

Vita Sancti Teliui (Vespasian A. xiv)

edited by Ben Guy

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Introduction

Nothing is known of the real St Eliud, but the widespread occurrence of the hypocoristic form of his name, ‘Teilo’, in place-names across south Wales (especially of the ‘Llandeilo’ type) implies that he was once the subject of a major cult. Excellent evidence for Teilo’s cult in the eighth and ninth centuries may be found in the Old Welsh charters preserved in the Lichfield Gospels. Though this early Insular gospel book has been resident in Lichfield in the west midlands of England since the tenth century (Charles-Edwards and McKee 2008), in the ninth century it seems to have been in the possession of the church of Llandeilo Fawr, now in Carmarthenshire. During that time, several memoranda were entered into the margins of the gospel book, three of which (1, 3, 4) record donations to God and St Teilo (that is, to Llandeilo Fawr) (Jenkins and Owen 1983–4). Another of the memoranda (2), the so called ‘surrexit memorandum’, was witnessed by ‘Teilo’, not as a living person, but as the saint whose continued ‘presence’ in the church where the agreement was confirmed was ensured by the religious community venerating him there.

By the twelfth century the status of Llandeilo Fawr seems to have declined dramatically, and the cult of Teilo had been re-appropriated by the diocesan centre of south-east Wales, which was located at Llandaff no later than 1119. It has been argued that Llandaff may have become the seat of the diocese during the episcopacy of Bishop Joseph between 1022 and 1045, and it may also have been during Bishop Joseph’s time that rights and properties pertaining to St Teilo’s cult were first granted to Llandaff (Davies 1978: 21–2, 155, 160; Davies 2002: 368–9; 2003: 16–18). The importance of the cult of St Teilo for Llandaff’s identity in the twelfth century is apparent

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in the *Liber Landavensis*, in which the Life of St Teilo and other Teilo documents are given a prominent place.

The present version of the Life of St Teilo survives only in one copy, in *Vespasian A. xiv*. The rubric of this Life states that the text was *dictata* (composed) by one Master Geoffrey (whose name is glossed ‘that is Stephen’), brother of Urban, bishop of Llandaff, who was consecrated in 1107 and who died in 1134. It is likely that the Life was composed while Urban was bishop. Although there is no indication that Urban styled himself ‘bishop of Llandaff’ before 1119, he would have been retrospectively remembered as bishop of Llandaff by the time that *Vespasian A. xiv* was written, and so the title used in the rubric is not evidence that the Life was composed after 1119.

The Life of St Teilo is one of three Lives that were inherited by the compilers of *Vespasian A. xiv* from Llandaff. The other two Lives, those of SS. Dyfrig and Clydog, were clearly redacted in favour of Llandaff and its property claims, as shown by the charters that accompany the Lives. These two Lives, along with their attendant charters, are found in almost identical copies in the *Liber Landavensis*. Similarly, a version of the Life of St Teilo is also found in the *Liber Landavensis*, but the relationship between the latter version and the *Vespasian A. xiv* version is not so straightforward. The *Vespasian* version is shorter than the *Liber Landavensis* version, and unlike the latter it is not accompanied by privileges and charters that claim rights for Llandaff. The greater length of the *Liber Landavensis* version is accounted for not by the same episodes having been told more verbosely, but rather by the appearance of isolated phrases and even whole sections that are absent from *Vespasian A. xiv*. It would thus appear that either the *Vespasian* version is an abbreviation of the *Liber Landavensis* version, or the *Liber Landavensis* version is an expansion of the *Vespasian* version. All indications point to the latter possibility (LWS 164–6; Hughes 1980: 61–2; Davies 2003: 118). On the whole, the additional passages and episodes in the *Liber Landavensis* version exhibit features of compositional methods and strategies for Llandaff’s self-aggrandisement which are typical of the *Liber Landavensis* overall (see the introduction to *VS Teliui (LL)*) but which are almost entirely absent from the text shared by the two versions, which encompasses almost all the text of the *Vespasian* version (considered below). Had the text originally been written with the political purposes of the *Liber Landavensis* in mind, and only later abbreviated into the more neutral, homiletic form found in *Vespasian A. xiv*, one would have expected the political content to be more thoroughly integrated into the *Liber Landavensis* version, meaning that the text would have needed rewording more

comprehensively by the Vespasian abbreviator in order to remove it. That this was not the case strongly implies that the Vespasian version most closely resembles the common exemplar of the two, and that the Liber Landavensis version is an augmented and interpolated copy of the common exemplar, prepared especially for incorporation into the Liber Landavensis.

The Vespasian version of the Life of St Teilo was explicitly written to be read out loud on the saint's feast-day. This is clear from the final section, in which the audience is instructed to 'celebrate the feast-day of such a great man with complete devotion of mind'. The narrator addresses the audience three times as *fratres carissimi* (dearly beloved brethren, §1, §3, §11), implying that the audience was a religious community. If the text's rubric can be taken for granted, then the audience was presumably the community of Llandaff in the early twelfth century. Although these features are reproduced in the Liber Landavensis version, the intended audience of the latter was clearly different from the intended audience of the Vespasian version. Whereas the Liber Landavensis version, by seeking to promote the status of Llandaff and, through the appended privileges and charters, uphold Llandaff's rights and property claims, was produced with external readers in mind, the Vespasian version was intended solely for an internal audience, whose edification was far more important than the political or proprietary claims of the diocese. The Vespasian Life has no interest in property, and does not name a single location associated with the cult of St Teilo, including even Llandaff. The text assumes that Teilo's identity and his importance to the immediate environment were self-evident. The focus of the text is instead on morality and spirituality. Some episodes end with a summary of the moral or spiritual significance of the events related, with an especial emphasis on any perceived paradoxes. Thus, at the end of the episode about the reformed leader of the Picts, we are told that 'He tempted the saints that he might be made a saint; he quarrelled with men that he might be reconciled with God; he scorned the humble that he might love humility' (§4). In a similar way, it is explained that, as a consequence of the saints' good grace towards those who persecuted them on the way to Jerusalem, 'from ignorant people came knowledgeable people, and from persecutors were made the greatest friends' (§7). There is also has a relatively high density of biblical quotations in the text in comparison to other saints' Lives written for the saints of Llandaff. The text is thus far more an exercise in spiritual reflection than a eulogy on the patron saint of an institution.

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An indication that the Vespasian Life was probably composed in Llandaff is the relative paucity of local traditions concerning St Teilo in the text. This could be because Teilo's cult had not been established at Llandaff before the eleventh century. There are no episodes relating to the Llandaff area, and none relating to Llandeilo Fawr. In fact, over half the text (§§4–8) consists of episodes culled from Rhygyfarch's Life of St David. The only elements that may pertain to local ideas about St Teilo are his bell, which he is said to have received as a gift in Jerusalem (§8), his role during the Yellow Pestilence, an association of unknown origin or antiquity (§§9–10), and the multiplication of his body into three after his death, following a dispute between clerics from three of his churches about who should keep his body (§11). The latter story is found in other situations in which more than one church claimed the same saint's body (e.g. St Beuno: Henken 1991: 122). The Vespasian Life does not specify which three churches were involved in this dispute, presumably because it would have been obvious to the *fratres*, and this again attests to its lack of interest in political matters. In contrast, the Liber Landavensis Life names the three churches as Penally, Llandeilo Fawr and Llandaff, and leaves the audience in no doubt that Llandaff was the rightful claimant and that it alone received Teilo's original body following the multiplication. It is striking that, although the author of the Vespasian version was aware of relics and traditions concerning the saint, no compulsion was felt to name the places associated with those traditions. Moreover, another element that is entirely absent is the kind of local, onomastic folklore found in so many other saints' Lives, including the Llandaff lives of Dyfrig and Euddogwy. Had the Vespasian Life of St Teilo been composed somewhere like Llandeilo Fawr, one would expect to find some material of this kind.

The lack of political content in the Vespasian Life of St Teilo suggests that it may have been written prior to the beginning of Llandaff's campaign to extend its diocesan bounds and proprietary interests in 1119. Little of the elaborate pseudo-history that Llandaff fashioned for itself is present in the text. One finds the statement that Teilo was the 'successor' of archbishop Dyfrig (§3), as is claimed in the Liber Landavensis, but many other elements are lacking. For instance, Teilo is referred to as a 'bishop' (§8, §11), whereas he is often called an 'archbishop' in the Liber Landavensis. St David is also treated relatively respectfully, despite the claim that Teilo was found to be greater than David and Padarn by the clergy of Jerusalem (§8). In §3, the Pictish leader observes 'the moral integrity of the life of St David and Eliud', whereas in the Liber Landavensis version this is changed to 'the moral integrity of the life of St Teilo [and] David'. All this may suggest that Master Geoffrey composed this version of the Life of St Teilo during

the early stages of his brother Urban's career as bishop, between Urban's election to the bishopric of Glamorgan in 1107 and the launch of Llandaff's political campaign in 1119.

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Summary

Although nothing is known of St Teilo (alias Eliud) himself, there is good evidence for his cult in the early medieval period in the ninth-century memoranda entered into the Lichfield Gospels, probably in Llandeilo Fawr (Jenkins and Owen 1983–4). Llandeilo Fawr was probably the original centre of his cult, but by the eleventh century the cult had been appropriated by the emerging diocesan centre at Llandaff (Davies 1978: 21–2, 153–5; Davies 2002: 368–9; 2003: 11–12, 16–18). According to its rubric, the present Life was written by one Master Geoffrey, brother of Urban, bishop of Llandaff, who was consecrated in 1107 and died in 1134. It seems to have been composed to be read out loud during Teilo’s feast-day on 9 February. The text is edited from Vespasian A. xiv (V), which preserves the only copy of this version of the Life. A later, augmented version of the Life was copied into the Liber Landavensis, and since most of the earlier Life is reproduced in the latter, variants from the Liber Landavensis (L) are provided in the apparatus.

Incipit¹ vita sancti Teliavi episcopi,² a magistro Galfrido, fratre Urbani, Landavensis ecclesie episcopi, dictata.³

§1

Sanctvs iste, fratres carissimi, ab infantia Dei cultor extitit. Nec mirum, cum ante infantiam eum futurum sibi seruum Deus predestinasset. Predestinauit quem elegit, et elegit quem dilexit,

¹ Incipit V; De L.

² episcopi V; Landauensis ecclesie archiepiscopi L.

³ a magistro Galfrido, fratre Urbani Landavensis ecclesie episcopi, dictata. V; – L.

dilectumque uere confessionis palma coronauit. Militauit itaque uir Dei Deo, orationibus insistendo et omnia⁴ que possidebat indigentibus erogando. Quid amplius? Sex opera misericordie diligenter exequutus, et nunquam Dei famulus ab ecclesiasticis uacabat institutis. Omnia sua non faciebat⁵ sua, et que non erant sua faciebat sua. Nichil enim reliqui sibi de suo relinquens, bene caduca pro eternis cambiebat. O quantus et qualis mercator, qui sua Deo dabat ut ab eo centuplum acciperet! O commercium pretiosum! Et o usura laudabilis! O fenus sine crimine! O lucrum sine reprehensione! Lucremur igitur sic nosmetipsos, fratres, ut lucrum non perdant⁶ feneratores. O quante sapientie et scientie uirum! Qui sua aliis distribuebat ut ditesceret seipsum macerabat ut alios impinguesceret; aliorum miserebatur ut misericordiam consequeretur. Talia equidem constat sancti uiri fuisse rudimenta, in quibus perseuerabat sine intermissione usque in consummationem uite. Egregius igitur confessor fuit, qui preter uirtutes quid confiteretur non habuit, quippe in infantia bonus,⁷ in iuuentute melior, in senectute optimus.

§2

Sed ne tanti uiri genus taceatur, quasi nescitum. Ex nobilibus illum parentibus credimus⁸ fuisse ortum, ut carnis nobilitas honestaret eum inter homines qui iam animi nobilitate apud Deum erat acceptabilis. Post incrementum autem etatis, uirtutum et sapientie, congruo nomine Helios⁹ a sapientibus nuncupatus est. Elios autem Grece Latine 'sol' interpretatur: fulgebat enim ut sol eius doctrina, fidelium illustrando corda.¹⁰ Sed illiteratis hominibus extremum uocabuli corrupte proferentibus, adoleuit quod non Helios¹¹ sed Heliud¹² appellatus est.

§3

A sancto autem Dubricio archipresule, cuius proximus successor extitit, legimus illum in pueritia in sanctis scripturis fuisse eruditum, donec eum tandem uidit tante indolis puerum ut non solum

⁴ **et omnia** V; omniaque L.

⁵ **non faciebat** V; faciebat non L.

⁶ **perdant** perdat VL.

⁷ **in infantia bonus** V; bonus in infantia L.

⁸ **credimus** V; scimus L.

⁹ **Helios** V; Elios L.

¹⁰ **corda** V; doctrinam L.

¹¹ **Helios** V; Elios L.

¹² **Heliud** V; Eliud L.

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illum crederet seipso in scientia non esse inferiorem, sed, Spiritu Sancto cooperante, scripturarum nodos melius per se quam aliquo sibi magistrante expediebat. Quo uiso, sanctus Dubricius, qui hucusque fuerat suus preceptor quique iam intelligebat se non posse sibi magistrari, uoluit ut sibi succederet in magisterio, cum eum excederet doctrina et ingenio. Sed tanta eum gratia¹³ comitabatur tantusque eum studii sacre lectionis feruor incendebat ut ille, qui iam aliis magistrari poterat, etiam magistrum adhuc¹⁴ querebat, tum quia sub alterius malebat esse disciplina quam dissolute uiuere, tum etiam quia misterium et subtilitates scripturarum uolebat intelligere, sed non more stultorum philosophorum, ut alios confunderet, immo ut hereticorum errores confundere posset. Confudit¹⁵ itaque multorum hereses multorumque correxit errores, plusque simpliciter et catholice tamen argumentando profuit fidelibus quam suis subtilibus argumentis fecisset unquam aliquis philosophus. Illi enim, uiam querentes, semper deuiabant; ille uero uiam ueritatis numquam preteribat, sed, per eam gradiens quasi lucerna preeunte (nullo¹⁶ eum impediante), ad eum qui est uerum lumen tendebat, quippe per eum gradiebatur qui est uia et ab eo docebatur qui est sapientia. Beatus Theliaws,¹⁷ audita sibi Paulini¹⁸ cuiusdam sapientis uiri fama, eum adiuit et apud eundem aliquandiu moratus. Si qua eum scripturarum secreta prius laterent, conferendo ad inuicem omnia sane exposita intelligebant. Ibiq; sanctum Dauid, perfectissime uite hominem, sibi associauit. Quos tanta coniunxit dilectio et Spiritus Sancti gratia quod, in agendis et non agendis¹⁹ rebus, idem uelle et idem nolle esset ambobus. Ecce, fratres karissimi, qualiter Deus sanctos suos adunat in terris, quos futuros eligit ciues in celis! Elegit duos ut per duos eligeret plures; o beata duorum uita, per quam multorum anime habuerunt refrigeria!

§4

In istorum²⁰ autem sanctorum diebus, quidam populi de Scithia qui, siue a pictis uestibus siue propter oculorum stigmata, Picti dicebantur, innumera classe ad Britanniam deuenerunt. Et capti amore terre potiunde propter bonarum rerum copiam qua super omnes insulas tunc temporis

¹³ **eum gratia** V; gratia eum L.

¹⁴ **etiam magistrum adhuc** V; adhuc magistrum L.

¹⁵ **Confudit** V; Confundit L.

¹⁶ **nullo** V; – L.

¹⁷ **Beatus Theliaws** V; Deinde L.

¹⁸ **Paulini** V; Poulini L.

¹⁹ **et non agendis** V; – L.

²⁰ **istorum** V; illorum L.

pollebat, magis fraude quam uiribus, Britannos inuaserunt, et in eos miram tyrannidem ad tempus exercuerunt. Nec mirum istam superari ab illa, nam Picta gens erat subdola et multis conflictionibus terra et mari exercitata, ista autem, quamuis uiribus corporis esset predata, tamen simplex et pacifica; et quia nondum esset a quoquam temptata, quasi bellandi nescia, leuius subiugari potuit. Si quis autem inde plenius scire desiderat, in historia Gylde Britannorum historiografi²¹ repperiet. Cumque quidam illius nefarie gentis princeps, trucidando miseros incolas et comburendo edes et templa sanctorum a naualibus ubi²² appulerant, usque Mynuensem²³ ciuitatem processisset, ibi constitit ibique suum palatium construxit. Qui, uidens sancti Dauid et Eliud²⁴ aliorumque seruorum Dei qui cum illis²⁵ degebant uite probitatem,²⁶ (sicut prauorum semper consuetudo²⁷ est bonis inuidere) non solum illis inuidebat sed etiam, quia illos tam attentos in Dei seruitio uideret, multa eis obprobria sepe dicebat, ut sic eos a Christo separaret. Sed quia minis et uerbis turpibus quod uolebat efficere non potuit, multis machinationibus eos temptare conatus, uidit se nullo modo commodius quam per muliebres blandicias illud efficere posse. Precepit itaque mulieri sue ut ad sanctos suas pedissequas dirigeret et sanctorum uisibus se offerrent, ut fatuis motibus sui corporis et meretriciis blandimentis sanctorum mentes a sancto proposito conarentur peruertere. Quę dum, dominę sue exequendo mandata, se quasi insanas esse simularent, insane factę sunt, quippe²⁸ sicut dicitur, 'Qui in sordibus est, dignum est ut magis sordescat.' Quo uiso, predictus persecutor et domus sua tota²⁹ per gratiam seruorum Dei catholicam fidem susceperunt, et ab eisdem in Christi nomine baptizati sunt. Beatus itaque fuit qui scienter persequebatur iustos ut nescienter iustus efficeretur. Sanctos temptabat ut sanctus fieret; litigabat cum hominibus ut cum Deo reconciliaretur; despiciebat humiles ut humilitatem diligeret.

²¹ **Britannorum historiografi** Britt~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~grafi V (corrected by a later scribe); Britannorum historiografi L.

²² **ubi** V; – L.

²³ **Mynuensem** Mynuensem V; Minuensem L.

²⁴ **Dauid et Eliud** V; Teliaui, Dauid L.

²⁵ **illis** V; illis ibidem L.

²⁶ **probitatem** L; probabilitatem V.

²⁷ **consuetudo** L; consusuetudo V.

²⁸ **quippe** V; quippe quia L.

²⁹ **domus sua tota** V; tota domus sua L.

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§5

Postquam³⁰ Deus predictas³¹ mulieres tali inmedicabili obprobrio deturpauit, eosdem sanctos per aliud opus, mirabile et dignum memoria,³² decorauit. Nam cum beatus Eliud³³ et Maydocus in atrio monasterii non figmenta poetarum nec ueterum historias immo Ieremie prophete lamentationes, ut amore celestis patrie magis accenderentur, discuterent,³⁴ superuenit quidam famulus dicens ligna deesse quibus cena fratrum preparari posset. Illi autem, hoc egre ferentes, et non quia in obsequio fratrum pigritarent, sed quia ad preparandam confratrum cenam tempestiue de silua non possent reuerti, cum³⁵ nimia festinatione perrexerunt ad nemora. Quibus grauius sollicitantibus, qualiter³⁶ redirent, et qualiter tantum lignorum possent deferre quod in multos dies sufficere posset ad opus preparandorum ciborum,³⁷ quatinus postea sacre lectioni et orationibus diutius possent insistere, eis³⁸ duo biiuges cerui mansuetissimi occurrebant,³⁹ et, colla prebentes ad subiugandum, Dei nutu seruitium prebuerunt, quasi dicerent, 'Deus, uidens quare solliciti sitis, et exiit nobis⁴⁰ ferocitatem nostram et fecit nos mansueta pecora, ut laborem quem uos initis subeamus.' Quibus subiugatis, laudabant Dominum, dicentes, 'Benedictus Deus et Pater Domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui misericorditer seruos suos pro fratribus respexit laborantes, faciendo mansueta pecora de feris siluarum, et que nostri laboris sarcinam sustinerent.' Cumque sancti onerato plaustro domum redirent, et non secundum hominum consuetudinem oneratos ceruos stimulabant ut cicius incederent, immo illos a longe precedebant. Cerui uero, nullo cogente, sequebantur. Et ne amplius eorum oratio interrumperetur pro huiusmodi negotio, eedem fere multo tempore post, Deo instimulante, ligna eis amministrabant et ea que necessaria usui sanctorum⁴¹ forent. Quis dubitat igitur tales fuisse sanctos, pro quibus Deus ministrare cogebat ceruos? Alii quidem feras occidere possunt, sed ita mansuescere non possunt.

³⁰ **Postquam** V; Postquam uero L.

³¹ **predictas** V; illas impudicas L.

³² **memoria** V; memoratu L.

³³ **Eliud** V; Teliaus L.

³⁴ **discuterent** V; – L.

³⁵ **cum** V (added later by the main scribe); – L.

³⁶ **qualiter** V; qualiter cito L.

³⁷ **ciborum** V (added later by the main scribe); – L.

³⁸ **eis** V; – L.

³⁹ **occurrerent** V; occurrerunt L.

⁴⁰ **nobis** L; nos V (altered from *nobis* by the main scribe).

⁴¹ **necessaria usui sanctorum** V; sanctorum usui necessaria L.

Appropinquantibus autem illis ad locum suum, omnes illius loci incolę occurrerunt eis, dicentes, ‘O domini fratres, quam manifeste hodie illustrati estis diuina gratia, quibus irrationabiles ferę famulantur! Nos uero infelices, qui sanctis non obediimus donec per bruta animalia monemur obedire!’ Interea sanctus Daud, exiens de tabernaculo suo, et ante ostium tabernaculi librum nescienter derelictum a fratribus inuenit, apertum et, quamuis uehementissime plueret, a pluuiā prorsus immunem. Quod admirans, ait, ‘Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis et sanctus in omnibus operibus suis!’ Continuo, quia bonum non suffocari sed semper dilatari debet, aduocauit seniores populi ut uiderent⁴² magnalia Dei et⁴³ uouerent Domino preces et uota, ac⁴⁴ propalaret sanctitatem fratrum suorum hominibus, quia Deus seruauerat⁴⁵ librum eorum illesum⁴⁶ ab ymbribus.

§6

Hi ut magis magisque per uirtutem Christi florerent miraculis, sicut Deus Israhelitico populo scienti aquam de petra manare fecit, sic sanctis scientibus novos fontes iussit oriri. Et ut a ueteribus illius loci incolis accepimus, de illis fontibus potantes non aquam sed uinum, pro tam dulci sapore, potauisse asserebant.

§7

His mirificis operibus, que diuina uirtus operabatur pro illis infra paruū⁴⁷ curriculum temporis, ut bene meriti celebrabantur ubique, uidens Deus⁴⁸ sanctos suos⁴⁹ tot decoratos esse uirtutibus, indicauit⁵⁰ eos promouendos esse ecclesiasticis dignitatibus.⁵¹ Misit enim angelum suum ad sanctos, qui nuntiaret eundem eis esse ad sanctam ciuitatem Ierusalem ut ibi suę militię donatiua

⁴² **uiderent** V; uidentes L.

⁴³ **et** V; – L.

⁴⁴ **ac** V (altered from *et ut* by the main scribe); et ut L.

⁴⁵ **seruauerat** V; liberauerat L.

⁴⁶ **illesum** V (added by the correcting scribe); – L.

⁴⁷ **paruū** V (added by the main scribe); – L.

⁴⁸ **uidens Deus** V; Deus autem, uidens L.

⁴⁹ **sanctos suos** V; eos L.

⁵⁰ **indicauit** V; iudicauit L.

⁵¹ **ecclesiasticis dignitatibus** V; ex ecclesiasticis dignitatibus L.

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reciperent. Sancti uero, Eliud⁵² uidelicet et Daud, Deo suo per omnia obediētes, non sunt ausi resistere diuino nutui, sed et Paternum, uirum Deo carum, sibi associantes, et tres, in Trinitatis nomine, iniunctum sibi iter inceperunt. Sed non, ut multi peregrinorum, faciunt multa adunata pecunia; immo, sine baculo et pera, sperantes potius in illum qui dat iumentis escam ipsorum et pullis coruorum inuocantibus eum. Nec frustra sperantes, Deus enim per fideles suos cuncta eis necessaria ministrabat in tempore. Illustrati siquidem erant luce cęlestis gratię ita ut eorum aduentus cunctis esset acceptabilis, et presentia sanitatem preberet infirmis. Reliquerunt itaque per diuersas prouintias sue sanctitatis uestigia cunctorum sibi obuiantium alleuando dolores, si in Christi nomine infirmitatis sue rogarent medelam et in eiusdem uirtute sperarent recuperare posse sanitatem. Cumque persecutores inuia obsisterent, non tantum spolia illis pacifice concedebant, sed siquid predę ipsi inmemores relinquerent, predatoribus hilari uultu porrigebant. Illi autem, uidentes sanctorum bonam simplicitatem, ueniam supplicando commissorum non tantum reddebant eis sua, sed eos conducebant usque dum peruenerent ad tuta. Sic de ignotis fiebant noti, et persecutoribus summi efficiebantur amici.

§8

Consummato tandem tanti itineris cursu, Ierosolimam peruenerunt. Quibus ciuitatem introeuntibus, occurrit⁵³ omnis populus, psallendo in canticis et ymnis super aduentu eorum; et ita cum celebri pompa conducti sunt in templum Domini. Qui quamuis tanto itinere defatigati fuissent, non mollia strata quesierunt ubi quiescerent, sed in nudo templi pauimento prostrati triduo preces suas continuauerunt, adeo celestia contemplantes quod terrenorum penitus essent inmemores. Interea, totus clerus attente expectabat quis⁵⁴ sanctorum quam sedem oratione finita sibi eligerent, ut in electione sedium notarent, sicut celitus per angelum premoniti fuerant, quem illorum ceteris prelatum constituerent. Erant⁵⁵ in templo ab antiquis temporibus tres cathedre senioribus constitutę, duę diuersis metallis et miro artificio fabricate, tertia cedrina, nichil ornati habens extrinsecus preter hoc quod natura dederat. Quam humilem humilis Eliud elegit sibi in sedem, preciosiores concedens fratribus propter reuerentiam. Quo uiso, omnes illi qui aderant ceciderunt in facies suas ante sanctum Eliud, dicentes, 'Salue, sancte Dei Teliawe! Et concede ut

⁵² **Eliud** V; Teliāus L.

⁵³ **occurrit** V; occurrit eis L.

⁵⁴ **quis** V; qui L.

⁵⁵ **Erant** V; Erant enim L.

ualeant nobis tue preces apud Dominum, quia hodie plus ceteris sullimatus es confratribus tuis, residens in sede Domini nostri Iesu Christi, in qua patribus nostris predicabat regnum Dei.’ Sanctus uero, hoc audiens cum magno stupore, surrexit et prostrauit se in terram, dicens, ‘Beatus uir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum, et in uia peccatorum non stetit, et in cathedra pestilentie non sedit; et benedictus Saluator qui sibi sedem fieri elegit de ligno, qui per lignum succurrere uoluit pereunti mundo.’ Sic humilis humiliter adorabat cathedram, immo cathedre sessorem, eo quod Creatura consederat in Creatoris sedem. Vnde contigit quod eum rogauerunt quatinus ad instructionem uirtutum parabolam eis diceret de Christo, ut, sicut illum imitatus fuerat in cathedra residendo, eum imitaretur in predicando. Qui uidens amorem diuini uerbi flagrare in cordibus eorum miro modo, sollicitabatur, non quod nesciret quod doceret, sed dubitabat quod rogauerant qualiter eis expediret cum lingue illorum penitus expers fuisset. Incepit tamen sanctus sacras scripturas exponere ut satisfaceret supplicanti populo ita ut unusquisque circumstantium audirent illum sua lingua loquentem. Omnes autem qui eum audiebant predicantem tanta dulcedine sermonis illius sunt affecti quod in quantum eum diutius audirent, magis magisque illum audire desiderarent. Sed tandem, postquam reffecti sunt uniuersi saporifera illius doctrina, ne predicandi officium uideretur presumere si solus predicasset, ait populo,⁵⁶ ‘Audite iam a fratribus meis uerba uite, qui me perfectiores sunt in uita et diligentiores in doctrina.’ Surrexerunt itaque sanctus Daud et humillimus Dei seruus Paternus et predicauerunt populo in Domino confidentes, qui dicit, ‘Cum ueneritis ante reges et presides, nolite cogitare quomodo aut quid loquamini: dabitur enim uobis in illa hora quid loquamini.’ Sic sancti, alterna sua predicatione, quasi diuersis ferculis audientium mentes reficiebant, ut, siqui eorum prius in fide uacillarent, Sancte Trinitatis fidem per gratiam predicationis sanctorum perfectissime tenerent. Post hec, sicut nuntiatum fuerat per angelum, ab uniuersa plebe electi, sullimati sunt pontificali dignitate,⁵⁷ et quasi gratie in testimonium⁵⁸ quam ibi Domino largiente susceperant, data sunt eis tria munera preciosa prout unicuique competebat. Paterno, baculus et choralis cappa preciosissimo serico contexta, eo quod illum egregium cantorem uidebant. Sancto autem Daud, altare mirificum; nulli bene notum de qua materia fuerit compositum, nec ab re tale quid ei datum est, nam iocundius ceteris celebrabat. Nouissime autem beato pontifici Theliawo non extremum tamen

⁵⁶ **populo** poplo MS.

⁵⁷ L adds *Teliaus uice Petri, Daud uice Jacobi*.

⁵⁸ **gratie in testimonium** V; in testimonium gratie L.

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donorum accessit: cimbalum, magis famosum quam sit magnum, magis preciosum quam pulchrum, quia dulcis⁵⁹ sono uidetur excellere omne organum; periuros dampnat, infirmos curat, et quod magis uidetur mirabile, singulis horis, nullo mouente, sonabat, donec, peccato hominum prepediente, qui illud pollutis manibus temere tractabant, a tam dulci obsequio cessauit. Nec incongrue tali munere donatus est, quia sicut cimbalum de torpore sompni⁶⁰ et inertię homines inuitat ad ecclesiam, sic clarus pontifex Elivd,⁶¹ Christi preco factus, incessanter predicando subiectos⁶² inuitabat ad cęlum. Sancti Dei supradictis⁶³ donati muneribus, et utrimque benedictione accepta, cum summa prosperitate reuersi sunt in regionem suam.⁶⁴

§9

In qua non diu commorari potuerunt⁶⁵ propter pestilentiam que fere totam gentem deleuerat. Pestis autem illa 'flaua' uocabatur, eo quod flauos et exangues efficiebat uniuersos quos persequebatur. Que in columpna nubis⁶⁶ apparebat hominibus, unum caput uerrens per terram, aliud sursum⁶⁷ trahens per aerem, et discurrens per totam regionem ad modum imbris discurrentis per ima conuallium. Quecumque autem animantia suo pestifero afflatu attingeret aut ilico moriebantur aut egrotabant in mortem. Siquis uero medelam conaretur adhibere egrotanti, non tantum medicamina non habebant suum effectum, sed etiam medicantem cum egroto atra lues trahebat ad interitum.⁶⁸ Interea, dum ista pestis⁶⁹ seuiret non tantum in hominibus sed etiam inferis et in reptilibus, sanctus Eliud,⁷⁰ in ieiunio et planctu, clamabat ad Dominum, dicens, 'Parce, Domine, parce populo tuo, qui non uis mortem peccatoris, sed uitam, et ne des

⁵⁹ **dulcis** V (altered from *dulci* by the main scribe); *dulci* L.

⁶⁰ **sompni** V; *sompni* L.

⁶¹ **Elivd** V; *Teliaus* L.

⁶² **subiectos** V; – L.

⁶³ **Sancti Dei supradictis** V; *His gloriosis* L.

⁶⁴ L adds *Sanctusque Teliaus ecclesię Landauię, cui consecratus est, curam pastorem accepit, cum tota parrochia sibi adiacente que fuerat Dubricii antecessoris sui.*

⁶⁵ **potuerunt** V; *potuit* L.

⁶⁶ **nubis** V; *aquosę nubis* L. A later hand added *aquosę* to the margin of V.

⁶⁷ **sursum** V; *rursum* L.

⁶⁸ L adds *Traxit enim Mailconvm regem Guenedotię, deleuit et patriam suam, et in tantum incanduit prædicta clades et per totam illam gentem quod patriam pene reddidit desertam.*

⁶⁹ **pestis** V (altered from *persecutio* by the main scribe or the correcting scribe); *persecutio* L.

⁷⁰ **Eliud** V; *Teliaus* L.

hereditatem tuam in perditionem.’ Deinde, ira Dei ad tempus pacata oratione eius aliorumque sanctorum, celitus admonitus, cum his qui residui fuerant de gente recessit in longinquas regiones,⁷¹ donec Deus eis innueret reditum in patriam.

§10

Et factum est ita. Deus autem, cuius misericordia plena sunt uniuersa, non tantum gentis respiciens miseriam quantum respiciebat sanctum pro gente laborantem, concessit eis de exilio reuerti et ab eiusmodi⁷² periculo in perpetuum liberari. Qua concessione, fidelis ductor Eliud, non modicum exhilaratus, reliquias gentis diligenter recolligens, natale solum repetiuit, et habitauit ibi usque in consummationem uite, principatum tenens super omnes ecclesias tocuis occidentalis⁷³ Britannie, secundum tradicionem patrum qui eum Ierosolime consecrauerant, sicut predictum est. Sed gens citissime creuit, quamuis de paucis, in magnam multitudinem; et hoc nimirum fiebat quia iam obediens facta est ad omne sancti edictum. Sic sancta ecclesia, que multo tempore fuerat dispersa, interueniente Theliawo, sanctorum sanctissimo, fuit exaltata.

§11

In nocte autem depositionis eius, magna dissensio orta est inter tres clericos trium ecclesiarum illius, singulis pretendentibus suas auctoritates et priuilegia de habendo corpore.⁷⁴ Sed tandem, consilio discretorum hominum acquiescentes, institerunt⁷⁵ ieiunio et orationibus ut summus arbiter Christus, qui est uera auctoritas et sanctorum priuilegium, euidenti signo innueret cui illorum sancti sanctum corpus dignius esset committendum. Mane autem facto quidam senior, respiciens ubi erat corpus, clamauit uoce magna, dicens, ‘Exaudita est, fratres mei, oratio nostra a Domino, qui neminem priuat pro merito! Surgite et respicite que facta sunt a mediatore Dei et hominum Christo, ut nostra dissensio sedaretur et, ut in beati confessoris Theliawi uita, sic et in

⁷¹ L adds *Quorum quidam perrexerunt in Hiberniam, plures uero, ducente eo, in Franciam.*

⁷² **eiusmodi** V; huiusmodi L.

⁷³ **occidentalis** V; dextralis L.

⁷⁴ L adds *vna quidem ob sepulturam patrum suorum et hereditarium ius, Pennalun uidelicet; secunda ob conuersationem suam et solitariam uitam quam inibi duxit per tempus super ripam Tyui, et quod ibi uitam gloriose fnierat; tertia uero, Landauia, ob sedem episcopalem, ob eius priuilegia et dignitates, ob consecrationes et obedientiam, ob totius parrochie concordem uocem, et sancti Dubricii per omnia et aliorum patrum priorem statum et constitutionem.*

⁷⁵ **institerunt** V (altered from *insisterunt* by the correcting scribe); insisterunt L.

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eius morte fierent miracula.’ Ecce enim, uident ibi tria corpora, quibus par erat quantitas in corpore, idem decor in facie. Quid amplius? In nullo discrepantia habebant tocus compaginis liniamenta. Sic sedata lite,⁷⁶ singuli cum suo corpore remeauerunt ad sua, et diuersa in illis diuersis locis cum summa reuerentia sepelierunt.⁷⁷ Ad cuius summi pontificis tumbam frequentissime ab omnibus suis languoribus curantur infirmi, cecis illustrando uisum et surdis largiendo auditum. Hec et his plura, fratres karissimi, operata est diuina uirtus pro sanctissimo confessore Theliawo. Quare tanti uiri festiuitatem cum toto mentis affectu celebrate, ecclesiam frequentate, et secundum uniuscuiusque facultatem de uestra substantia pauperibus erogate in eius nomine qui magna accipit pro paruis et parua pro magnis, sicut accepit calicem aquę frigidę de muliere Samaritana ac si dedisset auri mille talenta, ut eum imitando etiam⁷⁸ in bonis operibus mereamini cum eodem gloriari in supernis sedibus, adiuuante Domino nostro Iesu Christo, qui⁷⁹ uiuit et regnat in secula seculorum, amen.

Explicit vita venerabilis confessoris Theliawi.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ **lite** V; pace L.

⁷⁷ L adds *Miraculis quidem quampluribus cognitum est omni populo et monimentis antiquorum seniorum indubitanter Landauię esse allatum.*

⁷⁸ **etiam** V; – L.

⁷⁹ **qui** V; qui semper L.

⁸⁰ **Explicit vita venerabilis confessoris Theliawi** V; – L.

Vita Sancti Teliui (Vespasian A. xiv)

edited by Ben Guy

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Translation

Here begins the Life of St Teilo the bishop,¹ composed by Master Geoffrey,² brother of Urban, bishop of the church of Llandaff.³

§1

This saint, dearly beloved brethren,⁴ was a worshipper of God from infancy. No wonder, since before he was born God had predestined that he would be his servant! He predestined the one he chose, and he chose the one he loved, and he crowned the beloved one with the palm of true confession.⁵ And so the man of God served God, by devoting himself to prayers and giving everything that he possessed to the needy. Why say more? He performed the six works of mercy

¹ **episcopi (bishop)** The date of Teilo's feast day is provided interlinearly above the word *episcopi* and again in the margin: *.v^o. idus Februarii* (the 9th of February).

² **Galfrido (Geoffrey)** This is glossed in the manuscript with *id est Stephano* (that is Stephen).

³ **Vrbani, Landavensis ecclesie episcopi (Urban, bishop of the church of Llandaff)** Urban was bishop between his consecration in 1107 and his death in 1134. Although he was probably originally consecrated as bishop of Glamorgan, by 1119 his see was established at Llandaff. The present Life was not necessarily composed while Urban was bishop (since the present text would retrospectively refer to him as bishop regardless), but this is the most likely scenario.

⁴ **fratres carissimi (dearly beloved brethren)** John Reuben Davies has noted that this phrase, which occurs again in §3 and §11, appears in two charters in the Liber Landavensis (at LL 180 and 199), which probably borrowed it from the Life of St Teilo (Davies 2003: 137).

⁵ **Predestinauit quem elegit, et elegit quem dilexit, dilectumque uere confessionis palma coronauit (He predestined the one he chose, and he chose the one he loved, and he crowned the beloved one with the palm of true confession)** Cf. Romans 8.30 (Vulgate): *quos autem praedestinavit hos et vocavit, et quos vocavit hos et iustificavit, quos autem iustificavit illos et glorificavit* (And whom he predestinated, them he also called. And whom he called, them he also justified. And whom he justified, them he also glorified) (Davies 2003: 112).

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diligently, and never did the servant of God desist from ecclesiastical undertakings. All his own things he made not his, and those things that were not his own he made his. For, leaving none of his own things for himself, he readily exchanged transitory things for eternal things. Oh, what a great and fine merchant, who gave his things to God in order to receive a hundredfold from him! Oh, the precious transaction! And oh, the praiseworthy usury! Oh, the interest without accusation! Oh, the profit without reproach! Therefore may we ourselves, brothers, earn in the same way, so that usurers may not be deprived of the interest. Oh, a man of such great wisdom and learning! He who distributed his things to others that he might grow rich made himself thin that he might fatten others; he had mercy on others that he might attain mercy. Indeed, it is established that such things were the holy man's first beginnings, and he pursued them without pause right up to the completion of his life. He was therefore an outstanding confessor, who did not have anything to confess beyond his virtues, for he was good in infancy, better in youth, best in old age.

§2

But may the kin of such a great man not go unmentioned, as if it is unknown. We believe that he was born from noble parents, so that nobility of the flesh might make him who was already acceptable to God for the nobility of his soul honourable among men. But once he grew in age, virtues and wisdom, he was named by wise men with the fitting name Helios. And Elios in Greek means 'sol' ['sun'] in Latin: for his learning shone brightly like the sun, illuminating the hearts of the faithful. But because of illiterate men pronouncing the end of the name corruptly, in time he came to be called, not Helios, but Heliud.⁶

§3

But we read that in his youth he was taught in the holy scriptures by holy Dyfrig the archbishop, whose immediate successor he was,⁷ until at length he saw him to be a boy of such natural quality

⁶ **Heliud** Originally, this was probably the biblical name Eliud as found in the genealogy of Christ (Matthew 1.14–15) rather than a native Old Welsh name formed from *el* + *iud* (lord): Davies 2012: 183–6.

⁷ **A sancto autem Dubricio archipresule, cuius proximus successor extitit, legimus illum in pueritia in sanctis scripturis fuisse eruditum** (But we read that in his youth he was taught in the holy scriptures by holy Dyfrig the

that not only did he believe him to be no lower in learning than himself, but, with the Holy Spirit working through him, he could expound the knotty problems of the scriptures better by himself than with somebody teaching him. Seeing this, holy Dyfrig, who had hitherto been his instructor and who now understood that he could no longer teach⁸ him, wished that Teilo should succeed him in the office of teacher, since he surpassed him in learning and intellect. But such grace accompanied him and such passion for the study of sacred reading ignited him that, though he could now teach others, yet still he demanded a teacher, partly because he would prefer to be under another's tuition than to live without restraint, partly because he wanted to understand the mystery and subtleties of the scriptures, but not in the manner of foolish philosophers, that he might confound others, but rather so that he could confound the errors of heretics. And so he confounded the heresies of many and corrected the errors of many, and yet by arguing simply and in an orthodox way he benefited the faithful more than any philosopher had ever done with his cunning arguments. For they, seeking to know the way, would always go astray; he, however, would never miss the way of truth, but, travelling along it as if with a light preceding him (never impeding him), he would proceed to him who is the true light,⁹ for he would travel along him who is the way¹⁰ and would be taught by him who is wisdom. Blessed Teilo, after he had heard about the reputation of a certain wise man, Paulinus, went to him and dwelt with him for some time.¹¹ If the secrets of the scriptures had previously escaped his notice in any way, by discussing them in turns they would understand everything once it had been laid out rationally. And there

archbishop, whose immediate successor he was) Apparently a reference to the Life of St Dyfrig, which lists Teilo first among Dyfrig's disciples (VS Dubricii (LL / Vesp), §15).

⁸ **magistrari (teach)** Both here and in the following sentence *magistrari* seems to be used in an active sense, rather than in the expected passive sense. Perhaps the writer thought that it was a deponent.

⁹ **sed, per eam gradiens quasi lucerna preeunte (nullo eum impediante), ad eum qui est uerum lumen tendebat (but, travelling along it as if with a light preceding him (never impeding him), he would proceed to him who is the true light)** Cf. John 8.12 (Vulgate): *iterum ergo locutus est eis Iesus dicens, ego sum lux mundi, qui sequitur me non ambulabit in tenebris, sed habebit lucem vitae* (Again therefore, Jesus spoke to them, saying: I am the light of the world: he that followeth me, walketh not in darkness, but shall have the light of life).

¹⁰ **qui est uia (who is the way)** Cf. John 14.6 (Vulgate): *dicit ei Iesus, ego sum via et veritas et vita, nemo venit ad Patrem nisi per me* (Jesus saith to him: I am the way, and the truth, and the life. No man cometh to the Father, but by me).

¹¹ Teilo's sojourn with Paulinus may be modelled on Rhygyfarch's Life of St David, which similarly has David study with Paulinus (VS Dauid (Vesp), §§10–12). Doble, however, wondered whether there may have been an independent tradition of Teilo studying with Paulinus, since Llandoverly, argued to have been Paulinus's chief church, lies only twelve miles north-east of Llandeilo Fawr (LWS 169).

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he befriended holy David, a man of the most perfect life.¹² Such affection and grace of the Holy Spirit bound them together that, while doing things and not doing things, the same was wanted and not wanted¹³ by both. Behold, dearly beloved brethren, how God unites his saints on Earth, those whom he chooses as future citizens in heaven! He chose two so that through the two he would choose many; oh, the blessed life of the two, through which the souls of many had relief!

§4

But in the days of these saints, certain peoples from Scythia¹⁴ who were called Picts, either from their painted clothes or on account of tattoos consisting of eyes,¹⁵ came to Britain with an enormous fleet. And captivated by love of the land they wished to conquer on account of the profusion of good things with which it abounded above all islands at that time, they attacked the Britons, more by deception than by strength, and they exercised extraordinary tyranny among them for some time. Nor is it surprising that they were overcome by them, for the Pictish race was deceitful and experienced in many conflicts on land and sea, whereas this island, no matter how well-endowed with physical strengths, was however guileless and peaceful; and because it had not yet been assaulted by anyone, it could be overcome quite easily, as if it were ignorant of war. But if anyone would like to know more about it, he will find it in the history of Gildas, historian of the Britons. And when a certain leader of that nefarious race, slaughtering the miserable inhabitants and burning the churches and temples of the saints wherever he came

¹² In Rhygyfarch's Life of St David, Eliud (alias Teilo) is a disciple of David rather than a friend.

¹³ **idem uelle et idem nolle esset (the same was wanted and not wanted)** Doble pointed out that this is a reminiscence of Sallust's *Catalina*, 20.4: *nam idem uelle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est* (for to have the same desires and the same aversions, is assuredly a firm bond of friendship) (LWS 171, n. 26). Scholastic writers often used this quotation to support discussions of friendship, but misattributed it to Cicero (Schwartz 2007: 44, n. 10).

¹⁴ **de Scythia (from Scythia)** A detail derived from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (HE i.1).

¹⁵ **propter oculorum stigmata (on account of tattoos consisting of eyes)** Loth suggested that *oculorum stigmata* is an error for *aculeorum stigmata*, the latter deriving from Isidore of Seville's claim (*Etymologiae* ix.2 (§103)) that *Scotti propria lingua nomen habent a picto corpore, e quod aculeis ferreis cum stramento uariarum figurarum stigmata annotentur* (The Irish have a name [i.e. 'Picti'] in their own language from the painted body [*picto corpore*], because their tattoos covered with various figures are marked by iron needles) (Loth 1893–5: ii, 68–9; cf. Davies 2003: 113).

ashore from his ships, had proceeded as far as the see of St Davids,¹⁶ he stayed there and constructed his palace there.¹⁷ Seeing the moral integrity of the life of holy David and Eliud¹⁸ and the other servants of God who were dwelling with them, he (just as it is always the custom of wicked persons to envy the good) not only envied them but even, because he saw that they were so attentive in the service of God, frequently said many insulting things to them, in order to separate them from Christ. But because he could not bring about what he wanted with threats and foul words, even though he had striven to tempt them with many schemes, he saw now that he could not effect it more easily than with womanly enticements. And so he told his wife that she should dispatch her handmaidens to the saints and that they should present themselves in view of the saints, so that by moving their bodies foolishly and by fawning in the manner of prostitutes they might attempt to turn the saints' minds away from their holy purpose. While the handmaidens, carrying out the orders of their mistress, were giving the impression that they were mad, they were turned mad,¹⁹ for as it is said, 'He that is filthy, it is deigned that he should be more filthy.'²⁰ Seeing this, the aforesaid persecutor and his whole household accepted the catholic faith through the grace of the servants of God, and were baptized by them in the name of Christ. And consequently, blessed was he who knowingly persecuted the righteous that he might unknowingly be made righteous. He tempted the saints that he might be made a saint; he quarrelled with men that he might be reconciled with God; he scorned the humble that he might love humility.

¹⁶ **Mynuensem (St Davids)** In the manuscript the reading is *Mynuensem*, showing that, at some stage, an *n* was misread as an *r*. This implies that either this scribe or the scribe of an exemplar expected to find the Insular form of *r* in the text, which can look very similar to *n*.

¹⁷ The following story is based on the similar story in Rhygyfarch's Life of St David, concerning the attempt by Baia's wife to disrupt David and his monks (including Eliud, i.e. Teilo) by sending her handmaidens to bare themselves in front of them (VS Daud (Vesp), §17).

¹⁸ **sancti Daud et Eliud (holy David and Eliud)** It is striking that, even though this is a Life of St Teilo, David is here given precedence over Teilo, both by being listed first and by being the only one of the two to be designated as *sanctus*. These factors are reversed in the Liber Landavensis Life of St Teilo, granting Teilo precedence over David.

¹⁹ **insane facte sunt (they were turned mad)** In Rhygyfarch's version of the story the handmaidens are not said to have gone mad.

²⁰ **Qui in sordibus est, dignum est ut magis sordescat (He that is filthy, it is deigned that he should be more filthy)** Reworked from Rev 22.11 (Vulgate): *qui nocet noceat adhuc, et qui in sordibus est sordescat adhuc, et iustus iustitiam faciat adhuc, et sanctus sanctificetur adhuc* (He that hurteth, let him hurt still: and he that is filthy, let him be filthy still: and he that is just, let him be justified still: and he that is holy, let him be sanctified still).

§5

After God disgraced the aforesaid women for such an irredeemable insult, he honoured those same saints through another work, miraculous and deserving of memory.²¹ For while blessed Eliud and Maedóc were in the precinct of the monastery examining neither the fictions of poets nor the histories of the ancients but rather the Lamentations of the prophet Jeremiah, so that they might be inflamed even more with the love of heaven,²² a certain servant came over to them saying that there was no firewood with which the monks' dinner could be prepared. But they, taking that badly, and not because they were lazy in the service of the monks, but because they would not be able to return from the wood in time to prepare the brothers' dinner, went with excessive haste to the woods. As they were worrying seriously about how they would return, and how they would be able to bring back such a quantity of wood that it could suffice for the task of preparing meals over many days, so that afterwards they would be able to apply themselves to sacred reading and prayers for longer, two very tame stags, yoked together, presented themselves to them, and, holding out their necks in submission, they offered their service by God's will, as if they were saying, 'God, seeing why you are worried, both stripped us of our ferocity and made us into tame beasts, so that we may carry out the work that you are beginning.' When the stags were yoked, they praised the Lord, saying, 'Blessed be God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who turned his gaze mercifully upon his servants labouring for their brothers, making tame beasts out of wild beasts of the woods, which might bear the burden of our work.' And when the saints returned home with the loaded cart, they were not goading the loaded stags to go faster in the manner of men, but rather they were walking before them at a distance. The stags, however, with nothing compelling them, were following behind. And lest their prayer be interrupted any further on account of a matter of that kind, the same wild beasts, goaded by God, for a long time afterwards supplied them with wood and those things that were necessary for the saints' use. Who may therefore doubt that such people were saints, on whose behalf God compelled stags to serve? Indeed, some can kill wild beasts, but they cannot tame them like that. But as they approached their monastery, all the inhabitants of that monastery ran up to them, saying, 'Oh lord brothers, how clearly you have been illuminated today by divine grace, you to whom irrational

²¹ The following story is probably based on all three versions of the same story found in the Lives of Saints Maedóc, David and Cadog (Brooke 1986: 78–81; LWS 175; Davies 2003: 114–15; cf. VSH ii, 144–5 (§12); VS Daudid (Vesp), §35; VS Cadoci (Vesp), §12). Teilo does not appear in the other versions.

²² *celestis patrie* (heaven) See DMLBS s.v. *patria*, 2.

beasts are subservient! We, on the other hand, are wretched, we who do not obey the saints until we are reminded to obey by brutish animals!’ Meanwhile holy David, coming out of his hut, found in front of the hut’s entrance the book left behind inadvertently by the brothers, open and, although it had rained with the greatest intensity, completely unharmed by the rain. Marvelling at that, he said, ‘God is wonderful in his saints and holy in all his works!’²³ Because good ought not to be stifled but always to be exalted, he immediately summoned the elders of the people so that they might see God’s powers and solemnly promise gifts and offerings to the Lord, and that he might make the sanctity of his brothers known to people, because God had kept their book unharmed by the showers of rain.

§6

As they flourished more and more with miracles through the power of Christ, just as God caused water to flow from a rock for the thirsty Israelite people,²⁴ so he ordered new springs to arise for his thirsty saints. And as we have learned from the elder inhabitants of that monastery,²⁵ those who drank from those springs would claim that they drank not water but wine, because of the sweetness of its taste.²⁶

§7

With these miraculous deeds, which divine power was working on their behalf within a short space time, so that good merits would be celebrated everywhere, God, seeing that his saints were

²³ **Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis et sanctus in omnibus operibus suis** (God is wonderful in his saints and holy in all his works) Cf. Psalms 67.36 (Vulgate; modern 68.35) (*mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis*) and Psalms 144.13 (Vulgate; modern 145.13) (*et sanctus in omnibus operibus suis*). For the first quote, cf. VS Samsonis (LL), §5; VS Dubricii (LL / Vesp), §16, §20; VS Teliaui (LL), §29.

²⁴ **sicut Deus Israhelitico populo sicienti aquam de petra manare fecit** (just as God caused water to flow from a rock for the thirsty Israelite people) Cf. Exodus 17.1–7.

²⁵ **illius loci** (that monastery) Since the saints do not appear to have moved from St Davids, the location of the preceding miracle, and since this story derives from the Life of St David (see next note), it is likely that in this instance *locus* means ‘monastery’, and that it refers specifically to St Davids.

²⁶ Despite the claim that this short anecdote derives *a ueteribus illius loci incolis* (from the old inhabitants of that monastery), it is almost certainly based on the similar story in the Life of St David. In Rhygyfarch’s version, it is said that certain disciples of David imitated him by causing springs of sweet water to arise, but those disciples are not named (VS Dauid (Vesp), §33). However, in *Buchedd Dewi* (the Welsh version of David’s Life) the disciples are named as Gweslan and Eliud (i.e. Teilo), from whom two springs apparently took their names (BDe 10.6–13; cf. LWS 175–6). Perhaps knowledge of these springs prompted the Life of St Teilo to borrow this story.

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adorned with so many virtues, revealed that they should be elevated with ecclesiastical dignities. For he sent his angel to the saints, who told them that they should go to the holy city of Jerusalem in order to receive gifts for their spiritual warfare there.²⁷ Indeed the saints, namely Eliud and David, obeying their God in all things, dared not to oppose the divine will, and so instead they joined with Padarn, a man beloved to God, and the three of them, in the name of the Trinity, set out on the journey enjoined upon them. But they did not, like many pilgrims, amass a large amount of money; rather, unaccompanied by staff and bag,²⁸ they were trusting more strongly in him who gives their food to the beasts and young ravens that call upon him.²⁹ Nor were their hopes in vain, for in time God supplied them with all necessities through his faithful. Indeed, they were illuminated by the light of heavenly grace so that their arrival would be welcomed by all, and their presence afford health to the sick. And so they left behind traces of their sanctity

²⁷ The story of the visit to Jerusalem by Teilo, David and Padarn also appears in Rhygyfarch's Life of St David and, in a shorter form, in the Life of St Padarn (VS Daud (Vesp), §§44–8; VS Paterni (Vesp), §20). It seems likely that the present version draws upon the versions in both of the other Lives. In the Life of St David, it is only David who receives gifts, two of which are *baculo et auro texta tunica* (a staff and a coat woven from gold). This is despite the later statement that, when the gifts were transported to Wales via angels, David, Teilo and Padarn each received his own gift separately. In the Life of St Padarn, however, the *baculo [...] et tunica ex toto contexta* (staff [...] and coat woven throughout) are specifically said to have been given to Padarn. The account below agrees with this, saying that Padarn received *baculus et choralis cappa pretiosissimo serico contexta* (a staff and a choir-cope woven from the most precious silk). The idea that Padarn received two gifts while the others received one is more likely to have originated in a Life of St Padarn than in a Life of St Teilo, suggesting that the author of the latter drew upon a version of the former (cf. LWS 177). The relative priority of the version in the extant Lives of David and Padarn is not certain, although, since the Life of St David refers to a written *hystoria* of the deeds of St Padarn in its text of this very section (VS Daud (Vesp), §44), it has been suggested either that the Life of St Padarn was contemporary with or predates the Life of St David (Thomas and Howlett 2003: 75–7, 93, 108; Sharpe and Davies 2007: 139, n. 85) or that both drew upon an earlier, fuller version of the Life of St Padarn (Loth 1893–5: ii, 73). Indeed, Padarn's association with a staff and a coat may well predate the extant text of his Life, if a late tenth- or early eleventh-century stone cross preserved in Llanbadarn church has been correctly interpreted as depicting Padarn with these items (Russell 2012: 11–12).

²⁸ **Sed non, ut multi peregrinorum, faciunt multa adunata pecunia; immo, sine baculo et pera** (But they did not, like many pilgrims, amass a large amount of money; rather, unaccompanied by staff and bag) Modelled on Jesus's instructions to his disciples in Matthew 10, especially 10.9–10 (Vulgate): *nolite possidere aurum neque argentum, neque pecuniam in zonis vestris: non peram in via, neque duas tunicas, neque calciamenta, neque virgam, dignus enim est operarius cibo suo* (Do not possess gold, nor silver, nor money in your purses: nor scrip for your journey, nor two coats, nor shoes, nor a staff; for the workman is worthy of his meat).

²⁹ **qui dat iumentis escam ipsorum et pullis coruorum inuocantibus eum** (who gives their food to the beasts and young ravens that call upon him) Psalms 146.9 (Vulgate; modern 147.9).

in various provinces by alleviating the pains of all who happened to meet them, if in the name of Christ they should ask for a cure for their sickness and hope through his strength to be able to recover health. And when persecutors stood in their way, not only would they give up plunder to them peacefully, but whatever they, unmindful of possessions, should leave behind, they would offer to the plunderers with a cheerful demeanour. But the plunderers, seeing the good simplicity of the saints, would not only return their goods to them as they begged for forgiveness for their sins, but they would also escort them till they reached safety. Thus, from ignorant people came knowledgeable people, and from persecutors were made the greatest friends.

§8

Once the course of such a great journey had at last been completed, they reached Jerusalem. As they entered the city, all the people ran up, singing canticles and hymns at their arrival; and so with festal splendour they were led into the Lord's temple. Although they were tired from such a great journey, they did not ask for soft bedding on which to rest, but rather they continued their prayers prostrate on the temple's bare paving for three days, contemplating heavenly things so much that they were completely forgetful of earthly matters. Meanwhile, all the clergy were earnestly awaiting which of the saints would choose which seat for himself once prayer had finished, so that by the choosing of the seats they might single out, in the way that they had been advised beforehand through an angel from heaven, which of them they would establish as the leader of the others. There were in the temple from ancient times three seats established for the elders, two fashioned from various metals and with marvellous artistry, the third made of cedar wood, having no outward adornment except for that which nature had bestowed. The humble Eliud chose that humble seat for himself, conceding the more valuable ones to his brothers through reverence. Seeing this, all those who were there fell down on their faces before holy Eliud, saying, 'Greetings, God's saint Teilo! And promise that your prayers will have force for us with the Lord, because today you have been exalted more than your fellow brothers, sitting down in the seat of our Lord Jesus Christ, in which he preached the kingdom of God to our fathers.' But the saint, hearing this with great amazement, rose up and prostrated himself on the ground, saying, 'Blessed is the man who hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stood

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in the way of sinners, nor sat in the chair of pestilence;³⁰ and blessed is the Saviour who chose that his seat be made from wood, who through wood³¹ wanted to provide relief for the transitory world.' Thus the humble one humbly adored the chair, or rather the occupant of the chair, for the Created one had sat down in the Creator's seat. For this reason it happened that they asked him to tell them a parable of Christ to teach them virtues, so that, just as he had imitated him by sitting in the seat, so he would imitate him by preaching. Seeing how love of the divine word was burning in their hearts in a wonderful manner, he became concerned, not because he would not know what to teach, but because he doubted how he would explain to them what they had asked when he had absolutely no knowledge of their language. However, the saint began to expound the holy scriptures to satisfy the beseeching people in such a way that everyone standing around could hear him speaking his own language. And all who heard him preaching were so affected by the pleasantness of his speech that the longer they heard him, the more and more they desired to hear him. But at last, after all had been restored by his fragrant³² teaching, lest the task of preaching should seem presumptuous if he alone had preached, he said to the people, 'Hear now words of life from my brothers, who are more perfect than me in life and more scrupulous in teaching.' And so holy David and the most humble servant of God Padarn rose up and preached to the people while trusting in the Lord, who said, 'When you come before kings and governors,³³ take no thought how or what to speak: for it shall be given you in that hour what to speak.'³⁴ So it was for the saints, in their alternate preaching, as if they were restoring the minds of their listeners through various dishes of food, so that, if any of them were previously wavering in faith, they would perfectly grasp the faith of the Holy Trinity through the grace of

³⁰ Psalms 1.1 (Vulgate).

³¹ **per lignum (through wood)** I.e. the cross.

³² **saporifera (fragrant)** The adjective *saporifer*, literally 'flavour-bearing', is occasionally attested in medieval Latin (cf. DMLBS s.v. *saporifer* 1), but note especially *odorisque saporiferi fragrantia* (and with the perfume of a sweet-smelling fragrance) in Rhygyfarch's Life of St David, where *saporiferi* seems to mean 'sweet-smelling' or 'fragrant' (VS Dauid (Vesp), §59).

³³ **Cum ueneritis ante reges et presides (When you come before kings and governors)** Cf. Matthew 10.18 (Vulgate): *et ad praesides et ad reges ducemini propter me in testimonium illis et gentibus* (And you shall be brought before governors, and before kings for my sake, for a testimony to them and to the Gentiles).

³⁴ **nolite cogitare quomodo aut quid loquamini: dabitur enim uobis in illa hora quid loquamini (take no thought how or what to speak: for it shall be given you in that hour what to speak)** Cf. Matthew 10.19 (Vulgate): *Cum autem tradent vos, nolite cogitare quomodo aut quid loquamini, dabitur enim vobis in illa hora quid loquamini* (But when they shall deliver you up, take no thought how or what to speak: for it shall be given you in that hour what to speak).

the saints' preaching. After that, just as had been announced by the angel, they, elected by all the people, were raised up to the status of bishop, and as if as evidence of the grace bestowed by the Lord that they had received there, three precious gifts were given to them according to what suited each of them. To Padarn, a staff and a choir-cope woven from the most precious silk, since they saw that he was an excellent cantor. And to holy David, an extraordinary altar; no-one fully knew from what material it was made, nor was such a thing given to him inappropriately, for he celebrated the sacrament more congenially than the others. And lastly to the blessed bishop Teilo came not the least of the gifts, however: a bell, more renowned than large, more precious than beautiful, because with its sound of sweetness it seems to surpass every musical instrument; it condemns the perjurers, it cures the sick, and so that it seems to be all the more marvellous, on each hour, without anybody moving it, it used to sound, until, obstructed by the sin of men, it desisted from such a sweet service, so as to prevent them from touching it heedlessly with polluted hands. Nor was he presented with such a gift inappropriately, because just as a bell invites people into church from the sloth of sleep and laziness, so the brilliant bishop Eliud, made Christ's herald, was constantly inviting lesser folk into heaven by his preaching. Once the aforesaid gifts of holy God had been distributed, and a blessing had been received on every side, with the utmost good fortune they returned to their own region.

§9

They were not able to dwell there for long on account of the pestilence which had almost destroyed the whole people. But this plague was called 'yellow', because it turned all those whom it struck down yellow and pale. It would appear to people as a column of mist, sweeping one end over the earth, and dragging the other above³⁵ through the air, and it roamed throughout the whole region like a shower of rain roaming through the bottoms of the valleys. And whatever living things it touched with its pestilential breath would either die on the spot or become mortally sick. Moreover, if anyone tried to apply a cure to the sick person, not only would the medicine have no effect, but the black infection would even drag down the healer along with the

³⁵ **sursum (above)** Both the Vespasian Life of St Teilo and the Liber Landavensis Life of St Euddogwy have *sursum* (above), whereas the Liber Landavensis Life of St Teilo has *rursum* (in turn): VS Oudocei (LL), §2; VS Teliaui (LL), §9.

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sick person to death.³⁶ Meanwhile, as that plague raged not only among people but even among wild beasts and reptiles, holy Eliud, through fasting and lamentation, cried out to the Lord, saying, ‘Spare, O Lord, spare your people, you who wish not the death of a sinner, but rather life,³⁷ and give not your inheritance to destruction.’³⁸ And for that reason, God’s wrath having been appeased for a time through his prayer and the prayers of other saints, he, warned from heaven, departed for faraway regions with those who remained from among the people, until God should indicate to them that they should return to their country.

§10

And thus it happened.³⁹ But God, with whose mercy all things are filled,⁴⁰ seeing as much the misery of the people as he was seeing the saint labouring for the people, permitted them to return from exile and to be free from that danger forever.⁴¹ With that grant, the faithful leader Eliud, not a little gladdened, earnestly gathering the remnants of the people,⁴² returned to his native

³⁶ **Pestis autem illa ‘flaua’ uocabatur [...] ad interitum (But this plague was called ‘yellow’ [...] to death)** This passage also appears in the Life of St Euddogwy (VS Oudocei (LL), §2; see LWS 208, n. 2; Davies 2003: 120).

³⁷ **qui non uis mortem peccatoris, sed uitam (you who wish not the death of a sinner, but rather life)** Cf. Ezekiel 33.11 (Vulgate): *nolo mortem impii sed ut reuertatur impius a via sua et uiuat* (I desire not the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way, and live); cf. VS Cadoci (Vesp), §7; VS Tathei (Vesp), §8; VS Oudocei (LL), §7 (Gray 1952: 393).

³⁸ **Parce, Domine, parce populo tuo [...] et ne des hereditatem tuam in perditionem (Spare, O Lord, spare your people [...] and give not your inheritance to destruction)** Cf. Joel 2.17 (Vulgate): *parce Domine populo tuo et ne des hereditatem tuam in obprobrium* (Spare, O Lord, spare thy people; and give not thy inheritance to reproach). The reminiscence of Ezekiel 33.11 has been inserted into this quotation (see previous note).

³⁹ The text of this section may be found distributed across sections 10, 12 and 15 of the Liber Landauensis Life of St Teilo.

⁴⁰ **cuius misericordia plena sunt uniuersa (with whose mercy all things are filled)** Cf. Psalms 32.5 (Vulgate; modern 33.5): *diligit misericordiam et iudicium, misericordia Domini plena est terra* (He loveth mercy and judgment; the earth is full of the mercy of the Lord); and Psalms 118.64 (Vulgate; modern 119.64): *miseriordia tua completa est terra praecepta tua doce me* (The earth, O Lord, is full of thy mercy: teach me thy justifications).

⁴¹ **Deus autem [...] ab eiusmodi periculo in perpetuum liberari (But God [...] to be free from that danger forever)** In the Liber Landauensis Life of St Teilo (VS Teliaui (LL), §10), this sentence has been converted into part of the angel’s instruction to Teilo to take his people overseas until God should permit them to return.

⁴² **fidelis ductor Eliud, non modicum exhilaratus, reliquias gentis diligenter recolligens (the faithful leader Eliud, not a little gladdened, earnestly gathering the remnants of his people)** Parts of this sentence have been re-appropriated in the Liber Landauensis Life of St Teilo (VS Teliaui (LL), §12), in a section where Teilo gathers together his people in order to sail back to Britain.

land,⁴³ and he lived there⁴⁴ until the end of his life, holding dominion over all the churches of the whole of western Britain, in accordance with what had been conveyed by the fathers who had consecrated him in Jerusalem, as has been said. But the people very quickly multiplied, though from a few, into a great multitude; and without doubt this occurred because they were now obeying every command of the saint. Thus the holy church, which for a long time had been dispersed, was exalted through the intercession of Teilo, the holiest of saints.

§11

But on the night of his burial, a great dissention arose between the three clerical communities of three of his churches, all of them asserting their authority and prerogative to have his body. But at length, acquiescing to the advice of prudent men, they devoted themselves to fasting and prayers so that the highest judge Christ, who is the true authority and prerogative of the saints, might indicate with a clear sign to which of them the saint's holy body would be more appropriately entrusted. But in the morning a certain elder, looking at where the body was, cried out in a loud voice, saying, 'Brothers of mine, our prayers have been heeded by the Lord, who deprives nobody if they are deserving! Arise and see what things have been done by Christ, the mediator of God and men, so that our dissention might be settled and so that, just as in the blessed confessor Teilo's life, so also might miracles be worked in his death.' For behold, they see there three bodies, which had the same size physically, and the same beauty in the face. Why say more? They had the lineaments of every joint without any discrepancy. Thus with the dispute settled, they all returned to their own people with their bodies, and they buried the various bodies in those various places with the greatest reverence. At the tomb of that highest bishop the sick are frequently cured from all their illnesses, sight being illuminated for the blind and hearing being bestowed upon the deaf. These things and many more than these, dearly beloved brethren, divine virtue worked on behalf of the holiest confessor Teilo. Wherefore celebrate the feast-day

⁴³ **natale solum repetiuit (returned to his native land)** This phrase reappears in the Life of St Euddogwy, following the passage on the Yellow Pestilence that has been copied from the Life of St Teilo, but the phrase does not appear in the Liber Landavensis Life of St Teilo (VS Oudocei (LL), §3; VS Teliaui (LL), §15; LWS 209, n. 5; Davies 2003: 120, n. 83).

⁴⁴ **et habitauit ibi (and he lived there)** From these words onwards, the remainder of this section is reproduced almost exactly in section 15 of the Liber Landavensis Life of St Teilo (VS Teliaui (LL), §15).

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of such a great man with complete devotion of mind, crowd into the church, and according to each person's means bestow gifts upon the poor from your possessions in the name of him who takes great things for the lowly and lowly things for the great, just as he took a cup of cold water from a Samaritan woman as if she had given a thousand talents of gold,⁴⁵ so that even by imitating him in good deeds we might deserve to be honoured with him in the celestial dwelling-places, through the aid of our Lord Jesus Christ, who lives and reigns forever and ever, amen.

Here ends the Life of the venerable confessor Teilo.

⁴⁵ Cf. John 4.7.

Vita Sancti Teliui (Vespasian A. xiv)

edited by Ben Guy

Introduction

Edited Text

Translation

Concordance

References

Manuscript

Two full Latin versions of the Life of St Teilo survive: the present version, in Vespasian A. xiv, and another, longer version in the Liber Landavensis, which is accompanied by privileges and charters (VS Teliui (LL)). There is also a version in Middle English, which is much closer to the Liber Landavensis version than the Vespasian A. xiv version (Kooper and Callander 2016: 45–8). The text in Vespasian A. xiv was written by two scribes: scribe C wrote folios 52^r–53^r, and the scribe D wrote folios 53^v–55^v. It was also corrected by a contemporary scribe with reference to the exemplar.

VESPASIAN A. XIV, 52R–55V

Note on transcription. The main text was written by two contemporary scribes: the first scribe (scribe C of Vespasian A. xiv) wrote folios 52^r–53^r, and the second (scribe D of Vespasian A. xiv) wrote folios 53^v–55^v. Another contemporary scribe corrected the text, probably with reference to the original exemplar (as is more obvious in relation to the corrections made to the Life of St Dyfrig, which follows the present Life in the manuscript). In order to distinguish the corrector from other scribes, the corrector's interventions are noted using single pairs of curly brackets [...], whereas later interventions are noted using double pairs of curly brackets [{{...}}]. Sometimes, small corrections made by the two main scribes are difficult to distinguish from corrections made by the corrector. In the edition of this text (VS Teliui (Vesp)), the corrector's emendations are treated as part of the main text.

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The following abbreviations are used for the Life in the manuscript (the figures do not include instances where abbreviations have been erased):

Ampersand (×72); Tironian *et* (×18).

TRANSCRIPTION

{52r}

7 **INCIPIT VITA SANCTI TELIAVI EPISCOPI.**¹ **A MAGISTRO GALFRIDO**²
8 **FRATRE VRBANI LANDAVENSIS ECCLESIE EPISCOPI** **DICTATA.**
9 **S** ANCTVS³ ISTE FRATRES CARISSIMI ab infantia dei cultor
10 extitit; nec mirum. cum ante infantiam eum futurum sibi⁴
11 seruum *deus* predestinasset; Predestinauit quem elegit. *et* elegit quem
12 dilexit; dilectumque uere confessionis palma coronauit. Militauit
13 itaque uir dei deo; orationibus insistendo. *et omnia et* que possidebat in=
14 digentibus erogando; quid amplius. sex opera misericordie diligenter exe=
15 quutus. *et nunquam* dei famulus ab ecclesiasticis uocabat institutis.
16 Omnia sua *non* faciebat sua; *et* que *non* erant sua. faciebat sua. Nichil
17 enim reliqui sibi de suo relinquens; bene caduca pro eternis cambie=
18 bat. O quantus *et* qualis mercator qui sua deo dabat; ut ab eo cen=
19 tuplum acciperet. O commercium pretiosum. *et* o usura laudabilis; o
20 fenus sine crimine;⁵ o lucrum sine reprehensione; Lucremur igitur
21 sic nosmetipsos fratres; ut lucrum *non* perdat feneratores. O quante sa=
22 pientie *et* scientie uirum. qui sua aliis distribuebat. ut ditiesce=
23 ret; se ipsum macerabat. ut alios impinguesceret. Aliorum miserebatur;
24 ut misericordiam consequeretur. Talia equidem constat *sancti* uiri fuisse rudi=
25 menta; in quibus perseuerabat sine intermissione usque in consummationem
26 uite. Egregius igitur confessor fuit; qui preter uirtutes quid confiteretur *non* ha=

¹ (interlinear) .v°. IDUS Februarii; (margin) .v°. IDUS Fe[...]arii..

² (interlinear) *id est Stephano.*

³ **S** anctvs The *S* is a three-line rubricated initial.

⁴ (margin) {{Habetur in Registro Landauensis Ecclesie}}.

⁵ **crimine**; The punctuation mark following *crimine* is used four times in the present text. It may be a *punctus flexus*, which fell out of use after the twelfth century.

27 buit. Quippe. in^[i]nfantia bonus, iniuuentute melior.^{[:]6} insenectute opti=
 28 mus. Sed ne tanti uiri genus taceatur quasi nescitum, ex nobilibus illum
 29 parentibus credimus fuisse ortum,^{[:]7} ut carnis nobilitas honestaret eum
 30 inter homines-qui iam animi nobilitate apud deum erat acceptabilis.
 31 Post incrementum autem etatis-uirutem. et sapientie, congruo nomi=
 32 ne helios-a sapientibus nuncupat^[us]8 est. Elios autem grece, latine sol
 33 interpretatur. Fulgebat enim ut sol eius doctrina, fidelium illustran
 34 do corda. Sed illiteratis hominibus extremum uocabuli corrupte profe=
 35 rentibus-adoleuit quod non⁹ helios, sed heliud appellatus est. A sancto

{52v}

1 autem dubricio archipresule cuius proximus successor extitit. legimus
 2 illum in pueritia in sanctis scripturis fuisse eruditum, donec eum tan=
 3 dem uidit tante in dolis puerum-ut non solum illum crederet
 4 seipso inscientia non esse inferiorem, sed spiritu sancto cooperante scripturarum
 5 nodos melius per se quam aliquo sibi magistrante expediebat. Quo ui=
 6 so sanctus dubricius qui hucusque fuerat suus preceptor. quique iam intellige=
 7 bat se non posse sibi magistrari, uoluit ut sibi succederet in magi=
 8 sterio. et cum eum excederet doctrina et ingenio. Sed tanta eum gratia comita=
 9 batur. et tantusque eum studii sacre lectionis feruor incendebat, ut ille
 10 qui iam aliis magistrari poterat, etiam magistrum ad huc querebat.
 11 Tum. quia sub alterius malebat esse disciplina. quam dissolute uiuere,
 12 tum etiam quia misterium et subtilitates scripturarum uolebat intelligere.
 13 Sed non more stultorum philosophorum ut alios confunderet, immo
 14 ut hereticorum errores confundere posset. Confudit¹⁰ itaque multorum
 15 hereses, multorumque correxit errores. Plusque simpli^[ci]ter et catholice
 16 tamen argumentando profuit fidelibus, quam suis subtilibus argumentis fecis=

⁶ melior:^[:] The upper stroke of the *punctus elevatus* appears to have been added by the corrector.

⁷ ortum:^[:] The corrector has attempted to alter the upper stroke of the original punctuation mark so that it resembles a *punctus elevatus*.

⁸ nuncupat^[us] The suspension mark appears to have been added by the corrector.

⁹ quod non These two words are separated by a hole in the parchment.

¹⁰ Confudit Sic.

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17 set *unquam* aliquis philosophus. Illi enim *uiam* querentes. *semper* deui=
 18 bant; ille *uero* *uiam* ueritatis *numquam* *preteribat*; *sed* *per* eam *gradiens*
 19 *quasi* *lucerna* *preeunte* *nullo* *eum* *impediente*; *ad* *eum* *qui* *est* *uerum* *lumen*
 20 *tendebat*. *Quippe*. *per* *eum* *gradiebatur*. *qui* *est* *uia*; *et* *abeo* *docebatur*. *qui* *est*

sa=^{pientia}.11

21 **B** EATUS¹² theliaws audita sibi paulini cuiusdam
 22 *sapientis* *uiri* *fama*. *eum* *adiuit*; *et* *apud* *eundem* *aliquandiu* *mora*=
 23 *tus*. *si* *qua* *eum* *scripturarum* *secreta* *prius* *laterent*; *conferendo* *adinuicem*.
 24 *omnia* *sane* *exposita* *intelligebant*; *ibique* *sanctum* *dauid* *perfectissime* *uite*
 25 *hominem*. *sibi* *associauit*. *Quos* *tanta* *coniunxit* *dilectio*. *et* *spiritus* *sancti* *gratia*;
 26 *quod* *inagendis* *et* *non* *agendis* *rebus*; *idem* *uelle*¹³. *et* *idem* *nolle*. *esset* *am*=
 27 *bobus*. *Ecce* *fratres* *karissimi*. *quan*^{li}*ter*¹⁴ *deus* *sanctos* ~~sxx~~^{uos} *adunat* *interris*; *quos*
 28 *futuros* *eligit* *ciues* *incelis*. *Elegit* *duos*; *ut* *perduos* *eligeret* *plures*.
 29 *O* *beata* *duorum* *uita*; *perquam* *multorum* *anime* *habuerunt*¹⁵ *refrigeria*. *In*=
 30 *istorum* *autem* *sanctorum* *diebus*. *quidam* *populi* *de* *s^cithia*. *quisiue* *apictis*
 31 *uestibus*. *siue* *p*^[ro]*pter* *oculorum* *stigmata*. *picti* *dicebantur*; *innumera* *classe*
 32 *adbritanniam* *deuenerunt*; *et* *capti* *amore* *terre* *potiunde* *propter*
 33 *bonaru*^{m} *rerum* *copiam*. *qua* *super* *omnes* *insulas* *tunc* *temporis* *pollebat*;
 34 *magis* *fraude* *quam* *uiribus* *britannos* *inuaserunt*; *et* *in* *eos* *miram*
 35 *tirannidem* *ad* *tempus* *exe*~~rc~~*uerunt*¹⁶. *Nec*¹⁷ *mirum* *istam*

{53r}

1 *superari* *ab* *illa*; *nam* *picta* *gens* *erat* *subdola*. *et* *multis*
 2 *conflictionibus* *terra* *et* *mari* *exercitata*; *ista* *autem* *quamuis* *ui*=
 3 *ribus* *corporis* *esset* *predita*. *tamen* *simplex* *et* *pacifica*; *et* *quianon*=
 4 *dum* *esset* *aquo* *quam* *temptata*; *quasi* *bellandi* *nescia*. *leuius* *subiugari*

¹¹ sa=^{pientia}. The final part of this word is written in a blank space at the end of the line below.

¹² **B** eatus The *B* is a two-line initial in blue.

¹³ **idem uelle** The *d* of *idem* and the first *e* of *uelle* have unexpected ascenders, implying that they have been altered from other letters.

¹⁴ **quan^{li}ter** The scribe converted the *n* into *li* by adding an ascender to the first minim.

¹⁵ **habuerunt** The *r* has an unexpected ascender.

¹⁶ **exe~~rc~~uerunt** The scribe erased the first minim of the *n* and used the second for the *r*.

¹⁷ **exe~~rc~~uerunt. Nec** These two words are separated by a hole in the parchment.

5 potuit. Siquis autem inde plenius scire desiderat, in historia
6 gylde¹⁸ britt~~xxxx~~^{{{annorum}}} ~~xxxxxx~~^{{{historio}}} grafi¹⁹ repperiet. Cumque quidam
illius
7 nefarie gentis princeps truxcidando²⁰ miseros incolas. et combu=
8 rendo edes. et templa sanctorum anualibus ubi a^{p}pulerant usque myn=²¹
9 uersem²² ciuitatem processisset, ibi constitit. ibique suum palatium con=
10 struxit. Qui uidens sancti dauid. et eliud. aliorumque seruorum dei. qui
11 cum illis degebant uite probabilitatem, sicut prauorum semper consu=
12 suetudo²³ est bonis inuidere. non solum illis inuidebat, sed etiam
13 quia illos tam attentos indei seruitio uideret. multa eis obprobria
14 sepe dicebat, ut sic eos a christo separaret. Sed quia minis et uerbis
15 turpibus quod uolebat efficere non potuit, multis machinationibus
16 eos temptare conatus. uidit se nullomodo co^{m}modus quam per
17 muliebres blandicias illud efficere posse. Precepit itaque muli=
18 eri sue ut ad sanctos suas pedissequas dirigeret, et sanctorum uisibus se
19 offerrent, ut fatuis motibus sui corporis et meretriciis blandimen=
20 tis sanctorum menti^{e}s a sancto proposito conarentur^{ur} p~~xx~~^{er}uertere. Que^{e} dum
domine^{e}
21 sue exequendo mandata. se quasi insanas esse simularent, in=
22 sane facte sunt. Quippe sicut dicitur. qui insordibus est, dignum est ut
23 magis sordescat. Quo uiso. p^{re}dictus persecutor. et domus sua tota per=
24 gratiam seruorum dei catholi^{c}am fidem susceperunt, et ab eisdem in christi
25 no^{m}i^{n}e bap^{ti}zati sunt. Beatus x^{i}taque fuit qui scienter persequabatur
26 iustos, ut nescienter iustus efficeretur. Sanctos temptabat, ut sanc^{tu}s fie=
27 ret. Litigabat cum hominibus, ut cum deo reconciliaretur. Despiciebat
28 humiles, ut humilitatem diligeret.

¹⁸ gylde (margin) {{Gildas}}.

¹⁹ britt~~xxxx~~^{{{annorum}}} ~~xxxxxx~~^{{{historio}}} grafi (margin) {{brittannorum histor[.]graphi}}.

²⁰ truxcidando The line connecting the two parts of this word either side of the erasure suggests that the erasure was made by the corrector.

²¹ myn= (margin, keyed with a *signe de renvoi* [..]) {{Minuensem. (fortasse Meneuensem.)}}.

²² myn=uersem Sic.

²³ consu=suetudo Sic.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

29 **P** ostquam *deus* predictas mulieres tali inmedicabili obprobri^{o}
 30 deturpauit; eosdem *sanctos* peraliud opus mirabile. *et dignum*
 31 memor^{ia}²⁴ decorauit. Nam *cum* beatus eliud *et* maydocus inatrio
 32 monasterii *non* figmenta poetarum. nec ueterum historias. immo ~~h~~ie=
 33 remie prophete lamentationes ut amore celestis patrie magis
 34 accenderentur discuterent; sup^{er}uenit quidam famulus dicens lig=
 35 na deesse quibus cena fratrum preparari posset. Illi autem hoc egre=
 {53v}
 1 ferentes²⁵. *et non quia* in obsequio fratrum pigritarent; *sed quia* ad preparandam
 confratrum
 2 cenam tempestiue de silua non possent reuerti; ^{cvm} nimia festinatione
 3 perrexerunt ad nemora. Quibus grauiter sollicitantibus qualiter redirent. *et*
 qualiter tan=
 4 tum lignorum possent deferre. quod in multos dies sufficere posset ad opus
 5 preparandorum ^{ciborum}²⁶; quatinus postea sacre lectioni *et* orationibus diutius
 possent insistere.
 6 eis duo biiuges cerui mansuetissimi occurrebant; *et* colla prebentes ad
 7 subiugandum. ~~et~~ dei nutu seruitium prebuerunt. Quasi dicerent. Deus ui=
 8 dens quare solliciti sitis. *et* exiit no^sbis²⁷ ferocitatem nostram; *et* fecit nos
 9 mansueta pecora. ~~et~~ ut laborem quem uos initis subeamus. Quibus subiugatis;
 10 laudabant dominum dicentes. Benedictus deus *et* pater domini nostri iesu christi. ~~et~~
 qui
 11 misericorditer seruos suos pro fratribus respexit laborantes; faciendo mansueta
 12 pecora de feris siluarum. *et* que nostri laboris sarcinam sustinerent. Cumque
 sancti
 13 honerato plaustro domum redirent. *et non secundum* hominum consuetudinem
 14 honeratos ceruos stimulabant ut cicius incederent; immo illos a lon=
 15 ge precedebant. ~~et~~ cerui uero nullo cogente sequebantur. Et ne amplius eorum

²⁴ **memor**^{ia} The final *ia* seems to have been written by the corrector, perhaps over an erasure.

²⁵ **ferentes** scribe D took over from this word onwards.

²⁶ **ciborum** This insertion is written in the margin and keyed to the text with a *signe de renvoi* [.:].

²⁷ **no^sbis** Most of the *bis* has been erased, but the ascender of the *b* has been extended to form a tall *s*.

16 oratio interrumperetur prohuiusmodi negotio eodem fere multo tempore post.
 17 deo instimulante ligna eis amministrabant; et ea que necessaria
 18 usui *sanctorum* forent. Quis dubitat igitur tales²⁸ fuisse *sanctos*. ~~et~~ pro quibus
 deus mini=
 19 strare cogebat ceruos; Alii quidem feras occidere possunt; sed ita ma=
 20 nsuescere non possunt.^{i} Appropinquantibus autem illis ad locum suum; omnes
 21 illius loci incolę occurrerunt eis dicentes. O domini fratres. quam manifeste
 22 hodie illustrati estis diuina gratia; quibus irrationabiles ferę famulantur.
 23 Nos uero infelices. qui sanctis non obediimus; donec per bruta anima=
 24 lia monemur obedire. Interea *sanctus* dauid exiens de tabernaculo
 25 suo. et ante hostium tabernaculi librum nes^{ci}enter derelictum a fratribus inue=
 26 nit apertum; et quamuis uehementissime plueret. a pluuiis prorsus
 27 immunem. Quod ~~am~~^d mirans²⁹. ait. Mirabilis deus in sanctis suis; et sanctus in
 28 omnibus ~~operibus~~³⁰ suis. Continuo quia bonum nonsuffocari sed semper dila=
 29 tari debet; aduocauit seniores populi. ut uiderent³¹ magnalia dei;
 30 et uouerent domino preces et uota. ~~et~~ ~~ut~~^{ac} propalaret sanctitatem fratrum suorum
 31 hominibus; quia deus ~~xxx~~^{seru}auerat librum eorum ^{illesum} ab ymbribus. Hi ut
 32 magis magisque per uirtutem christi florerent miraculis, sicut deus misraheli=
 33 tico populo sicienti aquam de petra manare fecit; sic sanctis sicientibus no=
 34 uos fontes iussit oriri. Et ut aueteribus illius loci incolis accepimus;
 35 de illis fontibus potantes non aquam. sed uinum pro tam dulci sapore potauis=
 {54r}
 1 se asserebant. His mirificis operibus que diuina uirtus operabatur pro illis; in=
 2 fra ^{paruum} curriculum temporis ut bene meriti celebrabantur ubique.
 3 **V** idens³² deus *sanctos* suos tot decoratos esse uirtutibus□ indicauit eos
 promouen=

²⁸ **tales** It seems that the main scribe initially expuncted this word but then decided against it, indicating the decision by erasing the expunction marks and writing *uere* ('correctly') above the word.

²⁹ ~~am~~^d **mirans** A line has been added to connect the emended *ad* to the *mirans*.

³⁰ ~~operibus~~ (margin) {operibus}.

³¹ **uiderent** The *ent* may have been written over an erasure.

³² **V idens** The *V* is a two-line initial in blue.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

4 dos esse ecclesiasticis dignitatibus. Misit enim angelum suum ad sanctos qui
nun=
5 tiaret eundu^m³³ eis esse ad sanctam ciuitatem ierusalem; ut ibi suę militię
donati=
6 ua reciperent. Sancti uero eliud uidelicet et dauid deo suo per omnia
7 obedientes. non sunt ausi resistere diuino nutui. sed et paternum uirum
8 deo carum sibi associantes. et tres intrinitatis nomine iniunctum sibi
9 iter inceperunt; sed non ut multi peregrinorum faciunt multa aduna=
10 ta pecunia. et immo sine baculo et pera; sperantes potius inillum
11 qui dat iumentis escam ipsorum. et pullis coruorum inuocantibus eum.
12 Nec frustra sperantes; deus enim per fideles suos cuncta eis necessaria
13 ministrabat in tempore. Illustrati siquidem erant luce cęlestis gratię; ita ut
14 eorum aduentus cunctis esset acceptabilis. et presentia sanitatem preberet
15 infirmis. Reliquerunt itaque per diuersas prouintias sue sanctitatis uestigia.
16 cunctorum sibi obuiantium alleuiando dolores. si in christi nomine infirmitatis
17 sue rogarent medelam; et in eiusdem uirtute sperarent recuperare posse sani=
18 tatem. Cumque persecutores inuia obsisterent;³⁴ non tantum spolia illis pa=
19 cifice concedebant; Sed siquid prede ipsi inmemores relinquerent. preda=
20 toribus hilari uultu porrigebant. Illi autem uidentes Sanctorum bonam simpli=
21 citatem. ueniam supplicando commissorum; non tantum reddebant eis sua. sed
22 eos conducebant usque dum peruenirent ad tuta. Sic de ignotis fiebant
23 noti; et persecutoribus summi efficiebantur amici. Consummato tandem
24 tanti itineris cursu; ierosolimam peruenerunt. Quibus ciuitatem intro=
25 euntibus occurrit omnis populus psallendo in canticis. et ymnis super
26 aduentu eorum. et ita cum celebri pompa conducti sunt intemplum
27 domini. Qui quamuis tanto itinere defatigati fuissent; non mollia strata
28 quesierunt ubi quiescerent. sed innudo templi pauimento prostrati;
29 triduo preces suas continuauerunt. adeo celestia contemplantes. quod ter=
30 renorum penitus essent inmemores. Interea totus clerus attente
31 expectabat. quis sanctorum quam sedem oratione finita sibi eligerent;

³³ eundu^m It appears that a nasal suspension mark has been erased above the *u*.

³⁴ obsisterent; The upper stroke of the *punctus elevatus* seems to have been erased.

32 ut in electione sedium notarent. sicut celitus *per angelum* premoniti fu=
 33 erant; *quem illorum ceteris prelatum* constituerent.
 34 **E** RANT³⁵ in templo ab antiquis temporibus tres cathedre senioribus
 35 constitutę. Duę diuersis metallis. *et miro artificio fabricate;*

{54v}

1 tertia cedrina. nichil ornati habens *extrinsecus*; *preter hoc quod natura*
 2 dederat. Quam humilem. humilis eliud elegit sibi in sedem; *preci=*
 3 osiores concedens *fratribus propter reuerentiam*. Quo uiso; *omnes illi qui aderant*
 4 ceciderunt in facies suas ante *sanctum eliud* dicentes. *Salue sancte dei teli=*
 5 *awe;* *et concede ut ualeant nobis tue preces apud dominum. quia hodie plus*
 6 *ceteris sullimatus es confratribus tuis;* *residens insede domini nostri iesu christi.*
 7 *in qua patribus nostris predicabat regnum dei. Sanctus uero hoc audiens;* *cum*
 8 *magno stupore surrexit. et prostrauit se in terram* dicens. *Beatus uir*
 9 *qui non habiit in consilio impiorum;* *et in uia peccatorum non stetit;* *et*
 10 *in cathedra pestilentie non sedit. Et benedictus saluator qui sibi sedem*
 11 *fieri elegit de ligno;* *qui per lignum succurrere*³⁶ *uoluit pereunti mundo. Sic*
 12 *humilis humiliter adorabat cathedram. immo cathedre sessorem;* *eo*
 13 *quod creatura consederat increatoris sedem. Vnde contigit quod eum roga=*
 14 *uerunt quatinus ad instructionem uirtutum parabolam eis diceret de christo.*
 15 *ut sicut illum imitatus fuerat incathedra residendo;* *eum imitaretur*
 16 *in predicando. Qui uidens amorem diuini uerbi flagrare in cordibus eorum.*
 17 *miro modo sollicitabatur. non quod nesciret quod doceret;* *sed dubitabat quod*
 18 *rogauerant qualiter eis expediret. cum lingue illorum penitus expers fuisset.*
 19 *Incepit tamen sanctus sacras scripturas exponere. ut satisfaceret supplicanti*
 20 *populo;* *ita ut unus quisque circumstantium audirent illum sua lingua loquen=*
 21 *tem. Omnes autem qui eum audiebant predicantem;* *tanta dulcedine sermo=*
 22 *nis illius sunt ~~sunt~~ affecti;*³⁷ *quod in quantum eum diutius audirent. magis ma=*
 23 *gis que illum audire desiderarent. Sed tandem postquam refecti sunt uniuer=*

³⁵ **E** RANT The *E* is a three-line rubricated initial.

³⁶ **succurrere** (margin) {{succurrere}}.

³⁷ **affecti;**^{} The upper stroke of the *punctus elevatus* has been erased.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

24 si saporifera illius doctrina; ne predicandi officium uideretur presumere si solus
 25 predicasset; ait poplo³⁸. Audite iam a fratribus meis uerba uite; qui me
 26 perfectiores sunt in uita. et diligentiores in doctrina. Surrexerunt itaque
 27 sanctus dauid et humillimus dei seruus paternus; et predicauerunt populo
 28 in domino confidentes qui dicit. Cum ueneritis ante reges et presides nolite co=
 29 gitare quomodo aut quid loquamini; dabitur enim uobis in illa hora quid loqua=
 30 mini. Sic sancti alterna sua predicatione quasi diuersis ferculis audienti=
 31 um mentes reficiebant; ut si qui eorum prius infide uacillarent; sancte
 32 trinitatis fidem per gratiam predicationis sanctorum perfectissime tenerent. Post
 33 hec. sicut nuntiatum fuerat per angelum; ab uniuersa plebe electi. sullima
 34 ti sunt pontificali dignitate. Et quasi gratie intestimonium quam ibi domino
 35 largiente susceperant; data sunt eis tria munera preciosa prout unicuique

{55r}

1 competebat. Paterno baculus et choralis cappa preciosissimo serico contex=
 2 ta; eo quod illum egregium cantorem uidebant. Sancto autem dauid altare miri=
 3 ficum; nulli bene notum de qua materia fuerit compositum. Nec ab re tale
 4 quid ei datum est; nam iocundius ceteris celebrabat. Nouissime autem beato
 5 pontifici THELIAWO non extremum tamen donorum accessit cimbalum; ma=
 6 gis famosum quam sit magnum. magis preciosum quam pulchrum; quia dulci^s

so=

7 no uidetur excellere omne organum. Periueros dampnat. infirmos cu=
 8 rat. et quod magis uidetur mirabile. singulis horis nullo mouente sona=
 9 bat; donec peccato hominum prepediente qui illud pollutis manibus temere
 10 tractabant. a tam dulci obsequio cessauit. Nec incongrue tali mu=
 11 nere³⁹ donatus est; quia sicut cimbalum de torpore sompni et inertie ho=
 12 mines inuitat ad ecclesiam. sic clarus pontifex ELIWD christi prece factus.
 13 incessanter predicando subiectos inuitabat ad celum.

14 S ancti⁴⁰ dei supradictis donati muneribus. et utrimque benedictione accep=
 15 ta; cum summa prosperitate reuersi sunt in regionem suam. In qua

³⁸ poplo Sic.

³⁹ mu=nere (margin) {{munere}}.

⁴⁰ S ancti The S is a two-line rubricated initial in green.

16 non diu commorari potuerunt; propter pestilentiam que fere totam gentem
 17 deleuerat. Pestis autem illa flaua uocabatur; eo quod flauos et exan=
 18 gues efficiebat uniuersos quos persequebatur. Que in columpna ^{{{aquoſe}}} nubis
 19 apparebat hominibus; unum caput uerrens per terram. aliud sursum trahens per
 20 aerem; et discurrens per totam regig^onem⁴¹ ad modum imbris discurrentis per
 ima
 21 conuallium. Quecumque autem animantia suo pestifero afflatu attinge=
 22 ret; aut ilico moriebantur. aut egrotabant in mortem. Siquis uero me=
 23 delam conaretur adhibere egrotanti; non tantum medicamina non habe=
 24 bant suum effectum; sed etiam medicantem cum egroto atra lues trahebat ad in=
 25 teritum. Interea dum ista persecutio^{pestis} seuiret. non tantum in hominibus sed
 etiam
 26 inferis et inre^ptilibus; Sanctus ELIUD⁴² inieunio et planctu clamabat ad dominum
 27 dicens. Parce domine parce populo tuo; qui non uis mortem peccatoris sed ui=
 28 tam; et ne des hereditatem tuam inperditionem. Deinde ira dei ad tempus
 29 pacata oratione eius aliorumque sanctorum. celitus a^dmonitus. cum his qui resi=
 30 dui fuerant de gente recessit inlonginq^{uas} regiones⁴³; donec deus eis in=
 31 nueret reditum in patriam. Et factum est ita. Deus autem cuius misericordia
 32 plena sunt uniuersa non tantum gentis respiciens miseriam. quantum respi=
 33 ciebat sanctum pro gente laborantem; concessit eis de exilio reuerti. et ab eius=
 34 modi periculo inperpetuum liberari. Qua concessione fidelis ductor ELIUD
 35 non modicum ex^haratus⁴⁴. reliquias gentis diligenter recolligens; natale
 {55v}
 1 solum repetiuit et habitauit ibi usque inconsummationem uite; principa=
 2 tum tenens super omnes ecclesias tocius occidentalis britannie. secundum tradi=
 3 cionem patrum qui eum ierosolime consecrauerant; sicut predictum est.
 4 Sed gens citissime creuit. quamuis de paucis in magnam multitudinem. et hoc

⁴¹ **regig^onem** The tail of the second *g* has been erased so that it resembles an *o*.

⁴² **ELIUD** (margin, keyed with a *signe de renvoi* [.:]) {{Teliaus (Registr. Landav.)}}.

⁴³ **regiones** An abbreviation mark has been erased above the *r*.

⁴⁴ **ex^haratus** The original *h* has been altered so as to resemble *il*, and an abbreviation mark for *h* has been placed above the *x*.

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5 nimirum fiebat; quia iam obediens facta est ad omne sancti edictum. Sic sancta
6 ecclesia que multo tempore fuerat dispersa; interueniente THELIAWO⁴⁵ sanctorum
7 sanctissimo fuit exaltata. In nocte autem depositionis eius magna dissensio
8 orta est. inter tres cleros trium ecclesiarum illius; singulis pretendentibus suas
9 auctoritates et priuilegia dehabendo corpore. Sed tandem consilio discre=
10 torum hominum acquiescentes. insis^{ti}terunt⁴⁶ ieiunio et orationibus; ut summus
ar=
11 biter christus qui est uera auctoritas. et sanctorum priuilegium. ¶ euidenti signo
12 innueret. cui illorum sancti sanctum corpus dignius esset committendum. Mane
13 autem facto. quidam senior respiciens ubi erat corpus; clamauit uoce
14 magna dicens. Exaudita est fratres mei oratio nostra a domino; qui neminem
priuat
15 pro merito. Surgite. et respicite que facta sunt a mediatore dei et ho
16 minum christo ut nostra dissensio sedaretur; et ut in beati confessoris THELI=
17 AWI uita. sic et in eius morte fierent miracula. Ecce enim uident
18 ibi tria corpora quibus par erat quantitas in corpore. idem decor in facie;
19 quid amplius in nullo discrepantia habebant tocus compaginis liniamen=
20 ta. Sic sedata lite; singuli cum suo corpore remeauerunt ad sua. et diuersa
21 in illis diuersis locis cum summa reuerentia sepelierunt. Ad cuius summi
22 pontificis tumbam frequentissime ab omnibus suis languoribus curantur in=
23 firmi. cecis illustrando uisum; et surdis largiendo auditum. Hec et his plura
24 fratres karissimi operata est diuina uirtus; pro sanctissimo confessore
THELIAWO⁴⁷.
25 Quare tanti uiri festiuitatem cum toto mentis affectu celebrate. ecclesiam
26 frequentate; et secundum uniuscuiusque facultatem de uestra substantia
pauperibus
27 erogate in eius nomine. qui magna accipit pro paruis et parua promagnis;
28 sicut accepit calicem aque frigidę de muliere samaritana. ac si dedisset

⁴⁵ THELIAWO These letters are highlighted in red.

⁴⁶ insis^(ti)terunt A crossbar has been added to the second *i* so that it resembles a *t*, and the ascender of the second *s* has been erased so that it resembles an *i*.

⁴⁷ THELIAWO These letters are highlighted in red.

- 29 auri mille talenta. ut eum imitando etiam in bonis operibus mereamini
30 cum eodem gloriari⁴⁸ insupernis sedibus. adiuuante domino nostro iesu christo.
qui
31 uiuit et regnat in secula seculorum. AMEN.
32 **EXPLICIT VITA VENERABILIS CONFESSORIS THELIAWI.**

⁴⁸ gloriari There is a superfluous crossbar through the *l*.

Concordance to versions of the Life

Vita Sancti Teliui (Vespasian A. xiv version)	Vita Sancti Teliui (Liber Landavensis version)
1	1
2	2
3	3
4	4
5	5
6	6
7	7
8	8
9	9
10	10, 12, 15
	11
	13
	14
	16
	17
11	18
	19
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	21
	22
	23
	24
	25
	26
	27
	28
	29

Vita Sancti Teliui (Liber Landavensis version)	Vita Sancti Teliui (Vespasian A. xiv version)
1	1
2	2
3	3
4	4
5	5
6	6
7	7
8	8
9	9
10	10
11	
12	10
13	
14	
15	10
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18	11
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29	

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