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Reassessing the Role of Folklore in Anglo-Latin Hagiography, "Once Upon a Time There Was a Saint"

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Abstract

The present article expounds upon the various methodologies employed in the identification and discernment of folkloric elements within the realm of hagiographical literature. This scholarly article delves into the intricate relationship between folklore and oral storytelling, shedding light on the significance of adopting a "performer-centered" perspective when analyzing folklore and hagiographical production. In order to accomplish this, the present study extensively relies upon English hagiographical sources originating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The Rehabilitation of Folklore

Because they detail the lives of saints who lived hundreds or thousands of years in the past, hagiographical literature is notoriously difficult for modern researchers to use. They are often criticized for having a personality that is derivative. Because the same uninteresting and overused plot elements keep emerging in a completely foreseeable sequence. The traditional



biographical structure of birth, life, death, and posthumous miracles is often replete with topoi and innovative digressions. To provide some flavor to the narrative. Miracles are possible both in this life and the next. The structure incorporates all three elements. These texts were described as "certain audacious fabrications, products of lying and ambition [which] have for long misled over-credulous minds and unwary critics" by an early hagiographer named Hippolyte Delehaye (Delehaye 1998, 78). One of the first hagiographers was Hippolyte Delehaye. Following this viewpoint, contemporary historians have said that "the authors of these Vitae were writing historical gibberish; and what is more, avoidable rubbish... According to Campbell (1986, 225), "They did not care, or if they did care, they did not trouble themselves about it." This is only one illustration of the pessimism held among historians. The presumption that hagiography should be true and that the works in issue should be authentic regarding historical events is the source of many people's dissatisfaction. Accepting this, though, is missing the point entirely.

The developments since the "linguistic turn" have made it very unlikely that historians will ever have unfiltered access to the past. Alterations brought forth by the "linguistic turn" have questioned this theory. We now know that the historical past, particularly as it was portrayed in medieval history and chronicles, was complex and cannot be believed without a qualification. This was notably the case in the Middle Ages. Even if we removed all of the fictitious elements from hagiography and retained just the "historical facts," this literary subgenre cannot be read without critical thinking since the historical past was produced. This is because hagiography focuses on a single person. If hagiography cannot be researched for historical information, reconstructing the historical setting is the most beneficial option. Instead of focusing on the past, consider what the texts say about the present. In order to be of use to cultural historians, hagiography has to take an all-encompassing approach that considers both the real and the imagined elements of a topic. This is the only way that this can be accomplished. In order to understand the role that hagiographic writing plays in society, it is necessary to consider both the intentions behind it and how it is received. Only at that point were works of hagiography able to be recognized.



The majority of people think that the purpose of hagiography is to teach the audience about the subject matter via the use of illustrations. On the other hand, the conditions and procedures of distribution and absorption are, for the most part, neglected. The traditions of saints were disseminated via a variety of routes and were believed by a large number of listeners. It is possible that a written biography or miracle was read aloud in a monastery refectory or chapter or that it was taken down to be marked up for the saint's feast day Office. It is possible that it was said during the office on the saint's feast day.

During this period, liturgical antiphons, responsories, and metrical vitae were also written down. Before John of Tynemouth combined long texts into larger volumes like the *Sanctilogium Angliae, Walliae, Scotiae, and Hibernae*, they were often abridged into more manageable lengths. On other occasions, the sentences were not altered in any way. Even well-known sermons and songs have been attributed to the Vitae as their source of inspiration. Therefore, the biography of a single saint may have been fabricated to serve many functions. Therefore, works of hagiography need to function on several levels, including the ones listed below: Their presentation in the auditorium required literary quality, the attraction of their sermons required common language, and their liturgy required good biblical and exegetical commentary in order to communicate spiritual truths.

Because of the need for hagiography to appeal to a large audience, the historical significance of hagiography has been reevaluated. At this period, it is possible that the practice of hagiography served as a bridge between the ecclesiastical elites' Latinate culture and the common people's vernacular culture. According to the classification technique, it is classified as part of the same group as sermons and penitential manuals. According to Gurevich (1988, 2), the clergy wrote these works intending to restrain people's excesses and compel them to adhere to orthodoxy. This was done to rein in the excesses of people and ensure that they adhered to tradition. It is believed that Jacques Le Goff was the first person to describe the clergy-laity dispute in terms of belief and orthopraxis. Le Goff did this in his description of the dispute between clergy and laypeople. Le Goff is the one who first proposed the "two cultures" idea of medieval society. According to this sociological paradigm, social grouping is the primary driver of belief. According to the findings, social grouping is a good predictor of belief. Medieval society and religious belief were often separated into distinct categories:



the elite and the populace, the clergy and the laity, the learned and the uneducated, the written and the oral, the official and the legendary. This is how the medieval civilization was typically portrayed. According to Le Goff (1980), who wrote on clerical culture, "Clerical culture opposed folklore not only out of willful hostility but also out of incomprehension." This line may be found in Le Goff's book "Clerical Culture" from 1980. When "learned" culture attempted to exert its authority over folkloric culture, ecclesiastical elites concluded that it might assist in the definition of valid Christian theology (Picard 1989, 373). Theologians who wrote pastoral literature were said to "stoop to the mental level of [the] parishioners" and "resort[ed] to familiar images, confining themselves to subjects within the mental horizon of their flock" (Gurevich 1988, 3, 12). As a result, folklore evolved into a tool for bringing people into conformity with religious orthodoxy.

The overwhelming majority of responses to this paradigm are critical. Carl Watkins has presented a compelling argument against using normative text fragments to imitate contemporary forms of popular religion. According to his argument, the conservatism and generality of the pieces render them inappropriate for the local particularism that he advocates (Watkins 2007, 8). Religion included an article that explained Watkins' viewpoint. It was difficult to tell the difference between legal and illicit cultures along the border. The fact that individuals might be members of many social groups added another layer of complexity to the issue. This study focuses on monastic recruits from aristocratic houses in England. Their early education was most likely comparable to knightly or baronial recruits in England. It would be improper to distinguish between monks and soldiers at this time. There may be no need for a distinction between a parish priest and a non-specialist. It is possible that those who served as priests in manorial churches came from either the lords' tenants or the communities themselves.

They are included in the Domesday Book alongside villeins and bordars, and their means of subsistence are comparable to those of peasant holdings (Blair 2005, 492). Gregorian reformers argued for a harsher type of sacerdotalism. Nevertheless, developing a priesthood connected with the diocese, celibate, educated, and not hereditary, took some time to develop (Watkins 2007, 7). This occurred despite Gregorian reformers advocating for a more stringent type of sacerdotalism. At the start of the twelfth century, most priests were members of the



society they served. They had the same rights and responsibilities as its people. They would have been responsible for transmitting the local mythology since they were integral to the community's culture.

Recent historical study has highlighted the significance of cultural exchange between clergy and laity people. According to Blair (2002, pages 478 and 479), "Legends may have been passed back and forth between laity, who circulated them orally, and monastic writers, who gave them coherence and moral purpose." John Blair is certain that the two groups used to have deeper relationships with one another in the past. He thinks that the folklore components of hagiography demonstrate the participation of the people rather than the clerical appropriation of the material. During their research on Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and Breton hagiography, John McNamara and Julia Smith came to the same conclusion (McNamara 1994; Smith 1990). Both teams of researchers published their results in the years they did their work. The oral transmission of clerical knowledge and the dialogue between laypeople and clergy are connected to folklore in hagiography because of the abovementioned justifications.

As a consequence of this, the field of historical research now recognizes the legitimacy of the study of folklore as a viable topic of inquiry. It could be useful to demonstrate that both members of the clergy and ordinary people contributed to the creation of saint narratives. These tales may be passed on. It may show how the people and clergy engaged with one another, where their worldviews overlapped, and how the story is constructed. It may shed some light on the relationships between laypeople and clergy.

However, this strategy has several limitations despite its effectiveness in rebutting Delehaye and the "two cultures" school of thought. There are several ways in which it may be improved. However, one of the most important will be discovering the folkloric components. In the book titled "Idiosyncratic Material," written by Blair, it is said that "the more idiosyncratic the material..., the more likely that it derives either from a more specific hagiographical tradition or local vernacular culture" (Blair 2002, p. 479). Some people have decided to follow the lead of Delehaye and differentiate between hagiographic and colorful material, supposing a rich oral tradition in the process. They separated the two types of material. They believe a thriving oral tradition should give more vivid information. There are



research methods that are even less empirical than others. In her essay on Breton hagiography, Julia Smith mentions that the *Vita Corentini* "retains many features characteristic of oral traditions"; however, she does not detail these features. The *Vita Corentini*, according to Smith, "retains many features characteristic of oral traditions." The purpose of this article is to provide a method that is more precisely capable of recognizing folkloric features that are present in hagiographic literature. This essay makes up for the previous one's shortcomings.

Finding Folklore

Scholars of Celtic hagiography have, for a very long time, acknowledged the overlap that exists between folktales and saints. The study on Welsh hagiography conducted by Elissa Henken and the investigation of Irish saints conducted by Dorothy Bray indicate significant overlap (Henken 1991; Bray 1992). Both of these investigations were conducted in the U.K. The Motif-Index of Folk-Literature by Stith Thompson, which has six volumes and is the most comprehensive resource of its type, was consulted to locate similarities between hagiographical components and folk motifs. They develop conclusions based on linkages between folk motifs and hagiography. This may also be accomplished via the use of hagiography in Anglo-Latin. In the same way as Juthwara's tale did, Thompson's Motif Index can dissect narratives into their parts and identify each separately.⁵⁵

Following the passing of her biological father, Juthwara moved in with her stepmother. The young nobleman in question has no prior history of sexual activity. Her evil stepmother planned to eliminate her stepchildren, which included slandering Juthwara and expelling her brother from the house. The stepmother pretended to treat Juthwara's pale complexion and lethargic demeanor by placing two slices of fresh cheese on her breast and then encouraging her to attend church. Juthwara showed his stepmother respect by obeying her. Her brother

⁵⁵ John of Tynemouth's *Sanctilogium Angliae, Walliae, Scotiae et Hiberniae* preserved in London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius E.i (mid-14th century) contains the earliest surviving *vita* of Juthwara [*Bibliotheca hagiographica latina (BHL)* 4613]. An earlier account may have existed the eleventh-century *Vita S. Wulfsige* mentions a *libellus* of Juthwara (Love 2005, 116). A calendrical redaction of John's *Sanctilogium*, the *Nova Legende Anglie*, was printed in 1516 by Wynkyn de Worde. Carl Horstman's edition of the *Nova Legende Anglie* (Horstman 2 vols, 1901) also incorporates material from Tiberius E.i and hence represents the only edition of John's *Santilogium*. See Lapidge and Love 2001, 307-11. The *Vita S. Juthwara* is edited in Horstman 1901, vol. 2,



arrived, and he was keen to dispel the impression that Juthwara was expecting a child. It was widely circulated. He was a part of the crowd gathering in front of the church. Juthwara ultimately emerged and refuted the claims. However, the rabble killed her because they believed the cheese leaking through her garments was breast milk. Juthwara had been killed because they mistook the cheese for breast milk. The girl who had lost her head got to her feet, found her head, and then returned to the chapel. A tree and a spring began to grow where she had hit her head.

Compared to the Motif-Index, the following summary describes this story: a wicked stepmother (S31) causes the death of her stepdaughter (S322.4.2) and sends a boy away. In K2112, the brother libelously accuses his sister of infidelity, and in Q458.2.1, he beats his sister for being immoral. Illusions and enchantments are destroyed when the victim is decapitated (D711). A spring appears at the location of the girl's severed head (D925.1.2), and a tree sprouts (D2157.4) from the girl's blood (E631). The girl is carrying her severed head (F511.0.4) under her arm.

The story of Juthwara does not have any significant connections between its topics. It is not consistent thematically, unlike the *Vita et miracula*, which does. S. Kenelmi clusters together narratives in a way that modern readers may be able to identify. Because of this, a comparative investigation of the Kenelm tale is now possible. One might examine the fable as a narrative rather than dissecting it into its themes, which would be its most fundamental kind of examination. These narratives are referred to as the "Aarne and Thompson tales." They are distinguished by a particular clustering of folk themes (Aarne and Thompson 1961; Thompson 1977; Uther 2004; "ATU" subsequently denotes many multiethnic narratives). When his father passed away, Kenelm was just seven years old, and he inherited Mercia. Burgenhild, who adored her brother, and Cwoenthryth, who was jealous of him and intended to kill him, were both his sisters. Burgenhild loved him. Cwoenthryth plotted to kill him. After her attempt to poison Kenelm was unsuccessful, she made a deal with his tutor that she would give him a portion of the kingdom if he were successful. Kenelm had a dream in which he was standing atop a very tall tree when it was suddenly chopped down and crashed into the earth below with a very loud noise. He saw himself as a fluffy white bird and flew away in his imagination. Kenelm's nurse said his dream was a portent of his impending death. Not



long after that, he accompanied his instructor on a hunting trip. After Kenelm had succumbed to exhaustion and fallen asleep, the instructor dug a little grave. After Kenelm regained consciousness, he quickly slew his foes and buried his staff, which eventually turned into a massive tree. He was put to death in the next valley after being taken there. While he held his head in his hands, a white dove took flight and fluttered away. The body was buried in a spot covered with beautiful grass, and a cow grazed there, producing an unexplainable amount of milk. The atrocity was brought to light when the Pope in Rome received a letter from a dove that described the murder in detail. When Kenelm's bones were uncovered, a spring had already begun to flow from his burial, so they were transported to Winchcombe instead.

Cwoenthyrth attempted to halt the translation by reciting Psalm 108 (109) backward; however, this resulted in the loss of both of her eyes, and after her death, she refused to be buried on hallowed land.

This narrative organizes its topics in a manner reminiscent of a folk tale. A few myths and legends explain this concept. John Blair pointed out how it is comparable to "The Juniper Tree" (ATU 720) in his article (Blair 2002, 481-2). In the version told by the Grimm Brothers, the protagonist is a little boy whose stepmother murders him before the boy's father swallows him by mistake. His sister gathers the bones and lays them beneath a juniper tree next to their mother's grave. A gorgeous bird soars through the air, and its song depicts his gruesome end. In these tales, there is an evil stepmother, a kind sister, a boy who is transformed into a bird, and a bird who tells the truth. Catherine Cubie thinks that Kenelm's dream is a representation of the fairy tale "Jack and the Beanstalk" (ATU 328) (Cubitt 2006, 192).

There are a variety of accounts. ATU 709, also known as "Snow White," has a jealous stepmother, an attempted poisoning, an enlistment, and a murder in the woods. All of these components are included in the story. Even though we know that Kenelm is a martyr and that the narrative cannot have a happy ending, we hope that the tutor will transform into the kind-hearted woodsman and assist Kenelm in escaping into the forest when the first effort fails. The Kenelm mythology is a collection of many fables and legends. Although the titles "Snow White" and "Jack and the Beanstalk" are more contemporary, most people are familiar with these fairy tales. The only reason their shapes have remained consistent is because someone



wrote them down. Recent events brought this about. Before that time, these motifs were already diverse and adaptive. Andrew Lang used the analogy that fairy tales are like a kaleidoscope, in which the many happenings are represented by colored glass. According to Fentress and Wickham (1992, 62), "When shaken, they may take on several appealing shapes; however, some shapes are more robust, endure better, and are more prevalent than others." In some circumstances, we may be able to perceive the themes before they are written down as a fairy tale.

This argument has a lot going for it. However, it does not give any historical context for how hagiographers established the patterns or the impact those themes had in England in the eleventh century. It is a compelling theory. If historians use a definition of folklore that is too broad, then this methodology can be considered appropriate. In such a case, it will be rejected. Recent statements made by Catherine Cubitt indicate that she has a preference for "popular oral stories." She referred to them as "folktales, stories which circulated orally and were transmitted not primarily through learned and written sources" (Cubitt 2006, 189), which makes perfect sense in light of the presumptions that we have about the term "folktale." Orality is indicative of "common folk" (Ziolkowski 2007, 51), which is derived from the word "folk," which is an abbreviation of the phrases "common folk" or "common people." As a result, folktales were developed by everyday people working together in groups and then passed down verbally. However, this strategy is not the right one to use. The term "common people" does not make sense in medieval culture since the elites and the masses shared traditional stories, dances, and songs. Because philology and textual linkages are medieval historians' primary areas of interest, neglecting textual transmission would be absurd. This is a possibility, given that written words have the potential to propagate even the most peculiar hagiographic ideas.

As seen in this example, the identification of hagiographical folktales is rife with historical inaccuracies. Whether or not hagiographic events are included in a search using Thompson's Motif Index is often determined by the folklore significance of a motif. Catherine Cubitt concluded that there were "no hagiographical models for these elements... they must derive from a lively oral tradition" after researching Abbo of Fleury's *Passio Sancti Eadmundi* (Cubitt 2006, 197). In this manner, she discusses her research. After biblical, hagiographical,



and classical elements have been uncovered, it is common for there to be nothing left except folktales and oral traditions. This strict classification approach presumes no interaction between different types of music. There are examples of folkloric motifs in canonical, classical, and apocryphal works.⁵⁶ This occurred in both directions: parts of classical literature and the Bible found their way into folktales. As a result, a hagiographic subject may have made its way into a folktale and life via the medium of folklore.⁵⁷ When we make assumptions about hagiographical origins, we risk overlooking folklore.

It is abundantly obvious that the historical procedures used in hagiography to detect and differentiate folklore are insufficient. The misconception that motif indices may give reliable folklore data is at the issue's root. This demonstrates a fundamental misunderstanding of motif indices and the research goals of those who assemble Finnish comparative traditions. Philology was used by adherents of the historic-geographic, or comparative, method to analyze folkloric "texts." This included collecting several accounts of a certain story and using statistical methods to derive an archetype from the collected information. They investigated the background and history of each tale. The emphasis of historic-geographic folklorists was on the variety and scope of the phenomenon. Motif indices allow historians to discover areas of convergence and similarity among historical sources. They are applying the indices in procedures and analyses that are not optimal due to the behaviors that they have been engaging in. Researchers interested in the Middle Ages cannot locate authentic stories using a topic index like Snap.

Therefore, we circle back to recognizing hagiographical events drawn from oral traditions. While John Blair said that tales "follow the rules of oral transmission" (Blair 2002, 487), Julia Smith asserted in her research on Breton saints that Latin clerical culture "bore the heavy imprint of oral ways of thinking" (Smith 1990, 311). Both of those observations were made. This lends credence to the idea that oral tradition leaves its imprint on written texts and operates according to a predetermined set of guidelines. However, what exactly were these regulations, and how are they written down?

Oral-formulaic theory was developed by Alfred Lord and Milman Parry in response to these

⁵⁶ For folktales in classical works see Anderson 2000.

⁵⁷ For a particularly illuminating study of a ubiquitous hagiographic motif see Hall 2002.



problems (Lord 1960; Parry 1971). In order to provide evidence of the oral basis of Homeric epic, they investigated the oral composition and transmission of contemporary Slavic epic poetry. Based on live performance techniques, they devised algorithmic and thematic constraints for impromptu composition. They believed that because these conditions were spontaneous, it demonstrated that the piece had been improvised. They considered the uninformed singer to be the one who relied on these patterns and motifs the most. According to their reasoning, any written work with many equations and formulaic systems should be considered "oral" (Lord 1960, 131; Foley 1997, 616). This was because formulas and formulaic systems are orally transmitted from generation to generation.

While some agree with this, others do not. It is questioned since it provides comparisons, not evidence, and disregards language distinctions and formulaic words in writing (Bauml 1984; Foley 1997, 618). Despite accolades for its one-of-a-kind technique and vast applicability, it has also been criticized for having analogs. Because tightly metered epic poetry produced in the vernacular and handed down through generations has few similarities to prose saints' Lives skilfully composed in Latin for (para)liturgical use, its application to medieval Latin hagiography is particularly problematic. This is since medieval Latin hagiography was written in Latin.

The inadequacy of the hypothesis to account for artist-specific performance differences is a particularly significant limitation of the hypothesis. It works on the assumption that "formulas" may make free-flowing writing easier and is not flexible enough. For a piece of work to be classified as "oral," it must have formulaic patterns analogous to earlier "oral" writings, and its written form must always be comparable. Over the last forty years, novel perspectives have questioned the need for continuity in oral traditions. On the other hand, this method asserts that deviations are natural and inevitable outcomes of the transfer of information verbally. According to Dégh (1995, 175), variation is a product of the interaction between tradition, the storyteller, and the audience. In this scenario, the storyteller has earned his respite by becoming an artist who picks, shapes, and delivers his narrative according to his artistic sensibilities. As a result, he has been allowed to tell his story. The audience is also responsible for controlling some parts of the artistic performance, helping to keep more radical deviations from tradition in check while at the same time occasionally driving new



varieties (ibid., 202). Therefore, performance is a battle between the freedom of creative expression and the community's norms. This resulted in the development of further variations, motifs, and storylines.

Researchers on performer-centered folklore emphasize fieldwork and the careful study of live storytelling environments.⁵⁸ Because this aspect of ethnography was present in the past, it is impossible to see the spread of a story in the past, which is a challenge in and of itself, given how difficult it is to witness the present narrative's spread. There is no way we should place any stock in the idea that our hagiographer's concocted narrative descriptions are authentic.⁵⁹ Despite this, there are a few additional aspects of this idea that historians of the Middle Ages would be smart to take away and use in their study. A wide range of options is the first to come into play among them.

Furthermore, given that these exchanges would have occurred face-to-face, variants indicate the vestiges of oral transmission. Variations offer evidence of the places at which societies traded pieces of folklore; the existence of variants provides evidence of the sites at which societies exchanged pieces of folklore. The variation type may be spatial or diachronic at any given time. The second component you must take away from this is the idea of conduits or the chain of individuals who received and passed on the tale. This term relates to the people who were the receivers of the narrative. Their individual preferences had a huge influence on the way a tale grew and the shape that it was given when it was written down on paper. This was because their preferences were considered while the story was written. Comparisons made across a literary and hagiographical tradition may be able to provide light on the medium that served as the story's transmission channel. Comparisons of this kind are not impossible, even though it may be hard to distinguish between the individuals who carry on the traditions individually.

⁵⁸ European *Märchenbiologists* and American “contextualists” have independently advocated for the description and analysis of live folklore processes. For a useful introduction to these approaches see Dégh 1995, 47-61.

⁵⁹ Medieval hagiographers strove to appear conscientious in vouching for the authenticity and veracity of their sources. They supplied



In our efforts to illustrate the storytelling process, we have come a long way from the current historiographical approach, which seeks to classify, measure, and compare folkloric features in hagiography. In the past, this technique's focus was on hagiography. One of our goals is to depict the process of delivering a tale. Now, all that remains to be done is to put this method to the test and apply this technique to the Anglo-Latin hagiographical corpus that has been created.

Oral History in Latin Hagiography

Ecgbine established the Evesham monastery while serving as the bishop of Worcester in the seventh century. The hagiography of Ecgbine reveals hints of synchronic and diachronic alterations in the narrative. Byrhtferth of Ramsey wrote the first copy of the *Vita S. Ecgbini* at the beginning of the eleventh century, perhaps found in BHL 2432. The library has this edition on hand. He had been asked to do this by the Evesham monks, but he had just a little information at his disposal. As a result, he was given a very challenging task to perform. Only a few facts were available to Byrhtferth of Ramsey, which he acquired through charters held by the monastery and the stories that the monks had repeated (Byrhtferth of Ramsey 2009, 208). The charters and the tales the monks had recounted served as the foundation for Byrhtferth's inquiry. Byrhtferth's major source of information was the tales that had been passed down from the monks. According to Michael Lapidge, the current editor of the text, Byrhtferth filled in this sparsity "in imaginative but idiosyncratic ways" by relying on allegory and hagiographical topoi. According to Michael Lapidge, this is true. The mentioned source (*ibid*) contains the argument made by Lapidge.

Furthermore, Lapidge claims that the two events that are particularly significant to us are nothing more than the results of Byrhtferth's "fertile imagination" (*ibid.*, xciii). Those are Lapidge's words. I am not all that convinced by this argument. The earliest of these stories is that Ecgbine locked himself up before starting his voyage to Rome and threw the key into the Avon River. When he got to Rome, he examined a fish pulled out of the Tiber and discovered the key there (*ibid.*, 230-32). According to the second tradition, the Virgin Mary showed herself to a swineherd in a vision as he looked for his pig, describing how Evesham's site was discovered (*ibid.*, 244-248). When the swineherd was looking for his pig, this incident took place. While the swineherd was searching for his pig, something was happening. Both



instances may be traced back to ancient writings and have echoes in hagiographical literature and entries in Thompson's Motif-Index of Folk-Literature.⁶⁰ However, until we look back at their subsequent retellings, we will not understand better where these events originated or what they could have meant to the people in the area. We will not be able to consider what followed until that point.

The history of the abbey's establishment is an intriguing account of what happened and can be read in Byrhtferth's *Vita S. Ecgwini*. Ecgwine split the nation into four parts and gave each one a name after receiving a gift of land from King Thelred. He also emphasized the longevity of the practice, which has reportedly been verbally down from one generation to the next for a sizable time, according to the individuals. On the other hand, "witnesses" is a well-known rhetorical cliché, and the promises of longevity are so formulaic that we must approach them cautiously to avoid being duped by them.

A swineherd was assigned to the four quadrants to care for the pigs. The show that belonged to the swineherd called Eoves vanished one day, and she did not show up again for several days until she brought her brood of seven piglets with her. During her absence from the farm, piglets were born. The same thing occurred again, except this time the piglets were entirely white, but for their ears and paws. The piglets had brown hooves and ears before.⁶¹ The show was feeding her piglets while lying on a bed of thorns as the Virgin Mary watched them when Eoves went in search of her for the third time. Eoves saved all of the piglets. He then told the reeve about his encounter, and the reeve informed Bishop Ecgwine, who hastily made his way to the woodland while walking barefoot. The bishop ordered the construction of a

⁶⁰ The fish and fetters episode first appears as the "Ring of Polycrates" in the *Histories* of Herodotus. It was popular among hagiographers, appearing in the *vitae* of Maglorius, Ambrose of Cahors, Arnould of Metz, Gerbold of Bayeux and Maurilius of Anger. Slight variations on the theme are found in the Lives of Celtic saints Brigid, Cadog and Kentigern. It is listed in the *Motif-Index* as N211.1 and has been discovered in a variety of forms including a Sanskrit play, a modern Kashmiri folktale, medieval Rabbinical writings and even the Qur'an—see Jackson 1961. Foundation legends featuring pigs also have classical and hagiographical parallels. These include: Virgil's *The Aeneid*; Wromonoc's Life of Paul Aurélien; the Lives of Irish saints Fínán, Ciarán, Mochoemóc and Rúadánm; Welsh saints Brynach, Cadog and Dyfrig and English saint Freomund —see Jankulak 2003.

⁶¹ Lapidge believes that here the transmitted text must have become corrupted at some point and in order to correct what he considers to be a scribal error, he supplies the number "eight" for the number of piglets in the second litter, considering it consonant both with the narrative and Byrhtferth's penchant for arithmology, (Byrhtferth of Ramsey 2009, 247n).



monastery exactly where the vision had been seen after encountering it.

Prior to that, Dominic of Evesham most likely wrote his biography of Byrhtferth ([BHL 2433] Lapidge 1978, 77–104). Byrhtferth's account was later replaced with this one. This happened eighty years after the publication of Byrhtferth's *Vita*. Dominic's *Vita S. Ecgwini* was divided into two parts: a reworked version of Byrhtferth's *Vita* and an account of Ecgwine's recent miracles. Both pieces were created as separate pieces. These two writings serve as samples of Dominican literature. By modernizing Byrhtferth's antiquated Latin in the *Vita*, Dominic also got rid of the illogical numerological references and the perplexing metaphor. Dominic did not depart from the framework that Byrhtferth had built, even if he replaced Byrhtferth's charter with one that granted extra rights and added a miraculous story to the plot. Concerning all other aspects, pigs are the lone exception. In this edition, the narrative of how Evesham came to be was condensed much more succinctly. During this time, Eoves changed from a *sulcus* to a pastor, and the tale of the escaped sow and her piglets was utterly erased from popular culture (*ibid.*, 84–85). The rest of the narrative proceeded similarly; after Eoves reported seeing the spectral figure, Ecgwine went alone into the woods to look into it. Dominic agrees with Byrhtferth that the Virgin Mary was more beautiful than lilies, pink than roses, and fragrant than any flower. Dominic had a window open that had an earlier version of the software he used open while he was working on his *Vita*. So, it was a conscious decision on our side to leave out the pig-related portion.

The decision to alter the organization's name might be motivated by various factors. Dominic may have been eager to highlight the New Testament analogies first. He could have intended to do this. It is conceivable that he had this in mind from the beginning. In this chapter, Gabriel tells his readers that the shepherds were the first people to whom the angels announced the birth of Jesus.⁶² The importance of this analogy would have been lessened if Eoves had kept his job as a swineherd. Second, Ecgwine's reputation had substantially increased. His feast day was celebrated by the end of the eleventh century not just at Evesham and Worcester but also in East Anglia and south-west England, beyond the

⁶² Byrhtferth alternates between the terms *pastor* and *subulcus*. The latter title clearly indicates however that his *pastor* was a swineherd, while Dominic's comment about the angels implies that his was a shepherd.



Worcester diocese (Wormald 1934, 97, 209, 251, and 265). His remains were auctioned to help repair the abbey (Thomas of Marlborough 2003, 102-16). This was carried out in order to cover project-related costs. Dominic was probably attempting to serve a more varied audience. Dominic, entrusted with giving Egwine a more all-encompassing personality, could have felt that relating anecdotes about the saint exclusive to the locality would have made him a less desirable intermediary to people in other parts of the country. This is due to the requirement to make Egwine a more all-encompassing character.

However, the story of Eoves and his sow was still repeated since it was so well-liked. Within ten years following Dominic Vita S. Ecgwini's publication, a recension was finished, and its modern editor gave it the moniker "Digby-Gotha recension" (Lapidge 1979, 42-51). The redactor retained Dominic's language and phrasing to produce a shortened version of Dominic's work. However, unnecessary sections were completely removed rather than rephrased. The goal was to create a condensed version; this was done. Because of this, any differences between this text and Dominic's were included on purpose.

Since this event must be reincorporated into Egwine's hagiography in order for it to make sense, the reappearance of the sow and her several litters of piglets is of great significance.

This raises the obvious question of where the editor first obtained this information. Given that Michael Lapidge has drawn the logical inference, there is a chance that he may have had access to a copy of Byrhtferth's work (*ibid.*, 40). At least partly, the redactor may have plagiarized Byrhtferth's work because they did not feel bad about taking material from Dominic. However, we cannot show he had access to the earlier text due to several narrative inconsistencies and the lack of grammatical and syntactical similarities. In actuality, they appear to support the idea that he did not. The "Digby-Gotha recension" omits the names of the three more swineherds, but this may have been done for brevity reasons. This serves as the starting point. More significant are any discrepancies that may exist in the descriptions of the three litters. The previous Vita said that the first litter included "four and three piglets," the second litter contained piglets who were all "white, except for their ears and feet," and the third litter contained nine piglets (Byrhtferth of Ramsey 2009, 246-48).



Nevertheless, a later "Digby-Gotha recension, In both the first and second litters, seven piglets were born, while the third and last litter gave birth to a "more numerous share" of piglets (Lapidge 1979, 45). The information in this sentence is taken from a 1979 article. These mistakes are unaccountable if the redactor had access to a copy of Byrhtferth's curriculum vitae. However, they are more understandable if we assume these alterations were passed down orally. Although it is clear that the redactor told the narrative in his own words, some of the phrases were probably handed down through the tales of other past storytellers. Small alterations started to appear as each of them retold the tale; for instance, the numbers' original sequence started to vary, and certain colors were left out. Although there were a few small changes to some specifics, the plot's main elements remained unchanged.

Similar evidence of variation may be seen in the second episode of the Vita S. Ecgwini television series. Initially dropped into the Avon, the key to Ecgwine's fetters was later found in the Tiber (Byrhtferth of Ramsey 2009, 230-2). Nevertheless, the story had been altered when William of Malmesbury wrote his Gesta Pontificum Anglorum in 1125: If we are to believe the traditional version, Ecgwine once tied his feet and threw the keys into the river. If the old tale is to be believed, Ecgwine once... He left for Rome while in this state and came back unharmed. A mythical fish, however, is said to have approached the ship carrying the bishop and attacked him while traveling over the strait separating France and England. When dissected, the liver contained the fetter keys used to release the fetters and free the saint (William of Malmesbury 2007, volume 1, page 453).

The fact that this miracle was transferred from the Tiber to the English Channel creates the idea that it was also imprinted in the common people's oral heritage and vernacular. Most of the tale's changes, including the one about the sow and her piglets, presumably result from oral transmission. The tale of the fish and the key. For many years, these stories would have been widely and freely circulated. With each new retelling, they would have picked on a few nuances.

Additionally, by repeatedly appearing in writing, these stories show how quickly narratives changed from oral to written representation. Each time they did, the writing was a snapshot of the most recent turns and turns the story had taken. Even though we cannot definitively say how Byrhtferth acquired these tales—whether he relied on his classical education, made up



tales from his "fertile imagination," or had his ear to the ground—we can see that they were picked up and disseminated through oral tradition, eventually becoming a significant component of Ecgwine folklore.⁶³

Variance may occur at different times or in different places. Carl W. von Sydow was the first to draw attention to the need for research on folklore to account for present geographical variances. He developed the idea of an ecotype (or ecotype), which denotes a tale that has been modified via the process of natural selection in order to adapt to a particular environment (von Sydow 1948; Clements 1997) by applying Darwinian concepts to the field of study on folklore. This concept alludes to a narrative that has undergone a natural selection-driven change to fit into a certain environment. He said that the social system, economic structure, natural environment, and cultural heritage were all factors that affected the specifics of the stories that were recounted (Honko 1980, 281). This was his viewpoint. Even while each performer is ultimately responsible for creating a story, telling a story is a communal endeavor. This is so because narrating a tale calls for various abilities and viewpoints. The audience actively participates in creating and managing its folklore, and they have the authority to disallow tales and stories that stray too far from the established standard.

On the other hand, a community's social needs may evolve with time. Groups may adapt myths to suit their needs by adopting them, rejecting them, or even creating new ones, according to Geary (1994) and Remensnyder (1995). Dégh (1995, 202) contends that rather than having the potential to be a part of a change agent, the audience can contribute to the upkeep of the status quo. The discovery of evidence for oikotypification is evidence that a group has altered a particular story to fit their requirements, and this evidence was found.

Three West Country saints' biographies—Juthwara of Sherborne, Sativola or Sidwell of Exeter, and Urith of Chilehampton—exemplify how oikotypification operates. These traditions started in Sherborne, Exeter, and Chielehampton, respectively. A depraved stepmother was responsible for the early deaths of all three saints, and the saints themselves were unaware that the stepmother was plotting their assassinations. The oldest narrative of

⁶³ Using place-name and charter evidence, Lapidge has shown that vestiges of the swineherds' names, Ympa, Cornuc, Trottuc and Eoves, remain in the locality—see Byrhtferth of Ramsey 2009, 244-45n.



Juthwara's surviving passing is in John of Tynemouth's Sanctilogium. It explains how Juthwara's stepmother told her brother she was pregnant, leading him to believe his sister was carrying a child. She was beheaded as she exited the chapel due to her brother's ensuing wrath (Horstman 1901, 98–99). This account was most likely trimmed down from a more current version of Juthwara's resume. The first recorded account of Sativola's life may be found in a collection of lectiones that Bishop Grandisson put together in the 1330s ([BHL 7488m] Grosjean 1935). Sativola's stepmother was also eventually to blame for her demise, similarly. The stepmother threatened the gang of haymakers and eventually paid them to hack off the girl's head with their sickles (ibid., 364). The sneaky workers in the meadow then sent Sativola there, where they sliced the girl's head with their sickles.

The stepmother said the haymakers had been paid to cover up her activities. A Latin hymn accidentally written into a notebook kept by a Glastonbury monk in the fifteenth century is the only source from which we have any information about the Urith of Chittlehampton (Chanter 1914, 297-98). Latin was used to write this song. According to the song, Urith was killed by harvesters at her stepmother's request, just like Juthwara and Sativola. The account is quite accurate, even if it is less detailed than the biographies of Juthwara and Sativola. The similarities did not stop there, however. It was said that Juthwara and Sativola grabbed their heads in their hands and that springs appeared to have sprung at the three locations where the girls were beheaded. There are others, but the similarities end there.

Certain researchers would inevitably examine the potential of one myth influencing another legend and the quest for the true narrative in light of the discovery of three stories that are so similar within such a constrained geographic area (Orme 1992, 171). To explain the similarities, they perceived between the two, commentators from medieval times even claimed that there was a sexual relationship between them. On a calendar from Exeter that predates the eleventh century, the city of Juthwara is referred to as sororis sc. Sativola uirginis (Doble 1940, 17–18). She had three sisters, according to the history of Juthwara, which was written in the fourteenth century. Eadwara, Wilgitha, and someone named "Sidewlla" were their names (Horstman 1901, 99).

On the other hand, it is possible that each of the stories had a separate, original place of genesis. "The innocent virgin St. Sativola who, guiltless, was killed by her father's pasture-



man, and Almighty God afterward revealed a multitude of miracles at her tomb" is mentioned in a list of the relics that are maintained in Exeter cathedral from the eleventh century (Conner 1993, 186-87). The connection here is to "the innocent virgin St. Sativola who, guiltless, was killed by her father's pasture-man." You could come across this allusion in a work published in the eleventh century. Only in the eleventh century, which is also the first time Juthwara is recorded, is it mentioned again. "Once upon a time, she was beheaded by her brother... and after her head had been cut off, it is said that her mutilated body had run with it and with both hands to have put it back on the neck from which it had fallen" (Love 2005, 111). The Vita S. Wulfsige, written between 1078 and 1080 by Goscelin of Saint-Bertin, has this brief cameo appearance. Even though none of these early references are especially detailed, it is extremely obvious that there is no crossover between the stories. The evil stepmothers thought to have been so significant in later mythology are nowhere to be seen. It is probable that at some time in later history, two distinct legends about two local heroines were absorbed into the external narrative, creating two new ecotypes. This possibility arises because of the historical era in which this may have happened. This appears to have potential.

The process of introducing a new story into an ancient legend can be characterized as either "tradition-morphological" or "interior" adaptation, according to Lauri Honko (Honko 1980, 283). When a new story replaces a previous one, it may be seen as an example of this adaptation. According to him, "new tales and themes must pass both collective and individual filters of preference in order to have admission to the repertoires of narrators... in order for tradition to become active, tradition must be adapted to a previously existing system of communication" (Honko 1980, 283). This was stated in the book by Honko. If this does not happen, a new element might be written off as controversial. The "tradition dominants," which might include historical people, heroes, supernatural creatures, and other types of role models that regularly appear in the folklore of a particular social group or geographical location, must be related to new traditions. The forebears of the people who performed the ritual are another kind of role model that commonly appears in folklore. The community will look for local traditional leaders to meet those requirements if an arriving story has to be revised and recast with recognizable characters. The local traditions will be most influenced by those prominent in the area. Juthwara, Sativola, and Urith were perhaps the most well-



known traditions in their localities. These customs served as the basis for the creation of future customs. How new traditions are expressed may be used to identify the oikotypification of a universal story into one that corresponds to regional norms. For example, the brother is now the story's protagonist rather than the haymaker, and the church has replaced the meadow. Another illustration is the change in the story's location from the haymaker to the church.

Diachronic variation, which can be seen in Egwine's hagiography, and tradition-morphological variation, which can be seen in the tales of Juthwara and Sativola, are both complex words for a concept that is, at its essence, fairly simple: the formation of variations over time and space. The tales of Juthwara and Sativola exhibit both diachronic variation and tradition-morphological variation. These variations are the product of verbal transmission; they are textual remnants of a performer's unique skill in combination with the organic fluctuation of collective credulity. These differences result from oral transmission. As a result, it may be thought that identifying changes or differences within hagiographic patterns is useful for evaluating the folklore spread throughout a society. This is because changes or variances might develop organically over time.

We can imagine several ways this mostly oral process may be detected on the printed page if we reorient ourselves to see enjoying folklore as a participatory activity. This provides several research opportunities. By now, we are all aware of the idea that communities have the power to censor or approve new interpretations of their mythology in order to control it and get rid of elements that they deem to be undesirable.⁶⁴ However, what about things in a society broadly accepted and agreeable but seen as too familiar? Legends' more well-known features are often simplified because, as Linda Dégh puts it, "[the] common frame of reference absolves the speakers from the need to include minor details of the story or to explain things commonly known within the group." Having a common reference eliminates the need for storytellers to elaborate on irrelevant details or explain concepts already fully understood by the audience. She asserts that removing particularly identifiable aspects "accounts for the brevity and fragmented style of the legend" (Dégh and Vászsonyi 1976,

⁶⁴ The expectations and criticisms of the audience constrain the form the tale takes. For a discussion of this in contemporary folklore circles—see Dégh 1995, 45.



102) caused by the absence of those aspects in the first place. Things that are so well-known and generally accepted that they need no more explanation.

Applying this to hagiography is more difficult than it would otherwise be since hagiographies are not only transcriptions of oral tradition. Many hagiographical tales, even those passed down orally, were retold by monastery redactors who made significant changes. A professional hagiographer would have worked to fill in the gaps in the story so that a wider audience might understand it than just the immediate neighborhood. This was done so that a larger group might understand the tale. Even the most polished curriculum vitae created by seasoned hagiographers might include signs of loose ends and discontinuous components. For example, the *Vita et Miracula* manuscript known as S. Kenelmi gives the impression that it is one continuous and seamless story; nonetheless, a closer examination of the text reveals a few small abnormalities that may be deemed inconsistencies.

Two sisters, the evil Cwoenthyrth and the good Burgenhild, are introduced to us at the story's beginning. However, after this point in the story, Burgenhild is never mentioned again. The only mention of a previous attempt on the boy's life is a single line of dialogue. The boy's tutor was allegedly promised "huge bribes and the promise of a share of the [kingdom]" by Cwoenthyrth in exchange for murdering her brother "[s]ince she could not kill him with poison" (Love 1996, 54). According to Love, this is the case. No details are given about how the poison was administered or what may have caused the effort to fail. It is unlikely that the instructor, who was an accessory to the crime and stood to profit from it, will ever face the consequences for his actions. Although he assisted the criminal, this is the case. The plot is coherent, although several questions are left unresolved. These discrepancies suggest that the hagiographer had access to a broader body of oral stories, which he bravely sought to integrate into a unified narrative.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ The bizarre tale concerning the battle between the men of Worcester and Gloucester over the saint's body (Love 1996, 68-70) lends support to the argument that the various Kenelm legends had a local origin. Further evidence for the legends' oral dissemination is supplied by the survival of an Old English couplet: "In clencl qu becche under ane þorne | liet Kenelm kinebern heved bereved" ("In Clent cow-valley under a thorn | of head bereft, lies Kenelm, kingborn"). This note, found in Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 82 is in a twelfth-century hand, but may be much older—see Love 1996, cxvii-cxix.



A pre-emphasis filter is utilized prior to spectral analysis in order to achieve a flattening of the voice spectrum. The high-frequency component of the voice signal, muted due to the human sound generation mechanism, needs to be made up to accomplish its purpose.

High-pass FIR filters, like the one given in Equation (5) and whose transfer function is seen in Figure 13, are by far the most common type of filter.

Conclusion

Recent theoretical advancements heavily influenced the subjects examined in this article's study of folklore. Recent years have seen these advancements. The use of theoretical and methodological methodologies appropriated from other fields of study in experiments has historically been viewed with some apprehension. It is wise to avoid direct importation, and in this instance, such an endeavor would be futile, if not impossible: it is obvious that the ethnographical research techniques used to assess contemporary folklore cannot be easily applied to medieval history. This kind of importation would be useless, if not impossible. Despite this, some conceptual frameworks could be useful for thinking even if it is not always a good idea to adhere to them exactly as they are expressed.

It is now obvious that the best method to achieve the intended effects while writing hagiographical tales is to use a "performer-centered" approach. In addition to producing a byproduct of oral transmission, it also serves as evidence for the process because it highlights that variation emerges on its own due to the interaction between the individual artistry of a performer and the audience's gullibility. In other words, it demonstrates that the method is effective. As a result, I contend that folklore lacks morphological stability and that historians attempting to locate folklore (and thereby establish orality) in hagiographical texts will not be able to do so by searching motif indexes for matches to find a match. This is because of the lack of morphological consistency in folklore.

Realizing that textual variety is essential to correctly historicizing readings of these texts opens up new research avenues. It encourages historians to approach these texts differently. This is so that historians may properly historicize their readings of these writings in light of the findings. We may also gain a deeper grasp of why some texts adopt particular forms by understanding some of the fundamental factors that lead to the formation of narrative



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variation. This is because we have pinpointed some of the fundamental factors that led to the emergence of narrative variety. We can better understand why some stories are so similar to others, why others are so fragmented and incoherent, and why there is such variation in the successive repeating of a legend when we have some background knowledge on legend conduits, audience engagement, and performance aesthetics. When seen in this light, the sentences have a whole different meaning. The way institutional traditions were either venerated and revived, as was the case at Evesham, or else lost, as seems to have happened at St. Augustine's, is shown, along with insights into monastic storytelling. The application of this strategy also lends credence to contemporary claims that the sharing of saintly stories by the clergy and the general populace of the period was a participatory activity. Not only did the clergy appear open to hearing stories from far-off places, but they also seemed to have actively promoted communication among people. Additionally, it enables us to focus on the particular areas of agreement and overlapping ground between the laypeople and the clergy, moving beyond the broad generalizations of these results. The fact that it enables us to go beyond the broad generalizations of these findings makes this conceivable.

In contrast to mere collections of stories, narratives are cultural artifacts whose significance and value are negotiated and developed in the present by the narrator in conversation with his audience. Stories do not make up a narrative on their own. Even the simplest of stories provide information about the characters' perspectives on how the world works. We can learn a lot about the dynamic forces that shaped medieval society by identifying the categories of subjects where the worldviews of the laity and the clergy coincided, whether they be beliefs in the paranormal, familiarity with therapeutic procedures, or even afterlife worries.



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Abbreviations

BHL *Bibliotheca hagiographica Latina*— see "References Cited."

BL British Library



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