

The Saints' Lives of Jocelin of Furness

HAGIOGRAPHY, PATRONAGE AND
ECCLESIASTICAL POLITICS



Helen Birkett

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The Cistercian hagiographer, Jocelin of Furness (fl. 1175x1214), composed four substantial saints' lives; varying widely in both subject and patron, they offer a rich corpus of medieval hagiographical writing. Jocelin's *Vita S. Patricii* and *Vita S. Kentegerni* provide updated versions of the legends of these saints and are carefully adapted to reflect the interests of their respective ecclesiastical patrons in Ireland and Scotland. The *Vita S. Helenae* was probably commissioned by a female community in England; it represents an idealized narrative mirror of its early thirteenth century context. In contrast, the *Vita S. Waldevi* was written to promote the formal canonisation of a new saint, Waltheof (d. 1159), abbot of the Cistercian house of Melrose in the Scottish borders.

This first full-length study of the Lives combines detailed analyses of the composition of the texts with study of their patronage, audiences and contemporary contexts; it provides new insights into Jocelin's works and the writing of hagiography in the period.

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and Ecclesiastical Politics

Helen Birkett



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CONTENTS

List of Tables	vi
Acknowledgements	vii
Abbreviations	ix
Introduction	1
PART I. TEXTS	
1 Expanding the Narrative: The Composition of the <i>Vita S. Patricii</i>	25
2 Compiling Female Sanctity: The Sources for the <i>Vita S. Helenae</i>	59
3 Restoring the Text: Jocelin's Approach to the <i>Vita S. Kentegerni</i>	85
4 From the Testimony of Trustworthy Men: The Interaction of Oral and Written Sources in the <i>Vita S. Waldevi</i>	115
PART II. CONTEXTS	
5 Irish Ecclesiastical Politics and Anglo-Norman Sponsorship: The Patronage of the <i>Vita S. Patricii</i>	141
6 Scottish Independence and Ecclesiastical Reform: The <i>Vita S. Kentegerni</i> in Context	171
7 Promoting Sanctity: The <i>Vita S. Waldevi</i> , Canonization and Cistercian Saintly Cults	201
8 Locating the Text: The Patrons, Sources and Historical Context of the <i>Vita S. Helenae</i>	227
9 Exemplary Narratives: Contemporary Reforming Discourses in Jocelin's <i>Vitae</i>	259
Conclusion	279
Bibliography	287
Index	313

TABLES

1. Extant Medieval Manuscripts	19
2. The Composition of the <i>Vita S. Patricii</i>	
Section 1	52
Section 2	54
Section 3	56
3. Exact Matches Between Jocelin's <i>Vita S. Patricii</i> and Other Sources	57
4. The Dispersal of Unattributed Material in Jocelin's <i>Vita S. Patricii</i>	57
5. The Sources for the <i>Vita S. Helenae</i>	84
6. The Narrative Strands in the <i>Vita S. Kentegerni</i>	96
7. The Scottish Royal Ancestry as Portrayed by the <i>Vita S. Waldevi</i>	224

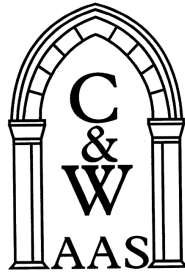
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ABBREVIATIONS

AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i> , ed. J. Carnandet et al. (Paris, 1863–).
<i>Additamenta</i>	‘Additamenta’, in <i>The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh</i> , ed. and trans. L. Bieler, <i>Scriptores Latini Hiberniae</i> 10 (Dublin, 1979), pp. 166–79.
<i>Altmann’s Miracula</i>	Altmann, ‘Historia translationis ad coenobium Altivillarense, auctore Almanno ejusdem coenobii monacho’ and ‘Miracula ope Sanctae in sua translatione in Galliam patrata seculo x, auctore Almanno monacho Altivillarensi’, in ‘Gloria posthuma e variis corporis translationis’ and ‘Gloria posthuma ex miraculis’, <i>AASS Augusti III</i> , §§10–17, 53–76, pp. 601F–3A, 612C–17C.
<i>Altmann’s Vita</i>	Altmann, ‘Vita seu Potius homilia, auctore Almanno, coenobita Altivillarensi’, in <i>AASS Augusti III</i> , pp. 580D–99F.
CCCM	<i>Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis</i>
<i>Cottonian Vita</i>	‘Anecdotum Patricianum: Fragments of a Life of St Patrick from MSS. Cotton Vitellius E. vii and Rawlinson B479’, ed. L. Bieler, in <i>Ludwig Bieler: Studies on the Life and Legend of St Patrick</i> , ed. R. Sharpe, <i>Collected Studies Series</i> 244 (London, 1986), Ch. XIX, pp. 222–9.
CSEL	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i>
DNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography in Association with the British Academy, from the Earliest Times to the Year 2000</i> , ed. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (Oxford, 2004).
<i>Dublin Poem</i>	‘St Patrick and the Scandinavians of Dublin’, ed. and trans. D. N. Dumville, in D. N. Dumville et al., <i>Saint Patrick A.D. 493–1993</i> , <i>Studies in Celtic History</i> 13 (Woodbridge, 1993), pp. 260–2.
EETS	Early English Text Society
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>Furness Coucher Book</i>	<i>The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey: Printed from the Original Preserved in the Record Office, London</i> , ed. J. C. Atkinson and J. Brownbill, 2 vols. in 6, <i>Chetham Society New Series</i> 9, 11, 14, 74, 76, 78 (Manchester, 1886–1919).
<i>Gloucester Vita</i>	‘Eine Patricksvita in Gloucester’, ed. L. Bieler, in <i>Ludwig Bieler: Studies on the Life and Legend of St Patrick</i> , ed. R. Sharpe, <i>Collected Studies Series</i> 244 (London, 1986), Ch. XVIII, pp. 347–59.

Abbreviations

- Herbertian Life* ‘Fragment of the Life of S. Kentigern’, in *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern Compiled in the Twelfth Century*, ed. and trans. A. P. Forbes, *Historians of Scotland* 5 (Edinburgh, 1874), pp. 121–33, 243–52.
- Historia regum Britanniae* Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain: An Edition and Translation of De gestis Britonum [Historia regum Britanniae]*, ed. and trans. M. D. Reeve and N. Wright, *Arthurian Studies* 69 (Woodbridge, 2007).
- Historia tripartita* Cassiodorus, *Cassiodori – Epiphanií, Historia ecclesiastica tripartita: Historiae ecclesiasticae ex Socrate, Sozomeno et Theoderito in unum collectae et nuper de Graeco in Latinum translatae libri numero duodecim*, ed. W. Jacob and R. Hanslik, CSEL 71 (Vienna, 1952).
- Inventio crucis* ‘Inventio crucis A’, ed. and trans. S. Borgehammar, in S. Borgehammar, *How the Holy Cross was Found: From Event to Medieval Legend* (Stockholm, 1991), pp. 154–61, 255–71.
- Melrose Chronicle* See the facsimile editions available in *The Chronicle of Melrose from the Cottonian Manuscript, Faustina B. IX in the British Museum: A Complete and Full Size Facsimile in Collotype*, ed. A. Orr Anderson, M. Ogilvie Anderson and W. Croft Dickinson (London, 1936) and in D. Broun and J. Harrison, *The Chronicle of Melrose Abbey: A Stratigraphic Edition, Vol. I: Introduction and Facsimile Edition*, Scottish History Society (Woodbridge, 2007).
- MGH Monumenta Germaniae Historica
- Muirchú’s Vita* Muirchú maccu Machtheni, ‘A. Muirchú’, in *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, ed. and trans. L. Bieler, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae* 10 (Dublin, 1979), pp. 61–123.
- PL Patrologia Latina
- RS Rolls Series
- Rufinus, Historia ecclesiastica* Rufinus of Aquileia, *Eusebius Werke, Zweiter Band, Der Kirchengeschichte: Zweite Teil die Bücher VI bis X über die Märtyrer in Palästina*, ed. E. Schwartz and T. Mommsen, *Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der Ersten Drei Jahrhunderte* (Leipzig, 1908).
- Rule* Benedict of Nursia, *RB1980: The Rule of St Benedict in Latin and English with Notes*, ed. T. Fry et al. (Collegeville, 1981).
- SS Surtees Society
- TCWAAS *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society New Series*
- TDGAS *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*
- Tírechán’s Vita* Tírechán, ‘B. Tírechán’, in *The Patrician Texts in the Book of*

Abbreviations

- Armagh*, ed. and trans. L. Bieler, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae* 10 (Dublin, 1979), pp. 122–67.
- VCH The *Victoria County History* series
- Vita Helenae* Jocelin of Furness, ‘The *Vita sancte Helene* of Jocelin of Furness (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 252)’, ed. A. Harbus, in A. Harbus, *Helena of Britain in Medieval Legend* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 152–82.
- Vita Kentegerni* Jocelin of Furness, ‘The Life of S. Kentigern by Jocelinus, a Monk of Furness’, in *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern Compiled in the Twelfth Century*, ed. and trans. A. P. Forbes, *Historians of Scotland* 5 (Edinburgh, 1874), pp. 29–119, 159–242.
- Vita Patricii* Jocelin of Furness, ‘The Life and Acts of St Patrick by Jocelin’, in *The Most Ancient Lives of Saint Patrick, Including the Life by Jocelin Hitherto Unpublished in America, and His Extant Writings*, trans. J. O’Leary (Reprint of 1880 edn, Honolulu, 2002), pp. 132–347.
- Vita Patricii*
AASS Jocelin of Furness, ‘*Vita auctore Jocelino monacho de Furnesio*’, in *AASS Martii II*, pp. 536D-77D. (The equivalent chapters in Colgan’s edition of the text are given in brackets, see p. 17.)
- Vita Patricii*,
ed. Colgan Jocelin of Furness, ‘*Vita Sexta*’, in *Triadis thaumaturgae seu Divorum Patricii, Columbae et Brigidae, trium veteris et maioris Scotiae, seu Hiberniae sanctorum insulae...*, ed. J. Colgan (Louvain, 1647), pp. 64a–108b.
- Vita Probo* ‘*Vita auctore Probo*’, in *Four Latin Lives of St Patrick: Colgan’s Vita Secunda, Quarta, Tertia and Quinta*, ed. L. Bieler, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae* 8 (Dublin, 1971), pp. 191–219.
- Vita secunda-
quarta* ‘*Vita secunda and Vita quarta*’, in *Four Latin Lives of St Patrick: Colgan’s Vita Secunda, Quarta, Tertia and Quinta*, ed. L. Bieler, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae* 8 (Dublin, 1971), pp. 46–114.
- Vita tertia* ‘*Vita tertia*’, in *Four Latin Lives of St Patrick: Colgan’s Vita Secunda, Quarta, Tertia and Quinta*, ed. L. Bieler, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae* 8 (Dublin, 1971), pp. 115–90.
- Vita tripartita* *The Tripartite Life of Patrick, with Other Documents Relating to that Saint*, ed. and trans. W. Stokes, 2 vols., RS 89 (London, 1887), I, 1–267.
- Vita Waldevi* Jocelin of Furness, ‘The Life of St Waldef, Abbot of Melrose, by Jocelin, Monk of Furness’, in ‘An Edition and Translation of the Life of Waldef, Abbot of Melrose by Jocelin of Furness’, trans. G. J. McFadden (unpublished

Abbreviations

- D.Phil. dissertation, Columbia University, 1952), pp. 201–357.
- Vita Waldevi* Jocelin of Furness, ‘Vita auctore Jordano vel Joscelino, monacho Furnesiensi’, in *AASS Augusti I*, pp. 249D–278E.
- AASS*
- William of Malmesbury’s Vita* William of Malmesbury, ‘Vita Patricii’, in *William of Malmesbury, Saints’ Lives: Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 2002), pp. 316–43.

INTRODUCTION

Although acknowledged as the author of four extant hagiographical texts, Jocelin of Furness remains a shadowy figure in modern historiography.¹ Much of this obscurity reflects our limited knowledge about the author himself. His *Vitae* are largely impersonal works and outside sources provide little further information to complete the picture. In addition, the fact that three of Jocelin's four texts are reworkings of much earlier material means they have found few admirers in modern scholarship. Of those historians who choose to comment on Jocelin, only the minority do so with an interest in the author himself or the context in which he was writing. Instead, his works are frequently treated as imperfect secondary sources for the historical figures they describe and Jocelin himself as a credulous barrier to an elusive historical truth.² However, the basis of much of this modern criticism rests on a profound difference between the original intentions of the texts and the way in which they have been read since. The comment by Silas Harris that Jocelin's *Vita Kentegerni* 'is romance rather than history' – as a hagiographical text it is, strictly speaking, neither – is representative of a wider attitude in the scholarly literature that has failed to appreciate the texts on their own terms.³ This book offers a much more sympathetic approach to Jocelin's works. By closely analysing the texts of the *Vitae* themselves and the wider environment in which they were written, this study places the author and his works firmly in the hagiographical, religious, cultural and political context of Angevin Britain. It is a methodology that reflects a wider movement in the current field of hagiographical studies. Whereas earlier scholars cited *vitae* as evidence for the periods described by the texts, greater attention is now being

1 The spelling of the name Jocelin varies in the secondary literature. This study will use that found in the most recent edition of the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. DNB 21, 190–1.

2 For example: 'behind Jocelyn's parade of bogus miracles and Scriptural verbosity, we do seem to catch a fleeting glimpse of a real person' (David McRoberts); 'the substratum of fact in each life being ingeniously hidden under a marvellous superstructure of fiction' (T. Lees). James Bulloch identified the main problem that previous historians had with Jocelin: he 'used his sources honestly but uncritically, faithfully reproducing whatever he found there'. D. McRoberts, 'The Death of St Kentigern of Glasgow', *Innes Review* 24 (1973), 50; T. Lees, 'A Monk of Furness', *TCWAAS* 3 (1878), 202; J. B. P. Bulloch, 'Saint Waltheof', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 11 (1955), 127.

3 S. M. Harris, 'Liturgical Commemoration of Welsh Saints II: St Asaf', *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales* 6 (1956), 11.

directed to the function and meaning of the works in the time in which they were written. The increasing appreciation of hagiographical texts as sources for the particular circumstances of their authors and patrons means that the rich historical material to be found in many medieval *vitae* is now being more fully recognized.⁴

As an explicitly didactic genre, hagiography presents models of saintly behaviour for its audience to imitate. These models are rooted in centuries of Christian literary tradition and reinforce the individual saint's claim to sanctity by placing him or her within a recognized framework of holy mimesis. However, while this recycling of topoi means that certain aspects of hagiographical texts retain an often self-consciously timeless character, in a number of other ways *vitae* are strongly representative of the historical context in which they were produced.⁵ Frequently written at the request of religious communities particularly associated with the saint in question, these texts often include narratives that express the contemporary aspirations and anxieties of both the patrons they were commissioned by and the society from which they emerged. For the communities behind these texts, the most fundamental purpose of the *vitae* was to raise greater awareness of their respective saints and, in turn, of the houses to which he or she was allied. Accounts of posthumous miracles also allowed these groups to show how the saint's power, which was drawn from the virtues he or she had embodied during life, continued to intervene in the lives of successive generations. This power not only aided those who came to the shrine seeking intercession but protected the community who venerated the saint by opposing those who intended to harm its interests. However, such defensive discourses were not only confined to the *miracula*. As Wolfert van Egmond states, hagiographical works lacked the immutable authority of canonical texts and could be freely adapted if necessary to advance the interests of the saint's cult.⁶ In short, although the framework of hagiographical texts represented a genre firmly rooted in centuries-old tradition, the narratives inserted within these structures were adaptable and responsive to contemporary needs.

⁴ For concise overviews of the evolving approaches to hagiographical studies see the introductions in K. Ashley and P. Sheingorn, *Writing Faith: Text, Sign & History in the Miracles of Sainte Foy* (Chicago, 1999), pp. 1–21 (pp. 8–20) and W. S. van Egmond, *Conversing with the Saints: Communication in Pre-Carolingian Hagiography from Auxerre*, *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* 15 (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 6–11.

⁵ R. Bartlett, 'Rewriting Saints' Lives: The Case of Gerald of Wales', *Speculum* 58 (1983), 598; D. Townsend, 'Anglo-Latin Hagiography and the Norman Transition', *Exemplaria* 3 (1991), 387–90.

⁶ Egmond, *Conversing with the Saints*, p. 37.

Jocelin: The scholarly tradition

Jocelin's literary tradition has both waxed and waned as modern historians have sought to distinguish fact from legend and, to use Michel Foucault's phrase, as literary anonymity became increasingly intolerable.⁷ Jocelin's authorship of the four extant works attributed to him is relatively secure. Jocelin introduces himself as the author of the *Vita Kentegerni* and the *Vita Waldevi* in the salutations that open their respective prologues.⁸ His association with the other works, the *Vita Patricii* and the *Vita Helenae*, is based on long-held textual traditions that accompanied their transmission in the medieval period (see below). As the author of four extant texts, Jocelin's output appeared prolific enough to suggest that his pen lay behind other works of similar date. Consequently, in his 1878 article, 'A Monk of Furness', T. Lees cautiously listed Jocelin's works as the *Vitae* of Kentigern, Patrick, Waltheof 'and other saints'.⁹ Scholars working in the field of Patrician and Irish studies gave a name to some of these potential texts. Ludwig Bieler suggested that the *Vita Patricii* may have been the first of a projected set of three hagiographical works commissioned in response to the miraculous discovery of the bodies of SS Patrick, Columba and Brigit in Down in 1185. Although there is no evidence to suggest that Jocelin composed a *Vita S. Columbae*, Félim O'Briain identified Jocelin as the author of the anonymous *Vita S. Brigidae*. Bieler lent further credibility to O'Briain's claim by noting that the *Vita Brigidae* closes with the same synchronisms as Jocelin's *Vita Patricii*.¹⁰ However, George McFadden, who translated Jocelin's *Vita Waldevi* in 1952, argued against this stating that 'the *clausulae*, for instance, consistently lack Jocelin's habitual care'.¹¹ Instead, McFadden claimed that Jocelin was the author of the anonymous *Vita Haroldi*, an account of King Harold's survival at the Battle of Hastings and his life afterwards – but this too has failed to find wider

⁷ M. Foucault, 'What is an Author?', trans. J. V. Harari, in *Textual Strategies: Perspectives in Post-Structuralist Criticism*, ed. J. V. Harari (Ithaca, 1979), pp. 149–50.

⁸ The late fifteenth century manuscript copy of the *Vita Waldevi* confirms that the 'Frater Jordanus' of the *Acta Sanctorum* edition is a corruption of 'Frater Jocelinus'. *Vita Kentegerni*, prol., pp. 29, 159; *Vita Waldevi* AASS, §1, p. 249E; Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, MS II 2097, fol. 42ra.

⁹ Lees, 'Monk of Furness', p. 201.

¹⁰ L. Bieler, *The Life and Legend of St Patrick: Problems of Modern Scholarship* (Dublin, 1949), pp. 122, 142 n.32; L. Bieler, 'Jocelin von Furness als Hagiograph', in *Ludwig Bieler: Studies on the Life and Legend of St Patrick*, ed. R. Sharpe, Collected Studies Series 244 (London, 1986) Ch. XVI, pp. 410–11.

¹¹ G. J. McFadden, 'An Edition and Translation of the *Life of Waldef*, Abbot of Melrose, by Jocelin of Furness' (unpublished D.Phil. dissertation, Columbia University, 1952), p. 5 n.12.

acceptance.¹² Other suggestions that apparent excerpts from a *vita* of King David in the *Scotichronicon* came from a lost work by Jocelin were rightly rejected by James Bulloch as being material excerpted from the prologue to the *Vita Waldevi*.¹³ In the seventeenth century, Jocelin was seen not only as a hagiographer but also as a historian. In his 1603 *Survey of London*, John Stow twice referred to Jocelin as a source for the early Church in Britain and cited a now lost work called the *Book of British Bishops*.¹⁴ Following Stow, Jocelin was described as the author of this work and many other books (*libros plures*) by John Pits in 1619.¹⁵ However, since no copy of the *Book of British Bishops* now remains, most scholars recognize Jocelin as the author only of the four *Vitae* extant today.¹⁶

Even a brief survey of the literature concerning Jocelin's career reveals that his literary reputation reached its zenith in the medieval period – indeed, probably in those years closest to the time in which he was writing. His commissions in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries indicate that he was acknowledged as a master of his trade, a man worthy of the high-profile literary assignments contracted to him. Modern commentators have been somewhat less appreciative. Jocelin came to be seen largely as a barrier to the study of the much earlier saints whom his works described. As a result, scholars vented their frustrations by criticizing his style as overblown and his approach as credulous. In 1829, John Lanigan stated that Jocelin's *Vita Patricii* was 'so wretched a composition [it] is scarcely worth attending to'.¹⁷ Much the same sentiment prevailed a century later. In his *Christianity in Celtic Lands*, Louis Gougaud introduced Jocelin as 'a writer by no means trustworthy', while G. Waterhouse commented that the *Vita Patricii* had 'little or no historical value, being merely a collection of extravagant legends'.¹⁸

¹² McFadden, 'Edition and Translation', p. 3 n.7; *Vita Haroldi: The Romance of the Life of Harold, King of England*, ed. and trans. W. de Gray Birch (London, 1885).

¹³ J. T. Gilbert, 'Jocelin or Joscelin', in *The Dictionary of National Biography Founded in 1882 by George Smith From the Earliest Times to 1900, Vol. X: Howard-Kenneth*, ed. L. Stephen and S. Lee (Oxford, 1921–2), p. 834; Bulloch, 'Saint Waltheof', p. 106; Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and in English*, ed. and trans. D. E. R. Watt, 9 vols. (Aberdeen, 1987–98), III, VI.i, pp. 290–3; *Vita Waldevi* AASS, §§1–3, pp. 249E–50A; *Vita Waldevi*, pp. 201–4.

¹⁴ J. Stow, *A Survey of London: Reprinted from the Text of 1603*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2000) I, 'Cornehill ward', p. 194, II, 'Spirituell Governours', pp. 125–6.

¹⁵ J. Pits, *Relationum historicarum de rebus Anglicis* (Reprint of 1619 edn, Farnborough, 1969), 'Appendix illustrium Angliae scriptorum', p. 884.

¹⁶ McFadden suggests that the author of the *Book of British Bishops* was not Jocelin of Furness but Goscelin of Canterbury. McFadden, 'Edition and Translation', p. 1 n.1.

¹⁷ J. Lanigan, *An Ecclesiastical History of Ireland from the First Introduction of Christianity Among the Irish to the Beginning of the Thirteenth Century, Vol. I*, 2nd edn (Dublin, 1829), p. 88.

¹⁸ L. Gougaud, *Christianity in Celtic Lands: A History of the Churches of the Celts, Their Origin, Their Development, Influence and Mutual Relations*, trans. M. Joynt (London,

Despite Bieler's favourable comments on Jocelin's *Vita* in 1944 and his plea for a 'new appreciation of his work from both the documentary and literary point of view', by 1975 these feelings had apparently evaporated when he described the text as 'little more than a rehash of an earlier *Life of the saint*'.¹⁹ Jocelin's *Vita Kentegerni* has been accorded similar treatment. In 1956, Silas Harris described it as a 'prolix and prosy production' and a work 'of very dubious value'.²⁰ Kenneth Jackson criticized Jocelin's apparent lack of interest in the Celtic context of the legend and compared him to a nineteenth-century littérateur as a suppressor of strange or lewd details.²¹ Even the editor of the text, Bishop Forbes, concluded that the real value of Jocelin's *Vita* lay 'in the historical events of the Cambrian kingdom that are therein incidentally mentioned'.²² Unsurprisingly, such comments tainted the approach to Jocelin's other works. Although Christopher Holdsworth believed the *Vita Waldevi* to be 'an accurate and well-drawn portrait', he described Jocelin's work as 'uneven' and commented on the doubts concerning the 'accuracy' of the *Vitae Kentegerni, Patricii* and *Helenaë*.²³ Indeed, Derek Baker placed such a low value on Jocelin's talent that he suggested the *Vita Waldevi*, the *Vita* of a near-contemporary Cistercian abbot, was merely an edited collection of earlier texts and contained little that was actually Jocelin's.²⁴

Yet not all scholars have been so dismissive. In the 1950s, George McFadden undertook an edition and translation of the *Vita Waldevi* as his doctoral thesis.²⁵ Dividing his study between the author and the saintly protagonist, with an emphasis on the latter, he examined the date of Jocelin's works, his background and his career, all with fairly inconclusive results. Although few agree with his assertion that Jocelin was 'a literary artist of almost the first rank',

1932), p. 73; G. Waterhouse, 'St Patrick's Purgatory: A German Account', *Hermaethena* 44 (1926), 32.

¹⁹ 'Anecdotum Patricianum: Fragments of a Life of St Patrick from MSS Cotton Vitellius E. vii and Rawlinson B479', ed. L. Bieler, in *Ludwig Bieler: Studies on the Life and Legend of St Patrick*, ed. R. Sharpe, Collected Studies Series 244 (London, 1986), Ch. XIX, p. 237; L. Bieler, 'Did Jocelin of Furness Know the Writings of St Patrick at First Hand?', in *Ludwig Bieler: Studies on the Life and Legend of St Patrick*, ed. R. Sharpe, Collected Studies Series 244 (London, 1986), Ch. XV, p. 161.

²⁰ Harris, 'St Asaf', p. 11.

²¹ K. H. Jackson, 'The Sources for the *Life of St Kentigern*', in *Studies in the Early British Church*, ed. N. K. Chadwick et al. (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 281, 288, 291, 293, 303.

²² *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern Compiled in the Twelfth Century*, ed. and trans. A. P. Forbes, *Historians of Scotland* 5 (Edinburgh, 1874), p. lxxxvii.

²³ C. J. Holdsworth, 'John of Ford and English Cistercian Writing 1167–1214', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society 5th Series* 11 (1961), 130.

²⁴ D. Baker, 'Legend and Reality: The Case of Waldef of Melrose', in *Church Society and Politics: Papers Read at the Thirteenth Summer Meeting and the Fourteenth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. D. Baker, *Studies in Church History* 12 (Oxford, 1975), pp. 71–2.

²⁵ McFadden, 'Edition and Translation'.

his 1955 article summarizing his research continues to form the backbone of most succeeding studies of the author and his *Vitae*.²⁶ The most recent scholar to study one of Jocelin's works in depth is Antonina Harbus, who published a much-needed edition of the *Vita Helenae* as an appendix to her *Helena of Britain in Medieval Legend* in 2002.²⁷ Since Jocelin was only a secondary interest to her study, Harbus tended to recycle statements from previous literature and provided only limited new analysis. She does, however, give Jocelin credit for integrating the hagiographical and historical traditions concerning Helena into a single narrative.²⁸ By taking this moderate view, she follows the lead of other recent historians who recognize Jocelin as 'a hagiographer of some merit'.²⁹

Jocelin: The historical figure

It is the circumstances behind the composition of Jocelin's four extant works that provide the most valuable information about the author and his career. The *Vita Patricii* may well be the earliest of Jocelin's works. Commissioned by Archbishop Tomaltach of Armagh, Bishop Malachy of Down and John de Courcy, the Anglo-Norman ruler of Ulaid, the widest possible dates for the text fall between Archbishop Tomaltach's accession to his see in 1181 and his death twenty years later.³⁰ Plausible assumption allows us to narrow down the possible date of the commission. It is hard to disassociate Jocelin's *Vita* from the wider programme of renewal at Down undertaken during the 1180s, which included the building and rededication of the cathedral, the establishment of a new chapter and the discovery in 1185 of the bodies of SS Patrick, Columba and Brigit in the churchyard. Although Jocelin does not mention the *inventio* in his text, details in the *Vita* suggest that the burial place of Patrick may already have been known. The site is said to have been revealed to Patrick by a miraculous light that shone on the eastern part of Down's

²⁶ G. McFadden, 'The Life of Waldef and its Author, Jocelin of Furness', *Innes Review* 6 (1955), 5–13 (p. 5 n.1).

²⁷ A. Harbus, *Helena of Britain in Medieval Legend* (Cambridge, 2002).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

²⁹ Quotation from E. Freeman, 'Models for Cistercian Life in Jocelin of Furness's *Vita Waldevi*', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 37 (2002), 107. Bulloch was one of the earliest to take a measured view of Jocelin but his lead has only really been followed within the past decade. For example, see the recent comments made by Rex Gardner and Keith Stringer. Bulloch, 'Saint Waltheof', p. 127; R. Gardner, 'Kentigern, Columba, and Oswald: The Ripon Connexion', *Northern History* 35 (1999), 6; K. J. Stringer, *The Reformed Church in Medieval Galloway and Cumbria: Contrasts, Connections and Continuities, The Eleventh Whithorn Lecture 14th September, 2002* (Stranraer, 2003), p. 15.

³⁰ *Annala Uladh, Annals of Ulster, Otherwise Annals of Senat: A Chronicle of Irish Affairs A.D. 431–1131, 1155–1541, Vol. II: A.D. 1057–1131, 1155–1378*, ed. and trans. B. Mac Carthy (Dublin, 1893), pp. 198, 199, 234, 235.

cemetery and, after the saint's death, the *Vita* tells us that his body was buried 'beneath a stone, five cubits deep in the heart of the earth' – statements that cannot be found in any other extant Patrician text.³¹ As earlier scholars have concluded, the combined evidence points to a date of c.1185 for the composition of Jocelin's work.³²

This date is further supported by the limited familiarity with St Patrick's Purgatory shown by Jocelin's text. Following a narrative that appears in various earlier accounts of Patrick's life, Jocelin describes the torments suffered by the saint during his period of fasting on Cruachan-aigle (today's Croagh Patrick).³³ However, the *Vita's* statement that this place was known as 'St Patrick's Purgatory' is a new addition to the legend. This identification of the Purgatory is usually interpreted as an error on Jocelin's part, combining what was apparently another popular pilgrimage site with rumours he had heard of St Patrick's Purgatory at Lough Derg.³⁴ What it does suggest is that Jocelin did not have access to either Gerald of Wales's *Topographia Hibernica* or H. of Sawtry's *Tractatus* on the Purgatory. The *Topographia*, first written c.1186, contains the earliest known description of the Purgatory on Lough Derg but its identification as 'St Patrick's Purgatory' seems to form part of Gerald's revision for the second edition, believed by Yolande de Pontfarcy to have been written under the influence of H.'s *Tractatus* in 1187x1189.³⁵ While

³¹ *Vita Patricii* AASS, §§165, 171 (cc. clxxxviii, cxevi), pp. 576A, 577C; *Vita Patricii*, pp. 339, 347.

³² The date of c.1185 was given to the text by Colgan and has found few detractors since. Some scholars (for example, G. Waterhouse) cite the year as 1186, a statement that seems to refer either to the belief that the bodies were translated in that year or to the date accorded to the *inventio* by the *Chronicle of Melrose. Triadis thaumaturgae seu Divorum Patricii, Columbae et Brigidae, trium veteris et maioris Scotiae, seu Hiberniae sanctorum insulae ...*, ed. J. Colgan (Louvain, 1647), p. 64; Waterhouse, 'St Patrick's Purgatory', p. 33; *Chronicle of Melrose*, fol. 24r; 'Chronicle of Melrose', *The Church Historians of England Vol. IV Part I*, trans. J. Stevenson (London, 1854), p. 141.

³³ *Vita Patricii* AASS, §150 (c. clxxii), pp. 571F–2A; *Vita Patricii*, pp. 320–1; *Tírechán's Vita*, c. xxxviii, pp. 152, 153; *Vita secunda-quarta*, §59, p. 101; *Vita tertia*, §85, p. 180; *Vita tripartita*, pp. 114, 115; *Gloucester Vita*, fol. 150ra ll. 20–1, p. 359.

³⁴ It is not implausible that Cruachan-aigle had also become a site for purgatorial pilgrimage – the *Annals of Loch Cé* record pilgrims fasting there in 1113. Robert Easting notes the possibility that the Croagh Patrick pilgrimage may have been called St Patrick's Purgatory before the name became irrevocably attached to Lough Derg. *The Annals of Loch Cé: A Chronicle of Irish Affairs from A.D. 1014 to A.D. 1590, Vol. I*, ed. and trans. W. M. Hennessy, RS 54 (London, 1871), pp. 102, 103; Waterhouse, 'St Patrick's Purgatory', p. 34; L. Bieler, 'St Patrick's Purgatory: Contributions Towards an Historical Topography', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 93 (1960), 138; Marie de France, *Saint Patrick's Purgatory, A Poem by Marie de France*, trans. M. J. Curley, *Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies* 94 (Binghamton, 1993), pp. 12–13; Peter of Cornwall, 'Peter of Cornwall's Account of St Patrick's Purgatory', ed. R. Easting, *Analecta Bollandiana* 97 (1979), 397–8 n.4.

³⁵ F. X. Martin, 'Giraldus as Historian', in *Expugnatio Hibernica, The Conquest of Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis*, ed. and trans. A. B. Scott and F. X. Martin, *A New History*

the exact date of the *Tractatus* remains contentious, current scholarship has settled on c.1184 and indicates that if Jocelin's *Vita* was written in response to the discovery of the holy bodies at Down in 1185, the publication of the *Tractatus* may simply have been too recent for Jocelin to have accessed the text.³⁶ Since the *Tractatus* also includes other details relating to St Patrick that differ from those found in Jocelin's *Vita*, it seems clear that both writers were unaware of each other's works.³⁷ The confusion over the site of St Patrick's Purgatory present in the *Vita Patricii* suggests that Jocelin's text was written before the later years of the 1180s when information regarding the Purgatory was in greater circulation.

The *Vita Kentegerni* also dates from the late twelfth century. The work was commissioned by Bishop Jocelin of Glasgow to commemorate the cathedral's patron saint at some point between 1175 and 1199 – the span of Jocelin's episcopate.³⁸ Efforts have been made to narrow down this period. Forbes dated the *Vita* to c.1189 but in the absence of supporting evidence, this appears somewhat arbitrary.³⁹ McFadden argued for a much earlier date. Citing the

of Ireland, Ancillary Publications 3, Irish Medieval Texts 1 (Dublin, 1978), p. 271; Gerald of Wales, 'Topographia Hibernica', in *Giraldi Cambrensis Topographia Hibernica et Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. J. F. Dimock, RS 21 (London, 1867), II.v, pp. 83, 83 n.1; Y. de Pontfarcy, 'The Historical Background to the Pilgrimage to Lough Derg', in *The Medieval Pilgrimage to St Patrick's Purgatory, Lough Derg and the European Tradition*, ed. M. Haren and Y. de Pontfarcy (Enniskillen, 1988), p. 16; H. of Sawtry, *Saint Patrick's Purgatory: A Twelfth Century Tale of a Journey to the Other World*, trans. J. Picard and Y. de Pontfarcy (Dublin, 1985), p. 17.

³⁶ Although Robert Easting dated the *Tractatus* to c.1179x1181 in 1978, by 1991 he had revised this to c.1180x1184. Pontfarcy argues that H. of Sawtry wrote two versions, a more primitive one in 1184 and a later one with additional information in 1186x1190. R. Easting, 'The Date and Dedication of the *Tractatus de purgatorio sancti Patricii*', *Speculum* 53 (1978), 782; *St Patrick's Purgatory: Two Versions of Owayne Miles and the Vision of William of Stranton Together with the Long Text of the Tractatus de Purgatorio sancti Patricii*, ed. R. Easting, EETS OS 298 (Oxford, 1991), p. xvii; H. of Sawtry, *Saint Patrick's Purgatory*, trans. Picard and Pontfarcy, pp. 17–18.

³⁷ In contrast to Jocelin's *Vita*, the *Tractatus* provides a different account of how Patrick received the Staff of Jesus and asserts that Patrick the Apostle is the younger of the two Patricks associated with Ireland. H. of Sawtry, 'Tractatus de purgatorio sancti Patricii', in *St Patrick's Purgatory: Two versions of Owayne Miles and The Vision of William of Stranton together with the long text of the Tractatus de purgatorio sancti Patricii*, ed. R. Easting, EETS OS (Oxford, 1991), ll. 78–9, 118–24, pp. 123, 124; H. of Sawtry, *Saint Patrick's Purgatory*, trans. Picard and Pontfarcy, pp. 45–6, 47.

³⁸ Jocelin was elected as bishop in 1174 but it seems unlikely that he would have commissioned the work before his consecration at Clairvaux in 1175, where his appointment was approved by the Cistercian authorities. *Chronicle of Melrose*, fols. 22r, 26v; 'Chronicle of Melrose', trans. Stevenson, pp. 135, 136, 147; R. of Melrose, 'Eulogium on Bishop Joceline', ed. A. P. Forbes, in *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern Compiled in the Twelfth Century*, ed. and trans. A. P. Forbes, *Historians of Scotland* 5 (Edinburgh, 1874), pp. 310–11.

³⁹ *Lives of Ninian and Kentigern*, ed. and trans. Forbes, p. lxiv.

author's use of the words 'first-fruits' (*primicias*) and 'inexperience' (*imperitie*), as well as the inclusion of a miracle described as if unprecedented but which also appears in the *Vita Patricii*, he asserted the *Vita Kentegerni* to be the earliest of Jocelin's works.⁴⁰ McFadden also commented on the more rhetorical style of the text as compared to the *Vita Patricii* which, to his mind, suggested a writer fresh from the schools.⁴¹ However, parts of this argument seem a little too simplistic. Although the interpretation of Jocelin's words 'I have deemed it fitting to present the first-fruits of my gatherings to you' offers a possible reading in terms of his own oeuvre, a more plausible interpretation would be that the author is referring to the finished draft of this specific work.⁴² The repetition of the miracle cited by McFadden also needs qualification. Both examples involve the miraculous shielding of saints from rain and form part of a common hagiographical trope. However, Jocelin's statement that Kentigern was *never* touched by rain significantly extends this topos.⁴³ The verbosity surrounding this episode also reflects the more discursive nature of the text in general.

Just as the *Vita Patricii* formed part of a wider programme of renewal at Down, it seems that the *Vita Kentegerni* must also be considered as part of a more general project of renovation at Glasgow. Both the eulogy written on Bishop Jocelin's death in 1199 and the *Chronicle of Melrose* credit the bishop with the extensive rebuilding of the cathedral.⁴⁴ This architectural restyling has been associated with a more specific programme to renovate both the

⁴⁰ Forbes translates 'imperitie' as 'unskilfulness' rather than 'inexperience'. McFadden, 'Edition and Translation', pp. 4–5; *Vita Kentegerni*, prol., c. xxxv, pp. 29, 31, 97–8, 159, 161, 221–2; *Vita Patricii* AASS, §137 (c. clvi), p. 568F; *Vita Patricii*, p. 304.

⁴¹ McFadden, 'Edition and Translation', p. 5.

⁴² 'congruum duxi vobis offerre manipulorum meorum primicias'. This may also be an allusion to Leviticus 23. 10, where the children of Israel are instructed to bring 'the first-fruits (*primitias*) of your harvest to the priest'. *Vita Kentegerni*, prol., p. 159.

⁴³ For example, compare with the miracles in Gregory's *Dialogues*, the *Vita Niniani*, the *Vita Bernardi* and the *Vita Aelredi*. *Vita Kentegerni*, c. xxxv, pp. 98, 222; Gregory the Great, *Gregorii Magni, Dialogi libri IV*, ed. U. Moricca (Rome, 1924), III.xii, pp. 159–60; Gregory the Great, *Saint Gregory the Great, Dialogues*, trans. O. J. Zimmerman, *The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation* 39 (New York, 1983), pp. 127–8; William of St Thierry et al., 'S. Bernardi vita prima', in *S. Bernardi abbatis primi Clarae-Vallensis opera omnia*, PL 185, l.xi, cols. 255C–6A; William of St Thierry et al., *St Bernard of Clairvaux, The Story of his Life as Recorded in the Vita prima Bernardi by Certain of his Contemporaries, William of St Thierry, Arnold of Bonnevaux, Geoffrey and Philip of Clairvaux, and Odo of Deuil*, trans. G. Webb and A. Walker (London, 1960), p. 70; Aelred of Rievaulx, 'The Life of S. Ninian by Ailred', *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern Compiled in the Twelfth Century*, ed. and trans. A. P. Forbes, *Historians of Scotland* 5 (Edinburgh, 1874), c. ix, pp. 18–19, 150–1; Walter Daniel, *The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx by Walter Daniel*, ed. and trans. F. M. Powicke (London, 1950), Ep. ad Mauricium, §4, pp. 74–5.

⁴⁴ R. of Melrose, 'Eulogium', p. 311; *Chronicle of Melrose*, fol. 23r; 'Chronicle of Melrose', trans. Stevenson, p. 139.

physical setting and literary representation of St Kentigern's cult.⁴⁵ A. A. M. Duncan argues that the *Vita* was written as part of an unsuccessful attempt formally to canonize the saint and would have been completed by the dedication of Bishop Jocelin's new cathedral on 6 July 1197, when the relics of the saint were to be translated to their new shrine. The dedication occurred on the first day of Glasgow's newly-granted annual fair and indicates that Bishop Jocelin intended this event to be associated with the ceremony, i.e. that it would become part of the celebrations commemorating Kentigern's translation.⁴⁶ If so, this restricted the possible dates for the intended dedication and translation ceremony since it would have to take place in a year in which 6 July fell on a Sunday. The charter for the fair was granted between 1189 and 1195, so the only possible years in which this joint ceremony could take place were 1197 or 1203.⁴⁷ Duncan argues that although Bishop Jocelin was unable to secure the saint's canonization in time for the 1197 ceremony, he refused to postpone the dedication of the new cathedral any longer. The dedication therefore went ahead without the proposed translation.⁴⁸ The idea that the *Vita* was commissioned in preparation for the dedication of the new cathedral and the translation of Kentigern's relics seems entirely plausible. Although the canonization aspect of Duncan's argument is misleading – there is no evidence that official confirmation of Kentigern's status was either felt necessary or actively sought during this period – there are numerous examples of hagiographical works written to commemorate the building of a new church or shrine and the translation of a saint's relics to their new home.⁴⁹ That in the end no translation appears to have taken place may indicate that papal permission for the elevation of the relics was denied or that the day

⁴⁵ N. F. Shead, 'Jocelin, Abbot of Melrose (1170–1174) and Bishop of Glasgow (1175–1199)', *Innes Review* 54 (2003), 10, 12–13.

⁴⁶ Kentigern's actual feast day fell in midwinter (13 January), an unseasonal date for an annual fair.

⁴⁷ *The Acts of William I, Kings of Scots 1165–1214*, ed. G. W. S. Barrow and W. W. Scott, *Regesta Regum Scottorum* 2 (Edinburgh, 1971), no. 308, pp. 322–3.

⁴⁸ A. A. M. Duncan, 'St Kentigern at Glasgow Cathedral in the Twelfth Century', in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of Glasgow*, ed. R. Fawcett, *British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions* 23 (London, 1998), pp. 9, 14–18, 20.

⁴⁹ For example, the *Liber de miraculis S. Edmundi* by Herman the archdeacon seems to have been commissioned to commemorate the translation of the saint's body into the new Norman church at Bury St Edmunds in 1095. Likewise, the completion of the Norman cathedral at Ely in 1106 was accompanied by the translation of the relics of Æthelthryth, Wihtburh, Seaxburh and Eormenhild, and the production of new hagiographical texts. M. Lapidge and R. C. Love, 'The Latin Hagiography of England and Wales (600–1550)', in *Hagiographies: International History of the Latin and Vernacular Hagiographical Literature in the West from its Origins to 1550*, Vol. III, ed. G. Philippart, *Corpus Christianorum Hagiographies* 3 (Turnhout, 2001), pp. 244, 246.

was always intended to commemorate the dedication of the church alone – a significant local ceremony in itself.

Other evidence in the *Vita* suggests that the text was written before much of Bishop Jocelin's new building work had taken place. Although the prologue comments on the 'glory and beauty' of the church, the text seems to describe Kentigern's shrine in its former, pre-renovation state.⁵⁰ In contrast to the later location of Kentigern's tomb in the crypt, Jocelin not only states that the saint's body was buried to the right of the altar but also remarks on the absence of any extant translation narrative regarding the saint.⁵¹ This implies that when Jocelin was writing the saint's body remained in the same place in which it had been buried centuries earlier. Duncan argues that this reflects the layout of the church before its refurbishment under Bishop Jocelin: a single storey building with tomb and altar side by side. In contrast, the new church seems to have incorporated a crypt containing the tomb below with an enlarged choir and high altar above – behind which Kentigern's new shrine was situated.⁵² The *Vita* therefore seems to have been written earlier rather than later in the renovation project, before the new arrangement of tomb, shrine and altar had been completed. The *Chronicle of Melrose* comments on the enlargement of Glasgow's church under the entry for 1181, which may point to a date in the early to mid-1180s for Jocelin's text.⁵³ However, it is also possible that the serious fire at the cathedral at some point between 1189 and 1195 provided the opportunity for a more extensive remodelling – which could situate the composition of Jocelin's text in the early 1190s.⁵⁴

Other evidence suggests that Jocelin may have been commissioned to write the *Vita* in or before 1189. Bishop Jocelin and the then abbot of Melrose,

⁵⁰ *Vita Kentegerni*, prol., pp. 29, 159.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, prol., c. xlv, pp. 31–2, 115, 161, 238.

⁵² It is clear from the offerings of Edward I that there were two Kentigern shrines in the cathedral by 1301 – this may well reflect a much earlier arrangement. Considering Bishop Jocelin's keen interest in the cult of Thomas Becket (see p. 184) and the apparent contact between the churches of Glasgow and Canterbury, it is possible that the building of St Thomas's shrine at Canterbury, following the new plan implemented c.1179, provided an architectural model for the work undertaken at Glasgow. It is also possible, however, that a crypt was part of the earlier cathedral that predated Bishop Jocelin's renovations. Duncan, 'St Kentigern', pp. 15–16; P. Yeoman, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland* (London, 1999), p. 19; F. Woodman, *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral* (London, 1981), pp. 119–20; P. Draper, 'Interpretations of the Rebuilding of Canterbury Cathedral, 1174–1186: Archaeological and Historical Evidence', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 56 (1997), 184, 194; R. Fawcett, 'Introduction', in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of Glasgow*, ed. R. Fawcett, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 23 (London, 1998), p. 1.

⁵³ *Chronicle of Melrose*, fol. 23r; 'Chronicle of Melrose', trans. Stevenson, p. 139.

⁵⁴ *Acts of William I*, ed. Barrow and Scott, no. 316, p. 327; Shead, 'Jocelin, Abbot of Melrose', p. 13.

Reiner, appear as witnesses on three charters granted to Furness Abbey between 1189 and 1194, the original having been granted in 1189x1190. These charters represented a mutually beneficial exchange of land for money, the land in question being pasture in Yorkshire owned by Richard de Morville, his wife and his heir.⁵⁵ Other charters in the *Furness Coucher Book* show that these grants formed part of a wider policy to extend abbey holdings in this area.⁵⁶ Indeed, the de Morville family had made an earlier appearance in the *Coucher Book* when they had confirmed the gift of lands in the same locality by Waltheof, son of Edmund.⁵⁷ However, although the de Morvilles were clearly aware of Furness interests in this region, their decision to grant the lands of Selside and Birkwith to Furness Abbey should not be viewed as a foregone conclusion. Furness was not the only Cistercian house with holdings in this vicinity. Jervaulx Abbey held lands close by and the de Morville grant seems to have lain at the heart of what became a longstanding grievance over access to monastic lands in the area.⁵⁸ With this in mind, Bishop Jocelin's association with the de Morville transaction becomes potentially significant. Although it is possible that this grant formed the starting point of the bishop's relationship with Furness Abbey, it seems more likely that this charter represents the extension of the bishop's interests in the house. The decision by the de Morvilles to grant their lands to Furness may well have been encouraged and confirmed by the bishop's literary patronage of Jocelin. If so, it seems likely that the *Vita Kentegerni* was commissioned before the end of the 1180s, even if its completion did not occur until several years later.

Due to the information we have concerning the patrons and dedicatees of the *Vita Waldevi*, the dating of this text requires much less discussion. The prologue tells us that the *Vita* was written at the request of the late Patrick, abbot of Melrose from 1206 to 1207.⁵⁹ The work was then dedicated to King William of Scotland and his immediate heirs. Since William's reign ended in 1214, the completion of the *Vita* can be closely dated to the seven years between 1207 and 1214. Derek Baker argues that the absence of any reference in the text to Patrick's successor, Abbot Adam, indicates that the *Vita* was completed relatively soon after Patrick's death. This is plausible but by no means conclusive.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ The charters were also expressly intended to prevent the lands from coming into the hands of William de Stuteville. *Furness Coucher Book*, II ii, Selesset nos. 1–3, pp. 334–7.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Nuby nos. 5, 11–12, 15–18, 21–4, 26, Stachous nos. 1, 5, pp. 296–7, 300–2, 303–7, 308–12, 313–15, 318–19.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Nuby no. 12, pp. 301–2.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, Selesset nos. 10, 12–13, 18, pp. 343, 344–9, 353–4.

⁵⁹ *Vita Waldevi* AASS, §3, p. 250A; *Vita Waldevi*, p. 205; *Chronicle of Melrose*, fols. 27v–8r; 'Chronicle of Melrose', trans. Stevenson, p. 149.

⁶⁰ For example, although William of Malmesbury's *Gesta pontificum* was written in 1125, it makes no reference to Eadwulf who was elected abbot of Malmesbury in

The fourth of Jocelin's texts, the *Vita Helenae* is the most enigmatic of all his works. The prologue tells us only that the author's patrons were members of a religious community dedicated to St Helena.⁶¹ In an argument that is discussed at much greater length in chapter eight, the apparently British interests of the text combined with the possibility of a primarily female intended audience suggest that the work was commissioned by either Elstow Abbey (Beds.) or St Helen's, Bishopgate, London. In terms of dating, scholars have followed McFadden's suggestion that the text was written between the years 1198 and 1207 – a period that covers the shortest possible extent of Jocelin's known career. McFadden did not, however, rule out the possibility that it was written outside these dates.⁶² Indeed, analysis of other themes in the text indicate that the *Vita* was written in the early thirteenth century, at around the same time as Jocelin's other work from this period, the *Vita Waldevi*.

The circumstances of the *Vitae* thus provide a partial outline of Jocelin's career. Commissions in the late twelfth century saw the author write for patrons first in northern Ireland in the mid-1180s, then in Glasgow in the years around 1190. In 1206 or 1207, Jocelin returned to Scotland at the request of the Cistercian house at Melrose. At around the same time, an English community also commissioned him to write a new hagiographical text. Into this framework we can weave two further facts. A comment in the *Vita Kentejerni* informs us that Jocelin was in priestly orders, while the salutation that opens the *Vita Waldevi* reveals that by the early thirteenth century, Jocelin had joined the Cistercian community at Furness.⁶³ This latter association came to dominate the literary representation of Jocelin. Despite the absence of any self-ascription in the *Vita Patricii* and the *Vita Helenae*, contemporary rubrics in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscript copies of each of these works attribute the texts to 'Jocelin, monk of Furness'.⁶⁴ Although the length of Jocelin's association with Furness and Cistercian monasticism remains unknown, evidence within the texts suggests Jocelin may have joined the Order rela-

1105. In contrast, William devotes a chapter to Eadwulf's predecessor, Abbot Godfrey. Baker, 'Legend and Reality', p. 62, 62 n.10; William of Malmesbury, *William of Malmesbury, Gesta pontificum Anglorum, The History of the English Bishops, Vol. I: Text and Translation*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 2007), V.cclxxi, pp. xii, 644–9.

⁶¹ *Vita Helenae*, ll. 42–4, p. 153.

⁶² McFadden, 'Life of Waldef', p. 10; Baker, 'Legend and Reality', p. 59 n.1; Harbus, *Helena of Britain*, p. 97.

⁶³ *Vita Kentejerni*, c. xvii, pp. 60, 187; *Vita Waldevi* AASS, §1, p. 249E; *Vita Waldevi*, p. 201.

⁶⁴ *Vita Patricii*: 'Jhocelino monacho de furnesio', Cambridge, Trinity College, B.15.25, fol. 1r; 'Jocelini monachi de Furnesio', Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat 18314, fol. 3r. *Vita Helenae*: 'Iocelini monachi de Fornesio', Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek Mm.I.81, fol. 203va; 'Jocelini monachi Fornensio' in an abridged version of the *Vita* written in 1377 and found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 240, fol. 801, as cited by Harbus, *Helena of Britain*, p. 97 n.30.

tively early in his literary career. The *Vita Kentegerni* was written at the request of Bishop Jocelin of Glasgow, a man who, prior to his episcopal appointment, had been abbot of Melrose. Jocelin's use of the phrase 'the least of the poor of Christ' to describe himself in the prologue to this work echoes descriptors used by other Cistercians in the twelfth century and may have been intended as a reference to both his and his patron's shared Cistercian background.⁶⁵ Jocelin's later statement in the *Vita* that 'now I draw attention to myself and others like me, who *in any way* are discharging the office of the priesthood' may also suggest that he was a member of a monastic order rather than just a priest in the secular church.⁶⁶ In addition, Elizabeth Freeman's analysis of the *Vita Waldevi* suggests that by the early thirteenth century, Jocelin was extremely familiar with Cistercian life and thought, which implies that he had been a monk for some time.⁶⁷

Jocelin has also been frequently identified with the abbot of Furness, Jocelin of Pennington, who was in office in the early 1180s and is described by the abbey's *Coucher Book* as an 'inceptor in theology'.⁶⁸ If the two Jocelins were one and the same, then this suggests that the author was a local man who joined a house that lay within five miles of his village. Due to the Manx interests present in the *Vita Patricii*, Jocelin has also been identified with Abbot Jocelin of Rushen, a Furness daughter house located on the Isle of Man – a figure who may also be identified with the Abbot Jocelin mentioned above.⁶⁹ However, without any evidence to associate the men more closely, these identifications must remain speculative.

⁶⁵ See the discussion on p. 191. 'minimus pauperum Christi'. *Vita Kentegerni*, prol., p. 159.

⁶⁶ 'nunc ad meipsum, et mei similes, *qualicunque modo* sacerdocio fungentes oculos reduco' (the italics are mine). *Vita Kentegerni*, c. xvi, p. 187.

⁶⁷ In contrast, however, George McFadden suggested that the number of references to Cistercian monastic procedure in the *Vita Waldevi* potentially indicated that Jocelin was a new convert. Freeman, 'Models for Cistercian Life', p. 109; *Vita Waldevi*, p. 275 n.2.

⁶⁸ 'inceptor in Theologia'. The claims of the seventeenth-century Irish antiquary, John Colgan, that Jocelin was a Welshman who had come to Down as part of the new monastic community installed at the cathedral from Chester, have long since been discredited. Abbot Jocelin is attested in 1181x1185. He seems to have followed the abbacy of Walter of Millom (recorded in 1175) and to have preceded Michael of Dalton, who occupied the office in 1194x1198. Although no further evidence has been found for them by the editors of *The Heads of Religious Houses*, the abbey's cartulary records three more abbots between Jocelin and Michael, which may suggest that Jocelin's abbacy was rather short. *Triadis thaumaturgae*, ed. Colgan, p. 108 n.1; D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke and V. C. M. London, *The Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales, I. 940–1216*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 2001), p. 134; *Furness Coucher Book*, I i, no. iv, p. 9.

⁶⁹ Jocelin, abbot of Rushen, was one of the witnesses to an 1188x1190 grant by King Reginald of Man confirming Furness's right to elect the island's bishop. D. S. Dugdale asserted that Jocelin joined the community of Rushen in 1188, presum-

Jocelin's Cistercian identity carries significant implications for his works. Most importantly it supports Jocelin's claims that the *Vitae* were all written at the instance of other parties.⁷⁰ Despite his assertions in the *Vita Patricii* and *Vita Helenae* that his personal devotion to the two saints would have obliged him to write even had he not received the commissions, if he was a Cistercian throughout his career, the opportunities for such free self-expression would have been limited.⁷¹ As is well known, early statutes had specifically banned monks of the Order from writing books without the General Chapter's consent, a decree that was reissued in 1202 and repeated with slightly different wording in c.1220.⁷² This concern over writing seems to have been specifically related to the impromptu works of individuals, from sermons and other theological material written by abbots, which from 1175 were to be submitted for inspection at the General Chapter, to the composition of apparently polemical verse, which was legislated against in 1199 and 1202.⁷³ Such measures seem to have been intended as a safeguard for the reputation of the Order, whose activities among religious dissidents in southern France during this period must have heightened sensitivity around issues of theology and secular criticism. However, writing which reflected

ably on the strength of this grant. *Furness Coucher Book*, II iii, Manx Documents no. 5, p. 711; A. Ashley, *The Church on the Isle of Man*, Borthwick Papers 13 (York, 1958), p. 5; E. G. Bowen, *Saints, Seaways and Settlements in the Celtic Lands* (Cardiff, 1977), pp. 156–7; D. S. Dugdale, *Manx Church Origins* (Felinfach, 1998), pp. 166–7.

⁷⁰ *Vita Kentegerni*, prol., pp. 29, 159; *Vita Patricii* AASS, prol., p. 536F; *Vita Patricii*, p. 133; *Vita Helenae*, ll. 42–4, p. 153; *Vita Waldevi* AASS, §3, p. 250A; *Vita Waldevi*, pp. 204–5.

⁷¹ *Vita Patricii* AASS, prol., p. 536F; *Vita Patricii*, p. 133; *Vita Helenae*, ll. 41–4, p. 153. See also Charles Dumont's comments on Aelred's commission to write the *Speculum caritatis*: C. Dumont, 'Aelred of Rievaulx: His Life and Works', in *Aelred of Rievaulx, The Mirror of Charity*, trans. E. Connor, Cistercian Fathers Series 17 (Kalamazoo, 1990), pp. 65–6.

⁷² The earlier statute has been dated to c.1119x1151. C. Norton, 'Table of Cistercian Legislation on Art and Architecture', in *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, ed. C. Norton and D. Park (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 325, 345, 361; 'The *Instituta generalis capituli apud Cistercium*', in *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Cîteaux: Latin Text in Dual Edition with English Translation and Notes*, ed. and trans. C. Waddell, *Studia et documenta* 9 (Cîteaux, 1999), c. lx, p. 481; *Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, Tomus I: *Ab anno 1116 ad annum 1220*, ed. J. Canivez, *Bibliothèque de la Revue D'Histoire Ecclésiastique* Fasc. 9 (Louvain, 1933), 1134/58, p. 26.

⁷³ Norton, 'Table of Cistercian Legislation', p. 329; *Twelfth-Century Statutes from the Cistercian General Chapter, Latin Text with English Notes and Commentary*, ed. C. Waddell, *Studia et documenta* 12 (Cîteaux, 2002), 1199/1, p. 420; *Statuta capitulorum generalium*, ed. Canivez, 1175/31, p. 84; *La codification Cistercienne de 1202 et son évolution ultérieure*, ed. B. Lucet, *Bibliotheca Cisterciensis* 2 (Rome, 1964), IX.xxvi, p. 126; J. W. D. Paden, 'De monachis rithmos facientibus: Hélinant de Froidefont, Bertran de Born, and the Cistercian General Chapter of 1199', *Speculum* 55 (1980), 669–85.

more communal values seems to have been openly tolerated. The proliferation of Cistercian chronicles during the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, written largely for an in-house readership, seems to go unremarked upon by the General Chapter, as does the writing of *vitae* relating to saintly figures associated with particular monasteries.⁷⁴

While Jocelin's *Vita Waldevi* is widely acknowledged under the latter heading, his other works, which concern the lives of saints unconnected with Cistercian houses, represent *vitae* of a different kind. Without a specific commission, the communal value of writing such works set against the commitments of time and research – and any disruption to the regular life that this might entail – may well have made them suspect proposals in the eyes of the wider Cistercian community. Although relating to a slightly different kind of work, it is notable that William of Newburgh's *Historia rerum Anglicarum* was written at the request of Abbot Ernald of Rievaulx, not because Ernald's community lacked sufficient talent, but because he wanted to avoid the disturbance such an activity might cause.⁷⁵ The commissioning of Cistercian authors by patrons from outside the Order was, however, a different matter. Despite an early statute decreeing that authors were not to write outside abbey boundaries, the benefits in terms of reputation, connections and influence associated with high-profile commissions such as the *Vita Kentegerni* and *Vita Patricii* must have significantly outweighed any negative costs.⁷⁶

Editions and manuscripts

With the publication of the *Vita Helena* in 2002, all four of Jocelin's works are now available in printed editions. These editions are, however, of varying quality and accessibility. For the *Vita Patricii*, I have used the widely available *Acta Sanctorum* edition as the basis for the majority of my Latin references to the work.⁷⁷ However, the Bollandists were not passive transcribers of texts and the *Vita* has been edited in accordance with their own principles of scholarship. Consequently, four narratives from the text have been omitted: how Patrick received the Staff of Jesus; Patrick's conversion of the Dublin-Norse; the resurrection of the giant man; and the dual transformation of Eugenius's

⁷⁴ D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of its Development from the Times of St Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council 940–1216*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 644–5; Holdsworth, 'John of Ford and English Cistercian Writing', pp. 122–3; A. Lawrence, 'English Cistercian Manuscripts of the Twelfth Century', in *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, ed. C. Norton and D. Park (Cambridge, 1986), p. 289.

⁷⁵ William of Newburgh, *William of Newburgh, The History of English Affairs Book I*, ed and trans. P. G. Walsh and M. J. Kennedy (Warminster, 1988), prol., pp. 26, 27.

⁷⁶ *Statuta capitulorum generalium*, ed. Canivez, 1154/31, p. 58.

⁷⁷ Cited throughout this study as *Vita Patricii* AASS (see abbreviations).

appearance. References to these episodes in this study therefore cite the less accessible edition of the *Vita* found in John Colgan's mid-seventeenth century work, *Triadis thaumaturgae*.⁷⁸ I have also used the chapter divisions provided by Colgan in the table of Jocelin's sources found in chapter one.⁷⁹ Compared to the divisions inserted by the editors of the *Acta Sanctorum*, Colgan's chapters more closely represent those found in the medieval manuscripts and allow for a clearer presentation of the construction of Jocelin's text. Consequently, for ease of reference, both the *Acta Sanctorum* divisions and Colgan's chapters are provided in the footnotes. Where it is necessary to clarify other points, reference has also been made to the medieval manuscripts themselves, details of which can be found in Table 1, alongside information concerning the other extant manuscripts of Jocelin's works.⁸⁰ Many of the translations of the *Vita Patricii* used in this book have been taken from James O'Leary's 1880 English edition of Jocelin's text. However, where I have found O'Leary's version deficient, I have supplied translations of my own.⁸¹

Jocelin's *Vita Waldevi* is widely available in the *Acta Sanctorum* series and it is from this edition that the Latin references to the work are taken.⁸² George McFadden revised and translated the *Acta Sanctorum* version of the text in 1952 and his work provides a number of translations used in this book.⁸³ However, the recent rediscovery of a late fifteenth century version of the *Vita* means that a new edition of Jocelin's text is now required. The *Vita S. Wallevi* found in a manuscript now held by the Biblioteca del Palacio Real in Madrid forms part of a selection of saints' lives and other miscellaneous devotional texts believed to have come from Dunfermline.⁸⁴ Since Jocelin probably wrote the *Vita* in or soon after 1207, the Madrid manuscript is still comparatively late but in a number of ways it appears to be a closer approximation to the original than the text which survives in the *Acta Sanctorum* edition. This version was edited from two manuscripts held by the house of Augustinian canons at Boeddeken in Westphalia, neither of which remain today.⁸⁵ The

⁷⁸ Cited throughout this study as *Vita Patricii*, ed. Colgan (see abbreviations). *Vita Patricii*, ed. Colgan, cc. xxiv, lxxi, lxxxi, lxxxiv, lxxxv, pp. 70a, 80b–1a, 83b–4a, 84b–5a.

⁷⁹ See Table 2, pp. 52–7.

⁸⁰ Bibl. del Palacio Real, MS. II 2097.

⁸¹ Cited throughout this study as *Vita Patricii* (see abbreviations). The spelling in O'Leary's translations has been modernized.

⁸² Cited throughout this study as *Vita Waldevi* AASS (see abbreviations). The corrupted spelling of 'Walthenus' found in the *Acta Sanctorum* edition of the text has been consistently amended to 'Waldevus' throughout this study.

⁸³ Cited throughout this study as *Vita Waldevi* (see abbreviations).

⁸⁴ *The Miracles of St Æbbe of Coldingham and Saint Margaret of Scotland*, ed. and trans. R. Bartlett, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 2003), pp. xxxi–xxxiii.

⁸⁵ 'De S. Waltheno Abbate Ordinis Cisterciensis in Scotia: Commentarius Praevius', in *AASS Augusti 1*, p. 242C; McFadden, 'Edition and Translation', p. 68.

distinct differences between the two remaining versions of the *Vita* indicate that they followed separate routes of transmission which parted at a relatively early stage in the dissemination of the text. In the majority of cases, these differences are minor. However, in a number of instances, such as the account of Brother Walter's vision in the second half of the work, the variations between the two are significant.⁸⁶ Accordingly, where the versions differ, reference is made to both readings.

All citations of the *Vita Kentegerni* are taken from the 1874 edition and translation by Bishop Forbes, which collated the texts from the two remaining manuscripts of the work.⁸⁷ Containing the *vitae* of both Kentigern and Servanus, the manuscript now held by Marsh's Library, Dublin, is believed to be the same volume as that referred to by the 1432 inventory of Glasgow Cathedral and as such was Forbes' preferred text for his edition.⁸⁸ Although apparently earlier, the *Vita Kentegerni* found in the British Library manuscript, Cotton Vitellius C. VIII, is a poorer copy of the text, written by a scribe with imperfect Latin and corrected by another hand relatively soon after.⁸⁹ Again, where I have found them preferable, I have used my own translations of the *Vita* – otherwise, the translations are from Forbes' edition of the work.⁹⁰

References to the *Vita Helenae* come from Harbus's recent edition of the Latin text. This is based on the Cambridge manuscript, which was judged by Harbus to be the earliest and least corrupt of the two full remaining versions of the work.⁹¹ However, on a number of occasions, the readings in the Gotha manuscript version of the text are to be preferred to those in Harbus's edition – when this is so, it is stated in the relevant footnotes. All the translations of this *Vita* are my own.

Overview

The first part of this study examines the structure and composition of Jocelin's *Vitae*, beginning with the three works that record the legends of much older saints. These texts form part of a wider movement, described by Susan Ridyard as a 'fashion-conscious dissatisfaction', in which older

⁸⁶ *Vita Waldevi* AASS, §§100–5, pp. 271D–2D; *Vita Waldevi*, pp. 322–8; Bibl. del Palacio Real, MS. II 2097, fols. 61ra–2vb.

⁸⁷ Cited throughout this study as *Vita Kentegerni* (see abbreviations).

⁸⁸ *Registrum episcopatus Glasguensis: Munimenta ecclesie metropolitane Glasguensis a sede restaurata seculo XII ad reformatam religionem*, ed. C. Innes, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1843), II, no. 339, p. 335.

⁸⁹ *Lives of Ninian and Kentigern*, ed. and trans. Forbes, p. lxiv.

⁹⁰ The spelling in Forbes' translations has been modernized.

⁹¹ Cited throughout this study as *Vita Helenae* (see abbreviations).

Introduction

Table 1. Extant Medieval Manuscripts⁹²

Jocelin's Vitae	Extant Medieval Manuscripts	Date	Provenance
<i>Vita S. Patricii</i>	Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.15.25.	s. xv ¹	
	Dublin, Trinity College, MS 178, fols. 2–95.	s. xiv ² /xv	Ireland/England
	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B.485, fols. 1–46v. [Incomplete]	s. xiv ²	Saint's Island
	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B.505, fols. 1–89v. [A copy of B.485 but complete]	s. xiv ¹	Abbeyderg
	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 18314.	s. xv	Donegal
<i>Vita S. Kentegerni</i>	Dublin, Marsh's Library, MS Z 4.5.5, fols. 7–62v.	s. xiii	Glasgow
	London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C. VIII, fols. 148–95.	s. xii/xiii	
<i>Vita S. Waldevi</i>	Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, MS II 2097, fols. 41v–68.	1460x1488	Dunfermline
<i>Vita S. Helenae</i>	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 252, fols. 166v–83v.	s. xiv ¹	Norwich
	Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, MS Memb. I 81, fols. 203–13v.	s. xiv ²	England

hagiographical works were rewritten in a more contemporary style.⁹³ Examples from earlier in the twelfth century include Lawrence of Durham's *Vita S. Brigidae*, Geoffrey of Burton's *Vita S. Modwennae* and Aelred's *Vita S. Edwardi*, while Jocelin's direct contemporary, Gerald of Wales, recast a *Vita S. Davidis*

⁹² This list does not include abridged versions or extracts taken from the texts. There are also two seventeenth-century copies of the *Vita S. Patricii*: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 1790; Rome, Bibl. Alexandrina 92. The dates given to the manuscripts are drawn from the most recent research where possible. R. Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland Before 1540*, Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin 1 (Turnhout, 1997), p. 198; L. Bieler, *Codices Latini Patriciani: A Descriptive Catalogue of Latin Manuscripts Relating to St Patrick* (Dublin, 1942), pp. 38–41; M. L. Colker, *Trinity College Library Dublin, Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts, Vol. I* (Aldershot, 1991), p. 343; A. MacQuarrie, 'Vita sancti Servani: The Life of St Serf', *Innes Review* 44 (1993), 134–5; *Lives of Ninian and Kentigern*, ed. and trans. Forbes, p. lxiv; *Miracles of St Æbbe*, ed. and trans. Bartlett, pp. xxxi–xxxiii; Harbus, *Helena of Britain*, pp. 97, 150.

⁹³ Bartlett, 'Rewriting Saints' Lives', pp. 598–9; S. J. Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England: A Study of West Saxon and East Anglian Cults*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought 4th Series 9 (Cambridge, 1988), p. 13.

and a *Vita S. Ethelberti*.⁹⁴ The verse reworking of a number of earlier texts by Henry of Avranches (d. 1260) in the thirteenth century continued this trend.⁹⁵ In terms of Jocelin's works, the rewriting of these earlier *vitae* was rarely a simple case of updating the style of a single text. Jocelin frequently adapted and extended the narrative to represent the contemporary versions of the legend and to reflect current interests or ideals.

The first two chapters offer an analysis of the *Vita Patricii* and *Vita Helenae*, saints whose popularity continued unabated throughout the medieval period and texts for which a substantial amount of the source material remains. Yet despite initial similarities between the works, close examination shows that the rewriting of these texts presented Jocelin with two very different projects. From among the potential wealth of Patrician *vitae* available by the late twelfth century, Jocelin chose a single work around which to frame his text. In contrast, Jocelin's source material for the *Vita Helenae* consisted mainly of late antique and contemporary histories, whose primary interest was not the saint in question. Without a satisfactory template to hand, Jocelin was forced to take a much more compilatory approach to the *Vita*. Different texts provided the main outlines for different episodes and information from other sources was also assimilated into the work. Set against each other, these two studies allow us to compare and contrast Jocelin's approach to rewriting earlier texts, and provide two potential models for the construction of the third work to describe the life of an older saint, the *Vita Kentegerni*. Although no longer extant, the sources used by Jocelin in the composition of this text have been the subject of much scholarly debate. Chapter three, therefore, first investigates this debate before moving on to examine the text of the *Vita Kentegerni* itself. The fourth chapter analyses the composition of the *Vita Waldevi*, the *Vita* of a near-contemporary Cistercian abbot. Most of Jocelin's material for this text appears to have been oral, which means that it offered a very different challenge to the author compared to his other works. This chapter explores the ambiguous nature of Jocelin's source material and examines the interplay of oral and written sources that lies behind the text.

The second part of the book sets each of the *Vitae* firmly in the context of their commissions. Chapters five to eight attempt to tap into the discourses found in the *Vitae* that represent the interests of the textual communities who commissioned them.⁹⁶ Jocelin's *Vitae* provided a semi-public arena in which

⁹⁴ Lapidge and Love, 'Latin Hagiography', pp. 261, 266, 276; Geoffrey of Burton, *Geoffrey of Burton, Life and Miracles of St Modwenna*, ed. and trans. R. Bartlett, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 2002), pp. xi, xiv; Bartlett, 'Rewriting Saints' Lives', p. 599.

⁹⁵ Lapidge and Love, 'Latin Hagiography', pp. 295–7.

⁹⁶ Brian Stock's statement that 'textual communities' share a common understanding of what the text means rather than what it says indicates that the use of this term is valid in this context. B. Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, 1983), pp. 90, 522.

Introduction

the contemporary anxieties and antagonisms of the patrons could be aired. In a number of instances, the *Vitae* used pseudo-historical narratives to create fictionalized pasts which either justified the aims of the present or underlined the perversion of the contemporary world. Thus, the *Vita Patricii* provides an updated version of the Patrician legend, which is adjusted to reflect the religio-political realities of its Irish and Anglo-Norman patrons. Similarly, the *Vita Kentegerni* is shown to mirror the ecclesiastical politics of late twelfth century Scotland. The *Vita Waldevi* has a slightly different agenda. As the first official account of the cult that had developed around the memory of Waltheof, second abbot of the Cistercian house of Melrose, it appears to have been commissioned as an essential part of an application for papal canonization. The fourth text, the *Vita Helenae*, sits apart from the other three. Written for a community whose only connection to the saint appears to have been the dedication of the house, the text does not serve the same general promotional purposes as Jocelin's other works. Instead, analysis suggests that it was intended as a much wider reflection of contemporary concerns. It is a text that embodies narratives and discourses of clear relevance to the ecclesiastical and political context of the early thirteenth century. The final chapter of this study offers a thematic overview of the *Vitae* and examines the contemporary religious themes expressed in Jocelin's works. The conclusion then draws the different threads of the book together, before closing with a re-evaluation of Jocelin's place within the literary and historical context of late Angevin Britain.

