

# The Impact of the Anglo-Norman Conquest on Hagiography in Wales and Ireland

## References and further reading

### §1. Appearance of Welsh-Latin hagiography linked to Norman Conquest

General remarks on this are quite frequent. Two more detailed statements are:

J. Reuben Davies, ‘The saints of south Wales and the Welsh church’, *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*, ed. A. Thacker and R. Sharpe (Oxford, 2002), 361–95 (at 383–4, 387–91).

Pádraig Ó Riain, ‘Hagiography without frontiers: borrowing of saints across the Irish Sea’, *Scripturus Vitam: Festgabe für Walter Berschin*, ed. D. Walz (Heidelberg, 2002), 41–8.

### §2. Norman impact on Irish literature

Proinsias Mac Cana, ‘The rise of the later schools of *filideachl*’, *Ériu*, 25 (1974), 126–46.

Pádraig Ó Néill, ‘The impact of the Norman invasion on Irish literature’, *Anglo-Norman Studies*, XX (Woodbridge, 1998), 171–85.

### §3. Theory of slow development of hagiography in Brittany and Wales

Julia M. H. Smith, ‘Oral and written: saints, miracles, and relics in Brittany, c. 850–1250’, *Speculum*, 65 (1990), 309–343 (for Wales, see 338–43).

### §4. Evidence for hagiography in Wales before the Normans

Wendy Davies, ‘Property rights and property claims in Welsh *Vitae* of the eleventh century’, *Hagiographie, cultures et sociétés, IV<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, ed. E. Patlagean et al. (Paris, 1981), 515–33 (at 517–18).

J. R. Davies, ‘The saints of south Wales and the Welsh church’, 380–4.

### §5. Hagiographical sections in *Historia Brittonum* (829/30)

David Dumville, ‘The historical value of the *Historia Brittonum*’, *Arthurian Literature*, VI, ed. Richard Barber (Cambridge, 1986), 1–26 (at 22).

### §6. Irish material in Welsh-Latin Lives

C. H. Slover, ‘Early literary channels between Britain and Ireland’, *University of Texas Studies in English*, 6 (1926), 1–52 and 7 (1927), 5–111 (at 89).

P. Ó Riain, ‘The Irish element in Welsh hagiographical tradition’, *Irish Antiquity*, ed. D. Ó Corráin (Cork, 1981), 291–303 [for his later view, see §13].

### §7. Cumméne of Iona and Ultán of Ardbraccan

M. Herbert, *Iona Kells, and Derry: The History and Hagiography of the Monastic Familia of Columba* (Oxford, 1988), 24–5, 43–5.

Richard Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints’ Lives: An Introduction to the Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford, 1991), 14–15.

### §8. Irish-Latin hagiography c. 700

Tírechán, Muirchú: L. Bieler (ed.), *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh* (Dublin, 1979).

Adomnán: A. O. and M. O. Anderson (eds), *Adomnán's Life of Columba* (London, 1961, revised by M. O. Anderson, Oxford, 1991); R. Sharpe, *Adomnán of Iona: Life of St Columba* (London, 1995).

Cogitosus: S. Connolly and J.-M. Picard, 'Cogitosus's Life of Brigit: Content and Historical Value', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 117 (1987), 5–27.

K. McCone, 'An introduction to early Irish saints' Lives', *The Maynooth Review*, 11 (1984), 26–59.

## §9. The late-medieval collections of Hiberno-Latin saints' Lives

1. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale MS 7672–7674 (the *Codex Salmanticensis*, S)
2. Dublin, Primate Marsh's Library MS Z3 1. 5 (the *Codex Kilkenniensis*, M)
3. Dublin, TCD MS E. 3. 11 (175, T).
4. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson B.485 (R)
5. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson B. 505 (I)

Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives* [detailed analysis of all collections].

Clare Stansiffe, review of Sharpe, *Journal of Theological Studies*, new Series, 44 (1993), 378–83.

P. Ó Riain, 'Codex Salmanticensis: A Provenance *inter Anglos* or *inter Hibernos*', *A Miracle of Learning: Essays in Honour of William O'Sullivan*, ed. Toby Barnard, Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and Katharine Simms (Aldershot, 1998), 91–100.

P. Ó Riain, 'Longford priories and their manuscripts: All Saints and Abbeyderg', *Longford History and Society: Interdisciplinary Essays on an Irish County*, ed. M. Morris and F. O'Ferrall (Dublin, 2010), 39–50 [on the Oxford Collection, i.e. R and I].

## §10. Irish vernacular Lives

Charles Plummer (ed. and trans.), *Lives of the Irish Saints*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1922).

Charles Plummer, *Miscellanea Hagiographica Hibernica* (Brussels, 1925), 179–97 [catalogue].

## §11. Attempts at a continuous account of Irish hagiography

Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives*, 3–38.

Máire Herbert, 'The Latin and vernacular hagiography of Ireland from the origins to the sixteenth century', *Hagiographies*, vol. 3, ed. Guy Philippart (Turnhout, 2001), 327–60.

## §12. Sceptical view regarding continuity of Irish hagiography

Pádraig Ó Riain, *A Dictionary of Irish Saints* (Dublin, 2011), 39–40.

Pádraig Ó Riain, 'The O'Donohue Lives of the Salamanca Codex: the earliest collection of Irish saints' Lives?', *Gabánach in Scélaigeacht: Celtic Studies in Honour of Ann Dooley*, ed. S. Sheehan, J. Findon and W. Follett (Dublin, 2013), 38–52.

## §13. Welsh-Irish links and Reform

Pádraig Ó Riain, 'Hagiography without frontiers'.

Pádraig Ó Riain, 'Irland und Wales: Ein hagiographischer Austausch', *Festgabe für Hildegard L.C. Tristram: überreicht von Studenten, Kollegen und Freunden des ehemaligen Faches Keltologie der Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg*, ed. Gisbert Hemprich (Berlin, 2009), 63–7.

## §14. Welsh-Latin hagiography

Rhygyfarch's Life of St David: Richard Sharpe and John Reuben Davies (ed. and trans.), 'Rhygyfarch's Life of St David', in *St David of Wales: Cult, Church and Nation*, ed. J. Wyn Evans and Jonathan M. Wooding (Woodbridge, 2007), 107–55 [now the standard edition].

Lifris's Life of St Cadog: A. W. Wade-Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae* (Cardiff, 1944), 24–141.

Geoffrey Stephen's Life of St Teilo: unpublished, London, BL Cotton Vespasian A.xiv, f. 52<sup>r</sup> ff.

De primo statu Landavensis ecclesiae, Life of St Dyfrig, revised Life of St Teilo, Life of St Euddogwy: J.G. Evans and J. Rhys, *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâr* (Oxford, 1893), 68–86, 97–117, 130–9. Vespasian collection: K. W. Hughes, ‘British Library MS Cotton Vespasian A.xiv (*Vitae Sanctorum Wallensium*): Its Purpose and Provenance’, in *Celtic Britain in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. D. N. Dumville (Woodbridge, 1980), 53–66 [see further §31 below].

### §15. The Welsh church and the conquest

- J. Conway Davies, *Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents Relating to Welsh Dioceses 1066–1272*, 2 vols (Cardiff, 1946–8) [in spite of the title, this is the most detailed narrative treatment].  
R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063–1415*, second ed. (Oxford, 2000), Chapter 7.  
C. N. L. Brooke, ‘The archbishops of St Davids, Llandaff and Caerleon-on-Usk’, *Studies in the Early British Church*, ed. N.K. Chadwick (Cambridge, 1958), 201–42; reprinted in C.N. L. Brooke, *The Church and the Welsh Border in the Central Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1986), 16–49.

### §16. Welsh vernacular texts

- 12th-century poems: new edition to appear on [www.seintiau.org](http://www.seintiau.org) in 2017, ed. Ann Parry Owen.  
Morfydd E. Owen, ‘Prolegomena to a study of the historical context of Gwynfardd Brycheiniog’s poem to Dewi’, *Studia Celtica*, 26–7 (1991–2), 51–79.  
Nerys Ann Jones and Morfydd E. Owen, ‘Twelfth-century Welsh hagiography: the *Gogynfeirdd* poems to saints’, *Celtic Hagiography and Saints’ Cults*, ed. Jane Cartwright (Cardiff, 2003), 45–76.  
Bonedd y Saint: Peter Bartrum (ed.), *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts* (Cardiff, 1966), 51–71.  
New edition in hand by Barry Lewis.

### §17. Miracles and invaders

- Vita S. Gundleii*, §15 (ed. and trans. Wade-Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae*, 188–91)  
John J. O’Meara (trans.), *The First Version of the Topography of Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis* (Dundalk, 1951), 61–3, 71.  
*Vita S. Iltuti*, §26 (ed. and trans. Wade-Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae*, 232–3).

### §18. Normans and local saints

- S. J. Ridyard, ‘*Condigna veneratio*: post-conquest attitudes to the saints of the Anglo-Saxons’, *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 9 (1986), 179–206.  
David Townsend, ‘Anglo-Latin hagiography and the Norman transition’, *Exemplaria*, 3 (1991), 385–433.  
J. R. Davies, ‘The cult of saints in the early Welsh March: aspects of cultural transmission in a time of political conflict’, *The English Isles: Cultural Transmission and Political Conflict in Britain and Ireland, 1100–1500*, ed. S. Duffy and S. Foran (Dublin, 2013), 37–55.

### §19. Anglo-Norman influence at St Davids

- Revised Life of David: J.W. James (ed.), *Rhygyfarch’s Life of St. David* (Cardiff, 1967) [edition; James’s view on the recensions is outdated, see next items].  
Richard Sharpe, ‘Which text is Rhygyfarch’s Life of David?’, in *St David of Wales: Cult, Church and Nation*, ed. J. Wyn Evans and Jonathan M. Wooding (Woodbridge, 2007), 90–105.  
John Reuben Davies, ‘Some observations on the ‘Nero’, ‘Digby’, and ‘Vespasian’ recensions of *Vita S. David*’, in *St David of Wales: Cult, Church and Nation*, ed. J. Wyn Evans and Jonathan M. Wooding (Woodbridge, 2007), 156–60.  
St Davids Letter: Giraldus Cambrensis, *De invectionibus*, ii.10, ed. W. S. Davies in *Y Cymmrodor*, 20 (1920), 143–6 [summary in Davies, *Episcopal Acts*, I, 190–2, 249–50; the date of the letter, 1124 x 1130, needs to be reexamined since it cites Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *History of c.1138*].

## §20. St Winefride and Shrewsbury abbey

Fiona Winward, 'The Lives of St Wenefred (BHL 8847–8851)', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 117 (1999), 89–132.

*Vita et translatio S. Wenefredae*, ed. in *Acta Sanctorum*, November, I, 708–31.

P. Russell (ed. and trans.), *Vita Griffini filii Conani: The Medieval Latin Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan* (Cardiff, 2005), §34 (pp. 88–9).

## §21. Cadog and Llancarfan

*Vita S. Cadoci*, §28 (ed. and trans. Wade-Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae*, 88–9).

Davies, *Episcopal Acts*, II, 506–37 [on the Llancarfan family].

## §22. Saints and the new Irish dioceses

Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives*, 31–3 [Laisrén and Declán].

## §23. The new orders

P. Ó Riain, 'The O'Donohue Lives'.

Richard Sharpe, review of P. Ó Riain, *Four Tipperary Saints*, in *Studia Hibernia*, 41 (2015), 204–7.

## §24. Schottenklöster

D. Ó Corráin, 'Foreign connections and domestic politics: Killaloe and the Uí Briain in twelfth-century hagiography', *Ireland in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. D. Whitelock et al. (Cambridge, 1982), 213–31.

D. Ó Riain-Raedel, 'The travels of Irish manuscripts from the Continent to Ireland', *A Miracle of Learning: Studies in Manuscripts and Irish Learning: Essays in Honour of William O'Sullivan*, ed. T. Barnard et al. (Aldershot, 1998), 91–100.

Diarmuid Ó Riain, 'The *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*: a new investigation of one of medieval Europe's richest hagiographical collections', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 133 (2015), 87–165.

## §25. Malachy and Lawrence

C. Plummer (ed.), 'Vie et miracles de S. Laurent, archevêque de Dublin', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 33 (1914), 121–82.

H. J. Lawlor (trans.), *St Bernard of Clairvaux's Life of St Malachy of Armagh* (London, 1920).

## §26. Pre-conquest exchanges with England

Robert Bartlett, 'Cults of Irish, Scottish and Welsh saints in twelfth-century England', *Britain and Ireland, 900–1300: Insular Responses to Medieval European Change*, ed. Brendan Smith (Cambridge, 1999), 67–86.

## §27. *Senchus of the saints and martyrologies*, c. 1170

Book of Leinster hagiographical section: Dublin, TCD MS (1339), col. 347a–end.

P. Ó Riain (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Dublin, 1985).

Martyrology of Gorman: W. Stokes (ed.), *Féilire Húi Cormáin: The Martyrology of Gorman*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 9 (London, 1895).

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J. Hennig, 'Studies in the Latin texts of the Martyrology of Tallaght, of Féilire Oengusso and of Féilire húi Cormáin', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 69C (1970), 42–112 (96–7 for summary of influences on Martyrology of Gorman).

## §28. *Vita S. Senani in Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*

Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 101, ff. 1<sup>r</sup>–2<sup>v</sup> (c. 1470).

## §29. Lives possibly of conquest period

Gerald of Mayo: C. Plummer (ed.), *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1910), 2.107–15.

Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, 360–2.

Féchín of Fore: Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, 2.76–86.

J. Colgan (ed.), *Acta Sanctorum veteris et majoris Scotie seu Hibernie* (Louvain, 1645; reprinted Dublin, 1947), I.139 (§48).

Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, 309–11.

Bearach: Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, 1.75–86.

Finbarr: P. Ó Riain (ed.), *Beatha Bharra: Saint Finbarr of Cork: The Complete Life*, ITS (London, 1994).

P. Ó Riain, *The Making of a Saint: Finbarr of Cork 600–1200*, ITS Subsidiary Series, 5 (London, 1997).

## §30. The Life of St Abbán (Dublin version) and Bishop Ailbe Ua Máel Muaid of Ferns

Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, 1.3–33.

P. Ó Riain, ‘St Abbán: the genesis of an Irish saint’s Life’, *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Celtic Studies, Oxford, 1983*, ed. D. E. Evans et al. (Oxford, 1986), 159–70.

Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints’ Lives*, 349–63.

Ailbhe MacShamhráin, ‘Ailbe Ua Máel Muaid, Uí Chennselaig and the Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae’, *Princes, Prelates and Poets in Medieval Ireland: Essays in Honour of Katharine Simms*, ed. Seán Duffy (Dublin, 2013), 309–38.

Charles Doherty, ‘An analysis of the Life of St Abbán’, forthcoming [I am grateful to Charles Doherty for a preview of this article; it is based on a paper delivered at ICM 2015].

Albrecht Wagner (ed.), *Visio Tnugdali: Lateinisch und Altdutsch* (Erlangen, 1882).

## §31. The Dublin Collection of saints’ Lives

Dublin, Primate Marsh’s Library MS Z3 1. 5 (the *Codex Kilkenniensis*, M) [on ISOS].

Dublin, TCD MS E. 3. 11 (175, T).

Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints’ Lives*, Chapters 4–6, 12.

## §32. London, British Library Cotton Vespasian A.xiv, ff. 1–105: the so-called *Vitae Sanctorum Wallensium*

The whole manuscript has recently been digitized and is available at:

[http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton\\_MS\\_Vespasian\\_A\\_XIV](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Vespasian_A_XIV)

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