruction of his many followers.[358] The presence of Moccas in the *Vita* (where a motif of a suckling sow is attached to it) cannot have arisen from its name, which, appearing as *Mochros* in *Liber Landavensis*, simply means 'moor of the pigs', nor to its dedication, which, it is stated was to the Trinity.[359] That a legend of Dubricius should be attached to this place may therefore indicate an older association. According to memoranda of the early seventh century, the church of Moccas had, like Bellimoor, Garway and Much Dewchurch, been served by clerks with the title (if not the function) of *abbas*, and this is a certain indication of its high status.[360]

Hentland appears as *Henlann Dibric* in the *Liber Landavensis*, and this may reflect the association of *Henlann super ripam Gui* with Dubricius established in the *Vita.*[361] It is just possible that Hentland owes its place in the Dubricius legend solely to

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[357] RCHME (1931), 84-5, 203-4; site assessments, August 1996. Moccas church was in 1931 dedicated to St. Michael and All Angels, having been listed as St. Michael by Arnold-Forster (1899, III, 203) but Dubricius has now assumed primacy in the local literature.

[358] *LL* 80; Birch (1912), 27.

[359] Coplestone-Crow (1989, 147). It is unlikely that *Mochros* was in the immediate vicinity of Madley church, as suggested by Arnold-Forster (1899, II, 200), since the *Vita* makes it plain that it is referring to a different place.

[360] *LL* 163b, 164, 165; Davies (1978), 125-6; (1979), 104-5, 114.

[361] *LL* 80; Birch (1912), 27. The phrase *super ripam Guy* means simply 'on the bank of the Wye'. Since it need imply neither height nor distance, it provides small reason for throwing into question the identity of Hentland and *Henlann*. *Henlann*'s identification with Llanfrother ('church of the brothers', allegedly) is without obvious justification (*pace* Davies, 1861, 114 and Coplestone-Crow, 1989, 100).

the explanation of its name (meaning 'old church'), but there was clearly some uncertainty about the dedication. Hentland's association with both Dubricius and Teilo is proclaimed in the phrase *Henlann dibric et lann teliau in uno cimiterio* which occurs twice in the lists of Llandaff's churches.[362] If, as seems to be the case, the Llandaff editors have introduced Dubricius' association with Teilo here, and in the list of Dubricius' disciples (mostly invented early bishops of Llandaff) it needs explaining.[363] If it was known at Llandaff that the church at *Henlann* was that of a different, 'local' *Dibric*, then it may have been necessary to assert their identity in no uncertain terms, by linking him with the foremost of Llandaff's patrons.

By the time of the composition of *Liber Landavensis*, Madley appears to have eclipsed Hentland and Moccas as a focus for devotion to Dubricius. This was probably the result of changing patterns of settlement that favoured Madley above Hentland and Moccas and led to the comparative desertion of these sites. Since we do not know when this took place, nothing can be inferred from it.

There are other dedications to Dubricius in Herefordshire, but where places are not associated with him in either the Llandaff memoranda or the *Vita Sancti Dubricii*, or whose names do not have Welsh forms, they are almost certainly later, and most probably relate to his medieval commemoration. The church of St. John the Baptist at Llanwarne ('church of the alder grove') was dedicated to Teilo and Dubricius at the time of bishop Herewald.[364] One supposes that this might be a dedication imputed by the

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[362] *LL* 275; Birch (1912), 231.

[363] *LL* 80; Birch (1912), 27.

[364] *LL* 275: *Lann guern teliau ha dibric*; Birch (1912), 231; Arnold-Forster (1899), III, 186.

church of Llandaff to a church whose original commemoration had been forgotten. At Whitchurch, the saint appears to have displaced an earlier St. Gwennog (*Tiuinauc*: *tŷ-wennoc* in *Liber Landavensis*) at least by 1325,[365] and at Ballingham, the seventh-century place-name declares the original dedicatee to have been a *Budgualan*.[366] At St. Devereux, the place-name is of French orthography, and probably shows influence from the Anglo-Norman family of that name. It is tempting to see the insertion of *S. Deuerecke* above the November 14th entry for Dubricius in the thirteenth-century Hereford Breviary as indicating the first dedication or consecration of its church.[367]

The historical connection of St. David with the church of Leominster posited by the *Vita Beati Davidis* is most probably fictional, but predicates the existence of churches or place-names in southern Herefordshire that were believed to commemorate him.[368] There are fifty-three David dedications in the diocese of St. Davids, and eighteen outside it, the total including twenty-seven *Llandewi*'s. This reminds us that, unlike that of Dubricius, David's cult was peripheral to Ergyng. The dedications to Saint David in Herefordshire accordingly receive less support from hagiography than those of Dubricius. They comprise Much and Little Dewchurch (*Llandewi Rhôs Ceirion*),[369] and Kilpeck (*ecclesia Cilpedec*, *lann degui cilpedic*), where, if earthworks to the northeast of the church represent an abandoned village, the isolated twelfth-

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[365] *LL* 275; Birch (1912), 231; Coplestone-Crow (1989), 205-6.

[366] *LL* 164 (*Lann Budgualan*, *podum sancti Budgualan*); Davies (1979), 104. But see Coplestone-Crow (1989), 32. The statement (*LL* 171b) that the church *dudum fuerat sancti Dubricii*, is a patent rationalization (and insertion).

[367] Charles (1963), 89; Frere and Brown (1915), 262; Coplestone-Crow (1989), 175.

[368] See Hillaby (1987, 600-604) and above, note 94.

[369] *LL* 163b, 164, 165, 190a, 275; Birch (1912), 125; Charles (1963), 90; Freeman (1986), 68.

century building, presently accompanied by a single farm will once have been part of a larger, nucleated settlement.[370] Its dimensions and foundation features indicate that it almost certainly overlies a structure of pre-Conquest date.[371]

At Llanthony, in that part of Ewyas now in Wales, the priory church (founded in 1108) was dedicated to St. John the Baptist, but the name means 'church of Dewi' and the district was certainly associated with St. David by the time Giraldus wrote. There is little reason to doubt that the name of the nearby place *Henllan* indicates that it was the predecessor of the church of Llanthony. There is today no trace of an early church here, but it is conceivable that the place was anciently associated with a founder named Dewi. Giraldus tells us that the original church was *super fluvium Hotheni per vallis ima labentis situs*. Whilst this description may apply to both Henllan and Llanthony, it is perhaps better suited to the former place and would suggest an awareness of the tradition of a shift of site. That some confusion had, by the close of the twelfth century, arisen over the site of the first church is indicated by his statements to the effect that the priory was *in loco videlicet ubi paupercula prius Sancti David archiepiscopi capella steterat*, yet that it was *a duobus eremitis… primo fundatus*.[372] The traditions fostered by the community at Llanthony were no doubt strengthened by the superintendence of the bishop of St. Davids, which was later to encompass its adjacent possessions in Herefordshire.

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[370] *LL* 169b, 275; Birch (1912), 130, 231; Rowley (1994), 170.

[371] RCHME (1931), 156-8; Taylor and Taylor (1963), 238-9, 42; (1965), 350-51; King (1995); Parsons (1995), 66. Its closest relation in terms of size and style must be Moccas, and the Taylors' arguments may therefore be extended to that church.

[372] *Itinerarium Kambriae*, I.3 (Thorpe, 1978, 96-100); Craster (1963), 5; Binns (1989), 141.

To associate churches of Dewi with the Pembrokeshire David would have been an attractive proposition for late Saxon and post-Conquest hagiographers. David appears as the chief intercessor among the Welsh saints in the tenth-century *Armes Prydein*, and there are indications that his commemoration quickly came to be considered a mark of prestige.[373] Excepting that the identification was introduced at this period, when West Saxon patronage extended to St. David's, the cult of David has, in itself therefore, little to tell us about Anglo-British interaction in Herefordshire. *Dewi* or David was a common name in early Medieval Wales, as numerous documents testify. In the *Liber Landavensis* alone there are apparently five persons of this name, and one of these, *summus sacerdos filius Circan* was evidently a priest of some note. He appears in the memoranda associated with Garway and *Bolgros*.[374] If the churches of David in Ergyng reflect then the gathering together of miscellaneous *Dewi*'s this still presents the valuable information that further local cults survived and flourished in the area, that these most probably preceded the rise to prominence of the southern Welsh cult, and that the Welsh character of Ergyng continued to be so strong that the cult of the Welsh patron was readily adopted and tailored to requirements. Thus the lives of St. David agree that he passed through Ergyng, where he cured the blindness of King Peibiau.[375] That the *Dewi*'s of Herefordshire may not be the same as the widely known

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[373] *Armes Prydein*, lines 105, 196; Williams (1972), xxv, 9, 15. The poem constitutes a classic example of racist propaganda. It demonstrates that there was anti-English agitation going on in some sections of the church in southern Wales at this time, but the poet's opinion should hardly be taken as representative: after all, his bitterness may have arisen from the fact that the 'nationalist' party was in a minority.

[374] *LL* 161, 162a; Fisher (1906), 91; Birch (1912), 118-9; Doble (1998), 139; Charles (1963), 90; Davies (1979), 158.

[375] In Latin (Rhigyfarch and affiliates: *saec. xi exeunte - saec. xiii med.*): *Proprium* [/*Pepiau*] *quoque regem Ercig* [/*quendam regem caecum*], *restauratis oculorum luminibus sanavit* (James, 1967, 8). In Welsh (Oxford, Jesus College MSS, 119, *Buchedd Dewi*: *saec. xiv med.*): *Odyna y rodes waret y Pebiawc, vrenhin Ergyng, a oed yn dall* (Evans, 1988, 4).

St. David is possibly confirmed by the early subjection of Much Dewchurch to the church of Cynmarch, local saint of Chepstow, recorded in a memorandum possibly of seventh-century date.[376]

Saint Tysilio of Meifod is the alleged eponym and dedicatee of Lancillo (*Lann Sulbiu*) and Sellack (*Lannsuluc*),[377] and Saint Deiniol of Bangor of Llangarron ('church on the river Garren') under the form *Deinst*.[378] The identity of both saints may again be questioned on grounds of distance from their cult centres in Powys and Gwynedd. That at Sellack cannot be original if the *Siloc* of the eleventh-century Herefordshire litany refers to this church.[379] There is the possibility that the dedication at Llangarron was inspired by Deiniol's legendary association with Dubricius and David.[380]

If the Herefordshire churches of Dubricius, David, Tysilio and Deiniol should not then be so readily held to indicate the cult of established British saints known from hagiography, the early characteristics of many of these sites mean that they may nevertheless constitute evidence of a cult of British saints in Ergyng in the pre-Conquest period. In the case at least of Dubricius, the strength of the commemoration in Ergyng might argue for local input into the Llandaff tradition.

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[376] *LL* 165; Birch (1912), 125-6; Davies (1979), 105-6.

[377] *LL* 160, 230b, 275; Birch (1912), 117, 192, 231; Coplestone-Crow (1989), 130. On Tysilio dedications generally, see Wade-Evans (1930, 328).

[378] On the name: *LL* 192; Birch (1912), 151; Davies (1978), 176; (1979), 113; Charles (1963), 92; Coplestone-Crow (1989), 131. On the dedication: Arnold-Forster (1899), II, 198, III, 185; Baring-Gould and Fisher (1907), II, 330; Doble (1971), 81, 84; Coplestone-Crow (1989), 4.

[379] London, British Library, Cottonian MSS, Galba A.xiv, fol. 94^{r} (*saec. xi^{l}*); Lapidge (1991), 166.

[380] *LL* 71, 337 (gloss); *Vita Beati Davidis*, § 50 (James, 1967, 22); *Buchedd Dewi* (Evans, 1988), 9, 56-7.

2.11.3 *STOWS*

The pattern of isolated or wayside churches in Ergyng is characteristic of dispersed settlement, and may be thought to be of British origin. Some of these places, like Llandinabo and Hentland, cited above, have convincingly British saints and names, but in others, either the name or the saint may be supposed to have an Anglo-Saxon connection.[381] Particular interest arises through the naming of a number of sites in *-stow,* the Old English term for 'holy place'.[382] In Ergyng proper we have Peterstow, Bridstow, Marstow, and Stowe,[383] but also Stowe and Wistanstow in the territory of the *Magonsætan* to the north, Chepstow, Dingestow, Wonastow and Dewstow in the *Wentsætan* and a third Stowe in Gloucestershire, a deserted site just east of the Wye.[384]

Dingestow and Chepstow, respectively *Lann* (more often *Merthir*) *Dinegat,* and *Lann Cinmarch* in *Liber Landavensis*, record the names of the British saints *Cynmarch* and *Dingad*.[385] At Chepstow, we are informed explicitly of the presence of the saint's tomb.[386] Wonastow, previously *Wonwarrowstow*, is also believed to incorporate the name of a British saint *Gwnwarwy*, though its transmission is problematic, and the saint

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[381] Cusop (Mary) and Orcop (Mary) are examples of the former (Coplestone-Crow, 1989, 63, 155, *pace* Baring-Gould and Fisher, 1907, II, 116).

[382] See the Glossary, 'Stow, Stowe'.

[383] On which latter, see Coplestone-Crow (1989, 206).

[384] Arnold-Forster (1899), II, 531.

[385] Dingestow: *LL* 31 (*circa* 872, with gloss *Dynstow*), 43, 90, 227, 284 (*Lann Dinegat*); Richards (1969), 112. Chepstow: *LL* 32, 44 (*lan cinmarc*), 158 (*lanncinuarch*), 165. Chepstow is identified from its bounds. The first element is more likely to be a corruption of the saint's name than Old English for 'sheep', 'ship' or 'market' since it would be peculiar to find any of these in combination with a word for 'church', and 'church' appears to be the exclusive meaning of *stow* in this area. It would moreover explain the retention of hard -c- in the spelling of the name, if not its pronunciation.

[386] *LL* 165; Birch (1912), 125; Davies (1978), 132.

was later identified with Winwaloe. The place appears as *Gurthebiriuc Lanngunguarui super Trodi* in *Liber Landavensis*, where the second element of the first part of the compound appears to be Old English *birig* or *burh*.[387]

Bridstow church, situated alongside a stream some distance from the nucleated village bearing that name, is as the name indicates dedicated to Saint Brigit. In the list of Ergyng churches of the time of bishop Herewald (one of the latest elements of *Liber Landavensis*) it appears as *lannsanbregit* and *Lann sanfreit*.[388] The large, rectangular yard yields no obvious indication of British origin and Welsh name forms with medial *-san-* are commonly late translations.[389] If we may assume Bridstow to be the earliest designation for the place, then the topography of the site allows us to suppose the foundation of a church by a group of Old English speakers who ignored the common requirement of a raised or curvilinear yard. The examples of Bristol (contested) and the Devon places Bridestowe and Virginstow show that Brigit often appears in a *-stow* name or dedication. Whilst it may true that the saint was a favoured choice for new churches in areas caught between British and Anglo-Saxon influences, the cumulative evidence suggests that they are most usually foundations of the tenth century or later.[390]

As the examples of Bristol and Chepstow show, *stow*s could grow into significant nucleations, but the element appears more commonly to be applied to

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[387] *LL* 201; Wade-Evans (1910), 74; Dickens (1963), 209; Davies (1973b), 116-7.

[388] *LL* 275-6; Birch (1912), 231-2.

[389] Site assessment, August 1996; RCHME (1931), 28; Brook (1981), 142.

[390] Fisher (1906), 101. The dedication is also found from the area of Caldicot at (it would appear) the end of the ninth century (*LL* 235b).

isolated churches. This is particularly so with respect to the *stow* simplexes. The church of St. Michael at Stowe, near Knighton and just to the east of the Dyke, is such a case. Although its dedication is common to elevated sites throughout England and Wales, and not therefore diagnostic of either British or Anglo-Saxon origin, in central Britain Michael's most sustained cult appears to have been of between the eighth and tenth centuries.[391] In view of his extended popularity, the dedication would be a very weak criterion on which to assess the antiquity of a church, but in this case there are other factors that may lead us to suppose a comparatively early origin.[392]

The church is set on an ovoid terrace of 125 cm to the south, whilst traces of earlier masonry indicate the presence of an earlier and possibly ruinous building. Fragments of a small round-hooded window, incorporated into the northern nave wall near the transept, in what is clearly the oldest part of the present structure, suggest that this building is not likely to be later than the twelfth century.[393] That Stowe was originally an important church is indicated by the one-time subjection of the church at Knighton (Tref-y-Clawdd).[394] If the simplex name indicates the settlement of this area by Old English speakers, they appear thus to have adopted an existing church site and to have inserted themselves into an existing pattern of dispersed settlement.

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[391] Fisher (1906), 92-4; Finberg (1966), 463-4, 466; Davies (1978), 132; Brook (1981), 147, 150; Ortenberg (1992), 110-11.

[392] Gelling and Foxall (1990), 285-6.

[393] Round-hooded windows are discussed by Taylor and Taylor (1965, III, 836-9, 847-9, 853-7).

[394] *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, fol. 234[b] (Astle, Ayscough and Caley, 1802, 167); Eyton (1854), XI, 315-6; Wade-Evans (1910), 111. The relation of parish boundaries makes clear the artificiality of the Herefordshire-Shropshire-Radnorshire boundary in this area (see Kain and Oliver, 1995).

The occurrence of *Deowiesstow* for Saint David's in a charter of the early eleventh century illustrates how English speakers might translate names for Welsh religious sites formerly using *eglwys*-, *lann*- or *merthyr*-.[395] Although it is possible that the term survived late in English usage explicitly for this purpose and might merely indicate the dominance achieved by English speech in formerly Welsh speaking areas, the presence of Stowe simplexes and the use of the element with universal, and indeed the occasional Anglo-Saxon saint (as at Wistanstow in Shropshire) makes us wary of interpreting all instances in this light. The Llandaff forms *Lannpetyr* and *Lann Martin* precede the forms *Peterestow* (1207) and *Martinestowe* (1277), but it cannot be shown which are original, for names in *lan*- might equally indicate the return of Welsh speech.[396]

While it is preferable to see the term *stow* as adopted during a bilingual phase in which Anglo-Saxon influence was strong, yet populations and belief structures remained unchanged, the lateness of the records for many sites mean that no unimpeachable conclusions can be reached. Many, but by no means all of the *stows* are isolated churches, but in this as in other respects isolation appears to be part of a general dispersed settlement pattern and cannot always be correlated with the linguistic derivation of the place-name nor with the ethnicity of the saint.

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[395] S 913; Finberg (1961), 66 (no. 147); Grosjean (1961), 166. The context of the charter means that this place is hardly likely to be Dewstow near Caldicot (*pace* Dickens, 1963, 209).

[396] Charles (1963), 91; Coplestone-Crow (1989), 145, 166.

2.11.4 UNIVERSAL SAINTS

The problems of dating dedications to universal saints are acute, in the light of the ubiquity and longevity of their cults. Nevertheless, some cults, like that of Andrew, appear to have been favoured by the early Anglo-Saxon church.[397] One site with an Andrew dedication that shows early characteristics is Bredwardine. This place does not appear in *Liber Landavensis*, and has an Anglo-Saxon topographical name meaning 'plank settlement'.[398] The church sits in an elevated valleyside location overlooking the Wye, removed from the village that bears its name. Parts of its west and north walls (where there is herringbone masonry) appear to be of pre-Conquest date, and it is possible that the structure was rebuilt in the twelfth century, when a small castle was constructed to its northwest. The building of the castle here and repair of the church suggests the recognition of the site not only as one of strategic importance but also of religious significance. The churchyard would appear to have once formed a perfect oval, terraced to the south, yet rising with the lie of the land to the north where the intrusion of buildings has destroyed evidence of the completion of the circuit. The yard was of variable elevation, maxima of over 175 cm being found to the northwest and southeast, due to lifting by tree-roots, but generally elsewhere in the region of 100-125 cm. The yard's location and elevation suggest its early origin.[399]

A number of places with universal dedications also have names in *lan* and *stow*. These include Peter at Peterstow and Martin at Marstow, where the dedication, name

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[397] See Levison (1946, 262), and above, pp. 95-6.

[398] *pace* Coplestone-Crow (1989, 42-3).

[399] Site assessment, August 1996; RCHME (1931), 25-6; Taylor and Taylor (1963), 229-30; Parsons (1995), 65.

and location should be compared with Maristow in Devon.[400] Marstow does not appear among the memoranda of *Liber Landavensis*, but need not be presumed on this account to be post-Conquest.[401] This may similarly be said of Peterstow, but in this case the early character of the isolated site is more explicit.[402] Peter was a popular saint among the Anglo-Saxons, and the church at Peterstow has been judged to incorporate the megalithic remnants of an Anglo-Saxon structure at the base of its north wall.[403]

If such dedications are of Anglo-Saxon origin, they may highlight the adoption of favoured British churchyard form and situation, if of British origin, the assimilation of favoured Anglo-Saxon cults. In either event the juxtaposition of morphology, names and dedications argue for cultural exchange in the pre-Conquest period.

2.12 CONCLUSION

Nothing passed in review here supports the argument that either the Mercians or the West Saxons sought to maintain a hostile frontier against their immediate Welsh neighbours. Unlike the Northumbrian intrusion into the *Wreocensætan*, Mercian expansion does not appear to have taken the form of military conquest. Rather than correspond to an ethnic or political boundary, the Dyke may have divided communities living under Welsh and English law, as the Wye did the *Dunsætan*.

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[400] On the bank of the lower Tavy, a site of whose antiquity Pearce (1982a, 6-7) was convinced.

[401] *LL* 275; Birch (1912), 231; RCHME (1931), 199. The church was demolished in 1855.

[402] Ibid. The identification of Peterstow as the *Villa Iuduiu* of *LL* 184, an eighth-century memorandum (Rollason, 1974, 110; Davies, 1978, 174; 1979, 111), is not secure.

[403] RCHME (1931), 217; Taylor and Taylor (1963), 227, 242-3; (1965), II, 494-5; Parsons (1995), 66.

If the cults of those northern areas that had fallen under Northumbrian control in the seventh century seem to have been obscured, the evidence of the continuity of British cults is especially strong from the middle and south of the region. The strength of continuity, particularly of church sites and administrative units is such to suggest an atmosphere of co-operation, in which settlement by English speakers could take place but was not forced, in which areas like the *Wreocensætan* and *Magonsætan* that had been brought under direct Mercian rule at different times retained characteristics identifying them as of mixed heritage, and in which client units like Ergyng and the *Wentsætan* were free to conduct their religious affairs more or less as they wished.

The survival into the twelfth century of legends such as those of saints Clitauc, Tewdrig and Maughan, when combined with morphological and place-name evidence from church sites, and with evidence of Anglo-Saxon political and diplomatic contact suggests that the cults of British saints were fostered (or at least not actively discouraged) during a period of Anglo-Saxon influence or clientage, to which no start-date can confidently be assigned, but which appears to have been of some antiquity by time the 'Ordinance of the *Dunsæte*' was drawn up in the tenth century. The *Magonsætan* and the *Wreocensætan* had probably been in the same position in the eighth century as Ergyng and the *Wentsætan* in the tenth.

Up to the turn of the eleventh century, the phrase "permissive exclusivity" may be used to summarize Anglo-British ecclesiastical relations. [404] The birth of national identities meant that things went downhill thereafter. The *Canu Heledd* recollects

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[404] A contradiction that encapsulates the dominance of British saints in present-day Wales and the existence of British cults in present-day England. It suggests an undercurrent of co-operation rather than segregation, but at the same time evokes the continuing distinctiveness and vitality of both British and Anglo-Saxon cultural traditions.

events in the 630's-650's, when Northumbrian intervention wreaked havoc with the alliance-system of the British kingdom ruled from *Uroconium*, yet that the tradition remained vital suggests continued relevance. Its second layer may be its use in the eleventh century by a Powys that saw legitimate rights in lands east of the Dyke slapped down by an emergent sense of English national identity. Conversely, Welsh political community (now properly 'Welsh', rather than 'British') led, at around the same time, to the loss of Milburga's Welsh inheritance, and the bishops of Llandaff began to resent the legitimate jurisdiction of the church of Hereford in Ergyng.

CHAPTER THREE

SOUTHWESTERN BRITAIN c. AD 600-1050

3.1 ORIGINS AND CHARACTER OF THE WEST SAXON FRONTIER

For Hoskins and Finberg 'the expansion of Wessex' was the process whereby the West Saxons' border in the southwest receded between the seventh and ninth centuries, to encompass the political incorporation of all that lay behind it.[1] Hoskins talked of 'a large scale and systematic colonization by land-hungry settlers' after the battle of *Beandun*,[2] but Finberg realized that it would be wrong to see the southwestern frontier simply as one militarily gained and strategically filled by settlement.[3] It is again preferable to separate high politics and military strategy from the unrecorded day to day interaction of British and Anglo-Saxon populations. The battles of the Anglo-Saxon period (not, as their rarity indicates, normative experiences) in fact represent the attempt to exert authority over people whom a very lengthy period of co-existence had most probably rendered of questionable ethnic status. Political boundaries sought to rationalize existing situations in favour of the ascendant power.

The blood groups of a sample of families with Cornish names show a community with the populations of Devon and Somerset rather than with either Wales

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[1] Hoskins (1960); Finberg (1964b).

[2] *ASC* 614. Hoskins (1960), 11.

[3] Finberg (1964b), 103.

or Brittany,[4] whilst other genetically determined indicators demonstrate a division to the east of the southwestern peninsula where it marches with the core lands of Wessex.[5] These factors indicate that the underlying population profile of the southwest was stable and not the product of the political developments of between the sixth and tenth centuries. As the *-sæte* names Somerset and Dorset suggest, to talk of the West Saxon frontier in the southwest in ethnic terms might be questionable at the very least.[6]

The post-Roman kingdom of Dumnonia covered the present counties of Devon, Cornwall, Somerset and much of Dorset.[7] Egbert granted a number of estates in north and east Cornwall to the church of Sherborne,[8] and it is probable that the ninth century saw the end of native rule in eastern Dumnonia and the rulers of the remainder effectively clients of the West Saxon king. The battle of Hingston Down, recorded by the Chronicle in 835 was fought west of the Tamar and appears to be the last occasion on which a newsworthy confrontation occurred.[9] The last we hear of a Dumnonian ruler is of the drowning of a Dumgarth in 871.[10] There were no obstacles to Alfred's presence

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[4] Harvey, Smith et al. (1986), 189-90, 198; M. Smith (1991), 3-4. See Hoskins (1952, 300) for some physiological comment.

[5] Harvey, Smith et al. (1986), 190, 193, 196-8; Falsetti and Sokal (1993), 222, 224, 227.

[6] See chapter two above, p. 89. The 'summer dwellers' explanation of Hoskins (1960, 6) is not generally accepted.

[7] On Roman and post-Roman Dumnonia see Radford (1953c), Fox and Ravenhill (1972), Pearce (1978, 1-59) and Dark (1994b, 160-68).

[8] Finberg (1953), 16-17; (1964b), 105-6. The charters exist only as incorporated into later documents.

[9] *ASC*, *sub anno*.

[10] *AC* 875; Possibly the same as that commemorated on an inscribed stone near St. Cleer, Liskeard. See Croft-Andrew (1934, 115-6, 132), Stenton (1971, 341-2), Pearce (1978, 168), and Okasha (1993, 213-7).

in west Cornwall in the later ninth century, when the *Gesta Alfredi* records his visit to the church of saint *Gueriir* (Gwinear, Penwith).[11] By the time of his death there must be a presumption of West Saxon lordship throughout Cornwall, if not evidence that a large body of lands there were in the personal possession of the king. We might infer from the absence of evidence for secular landholding by Anglo-Saxon lords in the south and west of the county until the later tenth century that the crown held supervening rights, having acceded to the prerogatives of the Dumnonian kings. This may be the implication of the phrase 'and all that I have in Cornwall' (*ealle þe ic on wealcynne haebbe*) in Alfred's will.[12] Except in east and northeast Cornwall, where some Anglo-Saxon names form a stratum of early date, Old English speakers were never dominant, but we would be ill advised to interpret linguistic difference as necessary evidence of racial confrontation.[13]

The Tamar was an ineluctable administrative boundary. It had probably always been so in one form or another. The administrative division the river represents cannot in itself have been of the West Saxons' making, but has influenced the common explanation of the West Saxon frontier in lineal terms. When one considers that the *civitas* capital of the *Dumnonii* was at Exeter, *Isca Dumnoniorum*, and that Cornwall had remained outside Roman civil administration, it is plain that the Tamar had been established as a boundary by the time of the Roman withdrawal. If it is possible that the

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[11] Asser, § 74; Henderson (1929b); Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 254-5; Smyth (1995), 210-12. On the cult of Gwinear see *Acta SS* (Martii XXIII, 455-9) and Doble (1960, 100-110). On the place-name and dedication see Padel (1988, 93) and Orme (1992, 135-6; 1996, 38, 85). On the addition to this passage of the words *et nunc etiam sanctus Niot ibidem pausat*, see below, p. 251.

[12] London, British Library, Stowe MSS, 944 (*saec. xi ineunte*); BCS 553; Whitelock (1955), 493-4; Keynes and Lapidge (1983), 173-8.

[13] Hoskins (1960), 18-19; Alexander (1927), 271, 273; Picken (1956); Finberg (1964b), 106; Preston-Jones and Rose (1986), 140; Svensson (1987); Tonnerre (1990), 597-9; Padel (1991), 248-50.

unitary kingdom of Dumnonia was a creation of the Dumnonian king Geraint in the later seventh century, it is as likely that separate administrative units had been inherited by him.[14]

It is to William of Malmesbury and to similarly late sources that we owe the Tamar's identification as an ethnic frontier. William tells us that in 926, "departing from [Hereford], [Athelstan] turned towards the Western Britons who are called *Cornwalenses*.... Fiercely attacking, he obliged them to retreat from Exeter, which, until that time they had inhabited with equal privileges (*aequo cum iure*) with the English, fixing the boundary of their province on the other side of the river Tamar, as he had appointed the river Wye to the north Britons. This city, then, which he had cleansed by purging it of its contaminated race, he fortified with towers, and surrounded with a wall of squared stone."[15] We should not, I believe, doubt that William is here relaying -in suitably enhanced language- an earlier source. He may not be our most reliable witness, but he does not invent material, and for his account of Athelstan's reign is considered to have used lost poetic traditions.[16] We know Athelstan to have stayed in Exeter on a number of occasions,[17] but the passage as it stands is misleading.

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[14] On the differences between 'eastern and western Dumnonia' in the first century BC and later, see Salway (1981, 44-5).

[15] *GR*, § 134 (Stubbs, 1887, 148); Whitelock (1955), 281. Connor (1993, 24) translates 'when he had got the city cleaned up, the people having been relieved of their troubles...'. This cannot be justified from the Latin.

[16] Whitelock (1955), 277; Lapidge (1981), 62-81. On William's erudition and trustworthiness, see Thompson (1978, 1987).

[17] S 386-90, S 433. But see Chaplais (1966).

Firstly, William was most probably wrong to suppose some British living east of the Tamar to have risen up against Athelstan. As he had not assaulted the Welsh of Ergyng, neither did Athelstan launch a military action against the Cornish and physically push them across the Tamar (if that is in fact what William is saying). Exeter, and the whole of the east of the region had been subject to stable West Saxon rule for at least 250 years. There is no evidence that there was in Exeter ever a formally constituted 'quarter' set apart for Britons.[18] What we may have here is a statement that in or about 926, legal forms such as had existed since the days of Ine and which made special but less-privileged arrangements for Britons living amongst the Anglo-Saxons would either henceforward be introduced to Exeter, where Briton and Anglo-Saxon had previously held an equal value in law, or, more likely that laws in which special arrangements for Britons were made would henceforward only be applicable west of the Tamar, the area that is, in which the evidence of place-names suggests British speakers were in a majority.[19] Those east of it would henceforward be governed entirely by English law, and be reckoned Englishmen. If this was the case, it no doubt caused some resentment amongst those unassimilated Britons still living in Exeter (if there were any) and other places east of the Tamar, and (while this is unlikely) a number may have opted to move west. The manumission of a woman called *Abunet* in the city in the reign of king Eadwig may indicate that British names were still given within travelling distance of the town,[20] whilst the place-name *Walreddon* near Tavistock suggests that a British

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[18] Kerslake (1873), 215-25; Hoskins (1960), 21; Finberg (1964b), 110-11; Pearce (1973), 110-12; (1978), 169.

[19] Whitelock (1955), 367 (Laws of Ine, §§ 23.3, 24.2, 32, 33, 54.2, 74). Neither Alfred's nor Athelstan's own laws issued at Exeter make any reference to Britons.

[20] London, British Library, Cottonian MSS, Tiberius B.v (composite, *saec. xi*^{l}) fol. 75^{r}; Rose-Troup (1931), 194-5 (misinterpreted) and plate II; Whitelock (1955), 563.

community continued to exist in an area of West Saxon settlement.[21] The fortification of Exeter may have been entirely unconnected to the introduction of new laws, and need not be interpreted as a defensive action against recalcitrant Britons.

Manumissions performed at Exeter and at places in Devon near the river Tamar are interleaved into the Leofric Missal. Most of the second group are in the region of Tavistock and Lifton, but one, performed at Bradstone, mentions Trematon (*tref meu tune*) and Climsland (*clymes tune*), two estates on the western bank of the river, and a further took place at Tywarnhayle, near Newquay.[22] Although those six from Exeter occurring on fols. 1^{ab} and 377^{b} date to the mid eleventh century, those from the Tamar valley (fol. 8^{a}) are of different (and probably earlier) date. We can tell this

(i) because the leaf begins with a paragraph which does not appear to be connected to the *postcommunio* for the mass of St. Michael of which it ostensibly forms a part. If integral the piece would be highly irregular, for it is not saint Michael, but *beatorum apostolorum petri et pauli* whose intercession is invoked.

(ii) because it is worn and defaced, uniquely for this manuscript, and

(iii) because the style of the manumissions is different to those on the other leaves, which (with one exception) begin uniformly with the phrase *Her kyð on þisse bec*, being closer instead to those of the Bodmin Gospels, performed in the tenth century.[23]

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[21] Gover, Mawer and Stenton (1931), I, xx-xxiii, 248; Finberg (1964b), 110; Pearce (1982a), 4; Cameron (1980), 13-14, 29-30, 41. Supposedly from OE *Weala-raeden*, 'a community of Britons'. The emphasis on the second syllable shows British influence.

[22] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodleian MSS, 579 (composite, *saec. xi med.*). Haddan and Stubbs (1868), I, 688-91; Warren (1883), lvii-lix, 5-6; Hooke (1994), 225-6. Climsland was part of Tavistock's endowment in 981 (S 838, authentic).

[23] London, British Library, Additional MSS, 9381 (gospels, Brittany, *saec. ix exeunte*), fols. 1, 2, 3^{a}, 4^{b}, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13^{a}, 133^{b}, 141; Jenner (1925a), (1925b); Förster (1930); Whitelock (1955),

Two of the manumissions mention an Ordgar by name. Ordgar, ealdorman of Devon and Cornwall during the reign of king Edgar was well connected.[24] His daughter Ælfthryth had been married to Æthelwold, son of the powerful East Anglian ealdorman Athelstan Half-King, and this alliance may have been paralleled by that of Ordgar's son Ordwulf with an *Alvina* (Ælfwynn), whose name was traditional in the East Anglian family.[25] After ealdorman Æthelwold's death *circa* 962 (through illness or injury) the king sought Ælfthryth's hand in marriage. The birth of Æthelred from this union secured the family's position and we find Ordgar an assiduous witness at court and frequent visitor to the church at Bodmin where he set free slaves for the king. The places referred to in the Leofric manumissions are consistent with what else is known of the family's estate, which appears to have focussed in the Devon lands of the Tamar Valley. In short the evidence for the identification of this Ordgar as the father-in-law of King Edgar is equally strong (if not stronger) than that for Finberg's 'Ordgar II', a figure of the 1040's.[26] These factors combine to suggest that the leaf is misplaced from another manuscript. The biography of Ordgar places the Leofric manumissions in the 960's or 970's, but unlike those performed at Bodmin at around this time, the names of those manumitted in the Leofric Missal are, with the exception of *Ribrost* of the Tywarnhayle manumission, entirely English, confirming that by the third quarter of the tenth century, the Tamar no longer formed a linguistic boundary.

561-3; Wakeford (1993), 55-61; Hooke (1994), 70-82. We might compare *Þys sint [þara manna] naman ðe man freode for Ordgar* of the Leofric Missal with the Latin *Hoc est nomen [illius mulieris] quem liberavit Ordgar dux* from Bodmin (Förster, 1930, no. 17).

[24] On the family of Ordgar see Finberg (1943, 1964d) and Yorke (1988, 81), on Æthelwold, Hart (1973, 127-8) and on Ælfthryth, Hart (1977, 10-15, 54) and Stafford (1981, 17-20, 23-4).

[25] Known only from a thirteenth-century Tavistock deed. See Finberg (1964d, 189-93, 194, note 4).

The existence of trans-riverine estates demonstrates the fallacy of supposing the Tamar boundary to have been inviolable in the Anglo-Saxon period. Werrington is one such estate and its boundary in Cornwall seems to have cut an earlier unit by the name of Petherwin.[27] An analogous situation may be argued for Bridgerule, where the church stands on a plateau high to the east of the river and is part of a typical dispersed pattern, while a nucleated settlement bearing the same name sits on the west side of the river, in the valley adjacent to the bridge. The Tamar here is a shallow but broad and deeply set stream. The occurrence of the name *Bræg* in one of the Leofric manumissions declares settlement to have focussed upon the bridge rather than the church as early as 970. That a new place of worship was not founded in a more convenient location demonstrates the site's antiquity and the continuity of its use.[28]

As indicated by the author of the *Vita Sancti Kebii*, the Tamar was, by the twelfth century, perceived as the eastern boundary of the *regio Cornubiorum*.[29] Its geographical prominence meant that it should naturally be so considered, but this impression is not entirely borne out by the evidence of the tenth and eleventh centuries. A nomenclature which consists very widely of Celtic personal and topographic elements, suggests the furthest west of the region to have been subject to but little settlement by English speakers. The evidence of the Leofric manumissions and of trans-riverine estates indicates that the dividing line between lands of predominantly Old

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[26] Finberg (1943), 196; (1964d), 195-6. His arguments were evidently not accepted by Pearce (1982a, 4).

[27] Alexander (1927), 273; (1929); Finberg (1944); (1949); (1964c), 22-4.

[28] I am aware of the line of argument that might suggest Bridgerule to fall into the category of settlements at border-crossings, but think the presence of the church on the opposite side of the river renders it inapplicable in this particular case.

[29] *Vita Sancti Kebii* (*saec. xii ineunte*), § 1 (Wade-Evans, 1944, 235-6).

English and of predominantly British speakers must have fallen to the west of the Tamar, and that the presumed function of the river as a boundary of language and of secular administration was in practice obscured.

3.2 ITS RELATION TO ECCLESIASTICAL ORGANIZATION AND INSTITUTIONS

3.2.1 BISHOPS

We know there to have been bishops in seventh-century British Dumnonia subject to royal appointment and in communication with their West Saxon counterparts. Aldhelm had contacted King Geraint shortly after the synod of Hertford in 672 with the advice that he should bring his church's paschal calculation and the style of tonsure of *quidam sacerdotes et clerici* into line with those then established, in order to scotch certain rumours that had been making the rounds of the synod.[30] In his letter, he several times refers to Geraint's bishops (if this is indeed the meaning to be put on his use of *sacerdotes*) but does not indicate how many there were.

The journey of an anonymous West Saxon poet, uncertainly Aldhelm but doubtless a cleric, through 'dire Devon and barren Cornwall' in the 700's illustrates that the Dumnonian ruler had no objection to ecclesiastical dialogue with the West Saxons, which he confirmed by granting lands at Maker to the church of Sherborne.[31] The poem's reference *to Dumnonia et Cornubia* constitutes the first time that a distinction had been made between the east and west of the region, and points to the river Tamar as

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[30] Aldhelm, *Epistola ad Gerontium* (Ehwald, 1913, 481-6); Lapidge and Herren (1979), 140-43, 155-60; Lapidge and Rosier (1985), 140. As Cubitt (1995, 63, 261) recognizes, the identification of Aldhelm's *concilio episcoporum* with the Synod of Hertford (*HE* IV.5) is not secure, but is perhaps most likely.

[31] Aldhelm, *Carmina Rhythmica*, I (Ehwald, 1913, 524); Finberg (1964b), 100; (1953), 16.

a boundary of ecclesiastical administration. As there is little reason to suppose bishops subject to royal appointment not to have been territorial it is possible that there was at this time a bishop on either side of the river.

Birinus, bishop of the West Saxons in the early seventh century had been based at Dorchester.[32] The extent and terminology of the West Saxon dioceses changed as the kingdom matured. In 706 the see of the West Saxons had been split to the east and west of Selwood, and in 909 the western see was itself divided into those of Dorset (Sherborne), Somerset (Wells) and Devon and Cornwall (Crediton), the first two of which were co-extensive with units of secular administration then established. Crediton's was the largest of the new sees, and the seat of its bishop was far from its geographic centre. This anomaly can be explained most easily if we understand there already to have been a unitary ecclesiastical authority in the west of the region, and that it had been silently ignored.

The arrangement of 906 may therefore indicate that a British bishop functioned in *Cornubia* as a suffragan of Crediton, standing in a similar relationship to that of the Welsh bishop of Ergyng to Hereford. He does not appear to have been recognized in his own right until the tenth century when Athelstan allegedly appointed Conan *ealswa tamur scæt,* 'as far as the Tamar flowed'. This statement is found in an Old English *notificatio* sent from Dunstan to Æthelred regarding the progress of a dispute about the ownership of estates in east Cornwall. There can be little doubt that Conan was remembered as the first bishop to have been appointed by the West Saxon king, but whether this was actually the case is hard to say, for the phrase is an interpolation above

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[32] *ASC* 635; Stenton (1971), 400.

an erasure.[33] If the importance attributed the Tamar in this document may be thought to reflect the same traditions relayed by William of Malmesbury, the previous existence of a two-fold episcopal division in the southwestern peninsula that may be inferred from the confirmation of a bishop with a British name is nevertheless acceptable.

If, as may be supposed, West Saxon authority in Cornwall had, from the time of Alfred been based upon the rights of the king rather than the possessions of a resident Anglo-Saxon aristocracy, then the church in Cornwall is likely in fact to have been an important articulator of West Saxon political power.[34] In light of this, it is interesting that the see's period of independence within the Anglo-Saxon system (*circa* 920-1020) should coincide with the strengthening of West Saxon control after the final eclipse of Dumnonian (sub-) kingship, and the co-opting of the indigenous nobility.[35] After some years of plurality, the see of Cornwall was formally merged with Crediton in 1050 and removed to Exeter.[36] Political and ecclesiastical subsumption were now complete, and the Tamar need no longer function as an episcopal boundary.

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[33] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodleian MSS, Eng. Hist. a. 2. xiv (*saec. xi*). The date rests on Leland's interpretation of a charter seen by him, but now lost (Leland, *Collectanea*, I.71). See Napier and Stevenson (1895, 102-10), Robinson (1918, 27), Darlington (1936, 425), Whitelock (1955, 822), Finberg (1964b, 112), Chaplais (1966, 16-19), and Olson (1989, 63).

[34] See also Wakeford (1993, 2-10).

[35] S 755, S 770. Padel (1978, 25, note 22) lists the Anglo-Cornish names that identify some of these people to us.

[36] See Chaplais (1966, 28-31) for a negative assessment of the Exeter charter recording the transfer.

3.2.2 THE *MONASTERIUM* AT BODMIN

The bishops of Cornwall were associated with the *monasteria* of Bodmin and St. Germans, respectively in central and southeastern Cornwall. *Dinuurrin*, thought to be Bodmin first enters recorded history as the seat of a bishop Kenstec who professed obedience to Canterbury in the mid ninth century.[37] The earliest ecclesiastical settlement at Bodmin appears to have been at Berry Mount above the town. There is no archaeological evidence of fortification here and *berry* (*burh*) is consequently unlikely to represent the element *din* (fort), conventionally applied to a secular stronghold. It might however have been applied to the Iron Age, and possibly post-Roman fortification 1.5 km to its southeast known as 'Castle Canyke'.[38] The name-elements -*uurrin* and -*gerein* are no longer thought to be interchangeable in early Cornish, and whilst it is therefore unlikely that *Dinuurrin* represents the 'fort of a secular ruler called Geraint', that an important and probably episcopal church should rub shoulders with an elite secular settlement is a model widely attested across western Britain.[39] The name Bodmin (OC *bos-menegh*) is most likely to mean 'settlement on or adjacent to church land', rather than 'dwelling of monks', although the latter was certainly how the name was understood by the twelfth century.[40] Its use is attested from two manumissions of the first half of the eleventh century, where it appears to distinguish the church of the

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[37] Canterbury, Cathedral Library MSS, Register A (*Prior. et Convent.*), fol. 292; Haddan and Stubbs (1868), I, 674; Olson (1989), 51-2. He need not have been the first.

[38] Munn (1977), 32; Olson (1989), 53-4. The derivation is unclear. When Hals and Tonkin were writing in the eighteenth century, the fortification was known as 'Castle Kynock' probably by assimilation to the eponym of Boconnoc near Bodmin. Cynock was a supposed disciple of Petroc (Gilbert, 1838, 77-9, 95).

[39] O. Padel, cited by Olson (1989, 52). *Dingerein Castle* on the south coast, appears to be a modern reflection deriving from the adjacent name Gerrans and a mention of *portum vocatum din gerein* in the twelfth-century Llandaff *Vita Teiliavi* (*LL* 114); Doble (1964) 79, 86-8; Olson and Padel (1986), 45; Padel (1988), 87; Orme (1992), 134-5; Dark (1994a), 122, 159.

[40] *mansio monachorum* in the *Vita* (*Secunda*) *Sancti Petroci* (§ 20). See Ekwall (1960, 51), Padel (1988, 55) and Olson (1989, 55, 108-9).

lay settlement *on tune* in the valley (subsequently the site of the Priory) from the earlier hill-top ecclesiastical settlement known from the nearby hill-fort as *Dinuurrin*.[41]

The lands of the Camel valley to Bodmin form a discrete parcel retained in the possession of the priory of Bodmin and later of the Bishop of Exeter. This may in part correspond to the area once served by Bodmin as a mynster church, in origin perhaps a multiple estate, extending from moor to coast.[42] Records of manumissions at Bodmin, enable a detailed picture to be constructed of the function and character of the community in the tenth century. A chronology for the clerical witnesses of these memoranda demonstrates that a core of about five persons was at the church at all times, and that others were there only on important occasions.[43] The members of the community generally have British or biblical names, and with one exception are accorded non-monastic ecclesiastical grades.[44] Their careers suggest that *presbiter* was the highest rank usually attained. That those with this rank are generally less frequent attestees may demonstrate that they resided elsewhere. Those living communally at the main church (the most regular attestees) are termed *clerici*.[45] The picture the witness-lists paint is consistent with that of a developed Anglo-Saxon mynster, in which a significant number of priests lived in the community but returned to collect consecrated

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[41] Förster (1930), nos. 30, 33 and 26 (*circa* 960) respectively; Olson (1989), 71-2. On the later history of Bodmin, see Henderson (1935, 1936) and O'Hara (1985); on the church at Berry, Adams (1961, 1964).

[42] Kain and Oliver (1995), 86.

[43] Wakeford (1993), Appendix II.

[44] On the names, see Jenner (1925b, 241, 255-60).

[45] Wakeford (1993), Appendix II.

water as provided for in the tenth-century codes. The presence of a range of other officers (pupil, reader, dean) indicates that the church was of high status.

We know the church at Bodmin to have been episcopal at the time of Kenstec's profession and whilst this cannot certainly be inferred from the memoranda, the association there of the two bishops Wulfsige-Comoere and Burhwold with the community probably indicate this status to have been retained.[46] Wulfsige-Comoere appears to have been a priest of Bodmin before assuming his office, and during Edgar's reign he is a frequent witness of these transactions (which of course were not the most important affairs a bishop had to deal with).[47]

It is important to recognize the role played in Bodmin's affairs by the West Saxon royal family and nobility in the tenth century. There exists a charter recording Athelstan's grant of land to the community about *æt Nywantune* (Newton-Saint-Petroc) but it is not genuine.[48] In the memoranda however, we find the names of all the kings from 941-1016 with the exception of Edward the Martyr. Lay manumittors with English names appear in thirteen entries, as witnesses in a further eight, and once as party to a dispute.[49] If a story in the twelfth-century *Miracula Sancti Petroci* is to be believed, king Edgar had ordered a new casket to be made for St. Petroc's relics and had his own

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[46] Burhwold appears in Förster (1930), no. 22; Whitelock (1955), 563 (no. 148).

[47] Wulfsige was present as bishop at eight transactions. In one 'bishop Wulfsige and the clerks of St. Petroc' set free four female slaves (Förster, 1930, no. 16). On the gloss identifying him as *Comoere* see Picken (1986).

[48] Exeter, Dean and Chapter Library MSS, 2518 (*saec. xi*^{2}); S 388; Chaplais (1966), 12; Hooke (1994), 144-7.

[49] Wakeford (1993), 43.

name embossed upon it.[50] The manumissions indicate that central and eastern Cornwall had by the end of the tenth century been absorbed into the English administrative structure and that the church was an important part of that structure. This is consistent with the toponymic evidence from this area.

The profession of Kenstec had described an *episcopalem sedem in gente Cornubia in monasterio quod appellatur Dinuurrin*. This was not the only occasion on which the the bishop of Cornwall was referred to as holding his office *in monasterio*. A charter of Æthelred II, issued it would appear, in response to the *notificatio* of Dunstan refers to the king's hope that in future the bishop should *gubernat atque regat suam parochiam sicuti alii episcopi qui sunt in mea ditione*.[51] Although the context suggests that part of the import of the statement was that the bishop should not become involved in unseemly disputes requiring royal intervention, it is possible that the emphasis laid in the charter on the *locus atque regimen Sancti Petroci*, into whose power the disputed lands were delivered suggests that the problem might have been linked to the rival claims of the communities at Bodmin and St. Germans to primacy within the see. For, as the *notificatio* states, the dispute had arisen upon the elevation of Wulfsige, a priest of Bodmin to episcopal office. Together with an emphasis on the physicality of the bishop's seat (the *bisceopsteole*), apparent from this document, this might indicate that the Cornish bishop exercised his ministry at more than one place, and suggests that a type of mobile territorial episcopacy obsolete in other parts of Anglo-Saxon England lingered longer in Cornwall. There is nevertheless, no evidence that the *monasteria* of

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[50] *Miracula Sancti Petroci*, § 3 (Grosjean, 1956a, 173); Doble (1965), 158.

[51] S 880; Haddan and Stubbs (1868), I, 683-6; Keynes (1980), 251. See Chaplais (1966, 19-21), O'Donovan (1988, lvi) and Olson (1989, 73-8) for discussion of this important document.

Cornwall were in their internal organization or pastoral function in any sense different from their Anglo-Saxon counterparts.[52]

3.2.3 PARISHES

Parishes were probably not established as fixed geographic units in Devon and Cornwall until the thirteenth century or later, but it is clear that a system of local places of burial and congregation had been in place from at least the tenth century.[53] A hybrid charter issued at Athelney for the Cornish lord of Lanlawren between 924 and 939 was thus made to his local church of *S. Heldenus* (probably Lansallos near Fowey).[54] As established by the important Breton *aide-memoire* edited by Olson and Padel, the naming of local places of worship after saints had already occurred in the Roseland and St. Austell areas by the early tenth century, irrespective of the likelihood that these sites were still formally subject to a local mynster.[55] In the case of Lanlawren, the present parish boundaries are seen to impose themselves across a natural unit. Although the definition of the units which they served would appear to be later, parochial churches

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[52] Napier and Stevenson (1895), 106-7; Whitelock (1955), 822-3.

[53] Preston-Jones and Rose (1986), 160.

[54] Oxford, Phillipps MSS, 4810, 119 (*saec. xviii*); S 1207; Padel (1978, 1979), Olson (1989), 84, 104.

[55] Rome, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensis MSS, Latinus 191 (*saec. ix/x*), fol. ii^{rv}. See Olson and Padel (1986) and Olson (1989, 56-60). Henceforward referred to as 'the tenth-century list'. The editors' justification for preferring a Cornish scribe (*pace* the more cautious statement in Olson, 1989, 57) rests only on the relation of the saints named to southeastern Cornwall since the orthography does not show the influence of Anglo-Saxon speech present in the tenth-century manumissions. It would of course be nice to have a piece of genuine early medieval Cornish, but that this is one remains unproven.

seem early to have acquired an independent legal status and their commemoration of particular saints might appear to claim some antiquity.[56]

The examination of the sites and dedications of parish churches on either side of the Tamar would hence appear to be a valid method of refining the status of the river as a frontier. For this purpose the fifty-seven church-sites of or within 10 km east of the river or north and east of the shortest line from its source to the northern coast (a distance of 7 km) were assessed for curvilinearity (from the Tithe Maps) and elevation (from fieldwork). The results were compared with those published by Preston-Jones for yards in Cornwall.[57]

Accepting that the evidence for dedications is -except in a very few cases- late, and that there are many that are unrecoverable, there would still appear to be some distinction to be drawn between those east and west of the Tamar. We note between four and seven characteristically British saints to the east (between six and nine dedications), and eleven to the west.[58] The cult of universal saints whilst similar overall, shows some differences in the choice of patrons. The favoured Anglo-Saxon dedicatee Andrew is almost twice as well represented east of the river, and Peter is unknown to its west. Andrew is however more heavily represented in this area than in Cornwall as a whole. Mary, a dedication particularly common in Anglo-Saxon England in the tenth

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[56] See Wakeford (1993, 17-24).

[57] Brook (1992); Preston-Jones (1992). See Appendix C below, and for the method, C (I), notes 1 and 2.

[58] It has been argued (Kerslake, 1873; Pearce, 1982a, 12) that the commemoration of Pancras is a British feature, but the place-name Pancrasweek (*Pancradeswike* in 1197) is insecure. It appears to mean not '*wic* of St. Pancras', but '*wic* of a man called Pancheard'. See notes to *DB Devon*, 34.2.

century, is found in equal proportions,[59] while Michael is almost twice as likely to the west than to the east, the reverse incidentally of the overall picture for Devon and Cornwall. The dearth of ethnically Anglo-Saxon saints is noticeable on both sides of the river, but we should not in any case expect to find many in a sample of this size.

The dedications present a confusing and not readily reducible picture. They do not appear to bear any consistent relationship with linguistic, topographical and morphological factors. The lesser density of common universal dedicatees to the west might, when combined with the greater incidence of the less common British saints suggest that we are studying the overlaying of an existing stratum of British cults by Anglo-Saxon, incompletely achieved. The marginally greater cult paid west of the river to British saints might have resulted organically from the survival of British speaking communities into the tenth century, when Breton cults like Melor (Linkinhorne), Samson (South Hill) and Melaine (St. Mellion) were received, but could also reflect the exercise of diocesan authority. The late date of these dedications means that it would however be unwise to set too much by this.

There is plainly a greater proportion of curvilinear yards to the west of the river. Although individual yards (St. Buryan, Merthyr Uny, Tintagel) have in the past been assigned particular chronological contexts, it cannot be established whether on the whole this represents the continuance of a British structural tradition during a period when settlement, political control or cultural influence had made it less common east of the river (i.e. prior to the ninth century), whether (if they were already in existence) there had always been more curved yards to the west, or whether the practice continued

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[59] On the cult, see Clayton (1990, 127, 131-5).

west of the river longer than in the east irrespective of questions of political control. If the latter is perhaps most probable, the reasons for it remain beyond our reach. They are as likely to have resulted from entrenched local practice as from cultural dissonance.

Curvilinearity would hence appear to be treacherous as a dating criterion, and whilst it might be justifiable on other grounds to envisage West Saxons utilizing existing religious foci, this should not be assumed from the morphology of church-sites. The significance of the proportion of raised or curvilinear yards among the fifty-seven studied east of the Tamar could only be realized as part of a complete survey of Devon yards.[60] The greater frequency of rectilinear yards in eastern than central Cornwall, combined with the presence of a number of dedications and place-name elements of Anglo-Saxon origin is nevertheless not inconsistent with the view of this area as one of Anglo-Saxon influence. The persistence of large riverine estates east of the river (most frequently including a British river-name) would tentatively confirm that socio-economic structures were stable and not disturbed by the transition from British to West Saxon political control.

A recent commentator's assessment that 'Cornwall is a county of many Celtic dedications, while Devon contains the kinds found commonly in areas settled by the Anglo-Saxons,' is broadly correct. In general profile and in the importance of saints like Peter, Mary, Andrew and Michael, dedications east of the Tamar do indeed reflect national (English) proportions.[61] It will be seen from the reference to 'settlement by the

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[60] As it stands the application of 'British' to the raised curvilinear yard is misleading because the only areas to have been studied for these features are those within or on the borders of historically British areas. See Glossary, 'Lan'.

Anglo-Saxons' however that the statement arises from the questionable assumptions (i) that the Tamar marks the westernmost extent of 'Anglo-Saxon settlement', settlement in this use being defined as the arrival of new population groups, and (ii) that there is necessarily an equivalence between the ethnic profile of a saint and that of his congregation or sponsor. In the present state of knowledge the first assumption cannot be disproved, but the genetic profile of the region makes it at least as likely that we should be talking about shifts in identities, of the influence of English language and custom as about population movements. The second can be elucidated by examining in more detail the cults of a number of saints from the region. For ease of exposition, the rest of this chapter uses a logical if subjective ethnic classification.

3.3 BRETON SAINTS

Athelstan was in Leland's day remembered at Bodmin as a great benefactor of the church.[62] Some five centuries earlier, Cornish clerks may even have been responsible for a eulogy in his memory.[63] He donated important relics to Winchester, Glastonbury and to Exeter, and it seems, took great personal pride in his own collection.[64] No account of the king appears to have been complete without reference to his ecclesiastical patronage. Relics like the *vexillum* of St. Mauricius may have come through formal diplomatic channels,[65] but an Old English relic list from Exeter also describes how Athelstan sent emissaries far and wide with the explicit purpose of

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[61] Levison (1946), 259-65; Orme (1996), xiii, 33.

[62] Smith (1907), I, 180.

[63] Lapidge (1981), 85-6.

[64] Whitelock (1955), 561 (no. 140); Rollason (1986a), 92.

[65] William of Malmesbury, *GR* § 135 (Stubbs, 1887, 149-51); Loomis (1950); Whitelock (1955), 281-2; Wood (1983), 266-7; Rollason (1986a), 93.

purchasing relics of the saints.[66] Ultimately, it was to the Vikings that Athelstan owed his reputation as a collector. Frankish sources indicate that between the years 913 and 937 Brittany was subject to a sustained Scandinavian assault which left more than a handful of bishops dead, their seats abandoned, their communities dispersed.[67] There can be little doubt that while many Bretons remained *absque rectore et defensore* to cultivate the fields in thrall to the Scandinavians, the countryside too was depopulated.[68] This dislocation sent the native rulers (*machtierns*) of Brittany into exile, and ultimately was to deprive the Bretons of what limited independence they had hitherto enjoyed from the Carolingians.

Whilst many sought refuge in the interior, some Breton clerics and noblemen appear to have preferred to seek support from across the sea rather than enter the embrace of their powerful Frankish neighbours or dynastic enemies.[69] In or about 925 the prior of the church of Dol, describing himself as *in exulatu atque captivitate nostris... peccatis in Frankia* penned an appeal to Athelstan, accompanied by relics,[70] while the Chronicle of Nantes relates how the Scandinavians of the Loire, *viri diabolici crudelissimique et perversi homines... totam Britanniam devastavarunt; fugientesque*

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[66] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium MSS, D.2.16, fols. 8^{r}-14^{r} (gathering of *circa* 1010 in manuscript of *circa* 1030); Pedler (1856), 115-8; Förster (1943), 63-5; Loomis (1950), 448; Thomas (1974), 95; Rollason (1986a), 92; Connor (1993), 176-7.

[67] Musset (1971), 173-5, 227-30; McKitterick (1983), 245-7; Chédeville and Guillotel (1984), 374-89.

[68] See the sources cited by Baring-Gould and Fisher (1907, III, 501), and also, *Vita Sancti Ronani*, § 12 (Grosjean, 1953, 396).

[69] For the continental itineraries see Chédeville and Guillotel (1984, 388, map).

[70] Preserved only by William of Malmesbury, *GP* V, § 249 (Hamilton, 1870, 399-400; BCS 643; Whitelock, 1955, 821-2) but thought reliable. See also Lot (1899, 64), Gougaud (1923a, 607) and Robinson (1923, 72).

inde prae pavore Normannorum territi comites, vicecomites ac machtiberni omnes dispersi sunt per Franciam, Burgundiam et Aquitaniam. Fugit autem tunc temporis (some time later than 924, possibly 931) *Mathuedoi, comes de Poher ad regem Anglorum Adelstannum cum ingenti multitudine Britonum, ducens secum filium suum, nomine Alanum, qui postea cognominatus est Barbatorta... quem ipse rex Adelstannus iam prius ex lavacro sancto susceperat.*[71] As the last statement indicates, Athelstan's relations with the Bretons must already have been close, and he is likely to have built on existing contacts. Alan, at least, had clearly spent most of his youth in England.

Breton hopes for English military intervention were not to be entirely disappointed for, as Flodoard relates, in 936, *Brittones a transmarinis regionibus, Alstani regis praesidio, revertentes terram suam repetunt.*[72] *Cum his Britannis, qui ibidem [in Anglia] adhuc superstites erant,* Alan Barbetorte returned to Brittany and was elected leader of the Bretons the following year.[73] His re-establishment must, one supposes, have met with the agreement of the West Frankish royal house, the English relationship with which had been previously cemented by marriage. Our sources therefore enable us to suppose with some confidence the presence of a community of important Breton exiles at the English court. They also establish the context in which "the bodies of the saints of lesser Brittany and of that part of Gaul which is now called Normandy were translated and removed to safer places, and so were easily sold to anyone who wished to purchase them from the poverty of their bearers, and more

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[71] *Chronicon Namnetense*, § 27 (Merlet, 1896, 82-3); Whitelock (1955), 317; Irien (1986), 183. On the reliability of this fragmentary work, see Merlet (1896, lxi-lxiv) and Chédeville and Tonnerre (1987, 10-11).

[72] *Annales*, § MΓ (Lauer, 1905, 63-4); Whitelock (1955), 316.

[73] *Chronicon Namnetense*, § 29 (Merlet, 1896, 88-9); Whitelock (1955), 317.

especially to Athelstan, a king in good reputation, and one who eagerly coveted such commodities."[74] According to a life of St. Gudwal, written at Blandin, Ghent in the twelfth century, a Breton monk was at this time apprehended in the process of purloining the bodies of saints Gudwal and Bertulf from Montreuil, with the intention of selling them to king Athelstan.[75]

It is clear that any upheaval in maritime Brittany must have generated increased traffic across the western seaways. The Breton language was, in the tenth century probably yet identical with that spoken in southwestern England, and it is inherently likely that not insignificant numbers of ordinary Bretons should have arrived as refugees along the southern and more especially the southwestern coasts. In Cornwall, they will have been linguistically invisible.[76] Amongst them were doubtless men in holy orders, the remnants of dispersed Breton communities. The litanies of Salisbury, Cathedral MSS, 180 (Brittany, *saec. x ineunte*), and of a destroyed manuscript of the tenth century once at Rheims, together with the obscure *Maioc*, *Ermolan*, *Sigebran* and *Conogan* of the Exeter relic-lists are illustrative of the obscure cults the refugees must have brought with them.[77]

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[74] William of Malmesbury, *GR* § 138 ('B' recension only); Stubbs (1887), I, 155; Migne (1844), vol. 179, cols. 1105-6; Stevenson (1853), 122. On the chronology of the emigration (particularly into Francia), see Lot (1899, 61-6) and Smith (1992, 199).

[75] Doble (1960, 69-70), where it is also suggested that the *Wtuuali confessoris* of the Exeter relic lists is the former saint.

[76] Stenton (1971), 348; Irien (1986), 183; Olson and Padel (1986), 39.

[77] Gasquet and Bishop (1908), 54-7; Thomas (1974), 96-7; Lapidge (1991), 261, 292-3; Connor (1993), 186. The Breton manuscripts arriving in England at this time are listed by Smith (1992, 197-8).

The names of the 'tenth-century list' include a number of Breton saints and it is clear that if they were the patrons of known religious sites, many of the apparently Cornish names in the list (unidentified saints of whom nothing further is known) were to be replaced fairly soon afterwards by more familiar figures. Whatever his purpose in Cornwall, the presence of this Breton note-taker alerts us to the involvement of Breton clergy, and makes more likely the possibility that some Cornish commemorations resulted from the reception of displaced Bretons.

It is therefore plausible that a large number of relics, some of more importance than others (but all of course equally important to those bringing them) should have arrived in southwestern England (and particularly in Cornwall) at this time. Nor should we expect to receive notice of all of them in Anglo-Saxon sources. Athelstan was interested in acquiring relics of prestige and undoubted authority, and it is these which we find him donating to his own metropolitan and southwestern communities. This does not mean that many lesser relics cannot have been brought to the southwest, and that the interest they attracted, when combined with the presence of refugees from their Breton places of origin, cannot have led to Breton traditions taking root at places that subsequently acquired a dedication or name advertising their association with the saint.

3.3.1 SAINT MELOR

Of Melor, we are explicitly told that *post multorum annorum curricula, predicatores alienigene scrinium cum reliquiis sancti Melori circumquaque deferentes, peragratis terrarum tractibus iniunctum sibi officium exercentes Ambrisburiam tandem devenerunt, et super altare reliquias sanctas posuerunt.*[78]

The story of the travelling Breton clerics is also found in the lives of St. Edith (of the twelfth century and later) where it describes the arrival at tenth-century Wilton of the relics of Iwi.[79] It is probably not to be credited here, since Amesbury was not founded until *circa* 979, and the relics might be presumed to have left Brittany some sixty years earlier. They were certainly at Amesbury however by the eleventh century, when they are recorded in the last entry of the *Secgan.*[80] The source from which John of Tynemouth derived the information for his fourteenth-century *vita* is not extant, so it cannot be determined at what date the tradition arose. His statement therefore constitutes simply a recognition of the relics' Breton origin.

The biographical material used by Melor's (hypothetical) pre-Conquest hagiographer was unashamedly derived from a Breton tradition, extant in a *vita* of the thirteenth century.[81] Replete as it is with material derived from classical mythology, this tradition is worth little even as hagiography, but it does establish the cult's Breton

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[78] John of Tynemouth, *De Sancto Meloro martire* (Horstmann, 1901, II, 183-5); Gougaud (1920), 275; Doble (1964), 24. The least confusing treatment of the sources for the life of Melor is Diverres (1968).

[79] Wilmart (1938), 273-4.

[80] Liebermann (1889), 19-20; Rollason (1978), 93.

[81] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Lat. 13789 (*saec. xiv*); Plaine (1886), 167-75.

context beyond doubt, and constitutes evidence that important relics (including the saint's head) must have remained in Brittany. As Doble has shown, Melor the martyr prince was one of three Breton saints of the name. Since the tradition preserved in the earliest manuscript cannot be dated, there exists the possibility that it displaced those relating to a similarly-named saint in the post-Conquest period.[82] Melorius, legendary successor of Samson at Dol, and a bishop culted at Redon represent more likely identifications for a saint whose tradition is so evidently apocryphal.[83] We might note in this regard that the *Secgan* describes Melor as *confessor* rather than *martyr*.

Of the two places in Cornwall bearing his name or dedication, one, Mylor near Falmouth is mentioned in the 'tenth-century list', while Linkinhorne, in central Cornwall east of Bodmin Moor bears a name which indicates that Melor has displaced an earlier patron.[84] Although the fourteenth-century Exeter martyrology acknowledged that the relics were at Amesbury, the celebration of the saint in the city was marked by the transformation of the Breton Cornouaille into Cornwall and the provision of the unidentified *Cobloyd* (by assimilation to a personal name recorded in the Breton tradition) as the place where Melor was deprived of his hand.[85] These dedications and commemoration may represent the presence in pre-Conquest Cornwall of relics, communicants or clergy of Breton churches celebrating St. Melor, possibly from the cult's centre at Lanmeur.

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[82] Doble (1964), 34-7; Olson and Padel (1986), 47.

[83] Doble (1964), 51.

[84] Padel (1988), 110; Wormald (1938), 20.

[85] Manuscripts listed in Diverres (1968, 176, note 12).

3.3.2 SAINT RUMON

St. Rumon's fame is bound up with that of the abbey at Tavistock in Devon. Sheltering on the favoured western flanks of Dartmoor, the name of the settlement indicates it to have been a constituent unit of a large riverine estate. The later part of the *Secgan* lists the presence of Rumon's relics at Tavistock in the eleventh century, and whilst the church's original dedication was to St. Mary, it was clearly about Rumon's cult that the pre-Conquest fortunes of the mynster were based.[86] Tavistock church is known to have borne the double dedication of St. Mary and St. Rumon from at least 1160, and it was Rumon rather than Mary that the community planted at *Leghe* (now Romansleigh) near South Molton, one of the estates of the original endowment, and again at Rumonsleigh near Tavistock.[87]

The only tradition with which William of Malmesbury returned from his visit to Tavistock around 1120 was that the saint buried there was a bishop.[88] It is plain therefore that little store is to be set by the *Vita* for him assembled (most probably) at Tavistock sometime in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. It interests us only in that it provides an account of how the community at Tavistock believed it had obtained Rumon's relics and in that, in so far as he piratizes the Breton life of Ronan, a collection of legends assembled at Quimper towards the close of the eleventh century, the author

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[86] Liebermann (1889), 17-18; Rollason (1978), 92. Relics were also claimed by Glastonbury (Thomas, 1974, 493).

[87] *DB Devon*, 5.10; Grosjean (1953), 371; Orme (1996), 195, 207. Tavistock's other Domesday churches have a variety of dedicatees and so it cannot be established that this was part of a program of dedication.

[88] William of Malmesbury, *GP* II, § 95 (Hamilton, 1870, 202).

of the *Vita Rumonis* makes an explicit statement that the saint of Tavistock was believed to be of Breton origin.[89]

The Tavistock author follows the Breton *vita* in his account of how Rumon's relics were translated out of Brittany at the time of Viking attack, and of how the head and then the rest of the body was returned at length to Quimper (*Confluencia*) in Cornouaille. He tells us that all of Rumon's relics were held at Tavistock apart from the head, and thus identifies them with the second group of relics mentioned by the Breton author. Translated from Quimper and installed *in ecclesia villae quae dicitur Lanrihorn* the relics stayed in *Cornubia Maioris Britanniae* until they were noticed by Ordulf, *comes Cornubiae et Devoniae adiacentis* who had the shrine removed to Tavistock.[90] In light of what is known of the lands of the family of Ordwulf, the description of his office as limited to Cornwall and Devon west of the moor rings particularly true. As there are no historical reasons to impugn the Tavistock account, it is possible that the return of the second group of relics to Quimper, mentioned by the tenth-century Breton author was an obfuscation designed to conceal their continued absence. It is also possible that some relics were retrieved from Cornwall before the *vita*'s composition. There clearly is the presumption in the Breton account that they had once been translated to some place at further remove than the head, for what reason could there otherwise be for introducing this complication?

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[89] The anonymous *Vita Sancti Rumonis* is found only in Gotha, Landesbibliothek MSS, I. 81 (*saec. xiv med.*), fols. 148^{v}-150^{r} (Grosjean, 1953, 359-414; Doble, 1962, 126-9). On the location of the hagiographer, see again Doble (1962, 132).

[90] *Vita Sancti Rumonis*, §§ 8, 11 (Grosjean, 1953, 396-7).

Dedications to Ronan are relatively numerous in western Brittany and include one to an (allegedly distinct) Rumon, but his modern cult centred on Locronan (east of Douarnenez) whose church still houses his 'tomb'.[91] This was doubtless the oratory Ronan was believed to have built *iuxta magnam silvam vocabulo Nemeam* (the Forêt de Nevet), and the element *loc-* possibly establishes the antiquity of the commemoration.[92] Ruan Major, Ruan Minor (in the Lizard) and Ruan Lanihorne (near Falmouth), the chief places in Cornwall at which his commemoration is found are on the south coast and could have been reached without difficulty from Locronan.[93] It is therefore not at all improbable that relics of Ronan should have crossed the Channel in the early tenth century, in time for his commemoration (it is considered as patron of Ruan Lanihorne) to enter the Vatican manuscript's list.[94] That Ronan's cult in Cornwall is not primary may be confirmed by the name of Ruan Lanihorne itself, where the saint is prefixed to the *lan* of another patron.[95]

Although Ordwulf is commemorated as the founder of the mynster at Tavistock (thus *ASC* 997), William of Malmesbury believed the church already to have existed in

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[91] Baring-Gould and Fisher (1907), IV, 122-4. The Rumon dedication at Audierne is there supposed to be the result of some connection with Tavistock.

[92] *Vita Sancti Rumonis*, §§ 1, 7 (Grosjean, 1953, 393, 396). The reading (Thomas, 1994, 251-2) of the quoted phrase to indicate Lanivet (*Lan* | *Nevet*: 'church by the sacred wood') in Cornwall is probably unsustainable, since the author makes it fairly clear that the site of the oratory was the focus of Rumon's cult. The *magnam silvam* existed first and foremost in shared tradition. It was, like Brocéliande, a semi-mythical place from which any number of actual woods might have been named.

[93] Doble (1962), 121. Rumon may arguably also be commemorated at Polruan, near Fowey (Baring-Gould and Fisher, 1907, IV, 120; Padel, 1988, 141).

[94] Olson and Padel (1986), 46; Olson (1989), 103.

[95] Doble (1962), 123; Padel (1988), 151, although it is there suggested that Lanihorne represents the name of the manor at a nearby but distinct place, added to avoid confusion with either of the other two Ruans.

Ordgar's day, and it may be for this reason that it is Mary rather than Rumon who features in Æthelred's foundation charter for Tavistock, of 981.[96] As William retails other traditions that can only have come from Tavistock itself, there is reason to credit his chronology.[97] The importance of the church of Tavistock confirms the symbiosis of Anglo-Saxon political and religious power in and west of the Tamar Valley in the tenth century established from the Leofric and Bodmin manumissions.[98] Ordwulf may, one ventures, have become interested in Rumon through the transcription of his name as *Romanus* in Latin, which declared him a suitably orthodox dedicatee for the re-founded church.[99] The relics constituted a tangible focus that the cult of the Virgin could never provide. Though Rumon's feast had reached Canterbury by the early thirteenth century, where it was inserted into an eleventh-century calendar, and though Glastonbury claimed relics by the fourteenth, his cult otherwise remained local to Devon and Cornwall.[100]

In this instance, there can be little doubt that we are watching the promotion of the cult of a British saint by a prominent Anglo-Saxon nobleman, but there were probably more mundane reasons for it than political calculation. After all, by the 980's,

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[96] Doble (1962), 122, 133; Pearce (1973), 99. On the charter (S 838), see Finberg (1943, 192, 198-201). It is attested by Ælfthryth and by Wulfsige, bishop of Cornwall, among others.

[97] *GP* II, § 95 (Hamilton, 1870, 202-3); *pace* Finberg (1943), 191; (1964d), 191.

[98] Finberg (1964d), 190-91.

[99] *Rumonus* '*-onis*' and *Romanus -i* are the forms used in the Gotha *Vita*. The Breton Life uses *Romanus* throughout. The Celtic forms in any case derive from the Latin. A *Rumun* appears in the Bodmin manumissions (Förster, 1930, no. 2).

[100] London, British Library, Arundel MSS, 155 (*saec. xi*^{1}), under 19 November; Doble (1946), 88-9. Wormald (1938, 18-19), Grosjean (1953, 368, 371-5), Doble (1962, 129-30) and Orme (1992, 168) survey the liturgical evidence.

Anglo-Saxon rule in the southwest was scarcely any longer in jeopardy of local revolt, or in need of ecclesiastical support.

3.3.3 SAINT WINWALOE

The *Vita Sancti Ronani* sets the stage. *Piratis depopulata est Britannia. Tunc gens illa, relictis propriis locis, dispersa est per diversa orbis loca, secum asportans corpus... sancti Wynwaloi abbatis.*[101] Wrdisten, abbot of Landévennec composed his *Vita Sancti Winwaloei* around 880, but later accounts agree that at the time of the Scandinavian incursions, his body was translated into Frankia. Unlike the cases of Melor and Rumon, there appears never to have been the suggestion that Winwaloe's *corpus* was brought to England. It may nevertheless have been subject to division, theft or accidental loss, especially since Montreuil, one of the places to which it was taken had, according to the tradition previously cited, been the target of one of Athelstan's relic hunters. Winwaloe's commemoration is found in tenth and eleventh century liturgical documents from Salisbury and the west of England.[102] It is possible that he was also known by the names Wethinoc, Winnol and Winnow.[103]

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[101] Doble (1962), 128; Grosjean (1953), 396 and note 1. On the hagiology see the recent contributions by Brett (1986) and Merdrignac (1988b).

[102] Calendars (3 March): Salisbury, Cathedral Library MSS, 150 (Shaftesbury, *saec.* x^2); Cambridge, University Library MSS, Kk.5.32 (Glastonbury, *saec.* xi^1). Litanies: London, British Library, Harleian MSS, 863 (Exeter, *saec. xi med.*); Rheims, destroyed MS (Brittany, ?to Salisbury, *saec.* x^1); Salisbury, Cathedral Library MSS, 180 (Brittany, ?to Salisbury, *saec.* x^1). Winwaloe also appears in the Barking Gospels (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodleian MSS, 155, *saec. xi ineunte*). With a single exception (Wormald, 1938, 12), he did not feature in later calendars.

[103] See Chédeville and Guillotel (1984, 135) and Orme (1992, 178).

The dedications to Winwaloe in west Cornwall appear to testify to a more direct link.[104] The Lizard church of Landewednack bears the same name as Landévennec, and it is possible that it represents a mirror foundation from the Breton house.[105] The place-names do not indicate when this occurred and it may be an arrangement established in the eleventh century (when Landévennec was in contact with Canterbury), or even be post-Conquest. Wrmonoc of Landévennec's apparent knowledge of west Cornwall, when combined with the presence of some minor relics of Winwaloe at Exeter among those claimed to have been the gift of Athelstan nevertheless suggests that the first transmission of the cult dates to the tenth century or before. Though Glastonbury, Hyde, Abingdon and Leominster also claimed relics, Winwaloe's patronage was not widely adopted.[106]

The traces of Winwaloe's legendary mentor Budoc are less numerous, but the sites of the churches at Budock and St. Budeaux bear the marks of early foundation.[107] Both are situated on southern estuaries within sight of the sea. At St. Budeaux, *Bucheside* at Domesday, the once-isolated church sits upon a spur within a sub-rectilinear yard (raised at over 1.75 m to its north and northwest) and commands a wide view of the Tamar's lower reaches.[108] Whilst Glastonbury claimed Budoc's relics in the

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[104] See Bowen (1977, 188-9) and Orme (1996, 85, 92).

[105] In the post-Conquest period an analogous case is presented by the acquisition of St. Michael's Mount, Marazion, by the Norman house of Mont-St-Michel.

[106] Gougaud (1923a), 604; Doble (1942), 59; Thomas (1974), 483, 490, 492, 502, 512. For Wrmonoc, see below, pp. 245-6.

[107] On his cult in Brittany, see Doble (1964, 8-12) and Chadwick (1969, 284-6).

[108] Site assessment, April 1997. The name is problematic. Forms as early as 1335 (*Bottockishide*) appear to make an association with saint Budoc, dedicatee of the parish, and the derivation 'hide of St. Budoc('s)' is accepted by the authorities (Gover, Mawer and Stenton, 1931, I, 236-7; *DB Devon*, 39.18, notes; Padel, 1988, 61; Orme, 1996, 196), assuming the *DB* form to be aberrant. It is perpetuated as *Budshead* in the name of the road alongside which the

thirteenth century,[109] they were not among those supposed to have been donated to Exeter by Athelstan, and the saint appears in only one pre-Conquest litany and calendar. Provenanced respectively to Winchcombe and Ramsey, the presence of Budoc and other Breton saints in these documents probably results from the influence of Fleury.[110]

No assertions can therefore be made with certainty about the cults of either Winwaloe or Budoc in the southwest aside from their possible introduction in the pre-Conquest period. At whatever date, this will have been partly conditioned by the ethnic and linguistic kinship of Brittany with Southwestern England, and the attitude of the West Saxon church and king suggest that they judged these ties to be not unwelcome.

3.3.4 SAINT SAMSON

The *Vita* (*Prima*) *Sancti Samsonis* is a Breton source often considered to be seventh-century in origin, but only extant in manuscripts of the eleventh century or later.[111] Its writer was obviously a clerk of Dol, but he tells us (I.7) that he had, like Samson, visited Wales and stayed at Llantwit. From the *Vita*, we gather that Samson was a bishop, that he had crushed pagan practices *cum per quendam pagum* quem *Tricurium vocant deambularet* and that he had founded a *monasterium*. There was already a house

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church stands. Given a context of interaction with Brittany, there is of course no reason why the dedication cannot have spawned the name, but a word of caution is perhaps appropriate. It is possible that *buche* represents *boche* of the numerous Bucklands and that the derivation would thus be 'hide of land held by book right'. The example of St. Devereux (above p. 179) and Roscarrock's identification of the name Buttoxhead as a family name warn of the possibilty that the dedication is Norman (Orme, 1992, 61, 120-21; 1996, 23).

[109] Cambridge, Trinity College MSS, R.5.33, fols. 104^{r}-105^{v} (*saec. xv*); Doble (1946), 88.

[110] Cambridge, University Library MSS, Ff.1.23 (*saec. xi med.*); Oxford, St. John's College MSS, 17 (*saec.* x^{2}: Lapidge, 1984).

[111] Fawtier (1912); Pearce (1978), 187-90; Merdrignac (1988a).

of monks *quod Docco vocatur* in the country thereabouts.[112] *Pagum Tricurium* is generally interpreted as Triggshire, a hundred in north-east Cornwall, and *Landochou* as Lanow or St. Kew. Samson's ministry is therefore confidently placed in Cornwall, and he is envisioned as 'using the famous trans-peninsular route' on his way from Wales to Brittany.[113]

However, the *Vita* does not actually say that Samson visited Cornwall, and its geography, for one who claims to have first hand knowledge, is unremittingly opaque. *Tricurius* comes from the same root as Breton Tréguier (*Trecorensis*),[114] while as Baring-Gould pointed out, the *monasterium* of *Docco* might equally be taken to refer to Llandough *iuxta* Cardiff.[115] This would, after all, have been probably the nearest house reached by sea from Llantwit, and one that can boast charter references going back to the seventh century.[116] There are many archaic features in the *Vita Prima Sancti Samsonis* (of which the form *Docco* is one) and we need not doubt that the life is in origin older than the tenth century. Several factors may nevertheless make us think again about its composition, and about the antiquity of Samson's cult in Cornwall. The first is the conviction of the author that Samson became bishop of Dol, and the evident function of the *Vita* as an enshrinement of the early history of that church. It looks very much as though the life of Samson has been re-interpreted in the light of later

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[112] *VPSS* I.45, I.48.

[113] Fawtier (1912), 59-62; Bowen (1977), 166-9.

[114] Thomas (1964), 75.

[115] Baring-Gould and Fisher (1907), III, 153-4; Thomas and Holbrook (1994), 4-5.

[116] Davies (1978), 123-4; Robinson (1988), 145.

ecclesiastical history. The visit to Wales was for the author a conventional preliminary: it was in Brittany that Samson preached and at Dol that he made his seat.[117]

The second is the later context that can be proposed for Samson's Cornish dedications at Golant (on the Fowey estuary), South Hill and Lelissick (near Padstow). None of these is securely attested before the late twelfth century when we find in Beroul's *Roman de Tristran* that Queen Yseut and her followers met the bishop of *mostier Saint Sanson*, presumed to be the church of Golant from the earlier reference to *Lantyan*, a manor in its parish.[118] That of South Hill is attested only from 1333 while that at Lelissick can be inferred from the *Vitae* of Petroc, again of the twelfth century.[119] From Radbod's letter, we know that Edward the Elder had 'commended himself to the confraternity of St. Samson' at Dol in the first quarter of the tenth century.[120] In 933 Athelstan was able to donate Samson's arm and crozier to his monastery of Milton in Dorset, while Abingdon, Salisbury and Canterbury later claimed relics.[121] This presupposes further contact and raises the possibility of the reception of exiled clerks (as well as of relics) from Dol in the southwest. If we were not to be assured of the antiquity, integrity and reliability of the *Vita* (*Prima*) *Sancti Samsonis* and of its reference to Cornwall rather than Wales, the obvious conclusion would be that the saint's Cornish cult and his dedication on the south coast is of tenth-century date.

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[117] Fawtier (1912), 77; Chadwick (1969), 254-5; Smith (1982); Chédeville and Guillotel (1984), 138-9, 144-6.

[118] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Fr. 2171, fol. 22^{r} (*saec. xiii*^{2}); Gregory (1992), 141, line 2973; Fedrick (1970), 101, 113; Olson (1989), 13.

[119] Doble (1965), 139; Olson (1989), 12 note 20; Orme (1992), 169; (1996), 117.

[120] William of Malmesbury, *GP* V, § 249; see above, note 70.

[121] William of Malmesbury, *GP* II, § 85 (Hamilton, 1870, 186); Gougaud (1920), 277; (1923a), 607; Pearce (1973), 98.

There is a further document that casts some light on the matter. This is a charter of Celtic form issued in the reign of king Edgar and dated *circa* 962, by which the king confirms the lands of the church of St. Kew, in area, it would seem, roughly coterminous with the Domesday manor of *Lannohoo* or Lanow.[122] It refers to the church of *sancti Dochou et sancte Cywa* by the phrase *in monasterio quod ab incolis Landochou vocitatur*. Rather than illustrate the accuracy of the *Vita*'s topography and confirm the saint's route from Lelissick to Golant, this illustrates the reception of the Samson legend. Indeed, that the church has a dual dedication, even in the tenth century, leads us to suppose that one of the saints is later than the other. What may in fact have happened is that a place with the prefix *Lan-* commemorating saint *Cywa* (in whatever form), assumed, through phonological similarity to the Welsh Llandough the mantle of *monasterium Docco*. Once a church of St. Sampson had been established on the southern coast, linked in some way to Dol, knowledge of the see's founder spread and the community at St. Kew changed its name to *Landochou* to bask in the reflected glory of Samson. Bodmin soon followed suit with its own chapel of Samson alongside the Camel, drawing on a connection already established in the *Vita* (*Prima*) *Sancti Petroci*.[123]

The identification of an historic Samson in Cornwall (and by extension of the cult of the saint in pre-Saxon British Dumnonia) rests therefore on attributing an early date to the *Vita* (*Prima*) *Sancti Samsonis* in conjunction with the presumption of a Cornish setting for part of it, allegedly supported by the author's detailed knowledge of

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[122] London, Public Record Office, PRO 47/52/1/1.m.3 (*saec. xiv*), cited by Picken (1960); S 810; Davies (1982b), 272; Olson (1989), 81-4; Hooke (1994), 33-7.

[123] On which, see the following section.

Cornish topography. We have suggested a revised chronology of the reception of the cult in Cornwall that is supported by the extant data.

3.3.5 SAINT PETROC

Petroc was the patron of the mynster at Bodmin and, with Germanus, the co-patron of the diocese of Cornwall. Despite a universally accepted Cornish origin, there is evidence that his cult was brought from Brittany. The importance of his church means that it is necessary to consider the problem at some length.

Three lives of St. Petroc are extant.[124] The first is found in a Breton manuscript of the sixteenth century formerly at St-Méen-le-Grand, Brittany.[125] Incomplete lections of the St-Méen Breviary show it to have been available there in the fourteenth century.[126] The *Vita* (*Secunda*) *Sancti Petroci*, a longer, and in part derivative version written before 1177 by a monk of (it appears) Bodmin, is found in the fourteenth-century Gotha manuscript. It was this tradition that was seen by John of Tynemouth.[127] The third is a *Vita Metrica* of sixty-two quatrains of the same source.[128] From its dedication to a Roger, it may be surmised to be a local product, since Roger is otherwise mentioned as Prior of Bodmin in the third quarter of the twelfth century.[129] With

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[124] For the following, see Doble (1965, 132-66), and the somewhat clearer Grosjean (1956a, 1956b).

[125] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS 9889, fols. 142^{r}-150^{r} (*saec. xvi*); Grosjean (1956b), 487-96.

[126] Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 115, fols. 351^{v}-353^{v} (*saec. xiv*).

[127] Gotha, Landesbibliothek MSS, I.81 (*saec. xiv med.*), fols. 136^{v}-143^{r} (Grosjean, 1956a, 145-65); Horstmann (1901), II, 317-20; Grosjean (1956a), 141-2.

[128] Idem, fols. 143^{r}-144^{r} (Grosjean, 1956a, 166-71).

[129] *De Reliquiarum Furto*, § 2 (Grosjean, 1956a, 175).

appended *miracula* and genealogy, the Gotha *Vitae* complete a set of documents of Bodmin origin.

The lives agree (i) that Petroc was of Welsh royal stock and that he had studied in Ireland, (ii) that he sailed to *Brittania* where he met St. Samson, who was leading the life of a hermit, (iii) that he lived in the monastery of the bishop Wethinoc, called Lanwethinoc (*Landwethinoch*, *Lan Wethinocke*) and was later celebrated there, and (iv) that (after travelling to Rome and performing miracles) he founded a monastic community on the site of the hermitage of St. Uuron, where at length (and after further miracles) he died.

In 1177, soon after the feast of the Epiphany (6 January), Petroc's relics were stolen from the church at Bodmin by a canon by the name of Martin. He took them to Léhon and then to St-Méen (*ecclesia sancti Mevenni*), whence they were prised with some effort by emissaries of Henry II later in the year. There are three accounts of the theft.[130] We are told in the Gotha's *De Reliquiarum Furto* that canon Martin had been reprimanded by Prior Roger for the mismanagement of the Priory's estate at Newton-Saint-Petrock.[131] It is conceivable that a priest should seek to harm his own church out of spite, but, unless he were a Breton, the actions of Martin might seem out of proportion to the personal setback he was alleged to have encountered.[132] They

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[130] That by *Robertus de Tantona* in Gotha, Landesbibliothek MS I.81 (fols. 145^{r}-148^{v}) is edited by Grosjean (1956a, 174-88) and adapted in English by Doble (1939), but the best synopsis will be found in Pinder-Wilson and Brooke (1973, 264-7). The story is corroborated by the twelfth-century historian Roger of Howden, alias 'Benedict of Peterborough' in his *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* (Stubbs, 1867, I, 178-80) and *Chronica* (Stubbs, 1868, II, 136).

[131] *De Reliquiarum Furto*, § 3 (Grosjean, 1956a, 176; Doble, 1939, 405).

presuppose moreover an unusually developed organization and degree of advance planning. Not one of the accounts gives an adequate explanation of why the canon should have chosen St-Méen as his ultimate destination.

Brittany was under more or less direct Angevin administration at this period and the Gotha hints that Martin had made contact with the advisors of the justiciar Roland of Dinan, who were (apparently) encouraging Count Geoffrey (Henry's son) to stake a claim to the earldom of Cornwall as a means of solidifying his position in Brittany.[133] Even given its proximity to Dinan, St-Méen was all the same not the only house to which Martin could have travelled, and the tenacity with which the community clung to Petroc's relics (and even claimed fourteen miracles for them) suggests that the political leverage offered by their possession was not uppermost in their minds.[134] In short the episode bears the hallmarks not of a momentary act of despair, but of a 'theft to order'.

There is no indisputable liturgical evidence for the cult of St. Petroc at St-Méen before the sixteenth century, and since the Breton Life of Petroc shows some knowledge of the Cornish cult,[135] the St-Méen legends in their present state are unlikely to be prior

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[132] M. Jones (1988, 88) suggests that there were Bretons resident at Bodmin in the early twelfth century.

[133] *De Reliquiarum Furto*, § 6 (Grosjean, 1956a, 179); Pinder-Wilson and Brooke (1973), 266; Thomas (1974), 334. On Roland of Dinan and the administration of Brittany *circa* 1166-81, see Le Patourel (1976, 110-13; 1984, 101-7, 111-3) and Chédeville and Tonnerre (1987, 86-95).

[134] *De Reliquiarum Furto*, § 15 (Grosjean, 1956a, 184-5).

[135] Grosjean (1956b), 481-2, 485-6. Respectively the references to the river *Haile* (§ 5) and to the *Nova Villa* (*rus confine Cornubiae*) (§ 8).

to the twelfth, when we are told that a relic was sent from Bodmin.[136] Nevertheless, the author of the Gotha *vita* tells us that in addition to his use of earlier materials, he had consulted *transmarini* (Bretons) for information about the saint.[137] Furthermore, the St-Méen version of the *vita* has been demonstrated to exhibit stylistic features identifying it as part of a stratum of the eleventh century or earlier.[138] Read with an open mind, there is yet nothing in the St-Méen life that makes a Cornish setting inevitable. Although the relationships with Wethinoc and Uuron cannot be removed, the detailed references to Cornish places (all parenthetical phrases) can be omitted with a minimum of effort.[139] Even so, the *Vita* (*Prima*) *Sancti Petroci* cannot be determined to be of St-Méen origin since the manuscripts are late and the tradition could after all have been transmitted from Bodmin before 1176. There does not however appear to be any reason to consider the Gotha life to have been written before the return of Petroc's relics in 1177. This is when the dossier as a whole must have taken shape and we might refer back to the cult of Milburga at Wenlock for evidence of how a *vita* and *inventio* might be composed independently at roughly the same time.

Relics of a *Medan* (probably a misconstruction of Mewan, St. Méen) were noted at Bodmin by Hugh Candidus around 1155, where they had probably been since the eleventh century, whilst those of Mewan and Iudicail (*Mogwyni et Indecali*) were at Glastonbury by the thirteenth century.[140] It is likely that these were obtained in or

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[136] *De Reliquiarum Furto*, § 17 (Grosjean, 1956a, 186).

[137] *Vita* (*Secunda*) *Sancti Petroci*, § 1, *Prologus* (Grosjean, 1956a, 144-6).

[138] Grosjean (1956b), 474-7.

[139] For Wethinoc and Uuron, see above, p. 228, and below, pp. 233-6.

[140] Hugh Candidus, *De Sanctis in Diversis Locis* (§56), relayed subsequently by Leland, Bale and Roscarrock. See Grosjean (1956a, 142-3), Rollason (1978, 71-2; 1986b, 38) and Orme

shortly after 1177. It would however be wrong to suppose that Mewan's cult in Cornwall went back only so far, since he appears as *Megunn* in the 'tenth-century list', where he is joined by Austell and Iudicail, who feature in Mewan's eleventh-century Breton life.[141] Rather than illustrate the origination of Petroc's cult at St-Méen after 1177, the theft of Petroc's relics may therefore confirm an existing association. It suggests moreover that the Breton house believed St. Petroc rightly to be their saint and not Bodmin's.

The earliest reference to a Breton church of St. Petroc comes only in 1163, but a number of factors hint that the origins of the cult lie in Brittany.[142] Whilst St-Méen-le-Grand is far inland, St-Méen (east of Lesneven) and Lopérec are in Finistère.[143] Lopérec, *Locus Petroci* in 1468 bears the early element *loc-* and is, we might note, adjacent to a St-Guenolé (chapel), a Lanvezennec and a Treguron.[144] Lanvezennec is actually found as *Lan Uuethnoc* in the Cartulary of Landévennec and was a possession of that church.[145] The statement (inserted it might appear) that the place of Wethinoc's

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(1992, 101). *pace* Butler (1987, 92), it cannot be established that Candidus' list is frozen in the late eleventh century, because he includes a number of 'new' saints that are not mentioned elsewhere, and might very well reflect the contemporary situation. For the Glastonbury list see Doble (1946, 86-7; 1965, 155-6), and Thomas (1974, 492).

[141] On the cult of Mewan in Cornwall and Brittany see Baring-Gould and Fisher (1907, III, 484), Bowen (1977, 170-71), Chédeville and Guillotel (1984, 135-6) and Olson and Padel (1986, 59-60).

[142] Doble (1965), 161-5.

[143] Grosjean (1956a), 174; Bowen (1977), 71; Irien (1986), 185.

[144] Grosjean (1956b), 480, 482-3.

[145] Quimper, Bibliothèque Municipale MSS, 16 (*saec. xi*); La Borderie (1888), no. 33 (cited by Doble, 1962, 96). The forms *Lanteguennoc*, *Lanteuuennuc* and *Lanteuuennoc* are elsewhere used in the cartulary for Landévennec itself (nos. 23, 28, 36, cited by Doble, 1962, 95). Wrdisten, writing in the ninth century, used the form *Landeuinnoch* (*Vita Sancti Winwaloei*, § 13).

foundation *etiam lingua gentis illius Landwethinoch adhuc usque hodie dicitur* is, from *gentis illius*, more likely to refer to people other than Bretons, but the name *Landwethinoch* might equally have been present in an earlier text as a reference to Landévennec or Lanvezennec.[146] The priory of Saint-Pétreuc (Plerguer) was one of three churches dedicated to Petroc in the region of Dol. Dol celebrated both Petroc and Mewan.[147] It may therefore be suggested that a community celebrating Mewan and Petroc in Finistère retreated inland to *Gaël*, the original church of St-Méen-le-Grand at the time of the Viking incursions and that Petroc's relics were dispersed.[148] The association of Petroc with other Breton saints in more than one place cannot have been the result of a single incident of the twelfth century.

The connection made with St. Samson in the opening chapters of the *vitae* offers further support for a Breton origin. We are told in the St-Méen life that *erat cuidam Sansoni, digno Dei famulo, secus littus, [iuxta amnem Hailem], habitatio in solitudine*.[149] Although it would be rash to suppose that any number of different motives cannot have accounted for the presence of Samson in a Cornish life of St. Petroc, this type of association has the characteristics of one made by a lesser house to share in the glory of a greater. Samson, it might be noted, also features in the eleventh-century life of Mewan. The rationale of the life clearly implies that Samson's cult was not only well established but, from whatever reasons, was worthy of respect. Similar considerations apply, if in lesser degree, to the treatment of Wethinoc, where the Gotha *Vita* again

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[146] *Vita* (*Prima*) *Sancti Petroci*, § 7 (Grosjean, 1956b, 491).

[147] Baring-Gould and Fisher (1907), III, 484-5.

[148] On St-Jean-de-Gaël, see Chadwick (1969, 288-91) and Guigon (1997, 114).

[149] *Vita* (*Prima*) *Sancti Petroci*, § 5 (Grosjean, 1956b, 490).

inexplicably accords the saint a higher status, in this case the office of bishop. A Breton author would naturally associate his saint with a famous bishop of Dol and Abbot of Landévennec (even if he reversed their offices).[150] It is hard to believe that these elements are of Cornish origin.

The author of the *Vita* (*Secunda*) constructs a sacred landscape for his saint. The dedication to Samson at Lelissick, those to Petroc that may be inferred for Nanceventon (*Vallem Fontis, Nanfontum, Nant Funttun*), Trebetherick (*Mansio Petroci, Tresphe Petrock, Trespetrick*), Newton-Saint-Petroc (*Nova Villa, mansionem in Watune*) and *Portus Reu*,[151] and the name *Lan Wethinocke* itself, may be considered part of this exercise. The thoroughness with which he goes about his work argues for the adaption of an existing tradition which was geographically less specific.

Bodmin and Padstow, the centres of Petroc's cult in Cornwall, originally had names embodying other saints or secular founders. Kenstec, the Cornish bishop whose profession of allegiance was cited earlier, sat at *Dinuurrin*. By the time of the composition of the *Vita* (*Secunda*) it had obviously become necessary to explain the name *Dinuurrin*, known to have been used for Bodmin in this (and possibly other)

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[150] I am assuming here that *Wethinoc* and *Wethnoc* are hypocoristic forms of Winwaloe. Wethinoc was commemorated separately in the eleventh-century St-Méen Breviary and appears as a bishop in the eleventh-century Exeter relic lists (*Withenoc*, *Uuigenoc*, *Wernoc*). An independent tradition of a Wethinoc existed in Brittany from at least the thirteenth century but is of little value (Baring-Gould and Fisher, 1907, III, 200-203; Grosjean, 1956a, 152). Wrdisten (*Vita Sancti Winwaloei*, § 2) makes Wethinoc a brother of Winwaloe. These records need only indicate that the origin of the names was already confused. Whether Landévennec, Landewednack and similar names can be got regularly from Winwaloe or Guenolé is unresolved. See Doble (1962, 95-7, 104-5), Padel (1977, 15, 17, 25) and Merdrignac (1988b, 24, 37), and the articles there cited.

[151] *Vita* (*Secunda*) *Sancti Petroci*, §§ 5-7, 9, 11, 23 (Grosjean, 1956a, 151, 154-5, 159-60, 165); *Vita Metrica*, §§ 30, 36, 49 (Grosjean, 1956a, 168-70). *Port Reu* is unidentified, but from the reference to a ferry one imagines that it was the area of Padstow harbour. *Nanceventon* was a

records, and so *Uuron* was borrowed from the southern parish of Gorran, whose patron he was by this time (as indicated by the 'tenth-century list'), and was written into the *Vita* as the predecessor of Petroc at Bodmin.[152] The fiction of the *Vita* (*Secunda*) *Sancti Petroci* is highlighted by the situation of Guron's well in the secondary site at valley bottom, adjacent to the medieval priory.[153]

That traditions of Petroc's Welsh origin were current (and were being promoted by the community at Bodmin) at the end of the eleventh century is clear from Lifris' *Vita Sancti Cadoci*, which tells us that Petroc, the third son of a Welsh chieftain named Glywys, *in terram Cornubiensium ad territorium, quod vocatur Botmenei tandem pervenit... et maximum monasterium eodem in eius honore constructum est, atque festivitas eiusdem venerabiliter... celebratur ii Nonis Iulii.*[154] If Petroc was Welsh and had studied in Ireland, it was logical to claim the north coast as the area of his ministry after his arrival in Cornwall. The *Vita* (*Secunda*) *Sancti Petroci* sets out this claim in its developed form.

At Domesday, Padstow was known as *Languihenoc*. *Lodenek* in latter-day Cornish, the name comprises the generic element *lan* plus a personal name. Conventionally, the person so embodied is a 'saint': in many cases, the dedicatee of the

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name used for Little Petherick parish until the nineteenth century, but it is not established whether it also refers to the settlement of Little Petherick (*Sancti Petroci Minoris*, 1344) itself.

[152] *Vita* (*Prima*) *Sancti Petroci*, § 11 (Grosjean, 1956b, 495); *Vita* (*Secunda*) *Sancti Petroci*, §§ 19-20 (Grosjean, 1956a, 162-4); Olson and Padel (1986), 60-61. Uuron was known in Brittany as the names *Lannouron* and *Treguron* indicate, and it is also possible that a received Breton association between Uuron and Petroc was applied to the site at *Dinuurrin*.

[153] Quiller-Couch and Quiller-Couch (1894), 80-83.

parish church. As Padel has shown, instances where a Cornish *lan*-name does not refer to a dedicatee are though equally numerous.[155] In many of these the specific is a topograph and is chronologically unhelpful, but in cases where one personal name replaces another, there can be little doubt that the cult of an earlier 'saint' has been displaced. In Petroc's case, the Breton tradition raises the further possibility that the name *Lan Wethinocke* was received from Brittany in a Breton life, and was moulded to local circumstance by the community at Bodmin, when a Welsh origin was invented for Petroc to enhance the story of a primary ministry on the north coast, on lands belonging to the community.

From the *Vita* (*Secunda*) it is clear that Padstow was still known as *Lan Wethinoc* in the twelfth century since we are given that name in conjunction with a number of others that we are expressly told are contemporary.[156] But by the fourteenth it was known as *Patristowe*, when its form suggests the commemoration of Patrick and implies that any association with Petroc was of sufficient obscurity or uncertainty as to have been forgotten.[157] If the name is to be related to Petroc it would presuppose intermediate *Petrocestowe*. At this point we must consider a misunderstanding about the relationship of the names Bodmin and Padstow which appears to lend credit to the *Vita*

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[154] *Vita Sancti Cadoci*, Preface (Wade-Evans, 1944, xi, 24-5). The *Bonedd y Saint* (*saec. xii*) alternatively makes *Pledrauc* the son of a prince of Cornwall named *Clemens* (Wade-Evans, 1944, 322); Doble (1965), 147.

[155] Padel (1977), *passim*.

[156] *Vita* (*Secunda*) *Sancti Petroci*, § 23 (Grosjean, 1956a, 165). The form *Lan Wethinoc* looks hypercorrect. An unmediated development would edge the name towards *Lewannick*, and it is this that we find in the later forms.

[157] Finberg (1969), 79-80.

(*Secunda*)'s account of the prior ministry of Petroc in the Padstow area, and to the antiquity of his commemoration there.

Our first references to Bodmin's connection with Petroc are constituted by the memoranda of the Bodmin Gospels, the earliest of which is believed to date to the 940's. From these it is clear that *æt petrocys stowe* means 'over St. Petroc's altar' and equates to the Latin *super altare Sancti Petroci*.[158] While this might refer to a portable altar-cum-reliquary, the evidence is that it was kept in one place, for in a manumission of *circa* 1002 that took place *in villa que nominatur Lys Cerruyt* (Liskeard), a number of priests are said to have travelled there with St. Petroc's bell (*cimbalum*), but the assembly needed to remove itself *ad monasterium sancti Petroci* to ratify the transaction.[159] That this mynster was Bodmin is demonstrated by the generally attested importance of the community and by a reference to the church at Bodmin, the only place, excepting Liskeard securely mentioned in the memoranda.

Padstow's claim to be the original centre of Petroc's cult draws support from the erroneous interpretation of the *petrocys stowe* of the Bodmin manumissions as a place-name, but in fact hinges upon the testimony of the *Secgan*, which says that

Þonne resteð sanctus Petrocus on Westwealum be þare sæ, neah þam fleote, þe man clypað Hæglæmuða,[160]

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[158] Whitelock (1955), 560-63; Rollason (1986a), 98.

[159] Jenner (1925b), 244-6; Förster (1930), no. 22.

[160] Liebermann (1889), 17-18. The use of similar language by William of Malmesbury (*GP* II, § 95: Hamilton, 1870, 204) only indicates that he believed the Cornish bishopric to have been 'next to a river named *Hegelmuðe*', not that it was at Padstow.

and upon the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle's statement that

Her on þis geare (981) *wæs Sce Petroces stow forhergod. 7 þy ilcan geare wæs micel hearm gedon gehwær be þam særiman. ægþer ge on Defenum ge on Wealum.*[161]

We should note that while he makes his longest topographical excursion to describe it, the place is not actually named by the first author. It is simply 'among the West Welsh near an arm of the sea known as *Hæglæmuða*'. At the time of writing, it was believed that Petroc was buried there. Because *Hæglæmuða* has the same Old Cornish specific (*heyl*, 'estuary') as Egloshayle, near Padstow, it has been identified, not unreasonably, as the Camel Estuary (Padstow Bay), and the resting place of St. Petroc hence with Padstow. But the language of the *Secgan* is not precise, for it is possible that a place so far inland as Bodmin could be described as 'near the sea' (as indeed is any place in Cornwall).[162] Since travel by sea was of great importance in this period, it would be natural for an inland place's location to be expressed in terms of its nearest channel of approach.

The Chronicle's reference is usually thought to imply that the place known in the tenth or eleventh centuries as *Petrocestowe* was on the coast, and therefore easy prey for the Vikings. In both respects, we might do well to bear in mind that on another occasion the Chronicle describes Vikings as faring up the *Tamar* to Lydford, sacking

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[161] *ASC* (C), *sub anno*.

[162] Bamburgh (Northumberland) and St. Osyth (Essex) are also declared to be 'near the sea', and both of these are admittedly on the coast. However, its unusual length and imprecision indicate that we should probably treat the entry for saint Petroc as a special case. Moreover, it is the only such reference in the second, later, part of the list.

Tavistock and returning the plunder to their ships.[163] Lydford is 12 km away from the Tamar and is on the non-navigable river Lyd. Neither is the Tavy navigable at Tavistock. Lydford is about as far inland as one can get, being 30 km from the south and 35 km from the north coasts. As the author of the latter passage understood both Tavistock and Lydford to be near *Tamer muðan* (the estuary of the Tamar), it is quite possible that the author of the list of saints' resting places should have supposed Bodmin to have been 'near the estuary of the *Hægle*'. The expedition of 997 makes clear enough that the southwestern Vikings were not simply coastal raiders.

In the early eleventh century, the name *Bodmine* referred to the lay settlement adjoining the church of St. Petroc. At its close, Domesday Book recorded the possession of lands at *Bodmine* by *Ecclesia Sancti Petroci*, while Lifris conceived of the Bodmin area (including the mynster) as *territorium Botmenei*.[164] *Bodmine* appears to have entered more explicit ecclesiastical use by the middle of the twelfth century, when a corrupt form (*Botraene*) is found in the list of resting places compiled by Hugh Candidus.[165] It was perhaps between these years that the focus of the ecclesiastical settlement shifted to the site of Bodmin Priory and that the name *Petrocestowe* was transferred to Bodmin's northernmost possession. The alternative form *Eldestawe*, simply 'old stowe', first attested for Padstow in 1201, might arguably reflect the tradition preserved in the *Vitae Sancti Petroci* (the product of the explanation of *Lan Wethinocke*), but may in fact have been used to distinguish the church from other, more recent acquisitions (and be a measure of the antiquity of such churches *as possessions of*

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[163] *ASC* 997.

[164] *DB Cornwall*, 4.3. See above pp. 202-3 and note 154.

[165] Hugh Candidus, *De Sanctis in Diversis Locis*, § 56.

Bodmin).[166] In short, it may have nothing to tell us about the relative antiquity of the churches at Bodmin and Padstow themselves. The first explicit reference to a dedication to Petroc at Padstow appears to come in 1415, when Bishop Stafford licenced *capellis Sancte Trinitatis, sanctorum Michaelis, Petroci, Germani et Wethenye, infra limites parochiae Sancti Petroci de Padistow.*[167] The status of Padstow (and with it the credibility of the *Vita* (*Secunda*) as the record of a cult native to Cornwall) rests on nothing but inference from place-names, which as we have seen, is unsound.

There is therefore little to recommend Petroc as a Cornish saint before the first appearance of his altar in manumissions of between 940 and 1020. These fairly certainly indicate the church of Bodmin to have been the recipient of West Saxon patronage and highlight this period as potentially the zenith of his pre-Conquest cult. The dedication at the tenth-century *burh* of Lydford, a place without tenurial links to Bodmin, may provide a further illustration of Petroc's connection with West Saxon royal power.[168] By the early eleventh century there was reason to include the saint in the *Secgan*. Petroc's appearance in the liturgies of churches other than Bodmin show his cult becoming

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[166] It would be tempting to identify Petrockstow in Devon (*Petrochestou* in 1086) as the source of the confusion, but this church was always in the possession of Buckfast Abbey (*DB Devon*, 6.1). *Petrocestou* showed a parallel development to *Patrickestowe* by the fifteenth century.

[167] Pedler (1856, 73), citing Oliver (1846). The whereabouts of the chapels of Michael, Germanus and Wethinoc (if not Padstow) are insecure. That of Petroc is thought to be Little Petherick.

[168] The report on the Lydford excavations of the 1950's, prepared by Addyman, was apparently never published. RCHME (1947), Pearce (1985, 259-60) and Hill and Rumble (1996, 110, 138-9, 208-10) provide brief discussions of the church and *burh*. The antiquity of the site is established by the recovery of amphora sherds of the type found at Tintagel.

widespread in the eleventh century, and this again might be linked to royal and metropolitan support.[169]

Pearce acknowledged (i) that 'from about 900… there was a considerable degree of contact between the houses of St. Petrock and St. Méen', (ii) that 'the cult of Petroc at St-Méen seems to [date at least] from the early tenth century', and (iii) that the 'earliest literary record' of Petroc comes in Lifris' Life of Cadoc, only 'written about 1080'. By themselves, the strands linking Petroc to Brittany might mean little, but taken together they amount to a declaration of an association of some importance. Given Bodmin's relationship with West Saxon kings and nobility, given Athelstan's documented interest in Breton cults and his commemoration in popular tradition as Bodmin's pre-eminent patron, and given St-Méen's peculiar interest in Petroc's relics, it may reasonably be conjectured that the cult of Petroc was installed at Bodmin in the early tenth century through royal offices and was based around relics obtained from Brittany at this time. There are, it might also be noted, a large number of imported cults in the part of the *Secgan* in which Petroc occurs. In these circumstances to affirm that 'there are no signs that Petroc was imported from elsewhere' goes against all the odds.[170]

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[169] See Doble (1965, 165-6) and Grosjean (1956b, 483) for (incomplete) lists. The earliest inclusion in a litany would appear to be the second of London, British Library, Cottonian MSS, Galba. A.xiv (Herefordshire, *saec. xi*^{1}). Calendars: London, British Library, Arundel MSS, 60 (Winchester, *saec. xi*^{2}); London, British Library, Cottonian MSS, Nero A.ii (Herefordshire, *saec. xi*^{1}); Vitellius A.xii (Salisbury, *saec. xi exeunte*); Vitellius A.xviii (Wells, *saec. xi*^{2}, added *saec. xi exeunte*); Vitellius E.xviii (Winchester, *saec. xi med.*); Cambridge University Library MSS, Kk.5.32 (Glastonbury, *saec. xi*^{1}); Corpus Christi College MSS, 422 (Winchester, *saec. xi med.*); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MSS, 296 (Crowland, *saec. xi*^{1}); Hatton MSS 113 (Worcester, *saec. xi*^{2}); Rome, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensis MSS, Lat. 12 (Canterbury, *saec. xi*^{1}). For Nero A.ii and Douce, which, exceptionally have feasts other than 4 June, see below pp. 256-8 and notes.

3.4 NATIVE BRITISH SAINTS

Beneath the Breton overlay lie the *Urheiligen*, the native British saints. They are saints without important cult in Brittany. It is likely that a large number of the Cornish place-names that include obscure personal elements commemorate such figures, and that they were the founders or patrons of early Christian burial places.[171] What appears to have been a comprehensive lack of knowledge about them meant that their cults were subject to manipulation and their identities to metamorphosis.

3.4.1 SAINTS URITH, SIDWELL AND JUTHWARA

St. Urith's singular commemoration is in the nucleated north Devon village of Chittlehampton. The church and yard here do not show the characteristics associated with sites of imputed British origin in the west of the region, but the village would appear to have served as the *caput* of a large estate. Though the name Urith seems to be of convincingly British derivation, our knowledge of the cult rests on the spartan references of early modern antiquaries and upon the incomplete fifteenth-century record of a liturgical hymn in her honour.[172] Urith, the hymn declares was a beautiful girl (*puella*) who led a chaste life, was envied by her stepmother and killed by farmworkers. A spring rose where she fell. There is no way of pinpointing just when this legend was first associated with Urith, and there is also no way to show Risdon to be in error when he states, with a confidence that betokens his honest belief that the date of her martyrdom was 1171, and that this, together with the names of her parents were

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[170] Pearce (1973), 107-10; (1978), 190-92.

[171] The possible existence of peculiar Anglo-Saxon saints in south Devon (Orme, 1996, 24, 204-5) may however indicate that this practice was extended, and, in the absence of other indications, it should not be thought that a little-known saint is by default a British saint.

[172] Cambridge, Trinity College, Gale MSS, O.9.38 (*saec. xv*); James (1902), 232-3.

recorded in a book of her miracles in the church. Urith's only other liturgical commemoration is in a Malmesbury calendar of the early sixteenth century.[173] Since her legend is identical in key repects to the earlier *vitae* of Sidwell and Juthwara, it might be considered derivative.[174]

The extra-mural situation of St. Sidwell's, Exeter, respecting the Roman town plan, marks it out as an early site.[175] Sidwell appears in the later part of the *Secgan* as *fæmne wiðutan Exanceastre*. Her name is there spelled *Sidefulle* or *Sidefulla*. Old English *Sidefulle* means 'full of virtue' and from it stems the more common Latin form *Sativola*.[176] In a relic list from Exeter of *circa* 1010 we are told *Of Sancta Sativola þam bylewitan mædene, seo wæs unsceððiglice acweald fram hire fæder mædmannum and God ælmihtig siððan æt hire birgene geswutelode mænigfealde wundra*,[177] but her tradition is recorded *in extenso* only in the mid-fourteenth-century Gotha manuscript of English saints' lives and in a transcription from Bishop Grandisson's Exeter legendary (*circa* 1330) made by William Poundstock at the turn of the fifteenth century.[178]

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[173] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MSS, Liturg. g.12 (Malmesbury, *circa* 1521); Wormald (1946a).

[174] On the cult, see further Chanter (1914), Rushforth (1933b) and Andrews (1962, 233-41, 333-4). For the name, see Orme (1992, 138). For the village and parish of Chittlehampton, see Andrews (1962, 241-5).

[175] Pearce (1982a), 12-13.

[176] Liebermann (1889), 17-18; Förster (1933), 245; (1938), 49-55, 79; Orme (1992), 13, 170-72.

[177] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium MSS, D. 2. 16, fols. 8-14 (*saec. xi*^{2}), entry 143. The list was added to a Breton gospel book of the tenth century, possibly from Landévennec. See Connor (1993, 25-6, 186-7).

[178] Exeter, Dean and Chapter Library MSS, 3505b (*saec. xv ineunte*); Grosjean (1935), 363-5; Förster (1938), 44; Grosjean (1940a), 101; (1940b), 203-4; Swanton (1986); Orme, (1992), 113. The most detailed consideration is Förster (1938), but see also Pearce (1973, 111) and the contributions by various authors in *Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries* 17 (1933).

The motifs of the stepmother and spring are shared with the traditions of Urith and Juthwara, that of the severed head with Juthwara alone. Head and spring are common in the lives of British saints, while the jealous wife is shared with the cult of Cyniburg of Gloucester, but the evidence for all three motifs is late, and we note that the earliest Anglo-Saxon reference states only that Sidwell was killed by her father's farmworkers. In its developed form, the legend would appear to have given rise to the spelling or pronunciation *Sithewelle* (scythe-well), attested from the fifteenth century.[179] None of this though enables us to identify Sidwell or to date the inception of her cult. Excepting the topographical evidence from Exeter, we can only observe with Förster that 'if we can put our faith in the declaration that all the relics [of the Exeter lists], including those of Sativola, were made over by Athelstan as a gift, at the occasion of his re-foundation of the monastery of St. Mary and St. Peter in 937, then we should be able to follow her scent back to the turn of the eighth century. For if Sativola's relics were already being venerated in 937, then her death must date back many generations.'[180]

The original focus of Juthwara's cult appears to have been Halstock in eastern Dorset. Both Urith and Juthwara are thought to be names of British derivation. Halstock, the site of a Roman villa, is first mentioned in a charter of 841 where it is called *hālgan stoc*, and is named there as the site of a *monasteriunculum*. Though there is no mention of Juthwara in this charter, there are curvilinear features in the vicinity of Halstock, and it was obviously a venerable place by the time it acquired its name.[181] If

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[179] Förster (1938), 72-4. On the well, see Hope (1893, 65), Lega-Weekes (1933, 256) and Pearce (1982a, 13). It is possible that the later forms of the name also show assimilation to saints Osyth and Zita, elements of whose biographies may have been judged similar. According to Rushforth (1933a, 252-3) the latter was depicted with Sidwell at three Devon churches.

[180] Förster (1938), 38-9.

Juthwara were a British saint, context for her cult in this part of Dorset would be provided by the early history of Sherborne. Although the reference to *Lanprobi* in a charter of Cenwalh (643-742) probably refers to the Cornish mynster of Probus, called *Lanbrebois* at Domesday,[182] a chapel of the British saint probably existed at Sherborne by the twelfth century when it is mentioned in a papal bull.[183] Curvilinear boundaries here, and about the nearby mynsters at Beaminster and Wimborne have in addition been thought to reflect the existence of early monastic *territoria*.[184]

Juthwara's cult at Halstock had worked up sufficient momentum by the 1050's for her to be considered worthy of translation to Sherborne. As we have it, her hagiology consists of Goscelin's account of the translation, written at the turn of the twelfth century and of John of Tynemouth's fourteenth century *vita*. We can state with confidence that a *vita* existed when Goscelin wrote, for he says that at *Halyngstoka*, *quondam, ut in eius passionali relatum est, [beata Juderuuarra] decollata a fratre memoratur post caput abscisum trunco corpore cucurrisse et illud utrisque palmulis in collem, unde deciderat, revexisse*. This account is likely to have been compiled in the

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[181] S 290 (MS *saec. xii*); Finberg (1964e), 160-64; RCHME (1952), 121; Barker (1982a), 100, 112-3; (1984), 27-8, 32; Pearce (1982b), 121, 132-3; O'Donovan (1988), xxxii, 5-11; Lucas (1993). On the relation of the place-names *Halstow* and *Halstock* to early sites see Gelling (1982, 192, 194).

[182] London, British Library, Cottonian MSS, Faustina A.ii (*saec. xiv med.*), fol. 25; Finberg (1964b), 98; O'Donovan (1988), 81-85. On Probus and his church in Cornwall, see Doble (1998, 141-4, letters to Canon Hammond of Probus), Olson and Padel (1986, 51) and Padel (1988, 146).

[183] O'Donovan (1988), xliii, 86-7. The reference to a *capella sancti Probi* in this bull is more likely to apply to Sherborne because Cornish Probus appears to have been a church of status in its own right (Olson, 1989, 88).

[184] Barker (1982a, 1982b, 1984).

1050's and would have accompanied the miracles at the saint's Sherborne shrine which he goes on to quote.[185]

Though it is replete with the folkloric commonplaces of later hagiography the tradition related by John of Tynemouth may therefore have been of pre-Conquest date. In his account we are told that Juthwara had stomach-ache, brought on by her overzealous vigils and devotions. Her stepmother claimed that it would go if she rubbed cottage cheese on her breasts. As Juthwara was making her way to church, she told her son that his stepsister was pregnant, whereupon he investigated, 'pulled out her vest and found it was wet', drew his sword and killed her.[186] The peculiar sequence of events leading to the Juthwara's death is also found in a late Breton tradition relating to St. Aude of Léon.[187] The dates of the traditions of St. Aude do not allow us to propose with any seriousness a pre-Conquest context for the transfer, nor can we determine when this motif arose. We can state only that it is first recorded in an English source of the fourteenth century, and is perhaps therefore more likely to be of English than of Breton provenance.

There is however other evidence that traditions of Sativola and Juthwara may have been known in Carolingian Brittany. Wrmonoc, monk of Landévennec, writing *circa* 884 believed that Pol Aurelian had been greeted by his sister *Sicofolla*, upon a

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[185] *Vita Sancti Wlsini*, §§ 21-4 (Gotha, Landesbibliothek MSS, I.81, fols. 161^{r}-166^{v}, *saec. xiv med.*); *De sancta Iuthwara virgine et martire* (London, British Library, Cottonian MSS, Tiberius E.i, St. Albans, *saec. xiv med.*); Talbot (1959), 84-5; Horstmann (1886), 79-80; (1901), II, 98-9.

[186] For sororicide, see Thompson (1932, S 322.4.2, S 322.7, Q 458.2.1). 'She', in the second clause of this sentence, refers to Juthwara's stepmother (author's correction).

[187] Baring-Gould and Fisher (1907), I, 185-8.

visit to Cornwall.[188] The *Vita Pauli* states that Sicofolla's monastery was *extremis finibus, id est in litore maris Britannici*, and that he helped her to save it from inundation by building a causeway. Although this *semita Pauli* has not been convincingly identified and might reflect knowledge of another, Breton, location, in general the account would fit the topography of Mount's Bay (Cornwall), and particularly of the once extensive marshes between Marazion and Gulval.[189] Paul, near Penzance has always been believed to commemorate Pol Aurelian (his only dedication in Cornwall), and while Baring-Gould was wrong to found his argument for *Sicofolla*'s presence at Gulval on the saint *Welvela* commemorated in the place-name (through a commemoration of the latter saint with Sidwell at Laneast that dated only to the eighteenth century),[190] it cannot be coincidence that in the thirteenth century, Gulval was known in Cornish as *Lanestli* and Laneast as *Lanayst* (in both cases *lan* plus an unknown word).[191] Laneast's earliest dedication was to Sativola. It is certainly opaque, but a link would nevertheless appear to exist between these places.

The similarity of motifs of the Sidwell, Urith and Juthwara traditions to those associated with the Welsh Gwenfrewi (Winifred) will already have been noted.[192] Winifred was not celebrated at Exeter, but that her cult was known in the southwest is

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[188] *Vita Sancti Pauli Aureliani*, §§ 1, 9, 10; Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 217 (Fleury, *saec. x*); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS 12942 (*saec. xii ineunte*); Plaine (1882), 229. On the following see also Doble (1960, 28-52) and Olson (1989, 20-26).

[189] Baring-Gould and Fisher (1907), IV, 78-9; Doble (1960), 42. But 'some erect stones' are on record at Tredinnick in Gulval parish (Russell, 1971, 36).

[190] Baring-Gould and Fisher (1907), IV, 362-3.

[191] Doble (1960), 78; Padel (1977), 18; (1988), 91, 106.

[192] Wade-Evans (1944), 289-309; Baring-Gould and Fisher (1907), IV, 397-423. See above, pp. 98-101.

suggested by the *Wenta* and *Guenbrith* of the Glastonbury lists and by earlier forms of the Cornish place St. Minver. Known as *Sancta Menfreda* in the mid thirteenth century, and *Minefred* in the sixteenth, its saint had been identified as of Welsh origin by the twelfth-century compiler of a list of parochial saints, writing from Hartland in north Devon. There, her name is written *Menfre*.[193] Replacing *-m-* with *-w-*, these are homophones of *Wenefreda* and *Wenvrewy*, respectively the Latin and Welsh forms of Winifred's name.[194] A supposition of influence from a written tradition helps to explain the names *Bana* later *Benia* for Sativola's father, for while such names do exist in Anglo-Saxon,[195] we note that Winifred is inextricably linked with *Beuno*, whose name was written *Bennonus* in Latin. An association with Old English *bana*, *banan* (murderer) was clearly responsible for the transfer of the name *Bana* to Juthwara's brother. If the similarities with the Welsh tradition be admitted, we might suppose a date for significant elements of the developed Urith-Sidwell-Juthwara legend contemporaneous with or later than the composition and first dissemination of the *Vita Wenefredae* or its analogues.

The earliest references for the saints are hence constituted by the ninth-century *Vita Sancti Pauli Aureliani* and by the *Secgan* and Exeter relic list, of the eleventh century. The earliest recorded event relating to them is the translation of Juthwara's relics to Sherborne in the 1050's. However this may be, on topographical and

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[193] Doble (1946), 88; (1998), 99, 101, 117; Grosjean (1953), 359, 398; Orme (1992), 58.

[194] For a confusion to have arisen between *m* and *w*, the script used would presumably have had to have been a poor transitional or gothic textura, and would date it to the eleventh century or later.

[195] *Bana, Benna, Beona* (S 690; S 806; *GP* IV, § 163). There is a Bannawell Street in Tavistock and a similarly derived Banwell in Somerset (S 373). Hugh Candidus, *De Sanctis in Diversis Locis* (§12) places a *sanctus Benna* at Breedon-on-the-Hill (Leicestershire).

morphological factors, an early origin may be argued for the sites of Sidwell's and Juthwara's churches. The geographical knowledge of west Cornwall demonstrated by the author of the *Vita Sancti Pauli* suggests Landévennec's connection with the region to go back further than the tenth century, when the traditions of one or more of these female saints were known on both sides of the channel. There is no reason to doubt the authority of Wrmonoc. If Förster's derivation is the correct one, if *Sidefulle* is not an approximation to a British name and if *Sicofolla* is not itself British, then a saint named in Anglo-Saxon was commemorated in west Cornwall in the mid to late ninth century, for the implication of the visit of Paul to *Sicofolla* is that a church commemorating *Sicofolla* already existed when the cult of Paul was installed in the vicinity. As Aldhelm's contacts and the possible association of King Alfred with Gwinear indicate, this is not chronologically impossible. Sidwell's cult subsequently spread to Laneast and thence to Exeter after the more thoroughgoing establishment of West Saxon rule. Her relics were there by the eleventh century.

3.4.2 SAINT NECTAN

Nectan and Brannoc were the patrons of important churches at Hartland and Braunton, whose Domesday record, patterns of landholding, estate and parish boundaries establish them as inheritors to large estates of imputed British character. Place-names and physical characteristics suggest the early date of the sites associated with both saints, whilst Brannoc's was explicitly called *Brannocmynstre* shortly after 855.[196] There is no *vita* of Brannoc, but a *Vita Sancti Nectani*, *Inventio* and *Miracula*

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[196] Chope (1902, 1940); *DB Devon*, 1.5; 1.30; 45.3; Pearce (1985), 263-9, 270-74; Dark (1994b), 160-62; S 1695; Finberg (1953), 9-13; Blows (1991), 184; Orme (1992), 57, 117-8; Abrams (1996), 67-8. Present opinion is against Doble's identification (1945b, 31-2) of Brannoc with the Breton saint Branwalader, whose relics were obtained by Athelstan.

were assembled at Hartland circa 1175.[197] The *Vita* is composed of familiarly nebulous 'Celtic' traditions. Some of the miracles appear to be of pre-Conquest date, but the whole is of dubious antiquity.[198]

There was a Breton cult of Nectan, but influence appears in this instance to have been travelling in the opposite direction, since (a) the places in Brittany celebrating the saint bear names of late type and never appear to have claimed relics and (b) because nothing of substance was known of him when his life was written at Hartland, and no reference was made therein to Brittany.

In light of the dominance achieved by English speakers in north Devon indicated by the place names, that the cults of Nectan and Brannoc should have survived to be respected and sponsored West Saxon clergy and nobility suggests the uninterrupted operation of the mynsters of this area during the period of the transition from British to West Saxon control in (most probably) the ninth century, and might suppose a previous alignment with the West Saxon church. We noted above (p. 140) Aldhelm's apparent reference to an advance guard of English clergy serving in Welsh communities in the late seventh century, and, while we know nothing about them, there is no reason not to suppose such processes to have continued throughout the period of the West Saxon political expansion into the Westcountry. The natural desire to install the cult of a universal saint would certainly be tempered somewhat by the presence *in*

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[197] Extant only in Gotha, Landesbibliothek MSS, I.81 (*saec. xiv med.*), respectively fols. 50^{v}-51^{v}, 52^{r}, 52^{v}-55^{v}; Grosjean (1953), 397-414; Pearce (1978), 197-9. For a speculative and picturesque reconstruction of an historical Nectan (really king Brychan himself, buried on Lundy and translated to Hartland in the seventh century or before), see Thomas (1994, 175-80). For his liturgical cult, see Wormald (1938, 13-14) and Grosjean (1953, 389-90).

[198] The motifs of the *Vita* cannot be dated. The *Inventio* and the first miracles were said to be of Athelstan's reign, but this is most likely a fiction. See Grosjean (1953, 383-7).

situ of a group of Anglo-Saxon or affiliated clerks already engaged in the promotion of a British founder. Though the influence of Glastonbury and Gloucester is palpable on the dedications of Watchet (Decuman), Carhampton (Carantoc) and a number of other Somerset churches, analogous scenarios may be posited for Congresbury (Cyngar) and Landkey (St. Kea).[199]

3.4.3 SAINT NEOT

St. Neot is a large parish in mid Cornwall spanning the southern hills of Bodmin Moor and the deeply cleft valleys feeding the river Fowey. Its fifteenth-century church sits on a south-facing hillside terrace (curved score 3, raised score 4).[200] *Neotestou* boasted *clerici* or *presbiteri* at Domesday and may be assumed to have functioned as a secular mynster in the pre-Conquest period.[201] The name *Neotestou* and the nucleation of the village argue for Anglo-Saxon influence. The saint is probably that referred to as *Nioth* in the 'tenth-century list' and may thus be judged to be of British origin.[202] His relics had, it seems, been translated to Eynesbury (St. Neots, Cambridgeshire) by the end of the tenth century and were certainly there in the early eleventh when the *Secgan* records that *Đonne resteð sancte Neot, mæssepreost on*

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[199] See Pearce (1973, 103-7; 1985, 259), Doble (1945a, 33-6) and Orme (1996, 177). Glastonbury itself appears to have been a British foundation (if not one of undue importance), and as such is likely to have been focussed on a British cult or cults, but beyond that it is impossible to go. See Thomas (1974, 170-74) and more recently, Blows (1991), Abrams and Carley (1991) and Costen (1992, 77-8).

[200] I have not examined the tithe map in this instance, but the yard as drawn by Preston-Jones (1992, 104) does not take into account a raised, curved area east of the church which appears to represent a continuation of its line. This area adds 1 to the curvilinearity score and takes the yard into Brook's 'partly curved' category. It is this score that is given here. See above, note 57.

[201] *DB Cornwall*, 4.28; Olson (1989), 89-90.

[202] Olson and Padel (1986, 49-50) question the identification.

Eanulfesbirig.[203] Neot is found in four pre-Conquest litanies and three calendars, none of which is securely provenanced to the far southwest.[204] His later cult was focussed in East Anglia, whence his name entered documents from Canterbury, Winchester and Westminster.[205]

Eynesbury tradition, surviving in a *vita* probably of the late eleventh century recorded his association with King Alfred.[206] The hagiographer, probably working at Ramsey in the circle of Byrhtferth, seems to have built on Asser's statement that Alfred had visited the church of saint *Gueriir* and on the knowledge that the king held lands in Cornwall.[207] Further traditional material about Alfred of presumed Westcountry origin was included in order to lend weight to the association, and this influenced the redactor of Asser's life to include the words *et nunc etiam sanctus Niot ibidem pausat* after the reference to St. *Gueriir* (Gwinear), meaning to imply that Alfred had visited the one-time home of Neot's shrine, and that Asser had vouched for it (hence the present tense). Since the destroyed manuscript of Asser's life was believed to date *circa* 1000, this emendation might have been made at about the same time as the first translation of

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[203] Liebermann (1889), 13-14; Rollason (1978), 65-6.

[204] Neot occurs under his conventional post-Conquest day (31 July) in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MSS 296 (Crowland, *circa* 1030) and in London, British Library, Cottonian MSS, Vitellius A.xii (Salisbury, *saec. xi med.*). In Arundel MSS, 155 (Canterbury, *saec. xi*^{l}) the feast is an addition of the thirteenth century. The date 20 October is found only in British Library, Cottonian MSS, Nero A. ii (*saec. xi*^{l}, see below) and Cleo B. ix (Abbotsbury, Dorset, *saec. xiv*^{l}).

[205] On the post-Conquest cult see Richards (1980, 1981a) and Dumville and Lapidge (1985, cxviii-cxxiv).

[206] Principally, London, British Library, Additional MSS, 38130 (*saec. xii ineunte*), fols. 1^{r}-8^{r} (Dumville and Lapidge, 1985, 111-42; Doble, 1998, 64-7). The other MSS are described by Lapidge (Dumville and Lapidge, 1985, lxxvii-lxxxii).

[207] A Ramsey origin is established from stylistic and other internal evidence (Smyth, 1995, 337-48).

Neot's remains out of Cornwall, and draws to our attention the possibility of Eynesbury intervention in the text of Asser.[208] Rather than demonstrate 'that St *Gueriir*'s resting-place was identified with the church of St. Neot in Cornwall at an early date', the passage shows only that an eleventh century East Anglian author wished to fabricate an association between St. Neot and king Alfred.[209]

After the Conquest, St. Neots was established as an alien priory under the control of Bec, and Neot's cult spread through the influence of the Norman house.[210] The *Vita Prima* was re-transmitted to Cornwall some time in the twelfth century and several pedestrian folkloric traditions with Welsh and Breton parallels gathered from St. Petroc's at Bodmin or from the Cornish of *Seynt Nyet* (probably *via* Glastonbury or a western cell of Bec) were incorporated by a Norman author into a revised version.[211] The use of a motif shared with the *Vita* (*Secunda*) *Sancti Petroci* probably indicates the work to be of the last quarter of the century.[212] It was this version that formed the basis

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[208] We can suppose this and other elements of the *Gesta Alfredi* to indicate the extended mediation of that text, without condemning it as an out-and-out fraud (*pace* Smyth, 1995, 349-67, and *passim*). On the authorship of the *vitae* of Neot, see Doble (1998, 73-4) and Lapidge (Dumville and Lapidge, 1985, xciv, cx-cxv).

[209] *pace* Orme (1992, 135).

[210] Thus Neot's appearance in the Bec Missal (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Lat. 1105, *saec. xiii*^{2}: Hughes, 1961), and in London, British Library, Arundel MSS 230 (Crowland, *saec. xii exeunte*), Cottonian MSS, Tiberius B.iii (Canterbury, *saec. xiii ineunte*), Harleian MSS, 547 (Ely, *saec. xiii*), 3658 (Deeping, 1332), London, Lambeth Palace Library MSS, 873 (Crowland, *saec. xv*), Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner MSS 169 (Chester, *saec. xii exeunte*), Rawlinson MSS, Lit.g.10 (Westminster, *saec. xv*^{2}), and Oxford, Brasenose College MSS, 21 (St. Neots, *saec. xv*). Chester was a cell of Bec, whilst Westminster's abbot was from Bec.

[211] London, British Library, Cotton MSS, Claudius A.v (*saec. xiii ineunte*), fols. 145^{v}-160^{v}; *Acta SS*, Julii VII, 319-29; Doble (1998), 68-71.

[212] Richards (1981a), 276.

for John of Tynemouth's fourteenth-century abbreviation and for an Old English homily of similar date.[213]

Only two factors had commended Neot to the tenth-century monks of Eynesbury. First that the relics were available and second that except that he had been a priest, nothing whatever was known of him, so enabling the community to develop his tradition as they saw fit. Eynesbury was not a royal foundation. The *Liber Eliensis* tells us it was founded by the nobleman Leofric and his wife Leofflæd in conjunction with bishop Æthelwold.[214] While there are a number of persons of the name Leofric in West Saxon documents of the period, Hart identified him with a son of Ælfthryth by Æthelwold.[215] If this was the case, then the removal of Neot's relics might constitute evidence of how he remained in contact with his southwestern kinsmen. This is 'what made people in Huntingdonshire think about a saint in far-off Cornwall'.[216] It coincides with the evidence of the close linkage of the families of Ordgar of Devon and of Athelstan Half-King of East Anglia, and (if the following interpretation of the Ramsey origin of the materials relating to the cult of Germanus in Cornwall has anything to recommend it) of other links between the southwest and the reformed communities of eastern England. Æthelwine, patron of Ramsey, and brother of Ælfthryth's first husband Æthelwold (ealdorman of East Anglia from 956) would of course, have been Leofric's uncle. That Neot should already have been culted at *Neotestou* when Eynesbury's

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[213] Horstmann (1901), II, 213-8; London, British Library, Cotton MSS, Vespasian D.xiv (*saec. xii*), fols. 145^{v}-151^{r}. On John of Tynemouth see Richards (1981b). On the homily, see Warner (1917, 129-34), Doble (1998, 57-64, 74) and Lapidge (Dumville and Lapidge, 1985, cxvi-cxvii).

[214] The *Vita* (*Prima*)'s *Æthelric* is thought to be in error by Lapidge (Idem, xcv-xcvi).

[215] Dumville and Lapidge (1985), lxxxviii-ix; Hart (1973), 130.

[216] Doble (1998), 72.

emissaries arrived again testifies to the respect accorded existing saints by West Saxon lords. These factors in turn confirm the extent to which central Cornwall had been absorbed into the structures of West Saxon society.

3.7.4 SAINT *GERNUN*, AND GERMANUS OF AUXERRE

The name *Gernun* appears in the 'tenth-century list', and is probably to be explained as that of a British saint local to the church of St. Germans, a settlement at the head of the estuary of the river Lynher which debouches into the tidal reaches of the Tamar west of Saltash.[217] It is clear that by the middle of the century, this church was of episcopal status and that its dedicatee had been identified with Germanus of Auxerre. The first unequivocal appearance of Germanus in its name comes in Dunstan's *notificatio* where we are told that bishop Daniel was elevated *inn to scē germane to þam bisceopsteole*.[218] Its first explicit use as a place-name is much later again. In 1018, Cnut allegedly confirmed bishop Burhwold of Cornwall in possession of the manors of *Landerhtun* (Landrake) and *Tinieltun* (Tinnell) which adjoin St. Germans, and addressed the grant explicitly *sancto Germano*.[219]

Leland referred to a charter of Athelstan that stated bishop Conan to have been erected 'to the church of St. German',[220] while a second charter of 936 abstracted in the seventeenth century but now lost, referred to *episcopatus Beati Germani Cornubiae*

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[217] Olson and Padel (1986), 55-6.

[218] Napier and Stevenson (1895), 19.

[219] S 951; Haddan and Stubbs (1868), I, 686-8; Chaplais (1966), 21-2; Hooke (1994), 55-62. The charter is of doubtful authenticity.

[220] *Erexit in ecclesiam sancti Germani quemdam Conanum episcopum* (Haddan and Stubbs, 1868, I, 676). For the reasons why this charter should be distinguished from that following, see Olson (1989, 63-4).

regionis Episcopi.[221] In his 994 address to bishop Ealdred, Æthelred uses the formula *pro amore Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, atque sancti Confessoris Germani, necnon et Beati Eximii Petroci*.[222] If the contemporaneity of this charter is credited, Germanus must have been considered a co-patron of the Cornish diocese from at least that time, but none of our documents take the association back before the tenth century. In general speech, the see continued to be known as that of Cornwall, not of St. German's, nor of St. Petroc's.[223] The church of St. Germans was still important at Domesday, when the manor was held by the bishop and canons of Exeter.[224]

The continental cult of Germanus was focussed on Auxerre, his fifth-century see. Germanus remained a favoured commemoration of the Frankish church, and his cult was associated from an early date with that of St. Geneviève (whose life was written *circa* 520) and with other typically Frankish patrons.[225] Germanus' own *vita*, written by Constantius of Lyons (*circa* 480) within forty years of the saint's death accorded him a role in the suppression of the Pelagian heresy in Britain to which he was

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[221] Oxford, Bodleian Library, James MSS, 23 (*saec. xvii*); Padel (1978), 26-7.

[222] Exeter, Dean and Chapter MSS, 2070 (*saec. x exeunte*); S 880; Pedler (1856), 119-25; Olson (1989), 74-7. Chaplais (1966, 21) believed there was 'every reason to believe that it is an original'. The formula *in beati Germani memoria atque Petroci veneratione* is similarly found in the charter of Edward the Confessor that unites the sees of Devon and Cornwall at Exeter (Exeter, Dean and Chapter Library MSS, 2072, *saec. xi med.*; S 1021; Pedler, 1856, 130-35; Chaplais, 1966, 28-31), where it forms part of 'particularly questionable' passage.

[223] On the rare occasions that he appears as a charter signatory, the Cornish bishop never bears his designation.

[224] *DB Cornwall*, 2.6; Pearce (1978), 84.

[225] *Vita Sanctae Genovefae*, §§ 4-6 (Krusch, 1896, 216-7; McNamara and Halborg, 1992, 20-21).

believed to have made one (or possibly two) voyages.[226] The *Vita* was known in England in the eighth century as Bede's remarks indicate,[227] and Germanus' feast is entered in the calendar of the ninth-century Digby manuscript.[228] It is therefore surprising that Germanus has no dedications in England before the tenth century, when his name begins to feature in a larger number of liturgical documents.[229] Fourteen pre-Conquest calendars commemorate a Germanus on 31 July, while a saint of that name appears in twenty-three litanies. In litanies and calendars the problem of plural *Germani* is acute. While the conventional dates of 31 July (Germanus of Auxerre), 1 October (Germanus of Auxerre, *translatio*) and 28 May (Germanus of Paris) appear straightforward enough, only rarely does the scribe indicate which Germanus his church believed it was commemorating.

Three liturgical documents are held to be of relevance to the cult of Saint Germanus at St. Germans. The first is the calendar that comprises folios 3^{r}-8^{v} of the composite manuscript London, British Library, Cottonian, Nero A.ii. This has been surmised to be of St. Germans provenance on the basis of its four separate feasts of Germanus, of its 'archaism' and of the celebration of 'specifically Cornish' saints like Neot (twice, one being an addition) and Petroc.[230] The calendar, clumsily executed, is

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[226] Constantius, *Vita Germani Episcopi Autissiodorensis*, §§ 12-17, 25-8 (Krusch and Levison, 1920, 259-64, 269-71). The second trip may be a duplication. The facticity of the work was (in general) supported by Thompson (1984), but was questioned by Wood (1984, 9-17).

[227] *HE* I.17-21.

[228] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby MSS, 63, fols. 40-45^{v} (*saec.* ix^{2}), 1 October, 3 November.

[229] *pace* Ortenberg (1992), 35, 248. The dedications are listed by Arnold-Forster (1899, I, 462-3).

[230] Lapidge (1981), 84-6. London, British Library, Cottonian MSS, Vitellius A.xii (Salisbury, *saec.* xi^{2}) is in fact the calendar with the most *Germani* (27 April, 2 May, 28 May, 31 July, 30 October). The celebration of a Germanus on 27 April is shared with the Bosworth Psalter

certainly not a model of its species. Its inclusion of at least seventy obscure martyrs from an obsolete version of the Hieronymian martyrology means that it might reasonably be considered the product of a 'backward' or impecunious region.[231] Nevertheless, this does not necessarily bear on its date. If it is of the eleventh rather than the later tenth century, then Neot and Petroc need not any longer have been 'specifically Cornish' saints. Neot is found in pre-Conquest calendars and litanies of potential Ramsey provenance, whilst Petroc's feast on 4 June is widespread.[232] Its appearance against 23 May in this calendar is nearly approached by that of 21 May in the calendar of a psalter provenanced to Crowland.[233] The Crowland calendar also, it might be noticed commemorates Neot on 31 July with the same designation as the addition in Nero A.ii.

More importantly, whereas most calendars have Remigius, Vedastus and Germanus for 1 October, Nero A.ii has only Remigius and Vedastus, a feature repeated only in two Winchester calendars. The scribe never abbreviates the names of his saints, and the unique entry of Germanus a day early (30 September) can be explained simply by his unwillingness to attach Germanus' feast to those of Remigius and Vedastus, when it was clear that there was no longer space enough on the first line.[234] One of the calendars the scribe had before him was an obsolete text that had no doubt been in his

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(London, British Library, Additional MSS, 37517, Canterbury, *saec. x exeunte*) and cannot be supplied from the Roman calendar.

[231] Gasquet and Bishop (1908), 152-3.

[232] For Neot and Petroc see above, respectively notes 169 and 204.

[233] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MSS, 296 (*saec. xi*^{1}). Lapidge (1981, 86) states that 'St. Petroc's feast in Nero A.ii is marked against 23 May (as it is in the Bosworth Psalter)', yet there is -as far as I can see- nothing against 23 May on fol. 2^{v} of the latter manuscript (Wormald, 1934, 62).

church for many years. The other must have been among those calendars that included all three saints on October 1, most probably among those with Germanus third or as an addition. Into the first category fall the calendars of the eastern houses including the Crowland psalter and its continental models, whilst the second includes the later calendar of the so-called 'Portiforium of St. Wulfstan', which originates at Worcester.[235]

Local (and hence 'original') cults of Germanus and Neot can therefore hardly be argued from the dates of their celebration in Nero A.ii. Most tellingly, there is an absence of saints whose cults were genuinely restricted to Cornwall. There is therefore no evidence that the calendar of Nero A.ii was used in Cornwall. Wherever it was written, it is possible that one of its exemplars originated within the reformed communities of Eastern England. The gathering (fols. 3-12) shares its scribe with one of those of the Herefordshire or Leominster manuscript London, British Library, Cottonian, Galba A.xiv and both commemorate the obscure *Æþelmodus*, whose relics were at Leominster in 1286. If *Æþelmodus* is to be identified with the priest of that name who died at Rome in 962, then neither text is likely to date before the eleventh

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[234] See the plate facing page 29 in Wormald (1934).

[235] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MSS, 296 (*saec. xi med.*), Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 123 (*saec. xi*), Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MSS, 391 (*saec. xi*^{2}). Lapidge (1981, 86) states that 'the two other entries -30 September and 3 November- are not found in other calendars', yet 3 November occurs in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby MSS, 63 (*saec. ix*^{2}), Salisbury, Dean and Chapter MSS 150 (*saec. x*^{2}), Cambridge, University Library MSS, Kk.5.32 (*saec. xi*^{1}) and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MSS, 422 (*circa* 1060). He adds that St. Neot's feast on 20 October is 'a date which does not seem to occur in any other pre-Conquest calendar', yet it occurs under this date again in the last two named calendars. It is, in addition hard to credit his assertion (1981, 85) that Nero A.ii's Winnoc (6 Nov) was a saint 'principally venerated in British speaking areas', when a Winnoc occurs under this date in manuscripts with provenances as diverse as Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby MSS, 63 (Northumbria), and Hatton MSS, 113 (Worcester), London, British Library, Cottonian MSS, Vitellius, A.xii (Exeter) and Vitellius A.xviii (Wells), and Rome, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensis MSS, Lat. 12 (Canterbury) and a number of continental MSS, but not in the Leofric Missal, nor in the post-Conquest Launceston calendar.

century.[236] If, as seems likely, Nero A.ii was abstracted from this manuscript, then its exemplar might have come *via* Worcester.

The second and third documents must be considered together. The so-called 'Lanalet Pontifical' is a composite and much altered tenth-century benedictional, written in Caroline minuscules that carries towards its close a form of excommunication used by 'the bishop of the monastery of *Lanalet*', added in a hand of the eleventh century.[237] That the codex was once in the southwest is indicated by the inscription *Lyvinc b[isceop] ah þas boc* on the 196th leaf. Though Lyving, bishop of Crediton from *circa* 1026 had held Cornwall in plurality from 1043 until his death in 1047, it would be rash to suppose the excommunication and other additional material necessarily to have been copied in the southwest at this time. With the exception of *Eudoc* (Judoc) and Brigit (whose cults were metropolitan and universal) there are, it might again be noted, no British (Cornish or Exeter) saints in its litanies, whilst there are a number of predominantly Frankish or Winchester cult.[238] In the light of the inclusion of material from the church of York the core text may fairly securely be taken to represent the work of a reformed monastic community in England linked to bishop Oswald, and in contact with the continent. Except that this was before 1047, it cannot be established from internal evidence when the pontifical arrived in the southwest.

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[236] *ASC* (A), *sub anno*; Nero A.ii, under 9 January (Wormald, 1934, 30); Galba A.xiv, second litany (Lapidge, 1991, 166). See Doble (1942, 58, 61-2), Hillaby (1987, 652-4), and above, pp. 108-9.

[237] Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 368 (A.27) (*saec. xi ineunte*), fols. 183, 184r. It begins *Divinitatis suffragio lanaletensis monasterii episcopis* (recte *episcopus*) *omnibus sanctae dei aecclesie fidelibus notum sit* (Doble, 1937, 130-31).

[238] Doble (1937), 3, 6, 133-4. For further considerations of provenance see Idem (x-xi, xiv, xx) and Lapidge (1991, 82-3). On Judoc, see Gasquet and Bishop (1908, 54, 56) and Wormald (1946b, 79, note 112).

As will have been noticed, the excommunication by itself does not identify *Lanalet* with St. Germans. A natural assumption would be that *Lanalet* referred to the bishopric of *Alet* at St-Servan-sur-Mer in Brittany.[239] *Alet* was the site of a walled Roman town and excavation has shown that the cathedral of the later tenth century was constructed above an important fourth-century building, part of which had been soon after converted into a small church.[240] The bishopric of Malo at *Alet* could therefore claim Gallo-Roman origins, but its style, *Aletensis*, must, in view of the site's desertion, have been consciously archaïzing.[241] The seat of the bishop remained at Alet until its definitive transfer to St-Malo Island in the middle of the twelfth century. While Bili, writing *circa* 870, refers to *civitatem (que vocatur) Alet*, (*episcopatus cathedre*) *Aletis civitatis* and *pagum Alet*,[242] the name *Guidalet* or *Kidalet* had arisen by the eleventh century.[243] Though *Lanalet* is unattested,[244] it is not too much to suppose its existence as the ecclesiastical twin of *Guidalet*. The Breton identification would in any case be preferable to the Cornish, since we have independent evidence of the existence of a place called *Alet* that had bishops. That the form of excommunication was copied into the Rouen manuscript as an oddity, 'an impressive specimen of its genre',[245] is, it might

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[239] Warren (1881), 160; Jenner (1934), 489.

[240] Langouët (1973), cited by Fleuriot (1980, 334), and by Chédeville and Guillotel (1984, 144); Guigon (1997), 31, 111.

[241] *Vita Conuuoionis* (*saec. xi*), § 12 (Brett, 1989, 10, 13, 245); *Vita Sancti Machutis*, § 31 (Le Duc, 1979, 103).

[242] Respectively *Vita Sancti Machutis*, §§ I.31, 85, II.7; *Prologus*, I.37, 43, 69, *Ymnus Sancti Machuti*, § 14; *Vita Sancti Machutis*, I.34, 36, 67, 75, 85, II.6, II.11, II.14-15 (Le Duc, 1979, 103, 215, 233; 25, 117, 125, 179, 14; 111, 115, 175, 197, 215, 230, 239, 249-50). Hence *aletes ceastre, tune aleþ* and *scire aleþ* in the incomplete Old English version (see Yerkes, 1984, 113).

[243] Fleuriot (1980), 34; Chédeville and Guillotel (1984), 144.

[244] Despite Chadwick (1969, 249), where *Lann-Alet* is given.

[245] Olson (1989), 62.

be argued, proven by its introduction, for under what circumstances would a bishop of Cornwall and Exeter refer to himself in the manner of a detached observer?

The kindred *Missa Propria Germani Episcopi* is written in Caroline minuscules and bound as the first folio of a composite manuscript containing other items that have been dated to the mid tenth century.[246] It refers to *locum praeclarum atque notum ubique Lannaledensem, ubi reliquiae Germani episcopi conduntur* as a pilgrimage centre and styles it as that where *Germanus episcopus, a sancto Gregorio Romanae urbis apostolico ad nos missus, lucerna et columna Cornubiae... efulsit.* Several of the other items in the codex are of self-evidently British origin, and comparative glosses in Old Welsh and Old Cornish (or Breton) indicate that the texts must have been used in a church whose members required knowledge of the British language.[247]

The *Missa Propria*, then, states that the church of *Lannaled* had relics of Germanus, and that the saint was believed to have been sent to *Cornubia* by Pope Gregory. *Alet* was in Porhoët rather than Cornouaille and was not known to be associated with Germanus, while the mistaken reference to Gregory betrays knowledge of the cult of Augustine.[248] We note first however that the bishop is not explicitly identified as *episcopus* (*ecclesie*) *sancti Germani*, but that the concentration is on the historical Germanus himself and on his relics in the church. Again, the text says not that the church of *Lanalled* was in *Cornubia*, but that Germanus was *lucerna et columna*

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[246] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodleian MSS, 572 (*saec. xi*); Warren (1881), 159-61; Jenner (1934), 482-5; Doble (1937), xxi; Dumville (1975), cited by Olson (1989, 61, 66).

[247] Jenner (1934), 478-80.

Cornubiae. Apart from being a worthy alliteration, this was probably also a fair inference from the *Vita Sancti Germani*, which casts the saint as the protector of Armorica against the *Alani*,[249] and may reflect the clustering of Germanus dedications in Finistère. Neither the inclusion of material from the British tradition of Germanus, nor the reference to Gregory prove that the text was composed in Britain.[250] There is no reason why the *Historia Brittonum* or similar materials should not have been known and used at *Alet* or St-Malo, and again, it is not too much to suppose that it would have been known that Augustine had travelled through Gaul.

We do not know what relics were in the tenth-century church of *Alet*, but St. Malo's had not arrived from Saintes until the end of the preceding century. It might be noted that whilst the medieval cathedral was known as *Sancti Petri Aletensis*, this dedication is only securely associated with the church from 1098.[251] As Jenner indicated, in the fifteenth-century, the church of St-Malo paid especial honour to Germanus.[252] We should not therefore dismiss the idea then that relics of Germanus were once present at *Alet*.[253] Although those of Germanus and Lupus (of Troyes) appear

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[248] Rutt (1977), 307-8.

[249] *Vita Sancti Germani*, §§ 28, 40 (Krusch and Levison, 1920, 271, 280); Arnold-Forster (1899), I, 456, 460.

[250] The Life of Germanus in the *Historia Brittonum* (§§ 32-5; 39; 47-8, 50) and the Welsh tradition are considered by Baring-Gould and Fisher (1907, III, 68-75) and by Kirby (1970, 49-54).

[251] Guigon (1997), 110.

[252] Jenner (1934), 491-2.

[253] The eponym of Saint-Servan-sur-Mer remains obscure (Guigon, 1997, 122), but is probably the saint *Serwane* of the tenth-century Breton litany once at Rheims (Lapidge, 1991, 261). There were two early martyrs called *Servandus* and *Germanus*, alleged sons of Marcellus of (Spanish) Léon. The latter might have been assimilated to Germanus of Auxerre in the tenth century, or indeed Germanus of Auxerre may always have been culted at *Alet*. *Severus* was the companion of Germanus on his second visit to Britain *(Vita Sancti Germani*, § 25).

in the eleventh-century Exeter relic lists, there do not seem to have been any relics of Germanus in Cornwall until the fourteenth century.[254] The church of St. Germans is in consequence absent from early lists like the *Secgan*. There are certainly no references commensurate with those to the *corpora* of saints Petroc and Rumon, and the only evidence for the presence of relics at St. Germans is constituted by the *Missa Propria* itself. Unless we are to credit a ridiculous hyperbole, it would be sensible to think that 'the very famous and universally known place *Lanalled*' referred to some other church.

The *Missa Propria* re-uses material from the preface to the feasts of Abdon and Sennen (celebrated on July 30, the day before Germanus) of the Gallican supplement to the Gregorian sacramentary. Germanus, the *Missa* declares *in Lannaledensis aeclesiae Tuae prato sicut rosae et lilia floruit*. Jenner noted that were the text to have been composed in England it would represent one of the first known uses of the supplement.[255] This demonstration of up-to-the-moment continental influence is not really credible in a text supposedly composed in Cornwall. Were *Lannaled* not to have been identified with St. Germans, one would suppose the text to be of continental origin. It has not previously been remarked that the Gallican preface for Abdon and Sennen occurs also in the Winchcombe Sacramentary, nor that the version there given shares the use of *aeterne deus* with the *Missa* against the regular Gallican.[256] It has also

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[254] The lists are in Warren (1883, 3-5), Thomas (1974, 478-85) and Connor (1993, 171-209). See also Rutt (1977, 306).

[255] Jenner (1934), 488; Radford (1975), 191. On the transmission of the Gallican supplement to England, see Prescott (1988, 125-33).

[256] Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 127 (*saec. x exeunte*), where it probably derives from a Fleury exemplar. See Jenner (1934, 492) and Olson (1989, 61) and Davril (1995, 25, 172). Though written in England, the Winchcombe manuscript subsequently found its way to Fleury (see Gremont and Donnat, 1966).

escaped notice that the same transposition of *rosae et lilia* is found in the early eleventh-century *Vita Oswaldi* by Byrhtferth of Ramsey. Here, Germanus, abbot of Winchcombe, Æthelnoth of Ramsey and Wynsinus of Worcester are collectively described as flourishing *velut aestas cum flavescunt campi liliis et rosis atque colocasia.* We might thus suppose a continental text to have been transmitted to the south-west from Winchcombe or Ramsey, houses closely linked to the monastery of Fleury-sur-Loire, one of the fonts of the tenth-century monastic reform.[257]

With the re-establishment of native control of Brittany at the end of the 930's, Fleury had taken the opportunity to expand its influence and with royal and papal support an increasing number of Breton houses were drawn into the Cluniac orbit. *Alet* was one of these.[258] One context for the passing of documents relating to the early history of the church of St-Malo to England is presented by the flight of clerks occasioned by Viking devastation in the 920's, but there is no evidence that Athelstan acquired Malo's relics.[259] Malo has no ancient dedications in England,[260] but his cult had undoubtedly been adopted at Winchester by the eleventh century, when an Old English translation of Bili's *Vita Sancti Machutis* was produced, and when he begins to feature

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[257] *Vita Oswaldi Archiepiscopi*, § 4 (Raine, 1879, I, 435). At another level, this is of course a pun on Fleury (*Floriacensis*).

[258] On Fleury's Breton connections see Gougaud (1923b), Donnat (1975), and (briefly) Pearce (1973), McKitterick (1983), and Smith (1992, 163-4).

[259] Gasquet and Bishop (1908), 53-6. Considering Malo's importance we should almost certainly expect to find a reference to the king's donation of relics to one or other of his favoured churches.

[260] There do appear to be several of the eleventh century or later in Wales (Baring-Gould and Fisher, 1907, III, 433), but there is no justification for the identification of St. Mawes (*Sanctus Maudetus*, 1284), Cornwall, with Malo. On this see Doble (1964, 57-8) and Orme (1992, 151-2).

in a number of liturgical documents.[261] A poem thought to have been composed at Ramsey in the third quarter of the tenth century, contests with a Salisbury manuscript the earliest calendrical inclusion, while the earliest English litany containing the saint is probably again of Ramsey origin. Other litanies and calendars are provenanced to centres of the tenth-century reform.[262] Thacker has argued that the impact of Fleury on the cult of saints in later tenth and eleventh century England has been underestimated.[263] It is quite possible that the cult of Malo and documents properly pertaining to the Breton church of *Alet* should instead have reached England at this time via Fleury.

Winchcombe (Gloucestershire) had been refounded under the auspices of the Fleury-trained bishop Oswald around 969, when a Germanus was appointed as abbot.[264] The community was dispersed after the death of Edgar and Germanus travelled to Fleury. Most of his monks were transferred to Ramsey (Cambridgeshire), a house that was at this time patronized by Æthelwine, ealdorman of East Anglia (962-992). Æthelwine's elder brother Æthelwold had, we recall, been the first husband of Ælfthryth, the daughter of Ordgar, and so Æthelwine had for a time been brother-in-law

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[261] Malo (*Machu*, *Machlonus*, *Machlonius*, *Machutus*) occurs under 15 November in the calendars of London, British Library, Cottonian MSS, Nero A.ii (Herefordshire, *saec. xi*^{1}), Titus D.xxvii (Winchester, c.1030), Vitellius A.xii (Salisbury, *saec. xi exeunte*), Vitellius A.xviii (Wells, *saec. xi*^{2}), Vitellius E.xviii (Winchester, *saec. xi med.*), Arundel MSS, 60 (Winchester *saec. xi*^{2}), Cambridge, Trinity College MSS, R.15.32 (Winchester, c.1025), Corpus Christi College MSS, 9 (Worcester, *saec. xi med.*), 422 (Sherborne, *saec. xi med.*), and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MSS, 296 (Crowland, *saec. xi med.*). Lections appear in the breviaries of Hyde, Winchester and York. On the English *Vita*, see Yerkes (1981, 1984).

[262] Oxford, St. John's College MSS, 17 (Thorney, *saec. xi ineunte*); Lapidge (1984), 368; Salisbury, Cathedral MSS, 150 (Salisbury, *saec. x exeunte*); London, British Library, Harleian MSS, 2904 (*saec. x exeunte*); Lapidge (1991), 74. Other litanies come from Winchcombe (*saec. xi med.*), Winchester (*saec. xi*^{2}), Herefordshire (*circa* 1040), Worcester (*saec. xi med.*) and Bury St. Edmunds (*saec. xi med.*).

[263] Thacker (1992), 230-32.

[264] *Chronicon Abbatie Ramesiensis*, § 21 (Macray, 1886, 42). On Germanus' biography up to 994 see Lapidge (1992, 117-26).

to Ordwulf, founder of Tavistock Abbey.[265] Ramsey kept in close contact with Fleury, and Abbo, Abbot of Fleury visited between the years 985 and 987. Sideman, bishop of Crediton until 977 may have had Fleury connections, and it has been suggested that both the relics of Gildas at Glastonbury and the commemoration of Pol Aurelian at Exeter may be related to Fleury influence of about this time.[266]

Germanus became abbot of Cholsey in or about 994 and witnesses charters in that capacity until 1013.[267] It is therefore conceivable that he is the *Germanus abbas* of the manumission that took place at Liskeard and Bodmin at the turn of the eleventh century.[268] *Germanus* is rare as a given name in tenth- and eleventh-century England. If it reflects the (re-) Latinization of a Brittonic name beginning *Guor-* then Cornwall is not such a peculiar place to find him.[269] The incongruity of his presence at an unreformed secular mynster is less surprising, should we imagine Abbot Germanus to have been a Briton.

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[265] Above, p. 197. Tavistock's links with centres to the east are confirmed by the provenancing there of three manuscripts containing works of Ælfric, abbot of Eynsham (Connor, 1993, 35).

[266] Pearce (1973), 99, 106; (1978), 126, 128. On Sideman see Connor (1993, 30). Pol Aurelian's relics had been translated to Fleury in the mid tenth century.

[267] They are calendared by Keynes (1980, 250-57) and listed by Lapidge (1992, 122, note 102).

[268] Förster (1930), no. 22. The identification was first proposed by Pedler (1856, 42-3).

[269] Lapidge (1992), 117. Where *Garmon* appears in Welsh documents it is almost certainly a Cymricization of *Germanus*, but it is likely that it also developed as an independent Welsh form. How one views this depends a lot on what is the earliest date one assigns the Germanus legend in Wales, thus particularly the Germanus content of the *Historia Brittonum* (on which, see Kirby, 1970, 50). We find no *Garmons* in the Llandaff memoranda, where the closest match is *Gurmoi* (*LL* 121, *circa* 600), a name that may be compared with the eponymous 'Irish' dedicatee of Germoe, near Helston (Orme, 1996, 83).

The introduction of the *cultus* of Germanus of Auxerre is probably to be related to the continental contacts arising from the sponsorship of monasticism by the tenth-century kings. It drew on the saint's professed orthodoxy and the case that might be made for his presence in Cornwall in the mid fifth century, and was influenced from the similarity of the saint's name to that of an existing patron. Dunstan, whom a letter from an English monk shows to have been in personal contact with Fleury,[270] had signalled in his *notificatio* that he was not entirely happy with the organization of the Cornish church, and it is possible that the institution of the cult represents one strand of an attempt to turn a seat used by a peripatetic bishop into a conventional and 'static' see.

To recapitulate, we have no pre-Conquest liturgical documents of Cornish origin. Breton texts may nevertheless have found their way west at the beginning of the eleventh century through the offices of Ramsey or some other reformed house in contact with the continent. One of these, the excommunication, had already been copied into a service book used at a reformed house associated with Oswald. The other, extant as a detached leaf was either the remnant of a book brought from eastern England to the southwest, or had been copied there from such a document. It was later included in a miscellany. We may legitimately infer from the *Lyving* inscription and from the contents of the codex containing the *Missa Propria* that the church of *Lanalet* was known in southwestern England in the early eleventh century. The East Anglian associations of the nobility of the Tavistock area, combined with Lyving's abbacy there between 1009 and 1027, make it highly probable that the codex had been assembled at Tavistock. If the texts were present in the southwest and known to Bishop Lyving it is not unlikely that they should have been used at St. Germans. However, it is simply not true that the

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[270] Cited by Ortenberg (1992, 10).

reference to Germanus in the *Missa Propria* 'clinches the identification of (the) *Lanalet* (of the excommunication)… with St. Germans, the seat of the bishops of Cornwall'. On internal evidence, the texts cannot be shown to be of English origin nor do they even establish the identity of *Lanalet* as a place in Cornwall.[271] What we are told amounts (i) to the fact that a church called *Lanalet* was the seat of a bishop, (ii) that Germanus had worked in *Cornubia*, (iii) that *Lanalet* had relics of Germanus and (iv) that it was promoting itself as a focus of pilgrimage. The chief importance of the documents is therefore the information they disclose about the West Saxon and East Anglian contacts of the diocese. The foregoing does not help us to identify the saint *Gernun* of the tenth-century list, but alerts us to the possibility of the influence of Fleury in the development of the Cornish cult of St. Germanus.

3.5 ANGLO-SAXON SAINTS

For only three places in the Tamar area is the earliest recorded commemoration of a saint of characteristically Anglo-Saxon cult.[272] These are Warbstow, Wembury and Marhamchurch. Whilst not the only Anglo-Saxon patrons in Cornwall those two west of the Tamar are possibly the earliest.[273] Warbstow, *Warberstowe* in 1309, commemorates

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[271] *pace* Doble (1937, x, xiii), and Olson (1989, 63-4). See especially Henderson (1929a, 3-4, and the preface by Bishop Frere) and Rutt (1977, 308), which chart the early history of the identification. Padel (1988, 87) favours an 'unexplained district name' for this element. *Allett* is a recorded name from the parish of Kenwyn in west Cornwall in the thirteenth century, but it does not appear to have had a church.

[272] Orme (1996, 158, 196) argues that the churches at Eggbuckland and (possibly) Shaugh Prior commemorate Edward the Martyr rather than the Confessor but this cannot be proven. While he is not an Anglo-Saxon saint as such, the context for the commemoration of the Norwegian Olaf at Poughill and at Exeter is established by Eadgyth's influence in Devon, and is undoubtedly of pre-Conquest date. See Bull (1913, 144), Dickens (1945, 69-70), Wormald (1938, 15-16) and Wakelin (1977, 45).

[273] Also Cubert (Cuthbert, 1269, but with distinct *lan*-name). Other Anglo-Saxon dedicatees (at Lanreath, Illogan and Launcells) are late replacements or additions.

Werburga, and appears to contain the saint's name. It is possible that the *-stow* formation, particularly common in northern Devon and Cornwall means that the dedication can be attributed an early date.[274] Werburga is also found at Wembury east of Plymouth. *Weybiria* in 1329, this is -on linguistic grounds- no longer thought to be the place *Wiceganbeorg* where the men of Devon won a victory against the Vikings in 851, and the first element is probably an unknown personal name diminutive.[275] If the dedication may conventionally be suspected to have arisen from the name, it is nevertheless interesting to note that this may already have occurred by the middle of the eleventh century when an unidentified saint *Wenburga* appears in the litany of the Cambridge Psalter, whose unique inclusion of Budoc (of nearby St. Budeaux) and provenance to Winchcombe, may stand it in some relation with the southwest.[276] In any event the topography of Wembury argues for the early origin of the church.[277]

Marhamchurch, and perhaps also Morwenstow and St. Merryn, whose names show similar development and are linked by geographical proximity, commemorate Mærwynn, a tenth-century abbess of Romsey in Hampshire.[278] Romsey was a royal nunnery founded, according to the early twelfth-century historian John of Worcester, by

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[274] Pearce (1985), 261.

[275] *ASC*, *sub anno*; Gover, Mawer and Stenton (1931), I, 260.

[276] Cambridge, University Library MSS, Ff.1.23 (*saec. xi med.*); Lapidge (1991), 62-3, 95-6; (1992), 100.

[277] The cliff-top church sits in a commanding position overlooking the coast. It is isolated from the village, and certainly not sited for the convenience of its present congregation. The yard is raised and curvilinear (scores 5, 3: see below, Appendix C (I), notes 1 and 2) and there are traces of earthworks in an adjacent field.

[278] On Morwenstow and St. Merryn, see Arnold-Forster (1899, II, 250, 541), Baring-Gould and Fisher (1907, III, 477), Doble (1965, 53-4), Padel (1988, 105, 120, 124), Farmer (1992, 338, 348), and Orme (1992, 91, 156-7).

Edward the Elder and reformed and re-endowed during the reign of King Edgar (959-75).[279] Edgar appointed Mærwynn to be abbess, and she attests two (dubious) charters in that capacity in 966.[280] She was remembered as the teacher of a fosterling of Edgar's called Ælflæd with whom she was there interred, translated and culted. Neither Exeter nor Glastonbury appears to have claimed relics of Ælflæd, but a *Morenna* appears in the Exeter lists.[281] The Cambridge manuscript of the *Secgan* tells us that *Ðonne resteð on Rumesige sancta Mærwyn, wæs seo forme abbodesse þæs mynstres... and sancta Æþelflæd and fela oðre halgan.*[282] The section in which this statement appears is believed to have been composed at the turn of the eleventh century, and since the reference to Mærwynn occurs in all manuscripts, her cult must have been observed at Romsey at least by that date, and most probably earlier.

The Domesday form *Maronecirce* is not particularly helpful, but the twelfth century *Miracula Sancti Nectani* speaks of the *parochia sancte Marwenne virginis*, and the name was by 1275 to be found as *Marwenecherche*, making the identification explicit.[283] By the twelfth century the identity of the dedicatee had however been forgotten and *Marwenna* and *Morwenna* (of Morwenstow) featured in the Hartland list as Brycheiniog princesses whilst St. Merryn commemorated St. Marina.[284] The

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[279] John of Worcester, *Chronicon*, *sub anno* 967 (Thorpe, 1848, I, 141). See *Acta SS* (Octobris XII, 918) for further references.

[280] Cited, Idem, 920.

[281] Warren (1883), lxi-ii, 5; Wormald (1946b), 84, notes 164-5; Thomas (1974), 485.

[282] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MSS, 201 (*saec. xi med.*); Liebermann (1889), 15; Rollason (1978), 65, 85, 92.

[283] *Miracula Sancti Nectani*, § 17 (Grosjean, 1953, 414); *DB Cornwall*, 5.5.5; Padel (1988), 115, 124; Orme (1992), 35, 155-7.

[284] *Vita Sancti Nectani*, § 1 (Grosjean, 1953, 382, 398). See Pearce (1973, 100-103), Olson and Padel (1986, 66) and Thomas (1994, 178, 182). The list was also cited in 1478 by William of

persistence of spellings in *-a-* at Marhamchurch indicates Mærwynn to have been the original patron. The singularity of this dedication means that it is hardly likely to be post-Conquest, and raises the possibility that the abbess was of a Westcountry family with lands in this area. The establishment of the cult may be dated to the early eleventh century and is evidence of the links of the area with the heartlands of the West Saxon kingdom.

3.6 CONCLUSION

It has been suggested that the frontier of the West Saxons on the southwest was one marked by seamless integration over an extended period. The evidence of ecclesiastical organization and institutions confirms that the border here was a line thrown out to encompass areas culturally very similar, and in which Britons and Anglo-Saxons already lived side by side. The lack of genetic variation across the southwestern peninsula indicates that the dominance achieved by the English language in the west of Devon was the result of internal processes extending over many generations rather than of an external change in the make up of the population. Even without the removal of some minor idiosyncrasies, the Cornish bishop was, it appears, welcomed into the West Saxon fold. Cornish churches were early and consistently patronized by the West Saxon kings and nobility, and saints' cults were doubtless promoted through their offices. Tenth-century Anglo-British personal names from Cornwall perhaps indicate that leading families were co-opted. We have suggested that the river Tamar formed a boundary of ecclesiastical administration before and after the demise of British Dumnonia and argued that this should be considered a logical factor of administrative

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Worcester, and by Leland in the early sixteenth century. They give the names respectively as *Morwenna* and *Marweana*, and as *Morwenna* and *Merewenna* (Doble, 1998, 99, 101).

geography. It has been established that it did form a boundary broadly speaking in the types of saints culted if not overwhelmingly in the morphology of ecclesiastical sites.

The native saints whose cults we have considered establish a context in which the West Saxon church was not unwilling to adopt, promote or metamorphose British cults even in areas which were swamped by English speech and (as may be inferred) were subject to not insignificant settlement by those identifying themselves as West Saxons. It is plain that British cults are far more plentiful in the west than in the east of the region but this may not be a direct reflection of the time of establishment, the extent or longevity of West Saxon political control, but rather a simple indication of the continued dominance of British speakers in those areas. The idea that a continuous period of differential socio-political development is necessary for the establishment of a cultual distinction on either side of a boundary (a precept of the study of frontiers) may thus be seen to be vitiated by co-existence of different cultural groups within the same polity.

The student of the cult of saints in the southwest cannot fail to be struck first by the absence of early hagiography of Cornish or west Devon origin,[285] second by the existence of alternative names for a large number of places bearing the saint as toponym, and third by the relation of clusters of Cornish dedications (to different but

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[285] It amounts only to the *Vita* (*Secunda*) *Sancti Petroci* and the Cornish *Beunans Meriasek* (saint of Camborne, *saec. xvi exeunte*). The *Vita* (*Secunda*) *Sancti Neoti* (above, p. 252) is a possibility, but the provenance of the *Passio Sancti Guigneri* by a monk called Anselm (lost MS, once Paris, Abb. S. Victor, MS 975, fol. 68) is insecure. We suggested above that Gwinear and Neot might have been linked in Eynesbury tradition, and noted that Eynesbury was a cell of Bec, but there are chronological obstacles to the identification of Anselm as the Archbishop of that name (1093-1109). Nevertheless, it is possible that an interest in Gwinear would have existed at Bec, when one considers that Anselm had visited Eynesbury in the 1080's returning with a relic of Neot (and doubtless copies of the *Vita Prima* and *Gesta Alfredi*). See *Acta SS* (Martii III, 455-6) and Doble (1960, 100-106).

connected saints) to similar clusters in Brittany. The implication is that the cults of a significant number of 'Cornish saints' are of non-Cornish origin and date to a period when British Dumnonia was no more and when Cornwall was in the process of absorption into the kingdom of the West Saxons.[286]

It would be naïve to suppose that tenth-century kings, or their local servants (represented by the dynasty of Ordgar), did not see the political advantages to be gained from the promotion of Breton cults among a predominantly British-speaking population. Most importantly, this would constitute a declaration of solidarity with the Breton people in the face of attack from pirates, and perhaps enable Wessex to increase its continental influence. The provision of new yet familiar foci for popular devotions would serve to unite the British of the southwest in support of the English policy and (by extension) under English rule. The vigour of these Breton cults suggests either that existing traditions at many southwestern places were moribund or that cults had not existed in the same way as they were then developing in Brittany under Frankish influence. That in other words, by the tenth century, Breton cults had taken on a rather different complexion to the simple cult of the founding patron, unknown apart from his name, unculted except in the immediate vicinity of his church.[287] To take the example of Bodmin, this was a question not of the association of the incoming West Saxon power with an existing cult, but of the strengthening of links with a community that could probably boast a long association with royal power, Dumnonian and West Saxon, through the gift of new and potent relics acquired from abroad.

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[286] Pearce (1973), 95-9, 107-110, 115-6; (1978), 190-92; Irien (1986), *passim*.

[287] See Smith (1992, 173-6).

Although a native origin might be claimed for a number of cults east and west of the Tamar, it has hence been argued that the connection of the tenth-century West Saxon monarchy with the bishopric and leading mynsters of Cornwall makes it highly likely that the installation of the cults of a greater number of Breton saints was conducted through the offices of West Saxon kings. The stimulus for the cult of Germanus has been attributed to the tenth- and eleventh-century influence of the reformed communities of eastern England associated with Fleury and it is arguable that both this and the cults of Neot at St. Neots and Mærwynn at Marhamchurch are best interpreted as a reflection of the dynastic ties of the nobility of the southwest to metropolitan and East Anglian families and ecclesiastical centres. Together these factors amount to a powerful illustration of how the frontier in the southwest acted as a crucible of cultural exchange.

CONCLUSION

It was the object of this thesis to explore the relationship between the Anglo-Saxon and British churches through the study of saints' cults. The three areas on which it has concentrated were subject to Anglo-Saxon expansion from between the seventh and eleventh centuries and were selected on the basis that they would enable us to correlate the ways in which cults were propagated with variations in the scope of Anglo-Saxon settlement and influence, or in how that influence was exercised. Since saints' cults are one aspect of popular structures of belief, approaching the topic from this direction might therefore enable us to offer a sidelight on what it meant to live on a frontier in early medieval Britain.

At the most superficial level, three different types of frontier can be pointed to. The northwest was crisscrossed by Northumbrian, British and Scottish armies from the seventh century to the eleventh and beyond, and it is clear that the whole area remained politically disputed. In Wales, by contrast we apparently see the establishment of a stable administrative boundary, varying in permeability from north to south, but hardening irretrievably in the eleventh century, whilst in the south-western peninsula we have a process of piecemeal and ultimately definitive political absorption. In all three areas blood was shed in the pre-Conquest period, but we should not forget that early medieval armies were tiny by modern standards. When we talk of 'war' we are in fact talking about the contested jurisdictions of small political élites. The military and political boundaries could therefore exist on a quite different plane to the social and

cultural. In all three areas, continuity from post-Roman units of administration was proposed as a significant foundation for Anglo-British interaction, and even in the political arena, developments were in fact variations on this theme.

There is similarly evidence from across Britain (even in the most 'English' of areas, like Kent) for continuity in units of ecclesiastical administration and for the re-use of religious sites.[1] We might remember in addition that it is by no means certain that so-called 'British' practices of dedication (to local founders) in the most westerly parts of Britain would necessarily have characterized the rest of the Roman province. Where universal dedications are predominant, and those to ethnically Anglo-Saxon saints sparse or non-existent (as in Devon), there may be an argument for greater continuity than previously supposed. For if a church site may not originally have been dedicated at all, or had no local saint, it cannot be proven that an existing cult was replaced. Working from the available evidence however, it is clear that with the exception of St. Alban, continuity of the pre-Saxon cult of saints can only be demonstrated in western Britain and that what must make the difference is therefore the date and intensity of settlement by ethnic Anglo-Saxons.

By the time Anglo-Saxon influence reached the areas we have studied, it was not generally speaking transmitted through military expansion supported by the settlement of a new ethnic group, but through economic power and political affiliation.

The 'survival' of British cults is thus predictable quite apart from its connection to

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[1] See the Domesday *Monachorum* of Canterbury (Canterbury, Cathedral Library MSS, E.28, fol. 1, *saec. xii ineunte*; Douglas, 1944, 77-8) for the grouping of churches beneath 'old mynsters' whose *paruchiae* appear to relate to a pre-Saxon system of riverine estates, and for discussion see Everitt (1977) and (1986, 15, 69-78, 187-99, 259-65 and *passim*).

political policy, for these areas continued to be populated by peoples of British stock. This is seen most readily in central Britain (chapter two), where the cults of Ergyng and the *Wentsætan* are those of British communities standing in a loose relation of clientage with the Anglo-Saxons, but also in the survival of British cults in Devon, Somerset and Dorset. In the *Magonsætan*, St. Milburga appears to have been the peculiar Anglo-British saint of a kingdom ruled by an Anglo-British family.

There is little doubt that rulers used the church in order to cement their rule in newly acquired areas, and that the cult of saints could be brought into service. We have highlighted the examples of St. Ninian at Whithorn, St. Winifred at Holywell and Shrewsbury, and of the Breton saints in Cornwall. Even in these cases however, it was found that matters were not quite so clear cut. An anti-Ionan emphasis might suggest Galwegian political input into the cult of Ninian, whilst in Cornwall, Breton immigration would in any case have led to the transmission of the new cults. The origins of the churches at Whithorn and Bodmin were pre-Saxon, and though the promotion of the cults of Ninian and Petroc might have coincided respectively with Northumbrian and West Saxon political policy, it was quite possibly conducted under British auspices.

From the cults we have studied it is clear that the differences in the types of frontier described above are outweighed by similarities of structure and motif. Cults in these areas shared a predominance of British over Anglo-Saxon features, even if (as might be argued in the case of Milburga) the saint in question was not unimpeachably British. None of the cults seems (at least in the record they have left to us) to have been overly concerned with political developments, and the exercise of influence through

them, if it occurred, must have been very subtle indeed. In fact, even in areas that underwent a change in political control (perhaps with the exception of the *Wreocensætan*), we detect a solicitude for established beliefs and practices, and presumptions against implantation and disjunction. 'Genuine' Anglo-Saxon saints are few and far between, local cults flourish, some are adapted to the new realities. If in many aspects, the cults of frontier saints 'were British', this does not make them exclusive. Only in the latest hagiological materials do we find motifs that arise from a climate of ethnic antagonism.

The hagiology we have studied does not it, must be said, jump out at us as being intrinsically characteristic of frontiers. There do not appear to be any overarching similarities. If 'mission' featured in the biography of Ninian, this was for local and specific reasons. The study of saints' cults on the Anglo-British frontier shows how important it is to view processes apart from geopolitical models. Frontiers in this period (we declared earlier) were primarily cultural, but a macro-definition of culture is patently inappropriate.[2] What is involved here is rather the cumulative histories of widely separate, local communities, that may objectively have shared some features in common, but reacted to local social and political shifts at a local level. The diffusion of the English language and the regeneration of the cults of local saints were two sides of the same coin. They demonstrate that an inclusiveness promoted by the incoming power was mostly met by a local determinedness to co-operate and conform.

The three regions investigated were without doubt areas of political conflict, sharing a particular religio-cultural ambience. However, the differences that mark how

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[2] See above, p. 4.

the frontier was articulated in each are probably just the tip of the iceberg. We should not hope to resolve completely the complex cultural influences and local arrangements that were acting in these areas. What we can say though, is that from the evidence of saints' cults this ambience was not one of conflict, but of assimilation. Their inhabitants may have been unaware of it, but these regions were therefore frontier zones in the fullest sense.

GLOSSARY

The thesis employs a number of terms of which some previous knowledge is assumed. A number of widely canvassed viewpoints are adopted.

British, Celtic, Celtic Church

Strictly speaking a comparative philological term describing the affinity of the ancient languages of west-central Europe and the British Isles, 'Celtic' early acquired cultural or ethnic overtones connected to its use by bodies pressing for the recognition of the Breton, Gaelic and Welsh languages and for the right to 'national self-determination' of native speakers. Its significations were hence extended to encompass a wide range of cultural attributes allegedly shared by these peoples and consequently re-entered scholarly discourse as an ethnic identification and even as a racial 'type' complete with ancestral homeland. Anthropological and archaeological research has shown such extensions to be fraudulent.

Arising from the idea of a shared 'Celtic' identity and culture, historians of the nineteenth century developed the concept of 'the Celtic church' to describe what they believed to have been a type of ecclesiastical organization common to all the Celtic lands (and presumed to have existed throughout sub-Roman Britain) of which eremiticism formed a dominant characteristic. The belief was in part founded on hagiographical records and in part on the archaeology and history of monastic communities in Ireland. The wish to believe that ecclesiastical organization in the

Celtic lands was different or better (more contemplative) than that of the Anglo-Saxons appeared to draw support from the real differences about the date of the observance of Easter and about the style of the tonsure. It is these points on which Bede talks at length. In the 'Celtic church', bishops were believed to have been less important than the abbots of the leading monastic foundations. Such a system appears to have operated in parts of Ireland, where Roman administrative forms had never taken root, but was certainly not followed in western Britain. Despite the fundamental flaw that left matters of pastoral provision unaccounted for, the concept of the 'Celtic Church' had a tremendous impact whose furthest repercussions are still being felt today.

'British', 'the British' are more specific and less tainted terms, and are hence preferred by modern historians and archaeologists to describe the P-Celtic (Brittonic) speaking inhabitants of parts of the British Isles after the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons, or the cultural characteristics of areas in which such speakers were dominant. The 'British Church' is hence the church (organisation, physical attributes, ritual) of a British area, a 'British saint', a saint culted primarily or exclusively in the British church. In practice the term is also used to refer to saints whose origins lie in Q-Celtic (Goidelic, Gaelic) areas but for whom the term 'Irish' is felt inappropriate.[1]

Lan

Lan, *lann*, or *llan*, is a term that is found as a prefix to many Welsh, Cornish and Breton place-names. In later use it appears simply to have meant 'church' or 'place with a church'.[2] The frequency with which these churches stand in yards that have curved or partly curved boundaries, and which are at a level higher than the paths, roads or fields that approach or adjoin them has led to the use of the term to mean 'raised and/or

curvilinear churchyard'. There are very many such elevated, curved yards in Wales, Cornwall and Brittany, and quite a few more in Cumbria, Scotland and Ireland, where curvilinearity is a characteristic of the boundaries of many early monastic enclosures, so the practice has been supposed to be a 'Celtic' one. There has been no survey of English yards to find out just how many of them are raised or curvilinear, but the general impression is that there are, proportionately speaking fewer. Although late examples from across Britain warn us against taking these characteristics as diagnostic, the assumption nevertheless holds that raised, curvilinear yards are an early, more particularly British phenomenon, and that where we find such a yard, the church is more likely of British origin.

The presence of a place-name in *lan-* or *llan-*, especially when it is given only as an equivalent in a British language and is not of reliable historical usage, may in itself be dubious testimony of the British origin of a site, but the combination of such a name with a raised or curvilinear yard amounts to a strong presumption of British origin. In view of the lack of a formula to assess the rise in soil level with continuous reburial, it is not certain whether a correlation should be made either between the height by which a yard may be raised and the antiquity of its use, or with the size of population for whose burial the yard may be thought to have provided. It is nevertheless possible that in some cases it represents a practice of deliberate embankment at the first foundation of a place of worship and the factor has been considered an important indication of British origin by several commentators.[3]

Local Saint

The term describes saints whose dedication is found in only one or two places and about whom little is known. They are frequently the eponyms of their cult-centres.[4]

Multiple Estate

The term describes large land units offering a combination of resource types. Such units might be subdivided into smaller vills and might frequently appear to be focussed on a settlement of the highest status (a *caput*, *villa regalis* or 'central place'), to which they might owe obligations of service. The 'multiple estate' is frequently used as a convenient description for any distinct pattern of post-Roman land-use covering a large area. Such patterns may be found across Britain, so the presumption is that the 'multiple estate' was a common late and sub-Roman form. It is however more noticeable in those areas that remained the longest under British rule. The argument is that whereas these estates were subject to early fragmentation in areas of heavy Anglo-Saxon settlement, where British people remained politically powerful or in an actual majority, the structures were retained in use for a longer period. The term therefore carries British connotations, even if it is recognized that at its most general application, many systems of land use could be covered by it. The model was based on that outlined in Welsh law-codes of the thirteenth century, and has been attacked both for its uncritical application to the early medieval period, and for the suggestion that Anglo-Saxon land-use systems in fact arising from the amalgamation of kin-based units shared a common origin. Its geographical aspects nevertheless remain sound.[5]

Mynster, Monasterium

In Anglo-Saxon England, Latin writers used the term *monasterium*, English writers *mynster* to describe a place of religion in which a body of priests (*clericus*, *presbiter*; *preost*, *mæsse-preost*) or sometimes monks (*monachus*, *munuc*), or both, led a communal life. In eighth-century Northumbria and again after the religious reforms of the tenth century, there were churches occupied predominantly by *monachi*, but these were few and most centres housed 'secular' clergy. Such churches were invariably situated at a central place, perhaps a *villa regalis* or the *caput* of a multiple estate, and part of their function was to provide for the pastoral care of that centre's hinterland. This hinterland became the church's *paruchia*. The natural tendency of secular landholding was towards fragmentation, and as the large land-units, the multiple-estates, broke up, the *paruchia* would often come to include places of congregation erected by local landowners. These lesser churches would sometimes become formally subordinate to the mynster, or they might end up by acquiring their own priest or priests and becoming mynsters in their own right. By the time of King Edgar (957-975) there were such a number of mynsters and subordinate churches that a special scheme was drawn up to define their respective status. In this sense we can by the tenth century talk of a 'mynster system'. Yet structures of pastoral care were constantly evolving: as the mynster system was to disintegrate after Edgar's time, so it would be foolhardy to suggest that it had existed *de primis*.

We know very little of the nature of pastoral provision of sub-Roman and early medieval Britain, so it is possible that the latter-day pattern of parishes was a mutation, rationalization or re-ordering of a similar, pre-existing system of small units with resident priests. In most areas the fragmentation of the mynster *paruchiae* was complete

by the thirteenth century. but old churches frequently retained larger parishes. and remained to a diluted degree collegiate. They may therefore be identified from the configuration of their parishes, from their having more than one priest at Domesday, or, less definitely, by their receipt of customary dues from other churches. As defined by Edgar's advisers, the 'mynster system' was self-evidently Anglo-Saxon, and the structures and practices which the phrase invokes have thus come to be seen as Anglo-Saxon *per se*.

In western Britain, the assessment of *monasteria* has been hampered by its connection to notions of the 'Celtic church' with the result that, despite a comprehensive lack of evidence, systems of local ecclesiastical administration are assumed somehow to have been different in kind. We know that there were important communal ecclesiastical centres described by hagiographers as *monasteria* in these regions. We know too that a large number of ancient church sites (*ecclesia*, *eglwys* in common speech; most usually *lann-* or *merthyr-* in place-names) existed there. We have little information on the relation of the two, but have no reason to suspect the type of pastoral provision in British areas to have been irreconcilably distinct from that delineated in tenth-century England. While the characteristics of mynster churches (large *paruchiae* that have survived into the modern parish system, for instance) are thus to be noted when they occur in areas of the Anglo-British frontier, the interpretation to be placed on this is less clear.[6]

Nucleated and Dispersed Settlement

The nucleation of a settlement means that the dwellings that comprise it are found to be grouped together ('clustered') or to have some definable focus, frequently a church or road junction. As a general rule, one talks of nucleation only when the number of dwellings approaches double figures. The present day nucleation of a settlement need not indicate its historical nucleation. Conversely a 'dispersed settlement' pattern is one in which there is no definable focus to a large number of dwellings scattered over a wide area. Again, such a pattern need not have a medieval origin, but, considering the relentless pressure toward nucleation that characterizes the modern period, this is perhaps more likely to be the case. By reason of the marginality of the land and the difficulty of communication, upland areas are characterized by dispersed settlement, yet lowland geography should not be thought to pre-determine nucleation. Experience from across Britain suggests that there are more nucleations in areas thought to be of Anglo-Saxon settlement than in areas thought to be of British settlement, though this is partly vitiated by natural geography. It may nevertheless be assumed that unusual nucleations in upland areas and unusual dispersed patterns in lowland areas indicate respectively Anglo-Saxon and British influence.

The spatial relationship of the church to a settlement is governed by a variety of factors, and is only hazardously used as a dating criterion for either. However, as a rule, it must be the case that both isolated parish churches, which exist apart from a settlement bearing the same name, and churches forming a self-evident focus for a nucleation predate that settlement. Both models may indicate the supersession of dispersed settlement patterns, but in the former case there is the possibility that a nucleation has shifted from the area of the church due to the appearance of some other focus. True patterns of

dispersal are characterized by the existence of a solitary church, or a church accompanied by a single farm, in a landscape in which there are no large settlements and in which unaccompanied farms or small hamlets predominate. Where a church exists within or on the periphery of a nucleation, but is accompanied by a group of buildings (excluding the invariably nineteenth-century vicarage) which appear to exist in relation to it and apart from the rest of the settlement, the presumption must be that this group of buildings forms a unit with the church, and may previously have existed as a discrete element within a dispersed pattern. In most cases the maps drawn up for the Tithe Commissioners in the 1840's will constitute the earliest record of the configuration of a settlement, and except in highlighting modern development, are not of tremendous value in this respect. With due caution, it is nevertheless possible to assess the spatial relationships of medieval churches to their own or neighbouring settlements.[7]

Stow, Stowe

Stow is the Old English generic (type-word) for 'place'. It frequently has the more particular meaning of 'holy place' or 'place with a church' and so is a rough equivalent for British *lan* and the Old English suffix *-circe*. Although it is clear that its deployment extended throughout the Anglo-Saxon period and beyond, a case has been made for its more prevalent use in the earlier centuries, or during the earliest Anglo-Saxon settlement of an area, particularly when it occurs as a simplex (by itself, uncompounded). The lack of a specific (qualifying-word: usually a saint's name) in such cases appears to indicate that the church was the only one in the vicinity. In areas of the British border, there are a large number of *stows*. The presumption is that many

of these represent the translation of British *lan*. If there can be no conviction of Anglo-Saxon foundation in such cases, they must nevertheless reflect Anglo-Saxon influence.[8]

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[1] Hughes (1981); Davies (1992); Wakeford (1993), Introduction.

[2] Certainly the case before we see the phrase *Henlann dibric et lann teliau in uno cimiterio* (*LL* 275). See above, chapter two, p. 178.

[3] Thomas (1971), 50, 66, 85-8; (1981), 236; Rahtz (1976b); Morris (1983), 25, 28, 58; Padel (1977), 25-7; (1985), 142; Pearce (1978), 73-4; O'Sullivan (1980a, 1980b); Brook (1981, 1992); Preston-Jones and Rose (1986), 156-9; Preston-Jones (1992). For Breton usage, see Chédeville and Guillotel (1984, 97-100). On the Irish sites, see Edwards (1990, 99-131). Brook (1981, 31-49) appears to be the most coherent extended discussion of elevation, but see also Pearce (1978, comments to plates 13a, 20 and 21a), (1985, 259), and Gelling (1992, 90-91).

[4] Davies (1978), 131-3; (1982a), 173-8; Pryce (1992), 60.

[5] Jones (1960, 1961, 1975, 1976, 1979, 1981, 1985); Gregson (1985); Collis (1986); Croom (1989), 27-8; Dark (1994b), 148-51.

[6] Douglas (1944), 5-15; Barlow (1963); Morris (1983), 64-5, 70; Brooke (1982), 694-9; Cambridge (1984), 65-6; Aston (1986), 54-8; Croom (1988), 71; (1989), 110-11; Hase (1994), 61-72; Cambridge and Rollason (1995). The most useful collections are Blair (1988) and Blair and Sharpe (1992). See Olson (1989), and Wakeford (1993, 10-24) for the southwest.

[7] Hoskins (1952); (1963), 15-52; Beresford (1964); Rowley (1994), 59-93; Brooke (1982), 691-3; Roberts (1985, 1989); Austin (1985, 1989); Morris (1983), 74-5, 85-6, 89; (1985); Aston and Lewis (1994), Introduction; Kain and Oliver (1995).

[8] Smith (1956), 158-61; Pearce (1978), 74; (1982a), 6; (1985), 261-3; Gelling (1982).

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

COMPUTER-ASSISTED STYLISTIC ANALYSIS
(REFER TO PAGES 48-9 AND 103-6)

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Style is the way an author writes. How he uses language to convey what he means to his audience. A single author's style may change over time, but will remain within a narrow band of variation. It is most frequently assessed according to qualitative criteria. In sampling the computer-assisted quantification of style, this appendix takes a different approach. In its first application the provenance and stylistic community of a text are fine-tuned, in its second disputed authorship is resolved. The powerful Oxford Concordance Program (OCP) was used in both cases. In both, the work undertaken was expansive, a fact belied by the bald comments found in the main text. The data produced by such work is not readily presentable in a concise, easily interpretable format and so some of the salient points have been reduced to graphs. Graphs are nevertheless only rarely employed by analysts, for the simple reason that it is difficult to find comparative series with the same broad range of data values. Where graphic presentation is possible however, it can provide an immediately recognizable profile of difference and correspondence between texts.[1]

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[1] The published literature on the use of such methods is not great, but see Hockey (1980, 41-9, 62-85, 122-43), Brainerd (1982), Kenny (1982), Oxford University Computing Service (1985, 1988), Cameron, Waddicor and Dixon (1989), Jackson (1990) and Lancashire (1991, 477-507).

APPENDIX A (I)

THE *MIRACULA NYNIE EPISCOPI* AND ITS ANALOGUES
(REFER TO PAGES 48-9)

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

OCP was used to prepare indices from computer-readied texts of the *Miracula Nynie Episcopi* (Strecker, 1923, minus titles), the *De Abbatibus* of Æthelwulf (Campbell, 1967, minus titles) and the *Carmina Ecclesiastica* of Aldhelm (Ehwald, 1913). The *Carmina Ecclesiastica* were assembled without *praefatio* and titles and treated as a cohesive text with consecutive line numbers. Respectively these texts numbered 3089 words (504 lines), 5126 words (819 lines) and 2531 words (428 lines). Lemmatized *indices nominum et verborum* (to the standard of that in Godman, 1982) were then prepared manually for each text.

These were used as the starting point for the classification of parts of speech, the individual lemmatized indices for which were sorted through an initial identifier (thus V1 for verb, first declension; S4 for substantive, fourth declension, and so on). One of the major problems was found to be the accurate classification of verbal and pronominal adjectives. Where verbs occurred only as a participle, gerundive or imperative this was noted. All the data was reduced to percentages to minimize the problem potentially raised through the differing lengths of the texts.

OCP's conventional output statistics relate to unlemmatized word frequencies. Where these could be shown graphically, they were compared. In frequencies between four and eleven, a correspondence was reassuringly demonstrated between Æthelwulf

and the *Miracula*, against Aldhelm, and this supported the data gathered from the analysis of vocabulary.

The charts given here illustrate that even if the poet of the *Miracula* had put together a 'cut and paste pastiche' of Aldhelm (as is demonstrated by his borrowings), his style was his own. Moreover they show that it had been learned in the same milieu as Æthelwulf.[1]

CHARTS

1) Unlemmatized Frequencies from Complete Texts: Upper and Mid Ranges (1-11).

2) Unlemmatized Frequencies from Complete Texts: Mid Range Enlarged (4-11).

3) Grammatical Composition from Lemmata: Complete Texts: Parts of Speech.

4) Grammatical Composition from Lemmata: Complete Texts: Substantives.

   (a) Displayed as Proportions.

   (b) Displayed as Trendlines.

5) Grammatical Composition from Lemmata: Complete Texts: Verbs.

   (a) Displayed as Proportions.

   (b) Displayed as Trendlines.

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[1] An obvious extension of this work would be the assessment and comparison of results from the much longer *Versus de Patribus, Regibus et Sanctis Eboracensis Ecclesiae* of Alcuin (1658 lines) where the lemmatized index already exists (Godman, 1982, 155-88). One would hope that Alcuin's vocabulary profile would be found to show community with Æthelwulf and the *Miracula*.

CHART A I (1)
UNLEMMATIZED FREQUENCIES FROM COMPLETE TEXTS: UPPER AND MID RANGES (1-11)

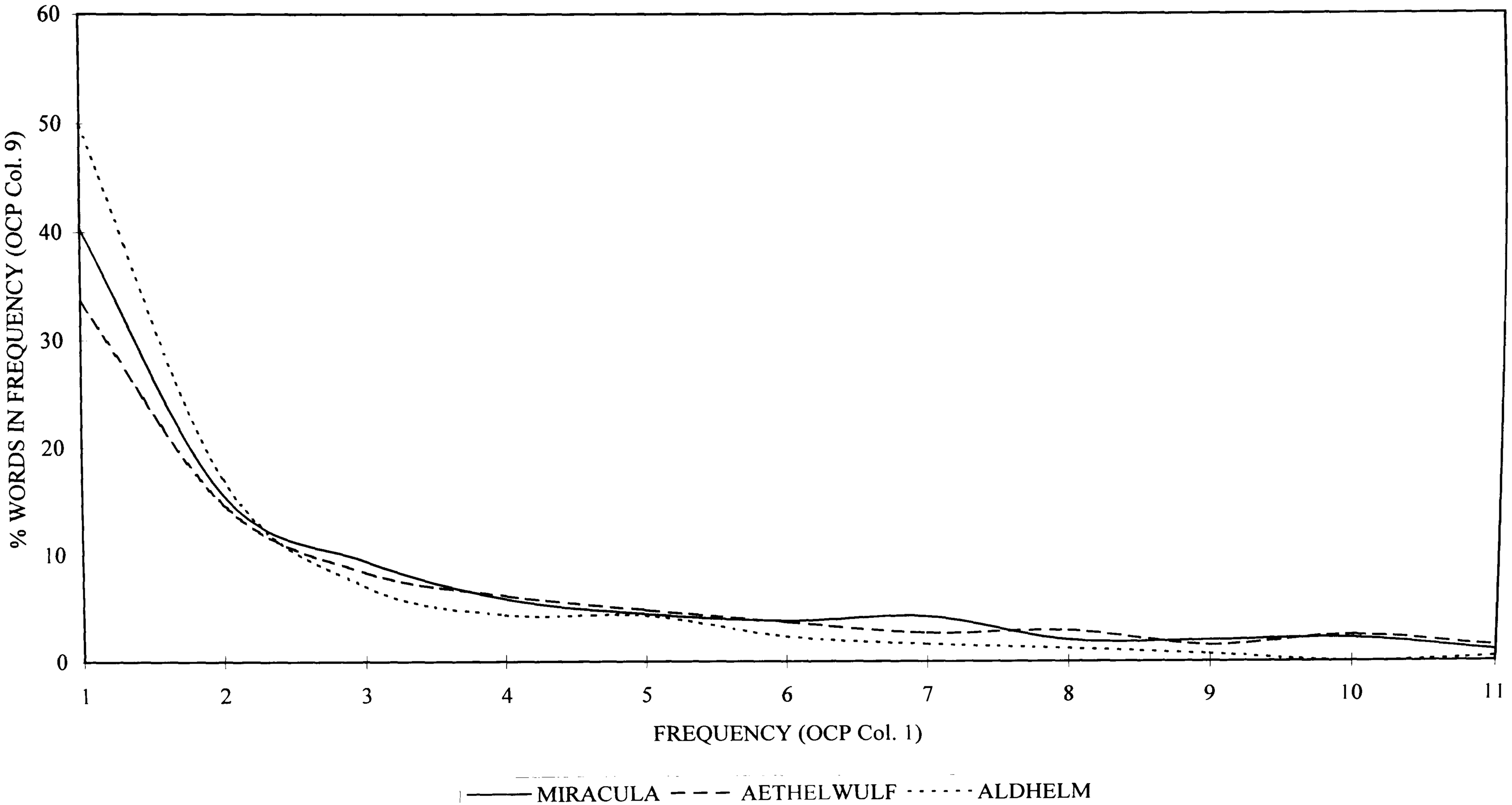


CHART A I (2)
UNLEMMATIZED FREQUENCIES FROM COMPLETE TEXTS
MID RANGE ENLARGED (4-11)

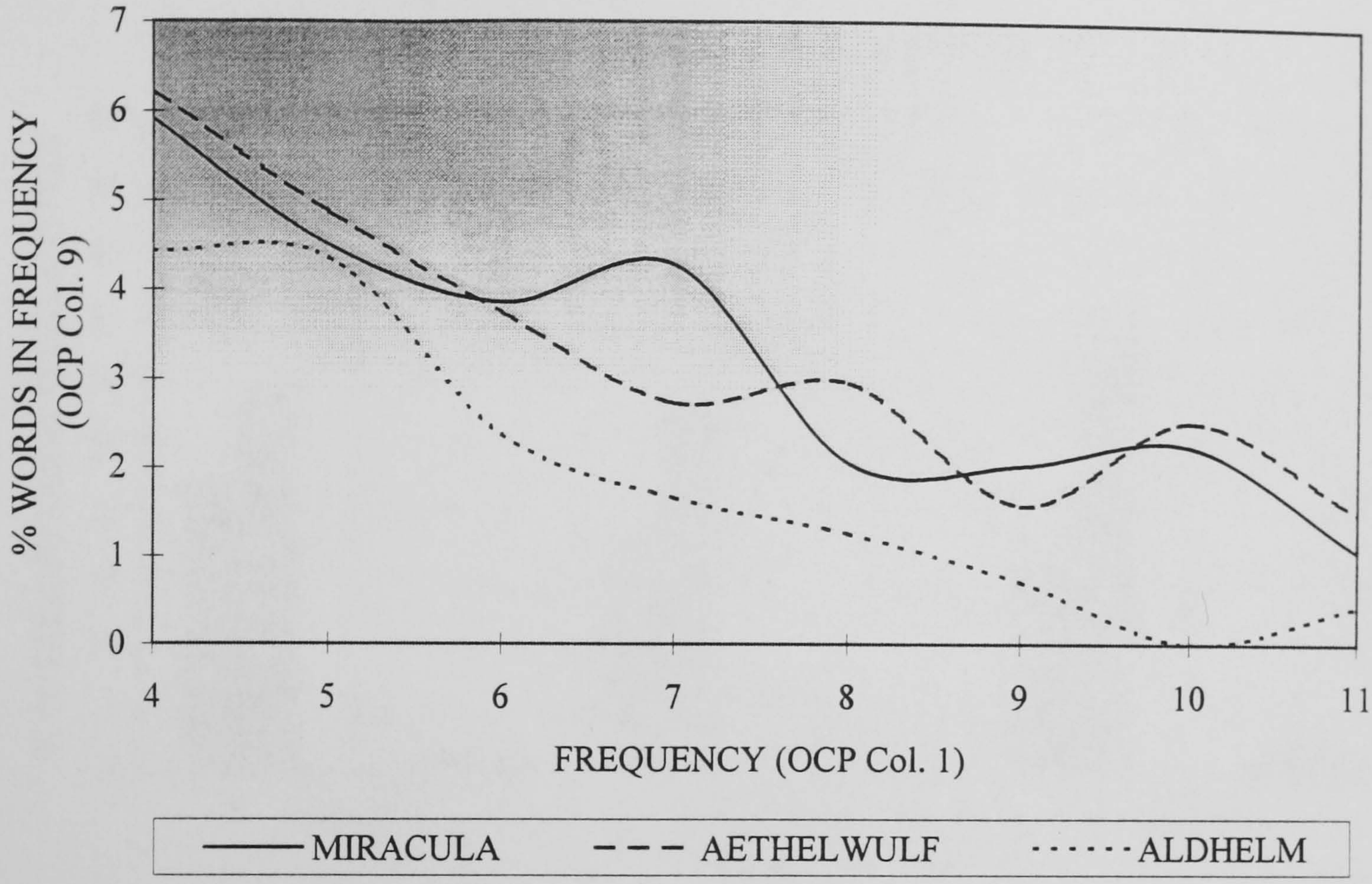
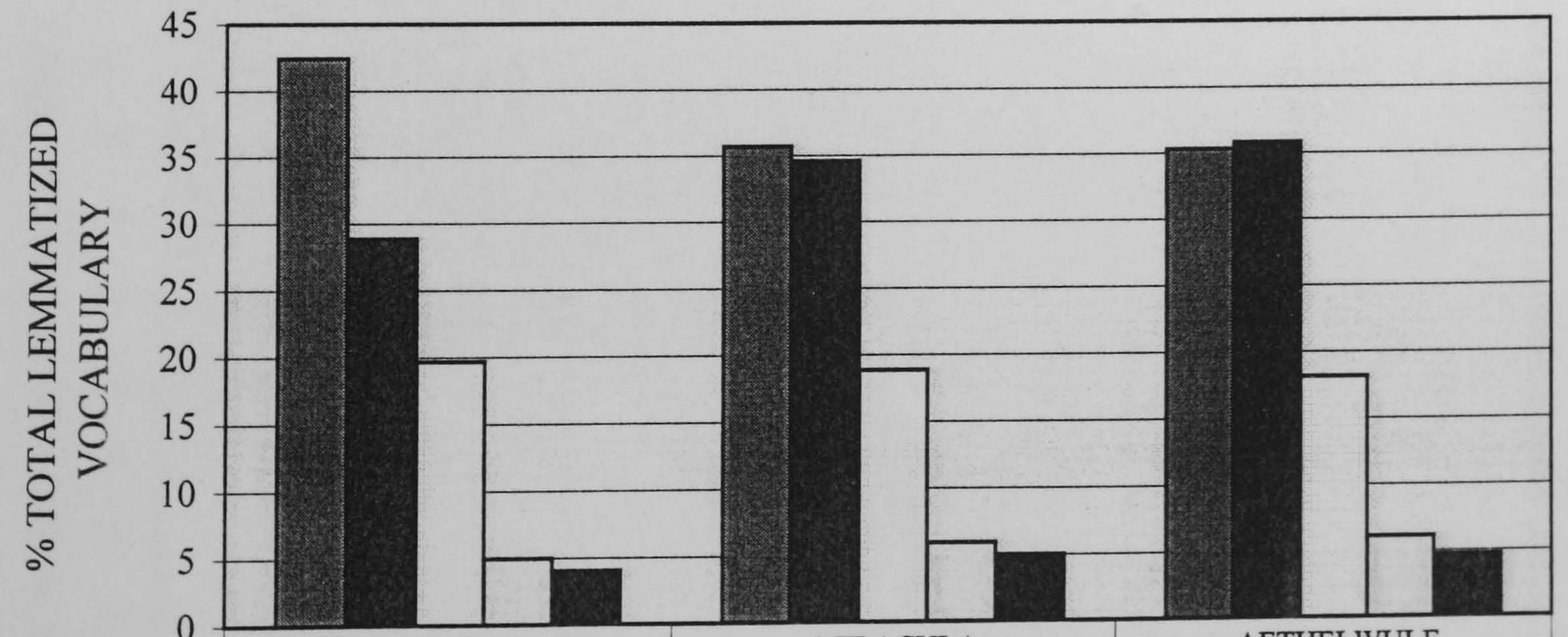


CHART A I (3)
GRAMMATICAL COMPOSITION FROM LEMMATA
COMPLETE TEXTS: PARTS OF SPEECH

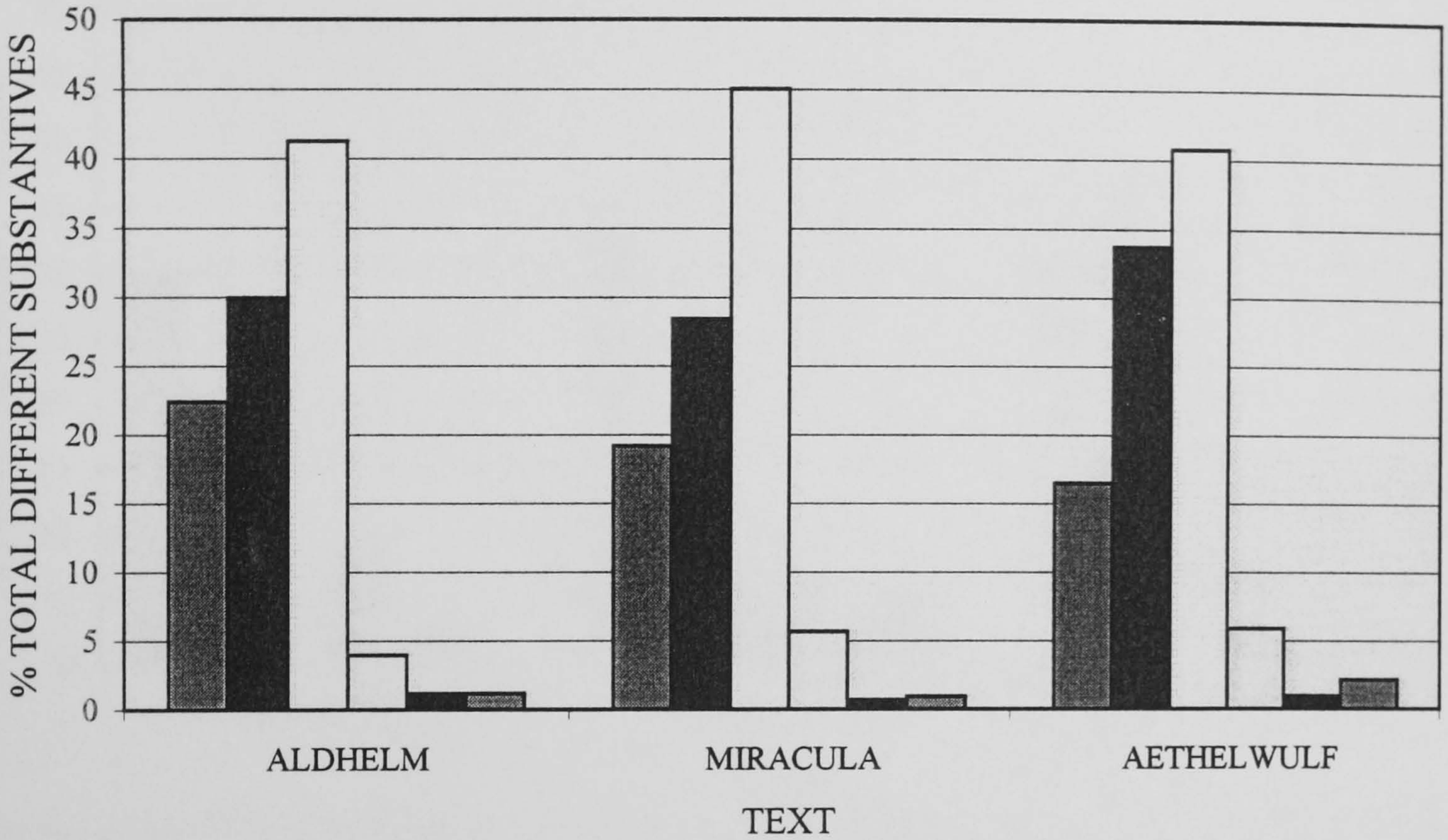


	ALDHELM	MIRACULA	AETHELWULF
Substantives	42.42	35.67	35.29
Verbs	28.87	34.57	35.78
Adjectives	19.7	18.85	18.13
Adverbs	4.97	5.92	6.09
Other	4.04	4.99	4.71

TEXT

CHART A I (4)
GRAMMATICAL COMPOSITION FROM LEMMATA
COMPLETE TEXTS: SUBSTANTIVES

(a) DISPLAYED AS PROPORTIONS



(b) DISPLAYED AS TRENDLINES

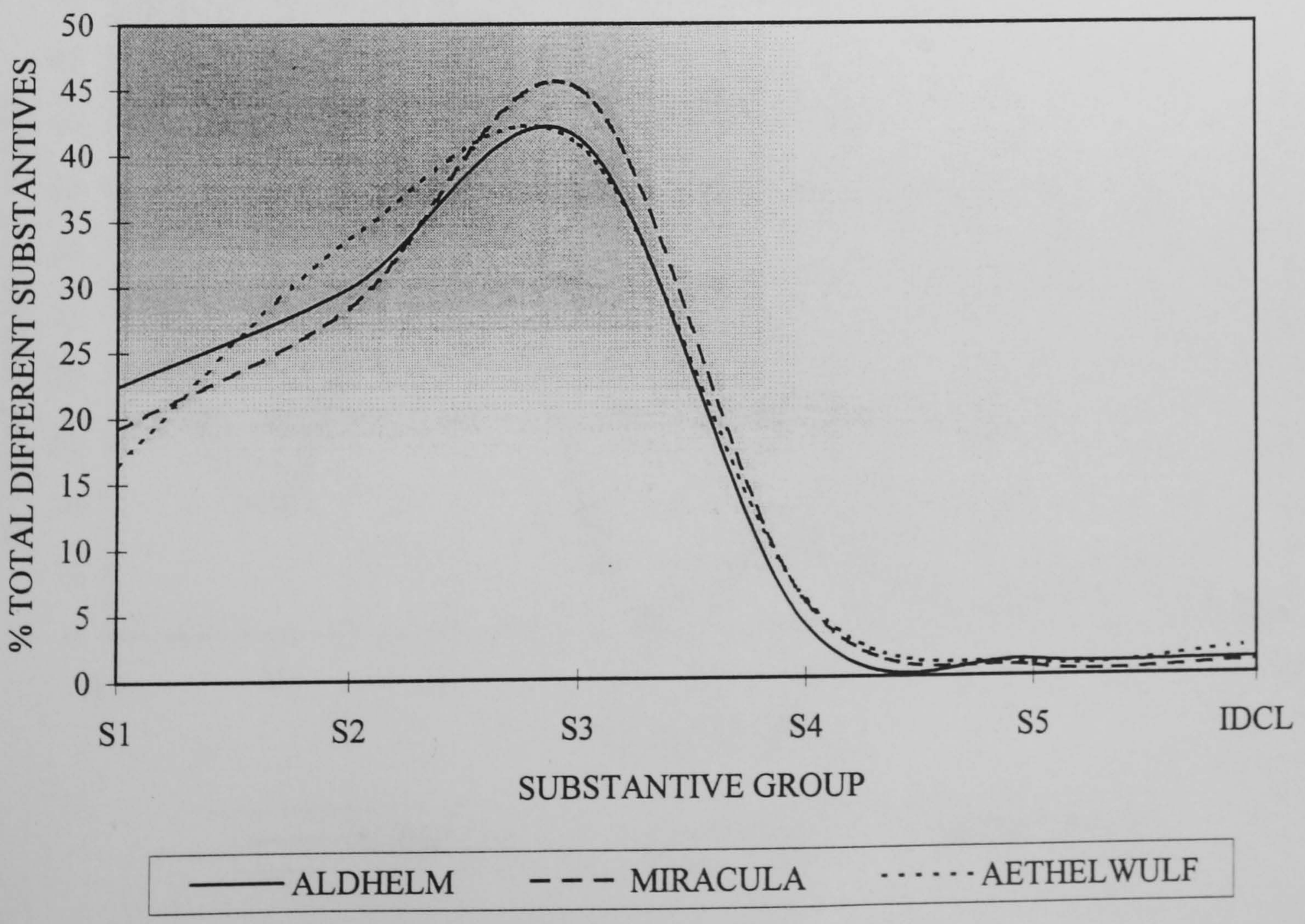
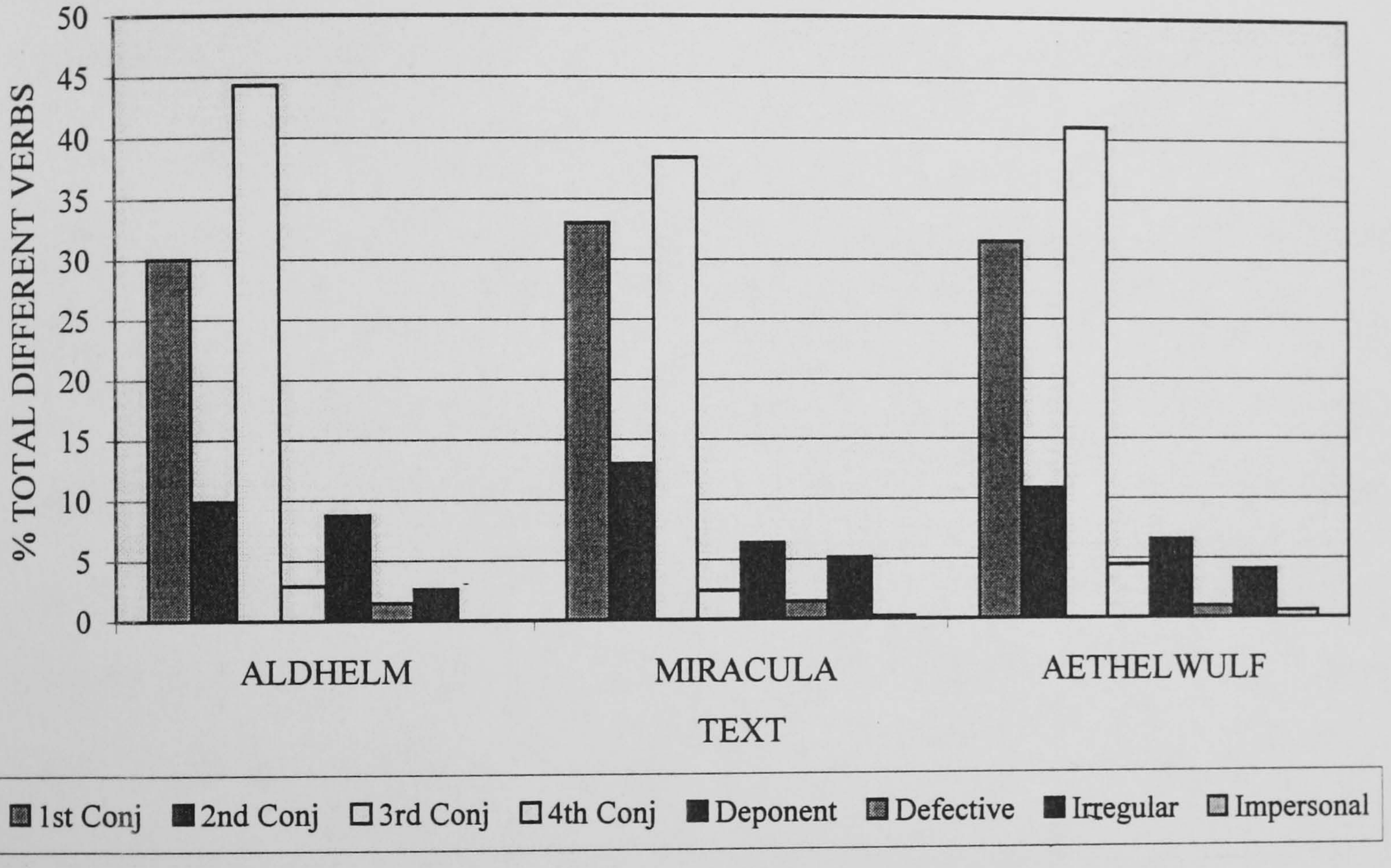
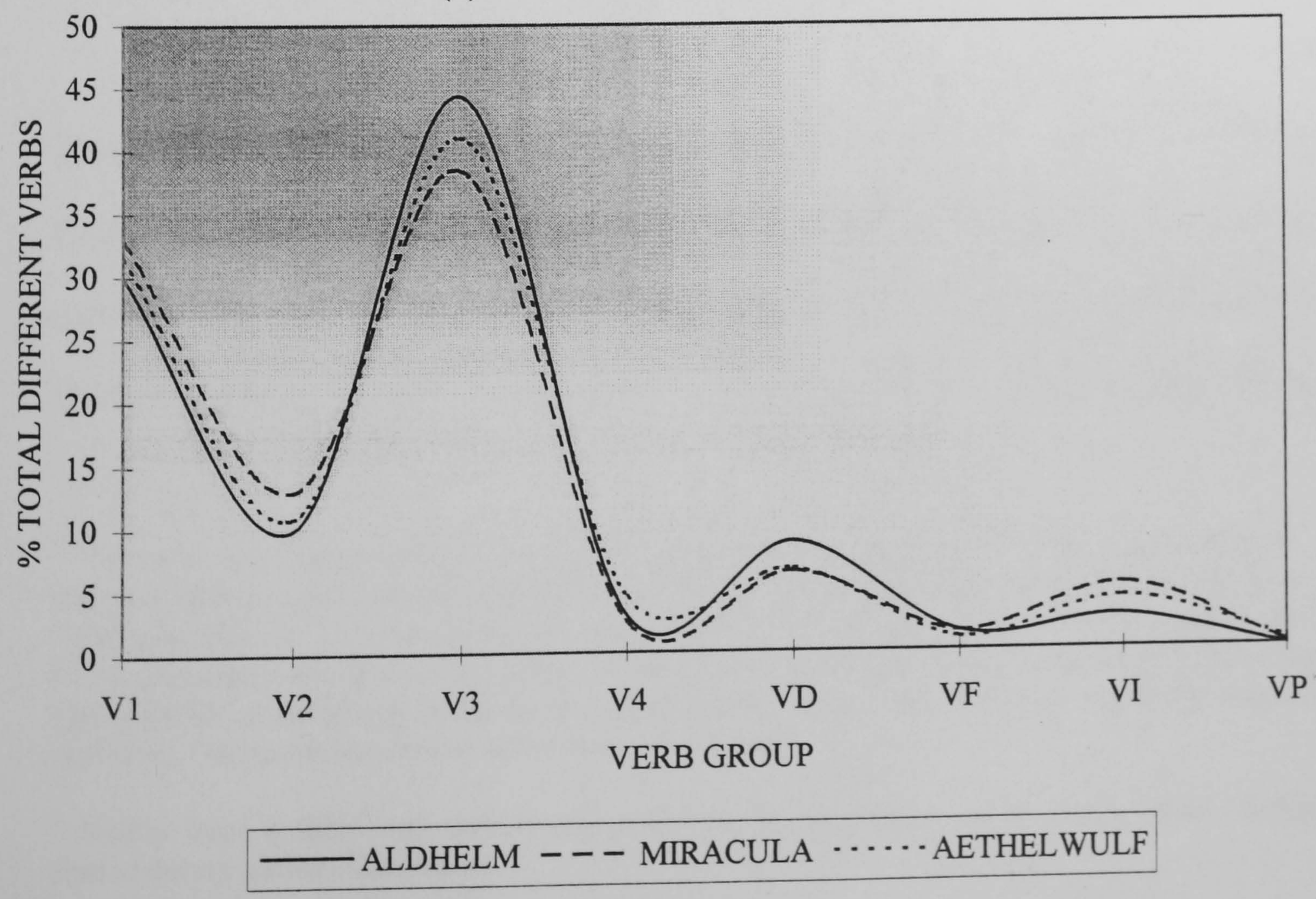


CHART A I (5)
GRAMMATICAL COMPOSITION FROM LEMMATA
COMPLETE TEXTS: VERBS

(a) DISPLAYED AS PROPORTIONS



(b) DISPLAYED AS TRENDLINES



APPENDIX A (II)

THE *VITA SANCTAE MILBURGAE* AND THE *VITA SANCTAE MILDRITHAE*
(REFER TO PAGES 103-6, 117)

(a) UNLEMMATIZED WORD FREQUENCIES FROM OCP OUTPUT DATA

A 1200 word sample from each text was randomly selected (avoiding sections which may have been supposed to comprise inconsistent language).[1] The statistics produced by the programme were analysed and suggested stylistic community (Chart A II 1). However, when wordlists from the full texts (respectively 8563 words and 9983 words) were studied in more detail, the most frequent words of one text being contrasted with their relative standing in the other text, significant divergence was encountered (Charts A II 2-3). This divergence is even more apparent when we look at how frequencies for the complete texts pan out (Chart A II 4).

(b) VOCABULARY PROFILING FROM SAMPLE TEXTS

The unlemmatized indices prepared by OCP were lemmatized manually, and inconsistencies and errors removed. The lemmata were quantified. Charts A II 6-10 show a correlation, but in the absence of a control, the significance of this remains unclear.[2] If we are to highlight one difference that may be significant, it would be that deponent verbs are almost twice as likely to occur in the *Vita Sanctae Milburgae* than

---

[1] The texts used were *VSMb*, *accipet de... animo quam celesti* and *VSMd*, *persequutores... laudibus divinis*, comprising respectively lines 800-950 (*VSMb* 79-86) and 600-724 (Rollason, 1982, 129, line 33 -133, line 22) of the texts prepared for the computer. These texts adopted as far as practicable the line arrangement of the editions from which they were scanned, and the *Vita Sanctae Mildrithae*'s reaching the 1200 mark 'before' the *Vita Sanctae Milburgae* is therefore a factor of line-format rather than word length.

[2] Ideally two: a third text definitively authored by Goscelin, and a fourth from another contemporary author, like Ailred.

in the *Vita Sanctae Mildrithae*. The result of the comparison of the concordances (see following section) suggests that the grammatical quantification of vocabulary in a non-metrical text may (in all except the most unusual of categories) tend rather to reflect the basic structure of the Latin language rather than the author's style.

CHARTS

1) OCP Frequency Data (1200 word samples).
2) Frequency of top thirty types of *VSMd* against that of the same words in *VSMb* (full texts).[3]
3) Frequency of top thirty types of *VSMb* against that of the same words in *VSMd* (full texts).
4) Banding within Frequencies of Ten and Above (full texts).
5) Lemmatization (1200 word samples).
6) Parts of Speech (1200 word samples).
7) Substantives (1200 word samples).
   (a) Declension.
   (b) Gender.
8) Verbs (1200 word samples).
   (a) Conjugation.
   (b) Other Information.

Some of the charts use abbreviations. These are:

Contr.	Contraction (includes *-ere* for *-erunt*).
Ptp O.	Occurs only as a participle in the sample (includes past tense forms).

---

[3] A 'type' may be understood to be an unlemmatized word in a text that occurs more than once. It is contrasted with a 'token', which may be understood to be any word in a text. The total number of words in a text is therefore always equal to the total number of tokens, but the total number of types is somewhat less. The fraction obtained by dividing the total number of types in a text by the total number of tokens is called the type/token ratio (TTR). The TTR is influenced by the length of the text (because there is a greater *opportunity* for tokens to develop into types in a longer text), and if it is to be used in comparison, should be derived from sample texts of the same length.

Gdv Inf Ipv O.	Occurs only as a gerund, gerundive, imperative or infinitive in the sample.
Proper.	Proper name, including *Christus* (whether or not capitalized) and similar.
Indet.	Of verbs, indeterminate conjugation, referring almost exclusively to *inquam*. Of substantives, referring exclusively to non-Latin proper names having no pendant adjective or pronoun.

VSMb	*Vita beatae ac Deo dilectae virginis Mildburgae.*
VSMd	*Vita Deo dilectae virginis Mildrethae.*

Note that auxiliary *esse* was always treated as a separate verb of the third conjugation.

CHART A II (1)
OCP FREQUENCY DATA (1200 WORD SAMPLES)

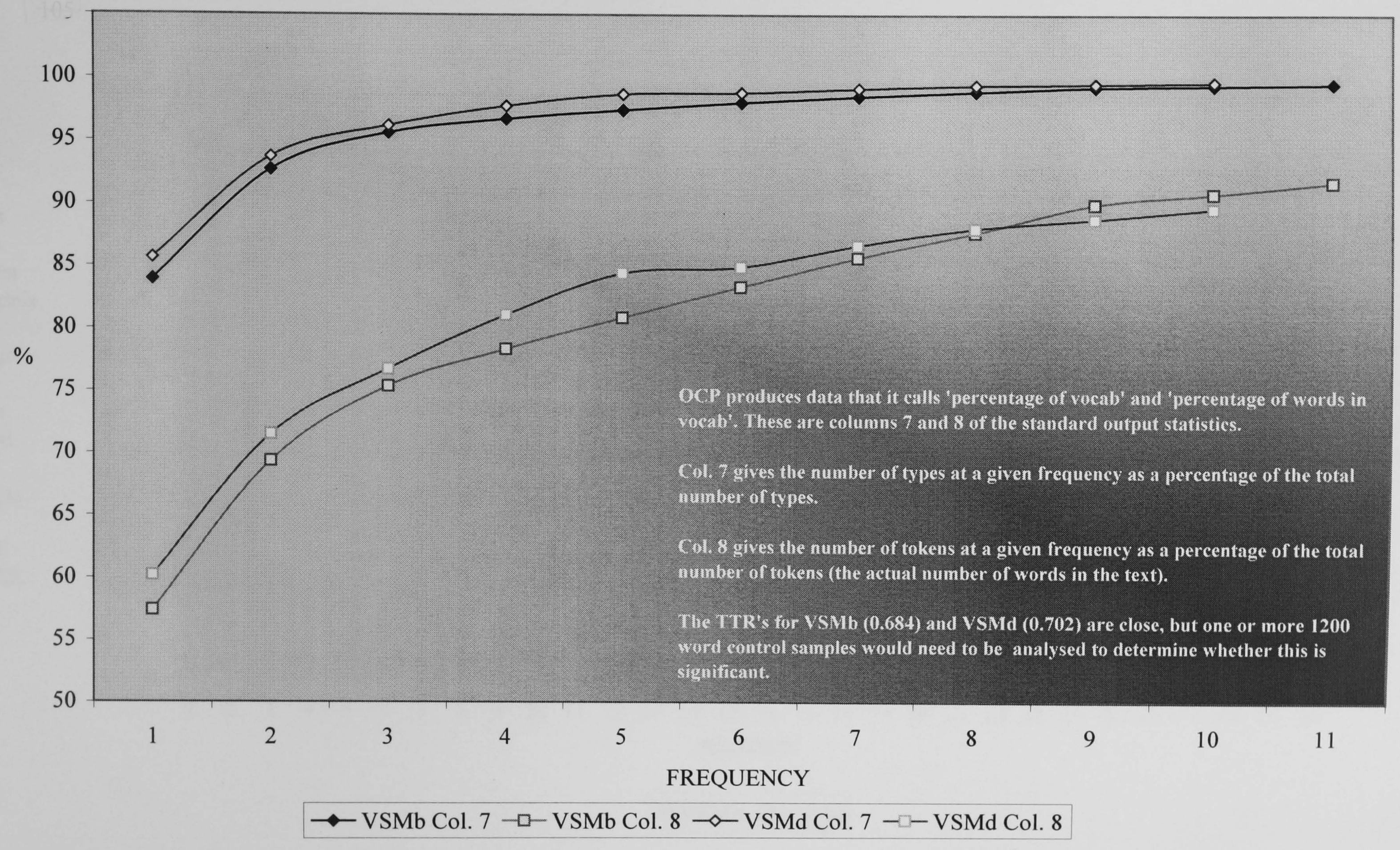
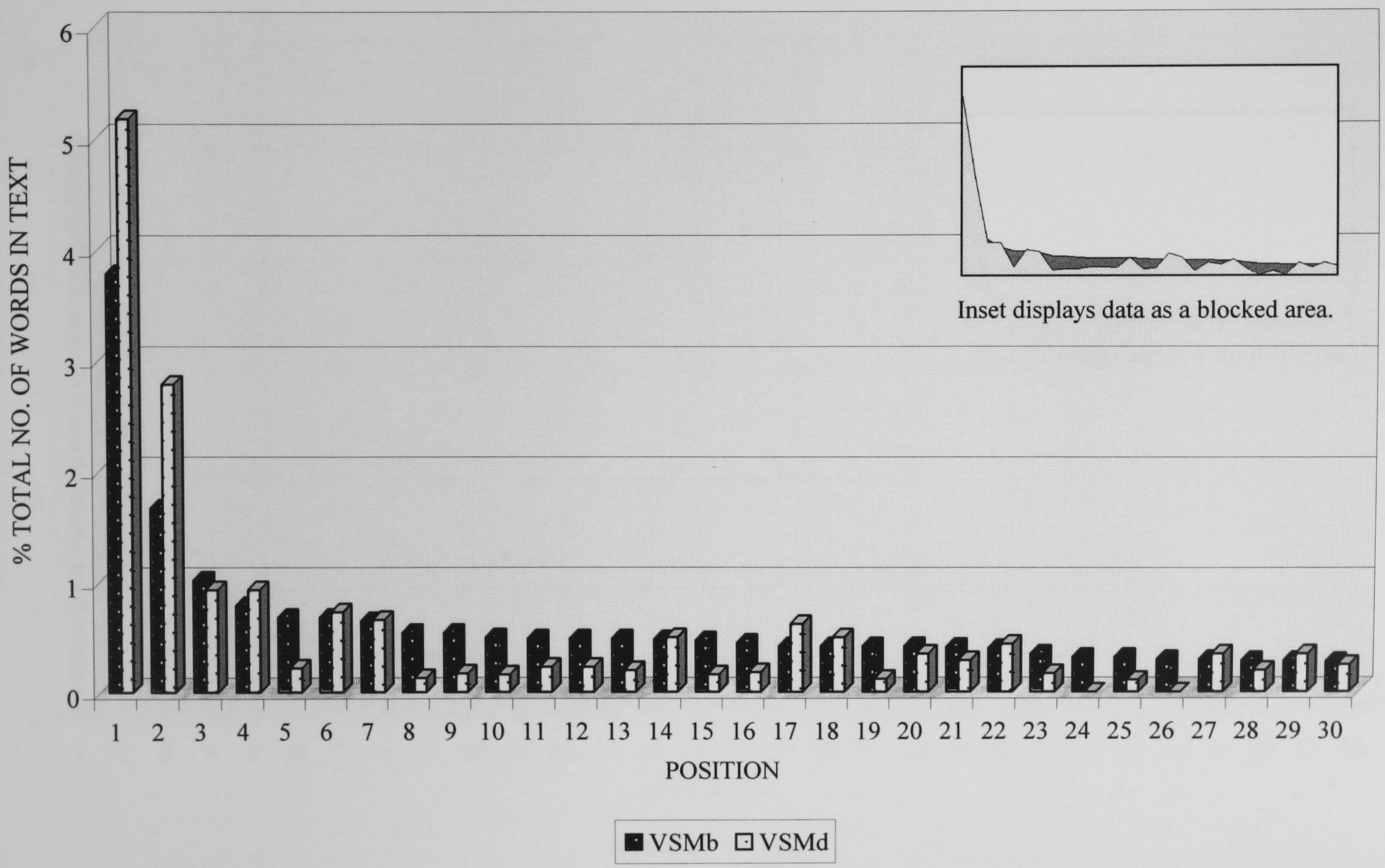


CHART A II (2)

COMPLETE TEXTS: FREQUENCY OF TOP 30 TYPES (UNLEMMATIZED) OF *VITA SANCTAE MILBURGAE* AGAINST THAT OF THE SAME WORDS IN *VITA SANCTAE MILDRITHAE*

1 et
2 in
3 ut
4 ad
5 eius
6 non
7 quam
8 virginis
9 sic
10 virgo
11 de
12 ipsa
13 quod
14 a
15 autem

X AXIS VALUES



Inset displays data as a blocked area.

16 Deo
17 cum
18 est
19 rex
20 tam
21 qui
22 que
23 itaque
24 dum
25 enim
26 cuius
27 Dei
28 Christi
29 sibi
30 ab

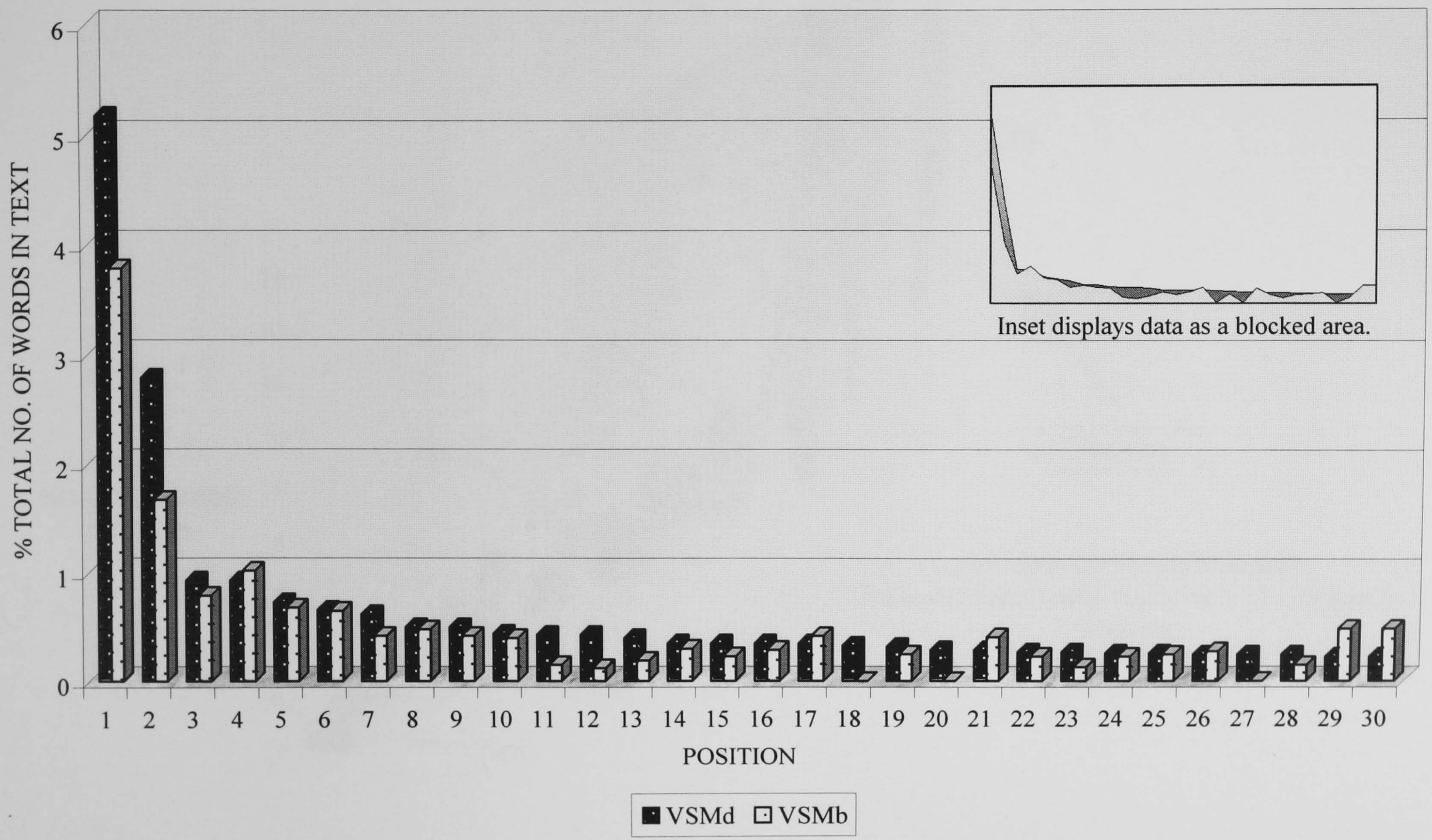
X AXIS VALUES

CHART A II (3)

COMPLETE TEXTS: FREQUENCY OF TOP 30 TYPES (UNLEMMATIZED) OF *VITA SANCTAE MILDRITHAE* AGAINST THAT OF THE SAME WORDS IN *VITA SANCTAE MILBURGAE*

1 et
2 in
3 ad
4 ut
5 non
6 quam
7 cum
8 a
9 est
10 que
11 Domini
12 vel
13 se
14 Dei
15 iam

X AXIS VALUES



Inset displays data as a blocked area.

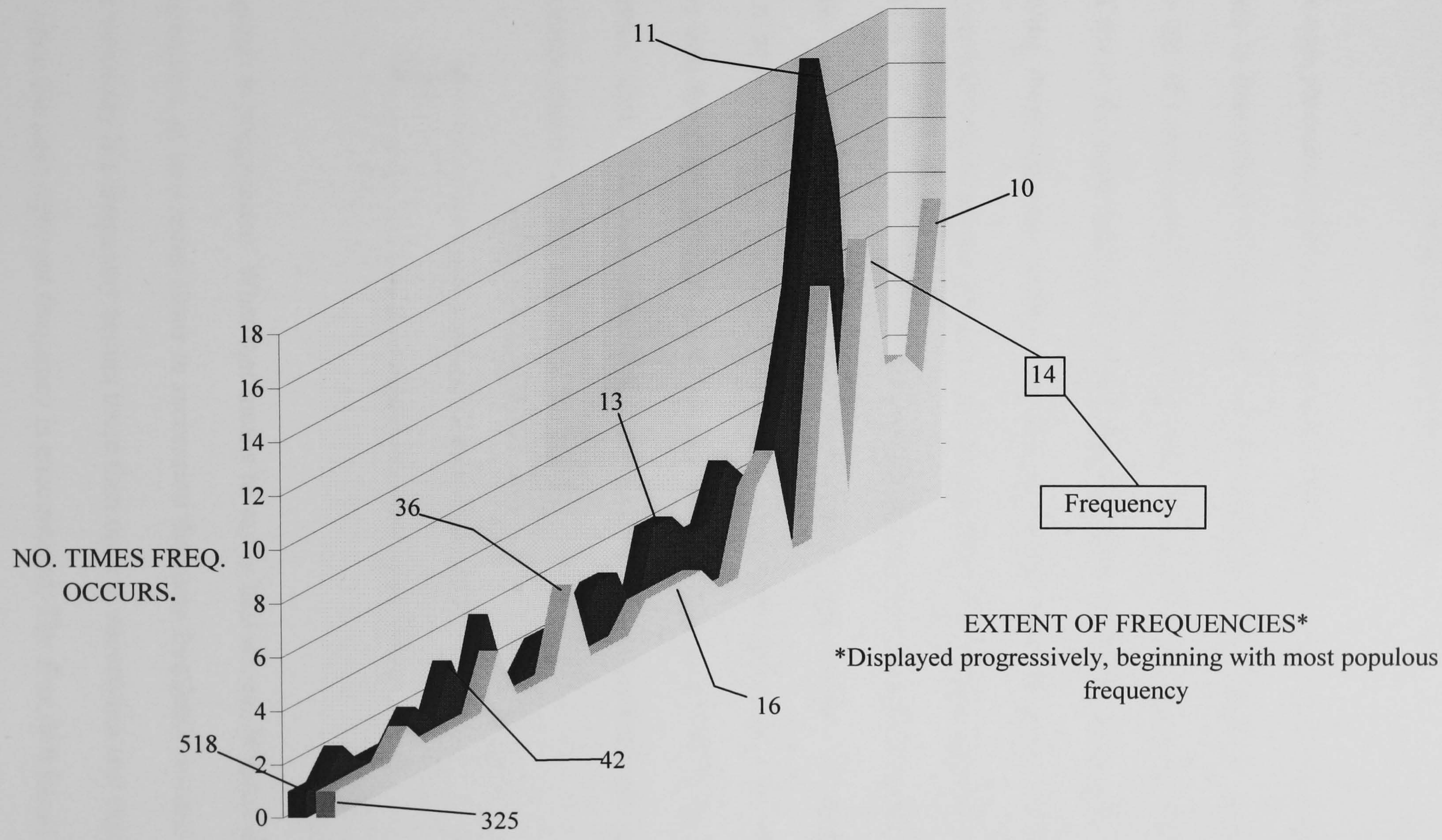
16 sibi
17 tam
18 hoc
19 sed
20 nec
21 qui
22 erat
23 sue
24 per
25 vero
26 ab
27 ac
28 quasi
29 de
30 ipsa

X AXIS VALUES

CHART A II (4)

COMPLETE TEXTS: BANDING OF FREQUENCIES OF 10 AND ABOVE

Vita Sanctae Milburgae Mb Md *Vita Sanctae Mildrithae*



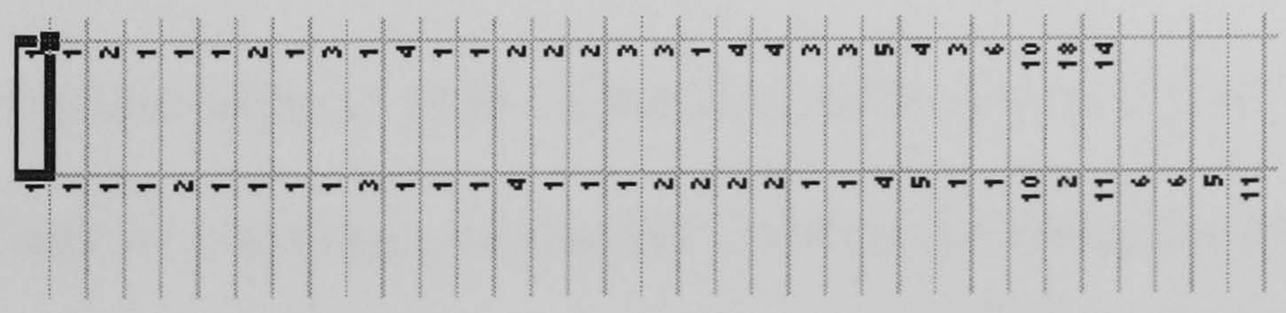
EXTENT OF FREQUENCIES*

*Displayed progressively, beginning with most populous frequency

BANDING OF FREQUENCIES OF TEN AND ABOVE

A NOTE ON CHART A II (4)

The *x*-axis represents *different* frequencies. The positioning of these frequencies along the axis is determined by the 'body' of the frequency, the frequency with the highest *value* (not the *most common* frequency, note) at the left hand side of the chart, a frequency of ten at the right hand side of the chart (because we are dealing only with words occurring more than ten times). The axis is devoid of calibration, but way-markers are provided: these are the *values* of the frequencies. It should be noted that the *x*-axes of *VSMb* and *VSMd* are 'free' (not corresponding to common *x*-axis values). The length of the *x*-axis for each contour is determined by the *number* of *different* frequencies of or above ten in each text. If the graph were to be rotated 180° we would see that since four fewer frequencies above ten occur in *VSMd* than in *VSMb*, the dark contour 'finishes' first. The data from which the contours are constituted are given below in the same manner as they appear on the graph.



The graph is *progressive*. What that means to say is that we are looking at the *extent* of frequencies, at *how many times in succession* the *same* frequency occurs. The contour rises vertically if a frequency occurs more than once in succession and expands horizontally when the next *different* frequency is encountered. The first (left hand) part of the *VSMb* (light) contour is thus generated from the sequence 1, 1, 1, 1, 2, 1. This sequence is underlain by the following data:

Frequency 325 occurs x1

Frequency 143 occurs x1

Frequency 88 occurs x1

Frequency 68 occurs x1

Frequency 59 occurs x2

(that is, there are two words, in this case *eius* and *non*, which occur fifty-nine times)

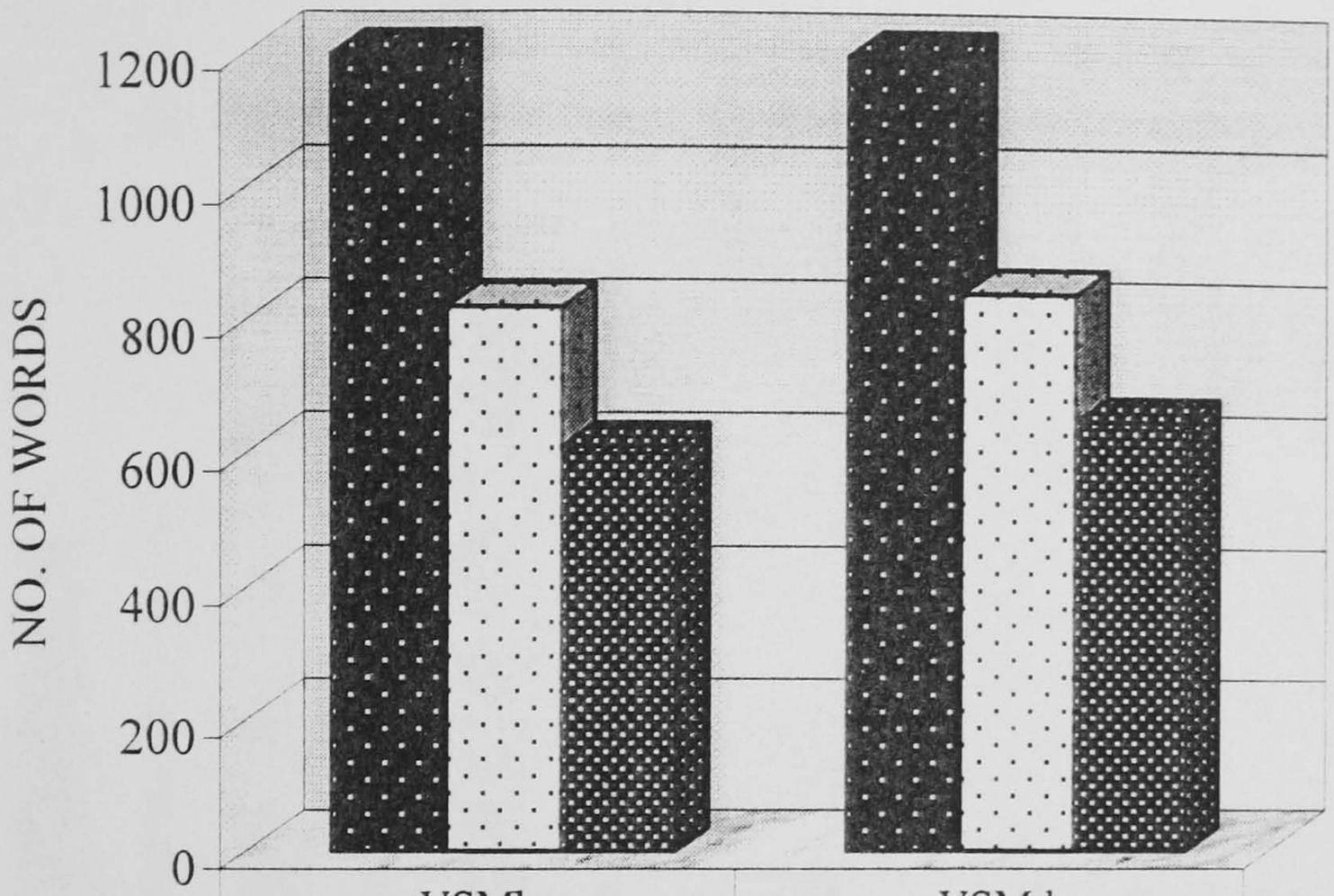
Frequency 56 occurs x1

And so on for the rest of this contour and for that of *VSMd*.

It might be argued that the results are vitiated by the lengths of the texts, for *VSMb* is 1420 words shorter than *VSMd*, and to gain the most accurate results a co-efficient would have to be calculated for the raw data of the *VSMb* to counteract this.[1] As it is, we notice that the red contour has the highest peaks, possibly representing the greater *opportunity* for frequencies to nudge above ten in a longer text. However, we should also expect the dark contour to be longer (to 'finish' after the light) because in a longer text there is also more *opportunity* for a larger number of *different* frequencies to develop. That it is not longer, but shorter, suggests that the graph constitutes a meaningful comparison even in light of the first difficulty, and that it can be used to demonstrate the lack of a stylistic community between the texts here examined.

[1] I am unaware of any study that incorporates similar data.

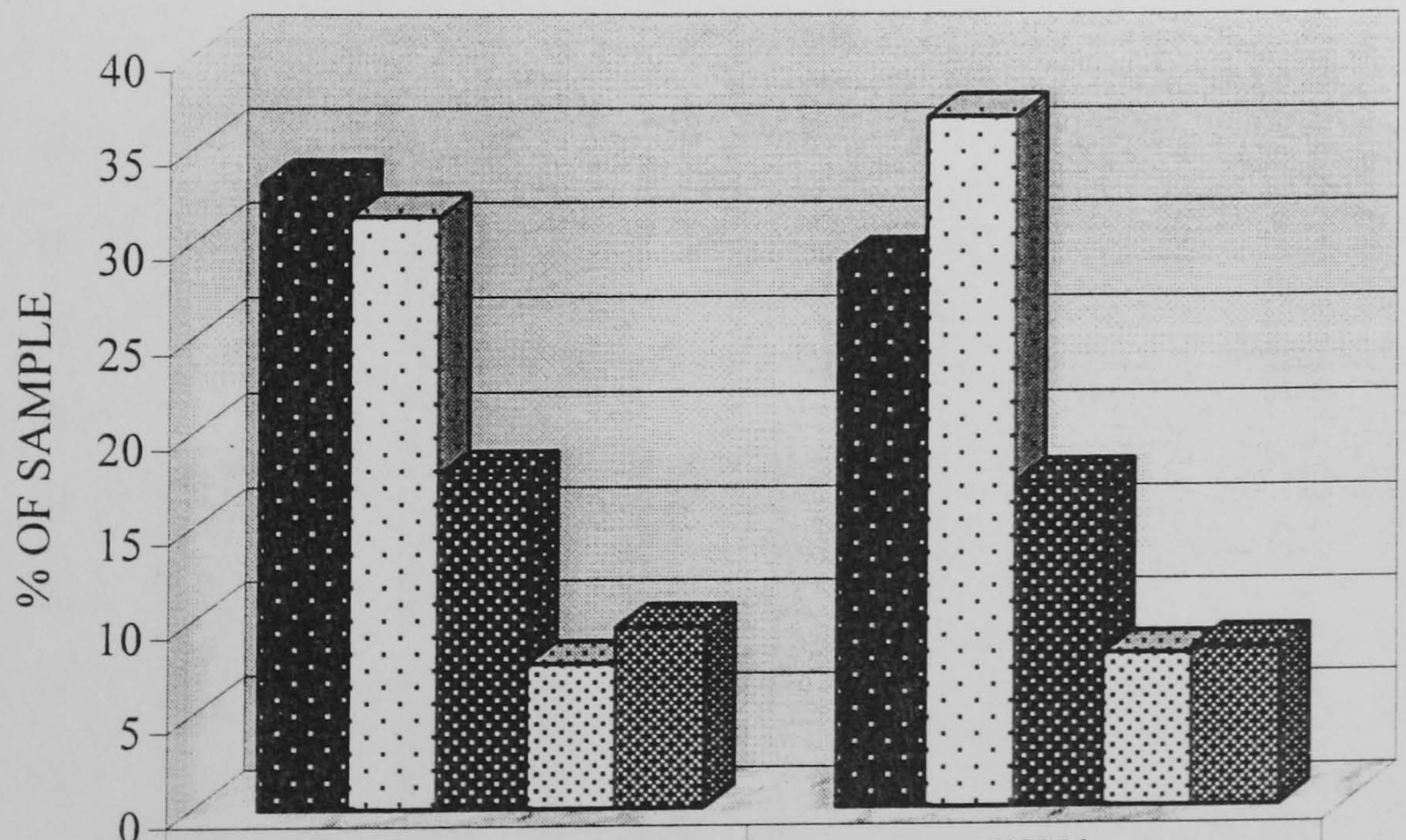
CHART A II (5)
LEMMATIZATION OF SAMPLE TEXTS



	VSMb	VSMd
Total Words	1200	1200
Vocab.	822	844
Lemmatized Vocab.	612	652

TEXT

CHART A II (6)
SAMPLE TEXTS: PARTS OF SPEECH

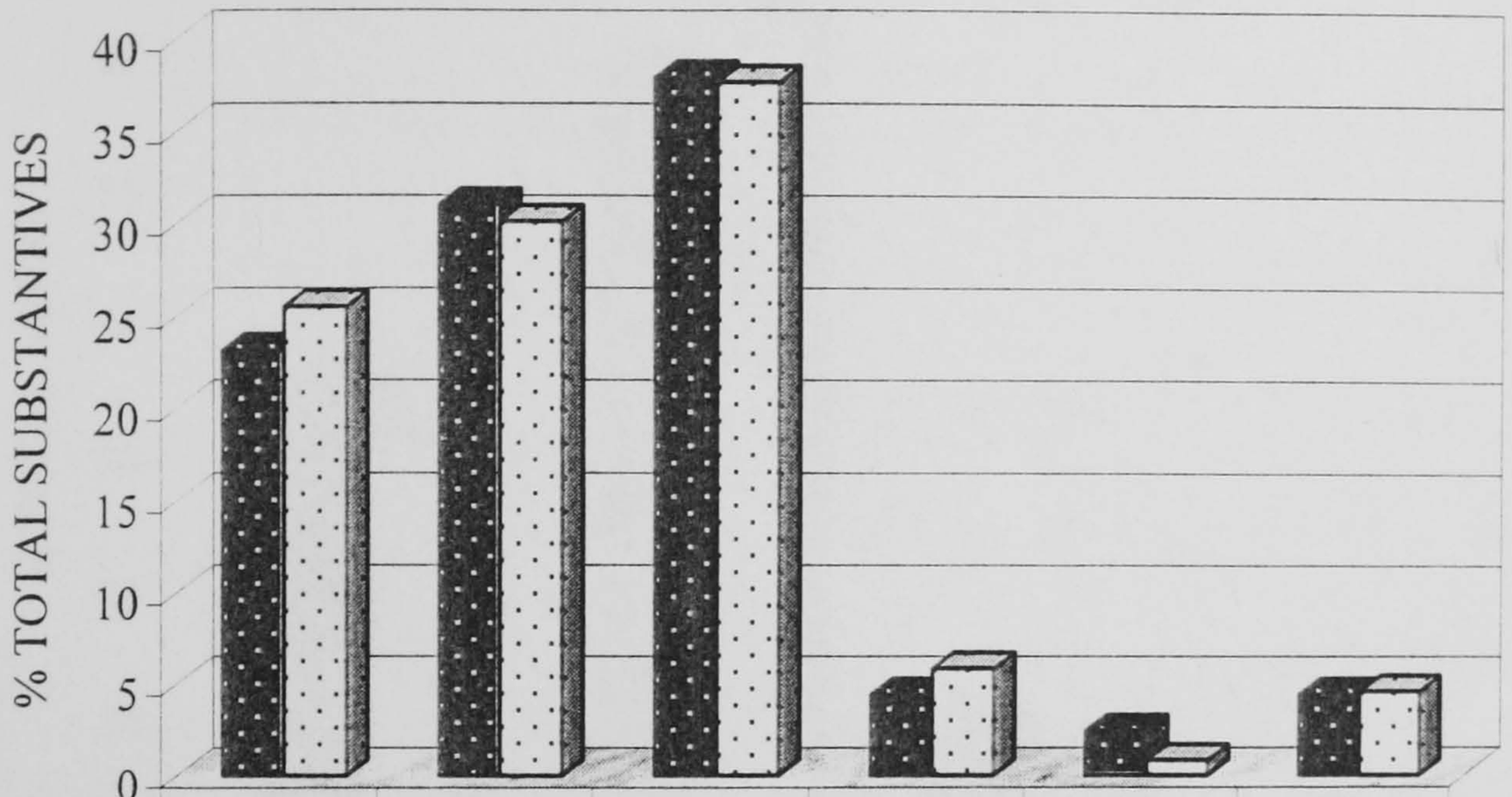


	VSMb	VSMd
Substantives	33.17	28.98
Verbs	31.37	36.65
Adjectives	17.81	17.33
Adverbs	7.68	8.12
Other	9.64	8.43

TEXT

CHART A II (7)
SAMPLE TEXTS: SUBSTANTIVES

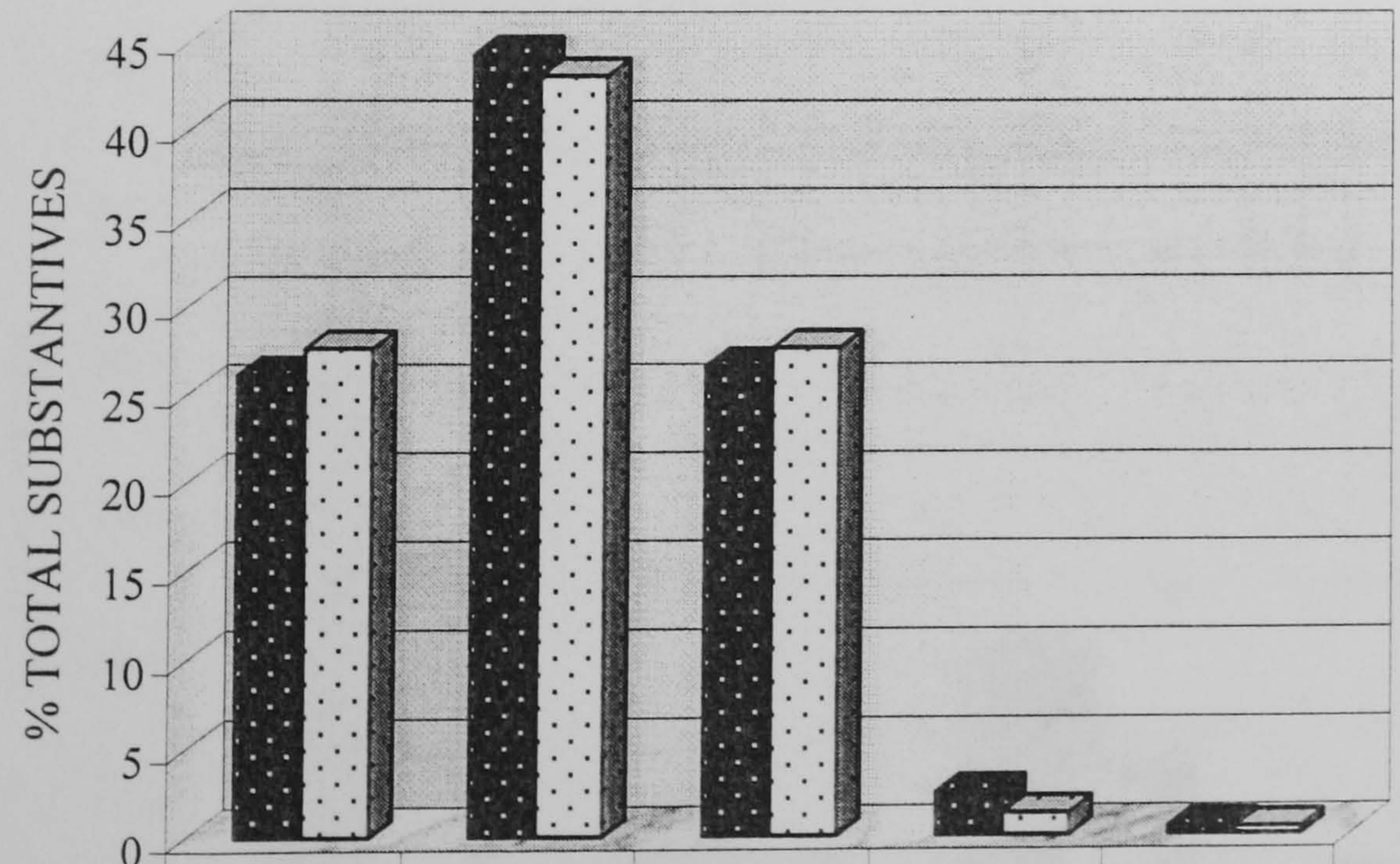
(a) DECLENSIONS AND PROPER NAMES



	I	II	III	IV	V	Proper
■ VSMb	23.15	31.03	37.93	4.43	2.46	4.43
⊡ VSMd	25.52	30.13	37.66	5.86	0.83	4.60

DECLENSION

(b) GENDER

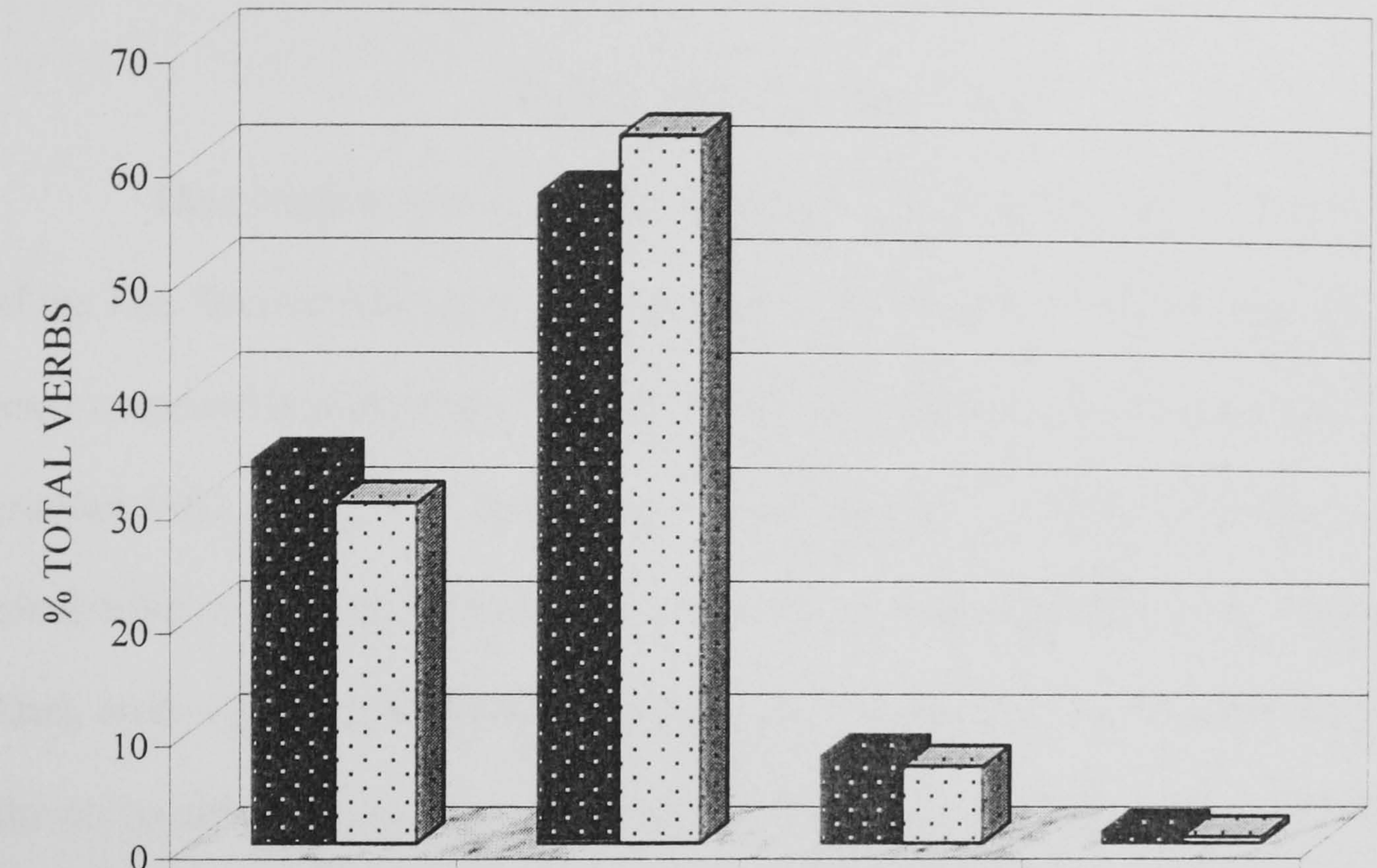


	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Comm.	Indet.
■ VSMb	26.12	44.33	26.60	2.46	0.49
⊡ VSMd	27.61	43.10	27.61	1.26	0.42

GENDER

CHART A II (8)
SAMPLE TEXTS: VERBS

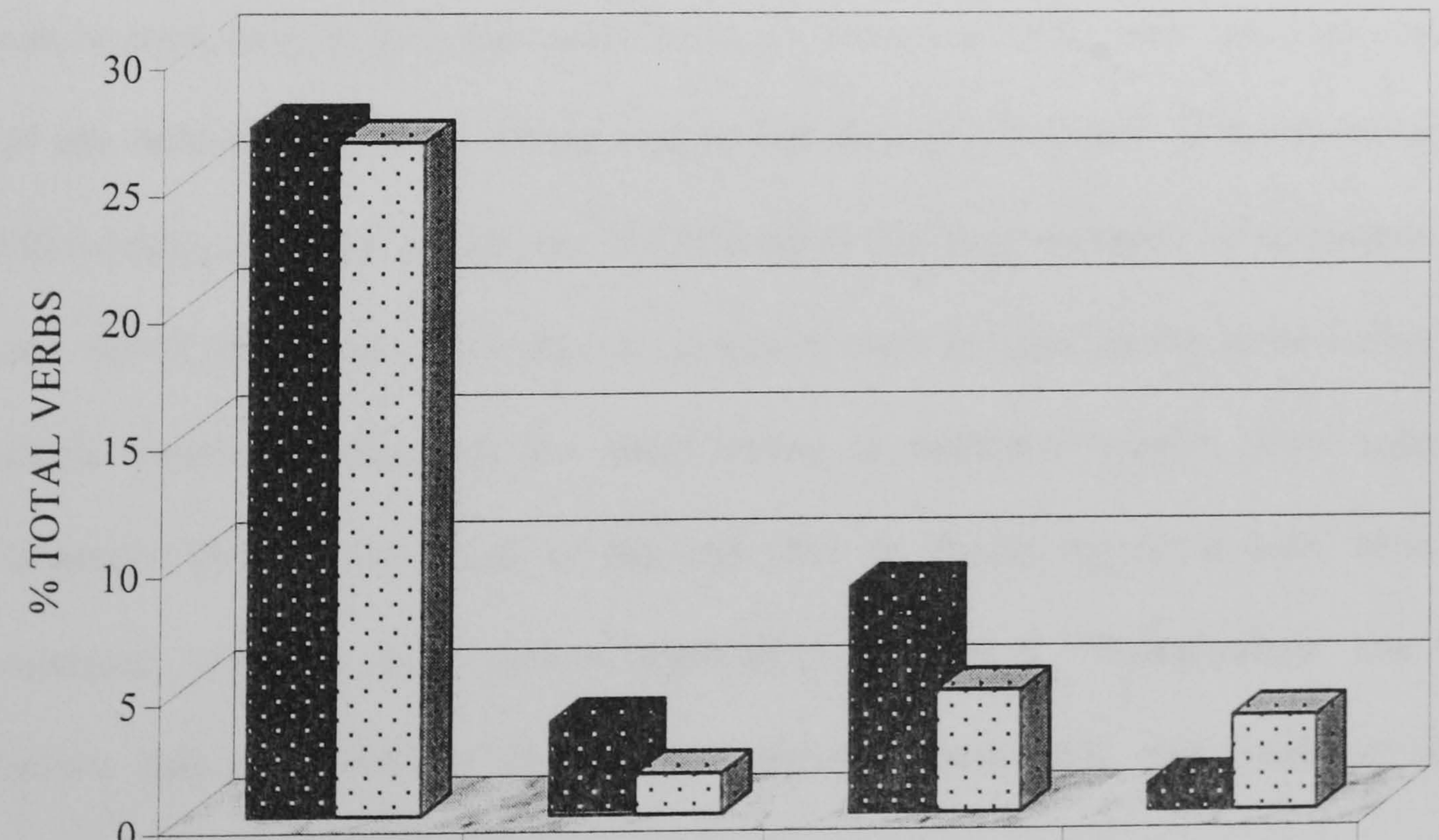
(a) CONJUGATION



	I (A)	II & III (E)	IV (I)	INDET
VSMb	33.85	57.29	7.81	1.05
VSMd	30.16	62.43	6.88	0.53

CONJUGATION

(b) OTHER INFORMATION



	Ptp O.	Gdv Inf Ipv O.	Dep.	Contr.
VSMb	27.08	3.65	8.85	1.04
VSMd	26.46	1.58	4.76	3.70

CATEGORY

APPENDIX A (III)

THE *VITA SANCTAE MILBURGAE* AND THE *VITA SANCTAE MILDRITHAE* STYLISTIC COMPARISON FROM CONCORDANCES

(REFER TO PAGES 104-6)

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The complete text of the *Vita Sanctae Milburgae* (VSMb) was appended to that of the *Vita Sanctae Mildrithae* (VSMd) and OCP was run on the combined file. The first text comprised line-numbers up to 1070, the second line numbers beginning 1071. Line number 1902, is thus *Vita Sanctae Milburgae* line 832, calculated from the consecutive numbering of the lines in Edwards' edition (in this case Edwards, 1960, 80, penultimate line), or its nearest approximation (joining split words). For the *Vita Sanctae Mildrithae*, the computer-ready text was based on the edition in Rollason (1982, 108-143), whose lines were similarly numbered, omitting titles. Full 'left-of-key' and 'right-of-key' concordances were produced and were examined manually. The following is a sample drawn from the 'right-of-key' concordance, and comprises the keyword first letters *A-* to *Fi-* only. The characteristics noted here were repeated throughout the concordance. As can be seen, despite the similarities noted by Edwards (1960) there was little community of use between the texts. Those usages not falling into either of the three categories below naturally form a majority and belong to the large category of divergent use that one would anticipate in two texts of any sort, even in those by the same author. Where single words (lemmatized) are noted below as exclusive usages, these were words, dispersed through the length of the text, that we should expect to have been used in common, were the same author responsible. Where a 'characteristic' use is noted below, this is a word or phrase that occurs in both texts, but which is obviously preferred in one or the other.

Although the caveats about the lack of control texts, and the difference in the total number of words in the texts outlined earlier apply,[1] we can still draw definite conclusions. The quantitative similarity of grammatical usage (that is, the resolution of the *mechanics* of the authors' language, see Appendix A II, above) indicate the texts to be the product of the same literary milieu at the same period. The direct repetition of phrases (beyond the biblical or merely conventional) indicates that the author of one work is likely to have been familiar with the other. The combination of the distinct stylistic characteristics sampled here with the divergent frequency patterns represented earlier nevertheless shows, beyond reasonable doubt, that the texts are from different hands.[2]

COMMON USAGES

Deo amabilis
vulnerate caritatis

celica Milburga (*Mildritha*)

constituit virginale cenobium in honore sancte Dei genitricis (VSMd 237)
virginale construit cenobium in honore beate virginis virginum (VSMb 1354)

ex regali coniuge Oslava (VSMd 91)
ex imperiali coniuge Oslava (VSMb 1158)

de luce vigilavit (and similar)

regni diadema (*diadema regni*)

lux effusa de cellis instar ingentis radii solaris super ipsos (VSMb 1160)
mox effuso instar solis radio a corporibus sanctorum et ipsis (VSMd 169)

mores et actus virgo celebs emulabatur (VSMb 1902)
mores et studia sanctimonie emulabatur (VSMd 1020)

---

[1] In many cases, the latter will in fact be seen to reinforce the stylistic divergence.

[2] On the significance of which, see above, chapter two, p. 106.

forma speciosus pre filiis hominum (VSMb 1468)
speciosum pre filiis hominum forma (VSMd 774)

CHARACTERISTIC USAGES

sanctissimus archipresul Theodorus (VSMd favours the order adjective-noun-name, VSMb adjective-name-noun)

at (once in VSMb, thirteen times in VSMd)

autem (more than twice as common in VSMb than VSMd)

beata (beatissima) virgo Milburga (Mildritha) (VSMb invariably uses medial *virgo*, VSMd does not use it)

caritas (twenty-three times in VSMd, once in VSMb, *vulnerate caritatis* above)

celebs (fifteen times in VSMb, twice in VSMd)

celestis (a staggering sixty-one times in VSMb against eleven in VSMd, see below)

Christi (VSMb only uses this in tight formulae with a governing noun, whereas VSMd deploys it in other configurations as well)

cuius (connecting *cuius* is used twenty-six times in VSMb against nine times in VSMd. In all other respects, use of the relative is similar)

cunctus (VSMd uses this thirteen times against VSMb's four, three of which are within the same sentence)

deum, deo (VSMb is three times as likely to use *deus* in the accusative or ablative as VSMd)

dominum, domino (VSMd uses this in preference to *deum*, *deo*: thirty times against VSMb's five)

croceum, lileum, rosa. (While floral metaphors are common to both, VSMd is more likely to use a floral simile. The humble crocus is the exclusive property of VSMd)

celestis ducibus sancto Theodoro archipresule et beato Adriano abbate (VSMb 1334 again shows its fondness for qualifying nouns: compare VSMd 264 *ipsi vero angelici duces Theodorus et Adrianus*)

dum (VSMb uses this twenty-seven times against VSMd's seven: VSMd prefers other constructions to convey 'time within which', notably *donec*)

eius (VSMb is twice as likely to use *eius* as VSMd)

enim (VSMb is three times as likely to use *enim* as VSMd)

etiam (VSMd uses *etiam* twenty-one times, against a single instance in VSMb. VSMb is twice as likely to use *quoque* instead)

felix, feliciter (use in VSMb twice as frequent as in VSMd)

fit, fiunt, fiebat, fieri (VSMb is particularly fond of the non-auxiliary passives of *facio*)

EXCLUSIVE USAGES

actus -us (VSMb)

dum adhuc, stat adhuc (single syllable plus adhuc at the beginning of a sentence, VSMb)

adquirere (VSMb)

agnus (VSMb) (VSMd uses *agnicula* and *agna* instead)

alma virginitatis, alma nobilitatis (VSMb) (VSMd does not use *alma* with genitive abstract, thus *alma virgo* instead of *alma virginitatis*)

altus -a -um, and derivatives (VSMd)

an (VSMd)

angelice similitudinis, angelice felicitatis, angelice puritatis (VSMb) (VSMd does not use *angelice* with genitive abstract)

apostolicus (VSMd) (VSMb does not use the adjective, but uses the most other parts from the stem)

appareo (VSMd)

virginea castitas (VSMb)

vita celestis, sponsa celestis (VSMb)

ceteri (VSMd)

in conspectu Domini (VSMd)

(inveni/quesivi) quem diligit anima (mea/tua) (VSMd)

virgo egregia (egregia virgo) (VSMb)

non solum... verum etiam (VSMd)

eximia sanctitas (VSMb)

APPENDIX B

THE DESCRIPTIVE VOCABULARY OF THE *MIRACULA NYNIE EPISCOPI* AND *HYMNUS SANCTI NYNIE EPISCOPI*

CONTENTS

B (I)	TOPOGRAPHY AND ARCHITECTURE	314
B (II)	PERSONNEL	316

APPENDIX B (I)

MIRACULA NYNIE EPISCOPI: TOPOGRAPHY AND ARCHITECTURE

(REFER TO PAGES 69-75)

(I) ABOUT THE CHURCH

72. basilicis construxit rura novellis
IV. Casam edificavit Candidam
84. Candida qui primus fundamina Case
85. celsi veneranda cacumina templi
88. haec meritis aedis veneranda
90. coctilibus muris fundatam et culmine celsam
93. ardua murifici fulgeant insignia templi
IX. in sua sepultus sit ecclesia
294. ad templum
296. culmina celsa petunt praeclare gressibus aule
309. sese quin edibus arcent
310. atque fores templi crepitanda pisula cludunt
322. saltans per marmora templi
324. menibus in nostris
347. quo praecelsa nitent sacrati menia templi
350. penetralia saxi
371. penetralia nota
383. menia nota
399. celsi culmina templi
425. prostratus vultibus herbas liquerat
504. translatus ad aulam
H15. culmine sub templi pausat in aula sacer

(II) ABOUT THE TOMB

7. venerabile corpus
IX. in sua sepultus sit ecclesia
X. ad tumbam eius
279. tumulata sub gremio terre
283. post busta
295. corpus itaque sacri cineres visitare satagunt
300. sacrata busta sacelli obsecrant
315. ad tumbam
XI. ad corpus viri dei
326. ad tumulum, quo sanctus corpore praesul marmore sulcato… quiescit
XII. ad eius corpus
349. quo sanctum defossae viscera petre
350. inclausum corpus captant, penetralia saxi
369. fronte premit terram defossoque antro
XIII. ad corpus viri dei
378. quo sacer in tumbe requiescit gremio, corpus
400. ingrediens precibus supplex ad altar
401. quo dominus letus tumulato corpore pausat antistes Nyniau
407. marmore prostratus
450. post sancti busta cadaver
451. tumulo de claruit orbe
456. post mortem corpus claro redimivit honore
459. funera post medicans
461. Christus… qui in sancto corpore patrat omnia
H13. de tumulo purgat
H15. Pausat in aula sacer tumulatus corpore praesul

(III) ABOUT THE GARDEN, THE ALTAR, AND OTHER FEATURES

190. ad mensam
192. irriguas horti glebas
202. horti penetralia visit
324. menibus in nostris
384. divina negotia mensae
387. venerans altaria donis
400. ingrediens.. ad altar, quo domino letus tumulato corpore pausat
426. super ardua mense
442. in vertice mense

(IV) ABOUT OTHER BUILDINGS

139. domini penetralia visit
212. inque sibi attiguis habitabat… tignis
489. hic decus omne suis horrende noctis in antro

APPENDIX B (II)

MIRACULA NYNIE EPISCOPI: PERSONNEL
(REFER TO PAGES 75-7)

(I) NINIAN HIMSELF

18. Ninia
II. vir dei
II. pontificatus gradu
62. praesul
65. doctor
82. vatis
86. pater
89. pater
89. sacerdos
V. viri dei
97. sanctum
105. servator praecelsi pastor ovilis
118. procerem
122. vatis
125. Christi servum
134. propheta
142. vates
142. summus sacerdos
149. sanctum
162. presbiter… senior
171. sacer
171. Nyniau
187. sanctum
189. sancti
195. sancto
199. sacer
206. procerem
209. famulus Christi
209. sacerdos (Christi)
211. sanctus
234. pius
238. sacer
242. pius
IX. vir dei
257. felix
259. pontificis summi
261. iusticie cultor
265. vates
284. sancti
302. dilecte dei (vocative)
305. confessor
316. vatem
XI. viri dei
326. sanctus praesul
352. dilecte dei (vocative)
XIII. viri dei
377. sancti
402. antistes Nyniau
450. sancti
458. martyris
463. sacerdos
466. sancti
486. confessor
499. sacer
H10. antistes Nynia
H12. pater
H15. praesul
H21. pontificem Nyniam

(II) OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY

VI. presbyterum suum
150. presbiter… baptiste munere functus
177. sacerdos
VII. fratribus
189. sancti famulus
189. fratribus
194. frater qui hortuli curam percepit

199. famulum
206. fratres
323. adtonsus
324. dictus cognomine Pethgils
XIII. presbiterus… missam celebrans
374. presbiter.. nomine Plecgils
379. quem primo ab evo legis praecepta tenebant[1]
380. Christo famulans
404. celebrat sollempnia misse
415. sacerdos
425. presbiter
436. presbiter

[1] Possibly indicating that the priest had been a child oblate.

APPENDIX C

CHURCHYARDS NEAR THE RIVER TAMAR

(INCORPORATING A FIELD SURVEY OF FIFTY-SEVEN SITES EAST OF THE RIVER)

(REFER TO PAGES 207-210, 281-2 AND MAP 4B)

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APPENDIX C (I)

DEVON CHURCHYARDS NEAR THE TAMAR: CURVILINEARITY AND ELEVATION

Yard	C[1]	E[2]	Name[3]	Name Class[4]	Name Date	Earliest Dedication[5]	Dedication Date
Plymouth Sutton	2	3	Sudtone	OE-OE	1086	Andrew	1137
St. Budeaux	4	3	Bucheside[6]	OE-OE	1086	Budoc	1520
Eggbuckland	2	1	Bochelanda[7]	OE-OE	1086	Edward[8]	c.1170
Newton Ferrers	1	3	Niwetona	OE-OE	1086	Holy Cross	1742*
Wembury	5	3	Weybiria	(OE)-OE	1329	Werburga[9]	1742*
Plymstock	2	2	Plemestocha	(BR)-OE	1086	All Saints	1538
Plympton-Saint-Mary	0	0	Plymentun	(BR)-OE	904	Mary	1333
Plympton-Saint-Maurice	3	2	Plympton Comitis	(BR)-OE	1299	Thomas à Becket	1335
Yealmpton	0	3	Elintona	(BR)-OE	1086	Bartholemew	c.1425
Brixton	1	3	Brisestona	(BR)-OE	1086	Ukn[10]	
Bere Ferrers	1	3	Birlanda	(BR)-OE	1086	Andrew	1475
Maristow	0[11]	0	Martinscumbe	(OE)-OE	1291	Martin	c.1200
Tamerton Foliot	3	5	Tambretona	(BR)-OE	1086	Mary	1292
Buckland	1	1	of bóc lande	OE-OE	970	Andrew	1445
Shaugh Prior	0	3	Escaga	OE	1086	Edward	1538
Bickleigh	0	1	Bicheleia	OE-OE	1086	All Saints	c.1500
Sampford Spiney	1	2	Sanforda	(OE)-OE	1086	Mary	1873
Peter Tavy	2	2	Tawi	(BR)	1086	Peter	1276
Lamerton	0	3	of lamburnam	(BR)	970	Peter	1284
Whitchurch	1	2	Wicerce[12]	OE-OE	1086	Andrew	1304
Tavistock	0	0	æt Tavistoce Tæfing stoce	OE-(BR)-OE (BR)-OE-OE	981 997	Mary (& Rumon)	981
Sydenham Damerel	0	0	Sidelham	(OE)-OE	1086	Mary	1437
Milton Abbot	1	2	Mideltona	OE-OE	1086	Constantine	1193

Meavy	1	3	Maewi	(BR)	1031	Peter	1754*
Walkhampton	0	0	Walchentone	(BR)-OE	1084	Ukn[13]	
Sheepstor	2	3	Sitelestorra	OE-OE	1168	Ukn[14]	
Mary Tavy	0	2	Tavi	(BR)	1086	Mary	1270
Brentor (Tor)	3	0[15]	Brenta	OE	1238	Michael	c.1160
Bridestowe	0[16]	0	Bridestou	(BR)-OE	1086	Brigit	1086[17]
Stowford	5	5	Estatforda[18]	OE-OE	1086	Ukn.[19]	
Coryton	1	3	æt curitune æt curritune æt curri tune	(OE)-(BR)-OE	970	Andrew	1462
Lew Trenchard	0	2	Lenya Lewe	(BR)	1086	Peter	1742*
Broadwoodwidger	0[20]	0	Bradewode	OE-OE	1086	Ukn[21]	
Thrushelton	2	4	Tresetone[22]	(OE)-OE	1086	George	1742*
Marystow	1	2	eccl. Sanctae Mariae Stou Stowe	L OE	c.1270	Mary	c.1187[23]
Lydford	2	4	to Hlidan[24] Hlydanforda	OE OE-OE	910 997	Petroc	1237
Bradstone	1	3	brada stane æt bradan stane	OE-OE	970	Christopher[25]	1469
Kelly	6	3	Chenleia[26]	(BR)	1086	Mary	1391
Dunterton	0	0	Dondritona	BR-BR-OE	1086	All Saints	1513
Lifton	1	1	æt Liwtune	(BR)-OE	880	Andrew	1353
Pyworthy	1[27]	4	Paorda	(OE)	1086	All Saints	1449
Clawton	0	4	Clavetona	(BR)-OE	1086	Ukn[28]	
Virginstow	1	2	Virginestowe	OE-OE	c.1180	Brigit	1521[29]
St-Giles-on-the-Heath	0	4	capella Sancti Egidii	L	1202	Giles	c.1200
Luffincott	0	0	Leghyngecoth	(NF)-OE	1242	James	1474
Ashwater	2	2	Aissa	OE	1086	Peter	1504
Tetcott	0	0	Tetecota[30]	OE-OE	1086	Holy Trinity	1428

Bridgerule	1	1	Bræg	OE	970	Michael	c.1180
Pancrasweek	0	1	Pancradeswike[31]	OE-OE	1197	Pancras	1291
Holsworthy	1	1	Haldeurdi	OE-OE	1086	Peter	1418
Hollacombe	1	2	Holecoma	OE-OE	1086	Petroc	1456
Bradworthy	2	0	Bradvordina	OE-OE	1086	Peter	c.1250
Welcombe	0	2	Walcoma[32]	(OE)-OE	1086	Nectan	1478
Sutcombe	0	0	Sutecoma	(OE)-OE	1086	Andrew	1342
Stoke-Saint-Nectan	0	3	Nistenstoc	(BR)-OE	1086[33]	Nectan	1086
Woolsery	2	3	Olfereordi	OE-OE	1086	Ukn[34]	
Clovelly	1	3	Cloveleia	(BR)-OE	1086	Mary & All Saints	1393

*Information from earlier antiquaries in lieu of an unknown dedication. These dedications may be considered doubtful.

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[1] The method outlined in Brook (1992, 80) applied to the tithe map (photocopied from microfiche at 32 magnification). The yard's curvilinearity is measured through placing a template of eight 45° sectors over the map and scoring each sector as zero (non-curved) or one (curved). These figures are then added together to produce a score out of eight, which is that given here. Brook considered yards with scores between 0 and 2 to be 'non-curved', 3 or 4 to be 'partly curved' and 5 or above, 'largely curved'.

[2] The figures in this column are derived from approximate measurements taken at each site, applied to sketchmaps and scored on the Brook (1992, 80) system. In some cases the yard was not accessible in all of the eight sectors required to make the calculation, and the scores proposed must be considered provisional. Because of the need to compare like with like, they do not take account of the internal differentiation of levels, which appears to be an important factor at some sites recording average scores, and which might indicate expansion from or around a smaller and thus more substantially raised area. These sites are Eggbuckland, Yealmpton, St-Giles-on-the-Heath, Sampford Spiney, Thrushelton, Stoke-Saint-Nectan, Milton Abbot, Whitchurch and (possibly) Bridgerule. Neither can the figures indicate revetment of either church or yard, a feature

particularly common on hill-slope sites. Scores for both curvilinearity and elevation can in addition be influenced by a multitude of local factors (the most common being the use or augmentation of natural features, the widening of roads, existence of deep lanes, abutment of buildings or the growth of trees on the boundary) that only a full description of each site could deal with adequately.

[3] The earliest form given in Gover, Mawer and Stenton (1931).

[4] This column indicates the linguistic origin of the name's elements: OE (Old English), BR (Brittonic), L (Latin), NF (Norman French), ME (Middle English). Where there is uncertainty, or if an element is a river name (where there would be a presumption against change), the element is given in brackets.

[5] These are derived from Orme (1996), the most recent gazetteer.

[6] See above, chapter three, pp. 222-3.

[7] The specific represents the pre-1066 lord *Heca* (*DB Devon*, 17.69).

[8] See above, chapter three, note 272.

[9] See above, chapter three, pp. 268-9.

[10] Mary by 1889. 'Ukn' here and following = unknown.

[11] The site has been shared with the present country house (subsequently a 'home for retired priests' and now apartments) since the 1780's. If the church here ever had parochial status, it was lost by 1291, when it was a chapel of Plympton Priory. The house obliterated the earlier yard. The present miniature church dates to 1877.

[12] Not thought by the most recent commentators (Keynes and Lapidge, 1983, 175, 320) to be the Whitchurch of Alfred's Will (S1507), *pace* Whitelock (1955, 493) and Sawyer (1968, 422). The name is presumed to have been used to refer to a church of stone, and the antiquity of the sites at which it commonly occurs (eg. Whitchurch, Shropshire, formerly *Mediolanum*) suggest that it may be a characteristically early usage.

[13] Orme (1996, 213) cites the eighteenth-century antiquary Browne-Willis for the dedication to St. Mark, but this may be an inference from the date of the feast. It would certainly be unusual, if genuine.

[14] Orme (1996, 199). From local tradition about the neighbouring well, the dedication was from about 1940 given as Leonard. Another Leonard dedication at Clawton dated only from 1897 (Ibid., 146). Again it is safer to treat the dedicatee as unknown.

[15] Misleading. The yard is raised approximately 125 cm throughout its circuit.

[16] Fiche obscured. From an enlargement of the plan in Pearce (1985, 262, fig. 3).

[17] The dedication is not mentioned until 1451, but in this case the *stow* element makes it a probable inference from the place-name.

[18] Gover, Mawer and Stenton (1931, I, 41, 208) were confident that this form was reliable and represented 'ford of stakes' (that is, with stakes protruding from the water to mark the ford), and this was followed by Pearce (1985, 259) but Thomas (1994, 317-9) treats *-stow* as a replacement for British *lann*.

[19] John the Baptist only from 1873.

[20] Fiche obscured. From current 1:10 000 OS map, including area of cottages to southeast.

[21] Nicholas only from 1883.

[22] This form, which looks as if it might begin *Tref-* (BR: 'farm') to be dismissed. The name is from that of the river *Thrushel* (OE: 'loud stream': onomatopoeic).

[23] Although the *stow* element must indicate that it is earlier.

[24] If not Lifton.

[25] Nonna is an eighteenth-century conjecture from the date of the then parish feast (Orme, 1996, 135). Christopher itself would be unusual and is probably not original.

[26] This form, which appears to be an interpretation based on an ending in *-leāh* (OE: 'clearing') to be dismissed. All other instances show the name to be cognate with *celi* (BR: 'wood').

[27] Fiche obscured. From current 1:10 000 OS map, including area of cottages to northeast.

[28] See above, note 14.

[29] Although the name in *stow* indicates the first element to be earlier. Brigit may not be original.

[30] A Norman-French list of saints' resting places, probably written in 1302, has *Saint Romeyn un eueske en Tettiscoche* (Hardy and Martin, 1889, xli; Butler, 1987, 100). This is obviously intended for Tavistock, which claimed St. Rumon's relics, but *Tettiscoche* is otherwise unknown as a name-form for that place, and may reflect confusion with Tetcott.

[31] See above, chapter three, note 58.

[32] Neither this nor Walkhampton are *walh-* names according to the authorities.

[33] Hartland is however mentioned in King Alfred's Will of *circa* 880.

[34] Trinity and All Saints have in the past been suggested by antiquaries (Orme, 1996, 219).

APPENDIX C (II)

SUMMARY DATA

This appendix correlates the results of the survey of Devon yards with a similar group of Cornish yards west of the Tamar. The curvilinearity of the Cornish yards was determined by applying the method outlined in Appendix C (I), note 1 above, to an enlargement of the plans provided by Preston-Jones (1992, 104, fig. 11.1). Information on dedications was again derived from Orme (1996) and on place-names from Padel (1985, 1988). Whilst I have given what I believe are some of the more useful, many of these indicators would perform better with a larger sample (for instance all the Devon yards versus all the Cornwall yards). For the fifty-seven sites east of the Tamar, a preliminary topographical assessment was made on the ground, and some of the results from this will be found in Tables 4 (d-g) below.

(1) NAMES

	East (total 57)		West (total 44)	
British	6	11%	16	36%
English	32	56%	16	36%
Mixed	16	28%	7	16%
Other	3	5%	5	11%

	East (total 57)		West (total 44)	
Places first recorded in Domesday Book	36	63%	18	41%
Places with pre-Domesday references	11	19%	4	9%
Named from Rivers	14	25%	2	5%
With British element excluding river-name	6	10%	15	34%
With *lan-*	1	2%	8	18%
With *-worthy* or *-cott*	6	10%	0	0%
With *-church*	1	2%	1	2%
With *-stock*	3	5%	2	5%
With *-stow*	3	5%	3	7%
With *-ton* or *-ham*	11	19%	7	15%
With OE personal name	6	10%	2	5%
With patron in the name	7[1]	12%	16	36%

[1] Eight, if debatable Pancrasweek included.

(2) DEDICATIONS: PROPORTIONS AND TYPES

East Order	% East	% West
Mary	16	11.4
Andrew	12.28	6.8
Peter	12.28	0
Unknown	12.28	11.4
All Saints	7	2.3
Brigit	3.5	0
Edward	3.5	0
Michael	3.5	4.6
Nectan	3.5	0
Petroc	3.5	0
Bartholemew	1.75	0
Budoc	1.75	0
Christopher	1.75	0
Constantine	1.75	0
George	1.75	0
Giles	1.75	0
Holy Cross	1.75	0
Holy Trinity	1.75	0
James	1.75	2.3
Martin	1.75	2.3
Pancras	1.75	0
Thomas à Becket	1.75	0
Werburga	1.75	2.3

Dedic. Type	% East	% West
Universal	68.4	54.5
British	14	27.3
Anglo-Saxon	5.3	6.8
Unknown	12.3	11.4
Once Only	22.8	47.7

West Order	% West	% East
Mary	11.4	16
Unknown	11.4	12.28
Andrew	6.8	12.28
Stephen	6.8	0
Michael	4.6	3.5
Nicholas	4.6	0
Padarn	4.6	0
All Saints	2.3	7
Clether	2.3	0
Dominica	2.3	0
Gennys	2.3	0
Germanus	2.3	0
Gregory	2.3	0
James	2.3	1.75
John Baptist	2.3	0
Julian	2.3	0

Julitta	2.3	0
Keri	2.3	0
Leonard	2.3	0
Mærwynn	2.3	0
Martin	2.3	1.75
Melaine	2.3	0
Melor	2.3	0
Nonna	2.3	0
Olaf	2.3	0
Samson	2.3	0
Werburga	2.3	1.75
Winwaloe	2.3	0

(3) CURVILINEARITY

(a) YARD CURVE SCORE:

	% East	% West
0	38.59	36.36
1	31.58	15.90
2	17.54	25
3	5.26	11.36
4	1.75	9.09
5	3.5	0
6	1.75	2.27

(b) OF YARDS WITH CURVE SCORE 3 OR ABOVE:

	% East (total 7)	% West (total 10)
With British name	14.3	50
With British dedication	14.3	40
With Anglo-Saxon name	57.1	20
With Mixed name	28.6	30
With Anglo-Saxon dedication	14.3	0
With unknown dedication	14.3	10
With universal dedication	57.1	50

(4) RELATION OF ELEVATION TO CURVILINEARITY AND TOPOGRAPHY (EAST OF TAMAR ONLY):

(a) GENERAL:

	%
Higher than curve	54.4
Lower than curve	12.3
Equal to curve	33.3

(b) OF ELEVATION SCORES OF ZERO:

	%
Lower than curve	15.4
Equal to curve	84.6

(c) OF CURVE SCORES OF THREE AND ABOVE:

	%
Higher than elevation	71.4
Lower than elevation	14.3
Equal to elevation	14.3

(d) OF CURVE SCORES OF THREE AND ABOVE:

	%	% in total
Valleyside	28.6	53
Isolated	57.1	38.6
Deep Lane	28.6	33.3

(e) OF CURVE SCORES OF ZERO:

	%	% in total
Valleyside	66.7	53
Isolated	57.1	38.6
Deep Lane	28.6	33.3

(f) OF ELEVATION SCORES OF THREE AND ABOVE (42% of total):

	%	% in total
Valleyside	54.2	53
Isolated	41.7	38.6
Deep Lane	37.5	33.3

(g) OF ELEVATION SCORES OF ZERO (23% of total):

	%	% in total
Valleyside	38.5	53
Isolated	53.8	38.6
Deep Lane	7.7	33.3

(5) ELEVATION AND CURVILINEARITY WITH RELATION TO NAME AND DEDICATION (EAST OF TAMAR ONLY)

(a) Of yards with both curved and raised scores of 3 and above (5 yards, 8.8% of total):

	%	% in total	Diff
British name	20	11	+9
Anglo-Saxon name	60	56	+4
Mixed name	20	28	-8
British dedication	20	14	+6
Anglo-Saxon dedication	20	5.3	+14.7
Universal or other dedication	60	80.7	-20.7

Mean differential: +0.8

(b) Of yards with both curved and raised scores of or below one (17 yards, 29.8% of total):

	%	% in total	Diff
British name	0	11	+11
Anglo-Saxon name	58.8	56	+2.8
Mixed name	41.2	28	+13.2
British dedication	5.9	14	-8.1
Anglo-Saxon dedication	0	5.3	-5.3
Universal or other dedication	94.1	80.7	+13.4

Mean differential: +4.5

(c) Of yards with either curved or raised score of two (20 yards, 35% of total):

	%	% in total	Diff
British name	15	11	+4
Anglo-Saxon name	70	56	+14
Mixed name	15	28	-13
British dedication	25	14	+11
Anglo-Saxon dedication	5	5.3	-0.3
Universal or other dedication	70	80.7	-10.7

Mean differential: +0.8

(d) Of yards remaining (15 yards, 26.3% of total):[2]

	%	% in total	Diff
British name	13.3	11	+2.3
Anglo-Saxon name	33.3	56	-22.7
Mixed name	53.3[3]	28	+25.3
British dedication	6.7	14	-7.3
Anglo-Saxon dedication	6.7	5.3	+1.4
Universal or other dedication	86.7	80.7	+6.7

Mean differential: +0.95[4]

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[2] Typically those with the scores (C: 0, E: 3) and (C: 1, E: 3) or otherwise those with a large difference between scores.

[3] For the present purpose includes St-Giles-on-the-Heath (Latin).

[4] The mean differentials given here illustrate that *a number of factors considered* yards with curved or raised scores of two and above appear to be *representative* of the field of 57 Devon yards.

APPENDIX D

TRANSLATIONS

(REFER TO PAGES 50-52, 106 AND 118-28)

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D (I)	*HYMNUS SANCTI NYNIE EPISCOPI*	332
D (II)	THE 'WELSH MIRACLES' OF THE *VITA SANCTAE MILBURGAE*	335

APPENDIX D (I)

HYMNUS SANCTI NYNIE EPISCOPI

(*The Hymn of St. Ninian the Bishop*)[1]

(REFER TO PAGES 50-52)

1 (A) Heavenly Judge, the One God, Creator of all,
Mighty in majesty,

2 (B) Tenderly, he brought forth the Light of Light in the heavenly height.
The Beginning and the End, the Gentle One was born on high.

3 (C) Extending everywhere, grows the renown of the Everlasting King.
The King and Holy Lord gains in strength.

4 (D) The punishment they deserved binds the guilty for an age-old crime.
A just punishment had abandoned the culprits before the Lord.

5 (E) Error flees from the globe at the coming of the celestial doctor.
While Christ suffered, error fled the world.

6 (F) Born to a young mother, in child without father,
The one whom a fruitful and fertile virginity brought forth.

7 (G) Delight at the beauty of that innocence long goes on.
The virginity that produced the Lord wins lengthy joy.

8 (H) High host[2] of the Father rescued mankind from death,
Seeks kingdoms in the sky.[3]

9 (I) Rightly glints the glory of the saints in the burnished sky.
The worshipful light shimmers in the golden heights.

10 (K) Dear to those citizens shines their companion in heaven,
Ninian the Priest.

11 (L) With lights of the heart he will shine forth into every land.
Now above the stars he shines with the light of love.

12 (M) The gentle father performed many wonders in the world,
Maintains strict laws in the world.

13 (N) From the tomb, our world's glory[4] cleanses the leper's
scaly body; cleanse does the glory of mankind.

14 (O) The bounteous blessing of the Thunderer gave him omnipotence.
His pure faith made him all powerful.

15 (P) Entombed, the holy bishop rests in his body in the hall,
Rests beneath the roof of the church; beneath heaven the holy man.[5]

16 (Q) Rightly distinguished with supernal processions, God
Carried him to the stars of the sky.

17 (R) He who had lived there[6] in the Lord, manner of life without spot
Now haunts the blessed realms.

18 (S) Breath carried from a pure body by the hands of angels
Makes for the stars; his soul seeks the stars.

19 (T) With your aid, Lord, he heals the wounds of many men.
Diseases disperse, Lord, by your treatment.

20 (V) Having broken the hardest rock, let his unsullied
Bowels belch forth draughts of holiness.

21 (X) Christ has redeemed the priest Ninian with
High honour in the heavenly hall.

22 (Y) Under Christ's dominion, the worldly serpent sighs.
He sighs that the light of God should be here.

23 (Z) Punishment ever awaits, brimful with black shadows,
Where go the wretched.

24 (A) In nourishing sleep, good men rest,
Praising the Lord through all ages.

25 (M) Holy ranks of the faithful sing on high
mystical words in magnificent prayers.[7]

26 (E) Night and day they sing hymns without cease
To you, Eternal King.

27 (N) And heaven's nobility compliantly kept watch there
With Holy Harmonies.[8]

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[1] Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Misc. MSS, Patr. 17 (formerly B.II.10), fol. 161[v]. Edited by Karl Strecker (1923, 961-2) but not to my knowledge translated.

[2] That is, the Eucharist or mass-host.

[3] Or, less alliteratively, 'seeks the rule of heaven'.

[4] That is, Ninian. The syntax is unclear, but the use of *noster* here does not appear to be as significant as in the *Miracula Nynie Episcopi* (above, p. 50), for it means mankind in general rather than a specific group of people.

[5] It is certainly necessary to translate the repetition in this verse since the language used (*aula*, *culmine*, *templum* etc.) is deliberately selected to apply both to an earthly and figurative/heavenly building.

[6] *istic*. Whithorn is not mentioned by name in the poem.

[7] Unclear syntax.

[8] The poet has arranged it so his hymn has twenty-seven lines. This may, so it is said, have some Trinitarian significance (MacQueen, 1990, 10-11; 1991, 23).

APPENDIX D (II)

VITA SANCTAE MILBURGAE: THE WELSH MIRACLES[1]
(REFER TO PAGES 106 AND 118-28)

The miracles and qualities of the virgin Milburga[2] flourish wonderfully in Wales[3] at a place[4] which bears her name because it was once under her jurisdiction. In Welsh speech it is called *Landmylien*,[5] which means 'land[6] of Milburga' translated into Latin speech. The virgin Milburga, mistress of the monastic life[7] had for a long while possessed in addition to this place many farms and properties[8] there in right of her monastery,[9] but having let these possessions go, under pressure of various events, the present situation is, if I may say so, merely the shadow of that distinguished name in a single spot.

Even so did the local people recall places that were sacred to the memory of the virgin.[10] One must accordingly make the evidence of the events themselves,[11] attested signs,[12] and peoples' memories the basis of one's account rather than trying to bring forth their history from the annals. For there are indeed some histories that exist entirely outside of the written word, memories that are preserved through being handed down from father to son, from generation to generation.[13] For thus did the Lord once entrust many things to the fathers of old, so that they should inform and explain them to their sons, to the sons that came after them[14] and after them again, that each succeeding generation should be made aware of the actions of wondrous God on earth.[15]

There were, then, lying nearby in the place mentioned before, three stones, quite large in size,[16] each set a little way away from the next. The first is said by the

local people[17] to have been put there long long ago to serve as a memorial of a divine punishment by which a pagan king[18] of the Welsh was frightfully struck down and expired as he was chasing Milburga, virtuous and chaste bride of Christ,[19] with the idea of raping her.[20]

The second preserves on its surface the hoof-prints of the donkey she rode as if set into pliant mud, which the local worships full of wonder at what he takes to be a evident miracle of saintly power.[21] From this stone, divine kindness[22] often helps the afflicted to the greater glory of the virgin,[23] for when rainwater is left behind in the hollows of these hoofprints, it is often collected and drunk by the feverish, and by the measure of their faith,[24] their former good health is restored to them.[25] Similarly, if water from these hollows is passed into damaged eyes, the gift of sight is restored to them by God's grace.[26]

The third stone[27] is said to have been erected as a welcome seat for the blessed virgin, from whose use it absorbed so great an aura of holiness, that no animal dared go near it nor eat the grass that grows about it without either dying a sudden death or being afflicted by some terrible disease. Later, a house of prayer was built at the spot in honour of the aforementioned virgin, reflecting the sign of such great sanctity, so that thenceforward, just as beasts had once been excluded from the law-mount, so the congregation of heaven-dwellers should be gathered there as at the stone of Jacob.[28] This same stone[29] had by then been enclosed with thorny bushes by the locals, so that it should be considered frightening to their cattle in respect of its approach and because of its surrounding thorns impossible to reach.[30] To this day the stone can be seen lying in front of the doors of the church, as if giving a heavenly warning by its example to

those who come near not to enter the house of God like dumb animals,[31] lest in consequence they be wretchedly isolated from the Church's cornerstone,[32] that is, Christ Jesus, in the same way that animals seem to be kept away from the stone, marvellously and by divine agency.

Here ends the life of the virgin Mildburga.[33]

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[1] London, British Library, Additional MSS, 34,633, fols. 216^{r} col. 1 - 216^{v} col. 1 (henceforward 'A'); Gotha, Landesbibliothek MSS, I.81, fols. 174^{v} col. 2 - 175^{r} col. 2 (henceforward 'G'). Edwards (1960, 89-91) edited A but her collation of G terminates towards the end of the third sentence above. The remaining differences from the Gotha are noted at the appropriate place in the text. John of Tynemouth made an abbreviation of the *Vita Sanctae Milburgae* (London, British Library, Cottonian MSS, Tiberius E.i; Horstmann, 1901, II, 188-92, henceforward 'T'), but his account ends with the death of Milburga, and so omits the Welsh miracles. The paragraphs are my own.

[2] G uses *Mildburga* throughout.

[3] A, G: *in Wallia*. The term occurs only in this section of the *Vita Sanctae Milburgae*. Since there would have been no need to use it elsewhere, it is not clear whether this is significant. *Britannice* occurs twice in the *Vita Sanctae Mildrithae* and once in *Vita Sanctae Milburgae* but in each case is formulaic rather than instructive. See above, chapter 2, note 143.

[4] A, G: *loco.*

[5] G: *Lanmylyen.*The orthography of this word is irregular in A (which unusually employs -d- with straight ascender, perhaps for emphasis).

[6] A, G: *terram.*

[7] A, G: *magistra virgo Milburga.*

[8] A, G: *plura... predia possessionum.*

[9] A, G: *iure monasteriali ipsa vite monastice*. Quite different language from that used in the first charter of Milburga's Testament: *secundum regularis vite normam.*

[10] A, G: *Recolit itaque plebs indigena quedam de virgine memorie digna. Indigena.. digna* is presumably a word-play.

[11] A: *asserit de rerum indiciis.*G omits *de*, as does the Lincoln recension (see above, p. 104).

[12] A, G: *signis attestantibus* (*pace* Edwards: "*arrestantibus*").

[13] A, G: *dum a serie patrum in seriem filiorum patre filium instruente.*

[14] A: *et filii qui exurgerent* (*pace* Edwards: "*exsurgerent*"), G: *et filiis qui exurgerent.*

[15] A: *que fecit aput eos deus mirabilis*, *deus* being interlineated in the same hand with a caret. G: *que fecit apud eos* //*ccdiii* *mirabilia*// *deus.* G has inserted what appears to be an impossible numeral after *eos*, expunctuated with dots beneath the line. These indicate that the scribe recognised that it was wrong enough to need removal. The purpose of the two pairs of virgules may be to show that *deus* is meant to go where *ccdiii* has been put. The reading is little affected by the use of *mirabilia.*

[16] A: *admodum grandes*, G: *ad modum grandes.*

[17] A, G: *incolis.*

[18] A: *quidam rex Wallorum paganus* (*pace* Edwards: "*res Wallorum*"), G: *quidem rex Wallorum paganus.* A similar legend has already appeared in the *Vita* (at fol. 213[r]) where this character is simply *quidam regis filius* (*filus regis cuiusdam* in T). Does his paganism relate to the vogue for pagan Saxons attested from other sources?

[19] A: *celicem christi sponsam* (*pace* Edwards: "*celicam*"). G shares *celibem christi sponsam* with the Lincoln recension.

[20] *in coniugem sibi rapere violenter voluit.* Previously in the *Vita*, the wording is *eam voluit per violenciam capere, et in matrimonium sibi copulare.* T reads *eam per violentiam rapere et in coniugium sibi copulare affectabat.* It will be noted that T has recognized the similarity and combined the language of the two sentences. Hence, although he does not give them, the version of the life from which John worked seems to have had these miracles attached.

[21] A, G: *insignitum... pro miraculo virtutis.*

[22] A, G: *divina benignitas* (pace Edwards: "*benignitatis*").

[23] Mr. Pat Mussett has suggested to me that an alternative reading of this passage might be that *incola*, Milburga the 'local indwelling saint', is envisaged as interceding with the Virgin Mary for a miracle. If Mary is indeed meant by some of the usages of *virgo* here, then this might suggest that the place mentioned came later to have a dual dedication.

[24] A: *prout fides eorum meretur*, G: *prout fides ipsorum meretur*, a reading shared by the Lincoln recension.

[25] A: *pristina restituitur*, G: *restituitur pristina.*

[26] A, G: *divinitus.*

[27] A, G: *tercius autem lapis*, *autem* being interlineated in the same hand with a caret. In A, *tercius* is followed by an abbreviated *vero*, expunctuated and crossed through. The scribe's eye has slipped further down the page (see below, note 29).

[28] A: *Erigitur itaque deinceps pro tante sanctitatis indicio, secus ipsum domus oracionis in honorem memorate virginis ut unde* (*sic*, *pace* Edwards: "*inde*") *velut quondam a legis monte bestiarum accessus* (*pace* Edwards: "*arcessus*") *prohibetur, illuc tanquam ad lapidem iacob celicolarum conventus aggregetur.* This obscure sentence gains some illumination by reference to G, which reads simply: *Erigitur itaque deinceps proinde velut quondam a legis monte bestiarum accessus prohibetur, illuc tanquam ad lapidem iacob celicolarum adventus*

aggeretur. The omission of the twelve words *tante... ut* from the text of A is the longest throughout the *Vita*, and one of the longest departures from A's text. Since G makes better sense, it is preferable to see in A's text the result of interpolation at a date later than the composition of G's exemplar. G may preserve a purer text. The inserted passage, which reads as if it may have originated as an interlineation is itself of some significance. It apparently tells of a chapel erected next to the third stone. This may demonstrate that the chapel was constructed after the Welsh lands were lost, and was later inserted into a text (A) maintained at Wenlock. This scenario would fit with the identification of *Landmylien* as Capel Maelog, whose earliest *church* appears to be of the twelfth century (see above, pp. 120-28). Against this view, could be highlighted the usage *memorato virgine*, which may sound too detatched for the insertion to have been made at Wenlock, and the reference to a church later in the paragraph which might assume that a building had already been mentioned. Genesis 28. 10-22, tells us that Jacob 'set the stone up on its head', confirmation that we are dealing with a standing stone.

[29] A, G: *ipse vero lapis*. See above, note 27.

[30] A, G: *formidabilis spinis*. The punctuation of A suggests the association with *bestiis* but the adjective might also go with *spinis*. In either case, it ought really to be *formidabilibus*.

[31] Presumably the meaning of *bestialiter intellectum non habentes*. Ailred (*VN* § 8) incidentally gives us *velut bruta animalia*.

[32] A, G: *sequestrentur*. *Sequestrare* also has the technical meaning 'excommunicate'.

[33] Unusually, A uses *Mildburge* here (*pace* Edwards: "*Milburge*").

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AB	*Analecta Bollandiana*
AC	*Archaeologia Cambrensis*
Arch. J.	*Archaeological Journal*
ASE	*Anglo-Saxon England*
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BBCS	*Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*
CBA	Council for British Archaeology
DCNQ	*Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries*
EETS	Early English Text Society
EHR	*English Historical Review*
EPNS	English Place-Name Society
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationery Office
JBAA	*Journal of the British Archaeological Association*
JHSCW	*Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales*
JRIC	*Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*
MA	*Medieval Archaeology*
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
NLWJ	*National Library of Wales Journal*
Proc.	*Proceedings*
PSAS	*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*
RB	*Revue Bénédictine*
RCAHMS	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland
RCHME	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England (English Heritage)
RTDA	*Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association*
SHR	*Scottish History Review*
Soc.	*Society*
TBGAS	*Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*
TDGNHAS	*Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*
Trans.	*Transactions*
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*

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