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## CHAPTER 8



# The Middle Welsh Life of St Ursula and the 11,000 Virgins

*Jane Cartwright*

Beth a ddywedwn am Vrsula Santes a Chymbraes, a hitheu yn ferch i Frenhin y Cymbry a ddioddefodd farwolaeth er cadw ei morwyndod ag vnmil ar ddeg o forynion yn santesol yn dioddef gyda hi? A'r cwbl a ddoethant o wlad y Cymbry.<sup>1</sup>

(What shall we say about Ursula – saint and Welsh woman – the daughter of a king of the Welsh people who suffered martyrdom in order to preserve her virginity and the 11,000 saintly virgins who suffered with her? And they all came from the land of the Welsh.)

According to the anonymous recusant author of the first ever book to be published in Wales, *Y Drych Kristnogawl*, St Ursula was not merely a British princess: she was Welsh. Given that it is claimed that part of the volume was published in secrecy in a cave in 1587 during the Catholic persecutions, it is not surprising that elevating the status of Wales and its saints in the sanctity rankings of Christendom was high on the anonymous author's political and personal religious agenda. He claims there were far more saints in Wales than any other country in Christendom of the same size and that the first Christian emperor, Constantine the Great, was also Welsh.<sup>2</sup> As Bryan has shown in her chapter above, Geoffrey of Monmouth's popular secular version of the legend of the virgins is set in Celtic Britain (in a period before 'England', as known today, existed); Ursula's father was king of Cornwall and the virgins are killed en route to Brittany: this had given rise to geographical confusion in some versions of the legend even by the medieval period, but Geoffrey is clear that he is dealing with the realm of Celtic Britain. It was perhaps a natural step in the transmission of a 'Celtic' saint's

cult for the saint (the daughter of an ancient Briton) to 'become' Welsh. Although in most accounts of her hagiographical legend she embarks on her journey from the River Thames, Welsh oral tradition proposes that she set sail with her virgins from the coast of west Wales. Ursula became associated with the church dedicated to her at Llangwryfon (the Church of the Virgins) in Ceredigion and an interesting Welsh Ursuline historiography ensued.

The Middle Welsh version of the Life of Ursula is preserved in a single manuscript kept in the National Library of Wales – MS Peniarth 182. The Welsh Life has never been published in its entirety nor translated into English, so it is perhaps not surprising that it has hitherto attracted relatively little attention.<sup>3</sup> The purpose of this chapter is to examine the Welsh text and shed light on its content and composition, its author and his possible sources, as well as briefly consider the wider cult of the 11,000 virgins in Wales.

Peniarth 182 has been dated by J. Gwenogvryn Evans in his *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language* specifically to 1514<sup>4</sup> and Daniel Huws notes that the dates 1509 and 1513 occur at various points in the manuscript.<sup>5</sup> It contains Welsh poetry, genealogical material, medical recipes and two religious texts – the Miracles of the Archangel Michael, which the author specifically notes is a translation of the *Legenda aurea*, and a Welsh adaptation of the Life of St Ursula. The Life is thirty-eight pages in length and appended to it is a list of the number of churches, monasteries and nunneries in Cologne. At the end of the Life it is clearly noted that the Welsh text was translated or adapted from a Latin text by Sir Huw Pennant:

Ac velly y tervyna Ystoria Gweryddon yr Almaen hyd y medrodd Syr Huw Pennant i thynnu o Llading yNghymraeg val y gallai rai kerddgar i dyall o'i hiaith e hun.<sup>6</sup>

(And thus ends *Ystoria Gweryddon yr Almaen* as far as Sir Huw Pennant was able to adapt it from Latin into Welsh so that lovers of literature [literally poetry] could understand it in their own language.)

Huw Pennant (who flourished during the last half of the fifteenth century and the early sixteenth century) was from a prominent family in north-east Wales. According to the *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* he was the brother of Thomas Pennant the renowned abbot of Basingwerk (1481–1522),<sup>7</sup> the Cistercian abbey responsible for maintaining and

profiting from the holy well of St Gwenfrewy throughout much of the Middle Ages. This is one of the few details that is often repeated whenever Huw is mentioned and there has been little, if any, substantial discussion of his poetry or hagiographical texts. Yet the genealogical sources that refer to the family are not consistent and Bartrum does not list Huw among Thomas Pennant's siblings. Instead Huw ap Rhys is listed as Thomas's nephew and, according to this version of the genealogy, he was married to Jonet ferch Richard of Mostyn and had eleven children.<sup>8</sup> This is interesting contextual information given that one of the texts copied by Huw is a tract on marriage attributed to Theophrastus in which he asks: 'a ddyly gwr doeth o ysgolhaic gymryd gwraig yn briawd?' (Should a wise man who is a scholar take a wife?) and the answer is that although it is permissible if she be pretty, well behaved and of noble lineage, there will inevitably be less time to study as a result of familial obligations: 'ni all neb gydwasaethu i'r llyfrav ag i'r wraig, kanys llawer o bethau oedd raid i wraig i gaffel'<sup>9</sup> (no one can pay equal service to his books and his wife, because a wife must have lots of things).

Celibacy does not appear to have been a prerequisite for important monastic or clerical roles in late medieval Wales (as elsewhere during this period) and certainly did not prevent Thomas Pennant from being regarded as a well-respected abbot of Basingwerk. The first extant list of clergy in the diocese of Bangor, compiled in 1504, names Huw Pennant as curate of Dolwyddelan.<sup>10</sup> On the death of Bishop Thomas Pigott, Archbishop Warham during the vacancy ordered a visitation of the diocese of Bangor and the list of clergy compiled drew attention to the fact that large numbers of the Welsh clergy were in fact married. By 1514 Huw would appear to have relocated and was possibly serving as curate of one of the many places in Wales known as 'Llanfihangel', as he records receiving funeral expenses at his house there in the manuscript that contains the Welsh Life of Ursula.<sup>11</sup> Thomas Eynon Griffyth Lloyd of the parish of Llanfihangel-ar-arth later signed the manuscript,<sup>12</sup> but this alone is perhaps not sufficient evidence to suggest that Huw was curate of Llanfihangel-ar-arth. Records of clergy during this period are incomplete and one would not necessarily expect to find a reference to the incumbent at Llanfihangel-ar-arth in 1514. However, episcopal registers of the diocese of St Davids do record that Sir Gruffin ap David took over the vicarage of Llanfihangel-ar-arth from Sir William ap Rice in November 1514: no mention, however, is made of the curate at the time.<sup>13</sup>

Thomas Pennant has been shown to have received his education at the Cistercian house of Valle Crucis and it is not beyond the realms of possibility that Huw may have been educated at the abbey too. Thomas compiled a series of grammatical treatises possibly for the purpose of teaching Latin.<sup>14</sup> One can imagine that if Huw Pennant were his nephew, Thomas may have been keen to mentor his protégé and encourage his religious and scholarly pursuits. Nevertheless, by 1504 Huw almost certainly had links to the Augustinians, and may even have been an Augustinian canon (unless he was a paid stipendiary), since Dolwyddelan was appropriated to the Augustinian canons of Beddgelert at the time of the Warham return. The bishop of Bangor who preceded Thomas Pigott (Henry Dean 1495–1500), as well as the bishop who succeeded him (John Penry 1504–8), belonged to the Augustinian Order. Three of the Augustinian houses in north Wales were founded on the sites of the old Welsh *clasau* (at Penmon, Bardsey and Beddgelert) and the regular canons, although ordained, led quasi-monastic lifestyles serving their communities and servicing their parish churches.<sup>15</sup> The title ‘Syr’ that Huw uses was often accorded to priests and curates and is more likely to indicate that he was an ordained member of the clergy, than a knighted nobleman. His possible links with the Augustinians would also help explain Huw’s educational background and scholarly achievements. He would appear to have belonged to a network of Welsh scholars and poets associated with various Welsh religious houses.

Daniel Huws has suggested that Thomas Pennant’s hand is present in the margins of the Black Book of Basingwerk that was produced at Valle Crucis, a manuscript that interestingly contains a Welsh adaptation of Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia regum Britanniae*.<sup>16</sup> Thomas sponsored some of the eminent Welsh poets of the late fifteenth century, including Gutun Owain (the second scribe of the Black Book of Basingwerk), Tudur Aled and Siôn ap Hywel ap Llywelyn Fychan. In a poem by Tudur Aled he is accredited with either erecting or renovating the well chapel at Holywell – a building that includes on its vaulted ceiling the coat of arms of William Stanley (Margaret Beaufort’s brother-in-law who lived in Holt, Wrexham) and Katherine of Aragon.<sup>17</sup> These Tudor connections are interesting when considering possible sources for the Welsh Life of Ursula. Huw Pennant composed his own poetry including pro-Tudor vaticinatory poetry. In one poem he laments the fact that Richard III has incarcerated the princes in the Tower and predicts that before the feast of St Anne the raven Richard will have his feathers plucked and Henry VII (Margaret Beaufort’s son), the red rose

of Somerset, will be crowned king.<sup>18</sup> As well as composing important political poetry in the fifteenth century, by the early sixteenth century Huw Pennant was producing religious texts that provide an important insight into popular religious devotion in Wales during this period. As well as being a vociferous poet and somewhat self-deprecating ‘translator’, he was clearly capable of producing his own versions of the Lives of saints. Another Welsh manuscript which contains a unique collection of Welsh Lives of saints NLW MS Llanstephan 34 (made by the recusant Roger Morris 1580x1600), notes that the Welsh Life of Sylvester it contains is a copy of an earlier Life by Sir Huw Pennant: unfortunately the original, in Huw Pennant’s hand, is no longer extant.<sup>19</sup>

It is interesting that Huw’s Welsh Life of Ursula does not mention Llangwryfon, the church dedicated to Ursula in Wales, and that the title *Hystoria Gweryddon yr Almaen* (literally *The Story of the Virgins of Germany*) associates them with Germany rather than Wales. Nevertheless, the beginning of the Life draws on specifically Welsh narrative traditions and attempts to associate Ursula’s homeland with what is now Wales. I believe it is also possible to trace Huw’s title for the tale to a specific Welsh source associated with Gutun Owain. Her father is a descendant of the ancient Britons and one of the kings of ‘Ynys y Kedyrn’ The Island of the Mighty (that is, the Britain of native medieval myth described in the Mabinogi whose kings and their lineage are the subject of Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia regum Britanniae*). The evil tyrant who wishes his son to marry Ursula is a pagan king in England (*Lloegyr*) who sends messengers to Ursula’s father threatening to destroy his territory if he fails to persuade Ursula to marry his son. Thus the oppressive forces of England are pitched against the Christian conscience of the descendants of the ancient Britons. Neither Ursula’s father nor her suitor are named at the start of the Life, although they are referred to by their Latin names Nothus and Etherius before the end of the text. These inconsistencies, I would suggest, are a result of the fact that Huw is switching sources. He is not merely translating a Latin text, but also drawing on his knowledge of other texts including Welsh material.

Since the genealogy at the start of the Life is not noted in any of the other versions of the Life of St Ursula, it is worth quoting here in full:

Yn yr amser yr oedd Gustennin vab Maxen o Elen v[erch] Eudaf o Gaer Sallawc, i vam, yn vrenin ym Prydyn ac Ywain i vrawd, hwn a elwid Ywain Vinddu, yn varchoc vrddol a’r trydydd brawd oedd Beblic

Sant, yn kyfamser hyn yr oeddynt amraevael vrenhinedd yn Ynys y Kedyrn. Eithyr ymplith eraill o vrenhinoedd y deyrnas hon yr oedd gwr sanctaidd, teilwng yn vrenin ar i duedd, yr hwn a hanoedd o vrenhinawl waed yr hen Vrytanieid.

(During the time that Constantine son of Maxen by Elen ferch Eudaf of Caersallog [Caernarfon], his mother, was king in Britain and Owain his brother, who was called Owain Finddu [Blacklip], was a noble knight and the third brother was St Peblig, there were at that time many kings in the Island of the Mighty. Among the other kings of this kingdom there was a holy, deserving man who was king of his region and he descended from the royal blood of the ancient Britons [Ursula's unnamed father].)<sup>20</sup>

The source for the opening section of *Hystoria Gweryddon yr Almaen* appears to be a fifteenth-century tractate known as 'Y Pedwar Brenin ar Hugain a Farnwyd yn Gadarnaf' (The Twenty-Four Kings Judged to be the Mightiest). The text provides a brief synopsis of the most important kings mentioned in *Brut y Brenhinedd*, the Welsh adaptation of *Historia regum Britanniae*, paying particular attention to the cities they founded. As we have seen in Bryan's chapter, in Geoffrey's *Historia* Maximianus son of Loelinus marries the unnamed daughter of Octavius and in the Welsh *Brut y Brenhinedd* Maxen ap Llywelyn marries Eudaf Hen's daughter. Although she is not named in the Latin texts and the Welsh *Brut Dingestow* version, she is called Elen ferch Eudaf in both the Black Book of Basingwerk version of the *Brut* and this tractate.<sup>21</sup> 'The Twenty-Four Mightiest Kings' also notes that Maxen and Elen had three children – Peblig, Custennin and Owain (the same as those named at the start of the Welsh Life of Ursula); it proceeds with a summary of the legend of the 11,000 virgins who were sent to Brittany but were martyred in Cologne:

Ac yr Maxen hwnnw o Elen i bv dri mab, Peblig a Chustenin ac Ywain vinddv. [Ywain] a vv varchoc vrddol, a Chustenin a vv dywyssoc yMhrydain a chyff kenedl i bawb yno, a Ffeblig sydd sant anrrydeddus. Ac yn yr amser hwnnw y gollyngwyd i Lydaw o ynys Brydain c mil o lavrwrwyr a xxx mil o varchogion vrddolion, a l mil o verched gwyr kyffredin, ac xj mil o verched boneddigion, a rrai hyny a aethant i Gwlen [yn] yr Almaen, ac a verthyrwyd yno yn enw gwir Dduw, a rrai hyny yw Gweryddon yr Almaen.

(Macsen had three sons by Elen, Peblig, Custennin and Owain Blacklip. [Owain] was a noble knight, Custennin was prince in Britain and ancestor of all [the princes] there, and Peblig was an honourable saint. At that time a hundred thousand labourers and thirty thousand noble knights, fifty thousand daughters of common men and eleven thousand daughters of nobles were sent from the island of Britain to Armorica. They went to Cologne in Germany, and were martyred there in the name of the true God. They are the Virgins of Germany.)<sup>22</sup>

In none of the many extant versions of the Life of Ursula is the title 'the Virgins of Germany' suggested and I believe that Huw Pennant derived his title for the Welsh Life of Ursula (*Hystoria Gweryddon yr Almaen*) from this tractate. Interestingly the earliest extant version of the 'Twenty-Four Mightiest Kings' seems to be the text by Gutun Owain in NLW MS Llanstephan 28.<sup>23</sup> Gutun Owain, the scholar and scribe associated predominantly with Valle Crucis Abbey, but also with Basingwerk, since Thomas Pennant sponsored his poetry, appears to have possibly been an influential figure in the life of Huw Pennant and it is certainly likely that Huw was familiar with his work. Huw was also cognizant of *Bonedd y Saint*, a list of saintly genealogies that referred to St Peblig as the son of Maxen Wledig and Elen ferch Eudaf. Indeed he copied a version of *Bonedd y Saint* on page 39 of the same manuscript in which he wrote the Welsh Life of Ursula. Guy argues that Huw Pennant and Gutun Owain derived their saints' genealogies, either directly or indirectly, from Hengwrt 33, a lost manuscript associated with Valle Crucis.<sup>24</sup>

In the Mabinogion legend *Breudwyd Maxen Wledig* Maxen sees a woman of outstanding beauty in his dreams and he cannot rest until he finds her, which he eventually does in Caer Aber Saint (Caernarfon) in north Wales and makes her his wife. She is Elen ferch Eudaf and in the *Breudwyd* her brother Cynan conquers Brittany and settles there, cutting out the tongues of the women 'lest their own language be corrupted'.<sup>25</sup> In Geoffrey's *Historia* Conan (Cynan Meiriadog) wishes to marry Ursula and sends for her and her virginal companions when he settles in Brittany in order to prevent the Britons from intermarrying with Gaulish women. Geoffrey makes no mention of excising the women's tongues, but Conan and his men are presumably forced to intermarry when their would-be brides are either drowned or murdered en route to Brittany. Thirteenth-century additions to *Historia Brittonum*, as well as the Life of a Breton saint *vita Goeznovii* (dated 1019, but found in a

fifteenth-century manuscript), note that Conanus Meiriadocus, having settled in Brittany, had the tongues of the women cut out so that they would not pollute the native British language.<sup>26</sup> Thus the Welsh name for Brittany *Llydaw* (*lled-taw* or half silent), as well as the similarities between the Welsh and Breton languages, is explained in an onomastic tale associated with Conanus and Ursula.

Given that Huw Pennant adapted the other religious text found in Peniarth 182 from the *Legenda aurea*, one might expect that this would also have been his source for the Life of Ursula, but this surprisingly does not seem to have been the case. Having fairly freely adapted the beginning of the text to a Welsh context, most of the rest of the Welsh Life follows elements in the standard narrative Life of St Ursula – with some significant differences, most notably the very long list of virgins, bishops, kings, lords, dukes and their wives and daughters that accompanied Ursula on her pilgrimage.

The dilemma as to whether Ursula should marry the pagan prince is solved when an angel appears and instructs Ursula that she should agree, but request that the wedding is postponed for three years while she prepares to undertake a final pilgrimage to Rome in the company of 11,000 virgins. The pagan king and his son send the prettiest daughters of kings and noblemen to Ursula and she instructs them in the Catholic faith; they have to resist Satan's attempts to tempt them to submit to the sins of the flesh and they then receive military training. No mention is made of Gerasina, the queen who trains the virgins in the *Legenda aurea*, who in most versions acts as Ursula's events manager. The virgins swear an oath of unity and, three years later, aware that they are to be martyred in Cologne on their return journey, they set sail; leaving their ships in Basel, they travel on foot to Rome, where they are welcomed by 'Kiric' (modern Welsh Curig). In most versions of the Life Pope Cyriacus is particularly pleased to see the virgins because he too is British, but in Huw Pennant's version he is given both a Welsh and a Latin name: 'ef a hanoedd o'r Brytanieid. . .hwn a elwid Kiric yNghymraec yn Llading Ciriacus' (he was descended from the Britons. . .he was called Kiric in Welsh and Ciriacus in Latin). Thus the Roman pope, whose name is expunged from the official papal list according to most versions of the Life of Ursula (because he chooses martyrdom over the papacy), is given a Welsh name and identity, although Huw Pennant makes no specific attempt to associate him with the native Welsh saint – Curig of Llangurig. By the late seventeenth century Cyriacus (Ursula's companion in Rome) and Curig become conflated and Thomas Sebastian Price

claimed that 'Ciricius (erroniously sayd by some to haue beene pope) is sayd to haue come with S. Vrsula from Rome, he hath many churches in Wales dedicated to him by the name Cyric ferthyr'.<sup>27</sup>

No plot is hatched against the virgins by Maximian and Africanus to ensure they are murdered in Cologne (unlike the *Legenda aurea*), but when they arrive there a hideous pagan, who having conquered the Christians of the city, sets his army on them and the pagans slaughter the virgins like wolves ravaging a flock of sheep. There is no specific mention of the Picts or Huns and the leader of the 'pla byganieid' (plague of pagans) states that had he noticed Ursula sooner he would have refrained from murdering all of her companions, but when Ursula curses him he shoots her with an arrow and she dies on the battlefield.

We are then told the tale of how a British king attempted to have his beloved son's body buried with the saints at Cologne, but how his body was repeatedly expelled from the grave and remained there hovering above the ground as a warning that no sinner could be interred with the holy martyrs. This theme reminds us of the Clematius inscription, discussed in Montgomery's and Miltzer's chapters above, which noted that if anyone else ever attempted to be buried with the holy virgins he/she would be punished. This was a particularly convenient way of authenticating the relics (without formally authenticating the relics) because it was widely believed that if an imposter's bones ever became mixed with the virgin's relics, they would immediately be expelled. The same motif appears in Wales at Eglwyswrw in Pembrokeshire where (possibly under the influence of the legend of Ursula) it is claimed that the local people refused to bury corpses in the chantry chapel that contained the local saint's tomb because they would be miraculously ejected overnight as a punishment for disrespecting the sacred space reserved for St Wrw's relics.<sup>28</sup> Wrw became associated with Ursula's virgins because one late medieval calendar (NLW MS Cwrtmawr 44) lists the feast of St Wrw on the same day as Gŵyl y Gweryddon (the feast of the virgins).<sup>29</sup>

Next the *Hystoria* relates Cordula's story: terrified at the sight of the pagans ripping the virgins' flesh to shreds she hid on the ship overnight, only to emerge defiant the next day. In the Welsh version she spits in their eyes before she too is martyred: 'Ac ar vrys dyfod a oruc hi ymysc i gelynion a ffoeri yn i llygaid.' (And hurriedly she came into their midst and spat in their eyes.)

The Welsh Life then degenerates in to a long list of the Latin names of the four principal virgins martyred with Ursula; the eleven daughters of kings and lords who each mentored a group of 1,000 virgins (along

with the names of various members of their families); the bishops, cardinals and deacons who accompanied the virgins; and the bishops, who accompanied Ursula's betrothed, since he followed her to Cologne when he learned that she was to be martyred and, having converted to Christianity, he welcomed death. Strangely in the Welsh Life Etherius is referred to as 'gwr priod Wrsula' (Ursula's husband), even though they never married. Etherius is one of eleven kings and nobles named (along with their wives and daughters). The list is then extended to include various kings and princes from overseas – some '16,000 martyrs' altogether (although these are not named) and it also includes the unexpected detail that unborn children were murdered in their mothers' bellies:

Ef a las yn y maes o blant bychain mwy no phum cant, heb gyfrif y rai oeddynt ymoliav i mammav. Val y maent i heskryn heddyw yw dangos, rai ohonvnt kyn bychaned val y tybygir nad oeddynt tri misyriad ymoliav i mamav pan las hwynt.

(More than 500 small children were killed on the field [i.e. the *ager Ursulanus*], not counting those who were in their mothers' bellies. As demonstrated by their bones today, some of them were so small that it is thought that they could not have been more than three months in their mothers' stomachs when they were killed).<sup>30</sup>

As we have seen in the chapters above, in 1106 a mass Roman burial site was uncovered to the north of Cologne that was naturally linked with the martyrs and shortly afterwards the revelations of the mystic Elisabeth of Schönau began to explain why there were bones of men, women and children among the relics of the 11,000 virgins. Elisabeth's accounts were extremely popular and at least 145 manuscript versions of her revelations are extant. The Welsh version, however, is not based on Elisabeth's revelations and no mention is made in Welsh of Verena, the saint who appeared to Elisabeth and described the slaughter. The Welsh list of names bears close resemblance to the names recounted in the revelations attributed by the Bollandists to Hermann Joseph. Born in Cologne in the twelfth century, he was Elisabeth of Schönau's successor. Levison queried Hermann's authorship and the text has also been attributed to an English Premonstratensian friar called Richard.<sup>31</sup> The Latin text contains a very similar list of names commemorating all those who accompanied Ursula and were martyred with her. It also includes

the unusual detail that infants and even unborn children were slain with their mothers.<sup>32</sup> While most texts refer to the fact that children were murdered with the virgins, they do not elaborate on this in such detail noting the age of the foetus and highlighting the cruelty perpetrated as newly conceived babies are martyred in the womb. In Latin, as in Welsh, some of the babies are so young that it is barely three months since the day they were conceived. Interestingly, there is a Latin gloss near the start of the version attributed to Hermann Joseph in the *Acta sanctorum* that sarcastically comments that 'Blessed Hermann' assumed that there were English people living in Britain in the year 238 and that this would certainly not please the Welsh.<sup>33</sup>

The Welsh Life then continues with an account of the bodies and skulls found at Cologne, complete with gory details such as the fact that Clemencia's head was split in two, but the two halves were matted together with dried blood; Katrin had an arrow in her head and Sophia an arrow in her mouth as though she had been struck as she prayed to God; Cristina's neck was still covered in fresh blood, as though it had just been severed and Iago of Antioch's eyes were full of blood. Benigna's whole body was preserved with hair as beautiful as when she was alive and another virgin's body remained shapely although the flesh had been pressing on her bones for years. This section is quite peculiar and it is not found in the 'Hermann Joseph' recension. It appears to stem from a relic list cataloguing and describing the relics rather than any of the extant narrative Lives. While the relics are often described as showing signs of the saints' suffering (such as an axe mark in the skull), they are usually dry bones, not fleshy and blood-splattered with voluminous hair. Brief modern references to the 'head of St. Christina stained all over in blood' and a small rock-crystal reliquary containing the hair of one of the virgins clotted in blood, preserved among the 'curiosities' at Cologne, suggest that the description of the relics was not Huw's invention.<sup>34</sup>

The Welsh Life ends (as does the *Legenda aurea*) with an account of the monk who was particularly devoted to the 11,000 virgins, but became seriously ill. One day he was visited by one of the saintly virgins who told him to recite the Lord's Prayer 11,000 times and say Ave Maria at the end of each prayer. Having dutifully fulfilled the task, he is healed of his illnesses but passes away and is guided to heaven by the sacred virgins. Appended to the text, again in Huw Pennant's hand, is a note on the number of churches and chapels found at Cologne – 12 church colleges, 12 monasteries, 10 nunneries, 20 parish churches and more than 100 chapels.

The Welsh Life, having started with a valiant attempt to connect the material to Wales, ends with a specific emphasis on Cologne. The lengthy list of martyrs, Latin names and genealogical material, as well as details of the skulls and relics which can be viewed at Cologne, and the additional detail regarding the importance of Cologne as a contemporary religious centre for holy men and women, suggests that the text is drawn, at least in part, from Latin texts originally produced at Cologne or in close association with Cologne – the primary purpose of the final third of the text appears to be to elevate the status of Cologne as an important pilgrimage site.

The lengthy list of virgins, wives and male martyrs, clearly derived (indirectly I believe) from the revelations attributed to Hermann Joseph is absent in many of the published editions of Latin and Middle English versions of the Life of Ursula. Hermann Joseph's version has attracted far less attention than Elisabeth of Schönau's and so it would seem have its transmission. Hermann's Latin version was included in the *Nova legenda Anglie*, which was printed in London by Wynkyn de Worde in 1516 and I strongly suspect that Huw Pennant, a very learned man who had a keen interest in saints, had access to Wynkyn de Worde's *Nova legenda Anglie* and that he possibly drew on this, or its source, for his version of the list of companions who accompanied Ursula in *Hystoria Gweryddon yr Almaen*.

There has been much debate over Margaret Beaufort's connections with Holywell and the well chapel over Gwenfrewy's well and it is generally acknowledged that Huw's uncle was responsible for the erection or renovation of the well chapel, not Margaret Beaufort. Michael Jones and Malcolm Underwood in their book on Margaret Beaufort emphasise that Thomas Stanley, not his wife Margaret, sent an offering to Holywell on the feast of Gwenfrewy.<sup>35</sup> Yet the Tudor and Stanley emblems in the chapel suggest a family connection with Basingwerk in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries: an image of the Welsh St Gwenfrewy also appears in Henry VII's tomb chapel at Westminster. As we have seen, Huw's poetry gives a clear indication that he was a staunch supporter of Henry VII. Since Margaret Beaufort was one of Wynkyn de Worde's chief sponsors, it is certainly feasible that Huw Pennant, with his interest in saints' Lives, was aware of the publications made by Wynkyn de Worde at this time. Margaret sponsored a number of publications by Wynkyn de Worde including a Middle English version of the Life of Ursula which also shares many similarities with the Welsh Life including an almost identical list of Ursula's companions.<sup>36</sup> The English translation

(introduced by William Marx in the chapter above) is attributed to Edmund Hatfield, a monk of Rochester, and it is undated but thought to have been published in 1509. Publications Margaret commissioned by Wynkyn de Worde continued to appear even after her death on 29 June 1509. As one might expect she did not commission the publication of *Nova legenda Anglie* (which was in Latin). *Nova legenda Anglie* would have been produced for a similar audience interested in collections of saints' Lives, although they needed to be Latin-literate.

I suspect then that Huw Pennant was influenced by Wynkyn de Worde's publications that appeared around the same time as he was compiling Peniarth 182 (1509–16). Although entries are made in 1509, 1513 and 1514 at various points in the manuscript, it is also possible that the manuscript was still in progress in 1516. It is certainly plausible that Huw also saw the English verse Life of Ursula commissioned by Margaret Beaufort. However, since Huw specifically notes that his source was a Latin text, we have no reason to doubt this and it is most likely that *Nova legenda Anglie* (or its source – Edmund Hatfield refers to a lost Latin sermon) was one of his sources of inspiration for *Hystoria Gweryddon yr Almaen* and particularly the list of companions who were martyred in Cologne. Nevertheless, although Huw's work may have been influenced by the early printed books that were appearing at the time that he was compiling Peniarth 182, it should be emphasised that his text is certainly not a translation of these sources in their entirety and there are numerous differences in structure, content and detail among the texts.

The disjointed nature of the *Hystoria* seems to suggest that the text is comprised of fragments of different texts. We have a genealogy from Welsh sources, the main Life, the list of companions that acts as a lengthy aside, details of the babies slaughtered and the relics, the old man's vision and an appendix on the religious institutions in Cologne. Although his text is largely a translation from Latin, it is also partly an adaptation of different sections in the original work(s). The *Hystoria* certainly shows signs of the translator/adaptor at work: at one point in the main body of the narrative Life he switches awkwardly from the third person singular to the second person singular (and provides an incorrect pronoun) while recounting the advice given to Ursula by an angel. One is given the clear impression that having begun adapting a section of direct speech in his source into third-person narrative in his own text, he switches to direct speech at the end of the sentence and provides a closer literal translation of his source. The result is a garbled *non-sequitur* in Welsh:

Eithyr erchi a wnai yr angel iddi hi ofyn vnvilardded o vorynion, a chaffel tair blynedd o yspas, a chaffael yr rain o verched boneddigion val y gallai hi, drwy gydymddeithas yr rai hyn, ddysgu priodi erbyn y dydd y sydd yn dyvod. A hyn a ryng bodd i'r brenin a'i vab ac a ddiovala dy dad tithav.

(Except the angel asked that she request eleven thousand virgins and secure a three-year respite, and gather these from noble girls so that she could, via communion with these [girls], learn to marry by the approaching date. And this pleased the king and his son and your father will be relieved.)

Huw would appear to be generating his own text, partly by amalgamating several different sources and weaving translated sections into his own adaptation. Having included the lengthy list of kings and nobility who accompany Ursula, which clearly comes ultimately from the version attributed to Hermann Joseph via texts such as Wynkyn de Worde's *Lyf of Saynt Vrsula* and the *Nova legenda Anglie*, he cannot resist referring to *Brut y Brenhinedd*, Geoffrey of Monmouth's version of the history of the kings of Britain:

Y rain oll brenhinedd oeddynt o gywoeth, gallu ac anrydedd, kanys yn y kyfamser hwn yr oeddynt amdler o vrenhinedd ar vychodedd o gyfoeth, val y dywedir yn llyfr y brenhinedd, nid amgen no bod devd-deng mrenin ar hugain y mewn maes yn erbyn tri brenin.

(All of these were kings of wealth, ability and honour, since at that time there were numerous kings with small amounts of wealth, as stated in the book of kings, no less than thirty-two kings in the battlefield against three kings.)<sup>37</sup>

The reference to the thirty-two kings is strange in the context of the Life of Ursula, particularly since it does not tally with the list of eleven kings Huw has provided that accompany Ursula. We have established that he was familiar with the 'Pedwar Brenin ar Hugain' (Twenty-Four Kings) tractate and he also copied a list of kings, starting with Brutus and ending with Henry VIII 'brenin Lloegr a Chymry' (King of England and Wales) in Peniarth 182.<sup>38</sup> Thus, although the Life of Ursula is set at a time when the tyrannical 'English' king is an adversary of the Britons, elsewhere in his manuscript he suggests that England and

Wales are united under the Tudor king. He is also clearly familiar with *Brut y Brenhinedd*, but, like Edmund Hatfield in his version printed by Wynkyn de Worde, he has rejected Geoffrey's secular text, in favour of the religious hagiographical narrative. Unlike Hatfield, Huw does not start his Life with a summary of the *Brut* version and then state that he prefers the hagiographical text. Nevertheless, the list of kings in the Life of Ursula appears to remind him of the *Brut*, and, having interjected this peculiar observation, he continues the Life of Ursula with further information on the kings and princes from overseas – from Ireland, Normandy, Flanders, Brabant and Frisia.

Ironically *Nova legenda Anglie* started life in the fourteenth century as a collection of saints' Lives from England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland in the work of John of Tynemouth, but by the time it was published by Wynkyn de Worde it was being used as a text purporting to promote the national interests of England. The title was shortened by its author in 1516 'because Ireland, Scotland and Wales are by law subject to England'.<sup>39</sup> The original fourteenth-century manuscript London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius E.i included a high percentage of Welsh saints' Lives including the *vitae* of SS David, Cadog, Illtud, Cybi, Cain and Gwenfrewy. The Life of Ursula in this manuscript contains a short version of the Life preserved on one and a half damaged folios that summarises her parentage and the *passio* and refers to Geoffrey of Monmouth's alternative version.<sup>40</sup> When the collection was rearranged in alphabetical order by John Capgrave the Life of Ursula was omitted. Then Wynkyn de Worde's *Nova legenda Anglie* filled in this gap with a version based on the Life attributed to Hermann Joseph. Despite the intended purpose of the *Nova legenda Anglie* – to nationalise British saints under the English banner – Huw Pennant somehow managed to pervert this and, perhaps inadvertently, reclaim Ursula by translating her Life into Welsh and making it available to a Welsh audience. Did he reclaim her or did he steal her? Either way, since the sixteenth century there has been a strong urge to assume that Ursula's British identity meant that she was Welsh and Ursula's historiography has associated her with Llangwryfon in Ceredigion in particular.

At Llangwryfon (or Llangwrddon as it is pronounced by people who live in the village) there was a medieval church in Ceredigion dedicated to Ursula and the 11,000 virgins. The modern Victorian church at Llangwryfon now stands opposite the original site, but an aerial photograph taken by the RCAHMW clearly shows the circular Llan (or early ecclesiastical enclosure) which is where the former church stood,

complete with ancient yew trees and earlier tombstones.<sup>41</sup> An account in the early nineteenth century notes that the tiny church of St Ursula was not large enough to hold the congregation and that it was necessary to build a new church, although it also adds that before the vicar of the time had taken over the care of the church, it had not had an incumbent 'for centuries'.<sup>42</sup> Samuel Lewis described the church before it was demolished as, 'a small, ancient edifice, consisting only of a nave and chancel, formerly divided by a curiously carved screen'.<sup>43</sup> Unfortunately he does not elaborate on what the roodscreen depicted. An early Christian stone with an inscribed cross, dated by Nancy Edwards to the ninth century, supports the site's antiquity.<sup>44</sup> By 1808 it was being used as a gatepost when Samuel Rush Meyrick drew it, but unfortunately it has since disappeared.<sup>45</sup>

So when did the church at Llangwryfon become associated with Ursula and had it been associated with her from its original foundation? The paucity of extant evidence perhaps means that it is impossible to answer this question with absolute certainty. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that the cult proliferated to other minor churches and chapels in Ceredigion, such as the now extinct Capel Santesau between Llanwenog and Llanybydder that, according to the antiquarian Edward Lhuyd in the seventeenth century, was dedicated to Ursula's virgin martyrs:

There is a Chappel hard by Essen fort, called Capel S<sup>t</sup> Essen: because it is dedicated to y<sup>e</sup> 10,000 vergins marthyrd.<sup>46</sup>

A feast was held in Llanybydder on 21 October and this later became a horse fair. Kate Davies reminisces about the fair, which became a major social occasion, and she remembers walking there from Pren Gwyn every year for at least forty years before 1914: 'Ffair Santesau desog; Ffair Fartin gaglog' a Welsh saying records that the weather was expected to be warm and sunny on 21 October, but foul on the feast of St Martin.<sup>47</sup>

As noted above, other Welsh saints whose feasts are listed in one late medieval calendar (Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Cwrtmawr 44) on the feast of the virgins – Wrw and Llŷr – became associated with Ursula's martyrs; and the chapel at Capel Betws Leucu, as well as the nearby well, was said to be dedicated to Lleucu (or Lucia) one of Ursula's virginal companions. The current church at Betws Leucu was built in 1870 and replaced an earlier medieval church: all that remains on the site today

is the stump of an ancient yew tree. In 2015 Florence Davies, who had lived for 88 years in the house next to the church, kindly accompanied me to Ffynnon Leucu, the holy well situated on an adjacent hill known as Rhiw Glanmarch. She remembered the importance of the well to the whole community and informed me that until the 1950s everyone in the area drew water from Lleucu's well for all their household needs, since there was no running water in the village.<sup>48</sup> It is assumed that the well would once have attracted pilgrims to wash in the holy water.<sup>49</sup>

It is interesting to note though that in *Hystoria Gweryddon yr Almaen* Huw Pennant makes no attempt to alter Lucia in his list of virgins to 'Lleucu' (even though he was keen to alter Cyriacus to 'Kirc' and explain that he had both a Welsh and Latin name). 'Lucia Vorwyn' (Lucia Virgin) appears in Huw Pennant's list of Ursula's companions: she is not ranked among the five principal virgins who assisted Ursula, but in eleventh position among the daughters of kings who were each responsible for mentoring a group of 1,000 virgins. She is described as a princess related to Ursula's betrothed (i.e. Etherius of England) who travelled with her sister Placida. Another Lucia is also named in the list: in tenth position is Princess Sibilila who travelled with another group of 1,000 virgins including her sisters Lucia, Iulia and Ewgeina.<sup>50</sup> Lucia appears again in another Ceredigion dedication at Llanwnnen, although on this occasion Lucia is St Lucy of Syracuse and not one of the virgins celebrated on 21 October. Lucy shared a feast with St Gwnnen on 13 December and, as suggested in medieval Welsh poetry, the original patron, Gwnnen, was a male saint not female.<sup>51</sup> By the time the church was rededicated to Lucy, Gwnnen's traditions had no doubt fallen into obscurity and he was replaced by a better known Continental saint simply because he shared her feast (although it is not known when this occurred).

Although it is possible that the church at Llangwryfon was dedicated to Ursula from the early medieval period, it is perhaps more likely that the church there (along with Capel Santesau) may once have been associated with a group of native female saints whose Lives are no longer extant and, when the stories about them no longer circulated, it was a natural step to associate these *gwryfon* (group of virgins) with Ursula's troop who had a well-established group identity.

Medieval Welsh poetry is a rich hagiographical source, but Ursula's legend is not described in detail in any extant poems. Indeed when medieval Welsh poets refer briefly to the martyrs they refer to the 11,000 virgins as a group rather than to Ursula specifically. Rather than draw a direct comparison between St Ursula and St Gwenfrewy, Tudur

Aled in his poem to Gwenfrewy notes that Gwenfrewy's name may be added to the 11,000 virgins who suffered martyrdom and received grace. The emphasis in the *cywydd* is on Gwenfrewy's martyrdom and the cruel way in which she was decapitated by Caradog for refusing his advances: he slices through her neck with his sword.

Y ferch wen, fu'r ychwaneg  
Fel yr oedd un fil ar ddeg  
Gweryddon, a gâi raddoedd,  
Gwenfrewi deg, un fryd oedd.  
Gwenfrewi, gwn, a friwynt,  
Achos gŵr oedd ei chas, gynt ;  
Caradog, lawog o lid,  
Hyd ei theml daeth i'w hymlid,  
A Charadog ni chredai,  
Min ei gledd drwy ei mwnwgl âi. . .  
Trwy ei mwnwgl, taro meinwen,  
Treiglo'r arf trwy goler wen!

(The fair girl was the one added,  
As there were eleven thousand  
Virgins who obtained canonisation,  
Fair Gwenfrewi, she was of the same disposition.  
Gwenfrewi, I know, they once wounded,  
Because of the man who was her enemy.  
Caradog, a thunder-cloud of anger,  
Came to her church in pursuit of her.  
And Caradog – he did not believe –  
The edge of his sword went through her neck. . .  
Through her neck, striking the lovely slender girl,  
Went the weapon, through the white collar.)<sup>52</sup>

The image is reminiscent of the slaughter at the *ager Ursulanus* and the relics of the virgins hacked with swords and axes. Tudur Aled would appear to be familiar with Ursula's hagiographical legend, but it is not entirely certain from this brief reference, in which he does not name Ursula, whether he could be referring to the slaughter of the virgins en route to Brittany. In her poem 'To Answer Ieuan Dyfi for his poem to Anni Goch' Gwerful Mechain refers to the suffering of the 11,000 virgins who received God's grace and salvation at Cologne. She is clearly

familiar with the *Brut* version of the legend and names a number of heroines from *Brut y Brenhinedd* including Elen ferch Coel who is accredited with finding the true cross, but once again the poet does not name Ursula.<sup>53</sup>

I venture to conclude that Huw Pennant's adaptation of the Life of Ursula is what it purports to be – an early sixteenth-century adaptation that perhaps had not previously been widely known in Wales. It is plausible that the version that had circulated more widely prior to this was Geoffrey of Monmouth's account – in the Middle Welsh adaptations of this found for example in *Brut y Brenhinedd* Ursula is not specifically named.

The relics that anchor Cologne so closely to the cult of the 11,000 virgins and help explain the proliferation of the cult, as far as I am aware, have never been acquired by Llangwryfon. Nevertheless, Ursula's Welsh historiography has continued to develop throughout the modern period and her Welsh identity remains a source of fascination and inspiration. In her address to the parishioners of Llangwryfon Sister Anne, one of the Ursuline sisters, envisaged that Ursula had been born in Ceredigion. The Ursuline sisters continue to worship in Wales and currently have small branches in Cardigan and Brecon and the modern Welsh poet Gwyn Williams creates a poetic image of Ursula worshipping at Llangwryfon before embarking for Cologne:

. . . Your bones lie abroad  
and here where I think you lisped Latin  
where you feared marriage and rough Saxon ways

where my forebears trimmed stone in your honour  
and an arch by one of them is a local wonder,  
does anyone else think of you as the cracked peal  
of the bell of your Church of the Virgins

twists and dies up the pilgrim route through the still  
Sunday air?<sup>54</sup>

A modern stained glass window at the church in Llangwryfon depicts Ursula holding the arrow with which she was martyred while sheltering her companions with her cloak.<sup>55</sup> Reverend E. Tawe Jones, the former vicar of Llangwryfon, had the windows erected in memory of his wife Margaret (d. 1955) and his wife's namesake, St Margaret of Antioch, is depicted in the other window alongside Ursula. Personal

connections made saints more relevant and appealing and in Wales, where sanctity was locally conferred, even in the post-reformation period local legends attached to the local landscape continued to have currency. George Eyre Evans briefly records the *Brut* version of the 11,000 virgins in the words of a local shepherd from the Llangwryfon area and, not only associates their homeland with Wales, but also, for good measure, relocates their martyrdom to Ceredigion. It seems appropriate to close with Evans's observations and the challenge he set his readers to 'disprove' Ursula's Welsh connections:

First let me tell you in the few brief and pithy words in which it was told some seventy years ago, by an aged shepherd on Mynydd bach. "You see it was like this, Melga was king of the Picts, and Guanius was king of the Huns, and they got hold of a ship load of these here Welsh girls, who were wrecked near their lands, and they two men killed them all!"

But can we not locate the massacre here in our loved Ceredigion, and on the banks of the brooks Baedog and Wyre? Why let Germany have all the credit of being the scene of our noble Welsh girls' triumphant last stand? May not the vessels which 'tis said sailed from river Thames, instead of being wrecked on the Armorican Coast, have been driven ashore at Llansanffraed? Who shall say it no?<sup>56</sup>

## Notes

1. Y Drych Kristnogawl, ed. Geraint Bowen (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1996), p. 4. All translations are my own unless otherwise stated.
2. Y Drych Kristnogawl, ed. Bowen, pp. 2–3. In Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain: an Edition and Translation of De gestis Britonum [Historia regum Britanniae]*, ed. Michael D. Reeve, trans. Neil Wright (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), p. 96, Constantine is a British king and his mother is Helen daughter of King Coel.
3. Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Peniarth 182, pp. 261–300. A section of the text was published in *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg y Gyfrol Gyntaf Detholion o Lawysgrifau 1488–1609*, ed. T. H. Parry-Williams (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1954), pp. 18–22. I am currently preparing an edition of the text for the Modern Humanities Research Association and an edition and translation will be available on 'The Cult of Saints in Wales' website in 2017 <http://www.welshsaints.ac.uk/>. This project, funded by the AHRC and based at the University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, will provide transcriptions, editions and translations of a large corpus of Middle Welsh saints' Lives, as well as poetry to saints.

4. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*, 2 vols in 7 parts (London: Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, 1898–1910), I, part iii, p. 1003.
5. Daniel Huws, *A Repertory of Welsh Manuscripts and Scribes*, 3 vols (forthcoming). I am grateful to Daniel for discussing various aspects of this chapter with me and suggesting improvements.
6. MS Peniarth 182, p. 299. *Hystoria Gweryddon yr Almaen*, ed. and trans. Jane Cartwright, 'The Cult of Saints in Wales', <http://www.welshsaints.ac.uk/> (forthcoming). The text is referred to as *Hystoria Gweryddon yr Almaen* (p. 261) and *Ystoria Gweryddon yr Almaen* (p. 299) by Huw Pennant.
7. *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, <http://wbo.llgc.org.uk/en/s-HUW0-PEN-1450.html?query=huw+pennant&field=name>, accessed 18 June 2015.
8. *Welsh Genealogies AD 1400–1500*, ed. Peter C. Bartrum, 18 vols (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1983), X, Tudur Trefor 11 (C<sub>1</sub>), Tudur 11 (C<sub>2</sub>). The genealogy that notes that Thomas had two brothers, Huw and Roger, is found in *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire Families with their Collateral Branches in Denbighshire, Meirionethshire and Other Parts*, ed. John Edwards Griffith (Horncastle: W. K. Morton, 1914), p. 214. This latter, perhaps less reliable, source was used for the entry on Huw in *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography* and this would then appear to have been repeated whenever he was discussed in secondary sources.
9. Th. M. Chotzen, 'La "Querrelle des femmes" au payes de Galles', *Revue Celtique*, 48 (1931), 42–93 (47); Ben Guy, 'A Lost Medieval Manuscript from North Wales: Hengwrt 33, the Hanesyn Hên', *Studia Celtica* (forthcoming).
10. A. I. Pryce, *The Diocese of Bangor in the Sixteenth Century* (Bangor: Jarvis & Foster, 1923), p. 82.
11. MS Peniarth 182, p. 246.
12. MS Peniarth 182, p. 196.
13. *The Episcopal Registers of the Diocese of St. David's 1397–1518*, ed. and trans. R. F. Isaacson, 3 vols (London: the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1917–20), II, p. 808.
14. Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Peniarth 351. D. Thomson, 'Cistercians and schools in later medieval Wales', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 3 (1982), 76–80 (77); Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan, 'Manuscripts and the Monasteries', in Janet Burton and Karen Stöber (eds), *Monastic Wales: New Approaches* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013), pp. 209–27.
15. *Monastic Wales*, <http://www.monasticwales.org/article/5>, accessed 5 June 2015.
16. Huws, *Repertory* (forthcoming).
17. *Gwaith Tudur Aled*, ed. T. Gwynn Jones, 2 vols (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1926), II, p. 526. William Stanley was one of Henry VII's chief

- supporters at the Battle of Bosworth and Katherine of Aragon, of course, married first Arthur Tudor and then Henry VIII. As noted in the Introduction, when she arrived in London for her marriage to Arthur she was greeted by a figure of St Ursula who claimed common heritage in a dramatic pageant.
18. Bangor University MS 1267, fol. 34v; Gruffydd Aled Williams, 'The Bardic Road to Bosworth', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1986), 7–31 (23–4).
  19. Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Llanstephan 34, p. 365.
  20. *Hystoria*, ed. and trans. Cartwright.
  21. She is also named Elen in *Brut y Brenhinedd Cotton Cleopatra Version*, ed. and trans. John Jay Parry (Cambridge Massachusetts: The Medieval Academy of America, 1937), p. 97.
  22. Peter C. Bartrum, 'Y Pedwar Brenin ar Hugain a Farnwyd yn Gadarnaf', *Études Celtiques*, 12 (1968–71), 157–94 (172 edn, 181 translation).
  23. For a list of the manuscripts, see Bartrum, 'Y Pedwar Brenin', 160–3.
  24. Guy, 'A Lost Medieval Manuscript'.
  25. *The Mabinogion*, trans. Sioned Davies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 110.
  26. *Breudwyd Maxen Wledic*, ed. Brynley F. Roberts (Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies, 2008), p. lv. Nennius, *British History and The Welsh Annals*, ed. and trans. John Morris (London: Phillimore & Co., Ltd, 1980), pp. 24 and 26.
  27. Aberystwyth, NLW, MS 3108B, fol 11r. I am grateful to Tristan Gray Hulse for this reference.
  28. B. G. Charles, 'The Second Book of George Owen's Description of Penbrokeshire', *National Library of Wales Journal*, 5 part iv (1948), 265–85 (278).
  29. Aberystwyth, NLW, MS Cwrtmawr 44, p. 6. St Llŷr's feast is also listed on the same day.
  30. *Hystoria*, ed. and trans. Cartwright.
  31. Tout LSU, pp. 32–3.
  32. *AS Octobris*, pp. 175 and 184.
  33. *AS Octobris*, p. 178. Unfortunately the Bollandists do not state their manuscript sources for the Life or the notes.
  34. Albert Gereon Stein, *The Church of Saint Ursula and her Companions in Cologne. Its Memorials, Monuments and Curiosities* (Cologne: H. Theissing, 1896), pp. 25–7.
  35. Michael Jones and Malcolm Underwood, *The King's Mother Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 150.
  36. Cf. *Nova Legenda Anglie* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1516), Early English Books online, images 335–36 (for the list of companions), image 342 (the

- babies in their mothers' wombs); the Middle English *Lyf of Saynt Vrsula* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1509?), Early English Books online, images 6–8 (for the list of companions) and image 6 for the infants (not here noted as unborn children) <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search>, accessed 25 January 2014.
37. *Hystoria*, ed. and trans. Cartwright. See also 1 Kings 20:16.
  38. MS Peniarth 182, p. 44.
  39. *Nova Legenda Anglie*, ed. C. Horstmann, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901), I, p. xii.
  40. London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius E.i, fols 88r–89r.
  41. RCAHMW <http://www.coflein.gov.uk/en/site/400421/images/ST+URSULA%27S+CHURCH%2C+LLANGWYRYFON/>, accessed 15 September 2014.
  42. J. F. Jones, 'Llangwryfyon', *St David's Diocesan Gazette* (April 1967), no page numbers.
  43. Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Wales*, 2 vols (London: S. Lewis and Co., 1833), II, s.v. Llangwryfyon.
  44. Nancy Edwards, *A Corpus of Early Medieval Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculpture in Wales Volume II: South-West Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007), p. 174.
  45. Edwards, *A Corpus*, p. 174, CD23.
  46. Edward Lhuyd, *Archaeologia Cambrensis: Parochialia*, 3 parts (London: Cambrian Archaeological Society, 1909–11), III, p. 89.
  47. Kate Davies, *Hafau Fy Mhlentindod ym Mhren Gwyn* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1970), p. 158.
  48. Florence Davies, Aeron Cottage, Capel Betws Leucu, personal communication. Florence's mother, grandmother and great grandmother were all born in the house next to the church. Many thanks to Florence for her kindness and generosity and for sharing with me her knowledge of the local area.
  49. D. R. and Z. S. Cledlyn Davies, *Hanes Plwyf Llanwenog* (Aberystwyth: Welsh Gazette, 1939), p. 11. Iwan Wmffre, 'Language and History in Cardiganshire Place-names', 4 vols (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wales Swansea, 1998), II, p. 624 suggests that Lleucu was a laywoman not a saint.
  50. MS Peniarth 182, p. 283.
  51. *The Poetical Works of Dafydd Nanmor*, ed. Thomas Roberts and Ifor Williams (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1923), p. 48.
  52. 'Two Medieval Welsh Poems: Stori Gwenfrewi a'i Ffynnon *The Story of Gwenfrewi and her Well* and Ffynnon Wenfrewy *St Winefride's Well*', ed. and trans. T. M. Charles-Edwards (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1971), no page numbers.
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THE CULT OF ST URSULA AND THE 11,000 VIRGINS

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