

Compare and contrast Rhygyfarch's Life of St David with Prior Robert of Shrewsbury's Life of St Winefride.

Two Welsh Saints *Lives* I shall here be discussing with regard to the similarities and differences both of their *Lives* have. One of the main similarities between the two Saints is that they belong to the same time period, that of the *Age of Saints*, of which the Saints known as the *Celtic Saints* belong, spanning from AD c.400 to AD c.800,¹ St David being alive in AD 500 and St Winifred AD 600.



One of the main influences on the *Lives* of both St David and St Winifred is why their *Lives* were written, that is the socio-politics behind the writings of their *Lives* and by whom the *Lives* were written. The differences in intentions for the production of these *Lives* shows in the structure of the two *Lives* individually. An explanation of the authors, and their own lives and motivations, therefore, shall best outline the reasons for why some of the differences of the *Lives* may be.

Rhygyfarch ap Sulien, his life and work of *The Life of Saint David*:

The main author of St David's work was an 11th century scholar by the name of Rhygyfarch, son of Sulien the Wise who was twice bishop of Saint Davids,² thus a prominent figure in the religious landscape of South-West Wales. Trouble hit Wales unlike that of before with the coming of the Normans in the mid-eleventh century, who occupied and colonised South Wales. This colonisation by foreign, alien forces, by its own very nature, brought fear to the Church of Wales, bringing its identity and culture vehemently under threat; similarly, with the recognition of Canterbury and York as archbishoprics, such independence was absent within Wales and bishopric St Davids. Sulien the Wise was well aware of this; therefore, the writing of the *Life of Saint David* would be an approach true to his namesake to demonstrate to the English and Normans both the importance of Saint David, man and Bishopric.

Prior Robert (Pennant) of Shrewsbury, his life and the work of *The Life of Saint Winifred*:

A man not to be confused with Robert of Shrewsbury, clerk of Henry II, Prior Robert of Shrewsbury is believed to have been part of the Pennant family of Downing, an 'immediate neighbourhood of Holywell',³ whose *Life of St Winifred* he wrote in Latin in the 12th century. Little is else known of Prior Robert's life other than he was Prior of Shrewsbury. Writing as he did shortly after the transferral of St Winifred's relics to Shrewsbury,⁴ he lacked opportunity to write of the miracles she performed at Shrewsbury, as what can be taken as compensate for this, he wrote also on the translation of her relics to Shrewsbury, including too at the end of her *Life* a 'lengthy appendix devoted to posthumous miracles' at

¹ G. Morgan, *In Pursuit of Saint David, Patron Saint of Wales*, (Talybont: Y Llofa Cyf, 2017), p.54.

² G. Morgan, *In Pursuit of Saint David, Patron Saint of Wales*, (Talybont: Y Llofa Cyf, 2017), p.43.

³ O. Hugh, *A History of Shrewsbury, vol. II*, (London: Harding, Lepard and Co., 1825), p.41-42.

⁴ "Robert Pennant's Life of St. Winefride", R. Pepin, trans. in *Two Mediaeval Lives of Saint Winefride, With an Essay of Winefride's Well-Cult*, trans. R. Pepin and H. Feiss, (Eigene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2011, pp.109-155.), p.77-93.

St Winifred's well.⁵ Robert Prior's writing of the *Life of Saint Winifred* was what drew the Anglo-Saxons to know of, and hence understand, the Saints of Wales, and yet, it was not until the High Middle Ages in 1450 that Henry, Archbishop of Canterbury, who 'appointed the feast of St. Wenefred to be solemnly kept all over England with an office of nine lessons on the 3rd of November (*Lindewode*, fol. 70)'.⁶



While Prior Robert's writing of the life was an account of the acquisition of her relics for translation to Shrewsbury from Gwytherin, its urgency was not quite that of Sulien and his son, Rhygyfarch's need for that of the *Life of Saint David*. Written one hundred years' apart the lives were constructed in historically different eras of the Norman conquest, thus the effects the Normans had on the *Lives* were different. For Rhygyfarch, politico-religiously, orchestrated work for the recognition of the Welsh Church was needed, aimed toward the Normans and the English; come the period of Prior Robert, however, considerable settlement of the Normans had taken place compared, the alarm of the Normans had, at least to some extent, lessened, certainly as the abbey at which Prior Robert was located, the Abbey of Sts Peter & Paul, was that built by a Norman, Roger de Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury,⁷ of whom he talks of in a considerable light, he and King Henry II both.⁸ It can be noted, therefore, that the difference in location and era in which these *Lives* were written differs greatly, which, as will be illustrated below, is demonstrated in the differences between the two *Lives*.

It is clear that David's is of a more political vigour than that of Winifred's as it is not written to dominate or claim the relics in a forceful way, Prior Robert himself makes clear that the monks would have been content with retrieving some of the relics for Shrewsbury, that is, for some relics to remain at Gwytherin,⁹ therefore Prior Robert's *Life of Saint Winifred* is one of veneration rather than one of politico-religious showcasing.

What makes for a Saint and Sainthood?

In the early period, no formalities of Canonisation were required for a person to become a Saint, rather it was instead a person whom to an area they were local and whose life was worth venerating and was something of worth to be celebrated, for a Saint's importance stems from their holiness deemed worthy to be recognised by Christianity and those of the Faith, by virtue; it will be that their life has brought to the Faith something of importance by their acts and obedience and commitment to their faith, as well as the performance of miracles. Saints are symbolic, they are Patrons 'chosen as special protectors or guardians over areas of life',¹⁰ such as that of illnesses, places or buildings, for example. St Winifred is

⁵ J. Cartwright, *Feminine Sanctity and Spirituality in Medieval Wales*, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008), p.72.

⁶ T. Meyrick, *Life of St. Wenefred, Patroness of North Wales and Shrewsbury*, (Felinfach: Llanerch Publishers, rp.1996), p.77.

⁷ H. Feiss, "Introduction" in *Two Mediaeval Lives of Saint Winefride, With an Essay of Winefride's Well-Cult*, trans. R. Pepin and H. Feiss, (Eigene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2011, pp.7-95), p.9.

⁸ He describes Earl Roger as 'a man illustrious and so conspicuous in all honourableness of morals and piety' (*Winifride*, p.77) and of King Henry II of whom he describes as being 'the greatest soldier and friend of peace' and so forth, *Winifride*, p.80.

⁹ *Winefride*, p.16.

¹⁰ "Frequently Asked Questions about Saints" on *Catholic Online*, 2017, online at: <http://www.catholic.org/saints/faq.php>, accessed on: 28/11/2017.

known for her being a Virgin, a prominent attribute of female Saints, as will be discussed below, but she is also the patron Saint to protect against sexual harassment, as is her fate and teachings in her *Life*; St David is the patron saint of Poets and Vegetarians. The latter being namely due to his diet being of only bread, salt and water. His patronage to the whole of Wales, however, was not always so, for David was the Patron Saint of the South of Wales, the Deheubarth and Ceredigion areas; St Winifred, on the other hand, is the Patron Saint of North Wales (Gwynedd) and Shrewsbury. The locations for which the Saints were born, live and transported to are that which they represent. True to the Faith and their Lord, both Saints have reserved their bodies for the Lord, thus both honourable Souls have secured their place in Sainthood *via* their teachings of the Faith to others and their own personal commitment to the Lord and to Christianity. The ways in which these two Saints dedicate themselves to the Faith differ, yet retain similarities, of which will here be explored what differences there are between Saint Winifred and Saint David and their *Lives* and reasons as to why this may be so.

Matters that occur in both of the two Saints' *Lives* and how they differ:

There are many aspects shared between the two Saints' *Lives*, not all are matters which either Saint directly carries out or has inflicted on them but rather is contained within the *Life*, regarding instead another within the *Life* thus creating similar themes present in both of the *Lives*.

Both Saints dedicate their bodies to the Lord, as is seen early in both of the *Lives*, Winifred, under the teaching of St Beuno, decides that she would 'offer herself as a pure virgin to Christ',¹¹ this is central to St Winifred's *Life*, similarly, in St David's, it is noted that that he kept 'his flesh innocent of a wife's embraces'.¹² There is little direct mention of his body's purity in this direct respect, as the purity of his body is not central to his *Life*, unlike that of Winifred. What surrounds such purity is that of threat to it. In both *Lives* this is encountered by female figures: Winifred and her near-rape by Caradoc, the son of King Alauc, and the actual rape which conceives David, of Non. Interestingly, it is that of retaining virgin status and purity which comes with maidenhood, oft central to that of female Saints,¹³ of which Non is an exception.

Another feature characteristic to the females in these Saints' *Lives* is that of the female martyr: St Winifred is beheaded by Caradog, and on this happening, a spring appears,¹⁴ similarly, in *The Life of St David* it is the step-daughter of Baia's wife, Dunod, whom by her step-mother is beheaded, and, on this happening does too a spring appear. 'Many welsh saints had a holy well connected to them' prior to the 12th century, as Hugh Fieiss notes.¹⁵ This motif as used with the murder of the innocent girl, Dunod would have likely been known to Rhygyfarch. The purity and innocence of both maidens, St Winifred

¹¹ *Winefride*, p.30

¹² "Rhygyfarch's *Life of St David*" trans., R. Sharpe and J. R. Davies, in eds. J. W. Evans and J. M. Wooding, *St David of Wales: Church, Cult and Nation*, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007, pp.109-155), p.117.

¹³ J. Cartwright, "The Cult of St Non: Rape Sanctity and Motherhood in elsh and Breton Hagiography" in eds. J. W. Evans and J. M. Wooding, *St David of Wales: Church, Cult and Nation*, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007, pp.182-219.), p.182.

¹⁴ What one must note, however, is that in Prior Robert's version of the *Life*, it is when St Winifred's head stops rolling down the hill that the spring arose, that of the spring rising where the blood fell is found in that of *Buchedd Beuno* and *Vita Wenefrede*, E. R. Henken, *Traditions of the Welsh Saints*, (Woodbridge, Suffolk: D. S. Brewer, 1987), p.145.

¹⁵ Introduction, Winifred, p.17

and Dunod ferch Baia, is hallowed thus, a common event when a Saint, usually female, is martyred.¹⁶

As above mentioned, an especial characteristic to Sainthood is that of performing miracles, of which both Saints, of course, do. The miracles which both St David and St Winifred have in common is that of healing those who have a disfigurement – or, with regard to St David, those who have deceased! – the miracle which both Saints share in the *Lives* is curing the blind. David, on being baptised healed the eyes of Saint Mobí of Glasnevin, curing the blindness with which he was born,¹⁷ and doing the same in his adolescent years, with Paulinus, his teacher,¹⁸ and again later, curing Peibio, King of Ergyng of blindness also.¹⁹ Similarly, St Winifred cures a young girl of the same illness, as is told in the closing chapters of her *Life*.²⁰ The notable difference between the two Saints and the performance of these miracles is that St David's he performed whilst alive, St Winifred's she performed after her death through that of her Holy Well, as were her the other of her miracles. While the two perform the same miracle, to give sight to those who had not the ability to see, the way in which they perform these miracles differs, thus bringing focus to St Winifred's sacrifice.

The emphasis is put onto St Winifred's death for all miracles of hers are performed when she is deceased, Prior Robert dedicating nine chapters to it. The 'focal point of Gwenfrewi's life was her decollation and resucitation'²¹ for it was her death, both that which she was brought to *via* martyrdom, the other of natural occurrence, which are central to her *Life* and her death and martyrdom. This carries with it an archetype of the pinnacle of Christian femininity who values purity and honour above her own life. St David, emphatically values purity and honour also, but his *Life* is not centred around his death. Both Saints do die come the end of their *Life*. Both of their lives end as one would expect with any cherished person, and both are told of their coming death, which is frequent in *Lives* of Saints, should they not die in battle, such as Saint Ursula, or otherwise sit themselves ready as offering to God, as did Saint Patrick against the stones. St Winifred senses 'she has been visited by the grace of God, and with an exultant spirit she began to prepare herself for the joys of the everlasting kingdom'²² which, on hearing the news of her coming death tells the virgins, she teaches them not to be sorrowful and teaches them against the wickedness of the 'cunning Foe'²³ God tells her to pray in the chapel for her death is very near, she asks to be buried with Elerius's mother, and, come her death, Prior Robert, in a rather humble manner, as will be shown compared, explains how all 'no one was free from wailing; each sex and age turned itself to profuse lamentation'. Similarly, David is told, by an angel, that is death is near²⁴ and Rhygyfarch expressed how mourned:

‘O who could then endure the weeping of the holy men, the deep sighing by the hermits, the moaning of the priest, and the wailing of the disciples... the lamentations of pilgrims, the desperation of kings... the lamentations of the people,

¹⁶ Examples, this is common on the British Isles, Saint Juthwara of Dorset, 6th century, Saint Noyala, 6th century, likely Welsh, died in Brittany, and Saint Aled, South Wales, 6th century, whose story is very much similar to that of Saint Winifred's. D. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saint, Fifth Edition Revised*, (OUP, 2011).

¹⁷ *David*, 117.

¹⁸ *David*, 119.

¹⁹ *David*, 121.

²⁰ *Winefride*, 69.

²¹ E. R. Henken, *Traditions of the Welsh Saints*, (Woodbridge, Suffolk: D. S. Brewer, 1987), p.141.

²² *Winefride*, 63.

²³ *Winefride*, 63.

²⁴ *David*, p.149.

the wailing of the poor, the crying of the sick, the clamour of the monks, the tears of the virgins, of the married people, of the penitents, of young men, of young women, of boys, of girls, and of infants sucking the breast.’

Rhygyfarch goes as far himself to actually write ‘need I go on?’, making clear that he is with great fervour wanting the reader to know of the importance to all of St David.

While both are similar in the respect that both were told by God or a messenger of God and that both asked for their followers to not be sorrow filled, they are different in the regard that St David’s has more grandeur, while Winifred is that of a more humble of the deaths. St David is famed across all of Wales – this is undoubtedly what Rhygyfarch was here wanting to show – while St Winifred’s humble respect of her passing, no doubt in comparison to the humble respect of transporting her relics also.

From this, both close the end of the main *Life* similarly: St Winifred: ‘to the praise of Our Lord, Jesus Christ, who with the Father and Holy Spirit lives and reigns for ever and ever. Amen.’²⁵; St David: ‘endlessly to behold to God, who is blessed above all things, God for ever and ever. Amen’²⁶, typical of religious writings which bring blessing to Christ and what has been created as a text of holiness.

Matters that appear in one of the Saints’ *Lives* but not the other and why this may be:

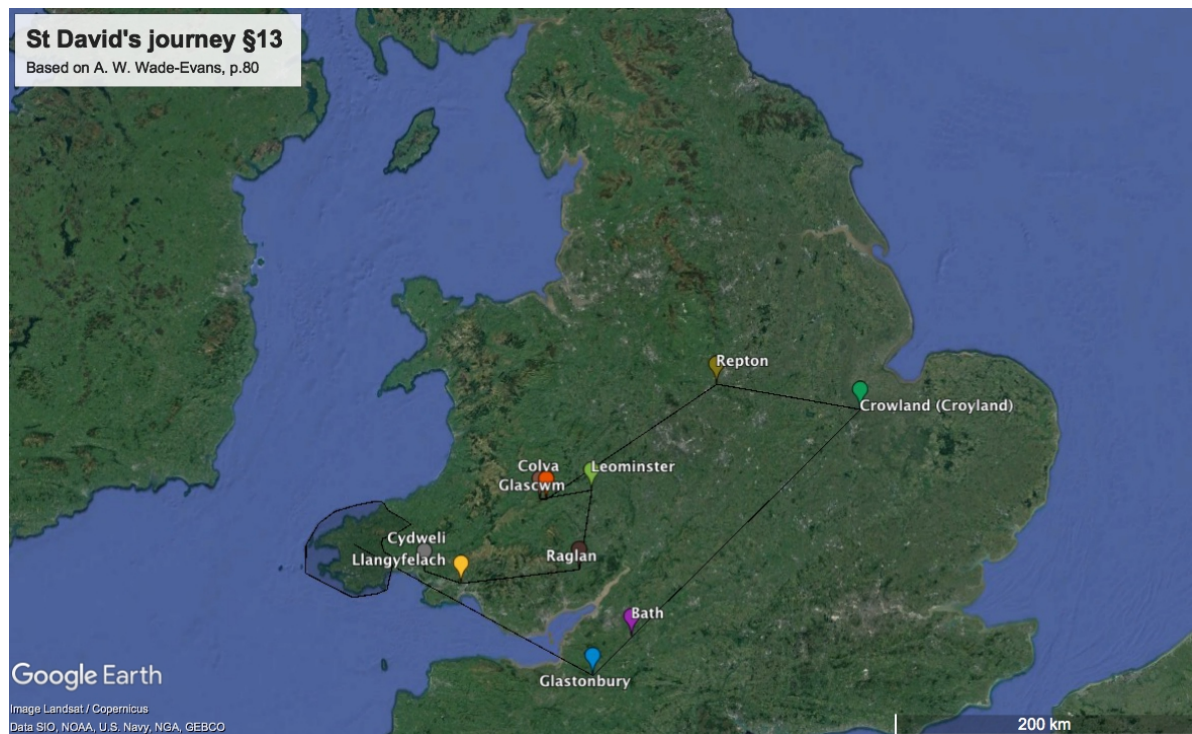
Travelling is a theme in the *Lives* of the Saints, that of a physical journey which compliments that of the spiritual journey they are undergoing so as to reach Christ, it works as a device also for their story to be spread, along with the word of God. In both *Lives* this occurs, however the physical journey, much like their spiritual journeys differ. Whilst alive, David went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem with St Telio and St Padarn; nearer home, ventures to as Wade-Evans describes a ‘truly strangle list’²⁷ of places in chapter 13 with which Wade-Evans gives description of the route by St David (shown on the map below, as the crow flies) taken during this time. Such is the extravagant route taken through Wales and England, which contributes to the development Rhygyfarch is making of the importance of St David. This can be accompanied also with Gerald of Wales, who a century after Rhygyfarch, wrote that St David had twelve suffragans in Wales prior to this journey, shown in the map below, and five dioceses in England, in the areas of Chester, Coventry, Hereford, Worcester, Bath and Exeter also.²⁸ St David is a distinguished person, of Wales and in England, namely that on two of the Earldoms of the Welsh March, that is Hereford and Chester. Onward still, the renowned David brings connection to the Western parts of the British Isles with the number of Irish saints, even the Patron Saint Patrick, which feature in the *Life of Saint David*, including the transition Ireland and Saint Baire.

²⁵ Winefride, p.76.

²⁶ David, p.153.

²⁷ A. W. Wade-Evans, *Life of Saint David*, (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1923), p.80.

²⁸ A. W. Wade-Evans, *Life of Saint David*, (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1923), p.80.



Differing, Winifred founds no Churches,²⁹ nor does she, in Robert Pennat's version at least, leave the country,³⁰ and the places which she does travel, she is escorted to, as will be discussed below in this section. The founding of Churches by David gives him power with regard to being the founder of the Church of Wales and the symbol of the independence of the Church of Wales. David is a man world renowned, an expression, no doubt, to the Normans and English to strengthen the place of David in the history of the Church and of Christianity, to ratify this, at the end of St David's *Life*, where he names St David as the 'archbishop of the whole of Wales, by the grace and predestination of God' – one must note the title Rhygyfarch has given St David for even at present there is no archbishopric of Saint Davids or of Wales; the fight of which was undertaken by Bernard, bishop of St Davids in the mid-12th century, and Gerald of Wales. Rhygyfarch includes a rather extensive genealogy of St David, which links him back to Ieuan, the son of the sister of Mary, of which David is the 21st descendant of,³¹ what is interesting to note is the use of the Welsh version of John being used, strengthening Holy ties once more to Wales and St David.

The journeys which Winifred makes are short in distance and those which are forced on her in some way, she is submissive for she is under the care of the male figures in the *Life* which we see throughout, she is guided namely by St Beuno and later is 'led by Blessed Deifer' on to St Satunus,³² to which she is led by him too, to the St Elerius;³³ this too,

²⁹ Seemingly something of which male Saints do, for Saint Padarn, on returning from Ireland from seeing his father, goes about founding Churches, during which St David and St Teilo whom he meets and befriends, it is said that these are the men with whom St David takes pilgrimage in Jerusalem with. G. Eyre Evans, *Cardiganshire a person survey of some of its antiquities, chapels, churches, fonts, plate, and registers*, (Aberystwyth: Welsh Gazette Offices, 1903), p.86.

³⁰ The anonymous version talks of her going to Rome on pilgrimage and attending an important synod in Britain, *Winefride*, p.14.; J. Cartwright, *Feminine Sanctity and Spirituality in Medieval Wales*, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008), p.231.

³¹ *David*, pp.153-155.

³² *Winefride*, p.54.

³³ *Winefride*, pp.54-55.

continues when St Theonia (Thenew/Theneva), mother of the St Elerius, selects Winifred as her successor³⁴ Even when she becomes the teacher, much like David when he leaves Germanus and Paulinus, she still does not become of such status as had he in his *Life*. She is socially submissive still to Blessed Elerius as is seen when she is ill and in his care, he being described as a ‘good shepherd’ who did ‘carefully [supply] what he knew would be beneficial to her’.³⁵ St Winifred is not a leader, and even when it does happen that she become leader, she is only that of status evidently from below another. She has no apostles, as does David, she has her virgins at the convent, but they are unnamed, unlike David’s, perhaps a demonstration of a man’s importance above women.

A feature in the *Life of Saint David* which does not anywhere occur in the *Life of Saint Winifred* is the use of animals for throughout his *Life* there features many animals, of which I will example but a few. Beginning with his father, Sanctus and the visit he had from an ‘angelic prophecy in a dream’; that he will go out hunting, where he shall kill a stag, near a river, and by that river (the Teifi) will be three gifts, that of the stag he will kill, a fish and on a nearby tree, a swarm of bees. The prophecy goes on to explain what each of these animals and their produce symbolise for they foretell his life: the honeycomb is meaning ‘in a literal statement’³⁶; the fish is his ‘watery life, for as the fish lives be water, so does he’; and the stag ‘dominion over the ancient serpents’, so freedom from and defiance against evil. In relation to the bees later in his *Life*, there is mention of St David’s horse to whom he gives to abbot Saint Baire, which he uses to cross the Irish sea instead of a ship, doing so with ease³⁷ with which he takes with him the bees, and in which the *Life of Saint David* explains that this was how the bees came to Ireland, and even when the bees left, honey remained, that is, the faith remained in Ireland after having been enriched – one could say sweetened – by St Baire’s interaction with St David.

A popular Biblical symbol, the dove, which feature twice in the *Life of Saint David*, first one with their golden beak which played about his lips while teaching and singing to him the hymns of God;³⁸ then, later in his adult life as he preaches at the synod successfully, a snow-white dove is sent from heaven and sits upon his shoulder until his preaching was complete.³⁹ The use these animals are prominent throughout the Bible and Medieval Bestiary

³⁴ *Winefride*, p.61.

³⁵ *sWinefride*, p.64.

³⁶ Which are mentioned at intervals throughout the *Life*: he talks of how abbot Saint Baire (who was the bishop, abbot and founder of Cork, in A. W. Wade-Evans, *Life of Saint David*, (London: Society for Prompting Christian Knowledge, 1923), p.103.) was to set off to see St David with which his apostles feared in his absence brawls would break out, which is likened to bees who break away when the queen bee dies (*David*, p.135); and how a large swarm of bees follow Saint Modomnóc to Ireland, leading him to introduce the bees to Ireland which follow him about; ‘when they left, they disappeared. Ireland, however, where bees could never live until [Modomnóc brought them to Ireland], is enriched with a great abundance of honey’ (*David*, p.139); when David is about to die, the ‘crowds of holy men [who] came from all sides’ are described as being like ‘bees hasten home to the hive when a storm threatens’, for he is the queen bee, the one to whom they gather and serve, thus much like a hive serve and survive together, his preaching being against the heresy of Pelagius. He is what keeps them together, much like bees wax and honey.

³⁷ ‘The horse ploughed its way through the swelling crests of the waves as if through a level field’, p.135. it is during this point also when Saint Baire encounters Saint Brendan who was ‘leading a wonderful life on the back of a whale’. *David*, p.135. A possible reference to Jonah and the Whale?

³⁸ *David*, p.117.

³⁹ *David*, p.145.

(see left). For example, the stag is commonly seen as the enemy of the snake in Medieval Bestiary,⁴⁰ equally it is seen as a longing for God in Biblical reference.⁴¹ The animals are symbolic of Man and attributes of Man, for they are Man in metaphorical form; the servants



mid-12th century Medieval Bestiary example of the Stag and the Snake.
Bodleian Library, MS. Laud Misc. 247, Folio 160r

of Man also, both in metaphor and reality: the monks carrying the ploughs like an ox, and the oxen of which fall off the cliff top but are saved by the Blessing of the Cross. The animal imagery brings Man to nature, and nature to Man and St David, often, is the commander of that for he is the leader of Man and beast. The power he has which is that of Christ is innumerable This imagery of animals is seen not in the *Life of Saint Winifred*, a possibility may be due to her gender, for very few female saints are associated with animals,⁴² the likelihood for that being the interactions nuns would have had with animals would have been different compared to that of the men of

the Church for women did not keep animals traditionally in the same way as men, due to their strength, are typically the agricultural workers in this respect. Characteristically, the types of animals kept by nuns were small animals as pets, but true in even the thirteenth century they were rebuked for it,⁴³ so such interactions had were characteristically different between the sexes.

The Cults of Saint David and Saint Winifred:

The places of dedication are a main part which centres around the *Lives* and Cults of the Saints, Saint David having, of course, St David's Cathedral, as above mentioned, as well as numerous other dedications to Saint David, one of the most renowned being Llanddewi Brefi, at which St David held his Synod and the ground rose into a hill beneath his feet so all could hear him. However, while Saint Winifred's main place of dedication is at non-other than Sychnant, the place now called Holywell,⁴⁴ at which is her Holy Well, as mentioned above, she is not the only Saint to have a holy well, so too does there feature such springs or holy wells dedicated to other saints, including, the Cult of Saint David and that of his mother, Saint Non. At Flynnon Dewi, as Eyre Evans points out, there is a spring which flowed up miraculously when Saint David resurrected to life the son of the widow,⁴⁵ the Chapel of Saint Non in St David's of Pembrokeshire near which is the Holy Well of Saint Non. These are but

⁴⁰ D. Bitterli, *Say what I Am Called: The Old English Riddles of the Exeter Book and the Anglo-Latin Riddle Tradition*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), p.155.

⁴¹ "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God", Psalm 42:1.

⁴² Female Saints that are associated with animals tend to come later than their *Life*, such as that of "Saint Bridget and the King's Wolf", being a 19th century story; other female Saints were similar occurs are Saint Dwywnwen and Saint Melangell.

⁴³ B. Sailisbury, *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages*, (Oxen: Routledge, 2nd ed., 2011), p.119.

⁴⁴ Pronounced holl-ee-well; Trêffynnon in Welsh.

⁴⁵ G. Eyre Evans, *Cardiganshire a person survey of some of its antiquities, chapels, churches, fonts, plate, and registers*, (Aberystwyth: Welsh Gazette Offices, 1903), p.190.

two of the thirty-two wells of Saint David, and Saint Non;⁴⁶ holy wells themselves numerous on the British Isles as there are over seven thousand of them,⁴⁷ and yet, of all of them, St Winifred's Holywell is oft listed as one of the Seven Wonders of Wales.⁴⁸ Nonetheless, such dedications of holly wells to Saint David are found outside of Wales such as Wexford, Ireland and Dirinon, Brittany.⁴⁹ The importance of such wells is a common in relation to British saints, something which Hamaker believes has 'some sort of pagan connection', going on to explain to suspected pagan gods, such as the shrine to Nodens.⁵⁰ Within the *Lives* of the two Saints feature that of other Saints who have their own *Lives* written about them, as well as their own cults and their own dedications: Llanfeuno (St Beuno), Llanbadarn Fawr (St Padarn), Llandeilo (St Teilo), Llan-non (St Non), to name but a few. One of the most interwoven featured saints with one of the *Lives* here, besides Non, is that of Saint Beuno and his Cult with St Winifred, as Meyrick explains:

"The history if St, Beuno is so interwoven with that of St Wenefred, that no apology is needed for this chapter... he is called the uncle of St. Wenefred, whose mother was of the same noble race."⁵¹

For St Beuno, it could be said, gave to St Winifred her Cult, much like the prophesy of St David gave Cult to he and his mother. Saint Beuno's cult was centred in Cylnnog Fawr and 'spread widely along the northern coastal lands into Anglesey',⁵² whilst also having monastic training in the South-east which, T. Charles-Edwards nicely links St Beuno to St David writing 'the sixth century movement which Saint David and Saint Teilo set in motion in South-West Wales was carried by Saint Beuno in the seventh century into North Wales by Powys and Tegeingl'.⁵³



St Winifred's *Life* is written with more grace and worship, whereas St David's is that of amazement and one which somewhat forces the reader to be awe stricken in a different way to that of St Winifred's. St Winifred's life is much humbler than St David's in the respect that there are less events and less travelling than that of St David's whose *Life* is very extravagant and has very obvious pulls from the Bible, such as the use of animal motifs and paraphrasing

⁴⁶ See G. Morgan, *In Pursuit of Saint David, Patron Saint of Wales*, (Talybont: Y Llofa Cyf, 2017), p.92 on F. Jones's study in 1954.

⁴⁷ C. Hamaker, "Winefreide's Well-Cult" in *Two Mediaeval Lives of Saint Winefride, With an Essay of Winefride's Well-Cult*, trans. R. Pepin and H. Feiss, (Eigene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2011), p.119.

⁴⁸ For examples as early as the 19th century, see S. Leigh, *Leigh's Guide to Wales and Monmouthshire*, (London, Leigh & Son, 1831) p.19; J. A. Roberts and E. Woodall, *A Gossiping Guide to Wales: part 1: North Wales to Aberystwyth*, (Kent: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, 1897), p.110; E. C. Brewer, *The Reader's Handbook of Allusions, References, Plots and Stories, with Three Apeddictes*, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1890) p.894

⁴⁹ G. Morgan, *In Pursuit of Saint David, Patron Saint of Wales*, (Talybont: Y Llofa Cyf, 2017), p.92.

⁵⁰ C. Hamaker, "Winefreide's Well-Cult" in *Two Mediaeval Lives of Saint Winefride, With an Essay of Winefride's Well-Cult*, trans. R. Pepin and H. Feiss, (Eigene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2011), p.117.

⁵¹ T. Meyrick, *Life of St. Wenefred, Patroness of North Wales and Shrewsbury*, (Felinfach: Llanerch Publishers, rp.1996), p.24.

⁵² D. Walker, *Medieval Wales*, (CUP, 1990), p.8.

⁵³ T. Charles-Edwards, *Saint Winefride and Her Well: The Historical Background*, (Mold: James P. Hynes, 1988), p.17.

of the Bible throughout.⁵⁴ Undeniably, St Winifred's is highly religious but does not extract from the Bible in the way that St David does, the *Life of Saint Winifred* is a work of humble appreciation compared to the wondrousness of the *Life of Saint David* with the many miracles and many transitions and locations and Saints involved compared to that of St Winifred's. The contrasts in gender and gender roles within the Church are somewhat distinct for Saint David is the stark but gracious leader, whereas Saint Winifred is highly timid and reserved compared.

⁵⁴ See footnotes in *David*, p.109 and p.125, as examples.

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