Vengeance in the Middle Ages

Emotion, Religion and Feud

Edited by Susanna A. Throop
and Paul R. Hyams

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VENGEANCE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

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Marina S. Brownlee writes on a variety of issues pertaining to medieval and early modern literature and theory. Her interests include periodization (and its discontents), cultural and linguistic translation, the literary representation of gender and of the senses, and the relationship of early tabloid literature to the seventeenth-century short story. She works primarily in Spanish, French and Italian contexts. Her books include *The Cultural Labyrinth of Maria de Zayas*, *The Severed Word: Ovid's "Heroides" and the "Novela Sentimental"*, *The Status of the Reading Subject in the "Libro de Buen Amor"* and *The Poetics of Literary Theory in Lope and Cervantes*. She has co-edited a number of volumes on medieval and early modern topics, and most recently has edited a special issue of Duke University's *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* entitled *Intricate Alliances: Early Modern Spain and England*. She is currently working on Hispanic articulations of poesis and modernity in the sixteenth century.

Paul R. Hyams, Professor of History at Cornell University, and Director of Medieval Studies there for several years, was a fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford from 1969–89. An escaped lawyer, he has always sought to place medieval law back in the outside world in a human context, and uses the results to illuminate the whole culture. Though he works best at article length, he has published two books *King, Lords and Peasants in Medieval England* on the law of villeinage and

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Máire Johnson presently teaches world civilization for Clarion University of Pennsylvania. A soon-to-be graduate of the Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Toronto, she has recently defended her dissertation, "Holy Body, Wholly Other: Sanctity and Society in the *Lives* of Irish Saints." She has written and presented several other papers on the subject of Ireland's saints. Among these may be counted her peer-reviewed article, "Preserving the Body Christian: The Motif of 'Recapitation' in Ireland's Medieval Hagiography," *The Heroic Age: A Journal of Early Medieval Northwestern Europe*, 10 (2007), at http:www/heroicage.org. Current projects include a paper on the use of the apocrypha in the *Lives* of Ireland's saints for the Harvard Celtic Colloquium in October 2009 and the preparation for publication of the appendix to her dissertation, "Towards the dating of *Vita I S Brigitae*."

Thomas Roche is a former teaching assistant at the Sorbonne (Université Paris-4) and is now Head of Archives in the *département* of Nièvre. His current research interests focus on legal history and charters in the Anglo-Norman world and also in Burgundy, during the High Middle Ages.

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Susanna A. Throop received her Ph.D. in History in 2006 from the University of Cambridge, where she was a Gates Cambridge Scholar from 2001–2005. Now an Assistant Professor of History at Ursinus College, she is interested in interdisciplinary perspectives on religion, violence, ideology and emotion in the High Middle Ages, particularly in the context of the medieval crusading movement. Her recent publications include two peer-reviewed articles, as well as a short essay and source translation in *Medieval Christianity in Practice*, edited by Miri Rubin (Princeton Readings in Religion 2009). She is currently completing her first monograph for Ashgate, *Crusading as an Act of Vengeance, 1095–1216*.

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To our spouses, Elaine and Matt, we owe a debt too large to ever be repaid. They cheered us on when our spirits flagged, inspired us when we lost sight of our goal and always believed in us.

Susanna Throop and Paul Hyams

Contents

Introduction
The Study of Vengeance in the Middle Ages

Susanna A. Throop

Vengeance certainly draws a crowd. Back at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds in July 2005, the audience for our session on medieval vengeance spilled out into the hallway. And it's not just academics who are interested, either. Search online for movies or novels with "vengeance" in the title, and it's easy to see that people everywhere are prepared to lay down cold hard cash for a little revenge.

But what is vengeance, anyway?

Well over a century ago Friedrich Nietzsche noted that "the word 'revenge' is said so quickly it almost seems as if it could contain no more than one conceptual and perceptional root," and in many ways this observation holds true today.[1] In popular culture "vengeance" is an explanatory word used with little hesitation to explain why people do things. It is generally assumed that we all know what it means and that the term itself does not require its own explanation.

But as anthropologists and social scientists continue to demonstrate, the different words used for vengeance, and the variety of different ways in which a desire for vengeance may be expressed or sanctioned within different cultures, is truly boggling.[2] For historians, the puzzle is more difficult still. It can be tricky to follow the convoluted twists and turns of event and explanation in our own media-saturated times; it is downright exasperating to try to construct valid interpretations when the historical evidence is scanty and highly subjective at best. And as hard as it is to pin down the meaning of our modern words and idioms for vengeance, how can we hope to understand a whole gamut of terms and metaphors in historical languages?

Given these inherent difficulties, it may seem odd that the study of vengeance continues to draw scholars with such a siren's song. But then, vengeance is that most intriguing of human creations, an explanatory idea—a concept used to explain events. With vengeance, these events relate to human conflict. Often, perhaps always, they involve violence of one form or another. And vengeance has not only been used to *explain* violence, it has frequently been used by some to *justify* violence. So vengeance has a moral weight—of some kind.

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[1] Friedrich Nietzsche, *Human, All Too Human*, in K. Ansell-Pearson (ed.) and C. Diethe (trans.), *On the Genealogy of Morality* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 131.

[2] A place to start is Raymond Verdier (ed.), *La vengeance: etudes d'ethnologie, d'histoire et de philosophie* (4 vols, Paris, 1980–84).

Therein lies the difficulty. We are not agreed on that moral weight—not in our popular cultures, not in our scholarly research. Vengeance seems universal, in that some sort of relative concept appears throughout history and across cultures. Yet vengeance also seems specific, since the rules that govern vengeance differ widely among, and even within, societies. Similarly, vengeance seems personal and deeply tied to the individual's sense of injured honor. But then we remember the stereotypical "vengeful mob" or the phenomenon of vengeance for kith and kin, and vengeance seems to have a communal function, as well. Vengeance seems a purely negative phenomenon that creates anarchy and chaos and points a society towards a time when "man is wolf to man"—yet it emerges from study that vengeance can be used constructively within a society to bolster the social fabric and enhance social stability. And so on and so forth.

It quickly appears that vengeance is not singular, but plural—that over time we are examining a variety of vengeances, all related but few (if any) identical. And as to whether the sum of these vengeances, when all their qualities and characteristics are catalogued, is a social "good" or "bad"—the jury is most certainly still out.

Strictly speaking, therefore, this collection should be titled *Vengeances in the Middle Ages*. For the essays all quite rightly attempt to clarify the natures of vengeance within specific and different medieval contexts—a particular region, a particular text, a particular social movement. By asking what relationship a distinct factor like authorship or religion has with the concept of vengeance, each author points us ever closer to the meanings of medieval vengeance, to the heart of the deeper and broader questions that spur our interest.

Several of our contributors examine the relationship between a specific geographical region and the concepts and practices of vengeance. In Chapter 1, Máire Johnson wonders if Irish saints had a notorious medieval reputation for vengefulness simply because they were Irish (and thus by ethnic stereotype vengeful). By carefully matching stories of saintly vengeance in medieval Ireland with scriptural parallels, she is able to show that, in fact, vengefulness and holiness walked hand in hand in early Irish Christianity—not because ethnic norms had overwhelmed Christian values, but because the Irish model of sanctity was based on both biblical interpretation and distinct characteristics of Irish culture. Moving forward several centuries, in Chapter 2 Jackson Armstrong visits a cross-border dispute crossing the Scottish marches, where political allegiances (public and private) shifted and divided, and emotions waxed and waned. Armstrong's detailed analysis offers a fresh take on the question of public "justice" versus private "vengeance," and provides insight on the specific role of vengeance within frontier communities. Meanwhile, François Soyer looks at a community of religious frontiers and explores the tension between top-down law and order and private desires for vengeance in late medieval Portugal. His work in Chapter 3 provides much-needed perspective on vengeance and feuding on the Iberian peninsula, and suggests that, for some at least, conflict inside a religious group often took precedence over conflict between different religious communities.

The focus narrows as Dominique Barthélemy and Thomas Roche ask how the identity of a source's author influences the presentation of vengeance within that source. Both Barthélemy and Roche invite us to read our primary sources closely, persuasively demonstrating the effect of the individual author on a text's presentation of vengeance, and suggesting ways for scholars to approach such thorny and multi-layered evidence.

In Chapter 4, Barthélemy dissects the nature of war in tenth-century France and introduces his own concept of "feudal war"—in which adult noblemen revenge themselves upon each other's peasants, rather than each other's persons. At the same time, his comparative treatment of two different medieval authors (Flodoard and Richer of Rheims) demonstrates the importance of careful, canny reading. Roche in Chapter 5 visits a familiar medieval voice, that of Orderic Vitalis. He shows us that the discourse of vengeance functioned on three different levels within Orderic's *Ecclesiastical History*—first, in the way Orderic narrates specific events, second, in the actions and speeches of individuals within Orderic's narrations, and third, in the overarching themes Orderic creates in the work as a whole.

Finally, three chapters ask if it matters what words are used to talk about vengeance, in the Middle Ages and our own times—and if so, what words *should* be used? In Chapter 6, Marina Brownlee takes us inside an extraordinary medieval tale of gender war, incest, love and vengeance. She reveals the relationships between verbal and physical violence in a text we lightly refer to as "literature," thereby illustrating the dangerous potential of words to become deeds, and warning that we trivialize verbal violence at our own risk. Paul Hyams decisively revisits the question of the words scholars use to talk about vengeance, in particular that contentious term familiar to historians and anthropologists alike, "feud," in Chapter 7, while in Chapter 8 I look at the interplay between crusading ideology and religious emotion, using frequently repeated vocabulary as a starting point.

These contributions all have in common an acceptance of Robert Solomon's assertion that vengeance involves intensely personal emotional experiences.[3] In chapter after chapter we are brought face to face with the emotions enduringly labeled as "taboo" by Sigmund Freud—fear, grief, anger, shame.[4] Moreover, we do so within a world where emotion and violence are not separate from religion; a world where religion, emotion, violence and various ideologies coexist and co-inform each other. The medieval discourse that results from such a heady mixture is often striking, sometimes shocking; these essays purposefully direct your attention towards a subject many today may find embarrassing or even repellent.

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[3] Robert C. Solomon, *A Passion for Justice: Emotions and the Origin of the Social Contract* (London, 1995), p. 41.

[4] Thomas Scheff, "The Taboo on Coarse Emotions," *Review of Personality and Social Psychology*, 5(1984), p. 153.

When all is said and done, we see our work here as one further step in an ongoing investigation—a genuine *enquête à poursuivre*. For those prepared to be challenged, this collection will surely spark a desire to learn and discover more about the varieties of medieval vengeance.

Chapter 1
"Vengeance is Mine": Saintly Retribution in Medieval Ireland[1]

Máire Johnson

Gerald of Wales, in one of the earliest extant observations concerning the character of Ireland's saints, wrote in the late twelfth century that Irish holy men and women had a greater penchant for vindictive behavior than their foreign colleagues, a viewpoint that has survived even to the present day.[2] Lester Little, for example, has stated that Ireland's saints are often depicted as "matchless champions of the spontaneous, hostile, and efficacious curse" delivered through the vehicle of divinely sanctioned rage.[3] The hagiographical dossiers of such icons of Irish Christianity as Patrick, Brigit and Columba certainly portray their holy subjects bringing all manner of punishments down upon those who challenge their authority, sometimes with deadly results. But is the dire quality of their reputation as straightforward as has been assumed? Do the punitive episodes merely represent holy temper tantrums, or is there something more significant at work?

Numerous approaches have been employed in the study of Ireland's hagiography, a corpus of surviving texts that span the seventh through fourteenth centuries and are written both in Latin (*vitae*) and in Irish (*bethada*). Academic opinion originally saw the genre as the descendant of pagan vernacular lore and saints the inheritors of traits once ascribed to deities or druids, attributing unusual

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[1] The quotation in the title is from Deut. 32:35, which begins *Mea est ultio et ego retribuam* [Vengeance is mine, and I shall exact retribution]. The version of the *Biblia Sacra* I have used is that available through the University of Chicago's ARTFL Project Online, at http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/efts/ARTFL/public/bibles. Latin translations in this chapter are my own; translations from the vernacular rely in part on those of other scholars. My thanks are owed to the editors of this project, as well as to Ann Dooley, Michael Herren, Andy Orchard, David Klausner, Nicole Lopez-Jantzen and Mark Kowitt for their helpful comments. Any remaining errors are my own.

[2] *Topographia Hiberniae* 2.83, ed. John J. O'Meara, "Giraldus Cambrensis in *Topographia Hibernie*: Text of the First Recension," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* (hereafter *PRIA*), 52C (1949), p. 156. For dating, see *The History and Topography of Ireland*, trans. John O'Meara (Portlaoise, 1952), pp. 14–15.

[3] "Anger in Monastic Curses," in Barbara H. Rosenwein (ed.), *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 1998), pp. 28–9.

or apparently non-ecclesiastical acts to that same lineage.[4] Since that time, it has been recognized that a strict definition of Ireland's literary tradition as "secular" or "ecclesiastical" is misleading at best; the two branches grew side by side in the same monastic medium, and influence between them must be understood as reciprocal rather than unidirectional. Saints are not, then, merely the offspring of saga literature and heirs of whitewashed pagan traditions, but the siblings of those same heroic protagonists with whom they share characteristics.[5]

Many studies of Ireland's hagiography focus on the abundant wonder-workings of its subjects, and it is among these tales that representations of vengeance are found. The strong roots of Irish miracle stories in both continental and native sources have been demonstrated by several scholars.[6] Irish hagiographers' influence has also been shown to have extended outward from Ireland, as their portrayals of cursing Irish saints seemingly altered religious expression in areas settled by Irish missionaries.[7] Examinations of links between malediction and anger suggest that

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[4] Scholars using this approach include Charles Plummer (ed.), *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, 1 (Oxford, 1910), pp. cxxix–clxxxviii, especially xcccii–cxlix, clxiv–vi; Felim Ó Briain, "Saga Themes in Irish Hagiography," in Séamus Pender (ed.), *Essays and Studies Presented to Professor Tadhg Ua Donnchadha (Torna)* (Cork, 1947), pp. 33–42; William W. Heist, "Myth and Folklore in the Lives of Irish Saints," *The Centennial Review*, 12 (Spring 1968): 181–93; also Heist, "Irish Saints' Lives, Romance, and Cultural History," *Medievalia et Humanistica*, n.s., 6 (1975): 25–40.

[5] See, for example, Ludwig Bieler, "Hagiography and Romance in Medieval Ireland," *Medievalia et Humanistica*, n.s., 6 (1975): 13–24; Joseph Falaky Nagy, "Close Encounters of the Traditional Kind in Medieval Irish Literature," in Patrick K. Ford (ed.), *Celtic Folklore and Christianity* (Santa Barbara, 1983), pp. 129–49; Joseph Nagy, *Conversing with Angels and Ancients: Literary Myths of Medieval Ireland* (Ithaca, 1997); Kim McCone, *Pagan Past and Christian Present in Early Irish Literature* (Maynooth, 1990). McCone particularly emphasizes the scriptural roots of vernacular Irish saga.

[6] Jean-Michel Picard, "The Marvelous in Irish and Continental Saints' Lives of the Merovingian Period," in H.B. Clarke and Mary Brennan (eds), *Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 91–103; Tomás Ó Cathasaigh, "Curse and Satire," *Éigse*, 21 (1986): 10–15; Dorothy Ann Bray, "Heroic Tradition in the Lives of the Early Irish Saints: A Study in Hagio-Biographical Patterning," in George MacLennon (ed.), *Proceedings of the First North American Congress of Celtic Studies* (Ottawa, 1988), pp. 261–71; Clare Stancliffe, "The Miracle Stories in Seventh-Century Irish Saints' Lives," in Jacques Fontaine and J.N. Hillgarth (eds), *Le Septième Siècle: Changements et Continuités* (London, 1992), pp. 87–115; Dorothy Ann Bray, *A List of Motifs in the Lives of the Early Irish Saints* (Helsinki, 1992); Lisa M. Bitel, "Saints and Angry Neighbors: The Politics of Cursing in Irish Hagiography," in Sharon Farmer and Barbara H. Rosenwein (eds), *Monks & Nuns, Saints & Outcasts: Religion in Medieval Society* (Ithaca, 2000), pp. 123–50; Dorothy Ann Bray, "Miracles and Wonders in the Composition of the Lives of the Early Irish Saints," in Jane Cartwright (ed.), *Celtic Hagiography and Saints' Cults* (Cardiff, 2003), pp. 136–47.

[7] Lester K. Little, *Benedictine Maledictions: Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France* (Ithaca, 1993); see also Little, "Anger in Monastic Curses," and Bitel, "Saints and Angry Neighbors."

act and emotion are disconnected in most instances, a separation that defies the assertions of Gerald of Wales that Irish saints were impatient and hasty to pursue retribution.[8] Furthermore, most curses are theorized to be responses to insult or dishonor, which constitute challenges both to the saint's authority and to the authority of God himself. Thus curses not only coerce malefactors to turn from sin toward redemption, but also reinforce ecclesiastical rights and define the political relationship between church and secular powers.[9]

The body of scholarship on *miracula* and maledictions in the saintly biographies of medieval Ireland provides considerable material for scholastic discussion. Despite the attention devoted to cursing, however, light has not been shed on the wider field of hagiographical retribution, of which curses comprise but one element. Moreover, the question of the relationship between holiness and saints' reprisals has yet to be addressed. In particular, what do depictions of vengeful saints reveal about the perceptions of sanctity among hagiographers of the Irish Middle Ages? In this chapter, I will map the general topography of saintly vengeance in the landscape of Ireland's medieval hagiography. I will argue, based on this map, that the retaliatory episodes of Ireland's early saints comprise powerful statements concerning the Irish understanding of the nature of sanctity and sainthood, a sanctity that includes not just aspects of the scriptural, moral and spiritual, but also of the legal world of the Irish.[10]

The problem of chronology

Any investigation of Ireland's hagiography must confront the vexing issue of chronology, a matter complicated both by the length of the tradition and by its survival in two languages. Though some works have been reliably placed, most of the time there are few clues that might permit dating. Among vernacular texts, evidence such as intertextual relationships or historical references in the narratives can be augmented by the use of linguistic analysis, fitting the grammar and orthography of *bethada* into an evolutionary outline of Irish. Because written

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[8] *Topographia Hiberniae* 2.83, O'Meara, "Giraldus Cambrensis in *Topographia Hibernie*," p. 156. Note, however, that Little ("Anger in Monastic Curses") disagrees with the separation of emotion from cursing only in Ireland's hagiography.

[9] See Wendy Davies, "Anger and the Celtic Saint," in Rosenwein (ed.), *Anger's* Past, pp. 191–202; Bitel, "Saints and Angry Neighbors"; and Dorothy Ann Bray, "Malediction and Benediction in the Lives of the Early Irish Saints," *Studia Celtica*, 36 (2002): 47–58.

[10] To avoid confusion between historical and hagiographical events in this study, the vengeful acts of saints are to be understood as the deeds of hagiographical holy men and women of early Ireland, and not the actual undertakings of historical individuals unless specifically stated as such. In other words, representations of retribution used by the biographers of Irish saints are to be taken as textual devices, not as reports of true occurrences.

Latin changed very little over time, however, *vitae* must generally be dated from other clues, and a significant number have not yet been shown to possess sufficient data for chronological labeling.

In fact, whether in Latin or Irish, most *Lives* show signs of repeated redaction. In such texts, early elements mingle with accretions and alterations from throughout the medieval period, mirroring, in a sense, the hagiographical genre's development.[11] There are, however, five important *vitae* of the seventh and early eighth century that provide a solid foundation to Ireland's hagiography. *Vita S Brigitae* of Cogitosus dates to between 650 and 675.[12] Two texts regarding Saint Patrick are extant, the mid-seventh-century *Collectanea Patriciana* of Tírechán and the slightly later, much more narrative *Vita S Patricii* of Muirchú.[13] *Vita S Columbae* of Adomnán places between 689 and 704.[14] Finally, there is the anonymous *Vita I S Brigitae*, the exact dating of which is disputed but is known to originate in either the seventh or the first half of the eighth century.[15] These

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[11] See, for example, the introduction to the edition of the Book of Lismore *bethada*. Though the manuscript itself is from the 1400s, the texts are linguistically mixed, possessing elements from Old, Middle and Early Modern Irish. *Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore*, ed. and trans. Whitley Stokes (Oxford, 1890), pp. v, xlv. Also see the comments of Ailbhe S. Mac Shamhráin on the *Vita Coemgeni* in *Church and Polity in Pre-Norman Ireland: The Case of Glendalough* (Maynooth, 1996), especially p. 149; the work of Máire Herbert demonstrating early elements in the *Vita Cainnechi*, in "The *Vita Columbae* and Irish Hagiography: A Study of *Vita Cainnechi*," in *Studies in Irish Hagiography: Saints and Scholars*, ed. John Carey, Máire Herbert and Pádraig Ó Riain (Dublin, 2001), pp. 31–40; and the analysis of the *Bethu Phátraic*, a text which possesses a core of around 900 but also shows evidence of repeated redaction up through at least the late 1000s, in Kenneth H. Jackson's "The Date of the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick," *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* (hereafter *ZCP*), 41 (1986): 5–45.

[12] *Acta Sanctorum*, Februarius I, cols 0135B–0141E. There is also available a translation, based upon the translators' unpublished edition: Seán Connolly and Jean-Michel Picard, "Cogitosus' Life of St. Brigit: Content and Value," *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* (hereafter *JRSAI*), 117 (1987), p. 5. See Seán Connolly, "*Vita Prima Sanctae Brigitae*: Background and Historical Value," *JRSAI*, 119 (1989), p. 6 for dating.

[13] Both texts are edited and translated by Ludwig Bieler, *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh* (Dublin, 1979). Tírechán's collection of anecdotes relating to Patrick is labeled the *Collectanea* by its editor, not its author; see pp. 35–42 for the text. Muirchú's work is found at pp. 60–123.

[14] Alan Orr Anderson and Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson (eds and trans), *Adomnán's Life of Columba* (Edinburgh, 1961). For the dating of the text see Jean-Michel Picard, "The Purpose of Adomnán's *Vita Columbae*," *Peritia*, 1 (1982): 160–77.

[15] *Acta Sanctorum*, Februarius I, cols 0119E–0135B. Also available in a translation based upon the translator's unpublished edition; see Connolly, "*Vita Prima Sanctae Brigitae*," pp. 5–49. The *Vita I* is so named due to its placement in the *Acta Sanctorum*, not to its chronological or textual primacy. Arguments concerning the *vita*'s date center on whether it precedes or follows the work of Cogitosus. Those who place it among Cogitosus' sources include Mario Esposito, "On the Early Latin Lives of St. Brigid of

vitae underlie not only later *Lives* of Brigit, Patrick and Columba, but nearly all Irish saints' *Lives*, their elements and episodes refracted repeatedly throughout the hagiographical genre.

Additionally, the dates of five significant collections of medieval *Lives* may act as terminal reference points for the texts they contain where other chronology is lacking. In Irish, there are the many-layered *bethada* of the late fifteenth-century Book of Lismore.[16] In Latin, there are three large compilations of *vitae*, conveniently designated by Richard Sharpe as the Salamanca, the Dublin and the Oxford, among which there are both shared and unique texts.[17] The most recent studies of these collections place the Salamanca to the later 1200s, the Dublin to around the middle of the 1300s, and the Oxford to the later fourteenth century.[18]

The representation of saintly vengeance

For the present chapter, any miraculous punitive reprisal may be considered a vengeance episode. While there are often linguistic clues, including the use of terms such as the Latin *vindicta* or *ultio* (vengeance, revenge) or, in Irish, of *maldacht* (a curse), such clues are not universal. The marvelous remains the primary component of saintly revenge, differentiating it from more mundane corrections. Moreover, expressions of hagiographical vengeance generally appear to conform to four broad categories, which I define primarily according to the action undertaken by the saint. These categories are prayer, outright malediction, negative or maledictory prophecy, and passive retaliatory judgment.

Kildare," *Hermathena*, 24 (1935): 120–65; Richard Sharpe, "*Vita S. Brigitae:* The Oldest Texts," *Peritia*, 1 (1982): 91–106; and David Howlett, "*Vita I Sanctae Brigitae*," *Peritia*, 12 (1998): 1–23. On the opposing side may be found Donncha Ó hAodha (ed.), *Bethu Brigte* (Dublin, 1978), pp. ix–xxv; Kim McCone, "Brigit in the Seventh Century: A Saint with Three Lives?" *Peritia*, 1 (1982): 107–45; and Connolly, "*Vita Prima Sanctae Brigitae*."

[16] See footnote 11 above.

[17] Richard Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives: An Introduction to* Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae (Oxford, 1991), pp. 228–39, 246–52 and 347–63. The Salamanca vitae are edited by William W. Heist, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae ex Codice olim Salmanticensi nunc Bruxellensi* (Brussels, 1965). The Dublin texts and those vitae unique to the Oxford compilation have been edited by Charles Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (2 vols, Oxford, 1910).

[18] Pádraig Ó Riain, *Beatha Bharra: St Finbarr of Cork, The Complete Life* (London, 1994), pp. 94–8 and 109–12; also Ó Riain, "*Codex Salmanticensis*: A Provenance *Inter Anglos* or *Inter Hibernos*?" in Toby C. Barnard, Daibhí Ó Cróinín and Katharine Simms (eds), *"A Miracle of Learning": Studies in Manuscripts and Irish Learning* (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 91–100; and Caoimhín Breatnach, "The Significance of the Orthography of Irish Proper Names in the *Codex Salmanticensis*," *Ériu*, 55 (2005): 85–101.