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RICHARD SOWERBY

THE LIVES OF ST SAMSON

Rewriting the Ambitions of an Early Medieval Cult

In the middle of the ninth century, at the monastery of Dol in Brittany, the Life of the sixth-century saint Samson was rewritten. The rewriter evidently perceived a deficiency in the existing Life of St Samson, and one that many modern historians would come to share: the fact that it had very little to say about Brittany. The first Life (referred to by historians as the *Vita prima Samsonis*) dedicated over fifty chapters to Samson's birth in Gwent, his education at the monastery of St Iltut, and his journeys around Wales, Ireland and Cornwall in search of ascetic rigours before his episcopal ordination and the foundation of his own monastery in Cornwall. But about Samson's subsequent voyage to Brittany, the foundation of Dol, and his deeds on the Continent, the author of the *Vita prima* knew only enough for nine short chapters. The new Life (the *Vita secunda*) sought to say more about this latter part of the saint's lifetime, and it did so almost exclusively by adding miracles¹.

These additions have been considered – if they have been considered at all – to be the commonplace fictions of hagiographic embellishment, offering little of historical value². This is in marked contrast to the treatment of the *Vita prima*. Its preface claimed that the anonymous Breton author was writing around a century after Samson's death, working from an earlier text written by the saint's cousin (a deacon named Henoc) that had been kept in the possession of the monastery founded by St Samson in Cornwall³. On this basis, the *Vita prima* has a claim to be the closest thing that sixth-century Brittany has to a contemporary, primary source. While its narrative is no less miraculous than the *Vita secunda*, its stories seem to hold a promise of historicity based on the testimony of contemporaries – and for that reason, a long

1 *Vita prima Samsonis*, ed. Pierre FLOBERT, *La Vie ancienne de saint Samson de Dol*, Paris 1996 (cited hereafter as *Vita prima*). *Vita secunda Samsonis*, ed. François PLAINE, *Vita antiqua S. Samsonis Dolensis episcopi*, in: *Analecta Bollandiana* 6 (1887), p. 77–150 (cited hereafter as *Vita secunda*). All translations from these and other works are my own, unless otherwise stated. I would like to thank Sarah Foot, Sarah Mallet, Alexander O'Hara, James Palmer, Joseph-Claude Poulin, Chris Wickham and Alex Woolf for their comments on various forms of this paper, and all those who heard a version of it at the University of Oxford in February 2009. This research was supported by the Arts and Humanities Research Council.

2 For example, FLOBERT, *Vie ancienne* (as in n. 1), p. 38–40. The surveys of Joseph-Claude POULIN have outlined some of the changes made by the *Vita secunda*, and the manuscript history: *Hagiographie et politique. La première Vie de saint Samson de Dol*, in: *Francia* 5 (1977), p. 1–26; *Id.*, *Le dossier de saint Samson de Dol*, in: *Francia* 15 (1987), p. 715–731, at p. 726–729; *Id.*, *L'hagiographie bretonne du haut Moyen Âge. Répertoire raisonné, Ostfildern 2009* (Beihefte der *Francia*, 69), p. 336–344.

3 *Vita prima*, preface, 2 (p. 140–142).

tradition of scholars have sought to unearth whatever historical ›facts‹ may have been transmitted by this textual chain from the age of Samson to the pen of the Breton author⁴. Since the *Vita secunda* provides no biographical information that is not derived from the *Vita prima*, nor claims access to additional early sources unknown to Samson's previous hagiographer, but offers only tales of queens losing their eyes, saints addressing flocks of birds, or the dead returned to life, the historical value of its miracle-stories has more quickly been dismissed.

It is increasingly clear, however, that saints' Lives provide rather better evidence for the contexts in which they were composed than for the historical figure at their centre. Saint's *uitae* were not created, far less rewritten, unthinkingly as part of the basic veneration of a holy individual. They were written in response to specific requirements, whether meeting the edificatory needs of religious communities, or pursuing more politically-motivated agendas to assert present-day claims over property or status. Hagiographers were constantly, therefore, putting the past to the service of the present, but never more self-consciously than when rewriting an earlier Life. The original work was now deemed insufficient in some quality, and old stories were recast in new models that might more appropriately communicate current concerns⁵. What has been termed the »process and significance of rewriting« has thus become a fruitful area of study⁶, for by investigating these retold narratives, historians can hope to reveal the changing preoccupations of individual saints' cults, and thereby surmise something of their changing ambitions and historical circumstances.

The saints' Lives produced in early medieval Brittany provide a rich resource for such study, with a large number of *uitae* extant in multiple rewritten versions. It is a resource that has only recently begun to be tapped, but it remains the preserve of a scholarly minority, and is seldom integrated more fully within broader discussions of medieval hagiography and *réécriture*. The marginal status of Brittany within the wider study of medieval Europe and the particularity of its early historiographical tradition have doubtless exacerbated this tendency⁷, as has the varied availability of printed editions⁸; but the very nature of the Breton corpus has seemed to advocate a

- 4 Ferdinand LOT is typical in considering the other Breton *uitae* contaminated, to a greater or lesser extent, by the ecclesiastical politics of the ninth century: Les diverses rédactions de la vie de saint Malo, in: Id. (ed.), *Mélanges d'histoire bretonne (VI^e-XI^e siècle)*, Paris 1907, p. 97–206, at p. 97; likewise Nora CHADWICK, *Early Brittany*, Cardiff 1969, p. 266.
- 5 On the nature of hagiographic rewriting, see especially the various articles in the two volumes edited by Monique GOULLET and Martin HEINZELMANN: *La réécriture hagiographique dans l'Occident médiéval: transformations formelles et idéologiques*, Ostfildern 2003 (Beihefte der Francia, 58); *Miracles, Vies et réécritures dans l'Occident médiéval*, Ostfildern 2006 (Beihefte der Francia, 65). See also Monique GOULLET, *Écriture et réécriture hagiographiques. Essai sur les réécritures de Vies de saints dans l'Occident latin médiéval (VIII^e-XIII^e s.)*, Turnhout 2005 (Hagiologia, 4), esp. p. 31–101.
- 6 Bernard MERDRIGNAC, The process and significance of rewriting in Breton hagiography, trans. Karen JANKULAK, in: Jane CARTWRIGHT (ed.), *Celtic Hagiography and Saints' Cults*, Cardiff 2003, p. 177–197.
- 7 The recent comments of Wendy DAVIES are of relevance here: *Franks and Bretons: the impact of political climate and historiographical tradition on writing their ninth-century history*, in: Paul FOURACRE, David GANZ (eds.), *Frankland: The Franks and the World of the Early Middle Ages. Essays in Honour of Dame Jinty Nelson*, Manchester 2008, p. 304–321.
- 8 A useful collation of all complete and partial editions of the Breton *uitae* produced since the nineteenth century is provided by POULIN, *L'hagiographie bretonne* (as in n. 2), p. 470–482.

certain insularity of approach. The *uitae* appear to be participating in a conversation closed off from the wider world, being mutually dependent on each other and drawing inspiration from a common Breton source: the two earliest Lives of St Samson⁹. Their influence has long been noted, but the handful of studies that have begun to trace the evolution of the Breton *uitae* have largely avoided engaging with them in detail – presumably reluctant to enter into disputes about the date and source material of the *Vita prima Samsonis* that are far from resolved¹⁰. To summarize an exceedingly tortuous historiographical tradition: every date from the early seventh to the mid-ninth century has been proposed for the *Vita prima*; and its author thought by some to have been wholly reliant on his alleged sixth-century source, by others to have simply invented it to lend false authority to his work¹¹. The debate has become increasingly entrenched, for the only explicit statements about the Life's creation are made briefly in its preface, and so allusively that it appears difficult to ascertain their validity. Without a definitive interpretation of the preface, the historical value of the rest of the *Vita prima* has remained an open question.

But hagiographical prefaces are always varied guides as to motive and intention, couched as they are in rhetoric that denies innovation and claims complete authenticity and veracity¹². Reading the earliest two Lives of St Samson alongside each other, as analogous treatments of shared material by two different writers, suggests a different starting-point. The *Vita secunda* has no surviving preface¹³, yet the circumstances in which its production had become necessary are readily apparent underlying the presentation and deployment of its miracle-stories. It is suggested that not only does the rewritten Life reveal the changed circumstances of the cult of St Samson in the ninth century, but also that it utilizes a clear hagiographical strategy with implications for our reading of other early medieval hagiographies, most especially the *Vita prima*. This paper, then, begins with the *Vita secunda* and the impact that its historical context had upon its recurrent themes and additions¹⁴. It will then return to the *Vita*

9 On the influence exerted by the Lives of Samson on the other Breton *uitae*, see especially Joseph-Claude POULIN, *Les réécritures dans l'hagiographie bretonne (VIII^e–XIII^e siècles)*, in: GOULLET, HEINZELMANN (eds.), *La réécriture* (as in n. 5), p. 145–194, at p. 163–166, 193.

10 Julia SMITH does not include Dol in her excellent survey of other centres of *uita*-production: Oral and written: saints, miracles, and relics in Brittany, c. 850–1250, in: *Speculum* 65 (1990), p. 309–343; MERDRIGNAC ends his study of the rewritten Lives by stating »I have not examined here the example of St Samson whose *uita* [...] merits an examination which would surpass the limits of this chapter«: Process and significance of rewriting (as in n. 6), p. 194. POULIN is a notable exception, including the Lives of Samson within a wide-ranging discussion of the Breton corpus; but since he begins with the *Vita prima Samsonis* and ends in the thirteenth century, the details he provides about each are understandably curtailed: *Les réécritures* (as in n. 9), p. 154–155.

11 The proponents and later adherents of these various positions are discussed in detail by FLOBERT, *Vie ancienne* (as in n. 1), p. 102–111; see also POULIN, *L'hagiographie bretonne* (as in n. 2), p. 329–336.

12 See the detailed discussion in GOULLET, *Écriture et réécriture* (as in n. 5), p. 31–58.

13 The metrical prefaces printed in Plaine's edition are not original, but of tenth-century date: see FLOBERT, *Vie ancienne* (as in n. 1), p. 40–41; POULIN, *L'hagiographie bretonne* (as in n. 2), p. 344–347.

14 A similar approach – »to look at some of the themes most regularly presented [...] and to see what can be deduced of the relationship between concerns and circumstances« – proved fruitful for another text stuck within a scholarly deadlock: the chronicle of Fredegar. See Ian WOOD, Fre-

prima, and argue that other evidence than the historiographical minefield of its contested preface can reveal the circumstances in which it too was created.

Outgrowing the blushing saints of Britain

The first book of the *Vita secunda* narrates Samson's deeds in Wales, Cornwall and Ireland, and is marked by the very few major changes that it made to the *Vita prima*. The second hagiographer followed the first closely, if with a general tendency to contract rather than expand upon the saint's deeds outside Brittany¹⁵. One consistent and striking change, however, is in the interaction between Samson and the other saintly figures he encounters on his travels. In an episode which is otherwise an almost exact repetition from the first Life, the *Vita secunda* describes the moment when the young Samson asks permission to perform his first miraculous healing of a man bitten by a snake, but adds an unexpected detail about his master Illut's reaction. In both, Samson declares: »My father is proven and experienced; he can free the man from this deadly wound¹⁶.« St Illut assumes that Samson is referring to his biological father and the practice of »worldly magic«, but is corrected by the child citing Scripture to defend his request, for »I have no other father than he of whom the prophet said: ›Your hands made me and fashioned me¹⁷.« The *Vita prima* then had Illut immediately send Samson to the injured man's aid, but the *Vita secunda* first has Illut »blush deeply [to see] such prudence as this in his young one¹⁸. This was not an idle descriptive impulse, for Illut is not alone in blushing. Throughout the *Vita secunda*, every other saint with whom Samson comes into contact is said to »blush« or be »shamed« by a demonstration of Samson's holiness. St Dubricius is deceived into believing that Samson has gluttonously emptied the monastery's cellar, but upon finding the miraculously refilled jars in the store-room, he »turned back straightaway with shame¹⁹. A humble question from St Winniau as to the purpose of Samson's journey across Cornwall meets with a harsh rebuke – for Winniau ought to have known that Samson was on a journey towards eternal life – that makes Winniau »blush with great shame and beg [forgiveness] in a tearful voice²⁰. Finally, in a story

degar's fables, in: Anton SCHARER, Georg SCHEIBELREITER (eds.), *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, Vienna 1994 (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 32), p. 359–366.

15 Compare, for example, *Vita secunda*, I, 10 (p. 98–101) with *Vita prima*, I, 32 (p. 192–196).

16 *Pater autem meus compertus ac peritus est, et potest liberare hominem de huius doloris nece: Vita prima*, I, 12 (p. 164); *Vita secunda*, I, 6 (p. 88).

17 *Vita secunda*, I, 6 (p. 88): *Hoc ignoras, magister, quia nullum alium patrem habeo, nisi illum de quo propheta dixit: Manus tuae fecerunt me, et plasmaeuerunt me, et in euangelio: Nolite patrem uocare uobis super terram: unus est enim pater uester, qui in caelis est. Tu quare putasti hoc dixisse me de terreno patre?* Both Lives have Samson recite Job 10:8; the quotation from Matthew 23:9 is the addition of the rewriter.

18 *Ibid.: Magister hoc audiens erubescibat ualde de tanta illius prudentia in sua iuuentute, et stupefactus et nihil aliud ausus.* Cf. *Vita prima*, I, 12 (p. 164).

19 *Vita secunda*, I, 10 (p. 100–101): *Dubricius uero, quando non putabatur, introiuit in cella, et introiens uidit omnia uasa summo tenus plena, et cum uerecundia statim reuersus est.* Cf. *Vita prima*, I, 35 (p. 198).

20 *Vita secunda*, I, 15 (p. 107–108): *Audiens autem hoc Winniaus magna uerecundia erubescibat et uoce lacrimabili eum deprecabatur: Ne indigneris, electe Dei.* Cf. *Vita prima*, I, 46 (p. 212–214).

told only in the *Vita secunda*, when the supply of water to St Germanus' monastery runs out during the preparation of the midday meal, Germanus blushes to admit to the visiting Samson that he is powerless to restore it²¹.

The function of this recurring addition is to demonstrate Samson's supremacy as the more holy figure: Samson's wisdom, even at a young age, surpasses Iltut's understanding; his virtue and purpose should have been beyond doubt for Dubricius and Winniau; and Germanus reveals impotence in his own monastery, being dependent on his visitor to call upon God for him. This reveals two distinct stages in the development of Samson's cult. The *Vita prima* presented its saint encountering a series of known holy men, each of whom instructed him or confirmed his sanctity. Samson's holiness was therefore based not only on his own miraculous deeds but also, by implication, on theirs. This was the reason that the author of the *Vita prima* included a seemingly out-of-place episode that jumps from the moment when Iltut first sees the five-year-old Samson, to a prophecy made by Iltut many years later. The prophecy concerns Iltut's own death and the souls of two abbots, and appears irrelevant to the infant Samson²². Although it breaks the chronological flow, its purpose is to demonstrate Iltut's ability to know the future, so that when the narrative resumes and he proclaims that the young Samson will be »the illustrious priest of all the Britons [and] the most skilful founder of churches since the apostles«, his status as a proven prophet has already been established²³. In contrast, the writer of the *Vita secunda* moves Iltut's vision to a later point in his narrative where it better fits the chronology, and where its function is not to reflect Iltut's prophetic talents but to demonstrate Samson's exemplary devotion to his former teacher, as he launches into a sermon-like eulogy for his dying master²⁴. Where the *Vita prima*, then, suggests a cult at an early stage of development, requiring the presence of more established saints to support its own patron, the *Vita secunda* suggests a more vigorous cult that had outgrown its early dependency on other saints and sought instead to establish Samson's superiority over them. This, indeed, only continued with time, for when the *Vita secunda* was itself rewritten in the early twelfth century, Baudri de Bourgueil made Samson out-strip even his biblical namesake²⁵.

The author of the *Vita secunda* clearly wished to inflate Samson's stature, but he did not do so by proceeding through the Life, systematically inflating each miracle. Samson's encounters with three serpents and a forest-dwelling sorceress, and the wonders associated with his ordinations, are some of the more elaborate miracle-stories in the *Vita prima*, but they are hardly changed in the second Life; indeed, they are repeated largely verbatim²⁶. That is not to say that they were wholly unimportant,

21 *Vita secunda*, II, 10 (p. 131): *Germanus uero erubescens ait sancto Sansoni: Magnam querelam pro penuria aquae habemus.*

22 *Vita prima*, I, 8 (p. 158–160).

23 *Ibid.*, I, 9 (p. 160): *En augustum omnium nostrum caput, en pontifex summus multis citra ultraque mare profuturus, en egregius omnium Britannorum sacerdos, en peritissimus omnium ecclesiarum post apostolos fundator.*

24 *Vita secunda*, I, 18 (p. 112–113).

25 See Armelle LE HUËROU, La réécriture d'un texte hagiographique au XII^e siècle: la »Vita sancti Sansonis« de Baudri de Bourgueil, in: *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest* 108/2 (2001), p. 7–30, at p. 13–15.

26 Compare *Vita prima*, I, 13, 15, 26, 32, 50 and 58 with *Vita secunda*, I, 7, 8, 9, 10, 17 and II, 8 respectively.

for they are as prominent a part of the *Vita secunda* as they had been in the *Vita prima*. The fact that the rewriter had nothing to add, however, suggests that they were deeds venerated only through readings of that *vita*. They are static traditions that show no evidence of change, development or retelling²⁷.

The contrast is clear when we look to the miracles worked by Samson on the behalf of the deposed ruler of Domnonia in northern Brittany²⁸. The *Vita secunda*'s handling of this part of his narrative shows that Samson's involvement with kings, queens and a contested succession evidently did remain part of a living tradition, retold and expanded outside the written record. The details and importance of this extended narrative in the *Vita prima* will be discussed later, but it can be summarized as follows: Samson discovers that the Domnonian ruler, Jonas, had been deposed by »an unjust and warlike stranger« named Conomor, who had received bribes to hand Jonas and his rightful heir Judual over to the Frankish king, Childebert I, for imprisonment and death. Samson journeys from Brittany to Childebert's court to demand Judual's return, and there he works a series of miracles avoiding poison, an unbroken horse and a lion, all set against him by Childebert's queen, Ultragotha. It is only after evicting a serpent from its cave that Samson wins the support of the royal couple and secures the release of Judual, who overthrows Conomor and reclaims his father's kingdom. So it was in the *Vita prima*²⁹. The *Vita secunda*, however, made extensive changes. It is unnecessary to list every divergence here, but in sum, the *Vita secunda* created a more positive portrait of Childebert (in which he is not complicit with Judual's treatment, and tries to help Samson); a more negative view of Ultragotha (in which she wishes to keep Judual captive because she harbours illicit love for him); and a more active, heroic figure of Judual himself, whose connection with Samson continues after his restoration³⁰. Further, the *Vita secunda* added a gruesome epilogue, in which the queen receives her comeuppance: as she turns her back on Samson in church, her eyes fall from her head and she dies before the service is complete³¹. This

27 There is a possibility that the figure of the *theomacha*, the forest-dwelling sorceress, did form part of a living tradition in Wales: see Bernard MERDRIGNAC, Une course en char dans l'hagiographie bretonne? Saint Samson contre la *theomacha*, in: John CAREY, Mairie HERBERT, Pádraig Ó RIAIN (eds.), Studies in Irish Hagiography: Saints and Scholars, Dublin 2001, p. 140–158. Its significance in Brittany had dwindled to such an extent that Baudri de Bourgueil reduced it into a standard »illusion« in his twelfth-century version: see LE HUËROU, La réécriture (as in n. 25), p. 27–28.

28 Magali COUMERT has recently argued that *Domnonia* in the *Vita prima* should be located in Great Britain, not Brittany: Le peuplement de l'Armorique: Cornouaille et Domnonée de part et d'autre de la Manche aux premiers siècles du Moyen Âge, in: Magali COUMERT, Hélène TÉTREL (eds.), Histoires des Breagnes, 1. Les mythes fondateurs, Brest 2010, p. 15–42, at p. 27–34. The fact that *Britannia* could refer to either side of the Channel certainly complicates matters, but the Breton author is explicit that the Domnonian events happened *in hac Europa*. *Europa*, as Coumert rightly notes, is consistently used in reference to the Continent. Samson first finds out about the usurpation because »the people of the region [*homines regionis*] were in great mourning« after their ruler had been deposed (I, 53): since Samson, at this moment in the narrative, is at Dol, this »region« must be in northern Brittany; and it is illogical to suppose that the kingdom to which Judual eventually returns (*remeare*), named now as *Domnonia* (I, 59), is any region other than that from which he had originally been ejected.

29 *Vita prima*, I, 53–59 (p. 224–232).

30 *Vita secunda*, II, 3–17 (p. 122–140).

31 *Ibid.*, II, 9 (p. 130–131).

is, needless to say, pure fantasy: Ultragotha outlived her husband by some years³². The origins of her fictitious demise are unclear, and the story may have been modelled on another included in the *Vita secunda*, in which the wife of a certain count also loses her eyes for standing up to Samson³³. Whatever the original inspiration for this episode, the story as a whole had evidently developed by drawing increasingly on established *topoi*³⁴. Ultragotha thus became a wicked queen after the biblical models of Jezebel and Potiphar's wife, while Childebert appears as the benevolent benefactor who features prominently in other Breton saints' Lives³⁵. Unlike the static traditions of Samson's miracles in Wales and Cornwall, his dealings with the Frankish and Breton rulers attest to retelling beyond the simple recitation of his *vita*.

That Samson's insular miracles remained largely undeveloped while those set on the Continent saw more active retelling and change may seem unremarkable. Other Breton saints' cults, after all, had an intensely local character³⁶. It is nevertheless important to note that this was not predestined from its inception. The author of the *Vita prima* claimed to have visited the Welsh and Cornish monasteries in which Samson had lived and the places he worked his miracles, interjecting a number of times to note his personal experiences from »the time when I was in Britain«³⁷. Regardless of the truth of this claim, the fact that the author made it at all demonstrates that Samson's ties with insular saints and cult-sites carried significant weight, and that his sanctity, at this time, depended to some extent on his Welsh and Cornish heritage. Almost all of these first-person interjections were removed in the creation of the *Vita secunda* – not because the rewriter had any qualms about presenting the

32 Gregory of Tours, *Libri historiarum decem*, IV, 20, ed. Bruno KRUSCH, Wilhelm LEVISON, MGH, SS rer. Mer. I/1, Hanover 1937–1951, p. 152; Venantius Fortunatus, *Opera poetica*, VI, 6, ed. Friedrich LEO, MGH, Auct. ant. IV/1, Berlin 1881, p. 146–147.

33 *Vita secunda*, II, 13 (p. 134–135). It seems plausible that the story of the count's wife was the earlier of the two stories, since it had accrued material proof: the stone on which her eyes fell remained bloodstained in the author's day.

34 It is tempting to read the story as an inversion of the miracle ascribed to her by Gregory of Tours, in which her overnight vigil achieves the miraculous healing of three blind men: *Liber de uirtutibus sancti Martini*, I, 12, ed. Bruno KRUSCH, MGH, SS rer. Mer. I/2, Hanover 1885, p. 596. The idea that instead of her piety granting sight to the blind, her wickedness brings her own blindness and death is attractive, but since the author was little concerned with researching the queen's historical reality, this is surely an accidental similarity.

35 On the Jezebel motif applied to other queens, see Janet NELSON, *Queens as Jezebels: the careers of Brunhild and Bathild in Merovingian history*, in: Derek BAKER (ed.), *Medieval Women*, Oxford 1978 (*Studies in Church History, Subsidia*, 1), p. 31–77, esp. at p. 57–73. On Childebert's typical image in the Breton *uitae*, see below, p. 15–16.

36 See SMITH, *Oral and written* (as in n. 10), p. 337.

37 *Vita prima*, I, 41 (p. 206): *locusque in quo tres fratres supradicti fuerant usque ad tempus quando ego fui in Brittaniam magno semper uenerabatur cultu*. Other instances of apparently first-hand observations are at I, 7, 20 and 48 (p. 156, 178 and 216). Joseph-Claude POULIN considers only some of these interjections to be the words of the author, the others to be repetitions from his alleged Cornish source: La »Vie ancienne« de saint Samson de Dol comme réécriture (BHL 7478–7479), in: *Analecta Bollandiana* 119 (2001), p. 261–312, at p. 269–271, 266–277, 301–302. This is far from clear from their content, for they share a common intention to demonstrate the claim of the Breton author's preface that he had spent time in Britain (preface, 2, 4). Even if we consider this claim to be false, the first-person statements show a unity of purpose and fit a single authorial agenda: see also FLOBERT, *Vie ancienne* (as in n. 1), p. 87.

original author's experiences as his own, since he chose to repeat one of them almost word-for-word, but because the need to find ancillary verification for Samson's insular roots was no longer among his hagiographer's priorities³⁸. By the ninth century, not only had Samson begun to outstrip his saintly contemporaries so that they began to blush in his presence, but so too had his cult begun to outgrow its insular links³⁹.

The birth of St Samson of Dol

Indeed, although the *Vita prima* fashioned strong links between Samson and the Domnonian rulers, there is a remarkable lack of such a connection between Samson and Dol itself⁴⁰. It is truly the *Vita secunda* that first established St Samson of Dol, as he is now remembered, and exploited the community's links with its founding saint⁴¹. The second Life's chief aim was to portray Dol as the foremost of Samson's many foundations, and to assert that certain of the claims made by the monastery in the mid-ninth century actually originated with him.

At every opportunity, it seems, the *Vita secunda* sought to extend the rights granted to St Samson. Where the *Vita prima* said that Samson had visited two of the Channel Islands on his return from Childebert's court, the *Vita secunda* claimed that Childebert had actually given these islands, along with two others and land in the diocese of Rennes, to be the »eternal possession« of him and »his successors after him without end«⁴². Similarly, Pental (present-day Saint-Samson-sur-Risle; the monas-

- 38 Introducing a story of pagan rites around a hilltop idol in Cornwall, Samson's first hagiographer proclaimed: *In quo monte et ego fui signumque crucis quod sanctus Samson sua manu cum quodam ferro in lapide stante sculpsisset adoravi et mea manu palpaui*: *Vita prima*, I, 48 (p. 216). Cf. *Vita secunda*, I, 16 (p. 109): *In illo eodemque monte grandis lapis stabat, et sanctus Sanson manu sua imaginem sanctae crucis quasi in cera mollissima posuit; in quo monte et ego fui, et imaginem adoravi, manuque propria palpaui*. We should probably not credit the rewriter's claim, since it is so obviously and fully modelled on the words of his predecessor and since he never again refers to having been in Britain. His relocation of the *Vita prima*'s words to the end of the episode on the hill reveals that his purpose was simply to fashion a final proof for the new miracle he had inserted: Samson's bare hand leaving signs in stone »as if in the softest wax«.
- 39 On the general loss of insular culture in ninth-century Brittany, see also Julia SMITH, *Province and Empire: Brittany and the Carolingians*, Cambridge 1992 (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, fourth series, 18), p. 167–170. It is notable that the Gothic windows in the later cathedral of Dol continued the trend begun in the *Vita secunda*, depicting only Samson's deeds in Brittany, with none that took place in Wales, Ireland or Cornwall: see Meredith LILLICH, *The Armor of Light: Stained Glass in Western France, 1250–1325*, Berkeley 1994 (California Studies in the History of Art, 23), p. 140–141.
- 40 This has been noted, but not developed, by MERDRIGNAC, *Process and significance of rewriting* (as in n. 6), p. 194.
- 41 A useful comparison is with the cult of St Martin, whose first *uita* likewise established Martin's sanctity, but not truly his connection with Tours: see Allan MCKINLEY, *The first two centuries of Saint Martin of Tours*, in: *Early Medieval Europe 14/2* (2006), p. 173–200.
- 42 *Vita secunda*, II, 14 (p. 135–136): *plebem, quae uocatur Ronau et quatuor insulas marinas, id est, Lesiam, Angiamque, Sargiam, Besargiamque, Hilbertus rex atque imperator sancto Sansoni et suis fidelibus post se successoribusque eius tradidit sine fine in possessionem aeternam*; cf. *Vita prima*, I, 59 (p. 230–232) and II, 13 (p. 262–264). Hubert GUILLOTEL suggests *Rimau* in place of Plaine's *Ronau*, and identifies it with Rimou in the diocese of Rennes: *Les origines du ressort de*

tery in the Seine valley, built in the cave from which Samson had ejected Childebert's serpent) was not only granted to Samson in order that he may »raise up a splendid monastery« there, as the *Vita prima* had it, but to be »entrusted to Dol« and »under its authority in perpetuity«⁴³. An entirely new miracle-story also made Samson the founder of a monastery named *Rotmou* in the Vexin⁴⁴. The key element of all these claims is not just that Samson was thought to have held these lands, but that the rights that he had over them were also perpetual, now properly the possessions of the ninth-century cult that preserved his memory⁴⁵.

The *Vita secunda* is particularly clear about what could happen to those who ignored the saint's hereditary rights. When Samson and Germanus discuss the needs of their respective monasteries, they discover that each produces a surplus of something lacking at the other:

»Then, forming a plan between themselves, it was agreed that every year from then on, a tenth part of the wine from St Germanus' monastery would always be handed over to the monastery of St Samson (the one called Pental); and similarly, without fail, a tenth part of the wax from Samson's monastery would be given to Germanus' monastery⁴⁶.«

The Life maintains that this exchange took place annually, until one year the brothers of Germanus' monastery refuse to relinquish any of their wine. The monks of Pental call on the two saints to judge between them, and the next year at Germanus' monastery the vines bear only the tenth of their fruit owed to Pental. Realizing their error,

l'évêché de Dol, in: Mémoires de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne 54 (1977), p. 31–68, at p. 50.

- 43 *Vita prima*, I, 59 (p. 232): *monasterium ei magnificum in loco unde serpentem eiecerat, regis opitulatione, construere disponente*. *Vita secunda*, II, 8 (p. 128): *et si Deus tuus in hoc uictoriam tibi dederit, nos illam terram cum siluis et pratis et pascuis, uineisque cum aquarum decursibus tibi in hereditatem perpetuam indubitanter consecrabimus*; II, 9 (p. 131): *Sanctus uero Sanson illud monasterium in loco serpentis constructum, cui Pentale est uocabulum, loco primo sibi constructo, cuius est nomen Dol, licentia et permissione imperatoris Hilberti in subiiectione usque in perpetuum commendauit*.
- 44 *Vita secunda*, II, 21 (p. 143–144): *Contigit uero dum per quendam pagum iter ageret, qui Begesim uocatur [...] et illud monasterium usque hodie Rotmou uocatur, quasi rota moue*. Plaine read the monastery's name as *Rotinon*, but others have suggested *Rotmon* and *Rotmou*: see POULIN, *L'hagiographie bretonne* (as in n. 2), p. 342, n. 123. The latter seems most likely, as the explanation of the name depends on the pun *rot[a] mou[e]*; a pun with the same construction had been used earlier by the rewriter in II, 1: see below, n. 54.
- 45 The concern for property rights is a marked feature of the wider corpus of Celtic *uitae*: see Wendy DAVIES, Property rights and property claims in Welsh *uitae* of the eleventh century, in: Évelyne PATLAGEAN, Pierre RICHÉ (eds.), *Hagiographie, cultures et sociétés, IV^e–XII^e siècles*, Paris 1981, p. 515–533, esp. at p. 515, 527. Cf. also François KERLOUÉGAN, *La littérature latine religieuse et profane*, in: Léon FLEURIOT, Auguste-Pierre SÉGALEN (eds.), *Héritage celtique et captation française. Des origines à la fin des états*, Paris 1987 (*Histoire littéraire et culturelle de la Bretagne*, 1), p. 71–95, at p. 86–87.
- 46 *Vita secunda*, II, 11 (p. 132): *Tunc, inito consilio inter se, conductum fuit ut in unoquoque anno ex tunc usque in sempiternum decima pars uini de monasterio sancti Germani ad monasterium sancti Sansonis, quod uocatur Pentale, redderetur, similiter pars decima cerae de monasterio Sansonis ad monasterium Germani sine fine redderetur*.

the monks repent and resume the annual exchange – which »has continued to the present day«, we are told⁴⁷.

Clearly the threat of divine retribution hangs over this exchange, ensuring that it continues. Since Samson himself does not play an active role in the narrative after setting the terms of the exchange, the *Vita secunda* offers no indication that this same judgement could not be repeated in its own day, long after the saint's passing⁴⁸. Cults functioned in large part by ensuring a saint's benevolent disposition towards the faithful⁴⁹. The other side to that function is that cults had it within their power to direct supernatural vengeance against transgressors. The *Vita prima* had demonstrated this in a far more limited way: an account of the theft of jewels from a cross that had belonged to Samson ended with the thief falling into a frozen lake and becoming locked in the ice⁵⁰. The *Vita secunda* extended this understanding of saintly intervention by showing the monks actively calling upon their saint to wreak his revenge on another monastery's vineyard. The ninth-century cult of St Samson was well aware of the powers at its disposal. It may be that this vengeful aspect was more developed at Pental than at Dol, for it is notable that the miracles concerned with Pental show Samson's powers at their most threatening: it is there that both Ultragotha and the count's wife lose their eyes as they attempt to defy the saint⁵¹. This may suggest a body of stories and traditions that had developed independently from the others recorded in the *Vita secunda*, but of which the author was clearly aware.

Nevertheless, although the Pental miracles had an important function in the *Vita secunda*, it is Dol that is the true centre of the miraculous⁵². The foundation story alone is vastly expanded. The *Vita prima* gave a rather brief account of Samson meeting a man on the shore after landing in Brittany, and healing his leprous wife and demoniac daughter before building the monastery of Dol nearby⁵³. The *Vita secunda*, however, builds a grand narrative, in which a series of ever more wondrous miracles culminate in Dol's foundation. After curing the two women, Samson receives an angelic vision. He is told the appointed hour in which a sign will be seen, »and there

47 Ibid., II, 11 (p. 133): *Et sic usque nunc agitur*.

48 It is notable that this event is not presented as a posthumous miracle, but simply one that took place in Samson's absence. Brittany's lack of concern for posthumous miracles has been noted elsewhere: SMITH, Oral and written (as in n. 10), p. 316, 320, 335–337. Even within this context, the *Vita secunda's* aversion to posthumous miracles is extremely marked, since one from the *Vita prima* is relocated and placed within the saint's lifetime (compare *Vita prima*, II, 10 with *Vita secunda*, I, 20), and another removed altogether (*Vita prima*, II, 15).

49 For further comment, see Patrick GEARY, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages*, Ithaca 1994, p. 95.

50 *Vita prima*, II, 10 (p. 254–258).

51 *Vita secunda*, II, 9 (p. 130–131) and II, 13 (p. 134–135).

52 For this reason, I do not consider the inclusion of the Pental miracles sufficient to assert that the author of the *Vita secunda* was from that monastery, as first suggested by Robert FAWTIER, *La vie de saint Samson: essai de critique hagiographique*, Paris 1912, p. 15–16. A summary of the debate is provided by Bernard MERDRIGNAC, *Henoc, les philosophi et Pental: remarques sur la »Vita Ia Samsonis«*, in: Gwennole LE MENN, Jean-Yves LE MOING (eds.), *Bretagne et pays celtiques: langues, histoires, civilisation. Mélanges offerts à la mémoire de Léon Fleuriot*, Saint-Brieuc 1992, p. 167–180, at p. 176–180. Further evidence for locating the author at Dol is given by POULIN, *L'hagiographie bretonne* (as in n. 2), p. 342–343.

53 *Vita prima*, I, 52 (p. 222).

you will construct a monastery that shall never fail«. The prophecy is fulfilled when Samson comes upon a wilderness filled with locusts, and »a voice emitted from heaven« telling Samson and his monks that the locusts signify that this is the place chosen for them⁵⁴. The monastery is built, and the account ends with an extensive list of the miracles worked there. Dol's self-portrayal as a centre of divine power here rests on the strongest possible miraculous supports: exorcism, prophecy, angelic encounter, wondrous sign, and the very voice of God.

So when, almost at the end of the *Vita secunda*, we read that »St Samson received the archiepiscopacy of the whole of Brittany from the hand of the emperor Childebert«, it comes as no surprise that it is to Dol that he returns with his new title⁵⁵. Even so, to make this extraordinary claim that had no foundation on either historical fact or the *Vita prima*, the rewriter utilized every available earthly and heavenly support. Childebert is usually identified as *rex*, but at this point he becomes *imperator*. The use of the word is not accidental: *imperium* is used highly selectively in the *Vita secunda*, only at moments where it makes claims about Samson's rights and privileges that were knowingly devoid of historical basis⁵⁶. The Breton ruler Jonas had been called *imperator* and given an extended genealogy in order to inflate Judual's lineage for the moment he is restored to his father's *imperium*, for it is then that he grants Samson »the hereditary bishopric of all Domnonia«⁵⁷. Dol, in the *Vita secunda*, was thus a bishopric established by a Breton *imperator*, and elevated by his equivalent (and by now semi-legendary) Frankish counterpart. Divine manifestations confirm the grants made by the highest earthly authorities, for on the new archbishop's return journey, so many miracles take place that »it is difficult to count them« says the author as he launches, nevertheless, into a lengthy list⁵⁸.

The need to establish Dol as a site of exceptional holiness worthy of »the archbishop of the whole of Brittany« is foremost among the other concerns of the *Vita secunda*, more carefully backed up by secular and miraculous supports. Its purpose was to project the mid-ninth-century monastery's ambitions back into the time of its founder. The letters of Pope Nicholas I to Salomon (r. 857–874) in 865–866 reveal that the Breton ruler had requested that the *pallium* be sent to Festinian, bishop of

54 *Vita secunda*, II, 11 (p. 120–121): *Et dum ille admirabatur, uox de caelo emissa est ei dicens: Videte, fratres, quid locusta significat, nisi in hoc loco sta, et locustae quid significant, nisi in hoc loco state.*

55 *Ibid.*, II, 24 (p. 147): *Tunc uero S. Sanson de manu Hilberti imperatoris et uerbo et commendatione archiepiscopatum totius Britanniae recipiens.*

56 For Childebert as *imperator*: *ibid.*, II, 9 (p. 131) and II, 14 (p. 135). The use of this terminology has been noted before by Bernard MERDRIGNAC, but only to highlight the fact that the *Vita prima*'s consistent use of *rex* suggests a date of composition earlier than the ninth century: *La première vie de saint Samson: étude chronologique*, in: *Studia Monastica* 30 (1988), p. 243–289, at p. 257.

57 *Vita secunda*, II, 19 (p. 142): *Tunc Iudualus recepit eum in patrem et in matrem usque ad uitae suae finem et semini suo post se ac totam dominationem totius Domnoniae haereditario pontificali tradidit illi.* For the line of Jonas and Judual, see II, 3 (p. 122).

58 *Ibid.*, II, 24 (p. 147): *ac multas uirtutes in itinere faciens, quas enumerare difficile est, caecos illuminans, leprosos mundans, daemónicos sanitati restituens, lunaticos curans, de euangelio semper omnibus secum ambulantiibus praedicans, regnum caeleste cunctis annuntians, poenam ignis gehennae peccantibus promittens, prospero itinere, Deo duce ac protectore comite, fatigatus ex itinere cum magna lassitudine ad Dolum peruenit.*

Dol. The bid proved unsuccessful, but Salomon's interest in creating an archbishopric of Dol has been interpreted as his attempt to foster »feelings of Breton unity and national identity«⁵⁹. This seems the obvious context for a rewritten Life of St Samson that fabricated an ancient claim to Dol's archiepiscopal status.

However, the *Vita secunda* fits rather imperfectly into this suggested royal scheme. Its retelling of Conomor's murderous usurpation of a kingdom would, one imagines, not have sat well with Salomon, given the accidental but inescapable similarity to the circumstances of his own rise to power after the murder of Erispoë in 857⁶⁰. The Life is uncompromising about what comes of such activities, and the bloody revenge of a disinherited son would hardly be suitable as royal propaganda in this context. Yet it seems clear that the *Vita secunda* was written during Salomon's reign. Dol's archiepiscopal claims had not been voiced before 859, to judge from a letter sent by Frankish clergymen at Savonnières to four Breton bishops – including the bishop of Dol – whose authority they did not recognize, which made no reference to any archiepiscopal pretensions among its other grievances⁶¹. Establishing a *terminus ante quem* for the Life's creation is more tentative, but may be suggested by its reference to the monastery of Pental continuing »to the present day«⁶². Pental is last attested in a text composed no later than 851, and was sacked by the vikings at some time in the following decades⁶³. While we therefore can be confident in placing the composition of the *Vita secunda* within Salomon's reign, the available evidence would allow a date either shortly before or shortly after his known involvement with the archiepiscopal bid in 865–866. Since the rewritten Life makes no attempt to diminish its judgement about rulers who owe their positions to assassination, a date before Salomon became Dol's advocate in Rome might be preferable. Given that the *Vita secunda* bears witness to Dol's insistent preoccupation with extending every possible grant of land or rights, the impetus to claim »the archiepiscopacy of the whole of Brittany« need not have been royal. It may first have arisen within Dol itself, as the simply the foremost of a whole network of expansionary ambitions that Samson's successors had begun to claim for themselves. Such confidence to deny the jurisdiction of Tours might plausibly be placed in the context of the peace made between Salomon and Charles the Bald in 863, in which several years of revolts had resulted in substantial

59 This argument, together with a full discussion of the previous historiography, is given in Julia SMITH, The »archbishopric« of Dol and the ecclesiastical politics of ninth-century Brittany, in: Stuart MEWS (ed.), *Religion and National Identity*, Oxford 1982 (*Studies in Church History*, 18), p. 59–70; Salomon's involvement is discussed at p. 67–70. See also Bernard MERDRIGNAC, *La Bretagne et les Carolingiens*, in: Pierre-Roland GIOT, Philippe GUIGON, Bernard MERDRIGNAC, *Les premiers Bretons d'Armorique*, Rennes 2003, p. 121–154, at p. 151–153.

60 *Annales Bertiniani*, s. a. 857, 874, ed. Félix GRAT, Jeanne VIELLIARD, Suzanne CLÉMENCET, Léon LEVILLAIN, *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, Paris 1964 (*Société de l'histoire de France*), p. 75, 196. See also SMITH, *Province and Empire* (as in n. 39), p. 103.

61 The letter is edited by Wilfried HARTMANN, MGH, *Concilia III*, Hanover 1984, p. 480–481; see also SMITH, *Archbishopric* (as in n. 59), p. 64–65.

62 *Vita secunda*, II, 11–13 (p. 132–135); see above, p. 9–10.

63 On the evidence for the destruction of Pental, see FLOBERT, *Vie ancienne* (as in n. 1), p. 38, n. 68. Christine RAUER notes that this final attestation to Pental's existence is often misunderstood as the date of its destruction: *Beowulf and the Dragon: Parallels and Analogues*, Cambridge 2000, p. 95, n. 26.

Breton gains in Neustria⁶⁴. The archiepiscopal bid, and its hagiographic expression, may have been an individual bishopric's attempt to capitalize on a moment in which, as a new *status quo* was established, the relationship between the Bretons and their Frankish overlords seemed, perhaps, open for renegotiation.

Placing the impetus for an ›archbishopric of Dol‹ in the context of a competitive and expansionary cult, only subsequently incorporated in a royal initiative, may also explain why it met with such apparent resistance from the other bishoprics under Salomon's control. Rennes and Nantes, Frankish counties granted first to Erispoë and retained by Salomon, remained firmly tied to Tours⁶⁵. But it was Breton Alet that responded with a hagiographical backlash, rewriting the Life of its saint, Malo, sometime between 866 and 872 to add a scene that showed him journeying specifically to Tours for his episcopal ordination⁶⁶. Perhaps, given their proximity, Alet and Dol could scarcely be other than competitive rivals; and since Dol's diocese was originally created at the expense of Alet's, the latter had particular reason to feel snubbed by the attempts of Salomon and the ninth-century bishopric⁶⁷. Certainly, the stance that Dol took in the *Vita secunda* was not gently persuasive but combative, basing its saint's superiority on the shameful blushes of inferior holy men, backed up by the vengeful miracles of Pentel. Establishing that Dol's saint had humiliated his contemporaries into subservience and held the power to wreak miraculous devastation sought to demonstrate that in a contest of cults, there would be only one winner. Salomon's failure to obtain the *pallium* for Festinian did little to check these self-confident ambitions, for while he seems not to have pursued it further after 866, Dol continued to claim the title in its literary output⁶⁸. The hagiographic stance of the *Vita secunda* should probably not be read as the last resort of a disappointed see trying to save face after failure, but as the first attempt by a competitive bishopric that would remain committed to eventual success.

It was against this backdrop that a new *Vita Samsonis* had become necessary. The changes its author made to his source varied from the alteration of small details to the addition of wholly new deeds, but all suggest that the concerns and self-image of the cult at Dol were much changed by the mid-ninth century. Its author was sensitive to those moments at which he made his most important or controversial claims, and sought to place them beyond doubt by drawing on the greatest supernatural supports, piling miracle on top of miracle. To this was added the deliberately inflated

64 Annales Bertiniani (as in n. 60), s. a. 857–863, p. 75–97. Further on Salomon's revolts and their resolution, see SMITH, *Province and Empire* (as in n. 39), p. 100–115.

65 An overview of the Breton control of Rennes, Nantes and other territories is given by SMITH: *ibid.*, p. 100–101, 139–144.

66 Bili, *Vita sancti Machutis*, I, 40, ed. Gwenaël LE DUC, *Vie de Saint-Malo, évêque d'Alet, Saint-Malo 1979* (Dossiers du Centre régional archéologique d'Alet, B), p. 120–122. On the Life and its context, see further POULIN, *L'hagiographie bretonne* (as in n. 2), p. 147–170, esp. p. 168–170; see also SMITH, *Oral and written* (as in n. 10), p. 332–333.

67 See CHADWICK, *Early Brittany* (as in n. 4), p. 244, 247–250.

68 See especially the *Chronicle of Dol*, 5–6, ed. François DUINE, *La métropole de Bretagne: «Chronique de Dol», composée au XI^e siècle et catalogues des dignitaires jusqu'à la Révolution*, Paris 1916 (*La Bretagne et les pays celtiques*, série in-8°, 12), p. 41. For the subsequent history of archiepiscopal issue, see Paula DE FOUGEROLLES, *Pope Gregory VII, the Archbishopric of Dol and the Normans*, in: *Anglo-Norman Studies* 21 (1998), p. 47–66.

status of the earthly rulers who granted these extended rights, for when Samson was granted his perpetual ownership of monasteries or archiepiscopal status, then Childebert and Judual were transformed from kings into emperors. Divine and earthly authorities combine to create miraculous proofs for claims which are, nevertheless, firmly rooted on a particular moment in the history of Dol, showing it in the process of shaking off its earlier dependency on insular saints as it responded to the new political opportunities of the 860s.

The »Vita prima« and the changing faces of King Childebert

That a rewritten saint's Life projected contemporary concerns into the past is not, in itself, surprising, for such texts always reflect their present as much as they ostensibly narrate the past. What is of more interest is the manner in which the *Vita secunda's* hagiographical strategy addressed these concerns. Even lacking explicit authorial statements of intent, the second Life of Samson wrote its agenda into the very patterning of its miracle-stories, building a miraculous crescendo before delivering its most vitally relevant messages. It is of value to note this strategy if we turn back to the *Vita prima Samsonis* with the hope of determining the circumstances of its production. The question of its sources of information about the saint can, for the present, be left to one side; what is of equal importance is the identification of the ways in which this information had become divorced from any original historical setting and turned to matters of more immediate relevance. Analysis of the *Vita secunda* is, it is true, assisted by the atypical volume of surviving documentation generated by the archiepiscopal controversy. Nevertheless, the remainder of this paper will argue that there is sufficient evidence to ascertain the circumstances in which the *Vita prima Samsonis* attained its present form, and that contemporary politics and ambitions similarly dictated its deployment of the miraculous.

It is not difficult to identify the episode which the *Vita prima* placed above all others in Samson's life, for it is singled out as his »greatest and most wonderful work«⁶⁹. This is the extended sequence of events, mentioned previously, that culminate in Samson's restoration of the falsely imprisoned Judual to his rightful place on the Domnonian throne⁷⁰. The explicit praise of the author simply makes unavoidable the fact that this is the culmination of Samson's story, for the episode also demonstrates that recognisable strategy of piling miracle upon miracle to fashion a grand climax. Samson first works an exorcism, then evades a poisoning attempt, performs a healing, tames an unbroken horse, kills a lion set on him by the queen, and expels a serpent from its cave. This is all simply preparatory to the release and return of Judual, who is granted the victory over the usurper Conomor by Samson's prayers.

That this is the climax of the *Vita prima* seems rather self-evident, but to explain why is more problematic, for the episode has for decades been judged to be a fantasy. Robert Fawtier first raised doubts about the historicity of even the most basic outline of events, citing the silence of Gregory of Tours on any Domnonian power struggle as a major concern, compounded by the similarly groundless manner in which the

69 *Vita prima*, I, 53 (p. 224): *maximum ac mirabilimum opus*.

70 *Ibid.*, I, 53–59 (p. 224–232), summarized above, p. 6.