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### The later Lives of St David in NLW MSS Peniarth 27ii, Llanstephan 34 and Peniarth 225

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St David is of course Wales's patron saint, and remains a significant figure in the spiritual and cultural life of Wales. His early association with the important monastery at Mynyw (later St Davids, in Pembrokeshire) is well attested and he has long been venerated as a powerful saint, also providing the inspiration for the literary figure of David whose story has been shaped over the centuries for different purposes.<sup>1</sup> What is presumed to be the earliest version of his Life was written towards the end of the eleventh century by Rhygyfarch ap Sulien of Llanbadarn Fawr, Ceredigion, drawn, as he claimed, from ancient writings 'as an example for everyone, and to the glory of the father'.<sup>2</sup> It seems clear, however, that Rhygyfarch's *Vita Sancti David* was also intended to defend and promote the status of the saint and his cult centre in the troubled years following the Normans' conquest of England.<sup>3</sup>

The late Richard Sharpe demonstrated convincingly that, of the various versions of the Latin Life, it is the text surviving in BL Cotton Vespasian A. xiv, a manuscript dating from the second half of the twelfth century, that is closest to Rhygyfarch's original intention.<sup>4</sup> It is this text that is referred to below as 'the *vita*' or 'Rhygyfarch's *vita*'.<sup>5</sup> Other versions of the Latin

<sup>1</sup> See D. S. Evans, *The Welsh Life of St David* (Cardiff, 1988) [*WLS*D], xi–xix; J. M. Wooding, 'The figure of David', in *St David of Wales: Cult, Church and Nation*, ed. J. Wyn Evans and J. M. Wooding (Woodbridge, 2007), 1–19; Ann Parry Owen, "'Canu' Beirdd y Tywysogion i'r saint', Chapter 11 below.

<sup>2</sup> *VSD* §66 *omnibus ad exemplum et patris gloriam*.

<sup>3</sup> J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest*, 2nd edn (London, 1912), 398–403, 447–8; J. R. Davies, 'Some observations on the "Nero", "Digby" and "Vespasian" recensions of *Vita S. David*', in *St David of Wales* ed. Evans and Wooding, 156–60, at 159–60.

<sup>4</sup> R. Sharpe, 'Which text is Rhygyfarch's *Life* of St David?', in *St David of Wales*, ed. Evans and Wooding, 90–105.

<sup>5</sup> Edition and translation in R. Sharpe and J. R. Davies, 'Rhygyfarch's *Life* of St David', in *St David of Wales*, ed. Evans and Wooding, 107–55 [*VSD*].

Life of David, derived directly or indirectly from Rhygyfarch's *vita*, underwent various degrees of shortening as they were adapted for particular purposes and audiences, and, as Paul Russell demonstrates in this volume, it was one of these shortened Latin texts that provided the source for the Welsh Life.<sup>6</sup>

The Welsh Life too survives in several different versions, but studies on its textual history have tended to focus on the aim of discovering what form the original Welsh translation may have taken.<sup>7</sup> Whilst this is clearly an important goal, it has meant that later versions of the Life, some of which contain not only paraphrased passages but also significant omissions, have been seen as having little value. This chapter, though limited in scope to only three of the later manuscript versions, seeks to redress the balance in showing that the peculiarities of these late-medieval and early-modern texts are of interest for their own sake, and that some readings might indeed be more 'original' than those in the earlier surviving texts.

*The Welsh Life: manuscripts and versions*

David's Life was probably translated into Welsh early in the fourteenth century, a time when Wales had lost her political independence but when, it seems, Welsh culture and literature were thriving.<sup>8</sup> The Welsh Life is rather shorter than Rhygyfarch's *vita*, and, as D. Simon Evans observed, is 'more familiar', 'less formal' and 'less sophisticated' in tone.<sup>9</sup> It does not include the *vita*'s detailed description of the regime at David's monastery, nor the information that the synod at Brefi was convened to combat the doctrine of Pelagius, and the liturgical material found at the end of the *vita* is present only in abbreviated form. Amongst the other omissions is a good deal of the material relating to Ireland, and the journey of David to Jerusalem with Padarn and Teilo. David's consecration as archbishop is mentioned only briefly, and is said to have occurred not in Jerusalem but in Rome. The Welsh Life, then, places David firmly under papal authority and pays little attention to monastic or doctrinal issues, or to David's Irish connections.

A similar pattern of changes, including the substitution of Rome for Jerusalem, may be seen in the very concise version of the Latin Life preserved in Lincoln Cathedral, MS 149, part of a three-volume legendary

<sup>6</sup> Paul Russell, 'Translating saints: the Latin and Welsh versions of the Life of St David', Chapter 5 above; see also R. Sharpe, 'Which text ...?'; J. Wyn Evans, 'Transition and survival: St David and St Davids Cathedral', in *St David of Wales*, ed. Evans and Wooding, 20–40, at 28–37; Davies, 'Some observations'.

<sup>7</sup> J. W. James, 'The Welsh version of Rhygyfarch's "Life of St David"', *NLWJ* 9 (1955), 1–21; D. S. Evans, *Buched Dewi* (Caerdydd, 1959) [BD], xxxiv–xxxix; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, 'Buchedd Dewi', *Llên Cymru* 5 (1959), 105–18.

<sup>8</sup> BD xxxix–xli; *WLSL* liv–lv.

<sup>9</sup> *WLSL* xlvi–liii, at p. lii; cf. James, 'Welsh version', 4–6.

thought to have been compiled at Leominster.<sup>10</sup> This ‘Lincoln Life’ does, however, retain more of the material relating to David’s Irish connections. Though far too brief to have been the source of the Welsh Life, the Lincoln Life may, as Paul Russell has shown, derive from a lost source showing an intermediate degree of abbreviation which was also the source of the Welsh Life.<sup>11</sup> The Welsh Life’s extended description of heaven, which has no parallel in Rhygyfarch’s *vita*, might have been drawn from this same Latin source (it is very briefly represented in the Lincoln Life), or may have been inspired by a similar passage in the Latin Life of Cybi.<sup>12</sup> The description of the extent of David’s sanctuary is another addition to the Welsh Life, not present in Rhygyfarch’s *vita* (nor in the Lincoln Life), and there are numerous other minor additions. Discussing these, D. Simon Evans noted that there is in the Welsh Life a focusing of interest on St Davids and the local area, and ‘on David’s simple goodness and godliness, on his humility and devotion, on his miracles, to the exclusion of other aspects.’<sup>13</sup> It appears to have been intended as a devotional text for private or public reading, accessible to laymen and women, though defending the status of David and his diocese in the new environment of post-conquest Wales might have been a further motive.<sup>14</sup>

The original text of the Welsh Life has not survived, but it is probably quite well represented by the four complete texts surviving (along with two fragmentary ones) from the period between the mid-fourteenth and mid-fifteenth century. In the table below these early texts are shown in two groups, based on their apparent relatedness as demonstrated and discussed by J. W. James and D. Simon Evans:<sup>15</sup>

<sup>10</sup> James, ‘Welsh version’, 5–6; Sharpe ‘Which text...?’, 103; Russell, ‘Translating saints’. I thank Professor Paul Russell for sharing his edition and translation of the Lincoln Life with me prior to publication.

<sup>11</sup> Russell, ‘Translating saints’.

<sup>12</sup> James, ‘Welsh version’, 4, 19.

<sup>13</sup> *WLSD* lii.

<sup>14</sup> P. Sims-Williams, *Buchedd Beuno: the Middle Welsh Life of St Beuno* (Dublin, 2018), 14–16; J. E. C. Williams, ‘Medieval Welsh religious prose’, *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Celtic Studies 1963* (Cardiff, 1966), 65–97, at 90.

<sup>15</sup> James, ‘Welsh version’, 2–3, identifies two groups or ‘types’ exemplified by J 119 and Titus; Evans, *BD* xxxvii–xxxix, discusses the relationships between the texts in more detail. On the manuscripts, and others discussed below, see Daniel Huws, *A Repertory of Welsh Manuscripts and Scribes c. 800–c. 1800* (forthcoming). The J 119 text was edited by Evans in *WLSD*, and Llst 27 provided the main text for his composite edition in *BD*, which also draws upon other versions and shows variant readings. Transcriptions of the texts in J 119, Llst 4, Llst 27 and Pen 15 are available on the ‘Welsh Prose 1300–1425’ website <[rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/](http://rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/)>. The Titus text is transcribed in R. G. Roberts, S. Rowles and P. Sims-Williams, *Rhyddiaith y 15eg Ganrif: Fersiwn 1.0* (Aberystwyth, 2015) <[cadair.aber.ac.uk/dspace/handle/2160/26750](http://cadair.aber.ac.uk/dspace/handle/2160/26750)>. Manuscript J 119 may be viewed on the website <[digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk](http://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk)> and Pen 15 on the National Library of Wales website at <[hdl.handle.net/10107/4779376](http://hdl.handle.net/10107/4779376)>.

<i>J 119 / Pen 15 group</i>	<i>Llst 27 / Titus group</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Oxford, Jesus College, 119, the ‘Book of the Anchorite of Llanddewi Brefi’ (c. 1346) (hereafter J 119)</li> <li>• NLW Peniarth 15 (late 14th / early 15th century) (Pen 15)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• NLW Llanstephan 27, the ‘Red Book of Talgarth’ (Hywel Fychan, late 14th / early 15th century) (Llst 27)</li> <li>• NLW Llanstephan 4 (late 14th / early 15th century) (Llst 4); incomplete</li> <li>• BL Cotton Titus D. xxii (1429 or soon after) (Titus)</li> <li>• NLW 5267B (1438); incomplete</li> </ul>

Evans’s conclusion was that Pen 15 was a copy of J 119 (the earliest surviving text), and that the Llst 27/Titus group derived from a common source which was not J 119.<sup>16</sup> James likewise regarded Pen 15 as a copy of J 119, though it now seems more likely that these two texts shared an immediate common source, distinct from that of the Llst 27/Titus group.<sup>17</sup> All six texts are quite similar, however, and, as Evans argued, shared errors indicate a shared derivation from a further lost source which was at least one step removed from the original translation.<sup>18</sup> It is likely that they all originated in south Wales and that the translation itself was produced at one of David’s cult centres in the south-west, perhaps at St Davids itself, or at Llanddewi Brefi where the earliest surviving copy was made.<sup>19</sup>

An origin in north Wales, by contrast, has been proposed for the most recent of the medieval manuscripts containing a version of David’s Life;

<sup>16</sup> *BD* xxxiv, n. 1, xxxix.

<sup>17</sup> James, ‘Welsh version’, 2. The two texts are certainly very similar, sharing some errors not found in the other early versions. No firm conclusion is offered here, though the unusual use of plural *gw(y)rth(i)au* as if it were singular in Pen 15, Pen 27ii, Llst 34 and Pen 225 but not in J 119 or Llst 27/Titus (taking into consideration that Pen 15 contains many errors not in the later texts, and that Llst 34 and Pen 225 are generally more similar to Llst 27/Titus than to J 119/Pen 15) tends to support the view that J 119 and Pen 15 share a source rather than the one being a copy of the other; see n. 24 and ‘Affinities and Sources’, below). A similar relationship (i.e. derivation from a common source) is suggested for versions of ‘Ystoria Gwlad Ieuan Fendigaid’ in J 119 and Pen 15 in G. Ll. Edwards, ed., *Ystoria Gwlad Ieuan Vendigeit* (Caerdydd, 1999), xcvi. Huws, *Repertory*, s.n. *Peniarth 15*, notes that these and other religious texts in the first part of Pen 15 ‘correspond to those in Jesus 119 [...] but differ in their order’, concluding that they ‘are of close collateral relationship but not perhaps directly derivative.’

<sup>18</sup> *BD* xxxix.

<sup>19</sup> J 119, Llst 27 and Llst 4 were written for patrons from Cantref Mawr and Cwm Tawe, Titus was probably written in the diocese of Llandaf, and NLW 5267B was written by a known scribe from south Wales (Huws, *Repertory*). On the origin of Pen 15 see Sims-Williams, *Buchedd Beuno*, 12–13.

furthermore, the two early-modern texts which are the next most recent versions of the Life are certainly of northern origin:<sup>20</sup>

- NLW Peniarth 27ii (Pen 27ii); described by Daniel Huws as written by ‘a competent scribe of s.xv<sup>2</sup>’ and ‘[e]vidently of north Wales origin’<sup>21</sup>
- NLW Llanstephan 34 (Roger Morris of Coedytalwrn, Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd, Denbighshire, 1580×1600) (Llst 34)
- NLW Peniarth 225 (Thomas Wiliems of Trefriw, Caernarfonshire, 1598) (Pen 225)

James demonstrated that the versions of the Life in the two early-modern manuscripts, Llst 34 and Pen 225, show more resemblance to Titus (his chosen representative of the Llst 27/Titus group or ‘type’) than to J 119, whilst noting that Llst 34, in particular, contains many readings ‘peculiar to itself’.<sup>22</sup> The late-medieval Pen 27ii Life, with its many alterations, omissions and errors, is still more distinctive. Both James and Evans referred to it as a ‘paraphrase’, and James did not assign it to either of his two types of texts; neither did Evans include it in his discussion of the relationships between the different early versions of the Welsh Life.<sup>23</sup> The affinities of the Pen 27ii Life are, indeed, difficult to determine, but a number of readings, including the description of David’s mouth touching that of the widow’s son before the boy’s resurrection, suggest that it is more closely related to J 119 and Pen 15 than to the Llst 27/Titus group.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Quotations from Pen 27ii, below, are from my edited text and translation (2021), at <www.welshsaints.ac.uk/theedition>; those from Llst 34 and Pen 225 are from manuscript transcriptions (the former also published on the project website), with added punctuation, standardization of word-division and capitalization, and expansion of Roger Morris’s underdotted letters (*u* = *w*, *l* = *ll*, *d* = *dd*). The two Peniarth manuscripts may be viewed on the website of the National Library of Wales at <hdl.handle.net/10107/4575723> (Pen 27ii) and <hdl.handle.net/10107/4575864> (Pen 225).

<sup>21</sup> Huws, *Repertory*.

<sup>22</sup> James, ‘Welsh version’, 2.

<sup>23</sup> James, ‘Welsh version’, 2; *WLSD* lv, n. 201 (cf. *BD* xxxiv, n. 1).

<sup>24</sup> Pen 27ii §22 *a dodî i enav wrth enav korff y mab*; the sentence is longer in J 119 (*WLSD* 10.7–8 *A syrthyaw a oruc Dewi ar y corff, a dodî y eneu wrth eneu y mab* ‘and David fell upon the body, and placed his mouth against the boy’s mouth’) and likewise in Pen 15, but is missing from Llst 27 and Titus (the other two, fragmentary texts do not contain the episode). Further examples of readings where Pen 27ii agrees with J 119/Pen 15 against Llst 27/Titus are Pen 27ii §23 *adde yn ddyhvn* ‘unanimously affirm’ (cf. *WLSD* 11.6 *adef yn duhun*, contrast *BD* 18.2 *adef yn gyfun*) and §25 *kymin hvn* ‘every one’ (a spoken form, cf. *WLSD* 12.20 *kymein hun*; contrast *BD* 20.7 *kymeint un*). It does not appear, however, that either J 119 or Pen 15 was the source of the Pen 27ii Life, or at least not its sole source, since (i) Pen 15 has many errors not found in Pen 27ii (for example, *adef yndv el vn* (22.17) in the former instance mentioned above), and (ii) Pen 15 agrees with Pen 27ii against J 119 (and Llst 27/Titus) in its use of plural *gw(y)rthev* as if it were singular (15.34, 16.15, 18; see further n. 140 below).

Further versions or copies of the Life are to be found in seventeenth-century and later manuscripts.<sup>25</sup> The remainder of this chapter, however, concentrates on the three versions (in Pen 27ii, Llst 34 and Pen 225) written down in the significant period leading up to and following the Reformation. Each has peculiarities of its own, and these texts also share a number of similarities in terms both of individual variant readings and the motivation that seems to have driven scribes or adapters to make such changes.<sup>26</sup>

### *The Peniarth 27ii Life*

As well as a version of the Welsh Life of St David, Pen 27ii contains a variety of texts on subjects as diverse as astrology, medicine, chronicles and genealogy, and even some poetry.<sup>27</sup> Only two other saints' Lives are included, namely those of Gwenfrewy (Winefride) and the international saint Mary Magdalene.<sup>28</sup> It may be significant that Gwenfrewy was not only a particularly important Welsh saint but also strongly associated with the north-east, her main cult centres being at Holywell and Gwytherin. Interestingly, her uncle Beuno makes a 'cameo' appearance in the Pen 27ii version of David's Life (§21), replacing Deiniol as the saint who, with Dyfrig (Dubricius), is sent to summon David to the synod of Brefi. An interest in Gwenfrewy and Beuno is certainly consistent with a northern or specifically north-eastern origin for the manuscript, though this is far from conclusive.<sup>29</sup> It is also noteworthy that the form and spelling of words in the Pen 27ii version of David's Life often seems to reflect the spoken language, and in particular the dialect of north Wales in the case of forms such as *eisie* as opposed to the earlier texts' *eisseu*, and *geirie* as opposed

<sup>25</sup> On these, see *WLSL* lv, n. 201; Williams, 'Buchedd Dewi', 113–17.

<sup>26</sup> Readings were compared with all six of the earlier texts noted above, using published transcriptions where available. However, for the sake of convenience (as in n. 24 above) I generally use *WLSL* when referring to J 119, and the composite text in *BD* (mainly based on Llst 27) as representative of the Llst 27/Titus group (note that D. S. Evans renders *o* as *w* in his editions). In the sections below *WLSL* is normally quoted for comparison when discussing the Pen 27ii Life, and *BD* when discussing the Llst 34 and Pen 225 Lives, in order to compare these later Lives with what appear to be their closest older 'relatives'.

<sup>27</sup> Huws, *Repertory*; J. G. Evans, ed., *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language* (London, 1898–1910), i, 355–8.

<sup>28</sup> For an edition of the Welsh Life of Mary Magdalene, see J. Cartwright, *Mary Magdalene and her Sister Martha* (Washington DC, 2013).

<sup>29</sup> Beuno's role in Gwenfrewy's Life, and his own connections with the north-east, are significant, though he, like Deiniol, had his main cult centre in north-west Wales (Beuno's at Clynnog Fawr, Deiniol's at Bangor). It should also be noted that Beuno's Life follows David's in the first four manuscripts in which they occur, that they often occur together in later manuscripts, and that they appear to have been regarded as the most important saints of north and south Wales, respectively (*BD* xxxviii; Williams, 'Buchedd Dewi', 111–13; Sims-Williams, *Buchedd Beuno*, 1, 9–10).

to *geireu*.<sup>30</sup> Similarly, Jane Cartwright has drawn attention to features in the Life of Gwenfrewy in Pen 27ii which suggest the influence of the spoken language and an origin in north or specifically north-east Wales.<sup>31</sup>

Though not entirely inappropriate, the term ‘paraphrase’ scarcely does justice to the range of factors which seem to have been at work in the development of the Pen 27ii Life of David. Some of the passages in fact show little divergence from the earlier representatives of the Welsh Life, but there is also a good deal of word-substitution, paraphrasing and summarizing, as well as many errors and some major omissions. Many of the changes seem designed to make the text more accessible to the contemporary audience. For example, in the opening passage where David’s birth is foretold, the J 119/Pen 15 (and Llst 27/Titus) texts have the angel telling Sant that he will obtain *tri dyuot* ‘three finds’ whilst out hunting (namely a stag, a salmon and a swarm of bees) but Pen 27ii has instead [*t*]ri rryveddod ‘three wonders’.<sup>32</sup> The word *dofod*, which appears never to have been particularly common, was probably considered obscure or archaic by the later Middle Ages, and it is striking that the *tri dyuot* were also replaced, by a more prosaic [*t*]ri pheth ‘three things’, in the Llst 34 Life, discussed below.<sup>33</sup> There are a number of other instances of modernizing the vocabulary, or making it more accessible. For example, *eilwaith* replaces *elchwyl*, both meaning ‘again’; *lle* ‘place’ replaces [*c*]yfeir, also meaning ‘place’, among other things; and [*d*]iddanv replaces *duhudaw*, both meaning ‘to comfort’.<sup>34</sup> In this latter case the Llst 34 Life again makes a different substitution, with the English-derived [*c*]onphorddio.<sup>35</sup>

In those passages paraphrased more extensively in the Pen 27ii text, too, it seems that a desire to make the text easier to understand was a major motivation. One of the more substantial changes is in the account of the healing of the man (an Irish saint, *Mobí*, in the *vita*, but unnamed in the Welsh Lives<sup>36</sup>) who held David during his baptism. In J 119 (and other early

<sup>30</sup> Pen 27ii §17 and §§14, 15; contrast *BD* 8.3, 19, 10.4 (the early manuscripts all agree), and see P. W. Thomas ‘Middle Welsh dialects: problems and perspectives’, *BBCS* 40 (1993), 17–50, at 26–8, 38–9. Compare Llst 34, 273.17 *geiriaü* (also 274.8), 275.25 *eissiaü*; Pen 225, 231.28 *geirieü*, 232.9 *geiria*, 233.8 *eisseü*.

<sup>31</sup> ‘The Welsh versions of the Life of Gwenfrewy’, Chapter 10 below, at 245–6.

<sup>32</sup> *WLSD* 1.10; Pen 27ii §1.

<sup>33</sup> Llst 34, 267.7; *GPC* s.v. *dofod*.

<sup>34</sup> Pen 27ii §§5, 15, 3; *WLSD* 2.29, 6.5, 2.6.

<sup>35</sup> Llst 34, 267.26.

<sup>36</sup> That is, St *Mobí* of Glasnevin, known as *Mobí Cláraineach*; see *VSD* §7, n. 34. Irish *cláraineach* is equivalent to Welsh *wynepglawr* (*GPC*, s.v.; N. Jacobs, ‘Drysni geirfaol y gwahanglwyf: *claf, clafwr, clawr, clafr*’, in *Hispano-Gallo-Brittonica, Essays in honour of Professor D. Ellis Evans*, ed. J. F. Eska, R. G. Gruffydd and N. Jacobs (Cardiff, 1995), 66–78).

representatives of the Welsh Life) this man was ‘flat-faced’, *wynepglawr*, from birth, meaning that he lacked eyes and a nose:<sup>37</sup>

A dall a oed yn daly Dewi vrth vedyd a gauas yna y olwc. Ac yna y dall a wybu vot y mab yr oed yn y daly vrth vedyd yn gyfulawn o rat. A chymryt y dwfuyr bedyd, a golchi y wyneb a'r dwfuyr. Ac o'r awr y ganet, dall wyneblawr oed. Ac yna y olwc a gauas, a chwbl o'r a berthynai arnei.<sup>38</sup>

And a blind man who was holding him during baptism gained his sight at that time. And then the blind man knew that the boy he was holding during baptism was full of grace. And he took the baptismal water, and washed his face with the water. And from the time he was born, he was a blind flat-faced man. And then he gained his sight, and everything that was related to it.

By contrast, in Pen 27ii (§8) he is simply a man who ‘had previously lost his sight’:

gwr dall a oydd yn i ddaly wrth vedydd a gollasai i olwc kynn no hynny. Ac yna y dall a wybv vod y mab ir oydd ef yn i ddal yn gyflawn o rad, a chymrvd y dwr bedydd a golchi i wyneb. A'r awr honno i kavas i olwc.

a blind man who was holding him during baptism had previously lost his sight. And then the blind man knew that the boy he was holding was full of grace, and he took the baptismal water and washed his face. And he immediately gained his sight.

This version of the passage avoids some of the repetition in the earlier Welsh texts and has a more logical sequence of events, moving from the loss of the man's sight to his regaining it. The paraphrasing has also lessened the impact of the miracle significantly, as there is now no disfigurement to be corrected. This may, however, be no more than a side-effect of the reorganization, and that in turn may have been prompted by a desire to avoid the obscure term *wynepglawr*.<sup>39</sup>

The account of David's restoration of the sight of his tutor Paulinus is also paraphrased substantially in Pen 27ii, perhaps in response to a shared inconsistency or error, involving the word *[l]lygeit*, which is apparent in all the surviving earlier texts including J 119:

<sup>37</sup> *VSD* (§7) has no equivalent term for *wynepglawr* but explains that Mobi had been born ‘without nostrils or eyes’ (*sine nare et sine oculis*). The Lincoln Life's account (§8) of Mobi's blindness being cured omits his disfigurement, but retains his name.

<sup>38</sup> *WLS* 3.16–21.

<sup>39</sup> The Llŷt 34 Life, as discussed below, retains the word but adds an explanatory clause.



Ac yna y damweinawd colli o athro Dewi y lygeit, o dra gormod dolur yn y lygeit [...] A phann rodes Dauyd y law ar y lygeit ef, y buant holl yach.<sup>40</sup>

And then it came about that the teacher lost his eyes, from excessive pain in his eyes [...] And when David placed his hand on his eyes, they were entirely healthy.

Since David places his hand on Paulinus's eyes when he heals them, it is strange to say that he had earlier lost them. Clearly, the meaning intended is that he lost the sight of his eyes, or, as the *vita* has it, 'the light of his eyes' (*lumen oculorum suorum*).<sup>41</sup> Perhaps a word corresponding to *lumen* 'light' was omitted by mistake by the original translator, or during the making of an early copy of his text. The Pen 27ii Life (§10), by contrast, simply has *golwg* 'sight' instead of the first, confusing *lygeit*. This is enough to correct the confusion, but the paraphrasing does not stop there. A different reason is given for Paulinus's blindness, stating that it was caused *o dra ysdvdio yn i lyvre* 'from excessive studying in his books'. This change may have been made to provide a more specific explanation, as opposed to the rather vague 'excessive pain' of the earlier texts, and might also reflect some fellow-feeling on the adapter's part as he laboured over his own manuscripts.

Another of what might be termed the more creative changes occurs in the passage describing the plot to poison David. The saint gives a piece of poisoned bread to a dog, which in J 119 (and the other early texts) dies instantly and gruesomely: *ac y syrthyawd y blew oll yn enkylt y trawyt yr amrant ar y llall, a thorri y croen y amdaneï, a syrthaw y holl perued y'r llawr* 'And all its hair fell out in the blink of an eye, and the skin broke away, and all its entrails fell to the ground.'<sup>42</sup> The Pen 27ii Life (§19) retains the loss of hair, but then goes its own way: *Ac ef a syrthiodd i blew oll yr awr hono, a thori yn ddav gelwrn a syrthio yn varw i lawr* 'And all its hair fell out in that moment, and it split into two vessels and fell dead to the ground.'

The phrase *[t]ori yn ddav gelwrn*, with the two vessels representing the two parts of the opened body cavity, is not found in any of the earlier surviving versions of David's Life (nor in Ll1st 34 or Pen 225) and may reflect an adapter's wider knowledge of Welsh prose. In the (perhaps) late-eleventh or twelfth-century tale 'Culhwch ac Olwen', as preserved in the

<sup>40</sup> *WLSD* 3.28–9, 4.2.

<sup>41</sup> *VSD* (§11) states that Paulinus 'lost the sight of his eyes because of their great pain' (*illum amisisse lumen oculorum suorum propter nimium dolorem eorum*). The Lincoln Life (§12) omits the cause but is otherwise similar (*oculorum suorum lumen amisisse*). *GPC* s.v. *lygaid* does note 'sight' among the additional meanings of the word, but it is unlikely that a translator would have used it in that sense immediately before using it twice with its primary meaning, 'eyes'.

<sup>42</sup> *WLSD* 7.35–8.

Red Book of Hergest (c. 1400), Arthur throws his knife at a witch, striking her about the middle *yny uu yn deu gelwrn hi* ‘so that she was two vessels’.<sup>43</sup> A similar phrase is to be found in a version of ‘Cronici Turpin’ in the late-thirteenth- or early-fourteenth-century manuscript NLW Peniarth 8: *Kledyf Rolant a elwit Durendard ac a hwnnw y trewis ef march y kawr yny vydyn deu gelwrn* ‘Roland’s sword was called Durendard and with that he struck the giant’s horse so that it was [like] two vessels’.<sup>44</sup> There is also a comparable instance in later versions of the Life of St Margaret, including that in the mid-fourteenth-century White Book of Rhydderch: *Sef a wnaeth arvyd y croc a dodassei hi arnnei tyuu yg genev y dreic a mynet voe voe yny holltes y dreic yn deu gelwrn* ‘The sign of the cross that she had placed upon her grew in the dragon’s jaws and became greater and greater until the dragon was split into two vessels.’<sup>45</sup>

It is perhaps not surprising that a writer of the Pen 27ii Life should have borrowed a phrase from the wider Welsh prose tradition. All versions of the Welsh Life, in describing David’s welcome for the messenger Scuthyn, use the common phrase *mynet dwylaw mynwyl* ‘to throw one’s arms around someone’s neck’, attested in a range of religious and secular works including ‘Culhwch ac Olwen’.<sup>46</sup> Here it seems the translator deliberately heightened the emotional impact of the story, also rendering David a more engaging character by having him ask after his former disciple Aidan, and noting that ‘David greatly loved his disciple’ (*mawr y carei Dewi y disgybyl*).<sup>47</sup> Similar motivation may have prompted some of the later adaptations in the Pen 27ii version. St Patrick’s protest after he has been told that he must depart for Ireland, for example, includes the added

<sup>43</sup> R. Bromwich and D. S. Evans, eds, assisted by D. H. Evans, *Culhwch ac Olwen*, 2nd edn (Caerdydd, 1997), lines 1225–7. The story was dated (*ibid.*, xxvii) to c. 1100, but a later twelfth-century date was suggested by S. Rodway, ‘The date and authorship of *Culhwch ac Olwen*: a reassessment’, *CMCS* 49 (2005), 21–44.

<sup>44</sup> NLW Peniarth 8, i, 41.11–13; cf. NLW Peniarth 10, 28r.33–5 (mid-fourteenth century). Other versions of ‘Cronici Turpin’ refer not to ‘two vessels’ but to ‘two halves’ (White Book of Rhydderch, 74r.6 *deu hanner*; cf. Red Book of Hergest, 95v.31–4) or ‘two parts’ (NLW Peniarth 7 (c. 1275 × c. 1325), 31v.13 *dwyrann*). These texts are all available on the ‘Welsh Prose’ website.

<sup>45</sup> M. Richards, ‘Buchedd Fargred’, *BBGC* 9 (1939) 324–34 (330.15–16). The formula also occurs in the similar versions of Margaret’s Life in Pen 15 (133.23) and Titus (168r.9–10). It is interesting that these two manuscripts also contain David’s Life, but this need not be significant as the formula may have been quite well known amongst prose writers. The earliest surviving version of Margaret’s Welsh Life, in the latter part of NLW Peniarth 14 (first half of the fourteenth century), lacks the ‘two vessels’ formula, having ‘two parts’ (106.22 *dwyrann*) instead.

<sup>46</sup> *WLSD* 7.20. Searching the ‘Welsh Prose’ website reveals, for the White Book of Rhydderch alone, instances in ‘Pererindod Siarlymaen’, ‘Ystoria Bown de Hamtwn’, ‘Peredur’, ‘Breuddwyd Macsen’, ‘Owain’, ‘Culhwch ac Olwen’, ‘Efengyl Nicodemus’ and ‘Marwolaeth Mair’.

<sup>47</sup> *WLSD* 7.21–2. *VSD* (§38) states only that Scuthyn (*Scutinus*) met David, prior to delivering the warning.

complaint that he is being ‘cast out’, and David’s mother Non is described as never having *wanted* a husband, as opposed to never having had one (the same verb, *mynnu*, is used in a similar context in the Pen 27ii Life of Gwenfrewy).<sup>48</sup>

Oddly, however, what could be regarded as the defining moment of David’s career, namely the miracle of the hill rising beneath him as he preaches at Brefi, is omitted from the Pen 27ii Life (§23). Instead, the only extraordinary thing at Brefi is David’s preaching, and specifically its audibility to the great multitude gathered there. It is hard to gauge the significance of this omission. This miracle does seem to have been widely known in medieval Wales, being described by Gerald of Wales as the most remarkable of all the miraculous events recounted in David’s Life, and mentioned several times by poets, amongst them the north-Walians Iolo Goch and Dafydd Llwyd of Mathafarn.<sup>49</sup> On the other hand, it was omitted from the concise ‘Lincoln Life’, suggesting that it was not seen by everyone as an essential part of his story.

Given the apparent reduction in the impact of two of David’s healing miracles, it is interesting to consider whether these changes might reflect a sceptical attitude towards miracles in general, especially in light of Glanmor Williams’s remarks concerning the possible responsiveness to ‘unorthodox and critical inclinations’ amongst some pious, educated Welsh lay men and women in the decades leading up to the Reformation.<sup>50</sup> However, both the healing miracles may have had their impact reduced only as a side-effect of paraphrasing carried out for different reasons, as discussed above. It is noteworthy too that other major miracles are retained undiminished in the Pen 27ii Life, including David’s resurrection of the widow’s son (§22), and the journey of Scuthyn over the Irish sea on the back of a sea-beast (§18).

There are other alterations, however, which might suggest the intervention of an adapter who was in a sense ‘critical’, at least to the extent of being concerned that his text should seem credible and should refer to the saints in what he considered an appropriate manner. In the Brefi episode

<sup>48</sup> Pen 27ii §2 *pann wnai wasgaradigayth arnaf*, §3 *gwr ni vynodd Nonn na chynt na gwedi* (contrast *WLSD* 2.21 *gwr ny bu idi na chynt na gwedy*); Pen 27ii (Life of Gwenfrewy), 93.16 *A meddyliaw a wnai na mynai wr byth* ‘and she decided that she would never want a husband’.

<sup>49</sup> L. Thorpe, trans., *Gerald of Wales: The Journey Through Wales/The Description of Wales* (Harmondsworth, 1978), 161 (*Journey*, II, 1); D. Johnston, ed. and trans., ‘Iolo Goch: “Mawl i Ddewi Sant”’ at <welshsaints.ac.uk/theedition/> (2018); E. Salisbury, ed. and trans., ‘Dafydd Llwyd of Mathafarn: “Moliant i Ddewi”’, forthcoming at *ibid*.

<sup>50</sup> *Wales and the Reformation* (Cardiff, 1997), 23. See also the discussion of the ‘long and unmistakable shadows’ of the age of the Renaissance and Reformation, already being felt in fifteenth-century Wales, in G. Williams, *Religion, Language and Nationality in Wales* (Cardiff, 1979), 95–6. Contrast, however, K. Hurlock, *Medieval Welsh Pilgrimage, c.1100–1500* (Basingstoke, 2018), 209: ‘Right up to the eve of the Reformation, worship of, and pilgrimage to, saints’ relics, wells, or other associated sites was [...] a central feature of faith.’

as represented in earlier versions of the Welsh Life, for example, there is a passage which could be interpreted as describing the saints and kings of Britain falling to their knees and worshipping David: *holl seint yr ynys honn a'r brenhined oll a ostyngassant ar eu glinnyeu y adoli y Dewi*.<sup>51</sup> Though *adoli* was probably intended to mean 'to revere', or 'to pay homage', its association with worship may well have caused qualms.<sup>52</sup> The Pen 27ii Life (§23) omits both this verb and the kneeling to David, merely stating that the saints and kings (and princes) bowed or made obeisance to him: *holl saint yr ynys honn a'r brenhinedd a'r tywysogion a ostyngasant iddaw*. The same issue is resolved differently in the Pen 225 Life discussed below, which keeps *addoli* but introduces God as its primary object.<sup>53</sup>

Another potentially confusing passage in this same section of the Life, in the earlier versions, is the rhetorical reference to God's having assigned leaders for the fish of the sea and the birds of the land, and making David leader over the people 'in this world' in the same manner (*velle y rodes ef Dewi yn pennadur ar y dynyon yn y byt hwnn*).<sup>54</sup> In Pen 27ii (§23), by contrast, the land-dwelling creatures are (sensibly) *aniviliaid* 'animals' rather than *adar* 'birds', and the final phrase is much shorter, stating only that God appointed a leader over the people and not even naming David (*velly i rrodde benadur ar y dynion*). Though the context is rhetorical and *byt* 'world' cannot have been meant in a literal, geographical sense (David's sphere of authority being clearly defined as the Island of Britain in this section of the Welsh Life, in all versions), the adapter may have wished to remove any possibility of confusion or misunderstanding as to David's status. Again, whilst the earlier versions of the Welsh Life praise David's final sermon as the best ever heard, in Pen 27ii (§27) there is the added phrase 'in this realm' (*yn y dyrnas honn*), perhaps reflecting an uneasiness that the earlier reading implies that David's preaching was superior even to that of Christ himself.<sup>55</sup> Another alteration in Pen 27ii is the removal of a reference to Patrick as an *ebostol* 'apostle' in Ireland, perhaps because it was felt that this term should be reserved for the Biblical apostles (interestingly, an adapter of the Llst 34 version described him instead as an *escob* 'bishop').<sup>56</sup>

On the other hand, it could be said that David's power as intercessor is emphasized, by the addition of the phrase *ac ni chyvedliwir vddvnt ev*

<sup>51</sup> *WLSD* 11.17–18.

<sup>52</sup> *GPC*<sup>2</sup> s.v. *addolaf* 'to worship, adore, revere, pay homage (to), bow (to)'.

<sup>53</sup> Pen 225, 238.36–239.1 *holl Saint yr ynys honn a'r brenhinedh a ostyngassant ar eu glinieü, y adholi Dŵw a Dewi*.

<sup>54</sup> *WLSD* 11.7–10. On amendments to this passage in Llst 34, see below and n. 92.

<sup>55</sup> *WLSD* 13.7–8 *A'e gyuryw kynn noc ef nys chywysbwyt*; compare *VSD* §62 *nobilissimam* [...] *predicationem* 'a most excellent sermon'.

<sup>56</sup> *WLSD* 2.9 *ti a udy ebostol yn yr ynys a wely di* 'you will be an apostle in the island that you see' (cf. *VSD* §3 *apostolus*); Pen 27ii §2 *ti a vyddy heddiw yn yr ynys honno* 'you will be in that island today'; Llst 34, 268.2–3 (discussed below).

*pechodav* ‘and they will not be reproached for their sins’ after the list of all the people who would be allowed to enter heaven with David (§25). A further significant change, arguably *diminishing* the power ascribed to or associated with David, is that in the Pen 27ii Life it appears burial at Glyn Rhosyn *alone* is not enough to ensure salvation, faith also being required (the phrasing of the earlier Welsh texts makes this important point rather ambiguous).<sup>57</sup>

Despite these signs of interest in the theological significance of the Life, however, the Pen 27ii text does not contain any part of the earlier texts’ extended description of heaven, and also lacks the closing prayer. Perhaps these final sections of the Welsh Life were omitted at some other stage of transmission by a different scribe or adapter, either accidentally or because they were seen as not being an integral part of David’s Life.<sup>58</sup> In general, the closing and opening sections of Lives were particularly prone to variation, and also to damage and deterioration, which is a further possibility in the case of the Pen 27ii text.<sup>59</sup> It is noteworthy that another item lacking from the Pen 27ii Life is David’s genealogy, included as an opening section in earlier versions of the Welsh Life.<sup>60</sup>

It is also interesting to note that as the Pen 27ii Life nears its end there are a considerable number of errors, including instances of what looks like careless abbreviation and summarizing. Even David’s farewell address to his followers is shortened and muddled, as for example in his statement that he will ‘believe’ (*[c]redaf*) in the manner of his fathers rather than ‘walk’ (*[c]erdaf*, i.e. *cerddaf* in later Welsh orthography) in their path.<sup>61</sup> One explanation for this particular error might be that there was an epenthetic vowel in the ‘-rdd-’ consonant-cluster in a source text and that this, along with the representation of the ‘dd’ sound by *d* (a common feature

<sup>57</sup> Pen 27ii §12 *Ac o’r lle hwnw nid a neb i vffern ar a vo ffyddlawn, ar a gladder ymonwent y lle hwnnw* ‘And from that place no one who is faithful who is buried in the graveyard there will go to hell’; *WLSD* 4.25–7 *ac o’r lle hwnnw nyt a neb y vffern o’r a vo ffyd da a chret gantaw. Ac a gladher y mynnwent y lle hwnnw heuyt, nyt a y vffern* ‘and from that place no one will go to hell, who has good faith and belief. And those buried in the graveyard of that place, also, none of them will go to hell’ (Pen 15 omits *ac o’r lle hwnnw*).

<sup>58</sup> James, ‘Welsh version’, 2, observed that the writer of the Pen 27ii Life ‘intentionally omitted what he considered irrelevant to his purpose, and gave only the facts of St. David’s life’.

<sup>59</sup> I thank Paul Russell for this observation; see also *id.*, ‘Translating saints’, n. 22.

<sup>60</sup> The fact that the manuscript contains a version of *Bonedd y Saint* might have been a motive for omitting the genealogy from the start of the Life, though the duplication of information is not large: *Bonedd y Saint* gives David’s descent from Cunedda Wledig on his father’s side and *Kenyr o Gawr Gawch yMynyw* on his mother’s, whilst the Welsh Life gives a much longer descent on his father’s side only, from the sister of the Virgin Mary (P. C. Bartrum, ed., *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts* (Cardiff, 1966), 54 (§1); *WLSD* 1.2–6).

<sup>61</sup> Pen 27ii §27; *WLSD* 13.14.

in fourteenth-century orthography) caused the word to be reinterpreted.<sup>62</sup> More generally, the preponderance of errors towards the end of the Pen 27ii Life suggests a waning in concentration on a writer's part.<sup>63</sup>

It may also be that a source text – perhaps the immediate source used by the scribe of Pen 27ii – was difficult to read towards the end, and indeed there may have been some problems with legibility in some earlier passages as well. This could explain some of the other omissions in this version of the Life, possibly including the absence of the hill-raising miracle, and likewise some of its errors, notably those involving proper names (which are, of course, particularly difficult to decipher when a text is hard to read). The Pen 27ii Life shows, throughout, a degree of garbling and inconsistency with both personal names and place-names, but most especially with the latter.<sup>64</sup> In the list of churches founded by David, *Repecwn* (Repton) has become *\*[P]epawn* (§11), and *Llann Gyfuelach* (Llangyfelach) has become *Llan Gyvelan* (§11).<sup>65</sup> Even the name for the site of David's monastery, *Glyn Rhosyn*, though used correctly in two sections of the Life (§§13, 18), has apparently been misunderstood in a garbled passage from the St Patrick episode (§2) which has *Rosin* not as the place from which Patrick looks across at Ireland, but the place he sees in Ireland.<sup>66</sup> Furthermore, confusion of river-names, mistaking the Tywi for the Dyfi (§24), caused the area of David's right of sanctuary to be shifted so as to lie north rather than south of the river Teifi, thereby excluding St Davids itself and much of the diocese.<sup>67</sup> It appears that the name of the river Teifi (*auon Teiui* or *auon Deiui*), beside which Sant is to make his three discoveries, has also become garbled, this version referring instead to a 'deep river', *avon ddofn* (§1).<sup>68</sup> The names *yr Hennllwyn*, *Linhenllan* and *Litonmaucan/Liton Mancan* are omitted entirely, perhaps because they were considered unnecessary or confusing (if indeed they were present in the source).<sup>69</sup> In the case of another missing name, *Henllan*, the scribe left

<sup>62</sup> P. Sims-Williams, *Liber Coronacionis Britanorum*, 2 vols (Aberystwyth, 2017), II, 90–4, discussing epenthesis, notes instances involving forms of the same verb, *kerydynt* and *keryda6d*, in (respectively) Peniarth 21 (late 13th / early 14th century, 'Brut y Brenhinedd'), and Shrewsbury 11 (late 14th / early 15th century, 'Y Groglith').

<sup>63</sup> See the textual and explanatory notes in the online edition, for example n. 23 (textual) on *ken[ad]av*, and n. 151 (explanatory) on *Ni chlawsai neb y rrvw bregeth irioyd yn y dyrnas honn, na chimin o bobl yn yr vn lle*.

<sup>64</sup> For more instances and discussion, see the Introduction to the online edition.

<sup>65</sup> Compare *WLSD* 4.13n, 18n.

<sup>66</sup> See explanatory notes 9 and 15 in the online edition.

<sup>67</sup> Pen 27ii §24 *kenad yw iddo vyned o Ddyvi hyd ynHeivi*; *WLSD* 11.23–4 *kennat yw idaw vynet o Dyfi* [Llst 27/Titus Dyui] *hyt ar Deiui* (see further the explanatory notes in the two editions).

<sup>68</sup> Compare the garbled *avon deifin* of Pen 225 (227.16).

<sup>69</sup> *Yr Hennllwyn* is given in earlier versions of the Welsh Life (and in Llst 34 and Pen 225) as an alternative, Welsh name for *Vetus Rubus*, but is simply a translation of that name; the place meant is probably Hen Fynyw, as identified by Gerald of Wales (*WLSD* 3.23n; *VSD*

a gap where it would be expected (§1), which suggests he was perhaps unable to read it in his source but hoped to supply it later. This pattern of omissions and errors suggests that the writer responsible was not familiar with the place-names and river-names of south Wales, nor with David's story.<sup>70</sup> This is of course in keeping with the idea that the Pen 27ii manuscript was written in north Wales.

One last, interesting feature of Pen 27ii is that it contains not only passages that provide better sense than the earlier surviving texts, but also a few that show a particular resemblance to readings in Rhygyfarch's *vita*. Only the Pen 27ii Life agrees with the *vita* in referring, in its account of David's last days on earth, to *pererinion* 'pilgrims' lamenting over who shall assist them when he has gone, the earlier Welsh texts all having *personyeit* 'parsons'.<sup>71</sup> Again, in Pen 27ii, as in the *vita*, Boia's wife is enraged or maddened when she exhorts him to get up and confront David and his followers (§13 *Heb y wraic ynvyd*, 'Kyvod i vyny'), whereas in the earlier Welsh texts her mood is not mentioned and she instead tells her husband he is mad, or foolish (J 119/Pen 15 *Heb y wreic*, 'Yr wyt yn ynvyt. Kyuot y vynyd').<sup>72</sup> The reading in Pen 27ii looks, indeed, like a summarized version of the one suggested by D. Simon Evans as the original translator's intent: \**Heb y wreic a yrrwyt yn ynvyt kyuot [...]* 'Said the wife who was driven mad, "Arise"'.<sup>73</sup> It must be acknowledged, however, that Pen 27ii's reading might equally have arisen, by careless summarizing or a copying error, from a reading similar to those in the earlier texts that survive, and that its resemblance to the *vita* could be coincidental. Other instances where the Pen 27ii text particularly resembles the *vita*, improving upon faulty readings in the earlier surviving representatives of the Welsh Life, might

§8, n. 35). The confusion in the passage containing *Linhenllan* and *Litonmaucan/Liton Mancan* in the earlier versions of the Welsh Life might have been the chief motive for omitting these two names (if they were present in the source; on their possible origin as glosses, see *WLSD* 21–2, and [n. 85 below](#)).

<sup>70</sup> Compare the delocalisation of Latin versions of the Life designed for a non-Welsh audience, discussed in Russell, 'Translating saints'. In the case of the Pen 27ii Life, however, names are more often garbled than removed, and those that are missing may have fallen prey to more general aims of summarizing and simplifying.

<sup>71</sup> Pen 27ii §26 *kwyn y pererinion*; *VSD* §64 *planctum peregrinorum*; *WLSD* 12.35 *Kwyn y personyeit*. The lamenting of the pilgrims/parsons (and others) is placed before David's death in the Welsh Lives and afterwards in the *vita*, but the passage is otherwise similar. It is not included in the Lincoln Life but could have been present in the longer Latin source of the Welsh archetype.

<sup>72</sup> Pen 27ii §13; *WLSD* 5.10 (compare Ll1st 27 'Ie, heb y wreic, 'yd wyt yn ynvyt. Kyuot y vyny', Titus *Heb y wreic brtha6*, 'Yr byt yn ynuyt. Kyuot y ueny'; cf. NLW 5267B); compare also *VSD* §16 *Cui coniunx in insaniam uersa*, 'Surge,' inquit [...] 'His wife said to him, having turned angry, "Get up [...]". See further explanatory note 73 in the online edition (Pen 27ii).

<sup>73</sup> *WLSD* 46–7.

likewise be the product of an adapter's creative input.<sup>74</sup> Even Pen 27ii's replacing of *personyeit* with *pererinion* could simply reflect an adapter's awareness that St Davids was an important destination for pilgrims. (The parsons seem also to have been found unsatisfactory by writers of the Llst 34 and Pen 225 Lives, the former noting 'saints' as an alternate reading and the latter having 'church leaders and parsons'.<sup>75</sup>)

Though the particular similarities to the *vita* noted above are inconclusive, the proposition that some readings in Pen 27ii might preserve the original translator's intent better than the earlier surviving texts is plausible, simply because the Pen 27ii Life has no obvious exemplar amongst those texts. As noted above, it may derive from a source that was similar to the texts in J 119 and Pen 15, but it may well have undergone several subsequent stages of copying and adaptation, acquiring errors along the way. Some of the paraphrasing may have entered this version relatively early on in its history, whilst the omissions and the errors (especially those with place-names) are perhaps more likely to belong to the later (northern) period of transmission.<sup>76</sup>

### *The Llanstephan 34 Life*

A version of David's Life forms part of an important collection of saints Lives written by the antiquary and recusant Roger Morris of Coedytalwrn (fl. 1582–c. 1600) in NLW Llanstephan 34 (Llst 34), between 1580 and 1600. Lives of international saints predominate, but David's Life is preceded by those of Gwenfrewy and her uncle Beuno and followed by those of Curig, Ieuan Gwas Padrig and Llawddog, with Erasmus intervening before the Life of a final Welsh saint, Collen. The version of the Welsh Life of David in Llst 34 contains many paraphrased passages of its own, different from those in Pen 27ii, and unlike that text Llst 34 retains the hill-raising miracle, the description of heaven and the closing prayer (with minor amendments). Overall the Llst 34 text diverges less from the earliest representatives of the Welsh Life than does the Pen27ii version, and it does not appear that summarizing was a significant motivation for the changes

<sup>74</sup> See notes 14 and 122 in the online edition, on §2 *Ac ymbarodtoi a wneyth Padric i ado y lle hwnnw* and §22 *dyrcha i hyn mab a'i enaid yno*. Compare also the discussion above on the restoration of Paulinus's sight; the discussion of §19 *val i mynasai y trywyr i wenwyno* in the online edition (explanatory note 103); and n. 69 above and n. 88 below.

<sup>75</sup> Llst 34, 286.21–2 *kwyn y personniaid<sup>saint</sup>*; Pen 225, 240.26–7 *Cwyn y lhywawtion ecclhwysic a'r personieit*.

<sup>76</sup> Compare Cartwright, *Mary Magdalene*, 47, where it is noted that the version of Mary Magdalene's Life in Pen 27ii does not appear to have undergone many changes in comparison with its closest relative, surviving in the White Book; and Dr David Callander's observation (personal communications, 25 September 2019 and 3 November 2020), in connection with the Life of Gwenfrewy and the poem 'Armes Dydd Brawd', that it appears that material is more likely to be omitted than added, in the copies of texts found in Pen 27ii (see further *id.*, 'Armes Dydd Brawd', *Studia Celtica* 49 (2015), 57–103, at 59).



it does contain. Amongst those early texts, it is Llst 27 and Titus, rather than J 119/Pen 15, that resemble the Llst 34 Life most closely (the reverse being true for the Pen 27ii Life). The most striking feature of the Llst 34 version is the large number of corrections or alternate readings noted by Morris himself as superscript or (less commonly) in the margin.

As in the case of the Pen 27ii Life, it seems that a desire to make the text more accessible or readable was a motive behind many of the changes in the Llst 34 version, both in the text as originally written down by Morris (hereafter ‘the main text’) and in the corrections or alternate readings. The single-word substitutions of *[p]eth* for *dyuot*, and *[c]onphorddio* for *duhudaw*, in the Llst 34 main text have been mentioned above, different substitutions for the same two words having been made in Pen 27ii. There is also an instance where the Pen 27ii and Llst 34 Lives each make the same substitution, namely of *dirmygus* for *tremygedic*, both meaning ‘contemptuous’.<sup>77</sup> On the whole, such substitutions are rarer in the Llst 34 Life than in Pen 27ii, but an instance where the former text alone replaces an obscure word is the substitution of *[m]airw*, a plural form of *marw* ‘dead’, for *[g]allmarw* ‘stone-dead’.<sup>78</sup>

In the case of the episode with the man who is *wynepglawr* ‘flat-faced’, where Pen 27ii shortens and paraphrases, the Llst 34 main text instead adds an explanatory clause attributing his disfigurement to ‘canker’. In the following extract, the underlining, strikethrough and superscript represent Morris’s alterations in the manuscript:<sup>79</sup>

Ac o’r awr y ganed, dall wyneb glaw<sup>f</sup>r cynhenid oedd, a’r cangc~~w~~<sup>y</sup>r a lawsai drwyn y dyn dall.<sup>80</sup>

And from the time he was born, he was a blind flat- inherently leprous-faced man, and the canker had devoured the nose of the blind man.

Morris’s added *f*, changing *clawr* to *clafr*, suggests he interpreted the word as meaning ‘leprosy’ or ‘leprous’, in keeping with the main text’s interpretation that the man’s disfigurement was the product of disease.<sup>81</sup> More widely, by this time it seems *wynepglawr* was often understood as meaning

<sup>77</sup> Pen 27ii §14; Llst 34, 273.17; *BD* 8.3 (cf. Pen 225, 231.28 *tremygedic*).

<sup>78</sup> Llst 34, 273.24; *BD* 12.10n; *GPC* s.v. *gallmarw*.

<sup>79</sup> Morris used underlining and superscript for the amendments around *glawr* but changed *cangc~~w~~<sup>y</sup>r* by means of overwriting (which I represent using strikethrough and superscript). Sometimes, as in other instances cited below, he himself uses strikethrough when making his amendments. It is hard to say whether there is any clear pattern in his use of underlining and strikethrough; for example, one being used when adding alternate readings and the other for corrections. For this reason, his alterations are reproduced here as in the manuscript, so far as possible.

<sup>80</sup> Llst 34, 270.8–9.

<sup>81</sup> See *GPC* s.v. *clawr*<sup>1</sup> and *clafr*; *clawr*<sup>2</sup>. The words *clawr* and *clafr* would have been readily confused when written in medieval Welsh orthography and would also have sounded similar (D. S. Evans, *A Grammar of Middle Welsh* (Dublin, 1964), 5).

‘leprous-faced’, or ‘flat-faced (because of leprosy)’, with *clawr* (originally denoting a ‘table, board’, and later other flat things) having been reinterpreted as ‘leprous’ and giving rise to the form *clafwr* under the influence of *clafwr* (earlier *clafwr*) ‘leper’.<sup>82</sup> The *vita*, however, does make clear that the unfortunate man’s condition was a birth defect, so ‘flat-faced’ was presumably the meaning intended by the original Welsh translator.<sup>83</sup>

Elsewhere too there is restructuring of passages which the adapter may have regarded as confusing or hard to understand. Perhaps the most drastic is the abridging and conflation of the angelic speeches to Sant and Patrick, which in the earliest versions of the Welsh Life (represented in the following quotation by D. S. Evans’s composite text based mainly on Llst 27) are rather repetitive and confusing.

‘[...] a thi a geffy tri dyuot geyr llaw auon Deuii, nyt amgen, karw a gleissyat a heit o wenyn, y mywn prenn uch penn yr auon, yn y lle a elwir Henllan yr awr honn. Dyro dylhet y tir y gadw y vab ny anet etto: ef bieivyd deu le hyt Dyd Brawt, y rei a dywetpwyt uchot, Linhenllan a Litonmaucan.[.] Odyna y doeth Padric hyt yng Glynn Rosin, ac y medylawd dwyn yno y uuched. Ac angel a doeth att Badric, ac a dywawt wrthaw: ‘Adaw di,’ heb ef, ‘y lle hwnn y vab ny anet etto.’<sup>84</sup>

‘[...] and you will obtain three finds beside the river Teifi, namely, a stag and a salmon and a swarm of bees, in a tree above the river, in the place called Henllan these days. Give the claim of the land, to be kept, to a boy who has not been born yet: he will own two places until Judgement Day, those mentioned above, Linhenllan and Litonmaucan.’ Then Patrick came to Glyn Rhosyn, and he decided he would lead his life there. And an angel came to Patrick, and said to him, ‘Leave this place,’ he said, ‘to a boy who has not been born yet.’

Llst 34 (267.7–16):

‘[...] a thi a gephi dri pheth gar llaw afon Deifi, nid amgen, carw a gleisiad a haid o wenyn, a’r haid wenyn mywn prenn ywch benn yr afon, yn y lle a elwir Henllan yn Arfon.’ Sef angel a ddoeth at Badric ac a ddywad, ‘Gado di y lle hwnn y fab ni aned etto ac ni enir ddegmlynedd ar hugain etto, iddo ef a’i d’yly hyd Dydd Brawd, yr [sic] rhai a ddywetpwyd uchod.’

‘[...] and you will obtain three things beside the river Teifi, namely, a stag and a salmon and a swarm of bees, with the swarm of bees being in a tree above the river, in the place called Henllan in Arfon.’ This angel

<sup>82</sup> Jacobs, ‘Drysni geirfaol’. See also I. C. Peate, ‘The antiquity of leprosy in Wales’, *BBCS* 26 (1974–6), 361–2; *An Electronic Dictionary of the Irish Language, based on the Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language (Dublin, 1913–1976)* <www.dil.ie>, accessed 8 September 2020, s.v. *clárainech* (a) ‘flat-faced (as a result of leprosy?)’.

<sup>83</sup> See n. 37 above.

<sup>84</sup> *BD* 1.11–2.4.

came to Patrick and said, 'Leave this place to a boy not born yet and who will not be born for thirty years yet, to him and his household until Judgement Day, those mentioned above.'

The Llst 34 version seems more straightforward, having removed the repetition of 'a boy who has not been born yet' and the confusing reference to two places 'mentioned above', only one of which, '*Linhenllan*', has in fact been mentioned (and in a different form, *Henllan*).<sup>85</sup> However, this apparent attempt at simplification has changed the significance of the passage so drastically that it scarcely makes sense, even on its own terms. Due to the omission of Patrick's location and intention, the reader is left to assume that Patrick, like Sant, is in *Henllan* and that this, rather than *Glynn Rhosyn*, is the place that is to be reserved for David; and indeed, not only for David but also his 'household', if the 'corrected' *d<sup>e</sup>lyly* is envisaged as lenited *teulu*.<sup>86</sup> This *teulu* might be taken as referring to David's monastic followers, or even his secular kindred, since only the latter (i.e. Sant and his lineage) are 'mentioned above'. To make matters worse, whereas the original translator was probably referring to *Henllan* in Ceredigion, the Llst 34 Life states that its *Henllan* is in Arfon, in north Wales.

This passage in Llst 34 also contains some more constructive changes, however. The angel's mention of thirty years, a detail only mentioned in Patrick's angry reply in the earlier texts (including Pen 27ii), makes good sense in that it is otherwise unclear how Patrick would know of this time period. Moreover, rather endearingly, it looks as if the adapter has rephrased the description of the bees' location as if to avoid giving the unfortunate impression that the stag and salmon were in the tree along with them.

A similar attention to logic and detail may lie behind a superscript amendment in the poisoning episode, which seeks to restore sense to the description of the location of a crow's nest. No doubt the translator's intention in the Welsh archetype was to describe the nest as being (as in the

<sup>85</sup> This passage is clearly corrupt in J 119/Pen 15 and Llst 27/Titus alike, and the 'two places' spurious, since in the *vita* it is 'the honeycomb, and a portion of the fish and the stag' that are to be kept for David 'at the monastery of Meugan' (*VSD* §2; the entire episode is omitted from the Lincoln Life). D. S. Evans suggested (*WLSL* 21–2) that the original Welsh reading was \**ef bieivyd dylyet hyt Dyd Brawt* 'he will own the right until Domesday', with \**dylyet* having been changed to *deu le* 'two places' during the process of incorporating into the text what he took to be glosses containing the reference to 'those mentioned above' (originally referring to the three finds) and the two place-names (see also T. A. Watkins, 'Litonmaucan *BD* 1.16', *BBGC* 27 (1977–8), 224). Alternatively, the *deu le* might have appeared first, as a copying error which the later additions sought to explain.

<sup>86</sup> As first written, *dyly* is reminiscent of *dylyet* (see the previous note), or might be a related verbal form, *dyly*; indeed, if *iddo* is ignored, *ef a'i dyly* might mean 'he has a right to it [or 'them']'. Perhaps an early reading is preserved here, though it is also possible that an adapter was influenced by the *dylyet* occurring earlier in the passage (in both Llst 27/Titus and J 119/Pen 15). Pen 225, which seems to share a source with Llst 34 (see below), has *dau Lv* 'two hosts(?)' (227.20).

*vita*) in an ash tree between the refectory and the river to the south, but in J 119/Pen 15 and Llst 27/Titus alike, the passage has been rendered nonsensical by, it seems, the omission of *(y)rhwng* ‘between’.<sup>87</sup> The Llst 34 version does not solve the problem by restoring *(y)rhwng* (as an adapter of Pen 27ii may have done<sup>88</sup>), but has restored some manner of sense by adding *yn* ‘in’ in the main text (as does the Pen 225 version) and providing an alternate reading which places the nest in an ash tree ‘in the refectory on the southern side’ rather than ‘in the refectory on a river that was to the south’ (*mywn onnen yn y phreütür ar afon a oedd tü a’r<sup>du</sup> y deheü*).<sup>89</sup> This scenario is still rather odd, but perhaps no more so than some other episodes in saints’ Lives.

Perhaps a similar motive lay behind some of the other superscript amendments, one of which makes clear that when David blesses the toxic water at Bath he makes it not simply ‘warm’ until Judgement Day but specifically ‘free from poison’ (*ac a fendigawdd y dyfwr hwnnw yn ~~anwymn~~ <sup>fal y bydd diwenwyn</sup> hyd dydd brawd*).<sup>90</sup> A smaller change, also suggesting attention to detail, is in the description of Non’s asceticism: *ny fynawdd hi fwyd<sup>ansodd</sup> namyn bara a dyfwr* ‘she wanted no food save bread and water’.<sup>91</sup> The passage as Morris originally wrote it resembles that in Llst 27/Titus and J 119/Pen 15, but he later underlined *[b]wyd* and added the less specific *ansodd* ‘food, delicacy, dish’. This might have been intended to correct a false implication that water is a kind of food. The same issue is avoided, by accident or design, in the more concise reading in Pen 27ii (§4): *ni mynodd hi namyn bara a dwr* ‘she wanted nothing but bread and water’. Again, in the passage describing the people at Brefi acknowledging David’s authority, the Llst 34 main text is in agreement with the early texts’ rhetorical comparison to a leader ‘on land over the birds’ (*yn y daear ar yr adar*), but a superscript amendment changes the ‘land’ (*daear*) to the more characteristic avian environment of the ‘sky’ (*wybyr*); by contrast, as noted above, Pen 27ii (§23) refers here not to birds but to ‘animals’ (*aniviliaid*) as the denizens of the land.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>87</sup> On this error, see *WLSD* 52, and compare *VSD* §38 *in fraxino, quę erat inter refectorium et amnen ad australem plagam*.

<sup>88</sup> Pen 27ii §19 *Ac yna ir anvones Dewi yr ail rrann o’r bara i vran a [o]ydd yn eisde ar nyth a oydd mewn onen a oydd rrwng y ffreitvr a’r avon*. Since the passage has been paraphrased, *rrwng* ‘between’ might have been supplied in the process, though (ultimate) derivation from the lost Welsh archetype is another possibility.

<sup>89</sup> Llst 34, 278.7–11; compare Pen 225, 234.33–4 *y mewn onnen yn y freütür ar auon a oedh tua’r deheü*; contrast *BD* 11.15–16 *y mywn onnen [y rrwng] y ffreitvr a’r auon a oed y tu a’r deheu* (my square brackets; *y rrwng* supplied by Evans).

<sup>90</sup> Llst 34, 271.22–3; *BD* 6.4–5.

<sup>91</sup> Llst 34, 268.25–6.

<sup>92</sup> *BD* 18.4–5; Llst 34, 283.22–4 *megis y rhoddes Düw bennadür ~~ar y ddaear~~ <sup>yn yr wybyr</sup> ar yr adar, velly y rhoddes ef Ddewi yn y byd hwnn<sup>yn bennadür ar y ddaear honn</sup>*. In the second superscript amendment, *y ddaear honn* could mean either ‘this (earthly) world’ or ‘this land’ in the sense of territory (i.e. Britain). The *byt* ‘world’ of Llst 27/Titus and J 119/Pen

Certain readings, in the main text and superscript amendments alike, seemed designed to heighten the emotion of the story, highlighting the humanity of the characters. In the account of Gildas failing to preach in the presence of the unborn David, the main text has the added detail that he could not ‘for anything say a single word’, making his dilemma clearer and heightening the impact of the episode.<sup>93</sup> Then near the end of the story, whereas in the earlier versions of the Welsh Life astonishment is the initial reaction of the scholars who learn that David is soon to die, the Llst 34 main text has them grieving instead (using the verbal-noun *gresynū* rather than *synnyaw*).<sup>94</sup> References to weeping or tears are intensified twice in the descriptions of more general grief that follow, by superscript additions of *yn hidleid* ‘abundantly’ and *hallt* ‘salt, bitter’.<sup>95</sup> Another interesting amendment is that the grief-stricken folk lament that the ‘hills and mountains’, not merely ‘mountains’, do not fall upon them (*Och na syrth y<sup>r</sup> ellydd a<sup>r</sup> mynyddoedd ar yn gwarthaf ni*).<sup>96</sup> It might be a rhetorical flourish, or perhaps Roger Morris (if his was the thought, as well as the hand, responsible for the addition) was aware that the region around St Davids is not well-endowed with mountains, with hills being more realistic. If so, he clearly knew more about south-west Wales than did the writer(s) responsible for the various uncorrected place-name errors in the Pen 27ii Life.

Elsewhere too Morris has added amendments which suggest he or an earlier adapter was thinking carefully about the events of the Life and their religious or theological significance. Where David expresses his readiness to end his earthly existence, saying that he wishes to leave *y drygau hyn* ‘these evils’, the latter two words are underlined and *drigian honn* added above, apparently changing the sense to ‘this dwelling’.<sup>97</sup> The two nouns are similar in form, so scribal confusion may have been involved, but the change of *hyn* ‘these’ to *honn* ‘this’, as required when substituting a (feminine) singular noun for a plural one, suggests that it was not simply a copying error and that some thought was involved in the alteration (or

15 may likewise have been intended in the sense of earthly as opposed to spiritual existence, if it is not simply rhetorical overstatement. On the potential for confusion over the scope of David’s authority, and on Pen 27ii’s shorter reading, see the section above.

<sup>93</sup> *BD* 3.12–13 Gildas a dechreuawd pregethu, ac nys gallei; Llst 34, 268.30–1 *Saint Gildas a ddechreüodd<sup>bregethu</sup> ac nis gallai er dim ddywedüd vn gair*.

<sup>94</sup> *BD* 19.15–17 *Sefa a oruc yr ysgolheigion [...] synnyaw arnunt yn vawr* (Pen 27ii §25 *Sefa wnayth yr ysgolheigion [...] sanv yn vawr*); Llst 34, 285.10 *sefa orüc yr ysgolheigion [...] synnu<sup>g</sup> gresynü arnynt yn fawr*. On the superscript addition of *synnu*, see below.

<sup>95</sup> Llst 34, 287.1, 23.

<sup>96</sup> Llst 34, 287.25–6.

<sup>97</sup> Llst 34, 285.16–17 *na ad fi a fo hwy y drigaw yn y drygau hynn<sup>drigian honn</sup>*.

reinterpretation).<sup>98</sup> Perhaps ‘evils’ was considered an inappropriate term for the godly community that David had fostered during his life (though in the Welsh archetype it was no doubt intended to refer to the wider sins of the world).<sup>99</sup> Morris has also noted *angel* ‘angel’ as an alternate reading or correction above *anghenfil*, in describing Scuthyn’s crossing of the Irish Sea. Perhaps *anghenfil*, which can mean ‘monster’ as well as ‘beast’, seemed an inappropriate term for an agent of God’s will, or simply too fabulous.<sup>100</sup> It is interesting that in the case of the Life of Mary Magdalene, where the earlier version in Llst 27 has marine ‘beasts’ (*[b]ystuileit*) that might swallow a person whole, Llst 34 has more prosaic ‘fishes’ (*pysgod*) that might eat them.<sup>101</sup> To return to David’s Life, exception may even have been taken to the role of the dove which in the main text, as in other versions of the Life, teaches him in his youth (doubtless representing the Holy Spirit, though this is not made explicit). Here an amendment changes ‘teaching’ to ‘descending upon’ (*yn dysgu disgin ar Ddewi*).<sup>102</sup> Again, it is interesting that *disgin* and, in the previous instance, *angel* are quite similar in form to the words they replace.<sup>103</sup> They might have arisen from one of Morris’s written sources, through misreading or reinterpretation, or perhaps they reflect his own wish to improve his text without changing it too greatly; he might even have been trying (albeit misguidedly in these instances) to reconstruct the ‘original’ reading, in the belief that some readings in his main source were corrupt.

Another amendment exchanging a word for one showing some similarity of form is to be found in Llst 34’s description of heaven, which changes ‘light without end’ to ‘light without darkness’ (*goleüni heb ddiwedd*<sup>dowyllwc</sup>), in keeping with the ‘rest without labour, and joy without sorrow’ pattern which follows (here, as in Llst 27/Titus and J 119/Pen 15).<sup>104</sup> This ‘without darkness’ reading is also in Pen 225, as discussed below. Unique to Llst 34, however, is the superscript addition, later in its description of heaven, of *a phob digrifwch heb ofal nac eisiau* ‘and every pleasure without care or want’.<sup>105</sup> In this same passage, the Llst 34 main

<sup>98</sup> According to *GPC* s.v. *trigiant*, *trigian*<sup>1</sup>, this is a masculine noun, but clearly it is feminine in Llst 34. Possibly it was felt that it must be so, in order to have lenition after the definite article, if *drygau* were being reinterpreted.

<sup>99</sup> There is no equivalent phrase in the *vita* or the Lincoln Life.

<sup>100</sup> Llst 34, 276.30. The ‘sea-beast’ (*belua*) of the *vita* (*VSD* §37) and the Lincoln Life (§23) may well have been envisaged as a natural creature such as a whale.

<sup>101</sup> Cartwright, *Mary Magdalene*, 55.

<sup>102</sup> Llst23, 270.18. Compare *VSD* §8 *eumque docentem* ‘and teaching him’; Lincoln Life §9 *eumque monentem* ‘and advising him’.

<sup>103</sup> Compare also ~~*yn dymyn*~~ *fal y bydd diwenwyn*, discussed above.

<sup>104</sup> Llst 34, 288.15–17; *BD* 22.19–20.

<sup>105</sup> Llst 34, 288.19.

text has replaced *da* with [*d*]ayoni, perhaps because *da* can mean ‘goods’ as well as ‘goodness’, whilst *daioni* is unambiguously the latter.<sup>106</sup>

Other variant readings may also have been inspired by consideration of the religious significance of the Life. In the episode concerning the plot to poison David, the main text follows other versions in having the would-be poisoner cursed by the saint and his followers, but omits a further curse which seeks to bar him from ever being admitted to heaven.<sup>107</sup> Though the omission might have been made for the purpose of summarizing alone, it might also reflect an awareness that it would be un-Christian to deny the option of repentance and redemption, even to the greatest of sinners. The main text also contains some minor but perhaps significant alterations which might reflect attitudes towards the status of saints. The angel, showing Ireland to Patrick, tells him that he will be a bishop (*escob*) there, rather than an apostle (*ebostol*) as in Llst 27/Titus and J 119/Pen 15.<sup>108</sup> Perhaps it was felt that the term *ebostol* should be reserved for the Biblical apostles only. (In the Pen 27ii Life (§2) the word is also omitted, rephrasing to tell Patrick he will be in Ireland ‘today’, *heddiw*.) Also, in the Llst 34 main text, the scholars around David seem to hear only his reply to the angel’s warning that he is soon to die, not the angel’s own words, perhaps intentionally reserving for saints the power to communicate with angels. Indeed, there is a direct address by another saint, Patrick, to *God* in this version (‘Why do you, Lord, show contempt for your servant who has served you since his childhood...?’), whereas in other versions he speaks of him in the third person.<sup>109</sup> This change might, however, have been made from a desire to heighten the emotion of the scene, rather than from theological considerations.

It is noteworthy that in the above passage involving Patrick, and in a number of other instances, readings in the main text which differ from those in Llst 27/Titus and J 119/Pen 15 have been provided with corrections or alternate readings as if to bring them back into line with those early versions of the Welsh Life.<sup>110</sup> Sometimes, too, a word or phrase missing from the main text is supplied, as for example in the case of the phrase *Och na ddaw y tan a’n llosgi ni*, in the account of the lamentation preceding

<sup>106</sup> Llst 34, 288.17–18 *amylder o bob rhyw ddayoni* ‘an abundance of every kind of goodness’.

<sup>107</sup> Llst 34, 278.21–2; *BD* 12.23–13.2.

<sup>108</sup> *BD* 2.15 *ebostol yn yr ynys a wely di*; Llst 34, 268.3 *escob<sup>ebostol</sup> yn yr<sup>yr</sup> ynys a weli di*. Note the similarity of the superscript amendments to the readings in the early texts (represented in *BD*) and, especially, to Pen 225, 228.2 *apostol yr ynys a weli di* ‘the apostle of the island that you see.’

<sup>109</sup> Llst 34, 267.16–19 *Paham y tremygi di<sup>awdd yr</sup> Arglwydd dy<sup>y</sup> was a fï yn dy<sup>y</sup> wassanaethü er yn fab [...]*?; the subsequent amendments to the main text (‘Why did the Lord show contempt for his servant ...’, etc.) resemble the readings of the early texts (*BD* 2.4–6).

<sup>110</sup> See, for example, notes 93, 94, 108, 109, above.

David's death.<sup>111</sup> Some instances, especially of the latter variety, could be corrections of Morris's own copying errors, but this cannot explain those cases where a significant paraphrase has been 'standardized' by a subsequent amendment. The most likely scenario would seem to be that Morris initially copied the Life from a source which showed a significant degree of paraphrasing, including a number of minor omissions, then later added readings from a second source which (in some passages at least) more closely resembled the earliest surviving representatives of the Welsh Life. Those additions which do *not* fall into the 'standardizing' category might also have derived from Morris's second source (see further below), or conceivably from a third, or may have been of his own authorship.

Whether or not Roger Morris added paraphrases of his own, the pains he took in writing and augmenting his version of David's Life suggest that he valued it greatly. It is also noteworthy that the paraphrasing in the main text and the amendments alike seems designed, as in Pen 27ii, to render the Life more intelligible and engaging, and there is evidence of a similarly careful consideration of the religious significance of the Life. Unlike in Pen 27ii the description of heaven is retained in Llst 34 and indeed augmented, and the closing prayer is retained. Moreover the genealogy at the end of the Life, which traces David's descent (as in Llst 27/Titus and J 119) to the sister of the Blessed Virgin Mary, adds an exhortation that the Virgin might 'help us always' (*chwaer Mair Wryf Mam Iessü Grist a'n helpio fyth*).<sup>112</sup> This version, then, contains more evidence of devotional use, consistent with Roger Morris's recusant beliefs.<sup>113</sup>

#### *The Peniarth 225 Life*

A close associate of Roger Morris during the period he was working on his collection of saints' Lives in Llst 34 was the scholar, lexicographer and physician Thomas Wilems of Trefriw (1545/6–c.1622), who had also become a recusant by this time. Wiliems copied a version of David's Life

<sup>111</sup> Llst 34, 287.24.

<sup>112</sup> Llst 34, 389.26–8. This genealogy at the end of the Llst 34 Life resembles those at the beginning of the texts in Llst 27/Titus, J 119 and Pen 225, save for its omission of *Gordwryn* (in Pen 15 the genealogy ends before reaching the Virgin Mary's sister). Morris notes that it ought to have been at the beginning of his text. A different genealogy is in fact given at the start of the Llst 34 Life, tracing David's descent to Beli Mawr and noting, with the use of &c, that the lineage extends further to Brutus, Aeneas, and to *Noe hên*. &c. It looks as if Morris, or his source, drew upon a genealogy of Welsh princes or kings for the portion of the genealogy beginning with Cunedda; compare especially the 'Llywelyn ab Iorwerth Genealogies', §11.1, in Ben Guy, *Medieval Welsh Genealogy* (Woodbridge, 2020), 361–2. Morris copied a version of these genealogies into manuscript NLW 3032B between 1580 and 1600; i.e. during the period when he was writing Llst 34 (see Guy, *Medieval Welsh Genealogy*, 188, 192, 350, and Huws, *Repertory*).

<sup>113</sup> Cartwright, *Mary Magdalene*, 56, notes that a similar phrase appealing for Mary Magdalene's aid on Judgement Day was added at the end of that saint's Life in Llst 34.



in 1598 into a manuscript that has survived as NLW Peniarth 225 (Pen 225), along with (and preceding) Lives of Beuno, Mary Magdalene, Margaret and Gwenfrewy. The manuscript also contains nine *lectiones* for St Deiniol, amongst an eclectic mix of other texts including a Latin version of the Law of Hywel Dda, charters and annals. Wiliems noted in the manuscript that his source for the Lives of David, Beuno and Mary Magdalene was a book which he supposed to be about two hundred years old.<sup>114</sup>

The Pen 225 version of David's Life diverges less from the early versions of the Welsh Life than either of the two texts discussed above, and, like the Llst 34 Life, most closely resembles the texts in Titus and Llst 27.<sup>115</sup> None of the episodes of the story are omitted or restructured in any significant way, and there is less modernizing or standardizing of individual words. The *tri dyuot* 'three finds' are retained, for example, as is *wynepglawr* (without explanation), though Pen 225 does replace two instances of *gweryddon* 'virgins', a plural form of *gwery(f)*, with the more common *gweryfyon*.<sup>116</sup> A particularly striking feature of Wiliems's text is a tendency to Latinize the spelling of Welsh words that have Latin derivation or affinities, writing *ecclwys* for *eglwys* 'church', for example.<sup>117</sup> These Latinized words are reminiscent of those used by William Salesbury (an early associate of Thomas Wiliems) in important works such as *Kynniver Llith a Ban* (1551) and translations of the Book of Common Prayer and the New Testament (1567).<sup>118</sup> The Pen 225 Life also follows Salesbury in its odd spellings of *tŷ* 'house' as *tŷy*, and *tylwyth* 'extended family, household' as *[t]ŷylwyth*.<sup>119</sup> Only a few amendments were made to the Pen 225 Life after it was written, and indeed Wiliems may scarcely have revisited it at

<sup>114</sup> Pen 225, 242.28–31 *Alhan o'r vn hen lhyver awduredic ac y caphad Bûchedh Beûno, wedy'r escrivennû wrth amcan a thebygoliaeth er ys deucant mlynedh a llaw dec ar vemrwn* 'Out of the same authoritative old book from which the Life of Beuno was obtained, written at a guess probably two hundred years ago by a fair hand on parchment'. The date, 1598, is noted alongside. A similar note follows the version of the Life of Mary Magdalene in the manuscript (p. 259, *Alhan o'r hen lhiver vchot o'r vn lhaw awdûredic* 'Out of the old book above by the same authoritative hand').

<sup>115</sup> Noted by James, 'Welsh version', 2, and confirmed by my own observations.

<sup>116</sup> Pen 225, 227.16, 229.20, 240.32, 242.14.

<sup>117</sup> See, for example, Pen 225, 228.22 *ecclwys*, 23 *precethû* (BD 3.11 *eglwys*, 13 *pregethu*), 229.29 *discipl* (BD 5.5 *disgybyl*), 240.4 *[p]echatûr* (BD 20.4 *pechadur*). Wiliems also uses the (possibly) Latin-influenced *die* in two references to Tuesday, *die Mawrth* (Pen 225, 239.19, 241.28; contrast BD 19.8, 22.13 *duw Mawrth*; and see GPC s.v. *diau*<sup>2</sup> ... *die*), though *dûw* 'day' is retained in other references to days of the week (Pen 225, 240.38, 241.19–20).

<sup>118</sup> See the entries in GPC for the above-mentioned words, and on Salesbury's use of Latinized forms, 'bolstering the dignity and pedigree of Welsh', see R. B. Jones, *William Salesbury* (Cardiff, 1995), 54.

<sup>119</sup> Pen 225, 237.16 and 231.36, 232.3, 233.25 (contrast 232.1 *[t]ylwyth*).

all, judging by the number of obvious but uncorrected copying errors.<sup>120</sup> On the other hand, his interest in the text is demonstrated by the addition of notes or headings in the margin which would have helped locate particular episodes. Often these are in the form of personal names and place-names, such as *Patric* and *Glynn Rossyn*, or a key phrase or word such as *Bara a dwr* or *ynepclawr*; the latter note may also reflect Wiliems's lexicographical interests, and likewise his glosses of *dyret* for *dabre*, *lhefein* for *disgriaw*, and Latin *Crimen* for *caedh*.<sup>121</sup>

Paraphrasing is much less apparent in the Pen 225 text than in Pen 27ii or Ll1st 34, but there are still a significant number of instances, perhaps the most curious being the detail that the dog killed by the poisoned bread had been in her lair raising her pups (*yn y gwal yn magû y chynawon*).<sup>122</sup> The episode with St Patrick towards the beginning of the text contains several alterations, though there is nothing resembling the major restructuring seen in the Ll1st 34 Life. Most notably, the words *y precethû*, 'to preach' have been included in the text, to better describe Patrick's intent in coming to Glyn Rhosyn, and Wiliems has added in superscript a reference to his also intending to build there.<sup>123</sup>

Other paraphrased passages in this version might also suggest that the adapter was considering carefully the logic and significance of the story. In the episode where an angel instructs Aidan to warn David of the plot to poison him, whereas in other versions of the Life the instruction to send his 'fellow disciple' Scuthyn over the Irish Sea to David is directly followed by Scuthyn's gladly setting about his task, in Pen 225 the gap in the narrative is filled by describing Aidan sending for Scuthyn, now described as one of *his* disciples: *Ac yna ydh anûones Aedân Scûthûn vn o'e dhisciplion*.<sup>124</sup> Furthermore, where the early Welsh texts have the angel saying only one in a hundred will go to the kingdom of heaven, in Pen 225 'go' (*a*) has been changed to 'come' (*daw*), assigning to the angel a viewpoint from heaven rather than earth.<sup>125</sup> Other changes, already mentioned above in comparison with readings in Ll1st 34 or Pen 27ii, include the placing of God before David as the object of the verb *addoli* at

<sup>120</sup> For example, Pen 225 lacks one of the instances of *lygeit* in the episode where Paulinus's blindness is cured (229.37–230.1), and omits the word *merch* 'girl' from a description of the martyr Dunod, leaving only adjectives (232.24 *da diweir war cynieni*). These omissions may have been made because Wiliems was starting a new line, and in the former case also a new page.

<sup>121</sup> Pen 225, pp. 227, 228, 229, and 234, 236, 237. Wiliems's *Thesaurus linguae Latinae et Cambrobrytannicae*, written as a fair copy in NLW Peniarth 228 in 1604–8, gives *Caredh* as the first synonym s.v. *Crimen*.

<sup>122</sup> Pen 225, 234.25.

<sup>123</sup> Pen 225, 227.21–3 *o dyna y deuth Patric hyt yn Glynn Rossyn y precethû, ac y medhyliawdh<sup>adetailad a</sup> dwyn yno y vûchedh*.

<sup>124</sup> Pen 225, 233.37–8.

<sup>125</sup> Pen 225, 230.32–3 *o vraidh y daw vn o cant o'r lle hwnn y deyrnas nef; BD 6.23–4*.

the end of the Breffi episode, the reference to church leaders as well as parsons lamenting over who will help them once David has gone, and the changing of ‘light without end’ to ‘light without darkness’ in the description of heaven.<sup>126</sup> There is some duplication of other ‘X without Y’ pairings later in the same passage, perhaps by error or in a botched attempt to tidy up the list, or possibly recording readings from two different sources. Llst 27/Titus and J 119/Pen 15 (and Llst 34) agree in having two groups of such pairings, the first two pairs (‘rest without labour’, ‘joy without sorrow’) following on from ‘light without end’ and being followed in turn by a description of heaven’s abundance of goodness, glory, brightness and beauty, and of the praise of Christ’s champions and the despising of the wicked wealthy; then follow a further six ‘X without Y’ pairings beginning with ‘health without sickness, and youth without old age, and peace without discord’ (*iechyt heb dolur; a ieuengtitt heb heneint, a thangnefed heb anuundeb*).<sup>127</sup> These six pairings of the second group occur in the same position in Pen 225, but the first two pairs also occur (with underlining) *before* the reference to Christ’s champions and the wicked wealthy; furthermore, between them is placed (without underlining) what looks like a paraphrase of the third pair, *hedhwch heb ryûel* ‘peace without war’.<sup>128</sup>

Elsewhere, variant readings in Wiliems’s text could be regarded as improvements on those in the earlier texts. In most other versions of the Welsh Life two passages associating different saints with different territories assign Alexandria to Luke in the first list, but to Mark in the second, but Pen 225 has avoided the inconsistency, assigning both to Mark.<sup>129</sup> Furthermore, Pen 225 includes Parthia, along with the earlier texts’ Judea, as Matthew’s territory, reflecting a tradition that he died there (by martyrdom, in some versions).<sup>130</sup> Like Roger Morris, it seems Wiliems also paid attention to David’s genealogy, his version resembling that in the early

<sup>126</sup> Pen 225, 238.36–239.1 *holl Saint yr ynys honn a’r brenhinedh a ostyngassant ar eû gliniê, y adholi Dûw a Dewi* (compare Pen 27ii §23 *holl saint yr ynys honn a’r brenhinedd a’r tywysogion a ostyngasant iddaw*); Pen 225, 240.26–7 *Cwyn y lhywawrtion ecclwysic a’r personieit* (compare Llst 34, 286.21–2 *kwyn y personniaid<sup>saint</sup>*; Pen 27ii §26 *kwyn y pererinion*); Pen 225, 241.45 *goleûni heb dywlhwc* (compare Llst 34, 288.15–17 *goleûni heb ddiwedd<sup>dwyllhwc</sup>*).

<sup>127</sup> *BD* 22.19–25; Llst 34, 288.15–23. This section is not present in Pen 27ii.

<sup>128</sup> Pen 225, 241.47–242.5 *a chlaerder a thegwch, ac iechyt heb dolur; hedhwch heb ryûel, ac iennctitt heb heneint, a chlaerder a thegwch, en y lhe mae moliant rhyswyr Crist, y lhe ydh esceûlussir y ~~lodion drwc~~ cyûoethocion drwc, y lhe mae iechyt heb dholur; ieûnctitt heb heneint, a thangnedhyf heb anûndeb*. Note the further duplication, uncorrected, of *a chlaerder a thegwch* ‘and brightness and beauty’. The corrected error with *lodion* (‘poor people’), in contrast with *cyûoethocion* (‘wealthy people’), is also interesting.

<sup>129</sup> *BD* 18.7, 23.13; Pen 225, 238.28 and 242.18–19. Llst 34 has the same inconsistency; Pen 27ii does not contain the second list. Neither list is in the *vita*.

<sup>130</sup> Pen 225, 242.17 *lhe mae Matthew ygyt a gwyr Iudea, a Pharthia*; and see I. Boxall, *Matthew Through the Centuries* (Oxford, 2019), 34–5.

versions of the Welsh Life but with the added information, probably drawn from ‘Bonedd y Saint’, that David’s mother was *Non f. Gynyr o Gawr Gawch ym Mynyw*.<sup>131</sup>

In general, though there are far fewer alterations in the Pen 225 Life than in Llst 34 or Pen 27ii, those changes that were made seem to have sprung from a similar motive to make the text more intelligible, readable, or engaging, with attention paid to the logic and religious significance of the story. Though the Pen 225 Life may owe some of its peculiarities to its ‘two hundred year old’ source, it appears that it also bears the hallmark of Wiliems’s own scholarly interests and knowledge, most obviously in its marginal notes and glosses and its Latinizations, but perhaps also in some of the other alterations to the text itself.

#### *Affinities and sources*

The similarity between the versions of David’s Life in Llst 34 and Pen 225 has long been recognized: J. W. James noted that many readings were shared between them, and J. E. Caerwyn Williams drew particular attention to the significant faulty reading *Henllan yn Arfon* which is present in both.<sup>132</sup> Other features shared between the Llst 34 (main) text and Pen 225 are the omission of the reference to Sant seizing Non prior to raping her, with subsequent addition of the detail that she was chaste in word as well as in thought and deed; a reference to twelve years rather than ten as the period of time during which the humble young David never looked into Paulinus’s face; the failure to name David’s three disciples (*Aedan ac Eliud ac Ismael*) in describing their initial journey to Glyn Rhosyn; the addition of *personiaid* to the list of attendees at the synod of Brefi (Pen 225 also adds *cyuarwydhwyr*), and the garbled reading *o ddim hyd ar ddim* ‘?nothing to nothing’ rather than *o Dyfi hyt ar Deiui* ‘from the Dyfi to the Teifi’ in the section on sanctuary.<sup>133</sup> It appears likely, then, that Pen 225 and the Llst 34 main text shared a common source, distinct from any of the surviving earlier texts but most similar to the Llst 27/Titus group.<sup>134</sup> Interestingly, Jane Cartwright has observed a similar pattern of relationships in the case of the Life of Mary Magdalene, with the versions in Llst

<sup>131</sup> Pen 225, 227.9–10; cf. Bartrum, *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, 54 (§1).

<sup>132</sup> James, ‘Welsh version’, 2 (‘Llanstephan 34 [...] reproduces 14 readings peculiar to Peniarth 225, which has 46 such peculiar readings; Llanstephan 34 also has 37 variants peculiar to itself’); Williams, ‘Buchedd Dewi’, 114–15.

<sup>133</sup> Llst 34, 268.22–3 *Diwair oedd hi o air a meddwl a gweithred* (cf. Pen 225, 228.16–17; contrast *BD* 3.6 *diweir oed hi o vedwl a gweithret*); Llst 34, 271.4 *deüdec mlynedd* (cf. Pen 225, 230.2–3; contrast *BD* 5.13 *deng mlynedd*; *VSD* §11 *decem ... anni*); Llst 272.19–12 (cf. P226, 231.2–4; contrast *BD* 7.5); Llst 34, 278.27 *a’r personiaid*; Pen 225, 235.8 *a’r personieit a’r cyuarwydhwyr* (contrast *BD* 13.5); Llst 34, 284.14 (cf. Pen 225, 239.8; contrast *BD* 20.24–21.1).

<sup>134</sup> The former point was noted by Williams, ‘Buchedd Dewi’, 114–15, and the latter by James, ‘Welsh version’, 2.

34 and especially Pen 225 being similar to that in Llst 27 (this Life is not present in Titus).<sup>135</sup> This ties in with Wiliems's statement that he obtained the Lives of Mary Magdalene and David (and Beuno) from the same 'two hundred year old' book. Moreover, as J. E. Caerwyn Williams noted, Llst 27 is the only surviving medieval manuscript that contains these three Lives together, though he did not go so far as to suggest that this itself was the source of the texts in Pen 225.<sup>136</sup>

The most recent common source of the versions of David's Life in Pen 225 and Llst 34, then, was probably a version similar to that in Llst 27 and Titus, which might be identical with Wiliems's 'two hundred year old book', or a precursor of it. The former scenario would require Wiliems himself to have been responsible for the peculiarities of his text, whilst the latter would mean some could be the work of a much earlier adapter. In the case of Morris's text, it is almost certain that there was an intermediate, paraphrased text between his 'main text' in Llst 34 and the most recent shared source with Pen 225. To suppose otherwise would mean envisaging that Morris, having freely paraphrased a source that quite closely resembled Llst 27/Titus, went back to his text to reverse many of his own alterations, also adding further 'new' material. This, whilst not impossible, seems highly unlikely.

If many of the paraphrases in the Llst 34 main text (especially the ones he later 'corrected') came from Morris's initial source, it must be supposed that he had a second source which allowed him to bring his text more into line with the surviving early versions of the Welsh Life. The obvious candidate is the Pen 225 text itself. In general it closely resembles the early texts in J 119/Pen 15 and especially Llst 27/Titus, so could have provided those 'standardizing' readings. More tellingly, some of the peculiarities of Pen 225 also crop up in Morris's amendments in Llst 34, notably the reference to 'light without darkness' (as opposed to 'light without end'), mentioned above. Also significant are the square brackets added around the *H* of *Hodnant* in Llst 34 as if in deference to the (incorrect) spelling, *Oddnant*, in Pen 225; a reference to giving thanks 'to him' rather than 'to God' in the poisoning episode; and an instance of *tuy* (for *tŷ*) in a longer phrase, otherwise resembling the early versions of the Welsh Life, supplied to correct an omission from the episode with the widow's son.<sup>137</sup>

<sup>135</sup> Cartwright, *Mary Magdalene*, 49, 66. (It is further noted, *ibid.* 56, that the Life of Mary Magdalene in Llst 34 contains additional material perhaps drawn from a source shared with the version in Pen 27ii.)

<sup>136</sup> 'Buchedd Dewi', 114.

<sup>137</sup> Llst 34, 272.19, *[H]odnant*; Pen 225, 231.4 *odhnant* (see the notes on the transcription (Llst 34) for similar instances of using square brackets to denote a correction or alternate reading); Llst 34, 277.16–17 *a thalü diolch i [D]dŷw<sup>ddaw</sup>*; Pen 225, 234.15 *a thalü diolch ydhaw*; contrast *BD* 11.21 *a dywedut* [Titus *thalö*] *diolwch mawr y Duw*; Llst 34, 282.2 *A phan ddoeth ef y mywn* *ir tuy lle ir oedd y corph*; Pen 225, 237.16–17 *a dyüot yr tŷ y lle y dh oedh*

Importantly, too, this scenario for the origin of the amendments would explain why Morris did not correct major errors such as *Henllan yn Arfon* and *o ddim hyd ar ddim*, since these errors are also present in Pen 225.

It must be noted, however, that though most of the ‘standardizing’ amendments to the Llŷst 34 main text look as if they could derive from Pen 225, there are a few cases where this seems less likely. Most notably, the added text in Llŷst 34’s *Llyma rodd deilwng i gan Dduw i ryw wr hwnnw a gafas*, referring to the ‘worthy gift’ (of a spring running with wine) ‘by God to such a man as that’, is similar to the readings in the early versions of the Life, but the reading is faulty in Pen 225 (*lhyna rodd deilwng y gan Dhûw y’r ryw hwnnw*).<sup>138</sup> Perhaps Morris managed to guess at something approaching the earlier texts’ readings, or perhaps, rather than using the Pen 225 Life itself, he was using a closely similar, ‘sister’ version.

Widening the scope of comparison to include Pen 27ii leads to a somewhat confusing picture. As noted above, both the Llŷst 34 and the Pen 225 Lives share many similarities with the Pen 27ii Life, as regards the *kind* of changes made, but there are also a few shared or similar readings. In the extract quoted in the previous paragraph, the *a gafas* of Llŷst 34’s main text agrees (only) with Pen 27ii; furthermore, both Llŷst 34 and Pen 27ii substitute the adjective *dirmygus* for *tremygedic* in the Boia episode; Pen 225’s *avon deifin* is reminiscent of Pen 27ii’s *avon ddofn*; all three texts omit the place-names *Linhenllan* and *Litonmaucan/Liton Mancan*; and all three have David referring to charity given ‘to me’ as opposed to ‘to us’ as he invites Dyfrig and Deiniol (or Beuno, in Pen 27ii) to dine with him.<sup>139</sup> One particularly striking feature is the odd use of *gw(y)rth(i)au*, usually meaning ‘miracles’, as if it were a singular noun.<sup>140</sup> This occurs in Pen 27ii, Llŷst 34 and Pen 225, and also to a lesser degree in the earlier version in Pen 15, but not in J 119, Llŷst 27 or Titus. Agreement of Pen 27ii with Pen 15 is not surprising, since in general its closest affinities seem to be with that text and J 119, but agreement of Llŷst 34 and Pen 225 with Pen 15 seems somewhat at odds with their far more common similarities to Llŷst 27 and

*corph y mab*; contrast *BD 16.8–7 a dyuot y’r ty lle yr [Titus yd] oed gorff y mab*. See also [n. 108](#) above.

<sup>138</sup> Llŷst 34, 275.26; Pen 225, 233.8–9; compare *BD 10.4–5 Llyna rod deilwng y gan Duw y’r [J 119/Pen 15 y] ryw wr hwnnw*. The added text particularly resembles J 119/Pen 15 but this may not be significant. (A scenario where Morris had access to a third source, similar to J 119/Pen 15, would require explanation of why he did not use it to correct some of the obvious errors in his text.)

<sup>139</sup> Pen 27ii §17 *A llyna rodd deilwng i gan Dduw a gavas*; Pen 27ii §14, Llŷst 34, 273.17 (contrast *BD 8.3*; cf. Pen 225, 231.28 *tremygedic*); Pen 27ii §1, Pen 225, 227.16; on the place-names, see [n. 69](#) above; Pen 27ii §21 *a rodded i mi o’r nef*, cf. Llŷst 34, 281.19, and Pen 225, 237.3, contrast *BD 15.22 a rodet ynni o’r nef*.

<sup>140</sup> This is an unusual practice but not unique to David’s Life; with Pen 27ii’s *Kynta gwyrthiav a wnayth Dewi* (§4) and *gwyrthie arall* (§6), compare J. Day, ed., *Buchedd Martin* (LIGC 3026C), at <welshsaints.ac.uk/theedition/> (2020) §14 *A hwnnw vv y gwyrthiav kyntaf a wnaeth Marthin yno*, and see the explanatory notes in the two editions.

Titus (including the absence of an entire sentence from the episode with the widow's son).<sup>141</sup>

Some of the confusion can be resolved if it is supposed that apparent affinities might have resulted from the independent actions of different adapters with similar motives. For example, the substitution of *tremygedic* with the perhaps more familiar *dirmygus* might have been made independently in the Pen 27ii and Llst 34 texts. Likewise, if 'singular' *gw(y)rth(i)au* were present in the Welsh archetype, it is easy to imagine that this might have been corrected or standardized on different occasions in different lines of transmission, but survived in some versions that were not necessarily closely related to one another. Attention has been drawn above to other readings in Pen 27ii which might better represent the original Welsh Life than the surviving, earlier texts. A similar instance in Llst 34 might be the main text's *dyly*, in the opening episode, as opposed to *deu le* in earlier versions.<sup>142</sup> It is also noteworthy that of all the versions of the Life discussed here, only J 119 and Pen 225 have the same four adjectives describing the martyred Dunod, these too potentially deriving from an earlier, lost source.<sup>143</sup> The possibility of 'cross-fertilization' between different versions of the Welsh Life, or indeed from the *vita* or later Latin recensions, also needs to be borne in mind, however; it is likely enough that the various Latin and Welsh versions of saints' Lives circulating in late-medieval and early-modern Wales were often viewed side by side and compared with one another. The amendments to the Llst 34 Life of David are an obvious instance of combining two (Welsh) sources, but there may be others, less readily apparent.<sup>144</sup>

Regarding the origin of the Pen 27ii Life, it is noteworthy that Jane Cartwright considers that this manuscript's version of the Life of Mary Magdalene derives from a different source from that in Llst 34, showing its closest resemblance to the version in the White Book of Rhydderch.<sup>145</sup> The other saint's Life in Pen 27ii, that of Gwenfrewy, has no surviving Welsh-language antecedent, but Cartwright observes that there are indications that the version in Pen 27ii is a copy and not the translator's

<sup>141</sup> *BD* 16.9–10; part of the sentence is present in Pen 27ii (§22), as noted above (n. 24).

<sup>142</sup> See above, n. 86.

<sup>143</sup> *BD* 9.7–8 *Sefa oruc y uorwyn da, diweir, war, gymenn*; Pen 225, 232.23–4 *Sefa oruc da diweir war cynieni* (the latter word is presumably an error for *cymen* but the lack of lenition is interesting).

<sup>144</sup> Compare, perhaps, the duplication in the Pen 225 Life's description of heaven, and the instances where the Pen 27ii Life shows particular agreement with the *vita*, notably the reference to pilgrims (see above). However, had the *vita* been available to an adapter of that version, it might be expected that he would have made many *more* changes or corrections. Evidence for Welsh saints' Lives drawing upon or being influenced by versions in other languages is discussed further in J. Day, 'The Welsh Lives of Mary of Egypt', Chapter 9 below.

<sup>145</sup> Cartwright, *Mary Magdalene*, 46–7, 49.

original text.<sup>146</sup> If Gwenfrewy's and Mary Magdalene's Lives derived from a lost source, similar in the latter case to the White Book, then perhaps the version of David's Life recorded in Pen 27ii was transmitted along with them.

### *Conclusions*

It seems that the Pen 27ii Life of David derived, probably through more than one intermediary, from a source that was most closely related to the versions in J 119 and Pen 15, whilst the Pen 225 and Llst 34 Lives share a common source that was most closely related to Llst 27 and Titus. In the case of Llst 34, the text seems to have been copied initially from a paraphrased version of that common source, with amendments having been added later, some apparently deriving from Pen 225 (or a close relative). A more detailed comparison of readings might shed further light on the textual history of the Welsh Lives of David, and indeed should also include the versions in later manuscripts. The seventeenth-century text in Cardiff, Central Library 2.624 would be of particular interest since it has not been identified as a copy of any earlier version.<sup>147</sup> Creating a definitive stemma for the late (or indeed early) versions of the Life may prove very difficult, however, given the likelihood of cross-fertilisation between different versions.

That there were once many more copies of David's Life than have survived to this day seems certain. It may be, however, that relatively few copies of his Life found their way north. This might explain some of the errors and idiosyncrasies of the three late Lives discussed here, and likewise, many of their instances of paraphrasing may have been triggered by illegibility or errors in a source text. It is also the case, however, that these late versions sometimes improve upon faulty or confusing readings in the earlier surviving representatives of the Welsh Life. In Pen 27ii, Llst 34 and Pen 225 alike, there is evidence of earnest and often successful attempts to make David's Life more accessible, more engaging, and more edifying. These aims go together, of course: a well-told story with an appealing hero (or heroine) would be a particularly effective means of spiritual instruction and inspiration, and it is striking that similar motivations appear to have been at work in late adaptations of other saints' Lives, including those of Mary Magdalene and Mary of Egypt in Llst 34, and likewise in versions of these two Lives recorded by John Jones, Gellilyfdy, in Cardiff, Central Library 2.633 (1604–10).<sup>148</sup> For example, all four of these

<sup>146</sup> Cartwright, 'The Welsh versions of the Life of Gwenfrewy'.

<sup>147</sup> James, 'Welsh version', 2, notes similarities mostly to Titus, but some to J 119. Williams, 'Buchedd Dewi', 114, notes that Cardiff 2.624 shares the faulty *Henllan yn Arfon* reading with Llst 34 and Pen 225.

<sup>148</sup> Cartwright, *Mary Magdalene*, 49–58, 61–3; Day, 'Welsh Lives of Mary of Egypt'.



texts contain paraphrased passages providing careful and sometimes pedantic explanation of situations or events, such as the description of St Stephen being stoned to death *with stones* (*[l]lybyddio Ystyphant a main*) in Llst 34's version of the Life of Mary Magdalene, or the helpful reminder in the version of Mary of Egypt's Life in Cardiff 2.633 that the loaves which sustained the saint in the desert were the ones she had brought with her (*y tair torth vara a ddygasai gida hi*).<sup>149</sup> These may be compared in particular with readings in the Llst 34 version of David's Life discussed above, where it seems there was rewording to remove any suggestion that water is 'food', and to present the sky, not the land, as the proper realm of birds (Pen 27ii, likewise, has variant readings of its own in each case). Again, descriptions of weeping are augmented in the version of Mary of Egypt's Life in both Llst 34 and Cardiff 2.633, just as they are in the version of David's Life in Llst 34, heightening the emotional impact of the story in each case.<sup>150</sup> Furthermore, added references to God or the Virgin Mary in some of these Lives of female saints may be compared to alterations in David's later Lives (especially Pen 27ii) which might have been designed to moderate his, or Patrick's, status.<sup>151</sup>

The motives behind the changed readings in the versions of David's Life written down in the period leading up to the Reformation (Pen 27ii) and after the Reformation (Llst 34, Pen 225) appear on the whole to have been strikingly similar. It is likely of course, as discussed above, that much of the rephrasing in the post-Reformation texts originated in earlier, probably pre-Reformation sources. Where Roger Morris and Thomas Wiliems did make contributions of their own, their aims may have resembled those of the earlier adapters, to a certain extent at least. As recusant scholars, they too would have been very much aware of the functional, devotional role of saints' Lives. The potential audience might have been smaller, but that would have rendered the Lives no less important or inspiring to those who recorded or reworked them. On the other hand, both Morris's and Wiliems's interactions with the text may also be viewed in the wider context of Renaissance humanist scholarship. In Wiliems's case this is perhaps most apparent in some of his marginal notes and glosses, which may reflect his lexicographical interests, whilst Morris's activity in collating versions of the Life might reflect a desire not only to make the text more edifying but also, possibly, to identify the best and most 'authentic' readings (i.e. those intended by the original translator), in accordance with the humanist *ad fontes* principle.

<sup>149</sup> Cartwright, *Mary Magdalene*, 49–58, 61–3 (the quotation is on p. 55); Day, 'Welsh Lives of Mary of Egypt'.

<sup>150</sup> Day, 'Welsh Lives of Mary of Egypt'.

<sup>151</sup> Cartwright, *Mary Magdalene*, 55 (on Mary Magdalene's Life in Llst 34); Day, 'Welsh Lives of Mary of Egypt' (on Mary of Egypt's Life in Llst 34 and Cardiff 2.633).

The northern origin of at least two, and probably all three, of the later Lives of David discussed here needs some consideration, as it is in marked contrast to the southern origin of the earlier versions. Of course, the very fact of David's inclusion in these manuscripts (especially Pen 27ii, which only has two other saints' Lives) reflects his Wales-wide importance by the later Middle Ages. It is interesting to consider, however, whether the Pen 27ii text's 'toning down' or omission of some of David's miracles, and other instances where it seems his status is moderated, might reflect a north-Walian reluctance to grant to David a privileged status above other (northern) Welsh saints. Given the similar 'moderating' in the case of the female saints' Lives mentioned above, however, it may be that this was part of a broader trend. Comparison with a wider range of saints' Lives in the manuscripts in question (and others) might shed more light on this matter, and it would be interesting to consider the gender of saints, as well as their origin.

Certainly, there is every indication that Roger Morris and Thomas Wiliems had a respectful view of St David. More generally in post-Reformation Wales, it seems David was seen as an important figure who remained a focus for national pride, and indeed for Oxford-educated scholars such as Morris and Wiliems, David may well have symbolised the ancient dignity of the Welsh Church (under Rome), in keeping with the general humanist interest in Wales's proud 'foundation myths'.<sup>152</sup> David was also, of course, an example to be followed, and for Welsh Catholics a particularly powerful intercessor, and in his later Lives – and indeed throughout the development of his Welsh Life – these two aspects are emphasized. In early versions of the Welsh Life as compared with the *vita*, as well as in the later versions of the Welsh Life as compared with the early ones, there is added emphasis on character and emotion, and particular attention is paid to the joys of heaven and the means by which they might be attained. The motivation of the original, probably early-fourteenth-century translator, then, may not have been very far removed from those of fifteenth-century and later adapters. In short, saints' Lives by their nature were functional, fluid texts, and the fact that the story of Wales's patron saint was not immune from such interference is no adverse reflection on his status.<sup>153</sup> On the contrary, it demonstrates that he remained an

<sup>152</sup> Williams, *Religion, Language and Nationality*, 118–19; R. G. Gruffydd, 'The Renaissance in Welsh literature', in *The Celts and the Renaissance: Tradition and Innovation*, ed. G. Williams and R. O. Jones (Cardiff, 1990), 17–39.

<sup>153</sup> On the fluidity of texts and 'productive transmission', see S. Davies, 'Cynnydd Peredur Vab Efrawc' in *Canhwyll Marchogyon: Cyd-destunoli Peredur*, ed. S. Davies and P. W. Thomas (Caerdydd, 2000), 65–90; B. Roberts, 'Y cysyniad o destun', in *ibid.*, 50–64; Callander, 'Armes Dydd Brawd'.

inspirational figure throughout the twists and turns of the political and religious history of Wales, as, indeed, he remains to this day.<sup>154</sup>

<sup>154</sup> Some of the research presented here was carried out as part of the *Cult of Saints in Wales* project (2013–17), funded by a research grant from the Arts and Humanities Research Council, at the University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies in Aberystwyth. A preliminary version of this chapter was presented at the *Vitae Sanctorum Cambriae* conference, University of Cambridge, 26–27 September 2019. I thank the conference delegates and colleagues on the Welsh and Latin saints projects for helpful comments and discussions, and I particularly thank Professors Jane Cartwright, Ann Parry Owen and Paul Russell for their corrections and comments on this chapter.