

Vita Sancti Teliaui (Liber Landavensis)

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 text edited here as the Life of St Teilo consists of the Life proper (§§1–18), a list of kings contemporary with St Teilo (§19), a document recording the privileges of St Teilo's church (i.e. Llandaff), written in both Latin and Welsh (§§20–1), and seven charters allegedly recording grants of land to Teilo and Llandaff (§§22–4, §§26–9), accompanied by a list of twenty-four further Teilo properties granted to Llandaff (§25). This collection of texts is unique to the *Liber Landavensis*, and it was undoubtedly assembled at Llandaff during the compilation of the contents of the manuscript in the 1120s and early 1130s.

The Life of the saint, with which the *Liber Landavensis* collection of Teilo texts begins, is the only part of the collection that may be found in some form outside the manuscript. The Life of St Teilo is one of three *Liber Landavensis* Lives that were also incorporated into the large collection of saints' Lives in *Vespasian A. xiv*. The other two are the Lives of SS. Dyfrig and Clydog, which appear, along with their attendant charters, in *Vespasian A. xiv* in almost exactly the same form as in the *Liber Landavensis*. However, the relationship between the two versions of the Life of St Teilo 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 (considered below) but which are almost entirely absent from the text shared by the two versions, which encompasses almost all the text of the *Vespasian* version (see the introduction to VS Teliaui (*Vesp*)). 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 no such major

rewording took place 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 additional passages interpolated into the Liber Landavensis version of the Life of St Teilo range from single sentences to entire episodes. The majority of the insertions were intended to emphasise the superiority of Llandaff over neighbouring ecclesiastical institutions. Thus, in the account of Teilo, David and Padarn being raised to the status of bishop in Jerusalem, the Liber Landavensis adds the claim that Teilo was the successor of Apostle Peter and David the successor of the Apostle James, highlighting Teilo's superiority over David (§8). Again, additional sentences were added to the account of the dispute between the clerics of Penally, Llandeilo Fawr and Llandaff concerning who had the right to claim Teilo's body, in order to proclaim the superiority of Llandaff over the other two churches and announce that, despite the multiplication of Teilo's body into three, only Llandaff possessed Teilo's true body (§18). Other material was added to overcome the reluctance of the Vespasian version to name any specific churches associated with St Teilo. In the rubric, Teilo is called 'archbishop of the church of Llandaff' rather than simply 'bishop', as in the rubric of the Vespasian version. Upon the return of Teilo, David and Padarn from Jerusalem, the Vespasian version does not claim that Teilo took up any particular office, whereas the Liber Landavensis says that 'St Teilo received the pastoral care of the church of Llandaff, to which he was consecrated, together with the whole diocese adjoining it which had been his predecessor Dyfrig's' (§9).

The most substantial addition to the Liber Landavensis version is the story of Teilo's sojourn in Brittany while the Yellow Pestilence was raging in Britain (§§10–14). This account was ultimately inspired by the Breton Life of St Turiau of Dol, with whom the compilers of the Liber Landavensis evidently wished to equate St Teilo (LWS 182–6; Davies 2003: 117–19). The account includes the surprising promotion of Teilo to the bishopric of Dol, despite the facts that Samson, bishop of Dol, was still alive and Teilo was still archbishop of Llandaff. Similarly, the story about Teilo vanquishing a dragon (§12) while he was in Brittany was probably inspired by the First Life of St Samson, a version of which was incorporated into the Liber Landavensis (cf. VS Samsonis (LL), §52). Reliance on Breton saints' Lives is a typical feature of the hagiographical work of the compilers of the Liber Landavensis, and so it is notable that Breton sources are

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apparent only in the portions of the Life of St Teilo that are unique to the Liber Landavensis, and not in the portions of text shared with the Vespasian Life.

The other major additions to the Liber Landavensis Life occur following Teilo's return from Brittany. A list of Teilo's alleged 'disciples' is given, culled mostly from various parts of the Liber Landavensis (§16). The claim is made that one of these disciples, Ishmael, was consecrated by Teilo as bishop of St Davids following David's death, in a bid to show that Llandaff once exercised archiepiscopal authority over St Davids. Following this is a selection of miscellaneous short miracle stories (§17) concerning Teilo churches that are claimed as possessions of Llandaff in the list of Teilo properties appended to the Life (§25).

It is likely that the majority of documents appended to the Liber Landavensis version of the Life of St Teilo were composed especially for incorporation into the Liber Landavensis. An exception may be some part of the privileges allegedly granted to St Teilo and Llandaff. Two statements of privileges have been appended to the Life: the first in Latin, known as *Priuilegium sancti Teliaui* (§20), and the second in Welsh, known as *Braint Teilo* (§21). That they were not part of the original conception of the collection of Teilo documents in the Liber Landavensis is shown by the fact that they are written on a discrete leaf that was inserted into the manuscript after the surrounding leaves had received their texts (MWM 132), causing the charters (§§22–9) to become separated from the list of kings (§19) that should preface them (Davies 2003: 68). However, the two Teilo privileges are clearly related to other formulaic statements of Llandaff's privileges in the Liber Landavensis, especially those associated with the Lives of SS. Dyfrig and Euddogwy (VS Dubricii (LL/Vesp), §1; VS Oudocei (LL), §4). Wendy Davies (1974–6) argued that the Welsh *Braint Teilo* was the original privilege, and that the three Latin privileges (*Priuilegium sancti Teliaui* and the privileges of SS. Dyfrig and Euddogwy) ultimately derive from that, but it has more recently been argued by Paul Russell (2016) that *Braint Teilo* was translated from a Latin privilege similar to, but not necessarily identical with, the three extant Latin privileges. This latter scenario would be comparable with the use made of the Life of St Teilo by the Liber Landavensis Life of St Euddogwy, because in certain respects the extracts from the Life of St Teilo incorporated into the Life of St Euddogwy resemble the earlier Life of St Teilo preserved in Vespasian A. xiv more closely than the Life of St Teilo incorporated into the Liber Landavensis itself. Another suggestion offered by Wendy Davies was that *Braint Teilo* may be divided into two parts, the first having been written as the Liber Landavensis was being compiled in the 1120s and early 1130s, but the second having been composed somewhat earlier, perhaps in the late

tenth or eleventh centuries. John Reuben Davies (2003: 17–18, 70) suggested that the ascendancy of Rhydderch ab Iestyn (1023–33) would be a plausible early context for the composition of *Braint Teilo*, though he also voiced doubts about whether the two ‘parts’ of the text really originated separately. If the second part of *Braint Teilo* does preserve an earlier composition, it would seem that the probable Latin original from which it was translated has not been preserved in full, because this section was truncated in the Latin *Privilegium sancti Teliaui* (partly because the latter was designed to look like a papal privilege) and does not appear at all in the Dyfrig or Euddogwy privileges.

Most of the charters appended to the Life of St Teilo were concocted by Llandaff in order to claim properties formerly associated with the cult of St Teilo. The exceptions are the first two charters (§§22–3), which have credible witness lists, but the original versions of these charters probably recorded grants of property to a church of St Dyfrig in Ergyng rather than to St Teilo and Llandaff (Guy 2018: 22–3, 33–4). The other charters appended to the Life of St Teilo include elaborate narrations and lack credible witness lists; they are likely to have been composed by the compilers of the *Liber Landavensis*. Their primary purpose was to claim for Llandaff properties that had come to lie in the diocese of St Davids. This is why four of them (§§26–9) claim to have involved kings of Dyfed. Despite their probable inauthenticity, these charters do include some interesting narratives involving St Teilo, including King Iddon’s defeat of a Saxon army (§24), the drunken revelry of King Aergol’s court (§27), the martyrdom of St Tyfai of Penally, alleged brother of St Euddogwy (§28; cf. VS Oudocei (LL), §1), and the origin of the watermen of Llanddowror (§29). All of these stories end with grants of property to St Teilo and Llandaff (see the map in Hughes 1981: 16).

Finally, it is notable that, sandwiched among these charters, is a list of twenty-four properties that were allegedly granted to St Teilo in the time of the kings listed in §19 (§25). All of these properties are located west of the Towy, and the majority of them contain Teilo’s name (Davies 2002: 366; 2003: 88). Coe (2002: 71) suggested that this list was originally a list of Penally’s properties, whereas Doble (LWS 194) suggested that the list was written in Llandeilo Fawr. Most of the properties are repeated in the similar but longer list of properties apparently confirmed to Bishop Joseph of Llandaff by Rhydderch ab Iestyn in c. 1025, found later in the *Liber Landavensis* (LL 254–5). The confirmation of privileges and properties that contains this longer list may derive from a genuine document (Davies 1979: 126; Davies 2003: 17), and it is conceivable that

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the latter could have recorded the act by which the cult of St Teilo was first introduced to Llandaff.

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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). The present Life, along with the accompanying privileges and charters, was written to support the claims of Llandaff, especially with regard to property associated with Teilo’s cult (Davies 2003: 86–9). This group of texts is found only in the Liber Landavensis (L), which has provided the base text for the present edition. The Life itself is an augmented version of an earlier Life of St Teilo, preserved in Vespasian A. xiv (V), variants from which are provided in the apparatus.

De¹ vita Sancti Teiliavi, Landauensis ecclesie archiepiscopi.²

§1

Sanctus iste, fratres karissimi, ab infantia Dei cultor extitit. Nec mirum, cum ante infantiam eum futurum sibi seruum Deus predestinasset! Predestinauit quem elegit, elegit quem dilexit, dilectumque uerę confessionis palma coronauit. Militauit itaque uir Dei Deo, orationibus

¹ De L; Incipit V.

² Landauensis ecclesie archiepiscopi L; episcopi V. V adds *a magistro Galfrido, fratre Urbani Landavensis ecclesie episcopi, dictata.*

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insistendo omniaque³ quę possidebat indigentibus erogando. Quid amplius? Sex opera misericordię diligenter exequutus, nunquam Dei famulus ab ecclesiasticis uacabat institutis. Omnia sua faciebat non⁴ sua, et quę non erant sua faciebat sua. Nichil enim reliqui sibi de suo relinquens, bene caduca pro ęternis cambiebat. O quantus et qualis mercator, qui sua Deo dabat ut ab eo centuplum acciperet! O commercium pretiosum! O usura laudabilis! O fenus sine crimine! O lucrum sine reprehensione! Lucremur igitur sic nosmetipsos, fratres, ut lucrum non perdant⁵ feneratores. O quantę sapientię et scientię 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 uitę. Egregius igitur confessor fuit, qui preter uirtutes quid confiteretur non habuit, quippe bonus in infantia,⁶ in iuuentute melior, in senectute optimus.

§2

Sed ne tanti uiri genus taceatur, quasi nescitum. Ex nobilibus illum parentibus scimus⁷ fuisse ortum, ut carnis nobilitas honestaret eum inter homines qui iam animi nobilitate apud Deum erat acceptabilis. Post incrementum autem ętatis, uirtutum et sapientię, congruo nomine Elios⁸ a sapientibus nuncupatus est. Elios autem Grece Latine ‘sol’ interpretatur: fulgebat enim ut sol eius doctrina, fidelium illustrando doctrinam.⁹ Sed illiteratis hominibus extremum uocabuli corrupte proferentibus, adoleuit quod non Elios¹⁰ sed Eliud¹¹ 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 tantę indolis puerum ut non solum

³ **omniaque** L; et omnia V.

⁴ **faciebat non** L; non faciebat V.

⁵ **perdant** perdat LV (corrected by a later hand in L).

⁶ **bonus in infantia** L; in infantia bonus V.

⁷ **scimus** L; credimus V.

⁸ **Elios** L; Helios V.

⁹ **doctrinam** L; corda V.

¹⁰ **Elios** L; Helios V.

¹¹ **Eliud** L; Heliud V.

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 gratia eum¹² comittabatur tantusque eum studii sacrę lectionis feruor incendebat ut ille, qui iam aliis magistrari poterat, et adhuc magistrum¹³ querebat, tum quia sub alterius mallebat 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. Confundit¹⁴ itaque multorum hereses multorumque correxit errores, plusque simpliciter et catholice tamen¹⁵ argumentando profuit fidelibus quam suis subtilibus argumentis fecisset unquam aliquis philosophus. Illi enim, uiam querentes, semper deuiabant; ille uero uiam ueritatis nunquam 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. Deinde,¹⁷ audita sibi Poulini¹⁸ 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. Ibique sanctum Daud, perfectissimę uite hominem, sibi associauit. Quos tanta coniunxit dilectio et Spiritus Sancti gratia quod, in 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 illorum²⁰ 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

¹² **gratia eum** L; eum gratia V.

¹³ **adhuc magistrum** L; etiam magistrum adhuc V.

¹⁴ **Confundit** L; Confudit V.

¹⁵ **tamen** V; tam L. Evans (LL 349) suggested that *tamen* was the original reading.

¹⁶ **nullo** V; – L (supplied by a later hand).

¹⁷ **Deinde** L; Beatus Theliaws V.

¹⁸ **Poulini** L; Paulini V.

¹⁹ **in agendis** L; in agendis et non agendis V.

²⁰ **illorum** L; istorum V.

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amore terrę potiundę propter bonarum rerum copiam qua super omnes insulas tunc temporis 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 predita, 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 Gildę Britannorum historiografi repperiet. Cunque quidam illius nefarię gentis princeps, trucidando miseros incolas et comburendo edes et templa sanctorum a naualibus ubi²¹ appulerant, usque Minuensem ciuitatem processisset, ibi constitit ibique suum palatium construxit. Qui, uidens sancti Teliaui, Daud²² aliorumque seruorum Dei qui cum illis ibidem²³ degebant uitę probitatem,²⁴ (sicut prauorum semper consuetudo est bonis inuidere) non solum illis inuidebat sed etiam, quia illos tam attentos in Dei seruitio uideret, multa eis opprobria 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 blanditias illud efficere posse. Precepit itaque mulieri suę ut ad sanctos suas pedisequas dirigeret et sanctorum uisibus se offerrent, ut fatuis motibus sui corporis et meretriciis blandimentis sanctorum mentes a sancto proposito conarentur peruertere. Quę dum, dominę suę exequendo mandata, se quasi insanas esse simularent, insanę factę sunt, quippe quia²⁵ sicut dicitur, 'Qui in sordibus est, dignum est ut magis sordescat.' Quo uiso, predictus persecutor et tota domus sua²⁶ per gratiam seruorum Dei catholicam fidem susceperunt, et ab eisdem in Christi nomine baptizati sunt. Beatus itaque fuit qui scienter persequabatur iustos ut nescienter iustus efficeretur. Sanctos temptabat ut sanctus fieret; litigabat cum hominibus ut cum Deo reconciliaretur; despiciebat humiles ut humilitatem diligeret.

²¹ **ubi** V; – L. Emendation suggested by Loth 1893–5: i, 280.

²² **Teliaui, Daud** L; Daud et Eliud V.

²³ **ibidem** L; – V.

²⁴ **probitatem** L; probabilitatem V.

²⁵ **quia** L; – V.

²⁶ **tota domus sua** L; domus sua tota V.

§5

Postquam uero²⁷ Deus illas impudicas²⁸ mulieres tali immedicabili opprobrio deturpauit, eosdem sanctos per aliud opus, mirabile et dignum memoratu,²⁹ decorauit. Nam cum beatus Teliaus³⁰ et Maidocus in atrio monasterii non figmenta poetarum nec ueterum historias immo Ieremię prophetę lamentationes, ut amore celestis patrię magis accenderentur, discuterent³¹, superuenit quidam famulus dicens ligna deesse quibus cęna fratrum preparari posset. Illi autem, hoc egre ferentes, non quia in obsequio fratrum pigritarent, sed quia ad preparandam confratrum cenam tempestiue de silua non possent reuerti, nimia³² festinatione perrexerunt ad nemora. Quibus grauiter sollicitantibus, qualiter cito³³ redirent, et qualiter tantum lignorum possent deferre quod in multos dies sufficere posset ad opus preparandorum,³⁴ quatinus postea sacrę lectioni et orationibus diutius possent insistere, duo biiuges cerui³⁵ mansuetissimi occurrerunt,³⁶ et, colla prebentes ad subiugandum, Dei nutu seruitium prebuerunt, quasi dicerent, ‘Deus, uidens quare solliciti sitis, exuit nobis³⁷ 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, quę nostri laboris sarcinam sustinerent.’ Cunque sancti honerato plaustro domum redirent, non secundum hominum consuetudinem honeratos ceruos stimulabant ut citius incederent, immo illos a longe precedebant. Cerui uero, nullo cogente, sequebantur. Et ne amplius eorum oratio interromperetur pro huiusmodi negotio, ędem fere multo tempore post, Deo instimulante, ligna eis amministrabant et ea quę sanctorum usui necessaria³⁸ forent. Quis dubitat igitur tales fuisse sanctos, pro quibus Deus ministrare cogebat

²⁷ **uero** L; – V.

²⁸ **illas impudicas** L; predictas V.

²⁹ **memoratu** L; memoria V.

³⁰ **Teliaus** L; Eliud V.

³¹ **discuterent** V; – L. Emendation suggested by Loth 1893–5: i, 281. A later reader of the Liber Landauensis suggested emending with *legerent*.

³² **nimia** L; *cvm nimia* V (*cvm* added later by the main scribe).

³³ **qualiter cito** L; qualiter V.

³⁴ **preparandorum** L; preparandorum ciborum V (*ciborum* added later by the main scribe).

³⁵ **duo biiuges cerui** L; eis duo biiuges cerui V.

³⁶ **occurrerunt** L; occurrebant V.

³⁷ **nobis** L; nos V (altered from *nobis* by the main scribe)

³⁸ **sanctorum usui necessaria** L; necessaria usui sanctorum V.

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ceruos? Alii quidem feras occidere possunt, sed ita mansuescere³⁹ non possunt. 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 obędire!’ Interea sanctus Daud, exiens de tabernaculo suo, ante hostium 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, uidentes magnalia Dei, uouerent⁴⁰ Domino preces et uota, et ut⁴¹ propalaret sanctitatem fratrum suorum hominibus, quia Deus liberauerat⁴² librum eorum ab imbribus.⁴³

§6

Hi ut magis magisque per uirtutem Christi florerent miraculis, sicut Deus Israhelitico populo sitienti aquam de petra manare fecit, sic sanctis sitientibus 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, quę diuina uirtus operabatur pro illis infra curriculum temporis,⁴⁴ ut boni meriti celebrabantur ubique, Deus autem, uidens⁴⁵ eos⁴⁶ tot decoratos esse uirtutibus, iudicauit⁴⁷ eos promouendos esse ex⁴⁸ ecclesiasticis dignitatibus. Misit enim angelum suum ad sanctos, qui nuntiaret eundem eis esse ad sanctam ciuitatem Ierusalem ut ibi suę militię donatiua reciperent.

³⁹ **mansuescere** V; mansuere L (corrected by a later hand).

⁴⁰ **uouerent** uouerunt L; et uouerent V.

⁴¹ **et ut** L; ac V (altered from *et ut* by the main scribe).

⁴² **liberauerat** L; seruauerat V.

⁴³ **ab imbribus** L; illesum ab ymbribus V (*illesum* added by the correcting scribe).

⁴⁴ **curriculum temporis** L; paruum curriculum temporis V (*paruum* added by the main scribe).

⁴⁵ **Deus autem, uidens** L; uidens Deus V.

⁴⁶ **eos** L; sanctos suos V.

⁴⁷ **iudicauit** L; indicauit V.

⁴⁸ **ex** L; – V.

Sancti uero, Teliaus⁴⁹ uidelicet et Dauid, Deo suo per omnia obedientes, non sunt ausi resistere diuino nutui, sed, Paternum, uirum Deo carum, sibi assotiantes, 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, presentia sanitatem preberet infirmis. Reliquerunt itaque per diuersas prouincias suę sanctitatis uestigia cunctorum sibi obuiantium alleuiando dolores, si in Christi nomine infirmitatis suę rogarent medelam et in eiusdem uirtute sperarent recuperare posse sanitatem. Cunque persecutores in uia obsisterent, non tantum spolia illis pacifice concedebant, sed siquid prede⁵⁰ ipsi immemores relinquerent, predatoribus hilari uultu porrigebant. Illi autem, uidentes sanctorum bonam simplicitatem, ueniam supplicando commissorum non tantum reddebant eis sua, sed eos conducebant usque dum peruenirent ad tuta. Sic de ignotis fiebant noti, et persecutoribus summi efficiebantur amici.

§8

Consummato tandem tanti itineris cursu, Ierosolimam peruenerunt. Quibus ciuitatem introeuntibus, occurrit eis⁵¹ 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 cęlestia contemplantes quod terrenorum penitus essent immemores. Interea, totus clerus attente expectabat qui⁵² sanctorum quam sedem oratione finita sibi eligerent, ut in electione sedium notarent, sicut celitus per angelum premoniti fuerant, quem illorum ceteris prelatum constituerent⁵³. Erant enim⁵⁴ in templo ab antiquis temporibus tres cathedrę senioribus constitutę, duę diuersis metallis et miro artificio fabricatę, tertia cedrina, nichil ornati habens extrinsecus preter hoc quod natura dederat. Quam humilem humilis Eliud

⁴⁹ **Teliaus** L; Eliud V.

⁵⁰ **prede** V; pridę L (corrected by a later hand).

⁵¹ **eis** L; – V.

⁵² **qui** L; quis V.

⁵³ **constituerent** V; constituerunt L (corrected by a later hand).

⁵⁴ **enim** L; – V.

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elegit sibi in sedem, pretiosiores concedens fratribus propter reuerentiam. Quo uiso, omnes illi qui aderant ceciderunt in facies suas ante sanctum Eliud, dicentes, 'Salue, sancte Dei Teliaue! Et concede ut ualeant nobis tue preces apud Dominum, quia hodie plus ceteris sublimatus 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 considerat 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 quid doceret, sed dubitabat quod rogauerant qualiter eis expediret cum lingue eorum 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 refecti sunt uniuersi saporifera illius doctrina, ne predicandi officium uideretur presumere si solus predicasset, ait populo, '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, Teliaus uice Petri, Daud uice Jacobi,⁵⁵ et quasi in testimonium gratie⁵⁶ quam ibi Domino largiente susceperant, data sunt eis tria munera pretiosa prout unicuique competeat. Paterno, baculus et choralis cappa pretiosissimo 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

⁵⁵ Teliaus uice Petri, Daud uice Jacobi L; – V.

⁵⁶ in testimonium gratie L; gratie in testimonium V.

beato pontifici Teliauo non extremum tamen donorum accessit: cimbalum, magis famosum quam sit magnum, magis pretiosum quam pulchrum, quia dulci⁵⁷ sono uidetur excellere omne organum; periuros dampnat, infirmos curat, et quod magis uidetur mirabile, singulis horis, nullo mouente, sonabat, donec, peccato hominum prepediente, quin illud pollutis manibus temere tractabant, a tam dulci obsequio cessauit. Nec incongrue tali munere donatus est, quia sicut cimbalum de torpore sompnii⁵⁸ et inertię homines inuitat ad ecclesiam, sic clarus pontifex Teliaus,⁵⁹ Christi preco factus, incessanter predicando inuitabat⁶⁰ ad cęlum. His gloriosis⁶¹ donati muneribus, utrinque benedictione accepta, cum summa prosperitate reuersi sunt in regionem suam.

§9

Sanctusque Teliaus ecclesię Landauię, cui consecratus est, curam pastorem accepit, cum tota parrochia sibi adiacente quę fuerat Dubricii antecessoris sui,⁶² in qua non diu commorari potuit⁶³ propter pestilentiam quę fere totam gentem deleuerat. Pestis autem illa 'flaua' uocabatur, eo quod flauos et exangues efficiebat uniuersos quos persequabatur. Quę in columpna aquosę⁶⁴ nubis apparebat hominibus, unum caput uerrens per terram, aliud rursum⁶⁵ trahens per aerem, et discurrens per totam regionem ad modum imbris discurrentis per ima conuallium. Quecunque 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. Traxit enim Mailconvm, regem Guenedotię, deleuit et patriam suam, et in tantum incanduit prædicta clades

⁵⁷ **dulci** L; dulcis V (altered from *dulci* by the main scribe).

⁵⁸ **sompnii** L; sompni V.

⁵⁹ **Teliaus** L; Elivd V.

⁶⁰ **inuitabat** L; subiectos inuitabat V.

⁶¹ **His gloriosis** L; Sancti Dei supradictis V.

⁶² **Sanctusque Teliaus ecclesię Landauię, cui consecratus est, curam pastorem accepit, cum tota parrochia sibi adiacente quę fuerat Dubricii antecessoris sui** L; – V.

⁶³ **potuit** L; potuerunt V.

⁶⁴ **aquosę** L; – V. A later hand added *aquosę* to the margin of V.

⁶⁵ **rursum** L; sursum V.

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et per totam illam gentem quod patriam pene reddidit desertam.⁶⁶ Interea, dum ista persecutio⁶⁷ seuiret non tantum in hominibus sed etiam in fēris et in reptilibus, sanctus Teliaus,⁶⁸ in ieiunio et planctu, clamabat ad Dominum, dicens, ‘Parce, Domine, parce populo tuo, qui non uis mortem peccatoris, sed uitam, et ne des hereditatem tuam in perditionem.’ Deinde, ira Dei ad tempus paccata oratione eius aliorumque sanctorum, celitus ammonitus,⁶⁹ cum his qui residui fuerant de gente recessit in longinquas regiones. Quorum quidam perrexerunt in Hiberniam, plures uero, ducente eo, in Franciam,⁷⁰ donec Deus eis innueret reditum in patriam.

§10

Et factum est ita, dicente angelo et iubente sanctum Teliaum: ‘Surge et uade ultra mare, et congrega reliquias gentis tuę ut te sequantur, donec Deus, misericordia plenus, respiciens miseriam gentis et te, famulum Dei, laborantem pro gente precibus et oratione, concesserit, semota persecutione, eis et uobis de exilio reuerti et ab omni huiusmodi⁷¹ periculo in perpetuum liberari.’ Et iterum ait angelus, ‘Perge nichil hesitans; comittetur enim angelus Domini tecum eundo et redeundo, et reducet te cum tuis sequacibus iterum ad tuam regionem cum prosperitate.’ Surrexit igitur sanctus Teliaus, adducens secum quosdam suffraganos episcopos suos et ceterorum ordinum uiros, cum utriusque sexus hominibus, uiris et mulieribus. Et deuenit primitus ad Cornubiensem regionem, et bene susceptus est a Gerennio, rege illius patrię, et tractauit illum et suum populum cum omni honore. Et in illo interuallo hospitalitatis⁷² eius, rex Gerennius allocutus est familiariter sanctum Teliaum episcopum, dicens ei, ‘Pater et domine, rogo et uolo ut meam confessionem accipias, et sis meus confessor in Domino.’ Et pontifex, consentiens, accepit confessionem suam, et promisit illi, dicens cum fiducia non uisurum se mortem nisi prius acciperet corpus Domini quod ipse consecrasset.

⁶⁶ Traxit enim Mailconvm regem Guenedotię, deleuit et patriam suam, et in tantum incanduit prędicta clades et per totam illam gentem quod patriam pene reddidit desertam L; – V.

⁶⁷ persecutio L; pestis V (altered from *persecutio* by the main scribe or the correcting scribe).

⁶⁸ Teliaus L; Eliud V.

⁶⁹ ammonitus admonitus V (altered from amonitus by the main scribe or the correcting scribe); ammonitus est L (est struck though by a later hand).

⁷⁰ Quorum quidam perrexerunt in Hiberniam, plures uero, ducente eo, in Franciam L; – V.

⁷¹ huiusmodi L; eiusmodi V.

⁷² hospitalitatis hospitatis L (corrected by a later hand).

§11

Et inde, his peractis, perrexit sanctus cum suis comitibus ad Armoricas gentes, et bene continuo susceptus est ab eis. Audiente Samsone, Dolensis ecclesię archiepiscopo, aduentum confratris sui in patriam, occurrit ei cum gaudio. Nam de una regione procreati fuerant, et unius lingue uiri, et simul cum beato Dubricio archipresule edocti, et cuius manus impositione sanctus Samson consecratus est in episcopium, ut in uita sua testatur. Rogauitque sanctum Teliaum ut cum illo habitasset, et adqueuit ei, et cum eo commoratus est multo tempore. Et ibi reliquit quedam patrocina sue sanctitatis, id est fontem sanifluum Cai nomine, quem ipse meruit a Domino diriuare. Et inter cetera sanitatum quas infirmi de illo impetrant in Dei nomine et Teliaui, unum inclitum miraculum permanet inibi usque hodie. Nam nautę illius gentis Armorice, propter uentum consuetum ad naues illorum, ut in dirigium nauigare possint ad rectum iter ubi uelint, consuetum habent illum saluificum fontem purgare, et sepius ac sepius per interuentum sancti pontificis Dominus largitur precarium illorum, id est uentum ad uelum nauigii ut cum gaudio gradientur per equorevm iter ubi sibi uelle uideatur. Et aliud patrocinium sui testimonii ibi reliquit. Ipse enim et predictus sanctus Samson plantauerunt magnum nemus arboreti fructiferi, quasi ad tria miliaria, id est a Dol usque ad Cai. Et decorantur ipsa nemora ex eorum nomine usque in hodiernum diem, vocantur enim arboreta Teliaui et Samsonis. Et ex illo tempore et deinceps, episcopatus Dolensis decoratur et celebratur sub testimonio omnium Armoricorum Brittonum, ob conuersationem et reuerentiam sancti Teliaui.

§12

Interea, dum hec agerentur et tractarentur, contigit quod Christus per misericordiam suam precipere ut illa predicta lues, que 'flaua' dicebatur, exiret et euanesceret de Britannia insula tota. Quo audito, fidelis ductor Teliaus, in modicum exhilaratus et Sancto Spiritu summonitus, et ab utrisque missis legatis in Franciam et ultra Alpes in Italiam et quocunque cognitum sibi erat eos aufugisse, recollegit compatriotas diligenter in unum, ut omnes, extincta pestilentia cum data pace per omnia, redirent ad propria. Preparauit igitur naues tres maximas ad populi turbas transituras. Peruenit sanctus uir, flentibus et lugentibus ob tanti patris discessum, ad maritimum portum. Et dum uentum expectaret prosperum ad equorale nauigium, ecce rex terre Budic nomine obuiam illi uenit cum magno exercitu Armoricorum. Et statim ipse rex et totus suus exercitus genua flexerunt ante eum. Et interrogans quidnam hoc esset, respondit ei rex, 'Ad hoc

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genua fleximus ut pro me et pro mea patria Deum roges propter pestilentiam quam modo sustinemus. Nam ingens uipera apparuit nuper in mea patria, quę tertiam partem regni mei pene deleuit.’ Et continuo sanctus pontifex, hesitans, timuit illo ire, ferebantur enim horribilia de illa bestia. Et subito apparuit ei angelus Domini, et, confortans eum, ait illi, ‘Ne timeas exire cum illis; aderit autem tibi uirtus Christi, quę illam uiperam sub tuis manibus consumet, et propter te ipse Redemptor ac Saluator saluet ac liberet istam totam patriam.’ Et sequens euangelicum consilium, sanctus presul ausus est adire illum draconem uolucrum ac pennatum. Et statim, cęlitus inspiratus, accepit orarium suum et de eo cinxit ac ligauit eius collum, et pręcepit illi per Dominicum preceptum ut illum sequeretur usque ad mare, et sua uenena ac nefaria flammina cessaret emittere. Et denuo pestifera bestia, secundum preceptum pontificis mitis ac lenis effecta, nec pennam leuauit ad terrendum, nec dentem nudauit ad stridendum, nec linguam erexit ad emittendum igneum flatum. Et statim pius sacerdos deduxit illam ad mare, trahens post se monstrum inorme, per orarium suum ligatum. Et continuo illud in medio Tethis ad magnum scropulum, in nomine Domini, irretiuit.

§13

Et hęc uidentes, Armorici consilium inierunt cum Samsone pontifice, et dixerunt ei, ‘Pater sancte, sit tibi curę de nobis. Nam si nos reliquerit iste homo Dei, ueniet iterum iste serpens et deuastabit nos et patriam nostram. Placeat igitur tibi illum nobiscum retinere et hoc rogare⁷³ precarie ut adquiescat nobiscum commanere, ne pereamus ex ista clade.’ Et hoc audiens, pius pater quod tale consilium inierant pontifex Samson et rex Budic cum populo suo ut illum cum eis ad tempus precibus retinerent graue tulit, et in semetipso statuit ad huiusmodi conuentum et consilium illis non adquiescere. Et ecce, angelus Domini in illa nocte apparuit illi, confortans eum et dicens ei, ‘Ne dubites cum illis commanere, per te enim erit refugium et patrię auxilium. Et hoc erit tibi signum quod ad te a Deo missus sum. Cras etenim mane ad te uenient rex et pontifex predictus cum magna frequentia populi sui, et, te rogantes suppliciter et obnixę, tibi offerent episcopalem curam et priuilegium totius gentis Armoricę. Et eis adquiescens secundum meum oraculum, accepturus quod ab eis tibi oblatum fuerit ad tempus; interim conueniet gens tua, undique adhuc dispersa, et dicas illis, “Manebo uobiscum quandiu Deo placuerit, expectans totius gentis meę exiliatę conuentum.’ Et iterum angelus: ‘Ecce, tibi aliud signum per me a Deo erit monstratum.

⁷³ **rogare** *rogate* L. Emendation suggested by Loth 1893–5: i, 441.

Nam die crastina obuam tibi habebis pontificem et regem cum frequentia multi populi ut te deducant honorifice et cum gloria ad episcopalem sedem. Et cum ipsi studuerint offere precipuum caballum de suis equis tibi ad sedendum, non consentias ut illum ab eis omnino suscipias. Habebis enim continuo, ad diuinę licentię testimonium, sonipedem precipuum per me tibi a Deo missum. Et illum ascendens ouanter et licenter, ibis cum eis ad Dolensem episcopatum, tibi ad tempus a Deo preparatum et predestinatum.' Igitur hęc omnia impleta fuerunt die postera sicut angelica promiserant affamina. Nam rex et pontifex cum multitudine populorum obuiauērunt ei ut illum deducerent cum condigno honore ad episcopatum Dolensem, ut sublimarent illum in pontificalem sedem. Et ecce, subito, sicut celeps nuntius predixerat, offerentibus illis precipuum equum de suis et illo interim rennuente ab illis accipere, iuxta eum apparuit pulcherrimus sonipes, a Deo sibi missus. Et super eum ascendens, uenit cum eis usque in Dol et, sicut illi a Deo fuerat iussum, adqueiuit cum eis commanere usque ad prefinitum tempus iterum a Deo Patre. Et in illo articulo temporis, uocauit ad se regem Budicum et, multa benedictione benedicens eum, prebuit ei predictum caballum. Et coram omni populo, sanctus Teliaus episcopus rogauit Deum et imprecatus est suppliciter ut milites Armorici fortiores fierent in equitando omnibus gentibus, et inde patriam suam tuerentur et uictoriose se de inimicis suis ulciscerentur. Et illud priuilegium quod sanctus Teliaus impetrauit, a Deo sibi collatum, usque hodie permanet inibi, secundum testimonia et commentaria omnium illius patrię seniorum. Sunt enim Armorici amplius uictoriosi in equitando septies quam ut essent pedites.

§14

Interea, dum hęc agerentur, sanctus Teliaus episcopus quadam die uocauit ad se familiam suam, hoc est plebem suę patrię. Et conferens cum eis affabiliter, ad ultimum intulit eis, 'Scitis, filioli mei, quia noster rex Gerennius in magno dolore aggrauatur, et, angelo michi prenuntiante, credo illum exiturum in hac infirmitate de seculo. Nam cum ueniebam ad istam patriam, transiens per terram suam, illum uisitaui et me meosque quibusdam diebus hospitando secum honorifice suscepit. Et pepigi illi, promittens in Domino, non uisurum se mortem nec suum ultimum diem donec corpus Domini a me susciperet, et sic de mundo exiret. Preparete igitur nobis nostram nauim, ut per diuinam licentiam, diu nobis desiderabilem et diuinitus promissam, possimus repatriare ad natiuam patriam.' Preparata itaque magna barca, peractisque septem annis ac septem mensibus quos sanctus Teliaus duxerat in Armoricorum patria, intrauit in eam cum multis

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doctoribus et quibusdam aliis episcopis, de quibus gens Brittannorum de sanctitate post pestilentiam recrearetur. Et tunc precepit suis, dicens, ‘Tollite nobiscum hunc sarcophagum, ut in eum corpus Gerennii condetur.’ Et admirantes, dixerunt quia non poterant præ magnitudine eius hoc preceptum implere. ‘Vix enim,’ inquiunt, ‘decem iuga boum poterant eum de suo loco submouere.’ Et precepit illis, in Domino confidens, et oratione episcoporum suorum simul et populi, ut mitteretur in mare ante proram nauis, et, gubernante Deo, mitteretur ad ripam sine remo: et ita factum est. Nauigantibus illis in medio maris, obuiauuit eis altera nauis, et conuenientes nautę utriusque nauis collocti sunt ad inuicem, dicente episcopo a Gerennio misso quod rex moriebatur, expectans tamen sancti Teliaui aduentum et conuentionem. Et inde pariter nauigantes, applicuerunt in portum uocatum Dingerein. Et ecce, continuo lapis prædictus missus in mare, inter duas naues applicans, apparuit, et secundum fidem sancti pastoris, Christus gloriam suę maiestatis manifestauit. Sanctus Teiliaus, perueniens ad regem, inuenit eum adhuc uiuentem, et accepto corpore Domini de manu illius letus migravit ad Dominum. Et diligenter a beato confessore suo corpus inhumatum est in predictum sarcophagum, et Deo commendatum.

§15

Post hæc, sanctus uir repetiuit sedem suam episcopalem, committante eum cleri et populi copia, et habitauit ibi usque in consummationem uite, principatum tenens super omnes ecclesias totius dextralis⁷⁴ Britannię, secundum traditionem patrum qui eum Hierosolime 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, quę multo tempore fuerat dispersa, interueniente Teliauo, sanctorum sanctissimo, fuit exaltata.

§16

Ad quem conuenerunt discipuli qui fuerant beati Dvbricii: Iunapeius, Gurmaet, Cynmur, Toulidauc, Iuhil, Fidelis, Hismael, Tyfhei, Oudoceus, et multi alii discipuli, ut eum moribus et doctrina imitarentur. De quibus, Hismaelem consecrauit in episcopum, mittens illum ad consulendam ecclesiam Minuensem, et iam uiduatam pastore: nam sanctus Daud ad Dominum

⁷⁴ **dextralis** L; occidentalis V.

migrauerat. Et multos alios eiusdem ordinis uiros similiter sublimauit in episcopium, mittens illos per patriam diuidensque parrochias sibi ad opportunitatem cleri et populi.

§17

Nunc, quę scripto cognouimus facta per eum miracula, ea litteris et memorie commendamus. Nam tacendo Dei et sanctorum uirtutem grauiter deliquimus, predicando uero congaudemus. Habebat quidem tres summarios, et nullo ducente eos ibant ad siluam. Onerati a lignatoriis suis, rediebant simili modo, sine aliquo ducente, et sic seruiebant fratribus cotidie. Dicunt enim illum resuscitasse mortuum super fluuium Couin nomine Distinnic. Dicuntque paraliticum in ecclesia Radh, coram omni populo ab eo sanatum die dominica. Et quocunque dolore egrotabantur infirmi, curabantur eius manus impositione. Illi uero qui aliquam iniuriam sibi faciebant, aut diu cruciabantur,⁷⁵ aut ilico moriebantur, ut femina temeraria quę in eo peccauit coram omni populo liquefacta est. Quidam etiam regulus Guaidan nomine uiolauit refugium illius in quadam sua ecclesia Lanteliau Bechan uulgaliter uocata, unde frangendo bachatus est, et statim uiliter in eiusdem cimiterio amisit spiritvm. Recognoscentes autem culpam protinus eius precibus recuperabant salutem et ueniam.

§18

In nocte autem depositionis eius, magna dissensio orta est inter tres clericos trium ecclesiarum illius, singulis pretenditibus suas auctoritates et priuilegia de habendo corpore: 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 finierat; tertia uero, Landauia, ob sedem episcopalem, ob eius priuilegia et dignitates, ob consecrationes et obedientiam, ob totius parrochię concordem uocem, et sancti Dubricii per omnia et aliorum patrum priorem statum et constitutionem.⁷⁶ Sed tandem, consilio discretorum

⁷⁵ **aut diu cruciabantur** Inserted by a later hand, but required for sense.

⁷⁶ **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 finierat; tertia uero, Landauia, ob sedem episcopalem, ob eius priuilegia et dignitates, ob consecrationes et obedientiam, ob totius parrochię concordem uocem, et sancti Dubricii per omnia et aliorum patrum priorem statum et constitutionem** L; – V.

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hominum adquiescentes, institerunt⁷⁷ 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 quę facta sunt a mediatore Dei et hominum Christo, ut nostra dissentio sedaretur et, ut in beati confessoris Teliaui uita, sic et in 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 totius compaginis liniamenta. Sic sedata pace,⁷⁸ singuli cum suo corpore remeauerunt ad sua, et diuersa in illis diuersis locis cum summa reuerentia sepelierunt. Miraculis quidem quampluribus cognitum est omni populo et monimentis antiquorum seniorum indubitanter Landauię esse allatvm.⁷⁹ Ad cuius summi pontificis tumbam frequentissime ab omnibus suis languoribus curantur infirmi, cecis illustrando uisum et surdis largiendo auditum. Hęc et his plura, fratres karissimi, operata est diuina uirtus pro sanctissimo confessore Teliauo. Quare tanti uiri festiuitatem cum toto mentis affectu celebrate, ęcclesiam 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 aque frigidę de muliere Samaritana ac si dedisset auri mille talenta, ut eum imitando⁸⁰ in bonis operibus mereamini cum eodem gloriari in supernis sedibus, adiuuante Domino nostro Iesv Christo, qui semper⁸¹ uiuit et regnat in secula seculorum, amen.⁸²

§19

In cuius uita creuit ęcclesia Landauia pro sanctitate sua (tam moribus quam doctrina) in ęcclesiis et territoriis sibi datis, cum omni libertate sua, dignitate et priuilegio, a regibus contemporaneis suis: Teudiric filio Teithpall, Idon filio Ynyr Guent, Gurcant Maur, Mailcun, Aircol Lauhir,

⁷⁷ **institerunt** V (altered from *insisterunt* by the correcting scribe); *insisterunt* L.

⁷⁸ **pace** L; *lite* V.

⁷⁹ **Miraculis quidem quampluribus cognitum est omni populo et monimentis antiquorum seniorum indubitanter Landauię esse allatvm** L; – V.

⁸⁰ **imitando** L; *imitando etiam* V.

⁸¹ **semper** L; – V.

⁸² V adds *Explicit uita venerabilis confessoris Theliawi.*

Catgucaun Tredicil, Rein, et a multis aliis regibus et principibus dextralis Britannię, et ita ecclesiis nominandis cum suis terris et dotibus, cum finibus subscriptis et testantibus legitimis uiris.

§20

Priuilegium sancti Teliaui est et ecclesię suę Landauię datum sibi et omnibus successoribus suis in perpetuo a regibus istis et principibus Brittannię, confirmatum apostolica auctoritate cum omnibus legibus suis in se plenariis sibi et terris suis. Libera ab omni regali seruitio, sine consule, sine proconsule, sine conuentu intus nec extra, sine expeditione, sine uigilanda regione, et cum omni iustitia sua de fure et furto, de rapina, de homicidio, de arsione, de rixa, de sanguine, de refugio uiolato ubique in terra sancti, de assaltu uiarum et extra uias, de faciendo iudicio et patiando de omni populo sancti Teliaui in curia Landauię, de communione aque et herbe, campi et silue populo ecclesię sancti Teliaui, cum mercato et moneta in Landauia, cum applicatione nauium ubique per terras sancti Teliaui. Libera pro regibus et omnibus nisi ecclesię Landauię et episcopis eius. De opprobrio et omni iniuria quod rex Morcanhuc et sui homines fecerint episcopo sancti Teliaui et suis hominibus, idem rex Morcanhuc et sui homines rectum faciant episcopo et suis hominibus, et iudicium patiantur in curia Landauię. Omnis lex que fuerit regali omnis etiam et in curia plenarie episcopali Landauensi. Statutum est enim apostolica auctoritate istius ecclesię priuilegium ut cum sua dignitate ab omni secularis seruitii grauamine libera in posterum maneat et queta. Quecunque uero concessione pontificum, liberalitate principum, oblatione fidelium, uel aliis iustis modis eidem pertinebunt, ei firma in posterum et integra conseruentur. Quecunque preterea in futurum largiente Deo iuste atque canonice poterit ad ipisci, queta ei semper et illibata permaneant. Decretum namque est ut nulli omnino hominum liceat predictam ecclesiam temere perturbare, aut eius possessiones auferre, uel ablatas retinere, minuere uel temerariis uexationibus fatigare, et omnia ei cum parrochię finibus conseruentur. Siqua igitur in futurum ecclesiastica secularisue persona contra hanc temere uenire temptauerit, secundo tertioque commonita si non satisfactione congrua emendauerit, potestatis honorisque sui dignitate careat, reamque se diuino iudicio existere de perpetrata iniquitate cognoscat, et a sacratissimo corpore ac sanguine Dei et Domini Redemptoris nostri Iesu Christi aliena fiat, atque in extremo examine districtę ultionis subiaceat. Cunctis autem eidem ecclesię ita seruantibus, fiat pax Domini nostri Iesu Christi quatinus et hic fructum bonę actionis percipiant et apud districtum iudicem premia eterne pacis inueniant.

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§21

Lymma y cymreith ha bryein eccluys Teliau o Lanntaf a rodes breenbined hinn ha touyssocion Cymry yn trycyguidaul dy eccluys Teliau hac di'r escip oll gueti ef, amcytarnedic o audurdaut papou Rumein. Y holl cyfreith didi, hac dy thir hac di dair, ryd o pop guasanaith breennin bydaul, heb mair, heb cygbellaaur, heb cyboith dadlma y meun gulat hac ny dieithyr, heb luyd, heb gauayl, heb guylma. Y cyfreith idi yn hollaul o leityr, o latrat, o treis, o dynnyorn, o cynluyn, hac o losc, o amryson can guayt a heb guayt (y diruy ha'y camcul yndi didi yn hollaul), o dorri naud ynn lann hac yn dieythyr lann, o rachot ynn lubyn hac yn dieithyr lubyn, o cyrch ypop mynnic ar tir Teliau. Ha'y guir ha'y braut dy lytu yr ecluys ygundy Teliau ynn Lantaf hac ny lys. Dufyr ha guell, ha'e choyt ha mays yn cyfrytin dy lytu Teliau. Cyfnofut ha bath o riayth ynn Lanntaf, hac aperua ar dir Teliau dy'r loggou a discynno ny thir ypop mynnic yt uoy, ryd rac breennin a rac paup namyn dy Teliau a dy eccluys Lantam ha dy escyp. Ha'r mefyl ha'r sarbayt ha'r cam ha'r ennuet a gunech breennhin Morcannbuc ha'y gur ha'y guas dy escop Teliau hac dy gur hac dy guas, dyuot breennhin Morcannbuc ygundy Teliau yn Lanntaf dy gunethur guir ha cyfreith ha di guadef braut di am y cam a diconher dy escop Teliau ha dy gur ha dy guas. Y thir ha'y dayr dy luyd, dy uuner, di gauayl, ha pop cyfreith a uo dy breennin Morcannbuc yn lys, ou bot oll yn hollaul dy escop Teliau ny lys yntou, ha'y bot yn emelldicetic hac yn yscumunetic yr neb a torro hac a'y dimanuo y bryeint hunn, hac ef ha'y plant guety ef. Hynn bendicetic, hac ef ha'y plant, a'y enrydedocao y breint hunn hac a'y catvy. Amen.

§22

De Lanngarth.

Idon rex filius Ynyr Guent, pro commertio eterne patrie, unam de domibus suis, Lanngarth uidelicet, cum omni territorio suo, que a priori tempore fuerat sancti Dubricii archiepiscopi, immolauit, cum omni sua libertate, et cum refugio ecclesie sancti Petri de Landauia, archiepiscopo Teliauo et omnibus successoribus suis, sine ullo censu terreno, magno uel modico, nisi Deo et ecclesie Landauie, et cum tota communione intus uel extra in campo et in siluis, in aqua et in pascuis. Et rex, circuens totum territorium et portans euangelium in dorso cum clericis ferentibus cruces in manibus et aspersa aqua benedicta simul cum puluere pauimenti ecclesie et sepulchri in omnibus finibus, perambulauit per totum. Facta maledictione et excommunicatione ab omnibus uno ore illis specialiter quicumque locum istum cum suo territorio et finibus istis subscriptis ab ecclesia Landauia et a pastoribus illius in eternum separauerit, data autem

benedictione seruaturis in pace. De clericis testes sunt Teliaus archiepiscopus, Arguistil, Elguoret, Conguarui, Conbran, Iudon, Guordocui, Gurmoi, Gurhal. De laicis: rex Iudon *testis*, Morguid, Merchion, Freudubur, Erbic, Guinabui. Finis istius podi est: Clougur per uiam magnam usque ad cumulum Frut Mur. A cumulo Frut Mur recte *di'r fos*, usque ad petram in quattuor confinibus. *O'r lech cibitan di tal ir cecyn, behet tal ir fos. O penn i fos* usque ad fontem nigrum. A fonte per siluam *di Clour* eminus. *Tal i fos cibitan Clouric di Clour.*

§23

Lannmaur, id est Lannteliau Porth Halauc.

Idem rex Idon largitus est, in elemosina pro anima sua et animabus parentum suorum regum et principum Deo et sancto Petro et archiepiscopo Teliauo et omnibus succedentibus sibi in ecclesia Landauie, Lannmaur, id est Lannteliau Port Halauc, ubi Biuan cum quattuor sociis suis iacet, cum omni territorio suo et omni dignitate et refugio, et cum tota libertate et omni communione incolis in campo et in siluis, in aqua et in pascuis, et cum finibus istis subscriptis et attestantibus legitimis uiris, clericis et laicis, et ita sine ullo censu, magno uel modico, ulli homini terreno nisi pastoribus ecclesie Landauie in perpetuo. De clericis testes sunt Teliaus archiepiscopus, Arguistil, Elguoret, Conguarui. De laicis: Idon rex, Morguid, Merchion, Guinabui. Data benedictione seruaturis elemosinam in quieta pace, uiolaturis autem ab omni ore maledictione sub anathemate, et cum finibus istis: *o blain Cubi trus Mail Uannon di blain Diufrut. Ar hit Diufrut di'r guairet bet Gebenni, trio di aper Nant Maur. Mal i duc Nant Maur di uinid, bet i blain in Iscirit Maur. Trus Iscirit di blain Morduc. Ar hit Morduc di'r guairet trui i coit di'r Iulen, ar hit i nant Morduc bet Geuenni. Geuenni di'r guairet bet i rit lechauc. O'r rit di'r lech luit ni Cruc Bracd, di Guern i Drution, di Luch i Crecion, di Cubi. Mal i duc Cubi di uinid bet i blain*, ubi inceptit.

§24

Lannteiliau Cressinych.

Tempore predicti regis Idon, uenerunt Saxones in regionem suam depredari. Et ipse cum suo exercitu secutus est illos. Et in uia sua uenit ad sanctum Teliaum, manentem tunc temporis cum suis clericis apud podum suum Langarth. Et deprecatus est illum nimium et omnes clericos suos ut pro illo et toto exercitu suo Deum deprecaretur. Et uenit sanctus Teliaus cum eo usque ad

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montem unvm in medio Crissinic prope Trodi, stans et orans Deum omnipotentem ut populo suo depredato succurreret. Et ex audita prece sua, et adepto magno gaudio, uersis hostibus in fugam, reuersus est rex, capta preda. Et tunc tres modios terre circa cumulum illum sancto Teliauo et ecclesię Landauię, cum omni communione sua incolis in campo et in siluis, in aquis et in pascuis. Ita excommunicatione facta ab omnibus communiter illis quicunque ab illa die inantea separarent ab ecclesia Landauię, et ex alia parte facta absolutione illis seruaturis hanc elemosinam in pace. Finis: *o aper Ciuerdiued iCaruan, Ciuerdiued ni hit bet aper Guaech. O aper Guaech i'r guber bichan. Ni hit bet penn Claud Etern. Ny hit bet Fos Cinabi. Ni hit bet aper Grenin. Grenin ni hit bet in licat Grenin. O licat Grenin in traus ynn iaun i Carn Gunstan. O Carn Gunstan i Castell Mei. O Castell Mei di aper Caruan i Ciuerdiued.*

§25

Datę sunt istę ecclesię cum suis dotibus et territoriis omnibus et omni dignitate sua et priuilegio, libertate et refugio et omni communione incolis in campo et in siluis, in aqua et in pascuis, et a regibus predictis sancto Teliauo et omnibus episcopis Landauensis ecclesię, data maledictione uiolaturis, benedictione autem seruaturis;⁸³ fiat pax in diebus eorum et habundantia pacis hic et in perpetuo: Lannteliau Nant Seru, uilla tantum, in Cantref Maur super ripam Cothi; Lannteliau Garth Teuir, uilla tantvm, super ripam Cothi; Lannteliau Bechan in Difrin Teiui, uilla tantum; Lannteliau Tref iCerniu; Lanntoulidauc iCair; Lannteliau Apercouin; Lannteliau Penntyuinn; Lannteliau Luin Gaidan, uilla tantum, in Euelfre. *iPennbro*: Lanrath *ba Lanncronnguern* cum tribus territoriis Amrath (finis illorum: *o Frut Gurcant hit glann Rath*); Trem Carn, uilla tantum sine ecclesia; Laithiti Teliau super ripam Ritec, uilla tantum iuxta Pennalun; Menechi *ar glan Ritec* iuxta Pennalun; Pull Arda iuxta Mainaur Pir, uilla tantum; Luin Teliau, uilla tantum; Eccluis Gunniau ubi natus est sanctus Teliaus; Porth Medgen, uilla tantum; Porth Manach, *mainaur* in Amithieil; Din Guennham in Lonion, uilla tantum; Lannteliau Litgarth in Doucledif, *mainaur*; Lannteliau Cilretin in Emlin. In Ros: Lannissan, *mainaur*; Brodlan; Lanngurfrit. Lannceffic in Talacharn cum centum acris terrę et quinque.

⁸³ **seruaturis** Inserted by a later hand, but required for sense.

§26

Mainaur Brunus et Telich Clouman, Tref Canus.

Rex Demeticę regionis, Margetud filius Rein, commotus furore nimio et crudelitate, occidit Gufrir, hominem sancti Teliaui, in refugio Dei et illius, manentem ante altare illius. Postmodum, requisita ab eo penitentia cum data sibi uenia ob emendationem ab eo promissam in ieiunio, oratione et elemosina, largitus est, cum promissa in omni emendatione sua, Deo sanctoque Teliauo et ecclesię Landauię, omnibus pastoribus illius in perpetuo, Mainaur Brunus cum ecclesia et piscibus et siluis, simul et Telich Clouman, simulque etiam Trem Canus, liberas illas terras ab omni regali seruitio, et ita cum omni dignitate sua et priuilegio sancti Teliaui illis concesso in omnibus, cum peruia communione incolis in campo et in siluis, in aqua et in pascuis, in perpetuo. Data maledictione uiolaturis, benedictione autem conseruaturis.

§27

Tref Carn, Laithti Teliau, Menechi.

Regnante Aircol Lauhir filio Tryfun, rege Demeticę regionis, contigit, cum uice sua curiam suam apud Lis Castell, caput totius Demeticę regionis, teneret, ita quod, omni nocte cum dispensatores regis uice mutua⁸⁴ regi seruirent in cibo et potu, suadente Diabolo, prenimia copia liquoris quod semper unus de militibus aut de familia regis occideretur. Quod cum rex solitum uidisset homicidium, cognouit quod nullo modo dissolutum posset fieri nisi elemosinis et ieiuniis et oratione sanctorum. Facta ieiunio et oratione, mandauit rex propter sanctum Teliaum, conuersantem tunc apud Pennalun podum suum, ut cito ad eum ueniret ut sibi et curię suę benedixisset, ne tam solitum homicidium amplius in curia sua euenisset. Et postquam sanctus Teliaus ad illum uenit, sibi benedixit et curię suę et duos discipulos suos, Iouil et Fidelis, misit ut curię seruirent diuidendo cibum et potum omnibus ad mensuram et sufficientiam, et, gratia Spiritus Sancti, quod nullum illa nocte factum est homicidium nec post in sua curia, ut solitum. Cognoscens rex quod per orationem sancti Teliaui euacuatum est illud periculum, dedit sancto Teliauo de propria hereditate sua tres uillas, id est Tref Carn (finis: *o Uinyd Garthon di blain Nant Brat, y'r guairet hit in Ritec*; ex alia parte, *o Uinid Garthon hit Nant y Clauorion, bet in Ritec*), Laithty Teliau (*o Carn Baclan di Cil Meiniauc, bet in Ritec*), Menechi (*o Tref Eithinauc di Nant*

⁸⁴ **mutua** ~~mxtua~~ L. Emendation suggested by Evans (LL 350).

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hi Rotguidou, bet in Ritec; ex alia parte, o Tonou Pencenn di blain Nant Castell Cerran, bet in Ritec), cum omni sua libertate in campo et in aquis, in silua et in pascuis intus et extra, sine ullo censu ullo homini terreno nisi Deo et archiepiscopo Teliauo et ecclesię et successoribus illius in perpetuo, testantibus rege Aircol cum suis principibus. De clericis: sanctus Teliaus testis, Iouil, Fidelis discipulus suus. Facta benedictione ab omnibus uno ore illis ab illa die seruaturis inantea in pace hanc elemosinam in perpetuo. Qui autem ab ecclesia Landauię separauerint, separentur in die iudicii ut edi ab agnis. Amen.

§28

Cil Tutuc et Penn Clecir.

Quadam die contigit quod porci unius hominis de Pennalun intrauerunt in segetes unius diuitis nomine Tutuc. Qui cum hoc dampnum uidisset, quesuit subulcum ut uindictam in eum faceret. Et non inuenit eum donec ad locum Pennalun peruenit, et ibi subulcum inuenit. Et uolens eum feriri cum lancea, interueniente infante quodam nomine Typhei, nepote sancti Teliaui, et se subulco defendente, infantem crudelis uir perforauit lancea, et mortuus est. Et postea,⁸⁵ penitens fecisse, ueniam quesuit apud sanctum Teliaum, et semetipsum sibi uerbo et consensu regis Aircol cum duabus uillis suis, Cil Tutuc et Pen Clecir, dedit, cum magna deuotione in perpetua seruitute et cum tota sua progenie, et ecclesię Landauię et pastoribus illius in perpetuo, cum sua omni libertate, sine aliquo censu ulli homini terreno nisi Deo et ecclesię Landauię. De clericis testis est archiepiscopus Teliaus, cum suis discipulis Iouguil et Fidelis. De laicis uero: rex Aircol, Liuathru, Letclit, Ina, Recdoud. Finis est: *o Castell Cerran di Nant Torr i Cair, bet hi locnhty; ex alia parte, o Nant Castell Carran bet in Ritec.*

§29

Mainaur Mathru et Cenarth Maur.

Fvit uir Cynguaiu nomine de Doucledif, natus nobili parentela sed egenus et uxoratus, qui in tantum utebatur uxore sua quod singulis annis singulum procreauit natum. Quo magis gaudere debebant, eo amplius tristabantur, ob penuriam et frequentem partum, adeo tantę simplicitatis

⁸⁵ ~~postea~~ postex L (corrected by a later hand).

quod inde requisierunt consilium apud sanctum Teliaum de tanta copia filiorum et inopia, et inantea quidue agendum. Beatus Teliaus, audita sibi hac tam querula requisitione, dixit, 'Nullam aliam causam uobis uideo ad euitandam prolis fecunditatem nisi ut a carnalitate ambo abstineatis.' Quo audito, perceperunt sibi hoc consilium esse saluberrimum, et per .vii. annos abstinerunt. Qui cum ita essent, ueluti in desperatione semper inantea prolis simul peccato suo continuerunt,⁸⁶ concepit mulier et peperit .vii. filios. Et ita paganos portauerunt eos uersus sanctum Teliaum, et dicentes, 'Malo omine recepimus consilium sancti Teliaui, male etiam sumus honerati. Nos quidem eos submergamus in aqua, aut etiam sibi commendamus, accepta sibi eorum cura.' Transeunte autem euentu sancto Teliauo per uiam suam, inuenit patrem illorum in Ryt Sinetic super Taf flumen, filios suos suadente Diabolo mergentem singillatim in flumine, propter inopiam suam et paupertatem. Videns sanctus Teliaus tam execrabile opus, accepit eos singulos semiuiuos et baptizauit eos in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, cum gratiarum actione. Ablatis filiis .vii. patri funesto, uir magnę pietatis nutriuit eos, et ad studium litterarum misit quos in podo suo Lannteliau dimisit, ab aliis quidem sumpto loco nomine Lanndyfrguyr, eo quod nullo alio uictu uiuebant ob religiosam suam uitam nisi aquatilibus piscibus, et ad numeri eorum sufficientiam .vii. cotidie super saxum unum sumpto sibi nomine, id est Lech Meneich in Taf flumine, a Deo sibi missis. Et iterum ideo, uocati sunt *dufuyrguyr* eo quod inuenti sunt in aqua et per aquam euasi et de aquaticis piscibus procurati (*'dybrguyr'*, id est 'aquatici' Britannico sermone, id est 'aquatici uiri'). Quadam uice sanctus Teliaus ad eos uenit, desiderans eorum conuersionem uisitare frequentem; hospitatus est cum illis ut cum discipulis. Et in solito, unus de fratribus iuit ad aquam propter pisces. Qui .vii. ad numerum fratrum inuenit super predictum saxum et unum maiorem, illis .vii. octauum, quos omnes domum adduxit. Et inde mirati sunt fratres, ut dicitur, 'Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis'; qui bene cognouerunt quod propter aduenientem hospitem sanctum Teliaum, patronum suum et magistrum, Creator omnium pisces multiplicasset. Et postquam dies et tempora religiose diu in loco illo duxerunt, et alio multo tempore cum beato Dubricio conuersati sunt, misit eos ad alium locum suum qui uocatur Marthru in Pepitiauc, et ibi uocati sunt Seith Seint Mathru. Et postquam ibi per aliud spatium morati sunt, inde uenerunt ad Cenard Maur, ubi morati usque ad finem obitus sui. Et totam terram illorum Mathru et Cenarth Maur sancto patrono suo Teliauo et magistro et ecclesię Landauię et pastoribus suis omnibus in perpetuo dederunt, uerbo et consensu regis Aircol et

⁸⁶ **continuerunt** ~~xxx~~nuerunt L. Emendation suggested by Evans (LL 350).

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principum suorum, quibus ipse terras illas dederat propter sanctitatem eorum in sempiterna consecratione, sine ullo censu ulli homini terreno nisi Deo et fratribus illis et sancto Teliauo, cum omni sua libertate in campo et in siluis, in aqua et in pascuis. Facta excommunicatione ab omnibus uno ore separaturis istas terras ab archimonasterio Landauie et a pastoribus illius in perpetuo, benedictione autem seruaturis. Amen.

Vita Sancti Teliaui (Liber Landavensis)

edited by Ben Guy

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Translation

On the Life of St Teilo, archbishop of the church of Llandaff.

§1

This saint, dearly beloved brethren,¹ 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, he chose the one he loved, and he crowned the beloved one with the palm of true confession.² 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 six³ works of mercy 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! 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

¹ **fratres karissimi (dearly beloved brethren)** John Reuben Davies has noted that this phrase, which also occurs at the end of the Life, 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).

² **Predestinauit quem elegit, elegit quem dilexit, dilectumque uerę confessionis palma coronauit (He predestined the one he chose, 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 praeordinauit hos et uocauit, et quos uocauit hos et iustificauit, quos autem iustificauit illos et glorificauit* (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).

³ **Sex (six)** A later hand attempted to change this to *septem* (seven).

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 know 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 Elios. And Elios in Greek means 'sol' ['sun'] in Latin: for his learning shone brightly like the sun, illuminating the learning of the faithful. But because of illiterate men pronouncing the end of the name corruptly, in time he came to be called, not Elios, but Eliud.⁴

§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,⁵ until at length he saw him to be a boy of such natural quality 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 teach⁶ him, wished that Teilo should

⁴ **Eliud** 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.

⁵ **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 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).

⁶ **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.

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, he still 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 confounds 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,⁷ for he would travel along him who is the way⁸ and would be taught by him who is wisdom. For this reason, after he had heard about the reputation of a certain wise man, Paulinus, he went to him and dwelt with him for some time.⁹ 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 he befriended holy David, a man of the most perfect life.¹⁰ Such affection and grace of the Holy Spirit bound them together that, while doing things, the same was wanted and not wanted¹¹ by both. Behold, dearly beloved brethren, how God unites his saints on Earth, those

⁷ *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).

⁸ *qui est via (who is the way)* Cf. John 14.6 (Vulgate): *dicat 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).

⁹ 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).

¹⁰ In Rhygyfarch's Life of St David, Eliud (alias Teilo) is a disciple of David rather than a friend.

¹¹ *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).

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 those saints, certain peoples from Scythia¹² who were called Picts, either from their painted clothes or on account of tattoos consisting of eyes,¹³ 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 ashore from his ships, had proceeded as far as the see of St Davids, he stayed there and constructed his palace there.¹⁴ Seeing the moral integrity of the life of holy Teilo, David and the other servants of God who were dwelling with them in the same place, 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

¹² **de Scithia (from Scythia)** A detail derived from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (HE i.1).

¹³ **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.20 (§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).

¹⁴ The following story is based on the similar story in Rhygyfarch's *Life of St David*, concerning the attempt by Bai'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 David (Vesp), §17).

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,¹⁵ for indeed as it is said, 'He that is filthy, it is deigned that he should be more filthy.'¹⁶ 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.

§5

Indeed, after God disgraced those immodest women for such an irredeemable insult, he honoured those same saints through another work, miraculous and deserving of memory.¹⁷ For while blessed Teilo 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,¹⁸ 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, 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 quickly they would

¹⁵ **insanę factę sunt (they were turned mad)** In Rhygyfarch's version of the story the handmaidens are not said to have gone mad.

¹⁶ **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).

¹⁷ The following story is probably based on all three versions of the same story found in the Lives of SS. 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.

¹⁸ **celestis patrię (heaven)** See DMLBS s.v. *patria*, 2.

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, 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, 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 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!'¹⁹ Because good ought not to be stifled but always to be exalted, he immediately summoned the elders of the people so that they, seeing God's powers, might solemnly promise gifts and offerings to the Lord, and so that he might make the sanctity of his brothers known to people, because God had freed their book from showers of rain.

¹⁹ *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; below, §29.

§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,²⁰ so he ordered new springs to arise for his thirsty saints. And as we have learned from the elder inhabitants of that monastery,²¹ those who drank from those springs would claim that they drank not water but wine, because of the sweetness of its taste.²²

§7

With these miraculous deeds, which divine power was working on their behalf over time, so that good merits would be celebrated everywhere, God, seeing that they were adorned with so many virtues, judged 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.²³ Indeed the saints, namely Teilo and David, obeying their

²⁰ *sicut Deus Israhelitico populo sitiendi 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.

²¹ *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.

²² 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 Daudid (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.

²³ 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 Daudid (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

God in all things, dared not to oppose the divine will, and so instead, joining with Padarn, a man beloved to God, 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,²⁴ they were trusting more strongly in him who gives their food to the beasts and young ravens that call upon him.²⁵ 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 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

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 Daudid (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).

²⁴ **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).

²⁵ **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).

they entered the city, all the people ran up to them, 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. For 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 in the way of sinners, nor sat in the chair of pestilence;²⁶ and blessed is the saviour who chose that his seat be made from wood, who through wood²⁷ 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

²⁶ Psalms 1.1 (Vulgate).

²⁷ **per lignum (through wood)** I.e. the cross.

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 fragrant²⁸ 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,²⁹ take no thought how or what to speak: for it shall be given you in that hour what to speak.'³⁰ 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 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, Teilo in succession to Peter, David in succession to James,³¹ 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 sweet sound 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

²⁸ **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).

²⁹ **Cum ueneritis ante reges et presides (When you come before kings and rulers)** 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).

³⁰ **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).

³¹ **Telias uice Petri, Dauid uice Jacobi (Teilo in succession to Peter, David in succession to James)** This statement does not appear in the Vespasian Life of St Teilo. It has been added here to emphasise that Teilo, equated with the chief of the Apostles, was greater than David.

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 dreams and laziness, so the brilliant bishop Teilo, made Christ's herald, was constantly inviting others into heaven by his preaching. Once these glorious gifts had been distributed, and a blessing had been received on every side, with the utmost good fortune they returned to their own region.

§9

And St Teilo received the pastoral care of the church of Llandaff, to which he was consecrated, together with the whole diocese adjoining it which had been his predecessor Dyfrig's,³² where he was not able to dwell 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 watery mist, sweeping one end over the earth, and dragging the other in turn³³ 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 sick person to death.³⁴ For it dragged down Maelgwn, king of Gwynedd, and destroyed his country, and to such an extent did the aforesaid destruction rage through all the people that it almost rendered the country a desert.³⁵ Meanwhile, as that persecution raged not only among people but even among

³² *Sanctusque Teliaus ecclesię Llandauię, cui consecratus est, curam pastorem accepit, cum tota parrochia sibi adiacente quę fuerat Dubricii antecessoris sui* (And St Teilo received the pastoral care of the church of Llandaff, to which he had been consecrated, together with the whole diocese adjoining it which had been his predecessor Dyfrig's) The beginning of this section does not appear in the Vespasian Life of St Teilo, which does not specifically state that Teilo became bishop of Llandaff.

³³ *russum (in turn)* Both the Vespasian Life of St Teilo and the Liber Landavensis Life of St Euddogwy have *sursum* (above): VS Teliaui (Vesp), §9; VS Oudocei (LL), §2.

³⁴ *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).

³⁵ *Traxit enim Mailconvm [...] desertam* (For it dragged down Maelgwn [...] desert) This sentence does not appear in the Vespasian Life of St Teilo. It was probably inspired by the statement in the Welsh annals that Maelgwn died in the great plague of the mid-sixth century (LWS 180).

wild beasts and reptiles, holy Teilo, 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,³⁶ and give not your inheritance to destruction.’³⁷ 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. Some of them travelled to Ireland, while others, led by him, travelled to Francia,³⁸ until God should indicate to them that they should return to their country.

§10

And it happened thus, with an angel instructing and directing holy Teilo: ‘Arise and proceed beyond the sea, and gather the remnants of your people so that they might follow you, until God, full of mercy, seeing both the misery of the people and you, a servant of God, labouring for the people with entreaties and prayer, should permit them and your people to return from exile and, with the persecution removed, to be free from all such danger forever.’³⁹ And again the angel said, ‘Go without hesitation; for an angel of the Lord will be sent to accompany you there and back, and will return you again with your followers to your region with good fortune.’ Holy Teilo therefore arose, taking with him certain of his suffragan bishops and men of other orders, along with people of both sexes, men and women. And he came in the first place to the Cornish region,

³⁶ **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).

³⁷ **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).

³⁸ **Quorum quidam perrexerunt in Hiberniam, plures uero, ducente eo, in Franciam (Some of them travelled to Ireland, while others, led by him, travelled to Francia)** This passage does not appear in the Vespasian Life of St Teilo.

³⁹ Sections 10–14, concerning Teilo’s sojourn in Brittany, do not appear in the Vespasian Life of St Teilo. It has been suggested that they were added to the Liber Landavensis Life of St Teilo in order to counteract the argument of St Davids that the latter had been the seat of an archbishopric before Samson took its pallium with him to Dol (Marquand 2012: 49). In the present text, Teilo is made bishop of Dol, implying that Dol’s sovereignty (whether or not it continued the sovereignty of St Davids) later passed to the bishops of Llandaff.

and was well received by Geraint, king of that country,⁴⁰ and he treated him and his people with every honour. And while they were enjoying his hospitality, King Geraint addressed holy Teilo in a friendly manner, saying to him, ‘Father and lord, I ask and I want you to receive my confession, and to be my confessor in the Lord.’ And the bishop, agreeing, received his confession, and made a promise to him, saying with confidence that he would not see death until he had first received the body of the Lord that Teilo himself had consecrated.

§11

Once those things had been done, the saint travelled with his companions from there to the Armorican peoples, and was immediately received well by them. When Samson, archbishop of the church of Dol, heard of the arrival of his fellow brother in the country, he ran over to meet him with joy. For they were born of the same region, and were men of the same language, and had been taught together by blessed Archbishop Dyfrig,⁴¹ by the laying-on of whose hand⁴² St Samson had been consecrated into the episcopacy, as is affirmed in his Life.⁴³ And he asked St Teilo to live with him, and he agreed to it, and he dwelt with him for a long time. And he left there certain signs of his sanctity, namely a health-bringing spring called Cai,⁴⁴ which he deserved

⁴⁰ **Gerennio, rege illius patrię (Geraint, king of that country)** This figure, whose death is the subject of §13 (following a story taken from the a version of the Life of St Turiau), probably represents a merger of various models: the historical King Geraint, who ruled Dumnonia around 700; the Geraint, often called Geraint ab Erbin, who is a king of Cornwall in various stories and legends; and St Geran/Gerrans, to whom is dedicated a chapel in Dol cathedral as well as the church of the parish of Gerrans in the south of Cornwall (LWS 184–5; SoC iii, 74–88; WCD 273–6).

⁴¹ **et simul cum beato Dubricio archipresule edocti (and had been taught together by blessed Archbishop Dyfrig)** Since Teilo and Samson are both listed as disciples of Dyfrig in the Life of St Dyfrig (VS Dubricii (Vesp / LL), §15), it would appear that this is an example of the Cambro-Latin use of *cum* to mean ‘by’ rather than ‘with’, found also in the Welsh Latin annals (see Dumville 1975: i, 85; Dumville 2007: ii, 26). The usage probably arose because of the equation of Latin *cum* with Welsh *gan* (OW *gant*), which can mean both ‘with’ and ‘by’.

⁴² **cuius manus impositione (by the laying-on of whose hand)** The same phrase is used in the Liber Landavensis Life of St Samson to describe Dyfrig’s baptism of Samson (*cuius manus impositione*), the Life of St Dyfrig to describe Dyfrig’s healing of the sick (*eius manus impositione*), and again in the Life of St Teilo to describe Teilo’s healing of the sick (*eius manus impositione*) (VS Samsonis (LL), §39; VS Dubricii (LL/Vesp), §16, below, §17). The phrase does not appear in the Vespasian A. xiv Life of St Teilo.

⁴³ **vt in uita sua testatur (as is affirmed in his Life)** A reference to VS Samsonis (LL), §§37–8.

⁴⁴ **Cai** It was suggested by Arthur de la Borderie (reported in Loth 1893–5: ii, 75–6; LWS 184, n. 56) that this name might be preserved in Lairgué near Carfantain, which was spelt *Ergai* or *Argai* until the seventeenth century. The spring near Carfantain is called Fontaine Saint-Samson. Teilo’s alleged association with this spring may be based on

to receive from the Lord.⁴⁵ And among the rest of the cures which the sick obtain from it in the name of God and Teilo, one famous miracle remains there up to this day. For sailors of that Armorican race, in view of the wind used by custom for their ships, which enabled them to sail directly⁴⁶ wherever they wished on the right course, were accustomed to cleanse that health-giving fountain, and through the intervention of the holy bishop the Lord more and more often granted their request, namely a wind for the ship's sail so that with joy they might proceed on their sea voyage wherever it seemed they wanted to go. And another sign bearing witness to him remains there. For he and the aforesaid holy Samson planted a large grove for a fruit-bearing orchard, more or less three miles in length, that is from Dol to Cai. And those groves are adorned by their names even to this day, for they are called the orchards of Teilo and Samson. And from that time onwards, the bishop of Dol has been honoured and celebrated in the eyes of all Armorican Britons, thanks to holy Teilo's manner of life and reverence.

§12

Meanwhile, while those things were being done and dealt with, it happened that Christ through his mercy ordered the aforesaid contagion, which was called 'yellow', to depart and disappear from the whole island of Britain. Hearing this, the faithful leader Teilo, gladdened a little and exhorted by the Holy Spirit, sent messengers respectively into Francia and beyond the Alps into Italy and to wherever he knew that they had fled, and he earnestly gathered his fellow countrymen together, so that, with the pestilence extinguished and with peace granted in all things, everyone might return to their own properties. He therefore prepared three large ships to transport the crowds of people. The holy man came over to the sea port, as the people were weeping and lamenting at the departure of such a great father. And as he was awaiting a favourable wind for

the equation that had been made between him and St Turiau, sixth bishop of Dol, one version of whose Life is the source of the episode concerning King Geraint in §14. This Life of St Turiau tells how St Turiau went to pray one night in a chapel near a spring associated with St Samson (Duine 1912: 38–9 (§8)). The spring in question can probably be identified with Fontaine Saint-Samson, since there used to be a chapel nearby dedicated to St Turiau (LWS 185–6).

⁴⁵ **id est fontem sanifluum Cai nomine, quem ipse meruit a Domino diriuare (namely a health-bringing spring called Cai, which he deserved to receive from the Lord)** This seems to echo a phrase used twice in the Liber Landavensis version of the Life of St Samson, where Samson similarly merits a spring from God: *fontis uenam precibus promeruit* (through his prayers, he earned a stream of a spring) (VS Samsonis (LL), §35, §44).

⁴⁶ **in dirigium (directly)** See NCLCL Suppl. s.v. *dirigium*.

the sea-going voyage, behold the king of the land called Buddig came to meet him with the great army of the Armoricans. And straightaway this king and his whole army bent their knees before him. And when Teilo asked what on earth this was about, the king replied to him,⁴⁷ ‘We bend our knees like this so that you might beseech God on behalf of me and my country on account of the pestilence that we now bear. For a huge snake recently appeared in my country, which has almost destroyed a third part of my kingdom.’ And immediately the holy bishop, hesitating, feared to go there, for terrible things were being reported about that beast. But suddenly there appeared to him an angel of the Lord, and, comforting him, it said to him, ‘Fear not to leave with them; rather, Christ’s strength will accompany you, which will devour that snake under your hands, and through you the Redeemer and Saviour will save and free this entire country.’ And following the heavenly advice, the holy bishop ventured to approach that flying and feathered dragon. And straightaway, inspired by heaven, he took out his stole and put it around its neck and tied it, and he ordered it through the Lord’s command to follow him as far as the sea, and to cease discharging its poisons and nefarious breaths. And afterwards the death-bringing beast, made gentle and slow by the command of the bishop, neither raised its wing to instil fear, nor bared its teeth to gnash them, nor raised its tongue to emit its fiery breath. And straightaway the pious bishop led it to the sea, dragging the enormous monster after him, bound by his stole. And immediately, in the name of the Lord, he fastened it to a great rock in the middle of the sea.⁴⁸

§13

And seeing those things, the Armoricans took counsel with bishop Samson, and said to him, ‘Holy father, may you be concerned for us. For if this man of God leaves us, that serpent will come again and ravage us and our country. Therefore please keep him with us and pray him to agree to remain with us, lest we are destroyed by this disaster.’ And hearing this, the holy father took it badly that Bishop Samson and King Buddig with his people had entered upon such counsel that, through entreaties, they would keep him with them for a while, and for his own

⁴⁷ *Et interrogans quidnam hoc esset, respondit ei rex* (And when Teilo asked what on earth this was about, the king replied to him) Since the subject of the main verb *respondit* is the king, the use of the nominative singular present participle *interrogans* to refer to Teilo is presumably an example of a *nominativus pendens* construction.

⁴⁸ This episode may have been inspired by the episode in the Life of St Samson in which Samson defeats a serpent near the mouth of the river Seine (VS Samsonis (LL), §51).

part he decided not to acquiesce to them in that agreement and decision. But behold, an angel of the Lord appeared to him that night, comforting him and saying to him, ‘Do not hesitate to remain with them, for through you there will be protection and help for the country. And this will be the sign for you that I have been sent to you by God. For indeed tomorrow morning the king and the aforesaid bishop will come to you with a great multitude of their people, and, asking you humbly and earnestly, they will offer you the episcopal care and privilege of the entire Armorican people. And acquiesce to them in accordance with my pronouncement, ready to accept what will be offered to you by them for a time; in the meantime, your people, still dispersed in every direction, will gather together, and you should say to them, “I will remain with you while it be pleasing to God, awaiting the gathering of my whole exiled⁴⁹ people.”’ And again the angel: ‘Behold, another sign from God will be revealed to you through me. For tomorrow you will have the bishop and the king before you with a multitude of many people to lead you honourably and with glory to the episcopal seat. And when they attempt to offer you the foremost steed from among their horses to sit on, you should absolutely refuse to take it from them. For you will immediately have, as evidence of divine authority, the foremost horse⁵⁰ sent to you by God through me. And mounting it joyfully and freely, you will go with them to the bishopric of Dol, which has been prepared and predestined for you for a time by God.’⁵¹ And so all these things were fulfilled on the following day just as the words of the angel had promised. For the king and the bishop with a multitude of people went to meet him in order to lead him with deserved honour to the bishopric of Dol, so that they could raise him up into the episcopal seat. And behold, suddenly, just as the celestial⁵² messenger had foretold, while they were offering the foremost horse of their own and he meanwhile was refusing to accept it from them, there appeared next to him the most beautiful horse, sent to him by God. And mounting it, he came with them as far as Dol and, just as he had been commanded by God, he agreed to remain with

⁴⁹ **exiliatę (exiled)** In the manuscript this word has been altered to *exulatę*, possibly by the main hand. It would seem that the past participles *exiliatus* and *exulatus* were interchangeable and carried broadly the same meaning: see DMLBS s.v. *exiliare* 2 and *exulare* 3.

⁵⁰ **sonipodem (horse)** The word *sonipes* literally means ‘that which makes noise with the feet’, but it is used fairly widely as a noun for ‘horse’. See Lewis and Short 1879 s.v. *soni-pes (sonupes)*; DMLBS s.v. *sonipes*.

⁵¹ Teilo’s surprising promotion to the see of Dol was probably prompted by the equation that had been made between him and St Turiau, sixth bishop of Dol, a version of whose Life was used as a source for the story of Geraint in the following section (LWS 185).

⁵² **celeps (celestial)** There would appear to have been confusion between *caelebs* (celibate) and *caeles* (celestial, heavenly). Cf. DMLBS s.v. *caeles* (celestial being).

them up to a time again predetermined by God the Father. And in that moment, he called King Buddig to him and, blessing him with many blessings, presented to him the aforesaid steed. And before all the people, holy Teilo the bishop asked God and requested humbly that the Armorican soldiers might be made stronger in horse-riding than all peoples, and as a result that they might defend their country and victoriously avenge themselves upon their enemies. And that privilege which holy Teilo obtained, conferred upon him by God, remains in existence in that place up to this day, according to the attestations and commentaries of all the elders of that country. For the Armoricans are seven times more victorious when riding horses than they are as foot soldiers.⁵³

§14

Meanwhile, while those things were happening, holy Teilo the bishop one day called to him his community, namely the people of his country. And conferring with them in a friendly way, he at last said to them, ‘You know, my dear sons, that our King Geraint is burdened by great pain, and, as an angel foretold to me, I believe that he will depart from the world in this sickness. For when I came to this country, crossing through his land, I visited him and during those same days he received me and my people honourably by lodging us with him. And I revealed to him, promising in the Lord, that he would neither see his death nor his final day until he should receive the body of the Lord from me, and thus he would depart from the world. Therefore prepare our ship for us, so that with divine permission we can return to our native country, as has been desired by us and divinely promised for a long time.’⁵⁴ And so, after holy Teilo had spent seven years and seven

⁵³ Geoffrey of Monmouth similarly comments on the prowess of Breton cavalry: *Postremo praeualuissent Saxones nisi equestris turma Armoricanorum Britonum superuenisset* (In the end the Saxons would have prevailed, but for the intervention of the Breton cavalry) (DGB 123.123–4; cf. Loth 1893–5: i, 85, n. 1; LWS 187, n. 66; Davies 2003: 117, n. 53).

⁵⁴ This episode is based on a similar episode in one version of the Life of St Turiau, sixth bishop of Dol (Duine 1912: 39–40 (§9)). From this Life of St Turiau, the present text has borrowed the name *Geren* (who in the former is simply described as a friend ‘whom he [Turiau] had over the sea’) and the fact of *Geren*’s death, the decision to intervene on behalf of *Geren*’s soul, and the meeting of the two ships in the middle of the sea (LWS 183–4). Duine, the first editor of this version of the Life of St Turiau, suggested that the text dated to the ninth century, and specifically to between 859 and 869 (Duine 1912: 9). Poulin is sceptical, suggesting that it could have been composed almost as late as the time of its single surviving manuscript witness, written in the thirteenth century (Poulin 2009: 363–7). However, the episode concerning King *Geren* must have been a part of the hagiographical dossier of St Turiau by the time that the present version of the Life of St Teilo was redacted, probably not long before the Liber

months living in the country of the Armoricans, a large boat was prepared and he entered it with many teachers and certain other bishops, by whom the British people might be restored to holiness following the pestilence. And then he instructed them, saying, ‘Bring that sarcophagus⁵⁵ with us, as Geraint’s body will be interred in it.’ And marvelling, they said that they could not carry out that command because of its great size. ‘For scarcely,’ they said, ‘could ten pairs of oxen remove it from its location.’ And trusting in God, with the prayers of his bishops as well as those of the people, he told them that it should be cast into the sea before the prow of the ship, and that, with God steering it, it would be cast onto the shore without an oar: and so it happened. While they were sailing in the middle of the sea, another ship encountered them, and the sailors of both ships, coming together, conversed with one another, and a bishop sent by Geraint said that the king was dying, but was waiting for holy Teilo to arrive and meet with him. And sailing together from there, they came ashore at a port called Din Geraint.⁵⁶ And behold, the aforesaid grave-stone that had been sent into the sea immediately appeared, coming ashore between the two ships, and thanks to the faith of the holy pastor, Christ revealed the glory of his majesty. Holy Teilo, going across to the king, found him still living, and once he had accepted the body of the Lord from his hand the joyful man passed on to the Lord. And the body was carefully buried by his blessed confessor in the aforesaid sarcophagus, and commended to God.

§15

After those things, the holy man returned to his episcopal see, accompanied by a multitude of clergy and people, and he lived there⁵⁷ until the end of his life, holding dominion over all the churches of the whole of southern Britain,⁵⁸ 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 that occurred because

Landavensis itself was written, around 1132–4. It is much more likely that Teilo’s Life has been influenced by Turiau’s Life than vice versa, considering that Teilo is made bishop of Dol as part of the same sequence of events.

⁵⁵ **sarcophagum (sarcophagus)** This is described as a *lapis* (stone) below, implying that some kind of grave-slab was envisaged.

⁵⁶ **Dingerein (Din Geraint)** This place might be identified with Gerrans in Cornwall, but it is difficult to be certain (cf. Loth 1893–5: ii, 76–7; LWS 185; Coe 2002: 219).

⁵⁷ **et habitauit ibi (and he lived there)** With these words, the Liber Landavensis Life of St Teilo rejoins the Vespasian Life.

⁵⁸ **dextralis Britannię (southern Britain)** This probably refers specifically to south Wales, rather than to southern Britain more broadly. For the practice of using the word *Britannia* for Wales in this period, see Pryce 2001: 777–8.

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.

§16

Those who had been disciples of blessed Dyfrig flocked to him:⁵⁹ Inabwy,⁶⁰ Gwrfaeth,⁶¹ Cynmur,⁶² Teulyddog,⁶³ Iuhil, Fidelis,⁶⁴ Ishmael, Tyfai, Euddogwy,⁶⁵ and many other disciples,

⁵⁹ Sections 16 and 17 do not appear in the Vespasian Life of St Teilo.

⁶⁰ **Iunapeius (Inabwy)** Inabwy is the only disciple in this list who appears in the list of Dyfrig's disciples in his own Life (VS Dubricii (LL/Vesp), §15; cf. Davies 2003: 82).

⁶¹ **Gurmaet (Gwrfaeth)** Probably the eponym of *Lannguruat*, now Llandeilo'r Fân, granted to Euddogwy by Awst, king of Brycheiniog, and his two sons (VS Oudocei (LL), §27). In the latter it is said that *Lannguruat* 'had formerly been St Dyfrig's and St Teilo's in the first place'.

⁶² **Cynmur** It has been suggested that *Cynmur* is the *Congur* in the list of St Dyfrig's disciples in his Life (VS Dubricii (LL/Vesp), §15) and the eponym of *ecclesia Cyngur Tros Gardi* (Bishopston), granted to Euddogwy by Morgan son of Athrwy (VS Oudocei (LL), §17), *cella Arthuodu Congurique*, granted to Euddogwy by Athrwy's grandson of Gwrgan (VS Oudocei (LL), §16), and *monasterium sancti Cinuuri* in the charter at LL 239 (cf. LWS 188 and Davies 2003: 87). In the Bishopston charter, it is said that the church 'had previously been St Teilo's'. However, if these identifications are valid, then the *m* of *Cynmur* must be incorrect; as it stands, *Cynmur* is not compatible with the other names. See the note to *Lannconuur* (Llangynwr) in VS Oudocei (LL), §16.

⁶³ **Toulidauc (Teulyddog)** The Augustinian priory of Carmarthen was dedicated to St John the Evangelist and St Teulyddog. Teulyddog was evidently the patron of the earlier church on the site, which is called *Lanntoulidauc ig Cair Mirdin* (Llandeulyddog in Carmarthen) in the Liber Landavensis (LL 62, 124, 254, 287). The same church should probably be identified with the *Llan Teulydawc* of the early medieval tract on the seven bishop-houses of Dyfed, preserved in various versions of *Cyfraith Hywel Dda* (Charles-Edwards 1971: 251).

⁶⁴ **Iuhil, Fidelis** Both of these names reappear in the witness lists to the two charters granted to Teilo in §27 and §28 below. *Iuhil* is otherwise unknown, but *Fidelis*, whose name means 'faithful' in Latin, might have arisen in one of two ways. Firstly, although *Fidelis* appears as a character in his own right in §27 and §28, it is possible that *Fidelis* is a ghost name deriving from a witness list like that of §27. The latter is formulated as *Iouil fidelis discipulus suus*; this might be taken to indicate that *Fidelis* was a separate person, as was evidently understood by the Liber Landavensis, but an earlier writer might have intended '*Iouil*, his faithful disciple', with *fidelis* as an adjective rather than a personal name. Such an adjective could have been misinterpreted as a personal name. On the other hand, *Fidelis* may bear some relationship with St Tyfai. The two appear alongside one another in the present section as well as in §28, which describes Tyfai's martyrdom. One of the centres of Tyfai's cult, Lamphey (Llandyfai), was later thought to be dedicated to St Faith. The connection presumably arose through St Faith's French name, St Foy, which was understood as the second element in Tyfai. One might compare Foy in Herefordshire, dedicated to St Faith but called *Lanntimoi* (LL 231) and *Lanntiuoi* (LL 275) in Liber Landavensis, presumably incorporating the hypochoristic prefix *ty-* (Coe 2002: 461–2). If the equation between Tyfai and Foy had already been made in the twelfth century, then perhaps *Fidelis* represents St Faith, localised in Wales as a disciple of Teilo.

⁶⁵ **Hismael, Tyfhei, Oudoceus (Ishmael, Tyfai, Euddogwy)** In the Life of St Euddogwy, Ishmael and Tyfai (the latter identified as the martyr of Penally) are said to be brothers of Euddogwy (VS Oudocei (LL), §1). The story of

so that they might imitate him in manners and teaching. Among them, he consecrated Ishmael as a bishop, sending him to the church of St Davids, which needed to be provided for,⁶⁶ having by now been bereft of its pastor: for holy David had passed on to the Lord.⁶⁷ And he likewise raised up many other men of the same rank into the episcopacy, sending them throughout the country and dividing the dioceses between them according to the convenience of the clergy and the people.

§17

Now, we commend to letters and memory those miracles which we know from writing to have been worked through him.⁶⁸ For by being silent about the power of God and the saints we have committed a grave offence, but by preaching we rejoice together. Indeed, he used to have three packhorses, and they would go to the wood with nobody leading them. Loaded by his woodsmen,⁶⁹ they would return in the same way, without anyone leading them, and so they would serve the brothers every day. And⁷⁰ they say that he brought back to life a dead person

Tyfai's martyrdom is told more fully in the charter in §28 below. For further details on Ishmael and Tyfai, see the note to VS Oudocei (LL), §1.

⁶⁶ **consulendam (which needed to be provided for)** For other examples of *consulere* being used as a gerundive in this way, see DMLBS s.v. *consulere*, 3.

⁶⁷ The notion that Teilo consecrated Ishmael as David's successor in the bishopric of St Davids was intended to support the claim in the *Liber Landavensis* that Dyfrig and Teilo had been archbishops whose archdiocese stretched to the west coast of Wales, encompassing St Davids as a suffragan see. According to this scheme, the diocese of St Davids was only removed from Llandaff's jurisdiction during the time of St Euddogwy (VS Oudocei (LL), §5).

⁶⁸ **Nunc, quę scripto cognouimus facta per eum miracula, ea litteris et memorie commendamus (Now, we commend to letters and memory those miracles which we know from writing to have been worked through him)** This recalls a passage found almost identically in both the *Life of St Dyfrig* and the *Life of St Euddogwy* (VS Dubricii (LL/Vesp), §19; VS Oudocei (LL), §12), which is based ultimately on Gildas's *De excidio Britanniae* (DEB 4.4). See Davies 2003: 118–19.

⁶⁹ **lignatoriis (woodsmen)** *Lignator* is an agent noun of the third declension, meaning than its ablative plural case should be formed with *-ibus* rather than *-is* (cf. Lewis and Short 1879 s.v. *lignator*). The present form implies a nominative singular *lignatorius*, which is unattested. Perhaps *lignatoriis* was produced through a conflation of *lignator* (abl. pl. *lignatoribus*) with *lignarius* (carpenter, woodman; abl. pl. *lignariis*).

⁷⁰ **enim (And)** Since this statement does not follow from the last, the conjunction *enim* does not appear to convey the right sense here. Perhaps it was overlooked when the anecdotes in this section were abstracted from their original contexts.

called Distynnig on the bank of the river Cywyn.⁷¹ And they say that there was a paralytic in the church of Rath,⁷² restored to health by him one Sunday before all the people. And with whichever pain the sick were inflicted, they would be cured by the laying-on of his hand.⁷³ But those who caused any harm to him, either they would be tortured for a long time, or they would die on the spot, as when a foolhardy woman who transgressed against him was liquefied⁷⁴ before all the people. Also, a certain ruler called Gwaeddan violated his sanctuary in a certain church of his commonly called Llandeilo Fechan,⁷⁵ and because he had broken it he became mad, and straightaway he was vilely deprived of his spirit in the cemetery of that same place. But those admitting their guilt would immediately recover health and forgiveness through his prayers.

§18

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: one, indeed, on account of the burial of his ancestors and hereditary right, namely Penally; the second on account of his habitation and the solitary life that he had led there for a time on the bank of the river Towy,⁷⁶ and because he had gloriously ended his life there; moreover the third, Llandaff, on account of the episcopal see, on account of his privileges and dignities, on account of

⁷¹ **Couin (Cywyn)** Coe notes that there is a church dedicated to St Teilo (Llandeilo Abercywyn) at the mouth of the river Cywyn (Coe 2002: 209).

⁷² **ecclesia Radh (church of Rath)** This should probably be located at Amroth, now a small village in the south of Pembrokeshire (Charles 1992: ii, 464–5; Coe 2002: 447). See note to Llanrath in §25 below.

⁷³ **eius manus impositione (by the laying-on of his hand)** The same phrase is used in the Liber Landavensis Life of St Samson to describe Dyfrig's baptism of Samson (*cuius manus impositione*), the Life of St Dyfrig to describe Dyfrig's healing of the sick (*eius manus impositione*), and again in the Life of St Teilo to describe Dyfrig's baptism of Samson (*cuius manus impositione*) (VS Samsonis (LL), §39; VS Dubricii (LL/Vesp), §16; above, §11). The phrase does not appear in the Vespasian A. xiv Life of St Teilo.

⁷⁴ **liquefacta est (was liquefied)** Doble (LWS 191) noted that this phrase seems to have been borrowed from Lifris's Life of St Cadog (VS Cadoci (Vesp), §40), and that it is repeated again in the Lives of St Illtud (VS Iltuti (Vesp), §17) and St Cyngar (VS Cungari (Wells); Robinson 1918–19: 99; NLA i, 253), both arguably written by Caradog of Llancarfan (Davies 2003: ch. 8).

⁷⁵ **Lanteliau Bechan (Llandeilo Fechan)** The location of this church is unknown; for discussion, see Coe 2002: 452–3. The appearance of a ruler called Gwaeddan in this story suggests that it might be connected with the Teilo church listed below (§25) as Llandeilo Llwyn Gwaeddan, which should probably be located near the place now called Llangwathan, just to the east of Narberth (Coe 2002: 456).

⁷⁶ I.e. at Llandeilo Fawr.

consecrations and obedience, on account of the unanimous voice of the whole diocese, and the prior status and establishment of holy Dyfrig and the other fathers in all respects.⁷⁷ 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 peace 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. Indeed, through very many miracles and from the records of the ancient elders it is known by all people that he was undoubtedly brought to Llandaff.⁷⁸ 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 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,⁷⁹ so that 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 always lives and reigns forever and ever, amen.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ *vna quidem [...] sancti Dubricii per omnia et aliorum patrum priorem statum et constitutionem* (one, indeed [...] the prior status and establishment of holy Dyfrig and the other fathers in all respects) This long explanation of the grounds on which the three churches claimed Teilo's body does not appear in the Vespasian Life of St Teilo.

⁷⁸ *Miraculis quidem quampluribus [...] Llandauie esse allatvm* (Indeed, through very many miracles [...] brought to Llandaff) This sentence does not appear in the Vespasian Life of St Teilo.

⁷⁹ Cf. John 4.7.

⁸⁰ The Vespasian Life of Teilo ends here.

§19

In his life the church of Llandaff increased in accordance with his sanctity (which was as much in his habits as in his teaching) by means of the churches and territories given to him, with their entire freedom, status and privilege, by the kings contemporary with him: Tewdrig son of Teithfall,⁸¹ Iddon son of Ynyr Gwent,⁸² Gwrgan Mawr,⁸³ Maelgwn,⁸⁴ Aergol Llawhir,⁸⁵ Cadwgon *Tredicil*,⁸⁶ Rhain,⁸⁷ and many other kings and princes of southern Britain,⁸⁸ and so it increased by means of the churches to be named with their lands and endowments, with the boundaries underwritten and with legitimate men witnessing.

§20

The privilege of St Teilo and of his church of Llandaff was given to him and all his successors forever by the kings and princes of Britain, confirmed by apostolic authority with all its laws with

⁸¹ **Teudiric filio Teithpall (Tewdrig son of Teithfall)** This is Tewdrig, king of Garth Madrun (i.e. Brycheiniog), who is father of Marchell and grandfather of Brychan in *De situ Brecheniauc* (VSB 313–14 (§2, §10) and great-grandfather of St Cadog in the genealogy appended to Lifris's Life of St Cadog (VS Cadoci (Vesp), §46). However, the pedigree of Tewdrig son of Teithfall in the latter text was later attached to the Tewdrig who was father of King Meurig, the seventh-century founder of the Glywysing dynasty, as seen in *Gwehelyth Morgannwg* (Guy 2016: ii, 336 (§1)) and the Jesus 20 genealogies (EWGT 44–5 (§5, §9)). It is likely that the latter Tewdrig was intended here, for the story of this Tewdrig's martyrdom is told in a 'charter' appended to the Liber Landavensis Life of St Euddogwy (VS Oudocei (LL), §14).

⁸² **Idon filio Ynyr Guent (Iddon son of Ynyr Gwent)** The donor of the first three grants to Teilo below (§§22–4) in addition to a grant to Bishop Arwystl (LL 166–7).

⁸³ **Gurcant Maur (Gwrgan Mawr)** A member of the dynasty of Ergyng. According to the Liber Landavensis, his daughter Onbrawst married Meurig, king of Glywysing (VS Oudocei (LL), §4, §13).

⁸⁴ **Mailcun (Maelgwn)** Almost certainly Maelgwn Gwynedd, whose death in the Yellow Pestilence is noted in §9 above.

⁸⁵ **Aircol Lauhir (Aergol Llawhir)** King of Dyfed; involved in three of the grants to Teilo below (§§27–9).

⁸⁶ **Catgucaun Tredicil (Cadwgon Tredicil)** Also king of Dyfed, though paradoxically descended through eight or nine generations from Aergol Llawhir. In the Life of St Euddogwy (VS Oudocei (LL), §5), he expels Euddogwy and his clerics from the western portion Euddogwy's diocese, confining the bishopric of Llandaff to the land east of the Towy and thereby ensuring the independence of the diocese of St Davids.

⁸⁷ **Rein (Rhain)** The identity of this Rhain is uncertain, though it is notable that the historical Cadwgon *Tredicil* had a son of this name.

⁸⁸ **dextralis Britannię (southern Britain)** Probably meaning south Wales: see note to §15.

full powers over itself for itself and its lands.⁸⁹ It is free from any obligation for royal service, without an earl, without a sheriff,⁹⁰ without the requirement to attend public assemblies either inside or outside its jurisdiction, without an obligation to provide military service, without an obligation for keeping watch over the region, and with its own system of justice concerning thief and theft, plundering, homicide, arson, brawling, bloodshed, violation of sanctuary everywhere in the territory of the saint, ambush on and off the roads, giving and receiving judgement concerning all the people of St Teilo in the court of Llandaff, the common use of water and pasture, field and woods for the people of the church of St Teilo, together with the right of trading and minting in Llandaff, and with the right to claim harbourage everywhere in the lands of St Teilo. It is free in the face of kings and everyone except for the church of Llandaff and its bishops. With regard to any reproach and every insult that the king of Morgannwg and his men should do to the bishop of St Teilo and his people, let the same king of Morgannwg and his people render justice to the bishop and his people, and let justice be received in the court of Llandaff. Let every law which the royal court has been possessed by the episcopal court of Llandaff in full force. For the privilege of that church was established by apostolic authority so that together with its status it should remain free and immune from every burden of secular service forever. Whatever moreover shall pertain to it by grant of the popes, by the generosity of rulers, by the offerings of the faithful, or by other just means, let them be preserved for it firm and complete forever. Whatever else it will be able to obtain in the future through the dispensation of God justly and by canon law, let it remain with it always at rest and undisturbed. For it has been decreed that nobody at all is permitted to disturb the aforesaid church rashly, or to remove its possessions, or to retain the stolen goods, to reduce it or to wear it down with vexatious disputes, and all things are to be preserved for it including the boundaries of the diocese. If therefore in the future any ecclesiastic or secular person should rashly attempt to act against it, and after two or three warnings does not make amends with satisfactory compensation, let him be deprived of the status of his power and rank, and let him know that he stands guilty by divine judgement of the crime he has perpetrated, and let him not partake of the most sacred body and

⁸⁹ The following privilege shares features with the privileges found in *De primo statu Landauensis ecclesie* and the Life of St Euddogwy (VS Dubricii (LL/Vesp), §1; VS Oudoceu (LL), §4). See Russell 2016; Davies 2003: 68–70; and Davies 1974–6.

⁹⁰ **sine consule, sine proconsule (without an earl, without a sheriff)** This may be a reference to Robert, earl of Gloucester (d. 1147), who was lord of Glamorgan while the *Liber Landavensis* was being compiled (Davies 1974–6: 126 and 131; Davies 2003: 69). Unusually, Robert was titled *consul* in Latin documents.

blood of God and of our Lord Redeemer Jesus Christ, and at the last judgement let him submit to the most severe distraint. But for all those who keep that church safe, may they have the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ so that they may both gain the fruit of their good action here on earth and find the rewards of eternal peace at the hands of the austere judge.

§21

Here is the law and privilege of the church of Teilo of Llandaff which these kings and princes of the Welsh gave to the church of Teilo and all the bishops after him forever, confirmed by the authority of the popes of Rome. It has complete jurisdiction, both over its land and over its earth, free from every demand for service from a worldly king, without an administrator, without a steward, without the requirement to attend public courts within the territory or outside of it, without the obligation of military service, without being distrained, without the obligation of watch-keeping. It has jurisdiction completely in respect of a thief, theft, violence, homicide, secret killing, and arson, brawling with and without bloodshed (it has the greater and lesser fines from that completely), in respect of the breaking of sanctuary within the enclosure and outside of the enclosure, in respect of ambush in the woods and outside the woods, in respect of assault in every place in the land of Teilo. The people of the church have both the right and the judgement of it all in the white house of Teilo in Llandaff and in its court. The people of Teilo hold in common the water and pasturage, and its woods and meadow. Right of trading and minting in Llandaff, and the right to claim harbourage on the land of Teilo for any ships which disembark on its land wherever that might be, free before a king and before all except for Teilo and the church of Llandaff and its bishops. And any disgrace or insult or wrong or injury which the king of Morgannwg or his man or his servant might do to the bishop of Teilo or his man or his servant, the king of Morgannwg should come into the white house of Teilo in Llandaff to do right and justice and to suffer judgement for whatever wrong might be done to the bishop of Teilo or his man or his servant. Its land and its earth [free] from the obligation of military service, taxation, and being distrained, and every law which the king of Morgannwg should have in his court, the bishop of Teilo should have them all completely in his own court, and anyone who should break and reduce this privilege should be cursed and excommunicated, both he and his children after him. He who honours this privilege and maintains it should be blessed, he and his children after him. Amen.

§22

Concerning Llan-arth.⁹¹

King Iddon son of Ynyr Gwent, in exchange for an eternal country, offered up one of his houses, namely Llan-arth, along with all its territory, which had formerly belonged to holy Dyfrig the archbishop, with its entire freedom, and with the sanctuary of the church of St Peter at Llandaff, to Archbishop Teilo and all his successors, without the requirement to render any payment to an earthly person, great or small, unless for God and the church of Llandaff, and with complete common use within it or outside it in field and in woods, in water and in pastures. And the king perambulated through all of it, making a circuit of the whole territory and carrying the book of the gospels on his back while the clergy were holding crosses in their hands and holy water together with dust from the paving of the church and the sepulchre was sprinkled along all the bounds.⁹² With a curse and excommunication performed by everyone unanimously against anyone who would separate this place with its territory and those bounds written below from the church of Llandaff and from its bishops forever, but with a blessing given to those who would in future preserve it in peace. From the clergy the witnesses are Archbishop Teilo, Arwystl, Elwared, Cynwarwy, Cynfran, Iddon, Gwrddogwy, Gwrfwy, Gwral.⁹³ From the laity: King Iddon as witness, Morwydd, Meirchion, Ffreuddwr, Erfig, Gwynafwy. The boundary of this church is: the Clawr⁹⁴ along the great road as far as the barrow of the Ffrwd Brook.⁹⁵ From the barrow of the Ffrwd Brook straight *to the ditch*, as far as the stone at the four boundaries. *From the stone along to the end of the ridge, as far as the end of the ditch. From the top of the ditch as far as the black spring.*

⁹¹ Wendy Davies noted that at LL 166 is a charter in which King Iddon gifts land not to Teilo but to Bishop Arwystl, who appears as the first witness after Teilo in the present document and in the document following (Davies 1978: 153, n. 1; 1979: 95). It is therefore possible that the original grants of Llan-arth and Llantilio Pertholey were similarly made to Arwystl rather than Teilo (cf. Guy 2018: 22–3).

⁹² Et rex [...] **perambulauit per totum** (And the king [...] **along all the bounds**) Much of this statement is repeated word for word in *De primo statu Landauensis ecclesie*, found at the beginning of St Dyfrig's hagiographical dossier (VS Dubricii (LL/Vesp), §2; cf. Davies 2003: 111).

⁹³ Doble notes that four of these witnesses aside from Teilo (Arwystl, Elwared, Cynfran, Gwrddogwy) appear in the list of Dyfrig's disciples in the Life of St Dyfrig (LWS 194; VS Dubricii (LL/Vesp), §15).

⁹⁴ **Clougur (Clawr)** Compare the spelling *Clour* given twice later in these bounds. This might be the stream now called the Clawdd Brook (Coe 2002: 182–3).

⁹⁵ **Frut Mur (Ffrwd Brook)** For the identification with the tributary of the Usk known as the Ffrwd (ModE Frood), see LL 399; EANC 29; Coe 2002: 294.

From the spring through the wood *to the Clawr* a short distance away. *The end of the ditch along the Clawrig*⁹⁶ *to the Clawr*.

§23

Llanfawr, that is Llantilio Pertholey.⁹⁷

The same King Iddon bestowed, as alms for his soul and the souls of his kingly and princely ancestors to God and St Peter and Archbishop Teilo and all his successors in the church of Llandaff, Llanfawr, that is Llantilio Pertholey, where Bywan lies with his four companions, with all its territory and all its status and sanctuary, and with every freedom and complete common use for the inhabitants in field and in woods, in water and in pastures, and with those bounds written below and with law-worthy men witnessing, clergy and laymen, and so without the requirement to render any payment, great or small, to any earthly man unless for the bishops of the church of Llandaff in perpetuity. From the clergy the witnesses are Archbishop Teilo, Arwystl, Elwared, Cynwarwy. From the laity: King Iddon, Morwydd, Meirchion, Gwynafwy. With a blessing given to those who would in future preserve the alms in calm peace, but a curse of anathema from everyone to those who would in future violate it, and with these bounds: *from the source of the Cibi across Mail Uannon*⁹⁸ *to the source of the Dywffrwd.*⁹⁹ *Along the Dywffrwd downwards as far as the Gavenny, across to the mouth of Nant Mawr [Great Stream].*¹⁰⁰ *As Nant Mawr leads upwards, as far as its source on Skirrid Fawr.*¹⁰¹ *Across the Skirrid to the source of the*

⁹⁶ **Clouuric (Clawrig)** Thomas identified the Clawrig with a little stream rising on Clytha Hill (Bryn Clidda) near Betws Clidda before running into the Clawr (EANC 183–4).

⁹⁷ **Lanntelieu Porth Halauc (Llantilio Pertholey)** Called Llandeilo Bertholau in modern Welsh, this small village is located just to the north-east of Abergavenny. Wendy Davies think it unlikely that Teilo was present at the transaction recorded in this document (Davies 1979: 95).

⁹⁸ **Mail Uannon** Identified as the mountain known as the Sugar Loaf (Mynydd Pen-y-fâl), located to the north-west of Abergavenny. The meaning of the name given in the Liber Landavensis is uncertain, but Coe suggests that the constituent words are *moel* ((bare) mountain, (treeless) hill) and *ban* (point, peak, bare hill) + nominal suffix *-on* (Coe 2002: 565–6).

⁹⁹ **Diufrut (Dywffrwd)** The second element is probably *ffrwd* (swift stream, torrent, flood) but the first element is uncertain. See Coe 2002: 223–4.

¹⁰⁰ **Nant Maur (Nant Mawr [Great Stream])** Coe identifies this as the stream at SO312188, which meets the Gavenny north of Llantilio Pertholey (Coe 2002: 646–7).

¹⁰¹ **Iscirit Maur (Skirrid Fawr)** The modern Welsh name is Ysgyryd Fawr.

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Morduc.¹⁰² *Along the Morduc downwards through the*¹⁰³ *wood to the Iulen, along the stream Morduc as far as the Gavenny. The Gavenny downwards as far as the stony ford. From the ford to the grey stone in the Crug Bracd,*¹⁰⁴ *to Gwern y Drudion [Marsh of the Heroes],*¹⁰⁵ *to Llwch y Crecion,*¹⁰⁶ *to the Cibi. As the Cibi leads upwards as far as its source, where it began.*

§24

Llantilio Crossenny.¹⁰⁷

In the time of the aforesaid King Iddon, the Saxons came into his realm to plunder it. And he with his army followed them. And on his way he came across holy Teilo, dwelling at that time with his clerics in his church of Llan-arth. And he beseeched him and all his clerics in the strongest terms to beseech God on behalf of him and his whole army. And holy Teilo came with him as far as a particular hill in the middle of Cresynni near the Trothy,¹⁰⁸ standing there and praying to almighty God that he might provide relief for his despoiled people. And because his prayer was heard, great joy was obtained; the enemies were turned in flight, and the king returned with captured booty. And then [he gave]¹⁰⁹ three *modii*¹¹⁰ of land around that mound to St Teilo and the church of Landaff, with its complete common use for the inhabitants in field and in woods, in waters and in pastures. Thus with excommunication performed by everyone in common

¹⁰² **Morduc** Coe suggests that this is the stream at SO310158, which is the only stream that rises on Skirrid Fawr and meets the Gavenny to the south of Llantilio Pertholey (Coe 2002: 608). The meaning of the name is uncertain, but Coe suggests a connection with the personal name *Mordoc*, which appears at LL 178 and 184.

¹⁰³ **trui i (through the)** One would expect *trui'r*, for ModW *trwy'r*, though compare *Lymma y* for *Lymma'r* at the beginning of *Braint Teilo* (§21).

¹⁰⁴ **Cruc Bracd (Crug Bracd)** *Crug* means 'hillock, knoll, cairn', but *Bracd* is corrupt.

¹⁰⁵ **Guern i Drution (Gwern y Drudion [Marsh of the Heroes])** See GPC s.v. *drudl*.

¹⁰⁶ **Luch i Crecion (Llwch y Crecion)** ModW *Llwch* means 'lake, pool' but the meaning of *Crecion* is unknown.

¹⁰⁷ **Llannteiliau Cressinych (Llantilio Crossenny)** The modern Welsh name is Llandeilo Gresynni. Wendy Davies observes that this charter 'has no witness list and nothing to suggest any genuine document' (Davies 1979: 95).

¹⁰⁸ **Trodi (Trothy)** The modern Welsh name is Troddi.

¹⁰⁹ The text omits a dispositive verb.

¹¹⁰ **tres modios (three modii)** The use of the *modius* as a unit of land derives from the Roman use of the *modius* as a measure of grain, and thus as a measure of the ale that could be produced from grain. Originally, one *modius* of land was the amount of land which, under local conditions, could be expected to produce one *modius* of ale for a food render to a lord. *Modii* were usually counted in units of three, as here (three *modii*), seemingly because a standard vat of ale contained three *modii*. Cf. Davies 1973; Charles-Edwards 2013: 274–82.

against any people who would from that day forth separate it from the church of Llandaff, and on the other hand with absolution performed for those who would in future preserve this alms in peace. The boundary: *from the confluence of the Ciuerdiued in the Carfan*,¹¹¹ *along the Ciuerdiued as far as the mouth of the Guaech. From the mouth of the Guaech to the little stream. Along it as far as the end of Clawdd Ederne* [Edern's Dyke]. *Along it as far as Ffos Cinahi*.¹¹² *Along it as far as the mouth of the Grenin*.¹¹³ *Along the Grenin as far as the source of the Grenin. From the source of the Grenin straight across to Carn Gunstan*.¹¹⁴ *From Carn Gunstan to Castell Mei*.¹¹⁵ *From Castell Mei to the confluence of the Carfan in the Ciuerdiued.*

§25

These churches were given with all their endowments and territories and their entire status and privilege, freedom and sanctuary and complete common use for the inhabitants in field and woods, in water and in pastures, by the aforesaid kings to St Teilo and all the bishops of the church of Llandaff, with a curse given to those who would in future violate them, but a blessing given to those who would in future preserve them; may there be peace in their days and an abundance of peace now and forever:¹¹⁶ *Llandeilo Nant Serw*,¹¹⁷ the settlement only, in Cantref Mawr on the bank of the river Cothi; *Llandeilo Garth Teuir*, the settlement only, on the bank

¹¹¹ **Caruan (Carfan)** Coe provides evidence for a 'Carvan brook' somewhere in the vicinity of Llantilio Crossenny (Coe 2002: 138–9).

¹¹² **Fos Cinahi (Ffos Cinabi)** ModW *ffos* means 'ditch, dyke, gutter', but the meaning of *Cinabi* is unknown.

¹¹³ **Grenin** Coe suggests that *grenin* could be a singulative form of *graeon* (gravel), which would be spelt *greynyn* in modern Welsh (Coe 2002: 315–16).

¹¹⁴ **Gunstan** This is probably a Welsh borrowing of the Old English personal name *Wynstān*. Is it uncertain whether the spelling *Gu-* represents /w/ or /gw/ in this instance.

¹¹⁵ **Castell Mei (Castell Mei)** Identified as White Castle (Coe 2002: 142).

¹¹⁶ **fiat pax in diebus eorum et habundantia pacis hic et in perpetuo** (may there be peace in their days and an abundance of peace now and forever) Cf. Psalms 121.7 (Vulgate; modern 122.7). The following list of extra-diocesan churches claimed by Llandaff may be compared with the similar but longer list at LL 254–5, which includes almost all churches in this list in addition to others (cf. Davies 2003: 71, 88–9). Coe suggests that the present list was 'probably originally a list of Penally's possessions' (Coe 2002: 71), whereas Doble attributed the compilation of the list to Llandeilo Fawr (LWS 194).

¹¹⁷ **Lanntelieu Nant Seru (Llandeilo Nant Serw)** John Reuben Davies identified this place as Brechfa, which is close to the river Cothi and has a church dedicated to St Teilo, but Coe doubts that these grounds for identification are strong enough for certainty (Davies 1998a: 215; Coe 2002: 457–8).

of the river Cothi; Llandeilo Fechan in Dyffryn Teifi, the settlement only; Llandeilo Tref yng Nghermyw; Llandeulyddog yng Nghaer;¹¹⁸ Llandilo-abercowin;¹¹⁹ Llandeilo Pentwyn;¹²⁰ Llandeilo Llwyn Gwaeddan,¹²¹ the settlement only, in Efelffre. *In Penfro*:¹²² Llanrath¹²³ and *Llangronwern*¹²⁴ with the three territories of Amroth¹²⁵ (their boundary: *from Ffrwd Gwrgan* [Gwrgan's Flood]¹²⁶ *to the bank of the Rath*);¹²⁷ Tref Carn, the settlement only without the church; Llaethdy Teilo on the bank of the river Rhydeg,¹²⁸ the settlement only near Penally; Mynechi *on the bank of the Rhydeg* near Penally; Pwll Arda near Manorbier,¹²⁹ the settlement only; Llwyn Teilo,¹³⁰ the settlement only; Eglwys Gwynio¹³¹ where St Teilo was born; Porth Meddien,

¹¹⁸ **Lanntoulidauc iCair (Llandeulyddog yng Nghaer)** The *Caer* in question is no doubt Carmarthen, ModW Caerfyrddin. The later Augustinian priory in Carmarthen was dedicated to St John and St Teulyddog. See the note about St Teulyddog, supposed disciple of SS. Dyfrig and Teilo, in §16 above.

¹¹⁹ **Lanntelïau Apercouin (Llandilo-abercowin)** The modern Welsh form is Llandeilo Abercywyn. This is probably the implied location of the story about Teilo's resurrection of Distynnig on the bank of the river Cywyn in §17.

¹²⁰ **Lanntelïau Penntuinn (Llandeilo Pentwyn)** Identified with Pentwyn (ModE Pendine), a village on the coast of Carmarthen Bay (LL 415; WATU 173; Coe 2002: 458–9).

¹²¹ **Lanntelïau Luin Gaidan (Llandeilo Llwyn Gwaeddan)** Compare the spelling of the same name at LL 255: *Lanntelïau Luin Guaidan*. It is likely that this church was near the place now called Llangwathan, to the east of Narberth. Early forms of Llangwathan suggest that it was originally called Llwyn Gwaeddan (Coe 2002: 456; Charles 1992: ii, 499). It is probably to be identified with the Llandeilo Fechan violated by a ruler called Gwaeddan in the story in §17.

¹²² **Pennbro (Penfro)** This is a reference to the cantref of Penfro rather than the town of Pembroke, also called Penfro in Welsh.

¹²³ **Lanrath (Llanrath)** Probably the settlement now called Amroth in southern Pembrokeshire (Coe 2002: 447). The church of Rath is the site of a miracle of St Teilo described in §17.

¹²⁴ **Lanncronnguern (Llangronwern)** The modern Cronwern, called Crunwern in English (Coe 2002: 413–14).

¹²⁵ **Amrath (Amroth)** This seems to refer to a district centred on Amroth (Amroth literally meaning 'around the (river) Rath'), rather than to the modern village of Amroth, which is the Llanrath of the Liber Landavensis (cf. Charles 1992: ii, 464–5; Coe 2002: 71–2).

¹²⁶ **Frut Gurcant (Ffrwd Gwrgan [Gwrgan's Flood])** Charles suggested that Ffrwd Gwrgan is the stream that reaches the sea at SN171071, and Coe agrees (Charles 1992: ii, 465; Coe 2002: 292).

¹²⁷ **Rath (Rath)** Coe suggests that the Rath should be identified with the stream now called Ford's Lake (Coe 2002: 730–1).

¹²⁸ **Ritec (Rhydeg)** Probably the stream now called the Pill (earlier the Backwater) (Charles 1992: ii, 562; Coe 2002: 737–8).

¹²⁹ **Mainaur Pir (Manorbier)** Modern Welsh Maenorbŷr.

¹³⁰ **Luin Telïau (Llwyn Teilo)** This has been connected with a farm near Penally now called Treflwyn (ModE Trefloyne) (LL 410; WATU 146; Charles 1992: ii, 706), but Coe is sceptical (Coe 2002: 554–5).

¹³¹ **Eccluis Gunniau (Eglwys Gwynio)** There has been disagreement about where this should be located, but no suggestions to date are especially compelling (Coe 2002: 253–4).

the settlement only; Porth Manach, *the settlement* in *Amitheil*; Din Gwennaf¹³² in Lanion, the settlement only; Llandeilo Llwydarth¹³³ in Daugleddau, *the settlement*; Llandeilo Cilrhedyn¹³⁴ in Emlyn. In Rhos: St Ishmael's,¹³⁵ *the settlement*; Brodlan; Llanwrfryd. Llangyffig in Talacharn with a hundred and five acres of land.

§26

Maenor Brwnws¹³⁶ and Telych Cleufan, Tref Canws.¹³⁷

The king of the Demetian kingdom, Maredudd son of Rhain, roused to excessive rage and cruelty, killed *Gufrir*, St Teilo's man, in the sanctuary of God and Teilo, as he was waiting before Teilo's altar. Afterwards, once penance had been demanded from him and forgiveness had been given to him on account of the reparation promised by him through fasting, praying and alms, he bestowed, together with his promise of every reparation, to God and St Teilo and the church of Llandaff, to all its bishops in perpetuity, Maenor Brwnws with its church and fish and woods, together with Telych Cleufan, together with Tref Canws as well, those lands to be free from every royal service, and so with their entire status and the privilege of St Teilo granted to them in all things, with common use of rights of way for the inhabitants in field and in woods, in water and

¹³² **Din Guennham (Din Gwennaf)** Possibly Golden Hill (Owen 1892–1936: ii, 421, n. 107; Charles 1992: ii, 720–1; Coe 2002: 220).

¹³³ **Lanntelïau Litgarth (Llandeilo Llwydarth)** Most probably the modern Llandeilo (English Llandilo) on the border between Daugleddau and Cemais, 'at the head of the ridge formerly known as *Llwydarth*' (Coe 2002: 455). The spelling of *Lit-*, the first element in the second word, is unexplained, but it is perhaps an error for *Luit-*. This church is probably the *Llan Teilaw* listed as one of the seven bishop-houses of Dyfed in an early medieval tract preserved in *Cyfraith Hywel Dda* (Charles-Edwards 1971: 251).

¹³⁴ **Lanntelïau Cilretin (Llandeilo Cilrhedyn)** Identified as the hamlet of Cilrhedyn in Emlyn, the church of which was dedicated to St Teilo (LL 409; WATU 44; Coe 2002: 453).

¹³⁵ **Lannissan (St Ishmael's)** Charles suggested that *Isan* could be a hypochoristic form of *Ismail* (Charles 1992: ii, 633). This is supported by the early medieval tract known as the 'Seven Bishop-Houses of Dyfed', preserved in various versions of *Cyfraith Hywel Dda*. Most versions of the tract list *Llan Ismael* (i.e. St Ishmael's) as one of the seven houses, but in Latin Redaction A this is changed to *Lan Yssan in Ros* (Charles-Edwards 1971: 248, 251).

¹³⁶ **Mainaur Brunus (Maenor Brwnws)** Probably the territory around Llandeilo Rwnws in Llanegwad, Carmarthenshire (Coe 2002: 566–7).

¹³⁷ Wendy Davies observes that this charter 'has no witness list and no suggestion of any original charter' (Davies 1979: 96).

in pastures, forever. With a curse given to those who would in future violate it, but a blessing to those who would in future preserve it.

§27

Tref Carn, Llaethdy Teilo, Mynechi.¹³⁸

While Aergol Llawhir son of Tryffin, king of the Demetian kingdom, was ruling, it happened that, on an occasion when he was holding his court at Llys Castell, chief centre of the whole Demetian kingdom, while the king's stewards were taking turns every night serving the king with food and drink, there was, at the urging of the Devil, such a great excess of alcohol that either one of the soldiers or one of the king's warband would always be killed. When the king had observed the repeated homicide, he knew that there was no way he could resolve it except through the alms and fasts and prayers of holy men. Once he had fasted and prayed, the king ordered holy Teilo, then dwelling in his church at Penally, to come to him quickly so that he might bless him and his court, lest such a repeated homicide should occur in his court again. And after holy Teilo came to him, he blessed him and his court and sent his two disciples, *Iouil* and Fidelis, to serve the court by distributing the food and drink to everyone in a measured and appropriate way, with the result that, through the grace of the Holy Spirit, no death occurred in his court on that night or afterwards, as had been customary. The king, knowing that that danger had been obviated through the prayer of holy Teilo, gave holy Teilo from his own inheritance three settlements, namely Tref Carn (the boundary: *from Mynydd Garthion* [Encampment Hill]¹³⁹ *to the source of Nant Brad* [Treachery Stream], *downwards into the Rhydeg*;¹⁴⁰ on the other side, *from Mynydd Garthion to Nant y Claforion* [The Lepers' Stream], *as far as into the Rhydeg*), Laethdy Teilo (*from Carn Baglan* [Crook Cairn] *to Cil Meiniog* [Stony Nook], *as far as into the Rhydeg*), and Mynechi (*from Tref Eithinog* [Gorse Town] *to Nant y Rhodwyddau* [Stream of the Defensive Fords], *as far as into the Rhydeg*; on the other side, *from Tyno Penge to the source of Nant Castell Cerran* [Cerran

¹³⁸ **Tref Carn, Laithti Teiliau, Menechi** (**Tref Carn, Llaethdy Teilo, Mynechi**) None of these places has been convincingly identified, but they should all be in the vicinity of Penally. All three are listed in the list of Teilo properties in §25 above. Wendy Davies notes that 'no framework of an early charter is apparent' in the present document (Davies 1979: 96).

¹³⁹ **Uinyd Garthion** (**Mynydd Garthion** [Encampment Hill]) Almost certainly the hill now called Minerton (Coe 2002: 601–2).

¹⁴⁰ **Ritec** (**Rhydeg**) For the Rhydeg, see the note to §24 above.

Castle Stream],¹⁴¹ *as far as into the Rhydeg*), with their every freedom in field and in waters, in wood and in pastures inside and outside, without the requirement to render any payment to any earthly man unless for God and archbishop Teilo and the church and his successors in perpetuity, with King Aergol and his principal men witnessing. From the clergy: holy Teilo as witness, *Iouil*, Fidelis his disciple.¹⁴² With a blessing made by everyone unanimously to those who from that day forth would preserve that alms in peace forever. But they who would separate it from the church of Llandaff, let them be separated on the day of judgement like kids from the lambs. Amen.

§28

Cil Tudwg [Tudwg's Nook] and Pen Clegyr [Head of the Rocks].¹⁴³

One day it happened that the pigs of a certain man from Penally entered into the cornfields of a certain rich man called Tudwg. When he had seen the damage, he searched for the swineherd so that he could take vengeance upon him. But he did not find him until he came over to the monastery of Penally, and there he found the swineherd. And he wished to strike him with a spear, but since a certain child called Tyfai, the nephew of holy Teilo, came between them, and the swineherd defended himself, the cruel man pierced the child through with the spear, and Tyfai died. And afterwards, regretting what he had done, he sought forgiveness from holy Teilo, and with the word and consent of King Aergol gave himself along with his two settlements, Cil Tudwg and Pen Clegyr, with great devotion in perpetual servitude and with his entire kindred, to him and to the church of Llandaff and its bishops in perpetuity, with their entire freedom, without the requirement to render any payment to any earthly man unless for God and the church of Llandaff. From the clergy the witness is archbishop Teilo, with his disciples *Iouguil*¹⁴⁴ and

¹⁴¹ **Nant Castell Cerran (Nant Castell Cerran)** Coe suggests that Castell Cerran might be Norchard Beacon at SN070001 (Coe 2002: 140–1).

¹⁴² **Iouil, Fidelis discipulus suos. (Iouil, Fidelis his disciple.)** Conceivably, *fidelis* could here be read as an adjective ('faithful') referring to *Iouil*, rather than as a separate name. However, earlier in this section the same pair are specifically called *duos discipulos suos, Iouil et Fidelis* (his two disciples, *Iouil* and Fidelis), implying that the writer of the present text envisaged *Fidelis* and *Iouil* as separate people. See the discussion in the note to §16.

¹⁴³ Wendy Davies judges that this document 'has little to suggest any original charter' (Davies 1979: 96).

¹⁴⁴ **Iouguil** Presumably the disciple who is always paired with Fidelis, whose name is elsewhere spelt *Iubil* and *Iouil* (see above, §16 and §27).

Fidelis. From the laity, moreover: King Aergol, Llywathrw, Lledglyd, Ina, Rhegddofydd. The boundary is: *from Castell Cerran*¹⁴⁵ *to Nant Tor y Gaer* [Stream of the Breach of the Fort], *as far as the boathouse*,¹⁴⁶ on the other side, *from Nant Castell Carran as far as into the Rhydeg*.

§29

Maenor Mathry and Cenarth Mawr.¹⁴⁷

There was a man called Cynwayw from Daugleddau, born of a noble kindred but poor and married, who was availing himself of his wife to such an extent that he begot a single child every single year. For that which they ought to be more joyful, they were even more saddened, on account of their poverty and frequent childbirth, so much that, being of such great simple-mindedness, they then sought out advice from holy Teilo concerning their great abundance of sons and lack of wealth, and what they should do henceforth. Blessed Teilo, having heard for himself that great complaining request, said, ‘I see no other way for you to avoid your fertility for children other than for you both to abstain from sexual activity.’ Hearing that, they realised that the advice was most healthy for them, and they abstained for seven years. While they were in that state, the woman conceived and bore seven sons, just as if they had continued to be together in their sin in constant desperation for children as before. And so they carried those unbaptized children to holy Teilo, saying, ‘Following a bad sign we took holy Teilo’s advice, yet we have been burdened badly. Indeed, let us drown them in water, or else let us entrust them to him, if he should accept their care.’ But in the event, holy Teilo, passing by on his way, found their father in Rhyd Synedig [Amazing Ford] on the bank of the river Taf,¹⁴⁸ drowning his sons at the urging of the Devil one by one in the river, on account of his lack of wealth and poverty. Seeing such a hateful deed, holy Teilo took each of them half alive and baptized them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, with thanksgiving. After the seven sons had been taken from the murderous father, the man of great piety fostered them, and sent them away to study letters

¹⁴⁵ **Castell Cerran (Castell Cerran)** For Castell Cerran, see the note to Nant Castell Cerran in §27 above.

¹⁴⁶ **locnhty (boathouse)** Presumably for *ModW llongdy*. If this spelling is not corrupt, then *cn* probably represents /ŋ/ and *ht* might represent *d* (perhaps with the *h* marking the lenition of the *t*).

¹⁴⁷ Wendy Davies observes that this document has ‘no witness list and nothing to suggest the framework of any original charter’ (Davies 1979: 97).

¹⁴⁸ **Taf (Taf)** Evidently the river Taf in west Wales, which rises in the Preseli Hills and empties into the east side of Carmarthen Bay.

in his church of Llandeilo, a place indeed that came to be called Llanddowror¹⁴⁹ by others, for the reason that they were living for the sake of their religious life on no other food except aquatic fish, enough of which for the seven of them was sent to them by God every day on top of a particular rock that came to be called after them, that is Llech Meneich [Monks' Stone] in the river Taf. And what is more, they were called *dyffrwyrr* for the reason that they were found in water and escaped by means of water and were maintained by aquatic fish ('*dyffrwyrr*', that is 'aquatic ones' in British speech, that is 'aquatic men'). On one occasion holy Teilo came to them, desiring to visit their usual place of habitation; he stayed with them as he did with his disciples. And as usual, one of the brothers went to the water for the fish. He found on top of the aforesaid rock seven fish for the number of brothers as well as a larger one, an eighth with those seven, all of which he brought home. And for that reason the brothers marvelled, as it is said, 'God is wonderful in his saints';¹⁵⁰ they knew well that on account of the arrival of their guest holy Teilo, their bishop and master, the Creator of all things had multiplied the fish. And after they had spent a long time living religiously in that place, and had dwelt with blessed Dyfrig for another long period,¹⁵¹ he sent them to his other place which is called Mathry in Pebidiog,¹⁵² and there they were called *Saith Saint Mathri* [the Seven Saints of Mathry]. And after they had dwelt there for another period of time, they came thence to Cenarth Mawr, where they dwelt up until the end of their lives. And all their land at Mathry and Cenarth Mawr they gave to their holy bishop and master Teilo and the church of Llandaff and all its bishops in perpetuity, with the word and consent of King Aergol and his principal men, who himself had given them those lands on account of their sanctity in eternal consecration, without the requirement to render any payment to any earthly man unless for God and those brothers and St Teilo, with their every freedom in field and in woods, in water and in pastures. With excommunication performed by everyone

¹⁴⁹ **Lanndyfrguyr (Llanddowror)** The form used in the Liber Landavensis would be spelled in modern Welsh as 'Llanddyfrwyrr', meaning 'church enclosure of the water-men'.

¹⁵⁰ **Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis (God is wonderful in his saints)** From Psalms 67.36 (Vulgate; modern 68.35). Cf. VS Samsonis (LL), §5; VS Dubricii (LL/Vesp), §16, §20; VS Teliaui (Vesp), §5; above, §5.

¹⁵¹ **et alio multo tempore cum beato Dubricio conuersati sunt (and had dwelt with blessed Dyfrig for another long period)** This statement brings to mind one of the charters preceding the Life of St Dyfrig (VS Dubricii (LL/Vesp), §13), in which Penally, Llandeilo Fawr and *territorium aquilentium* (i.e. Llanddowror) were given to St Dyfrig by Nowy son of Arthur (paradoxically, King Aergol's great-great-great-grandson). This gift is also noted in the Life of St Euddogwy (VS Oudocei (LL), §5; cf. LWS 197).

¹⁵² **Pepitiauc (Pebidiog)** One of the cantrefs of Dyfed, later called Dewsland Hundred.

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unanimously against those who would in future separate those lands from the arch-monastery of Llandaff and from its bishops forever, but a blessing to those who would in future keep it safe. Amen.

Vita Sancti Teliaui (Liber Landavensis)

edited by Ben Guy

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Manuscript

The text edited here as the *Vita Sancti Teliaui* consists of the Life of the saint accompanied by privileges and charters. The Liber Landavensis contains the only copy of this version of the Life of St Teilo. Another version of the Life, without the accompanying privileges and charters, is found in Vespasian A. xiv (VS Teliaui (Vesp)). 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). All of the text in the Liber Landavensis was written by scribe A on quires 8 and 9 (MWM 129, 135, 154). These quires are part of the continuous sequence formed by quires 7 to 14, which were all copied by scribe A uninterrupted. They contain the Lives of SS. Dyfrig, Teilo, Euddogwy and Clydog, and the main sequence of charters from Dyfrig to Herewald.

LIBER LANDAVENSIS, 56VA–66VA

Note on transcription. Unlike the original manuscript, the digitised version of the Liber Landavensis on the National Library of Wales's website contains a folio labelling error. The first folio of the Life of St Teilo is mislabelled in the manuscript contents list as '57v' rather than '56v'. However, this folio still appears in the contents list after folio 56r, and the real 57v is still labelled 57v.

The following abbreviations are used for the Life in the manuscript:

Ampersand (×193); the homothetic sign [÷] (×1).

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The following abbreviations are used for the appended privileges and charters in the manuscript:
Ampersand (×70); Tironian *et* (×101); the homothetic sign [÷] (×1).

TRANSCRIPTION

{56va}

- 1 DE vita *Sancti Teiliavi Landa*¹
- 2 *uensis ecclesię archiepiscopi*².
- 3 S ANCTUS³ ISTE FRATRES KARISSIMI AB
- 4 infantia dei cultor extitit.
- 5 Nec mirum. cum ante infantiam
- 6 eum futurum sibi seruum deus
- 7 predestinasset. Predestinauit
- 8 quem elegit. elegit quem dilexit.
- 9 dilectumque uerę confessionis pal
- 10 ma coronauit. Militauit itaque
- 11 uir dei deo. orationibus insistendo.
- 12 omniaque quę possidebat indige
- 13 ntibus erogando. Quid amplius.
- 14 ~~Sex~~^{Septem}⁴ opera misericordię diligenter
- 15 exequutus. Nunquam dei famulus
- 16 ab ecclesiasticis uacabat institutis.
- 17 Omnia sua faciebat non sua. *et*⁵
- 18 quę non erant sua. faciebat sua.

¹ (top) {vide Wharton Anglia Sacra Vol. 2. p. 662.}.

² *archiepiscopi* (top, above column b) {nota archiepiscopi in rubrica}. The note is linked to the main text with a pointing hand.

³ S ANCTUS (margin) {Lectio .i.^a}. The S is a four-line rubricated initial.

⁴ ~~Sex~~^{Septem} This word has been partially rubbed away and a later hand has written *Septem* in the margin.

⁵ (margin) {Iste etiam sanctissimus teliaus fuit de parentela regali cuius auunculus erat sanctus dauid Archiepiscopus menevensis, post cuius mort[.]m. sanctus [.]eliaus ysmaelem consecrauit in episcopum meneensem successorem in mediatum dicti dauid archiepiscopi auunculi sancti teliai vt predictum est,}.

19 Nichil enim reliqui sibi desuo
 20 relinquens. bene caduca pro eter
 21 nis cambiebat. O quantus *et* qua
 22 lis mercator qui sua deo dabat;
 23 ut abeo centuplum acciperet. O *com*
 24 mercium pretiosum. O usura lauda
 25 bilis; o fenus sine crimine. O *lucrum*
 26 sine reprehensione. Lucremur
 27 *igitur* sic nosmetipsos *fratres*; ut *lucrum*
 28 non perda^{n}t⁶ feneratores. O quantę
 29 sapientię *et* scientię uirum. qui
 30 sua aliis distribuebat ut dites=
 31 ceret; seipsum macerabat ut ali
 32 os impinguesceret. *Aliorum* mise
 33 rebatur. ut *miseri*cordiam consequeretur.
 34 Talia equidem constat *sancti* uiri fu
 35 isse rudimenta; in quibus; perseue
 {56vb}
 1 rabat sine intermissione usque in
 2 consummationem uite. Egregius
 3 *igitur* confessor fuit⁷; qui preter uir=
 4 tutes quid confiteretur non habuit.
 5 Quippe. bonus in infantia. in iu
 6 uentute melior. in senectute optimus.
 7 Sed ne⁸ tanti uiri genus taceatur.
 8 quasi nescitum; ex nobilibus illum pa=
 9 rentibus scimus fuisse ortum. ut carnis
 10 nobilitas honestaret eum inter *homines*.
 11 qui iam animi nobilitate apud *deum*

⁶ perda^{n}t A later hand has placed a nasal suspension mark over the *a*.

⁷ confessor fuit A gap was left between these words due to a hole in the parchment.

⁸ Sed ne (margin) {ii.^a}.

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12 erat acceptabilis. Post incrementum
 13 autem etatis uirtutum *et* sapientie;
 14 congruo nomine ELIOS asapientibus
 15 nuncupatus est. ELios autem grece;
 16 latine sol interpretatur. Fulgebat
 17 enim ut sol eius doctrina. fidelium
 18 illustrando d^{pectora}octrinam. Sed illiteratis
 19 hominibus extremum uocabuli cor
 20 rupte proferentibus. adoleuit quod non
 21 elios. sed eLiud appellatus est.
 22 Asancto autem dubricio archipresule⁹
 23 cuius proximus successor extitit. le
 24 gimus illum inpueritia insanctis scri
 25 pturis fuisse eruditum; donec eum
 26 tandem uidit tantę indolis puerum.
 27 ut non solum illum crederet seipso
 28 inscientia non esse inferiorem; sed
 29 spiritu sancto cooperante scripturarum nodos
 30 melius perse. quam aliquo sibi magistr
 31 ante expediebat. Quo uiso; sanctus Dubri=
 32 cius qui huc usque fuerat suus precep=
 33 tor. quique iam intelligebat. se non
 34 posse sibi magistrari¹⁰: uoluit ut sibi
 35 succederet in¹¹ magisterio¹². cum eum
 {57ra}
 1 excederet doctrina *et* ingenio.
 2 Sed¹³ tanta gratia eum comittaba=

⁹ **dubricio archipresule** (margin) {hic qualiter sanctus teliaus succedit dubricum archiepiscopum}.

¹⁰ **magistrari** The final *i* may have been added later.

¹¹ **succederet in** -ret in looks like it has been retraced.

¹² **magisterio** (bottom, below both columns) {Nota de Vita Sancti Theliei Landauensis ecclesie Archiepiscopi vt in Rubrica superius patet qui etiam fuit Archiepiscopus Eboracensis et Archiepiscopus Dolensis vt alias patebit}.

¹³ **Sed** (margin) {.iii.}.

3 tur. tantusque eum studii sacrę lec=
 4 tionis feruor incendebat; ut ille
 5 qui iam aliis magistrari poterat.
 6 et adhuc magistrum querebat.
 7 Tum quia sub alterius mallebat
 8 esse disciplina. quam dissolute
 9 uiuere; tum etiam quia misterivm
 10 et subtilitates scripturarum uolebat
 11 intelligere. Sed non more stultorum¹⁴
 12 philosophorum ut alios confunderet;
 13 immo ut hereticorum errores confun=
 14 dere posset. Confundit itaque mul=
 15 torum hereses. multorumque correxit er=
 16 rores. Plusque¹⁵ simpliciter et catholi=
 17 ce tam~~xx~~¹⁶ argumentando profuit
 18 fidelibus; quam suis subtilibus argu¹⁷
 19 mentis fecisset unquam aliquis phi=
 20 losophus. Illi enim uiam querentes.
 21 semper deuiabant; ille uero uiam ueri
 22 tatis nunquam preteribat. sed per eam
 23 gradiens quasi lucerna preeunte ^{nullo}
 24 eum impediante; adeum qui est¹⁸
 25 uerum lumen tendebat. Quip=
 26 pe. pereum gradiebatur qui est uia.
 27 et ab eo docebatur qui est sapientia.
 28 Deinde audita sibi Poulini¹⁹ cuius=

¹⁴ (margin) {nota bō finem}.

¹⁵ Plusque (margin) {.iiii.^a}.

¹⁶ tam~~xx~~ Following *tam* is a small gap that seems to show signs of erasure. Evans (LL 349) suggested that *en* has been erased.

¹⁷ (margin) {Anglia Sacra p. 663}.

¹⁸ (margin) {nullo}. Copying the addition in a different hand at the end of the previous line.

¹⁹ Poulini (margin) {paulini}.

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29 dam sapientis uiri fama. eum adi=
 30 uit; *et* apud eundem aliquandiu
 31 moratus. siqua eum scripturarum
 32 secreta prius laterent; conferen=
 33 do adinuicem. omnia sane exposi
 34 ta intelligebant. *Ibique sanctum* Daud
 35 *perfectissimę* uite *hominem* sibi asso=

{57rb}

1 ciauit. Quos tanta coniunxit dilec=
 2 tio. *et spiritus sancti gratia. quod* inagendis rebus.
 3 idem uelle *et* idem nolle esset ambobus.
 4 Ecce *fratres Karissimi* qualiter deus *sanctos* suos²⁰
 5 adunat interris; quos futuros eligit
 6 ciues incēlis. Elegit duos. ut *perduos*
 7 eligeret plures. O beata *duorum* uita;
 8 *perquam* multorum animę habuerunt
 9 refrigeria.
 10 **IN**²¹ *ILLORum autem sanctorum diebus. quidam*
 11 populi descithia qui siue apictis ue=
 12 stibus. siue *propter oculorum* stigmata picti
 13 dicebantur; innumera classe adbrit=
 14 tanniam deuenerunt. *et* capti amore
 15 terre potiundę *propter* bonarum rerum
 16 copiam qua *super omnes* insulas tunc tem=
 17 poris pollebat; magis fraude quam
 18 uiribus britannos inuaserunt. *et* in
 19 eos miram tirannidem adtempus
 20 exercuerunt. Nec *mirum istam* superari
 21 abilla; nam picta gens erat subdola.
 22 *et* multis confliccionibus terra *et* ma=

²⁰ (margin) {amen}.

²¹ **IN** (margin) {v} {{*lectio quintus*}}. The *I* is a four-line rubricated initial.

23 ri exercitata; ista autem quamuis ui
 24 ribus; corporis esset *predita*. tamen sim
 25 plex *et* pacifica. *et* quia non dum es
 26 set aquoquam temptata. quasi bellan=
 27 di nescia; leuius²² subiugari potuit.
 28 Siquis autem inde plenius scire deside=
 29 rat; in historia Gildę britannorum
 30 historiografi²³ repperiet. Cunque²⁴ quidam
 31 illius nefarię gentis princeps trucidan
 32 do miseros incolas *et* comburendo e=
 33 des *et* templa *sanctorum* anualibus appu=
 34 lerant. usque minuensem ciuitatem²⁵
 35 processisset; ibi constitit. ibique suum

{57va}

1 palatium construxit. Qui uide=
 2 ns *sancti* Teliaui. Daud. aliorumque
 3 seruorum dei qui cum illis ibidem
 4 degebant uite *probitatem*; sicut prauo=
 5 rum semper consuetudo est bonisin
 6 uidere. non solum illis inuidebat;
 7 sed etiam quia illos tam attentos in
 8 dei seruitio uideret. multa eis op=
 9 probria sepe dicebat. ut sic eos *achristo*
 10 separaret. Sed quia minis *et* uerbis
 11 turpibus quod uolebat efficere non po=
 12 tuit. multis machinationibus eos tem
 13 ptare conatus. uidit se nullo modo

²² **leuius** This word could conceivably be *lenius*.

²³ **Gildę britannorum historiografi** (margin) {nota gildam [.....] norum histor[...]}.

²⁴ **Cunque** (margin) {vii}.

²⁵ **usque minuensem ciuitatem** (bottom, keyed with a *signe de renvoi* [.:]) {vsque minuensem ciuitatem. Ista est vera et antiqua litera, sicut patet .4.to folio postea ad manum. igitur caueat correor. Que ciuitas iam meneuensis vocatur}.

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14 commodius. quam permuliebres blandi=
 15 tias illud efficere posse. Precepit²⁶
 16 itaque mulieri suę ut adsanctos suas pe
 17 disequas dirigeret. et sanctorum ~~ui~~^{u}sibus²⁷ se
 18 offerrent. ut fatuis motibus sui corpo=
 19 ris. et meretriciis blandimentis sanctorum
 20 mentes asancto proposito conarentur peruer=
 21 tere. Quę dum dominę suę exequendo
 22 mandata se quasi insanas esse simu=²⁸
 23 larent; insanę factę sunt. Quippe. quia
 24 sicut dicitur.²⁹ Qui insordibus est; dignum est
 25 ut magis sordescat. Quo uiso; predic=
 26 tus persecutor. et tota domus sua pergra=
 27 tiam seruorum dei catholicam fidem sus=
 28 ceperunt. et ab eisdem inchristi nomine
 29 baptizati sunt. Beatus itaque fuit qui sci
 30 enter persequabatur iustos. ut nescienter
 31 iustus efficeretur. Sanctos temptabat;
 32 ut sanctus fieret. Litigabat cum hominibus;
 33 ut cum deo reconciliaretur. Despicie=
 34 bat humiles; ut humilitatem dilige
 35 ret. Postquam³⁰ uero deus illas im=

{57vb}

1 pudicas mulieres tali immedica=³¹
 2 bili opprobrio deturpauit; eosdem
 3 sanctos peraliud opus mirabile et dignum
 4 memoratu decorauit. Nam cum bea=

²⁶ **Precepit** (margin) {vii}.

²⁷ ~~ui~~^{u}sibus It seems that an original *ui-* has been altered to *u-* through the erasure of the first minim.

²⁸ (margin) {Ecce miraculum. de mulieribus fingentes se insane. factę sunt insane}.

²⁹ **dicitur.** A short horizontal line has been placed just above the punctus.

³⁰ **Postquam** (margin) {octaua lectio}.

³¹ (top) {nota quod solebatur legere}. This note seemingly applies to the two hands drawn pointing at lines 5 and 21.

5 tus TeLiaus *et* Maidocus inatrio mona
 6 sterii non figmenta poetarum nec ueterum
 7 historias ^{legerent}. immo ieremię prophetę lamen=
 8 tationes. ut amore celestis patrię ma
 9 gis accenderentur; superuenit quidam
 10 famulus. dicens ligna deesse quibus
 11 cēna fratrum preparari posset. Illi autem
 12 hoc egre ferentes. non quia inobsequio
 13 fratrum pigritarent; sed quia ad pre=
 14 parandam confratrum cenam tempesti=
 15 ue desilua non possent reuerti. ni=
 16 mia festinatione perrexerunt adne=
 17 mora. Quibus grauiter sollicitantibus
 18 qualiter cito redirent. *et* qualiter tan=
 19 tum lignorum possent deferre quod in=
 20 multos dies sufficere posset adopus
 21 preparandorum; quatinus³² postea sacrę lec=
 22 tioni *et* orationibus diutius possent
 23 insistere. duo biiuges cerui³³ mansue=
 24 tissimi occurrerunt. *et* colla prebentes
 25 adsubiugandum; dei nutu seruitium
 26 prebuerunt. Quasi dicerent. *Deus* uidens
 27 quare solliciti sitis. exuit nobis fero=
 28 citatem nostram. *et* fecit nos mansueta
 29 pecora. ut laborem quem uos initis
 30 subeamus. Quibus subiugatis; lauda
 31 bant dominum dicentes. Benedictus *deus*
 32 *et* pater domini nostri iesu christi qui mise=
 33 ricorditer seruos suos profratribus res=

³² **quatinus** Above this word is a *signe de renvoi* [·:], which keys the word to a pointing hand in the margin.

³³ **cerui** (margin) {nota de ceruis}.

- 34 pexit laborantes. faciendo mansue=
 35 ta pecora deferis siluarum; quę
 {58ra}
 1 nostri laboris sarcinam sustinerent.
 2 Cunque³⁴ sancti honerato plaustro³⁵ do=
 3 mum redirent. non secundum hominum
 4 consuetudinem honeratos³⁶ ceruos
 5 stimulabant ut citius incederent;
 6 immo illos alonge precedebant.
 7 cerui uero nullo cogente sequeban
 8 tur. Et ne amplius eorum oratio
 9 interrumperetur prohuiusmodi negotio
 10 eodem fere multo tempore post;
 11 deo instimulante ligna eis ammi=
 12 nistrabant. et ea quę sanctorum usui
 13 necessaria forent. Quis dubitat
 14 igitur tales fuisse sanctos pro quibus deus mini=
 15 strare cogebat ceruos; Alii quidem
 16 feras occidere possunt. sed ita ma=
 17 nsue^{sce}re³⁷ non possunt. Appropin=
 18 quantibus autem illis adlocum suum.
 19 omnes illius loci incolę occurrerunt
 20 eis dicentes. O domini fratres quam ma=
 21 nifeste hodie illustrati estis diui=
 22 na gratia. quibus irrationabiles ferę
 23 famulantur. Nos uero infelices; qui
 24 sanctis non obediimus. donec per

³⁴ Cunque (margin) {ix^a}.

³⁵ honerato plaustro (top) {Nota de plaustro onerato}. Above the word *honerato* is a *signe de renvoi* [.:], but no corresponding mark is visible elsewhere on the page.

³⁶ honeratos The *h* has been partially erased and redrawn.

³⁷ ma=nsue^{sce}re A correction by a later hand; the *s* is written above the line and the *ce* in the right-hand margin.

25 bruta animalia monemur obe
 26 dire. Interea³⁸ *sanctus* Daud exiens de
 27 tabernaculo suo. ante hostium ta=
 28 bernaculi librum nescienter dere=
 29 lictum afratribus; inuenit apertum.
 30 et quamuis uehementissime pl=
 31 ueret; apluuia prorsus immu
 32 nem. *Quod* admirans. ait. Mira=
 33 bilis deus insanctis suis. et *sanctus* inom
 34 nibus operibus suis. Continuo quia
 35 bonum non suffocari sed semper

{58rb}

1 dilatari debet; aduocauit seniores
 2 populi ut uidentes magnalia dei.
 3 uouerunt domino *preces et uota; et ut*
 4 propalaret sanctitatem fratrum suorum hominibus
 5 quia deus liberauerat librum eorum ab
 6 imbribus.
 7 **H** I³⁹ ut magis magisque peruiertutem
 8 *christi* florerent miraculis; sicut
 9 deus israhelitico populo sitiendi aquam
 10 depetra manare fecit; sic *sanctis* sitien=
 11 tibus nouos fontes iussit oriri. et ut
 12 aueteribus illius loci incolis accepimus.
 13 deillis fontibus potantes non aquam
 14 sed uinum protam dulci sapore pota⁴⁰
 15 uisse asserebant. His⁴¹ mirificis operibus
 16 que diuina uirtus operabatur proillis;

³⁸ **Interea** (margin) {pro Octavis sancti Teliai legende}.

³⁹ **H** I (margin) {.vii.}. The *H* is a four-line rubricated initial.

⁴⁰ (margin) {nota de fonte vini.}.

⁴¹ (margin) {ii.}.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

17 infra curriculum temporis ut boni
 18 meriti celebrabantur ubique. *Deus* autem
 19 uidens eos tot decoratos esse uirtu=
 20 tibus; iudicauit eos *promouendos* esse
 21 ex*ec*clesiasticis dignitatibus. Misit enim
 22 angelum suum ad*sanctos* qui nuntiaret
 23 eundem eis esse ad*sanctam* ciuitatem
 24 ierusalem; ut ibi suę militię donati=
 25 ua reciperent. *Sancti uero* Teliaus uidelicet
 26 et Daud deo suo *per*omnia obedientes
 27 *non sunt* ausi resistere diuino nutui.
 28 sed Paternum uirum deo⁴² carum sibi
 29 associantes; tres intrinitatis nomine
 30 iniunctum sibi iter in*ceperunt*. sed
 31 non ut multi *peregrinorum* faciunt mul=
 32 ta adunata pecunia. immo sine ba=
 33 culo et *pera*; *sperantes* potius inillum
 34 qui dat iumentis escam ipsorum et
 35 pullis coruorum inuocantibus eum.

{58va}

1 Nec⁴³ frustra *sperantes*; *deus* enim *per* fi=⁴⁴
 2 deles suos cuncta eis necessaria mi=
 3 nistrabat intempore. Illustrati si=
 4 quidem erant luce cęlestis *gratię* ita
 5 ut eorum aduentus cunctis esset acce=
 6 ptabilis. *presentia* sanitatem *preberet*
 7 infirmis. Reliquerunt itaque *perdiuer*=
 8 sas *prouincias* suę *sanctitatis* uestigia cun=
 9 ctorum sibi obuiantium alleuiando do

⁴² **deo** There is a dot above the o.

⁴³ **Nec** (margin) {iii}.

⁴⁴ (top left margin) {Anglia Sacra p. 664}.

10 lores. si *inchristi nomine* infirmitatis suę
 11 rogarent medelam. *et in eiusdem uir*=
 12 tute sperarent recuperare posse sanitatem.
 13 Cunque⁴⁵ persecutores inuia obsisterent;
 14 non tantum spolia illis pacifice con
 15 cedebant. sed siquid *pr^{re}i de^{e} {prede}*⁴⁶ ipsi immem=
 16 ores relinquerent; predatoribus hi=
 17 lari uultu porrigebant. Illi autem
 18 uidentes *sanctorum* bonam simplicitatem.
 19 ueniam supplicando commissorum;
 20 non tantum reddebant eis sua.
 21 sed eos conducebant usque dum perue=
 22 nirent adtuta. Sic deignotis fiebant
 23 noti. *et persecutoribus* summi efficieban=
 24 tur amici. Consummato⁴⁷ tandem tanti
 25 itineris cursu; ierosolimam peruenerunt.
 26 Quibus ciuitatem introeuntibus; occur=
 27 rit eis omnis populus psallendo incan=
 28 ticis *et ymnis super aduentu eorum. et ita*
 29 cum celebri pompa conducti sunt
 30 intemplum domini. Qui quamuis tanto
 31 itinere defatigati fuissent; non mol=
 32 lia strata quesierunt ubi quiescerent.
 33 sed innudo templi pauimento pro=
 34 strati. triduo preces suas continu=
 35 auerunt. adeo cęlestia contemplan=

⁴⁵ Cunque (margin) {.viii.}.

⁴⁶ *pr^{re}i de^{e} {prede}* This word was originally written as *pⁱde*, for *pride*. The superscript *i* was later erased and an *e* was written over it, but this *e* too was later erased. The cedilla under the final *e* was erased. A later hand has written *prede* in the left-hand margin.

⁴⁷ Consummato (margin) {i}. The 'i' is followed by a *signe de renvoi* [:.], which is connected to two lines pointing towards the corresponding marks adjacent to lines 23 and 35.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

{58vb}

1 tes. quod terrenorum penitus essent im=⁴⁸
 2 memores. Interea⁴⁹ totus clerus atten=
 3 te expectabat qui *sanctorum* quam sedem
 4 oratione finita sibi eligerent; ut in
 5 electione sedium notarent *sicut* celitus
 6 per angelum premoniti fuerant. quem illorum
 7 ceteris prelatum constituer^[e]nt. Erant⁵⁰
 8 enim intemplo ab antiquis tempo=
 9 ribus tres cathedrę⁵¹ senioribus constitu=
 10 tę. duę diuersis metallis *et* miro arti=
 11 ficio fabricatę. tertia cedrina. nichil
 12 ornati habens extrinsecus. preter hoc quod
 13 natura dederat. Quam humilem; hu=
 14 milis Eliud elegit sibi insedem. pretiosi=
 15 ores concedens *fratribus* propter reuerentiam.
 16 Quo uiso; omnes illi qui aderant ceci=
 17 derunt infacies suas. ante *sanctum* ELiud.
 18 dicentes. Salue *sancte* dei Teliaue. *et* con=
 19 cede ut ualeant nobis tue *preces* apud
 20 dominum; quia hodie plus ceteris subli=
 21 matus es *confratribus* tuis. residens in
 22 sede domini nostri *iesu christi* inqua patribus⁵²
 23 nostris predicabat regnum dei. *Sanctus* uero
 24 hoc audiens; cum magno stupore
 25 surrexit. *et* prostrauit se interram
 26 dicens. Beatus uir qui non abiit

⁴⁸ (top) {2. folia deficiunt}. No folios appear to be missing, however; see MWM 132.

⁴⁹ **Interea** (margin) {i}.

⁵⁰ **Erant** (margin) {ii}.

⁵¹ **tres cathedrę** (margin) {Nota hoc de .3.^{bus} cathedris}.

⁵² (bottom) {Nota supra quod cathedra cedrina in qua sedebat *Sanctus* Theliaus Ierosolimis fuit cathedra in qua sedet deus noster *iesus christus* predicans iudeis regnum dei}.

27 *inconsilio impiorum. et inuia pecca=*
 28 *torum non stetit. et incathedra pesti*
 29 *lentię non sedit. Et benedictus sal=*
 30 *uator qui sibi sedem fieri elegit*
 31 *delignoꝝ qui perlignum succurrere*
 32 *uoluit pereunti mundo. Sic⁵³ humi=*
 33 *lis humiliter adorabat cathedram.*
 34 *immo cathedrę sessoremꝝ eoquod*
 35 *creatura considerat increatoris*

{59ra}

1 *sedem. Vnde contigit. quod eum ro=*
 2 *gauerunt quatinus adinstruc=*
 3 *tionem uirtutum parabolam*
 4 *eis diceret de christo. ut sicut illum imi=*
 5 *tatus fuerat incathedra residen*
 6 *doꝝ eum imitaretur in predican=*
 7 *do. Qui uidens amorem diuini*
 8 *uerbi flagrare incordibus eorum.*
 9 *miro modo sollicitabatur. non*
 10 *quod nesciret quid doceretꝝ sed du=*
 11 *bitabat quod rogauerant qualiter*
 12 *eis expediret. cum⁵⁴ linguę eorum*
 13 *penitus expers fuisset. Incepit⁵⁵*
 14 *tamen sanctus sacras scripturas expone*
 15 *re. ut satisfaceret supplicanti*
 16 *populoꝝ ita ut unusquisque cir=*
 17 *cunstantium audirent illum*
 18 *sua lingua⁵⁶ loquentem. Omnes autem*

⁵³ **Sic** (margin) {iii}.

⁵⁴ **cum** The final minim might have been added after the initial writing of the word.

⁵⁵ **Incepit** (margin) {per ebdomadas}.

⁵⁶ **lingua** (margin, keyed with a *signe de renvoi* [.:]) {nota sermonem miraculosum}.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

19 qui eum audiebant *predicantem*;
 20 tanta dulcedine sermonis illius
 21 sunt affecti. *quod inquantum eum*
 22 diutius audirent; magis ma=
 23 gisque illum audire desiderare=
 24 nt. Sed tandem postquam refe=
 25 cti sunt uniuersi saporifera
 26 illius doctrina. ne predicandi
 27 officium uideretur *presumere*
 28 si solus predicasset; ait populo.
 29 Audite iam afratribus meis uerba
 30 uite. qui me *perfectiores* sunt
 31 inuita; *et diligentiores* indoc=
 32 trina. Surrexerunt itaque *sanctus* Da⁵⁷
 33 uid. *et* humillimus dei seruus
 34 Paternus. *et* *predicauerunt* populo
 35 *indomino* confidentes; qui dicit

{59rb}

1 Cum ueneritis ante reges *et* presi=
 2 des nolite cogitare *quomodo* aut quid
 3 loquamini. dabitur enim uobis in
 4 illa hora quid loquamini. Sic *sancti*
 5 alterna sua *predicatione*. quasi diuer=
 6 sis ferculis audientium mentes refi=
 7 ciebant. ut siqui eorum prius infide
 8 uacillarent; *sanctę* trinitatis fidem per⁵⁸
 9 *gratiam* *predicationis* *sanctorum* perfectissime
 10 tenerent. Post⁵⁹ hęc. sicut nuntiatum
 11 fuerat *perangelum*; ab uniuersa plebe

⁵⁷ (margin) {*Sanctus* *Dauid et paternus predi[...]**runt s[...]*}.

⁵⁸ (margin) {*nota*}.

⁵⁹ **Post** (margin) {ii}.

12 electi. sullimati *sunt* pontificali di=
 13 gnitate Teliaus uice Petri⁶⁰. Daud
 14 uice Jacobi. *et* quasi intestimonium.
 15 *gratię* quam ibi *domino* largiente suscep=
 16 ant; data sunt eis tria munera *pre*=
 17 tiosa⁶¹ *prout* unicuique competebat.
 18 Paterno baculus *et* choralis cappa⁶²
 19 pretiosissimo serico contexta. eo quod
 20 illum egregium cantorem uidebant.
 21 *Sancto* autem Daud altare mirificum⁶³;
 22 nulli bene notum. dequa materia fu=
 23 erit compositum. Nec abre tale quid
 24 ei datum est. nam iocundius ceteris
 25 celebrabat. Nouissime⁶⁴ *autem* beato
 26 pontifici Teliauo. non extremum
 27 tamen *donorum* accessit cimbalum.
 28 magis famosum quam sit magnum;
 29 magis pretiosum quam pulchrum. quia⁶⁵
 30 dulci sono uidetur excellere omne orga=
 31 num. Periuros dampnat. infirmos⁶⁶
 32 curat. *et quod* magis uidetur mirabile;
 33 singulis horis nullo mouente sona=
 34 bat. donec peccato hominum *prepedi*=

⁶⁰ **Petri** (margin, linked with a *signe de renvoi* [.:—]) {Ergo san[...] Tel[.]us maior [...] dau[.] f[...]} . Evans (LL 338) was able to read ‘Ergo sanctus teliaus maior episcopus dauid fuit’.

⁶¹ **tria munera pre=tiosa** (margin) {Nota tria munera pretiosa}.

⁶² **choralis cappa** (margin) {choralis capa}.

⁶³ **altare mirificum;** (margin) {Altare mirificum}.

⁶⁴ **Nouissime** (margin) {nota hic de campana sancti theliai}. The *signes de renvoi* [.:] at the ends of lines 21 and 27 may indicate the portion of text to which this note refers.

⁶⁵ (margin) {Anglia Sacra p. 665.}.

⁶⁶ (margin) {virtutes campane sancti theliai}.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

35 ente ~~qui~~⁶⁷ illud pollutis manibus
 {59va}
 1 temere tractabant; a tam dulci
 2 obsequio cessauit. Nec incongrue
 3 tali munere donatus est; quia *sicut*
 4 cimbalum detorpore sompni
 5 *et* inertię homines inuitat ad ęc=
 6 clesiam. sic clarus pontifex TELiaus
 7 *christi* preco *factus*; incessanter predican=
 8 do inuitabat ad cęlum. His⁶⁸ gloriosis⁶⁹
 9 donati muneribus. utrinque benedic=
 10 tione accepta; cum summa prosperita=
 11 te reuersi sunt in regionem suam.
 12 *sanctusque* Teliaus ęcclesię Landauię cui con=
 13 secratus est. curam pastorem acce=
 14 pit cum tota parrochia sibi adia=
 15 cente quę fuerat Dubricii anteces=
 16 soris sui. Inqua non diu commorari
 17 potuit *propter* pestilentiam⁷⁰ quę fere to=
 18 tam gentem deleuerat. Pestis *autem*
 19 illa flaua uocabatur. eo quod flauos
 20 *et* exangues efficiebat uniuersos quos
 21 persequabatur. Quę incolumpna a=
 22 quosę nubis apparebat hominibus
 23 unum caput uerrens per terram; ali=
 24 ud rursum trahens per aerem. *et* dis=
 25 currens per totam regionem admodum
 26 imbris discurrentis per ima conual=

⁶⁷ ~~qui~~ A letter (possibly *n*) has been erased after *qui*.

⁶⁸ His (margin) {iii}.

⁶⁹ gloriosis The *l* has a superfluous contraction mark through it.

⁷⁰ pestilentiam (margin) {de flaua pestilencia admirabili}.

27 lium. *Quecunque* autem animantia
 28 suo pestifero afflatu attingeret.
 29 aut ilico moriebantur; aut egrota=
 30 bant inmortem Siquis uero medelam
 31 conaretur adhibere egrotanti. non
 32 tantum medicamina non habe=
 33 bant suum effectum; sed etiam medican=
 34 tem cum egroto atra lues trahebat
 35 adinteritum. Traxit enim Mailconv⁷¹

{59vb}

1 regem Guenedotię deleuit et patri=
 2 am suam. et intantum incanduit prę=
 3 dicta clades. et per totam illam gentem
 4 quod patriam pene reddidit desertam.
 5 Interea⁷² dum ista persecutio seuiret.
 6 non tantum in hominibus. sed etiam
 7 inferis et in reptilibus; sanctus Telia¹ aus
 8 inieunio et planctu clamabat ad
 9 dominum dicens. Parce domine parce populo
 10 tuo. qui non uis mortem peccatoris.
 11 sed uitam et ne des hereditatem tuam
 12 in perditionem. Deinde ira dei adtem=
 13 pus paccata oratione eius aliorumque
 14 sanctorum. celitus ammonitus est⁷³ cum his
 15 qui residui fuerant degente. reces=
 16 sit in longinquas regiones. Quorum
 17 quidam perrexerunt in hiberniam. plu=

⁷¹ (bottom) {Quere et vide quot et quos suffraganeos Episcopos; habuerunt Archiepiscopi landauenses, sub se. quia omnes episcopos sub dextrali britania contentos ut patet ex hoc sancti Teliai graffo, landauensis Archiepiscopi vide supra folium .48.}. Evans (LL 339) suggested that quia is a clerical error for quere.

⁷² Interea (margin) {i}.

⁷³ est This word has been struck through by a later hand.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

18 res uero ducente eo infranciam. donec
 19 deus eis innueret reditum in patriam.
 20 Et factum est ita dicente angelo et iu=
 21 bente ^{ad} sanctum Teliaum. Surge et uade ultra
 22 mare. et congrega reliquias gentis
 23 tuę ut te sequantur donec deus mise=
 24 ricordia plenus. respiciens mise=
 25 riam gentis et te famulum dei
 26 laborantem progente precibus et oratio=
 27 ne concesserit. semota persecutione
 28 eis et uobis de exilio reuertere. et ab
 29 omni huiusmodi periculo in perpetuum
 30 liberari. Et iterum ait angelus.
 31 Perge. nichil hesitans. committetur
 32 enim angelus domini tecum eundo et re
 33 deundo et reducet te cum tuis
 34 sequacibus iterum ad tuam regionem
 35 nem cum prosperitate. Surrexit⁷⁴ igitur⁷⁵

{60ra}

1 sanctus Teliaus. adducens secum quosdam⁷⁶
 2 suffraganos⁷⁷ episcopos suos⁷⁸. et ceterorum
 3 ordinum uiros cum utriusque sexus ho=
 4 minibus uiris et mulieribus. Et deue=
 5 nit primitus ad cornubiensem regi=

⁷⁴ Surrexit (margin) {ii}.

⁷⁵ (bottom) {vide hic qualiter ipso habuit suffraganeos}; (bottom, beginning below column a) {de Episcopo bangorensi quomodo erat suffraganeus Sancti Teliai de aliis quere}.

⁷⁶ (top) {Gerennius rex cornubiensis regionis}.

⁷⁷ suffraganos (margin) {nota bene}.

⁷⁸ sanctus Teliaus. adducens secum quosdam suffraganos episcopos suos (bottom, below both columns) {Nota quomodo Sanctus Thelias archiepiscopus Landauensis adduxit secum quosdam suffraganeos Episcopos suos. Vide qui erant illi}. The text is highlighted by two *signes de renvoi* in the margin ([^] and [..]). Pointing hands have been placed adjacent to both the text and the note.

6 onem. *et* bene susceptus est a Geren=
 7 nio rege illius patrię. *et* tractauit il=
 8 lum *et* suum populum cum omni
 9 honore. Et in illo interuallo hospita=
 10 ^{li}tatis eius; rex Gerennius allocutus est
 11 familiariter sanctum Teliaum episcopum. dicens
 12 ei. Pater *et* domine rogo *et* uolo ut meam
 13 confessionem accipias. *et* sis meus confes=
 14 sor in domino. Et pontifex consentiens
 15 accepit confessionem suam. *et* promisit
 16 illi dicens cum fiducia. non uisu=
 17 rum se mortem nisi prius acciperet
 18 corpus domini quod ipse consecrasset.
 19 Et inde his peractis perrexit sanctus cum
 20 suis comitibus ad armoricas gentes.
 21 *et* bene continuo susceptus est ab eis.
 22 Audiente⁷⁹ Samsone dolensis ec=
 23 clesię archiepiscopo⁸⁰ aduentum confratris
 24 sui in patriam; occurrit ei cum gau
 25 dio. Nam de una regione procreati
 26 fuerant. *et* unius linguę uiri. *et*
 27 simul cum beato Dubricio archi=
 28 presule edocti. *et* cuius manus imposi=
 29 tione sanctus Samson consecratus est in
 30 episcopium. Vt inuita sua testatur.
 31 Rogauitque sanctum Teliaum ut cum
 32 illo habitasset. *et* adqueiuit ei. *et*
 33 cum eo commoratus est multo tem=

⁷⁹ Audiente (margin) {iii}.

⁸⁰ Samsone dolensis ec=clesię archiepiscopo (bottom, below both columns) {Sanctus Sampson Archiepiscopus Dolensis}. Pointing hands have been placed adjacent to both the the text and the note.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

34 pore. *Et* ibi reliquit quedam patro=⁸¹
 35 cinia suę *sanctitatis*. idest fontem sa=
 {60rb}
 1 nifluum Cai⁸² nomine. quem ipse me=
 2 ruit adomino diriuare. Et inter cetera
 3 sanitatum *quas* infirmi deillo im=
 4 petrant indei nomine *et* Teliaui. unum
 5 inclitum miraculum permanet
 6 inibi usque hodie. Nam nautę illius
 7 gentis armoricę *propter* uentum con=
 8 suetum adnaues illorum ut indirigium^{directum}.
 9 nauigare possint adirectum iter.
 10 ubi uelint. consuetum habent illum⁸³
 11 saluificum fontem purgare. *et* sepius
 12 ac sepius *perinteruentum* sancti pontifi
 13 cis dominus largitur precarium illorum
 14 idest uentum aduelum nauigii.
 15 ut cum gaudio gradientur perequorevm
 16 iter ubi sibi uelle uideatur. Et⁸⁴
 17 aliud patrocinium sui testimonii ibi
 18 reliquit. Ipse enim *et* predictus sanctus
 19 Samson plantauerunt magnum nemus
 20 arboreti fructiferi. quasi adtria
 21 miliaria. idest adol usque adcai.⁸⁵
 22 *et* decorantur ipsa nemora exeorum nomine
 23 usque inhodiernum diem. Vocantur enim
 24 arboreta Teliaui *et* Samsonis.

⁸¹ (margin) {Hoc patrocina sancti theliai}.

⁸² Cai (top) {nota fontem sancti thelia[.]}

⁸³ (margin) {Nota saluificum fontem sancti theliai}.

⁸⁴ Et (margin) {ii}.

⁸⁵ (margin) {Nota nemus sancti Theliai}.

25 Et ex illo tempore *et* deinceps epis=
 26 copatus dolensis decoratur *et* celebra=
 27 tur subtestimonio omnium armo=
 28 ricorum brittonum. ob conuersationem
 29 *et* reuerentiam sancti Teliaui. Interea
 30 dum hæc agerentur *et* tractarentur.
 31 contigit quod *christus* permisericordiam suam
 32 preciperet. ut illa predicta lues quæ fla=
 33 ua dicebatur exiret *et* euanesce=
 34 ret debritannia insula tota. Quo
 35 auditoꝝ fidelis ductor Teliaus

{60va}

1 in modicum exhilaratus. *et* sancto
 2 spiritu summonitus. *et* ab utrisque missis
 3 legatis infranciam. *et* ultra alpes
 4 initaliam. *et* quocunque cognitum sibi
 5 erat eos aufugisse. recollegit com
 6 patriotas diligenter inunum. ut
 7 omnes extincta pestilentia cum
 8 data pace *per* omnia redirent adpro
 9 pria. Preparauit *igitur* naues tres
 10 maximas adpopuli turbas transi=
 11 turas. Peruenit⁸⁶ *sanctus* uir flentibus *et*
 12 lugentibus obtanti patris disces
 13 sum ad maritimum portum. Et dum
 14 uentum expectaret prosperum adē
 15 quorale nauigium. ecce rex ter=
 16 rē Budic nomine obuiam illi ue=
 17 nit cum magno exercitu armo=
 18 ricorum. Et statim ipse rex *et* totus

⁸⁶ *Peruenit* (margin) {iii}.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

19 suus exercitus genua flexerunt
 20 ante eum. Et interrogans quid
 21 nam hoc esset. respondit ei rex.
 22 Ad hoc genua fleximus. ut *promē*
 23 *et promēa patria* deum roges *propter*
 24 *pestilentiam quam* modo sustinemus.
 25 Nam ingens *uipera*⁸⁷ apparuit nu=
 26 per in mea *patria*. quē tertiam
 27 partem regni mei pene deleuit.
 28 Et continuo *sanctus* pontifex hesita=
 29 ns. timuit illo ire. Ferebantur
 30 enim horribilia de illa bestia.
 31 Et subito apparuit ei *angelus* do=
 32 mini. *et* confortans eum ait illi.
 33 Ne timeas exire cum illis. aderit
 34 autem tibi uirtus *christi* quē illam
 35 *uiperam* subtuis manibus consumet.

{60vb}

1 *et* propter te ipse redemptor ac salua=
 2 tor saluet ac liberet istam totam
 3 patriam. Et⁸⁸ sequens euangelicum
 4 consilium. *sanctus* presul ausus est adi=
 5 re illum *draconem*⁸⁹ uolucrum ac pen=
 6 natum. Et statim cēlitus inspiratus
 7 accepit orarium suum. *et* de eo cin=
 8 xit ac ligauit eius collum. *et* pręce=
 9 pit illi *per dominicum preceptum* ut illum
 10 sequeretur usque ad mare. *et* sua uene=
 11 na ac nefaria flamma cessaret

⁸⁷ **uipera** (margin) {Nota de vipera quam religauit sanctus thelaus}.

⁸⁸ Et (margin) {i}.

⁸⁹ **draconem** (top, keyed with a *signe de renvoi* [:.]) {Nota draconem uolucrum ac penatum}.

- 12 emittere. Et denuo pestifera bestia
 13 *secundum preceptum* pontificis mitis ac lenis
 14 effecta. nec pennam leuauit adter
 15 rendum. nec dentem nudauit ad
 16 *stridendum*. nec linguam erexit ade=
 17 mittendum igneum flatum. Et sta=
 18 tim pius sacerdos deduxit illam ad
 19 mare. trahens post se monstrum
 20 ^{e}norme per orarium suum ligatum.
 21 Et continuo illud in medio tethis⁹⁰ ad
 22 magnum scropulum⁹¹. in nomine domini ir=
 23 retiuit⁹². Et⁹³ hęc uidentes armoriciꝝ
 24 consilium inierunt cum Samsone
 25 pontifice. *et* dixerunt ei. Pater sancte sit
 26 tibi curę denobis. Nam si nos relique=
 27 rit iste homo dei ueniet iterum iste
 28 serpens. *et* deuastabit nos *et* patriam
 29 nostram. Placeat igitur tibi illum nobis=
 30 cum retinere. *et* hoc rogate precarie
 31 ut adquiescat nobiscum commane=
 32 re ne pereamus exista clade. Et⁹⁴ hoc
 33 audiens pius pater quod tale consilium
 34 inierant. pontifex Samson *et* rex
 35 Budic cum populo suo. ut illum
 {61ra}
 1 cum eis adtempus *precibus* retinerent
 2 graue tulit. *et* in semetipso statuit

⁹⁰ **tethis** The *et* has been partially erased.

⁹¹ **scropulum** The *r* is shaped like the preceding *c*.

⁹² **retiuit** The *tiuit* has been partially erased and then retraced.

⁹³ **Et** (margin) {i} {{.vii.}}.

⁹⁴ **Et** (margin) {ii}.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

3 *adhuiusmodi conuentum et consilium*
 4 illis non adquiescere. Et ecce ange=
 5 lus *domini* in illa nocte apparuit illi
 6 confortans eum *et* dicens ei. Ne du=
 7 bites cum illis commanere. *per te enim*
 8 erit refugium *et patrię* auxilium.
 9 *et hoc erit tibi signum quod ad te*
 10 adeo missus sum. Cras *etenim* ma=
 11 ne ad te uenient rex *et* pontifex *pre*=
 12 dictus cum magna frequentia po=
 13 puli sui. Et te rogantes suppliciter
 14 *et* obnixę tibi offerent episcopalem
 15 curam. *et priuilegium* totius gentis
 16 armoricę. Et eis adquiescens *secundum me*=
 17 um oraculum. accepturus *quod ab eis*
 18 tibi oblatum fuerit ad tempus. inte=
 19 rim conueniet gens tua undique ad
 20 huc dispersa *et* dicas illis. Manebo
 21 uobiscum quandiu deo placue=
 22 rit. expectans totius gentis meę
 23 ~~exili~~^{ul}atę⁹⁵ conuentum. Et iterum ange=
 24 lus. Ecce tibi aliud signum *per me* adeo
 25 erit monstratum. Nam die crastina
 26 obuiam tibi habebis pontificem
 27 *et* regem cum frequentia multi po=
 28 puli ut te deducant honorifice *et*⁹⁶
 29 cum *gloria* ad episcopalem sedem. Et⁹⁷

⁹⁵ ~~exili~~^{ul}atę The top portion of the ascender of the original *l* has been erased and an ascender has been added to the third minim, turning *ili* into *ul*. It is uncertain whether this was done by the main hand or a later hand.

⁹⁶ (bottom, keyed with a *signe de renvoi* [·Λ·]) {ecce qualiter sanctus theliaus fuit archiepiscopus Dol~~æ~~ensis}.

⁹⁷ Et {iii}.

30 cum ipsi studuerint offerre⁹⁸ *precipu*=
 31 um caballum desuis equis tibi ad
 32 sedendum. non consentias ut illum
 33 abeis omnino suscipias. Habebis
 34 enim continuo ad diuinę licen=
 35 tię testimonium sonipedem pre=⁹⁹

{61rb}

1 cipuum *perme* tibi adeo missum.
 2 Et illum ascendens ouanter *et* li=
 3 center ibis cum eis addolensem episco=
 4 patum tibi adtempus¹⁰⁰ adeo *preparatum*
 5 *et predestinatum*. Igitur hæc omnia
 6 impleta fuerunt die postera sicut
 7 angelica promiserant affamina.
 8 Nam rex *et* pontifex cum multitu=
 9 dine populorum obuiauuerunt ei ut
 10 illum deducerent cum condigno
 11 honore ad episcopatum dolensem¹⁰¹
 12 ut sublimarent illum in pontifi=
 13 calem sedem. Et ecce subito sicut ce=
 14 leps nuntius *predixerat*. offerentibus
 15 illis *precipuum* equum desuis. *et* illo inte=
 16 rim rennuente ab illis accipere. iuxta
 17 eum apparuit pulcherrimus soni=
 18 pes adeo sibi missus. Et *super* eum as=
 19 cendens. uenit cum eis *usque* indol
 20 *et* sicut illi adeo fuerat iussum. ad=

⁹⁸ **offere** Some kind of abbreviation mark seems to have been added by a later hand above the final *e*.

⁹⁹ (bottom) {exiha[.]}.

¹⁰⁰ **adtempus** (margin) {nota ad tempus}.

¹⁰¹ (margin) {Ecce hic *quomodo* sanctus Teliaus fuit Archiepiscopus Dolensis, *quanquam* hic episcopatus appelletur, *quia* apud dol erat sedes archiepiscopalis vt prius hic habetur manifeste}.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

21 quieuit cum eis *commanere* usque ad
 22 *prefinitum* tempus iterum adeo patre.
 23 Et¹⁰² in illo articulo temporis. uocauit
 24 ad se regem Budicum. *et* multa bene=
 25 dictione benedicens eum. *prebuit* ei
 26 *predictum* caballum. *et* coram omni
 27 populo *sanctus* Teliaus *episcopus* rogauit deum
 28 *et imprecatus* est suppliciter ut milites
 29 armorici¹⁰³ fortiores fierent inequitando
 30 do omnibus gentibus. Et inde patriam suam
 31 tuerentur. *et* uictoriose se de inimicis
 32 suis ulciscerentur. Et illud *privilegium*
 33 quod *sanctus* Teliaus impetrauit adeo sibi
 34 collatum usque hodie *permanet* inibi.
 35 *secundum* testimonia *et* *commentaria*

{61va}

1 omnium illius patrię seniorum.
 2 *Sunt* enim armorici amplius uictorio=
 3 ctiosi inequitando septies
 4 quam ut essent pedites. Interea¹⁰⁴
 5 dum hæc agerentur *sanctus* Teliaus
 6 *episcopus* quadam die uocauit ad se familiam suam hoc est plebem suę
 7 patrię. *et* conferens cum eis affabiliter
 8 ad ultimum intulit eis. Scitis filioli mei quia *noster* rex Gerennius
 9 in magno dolore aggrauatur.
 10 *et* angelo michi *prenuntiante* credo
 11 illum exiturum in hac infirmum

¹⁰² Et {iiii}.

¹⁰³ milites armorici (margin) {Nota milites armoricos}.

¹⁰⁴ Interea {v} {{.viii.^a}}.

14 tate de *seculo*. Nam cum ueniebam
 15 adistam *patriam* transiens *per terram*
 16 suam illum uisitauit. *et* me meos=¹⁰⁵
 17 que quibusdam diebus hospitando secum
 18 honorifice suscepit. Et pepigi il=
 19 li promittens in domino non uisurum
 20 se mortem. nec suum ultimum diem
 21 donec corpus domini a me suscipere.
 22 *et* sic demundo exiret. Preparate
 23 igitur nobis nostram nauim. ut per diuinam
 24 licentiam diu nobis desiderabilem. *et*
 25 diuinitus promissam possimus re=
 26 patriare adnatuam patriam.
 27 Preparata¹⁰⁶ itaque magna barca per
 28 actis que septem annis ac septem men=
 29 sibus quos sanctus Teliaus¹⁰⁷ duxerat in ar
 30 moricorum patria intrauit in eam cum
 31 multis doctoribus *et* quibusdam aliis
 32 episcopis. de quibus gens britanno=
 33 rum desanctitate post pestilentiam
 34 recrearetur. Et tunc precepit suis
 35 dicens. Tollite nobiscum hunc sar¹⁰⁸

{61vb}

1 cofagum ut in eum corpus Geren=
 2 nii condetur. Et admirantes dixere=
 3 runt. quia non poterant prema=
 4 gnitudine eius hoc preceptum im=

¹⁰⁵ (margin) {viii}.

¹⁰⁶ **Preparata** (margin) {vi}.

¹⁰⁷ **Teliaus** {Nota Teliaus}.

¹⁰⁸ (bottom) {quere ad illuc signum in 2° folio. +}. The *signum* referred to would appear to be the small cross [+] following the note. See note to line 31 of 62rb.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

5 plere. Vix enim inquiunt decem
 6 iuga boum poterant eum¹⁰⁹ desuo lo
 7 co submouere. Et *precepit* illis *indomino*
 8 *confidens. et oratione episcoporum suorum*
 9 simul *et populi* ut mitteretur inma=
 10 re ante *proram* nauis. *et gubernan*=
 11 te deo mitteretur adripam sine re=
 12 mo. *et ita factum est. Nauigantibus*¹¹⁰ illis
 13 inmedio maris obuiauit eis altera
 14 nauis. *et conuenientes nautę utriusque*
 15 nauis collocuti sunt adinuicem. dicen=
 16 te *episcopo aGerennio misso quod rex mo*=
 17 riebatur. expectans tamen *sancti Te*=
 18 liaui aduentum *et conuentionem.*
 19 Et inde pariter nauigantes appli=
 20 cuerunt inportum uocatum Din
 21 gerein. Et ecce continuo lapis pre=
 22 dictus missus inmare inter duas na=
 23 ues applicans apparuit. *et secundum*
 24 fidem *sancti pastoris christus gloriam suę ma*=
 25 iestatis manifestauit. *Sanctus Teiliaus*
 26 *perueniens adregem. inuenit eum*¹¹¹
 27 adhuc uiuentem. *et accepto corpore*
 28 *domini demanu illius letus migravit*
 29 *addominum. et diligenter abeato confesso*=
 30 re suo corpus inhumatum eĩ^st¹¹² inpredi=
 31 ctum sarcofagum. *et deo commendatvm.*

¹⁰⁹ **eum** In blacker ink, possibly a different hand.

¹¹⁰ **Nauigantibus** (margin) {i}.

¹¹¹ **eum** Part of the *e* has been erased and redrawn.

¹¹² **eĩ^st** It seems that the original hand corrected the word by writing an *s* over a minim.

32 Post¹¹³ hęc *sanctus* uir repetiuit *sedem suam*
 33 *episcopalem. committante eum cleri*
 34 *et populi copia et habitauit ibi usque*
 35 *inconsummationem*¹¹⁴ uite prin=
 {62ra}
 1 *cipatum tenens super omnes ecclesias*
 2 *totius dextralis brittannię secundum*
 3 *traditionem patrum qui eum hiero=*
 4 *solime consecrauerant sicut predictum*
 5 *est. Sed gens citissime creuit quam=*
 6 *uis depaucis inmagnam multitu=*
 7 *dinem. et hoc nimirum fiebat. quia*
 8 *iam obediens facta est adomne sancti*
 9 *edictum. Sic*¹¹⁵ *sancta ecclesia* quę mul=
 10 *to tempore fuerat dispersa. inter=*
 11 *ueniente Teliauo sanctorum sanctissimo*¹¹⁶
 12 *fuit exaltata. adquem conuene=*
 13 *runt discipuli qui fuerant beati Dv=*
 14 *bricii. Iunapeius. Gurmaet. Cyn=*
 15 *mur. Toulidauc. Iuhil. Fidelis.*

¹¹³ **Post** (margin) {ii}.

¹¹⁴ **inconsummationem** (bottom) {Nota} {{Nota quod sanctus teliaus habitauit in sede ^{sua} episcopali vsque in consummationem vite; quomodo ergo mortuus est apud Lanteilo maŕ; vt alias dictum est, *Rectoria* ^{de} llannteilovaŕ fuit pro tempore de. et in Episcopatu Landauensi et adhuc esse deberet vt in hoc sacro graffo patet manifeste}} {{{Per hoc enim apparet quod lanteilovaŕ esset in Episcopatu Landauensi, sicut et multe alie ecclesie territoria ac dominia, que iam iniuste alienata sunt vt videtur Ex isto sancto graffo sanctissimi teliai}}}. The expansion of *R'* to *Rectoria* in the second note was suggested by Evans (LL 339), but he indicated his uncertainty about it with a bracketed question mark. The first and second notes are below column b and the third note is below the column a. The second and third notes are linked to *consummationem* by *signes de renvoi* [·.]. Presumably the third note was written after the second note had already used the majority of the space below column b. Had the third note been written first, there would not have been need to restrict the note to the area beneath column a, especially considering that it refers to a word in column b.

¹¹⁵ **Sic** (margin) {iii}.

¹¹⁶ **Teliauo sanctorum sanctissimo** (margin) {nota}; (top) {nota theliaus sanctorum sanctissimus}. A *signe de renvoi* [·.] appears in the margin to the left of this line.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

16 Hismael. Tyfhei. Oudoceus. *et* mul=
 17 ti alii discipuli ut eum moribus *et*
 18 doctrina imitarentur. Dequibus¹¹⁷
 19 Hismaelem consecrauit inepiscopum.
 20 mittens illum adconsulendam
 21 ecclesiam minuensem¹¹⁸ *et* iam uidua=
 22 tam pastore. Nam *sanctus* Daudid ad
 23 dominum migrauerat. *et* multos alios
 24 eiusdem ordinis uiros similiter
 25 sublimauit inepiscopium¹¹⁹. mittens
 26 illos *per* patriam. diuidensque parro=
 27 chias sibi adopportunitatem cleri
 28 *et* populi. Nunc¹²⁰ quę scripto cogno=
 29 uimus facta *per* eum miracula ea
 30 litteris *et* memorie commendamus.
 31 Nam tacendo¹²¹ dei *et* sanctorum uirtutem
 32 grauitur deliquimus. predicando uero
 33 congaudemus. Habebat quidem
 34 tres summarios. *et* nullo ducente eos
 35 ibant adsiluam: Onerati alignato=

{62rb}

1 riis suis rediebant simili modo *sine*
 2 aliquo ducente. *et* sic seruiebant fratribus

¹¹⁷ **Dequibus** (margin) {Nota quod sanctus teliaus consecrauit ysmaelem in episcopum meneuensem}.

¹¹⁸ **ecclesiam minuensem** (bottom) {Ecclesia minuensis; sed nunc vocatur ecclesia meneuensis}. The main text is marked by two *signes de renvoi* ([:·] and [·:]). Pointing hands draw attention to both the main text and the note.

¹¹⁹ **inepiscopium** (bottom) {Nota hic quomodo Sanctus Teliaus plures consecrauit episcopos. per regnum britannie. mittens illos per patriam diuidens que parrochias sibi ad oportunitatem cleri et populi etc Nota}. *Signes de renvoi* [·:—] placed both above *episcopium* and in the adjacent margin draw attention to the text, as do a pointing hand and a further *signe de renvoi* [·:·].

¹²⁰ **Nunc** (margin) {iiii}.

¹²¹ **tacendo** This word is highlighted by *signes de renvoi* [·:—] placed above the word and in the adjacent margin, and by a pointing hand, but there appears to be no corresponding marginal note.

3 cotidie. Dicunt enim illum resuscitas=
 4 se mortuum¹²² super fluuium Couin no=
 5 mine distinnic. Dicuntque parali=
 6 ticum in ecclesia Radh. coram omni¹²³
 7 populo ab eo sanatum die dominica. et
 8 quocunque dolore egrotabantur in=
 9 firmi. curabantur eius manus impo=
 10 sitione. Illi uero qui aliquam iniuri=
 11 am sibi faciebant {aut diu cruciabantur}¹²⁴ aut ilico morie=
 12 bantur. ut femina temeraria quę
 13 in eo peccauit coram omni populo
 14 liquefacta est¹²⁵. Quidam etiam regulus
 15 Guaidan nomine uiolauit refugium il=
 16 lius in quadam sua ecclesia Lanteliau
 17 bechan uulgaliter uocata. unde fran=
 18 gendo bachatus est. et statim uiliter
 19 in eiusdem cimiterio amisit spiritum.
 20 Recognoscentes¹²⁶ autem culpam protinus
 21 eius precibus recuperabant salutem et ueniam.
 22 **IN**¹²⁷ nocte autem depositionis eius ma=
 23 gna dissentio orta est inter tres cleros¹²⁸
 24 trium ecclesiarum illius. singulis pre=
 25 tendentibus suas auctoritates et priui=
 26 legia de habendo corpore. Vna qui
 27 dem obsepulturam patrum suorum.

¹²² **resuscitas=se mortuum** (margin) {Resuscitasse mortuum}.

¹²³ (margin) {Sanatur paralyticus}.

¹²⁴ {aut diu cruciabantur} This is written above the line and again in the margin.

¹²⁵ **liquefacta est** (margin) {nota liquefactio femine temerarie}.

¹²⁶ **Recognoscentes** A black mark to the bottom right of the second *o* might indicate that a later hand has attempted to change the *o* into an *a*.

¹²⁷ **IN** (margin) {.ix.^a} {{.v.10}}. The *I* is a four-line rubricated initial.

¹²⁸ **dissentio orta est inter tres cleros** (margin) {Dissencio inter tres cleros}.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

28 *et hereditarium*¹²⁹ ius Pennalun uide
 29 licet.¹³⁰ *secunda* ob conuersionem suam
 30 *et solitariam uitam* quam inibi duxit
 31 pertempus super ripam Ty⁶i. *et quod ibi ui*¹³¹
 32 tam gloriose finierat. Tertia uero
 33 landauia. obsedem episcopalem.
 34 ob eius priuilegia. *et dignitates.* ob
 35 consecrationes *et obedientiam.* obtotius¹³²

{62va}

1 parrochię concordem uocem. *et*
 2 sancti Dubricii *per omnia et aliorum*
 3 patrum priorem statum *et constitu*=
 4 tionem. Sed tandem consilio discre
 5 torum hominum adquiescentes. in=
 6 sisterunt ieiunio *et orationibus.* ut
 7 summus arbiter *christus* qui est uera
 8 auctoritas. *et sanctorum* priuilegium. ✕
 9 euidenti signo innuerent¹³³ cui illorum
 10 sancti sanctum corpus dignius esset commit=
 11 tendum. Mane autem facto; quidam seni=
 12 or respiciens ubi erat corpus. clam=
 13 auit uoce magna dicens. Exaudita
 14 est fratres mei oratio nostra adomino. qui
 15 neminem priuat promerito. Surgite
 16 *et respicite* quę facta sunt amediato=

¹²⁹ **hereditarium** (margin, keyed with a *signe de renvoi* [.:]) {Nota hereditarium ius}.

¹³⁰ **licet.** A diagonal line has been drawn through the punctus.

¹³¹ (central margin) {+}; (right margin) {scilicet llan deilo va(r vbi moriebatur etc)}. For the +, see note to the bottom of 61va.

¹³² (bottom) {Nota optime hoc latus pro episcopo Landauensi et dignitate sua qui dudum principatum tenebat super omnes ecclesias tocius dextralis britannie, vide plura supra; ac etiam .folium 53. et folium 68.}.

¹³³ **innuerent** Evans (LL 349) thinks that the bar through the final *n* is late, but the ink looks the same colour as the main hand.

17 re dei *et* hominum *christo*; ut *nostra*
 18 dissentio sedaretur. *et* ut inbeati confes=
 19 soris Teliaui uita. sic *et* ineius mor
 20 te fierent miracula. Ecce enim ui
 21 dent ibi tria corpora¹³⁴ quibus par er
 22 at quantitas incorpore. idem decor
 23 infacie. quid amplius innullo dis=
 24 crepantia. habebant totius compa
 25 ginis liniamenta. Sic¹³⁵ sedata pace
 26 singuli cum suo corpore remeae=
 27 runt adsua. *et* diuersa in illis diuer
 28 sis locis cum summa reuerentia¹³⁶
 29 sepelierunt. Miraculis¹³⁷ quidem *quam*
 30 pluribus cognitum est omni populo
 31 *et* monimentis antiquorum seniorum
 32 indubitanter Landauie esse allatum.
 33 Ad cuius summi pontificis¹³⁸ tum=
 34 bam frequentissime ab omnibus
 35 suis languoribus curantur infirmi.

{62vb}

1 cecis illustrando uisum. *et* surdis¹³⁹
 2 largiendo auditum. Hec *et* his plu=
 3 ra fratres karissimi operata est diuina uirtus
 4 pro sanctissimo confessore Teliauo. Qua
 5 re tanti uiri festiuitatem cum toto

¹³⁴ **tria corpora** (margin) {Nota bene tria corpora beatissimi theliai}.

¹³⁵ **Sic** (margin) {vi}.

¹³⁶ (margin) {Anglia Sacra p. 666.}.

¹³⁷ **Miraculis** A *signe de renvoi* [...] in the margin draws attention to this word.

¹³⁸ **summi pontificis** (bottom) {Nota summi pontificis Theliei. Supra iuxta manum}. The *manus* ('hand') in question appears to the right of line 33.

¹³⁹ (top) {nota} {Nota bene sanctissimum Confessorem Teliaum summum pontificis hic appellatum etc nota bene}. See the note to line 33 of the previous column (62va).

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

6 mentis affectu celebrate. *ecclesiam*
 7 frequentate. *et secundum uniuscuiusque*
 8 facultatem de *uestra* substantia pauperibus
 9 erogate. in eius nomine qui mag
 10 na accipit *pro* paruis. *et parua pro*=
 11 magnis sicut accepit *calicem* aque
 12 frigide¹⁴⁰ demuliere samaritana. Ac
 13 si dedisset auri mille talenta; ut
 14 eum imitando in bonis operibus mere=
 15 amini cum eodem gloriari insu=
 16 pernīs sedibus. Adiuuante domino nostro *iesu*
 17 christo. qui semper uiuit *et* regnat in se=
 18 cula seculorum A M E N.
 19 **I**N¹⁴¹ cuius uita creuit *ecclesia* Landa=¹⁴²
 20 uia *pro* sanctitate sua tam mo ribus¹⁴³
 21 quam doctrina. in *eccle* siis¹⁴⁴ *et* ter=
 22 ritoriis sibi datis cum omni liber=
 23 tate sua dignitate *et* priuilegio are=
 24 gibus contemporaneis suis Teudiric
 25 filio teithpall. Idon filio ynyr gu=
 26 ent. Gurcant maur. Mailcun. Air=
 27 col lauhir. Catgucaun tredicil. Rein.
 28 *et* amultis aliis regibus *et* principibus
 29 dextralis britannię. *et* ita *ecclesiis*
 30 nominandis. cum suis terris *et* dotibus
 31 cum finibus subscriptis *et* testantibus
 32 legitimis uiris.

¹⁴⁰ *calicem aque frigide* (margin) {nota *calicem aque frigid*[.]}.
 141 **I**N The *I* is a four-line rubricated initial.

¹⁴² *ecclesia* Landa= These words are separated by a line in the parchment.

¹⁴³ mo ribus This word is divided by a line in the parchment.

¹⁴⁴ *eccle* siis This word is divided by a line in the parchment. The *l* has a short crossbar through the ascender.

{63ra}

1 **P**riuilegium¹⁴⁵ sancti Teliaui¹⁴⁶
 2 est *et ecclesie* suę landauie.
 3 datum sibi *et omnibus* succes
 4 soribus suis inperpetuo. aregibus
 5 istis *et principibus* brittannie
 6 confirmatum apostolica auctori=
 7 tate cum omnibus legibus suis in
 8 se plenariis sibi *et terris* suis li=¹⁴⁷
 9 bera abomni regali seruitio.
 10 sine consule. sine *pro*consule¹⁴⁸.
 11 sine conuentu¹⁴⁹ intus nec extra.
 12 sine expeditione. sine uigilan
 13 da regione. *et cum omni* iusti
 14 tia sua. defure *et furto*. Dera=
 15 pina. dehomicidio. de arsio=
 16 ne. derixa. desanguine. derefu=
 17 gio uiolato *ubique* interra sancti. de
 18 assaltu uiarum *et extra* uias. de
 19 faciendo iudicio *et patiendo*. de
 20 omni populo sancti teliaui incuria
 21 landauie. de *communione* aque
 22 *et herbę*. campi *et silue* populo¹⁵⁰
 23 ecclesie sancti teliaui cum merca=

¹⁴⁵ **Priuilegium** (top) {priuilegium}. In the main text, the *P* is a five-line rubricated initial.

¹⁴⁶ Note that, although it was written by the same scribe as the surrounding folios (scribe A of the Liber Landavensis), folio 63 was inserted into the quire after the quire had been formed (MWM 132).

¹⁴⁷ (margin) {hanc *liberam* maximam}

¹⁴⁸ **proconsule** (bottom, below column b) {proconsul dicitur qui viro consulis fugitur}.

¹⁴⁹ **sine conuentu** (margin) {nota bene}. Attention is also drawn to this line by a pointing hand, and the word *conuentu* is highlighted by two *signes de renvoi* [∴] placed above and below it.

¹⁵⁰ **populo** The initial *op* may have been written by a later hand over an erasure.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

24 to *et* moneta in landaui¹⁵¹. cum ap=
 25 plicatione¹⁵² nauium¹⁵³ ubique per
 26 terras¹⁵⁴ *sancti* teliaui libera pro re
 27 gibus *et* omnibus nisi ecclesię landa¹⁵⁵
 28 uię *et* episcopis eius. Deopprobrio *et*
 29 omni iniuria quod rex¹⁵⁶ morcan=
 30 huc¹⁵⁷ *et* sui homines fecerint e=
 31 piscopo *sancti* teliaui *et* suis hominibus.
 32 idem rex¹⁵⁸ morcanhuc¹⁵⁹. *et* sui¹⁶⁰ ho=
 33 mines rectum faciant¹⁶¹ episcopo *et* su=
 34 is hominibus. *et* iudicium pati=
 35 antur incuria Landauię¹⁶².¹⁶³

{63rb}

1 Omnis lex quę fuerit regali;
 2 omnis etiam *et* incuria plenarie
 3 episcopali landauensi.
 4 S Tatutum¹⁶⁴ est enim apostolica au=

¹⁵¹ cum merca=to *et* moneta in landaui^a (top, above column b) {Nota infra cum mercato *et* moneta in landaui^a}.

¹⁵² ap=plicatione (margin) {appli}.

¹⁵³ nauium (margin) {nauium}.

¹⁵⁴ terras (margin) {terras}.

¹⁵⁵ landa (margin) {m,}.

¹⁵⁶ rex (margin) {x}.

¹⁵⁷ morcan=huc (margin) {huc}.

¹⁵⁸ rex (margin) {rex}.

¹⁵⁹ morcanhuc (margin) {a/c}.

¹⁶⁰ sui (margin) {-sui}.

¹⁶¹ faciant (margin) {facient}.

¹⁶² Landauię (margin) {dauensi}. *et* su=is hominibus. *et* iudicium pati=antur incuria Landauię (bottom) {*et* hominibus suis *et* iudicium paterentur a Landaf; Ecce hic quomodo rex morgan/c *et* homines autem suborti, in curie iensi,}.

¹⁶³ (bottom, below both columns) {Nota bene hoc latus pro priuilegio Et nota folium 105 [i.e. 104r] quomodo Ecclesia Landauensis est omni priuilegio *et* libertate consolidata. nec etiam refugium violandum; imo in omnibus conseruandum vide ibidem bene}.

¹⁶⁴ S Tatutum The S is a two-line rubricated initial.

5 ctoritate¹⁶⁵ istius ecclesię priuilegi=
 6 um ut cum sua dignitate ab om=¹⁶⁶
 7 ni secularis seruitii grauamine
 8 libera inposterum maneat *et*
 9 quieta. Quecunque uero concessi=
 10 one pontificum. liberalitate
 11 principum¹⁶⁷. oblatione fidelium. uel
 12 aliis iustis modis eidem pertinebunt.
 13 ei firma inposterum *et* integra
 14 conseruentur. Quecunque pretere
 15 infuturum largiente¹⁶⁸ deo iuste
 16 atque canonice poterit adipisci.
 17 quieta ei semper *et* illibata permane=
 18 ant. Decretum namque est ut nul=
 19 li omnino hominum liceat *predictam*
 20 ecclesiam temere perturbare. aut eius
 21 possessiones auferre. uel ablatas
 22 retinere. minuere. uel temerariis
 23 uexationibus fatigare¹⁶⁹. *et omnia ei cum*
 24 parrochię finibus conseruentur.
 25 Siqua igitur infuturum ecclesiastica¹⁷⁰
 26 seculatisue persona contra hanc
 27 temere uenire temptauerit. *secundo*
 28 tertioe commonita. si non satisfa=
 29 ctione congrua emendauerit. po=

¹⁶⁵ **apostolica au=ctoritate** (margin) {Auctoritas apostolica.}.

¹⁶⁶ (margin) {nota bene}. This note is inside a pointing hand adjacent to line 6. A vertical line descending from the hand indicates that the note pertains to all the text from line 6 to the end of the column.

¹⁶⁷ **principum** It is possible that the suspension mark above the *u* is a later addition.

¹⁶⁸ **largiente** The *l* is a little faint.

¹⁶⁹ **uel ablatas retinere. minuere. uel temerariis uexationibus fatigare** (margin) {nota uel ablatas retinere minuere. uel temerarie fatigare}.

¹⁷⁰ (margin) {nota}.

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- 30 testatis honorisque sui dignitate ca=
 31 reat. reamque se diuino iudicio ex=
 32 istere. deperpetrata iniquitate co
 33 gnoscat. et asacratissimo corpore
 34 ac sanguine dei et domini redemptoris
 35 nostri iesu christi aliena fiat. atque IN
 {63va}
 1 extremo examine districtę ulti=¹⁷¹
 2 oni subiaceat. Cunctis autem eidem
 3 ecclesię ita seruantibus. fiat pax domini
 4 nostri iesu christi. quatinus et hic fru=
 5 ctum bonę actionis percipiant. et
 6 apud districtum iudicem pre=
 7 mia ęternę pacis inueniant.¹⁷²
- 8 **L** ymma¹⁷³ ycymreith habryein^{t}
 9 eccluys Teliau olanntaf arod=¹⁷⁴
 10 es breenhined hinn hatouysso=
 11 ę^{g}ion cymry yntrycyguidaul
 12 ęy eccluys teliau hęc dir escip
 13 oll gę^{g}et^{d}i^{y} ef ame^{g}y^{d}arnedic oau=
 14 durdaę^{t}papę^{e}u rę^{g}m^{u}ein¹⁷⁵ yholl
 15 cyfreith ęidi hęc^{ac} dy thir. hac
 16 di dair. ryd op^{b}opguasanaith
 17 breennin bydaę^{g}l. heb mair.
 18 heb cyghellaur. heb cyhoith. da
 19 dlma ymeę^{g}n gę^{g}lat hęc nydie=

¹⁷¹ (top left margin) {[..]ce bene omnia haec [...]menda et tremenda quia multi facientes contra haec cotidie dampnantur}. Evans (LL 339) could read the fifth word as *timenda*.

¹⁷² Following this line, one line of the manuscript has been left blank.

¹⁷³ **L** ymma The *L* is a four-line rubricated initial.

¹⁷⁴ (margin) {Nota priuilegia in Walicis}.

¹⁷⁵ rę^{g}m^{u}cin The *m* has been turned into a *u* by erasing the first minim.

- 20 ithyr. heb luyd. heb gauayl. heb
 21 ~~gu~~^{g}yl~~ma~~^{ua}176 ycyfreith idi ynholla=
 22 ul. oleityr olatrat. otreis. odyn
 23 nyorn ocynl~~u~~^{g}yn ~~hac~~ olosc. Oa~~m~~^{m}177
 24 ryson e^{g}ang~~u~~^{g}ayt ahebguayt. y
 25 diruy hay camcul yndi didi yn
 26 hollaul. odorri nau^{g}d ynn l^{l}ann
 27 ~~hac~~ yndieythyr ^{l}lann. orachot
 28 ynn^{di} ~~luhyn~~^{hi hun} ~~hac~~^{ac} ynn^{ny}dieithyr luhyn.¹⁷⁸
 29 ocyrch yp^{b}opmynnic artir teli=
 30 au. hay ~~gu~~^{g}i^{y}r. hay brau^{g}t dy lytu
 31 yrecluys yg~~u~~^{g}ndy teliau ynnla^{n}n¹⁷⁹
 32 taf. ~~hac~~ ny lys. d~~u~~^{g}fyr ~~ha~~ guell^{t}.
 33 hae choyt ha mays yncyfry^{c}tin
 34 dy lytu teliau. cyfnofut habath

{63vb}

- 1 oriaiyth ynnlanntaf hac aperua
 2 ardir teliau ~~dyr~~ loggo^{c}u adiscyn
 3 no nythir ypopmynnic yt ~~u~~^{v}oy^{r}180.
 4 ryd rac brennin aracpaup nam=^{yn}
 5 ynn dyteliau adyee^{g}e^{g}luys lantam^{f}181.
 6 ha ~~dy~~ escyp. harmefyl harsarhayt
 7 harcam. har ennu^{i vi}et¹⁸² agunee^{c}h^{l}.

¹⁷⁶ ~~gu~~^{g}yl~~ma~~^{ua} The third minim of the *m* as well as the following *a* have been erased, leaving two minims to form a *u* and a space where a new *a* has been faintly written.

¹⁷⁷ Oa~~m~~^{m} The contraction mark over the *a* is very faint, and seems to have been deliberately erased. A later hand wrote an *m* after the *a*, but this too was later erased.

¹⁷⁸ For this problematic line, see LL 350 and Russell 2016: 49, 56–7.

¹⁷⁹ ynnla^{n}n A later hand has placed a contraction mark over the *a*.

¹⁸⁰ ~~u~~^{v}oy^{r} The descender of the *y* has been erased, leaving only the top part of the original letter. This now resembles an *r*, though it is uncertain whether *r* was the letter that the person responsible for the erasure intended to produce.

¹⁸¹ lantam^{f} The second two minims of the *m* have been erased, and the first has been extended so as to form an *f*.

¹⁸² ennu^{i vi}et It seems that the central two minims of the original *nu* have been turned into a *u*, leaving two minims either side which now resemble *is*.

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8 brennhin more^{g}annhuc hay g^{6}r
 10 hay g^{6}as dy escop teliau hac dyg^{6}r
 11 hac dyg^{6}as. dyuot brennhin mor=
 12 cannhuc yg^{6}ndy teliau yn lann
 13 taf. dyg^{6}nethur guir ha cyfre=
 14 ith. hadiguadef braut diam y cam
 15 adiconher dyescop teliau hady
 16 gur ha dyguas. ythir hay dayr
 17 dyluyd. dyuuner. digauyl. ha=
 18 pop cyfreith auo dybrennin mor=
 19 cannhuc ynlys. oubot oll yn hol^{1}
 20 laul dyescop teliau nylys yntou.
 21 haybot ynemelldicetic hac yn=
 22 yscumunetic y^r neb a^{i}torro hac
 23 aydima^{i}nuo¹⁸³ ybryeint h^{6}nn. hac
 24 ef hay plant guety ef. Hynn ben=
 25 die^{k}etic hac ef hay plant ayenry=
 26 dedocao ybreint h^{6}nn hac ay=
 27 catvy^{{t{v}}}¹⁸⁴ A M E N.¹⁸⁵
 28 {Nota¹⁸⁶ *quod Sancti Teliai magna excommunicationis*
 29 *Sententia* quam obtinuit in curia Romana.
 30 *contra* invasores libertatum et priuilegiorum
 31 ecclesie cathedralis landauensis. in die eiusdem
 32 more solito anno dominice incarnationis 1410
 33 fuit lecta et promulgata Et infra breue
 34 dierum Spacium postea viitem persone de transgres
 35 soribus huiusmodi. Instigatione diabolica vexate
 36 in demencium furiositate ceciderunt et eorum

¹⁸³ aydima^{i}nuo The first part of the second *a* has been erased, so that is now resembles an *i*.

¹⁸⁴ For this reading, see Russell 2016: 51–3.

¹⁸⁵ A M E N. A red line has been drawn through this word.

¹⁸⁶ Nota (inside margin) {nota}.

37 vita durate Sic *perseuerauerunt*.}

{64ra}

1 **DE LANN GARTH.**¹⁸⁷
 2 **IDON**¹⁸⁸ rex filius ynyr guent. *procom*=
 3 mertio eterne patrie unam de do=
 4 mibus suis Lanngarth uidelicet cum
 5 omni territorio suo que *apriori* tem=
 6 pore fuerat *sancti* Dubricii *archiepiscopi*¹⁸⁹ im=
 7 molauit cum omni sua libertate. *et*
 8 cum refugio *ecclesie sancti petri deLanda*=
 9 uia¹⁹⁰ *archiepiscopo* Teliauo¹⁹¹. *et omnibus suc*=
 10 cessoribus suis sine ullo censu terreno
 11 magno uel modico. nisi deo *et ecclesie*
 12 landauię. *et cum tota communione*
 13 intus uel extra incampo *et insiluis*.
 14 in aqua *et in pascuis*. *et rex circuens*
 15 totum *territorium et* portans euange=
 16 lium indorso cum clericis ferenti
 17 bus cruces in manibus *et aspersa aqua*
 18 *benedicta simul cum puluere pau*=
 19 menti *ecclesie et sepulchri in omnibus*
 20 finibus *perambulauit pertotum*. facta
 21 maledictione *et excommunicatio*=
 22 ne ab omnibus uno ore illis specia=
 23 liter quicunque locum istum cum
 24 suo territorio *et finibus istis subscri*=
 25 ptis ab *ecclesia Landauia et apastoribus*

¹⁸⁷ (top) **TEILIAVS ARCHI EPISCOPVS** {Teliaus *archiepiscopus*} {{Notate bene hanc rubricam}}.

¹⁸⁸ **IDON** The *I* is a four-line rubricated initial.

¹⁸⁹ **Dubricii archiepiscopi** (margin) {Dubricius *Archiepiscopus* [.]*landauensis*}.

¹⁹⁰ **ecclesie sancti petri deLandauia** (bottom) {nota *ecclesiam sancti petri de Landauia*}.

¹⁹¹ **archiepiscopo Teliauo** (margin) {nota de *archiepiscopo Teliao*}.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

26 illius in eternum separauerit. da
 27 ta autem benedictione seruaturis
 28 in pace Declericis testes sunt. Teli
 29 aus archiepiscopus¹⁹². arguistil. Elguoret.
 30 Conguarui. Conbran. Iudon. guor=
 31 docui. gurmoi. gurhal. Delaicis
 32 rex Iudon. t. morguid. merchion.
 33 freudubur. erbic. guinabui. Finis
 34 istius podi est. Clougur *peruiam* mag
 35 nam *usque* *ad* cumulum frut mur.

{64rb}

1 acumulo frut mur recte dir fos.
 2 *usque* ad petram in quattuor confinibus.
 3 orlech¹⁹³ cihitan dital ircecyn. behet
 4 tal irfos. openn ifos. *usque* ad fontem
 5 nigrum. a fonte *persiluam* diclour emi=
 6 nus tal ifos cihitan clouuric diclour.
 7 **LANN MAUR. IDEST LANN TELIAU PORTH HALAUC.**
 8 **I**DEM¹⁹⁴ rex Idon largitus est inele=
 9 mosina *pro* anima sua *et* animabus
 10 parentum suorum regum *et principum*
 11 deo *et sancto* petro *et archiepiscopo*¹⁹⁵ Teliauo. *et*
 12 omnibus succedentibus sibi in ecclesia Landa=
 13 uię Lann maur idest lann Teliau port
 14 halauc. ubi biuan cum quattuor so=
 15 ciis suis iacet. cum omni territorio suo
 16 *et* omni dignitate *et* refugio *et* cum tota
 17 libertate *et* omni *communione* incolis in

¹⁹² **Teliaus archiepiscopus** (margin) {Teliaus Archiepiscopus Landauensis}.

¹⁹³ **orlech** The *c* looks like it has been changed from an *r*.

¹⁹⁴ **I**DEM The *I* is a four-line rubricated initial.

¹⁹⁵ **archiepiscopo** (margin) {nota hic de archiepiscopo}. Attention is drawn to this line by a pointing hand.

18 campo *et* insiluis. in aqua *et* in pascuis.
 19 *et* cum finibus istis subscriptis. *et* attes=
 20 tantibus legitimis uiris. clericis *et* laicis.
 21 *et* ita sine ullo censu magno uel mo=
 22 dico ulli homini terreno nisi pastoribus
 23 ecclesie Landauie in perpetuo. De clericis
 24 testes sunt Teliaus archiepiscopus¹⁹⁶. Arguistil.
 25 Elguoret. Conguarui. Delaicis. Idon
 26 rex. Morguid. merchion. guinabui.
 27 Data benedictione seruaturis elemo
 28 sinam inquieta pace. uiolaturis autem
 29 ab omni ore maledictione sub anathe=
 30 mate. *et* cum finibus istis. o blain cubi.
 31 trus mailuannon. diblain diufrut.
 32 arhit diufrut dirguaiet bet geben=
 33 ni trio diaper nantmaur. maliduc
 34 nantmaur diuiⁿid¹⁹⁷ betiblain. inis
 35 ciritmaur. truscirit diblain mor

{64va}

1 duc. arhit morduc dirguaiet tr=¹⁹⁸
 2 ui icoit. dir iulen. arhit inant mor
 3 duc betgeuenni. geuenni dirguai=
 4 ret betirit. lechauc. orrit dirlechlu=
 5 it ni cruc bracd diguern idrution.
 6 diluch icrecion. dicubi. maliduc cu=
 7 bi diuiⁿid¹⁹⁹. betiblain ubi incepit.
 8 LANN TELIAU CRESSINCH²⁰⁰.

¹⁹⁶ Teliaus archiepiscopus (margin) {Teliaus archiepiscopus}; (bottom) {Teliaus archiepiscopus Landauensis}.

¹⁹⁷ diuiⁿid It seems that an *o* has been turned into an *n*. See note to line 7 of the following column.

¹⁹⁸ (top) TELIAVS ARCHIEPISCOPUS {...] hanc rubricam} {archiepiscopus}.

¹⁹⁹ diuiⁿid It seems that an *o* has been turned into an *n*. See note to line 34 of the preceding column.

²⁰⁰ LANN TELIAU CRESSINCH (margin) {...]ntilio [...]essenny}.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

9 **T**EMPORE²⁰¹ predicti regis Idon uene=
 10 runt saxones inregionem suam de=
 11 predari. *et* ipse cum suo exercitu secutus
 12 est illos. *et* in uia sua uenit ad *sanctum* Teli=
 13 aum manentem tunc temporis cum
 14 suis clericis apud podum suum lan
 15 garth. *et* deprecatus est illum nimium
 16 *et* omnes clericos suos ut pro illo *et* toto ex=
 17 ercitu suo deum deprecaretur. Et uenit
 18 *sanctus* Teliaus cum eo usque ad montem unum
 19 in medio Crissinic prope trodi. stans *et*
 20 orans deum omnipotentem ut populo
 21 suo depredato succurreret. *et* exaudita pre=
 22 ce sua. *et* adepto magno gaudio. uersis
 23 hostibus infugam. reuersus est rex cap=
 24 ta preda. *et* tunc tres modios terre cir=
 25 ca cumulum illum *sancto* Teliauo *et* ecclesie
 26 landauie cum omni *communione* sua
 27 incolis in campo *et* in siluis. in aquis *et* in
 28 pascuis. Ita excommunicatione facta ab
 29 omnibus *communiter* illis. quicunque ab illa
 30 die in antea separarent ab ecclesia Landa=
 31 uię. *et* ex alia parte *facta* absolutione illis
 32 seruaturis hanc elemosinam in pace.
 33 Finis operis ciuerdiued icaruan. ciuer=
 34 diued nihit bet aper gwaech. oper gwaech
 35 irguber bichan. nihit bet penn claud

{64vb}

1 etern nyhit. bet fos cinahi. nihit bet
 2 aper grenin. greninnihit bet inli=

²⁰¹ **T**EMPORE The *T* is a five-line rubricated initial.

3 cat grenin. Olicat grenin intraus yn
 4 niaun icarn gunstan. o carngunstan
 5 icastell mei. O castell mei. diaper caruan.
 6 iciuerdiued. Datę sunt istę ecclesię
 7 cum suis dotibus *et* territoriis omnibus
 8 *et* omni dignitate sua *et* priuilegio.
 9 libertate *et* refugio *et* omni communione
 10 incolis. incampo *et* insiluis. inaqua *et*
 11 inpascuis. *et* aregibus predictis. *sancto* Teli=
 12 auo *et* omnibus episcopis landauensis ecclesię.
 13 data maledictione uiolaturis. bene=
 14 dictione autem ^{seruaturis} feⁱat pax indiebus eorum.
 15 *et* habundantia pacis hic *et* inperpetuo.
 16 **L** ANN²⁰² Teliau nant Seru. uilla tantum
 17 incantref maur super ripam cothi.
 18 **L**ann Teliau garth teuir uilla tantvm
 19 super ripam cothi. **L**ann Teliau be=
 20 chan indifrinteiu uilla tantum.
 21 **L**ann teliau tref icerniu. **L**ann
 22 Toulidauc icair. **L**annteliau aper
 23 couin. **L**annteliau penntyuinn.
 24 **L**annteliau luin gaidan uilla tan=
 25 tum ineuelfre. **I** pennbro. **L**an
 26 rath. halann cronnguern cum tri=
 27 bus territoriis amrath. Finis illorum
 28 ofrut gurcant hit glann rath.
 29 **T**rem carn²⁰³. uilla tantum *sine ecclesia*.
 30 **L**aithti teliau super ripam ritec. uil=
 31 la tantum iuxta pennalun. **M**ene=

²⁰² **L** ANN The *L* is a one-and-a-half-line rubricated initial.

²⁰³ **T**rem carn (margin) {Trefgarn}.

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32 chi arglanritec iuxta pennalun.
 33 Pull arda iuxta mainaur pir. uil=
 34 la tantum. Luin teliau. uilla tan=
 35 tum. Eccluis gunniau ubi natus²⁰⁴

{65ra}

1 est *sanctus* Teliaus. Porthmedgen. uil=²⁰⁵
 2 la tantum. Porth manach maina=
 3 ur inamithieil. Din guennham
 4 inlonion. uilla tantum. Lann
 5 teliau litgarth indou cledif. mai
 6 naur. Lann teliau cilretin. ine
 7 mlin. Inros. Lann issan mai=
 8 naur. Brodlan. Lanngurfrit.
 9 Lann ceffic intalacharn. cum cen
 10 tum acris terre²⁰⁶ *et* *quinque*.
 11 MAINAUR BRUNUS *ET* TELICHCLOU=
 12 MAN. TREF CANUS.
 13 REX²⁰⁷ demeticē²⁰⁸ regionis margetud
 14 filius Rein commotus furore ni=
 15 mio *et* crudelitate occidit gufrir
 16 hominem *sancti* Teliaui inrefugio dei
 17 *et* illius manentem ante altare il=
 18 lius. postmodum requisita ab eo
 19 penitentia cum data sibi uenia
 20 ob emendationem abeo promissam in
 21 ieiunio. oratione. *et* elemosina lar=
 22 gitus est cum promissa inomni *emen*

²⁰⁴ ubi natus (bottom) {nota vbi natus est Sanctus Tileaus}.

²⁰⁵ (top) TEILIAVS ARCHI EPISCOPVS; (margin) {nota rubricam, teliaus Archiepiscopus}. A pointing hand links the marginal note to the rubric.

²⁰⁶ centum acris terre (margin) {C. acre terre}.

²⁰⁷ REX The R is a three-line rubricated initial.

²⁰⁸ demeticē (margin, keyed with a *signe de renvoi* [∴]) {suthwallie}.

23 datione sua deo *sanctoque* Teliauo *et*
 24 *ecclesie* landauię omnibus pastoribus
 25 illius inperpetuo mainaur brunus
 26 cum *ecclesia et piscibus et siluis. simul et*
 27 Telichclouman. simulque etiam Trem
 28 canus. liberas illas terras abomni
 29 regali seruitio. *et ita cum omni dig*
 30 nitate sua *et priuilegio sancti* Teliaui il=
 31 lis concesso inomnibus. cum peruia
 32 *communione incolis. incampo et in*
 33 siluis. in aqua *et in pascuis. inperpe*=
 34 tuo. data maledictione uiolaturis.
 35 *benedictione autem conseruaturis.*²⁰⁹

{65rb}

1 TREF CARN. LAITH TI TEILIAU.
 2 MENECHI.
 3 R Egnante²¹⁰ Aircol lauhir filio
 4 tryfun rege demeticę regionis
 5 contigit cum uice sua curiam suam
 6 apud liscastell caput totius deme=
 7 ticę regionis teneret. ita quod omni
 8 nocte cum dispensatores regis ui=
 9 ce m~~x~~^{*}tua²¹¹ regi seruirent incibo *et*
 10 potu suadente diabolo prenimia
 11 copia liquoris quod semper unus demi=
 12 litibus aut defamilia regis occideretur.
 13 Quod cum rex solitum uidisset homi=
 14 cidium. cognouit quod nullo modo

²⁰⁹ There is a short note in the bottom left corner, but it is very difficult to read.

²¹⁰ **R** Egnante The *R* is a two-line rubricated initial.

²¹¹ **m~~x~~^{*}tua** The second letter has been erased and replaced with another letter, but neither the original letter nor its replacement are legible. Evans (LL 350) suggested understanding *mutua*.

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15 dissolutum posset fieri nisi elemo=
 16 sinis *et* ieiuniis *et* oratione *sanctorum* facta
 17 ieiunio *et* oratione. Mandauit rex
 18 propter *sanctum* Teliaum²¹² conuersantem
 19 tunc apud pennalun podum suum²¹³
 20 ut cito adeum ueniret ut sibi *et* cu=
 21 rię suę benedixisset ne tam solitum
 22 homicidium amplius incuria sua
 23 euenisset. Et postquam *sanctus* Teliaus
 24 ad illum uenit. sibi benedixit *et*
 25 curię suę *et* duos discipulos suos.
 26 Iouil *et* fidelis misit ut curię serui=
 27 rent diuidendo cibum *et* potum
 28 omnibus admensuram *et* sufficientiam
 29 *et gratia spiritus sancti* quod nullum illa nocte
 30 factum est homicidium. nec post
 31 insua curia ut solitum. Cognoscens
 32 rex quod perorationem *sancti* Teliaui eua
 33 cuatum est illud periculum. Dedit {*pro*}
 34 *sancto* Teliauo depropria hereditate sua
 35 tres uillas. idest trefcarn. Finis

{65va}

1 ouinyd garthon di blain nant²¹⁴
 2 brat yrguaret hit inritec. Exalia
 3 parte o uinid garthon hitnant
 4 yclauorion bet inritec. Laith
 5 ty teliau²¹⁵ o carn baclan dicil meini

²¹² *sanctum* Teliaum (margin) {Nota *sanctum* Teliaum}.

²¹³ *propter sanctum* Teliaum *conuersantem* tunc apud pennalun podum suum (bottom, marked with a *signe de renvoi* [.:] above *podum* in the main text) {nota supra *propter sanctum* Teliaum *conuersantem* tunc apud villam suam pennalun vbi *et* (num corpus suum miraculosum de tribus corporibus postea sepultum fuit)}.

²¹⁴ (top) TEILIAVS ARCHIEPISCOPUS.; (bottom) {Sursum in Rubrica sic scribatur, Teliaus Archiepiscopus}.

²¹⁵ Laithy teliau (margin) {llaethy teilo}.

6 auc bet in ritec. Menechi. otref
 7 eithinauc dinant hirotguidou
 8 bet inritec. Exalia parte otonou
 9 pencenn diblain nant castell cer=
 10 ran bet inritec. cum omni sua li=
 11 bertate incampo *et* inaquis insil=
 12 ua *et* inpascuis. intus *et* extra sine
 13 ullo censu ullo homini *terreno nisi*
 14 deo *et* archiepiscopo Teliauo *et* ecclesię *et*
 15 successoribus illius²¹⁶ inperpetuo. testa
 16 ntibus rege aircol cum suis *princi*=
 17 pibus. Declericis *sanctus* Teliaus testis.
 18 Iouil. fidelis discipulus suus. facta
 19 benedictione abomnibus uno ore
 20 illis abilla die seruaturis inantea
 21 inpace hanc elemosinam inperpetuo.
 22 Qui autem ab ecclesia landauię separa=
 23 rauerint; separentur indie iudicii
 24 ut edi ab agnis. AMEN.
 25 **CILTUTUC. ET PENNCLECIR.**
 26 **Q**vadam²¹⁷ die contigit quod porci
 27 unius hominis depennalun
 28 intrauerunt insegetes unius diui=
 29 tis nomine Tutuc. qui cum hoc
 30 dampnum uidisset. quesivit subul
 31 cum ut uindictam ineum faceret.
 32 *et* non inuenit eum donec ad locum
 33 pennalun peruenit. *et* ibi subulcum
 34 inuenit. *et* uolens eum feriri cum

²¹⁶ archiepiscopo Teliauo *et* ecclesię *et* successoribus illius (margin) {nota archiepiscopum teliaum *et* ecclesiam Landauensem}.

²¹⁷ **Q**vadam The Q is a two-line rubricated initial.

- 35 lancea. interueniente infante quodam
{65vb}
- 1 nomine Typhei nepote *sancti* Teliaui
2 et se subulco defendente infantem.
3 crudelis uir perforauit lancea et mor=
4 tuus est. et postex^{*}218 penitens fecisse ue=
5 niam quesuiuit apud *sanctum* Teliaum.
6 et semetipsum sibi uerbo et consensu re=
7 gis Aircol cum duabus uillis suis Ciltu=
8 tuc et penclecir dedit cum magna de=
9 uotione inperpetua seruitute. et cum
10 tota sua progenie. et ecclesie landauię²¹⁹
11 et pastoribus illius inperpetuo. cum sua
12 omni libertate sine aliquo censu ul=
13 li homini terreno nisi deo et ecclesie
14 landauię. Declericis testis est archi=
15 episcopus Teliaus²²⁰ cum suis discipulis. Iougu=
16 il et fidelis. Delaicis uero rex Aircol.
17 Liuathru. Letclit. Ina. rec doud.
18 Finis est ocastell cerran dinant torr
19 icair bet hi locnhty. Exalia parte. o=
20 nant castell carran bet inritec.²²¹
- 21 MAINAUR MATHRU ET CENARTH MAUR.
22 F Vit²²² uir Cynguaiu nomine de
23 doucledif. natus nobili parentela

²¹⁸ postex^{*} A later hand has written an *a* over an erasure, but the *a* itself has been partially erased.

²¹⁹ landauię (margin, marked by a *signe de renvoi* [·:] above landauię) {nota}. The *nota* is inside a pointing hand adjacent to landauię.

²²⁰ archiepiscopus Teliaus (margin) {Nota archiepiscopum Teliaum}.

²²¹ One line was originally left blank after this section. The end of the originally blank line now contains the word *maur*, which has overrun from the rubric on the following line.

²²² F Vit The *F* is a five-line rubricated initial.

24 sed egenus *et* uxoratus. qui intantum
 25 utebatur uxore sua *quod* singulis annis
 26 singulum *procreavit* natum. quo
 27 magis gaudere debebant. eo amplius
 28 tristabantur ob penuriam *et* frequentem
 29 partum. adeo tantę simplicitatis *quod*
 30 inde requisierunt consilium *apud sanctum* Telia
 31 um detanta copia filiorum *et* inopia. *et*
 32 inantea quidue agendum. Beatus Telia=
 33 us audita sibi hac tam querula requi=
 34 sitione *dixit*. Nullam aliam causam²²³

{66ra}

1 uobis uideo ad euitandam prolis
 2 fecunditatem. nisi ut acarnalitate
 3 ambo abstineatis. Quo audito; *per*=
 4 ceperunt sibi hoc consilium esse sa=
 5 luberrimum. *et per* .VII. annos absti
 6 nuerunt. Qui cum ita essent ueluti
 7 indesperatione *semper* inantea prolis
 8 simul peccato suo ~~xxx~~^{an} nuerunt²²⁴. con=
 9 cepit mulier *et peperit* .VII. filios. *et*
 10 ita paganos portauerunt eos uersus
 11 sanctum Teliaum. *et* dicentes. malo omi=
 12 ne recepimus consilium *sancti* Teliaui.
 13 male etiam sumus honerati. Nos qui=
 14 dem eos submergamus in aqua. aut
 15 etiam sibi *commendamus*. accepta sibi
 16 eorum cura. Transeunte autem euentu

²²³ (bottom) {Nota hic de septem fratribus sanctis in vna die natis ac *per* sanctissimum teliaum a morte feliciter liberatis}.

²²⁴ ~~xxx~~^{an} nuerunt A later hand has written an *a* with a contraction mark above it over an erasure. The erased letters are obscure, but Evans (LL 350) suggested that they read *conti* or *conci*.

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- 17 *sancto* Teliauo²²⁵ peruiam suam. inuenit
 18 patrem illorum in rytsinetic super
 19 Taf flumen filios suos suadente di=
 20 abolo mergentem singillatim influ=
 21 mine propter inopiam suam et paupertat=
 22 tem. Videns *sanctus* Teliaus tam execra=
 23 bile opus. accepit eos singulos semi=
 24 uiuos. et baptizauit eos in nomine patris
 25 et filii et spiritus sancti cum gratiarum actione.
 26 Ablatis filiis .VII. patri funestoꝝ uir
 27 magnę pietatis nutriuit eos. et ad st=
 28 udium litterarum misit quos in po=
 29 do suo lantteliau dimisit. ab aliis
 30 quidem sumpto loco nomine Lann dyfr=
 31 guyr²²⁶. eo quod nullo alio uictu uiueb
 32 ant obreliuam suam uitam. nisi
 33 aquatilibus piscibus. et ad numeri eorum
 34 sufficientiam .VII. cotidie super saxum
 35 unum sumpto sibi nomine. idest Lech
 {66rb}
 1 meneich²²⁷ intaf flumine adeo sibi
 2 missis. et iterum. Ideo uocati sunt
 3 dufuyrguyr eo quod inuenti sunt in
 4 aqua. et per aquam euasi. et de aquaticis
 5 piscibus procurati. Dybrguyr idest aqua=
 6 tici britannico sermone. idest aqua=
 7 tici uiri. Quadam uice *sanctus* Teliaus
 8 ad eos uenit desiderans eorum conuersa=
 9 tionem uisitare frequentem hospitatus

²²⁵ *sancto* Teliauo These two words are separated by a hole in the parchment.

²²⁶ Lann dyfrguyr (margin) {LLann dyfŵrwy in suthwalia.}.

²²⁷ Lech meneich (top, keyed with a *signe de renvoi* [.:]) {latine lata petra monachorum}.

10 est cum illis ut cum discipulis. *et inso=*
 11 lito²²⁸ unus defratribus iuit adaquam
 12 propter pisces qui .VII. adnumerum fra=
 13 trum inuenit super predictum saxum.
 14 et unum maiorem illis .VII. octauum.
 15 quos omnes domum adduxit. *et inde*
 16 mirati sunt fratres ut dicitur. mirabilis deus
 17 insanctis suis. Qui bene cognouerunt
 18 quod propter aduenientem hospitem sanctum
 19 Teliaum patronum suum *et magistrvm*
 20 creator omnium pisces multiplicas=
 21 set. Et postquam dies *et tempora reli=*
 22 giose diu inloco illo duxerunt. *et alio*
 23 multo tempore cum beato Dubri=
 24 cio conuersati sunt. Misit eos adalium
 25 locum suum qui uocatur Marthru
 26 inepitiauc²²⁹. *et ibi uocati sunt seith se=*
 27 int mathru. Et postquam ibi peraliud
 28 spatium morati sunt. inde uenerunt
 29 ad Cenard maur ubi morati usque ad
 30 finem obitus sui. *et totam terram*
 31 illorum ma^fhru²³⁰ *et cenarthmaur*
 32 sancto patrono suo Teliauo *et magistro*
 33 *et ecclesię landauię et pastoribus suis*
 34 omnibus inperpetuo dederunt uerbo
 35 *et consensu regis aircol et principum*
 {66va}
 1 suorum quibus ipse terras illas de=
 2 derat propter sanctitatem eorum insemi=

²²⁸ **inso=lito** (margin, keyed with a *signe de renvoi* [.:]) {vt solito}.

²²⁹ **Marthru inepitiauc** (margin) {Mathru in pepydia6c}.

²³⁰ **ma^fhru** The *r* has been altered into a *t*.

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3 terna consecratione sine ullo cen=
4 su ulli homini terreno nisi deo *et*
5 *fratribus* illis *et sancto* Teliau²³¹ cum omni
6 sua libertate incampo *et* insiluis in
7 aqua *et* inpascuis. Facta excommu=
8 nicatione abomnibus²³² uno ore sepa=
9 raturis istas terras abarchimona=
10 sterio landauie²³³ *et* apastoribus illius
11 inperpetuo. Benedictione autem ser=
12 uaturis. AMEN.

²³¹ **Teliau** The second minim of the *u* and the final *o* may have been redrawn.

²³² **excommu=nicatione abomnibus** (margin) {Nota excommunicationem ab omnibus etc}.

²³³ **archimona=sterio landauie** (margin) {Nota archimonasterium Landauense.}.

Concordance to versions of the Life

Vita Sancti Teliaui (Vespasian A. xiv version)	Vita Sancti Teliaui (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
	20
	21
	22
	23
	24
	25
	26
	27
	28
	29

Vita Sancti Teliaui (Liber Landavensis version)	Vita Sancti Teliaui (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
16	
17	

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18	11
19	
20	
21	
22	
23	
24	
25	
26	
27	
28	
29	

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