

THE MIRACLES OF SAINT DAVID: A NEW TEXT AND ITS CONTEXT

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The passage of time has not been kind to materials related to the cathedral of Saint David's in Wales. In particular, few medieval liturgical texts used in the commemoration of Welsh saints have survived the vicissitudes of time and the ardor of Reformation zealots. In 1940 Silas Harris lamented the "complete destruction of the Menevian [Saint David's] service books,"¹ and noted that "the almost total destruction of Welsh MSS and service books in the course of the centuries leaves a woeful gap" in our knowledge of the liturgical celebration of the feasts of Welsh saints.² So thorough was the destruction of Welsh service books, according to Harris, that our current knowledge of the liturgy for Saint David derives largely from texts preserved outside of Wales. The destruction was nowhere more thorough than at the cathedral of Saint David's itself, two of whose bishops, William Barlow (1536–48) and Robert Ferrar (1548–53), were willing participants in the destruction. On 31 March 1538, Barlow wrote to Thomas Cromwell for instructions on how to dispose of certain of the cathedral's relics and "a worm-eaten book covered with silver plate" which he had confiscated.³ Some twelve years later, Barlow's successor, Bishop Robert Ferrar, following the king's command, "burnt all ye Martyrologies, portiforiums, & antient Missales of ye Cathedral Church of Saint David, with their calenders, wherein were entered ye names of ye Bishops & ye days and years of their entrance & death or translation."⁴ Later, in 1571, "certain ungodly popish books: as masse books, hymnals, Grailes, Antiphons, and suche lik" belonging to the cathedral, but which had been hidden away by a church sexton named Elis ap Howel, were seized by a "Mr. Chanter" (= the Precentor, Thomas

¹ Silas M. Harris, *Saint David in the Liturgy* (Cardiff, 1940), 44.

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² Harris, *Saint David in the Liturgy*, 3.

³ George H. Cook, *Letters to Cromwell and Others on the Suppression of the Monasteries* (London, 1965), 165. On William Barlow, see Glanmor Williams, "The Protestant Experiment in the Diocese of St. David's, 1534–53," *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 15 (1953): 212–24.

⁴ Edward Yardley, *Menevia Sacra*, ed. Francis Green (London, 1927), 393; Harris, *Saint David in the Liturgy*, 44.

Huett?), who “caused the said ungodly books to be canceled and torn in pieces in the Vestrie before his face.”⁵ Not everything was lost however. Owain Tudor Edwards’s publication in 1990 of the services for Saint David’s feast in the Penpont Antiphonal did much to close the “woeful gap” in our knowledge of the liturgical celebration of the feast of Saint David.⁶ Two more texts connected with Saint David’s cathedral have recently come to light, preserved in BL MS Royal 13 C.i. The first of these, five *lecciones* (lessons or readings) based on episodes in the life of Saint Nonita, the mother of Saint David (sixth century), the patron saint of Wales, was intended to be read at a service for Saint Nonita (or Non)⁷ on her feast day. These five *lecciones Sancte Nonite*, consisting of a heading and thirty-eight lines of text, provide the only surviving material from an office for the feast of Saint Nonita.⁸ The second text, consisting of eleven accounts of posthumous miracles effected by Saint David between about 1215–29 and 1405, is the subject of this study.

The eleven accounts of miracles attributed to Saint David are preserved on folios 177v–180r of MS Royal 13 C.i. They follow directly after a copy of the *Life of Saint David* (1192–94)⁹ by Gerald of Wales (fols. 171r–177v), entitled *Vita Sancti David Episcopi in Wallia*, with which they clearly form a set. Both the miracle accounts and the *Life of Saint David* are in the same hand. At the end of the *Vita Sancti David Episcopi in Wallia* (on fol. 177v in MS Royal 13 C.i), Gerald states that “there down to the present day the Lord reveals himself to be marvelous by signs and wonders through his saint” (“Ubi usque in hodierna tempora se dominus in sancto suo signis et prodigiis mirabilem ostendit”). He then extends the conventional hagiographical invitation to those who follow him to supplement his book (“nos-trum quandoque volumen extendent”) with additional signs and wonders wrought by God through his saint. The eleven miracle accounts follow immediately after Gerald’s invitation, as if deliberately situated on the page

⁵ William Basil Jones and Edward Augustus Freeman, *The History and Antiquities of Saint David's* (London, 1856), 343.

⁶ Owain Tudor Edwards, *Matins, Lauds and Vespers for Saint David's Day* (Cambridge, 1990).

⁷ The name is spelled variously: Nonita, Nonnita, Nonnetta, Nonna, Nonn, Nun, Nunn, Non. For what it is worth, authorities closely associated with Saint David’s church, such as Rhigyfarch, Gerald of Wales, and the *Liber communis* of Saint David’s, spell the name Nonita, Nonnita, and Nonna respectively. In this essay I use the spelling of the *lecciones* themselves, Nonita, except when citing alternative spellings from other medieval sources.

⁸ Michael J. Curley, “Five *Lecciones* for the Feast of St Nonita: A Text and Its Context,” *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 43 (2002): 59–75. Passages of the current study have been adapted from this article.

⁹ On the dating, see Michael Richter, “The *Life of St. David* by Giraldus Cambrensis,” *Welsh History Review* 4 (1968–69): 386.

as a response to it. The miracle narratives are followed in a different hand on folio 180v by the five lessons of Saint Nonita mentioned above. Fols 181r–184v contain the last work in the manuscript, a French treatise on the ages of the world (begins: “En celui temps les femmes commenserent le Roiaume de amazes que on appelle le Roiaume de femenie; cy termine le second aage [*sic*] du monde”).¹⁰

GERALD'S *LIFE OF SAINT DAVID*: A NEW CHAPTER

In addition to its appearance in the Royal manuscript, Gerald's *Life of Saint David* also appears in a slightly different version in BL MS Cotton Vitellius E.vii, on which Wharton's edition (1691) was based. The Cotton Vitellius manuscript was badly damaged in the Ashburnham House fire of

¹⁰ The other contents of MS Royal 13 C.i include portions of book seven of Higden's *Polychronicon* (fols. 1r–41v), lists of the archbishops of Canterbury and bishops of Wells (fols. 42r–42v, 51r–51v), a calendar including the dates for Easter for the years 1001 to 1532, along with historical notes down to 1459 (fols. 43r–50v), a tract entitled *De acceptatione munerum* (fols. 52r–53v), genealogical lists concerned with English, French, and Norman rulers (*Regalis prosapia regum Anglie descendantium ab Adam, Genealogia regum Francorum, Genealogia ducum Normannorum*) (fols. 54r–61v), an abbreviated version of the *Vita Henrici Quinti* (fols. 62r–71v), chronicles concerned with the reigns of Henry VI (fols. 72r–88v), Richard II, and Henry IV (fols. 89r–130r, 131v = blank), letters from John of Heinsberg, Bishop of Liège (1419–1455), concerning the depredations of Sir Robert Poyning (1380–1446) (fols. 131r–133r), a tract in French entitled *Exemples pour esperer prosperite et victoire non obstant que vn soit en adversite* (133v–141r), including extracts from the *Quadrilogue invectif* (fols. 136r–138v) and *Le Traité de L'Esperance* (fols. 138v–141r) by Alain Chartier, a compendium of Roman history in French concerned with the era of Julius Caesar and Pompey extracted from Lucan and Suetonius (fols. 141v–146r, 146v = blank), various historical notes on the history of Rome, England, and France (*Antiqua cronica alia vniuersalia*), including notes on the deaths of Robert Grosseteste (1254) and Roger Bacon (1292) (fols. 147r–154r, 154v = blank), a brief world chronicle to the year 1453 (fols. 155r–164v), and notes on English history to the year 1317 (fols. 165r–171v). The manuscript has been described a number of times. See Sir George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, *British Museum, Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections* (London, 1921): 2:101–2; Edward Owen, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Relating to Wales in the British Museum*, Cymmrodorion Record Series 4 (London, 1900–22): 1:102. In *A Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, 3 vols. (London, 1862–71): 1:121 (no. 61), T. D. Hardy made no mention of the accounts of the miracles of Saint David or the *lecciones* of Saint Nonita, and mistakenly dated Royal 13 C.i as “xvii cent.” He was followed in this error in dating by Harris, *Saint David in the Liturgy*, 16 n. 2 (“a seventeenth-century text, Royal 13 C.i”), and by Egerton Phillimore (cited by A. W. Wade-Evans, *Life of St. David* [London, 1923]: xii–xiii: “This MS. is ascribed by Hardy to the seventeenth century”). More recent descriptions of the manuscript can be found in *Rhigyfarch's Life of St. David*, ed. J. W. James (Cardiff, 1967; repr., 1985), xxiii; and K. B. McFarlane, “William Worcester: A Preliminary Survey,” in *Studies Presented to Sir Hilary Jenkinson*, ed. J. Conway Davies (London, 1957), 212–13.

1731. J. S. Brewer was unaware of the existence of the copy of Gerald's *Life of Saint David* in the Royal manuscript, hence his edition of that work for the Rolls Series in 1863 was perforce largely a reprint of Wharton; it remains the only modern edition of the work.¹¹ J. W. James stated that the Rolls Series text and the *Life of Saint David* in Royal 13 C.i were substantially the same, differing only in the spelling of certain proper names.¹² While a complete collation of the two texts has never been undertaken, a preliminary review shows that between the two versions there are important differences that were overlooked by James. First, the sequence and numeration of *lectiones* into which the life is divided in the Royal manuscript version is quite different from that found in the Vitellius manuscript as printed by Brewer.¹³ Next, the antiphon *Gloriose praesul David*, which followed Gerald's *Life of Saint David* in MS Cotton Vitellius E.vii, and which is known from other sources as well,¹⁴ is not included in MS Royal 13 C.i. More importantly for our purposes, on fol. 177r MS Royal 13 C.i adds the following chapter after Lectio VIII:

De manu beati Dauid perforata per Ihesum Christum sibi apparentem mirabiliter sanitati restituta apud Glastoniam.

Scribitur in libro hystoriarum ecclesie Glastonie pro fabricata [Ihesum] (?) quadam honestissima capella in honore Dei genetricis et virginis Marie que adhuc stat decentissima. Presidente tunc temporis ecclesie Menevie beato Dauid archipresule, missum est ab abbate et fratribus ad ipsum beatum uirum supplicando ut ipse ob amorem et honorem ipsius virginis gloriose ad eius capellam dedicandam ire dignaretur. Sanctus uero eorum precibus incli-

¹¹ Gerald of Wales, *Vita S. David in Geraldii Cambrensis Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores* (Rolls Series) 21 (London, 1863) 3:377–404.

¹² *Rhigyfarch's Life of St. David*, ed. James, xxiv.

¹³ The word *lectio* is found in Brewer's edition of Gerald's *Life of Saint David* to divide the work into ten parts of unequal length. Silas M. Harris (*Saint David in the Liturgy*, 17 and note 2) took this as an indication that Gerald's text was intended to be read at Matins of the feast of Saint David, but he was puzzled by the unorthodox number of lessons. In the Royal 13 C.i version, however, only three lessons are indicated, and they are numbered *iiijm* (fol. 172v "Interea quidam," ed. Brewer, *Vita S. David*, 383), *leccio viim* (fol. 173v "Nec sic tamen," ed. Brewer, *Vita S. David*, 388), and *leccio viijm* ("Cessantibus itaque," ed. Brewer, *Vita S. David*, 389). Only the first of these corresponds to the beginning of a *lectio* (= *Lectio* III) in Brewer's edition, the other two being parts of Brewer's *Lectio* IV. In addition to their unorthodox number, the length of these readings from Gerald's *Life of Saint David* makes it rather unlikely that they were intended for use in the Office at Matins. A stronger argument for liturgical use might be made for the *Life of Dubricius* in the Book of Llandaff, which is divided into nine lessons (see *The Text of the Book of Llan Dav*, ed. J. Gwenogvryn Evans and John Rhys [Oxford, 1893; repr., Aberystwyth, 1979], 68–86 and 337).

¹⁴ Owain Tudor Edwards, "The Earliest Manuscript of Welsh Music: National Library of Wales MS.20541E," *The Welsh History Review: Cylchgrawn Hanes Cymra* 14 (1988/89): 533–73, at 566. Versions can also be found in Harris, *Saint David in the Liturgy*, 18.

natus facturum se annuit quod petebant. Et assumptis secum septem suffragantis suis, uersus dictum locum iter arripuit. Nota uero antequam ad ipsum locum peruenisset, apparuit Ihesus Christus beato Dauid dicens, "Quo tendes?" Qui ait, "Glastoniam ad basilicam beatissime matris tue dedicandam." Ait ei Ihesus, "Fili, non est necesse, iam enim dedicata est per me." Et dixit Dauid, "Domine, si hoc dixerō, non est qui mihi credat." Ait Ihesus, "Extende manum dexteram tuam." Qua extensa tetegit Ihesus palmam suam et perforauit eam per medium. Et ait, "Hoc tibi et omnibus uidentibus signum erit. Cras enim locum illum adibis et que dixi tibi fratribus enarrabis. Et ut fidem indubitatum dictis tuis adhibeant in eadem capella quam dedicare uolebas missam celebrabis. Et cum perueneris ad uerba illa 'Per ipsum et cum ipso et in ipso,' et cetera, redintegabitur manus tua." Quod et factum est omnibus uidentibus et Deum collaudantibus.

[Concerning the hand of Saint David, which was pierced by Jesus Christ who appeared to him, and miraculously restored to health at Glastonbury.

There is an account in the book of the history of the church of Glastonbury on the subject of a certain most noble chapel in honor of the Mother of God, the Virgin Mary, that remains to this day most lovely. When Saint David was at that time archbishop of the church at Menevia, the abbot and brethren sent to this saintly man asking that he deign to come to dedicate its chapel out of love and honor for the glorious Virgin. The saint, persuaded by their prayers, agreed to do what they asked. Taking seven of his suffragans with him he set forth on the way towards that place. Note that before he arrived at that place, Jesus Christ appeared to Saint David saying, "Where do you think you are going?" David replied, "To Glastonbury in order to dedicate the basilica of your most holy Mother." Jesus said to him, "My son, that is not necessary, for I myself already dedicated it." David replied, "Lord, if I report this, no one will believe me." Jesus said, "Stretch out your right hand." When he did so, Jesus touched his palm and pierced it through the middle. He then said, "This will be a sign for you and for all who see it. Tomorrow go to that place and tell your brethren everything that I have told you. So that they might have unshakeable faith in your words, celebrate Mass in the very chapel that you wished to dedicate. When you come to these words: 'Through him, with him and in him, etc.,' your hand will be made whole." This was done before all who looked on and who praised God together.]

A version of this legend appears in chapter fifteen of William of Malmesbury's *De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie* (1129),¹⁵ clearly the *liber historiarum* that the Royal manuscript version claims as its source:

¹⁵ John Scott, *The Early History of Glastonbury: An Edition, Translation and Study of William of Malmesbury's De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie* (Woodbridge, 1981), 62, 64 (Latin), 63, 65 (English):

Iam uero quanti eum penderit magnus ille David Maneuensium archiepiscopus celebris est quam ut nostro indigeat illustrari relatu. Is antiquitatem et sanctitudinem ecclesie diuino comprobauit oraculo. Dedicacioni enim (eius) intendens, cum episcopis septem, quorum primas erat, ad locum uenit. Paratis autem omnibus que officii usus

How highly St David, the great archbishop of Menevia, esteemed that place is too well known to need illustration by our account. He verified the antiquity and sanctity of the church through a divine oracle, for he came thither with seven bishops, of whom he was the chief, in order to dedicate it. But after everything that the service customarily required had been prepared he was indulging himself in sleep on what he thought would be the night preceding the ceremony. He had submerged all his senses in slumber when he saw the Lord Jesus standing beside him, gently asking him why he had come. Upon his instantly disclosing the reason the Lord restrained him from his purpose saying that He Himself had long ago dedicated the church in honour of His mother and that it would not be seemly to profane the sacrament with a human repetition. As He was speaking He seemed to pierce the saint's palm with His finger and added that he should take it as a sign that he ought not repeat what the Lord had done beforehand; but because he had been motivated by devotion, not impudence, his punishment would not be prolonged, so that, when he was about to say the words "through Him and with Him and in Him" in the mass on the following morning, the full vigor of his health would be restored to him. The priest was shaken out of his sleep by these terrors and, just as at the time he grew pale at the ulcerous sore, so later he applauded the truth of the prophecy. But so that he might not seem to have done nothing he quickly built another church and dedicated it as his own work.

The significance of this added chapter in the Royal manuscript version of Gerald's *Life of Saint David* lies in the way that it enhances the image of Saint David that is found in William of Malmesbury's *De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie* and weakens William's emphasis on "how highly St David, the great archbishop of Menevia, esteemed" Glastonbury. The anonymous author of the version of the anecdote in MS Royal 13 C.i, clearly an admirer of Saint David and possibly a member of the cathedral of Saint David's, has

exposceret, nocte precessura, ut putabat, festiuitatem, sompno indulsit. Omnes ergo sensus in quietem solutus, uidit Dominum (Ihesum) assistere causam aduentus blande sciscitantem. Quam cum ille incunctanter aperuisset, reuocauit eum a sententia Dominus hoc dicto. Dedicatam a se dudum ecclesiam in honore sue matris, iteracione humana sacramentum temerari non oportere. Simulque cum dicto, uolam digito terebrare uisus, hec subiecit: Hoc haberet signum repeti non debere quod ipse anticipasset facere, set quia intencionis illius non tam fuerit audacia quam deuocio, penam non prolongandam. Denique mane futuro cum in missa, "per ipsum et cum ipso et in ipso," dicturus esset, plenum ei salutis uigorem refundendum. Hiis terroribus antistes sompno excussus, sicut tunc sanie ulcerosa impalluit, sic postea prophetie ueritati applausit. Sed ne nichil uideretur egisse, aliam ecclesiam citato fecit et dedicauit opere.

The story is also told in William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum: History of the English Kings*, ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors, completed by R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1998–99), 1:810 (Latin), 1:811 (English), where David is called an archbishop; see also the edition by Stubbs in the Rolls Series: *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi De Gestis Regum Anglorum, Libri Quinque*, ed. William Stubbs, vol. 1, *Rerum Britannicarum medii aeui scriptores* (Rolls Series) 90 (London, 1887), 27–28.

revised William's somewhat patronizing language towards the Welsh saint. He insists, for example, that Jesus actually appeared to David and asked about the purpose of his journey. William of Malmesbury, on the other hand, had Jesus appearing to David only in a dream, from which the saint awoke in terror. Significantly, the *De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie* states that the perforation of the palm was inflicted on David as punishment (*pena*) for his transgression (although it shows Jesus acknowledging that the transgression was not motivated by impudence). The author of the anecdote in MS Royal 13 C.i, on the other hand, interprets this bodily mark not as a punishment but rather as a sign bestowed on David to allay his fear that folk would not believe that he had been turned back from his mission by Jesus himself. There is no mention in MS Royal 13 C.i of the possibility, uttered by Jesus in the *De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie* version, that David's mission might have resulted in a profanation of the original dedication. Again, not only does the Lord speak kindly to David in the Royal manuscript version, but he addresses him as *filius*. In the final sentence of chapter fifteen of the *De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie* William archly states that Saint David, desiring "that he might not seem to have done nothing" on his abortive mission to Glastonbury, "quickly built another church and dedicated it as his own work."¹⁶ Not surprisingly, there is no hint of this hasty face-saving act from the Royal manuscript narrator. Most importantly perhaps for our purpose, is the way that the reviser of the story in MS Royal 13 C.i characterizes David's companions on his journey. In William of Malmesbury these are seven bishops (*cum episcopis septem*) of whom David was the *primas*. MS Royal 13 C.i identifies these companions more explicitly as "seven suffragans," over whom David was the archbishop. We shall see later the significance of this revision in linking the supposed organization of the British church in Saint David's day with the list of seven suffragan churches that occurs in MS Royal 13 C.i just before the account of miracle 9. In short, by confronting and revising William of Malmesbury's account of Saint David's visit to Glastonbury, the Royal manuscript narrator strove to impart a greater measure of dignity and status to Saint David in Gerald's *Life of Saint David*, just as the eleven miracle accounts which he added at the end of the same text extended the *signa* and *prodigia* that God worked through his saint "usque in hodierna tempora."

¹⁶ This church was apparently known to locals as "seinte Marie la petite" (Scott, *Early History of Glastonbury*, 64 n. j).

THE SOCIAL WORLD OF THE ELEVEN MIRACLES OF SAINT DAVID

Although the eleven miracles are a small sample by comparison with the voluminous miracle dossiers of Thomas of Canterbury, William of Norwich, and Thomas Cantilupe, they offer a similar, though briefer, catalogue of the dangers, mishaps, and sufferings of people in late medieval Britain. They open a window onto the vicissitudes of life — capture in war, death in plague, shipwreck, accidents (falls, drownings, chokings), chronic debilitating illnesses, and the vulnerability of children.¹⁷ Most of these narratives concern people thrown into extreme circumstances that threaten, or even cause, death. They often stress that other remedies, either the intervention of doctors (miracle 10) or the intercession of other saints (miracles 2, 6, 10), were of no avail in relieving distress. Saint David was the last hope. To be sure, these testimonies were taken down in all likelihood by superintending clergy at Saint David's cathedral, in part, no doubt, to encourage the thanks-offerings that came with a large number of visitors to the shrine,¹⁸ but also to promote publicly the assurance in the faithful that hope is never lost. As evidence of Saint David's *fama*, these accounts might also have been assembled with an eye to a future canonization inquiry. If the accounts record the mishaps and catastrophies which befell members of Saint David's diocese and others, they also afford compelling evidence of the power of the saint to help those for whom hope had otherwise been extinguished. Promulgation of miracle stories encouraged the Christian community to trust

¹⁷ See Ronald C. Finucane, *The Rescue of the Innocents: Endangered Children in Medieval Miracles* (New York, 2000); and Michael E. Goodich, *Violence and Miracle in the Fourteenth Century: Private Grief and Public Salvation* (Chicago, 1995), esp. chapter five ("Children as Victims").

¹⁸ During the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the cathedral was often in financial difficulties (Glanmor Williams, *The Welsh Church: From Conquest to Reformation* [Cardiff, 1976], 153; *Petitions to the Pope, A.D. 1342–1419*, ed. W. H. Bliss [London, 1896], 221, vol. 1 of *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. W. H. Bliss, C. Johnson, and J. A. Twemlow, 14 vols. [London, 1893–1960]. The bishop of Saint David's must ask the pope for permission to appropriate churches to the value of 200 marks because his income had declined so much as a result of the plague; also, *Papal Letters, A.D. 1404–1415*, ed. J. A. Twemlow, [London, 1904], 443, vol. 6 of Bliss, Johnson, and Twemlow, eds., *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers: to John, elect of Saint David's from Pope John XXIII on the wars and calamities that have impoverished "those parts"*). Bishop Henry Chichele found it impossible to live on the revenues of Saint David's and had to petition the pope to keep the benefices he held when he was appointed to Saint David's (Twemlow, ed., *Papal Letters, A.D. 1404–1415*, 112, 130; Williams, *Welsh Church*, 158). Episcopal visitations from Saint David's between 1400–1405 found churches "without exception impoverished and inefficiently managed" (Williams, *Welsh Church*, 146–177, esp. 155).

that its vulnerability on earth was counterbalanced by a merciful God ever attentive to the intercession of his saints. Miracle accounts represented a kind of rulebook or guide to the protocols by which the saint could be approached. In hearing these stories, for example, one learned the power of sincere invocation of Saint David. Seven of the eleven miracles recorded in MS Royal 13 C.i are brought about by invocation of the saint at a distance, in some cases a considerable distance, from his shrine. Only miracle 2 is a "contact miracle," and even it takes place while the relics of Saint David have been transported elsewhere. Only David ap Gwrgeneu, the eight-year old boy who fell from a height within the church, experienced a cure within the cathedral (miracle 3). The importance of the images of the saint is also stressed, not only in the story of the theft of the statue of Saint David by Irish pilgrims returning from Rome (miracle 11), but also in the appearance of Saint David, accompanied by Saint Justinan, in a vision to Isabella, the daughter of Adam, in which the two saints appear exactly as they did in their images in the church (miracle 8). Isabella's visualization, like the invocations of the other faithful, takes place away from the shrine yet draws on the saint's charisma.

Displays of gratitude for the saint's intercession are also important. Depending on the beneficiary's station in life, expressions of gratitude may take the form of a pilgrimage to the shrine, the presentation of an *ex voto*, such as the chains from which David ap Llywelyn ap Kenewreg of Llanver-nag on Tâf was freed, or in the case of a mighty baron such as Guy Brian, the donation of one of the most precious relics of the Middle Ages, a piece of the cross. Also, offering public testimony to the intervention of the saint must be understood as part of the *quid pro quo* relationship between the individual and the saint-*patronus*. Some of these miracles vividly proclaim the unhappy consequences of offending the saint. The theft of Saint David's church's ornaments and denial of the saint's powers as a miracle worker count as the most serious offenses. For despoiling the cathedral of Saint David's, the thief Meredith was struck with extreme disorientation (miracle 4). For branding John Bole's account of his revival from the dead a "fabula," the presbyter from Ledbury in miracle account 6 was struck blind and died within three days. Similarly, Julia of Hereford was struck blind for doubting the power of Thomas Cantilupe.¹⁹ As has often been noticed, thaumaturges frequently inflict on transgressors the very ailments the thaumaturges have the power to cure. The first three miracles worked by David during his lifetime, according to Rhigyfarch, were cures of blindness or some form of vis-

¹⁹ AS . . . *mensis Octobris*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1866), 657, 649; R. C. Finucane "Cantilupe as Thaumaturge: Pilgrims and their 'Miracles,'" in *St Thomas Cantilupe: Bishop of Hereford, Essays in His Honour*, ed. Meryl Jancy (Hereford, 1982), 137–44 at 139.

ual impairment.²⁰ Such accounts merely reaffirmed long established warnings to Christians dating back to Jerome, Augustine, the *Code* of Justinian, Aquinas, and Vincent of Beauvais, against offending God, Mary, and the saints lest they punish the transgressors.²¹

All of the stories in the Saint David's collection have a familiar ring. Each of them belongs to a type of miracle with which the fifteenth-century audience would have been quite familiar. Miracles of the kind we find here attributed to Saint David can be found among the early Christian miracle collections, such as those of Saint Martin as told by Gregory of Tours in his *Miracles of Saint Martin* (sixth century), or of Saint Cuthbert or the other English saints as told by Bede in his *History of the English Church and People* and *The Life and Miracles of Saint Cuthbert*, or in the miracle dossiers of saints of the later Middle Ages, such as Thomas of Canterbury, William of Norwich, Hugh of Avalon, Thomas Cantilupe, and John of Bridlington.²² The compiler of the miracles of Saint David for the most part did not aspire to innovate but rather to employ the honored conventions of the posthumous miracle account in order to situate the Welsh saint clearly among the great thaumaturges of Christian (and particularly British) hagiography. Yet, while most of these accounts can be paralleled in other miracle collections, they illustrate for us, nevertheless, the unique flavor of the miracle topoi as they are articulated in their particular local environments. Although there is an international scope to some of these accounts, beneficiaries come from Germany (miracle 1) and Ireland (miracle 11), most accounts concern people from the diocese of Saint David's itself or the neighboring dioceses of Hereford, and Bath and Wells. These stories remind us that local people did not

²⁰ *Rhigyfarch's Life of Saint David*, ed. James, 6–8 (Latin), 32–33 (English).

²¹ Michael Goodich, "Miracles and Disbelief in the Late Middle Ages," *Mediaevistik* 1 (1988): 27.

²² A few comparisons with the kinds of miracles attributed to John of Bridlington will help to make this point. While the *libri* used in Saint John of Bridlington's canonization process do not survive as such, some indication of their content can be gathered from the miracle accounts attached to the medieval lives of Bridlington, several of which find close parallels in the eleven miracles of Saint David contained in MS Royal 13 C.i: through the intercession of John of Bridlington, a carpenter is brought back from the dead after a fall (miracle 3), merchants from Hartlepool are rescued as their ship founders in the North Sea (miracle 5), a man is set free from prison (miracles 1 and 9), a boy is revived after dying of the plague (miracle 6), a foreign visitor, John de la Grunagraunt, comes from Gascony to visit the shrine of the saint (miracle 1) and is cured of paralysis (miracle 8). Paul Grosjean has edited these miracle narratives ("De S. Iohanne Bridlingtoniensi Collectanea," *Analecta Bollandiana* 53 [1953]: 121–25; they have been translated in J. S. Purvis, *Saint John of Bridlington* [Bridlington, 1924], 19–29). To encourage the faithful to visit the saint's shrine at Bridlington the bull of canonization (see Purvis, *Saint John of Bridlington*, 41) granted the remission of penance of seven years and seven forty-day periods to all penitents who visit the sepulchre on the feast day of John of Bridlington (10 October).

have to voyage, like Chaucer's Wife of Bath, to far-off exotic pilgrimage locales, when Saint David's was readily at hand for their protection and welfare. Nor was David a recent arrival, by comparison, for example, with Thomas of Canterbury and Thomas Cantilupe. The Welsh had been calling on Dewi Sant as their protector at least from the time of the *Armes Prydein* (ca. 950), and probably earlier.²³ For the many who had neither the resources nor the time to set out for the more spectacular sites of Jerusalem, Rome, or Compostela, these accounts served as a reminder of the efficacy of their own saint. For them, the miracle accounts offered implicitly the kind of assurance made by Pope Callistus II's proclamation that two pilgrimages to Saint David's would bring the same benefits as one pilgrimage to Rome.

Sometimes the local character of the miracle collection may not be immediately evident. Guy Brian, the subject involved in miracle 10, was lord of Talacharn (Laugharne) in the diocese of Saint David's, and Rampisham in County Dorset. After the Battle of Crecy (1346), Guy vowed in his will to bequeath to Saint David's a reliquary containing two pieces of the cross. The account of miracle 10 attributes Guy's act of eleemosynary piety to his special affection for Saint David. The presence of another member of the Brian family, Reginald Brian, bishop of Saint David from 1350 until 1352, and brother of Guy, indicates a closer family association of the Brians with the Welsh cathedral than may be evident from reading miracle narrative 10.²⁴ Guy took an active role in the life of the diocese of Saint David's, supporting on a variety of occasions appointments to benefices and canonries for his relatives, friends, and household members resident in the diocese.²⁵ The arms of the Brian family, according to Jones and Freeman, were

²³ *Armes Prydein: The Prophecy of Britain from the Book of Taliesin*, ed. and annotated by Sir Ifor Williams, English version by Rachel Bromwich (Dublin, 1972), lines 51, 105, 129, 140 and 196; also xxiv–vi on the poem's likely origin in a Saint David's center in south Wales.

²⁴ See *Petitions to the Pope, A.D. 1342–1419*, ed. Bliss, 141, 221, where Reginald is named as Guy's brother. This family relationship was unknown to Cokayne (*The Complete Peerage*, ed. G. E. Cokayne, vol. 2 [London, 1912], 361). The relationship between the bishops of Saint David's and the Brian family dates back at least to the time of Bishop Thomas Wallensis (26 July 1247–11 July 1255). Bishop Thomas received the manor of Eglwys Gymyn, located a few miles west of Laugharne, from Guy Brian as a peace offering when they were engaged in a dispute (see *St Davids Episcopal Acta, 1085–1280*, ed. Julia Barrow [Cardiff, 1998], 141–42. No date is specified for the grant).

²⁵ *Petitions to the Pope, A.D. 1342–1419*, ed. Bliss, 257, 268, 279, 374. William Dugdale (*Monasticon Anglicanum*, 6 vols. [London, 1849], 6:1388) gives a charter dated from the fourth year of Bishop Adam Houghton's episcopacy which lists Guy Brian as the founder of Malros church in Saint David's diocese ("et ecclesiae de Malros, de nobili viro domino Guidone de Bryenne").

emblazoned on a window in the aisle of the north chapel opposite bishop Vaughan's chapel.²⁶ Significantly, the nave altar in the cathedral was dedicated to the Holy Cross during the Middle Ages. It should come as no surprise, therefore, that Guy's near-death experience from choking on the fish-bone that lodged in his throat while he was dining at his manor of Rampisham caused him to turn to Saint David as his last hope and to promise to fulfill his vow immediately if cured. According to the account of miracle 10, the gift was actually made by two of Guy's emissaries in 1388, two years before his death in 1390. Though he was a friend of Saint David's cathedral, Guy Brian was a true Englishman. On 16 August 1386, the king issued a grant of "return and execution of all the king's writs touching the commote of Tallaghan in Wales" to Guy Brian, and also commanded that he and his heirs be judged only by Englishmen of the commote, not by foreigners or Welshmen, for any charges lodged in Carmarthen or Cardigan.²⁷

Three of the accounts in MS Royal 13 C.i concern the saint's help extended to victims of accidents (a fall, a drowning, a bone lodged in the throat). The cure of the plague, the redemption of a captive from prison, and the frustration (or semi-frustration) of a theft of sacred objects from the cathedral of Saint David's are topics of two miracle accounts each. Two accounts (6 and 7) also belong to the category of what Benedicta Ward has called the "ultimate miracle," the raising of a person from the dead. Both of these concern children. One account is devoted to the cure of paralysis, and one to salvation from a storm at sea. The range of social classes benefiting from the miracles of Saint David is broad. Guy Brian and David ap Llywelyn ap Kenewreg were military men, the former a member of the baronage with close associations with the high nobility of England. The latter's class is not revealed. The other beneficiaries of Saint David's mediation are not from the elite. In three cases they are women and children. The rest are seafarers, thieves, soldiers, and common folk who have fallen victim to plague. Apart from being mentioned among the miracle narratives in MS Royal 13 C.i, these people have passed unnoticed in the records of medieval Britain.

The geographical range of the miracles shows that Saint David's aegis was cast in particular over his Welsh compatriots, even if those in distress

²⁶ Jones and Freeman, *History and Antiquities* (n. 5 above), 133; Yardley, *Menevia Sacra* (n. 4 above), 55. This window no longer exists. The arms of Reginald de Brian, however, can be found in the early twentieth-century floor mosaic of the Lady Maidstone/Saint Edward chapel. These arms are sometimes mistakenly identified as belonging to Bishop Gower. I owe this information to Nona Rees, sub-librarian of Saint David's Cathedral Library.

²⁷ *Calendar of the Charter Rolls*, ed. C. G. Crump, 6 vols. (London, 1903–27) 5:304; also 123, 306, 315.

were living outside the confines of Wales itself, as in the case of miracles 1 and 6. Just as the dossier of Thomas Cantilupe includes a number of Welsh people among the beneficiaries of Thomas's powers, so too the eleven miracle accounts of Saint David reach into the neighboring dioceses of Hereford (miracle 6), and Bath and Wells (miracle 7), but also tell of the occasional pilgrims from abroad (Germany in miracle 1 and Ireland in miracle 5). While most miracle seekers pinned their hopes on the intercession of local saints, miracle dossiers frequently provide evidence of petitioners calling upon saints whose shrines are far from the petitioner's place of residence. One explanation for why this was so can be found in the account of miracle 6. In the hopes of bringing their child back from the dead, the parents of the unfortunate five-year-old boy John Bole, who died of the plague in 1363 in the town of Munsley, just east of Hereford, "promised to make offerings and to go devoutly on pilgrimages to as many holy places as possible." Their hopes were granted as their child was lowered into his grave, but only after the lad's father, who was born in the town of Kidwelly, near Carmarthen Bay in the diocese of Saint David's, vowed specifically to visit the Welsh cathedral. Perhaps the account of this episode was intended simply to illustrate the enduring affection for their patron saint among the natives of Saint David's diocese wherever they subsequently lived. Perhaps, too, one might perceive in the story a note of rivalry on the part of the boosters of the sixth-century Welsh saint over the more recently arrived saint from a neighboring diocese. The miracle accounts of Saint Thomas of Hereford (canonized in 1320; translated in 1349), for example, show that in the late thirteenth century Welsh people from Swansea, Arwystli, Haverford, Haverford, Haverford, Haverford, Llangadog, Carmarthen, and Llanrhystud sought the intercession of Saint Thomas of Hereford to remedy their misfortunes, even though Saint David's lay closer at hand to these locations.²⁸ Miracle 6 may be evidence that this trend had come to an end.

Not by chance, I suspect, the first and last miracle narratives recorded in the collection both show Saint David's international appeal. The first of these concerns the redemption of a German captive, who had the good fortune to have learned a brief Welsh prayer of supplication from his Welsh prison companion. The German prisoner also learns of the special concession that Pope Callistus II conferred on pilgrimage to Saint David's shrine. The last miracle concerns Irish pilgrims stopping at Saint David's on their way home to Ireland. Beyond these narratives, set on the grand stage of crusade, papal favor, and foreign pilgrimage, however, the collection has a much more local character.

²⁸ AS . . . *mensis Octobris*, vol. 1, 632–34, 675, 680, 668, 692, 687, and 684 respectively.

Finally, posthumous miracles are merely an extension of the life work of the saint, made even more effective by his proximity to God. This is made clear by Rhigyfarch who comments at the end of his *Life of St. David* that he has given but a sample of the deeds of the saint, and that many more are known to many people. He states, “as for those works, which, during the passage of time, he performs and has executed the more effectively, since, having laid aside the burden of the flesh and having gazed upon the Deity face to face (“contemplata facie ad faciem deitate”), he cleaves the more closely to God, he who will may know of them through the revelation of many (“ex multorum revelatione”).²⁹ Rhigyfarch records ten miracles that David performed during his lifetime. Gerald of Wales, in his *Life of Saint David*, a rewriting of Rhigyfarch, claims, as we have seen, that God continues “to show himself to be marvelous through the signs and prodigies of his saint down to the present day” (“in hodierna tempora”), but notes that the recording of these signs and prodigies would prolong his own volume. He then goes on to invite others to supplement his work. The addition of the miracles in MS Royal 13 C.i to Gerald’s biography of David seems to be a response to this invitation, and illustrates, even by its *mise en page*, the perception of the posthumous miracles as a manifestation of the saint’s continuing thaumaturgic presence in the world. Not unexpectedly, the posthumous miracles of Saint David prove to be of a piece with the saint’s behavior while alive, as recorded by Rhigyfarch and Gerald. David was merciful to the meek and just, but harsh towards those, such as King Baia and his consort, who opposed him.

THE ORDER AND DATE OF THE MIRACLES

The eleven miracle accounts in MS Royal 13 C.i are arranged in chronological order, beginning during the episcopacy of Bishop Gervase/Iorwerth (1215–29) and coming down to August 1405. Eight of the miracles are precisely dated by reference to year (1231, 1247, 1285, 1343, 1381, 1397), day of the week, date within the month (28 July 1405, for example), festal day (Pentecost, the day after Pentecost, the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross), liturgical hour (before vespers on the Feast of Saint Nicholas), and combinations of these. This careful dating, along with the recording of solemn testimony given before “the clergy and the people” (miracle accounts 1,

²⁹ *Rhigyfarch's Life of Saint David*, ed. James, 27 (Latin), 48 (English). Bishop Barlow denounced the Welsh belief in Saint David’s posthumous powers. He claimed that David was thought to possess “power also in heven to geve it whom he wold, to discharge hell, to emptie purgatory, to pardon synne, to release payne, yee to save his befficial frendes, to curse and kyll his unfavorable adversaries.” See *Three Chapters of Letters Relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries*, ed. Thomas Wright (London, 1843), 208.

3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10) leaves the impression of a precise and scrupulous record of Saint David's continuing presence in the lives of his devotees, the sort of record normally found in shrine books. Miracle 1 occurs at an unspecified time during the fifteen-year episcopacy of Bishop Gervase/Iorwerth, though even so, its account is properly placed first in the chronology. The chronological order, however, is broken in several places. The plague dispelled by miracle 2 appears to be the "Black Death" of 1348–50, but if so, the account is out of place and should follow miracle 5. Probably the absence of a specified date for miracle 2 caused its account to be misplaced in the collection. Miracle 10 is assigned a precise date: 5 July 1388 — that is, seventeen days after the fish-bone lodged in Guy Brian's throat on 18 June 1388. The account of miracle 10, therefore, should follow miracle 7 (1381), assuming, of course, that the compiler of the collection intended the miracle accounts to follow in chronological order. The last dated miracle in the collection is 9, which mentions the capture of David ap Llywelyn ap Kenewreg by Welsh rebels against "our king, Henry IV after the conquest" on 27 June 1405 at Eglwyswen ("Egluswen") in the commote of Cemais ("Kemeys"). Imprisoned for three weeks and three days in Llannerch Aeron in Cardiganshire, David was freed through the intercession of Saint David on 28 July 1405 and made an offering at the cathedral of Saint David of the chains by which he had been constrained, on the vigil of the feast of Saint Lawrence (9 August) of the same year. Miracle 11, concerning the theft of a statue of Saint David from the cathedral by pilgrims returning from Rome to Ireland, is assigned no specific date. Based on this internal evidence, therefore, the *terminus post quem* for the composition of the collection of miracle narratives is 9 August 1405. Since the narrative of miracle 9 refers to "our king, Henry IV" as if he were still alive, Henry's death on 20 March 1413 marks the *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the collection of miracle accounts in MS Royal 13 C.i. The miracles occur over a period of between 175 and 190 years, during the episcopacy of eight bishops of Saint David's, two each in the time of Thomas le Waleys (1248–55), and Adam Houghton (1362–89), and during the reign of five or six English kings.

THE STORY OF DAVID AP LLYWELYN AP KENEWREG AND THE POLITICAL VIEWPOINT OF MIRACLE ACCOUNT 9

The point of view of miracle account 9 is distinctly hostile to the Glyn Dŵr rebellion, which was in full spate in 1405; it refers to David ap Llywelyn ap Kenewreg's captors as Welsh rebels against "our king" Henry IV and demonstrates how David was liberated from imprisonment by the intercession of his namesake, Saint David. This viewpoint, although it offers a rare and starkly frank glimpse of the critical position of Saint David's towards

the revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr, should perhaps not be especially surprising. The appointment of bishops and higher clergy at the sensitive see of Saint David's was a prerogative jealously guarded by the English kings from 1340 onwards.³⁰ According to R. R. Davis, among "the sixteen bishops appointed to sees in Wales between 1372 and 1400 only one was a Welshman."³¹ The bishop of Saint David's at the time of David ap Llywelyn ap Kenewreg's capture was the Englishman Guy Mone (1397–1407), twice Lord Treasurer (1398 and 1402), and a Keeper of the Privy Seal (1396).³² Guy Mone was no friend of Owain Glyn Dŵr. On 3 September 1403 Henry IV commanded Guy Mone to garrison and victual his castle at Llawhaden against threat of attack from Glyn Dŵr.³³ Nor could Guy or his successor Henry Chichele (1408–14), appointed by Gregory XII as bishop of Saint David's and approved by Henry IV in June of 1408, fail to take personally Glyn Dŵr's insistence that all future prelates at Saint David's and the other cathedral churches in Wales know the language of the country.³⁴ Obviously, Glyn Dŵr's pledge of support to the Avignon pope Benedict XIII on 31 March 1406 could find no support from the church of Saint David's, which remained, as did the church in England, a supporter of the Pope of the Roman Obedience. The learned Gruffudd Young, once vicar-general of Saint David's, Glyn Dŵr's chancellor and moving force behind the Pennal Letter, was appointed bishop of Bangor by Pope Benedict XIII in 1407 and given authority to absolve from excommunication Owain Glyn Dŵr and his followers, both lay and religious, who were obedient to Benedict.³⁵ At the urging of Glyn Dŵr, Pope Benedict XIII also acknowledged the metropolitan status of Saint David's. Neither Guy Mone nor Henry Chichele would have encouraged such a *réchauffage* of their cathedral's ancient metropolitan claims. Significantly, David ap Llywelyn ap Kenewreg presented his chains, not at the shrine of Saint Thomas Cantilupe in Hereford, where many of the

³⁰ Williams, *Welsh Church* (n. 18 above), 121–23, 137.

³¹ R. R. Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr* (Oxford, 1995), 58. The exception was Ieuan Trefor, consecrated bishop of Saint Asaph in 1395. Trefor defected to Glyn Dŵr's cause in 1404.

³² Yardley, *Menevia Sacra*, 60.

³³ Yardley (*ibid.*) gives the date as 8 September; see also *Calendar of the Close Rolls: Henry IV*, ed. W. H. B. Bird, 5 vols. (London, 1927–38), 2:111.

³⁴ T. Matthews, *Welsh Records in Paris* (Carmarthen, 1910), 53, 98.

³⁵ *Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940* (Oxford, 1959), 1111–12. Young's appointment to Bangor was later nullified in 1414 by Pope John XXIII, who declared Bishop Lewis the legitimate holder of the see (*Papal Letters, A.D. 1404–1415*, ed. Twemlow, 502–3; and *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi . . . ab anno 1198 usque ad annum 1431 perducta*, ed. Conrad Eubel [Regensberg, 1913], 1:127 n. 3). Also see William Greenway, "The Papacy and the Diocese of St David's, 1305–1417," *Church Quarterly Review* 161 (1960): 436–48 and 162 (1961): 33–49.

king's soldiers went to give thanks for being saved in the Welsh wars, but rather to Saint David's, demonstrating (at least in his view) that the patron saint of Wales responded positively to the plight of Welshmen loyal to the English crown.

David ap Llywelyn ap Kenewreg's capture and imprisonment was part of the seesaw struggle between the crown and the Welsh rebels over control of the coast of Wales during 1404–5.³⁶ Cardigan must have been in crown hands in 1403 when the king wrote to the unnamed constable of Cardigan on 20 December 1403 to ask him to deliver a barge to Thomas Erpyng-ham.³⁷ In April 1404 the royal council sent John Stevens to command ships from Bristol to the coast of Wales with a view to supplying Aberystwyth, Cardigan, Carnarvon, Harlech, and Criccieth, and to expel the French fleet commanded by Jean d'Espagne and prevent it from harassing the coast.³⁸ Aberystwyth was captured by Glyn Dŵr sometime during 1404, as were Criccieth and Harlech.³⁹ Yet Bishop Guy Mone must have believed that travel to St. David's was safe at this time. He wrote from his inn on the Strand in London to the dean of Pebidiog announcing his plan to hold a visitation on 7 May 1405 in the chapel of Saint Nonita near Saint David's church. The cathedral and borough of Saint David's seem to have suffered very little at the hands of the Welsh rebels, unlike parts of its diocese and its sister cathedrals of Saint Asaph and Bangor, and many monasteries in the Normanized south and east of the country.⁴⁰ In any case, by June 1405 Stephen Scrope, deputy lieutenant of Ireland, had retaken the offensive and captured Anglesey; he carried the shrine of Saint Cybi from the church of Holyhead and placed it in Christ Church, Dublin.⁴¹

David ap Llywelyn ap Kenewreg's allegiance to the English crown should come as no great surprise. The political loyalties of individual Welshmen in the region around Cardigan as elsewhere in Wales during the Glen Dŵr

³⁶ Adam of Usk (*The Chronicle of Adam of Usk, 1377–1421*, ed. and trans. C. Given-Wilson [Oxford, 1997], 146–47) notes that Cardigan deserted Owain Glyn Dŵr in 1401; some of the region rejoined him later.

³⁷ *Calendar of the Close Rolls: Henry IV*, ed. Bird, 2:226.

³⁸ Sir J. E. Lloyd, *Owen Glendower (Owen Glyn Dŵr)* (Oxford, 1931), 81; *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, ed. Harris Nicolas, 7 vols. (London, 1834–37), 1:221; see also 2:83–84.

³⁹ Lloyd, *Owen Glendower*, 81; R. K. Turvey, "The Marcher Shire of Pembroke and the Glyndŵr Rebellion," *Welsh History Review* 15 (1990/91): 151–68 at 161.

⁴⁰ Turvey, "The Marcher Shire," 166–67; Glanmor Williams, *Recovery, Reorientation and Reformation: Wales 1415–1642* (Oxford, 1988), 28; Williams, *Welsh Church*, 229–30 and 254–55. Williams (*Welsh Church*, 229) suggests that Saint David's escaped damage in the rebellion "possibly because of its remote situation, possibly because Glyn Dŵr was content to levy blackmail from the canons as he was from other Pembrokeshire parsons."

⁴¹ Lloyd, *Owen Glyndower*, 99.

rebellion were in flux. According to Ralph A. Griffiths, “a recurring state of vacillating loyalties is probably close[r] to reality, in which one side gained the ascendancy when Glyn Dŵr was in the county, and the other side when his cause entered its eclipse.”⁴² Assuming that David ap Llywelyn ap Kenewreg, about whom we know nothing outside the narrative of miracle 9, was himself indeed a local man, his loyalism would have placed him in good company. Some Cardiganshire families remained loyal to Henry IV during the uprising. A contingent of men from Ceredigion, Rhos, and Pembroke fought unsuccessfully against Glen Dŵr in 1401.⁴³ Rhys ap Thomas ap David, sheriff of the county in 1400, appears to have remained loyal to the king, since he was excepted from Henry IV’s punitive measures against Wales in 1413.⁴⁴ His brother David ap Thomas ap David served as sheriff of Cardiganshire in 1412. Later in 1427 David “received the privileges of an Englishman from Parliament in recognition of his unswerving loyalty to Henry V, despite his Welsh nationality and Henry IV’s statutes.”⁴⁵ By 1408 Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llwyd’s son, Philip, had deserted the rebel cause and joined the king. His brother Thomas “returned to the fold by the end of Henry IV’s reign.”⁴⁶ Miracle 9 attributes David ap Llywelyn ap Kenewreg’s liberation from his rebel prison in July of 1405 to the miraculous powers of Saint David. A less spectacular but probably more common contemporary method of liberation in the region of southwest Wales during this period involved prisoner exchange. Henry IV, for example, granted Elizabeth Roche permission to negotiate directly with the rebels over a ransom for her husband Thomas, Constable of Pembroke Castle, who had been captured by the Welsh. She was accorded authority to release rebel captives in exchange for her husband.⁴⁷

Of course, other Welshmen from the region, at one time entrusted with important offices by the crown, took up the banner of rebellion. The men of Iscoed, the Cardiganshire commote north of the River Teifi between Cardigan and Newcastle Emlyn, joined Glyn Dŵr in November 1401.⁴⁸ Philip ap

⁴² Ralph A. Griffiths, “Gentlemen and Rebels in Later Mediaeval Cardiganshire,” *Ceredigion: Journal of the Cardigan Antiquarian Society* 5 (1964–67): 157.

⁴³ Griffiths, “Gentlemen and Rebels,” 147; Lloyd, *Owen Glendower*, 150–51.

⁴⁴ Griffiths, “Gentlemen and Rebels,” 157–58.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 158.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 156.

⁴⁷ *Calendar of Patent Rolls: Henry IV*, ed. R. C. Fowler, 4 vols. (London, 1903–8), 3:80; *Calendar of the Close Rolls: Henry IV*, ed. Bird, 3:20, 27. On the subject of ransom during the rebellion, see Davies, *Revolt* (n. 31 above), 233–34, especially 234 for the ransom of the Welsh loyalist Ieuan Llyglyw of Dyffryn Clwyd. Also, *ibid.*, 225–27 and 302–3; and Lloyd, *Owen Glendower*, 147–48, on the career of Dafydd Gam of Brecon, who died fighting on the English side at Agincourt.

⁴⁸ Davies, *Revolt*, 131–32, 135–36. The region came to be called Iscoed Glyndŵr.

Rhydderch and his brother Thomas, sons of Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llwyd, steward of Cardiganshire in 1386 and deputy-justiciar in 1388–89, fought for Glyn Dŵr, as did their associate Rhydderch ap Meredith. Rhys ap Llywelyn ap Cadwgan, formerly sheriff of Cardiganshire from 1387, had his land confiscated as a rebel in 1401. Rhys ap Gruffydd ap Llywelyn ap Ieuan, known as Rhys Ddu (“Black Rhys”), sheriff of Cardiganshire in 1394–95, became one of Glyn Dŵr’s most trusted lieutenants.⁴⁹ His lands were confiscated in 1401. Rhys remained a supporter of the rebellion after Cardigan joined the king in 1406. He held Llanbadarn castle for the rebels until 1408, was later captured, sent to London, and beheaded in 1410.⁵⁰

David ap Llywelyn ap Kenewreg made his offering at Saint David’s and presented his chains as a symbol of his liberation at a time when the revolt had significantly embroiled west Wales. Owain Glyn Dŵr held a parliament at Harlech on 1 August 1405 possibly to consolidate his position by forging a truce with the English.⁵¹ At around the same time, possibly on 7 August, however, the French fleet arrived at Milford Haven under the command of “seigneur de Hugevyle.” Shortly thereafter the town of Haverfordwest, but not the castle, was taken, and Carmarthen was burned by Owain Glyn Dŵr and his French allies.⁵² Cardigan appears to have been contested in that year and, according to the *Chronique de Saint-Denys* — admittedly not the most authoritative source of information for this purpose — to have fallen into Welsh hands.⁵³ According to the so-called *Annals of Owen Glendower*, however, by 1406 Gower, Ystrad Tywy, and “most of Ceredigion yielded and took the English side.”⁵⁴

By the year 1406–7, a period of significant rebel surrenders and submissions, the English crown attempted to win back the loyalty of Wales by means other than warfare.⁵⁵ Philip ap Rhydderch, as we have seen, was

⁴⁹ Lloyd, *Owen Glendower*, 131 on the career of Rhys. Lloyd identified this Rhys with Rhys ap Gryuyth de Cardigan in Adam of Usk’s chronicle.

⁵⁰ Lloyd, *Owen Glendower*, 131, 141 n. 2, 142; *Chronicle of Adam of Usk* (n. 36 above), ed. Given-Wilson, 240–41. On the careers of these men, see Griffiths, “Gentlemen and Rebels,” 154–56; also, Davies, *Revolt*, 199, 203–4 and Lloyd, *Owen Glendower*, 131.

⁵¹ Davies, *Revolt*, 117, 164; Lloyd, *Owen Glendower*, 101.

⁵² Davies, *Revolt*, 193–95. Lloyd, *Owen Glendower*, 101–2; *Calendar of the Close Rolls: Henry IV*, ed. Bird, 2:527–28, for the 7 August date.

⁵³ The *Chronique de Saint Denys (Chronique du religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le Règne De Charles VI, de 1380 à 1422*, ed. and trans. M. L. Bellaguet, 6 vols. [Paris, 1839–52] 3:328) says that Cardigan surrendered after learning of the breaching of the walls of Carmarthen: “Inde ambo exercitus ad Cardingum castrum vallidum tendentes, ex eventu vicinorum infausto territi oppidani dedicionem mox acceptaverunt imperatam.” Also see Lloyd, *Owen Glendower*, 103.

⁵⁴ Lloyd, *Owen Glendower*, 152.

⁵⁵ Griffiths, “Gentlemen and Rebels,” 157–58.

admitted back into the good graces of the crown by 1408; Thomas, his brother, was reconciled by the end of Henry IV's reign; by 1416 Meredudd ab Owain, son-in-law of Rhys Ddu, whose lands were confiscated in 1406, had become bailiff itinerant of Llanbadarn, one of the most influential offices in Cardigan; he later served Henry V in Normandy.⁵⁶ Saint David's played its part. Henry Chichele, bishop of Saint David's (1408–14), was empowered by Pope Gregory XII in 1408 to absolve with a "salutary penance" schismatics and rebels in Wales, whether clerks, ecclesiastics, or laymen, so that with their benefices, inheritances and property restored, they might "abandon rebellion and schism" and return to union with the Roman pontiff.⁵⁷ Later, when Chichele became archbishop of Canterbury in 1415 he confirmed his predecessor Roger Walden's 1398 promotion of the feast days of Saints David, Chad, and Winifred to the new dignity of being celebrated throughout the province of Canterbury with nine lessons. To Walden's canon Chichele added that the masses on the feast days of David, Chad, and Winifred should be celebrated "cum regimine chori." Silas Harris has shown that Chichele's decree caused the feast of Saint David to be entered into the calendars, breviaries, and sanctorales in locations outside Wales. Harris also conjectured that Chichele's enhancement of the feast of Saint David may have been motivated by a desire "to placate Welsh religious feelings after the suppression of the revolt of Glyn Dŵr."⁵⁸ As Ralph Griffiths has surmised, "Henry V, coming to the throne in 1413, may have felt that to tread softly was the quickest road to permanent peace. . . . Rapid reconciliation with the Welsh was, therefore, the order of the day."⁵⁹ Henry V's pilgrimage on foot from Shrewsbury to Saint Winifred's well in North Wales in 1415 might be seen as part of the same process.⁶⁰ Archbishop Chichele's promotion of the feast days of Saint David and Saint Winifred, even if it was not part of a self-conscious English strategy of reconciliation with the Welsh, may have stimulated curiosity about the life and deeds of the patron saint of Wales to which the miracle narratives in MS Royal 13 C.i. were a partial response. It is worth recalling, however, that when Henry V was preparing to depart for France in May 1415, he took pains to entrust Stephen Patrington, bishop of Saint David's, with the responsibility of assembling a force of

⁵⁶ Davies, *Revolt*, 202–4, 312.

⁵⁷ *Papal Letters, A.D. 1404–1415*, ed. Twemlow, 94. See also, *Hierarchia catholica* (n. 35 above), ed. Eubel, 336 n. 10: "A. 1408 Maii 23 ei a Gre. XII data est facultas absolvendī scismaticos et rebelles in partibus Walliae ad unionem Ecclesiae redituros."

⁵⁸ Harris, *Saint David in the Liturgy* (n. 1 above), 21 n. 2.

⁵⁹ Griffiths, "Gentlemen and Rebels," 156; also Davies, *Revolt*, esp. ch. 11, "Submission and Aftermath."

⁶⁰ *Chronicle of Adam of Usk*, ed. Given-Wilson, 263; James Hamilton Wylie, *The Reign of Henry the Fifth*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1914–29), 2:239.

armed men from his diocese in defense of the realm, the English church and of the catholic faith against “the malice of enemies whenever there shall be need.”⁶¹

THE LIST OF SAINT DAVID’S SUFFRAGANS

Further indication that the collection of miracle narratives in MS Royal 13 C.i was originally assembled sometime after August 1405 and reflects the politics of this time comes also from the presence of the curious list of seven suffragan churches of Saint David’s that is found just before the account of miracle 9:

VII fuerunt suffraganei Beati Daudid
Isti sunt suffraganei Beati Daudid uidelicet Exoniensis, Bathonensis, Herefordensis, Landavensis, Bangorum, Assavensis et Fernensis in Hibernia, et fuerunt usque ad flauam pestem temporis Sampsonis ultimi archipresulis Meneuensis.

[There were seven suffragans of Saint David’s
These are the suffragans of Saint David’s: Exeter, Bath, Hereford, Llandaff, Bangor, Asaph, and Ferns in Ireland. These were suffragans down to the yellow plague, during the time of Samson, the last archbishop of Menevia.]

The list claims that there are seven churches suffragan to Saint David’s, and that these were suffragan down to the time of Samson, the last archbishop of Saint David’s, who lived during the time of the yellow plague. Readers of Gerald of Wales’s *Journey through Wales* recall the pseudo-history behind the claims made in this list. According to Gerald, Samson was the last archbishop of Saint David’s. He fled to Brittany during the yellow plague, later becoming bishop of Dol, but retained his British pallium. Subsequent bishops of Dol, Gerald asserted, retained that pallium nearly down to Gerald’s own day, at which time it was taken away by an unnamed bishop of Tours. Gerald concludes, “That was how it came about, through indolence or poverty, or more probably as the result of the coming of the English to our island and the never-ending wars with the Saxons, that we Welshmen lost for all time the honour which we had once enjoyed.”⁶² The

⁶¹ *Calendar of Ancient Correspondence concerning Wales*, ed. J. Goronwy Edwards (Cardiff, 1935), 257.

⁶² Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales and The Description of Wales*, trans. with an introduction by Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth, 1978), 162. Gerald is revising Geoffrey of Monmouth’s information on Samson, who supposedly was archbishop of York and was expelled from his city by the Saxons (see *The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, Vol. 1: *A Single-manuscript Edition from Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Ms. 568*, ed. Neil Wright [Cambridge, 1984], 106: “Cumque [Arthur] urbem introisset, uisa sacrarum ecclesiarum desolatione condoluit. Expulso nanque beato Sansone archiepiscopo ceterisque

claim that Saint David's specifically possessed seven suffragans may ultimately derive from the tradition that in early Britain there were seven British bishops who, according to Bede, attended the second meeting with Augustine of Canterbury, and who rejected Augustine's appeal for their assistance in converting the English.⁶³ Rhigyfarch must have been reflecting traditions alive at Saint David's in his day about monastic foundations established by the saint when he claimed that Saint David established twelve churches; five of these are in England, including Glastonbury, but only one of them, Bath, is included among the suffragans in MS Royal 13 C.i.⁶⁴

The abrupt appearance of the suffragan list amid an anthology of miracle narratives might be attributed simply to William Worcester's appetite for collecting miscellanea, but the situation is more complicated than that. The list of churches suffragan to Saint David's appears to have been introduced just before miracle account 9 because of its topical relevance to the political milieu of that miracle, the rebellion of Owain Glyn Dŵr, discussed above. Some six months after the grateful David ap Llywelyn ap Kenewreg traveled to Saint David's, Owain Glyn Dŵr began to champion the ancient metropolitan claims of Saint David's in terms close to those found in the suffragan list in MS Royal 13 C.i.⁶⁵

In his letter to Charles VI, dated at Pennal (near Machynlleth) on 31 March 1406, Glyn Dŵr echoed the general sentiment behind the list of suffragans found in MS Royal 13 C.i. He envisioned the cathedral of Saint David's as the ecclesiastical counterpart to a politically independent Wales, possessing metropolitan status and no longer subservient to Canterbury. In return for Glyn Dŵr's recognizing Benedict XIII, the Avignon pope, as the

sancta religionis uiris templa semiusta ab officio Dei cessabant. Tanta etenim paganorum insania preualuerat"). See also *Opera*, ed. Brewer (n. 11 above), 3:76 (from Gerald's *De Invectionibus*).

⁶³ *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), bk. 2, ch. 2: 136, 138 (Latin), 137, 139 (English). Bede gives no indication of the places from which these bishops came. Note Gerald of Wales's comment on this passage in Bede: "That there were then seven Welsh bishops whereas there are now only four can easily be accounted for. There were probably more cathedrals in Wales in those days than there are now; or maybe Wales itself was bigger, stretching right down to the Severn" (*Journey through Wales*, trans. Thorpe, 164–65).

⁶⁴ *Rhigyfarch's Life of Saint David*, ed. James (n. 10 above), 8: Glastonbury, Bath, Crowland, Reptum, Colva, Glaswmm, Leominster, Raglan, Llangyvelach, and Menevia; the Vespasian redaction of Rhigyfarch adds that two saints in the province of Cydweli also submitted to Saint David (*ibid.*, 8 n. f). On this peculiar list, see Wade-Evans, *Life of Saint David* (n. 10 above), 80–83.

⁶⁵ See Williams, *Welsh Church* (n. 18 above), 218–45, and esp. 224–28 on the role of Gruffudd Young, Glyn Dŵr's chancellor, in formulating the "Pennal Policy"; also Davies, *Revolt*, 169–72, 212–13.

true successor of Peter, the Welsh leader asked that Charles VI advocate the cause of the Welsh church with Benedict.⁶⁶ In his letter, Glyn Dŵr reminded Charles VI that the church of Menevia enjoyed metropolitan status in the time of Saint David. He then enumerated the twenty-four archbishops who followed Saint David down to Samson, citing as his source for this list certain “chronicles and ancient books of the church of Menevia” (“prout in cronis et antiquis libris ecclesie Menevensis nomina eorumdem continentur”).⁶⁷ He went on to list in a sweeping arc from south to north Saint David’s five English and three Welsh suffragan churches: “Exeter, Bath, Hereford, Worcester, Leicester, whose see is now in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, Asaph, Bangor, and Llandaff” (“Exoniensem, Battoniensem, Herefordensem, Wygorniensem, Legicestrensem, cujus sedes jam translata est ad ecclesias Coventrensem et Lichfeldensem, Assavensem, Bangorensem, et Landavensem”).⁶⁸ Finally, he urged that this pristine status of the Menevian church, long since “trampled by the fury of the barbarous Saxons” (“ingruente rabie barbarorum Saxonum”), be restored.

Glyn Dŵr’s list of Saint David’s successors and the cathedral’s suffragan churches derived, with needed modifications, from Gerald’s *De invectionibus*, 2.4:

⁶⁶ Matthews, *Welsh Records* (n. 34 above), 52 (Latin), 96 (English).

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 53 (Latin), 97 (English).

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 53 (Latin), 97–98 (English). The idea that the church of Wales derived its authority from a higher authority than Canterbury was scarcely new in Gerald’s or Glyn Dŵr’s day; it finds expression in Rhigyfarch’s *Life of Saint David* (1095), which claimed that when David, Teilo, and Paternus visited Jerusalem, the Patriarch himself made David archbishop (*Rhigyfarch’s Life of Saint David*, ed. James, 20: “Deinde diuina fultus electione, ad archiepiscopatum eum prouehit.” D. P. Kirby [“A Note on Rhigyfarch’s Life of Saint David,” *Welsh History Review* 4 (1968): 292–97] argued that the passages in Rhigyfarch supporting David’s status as an archbishop were added to Rhigyfarch’s original text around 1124/30–ca.1145). Again, at the Synod of Brevi, according to Rhigyfarch, David was unanimously elected “archbishop of the entire British race” (“totius Brytannice gentis archiepiscopus constituitur”), and his city was proclaimed “the metropolis of the whole country” (*Rhigyfarch’s Life of Saint David*, ed. James, 24: “ciuitas eius totius patrie metropolis dedicatur”). As we have already seen, the legend of Saint David’s pilgrimage to dedicate the church at Glastonbury as found in the Royal manuscript version of Gerald’s *Life of Saint David* also insists that the seven bishop-companions of Saint David mentioned by William of Malmesbury be called “seven suffragans,” and that David, their *primas* in William’s version, be styled an “archbishop” (“archipresul”). The long and interesting history of the cathedral of Saint David’s struggle to achieve metropolitan status need not detain us here (see Michael Richter, *Giraldus Cambrensis: The Growth of the Welsh Nation* [Aberystwyth, 1976], 38–56, 83–127; *Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents Relating to Welsh Dioceses, 1066–1272*, ed. James Conway Davies, 2 vols. [Cardiff, 1946–48], 1:145–232).

Verum cum ecclesia Menevensis temporibus beati David et xxv. successorum ejusdem, usque ad Samsonem Dolensem, qui pallium nostrum asportavit, intra Walliae spatium, ut nunc est, et v. episcopatum Angliae, Cestrensis scilicet seu Covetrensis, Herefordensis, Wigorniensis, Bathoniensis, et Exoniensis, sicut ex historiis nostris colligitur; xii. suffraganeos haberet, nunc tribus illis tantum, qui intra Walliae fines continentur, contenta foret.⁶⁹

[And yet, although the Menevian church from the time of Saint David and his twenty-five successors down to Samson of Dol, who carried away our pallium, within the area of Wales as it is now and of five English episcopal sees, Chester or Coventry, Hereford, Winchester, Bath, and Exeter, as is gathered from our histories, had twelve suffragans, now it is limited to only those three that are contained within the borders of Wales.]

The same passage with slight variations is also found in Gerald's later work *De jure et statu Menevensis ecclesiae*.⁷⁰ Between Gerald and Glyn Dŵr, however, there are important differences. Gerald's list, which enumerates the English episcopal sees from Chester in the north to Exeter in the south, had to be edited to make it conform to fifteenth-century realities. Thus, Gerald's "Chester or Coventry" appears in the Pennal Letter as "Leicester, whose see is now in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield." Gerald died in 1223. The new diocese of Coventry and Lichfield (which included Chester) was created in 1228.⁷¹ Throughout this period Leicester remained in the diocese of Lincoln. There is nothing improbable in Gerald's *De invectionibus* or *De jure et statu Menevensis ecclesiae* being among the books in possession of the church of Saint David's. Given Gerald's close association with Saint David's and his history of promoting its metropolitan claim, his works would logically be among the "chronicles and ancient books of the Menevian Church" consulted by Glyn Dŵr in support of the program announced in the Pennal Letter.

⁶⁹ *Opera*, ed. Brewer, 3:54.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 3:229: "Verum cum ecclesia Menevensis temporibus beati Davidis et xxv. successorum ejusdem usque ad Samsonem Dolensem, qui pallium nostrum asportavit, intra Walliae spatium, ut nunc est, et v. episcopatum Angliae, Cestrensis scilicet seu Covetrensis, Herefordensis, Wigorniensis, Bathoniensis et Exoniensis, sicut *ex antiquis historiis vel ex veterum relatione fideli et assertione* colligitur, xii. suffraganeos haberet; nunc tribus illis tantum, qui intra Walliae fines continentur, contenta foret." See a slightly different list in Roger of Howden (*Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. William Stubbs, 4 vols. [London, 1868–71], 4:103–4) and in Walter of Coventry, whose list comes from Howden (*Memoriale fratris Walleri de Coventria: The Historical Collections of Walter of Coventry (from Brutus to 1225)*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols. [London, 1872–73], 2:155–56). Also Geoffrey Hill, *English Dioceses: A History of Their Limits from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London, 1900), 350–55.

⁷¹ J. C. Dickenson, *An Ecclesiastical History of England: The Later Middle Ages from the Conquest to the Eve of the Reformation* (London, 1979), 72; Margaret Deanesley, *The Pre-Conquest Church in England* (New York, 1961), 249; and Hill, *English Dioceses*, 255.

It seems much less likely that the version of the suffragan list as found in MS Royal 13 C.i would have been of use to Glyn Dŵr, although there is evidence that this version, too, was among the books once in the possession of Saint David's. The Royal manuscript version of the suffragan list was consulted at Saint David's by Francis Godwin, bishop of Llandaff (1601–17), early in the seventeenth century. In his *De praesulibus Angliae commentarius* (1616), Godwin presented a list of Saint David's successor bishops that he excerpted from Gerald of Wales. He also claimed to have found another list of David's successor bishops in the archives of the church of Saint David ("in archivis Ecclesiae Menevensis"), as well as the following list of bishops suffragan to Saint David's: "Episcopi nimirum Landavensis, Bangorensis, & Assaphensis, Exoniensis, Bathonensis, Herefordensis & Ferenensis in Hibernia."⁷² Godwin names the Welsh suffragans first, then the English, but otherwise his suffragan list and that of MS Royal 13 C.i are identical. While he may have found his list of suffragans nested in a copy of the miracle narratives in the cathedral's archive, the absence of any mention of a miracle collection in this passage of his *De praesulibus Angliae commentarius* suggests that he and the author of the miracle narratives each found the suffragan list in a common source, probably one connected with the succession of the church's bishops. It would not be unreasonable to surmise that this suffragan list was in the archives of Saint David's two hundred years earlier when Glyn Dŵr or his agents drew on the cathedral's historical documents to buttress his campaign for metropolitan status for the Welsh church.

Had they seen this list, however, they would have had good reason to reject its claims. First, where Glyn Dŵr's Pennal Letter envisioned an extensive ecclesiastical jurisdiction for the Welsh cathedral in the southwest of England and in the West Midlands — more extensive even than the capacious political boundaries of Wales proposed in his Tripartite Indenture (February 1405)⁷³ — the suffragan list in MS Royal 13 C.i stipulates a less

⁷² *De praesulibus Angliae commentarius: omnium episcoporum, necnon et cardinalium eiusdem gentis, nomina . . . per Franciscum Godwinum episcopum Landauensem* (London, 1616), 602–3.

⁷³ From the Severn estuary to the north gate of the city of Worcester; from there to the ash trees known in Welsh as Onennau Meigion along the high road from Bridgnorth to Kinver; then along the old road to the source of the River Trent; from there to the headwaters of the River Mersey and along the river to the sea. See Davies, *Revolt*, 167 for the borders, and 166 for the date; also William Rees, *An Historical Atlas of Wales from Early to Modern Times*, 2nd ed. (London, 1959), plate 52. The lack of conformity between the political and the ecclesiastical borders of Wales in Glyn Dŵr's scheme probably reflects an effort on the Welsh leader's part to leave intact what he viewed as the ancient archiepiscopal reach of the Welsh church, while pursuing a somewhat more realizable political jurisdiction for the new principality.

extensive ecclesiastical jurisdiction for Saint David's: the English dioceses of Exeter, Bath, and Hereford, but neither Worcester nor Leicester. Second, in the place of the Pennal Letter's claims to "Worcester and Leicester," MS Royal 13 C.i put forth the puzzling and improbable assertion of Saint David's authority over the church of Ferns in County Wexford. One of Glyn Dŵr's early foreign policy initiatives was to elicit support from the lords of Ireland.⁷⁴ He was not inclined to antagonize the Irish with claims over their churches.

The mention of Ferns in the MS Royal 13 C.i list, however, is another sign that the original compiler of the list was a Saint David's insider with detailed knowledge of the cathedral's history, particularly its close relationship with the Irish church. The church at Ferns was a monastic foundation with which Saint David's had a long shared history; it was the principal church of South Leinster and had been under the jurisdiction of Dublin since the mid-twelfth century. The ninth-century *Martyrology of Oengus* tells of a pilgrimage of Saint David's clergy to Ferns "because Maedóc of Ferns was a pupil of David of Cell Muine."⁷⁵ The monastery was founded by Aidan (Maedóc), one of Saint David's most faithful disciples.⁷⁶ According to Rhigyfarch, Saint David was baptized by Ailbe, bishop of the Munstermen ("ab Elue Muminentium episcopo baptizatus"),⁷⁷ and was saved by Aidan from a plot hatched by members of David's own community to poison him.⁷⁸ The smoke that arose from David's fire at Rosina Vallis (Menevia), according to Rhigyfarch, "filled and encircled the whole island and Ireland."⁷⁹ The Vespasian redaction of Rhigyfarch's *Life of Saint David*, a product of the thirteenth century, adds that nearly a third or a fourth of Ireland was subject to "David the Watery" in the place where Aidan resided from infancy.⁸⁰ This comment surely refers to the idea that the community at Ferns looked to Saint David as a model of austerity, not as an administrative authority. That Saint David's did have some territorial claims in Ireland, however, is

⁷⁴ Davies, *Revolt*, 157–59.

⁷⁵ *The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee*, ed. Whitley Stokes (London, 1905; repr., 1984), 55. See also 183 where Saint Molua is spoken of as a soulfriend ("anmchara") of Saint David.

⁷⁶ *Rhigyfarch's Life of Saint David*, ed. James, 34; Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, ed. Brewer, 3:392.

⁷⁷ *Rhigyfarch's Life of Saint David*, ed. James, 6; Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, ed. Brewer, 3:383–84.

⁷⁸ *Rhigyfarch's Life of Saint David*, ed. James, 16–17; Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, ed. Brewer, 3:392.

⁷⁹ *Rhigyfarch's Life of Saint David*, ed. James, 9 (Latin), 34 (English); Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, ed. Brewer, 3:387.

⁸⁰ *Rhigyfarch's Life of Saint David*, ed. James, 18 n. c: "Verum pene tercia pars uel quarta Hibernie seruit Dauid Aquilento, ubi fuit Maidoc, qui et Aidanus ab infantia, cui dedit sanctus David tintinnabulum quod uocatur cruedin."

clear from the ordinances and constitutions of Bishop Richard de Carew (1256–80), which mention Carew's sending a proctor of the chapter of Saint David's to an unspecified location in Ireland in 1259 in order to recover lands there belonging to the cathedral that had been alienated, as well as the income in arrears from those lands. The same document mentions oblations and alms promised for the fabric of Saint David's "at the last visitation."⁸¹ But this again is scarcely evidence for claims over any Irish church as suffragan.

The person whose keen interest in the metropolitan pretensions of Saint David's intersected with career possibilities at Ferns was Gerald of Wales. One suspects that the suffragan list in MS Royal 13 C.i might ultimately lead back to the pen of Gerald, who was twice nominated (in 1176 and 1199) and once elected (1199) by the chapter of Saint David's to serve as its bishop.⁸² His two books on Ireland, the *Topographia Hibernica* (ca. 1187) and the *Expugnatio Hibernica* (1189), witness to his knowledge of and interest in Ireland. He traveled to Ireland three times, once to visit his relatives there.⁸³ Among Gerald's claims to have spurned various offers of Irish episcopal sees during his career, his rejection of the bishoprics of Leighlin and Wexford (Ferns), offered him by Prince John in 1185 in recognition of his help in Ireland, is especially noteworthy.⁸⁴ Was this offer incorporated into a list of supposed suffragans of Saint David's by Gerald or one of his supporters at Saint David's at a time when Gerald was still aspiring to become bishop of Saint David's? Gerald played his part in emphasizing the close connection between Saint David's and Ferns. Noteworthy among the editorial additions to Rhigyfarch that Gerald made in his *Life of Saint David* (1192–94) was the comment that Aidan, after establishing his monas-

⁸¹ *Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents*, ed. Davies (n. 68 above), 1:399. Of the Irish churches dedicated to Saint David, particularly Mulrankin in the diocese of Ferns, see Harris, *Saint David in the Liturgy* (n. 1 above), 73.

⁸² His election in 1198 was rejected by King John. Gerald was urged by the canons to accept nomination again in 1215, but he refused (Richter, *Giraldus Cambrensis*, 9).

⁸³ *Opera*, ed. Brewer, 1:112.

⁸⁴ *De rebus a se gestis* (*Opera*, ed. Brewer, 1:65): "Processu vero temporis duorum episcopatum, qui tunc vacabant, Wesefordensis, sc. qui et Fernensis dicitur, et Lechelinensis, archidiacono comes optionem dedit; et cum utramque recusaret, obtulit illi duas ecclesias illas et dioceses in unum convertendas, si regimen ipsarum suscipere vellet." The same account is on p. 87. In any event, Ferns was ruled by Bishop Ailbe, a close ally of King John, from ca. 1186–1223. See also Gerald's *De Invectionibus* (*Opera*, ed. Brewer, 1:139–40), where he also claims that he was offered the bishopric of Waterford by Meiler fitzHenry, Justiciar of Ireland (1199–1208), and the metropolitan church of Cashel with its nine suffragans. Cf. his *De jure* (*Opera*, ed. Brewer, 3:338): "Oblati nempe sunt ei episcopatus in Wallia duo, et ambo recusati; et in Hibernia tres episcopatus et archiepiscopatus unus, quos similiter omnes recusavit: sicut in libro, qui *De Invectionibus* intitulatus est, plenius continetur."

tery at Ferns, vowed to lead his brethren there according to the form of the religious life he had learned from Saint David.⁸⁵ The improbability of the suffragan relationship between Ferns and Saint David's was first recognized by Bishop Ussher, who categorically rejected the idea that Ferns was ever subject to any British church.⁸⁶ But the relationship may have seemed less unlikely to a man with Gerald's ambitions.

In conclusion, the suffragan list in MS Royal 13 C.i may have titillated the antiquarian curiosity of William Worcester, but it also served as an index of the times in which the collection of miracles was assembled. In its rather oblique reflection of Glyn Dŵr's ambitions for the church of Saint David's, the list functioned as a sort of ecclesiastical parallel to the political and military outlook represented in miracle account 9, for which it serves as a kind of emblem. The list neither supports Glyn Dŵr's ecclesiastical policy for the new principality as enunciated in his Pennal Letter nor completely repudiates it. Its assertion that Ferns was and is suffragan to Saint David's distances it markedly from Glyn Dŵr's foreign policy, yet this claim and its endorsement of Saint David's metropolitan authority over neighboring English churches also sets it clearly against the loyalist political orientation of the cathedral's bishops in the early fifteenth century, and against the viewpoint of miracle narrative 9. In fact, the list seems to resonate best with the ecclesiastical politics of the thirteenth century and the career of Gerald of Wales, rather than the fifteenth century in the days of Owain Glyn Dŵr. Perhaps this should not be surprising, since the entire collection of miracles, as we have seen, is appended to a version of one of Gerald's works. Apart from its real value in dating the composition of the miracle accounts and in placing them with their political matrix, however, the suffragan list in MS Royal 13 C.i seems decidedly *sui generis*.

OTHER VERSIONS OF MIRACLES 1, 2, AND 4

Versions of the first two of the eleven miracles of Saint David were recorded by John of Tynemouth (ca. 1290–1349) in the *Sanctilogium Angliae*, later edited by John Capgrave, and published by Wynkyn de

⁸⁵ *Opera*, ed. Brewer, 3:391: "Ubi aliquamdiu signis et virtutibus claruisset, demum apud Fernas nobile monasterium construxit; in quo ad formam et regulam, quam apud Meneviam a pio patre didicerat, collectis in unum fratribus Domino deservire devovit."

⁸⁶ James Ussher, *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates* (Dublin, 1639), 89: "qui [Ferns] omnibus Provinciae Laginensis Ecclesijs in Hiberniâ aliquando praeerat, nulli autem Britanniae Archiepiscopatuî unquam suberat." Ussher claims to derive his information on the suffragans of Saint David's from the cathedral archives, but note u in the 1639 edition of *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates* cites his real source as Godwin's *De praesulibus Angliae*. His list of suffragans follows that of Godwin.

Worde under the title *Nova Legenda Angliae* in 1516. A version of miracle 4 is found in the *Annales Cambriae*.

John of Tynemouth traveled in Wales gathering materials for his collection of saints' lives. He mentions that in one place in Wales, perhaps at Llangynnydd in Gower, he saw "many . . . things" concerning Saint Cynnydd in an old book that was difficult to decipher because of its age.⁸⁷ He also saw a copy of Saint Aidan's *vita* at Saint David's.⁸⁸ Tynemouth's versions of miracles 1 and 2 are close in content and verbal expression to those found in MS Royal 13 C.i, but there are important differences.

In at least one passage in the account of the liberation of the Welshman and his German cellmate from prison in miracle account 1, Tynemouth's text is superior. The copyist of MS Royal 13 C.i mistakenly omitted by homeoteleuton a passage of thirteen words (represented below within pointed brackets) that Tynemouth preserved:

Stupefactus meditabatur quomodo socius ipsius frequenter consueuerat dicere, "Dewy, wared," <et quamuis vocabulum non intellexit, statuit tamen hoc idem dicere, et "Dewy wared"> sepius recitauit.

[Marveling, he recalled how his companion often used to say, "Dewy wared," and although he did not know the meaning of the expression, he resolved nevertheless to say the same thing, and repeated "Dewy wared" often.]

On the other hand, the Royal 13 C.i's account of miracle 1 contains an important passage missing in Tynemouth concerning the decree of Pope Callistus II (1119–24) mandating that two pilgrimages to Saint David's be considered equivalent to one pilgrimage to Rome. This passage, taken from William of Malmesbury's *De gestis regum Anglorum*,⁸⁹ has the look of an intrusion into the main narrative; significantly, although the entire episode is missing from Tynemouth's account, a brief note concerning this decree of Callistus II was added to the manuscript of Tynemouth's *Sanctilogium Angliae* where it tells of David's appearance at the Synod of Llanddewi Brefi.⁹⁰ To a narrator eager to celebrate the greatness of Saint David's and its founder, however, mentioning the decree of Pope Callistus II in the first miracle account performs the useful function of encouraging readers to visit the cathedral as a high status pilgrimage destination. The reference is not

⁸⁷ *Nova Legenda Anglie*, ed. Carl Horstman, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1901), 2:109: "multa alia de confessore isto glorioso in vno solo loco Wallie scripta vidi, que vetustate quasi deleta legi non poterant"; Wade-Evans, *Life of Saint David* (n. 10 above), 41, says that John of Tynemouth probably found this book at Llangynnydd in Gower.

⁸⁸ G. H. Doble and D. Simon Evans, *Lives of the Welsh Saints* (Cardiff, 1971), 173–74. *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. Mynors, Thomson, and Winterbottom (n. 15 above), 1:778, 780 (Latin), 779, 781 (English).

⁹⁰ *Nova Legenda Anglie*, ed. Horstman, 1:261 n. 1.

without narrative integrity, since it is introduced as corroborating evidence, as it were, at the point where the German crusader has just been informed by Welsh clerics in Paris of the widespread fame of their patron saint.

The story of the liberation of a Welshman and his German companion through the intercession of Saint David is dated during the episcopacy of Bishop Gervase (1215–29) and probably refers to the Fifth Crusade, mentioned in the *Brut y Tywysogion* under the year 1221.⁹¹ Captivity and liberation of Welshmen on crusade in the eastern Mediterranean, however, continued to resonate for a Welsh audience during the early fifteenth century. Adam of Usk claimed to have spoken to a chaplain from the diocese of Bangor who had returned from a year's imprisonment in Egypt, perhaps in 1412, where he and five hundred other pilgrims had been captured after their ship ran aground in a storm. He reported that the Sultan freed all the Christians except the Genoese, French, and Spanish.⁹²

The account of miracle 2 in the *Sanctilogium Angliae* closely parallels the version in MS Royal 13 C.i, even in wording. Both versions share the central point of the story — that in the competition of relics on a national scale, Saint David's were superior to all others of the kingdom in dispelling the plague. There are significant differences, however, between the two accounts. Tynemouth makes no mention of the king's great grief over the plague, which struck down both the great and the lowly in England. Moreover, while both narratives end by noting the joy that followed upon the miraculous dispelling of the plague, MS Royal 13 C.i, seizing the opportunity to exalt Saint David once again, adds the comment that "praise was rendered to Saint David for such a remarkable and gracious miracle." Finally, we find no mention in Tynemouth's account of the curative circumambulation "per singula loca" of Saint David's relic-water.⁹³ This practice had special meaning to the folk of the diocese of Saint David's, who were under obligation to escort the relics of their patron whenever the bishop went on tour to exhibit them. The statutes of Saint David, written under

⁹¹ *Brut Y Tywysogyon or The Chronicle of the Princes: Red Book of Hergest Version*, ed. and trans. Thomas Jones (Cardiff, 1955), 222 (Welsh), 223 (English).

⁹² *Chronicle of Adam of Usk*, ed. and trans. Given-Wilson (n. 36 above), 210–11.

⁹³ Water used in Saint David's baptism, according to Rhigyfarch, cured a man named Movi, who was born without eyes or nostrils (see *Rhigyfarch's Life of St. David*, ed. James [n. 10 above], 6; also D. Simon Evans, *The Welsh Life of Saint David* [Cardiff, 1988], 33–34). On the curative properties of the water with which Saint Oswald's corpse was bathed, see *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors (n. 63 above), bk. 3, ch. 2, 214–16 (Latin), 215, 217 (English). For recent studies of water miracles, see Pierre-André Sigal, "Naissance et premier développement d'un vinage exceptionnel: l'eau de saint Thomas," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 44 (2001): 35–44; Colin Morris, "San Ranieri of Pisa: The Power and Limitations of Sanctity in Twelfth-Century Italy," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 45 (1994): 588–99.

Bishop Martin in 1326, stipulate the precise duration, distances, and circumstances under which these obligations were to be met.⁹⁴ The account of miracle 2 suggests that drinking the water that had been in contact with the arm of Saint David, or sprinkling with such water, dispelled the plague when other relics of the realm had failed. The curative property of relic-water was a commonplace in the thaumaturgy of the late Middle Ages. In England, as is well known, numerous cures were thought to have been effected by the drinking of “Thomas water”; ampullae supposed to enclose water mixed with the blood of Thomas of Canterbury were familiar badges worn by pilgrims returning from Canterbury. A tincture of water in which teeth from the body of William of Norwich had been washed cured many people, including a sacrist at Norwich who suffered from a disease of long standing.⁹⁵ Examples could be multiplied. The narrator of miracle 2 situates Saint David’s water in this familiar practice, suggesting its preeminent efficacy at a time of national crisis. Gerald of Wales may be excused for his exaggerated claim that the Welsh took greater pride in the relics of their saints than any other people.⁹⁶

No date is provided for miracle 2. Miracle 3, the resuscitation of David ab Gurginau, occurred in 1231. Assuming that the first three miracles follow in chronological order, the plague mentioned in miracle 2 would have to have struck sometime during the episcopacy of Bishop Gervase (1215–29/30), who is mentioned in the account of miracle 1, or Bishop Anselm Le Gras (cons. 1230–31), yet before 1231, that is, during the last years of the reign of King John (1199–1216) or during the reign of Henry III (1216–72). But no plague that could be characterized as a “magna et inopinata mortalitas” occurred during these years. Nor is there any historical evidence in this period for the kind of a contest of relics mentioned in the narrative of miracle 2. Allowing for exaggeration from the pen of a Saint David’s partisan, parallels between the events described in the account of miracle 2 and the time of the great plague of the mid-fourteenth century, surely a “magna et inopinata mortalitas,” can be found. The translation of the remains of Bishop Thomas Cantilupe in the neighboring diocese of Hereford on 25 October 1349 was said to have brought about the cessation of the plague.⁹⁷ Miracle 2 in MS Royal 13

⁹⁴ *The Black Book of Saint David’s*, ed. J. W. Willis-Bund (London, 1902), xlv–xlvi, 37; T. P. Ellis, *Welsh Tribal Law*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1926), 1:348; *Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents*, ed. Davies (n. 68 above), 1:400.

⁹⁵ *The Life and Miracles of St Willam of Norwich by Thomas of Monmouth*, ed. Augustus Jessopp and Montague Rhodes James (Cambridge, 1896), 123.

⁹⁶ *Opera*, ed. Brewer, 6:203 (*Description of Wales*, bk. 1, ch. 18) and 6:27 (*Itinerary*, bk. 1, ch. 2).

⁹⁷ *The Hereford Breviary*, edited from the Rouen edition of 1505 with collation of manuscripts by Walter Howard Frere and Langton E. G. Brown, vol. 2 (London, 1911), 382 (for

C.i appears to represent a similar claim for Saint David's relics. Edward III did issue an appeal to the bishops through Archbishop Stratford for masses, sermons, and processions throughout the province, imploring God to preserve the realm from plague and death.⁹⁸ Like the account of miracle 2, Stratford's letter depicts the king contemplating the plague with deep concern — "intenta mente considerans" are his words. Later, on 23 February 1350 the king again called on the bishops for prayers and processions around the churches and cemeteries as thanksgiving for the recent abatement of the plague and for peace in the kingdom.⁹⁹ The account of miracle 2 looks to be a reflection of such appeals between 1348–50, but in which exaggerated importance is accorded to the relics of Saint David in dispelling the plague. The absence of a specific date on which miracle 2 is said to have occurred perhaps accounts for its chronological misplacement among the eleven accounts.¹⁰⁰

The account of miracle 2 is not the only record of the special reverence with which the arm of Saint David was regarded. Among the relics King Edward I carried with him when traveling was an arm of Saint David. The king's portable relics were inventoried on 17 July 1307 at Burg-on-Sands, ten days after Edward's death. Along with the arm of Saint David, the king's relic collection included the tooth of an unnamed saint that was

the service for October 25): "Ex quo (ut ferunt), deo (ut credunt) electi sui meritis populum suum oculo misericordie respiciente, lues illa grauissima, percutiente angelo manum suam continente, cessauit." On the date of the translation, see Ronald C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (London, 1977), 179.

⁹⁸ *Registrum Johannis de Trillek, Episcopi Herefordensis*, ed. Joseph Henry Parry (London, 1912), 138: "Unde excellentissimus princeps et dominus noster, dominus Edwardus, premissa intenta mente considerans, domino Johanni, nuper archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, dum vixit, suis litteris supplicavit ut, pro pace sancte ecclesie atque regni sui Anglie, quodque ipsum regnum suum ab hiis pestilenciis et hominum mortalitate Deus omnipotens sua ineffabili misericordia saluet et custodiat, apud ipsum Deum per totam provinciam Cantuariensem faceret fundi preces." The letter was sent to Trillek and the other bishops by Ralph Stratford, Bishop of London, since Archbishop John Stratford had died of the plague on 23 August 1348. See William J. Dohar, *The Black Death and Pastoral Leadership: The Diocese of Hereford in the Fourteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1995), 34–35.

⁹⁹ *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, ed. David Wilkins, 4 vols. (London, 1737), 2:752. Bishop Trillek's acknowledgment of receipt of the letter is in *Registrum Johannis de Trillek*, 149–50.

¹⁰⁰ Horstman (*Nova Legenda Anglie* [n. 87 above], 1:liii) thought that Tynemouth died of the plague in 1348. His history stops at that year (see *Dictionary of National Biography*, 19:888). V. H. Galbraith ("The *Historia Aurea* of John, Vicar of Tynemouth," in *Essays in History Presented to Reginald Lane Poole*, ed. H. W. C. Davis [Oxford, 1927], 379–91, esp. 381–84) concluded that John of Tynemouth flourished around 1366. Peter J. Lucas ("John Capgrave and the *Nova Legenda Anglie*: A Survey," *The Library*, 5th series, 25, no. 1 [March, 1970]: 2) gives 1350–63 as the date of Tynemouth's *Sanctilogium Angliae*. My analysis does not depend on John Tynemouth being the author of the versions of miracles 1 and 2 in *Nova Legenda Anglie*.

thought to act against thunderstorms, an arm of Richard of Chichester, a reliquary containing the milk of the Blessed Virgin, and a thorn from the crown of thorns.¹⁰¹

Finally, a version of miracle 4, dated “on a certain day after the Epiphany of the Lord” in the year 1247 in MS Royal 13 C.i, occurs in the B Version (London, Public Record Office MS E. 164/1, 2–26) of the *Annales Cambriae* under the year 1248.¹⁰² Unlike Tynemouth’s versions of miracles 1 and 2, however, the version of miracle 4 in the *Annales Cambriae* shows the author’s familiarity with Saint David’s cathedral and community. Yet even here a comparison of the two versions of miracle 4 shows particularly keen knowledge of Saint David’s on the part of the narrator in MS Royal 13 C.i. According to Kathleen Hughes, the entries between 1231 and 1255 in the B Version of the *Annales Cambriae* show evidence of having been written at the Cistercian monastery of Strata Florida; thereafter, the text reflects the interest of Cwm Hir.¹⁰³ Both of these establishments were in the diocese of Saint David’s. The B Version of the *Annales Cambriae* between the years 1189–1263 speaks, according to Hughes, “with the voice of independent Wales.”¹⁰⁴ Significantly, the C Version of the *Annales Cambriae*, BL MS Cotton Domitian A.i, a manuscript with a strongly English bias, omits this story. The capture of the thief is dated by the *Annales Cambriae* in the year of the death of Bishop Anselm le Gras (d. 1248) and the beginning of the episcopacy of Thomas le Waleys (1248–55). The *Annales Cambriae* also note that in this year a great earthquake befell Britain and Ireland and caused a large portion of the church of Saint David’s to collapse (“Terremotus magnus fuit in Britannia et Ybernia quo terremotu magna pars ecclesiae Menevensis corruit, et plura edificia in patria, et rupes scissae sunt”). By placing the miracle in such a temporal context, at a time when security at the cathedral must have been difficult to maintain, the narrator imbues the story of the robbery of the church’s ornaments with a certain plausibility — the theft was made possible by recent damage to the church’s physical structure. There can be little doubt that the earthquake of 1248 must have caused considerable damage to the church. Jones and Freeman attribute to this earthquake “the insecure and bulging condition of so great a part of the church, especially of the north side of the nave,” and think it likely that the tower or a part of it may also have collapsed onto the roof of the choir as a result of this event, since “the clerestory of that portion was altered” at this

¹⁰¹ J. R. H. Moorman, “Edward I at Lanercost Priory 1306–7,” *English Historical Review* 67 (1952): 169.

¹⁰² *Annales Cambriae*, ed. John Williams ab Ithel, *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores* (Rolls Series) 20 (London, 1860; repr., 1965), 87–88.

¹⁰³ Kathleen Hughes, *Celtic Britain in the Early Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1980), 79–84.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 79.

time.¹⁰⁵ Another detail supplied only by the *Annales Cambriae* is that the thief hid his spoils in the rocks by the sea (“Fur quidam intravit ecclesiam Menevensensem, et eam vestibus, ornamentis, et ceteris rebus spoliavit, et spolia in rupibus maritimis abscondit”),¹⁰⁶ a detail showing familiarity with the geographical position of the church and its proximity to Cardigan Bay and Saint Bride’s Bay.

While the dialogue between the thief and his apprehender in both versions of miracle 4 is so similar as to indicate a common source, MS Royal 13 C.i’s version of the miracle provides colored moralizing language and thick additional circumstantial detail — the kind that someone quite familiar with the cathedral and its community could most readily supply. Where the *Annales Cambriae* provides the name only of the sacristan, Madog, MS Royal 13 C.i insists on a thorough *defamatio memoriae*, and names the thief, Meredith, as well. Where the thief is characterized simply as “fur quidam” in the *Annales Cambriae*, he is branded “quidam vir nequissimus et latro pessimus” and “sacrilegus” by the narrator of miracle 4, and his theft is called “maleficium.”¹⁰⁷

Saint David’s cathedral had been a target of theft throughout its history, as had other churches dedicated to Saint David in Wales. In fact, the earliest mention of Saint David, found on a stone inscription from Llanddewi-brefi in Ceredigion and usually dated to the seventh century, commemorates the death of a man named Idnert, who apparently was killed while defending the church dedicated to Saint David in that place against spoliation (“Hic iacet Idnert filius Iagobi qui occissus fuit propter predam sancti David”).¹⁰⁸ According to the A-text of *Annales Cambriae* the monastery of

¹⁰⁵ Jones and Freeman, *History and Antiquities* (n. 5 above), 150–51; more recently, see Roger Stalley, “The Architecture of St David’s Cathedral: Chronology, Catastrophe and Design,” *The Antiquaries Journal* 82 (2002): 10–20.

¹⁰⁶ *Annales Cambriae*, ed. ab Ithel, 87.

¹⁰⁷ A similar determination to name a thief of church property occurs in the *Vita Sancti Gundleii*, in which Ednywain of Gwynedd is specified as the man who stole a chalice and vestments from the church of Saint Gwynllyw (see *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*, ed. A. W. Wade-Evans [Cardiff, 1944], 186–89). For an attempt to identify this Ednywain, see, John Ruben Davies, “Church, Property, and Conflict in Wales, AD 600–11,” *Welsh History Review* 18 (1996/7): 403 n. 60. For the *defamatio memoriae* of Edith Crickel for her theft at Waltham Abbey, see *The Foundation of Waltham Abbey: The Tract “De inventione Sanctae Crucis nostrae in Monte Acuto et de ductione ejusdem apud Waltham,”* with introduction and notes by William Stubbs (Oxford, 1861), 36–37.

¹⁰⁸ Kenneth Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain* (Edinburgh, 1953), 346 n. 2, 620, 710; Geraint Gruffydd and Huw Parri Owen, “The Earliest Mention of St. David,” *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 17 (1957): 185–93; Charles Thomas, *And Shall These Mute Stones Speak? Post-Roman Inscriptions in Western Britain* (Cardiff, 1994), 100; Charles Thomas, “The Llanddewi-brefi ‘Idnert’ Stone,” *Peritia* 10 (1996): 136–83; Davies, “Church, Property, and Conflict,” 396–97.

Saint David's was burned in 645 during a raid on Dyfed, perhaps by a native Welsh ruler, and again in 810.¹⁰⁹ Later thefts from the church are recorded in the *Annales Cambriae* for the years 1088 (1090)¹¹⁰ and 1248.¹¹¹ In 1275 a new feretory was constructed by Bishop Carew, perhaps to replace one that had been stolen and despoiled of its precious gems and gold plate.¹¹² Given the proximity of Saint David's to the Irish Sea, we should not be surprised at the frequency with which the church was plundered by Irish and Scandinavian marauders, who put to the sword both its clergy and its bishops (Morgenau in 999, Abraham around 1080).¹¹³ Less well known perhaps, is the pattern of attacks at the hands of native rulers such as Hyfaidd ap Bledri, the late ninth-century ruler of Dyfed,¹¹⁴ and Edwin ab Einion ab Owain of Deheubarth, who attacked Saint David's in 992 probably with an English ally.¹¹⁵ About Hyfaidd's many assaults on the church, John Reuben Davies comments, the "wealth and resources of a major ecclesiastical centre like St David's would have been an obvious target for plunder by an insecure ruler eager to increase the strength of his forces."¹¹⁶ Expenses on the church fabric during the fourteenth century frequently went to the repair or replacement of keys, locks, and doors damaged "per latrones."¹¹⁷ In 1384 money was set aside for repair of the great window in the south transept. Not long after this, the large window was replaced with smaller ones, perhaps to protect them more easily. The *Liber communis* for 1384, according to Jones and Freeman, shows large expenditures on stone, glass, and carpentry which were not reflected in the cathedral fabric, but perhaps were intended to be used for security and to make repairs for frequent theft and breakage.¹¹⁸ Though we have but two stories of theft among

¹⁰⁹ *Annales Cambriae*, ed. ab Ithel, 7 (A.D. 645): "Percussio Demeticae regionis, quando coenobium David incensum est"; 11 (A.D. 810): "Combustio Miniu." See also *Nennius, British History and The Welsh Annals*, ed. and trans. John Morris (London, 1980), 86, 88; and Davies, "Church, Property, and Conflict," 397, esp. n. 26.

¹¹⁰ *Annales Cambriae*, ed. ab Ithel, 28–29: "Archa Sancti David ab ecclesia [sua] furta est, et auro argentoque quibus tegebatur spoliata est."

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 87. This is the version of the story told in miracle 4 in MS Royal 13 C.i.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 104.

¹¹³ For a convenient chronological survey of these raids, see Davies, "Church, Property, and Conflict," esp. 397–402.

¹¹⁴ *Alfred the Great: Asser's Life of King Alfred and Other Contemporary Sources*, trans. with an introduction and notes by Simon Keynes and Michael Lapidge (London, 1983), 94–96.

¹¹⁵ *Brut y Tywysogion*, ed. Jones (n. 91 above), 18. See also, *Annales Cambriae*, ed. Ab Ithel, 20, under the year 975: "Gothrit et Haraldus vastaverunt Devet et Meneviam."

¹¹⁶ Davies, "Church, Property, and Conflict," 398.

¹¹⁷ Jones and Freeman, *History and Antiquities*, 162 and n. d there.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 161–62.

the eleven miracle accounts, these expenses indicate how frequent incidents of theft and vandalism at Saint David's must have been.

The Royal version of miracle 4 is unique also in informing us of the contents of the chest from which the *ornamenta* were purloined, and of the name of the chest's owner, Richard the Precentor. And while both versions agree that the capture of the thief was a miracle, the miraculous character of the event is difficult to discern in the *Annales Cambriae* account. The capture might be interpreted as God's answer to the prayers of the hapless guardians of the church, who find themselves under suspicion of having committed the crime. But Madog's discovery of the thief *in flagrante delicto* seems fortuitous rather than miraculous in the *Annales Cambriae* version; it is difficult to see the hand of Saint David in the outcome. The account in MS Royal 13 C.i, on the other hand, draws on a familiar topos in cautionary tales against *furta sacra* to bring out the miraculous nature of Meredith's apprehension. It states that the thief, having made a circuit of the walls of the church, became frantic ("extra se positus") when he failed after a long search to find the door he knew to be locked only from within. It would not be difficult to imagine Meredith's panic and claustrophobia if he had become disoriented in attempting to escape because he found himself wandering in the narrow (500 mm in width) passageways inside the upper walls of Saint David's. Even so, such disorientation was also a common theme in the stories of *furta sacra* in the lives of Irish and Welsh saints. The thwarting of plunderers of holy places by means of blinding, paralysis, madness, or general befuddlement occurs frequently in these narratives, presumably as warnings directed at potential thieves of the dire consequences of their crimes. Like the unfortunate Madog, the thieves at Saint Gwenfrewi's church are miraculously prevented from escaping from the grounds.¹¹⁹ The inability of thieves to escape from the scene of their crime is also illustrated in the *Life of Gildas* when Gildas causes the feet of robbers to stick to the ground.¹²⁰ After wandering all night after their theft, thieves turn to stone in the *Life of Saint Illtud*.¹²¹ Similarly, the two thieves of Saint Illtud's swine are bemused while trying to make their escape from the scene of their theft. They drive their purloined herd all night long through the woods thinking they are on the right path. At daybreak, however, they are dismayed to find themselves back at the scene of the theft.¹²² For stealing valuables from Waltham Abbey, five Flemish thieves suffered blindness that prevented

¹¹⁹ S. Baring-Gould and John Fisher, *The Lives of the British Saints (Wales and Cornwall)*, 4 vols. (London, 1907–13), 4:408.

¹²⁰ *Gildae, De Excidio Britanniae, fragmenta, liber de paenitentia, accidit et Lorica Gildae*, ed. Hugh Williams (London, 1899), 345.

¹²¹ *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae*, ed. Wade-Evans (n. 107 above), 226.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 226–27.

them from leaving the church. After being apprehended and flogged, their sight was restored.¹²³ Thieves attempting to waylay Saint Oudoceus as he travels with relics of Saint David and Saint Teilo are blinded and paralyzed.¹²⁴ In the *Gemma Ecclesiastica* Gerald of Wales tells of a theft from the church of Saint Mary in Kirkby in the diocese of Coventry during the episcopacy of Roger Peche.¹²⁵ Gerald records that the thieves, having broken down the doors of the church and gathered up a silver chalice, books, and ornaments, made their escape. On the move throughout the night, they find themselves at daybreak still at the doors of the church from which they had been striving to escape. They surrender themselves to the church elder in the morning, return all that they had stolen from the church, and take sanctuary at the altar of the church.¹²⁶ Similarly, the thief Ednywain of Gwynedd, attempting to make away from the church of Saint Gwynllyw with his plunder, is thwarted by the sea rising against him and driving him back to the scene of his crime. The clergy, arriving for matins, find him standing before the altar dazed (“hebetatus”) and bound by the purloined vestments as if by chains (“quasi ex ferreis compedibus”).¹²⁷

The story of Meredith in MS Royal 13 C.i clearly belongs, therefore, to a fine pedigree of cautionary tales meant to warn of the dire consequences of theft of sacred property. The gravity of the crime can be weighed, too, by the severe penalties traditionally meted out in the Welsh and Irish penitentials to the perpetrators of this transgression. According to the *Sinodus Aquilonalis Britanniae*, a work of Welsh origin possibly composed as early as the sixth century, a monk who has stolen *consecrata* “shall do penance for a year (in confinement) and another year with his brethren; but if he repeats the offense he shall suffer exile.”¹²⁸ Among the possible penalties Saint Patrick himself decreed, according to the eighth-century *Collectio canonum Hibernensis*, is that one who has stolen from a church should suffer the loss of his hand or his foot.¹²⁹ Patrick’s authority is also claimed in the *Canones*

¹²³ *Foundation of Waltham Abbey*, ed. Stubbs (n. 107 above), 42–43.

¹²⁴ *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâu*, ed. Evans and Rhys (n. 13 above), 135–36.

¹²⁵ Is this an error for Bishop Robert Peche (1121–26) or Bishop Richard Peche (1161–82)? Roger Clinton was bishop of Coventry and Lichfield (1129–48).

¹²⁶ *Opera*, ed. Brewer, 2:105.

¹²⁷ *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae*, ed. Wade-Evans, 188–99.

¹²⁸ *The Irish Penitentials*, ed. Ludwig Bieler, with an appendix by D. A. Binchy (Dublin, 1963), 67. A similar penalty for the offense can be found in the *Penitential of Cumean* (see *ibid.*, 119).

¹²⁹ *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, ed. and trans. John T. McNeill and Helena M. Gamer (New York, 1938; repr., 1990), 141. The other two possible penalties were that the perpetrator “be committed to prison, to fast for such a time as the seniors shall determine and restore entire what he carried off; or he shall be sent forth on pilgrimage and

Hibernensis (ca. 675) for the penance imposed on one who steals the property of a king, a bishop, or a scribe: the thief “shall pay the value of seven female slaves or do penance for seven years with a bishop or a scribe.”¹³⁰ Moreover, had Madog on the night of the first theft used his knife to kill Meredith, he would have been considered guiltless according to the *Canones Wallici*. These laws stipulate that a thief may be killed if he is apprehended in his crime at night;¹³¹ the same text forbids the relatives of a thief slain in commission of his crime from holding an inquisition concerning the death.¹³²

Additionally, MS Royal 13 C.i specifies that there were two thefts, one on the day after Epiphany, the other on Friday of the feast of Saint Benedict (21 March); it gives the time of the first theft, at night; for his second theft Meredith enters the church at prime (6:00 a.m.) and is discovered by Madog “post prandium” (midday). The account offers precise details on the movement of both Meredith and Madog from place to place, up and down the stairs, and within the cathedral. Mention is made of the treasury room, the chapter house, the “cofra” belonging to Richard, the precentor of the church, the reliquary containing a tooth of Saint Andrew, and the bell of the church, which Madog rings to alert the members of the community. MS Royal 13 C.i’s mention of the presence of a tooth of the Apostle Andrew in place of the vague “ceteris rebus” of the corresponding passage in the *Annales Cambriae*, had special importance for those familiar with Saint David’s. The cathedral was dedicated to Saint Andrew and Saint David, and the chapel in the north transept was dedicated to Saint Andrew. Here, too, the crime resonates with the teachings on theft in the Celtic penitentials, which demonstrate a particular concern for the habitual nature of the crime of theft. As we have seen above, the monk who steals church property a second time, according to the *Sinodus Aquilonalis Britanniae*, will be sent into exile. A similar calibration of punishment with the frequency of commission is eloquently expressed in the *Bigotean Penitential*, “One who steals food, forty days; if again, three forty-day periods; if a third time, a year; if, indeed, a fourth time, he shall do penance in permanent exile under another abbot.”¹³³ Examples from the same sources could be multiplied to show that

restore double, and shall swear that he will not return until he has completed the penance and [that] after the penance he will be a monk.”

¹³⁰ *The Irish Penitentials*, ed. Bieler, 171.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 142: “Fur per noctem occidi licet, per diem non licet; qui occiderit in nocte nullam causam habet.” On the killer’s freedom from making restitution, see 152.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 152: “Si quis ingenuus furtum fecerit et in ipso commisso morietur, nullus a suis habeat questionem.”

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 215.

in returning to plunder the church of Saint David's for a second time, Meredith was behaving according to type.¹³⁴

Meredith's theft and later capture may have played a role in the community's taking measures for the protection of the church's possessions. The 1253 statutes of Thomas le Waleys, in whose first year as bishop the theft occurred, provided for the creation of an office for "master Peter," a canon of the church, to have safe custody of the sacred relics, vessels, vestments, charters, and privileges of the church until the bishop and chapter could devise a more effective way of guarding the possessions of the church.¹³⁵ The same document provides for three trusted members of the community each to possess different keys to the alms chest, and stipulates the rules under which the chest will be opened and the accounts of expenditure made.¹³⁶ Because the books, vessels, ornaments, and money of Saint David's church continued to be frequently lost, Bishop Richard de Carew formally instituted the office of treasurer for their protection in 1259.¹³⁷ Bishop Adam Houghton's malediction against thieves in the chapel of Saint Mary survives.¹³⁸

ANOTHER STORY OF THEFT

A rather different view of the theft of church property is presented in miracle account 11, the last in the collection. The undated story of the Irish pilgrims returning from Rome to fulfill their vows faithfully at the cathedral of Saint David's illustrates the appeal of the Welsh shrine, as did miracle account 1, albeit in an unusual fashion. As the last miracle in the collection, the droll story of the automobility of the statue of Saint David brackets the collection, along with miracle account 1, with evidence of the Welsh saint's international following. Pilgrimage routes were the natural thoroughfares along which the traffic in sacred objects, particularly relics, moved. Miracle

¹³⁴ See *ibid.*, esp. 68–69, 82–83, 100–101, 102–5, 112–13, 116–17, 128–29, 216–17, and 224–25.

¹³⁵ Davies, *Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents* (n. 68 above), 1:378.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 1:388.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 1:396. Under Bishop Adam Houghton (1362–89) the office of sacristan was empowered to guard the church's valuables and to ring the bell (William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* [n. 25 above] 6 [pt. 3]:1390: "unus ydoneus sacrista, qui curam habeat et custodiam librorum, vestimentorum, et omnium aliorum ornamentorum spiritualium, luminarium, et vasorum in capellâ dictae cantariae, et ordinationem pulsationis campanarum in eadem").

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 6 (pt. 3):1390, dated 1372: "quam si quis maliciosè, seu fraudulenter, quovis exquisito colore impugnaverit, vel impugnare attemptaverit in toto vel in parte, maledictiones Dei, beatae Mariae, ac beatorum Andraeae et David patronorum nostrorum et nostram incurrat ipso facto."

11 takes place at two of the western termini of the great medieval pilgrimage network, and shows how the statue of Saint David shuttled back and forth between a station in southwestern Britain and another in even more remote Ireland.

The story of the theft of the statue of Saint David belongs to a well-established miracle-narrative type, and may ultimately have connections with the Roman ritual of *evocatio*, the process by which the palladium of a rival city was ritually lured away from its native place to take up residence in Rome. Perhaps the most celebrated case of *evocatio* concerns the cajoling of the statue of Juno away from its sanctuary at Veii. According to Livy, when the statue was asked whether it wanted to be removed to Rome, it nodded its assent.¹³⁹ By contrast, the stealing of the Palladium from Troy by Diomedes and Ulysses without proper religious ceremony is described by Virgil (*Aeneid* 2.162–95) as a kind of rape (cf. esp. lines 167–68: “corripuere sacram effigiem manibusque cruentis / virgineas ausi divae contingere vitas”). Some statues robustly defy their *raptores*. The statue of the Blessed Virgin of the Steps, according to Michael of Piazza, was cajoled away from its shrine by the tearful prayers of the citizens of Messina who hoped it would prove a talisman against the plague that was ravaging their city. As it was carried on horseback towards Messina, however, the statue turned its back. Then a chasm opened up before and behind the horse as a further sign of the saint’s displeasure at being transported to Messina. After being tearfully implored by the Messinians, she closed the chasm, but balked once more upon being carried through the city gate. Finally, the citizens of Messina worked their will and succeeded in bringing the statue into the Church of Santa Maria la Nuova, but their efforts were of no avail in quelling the plague.¹⁴⁰ The story of the statue of the Virgin of Kirkeby was perhaps known to the author of the Miracles of Saint David, since it is found in Gerald of Wales’s *Gemma Ecclesiastica*.¹⁴¹ When the thieves who had already despoiled the statue of its precious gems attempted to carry away the statue of the infant Jesus seated on the Virgin’s lap, the right arm of the statue closed tightly around the image of the child. Terrorstruck at this, the culprits immediately fled with whatever booty they had already assembled.

The account of miracle 11, however, is unusual in its formulation of familiar motifs. Unlike the tale of the thief Meredith, the story of the Irish pilgrims is neither a cautionary tale nor quite a tale of thwarted crime. The second attempt by the Irish to carry away the statue of Saint David succeeds because the thieves come back to Menevia “inflamed by more eager

¹³⁹ Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, 5.21.

¹⁴⁰ Michele da Piazza, *Cronaca*, ed. Antonino Giuffrida (Palermo, 1980), 85.

¹⁴¹ *Opera*, ed. Brewer, 2:105–6.

desire.” They also have an astute plan: they saw the statue in half to prevent its returning (or at least all of it returning) to Saint David’s, a ploy that is only partially successful, since on this second occasion the top half of the image returns to Wales. Significantly, miracle 11 is recounted from the perspective of the place from which the sacred object was successfully taken. More commonly, successful thefts are recounted from the perspective of the thieves themselves, who are at pains to justify their actions by claiming to have obtained permission of the guardians of the shrine from which the object was removed or to have received signs from the saint himself indicating approval for the *translatio*.¹⁴² Such was the case with the well-known theft from the church at Agen of the relics of Saint Foi by Arinisdus, a monk of Conques, whose accomplishment was celebrated by the author of the mid-eleventh-century *Translatio*.¹⁴³ Moreover, far from being outraged by the theft, the narrator of account 11 sees in the deed an edifying manifestation of Saint David’s allure, and an act worthy of commemoration as a kind of *furtum honestum*. On the one hand, the outcome is a victory for the Irish. They succeed twice in carrying off the statue of Saint David. Although thwarted initially in their attempt to keep the statue, they ultimately achieve their end by mutilating it and retaining half of it in Ireland. Their act of sawing the statue in half seems to produce a kind of happy mitosis of the image’s charism, each half continuing to possess, *pars pro toto*, power equal to the whole. “To this day,” the narrator states, the half-statue is “cherished with great reverence for the perpetual and astonishing memory of the deed.” By the Irish? The Welsh? Both? The theft is evidence of the prestige of the church of Saint David’s in that it possessed an object capable of evoking such keen and praiseworthy mimetic desire. Following the logic of the miracle, Saint David, guardian of the statue, must have sanctioned the theft, perhaps as a way of spreading his cult. The narrator regards it as his happy responsibility to keep alive the memory of the deed.

Here, too, we recognize a well-established hagiographical motif: the complicity of the saint in the well-intentioned taking of his *sacralia*.¹⁴⁴ The saint, sometimes finding himself caught between disputants each with laudable, if not equally legitimate, claims to his remains, miraculously replicates himself for the benefit of both parties. Such was the case with the Irish Saint Abbán. When representatives from both his birthplace and his monastery were on the verge of battle over possession of the deceased, two oxen sud-

¹⁴² Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1978), ch. 6 (“Justifications”).

¹⁴³ *The Book of Sainte Foy*, trans. with an introduction and notes by Pamela Sheingorn and Robert L. A. Clark (Philadelphia, 1995), 266–71.

¹⁴⁴ See Geary, *Furta Sacra*, 137–38 on the commonplace of the saint’s being complicit in the theft of his relics.

denly appeared, each drawing a wagon containing an identical corpse of Abbán for each group of disputants.¹⁴⁵ Abbán's biographer proclaims this a "magnum et maximum miraculum."¹⁴⁶ A similar story is told of the body of Saint Teilo, patron saint of Llandaff, but in the Welsh case, the body must be produced in triplicate, since three churches, Penn Alun, Llandeilo Fawr, and Llandaff, vie for his remains.¹⁴⁷ In this case, three identical coffins are produced. A variant of this story is told of the body of Saint Modwenna. Contention over who should have her remains was miraculously resolved when the English, Irish, and Scots pallbearers together carried her body towards England, although the Scots and Irish each believed the body was actually being carried to their own native countries ("Scottigenis existimantibus ueluti si remaneret in Scotia, Hiberniensibus putantibus quasi transferretur uersus Hiberniam").¹⁴⁸ Miracle 11, of course, concerns a statue, not the more precious body of the saint, yet the automobility of a statue implies either that it in some way possesses animate qualities or that it is being directly guided by the will of God. Rather than multiplying itself, or appearing to do so, the statue of Saint David allows itself to be divided, seemingly as a reward for the persistence and strength of desire on the part of the Irish pilgrims.

Of course, the narrator notes ironically that only the lower half of the statue, the "pars inferior" ("lower" but also "of lesser value"), remains in Ireland. He betrays no fear that this *translatio* of half the image will produce a rival shrine in Ireland, or that it might cause a diminution of the prestige of Menevia as the center of Saint David's cult. His tolerant, perhaps even jocular, attitude toward the Irish robbers in miracle narrative 11 stands in sharp contrast to his censorious judgment against the Welsh thief Meredith, presumably because of the difference in motivations for the two crimes. Meredith was moved by greed, the Irish, at least to some degree, by reli-

¹⁴⁵ *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, ed. Charles Plummer, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1910), 1:31–32. These oxen later waded into a river and were never seen again; AS . . . *mensis Octobris*, vol. 12, 276–93; Geary, *Furta Sacra*, 141; Richard Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives: An Introduction to Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford, 1991), 363, dates the Life of Saint Abbán in the 1220s or 1230s.

¹⁴⁶ *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, ed. Plummer, 1:32.

¹⁴⁷ *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv*, ed. Evans and Rhys (n. 13 above), 116–17; the bodies are exactly the same. On this legend, see Doble and Evans, *Lives of the Welsh Saints* (n. 88 above), 191–93. The same story is told of Saint Beuno (see Elissa R. Henken, *Traditions of the Welsh Saints* [Cambridge, 1987], 88).

¹⁴⁸ Geoffrey of Burton, *Life and Miracles of Saint Modwenna*, ed. and trans. Robert Bartlett (Oxford, 2002), 172. For the story of the contention over the corpse of Saint Patrick, see *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, ed. with introduction, translation, and commentary by Ludwig Bieler and Fergus Kelly (Dublin, 1979), 120, 122 (Latin), 121, 123 (English).

gious piety. Their deed results willy-nilly in a praiseworthy dissemination of the Welsh saint's presence in the world.¹⁴⁹

The narrator's tolerant attitude toward the theft may also be explained as part of an effort to maintain the traditionally warm affiliation of Saint David with certain Irish saints. As we have seen already, Saint Aidan, the founder of the church in Ferns, modelled the monastic rule there after the example established by Saint David at Menevia. The Irish abbot Barre (Saint Finbarr), according to Rhigyfarch, borrowed Saint David's horse to ride it across the sea to Ireland.¹⁵⁰ According to the *Martyrology of Oengus*, Saint Molua was a friend of Saint David.¹⁵¹ As is well known, even Saint Patrick, according to Rhigyfarch, had intended to establish a church at Rosina Vallis (Menevia), but was instructed by an angel that that task was reserved for one who would come thirty years later.¹⁵² One can safely assume that the mutilation of the statue of Saint David would hardly have been greeted with such resignation or tolerance had the sawyers been English.

Finally, the miraculous element in the story, the dogged automobility of the sacred object — no constraint will keep it away from the cathedral of Saint David's — is a topic also frequently encountered in the lives of the Irish and Welsh saints. The companions of the Irish Saint Lasrén, for example, make three unsuccessful attempts to remove the holy man's bell, a gift from an angel, from the tree in which it had been placed, and return it to Rome. On each occasion, however, the bell returns on its own from the city to the tree. When the pope learns of this miracle he commands that the bell be given to Saint Lasrén. Such was the renown of this bell that in Latin it was called *cymbalum buxi* after the tree in which it was suspended, and in Irish in *t-éloidhech*, "the fugitive," from its habit of always fleeing back to its rightful possessor.¹⁵³ Similar stories are told of the altar of Saint Caranog, which sails unaided across the Bristol Channel,¹⁵⁴ the bell of Saint Maedoc, which crosses the Irish Sea from Britain to Ireland,¹⁵⁵ the staff of Saint Cainnech, which travels to Ireland after being left on the Island of Birds,¹⁵⁶

¹⁴⁹ On the importance of motivation in the theft of relics, see Geary, *Furta Sacra*, 140–43.

¹⁵⁰ *Rhigyfarch's Life of Saint David*, ed. James, 17 (Latin), 40 (English); *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, ed. Plummer, 1:69.

¹⁵¹ See n. 75 above.

¹⁵² *Rhigyfarch's Life of St. David*, ed. James, 2 (Latin), 30 (English).

¹⁵³ *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, ed. Plummer, 2:136–37.

¹⁵⁴ *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae* (n. 107 above), ed. Wade-Evans, 144.

¹⁵⁵ *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, ed. Plummer, 2:148.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 1:161.

and the censer of Saint Tigernach.¹⁵⁷ A washing bowl discovered to have been stolen by one of the companions of Saint Faenche is cast into the sea as the holy woman and her followers voyage to Britain; the vessel finds its way to Saint Darerca at Killeevy.¹⁵⁸

Like these objects, the statue of Saint David reveals its animate quality in its automobility. The narrator betrays no unease at the topoi of the peripatetic object, with its implicit suggestion that the signifier (the automaton) embodies the real presence of the signified (the saint himself); many stories concerning the automobility of sacred objects, however, take pains to attribute such mobility to divine influence.¹⁵⁹ Rhigyfarch, for example, tells us that the four gifts bestowed by the patriarch of Jerusalem on Saint David were transported by angels to the Welsh saint after he returned home to Britain.¹⁶⁰ After Saint Ailbe leaves his monastery at Clonduff in the hands of Saint Sinchell and sets out in search of a new monastic location, he discovers that one of his disciples has taken away a vessel against his expressed wish that all possessions be left at Clonduff. Seeing Ailbe's distress at the thought of having to return to Clonduff, God causes the vessel to "fly over a great distance of land" ("Deus . . . fecit illud vas volare") until it reaches its original location.¹⁶¹ Saint Declan realizes that he has left the bell that God gave him on a rock by the sea after embarking from Britain, where he had been visiting Saint David. He prays to Christ and assures his companions that the bell's divine donor can make it return "mirabili nauí." Soon thereafter, Declan and his companions have cause to rejoice when they see the abandoned bell being carried toward their ship atop the rock on which it was left.¹⁶² Conversely, the narrator of miracle 11 offers no such gloss on the agency of the statue's mobility; his restraint increases the reader's sense of the "wondrous thing" that occurred at Saint David's cathedral.

In conclusion, the narrative of the agon between the statue of Saint David and the Irish pilgrims is not without literary and historical interest. Like the other stories in the collection, the account of miracle 11 exploits familiar hagiographical topoi, yet does so while illustrating the unique set-

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 2:264.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 2:63–64.

¹⁵⁹ See David Freedberg, *The Power of Images* (Chicago, 1989), esp. ch. 2; and Christopher A. Faraone, *Talismans and Trojan Horses: Guardian Statues in Ancient Greek Myth and Ritual* (Oxford, 1992), esp. ch. 6.

¹⁶⁰ *Rhigyfarch's Life of Saint David*, ed. James, 21 (Latin), 43 (English). See n. 68 above for this as an added passage, perhaps not in Rhigyfarch originally.

¹⁶¹ *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, ed. Plummer, 1:57: "Videns quoque Deus omnipotens anxietatem mentis sancti Albei fuisse in feruere caritatis, fecit illud vas volare per multa spacia terrarum, vsque ad locum suum."

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 2:41–43.

ting of the event at Saint David's cathedral, and the special relationship of the participants involved in this "great miracle" to the patron saint of Wales.

THE COLLECTION AND ITS COMPILER, WILLIAM WORCESTER

MS Royal 13 C.i is one of three notebooks in the British Library belonging to William Worcester (1415–before 1485),¹⁶³ a native of Bristol, but for most of his career the secretary, amanuensis, surveyor, and "professional record-searcher and tracer of pedigrees" for Sir John Fastolf of Norfolk.¹⁶⁴ Worcester is perhaps best known today for his *Itinerarium*, a heterogeneous assemblage of notes on churches, libraries, liturgical books, local lore, and geography, including a detailed description of his native Bristol, compiled during his travels in the west of Britain in 1478–80. According to Warner and Gilson, several sections of MS Royal 13 C.i (fols. 43r–50v, 52r–61v, 141v–154r) are in Worcester's hand, and Worcester himself probably was responsible for putting the collection together.¹⁶⁵ As for the date of the manuscript, the compendium on Roman history extracted from a French volume on fols.141v–146r was copied by Worcester in November and December 1453 from a book in Sir John Fastolf's library.¹⁶⁶ Notes on historical events continue to be entered by Worcester in the calendar on fols. 43r–50v down to 1459, the latest date recorded in the manuscript, and the year in which his employer Sir John Fastolf died (5 November 1459). As a *terminus post quem*, this date would accord well with what we know from other sources about Worcester's literary activity around 1458–59, particularly his keen interest in French manuscripts. In a letter to John Paston I, written from London probably on 27 August 1458, Henry Windsor noted Worcester's presence in the city and stated that he "hath goon to scole to a Lumbard called Karoll

¹⁶³ The other two are MS Cotton Julius F.vii and MS Sloan 4. John H. Harvey's conclusion, *William Worcester: Itineraries*, edited from the unique MS Corpus Christi College Cambridge, 210 (Oxford, 1969), ix, was that Worcester was dead by 1485 "at the latest." For a discussion of earlier proposed dates for Worcester's death, see Harvey, *William Worcester, Itineraries*, ix n. 3. For a list of Worcester's works, see Richard Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540* (Turnhout, 1997; reissued with additions and corrections, 2001), 822–23.

¹⁶⁴ McFarlane, "William Worcester" (n. 10 above), 204.

¹⁶⁵ Warner and Gilson, *Catalogue* (n. 10 above), 2:102.

¹⁶⁶ "Incipit compilatio et extractus actuum armorum gentis Romanorum inter Iullium Cesarem et Pompeium et aliorum secundum Lucanum et Suetonium historiographos, scriptus per W. Wyrcestre mensibus Novembris et Decembris anno Christi 1453, extractus libri Iohannis Fastolf militis habitantis Parisius," fol. 143r. See Warner and Gilson, *Catalogue*, 2:102, and McFarlane, "William Worcester," 212.

Giles, to lern and to be red in poetré or els in Frensh.” Windsor further commented with a degree of exasperation on Worcester’s avid purchasing of “diverse bokes” from Giles: “I made mocion to William to haue knoen part of his bisines, and he answered and said that he wold be as glad and as feyn of a good boke of Frensh or of poetré as my Maister Fastolf wold be to purchase a faire manoir; and therby I vnderstand he list not to be comynd withall in such matiers.”¹⁶⁷ The inclusion of historical materials in MS Royal 13 C.i, whether in French or Latin, fits well with Worcester’s literary labors around 1459. We know that by mid-summer of 1460 Worcester had well under way his biography of Sir John Fastolf, *Acta domini Johannis Fastolf*¹⁶⁸ materials for which might well have been supplied from some of the historical extracts in MS Royal 13 C.i, particularly those concerned with events in which Fastolf was a participant, such as the numerous English campaigns in France during the fifteenth century.

Apart from the material on Saint David and Saint Nonita, the bulk of material in the MS Royal 13 C.i reflects Worcester’s interests in history. The manuscript includes a compendium of historical matter in French drawn from Orosius, Lucan, Suetonius, the *Quadriologus* of Alain Chartier, portions of Higden’s *Polychronicon* (book seven), and a selection from the “Giles Chronicle.” According to McFarlane, the French material in the manuscript may have been assembled by Worcester, as early as 1453.¹⁶⁹ Since the orig-

¹⁶⁷ *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Norman Davis, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1976), 175. We should not exclude the possibility that Worcester found some materials concerned with Saint David and Saint Nonita among the “good boke[s] of Frensh.” The Middle-Breton mystery play *Buhez Santez Non* (*The Life of Saint Non*), a late-fifteenth-century dramatization of certain events in the life of Saint Non, was discovered at the beginning of the nineteenth century at Dirinon, a church in Brittany dedicated to Saint Non. On this play, see E. Enault, “Vie de sainte Nonne,” *Revue celtique* 8 (1887): 230–301 and 406–91 for the Breton text and French translation; also, Henken, *Traditions of the Welsh Saints* (n. 147 above), 156–57; Yann-Ber Piriou, “Notes de lecture: *La Vie de Sainte Nonne*,” *Études celtiques* 13 (1986): 215–31; and Gilbert H. Doble, *Saint Nonna, Patron of Altarnon and Pelynt*, Cornish Saints 16 (Liskeard, 1928), 4–7. For an Old French poem possibly drawing on the life of Saint David and Saint Nonita, see Max Keuffer, “Bruchstück eines altfranzösischen Gedichtes (Manuscript der Stadtbibliothek zu Trier),” in *Festschrift zur Begrüssung der XXXIV Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmaener* (Trier, 1879), 147–83.

¹⁶⁸ See *Paston Letters*, ed. Davis, 2:201 for the long treatise sent to Worcester in 1460 by John Brussard, another of Fastolf’s servants, concerning “the journes that my mayster dede whyl he was in Fraunce.” Also McFarlane, “William Worcester,” 207–10. The title of the work was given by John Bale, who lists his source as “Ex monasterio Nordouicensi” *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, ed. Reginald Lane Poole and Mary Bateson [Oxford, 1902; repr. New York, n.d.], 117). No copies of the *Acta domini Johannis Fastolf* survive.

¹⁶⁹ McFarlane, “William Worcester,” 212.

inal gathering of the miscellany is unknown,¹⁷⁰ however, the date at which the *Vita Sancti David Episcopi in Wallia* and the *lecciones* of Saint Nonita themselves were copied can only be approximated by the late-fifteenth-century character of the two different hands (neither of them Worcester's own) in which these two entries were written, and by the likelihood that they, like the other contents of the manuscript, were collected by Worcester himself, probably as the fruits of his book collecting and his work on the biography of Fastolf around 1458–59.¹⁷¹

On the other hand, material concerning Saint David and Saint Nonita, sixth-century Welsh saints, seems out of place in MS Royal 13 C.i, a miscellany principally devoted to chronicles and histories concerned with English and French affairs of the later Middle Ages, and has no obvious congruence with the rest of the contents of the manuscript. If documents on the two Welsh saints did come into Worcester's possession around 1458–59, they may simply represent an early phase of his project of collecting information on the antiquities of the West country, his natal region. Worcester's interest in hagiography and liturgical material on Saint David and Saint Nonita appears to have been at its peak not around 1458–59, but later in his life around the time of his journeys to the West country in 1478–80, as is amply in evidence in his *Itinerarium*.¹⁷² Admittedly, hagiographical and liturgical materials may not have been completely unrelated to Worcester's research on the life of Sir John Fastolf. As Fastolf's biographer, Worcester inquired minutely into his employer's ancestry and family history.¹⁷³ Perhaps during the time of his research into the Falstolf family, Worcester became familiar with the career of Thomas Fastolf, the scholarly bishop of Saint David's from 1352 until his death in 1361.¹⁷⁴ Possibly some of the papers of this member of the Fastolf family, including the *lecciones Sancte Nonite* and/or a copy of Gerald's *Vita Sancti David Episcopi in Wallia*, had traveled from Wales to the Fastolf library in Norfolk.¹⁷⁵ One might assume that their

¹⁷⁰ *Rhigyfarch's Life of St. David*, ed. James, xxiii.

¹⁷¹ The current binding of the manuscript dates to 1757 (Warner and Gilson, *Catalogue*, 2:102).

¹⁷² See Curley, "Five *Lecciones* for the Feast of St Nonita" (n. 8 above), 65–66.

¹⁷³ McFarlane, "William Worcester," 204. See George P. Scrope, *History of the Manor and Barony of Castle Combe, in the Country of Wills* (London, 1852), 170–71, for Worcester's notes on Sir John's ancestry.

¹⁷⁴ A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to 1500*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1955–59), 3:2174–75; Williams, *Welsh Church*, 123, 129; and *The Welsh Life of St. David*, ed. D. Simon Evans (Cardiff, 1988), lv.

¹⁷⁵ Bishop Thomas Fastolf was buried at Saint David's. His will, proved on 1 July 1361, left all his possessions, among which no books are mentioned, to be disposed of by David Ley, precentor of Saint David's, Robert de Grymeston of the church of Dysserth, and Phil-

place of origin was in one of the churches known for special devotion to David and Nonita. Naturally, the church of Saint David's itself may have been the source of both texts. There is no evidence that Worcester ever visited the cathedral of Saint David's. Yet, in spite of the near total destruction of liturgical and hagiographical texts once at Saint David's, evidence of the existence of such material at the cathedral relating to Saint David and Saint Nonita in the late fifteenth century is not entirely wanting. In 1492, for example, Saint David's paid "Robert Bokebynder" for unspecified services relating to a book or books concerning the Visitation of Mary, the Transfiguration, and the translation of Saint Andrew, Saint David, and Saint "Nonna."¹⁷⁶ It may be worth noting, too, that some of the accounts of the miracles of Saint David in MS Royal 13 C.i display the kind of detailed knowledge of Saint David's church that one would expect from an author intimately familiar with the place.

In Worcester's day material commemorating Saint David and Saint Nonita must have been available to him also in London and elsewhere in the province of Canterbury, where the cult of Saint David was not entirely without its supporters. Two archbishops of Canterbury, Roger Walden and Henry Chichele, are known to have taken steps to promote the veneration of Saint David. In 1398 Walden proclaimed that the feasts of Saint David and Saint Winifred should be celebrated in the province of Canterbury "cum 9 lectionibus . . . per universas ecclesias nostrae Cant. Provinciae."¹⁷⁷ Chichele confirmed his predecessor's canon in 1415, and added special dignity to the feast days of Saint David, Saint Winifred, and Saint Chad by commanding that those days be celebrated also "cum regimine chori."¹⁷⁸ Archbishops Walden and Chichele both presumably possessed copies of the nine lessons whose reading they mandated for their province. Chichele, after all, was bishop of Saint David's from 1408 until his translation to Canterbury in 1414. In his entourage as archbishop were men he brought with him from Saint David's, such as Philip David, David ap Rees (David Price), and Robert Rawling, each of whom held important positions in the archbishop's

lip Dyer, rector of Llanychllwyddog in Pembroke (Yardley, *Menevia Sacra* [n. 4 above], 370).

¹⁷⁶ From the *Liber communis* of Saint David's, cited in Jones and Freeman, *The History and Antiquities of St. David's* (n. 5 above), 380.

¹⁷⁷ *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, ed. Wilkins (n. 99 above), 3:235; for the transmission of this proclamation to Saint David's, see *The Episcopal Registers of the Diocese of Saint David's 1397 to 1518*, ed. R. F. Isaacson and R. Arthur Roberts, 2 vols., Cymrodorion Record Series 6 (London, 1917–20), 1:32–33.

¹⁷⁸ Wilkins, *Concilia*, 3:376. For further evidence from the Hereford and Arbutnot missals, see Harris, *Saint David in the Liturgy* (n. 1 above), 22, 30–31.

administration.¹⁷⁹ Gerald's *Life of Saint David*, including its appended miracle narratives, may have been brought to London by the bishop or by one of these Welshmen from Saint David's. Such material might have come to Worcester's notice early in his career during his many lengthy sojourns in London, rather than during his later voyage to the west of the country.

Finally, the collection of posthumous miracles of Saint David was being assembled not long after another such collection had contributed to the successful canonization of a man who would prove to be the last English saint before the Reformation. The canonization of the Yorkshireman John Thwinge (or Thwenge) as Saint John of Bridlington by Pope Boniface IX took place on 24 September 1401 and may have encouraged the archbishop of Canterbury, recently bishop of Saint David's, to promulgate anew the fame of the founder of the Welsh cathedral. Pope Boniface may not have been exaggerating when he wrote about the felicitous outcome of Thwinge's case, "O quam felix es, Anglorum nacio."¹⁸⁰ John Thwinge's canonization was urged both by Richard II and Henry IV (the latter of whom sent his special envoy, John de Gisburne, to Rome in connection with the case), as well as by the "prelates, nobles, commons, universities, and chapters of the said realm."¹⁸¹ On 11 March 1404, the translation of the saint was presided over at Bridlington by Richard Scrope, archbishop of York, along with the bishops of Lincoln and Carlisle. The surviving miracle accounts of Saint John of Bridlington parallel in form and content the eleven miracle narratives of Saint David in MS Royal 13 C.i.

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¹⁷⁹ E. F. Jacob, *Archbishop Henry Chichele* (London, 1967), 9.

¹⁸⁰ Purvis, *Saint John of Bridlington* (n. 22 above), 33.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 18, 41.

TEXT

R British Library MS Royal 13 C.i

T Tynemouth (selected variants from the versions of miracle accounts 1 and 2 in *Nova Legenda Anglie*, ed. Horstman, 1:262)

Fol. 177v [1] *De Wallico a Sarracenis capto et ad propria miraculose restituta.*

Contigit autem quod captus fuit quidam Wallensis de episcopatu Menevensi a Sarracenis et detentus ferrea cathena cum quodam Alemanno ad laborandum. Ligatus quidem Wallensis de die et nocte iugiter ad Sanctum
 5 David clamauit cum potuit vacare in sua lingua, “Dewy, waret,” hoc est, “Dauid, adiuua.” Mira res! In breui subito in propria patria restitutus est miraculose, et Gervasio tunc loci episcopo hoc intimauit, quem episcopus in sua domo ob insigne factum secum retinuit. Alemannus autem eius socius, tanquam facti conscius, uerberibus a Saracenis fuit expositus, et sub arciori
 10 custodia detentus. Cogitauit igitur Alemanus de ammissione socij. Stupefactus meditabatur quomodo socius ipsius frequenter consueuerat dicere, “Dewy, wared,” <et quamuis uocabulum non intellexit, statuit tamen hoc idem dicere, et “Dewy wared”> sepius recitauit. Et factum est quod iste Alemannus subito raptus in propria domo est. Restitutus in terra Alemanie
 15 tandem cogitauit quid “Dewy, wared” significaret. Parisius adiit ubi homines de diuersis linguis inueniret, et tandem Wallenses clericos inuenit qui hoc ei <exposuerunt>. Fama igitur uirtutum ipsius diffusa per orbem, Kalixtus papa pecuniarum amorem detestans, de meritis Sancti Dauid non modicum confisus, omnes peregrinos Britannie magis ad Sanctum Dauid,
 20 quam ad Romam pergere, sicut in cronicis legitur, admonebat. Ad quem locum bis euntibus <idem benedictionis> et indulgenciarum refundendum meritum decreuit, quod haberent qui semel Romam irent. Et hoc confirmauit priuilegio in perpetuum duraturo ad honorem domini nostri Ihesu Christi et sancti supradicti. Gratias ergo Deo agens, Sanctum Dauid in
 25 Wallia querere disposuit deuote, et uenit die Pentecostes ad Meneuiam, assistente ibidem memorato Gervasio ipso cum clero prouincie et turba hominum magna que ibidem in tam sollempni festo conuenerat. Alemanus autem existens in ecclesia Meneuensi cum alijs gratias egit Deo et Sancto Dauid pro beneficio sibi impenso. Quem Wallensis nuper socium suum
 30 intuens, admirans non minimum, stupefactus ualde, et umecto uisu, adinuicem concurrerunt, amplexum autem cum fletu mixtum commiscendo, quid et qualiter Sanctus Dauid cum eis operatus est seratim episcopo, clero populoque exponentes. Gaudet episcopus, letatur clerus, plaudet populus, nunc flendo, nunc ridendo, pro gaudio de tam aperto miraculo cateruatim cum
 35 tripudio laudantes Dei magnalia.

5 clamavit] clanavit **R** 6 res] *blotted and rewritten* **R** in propria patria] ad patriam suam **T** 7 miraculose] *om.* **T** hoc intimavit] hic intimans **T** 7–8 quem . . . domo] *om.* **T** 8 factum] miraculum **T** retinuit] mansit **T** 9 conscius] *ed.* concius **R** a Saracenis] *om.* **T** 8–11 Alemannus . . . meditabatur] *om.* **T** 11 ipsius] suus **T** 12–13 et . . . wared] *supplied from* **T** *omitted by* **R** 15 wared] wareth **T** 15 adijt] properavit **T** ubi] *blotted and rewritten* **R** 15–16 ubi . . . inuenit] *om.* **T** 17 exposuerunt] *ed.* 17–28 fama . . . alijs] *om.* **T** 21 idem benedictionis] *supplied from* William of Malmesbury's *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, *ed.* Stubbs, 2:507–8 (see n. 15 to text above) 24 supradicti] suptradicti exposuerunt **R** 26 memorato] memorata **R** 28–29 et Sancto Dauid] *om.* **T** 29 nuper] *om.* **T** socium suum] socius suus **T** 30–35 non . . . magnalia] ad eum accessit et cum fletu maximo deosculans, qualiter a seruitute libertati sit restitutus inquiret. Qui seriatim quicquid ei acciderat omnibus intimare curauit. **T**

[2] *De morte subita meritis beati Dauid sedata.*

Accidit preterea quod magni viri et parui in regione Anglie subito moriebantur, quod ita strages fuit hominum mortuorum pro magna et inopinata mortalitate. Rex Anglie multum doluit turbato [fol. 178] regno maxime et uehementer. Habito communi consilio, prouisum fuit et statutum ut quilibet episcopus de regno reliquias sancti ecclesie sue certo loco deferret in aqua benedicta balneandas ut ex aspersione aque siue potacione plebi subueniret diuina potencia. Factumque ita est ut erat statutum nec cessauit mortalitas. Deinde uenit ultimo episcopus Meneuensis qui fuit longinquus, secum deferrens brachium Sancti Dauid. Quo brachio in aqua lauato, apparuit aqua quasi pinguedine deaurata. Portabatur autem aqua certatim a populo per singula loca; in qua aqua apparuit magnis et paruis desuper crux aurea. Cessante autem mortalitate hominum, gaudium et leticia salusque in regno infunditur, et laus Sancto Dauid pro tam insigno et gracioso miraculo redditur.

1–5 Accidit . . . uehementer] Cum pestis magna in Anglia inualesceret, et strages maxima populi per loca fieret **T** 5 prouisum] peruisum **R** et statutum] *om.* **T** 6 de regno] *om.* **T** sancti] *om.* **T** certo loco] *om.* **T** 7 ex] *om.* **T** 7–8 subueniret diuina potencia] diuina gratia subueniret **T** 8 Factum . . . mortalitas] Quo facto mortalitas illa cessare non potuit **T** 9 Deinde . . . ultimo] Vltimus demum omnium **T** qui . . . longinquus] *om.* **T** longinquus] *blotted and rewritten* **R** 9–10 deferrens] ferens **T** b *blotted before brachio and rewritten* **R** 10 brachio] *om.* **T** 11–12 Portabatur . . . paruis] *om.* **T** 12–13 Cessante . . . hominum] Cumque populus certatim illa ex aqua gustasset, mortalitate hominum omnino sedata **T** 14 infunditur] diffusa sunt **T** 14–15 laus . . . redditur] *om.* **T**

[3] *De puero in ecclesia Beati Dauid ab alto corruente per xx cubitos altitudinis sine lesione conseruato.*

Anno domini millesimo CC° XXXJ°, die Lune, in crastino Penticostes, ueniente populo a diuersis partibus ad ecclesiam Beati Dauid Menevie peregrinationis causa, prout consuetum est, accedit quidam puerulus habens circiter octo annos etatis, nomine Dauid ab Gurginau. Et ascendens in gradus ecclesie superiores, una cum pueris alijs ludebat. Et ut Deus omnipotens ab alto respiciens deuocionem populi erga se et gloriosum confessorem suum Dauid excitaret, puer prefatus ab alto in terram corruens, uidelicet, per xxti
 5 cubitos altitudinis et amplius, ita hilaris, incolumis et sine nulla lesione surgens et rediens per ecclesiam currebat ac si non cecidisset. Quo uiso, clerus
 10 et populus dominum in sanctis suis collaudabant.

9 prefatus] prefactus **R** 10 incolumis] incolunis **R**

[4] *De latrone ecclesiam Meneuensem spoliante miraculose inuento et capto.*

Anno Domini millesimo cemo xl° vij°, die quadam post Epiphaniam domini uenit quidam vir nequissimus et latro pessimus, Meredith nomine, in noctu in ecclesiam Beati Dauid Menevie. Intrans thesaurariam eiusdem
 5 ecclesie, quedam ornamenta ecclesiastica et quandam cofram bone memorie Riccardi tunc precentoris, in qua cipi ipsius precentoris tam de argento quam de murra et alia iocalia erant reposita, furtiue asportauit. Quod factum fuit custodibus ipsius ecclesie imputatum. Custodes uero sicut erant
 10 insontes, Deum et gloriosum confessorem Sanctum Dauid lacrimantes et suspirantes et cum gemitibus continuis orabant, deprecantes ut ipse Deus precibus ipsius sancti ipsos de facto predicto innocentes demonstraret. Elapsis
 15 inde aliquot diebus, accessit idem sacrilegus ad dictam ecclesiam, quadam die Veneris in festo Beati Benedicti abbatis, de eadem hora prima, et ascendens in gradus superiores ecclesie, et ibidem se occultans quousque clerici
 20 exirent de ecclesia, tempus congruum ad suum malificium perpetrandum expectabat. Postquam clerici exierunt et clausa erant hostia, idem fur de gradibus descendens thesaurariam intrauit, et apertis cistis et cofris, eligebat que magis sibi complacebant. Querens exire per hostium quod tantum interius erat clausum et de facili potuit aperiri ut hostium potuit inuenire. Et
 25 cum diu muros ecclesie interius circuisset nec hostium potuisset inuenire, quasi extra se positus, iterum in thesaurariam redijt ignorans quod faciebat. Sacrista uero nomine Madocus post prandium ad ecclesiam ueniens, hostium aperuit, et accedens ad capitulum, hostium capituli una cum hostio thesaurarie apertum inuenit, super quo modicum admirans et stupefactus, intro-

collocatur in manu tenentem, et in altera quendam calicem. Et ea eleuans inter se et fenestras vitreas ad instar respicientis in speculo respiciebat admirando. Sacrista vero ex inopinato ad ipsum saliens cultellum quem ad corigiam portabat sibi abripuit dicens, “O infelix homo! Quid hic facis? Tune ille maledictus es qui nuper ornamenta et alia preciosa ab ista ecclesia fur-
 30 tive abstulisti?” Fur uero consensus est et non negauit dicens, “Ego rapui.” Sacrista uero [fol. 178v] hostia claudens, campanam pulsauit, et accurentibus, tam clero quam populo, dictum furem demonstrauit. Clerici autem et populi pro tali et tanto miraculo vehementi gaudio plaudentes, Deum qui
 35 hoc pro glorioso confessore suo Dauid operari dignatus est, ymnpnis et canticis glorificantes collaudauerunt.

2 Epiphaniam] Epiphanieam **R** 21 redijt] redijs **R** 22 Sacrista] Sacristo **R** 25 Andree] Andrie **R** 27 respicientis] respicientes **R**

[5] *De naue per intercessionem Sancti Dauid saluata.*

Anno domini millesimo CCmo octogesimo quinto, die Jovis, in festo Beati Laurentij, tempestate ingruente, contigit quandam nauem que die precedente a portu Sancti Justinani prope Meneuiam uersus Hiberniam onusta
 5 uiris et mulieribus recesserat periclitari, ita quod pene mergeretur, a uulso etenim gubernaculo a nauis in procella et amisso, nauis ut inter undas periculose fluctuabat. Quidam autem monachus ordine Cisterciens nomine in ipsa nauis existebat qui socios suos tanquam uir bonus hortabatur ut unusquisque peccata sua plenissime confiteretur, et uoueret Deo et Beato Dauid
 10 quod si gratia diuina et precibus ipsius sancti ad terram in Wallia incolumes possent peruenire, ecclesiam Beati Dauid a loco ubi applicarent nudis pedibus uisitarent condignam reuerentiam sancto exhibitori. Quod omnes socij firmissime et bona fide promiserunt adimplere. Quo facto, quasi in momento tempestas est sedata. Et gubernaculum quod prius fuerat aulsum et amis-
 15 sum, uisum est in continenti prope nauem fluctuare. Quidam uero nauta exiliens illud funibus et cordis, meliori modo potuit, ipsi nauis alligauit. Et uelo eleuato, prospero flante uento, eundem portum Sancti Justinani intrauerunt. Et naute exeuntes uota sua fideliter adimplerunt. Dictus eciam monachus, die dominica proxima sequente, ad honorem et laudem Dei et ipsius
 20 sancti cuius meritis et precibus erant liberati, coram clero et toto populo, socijs suis sibi testimonium peribentibus predictum referebat.

6 procella] procelle **R** 8 suos] tuos **R** 9 confiteretur] confid *crossed out before confiteretur* **R** 13 firmissime] firmisse **R** 21 praedictum] predictam **R**

[6] *De puero de sepulchro resurgente post exequias per intercessionem Beati Dauid.*

Anno domini millesimo CCC° lxiij°, circa festum Exaltacionis Sancte Crucis, apud uillam uocatam Monysley infra episcopatum Hereford, quidam
 5 puer uocatus Johannes Bole, non tunc plene quinque annorum etate, in dicta uilla cum patre et matre commorans, periclitabatur in peste que tunc in tota Anglia communiter seuebat. Et tandem infirmitate cogente moriebatur, et sic per tres dies mortuus iacebat, et in sepulchro exequijs ut decebat peractis ponebatur. Pater uero et mater eius, ut Deus eos consolaretur per
 10 intercessionem omnium sanctorum, oblaciones suas una cum peregrinationibus deuote faciendis quam pluribus bonis locis promiserunt. Tandemque pater eius quia iuxta Kedwely in episcopatu Meneuensi extitit oriundus, de uenerabili confessore ac patrono Beato Dauid reminiscens, se promisit limina Beati Dauid deuote quam citius poterit uisitaturum si eum quouis modo uel
 15 let consolari. Statimque post huius uotum factum, puer in sepulchro iacens mouit capud et pedes, materque eius hoc uidens statim in sepulchro exiliens, nodum quem super capud habebat denodauit. Quo facto, puer uix extra sepulchrum tractus poculum pecijt, puerque statim postquam reuixit, predixit duobus fratribus suis citra horam nouam in crastino se esse morituros.
 20 Exinde quidam presbiter de uilla de Ledbury dicte diocesis illud miraculum nolens credere, sed dicens fabulam esse, statim nutu diuino excecatus fuit et infra triduum moriebatur.

15 uotum] *crossed out and repeated* **R** 17 habebat] *abolat crossed out and corrected to*
 habebat **R** denodauit] *denodauit* **R** 20 Ledbury] *lib crossed out and corrected to Led-*
 bury **R**

[7] *De mortuo per biduum suscitato apud Wachet.*

Die Ueneris in festo Sancti Nicholi episcopi, anno domini millesimo CCC° octogesimo primo, Johannis Goldsmyth Bathonensis et Wellensis diocesis, etatis viij° annorum et amplius, mersus fuit in stagno molendi in villa de
 5 Wachet, in qua uilla erat oriundus, ante horam uespere supradicte diei. Et sic in profundo stagni mortuus iacuit usque horam primam diei sabbati proximi sequentis. In qua quidem hora per Dei gratiam [fol. 179] et Sancti Dauid intercessionem, cui mater dicti submersi lacrimis effusis orabit, oblaciones eidem Sancto Dauid promittens, cuius intercessione idem submersus
 10 miraculose reuixit, gracias agens Deo et Sancto Dauid. Qui quidem Johannis, ut predicatur submersus, cum Katerina Goldsmyth, matre sua, accessit Meneuiam ad Sanctum Dauid ad soluendum oblaciones quas promisit sua mater. Ad quem locum peruenit die Jouis proxima ante festum eiusdem Sancti Dauid, anno tunc proximo sequente, narrans cum iuramento uerita-

15 tem dicti miraculi quod operatus est Deus in eo mediantibus precibus Sancti
Dauid.

7 proximi] proxima **R** hora] horam **R** 8 mater] nr *crossed out before* mater **R**
13 eiusdem] eius *crossed out and corrected to* eius **R**

Uersus.

Anno milleno centum ter et octuageno
— Sit tibi uocalis numeri pars tertia talis. —
Mirum tunc gestum fuerat Dauid per honestum,
5 Cuius nunc factum colo spernens omne molestum.
Ut fuerat factum scriptis hijs ui redigetur,
Ne per transactum rerum uerum uarietur.
In uilla quadam Wachet uerum sibi tradam,
Et ea Wellensisque diocesis et Bathonensis,
10 In cuius stagno cecidit puer ut recitabo;
Pro miro magno recitans, hei, falsa fugabo.
Hic iacuit mersus sub aqua per tempora tanta,
Ut discas quanta subscriptos prospice uersus.
In uespertina sexte ferie puer hora
15 Cur cecedit plora; tristis fuit ista ruina.
Hoc cernens mater quam tunc tenuit dolor ater,
Sanctos orauit ut natus uiueret ille,
Pre cunctis Dauid promittens munera mille.
Hec uigilans ore rogitauit mota dolore,
20 Ut Dauid audiret et nato uita rediret,
Plectens argentum Sanctum Dauid uocitando.
Sunt plures centum testes hoc testificando.
Hora pre prima uenienti tunc sabatina,
Hic spernens yma resurrexit et arte diuina.
25 Ergo queremus peregre sedem Meneuensem,
Omnem per mensem ueniam sic inueniemus.

[8] *De muliere per v annos incurabili egritudine contracta in festo Sancti Dauid miraculose sanata.*

Accidit nocte festi Sancti Dauid sequente, anno domini millesimo CCC°
nonagesimo septimo, virtute diuina factum miraculosum memorie comen-
5 dandum in ciuitate Meneuensi Sancti Dauid et glorioso patrono loci procu-
rante quod quedam mulier, nomine Isabella filia Dauid ap Adam, per v
annos tanta egritudine contracta quod non habuit facultatem mouendi cor-
poris sui membra ad aliquem usum humanum, ut populo illarum partium

satis erat cognitum. Iacens in cubili suo semiuigilans, preces fundens prout
 10 potuit Deo et Sancto Dauid cui, ut sibi uidebatur, apparuit homo similis
 ymagini Sancti Dauid depicte in ecclesia, cum alio homine longioris stature
 rubro induto qui estimatur Sanctus Justinanus martir, qui in uita Sancti
 Dauid eius fuisset confessor. Cui mulieri, ut eidem [fol. 179v] apparuit,
 Sanctus Dauid dixit, "Filia, surge et para te versus ecclesiam, quia restituta
 15 est tibi sanitas." Que illico sana surgens, non sine admiratione uicinorum
 recto tramite ecclesiam pecijt. Clero et populo in multitudine magna ibidem
 existentibus facti seriem palam exposuit. Quo miraculo publicato, canonici
 et ministri ecclesie ordinata processione solempni incepterunt cantare "Te
 Deum laudamus," populo cateruatim exultante et laudante Deum, qui in
 20 sanctis suis semper est mirabilis, et Sanctum Dauid confessorem gloriosum.

12 rubro] rubies **R** 20 cf. Psalm 67:36 "mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis"

Vij fuerunt suffraganei Beati Dauid.

Isti sunt suffraganei Beati Dauid, uidelicet, Exoniensis, Bathonensis, Herefordensis, Landauensis, Bangorum, Assauensis et Fernensis in Hibernia, et fuerunt usque ad flauam pestem temporis Sampsonis ultimi archipresulis Meneuensis.

2 suffraganei] suffraganii **R**

[9] *De quodam incarcerato per intercessionem Sancti Dauid miraculose ad propria restituto.*

Ineffabilis autem Deus qui in sanctis suis semper est mirabilis, ad laudem et gloriam nominis sui Beatum Dauid confessorem suum gloriosum crebris
 5 non desinit decorare miraculis, nam xxvij^o die mensis Junii, anno millesimo CCC^o quinto, quidam <Dauid> ap Llywelyn ap Kenewreg de Lanuernag super Taf in Kemmes per Wallicos rebelles domini nostri regis Henrici quarti post Conquestum apud Egluswen in Kemeys ex infortunio captus, et deinde ad Lannergh Aeron in comitatu de Cardigan ductus, ibique diris carceribus
 10 vinculatus per quatuor septimanas et tres dies corde amaricato gemebundus expectabat. Tandem iugi meditatione de meritis gloriosi confessoris Beati Dauid confisus, lacrimosus suspiriis oblacionem suam promittens, eidem Beato Dauid deuotissime clamitando supplicare non cessebat, ut apud altissimum pro eo intercedere dignaretur, quod de manibus inimicorum suorum eripi et pristinae libertati posset restitui. Cuius preces et suspiria misericors
 15 Deus ab alto perspectans, meritis et precibus ipsius gloriosi confessoris sui Sancti Dauid, ipsum Dauid, sic ut premititur, duris carceribus cathena-

tum xxvii^o die mensis Julij, anno domini supradicto, a uinculis absoluit, et ostio clauso et serato miraculose liberauit. Qui Daudid, senciens se tam miraculose de manibus inimicorum suorum meritis et precibus Beati Daudid sic ereptum, gracias agens, ad ecclesiam cathedralem Meneuensem in vigilia Sancti Laurentij martiris proxima ex tunc sequente corde iocundo peruenit, promissam oblacionem suam persoluens, et catheras quibus ligatus erat Beato Daudid devocius offerens, referebat clero et populo cum iuramento premissa que per Beatum Daudid fiebant magnalia.

3 cf. Ps. 67:36 "mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis" 6 David] *ed.* 10 dies] *dec crossed out and corrected to dies R* 19 ostio] *os crossed out before ostio R* serato] *sereta R*
 23 erat] *erat corrected to erat R*

[10] *De milite cuius guttur cum osse fuerat per xvij^o dies fere ad mortem transfixum per inuocacionem nominis Sancti Daudid protinus ab eodem osse liberato.*

Post triumphum illustris regis Anglie Edwardi tercij post Conquestum factum in bello de Cressi in Francia, Guido de Briene, miles strenuus, dominus de Tallagharn, quandam crucem curioso artificio auri et argenti perornatam in qua dependent due particule ligni salutaris, uenerande reliquie, inter cetera milicie sue insignia, uiriliter conquisiuit. Quam crucem tunc Beato Daudid, quem pre ceteris sanctis in immensa semper habebat reuerencia, deuoto corde promisit, hoc excepto quod ipsam crucem penes se in tota uita sua uellet retinere, et post mortem per executores testamenti sui uotum suum Beato Daudid persoluere. Vnde contigit quod cum quodam die Ueneris, uidelicet xviiij^o die mensis Junij, anno domini millesimo CCC^o octogesimo octauo in manerio [fol. 180] de Ramesham in comitatu Dorsetie de quodam pisce uocato tench auide comederet, unum os eiusdem piscis guttur suum ex transuerso ita penetrauit, quod nulla medicorum arte uel ingenio aut sanctorum inuocacione per xvij dies sequentes potuit ab eodem liberari nec aliquid cibi uel potus, nisi tantum sugendo, deglutire. Tandem septimo decimo die sequente in extremis fere positus, et promissionem suam predictam reminiscens, Sanctum Daudid, ut potuit, cepit deuote et iugiter inuocare, sic dicens, "Sancte Dauide, adiuua me in hac hora, et crucem tibi promissam presentabo sine mora." Et ecce, continuo os in medio defractum de gutture expuitur, et ipse Guido a periculo mortis miraculose liberatur. Vnde ipse senciens se meritis et intercessione gloriosi confessoris Daudid de necis confinio mirabiliter liberatum, illico misit duos nuncios honorabiles qui dictam crucem ligni salutaris omni tardacione cessante et feretrum Beati Daudid nomine dicti Guidonis congaudentes deuote optulerunt, magnalia predicta que fiebant iuramento interposito coram clero et populo fideliter enarrantes ad laudem

domini nostri Iehsu Christi, qui in sancto suo Daudid innumera non desinit operari mirabilia.

6 uenerande] ueneranda **R** 8 Beato] Beatum **R** 13 octauo] octaue **R** 16 ab] ob **R** 19 ut] et **R** 21–22 expuitur] expuitus **R** 26 magnalia] magnal *crossed out and corrected to magnalia* **R**

[11] *O stupendum miraculum de quadam ymagine Beati Daudid in Hibernia occulte transportata, et ibidem in medio sarrata et meditate eiusdem inde ad Meneuiam mirabiliter usque reuersa.*

Contigit olim quod quidam peregrini in Hibernia de Roma revertentes, 5 grandi deuocione erga Sanctum Daudid accensi, uenerunt Meneuiam uota sua ibidem fideliter persoluentes. Tandem nescitur quo spiritu ducti, quandam ymaginem magnam Sancti Daudid in quadam capella que uulgariter nominatur Croysdee, ubi idem Sanctus Daudid diem clausit extremum, iuxta ecclesiam cathedralem Meneuensem existente, ab eadem capella occulte ceperunt, 10 et ad Yberniam asportauerunt, desiderantes, ut apparuit, ipsam ymaginem ibidem deuocius adorare. Mira res! Ipsa ymago in predicta capella in crastino inuenta est integra ut prius, quod ipsi Hibernici intelligentes audiori inflammati desiderio ad Meneuiam redierunt, et dictam ymaginem ad Hyberniam latenter reportauerunt, ac ipsam ibidem in medio cum sarra 15 diuiserunt, ne denuo reuerteretur. Mirabilis euentus! Superior pars dicte ymaginis ad locum suum in capella prefata in crastino iterum est reperta, et inferior pars eiusdem penes Hibernicos remansit, et adhuc ibidem cum magna percolitur reuerencia ad perpetuam et stupendam huius rei memoriam.

EXPLICIT

TRANSLATION

[1] *Concerning the Welshman captured by Saracens and miraculously returned to his own land.*¹

A Welshman from the episcopal see of Menevia was captured by Saracens, and held with iron chains to labor along with a German. The Welshman, bound by day and by night, whenever he found time constantly called upon Saint David in his own language, "Dewy wared," that is "David, help me." Behold, a wonderful thing happened. A short time thereafter, he was suddenly returned to his own country miraculously. He made this known to Gervase, then bishop of Saint David's,² who kept him with him in his home on account of his remarkable experience. His German companion, however, as though he were an accomplice to the escape, was subjected to beatings by the Saracens, and held under tighter security. The German reflected on the departure of his companion. Marveling, he recalled how his companion often used to say, "Dewy wared," and although he did not know the meaning of the expression, he resolved nevertheless to say it, and repeated "Dewy wared" often. And it came about that the German was suddenly taken back to his own home. At last, when he was back in Germany he thought about what "Dewy wared" might mean. He traveled to Paris, where he found men of various tongues, and at last found Welsh clergy, who interpreted the expression for him. Saint David's reputation for virtue having spread over the world, Pope Callistus, who despised the love of money and trusted greatly in the merits of Saint David, advised all pilgrims in Britain to go

¹ The account of miracle 1 appears to refer to the Fifth Crusade, mentioned in the *Brut y Tywysogion* under the year 1221 (see above, p. 164). In August of 1221 the crusaders were defeated in the marshes outside Damietta, and many were captured. An exchange of prisoners was part of the final agreement, by which the Christian forces had to surrender Damietta to the sultan of Egypt Al-Kamil in order to free their captive comrades. English troops were led by the Earls of Chester, Arundel, Derby, and Winchester (*Matthaei Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Historia Anglorum*, ed. Frederic Madden, 3 vols. [London, 1866–69], 2:250–51; Matthew of Westminster, *Flores Historiarum*, ed. Henry R. Luard, 3 vols. [London, 1890], 2:167). The Masters of the Orders, including the Teutonic Knights, were surrendered as hostages until the final prisoner exchanges were completed (Stephen Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols. [Cambridge, 1951–54], 3:132–70; *The Later Crusades, 1189–1311*, ed. Robert Lee Wolff and Harry W. Hazard, vol. 2 of *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton [Madison, 1969], 377–428, esp. 428).

² Gervase (Iorwerth) was consecrated bishop of Saint David's on 21 June 1215 and died in the year 1229.

to Saint David's rather than to Rome, as can be read in the chronicles.³ For those going twice to Saint David's he decreed that they would earn the same reward of blessing and indulgences as those who went once to Rome. He confirmed this with a privilege to last forever in honor of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the aforesaid saint. Giving thanks to God, the German devoutly resolved to seek out Saint David's in Wales. He arrived in Menevia on Pentecost, while the aforementioned Gervase was presiding with the clergy of the province and a great crowd that had gathered there for the solemn feast day. Being present in the Menevian church along with others,

³ No decree of Pope Callistus II (1119–24) survives stipulating that two pilgrimages to Saint David's were the equivalent of one to Rome. The idea can be traced back to William of Malmesbury, whose *De Gestis Regum Anglorum* is probably the chronicle mentioned in the account of miracle 1 ("Nec quicquam in ejus pectore pecuniarum vel habendarum ambitus, vel habitarum amor, operari bono abhorrens potuit; adeo ut Anglos peregrinos magis ad sanctam David quam Romam pergere admoneret, pro viae longitudine, ad illum locum bis euntibus idem benedictionis refundendum commodum, quod haberet qui semel Romam irent.") [*De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed. Stubbs, (see n. 15 to text above) 2:507–8]. William may have been drawing on evidence now lost. The same passage was cited in the lessons for Saint David's day in Bishop Grandisson's legendary for Exeter (ca. 1350) (*Ordinale Exon.*, ed. J. N. Dalton and G. H. Doble, 4 vols. [London, 1909–40], 4:215). Archbishop Peckham on his visit to Saint David's in 1284 heard the belief put to rhyme (cited in Silas M. Harris, "Was St. David Ever Canonized?" *Wales* [June 1944]: 31), and the tradition is often found in Welsh literature (Henken, *The Traditions of the Welsh Saints* [n. 147 above], 66; G. Hartwell Jones, *Celtic Britain and the Pilgrim Movement* [London, 1912], 370–71). Bishop Barlow, while denouncing "popish pilgrimages" to Saint David's, scornfully dismissed the claim as he knew it: "Roma semel quantum dat bis Menevia tantum" (see *Three Chapters of Letters*, ed. Wright [n. 29 above], 208). On Callistus's scorn for money, see the flattering story told about him in this regard by William of Malmesbury (passage cited above); for his decrees against simony, lay investiture, and payment for sacred rites at the Council of Reims (1119) on which this reputation may rest, see Roger of Howden, *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. Stubbs (n. 70 above), 1:173–76; Mary Stroll, *Calixtus II (1119–1124): A Pope Born to Rule* (Leiden, 2004), 299–300. The widespread belief that Callistus formally canonized Saint David (on this, see E. G. Bowen, *Dewi Sant, Saint David* [Cardiff, 1983], 91) can be traced no further back than Godwin's *De praesulibus* (see n. 72 above), 601: "In Ecclesia sua sepultus est, & post annos quingentos Sanctorum Catalogo ascriptus per Calixtum secundum Papam." It is significant that authors intimately acquainted with the traditions of Saint David's, such as Gerald of Wales and the narrator of the Miracles of Saint David, make no such claim. On the question of Saint David's formal canonization, see Harris, "Was St. David Ever Canonized?" 30–32; *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. Arthur West Haddan and William Stubbs, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1869–78), 1:316 n. a; Margaret R. Toynbee, *S. Louis of Toulouse and the Process of Canonization in the Fourteenth Century* (Manchester, 1929), Appendix C, 239–40; and the review of Toynbee's book by Paul Grosjean in *Analecta Bollandiana* 49 (1931): 210–16. That Pope Callistus II implicitly accepted David's legitimacy as a saint, however, can be proved from his letter of 25 May 1123 referring to "Sancti Andreae apostoli et Sancti David Ecclesiam" (*Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, ed. Haddan and Stubbs, 1:315).

the German gave thanks to God and to Saint David for the help given to him. The Welshman, recognizing his former companion, was more than a little amazed and quite stunned. With faces bathed in tears, they ran towards one another, mingling embraces and tears, recounting in order for the bishop, the clergy, and the people what and how Saint David had worked in their behalf. The bishop rejoiced, the clergy were happy, the people applauded, crying one moment, laughing the next, for joy over such a manifest miracle, and as a group they praised joyfully the miracles of God.

[2] *Concerning a sudden plague made to subside through the merits of Saint David.*

It happened, moreover, that great men and commoners in England suddenly began to die, such that there was a great multitude of dead on account of this great and unforeseen plague. The king of England grieved very much over his realm for it had been disrupted greatly and mightily.⁴ After holding a general council, it was provided and established that every bishop of the kingdom should bring the relics of the saint of his church to a certain place to be washed in holy water, so that divine power might come to the aid of the people through sprinkling with the water or by drinking it. This was done as commanded, yet the plague did not end. Being far away, the bishop of Menevia was last to arrive, carrying with him the arm of Saint David. When the arm was washed, the water seemed to become golden as with oil. The water was carried eagerly by the people from place to place; and to great men and commoners alike there appeared, moreover, a golden cross in the water. When the plague came to an end, the kingdom was filled with joy, happiness and health, and praise was rendered to Saint David for such a remarkable and gracious miracle.

[3] *Concerning a boy in Saint David's church who was saved without harm, having fallen from a height of twenty cubits.*

In the year of the Lord 1231, on a Monday, on the day following Pentecost,⁵ while people were coming on pilgrimage from various regions to Saint David's church at Menevia, as is customary, there came a little boy about eight years old named David ab Gwrgenau. Climbing up to the highest level of the church, he played with the other boys. And so that God the all powerful, looking down from on high, might arouse the devotion of the people towards himself and his glorious confessor David, the boy fell from the heights down to the ground, a distance of twenty cubits and more. Yet, behold, happy, safe and without harm, rising up and coming to, he ran

⁴ See above, pp. 164–67.

⁵ Pentecost Sunday fell on 11 May in 1231.

through the church as though he had never fallen. When they saw this, the clergy and people praised God, who works through his saints.

[4] *Concerning a thief who was miraculously discovered and captured while robbing the church of Menevia.*⁶

In the year of the Lord 1247, on a certain day after the Epiphany of the Lord,⁷ there came at night into the church of Saint David's at Menevia a certain very wicked man and most evil robber named Meredith. Entering the church treasury, he secretly carried off certain church ornaments and a box belonging to the precentor at that time, Richard, of happy memory,⁸ in which vessels of silver and jade belonging to that precentor, along with other jewels, had been stored. The theft was imputed to the guardians of the church. Being innocent, the guardians prayed to God weeping and sighing and with continual laments, and to the glorious confessor Saint David, begging that God through the prayers of Saint David would show them to be innocent of the deed. When a few days had passed, the same sacrilegious man returned to the church on a Friday during the Feast of Saint Benedict the Abbot,⁹ at the same hour of prime. Going up to the highest level in the church and there hiding himself until the clergy had departed the church, he awaited the opportune moment to carry out his evil deed. When the clergy had left and the doors had been closed, the thief came down from above, entered the treasury, and opening the chests and boxes, he removed what appealed most to his fancy. He sought to exit by the door that had only been locked from the inside and could be opened easily when he found it. When he had gone around the inside walls for some time without finding the door, he became disoriented, and not knowing what he was doing, returned to the treasury. A sacristan named Madog coming to the church after supper, opened the door, and going to the chapter room, found its door and that of the treasury open. Surprised and shocked at this, he looked in and saw the thief holding in one hand the reliquary that contained a tooth of Saint Andrew the Apostle,¹⁰ and in the other hand a chalice. Raising

⁶ See above, pp. 167–73.

⁷ The Feast of the Epiphany occurs on 6 January.

⁸ Which Richard held the office of precentor in 1247? Richard Pue is named by Yardley (*Menevia Sacra* [n. 4 above], 127) as precentor of Saint David's on 10 October 1254, and 12 November 1259. Davies (*Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents*, 1:386), citing the statutes of Thomas le Waleys, names Richard (no last name given) as precentor in 1253. Jones and Freeman (*The History and Antiquities of Saint David's* (n. 5 above), 358) list the first precentor as Richard W in 1224 (under Bishop Gervase/Iorwerth) and Richard Pue in 1254; they also say that the first Richard was succeeded in the office by Philip.

⁹ The Feast of Saint Benedict the Abbot occurs on 21 March.

¹⁰ The church had been dedicated both to Saint David and to Saint Andrew since the early twelfth century. The earliest document bearing the dedication to Saint Andrew is a

these up between himself and the glass windows like a person looking into a mirror, he gazed admiringly. The sacristan¹¹ suddenly leaped towards him, drawing out the knife that he carried in his belt. "O wretched man," he said, "what are you doing here? Are you that accursed one who recently stole the ornaments and other valuables from this church?" The robber did not deny it, but rather admitted the deed, saying, "I did steal them." The sacristan closed the door and rang the bell, and when the clergy and people came running in, he pointed out the thief to them. The clergy and people, rejoicing with intense joy over such a great miracle, and glorifying God with hymns and songs, praised him who thought fit to accomplish this on behalf of his glorious confessor David.

[5] *Concerning the ship saved through the intercession of Saint David.*

In the year of the Lord 1285, on a Thursday, on the Feast of Saint Lawrence,¹² while a storm was raging, a ship that had departed the previous day from the port of Saint Justinan near Menevia¹³ bound for Ireland and filled

letter of 1115 from the canons of Saint David's to Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, requesting that Bernard be consecrated as bishop of Saint Andrew and Saint David (*Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents*, ed. Davies [n. 68 above], 1:238; also 1:133 n. 867, and 2:577). See also Gerald of Wales's *Itinerary*, bk. 2, ch. 1. It is not surprising that the church should possess a relic of one of its two patron saints, yet this mention of the reliquary containing a tooth of Saint Andrew the Apostle is the only reference I know to such a relic being in the possession of Saint David's cathedral.

¹¹ On the role of the sacristan in guarding the plate of the church, see Charles Oman, "Security in English Churches, A.D. 1000–1548," *Archaeological Journal* 136 (1979): 95.

¹² The Feast of Saint Lawrence the Martyr occurs on 10 August, which was a Friday in the year 1285, but a Thursday in 1284. Either of these dates may have been intended. The feast of Saint Lawrence the Bishop (3 February) also fell on a Thursday in 1284, but on a Saturday in 1285. This latter feast day is not listed in the *Ordinale Exon*.

¹³ The port of Saint Justinan refers to Porth-stinan, an inlet to the south of Whitesand Bay (Porth Mawr), across from Ramsey Island. Porth-stinan takes its name from Saint Justinan, a cousin ("fratruelis," but perhaps mistakenly intended to signify "uncle") of Saint David according to Rhigyfarch, an uncle ("avunculus") according to Gerald of Wales. According to his *vita*, Justinan was beheaded by his rebellious disciples on Ramsey Island, but his corpse is said to have walked across the channel to the mainland carrying his head, and came to shore at the inlet which thereafter bore his name, and where a chapel was dedicated to him (*Nova Legenda Anglie*, ed. Horstman [n. 87 above], 2:94–95). A headland separates Porth-stinan from Whitesand Bay to the north, the usual embarkation point from Saint David's for Ireland. Pilgrims sailing to Ramsey Island often departed from Porth-stinan, close to the chapel dedicated to Saint Justinan (Jones and Freeman, *History and Antiquities*, 13). On 17 April 1172, Henry II passed through Saint David's on his return from Ireland. According to Gerald of Wales, the king landed *in portu Menevensi*, usually thought to mean Whitesand Bay (*Expugnatio Hibernica: The Conquest of Ireland*, ed. with a translation and historical notes by A. B. Scott and F. X. Martin [Dublin, 1978], 104 and 319 n. 196). According to *The Song of Dermot*, however, Henry disembarked at "Port Finan" (=Porth Stinan): "Li reis demorat a la mer / A Weyseford pur passer; / Li

with men and women, experienced trouble and nearly sank, for its rudder broke off in the storm and was lost, and the ship tossed perilously among the waves. A monk of the Cistercian order who was in the ship at the time exhorted his companions like a good man to confess their sins fully, and to pledge to God and to Saint David that if, through divine favor and the prayers of that saint, they came safely ashore in Wales, they would go to the church of Saint David's on bare feet from the spot where they landed to show fitting reverence towards the saint. All his companions firmly and in good faith promised to carry out this plan. The moment they made this vow, the storm abated, and the rudder that had earlier been broken off and lost was immediately seen floating near the ship. A sailor leaping forth attached it to the ship as best he could with ropes and cords. With the sail hoisted and a favorable wind blowing, they entered the port of Saint Justinan. The sailors disembarked and fulfilled their vows faithfully. On the next Sunday, in order to honor and praise God and Saint David, through whose merits and prayers they had been saved, the monk reported this story in the presence of the clergy and all the people, with his companions bearing witness to his testimony.

[6] *Concerning a boy who arose out of his tomb after his funeral through the intercession of Saint David.*

In the year of the Lord 1363, around the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross,¹⁴ in a town called Munsley¹⁵ within the episcopal see of Hereford, a boy called John Bole, not then five years old, and dwelling with his mother and father in that town, was stricken by the plague, which at that time raged everywhere throughout England.¹⁶ Finally, overcome by illness, he died and lay thus for three days. When his funeral rites were performed, as was fitting, he was placed in the tomb. His father and mother promised to make offerings and to go devoutly on pilgrimages to as many holy places as

reis gentil est done passé, / A Port Finan [est] arrive" (*The Song of Dermot and Earl Richard Fitzgilbert = Le Chansun de Dermot e li Quens Ricard Fitz Gilbert*, ed. Denis J. Conlon [Frankfurt, 1992], lines 2755–58). Thorpe (Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales and The Description of Wales* [n. 62 above], 167 n. 292) also claims that Henry II landed at "Porth Stinian." Jones and Freeman (*The History and Antiquities of Saint David's*, 5 n. f) state that "pieces of timber, hewn and squared, have been discovered at Porth-stinan." On the spelling of the name (Justinanus, Justinianus, Guistilianus, Guistianus, Gistilianus, Goeslan, Gweslan, Gwestlan, etc.), see Wade-Evans, *Life of St. David* (n. 10 above), 85; *Rhigyfarch's Life of St. David*, ed. James (n. 10 above), 8 n. 15.

¹⁴ The Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross was celebrated on 14 September.

¹⁵ The town of Munsley is located about 15 miles east of Hereford, and just northwest of Ledbury.

¹⁶ The plague of the early 1360s was known as the *pestis secunda* and the *pestis puorum*.

possible, so that God would console them through the intercession of all the saints. Finally, his father, having been born in Kidwelly¹⁷ in the diocese of Menevia, thought of the venerable confessor and patron Saint David. He promised that he would devoutly visit the church of Saint David's as quickly as possible to see if Saint David would console him in any way. Immediately after the father made this vow, the boy in the tomb moved his head and feet. Seeing this, the boy's mother straightaway leaped into the tomb, and untied the cloth knotted above the lad's head.¹⁸ Hardly had the boy been lifted out of the tomb, when he asked for a drink, and the boy, immediately after he revived, predicted to his two brothers that they would die before the ninth hour on the following day. Later, a presbyter from the town of Ledbury in the diocese of Hereford, was suddenly struck blind by divine will and died within three days for refusing to believe this miracle and for pronouncing it a mere tale.

[7] *Concerning the dead boy who was revived after two days at Wachet.*¹⁹

On Friday before vespers during the feast of Saint Nicholas the Bishop²⁰ in the year of the Lord 1381, John Goldsmith of the diocese of Bath and Wells, who was a little over eight years old, drowned in a mill pond in Wachet, the town of his birth. He lay dead in the depths of the pond until the hour of prime on Saturday. At that hour, through the grace of God and the intercession of Saint David, to whom the mother of the drowned boy prayed, after shedding many tears, and promising offerings to Saint David, the drowned boy miraculously revived through Saint David's intercession, and gave thanks to God and Saint David. John, the drowned lad mentioned

¹⁷ Kidwelly is located about 12 miles south of Carmarthen on the Gwendraeth Fach River near the eastern shore of Carmarthen Bay. The castle and town were in the medieval commote of Cydweli.

¹⁸ The cloth knotted above the lad's head refers to the portion of the death shroud that was gathered and knotted at the head of the corpse. For good fifteenth-century depictions of these knots, see *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and Dead, 100–1600*, ed. Steven Bassett (London, 1992), 197, 199, 200, 202, 204, 205, and 206; and Colin Platt, *King Death: The Black Death and Its Aftermath in Late-medieval England* (Toronto, 1996), 153 plate 63, 158 plate 67, 159 plate 68, 191 plate 90.

¹⁹ Watchet, located on the Bristol Channel near the mouth of the Washford River in Somerset, was a thriving mill town in the fourteenth century and contained at least four fulling mills by 1321, making it a center of the region's cloth industry. John Goldsmith may have drowned in one of the ponds associated with these mills. Watchet had close associations with Wales, both its church and parish being dedicated to the Welsh Saint Decuman, hence it is not surprising that John Goldsmith's mother Catherine would appeal to a Welsh saint to save her son's life (see *A History of the County of Somerset*, ed. R. W. Dunning, vol. 5 of *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Somerset*, 8 vols. [Oxford, 1985], 143–171, esp. 160–63, 165–67).

²⁰ The Feast of Saint Nicholas the Bishop was celebrated on 6 December.

earlier, and his mother, Catherine Goldsmith, went to Saint David's at Menevia to make the offering the mother had pledged. They arrived there on Thursday before the Feast of Saint David²¹ during the following year, and told on oath the true story of the miracle that God had performed for John through the mediation of the prayers of Saint David.

Verses.

In the year one thousand three hundred and eighty,
 — May you have a third part of such a vocal number. —
 A remarkable thing was done through the honorable David
 Whose deed I now commemorate, scorning all trouble,
 As it happened it is scrupulously recorded in this writing,
 Lest the truth be altered with the passing of events.
 In the town of Wachuset, I'll tell the truth,
 In the diocese of Wells and Bath,
 A boy fell into a pond, as I shall relate.
 Telling it as a great marvel, ah, I shall flee falsehoods.
 Here he lay submerged under the water,
 For how long you may learn by looking at the lines below.
 Weep over why the boy fell at the hour
 Of vespers on Friday; sad was his ruin.
 Seeing this, the mother, whom then black sorrow seized,
 Besought the saints that her son might live,
 Promising countless offerings to David before all others.
 Keeping vigil, and moved by sadness, she prayed
 That Saint David would hear and that life would return to her son,
 Bending a silver coin while she called on Saint David.²²
 There are more than a hundred witnesses to testify to this.
 After the hour of prime on the following Saturday,
 Scorning the grave, the boy arose through divine art.
 Hence let us seek from afar the see of Menevia;
 Every month thus shall we find grace.

²¹ The Feast of Saint David is celebrated on 1 March.

²² On the common practice of bending a coin to receive the miraculous powers of a saint, see Ronald C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (London, 1977), 94–95. Note that only the verse account of miracle 7 mentions Catherine Goldsmith's bending a silver coin while invoking the aid of Saint David.

[8] *Concerning the woman who was miraculously cured on the feast of Saint David, after being paralyzed with an incurable malady for five years.*

A miraculous event deserving to be remembered occurred through divine power on the night following the feast of Saint David in the year of the Lord 1397 in Saint David's city of Menevia, and with the help of the glorious patron of the place. A woman named Isabella, daughter of David ap Adam, was paralyzed for five years by such a severe malady that she lost the power to use the limbs of her body for any human purpose, as was well known to the people of those parts. Lying half conscious in her bed, she poured out prayer as best she could to God and to Saint David. It seemed to her that a man appeared who resembled the image of Saint David painted in the church, along with another man of taller stature dressed in red. She took this man to be Saint Justinan the martyr,²³ who was confessor to Saint David, according to the *Life of Saint David*. Appearing to the woman, Saint David said to her, "Daughter, arise and go to the church, for your health has been restored to you." She arose cured on the spot, and went off on the straight path to the church, not without a little amazement on the part of her neighbors. To the clergy and the people who were there in great numbers, she openly related what had occurred. When the miracle became known, the canons and ministers of the church assembled in solemn procession and began to sing *Te Deum laudamus* while the people as a group rejoiced and praised God, who always is wonderful in his saints, and Saint David the glorious confessor.

There were seven suffragans of Saint David's.²⁴

These are the suffragans of Saint David's: Exeter, Bath, Hereford, Llandaff, Bangor, Asaf, and Ferns in Ireland. These were suffragans down to the yellow plague, during the time of Samson, the last archbishop of Menevia.

[9] *Concerning a certain imprisoned man who was miraculously freed through the intercession of Saint David.*²⁵

Inexpressible is God who always is wonderful in his saints. To the praise and glory of his name, he did not cease to endow Saint David, his glorious confessor with numerous miracles. On 27 June 1405, <David> ap Llywe-

²³ In Rhigyfarch's *Life of Saint David*, Justinan is called a bishop and a cousin to Saint David: "Habitabat autem ibi Guisidianus episcopus, fratruelis eius" (*Rhigyfarch's Life of Saint David*, ed. James, 8 (Latin), 34 (English)). In Tynemouth's version (*Nova Leganda Anglie*, ed. Horstman, 2:93-94) he is called a confessor: "placuitque tam beato Dauid quam sancto Iustinano societate et orationibus hinc inde fulciri: et suscepit eum sanctus Dauid in confessorum et vite sue post deum custodem." See [5] above.

²⁴ See above, pp. 155-62.

²⁵ See above, pp. 149-55; also Acts 5:19-27 and 12:1-11.

lyn ap Kenewreg of Llanvernag on Tâf in Cemais²⁶ unfortunately was captured by Welsh rebels against our king Henry IV after the Conquest, at Eglwyswen²⁷ in Cemais, and thereafter led to Llanerg Aeron²⁸ in the county of Cardigan. Kept there in dire imprisonment in chains for four weeks and three days, groaning and with a bitter heart, he waited. At last, trusting with constant meditation in the merits of the glorious confessor Saint David and promising his offering with tears and sighs, he did not cease to implore, crying out most devotedly to Saint David, that he might deign to intercede for him with the Most High, so that he might be snatched from the hands of his enemies and restored to his former liberty. Gazing down from on high on his prayers and sighs, merciful God, through the merits and prayers of his glorious confessor Saint David, freed from his chains on 28 July of the aforementioned year that David who was, as was mentioned, shackled in a harsh prison, and miraculously liberated him, while the door of the prison remained closed and locked. Realizing that he had been miraculously snatched from the hands of his enemies through the merits and prayers of Saint David, this David gave thanks, and came with a joyful heart to the cathedral church of Menevia on the next vigil of Saint Lawrence the martyr. Making his promised offering and devoutly offering up to Saint David the chains by which he had been bound, he recounted on oath to the clergy and the people the aforementioned wonders, which came about through Saint David.

²⁶ On Llanfyrnach ar Tâf, see *Elizabethan Pembrokeshire: The Evidence of George Owen*, ed. Brian Howells (Haverfordwest, 1973), 74, 76, 78–80, 96, and 102–4. Two chapels were dedicated to Saint Brynach, one in Morvil, the other in Henry's Moat (*Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctoritate P. Nicholai IV. circa A.D. 1291* [London, 1802], 272; E. G. Bowen, *The Settlements of the Celtic Saints in Wales* [Cardiff, 1956], 28–29). For the location of Cemais on Cardigan Bay, see Rees, *An Historical Atlas of Wales* (n. 73 above), plate 31.

²⁷ Egluswen or Eglwyswen ("Whitechurch") is located in Cemais on the Nyfer River, just south of Eglwyswrw. Wade-Evans ("Parochiale Wallicanum," *Y Cymmrodor* 22 [1910]: 56, 58) says that the church was dedicated to Saint Michael. Two other churches located in Eglwyswen, Llanvair Nantgwyn, and Llanvoygan, were dedicated to Saint Mary and Saint Meugan respectively. See *Elizabethan Pembrokeshire*, 78, 79, 99–100, and *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, 272 under "Ecclesia Alba."

²⁸ Llanerch Aeron, now Ciliau Aeron, is located to the south of the Aeron River about four miles east of Aberaeron (*Cardiganshire County History: From the Earliest Times to the Coming of the Normans*, ed. J. L. Davies and D. P. Kirby [Cardiff, 1994], 84). Also, William Rees, *South Wales and the Border in the Fourteenth Century: Northwest Sheet*, 2 vols. (Southampton, n.d.), vol. 1; and Rees, *Historical Atlas of Wales*, plate 25b. According to the *Brut y Tywysogion* (ed. Jones [n. 91 above], 229) Maelgwn ap Rhys died in Llanerch Aeron in 1231, and was buried at the Cistercian church of Strata Florida. Wade-Evans ("Parochiale Wallicanum," 58) lists a chapel Llanannerch in Aberporth in the Deanery of Sub Aeron.

[10] *Concerning the knight whose throat was blocked with a bone for seventeen days, and who, when near death, was freed suddenly from the bone through the invocation of the name of Saint David.*²⁹

After the triumph of the illustrious King Edward III after the Conquest at the Battle of Crecy in France, Guy Brian,³⁰ a powerful knight and lord of Talacharn,³¹ among the other insignia of his knighthood courageously took possession of a cross decorated with intricate craft in gold and silver, within which two pieces of the cross of salvation, a venerable relic, were suspended. With devout heart he promised this cross to Saint David, whom he always held in great reverence beyond the other saints. He imposed one condition, namely, that he keep the cross for himself during his lifetime, and after his death to fulfill his vow to Saint David through the executors of his will. It happened that on Friday, 18 June in the year of our Lord 1388,³² while Guy was eagerly eating a fish called tench at his manor at Rampisham in county Dorset,³³ a bone from that fish became lodged in his throat. So deeply did

²⁹ See above, pp. 145–46.

³⁰ On Guy Brian, see *The Complete Peerage*, ed. G. E. Cokayne (n. 145 above), 2:361–62. Guy Bryan or Briene (born ca. 1319, died on 17 August 1390) deserved the epithet *dominus strenuus*. He fought in Scotland, Flanders, and France, and served as Warden of the Forest of Dean from 1341 until his death. He held custody of the Great Seal in 1349, and was awarded 200 marks in 1349/50 for bearing the king's standard against the French at Calais. He and his heirs received a grant of special grace of free warren from Edward III in October of 1350 for his demesne lands of "Rammesham" in Dorset and Tallagharn and Chastelgaweyn in Wales (*Calendar of the Charter Rolls*, 5:123). He was summoned to Parliament from 1350 until 1389, served as ambassador to the Pope in 1361, and was Admiral of the Fleet in 1369. Guy Brian made loans to the Black Prince (*The Register of Edward the Black Prince*, ed. M. C. B. Dawes, 4 vols. [London, 1930–33], 4:159; also 1:62). In 1389 Guy's son William accompanied by John Fort of Llanstephan broke into the castle of Laugharne and stole his father's money chest containing £25 in gold and silver, a crime for which they were later pardoned (see *Calendar of Ancient Petitions Relating to Wales: Thirteenth to Sixteenth Century*, ed. William Rees [Cardiff, 1975], 147–48; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Richard II, A.D. 1388–1392*, 4:303 [September 23, 1390]; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Richard II, A.D. 1391–1396*, 5:169 [September 17, 1392]).

³¹ Talacharn or Laugharne is located near the mouth of the Taf River not far from Carmarthen Bay. The Brians were the lords of Talacharn from the twelfth century down to 1390 (Robert Rees Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change: Wales 1063–1415* [Oxford, 1987], 84–85, 472).

³² 18 June 1388 was a Thursday, not a Friday.

³³ The town of Rampisham lies a few miles to the northwest of Dorchester in the county of Dorset. On the history of the manor of Rampisham, see *The Victoria History of the County of Dorset*, ed. William Page (London, 1908; repr., 1975), 2:7 and 3:38, 133. See *Calendar of Charter Rolls 1341–1417*, 5:123, 217 for a grant to Guy Briene and his heirs at their manor of "Ramesham" and Wroxhale Deneyns in Co. Dorset; 5:304 for the royal grant to Guy on 16 August 1386 stipulating that he and his heirs shall be judged only by Englishmen of the commote, not foreigners or Welshmen, for any charges brought against

the bone penetrate that for seventeen days he was unable to dislodge it through any medical art or knowledge, or through the invocation of the saints, nor was he able to take in any food or drink by swallowing, but only by sucking. At last, when he was near death on the seventeenth day, mindful of his aforementioned promise, he began to invoke Saint David, as best he could, devoutly and constantly, saying "Saint David, help me in this hour and I shall surrender to you without delay the cross which I promised to you." Behold! Then immediately the bone broke in half and he spat it out from his throat, and was miraculously freed from the threat of death. Then, realizing that he had miraculously been freed from the proximity of death through the merits and intercession of the glorious confessor David, he immediately sent two honorable emissaries who in the name of Guy joyously and devoutly presented the said cross of salvation without delay and a reliquary of Saint David. Faithfully, they related on oath the aforesaid miracle before the clergy and the people to the praise of Our Lord Jesus Christ, who does not cease to bring about countless wonders through his saint David.

[11] *O what a great miracle occurred when a certain image of Saint David was secretly carried away to Ireland, and there sawn in half, and half of it marvelously returned from there to Menevia!*

It happened at one time that certain pilgrims coming back to Ireland from Rome who burned with great devotion for Saint David, came to Menevia to fulfill their pledges there in good faith. At last, led by who knows what spirit, they secretly removed a certain large statue of Saint David,³⁴ which was in a certain chapel popularly called "Croysdee,"³⁵ where Saint David ended his days, next to the cathedral church of Menevia. They carried the statue off to Ireland, wishing apparently to worship it more

them in Carmarthen or Cardigan. Later the privilege was extended to Guy's daughters Philippa and Elizabeth (*ibid.*, 5:315).

³⁴ Glanmor Williams, *The Welsh Church* (n. 18 above), 496, says that William Barlow "left the saint's own statue undefaced." He gives no source for this information. No statue of Saint David from the cathedral has survived.

³⁵ The *Liber communis* (Jones and Freeman, *The History and Antiquities of Saint David's*, 372) mentions the ordering of two hinges and two hooks for the door of the *croyste*. I know of no other source that claims that Saint David died in this chapel. *Croys-dee* derives from the Welsh *croes* + *ty*. The *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (Cardiff, 1950–67), 608, gives a variety of meanings for the word: "Ty croes, ty a darnau croes iddo, ty'n sefyll yn groes i dai eraill; adeilad croesfurf; ystafell yn taflu allan o ystlys ty; capel a chroes ynddo" ("house having parts standing athwart or crosswise; house standing crosswise to other houses; cruciform building; chapel containing a crucifix"). I see no basis for Francis Green's conjecture ("Pembrokeshire in By-gone Days," *Transactions of the Historical Society of West Wales* 9 [1920–23]: 92 n. 13) that *croyste* "means the door by which the pilgrims entered the cathedral." Thanks to Nona Rees for drawing my attention to this article.

devoutly in that place. A remarkable thing happened! That very statue was discovered unharmed on the following day in the aforementioned chapel. When the Irishmen learned of this, they returned to Menevia inflamed by even sharper desire and carried the aforesaid image secretly back again to Ireland, and sawed it in half, so that it might not be returned again. But a wonderful thing occurred! The top half of the statue was discovered once again on the following day in its proper place in the aforementioned chapel, while the lower half remained in possession of the Irish. To this day it is venerated there with great reverence as a perpetual and astonishing memorial of this event.

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