

# Vita Sancti Daudid (Gerald of Wales)

edited by Paul Russell

*Edited Text*

*Translation*

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*References*

## Introduction

The text of VS Daudid (Gerald) printed in the Rolls series (Brewer et al. 1861–91: iii, 375–404) was derived from Wharton’s text (W) in *Anglia Sacra* (Wharton 1691: ii, 628–40) which itself was based on BL Cotton Vitellius E. vii (Vit); the early scholarship suggested that the Cotton manuscript had been destroyed (Brewer et al. 1861–91: iii, xlii; cf. Sharpe 2007: 91). However, some 35% of the text of Cotton Vitellius E. vii survived the Ashburnham House fire though the fragments are not always easy to read (on this and what follows, see Russell 2022b). Comparison with the surviving fragments of Vit indicates that Wharton classicised the text throughout, corrected the text on four occasions, and altered the text on seven; Brewer’s text is in error against the readings of W and the surviving sections of Vit on two occasions. However, a complete copy (not known to Brewer) survives in BL Royal MS 13 C. i (s. xv) (R) and, since the Rolls edition is already available, the following edition is based on R (see also Bowen Jones 1934). The R text contains an extra miracle on the perforation of David’s hand, not found anywhere else either in other copies of VS Daudid (Gerald) or in the other lives of David; this was edited by Curley 2007: 138–41. The text of the life is followed by a series of posthumous miracles associated with David and lections on the life of Nonnita (edited by Curley 2007: 184–205 and 2002 respectively). In addition, another copy of the Preface was preserved in Gerald’s *Symbolum Electorum* (SE) which survives in Cambridge Trinity College MS R. 7. 11, fol. 94r (noted, but not printed, in Brewer et al. 1861–91: i, 395). A copy of Gerald’s version was available to Ussher (U) who quoted several sections in his *Antiquitates* (Ussher 1639: 442–2, 463–4, 473–5, 953–4 (corresponding to §§2, 5, 7–8, 9, 30, 32, 38–9, 42–4)), and to Leland (L), who made notes from it in his *Collectanea* (Leland 1715: ii, 107–8). U, L, and SE agree with Vit and W in all substantive variants; in particular it is clear Ussher did not use R (as suggested by Warner and Gilson 1921: 102) but rather a manuscript

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like Vit or closely related to it (Ussher's work predates W) and, given that Vit only survives in fragments, it is assumed that readings in W derive from Vit. The following edition is based on R; variants from Vit, W, U, L, and SE are provided in the apparatus and the Rolls version (Brewer et al. 1861–91: iii, 375–404) can be assumed to correspond to W unless otherwise indicated. The text of R is only emended with reference to the other versions in cases of obvious error and the spelling of the manuscript is retained (including, for example, the idiosyncratic variation between *s*, *c* and *sc*). The division into sections corresponds, as far as possible, to the edition of VS Daid (Vesp) in Sharpe and Davies (2007); though this results in some very short sections, it facilitates cross-reference.

Gerald is thought to have composed his version of VS Daid in the early to mid-1190s (Richter 1968–9: 381–6; accepted by Bartlett 1982: 217, 2006: 177). The Preface was available to be incorporated into his *Symbolum Electorum* in c. 1199 (Bartlett 1982: 218, 2006: 178). For the stylistic features of Gerald's work, see Bartlett (1983) and the notes to the Translation. For useful discussion of aspects of Gerald's work, see Evans 2007: 27–32.

Two aspects of Gerald's life of David are considered here: first the relationship of Gerald's adaptation to the other versions of VS Daid, and secondly how the R version is related to the others (Vit and W). What follows is a summary account; the full arguments and further implications are presented in Russell 2022b.

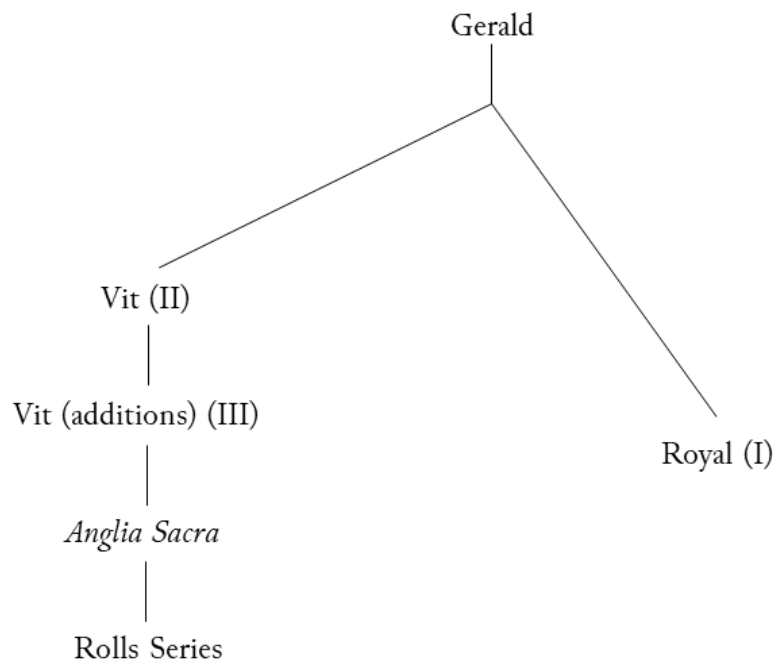
Gerald's version has been generally, and correctly, regarded as deriving from the Nero-Digby version of Rhygyfarch's VS Daid and not from VS Daid (Vesp) (James 1967: xxix–xxxii; Sharpe 2007: 93–4): the sections missing in Nero-Digby are also missing in Gerald, for example §42 (Aidan and his bell), §57 (power given to David), §64 (the lamentation). In addition and more precisely, it is clear that the more detailed correspondences put Gerald's exemplar among the Nero versions; see the apparatus in James 1967 (the edition of VS Daid (N-D)), where G1 and G2 (James' sigla for R and W respectively) side with Nero readings against Digby readings (e.g. James 1967: 7, n. 3). However, despite these correspondences, as Bartlett has observed (1983: 604), Gerald also goes in for substantial 'de-monasticizing' of the text, removing the large section on monastic life (see the concordance below); this is not unique to Gerald's version as it also happened independently in VS Daid (Lincoln) and the Welsh version, but it does mark an important step away from the earlier versions.

The rationale for using the R version as the base-text is not simply that its text has not yet been published, but also that its publication highlights questions about its relationship to the Cotton Vitellius line of transmission. As is clear from the apparatus to this edition there is considerable variation between R and VitW and it is important to understand the nature and origin of that variation; James (1967: xxiv) is mistaken in observing that ‘the verbal differences are few in number and of no importance’. It emerges that, even though R is a later manuscript, it preserves an earlier redaction of Gerald’s reworking of VS Dauid. Leaving aside cases of error in R, most of the differences in VitW seem to amount to stylistic reworking and additions to a text similar to that in R in order to produce a stylistically more elaborate and sophisticated text. There are two levels of this rewriting: first, there are cases where the addition is fully integrated into the text of Vit (and for the purposes of this discussion we shall mainly focus on the section of text (§§12–32) preserved in Vit), and, secondly, there are cases where the text is added interlinearly or marginally in Vit, but has been fully incorporated in W. The former are generally reworkings of R’s text, e.g. §16 *imploremus* R, *deploremus* Vit; *simul nostri* R, *nostri simul* Vit; multiple insertions of *forte* (§§3, 4, 5, 25, 51); for more complex cases, cf. §§28 and 32.

The second type of change, however, is more striking: for example, at the end of §31 on Barrocius we find a pair of biblical quotations (from Psalm 76.19 and the Song of Habbakuk 3.15) added in VitW. However, in Vit this has been added along the bottom margin with an insertion mark in the main text (in fact the page is partly damaged and only a section of this survives; for an image, see Russell 2022b: 225); in W and the Rolls edition this is integrated into the text but in Vit it is clearly an addition to the copied text. What is striking about this addition is that it is exactly the same kind of addition (supplementary and supporting biblical or patristic quotations) that Gerald makes in the later redactions of his other works. A similar addition is made to the Preface though we lack the Vit version to be sure that it arise in a similar way. If it were similarly added, the chronology of when it was added can be given some precision: in c. 1199 Gerald reworked the preface to his version of VS Dauid for inclusion in his *Symbolum Electorum* (Brewer et al. 1861–91: i, 395), and the clause on the sons of Sceva is in that version as well. In other words, these changes (both those incorporated into the text of Vit, and those added subsequently) were made in the 1190s in the period when Gerald himself was working on, and reworking, these texts, and it is likely that the variation we can detect in these different versions is itself the work of Gerald.

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In conclusion, it is suggested here that R represents the earliest phase of Gerald's work on David (for further details, see Russell 2022b). The fragments in Vit show two levels of reworking in relation to R: first text incorporated in the main text (and so presumably changes made to an earlier version), and then interlinear and marginal additions. Both sets of changes, it is argued, can be dated to Gerald's lifetime and to a period before *c.* 1199 when he compiled *Symbolum Electorum*. An approximate stemma follows (the Roman numerals indicate the recensions of Gerald's work):



### Concordance of the relevant lives of St David

(V = the Vespasian version; N-D = the Nero-Digby version; G = Gerald's versions (see above); — = topic continued from previous; [ ] = textually different)

V (§§)	— = continues from previous; [ ] = textually different	N-Digby	G (Royal MS)	G (Vitellius frags.)
1	Introduction	1	[1]	
2	Dream of Sanctus (David's father-to-be) about stag, fish, bees)	2	2	
3	Patrick evicted from Dyfed and sent to Ireland	3	4	
4	Nonnita (David's mother ) raped by Sanctus and conception of David	4	3	
5	Gildas unable to preach in the presence of a pregnant Nonnita	5	5	
6	Birth of David despite a tyrant's attempt at killing Nonnita and David	6	6	
7	Baptism of David by Ailbe, bishop of Munster	7	7	
8	David's early education	8	8	
9	David becomes a priest	9	9	
10	David goes to Paulinus for further education	10	10	
11	Miracle of the restoration of Paulinus' sight	11	11	✓
12	David's "graduation"	12	12	✓
13	David founds numerous monasteries	13	13	✓
14	David returns to Vetus Rubus	14	14	✓

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15	David and his disciples settle in Vallis Rosina (Hoddnant)	15	15	✓
16	Resistance from a local tyrant, Baia, is thwarted	16	16	✓
17	Baia's wife proves more troublesome	17	17	✓
18	Baia's wife murders her step-daughter, but then vanishes	18	18	✓
19	Divine vengeance on Baia	19	19	✓
20	Details of David's monastic rule and way of life	20	20	✓
21	—	21		
22	—	22		
23	—	23		
24	—	24		
25	—	25		
26	—	26		
27	—	27		
28	—	28		
29	—	29		
30	—	30		
31	—	31	21	✓
32	—	32	22	✓
33	Miracle of spring producing communion wine	33	23	✓
34	David provides a spring of clear water for the locals	34	24	✓
35	Miracle of Aidanus, the oxen, and the book	35	25	✓
36	Aidanus goes to Ireland	36	26	✓

37	David warned of a poisoning attempt by Aidanus	37	27	✓
38	David does not hide his light under a bushel (from V §12)	38	28	✓
	The incomplete gospel		29	✓
39	David visited by Bairre on returning from Rome and returns to Ireland on horseback	39	30	✓
40	En route Bairre encounters St Brendan on whaleback who goes to visit David	40	31	✓
41	David prevents an attack on Modomnóc	41		
42	Miracle of Aidanus and the forgotten bell			
43	Modomnóc and the miracle of the bees	43	32	
44	Pilgrimage to Jerusalem (with Teilo and Padarn)	44	33	
45	—	45	34	
46	—	46	35	
47	—	47	36	✓
48	—	48	37	✓
49	Synod about the Pelagian heresy; no one can hear the preaching; David is sent for	49	38	✓
50	David refuses but eventually agrees to attend the synod at Brefi	50	39	✓
51	En route David resurrects a boy who has died	51	40	✓
52	David preaches and the ground rises beneath his feet	52	41	
53	David appointed archbishop	53	42	

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54	The heresy expelled	54	
55	The Synod of Victory	55	43
56	Building of monasteries under David's stewardship	56	44
	On David's perforated hand		45
57	Right of sanctuary granted to David		
58	Death of St David	58	46
59	—	59	
60	—	60	
61	—	61	47
62	—	62	48
63	—	63	49
64	—		
65	—	65	50
66	Rhygyfarch's epilogue	66	
67	—	67	
68	Genealogy of St David		



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### Summary

This is a rewritten text of the Life of St David by Gerald of Wales. Composed probably in the 1190s at much the same time as his other works on Wales, it is a reworked version of the ‘Nero-Digby’ redaction of Rhygyfarch’s life, significantly omitting the section on monasticism. In several respects it also shows signs of Gerald’s scholastic education and is a good example of the way in which a Welsh saint’s life might be refashioned in the late twelfth century (Bartlett 1983; Russell 2022b). The divisions into sections approximately follow Rhygyfarch’s VS David (ed. Sharpe and Davies 2007); though this results in some short sections, it facilitates cross-reference to other versions. For reasons set out in the Introduction, this edition is based on R.

### *Sigla and Abbreviations*

- L Leland 1715: ii, 107–8
- R BL Royal MS 13 C. i, fols 172r–177v
- SE *Symbolum electorum*, preface only (Cambridge Trinity College MS R. 7. 11, fol. 94r. noted in in Brewer et al. 1861–91: i, 395)
- U Ussher 1639: 442–2, 463–4, 473–5, 953–4
- Vit BL Cotton Vitellius E. vii, fols 4r–9v
- W Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* ii, 628–40

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

### Text

Vita Sancti Daud Archiepiscopi in Wallia<sup>1</sup>

De miraculoso uiri sancti conceptu.

De Patricio, qui triginta annis ante sedem sibi apud Meneuiam elegerat, angelo monente, in Hiberniam inde transmisso.

De Gilda, doctore ob presenciam Nonite pregnantis obmutescente.

De ortu eiusdem miraculoso et erudicione.

De Paulino preceptore ipsius signo crucis ab eodem illuminato.

De Boia tyranno sancte congregacioni inuidente, et patre Daud fratres confirmante.

De fonte limpidissimo discipulorum instancia ad sacramentales usus non procul ab ecclesia dato.

De Aidano discipulo qui boues precipites signo crucis reduxit incolumes; et Swithuno ab Hybernica Meneuiam ab eodem miraculose transmisso.

De Libro Euangelico imperfecto.

De Sancto Barroco super mare equitante, et Brendano super marinum cetum eidem obuiante.

De sancto Aidano discipulo signo crucis liberato, et apibus ab eodem in Hiberniam miraculose transuectis.

De beato Daud Ierosolimam angelicis monitis peregre profecto, et ibidem a patriarcha in episcopum consecrato.

De synodo apud Breui contra Pelagianam heresim conuocata et patre Daud ibidem in archiepiscopum sullimato.

De morte ipsius, quam predixerat, et tam angelica quam eciam Dominica uisitacione.

...<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> **Vita Sancti Daud Archiepiscopi in Wallia** Giraldi Cambrensis Historia de Vita S. Daudis Archiepiscopi Meneuensis W; the list of chapter headings which follow are only in R. Throughout, the numbering of sections is editorial.

<sup>2</sup> ... Omitted here are the headings relating to the posthumous miracles which follow the life of David in R.

## §1

<sup>3</sup>Vitam S. Dauid archiepiscopi, quem uulgares *Dewi* dicunt, scolastico declarare stilo, quanquam aliis occupatus plurimum<sup>4</sup> et detentus literarum studiis,<sup>5</sup> fratrum tamen et canonicorum<sup>6</sup> uictus instancia, uix tandem et inuitus adqueiui. Quoniam enim uero<sup>7</sup> nec cursus istius plana est uia, nec materialis ad unguem area lima<sup>8</sup> ueritatis uidebatur exculpta,<sup>9</sup> mihi quidem rerum istarum<sup>10</sup> expolicio ualde fuisset importuna, nisi quoniam ipsis<sup>11</sup> plurimum, immo preter modum, uisa est opportuna. Leccionis igitur antique et propemodum iam antiquate, sicut nec uerba, sic neque rerum hic series, nec continencia requiratur. Correccionis quippe lege seruata, Domino inspirante, qui interdum que abscondit a sapientibus reuelat paruulis, et superflua rescindi, et defectiua supleri, et minus exquisite dicta mutari, in hac presenti pagina lector inueniet. Hoc autem mihi scribendi fiduciam prestare potuit quia, cum tribus in rebus a natura uirtus uideatur inserta, sicuti<sup>12</sup> non lapidum, non herbarum, ita nec uerborum, baiuli uicio uirtus amittitur.<sup>13</sup>

## §2

<sup>14</sup>De miraculoso uiri sancti conceptu

Beatus<sup>15</sup> Dauid ingenuis natalibus ortus, Keretica prouincia principis filius, cui nomen

<sup>3</sup> Proemium in Vitam S. Dauid Archiepiscopi Meneuensis a Giraldo digestam add. W.

<sup>4</sup> **occupatus plurimum** plurimum occupatus SE.

<sup>5</sup> **occupatus ... studiis** W but not in R.

<sup>6</sup> **canonicorum** concanonicorum W.

<sup>7</sup> **enim uero** uero W.

<sup>8</sup> **lima** liuea R, lima W.

<sup>9</sup> **exculpta** exculpata R.

<sup>10</sup> **istarum** ista W.

<sup>11</sup> **ipsis** ipsius R.

<sup>12</sup> **sicuti** sicut W.

<sup>13</sup> **amittitur** quod etiam in Sceue filiis infidelibus, sicut in Actibus Apostolorum legitur, per Iesum quem Paulus predicauit adiurantibus et spiritus malos ab obsessis eiicientibus, est compertum add. W (additional emendations in SE: **quem** tum quem SE; **obsessis** corporibus added in right margin)

<sup>14</sup> Lectio I add. W.

<sup>15</sup> **Beatus** itaque add. W.

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Sanctus,<sup>16</sup> Arthuri uero regis auunculus,<sup>17</sup> fuisse perhibetur. Cuius generacio sic erat. Predictus enim uero Sanctus Keritici regis filius, a quo et Keretica regio nomen accepit, regales interdum curas alterna recreacione distinguens, saltibus feras exire,<sup>18</sup> uenanciumque studio delectari, ex industria disposuerat. Set ipsa nocte qua hoc animo<sup>19</sup> conceperat, in sompnis angelica in hunc modum monita suscepit: 'Crastina<sup>20</sup> die uenatum ituro tria tibi diuinitus<sup>21</sup> occurrent munera: ceruus, quem canum odora narium sagacitate persequeris; et eodem in loco, prope fluuium silicet ubi ceruus cesus erit, piscem inuenies, et apum examen cum melle congesto. Que quidem tria filii tibi nascituri naturam presagiunt et proprietatem.' Hec angelus. Et in crastino futuri euentus uerba prenuncia statim ueritas est subsecuta. Ceruus autem, sicut sumpto serpente et consumpto, resumpta quasi iuuentute totus renouari uidetur, sic iste Dauid<sup>22</sup>, de cuius<sup>23</sup> agimus uita, calcata serpentis antiqui uersucia, ueterem ex toto exutus est hominem et indutus nouum. Piscis uero aquaticam eiusdem uitam designare potuit. Sicut enim piscis aqua uiuit, sic iste uinum et siceram et omne quod inebriare potest respuens, magnumque Christi Baptistam et<sup>24</sup> precursorem laudabili emulacione in hoc sicut et<sup>25</sup> in aliis multis imitari statuens, beatam Deo uitam in pane tantum et aqua perduxit. Vnde et Britannice Dewi Dourour,<sup>26</sup> hoc est, Dauid uir aquaticus, est appellatus. Mel autem sapienciam eius declarauit. Sicut enim ex fauo mel elicitor, ita spiritalem<sup>27</sup> sensum historico cepit instrumento.

<sup>16</sup> **Sanctus** Xanti L.

<sup>17</sup> **auunculus** auunculis R.

<sup>18</sup> **exire** excire W.

<sup>19</sup> **qua nocte hoc animo** qua hoc anno nocte W.

<sup>20</sup> **Crastina** crastino W.

<sup>21</sup> **ituro tibi diuinitus tria** ituro tria tibi diuinitus W.

<sup>22</sup> **Dauid** only in R.

<sup>23</sup> **cuius** hic add. W.

<sup>24</sup> **Christi Baptistam et** Baptistam et Christi W.

<sup>25</sup> **et** only in R.

<sup>26</sup> **Dourour** Deverur W, Doveror L.

<sup>27</sup> **spiritalem** spiritualem Rolls.

## §3

Elapsis igitur annis postea terdenis,<sup>28</sup> predictus<sup>29</sup> Keretice regionis princeps in Demeticam diuertens prouinciam, ad partes de Pepidiauc declinauerat. Vbi secum perlustrando et a comitancium turbis aliquantulum segregatus, obuam<sup>30</sup> puellam inuenit pulchram et amabilem ualde, cui nomen Nonita. In quam ut oculos iniecit, in cupidinem eius medullitus exardens, statim equo dilapsus, uirginis ibidem amplexibus est delectatus. Ipsa uero conceptus hora duo lapides magni, alter ad pedes, alter ad capud emergerunt. Tante nimirum geniture terra congaudens, tanquam sinum aperiendo, lapides ibidem illos emisit, ut et puella uerecundiam pro uelamine conseruaret, et prolis nasciture solidam sanctamque constanciam designaret.

## §4

<sup>31</sup>De Patricio, qui xxx<sup>32</sup> annis ante sedem sibi apud Meneuiam elegerat, angelo monente, in Hiberniam inde transmisso.

Contigerat autem annis ante triginta,<sup>33</sup> Patricium natione Britannium,<sup>34</sup> Romanis disciplinis eruditum, uirum uirtutum meritis affatim insignitum, cum ab Ytalie partibus, ubi diutinam moram fecerat, in natale Britannie solum reuersus fuisset, ad Kereticam<sup>35</sup> regionem diuertisse. In qua per aliquantalum temporis conuersatus, Demeticam postmodum prouinciam petit. Vbi demum perlustrando angularem de Pepidiauc terram intrauit. Veniens igitur ad locum, qui Vallis Rosina uocatur, uidens consideransque locum ab<sup>36</sup> omni populari strapitu<sup>37</sup> longe remotum, locum amena solitudine supra<sup>38</sup> Hibernicum mare religioni et contemplacioni idoneum, corde concepit fixumque in

<sup>28</sup> **terdenis** tridenis W.

<sup>29</sup> **predictus** predicte W.

<sup>30</sup> **obuam** forte add. W.

<sup>31</sup> Lectio II add. W.

<sup>32</sup> **xxx** triginta W.

<sup>33</sup> **triginta** xxx W.

<sup>34</sup> **Britannium** Britannum W.

<sup>35</sup> **Kereticam** forte add. W.

<sup>36</sup> **ab** ob Rolls.

<sup>37</sup> **strapitu** strepitu W.

<sup>38</sup> **supra** super W.

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animo ratumque<sup>39</sup> deuocione fixa<sup>40</sup> ibidem ad usque<sup>41</sup> extremum spiritus halitum deuotis obsequiis mansipandum. Set cum ista<sup>42</sup> propensius meditando reuolueret, hec in contrarium, angelo proponente, suscepit, 'Hanc tibi sedem, o Patrici, non prouidit Deus, ymmo uiro nondum nato nec nisi terdenis<sup>43</sup> post hec annis elapsis nascituro.' Quibus auditis, uir sanctus uehementer admiratus, et ultra quam credi possit<sup>44</sup> animo consternatus et anxie contristatus, ingemuit, hic<sup>45</sup> secum deliberans et desperata mente proponens, 'Frustra diutinis abstinentie tediis corpus afflixit? Frustra ieiuniis olim frustra uigiliis<sup>46</sup> uxor:<sup>47</sup> Ex quo tot meritis nihil adhuc meritus, quia nondum natus antefertur.' Set hec et huiusmodi animo reuoluens, consolacionis ab angelo in hunc modum uerba suscepit, 'Parce, Patrici, parce merori. Spem potius erige, spemque<sup>48</sup> resume. Magna tibi in insula Hybernica reposita est corona. Nondum enim hec nacio salutis monita, nondum uite uerba, suscepit. Gentis huius apostolum, gentis huius predicatorem et principem summum te constituit Deus. Ibi proficere debes, ibi sedes a Domino tibi parata est.<sup>49</sup> Ibi signis et uirtutibus radiabis, totamque gentem illam Deo subiugabis. Ego tecum ero, et hoc tibi signum. Totam insulam, quam intrabis, tibi hoc ex prospectu statim ostendo.' Et continuo in Zephyrum oculos uertens, totam insulam ex loco, qui hodie sedes Patricii dicitur, trans maris et montium tam intersticia quam obstacula tanta, miraculose prospexit. Nec mora; paratis omnibus iuxta monita nauem scandens, resucitato tamen prius ibidem mortuo quodam, cui nomen Donaudus,<sup>50</sup> Euro ad uota spirante, promissam feliciter patriam intrauit. Cetera uero uite ipsius insignia qui audire gestierint, Hibernica scripta requirant; et nos ad cepta redeamus.

<sup>39</sup> **ratumque** rarumque W, ratumque Rolls.

<sup>40</sup> **deuocione fixa** deuouit se deo W.

<sup>41</sup> **ad usque** usque ad W.

<sup>42</sup> **ista** secum add. W.

<sup>43</sup> **terdenis** tridenis W.

<sup>44</sup> **possit** potest W.

<sup>45</sup> **hic** hec W.

<sup>46</sup> **uigiliis** et oracionibus add. W.

<sup>47</sup> **uexor** uexorum R.

<sup>48</sup> **spemque** spem W.

<sup>49</sup> **est** only in R.

<sup>50</sup> **Donaudus** Dunaudus W.

## §5

De Gilda doctore ob presenciam Nonite<sup>51</sup> pregnantis obmutescente.

Crescente igitur utero prenotate puelle et naturaliter intumescente, contigit ut ecclesiam quandam in loco sitam, cui nomen Kaer Morua,<sup>52</sup> id est, urbs maritima uel castrum, orandi gracia more consueto mulier intrasset, in qua<sup>53</sup> doctor egregius Gildas sermonem tunc ad populum faciebat.<sup>54</sup> Qua ingressa statim obmutuit, adeo ut nec unum predicacionis uerbum amplius enunciare ualuerit. Interrogatus autem a populo, cur ita diucius interrupto sermone taceret, respondit, ‘Ego quidem communi loquela uos alloqui possum; predicare autem non possum.’<sup>55</sup> Set uos extra egredientes, me solum hic relinquire ut, si uel sic pristinum predicacionis officium loqui possum,<sup>56</sup> agnoscam.’ Egressa igitur foras plebe, Nonita sola in angulo quodam ecclesie, ut erat uerecunda simul ac deuota, remansit, uerba salutis et auide audire siciens, et ab oracionum instancia uix recedens. Ipse uero loqui temptans, sicut primo sic et secundo elinguis inuentus non profecit. Tunc magis exterritus animoque consternatus, in hec uerba prorumpens exclamauit, ‘Adiuuro’ inquit, ‘et per Dei uirtutem omnipotentis obtestor, ut si quis hic latitat, in medium procedens apareat.’ Tunc ipsa capite demisso uultuque uenusto respondit, ‘Ego, mi preceptor et domine,<sup>57</sup> in hoc angulo latui, uestre sanctitatis ueniam petens.’ At ipse diuina, ut uidebatur, prouidencia fretus, ‘Et tu,’ inquit, ‘foras egredere, populus autem totus ecclesiam intret.’ Quo facto, statim ex more predicat, lingua soluta. Interrogata uero muliere an pregnans existeret, uerumque professa, statim uiro sancto populoque per ipsum propatulo claruit, quod seculo<sup>58</sup> paritura foret, qui honoris priuilegio, sapiencie fulgore et<sup>59</sup> sermonis facundia cunctos Britannie doctores

<sup>51</sup> **Nonite** Novite L.

<sup>52</sup> **Kaer Morua** R.L, Cair morua U, Kanmorua W.

<sup>53</sup> **qua** aqua R.

<sup>54</sup> **tunc ad populum faciebat** ad populum tunc forte faciebat W, tunc forte ad populum faciebat U

<sup>55</sup> **autem non possum** uero nescio quo euentu nullatenus possum WU.

<sup>56</sup> **loqui possum** recuperare possim W.

<sup>57</sup> **domine** ancilla uestra add. W.

<sup>58</sup> **seculo** scilicet W.

<sup>59</sup> **et** om. W.

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incomparabiliter antecelleret, sicut ex uiri egregii uita subsequente ueritas euentum declaruit.<sup>60</sup>

### §6

Leccio IIII.<sup>61</sup>

De ortu eiusdem miraculoso et erudicione.

Interea quidam in confinio tyrannus habebatur, qui ex magorum prestigiis audierat filium<sup>62</sup> in finibus illis nasciturum, cuius potestas totam patriam occuparet. Vnde et statim, quia terrenis tantum inhiabat, puta qui solum in infimis spem posuerat,<sup>63</sup> magnis cepit inuidie stimulis exagitari. Notato itaque ex magorum presagiis et loco tanti partus et tempore, singulisque diligencius<sup>64</sup> obseruatis, urgente pariendi articulo predictum Nonita locum petente, tanta pluuiarum inundacio tantaque fulgurum et coruscacionum tempestas inualuit, quanta multis antea<sup>65</sup> temporibus in partibus illis uisa non fuerat. Locus autem,<sup>66</sup> in quo mulier parturire parabat, tanta lucis serenitate prefulgebat, quanta solet amena dies clarissimis estiuu solis radiis illustrata. Mulier uero inter ipsas parturiendi angustias, cum in petra quadam, qua propius<sup>67</sup> astabat, urgente dolore manibus innixa fuisset, ipsa statim<sup>68</sup> diuisa dolenti quodammodo matri condoluit. In eodem itaque loco ecclesia sita est; in cuius altari hec petra tanquam tabule uicem prefixa tenet digitorum uestigiis tanquam in cera pressorum usque in hodiernum comparentibus. Nato itaque puero et in lucem emisso statim diuina non defuere miracula.

### §7

Ad baptizandi namque ministerium aque limpidissime fons illico prorupit qui usque hodie in loco, qui Porthcleys<sup>69</sup> appellatur, cernentibus apparet. Igitur ab Alueo<sup>70</sup>

<sup>60</sup> **declaruit** declarauit W.

<sup>61</sup> **IIII** Lectio III W.

<sup>62</sup> **filium** puerum W.

<sup>63</sup> **spem posuerat** posuerat R, tanquam Herodes alter spem posuerat W.

<sup>64</sup> **diligencius** diligenter W.

<sup>65</sup> **antea** ante W.

<sup>66</sup> **autem** antem W.

<sup>67</sup> **propius** RW, proprius Rolls.

<sup>68</sup> **statim** in medium add. W.

<sup>69</sup> **Porthcleys** Porteleis W, Port-Cleis U.

<sup>70</sup> **Alueo** Aelueo W, Relveo U, Elueus L.



Muuenensium<sup>71</sup> episcopo, qui diuina prouidencia eadem illuc hora de Hibernia uenerat baptizatus; ceci cuiusdam oculis, cui nomen Mony,<sup>72</sup> qui eum sub unda tenebat, cum sacro fonte respersi fuissent, pristina uidendi facultas est restituta.

## §8

Puer autem nutritus est in loco, qui Vetus Rubus dicitur, qui et Cambrice Hen Meneu, Latine uero Vetus Meneuia uocatur. Sortitus est autem locus hoc<sup>73</sup> nomen ab Hibernico Muni, quod et rubus sonat. Vnde et Kylmuni<sup>74</sup> Hibernice adhuc<sup>75</sup> ecclesia Meneuensis appellatur. Puer itaque crescebat gracia plenus, literarumque addictus studiis, supra coetaneos perspicacis ingenii uelocitate proficiebat. Adeoque gracia desuper perfusus fuerat, ut condiscipuli eius<sup>76</sup> niueam columbam<sup>77</sup> tanquam eum docentem atque monentem<sup>78</sup> se multociens uidisse testarentur.

## §9

Succedente uero<sup>79</sup> tempore crescentibus quoque uirtutum meritis, ad centesimum summopere fructum aspirans, carnemque ab omni libidine seruans immunem,<sup>80</sup> ad sacros gradatim ordines prouectus, tandem sacerdotali dignitate est sublimatus.

## §10

Exin profectus<sup>81</sup> in Vectam insulam, ubi Paulinus Germani discipulus, diuinis ex toto mancipatus officiis, gratam Deo uitam<sup>82</sup> agebat ut preceptoris eiusdem tam doctrinis

<sup>71</sup> **Muuenensium** Muuenensium W, Meneuensium U, Muneuensium Rolls.

<sup>72</sup> **Mony** Movi W, Moni Rolls.

<sup>73</sup> **hoc** hic W.

<sup>74</sup> **Kylmuni** Kil muni WU.

<sup>75</sup> **adhuc** hodie WU.

<sup>76</sup> **eius** eiusdem W.

<sup>77</sup> **columbam** columba R.

<sup>78</sup> **monentem** monente R.

<sup>79</sup> **uero** om. U.

<sup>80</sup> **immunem** immunem W.

<sup>81</sup> **profectus** est add. WU.

<sup>82</sup> **uitam** uita R.

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instructus quam exemplis informatus longe efficacius et diuinis Scripturis imbueretur, et ad patriam a uia<sup>83</sup> transueheretur.

### §11

De Paulino preceptore ipsius<sup>84</sup> signo crucis ab eodem illuminato.

Contigit autem ut eodem<sup>85</sup> Paulino tam etatis ingruencia quam lacrimarum quibus abundabat affluencia oculorum penitus acie fraudato, conuocatis in unum ex magistri precepto discipulis, singulisque<sup>86</sup> eiusdem rogatu oculos ipsius crucis impressione signantibus ac benedicientibus, tandem ab aliis omnibus hoc per ordinem completo, ad Daud usque peruentum est. Qui adeo uerecundus ac simplex exstiterat naturaliter,<sup>87</sup> ut cum decennale studium ibidem iam complisset, uix magistri faciem uel semel defixo lumine intueretur. Demum tamen cum ad cunctorum instanciam<sup>88</sup> preceptoris oculos crucis signaculo tangens ac benedicens consignaret, statim Paulinus pristinae lucis gaudia recuperauit. Tunc Dei uirtus, que talem potestatem<sup>89</sup> dedit hominibus, digne ab omnibus commendatur. Tunc Daud uenerari cepit a cunctis et magnus haberi, dicentibus ad inuicem et cum admiratione conferentibus, ‘Quis, putas, iste erit? Etenim manus Domini erat cum eo.’

### §12

Nec multo post tempore angelus Domini Paulino apparuit, dicens, ‘Tempus est,’ inquit, ‘ut Daud commissum sibi talentum non in terram fodiat; non<sup>90</sup> abscondat, set acceptam Domini sui pecuniam laudabili potius fenore multiplicatam in medium producat. Neque lucernam sub modio ponat, set super candelabrum ut luceat omnibus,<sup>91</sup> et uite uiam aperiat uniuersis.’ Abhinc ergo Daud ad salutaria magistri sui<sup>92</sup> monita, reuersus a studio,

<sup>83</sup> **uia** felici cursu add. WU.

<sup>84</sup> **ipsius** illius W.

<sup>85</sup> **ut eodem** eodem tempore ut W.

<sup>86</sup> **singulisque** ex add. W.

<sup>87</sup> **exstiterat naturaliter** naturaliter exstiterat W.

<sup>88</sup> **instanciam** instancia R.

<sup>89</sup> **talem potestatem** potestatem talem W.

<sup>90</sup> **non** nec W.

<sup>91</sup> **omnibus** hominibus R.

<sup>92</sup> **sui** only in R.

uerbum Domini cum effectu seminare, radicare cepit et plantare; deriuatisque foras fontibus in plateas aquas spargens,<sup>93</sup> multum in horrea Domini tempore messis fructum afferebat. Preter enim salutarem quam in populo doctrinam tam uerbis quam uite meritis infatiganter excercebat, duodecim admodum cenobia fecit.

## §13

Primum apud Glastoniam,<sup>94</sup> deinde Badum,<sup>95</sup> ubi calidos inueniens fontes, inutiles hactenus ac pestilentes, sua lauandis corporibus benedictione reddidit acceptos. Postea Craulan<sup>96</sup> et Reptun,<sup>97</sup> Coluan<sup>98</sup> et Glascom.<sup>99</sup> Ex hinc Leonis monasterium, Raglan<sup>100</sup> quoque in<sup>101</sup> Winta,<sup>102</sup> et Lankeuelach<sup>103</sup> apud Goher,<sup>104</sup> ubi et altare missum<sup>105</sup> postea suscepit. Circa hec eadem quoque tempora regi Erkyng,<sup>106</sup> cui nomen Proprius, quibus caruerat, lucis beneficia restaurauit.

## §14

His ita peractis,<sup>107</sup> post longa tam discendi primo quam postea quoque docendi tempora, ad locum unde discesserat, Meneuiam silicet, demum uir sanctus repatriaui. Erat autem eodem tempore ibidem episcopus auunculus eius, uir uenerabilis, cui nomen Gistlianus.<sup>108</sup> Huic igitur angelica, que iam susceperat, monita nepos in hunc modum recitauit. 'Locus,' inquit angelus, 'in quo Deo seruire proponis, non est ei<sup>109</sup> acceptus. Modicum enim uel

<sup>93</sup> The main Vitellius fragment begins here and continues to §32.

<sup>94</sup> **Glastoniam** Glasconiam L.

<sup>95</sup> **Badum** Badum Vit, Baduni W, Baias L.

<sup>96</sup> **Craulan** Croulan VitW, Crowland L.

<sup>97</sup> **Reptun** Reptum W.

<sup>98</sup> **Coluan** Colnam L.

<sup>99</sup> **Glascom** Glascum VitWL.

<sup>100</sup> **Raglan** Ragalan W.

<sup>101</sup> in VitW, et R.

<sup>102</sup> **Winta** Wintan L.

<sup>103</sup> **Lankeuelach** Langeuelach VitW, Lankeuelac L.

<sup>104</sup> **Goher** Goer VitW.

<sup>105</sup> **missum** a Domino Vit(superscript) W.

<sup>106</sup> **Erkyng** Ergin VitW.

<sup>107</sup> **peractis** patratris VitW.

<sup>108</sup> **Gistlianus** Gistilianus L.

<sup>109</sup> There may be something illegible at the end of the line in R.

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nullum sibi futurum fructum<sup>110</sup> prouidit. Verumque tamen<sup>111</sup> est alius non procul hinc locus,' ostendens Vallem Rosinam, ubi<sup>112</sup> sacrum hodie cimiterium extat, 'longe religioni et sancta conrigacioni competencior.' Ex hoc nempe maximos sibi diuina prouidencia fidelium animarum thesauros elegit.

### §15

<sup>113</sup>De Boia<sup>114</sup> tyranno sancte conrigacioni inuidente, et patre Dauid fratres confirmante.<sup>115</sup>

Quadam<sup>116</sup> igitur die tres fidelissimi discipuli Dauid ad ipsum ueniunt; Aydanus<sup>117</sup> silicet, qui et Hibernice Maydauc;<sup>118</sup> Eliud, qui et hodie Teleau<sup>119</sup> dicitur; et Ismael.<sup>120</sup> Qui statim multa condiscipulorum commitante caterua, magistrum ad locum perducunt predestinatum; accensoque ibidem in nomine Domini rogo, fumus incontinenti tantus emersit, ut totam insulam Britannicam necnon et Hibernicam circumgirans adimplere uideretur.

### §16

Quidam autem ex loci uicinia<sup>121</sup> uir prepotens, cui nomen Boya,<sup>122</sup> uiso tali signo summa qua residebat ab arce, zelo inuidie statim accensus, tanta turbatus est ira<sup>123</sup> et indignacione, ut et requiem respueret<sup>124</sup> et refeccionem. Ad quem uxor eius accedens, tante turbacionis causas inquirere cepit attentius et inuestigare. Ad quam ille, 'Vidi' inquit, 'fumum ex

<sup>110</sup> **fructum** inde fructum Vit, fructum inde W.

<sup>111</sup> **Verumque tamen** Veruntamen VW; there is something illegible after this in R.

<sup>112</sup> **ubi** vbi vbi R.

<sup>113</sup> Lectio IV add. W.

<sup>114</sup> **Boia** Boias L.

<sup>115</sup> Heading omitted in Vit.

<sup>116</sup> **Quadam** quodam VitW.

<sup>117</sup> **Aydanus** Aidanus VitW.

<sup>118</sup> **Maydauc** Maidaucus VitW, Maydauc (Madocus written above) L.

<sup>119</sup> **Teleau** Teliaw VitW, Telyaus L.

<sup>120</sup> **Ismael** Ysmael VitW.

<sup>121</sup> **uicinia** uicina (corrected to uicinia) Vit.

<sup>122</sup> **Boya** Boia VitW, Boias L.

<sup>123</sup> **ira** cum ira Vit.

<sup>124</sup> **respueret** respuret R.

Rosina Valle surgentem, qui totam illico patriam circueundo<sup>125</sup> et implendo adumbrabat.<sup>126</sup> Quo pronostico<sup>127</sup> certum teneo, quod eius incensor fame gloria, que per fumum designatur, cunctos<sup>128</sup> insulanos incomparabiliter antecellet.’ Cui coniux, ‘Vade ergo, et seruorum septus agmine, incensorem illum cunctosque ei adherentes in gladio perimere non formides.’ Quod uir stolidus aggredi temptans, et effectui mancipare uelle presumens, statim cum suis uniuersis februm igne correptus, a concepta nequicia se temperauit.<sup>129</sup> Verbis tamen, minis et opprobriis, quia uiribus non poterat, sanctam societatem impugnauit. Reuertens igitur, et facultate<sup>130</sup> nocendi priuatus non uoluntate, coniugem obiter obuiam habuit uociferantem et clamantem, ‘Ve, ue, quia morte subitania iam pecora nostra cuncta periire. Virum itaque sanctum statim adeuntes, humili deuocione imploremus,<sup>131</sup> ut et simul nostri<sup>132</sup> et pecorum miseriat.’ Quo facto, terra,<sup>133</sup> quam possidebat uir sanctus, ei in perpetuum relicta immuni ab omni seruicio.<sup>134</sup> Que mortua uidebantur pecora, uite inuenta sunt restituta. Per pecora nimirum et bestias, in quibus signa sunt data, bestiales temporis illius homines, et de bestiarum amissione plus equo dolentes, sunt designati.

## §17

Leccio VII<sup>a</sup><sup>135</sup>

Nec sic tamen inuidia quieuit, nec sic<sup>136</sup> malicia cessauit. Mulier enim muliebri non degenerans a natura, semper in nequiciam prona, semper in malo<sup>137</sup> pertinax et obstinata, missis puellarum turbis sanctam cohortem muliebriter demulcendo, crebris insultibus

<sup>125</sup> **circueundo** circuiundo VitW.

<sup>126</sup> **adumbrabat** abumbrabat R.

<sup>127</sup> **pronostico** prognostico W.

<sup>128</sup> **cunctos** omnes VitW.

<sup>129</sup> **se temperauit** se temperuit R, temperauit VitW.

<sup>130</sup> **facultate** facilitate Rolls.

<sup>131</sup> **imploremus** deploremus VitW.

<sup>132</sup> **simul nostri** nostri simul VitW.

<sup>133</sup> **terra** terraque VitW.

<sup>134</sup> **ab omni seruicio** om. VitW.

<sup>135</sup> **Leccio VII<sup>a</sup>** only in R.

<sup>136</sup> Above line in Vit.

<sup>137</sup> **malo** malum W.

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adeo molestare cepit et fatigare, ut a loco discedere locumque descere penitus fratres unanimi consilio iam parassent, scientes quippe, quoniam huiusmodi genus hostis melius fugiendo uincitur quam resistendo; et quoniam iuxta Ieronimi sententiam nulla securitas est uicino serpente dormire, que<sup>138</sup> etsi non percutit, certe sollicitare non desistit. Sanctus autem pater titubantes in hunc modum discipulorum animos pia consolacione confirmauit; docens et monens, quoniam per tribulaciones et angustias facta,<sup>139</sup> que ducit ad uitam, incedendum est uia nec nisi per uie<sup>140</sup> laborem ad patrie requiem peruenitur. Quis enim Isralitice plebis ad terram promissionis per Egipti deserta tendentis longos et periculis plenos labores ignorat? Quis Pauli ad Italiam uergentis, quanquam diuinis afflati monitis, naufragiosa<sup>141</sup> pericula non aduertit? Set nauis cordis maris fluctibus integra et inconcussa permansit. Aduersitas itaque, que bonis uotis obicitur,<sup>142</sup> probacio uirtutis est, non iudicium reprobacionis. Virtus enim uero in infirmitate perficitur. Et sicut aurum igne probatur, sic fidei constancia tribulacionibus frangi nescia, more sinapis plus excrescit, et inter angustias pressa diucius, nec oppressa, in robur perfecte consummacionis forcius exurgit. Debemus itaque non uinci a malo, set uincere<sup>143</sup> in bono malum. Quia si Christus pro nobis, quis contra nos?

### §18

Sedatis igitur ad patris monita discipulis, mulier paulo post in insaniam uersa priuignam innocuam interemit.

### §19

Et sic diuina indignacione percussa, debacato<sup>144</sup> discurrens impetu in breui non comparuit.<sup>145</sup> Boia quoque ab hoste interemptus, cui nomen Leschi, turreque ipsius misso celitus igne consumpta, diuinam ulcionem non euasit.

<sup>138</sup> **que** quia VitW.

<sup>139</sup> **facta** arta VitW.

<sup>140</sup> **uie** uiem R.

<sup>141</sup> **naufragiosa** naufragosa VitW.

<sup>142</sup> **obicitur** obiicitur W.

<sup>143</sup> **uincere** potius add. Vit (above line), W.

<sup>144</sup> **debacato** debaccato Vit (to added above line), debacchato W.

<sup>145</sup> **comparuit** c[...].ruit Vit, comparuit W, comparuit R.

## §20

Leccio VIII<sup>146</sup>

Cessantibus itaque demum Deo propicio malignancium<sup>147</sup> insidiis, sancta societas in loco diuinitus ostenso monasterium insigne construxit. In quo diuinis ex toto mancipati obsequiis, a populari frequentia in angulari quadam solitudine super Hibernicum mare longe<sup>148</sup> remoti, quatuor hiis curis, manuum silicet labore, lectione, et oratione, et pauperum refeccione, uitam feliciter exegere.

## §21

Vnde et tanta tamque laudabilis congregacionis huius longe lateque creuit opinio, ut nominis eiusdem, tanquam effusi olei, fragrantia multos per insulam ad similia sancta congrigacionis<sup>149</sup> opera efficaci exemplo prouocaret.

## §22

Multi quoque uiri magnifici et terrena facultate prepotentes, inter quos nominatissimus extiterat dux Cornubie Constantinus, relictis omnibus ad locum hunc se conferentes, uitam in sancta societate finire feliciter elegerunt.

## §23

<sup>150</sup>De fonte limpidissimo discipulorum instancia ad sacramentales usus<sup>151</sup> non procul ab ecclesia<sup>152</sup> dato.

Quadam<sup>153</sup> uero die conuenientes in unum fratres communiter conqueruntur quod prope monasterium ad missarum solempnia Dominicique corporis sacramenta lucidi limpidique fontis copiam non haberent. Aluni namque fluuius per uallis ima decurrens aqua turbida

<sup>146</sup> **Leccio VIII<sup>a</sup>** only in R.

<sup>147</sup> **malignancium** malignantibus VitW.

<sup>148</sup> **longe** non longe R.

<sup>149</sup> **congrigacionis** conuersacionis W.

<sup>150</sup> Lectio V add. VitW.

<sup>151</sup> **usus** a patre Dauid add. W (Vit illegible).

<sup>152</sup> **ab ecclesia** ad ecclesiam R.

<sup>153</sup> **Quadam** Quodam VitW.

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fuerat<sup>154</sup> cenulenta et frequenter in estate defectiua. Quo pater audito, ad locum cemiterii, ubi frequencius angelicis frui consueuerat alloquiis, statim accessit. Cumque ibidem aliquamdiu deuotis ad Dominum oracionibus instetisset, limpidissime fons aque eodem in loco subito prorupit. Qui sacramentalibus ad plenum usibus idoneus et officiiis, usque in hodiernum ibidem emanat; antiquis aliquando uinum temporibus, nostris autem aliquociens lac stillare diebus, indubitata ueritate compertus est.<sup>155</sup> Set et alias quoque fontium scaturigines circiter locum eundem discipulorum meritis ad patris imitationem datas constat quamplurimas.

### §24

Apud<sup>156</sup> Breudi quoque, ubi ecclesia in honore sancti Daud, et<sup>157</sup> quasi per millia quatuor a Meneuia distans, fundata dinoscitur, ad instanciam uiri cuiusdam, cui nomen Terdi, pulcherimum dulcis aque fontem piis similiter supplicacionibus pater emisit.

### §25

De Aidano discipulo qui boues precipites signo crucis reduxit incolumes; et Swithino ab Hibernia<sup>158</sup> Meneuiam ab eodem miraculose transmisso.

Set quoniam quicquid gracie spiritalis discipulis impenditur, in patris ac preceptoris proculdubio redundat gloriam, nonnulla discipulorum insignia interdum interserere preter rem non putandum. Aidanus igitur diuinis eruditus disciplinis, tantoque dignus preceptore discipulus, cum lectioni cumque<sup>159</sup> propensius intenderet, ex prepositi precepto leccionem relinquens, cum duobus bobus ad lingua deportanda perrexit. Erat autem silua, quam petebat, quasi miliaribus a monasterio distans<sup>160</sup> duobus, scilicet in ualle<sup>161</sup> Salevuach.<sup>162</sup> Cum ita<sup>163</sup> uehiculo impleto per prurupta montis latera reuerteretur,

<sup>154</sup> fuerat et add. VitW.

<sup>155</sup> est only in R.

<sup>156</sup> Apud Vbi W.

<sup>157</sup> et only in R.

<sup>158</sup> Hibernia Hybernica W (Vit illegible).

<sup>159</sup> cumque quandoque VitW.

<sup>160</sup> miliaribus a monasterio distans miliaribus distans a monasterio W.

<sup>161</sup> ualle de add. VitW.

<sup>162</sup> Salevuach Saelwath L.

<sup>163</sup> ita itaque VitW.



bobus<sup>164</sup> cum reda et sarcina tota in precipitium datis, uir sanctus eleuata manu signo crucis et uehiculum integrum et boues illesos mira uirtute reduxit. Accessit et illud ad signorum cumulum, quod cum nubes interim in pluuiam magnam resolute fuissent, librum tamen, quem preceptus<sup>165</sup> obediendo nimiam ob festinacionem apertum sub diuo reliquerat, ab omni madore reperit prorsus immunem.<sup>166</sup>

## §26

Sanctus autem Aidanus, qui et<sup>167</sup> Hibernice Maydocus dicitur, uirtutibus insignis, et diuinis affatim eruditus disciplinis, exinde<sup>168</sup> licencia primum a patre deinde a<sup>169</sup> fratribus accepta cum omni<sup>170</sup> benedictione Hiberniam petit. Vbi cum aliquamdiu signis et uirtutibus claruisset, demum apud Fernas nobile monasterium construxit; in quo ad formam et regulam, quam apud Meneuiam a pio patre didicerat,<sup>171</sup> collectis in unum fratribus Domino deseruire deuouit.

## §27

Processu uero<sup>172</sup> temporis cum nocte pasicali oracionibus consueto more uir sanctus insisteret, astitit ei angelus dicens, 'Nescis, Aidane, quod patri tuo Dauid crastina die a fratribus quibusdam uenenum ad prandium apponetur?' At ille respondens, 'Nescio,' inquit. Cui iterum angelus, 'Mitte cicius<sup>173</sup> unum ex discipulis ad indicandum ei.' At ille, 'Nec nauem,' inquit, 'paratam habeo, nec aura concordat.' Ac<sup>174</sup> angelus,<sup>175</sup> 'Discipulum tuum Swithinum ad mare<sup>176</sup> cicius mitte, et ego ei tam uentum quam uehiculum

<sup>164</sup> **bobus** forte add VitW.

<sup>165</sup> **preceptus** only in R.

<sup>166</sup> **immunem** immunem W.

<sup>167</sup> **et** om. Vit.

<sup>168</sup> **exinde** only in R.

<sup>169</sup> **deinde a** deinde Vit, dein W.

<sup>170</sup> **omni** omnium Vit.

<sup>171</sup> **didiscerat** didicerat VitW.

<sup>172</sup> **uero** Vit, om. W.

<sup>173</sup> **cicius** ocus VitW.

<sup>174</sup> **Ac** Et VitW.

<sup>175</sup> **angelus** angelis R.

<sup>176</sup> **mare** quam add. VitW.

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ministrabo.’ Quo facto, cum Swithynus ad mare perueniens usque ad genu<sup>177</sup> iam intrasset, assumptus a<sup>178</sup> marina belua et miraculose transuectus, patri periculum indicauit.

### §28

Cumque die paschali<sup>179</sup> completis missarum sollempnitatibus in refectorio<sup>180</sup> ad cenam consedissent, diacono ex more ministrante panemque ueneno<sup>181</sup> confectum patri apponente, surgens Swithinus, qui et Scolanus dictus est, et postmodum in Winthoniensi, ut<sup>182</sup> perhibent, cathedra sublimatus, diacono cum confusione<sup>183</sup> repulso, ‘Ego,’ inquit, ‘hodie ministrabo.’ Sanctus autem pater crucis signaculo panem benedicens in tres diuisit quorum<sup>184</sup> unam partem cani et alteram coruo tradi precepit. Quibus deuoratis, cernentibus cunctis statim expirauit uterque. Ipse autem pater terciam sumens partem, coram omnibus benedicendo commedit, intrepidus pariter et illesus.

### §29

<sup>185</sup>De Libro Euangelico imperfecto.

Contigit autem die quadam,<sup>186</sup> cum<sup>187</sup> euangelio Iohannis manibus propriis scribendo Dauid<sup>188</sup> operam daret, quod campana pulsante statim ad horam exiliit et ad ecclesiam nec clauso quaternione nec folio completo festinauit. Mos enim erat congregacioni ibidem Deo militanti, cuicumque insisterent operi, quod eodem illico ad campane pulsum non completo, communiter accelerarent, diuina sic indicantes obsequia cunctis officiis

<sup>177</sup> **genu** genua (with a added above) Vit, genua W.

<sup>178</sup> **a** a VitW, ad R.

<sup>179</sup> **die paschali** pascali die Vit.

<sup>180</sup> **in refectorio** om. Rolls.

<sup>181</sup> **ueneno** a correction of something illegible (perhaps *venenosum*) in Vit.

<sup>182</sup> added above line in Vit.

<sup>183</sup> **confusione** confusionem Vit (with final m added above line).

<sup>184</sup> **crucis signaculo panem benedicens in tres diuisit quorum** panem oblatum in [...] fecit [...] Vit, panem oblatum in tres diuidi porciones fecit et W.

<sup>185</sup> Lectio VI add. W, rubric illegible in Vit.

<sup>186</sup> **quadam** quodam VitW.

<sup>187</sup> **cum** above line in Vit.

<sup>188</sup> **Dauid** only in R.

anteponenda. Completa autem hora, cum ad scriptorium<sup>189</sup> suum locumque laboris uir sanctus iuxta consuetudinem remeasset, inuenit opus inchoatum<sup>190</sup> aureis literis angelico ministerio consummatum.<sup>191</sup> Quo uiso pater, quoad potuit, miraculum suppressit et ab humanis librum aspectibus clausum nil penitus addendo remouit. Vnde et usque in hodiernum diem<sup>192</sup> in textum auro et argento<sup>193</sup> conclusus, humanis ulterius<sup>194</sup> aspectibus non presentatur. Nec legitur quoque quispiam<sup>195</sup> a tempore sancti Dauid<sup>196</sup> usque ad moderna fere tempora ausus fuit librum<sup>197</sup> inspicere uel libri signaculum aperire. Quidam etenim nouissimis hiis diebus id attemptare presumpserunt quia semper caritas refrigessit, et deuocionis de die in diem amor amplius<sup>198</sup> ac fidei feruor<sup>199</sup> eneruatur,<sup>200</sup> set incontinenti subita diuinitus passione percussi, a temerariis ausibus sunt reuocati. Vocatur autem a comprouincialibus textus iste Euangelium Imperfectum; qui usque in hodiernum signis clarus et uirtutibus, in maxuma<sup>201</sup> non immerito reuerencia a cunctis habetur.

## §30

De Sancto Barroco super mare equitante, et Brendano super marinum<sup>202</sup> cetum eidem obuiante.

Mos erat illis diebus Hibernensibus Romam peregre<sup>203</sup> proficiscendo, apostolorum limina<sup>204</sup> pre locis omnibus magis frequenter deuoto labore uisitare. Inter quos abbas Barroco de Corcagie finibus ab eadem peregrinatione Meneuiam usque reuersus, ibidem

<sup>189</sup> **scriptorium** scriptorum R.

<sup>190</sup> **opus inchoatum** columnam inchoatam VitW.

<sup>191</sup> **consummatum** consummatam VitW.

<sup>192</sup> **diem** only in R.

<sup>193</sup> **argento** decenter insignitum W, added in left margin Vit.

<sup>194</sup> **ulterius** interius VitW.

<sup>195</sup> **quoque quispiam** quis[...] Vit, quisquam W.

<sup>196</sup> **Dauid** only in R.

<sup>197</sup> **fuit librum** only in R.

<sup>198</sup> **amor amplius** amplius amor W, amplius with amor added above line Vit.

<sup>199</sup> **feruor** Deique timor add. W, deique [...] add. Vit.

<sup>200</sup> **eneruatur** euanescit W, illegible note in margin Vit.

<sup>201</sup> **maxuma** maxima VitW.

<sup>202</sup> **marinum** maruninum R.

<sup>203</sup> **peregre** pergere R.

<sup>204</sup> **limina** lumina R.

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uenti et nauigii tempora prestolabatur. In consuetudine nimirum uiri boni de Hibernia et autentici habebant, quod peregre profecti, uel in eundo uel redeundo, beati Daud alloquiis frui, quoniam oleum effusum erat nomen eius, uotiuo desiderio affectarent. Cum itaque Barroculus circa patrem Daud diuinis alloquiis et sancta contemplacione<sup>205</sup> iam<sup>206</sup> aliquamdiu moram fecisset, tandem de patria cogitans, gregisque sine pastore pericula timens, quia nauigacionem eiusdem aura<sup>207</sup> prepediebat, equum patris Daud, cui ad ecclesiasticas utilitates insidere consueuerat, de meritis uiri sancti ualde presumens, fiducialiter expetiit et obtinuit. Licenciam igitur a patre suscipiens et benedicens,<sup>208</sup> et equo uiri Dei pro uehiculo pariter et nauigio fungens, super aquoreas absque remis et uelo<sup>209</sup> transuectus undas, solo fidei gubernaculo sustentatur.

### §31

Cumque longius in mare sic equitando progressus fuisset, apparuit ei Sanctus Brendanus super marinum cetum obuiam ueniens. Qui salutacione premissa quesiiuit humiliter, et quis esset, qui super aquas sic equitabat, et unde uenisset. Cui Barroculus cum longe peregrinacionis tedia, sanctique patris Daud apud Meneuiam solacia, equique sui cum benediccione uehiculum exposuisset,<sup>210</sup> Brendanus accepta licencia preteriit; dicens, ad uisitandum similiter uirum sanctum se quoque suo<sup>211</sup> uehiculo diuinitus indulto deproperare. Barroculus autem illesus et indemnis trans mare uectus Corcagiam uenit; et fratribus que gesta fuerant per ordinem narrauit. Qui et equum in cella<sup>212</sup> ministerio usque ad obitum eius<sup>213</sup> tenuerunt. Post obitum, uero, ad tanti<sup>214</sup> tam inauditi miraculi perpetuam memoriam, equum fusilem modicum et portatilem,<sup>215</sup> uirumque insidentem, auro et argento egregie distinctum fecerunt. Qui usque in hodiernum Corcagie in ecclesia

<sup>205</sup> **contemplacione** templacione R.

<sup>206</sup> **iam** in R only (illegible in Vit, but not in W.); on Vit fol. 8ra, which begins here, only a few words are legible.

<sup>207</sup> **aura** contraria add. W (Vit illegible).

<sup>208</sup> **et benedicens** cum benedictione W (Vit illegible).

<sup>209</sup> **remis et uelo** remo et uelis W (Vit illegible).

<sup>210</sup> **exposuisset** exposusset R.

<sup>211</sup> **quoque suo** suo quoque VitW.

<sup>212</sup> **celle** cellae W, cella R.

<sup>213</sup> **eius** eiusdem VitW.

<sup>214</sup> **tanti** [et] add. Rolls.

<sup>215</sup> **portatilem** portabilem VitW.

sancti Barroci, signis clarus et uirtutibus, in maxima nimirum reuerencia a comprouincialibus haberi solet.<sup>216</sup> Mirabilis itaque Deus in sanctis suis, et magnus in omnibus operibus suis. Nec detestari debet, set admirari, et<sup>217</sup> uenerari, Creatoris opera, queuis creatura. ‘Multa nimirum,’ ut ait Ieronimus, ‘incredibilia reperies nec uerisimilia, que nihilominus<sup>218</sup> uera sunt.’ Nihil enim contra nature Dominum preualet natura.

## §32

<sup>219</sup>De sancto Aidano aliter Madoco<sup>220</sup> discipulo signo crucis liberato, et apibus ab<sup>221</sup> eodem in Hiberniam miraculose transuectis.

Quodam autem die cum quidam<sup>222</sup> sancti patris discipulus, cui nomen Midaucus,<sup>223</sup> non procul a monasterio una cum fratribus deuexa montis cuiusdam latera ferro cauaret et complanaret, quatinus uiantibus ad deferenda necessitatum honera facilius foret accessus, quidam aliquociens increpatus ab ipso, quod nimis segniter laborasset, iracundie furore accensus,<sup>224</sup> ferrum, quod manu tenebat, in altum eleuans,<sup>225</sup> illud in uiri uerticem<sup>226</sup> torquere<sup>227</sup> parabat. Quod uidens a longe sanctus pater Dauid, facto<sup>228</sup> crucis signo dextre manus ad illos eleuacione, et ictum tenuit, et manum cum brachio ferire uolentis arescere fecit.

<sup>216</sup> **solet** [...] in psalmo consonare potest [...] in aquis multis; et uestigia tua [...] uiam fecisti in [...] add. Vit in bottom margin, His autem uehiculorum miraculis illud in psalmo consonare potest. In mari uia tua, et semita tua in aquis multis; et uestigia tua non cognoscentur. Item et illud in Cantico Abbacuk Viam fecisti in mari equis tuis, in luto aquarum multarum add. W.

<sup>217</sup> **et** sed VitW.

<sup>218</sup> **nihilominus** tamen add. VitW.

<sup>219</sup> Lectio VII add. VitW.

<sup>220</sup> **De sancto Aidano aliter Madoco** de mandabnauco VitW.

<sup>221</sup> **ab** ad Rolls.

<sup>222</sup> **quidam** om. Rolls.

<sup>223</sup> **Midaucus** Mandabnaucus VitW.

<sup>224</sup> **accensus** succensus VitW.

<sup>225</sup> **eleuans** elteuans R.

<sup>226</sup> At this point Vit fol. 8vb, which begins here, is mainly illegible; it is not clear where exactly the text of the column ends as there is a gap before fol. 9r begins.

<sup>227</sup> **torquere** contorquere VitW.

<sup>228</sup> **facto** sacro W.

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Cum autem discipulus idem post annos plurimos circa patrem<sup>229</sup> obediencie regulis instructus fuisset et uite meritis illustratus tum<sup>230</sup> Hibernicam insulam de patris licencia petere iam parasset, mare ingressum cuncta apum examina, que Meneuie uel<sup>231</sup> eiusdem confinio fuerant, ipsum usque in nauem ipsam sunt secuta. Ipse enim inter fratres huic specialiter operi indulgebat.<sup>232</sup> Quo uiso, nolens fratres possessionis sue dampno fraudare, ad terram rediit, patremque Daudid reuisitauit, apibus ad sedes suas undequaque reuersis. Ad nauem autem secundo reuersus, apes eum undique sequentes denuo conspexit. Iterumque ad terram reuertentem sicut primo sic et secundo sunt secute. Patrem autem et fratres iam tercio repetens, quoniam suis eos de<sup>233</sup> utilitatibus nullatenus defraudare,<sup>234</sup> set eos<sup>235</sup> potius indempnes esse uolebat, tandem piis fratrum oracionibus et patris benedictione Deo commendatus, transfretandi licenciam una cum apibus communiter accepit. Ex quo factum est, ut apes, que nunquam antea in<sup>236</sup> Hybernia, ut fertur, uise fuerant, ab eo quo tam miraculose per ipsum transuecte sunt tempore ibidem abundare, in Meneuia uero ab illa hora semper<sup>237</sup> deficere consueuerunt.<sup>238</sup>

### §33

De beato Daudid Ierosolimam angelicis monitis peregre profecto, et ibidem a patriarcha in episcopum consecrato.

Processu uero temporis crescentibus cum etate uirtutum meritis, nocte quadam in somnis astitit ei<sup>239</sup> angelus precipiens<sup>240</sup> ut in crastino mane iter Ierosolimitanum incunctanter arriperet, duosque ibi<sup>241</sup> socios et participes tanti laboris adiungeret, Eliud scilicet, qui

<sup>229</sup> **patrem** et add. WU.

<sup>230</sup> **tum** tum R, cum W, quum U.

<sup>231</sup> **uel** in add. WU.

<sup>232</sup> **indulgebat** quod aluearia ad enutriendos apum fetus per examina disponebat add. WU.

<sup>233</sup> **de** only in RU.

<sup>234</sup> **defraudare** sponte fraudare WU.

<sup>235</sup> **eos** ipsos WU.

<sup>236</sup> **in** om. R.

<sup>237</sup> **hora semper** semper hora WU.

<sup>238</sup> **consueuerunt** consueuerint Rolls.

<sup>239</sup> **ei** only in R.

<sup>240</sup> **precipiens** patri Daudid dicens et firmiter iniungens W.

<sup>241</sup> **ibi** sibi W.

nunc Theliauus<sup>242</sup> uulgo uocatur, et Paternum; quorum amborum conuersacio satis eidem nota fuerat. Dauid autem admirans imperii maturacionem, respondit, ‘Quantum in me est, paratus sum in omnibus obedire, set quos mihi commites tam festinos adiungis, trium dierum spacio et a nobis et ab inuicem distant.’ Cui angelus, ‘Ne sollicitaris,’<sup>243</sup> inquit, ‘super eorum aduentu quia sine difficultate tibi cras obiter occurrent.’ Dauid autem summo mane parens imperiis, dispositis statim fratrum necessitatibus, acceptaque eorundem benedictione, non longo<sup>244</sup> apparatu, non sumptuoso, continenter iter arripuit; et non longo progressus itinere, premissos<sup>245</sup> ad eundem secum laborem promptos inuenit. Ibant itaque gaudentes, angelicis fulti solatiis; ibant et unanimes, puta quibus omnino fuerat tribus in corporibus<sup>246</sup> animus unus. Nulla inter eos contencio, nulla disparitas, nulla discordia. Tantum in psalmis, ympnis, et canticis spiritualibus<sup>247</sup> diuinisque colloquiis dies et noctes consummabant.

## §34

Cum autem<sup>248</sup> trans mare Gallicum et<sup>249</sup> Mediterraneum nauigio uecti, diuersas nacionum linguas audirent, more apostolico omnium noticiam gracia diuinitus indulta omnes habuerunt, quatinus inter alienigenas interprete non indigerent, et fide uacillantes uerbo pariter et opere confirmarent.

## §35

Appropinquantibus autem urbi Ierosolimitane, nocte proxima ante eorum aduentum apparuit patriarche in somnis angelus dicens, ‘Tres tibi uiri ab occiduis finibus catholici et amici Dei cras aduenient. Quos cum gaudio magno et hospitalitatis gracia benigne suscipias, et abbatem ipsorum, cui nomen Dauid, Christo in episcopum et fidei fundatorem consecrabis.’ Patriarcha uero post hanc uisionem tres sedes honoratissimas summo mane parari iussit, quibus tres personas honore dignissimas honorifice suscepit.

<sup>242</sup> **Theliauus** Teliuus W, Telyuus L.

<sup>243</sup> **sollicitaris** sollicitus.

<sup>244</sup> **longo** magno W.

<sup>245</sup> **premissos** socios add. W.

<sup>246</sup> **corporibus** tanquam add. W.

<sup>247</sup> **spiritualibus** spiritualibus W.

<sup>248</sup> **autem** primo add. W.

<sup>249</sup> **et** postea add. W.

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Quos cum diebus aliquot gratulanter secum et decentissime tenuisset, patrem Dauid diuinitus electum sacrum<sup>250</sup> consecrando<sup>251</sup> episcopum debita solennitate prouexit.

### §36

<sup>252</sup>Quibus in hunc modum rite peractis, quoniam ea tempestate Gentilium furor in Christianitatem nimis inualuerat, patriarcha monuit, et monitis obtinuit, ut secum in orientis aliquandiu partibus uerbum Domini seminarent quatinus et fide<sup>253</sup> domesticos in fide confirmarent, et infideles atque rebelles ab erroris<sup>254</sup> pertinacia reuocarent.

### §37

Hiis igitur omnibus iuxta patriarche monita aliquantis graciose temporibus et ualde efficaciter exactis, cum redeundi denique licenciam uix obtinuissent, quatuor eos muneribus patriarcha donauit: altari uidelicet portatili consecrato, campana baiula, baculo insigni, et tunica ex auro contexta. Set quoniam<sup>255</sup> onerosa quanquam honorificata<sup>256</sup> longo labore ferre<sup>257</sup> recusabant, reuersi in patriam angelico ministerio sua quisque dona miraculose recepit. Dauid quidem in monasterio, cui nomen Lankeuelach,<sup>258</sup> nolam et altare, que ambo usque in hodiernum diem<sup>259</sup> uirtutibus clarent. Paternus autem et Eliud sua suis monasteriis munera signis quoque clarencia susceperunt. Vnde et in perpetuam tanti miraculi memoriam huc<sup>260</sup> ‘donaria de celo ueniencia’ uulgo uocantur.

### §38

<sup>261</sup>De sinodo apud Breui contra Pelagianam heresim<sup>262</sup> conuocata,<sup>263</sup> et patre Dauid

<sup>250</sup> **sacrum** statim W.

<sup>251</sup> **consecrando** in add. W.

<sup>252</sup> Vit fol. 9ra begins here.

<sup>253</sup> **fide** fidei VitW.

<sup>254</sup> **erroris** sui add. W.Vit (above line).

<sup>255</sup> **quoniam** tam add. VitW.

<sup>256</sup> **honorificata** honorifica tam VitW.

<sup>257</sup> **ferre** fratres R.

<sup>258</sup> **Lankeuelach** langeuelach VitW.

<sup>259</sup> **diem** om. VitW.

<sup>260</sup> **huc** hec VitW.

<sup>261</sup> Lectio VIII add. VitW.

<sup>262</sup> **heresim** heresin VitW.

<sup>263</sup> **conuocata** conuocato W.



ibidem in archiepiscopum sullimato.

Non longis autem post hec temporibus Pelagiana labes et heresis detestanda per beatum Germanum Autissiodorensem<sup>264</sup> et Lupum Trecentem<sup>265</sup> episcopos<sup>266</sup> in insulam transmissos, olim extincta, residuo<sup>267</sup> morbo rediuiuaque<sup>268</sup> malicia in fidei catholice perniciem iam resussitata, uniuerse<sup>269</sup> tocius Cambrie sinodo colligende occasionem<sup>270</sup> dedit. Vnde et collectis in Keretica regione apud Landeweybreui<sup>271</sup> episcopis et abbatibus uirisque religiosis diuersorum ordinum multis, necnon et laicis principibus et<sup>272</sup> populis de uniuerfa regione collectis, cum a pluribus in puplica audiencia sermo factus, populum heretica prauitate pene irreuocabiliter infectum, ad fidei reducere tramitem non preualuisset; tandem Paulinus episcopus, cum quo Dauid olim liberalibus disciplinis in puericia studuerat, ut propter episcopum nuper a patriarcha consecratum, uirum sanctum, discretum pariter et disertum, qui nondum aduenerat, communiter ab omnibus ad tantum ecclesie discrimen mitteretur,<sup>273</sup> uerbis quidem suasoriis perorauit.

### §39

Mittuntur itaque nuncii semel et secundo, nil proficientes. Erat enim uir sanctus contemplacioni deditus, de<sup>274</sup> temporalibus rebus et<sup>275</sup> secularibus, nisi necessitate urgenciore<sup>276</sup> compulsus, aut nihil aut parum<sup>277</sup> curans. Quidem<sup>278</sup> uero duo mittuntur uiri sanctissimi ac fidelissimi, Daniel uidelicet et Dubricius. Dauid autem eorum aduentum in spiritu preuidens, magnos ad se uiros in crastino uenturos fratribus predixit.

<sup>264</sup> **Autissiodorensem** autusiodorensem Vit, Antisiodorensem WU.

<sup>265</sup> **Trecentem** trecensem VitWU.

<sup>266</sup> **episcopos** only in R.

<sup>267</sup> **residuo** R, recidivo W.

<sup>268</sup> **rediuiuaque** recidivaque U.

<sup>269</sup> **uniuerse** universa R, universali VitWU.

<sup>270</sup> **colligende occasionem** colligente occasione R.

<sup>271</sup> **Landeweybreui** Breui VitWU.

<sup>272</sup> **et** ac VitWU.

<sup>273</sup> **mitteretur** mittere vix R.

<sup>274</sup> **de** VitWU, a R.

<sup>275</sup> **et** aut W.

<sup>276</sup> **urgenciore** urgenci hore R.

<sup>277</sup> **parum** param W, parum VitRolls.

<sup>278</sup> **Quidem** Tandem VitWU.

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Aduenerunt itaque mane uiri predicti, sicut et uir sanctus preuiderat, hospicio pro facultatibus honorifice suscepti et exhibiti. Quorum ob sanctitatem et synodi pariter auctoritatem, demum monitis obtemperans, una cum ipsis die sequente uersus sinodum iter aripuit.

### §40

Illis autem<sup>279</sup> proficiscentibus, cum ad loca iam peruenissent a sinodo non remota, matrem inuenerunt orbatam filio, que iuuenuli corpus extincti luctuosa seruabat. At ubi aduentum uiri tanti mater audierat, ad<sup>280</sup> pedes ipsius se quantocius toto corpore prosternendo, pro filii salute uirum sanctum sollicitauit.<sup>281</sup> Daudid autem, ut erat pietate spectabilis et humanitate, matris miserie condolens et lamentacioni, confestim ad funus accedens, faciemque defuncti lacrimis rigans, inuocato Christi nomine, coram omnibus et puerum miraculose suscitauit, et matri rediuuium restaurauit. Que statim freta salubri<sup>282</sup> consilio, filium suscitatum patri sancto ad Christi obsequia fideliter assignauit. Daudid autem euangelii textum, quem semper in pectore gestare consueuerat, humeris pueri continenter imposuit, et secum ad sinodum portare precepit.

### §41

Quo facto, congregacionem adeunt, cum gaudio suscepti maximo et gratulacione. Predicacionis igitur officium patri Daudid ab omnibus iniungitur. Qui stans in terre planicie, cum alii<sup>283</sup> ante predicantes ibidem congearum cumulum uestium ascendere consueuerint, tam clara uoce et graciosa cunctorum pariter, tam remotissimorum quam positorum prope,<sup>284</sup> auribus intonuit, ut omnes eum communiter in tanta concione et salubriter audirent. Iuxta illud, ‘Aperi os tuum, et<sup>285</sup> adimplebo illud.’ Et alibi, ‘Cum steteritis ante reges et presides, nolite cogitare, quomodo aut quid loquamini. Dabitur enim uobis in<sup>286</sup> illa hora quid loquamini.’ Et subsequenter, ‘Non enim uos estis, qui

<sup>279</sup> **autem** itaque WU, added above line in Vit.

<sup>280</sup> **ad** et R.

<sup>281</sup> The text of Vit breaks off here.

<sup>282</sup> **freta salubri** salubri freta W.

<sup>283</sup> **alii** tamen add. W.

<sup>284</sup> **positorum prope** prope positorum W.

<sup>285</sup> **et ego** add. W.

<sup>286</sup> **in** om. Rolls.

loquimini, set spiritus Patris uestri, qui loquitur in uobis.' Vbi et signa duo<sup>287</sup> manifestis<sup>288</sup> illico toti populo claruerunt indiciis. Quia niuea columba celitus emissa, quamdiu sermonem faciebat, dextro eiusdem insedit humero, et terra sub pedibus predicantis, ut prece ueritatis cunctis euidentius preemineret, in collem excreuit; in cuius eciam uertice cacuminis ecclesia postmodum sita fuit, que usque in hodiernum diem nomine Sancti Dauid illustratur.

## §42

Quibus ita peractis,<sup>289</sup> sermone completo, tota, cooperante gracia, heresis euanuit, discussa penitus et deleta. Pater autem Dauid communi omnium tam cleri silicet quam populi eleccione pariter et acclamacione, cui et honorem antea destinacione Dubricius cesserat, in Cambrie tocius archiepiscopum est sublimatus.

## §43

<sup>290</sup>Processu uero<sup>291</sup> temporis et alia synodus collecta est cui nomen Victorie, in qua conuocato denuo tocius Cambrie clero, ea que in priori synodo firmata fuerant, adiectis quoque quibusdam super ecclesie comoditatibus, firmo rigoris examine sunt renouata. Ex hiis itaque duabus sinodis omnes Cambrie tocius ecclesie modum et regulam, ecclesia<sup>292</sup> quoque Romana auctoritatem adhibente et confirmante, susceperunt. Quarum decreta, que ore promulgauerat presul Dauid sua quoque sancta manu literis mandauit, sueque ecclesie aliisque per Cambriam pluribus reseruanda commendauit. Que quidem, sicut et alii quamplurimi nobilis bibliotece thesauri egregii, tam uetustate quam incuria, piratarum quoque precipue<sup>293</sup> crebris insultibus qui de Orcadum insulis estiuo tempore longis nauibus aduecti maritimas prouincias Cambrie<sup>294</sup> uastare consueuerant, euanuerunt.

<sup>287</sup> **signa duo** duo signa W.

<sup>288</sup> **manifestis** manifesta W.

<sup>289</sup> **peractis** patratris W.

<sup>290</sup> Lectio IX add. W.

<sup>291</sup> **uero** om. U.

<sup>292</sup> **ecclesia** ecclesiam R.

<sup>293</sup> **precipue** only in R.

<sup>294</sup> **prouincias Cambrie** Kambrie prouincias WU.

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### §44

Predictis itaque temporibus<sup>295</sup> ecclesia Dei floruit insignis, et multis de die in diem fructibus adoleuit. Multis passim in locis monasteria sunt constructa; multe fidelium congregaciones in uariis ordinibus ad Christi obsequia sancta deuosione<sup>296</sup> collecta. Cunctis autem pater Daud, tanquam in specula positus eminentissima, uite speculum erat et exemplum.<sup>297</sup> Instruebat subditos uerbo, instruebat et exemplo, efficacissimus ore predicator, set opere maior. Erat enim audientibus doctrina, religiosis forma, egentibus uita, orphanis nutrimentum,<sup>298</sup> secularibus uia; omnibus omnia factus, ut omnia lucrifaceret Deo.<sup>299</sup>

### §45

<sup>300</sup>De manu beati Daud perforata per Ihesum Christum sibi apparentem mirabiliter sanitati restituta apud Glastoniam.

Scribitur in libro hystoriarum ecclesie Glastonie pro fabricata<sup>301</sup> quadam honestissima capella in honore Dei genetricis et uirginis Marie que adhuc stat decentissima. Presidente tunc temporis ecclesie Menevie beato Daud archipresule, missum est ab abbate et fratribus ad ipsum beatum uirum supplicando ut ipse ob amorem et honorem ipsius uirginis gloriose ad eius capellam dedicandam ire dignaretur. Sanctus uero eorum precibus inclinatus facturum se annuit quod petebant. Et assumptis secum septem suffragantibus suis, uersus dictum locum iter arripuit. Nota uero antequam ad ipsum locum peruenisset, apparuit Ihesus Christus beato Daud dicens, 'Quo tendes?' Qui ait, 'Glastoniam ad basilicam beatissime matris tue dedicandam.' Ait ei Ihesus, 'Fili, non est necesse, iam enim dedicata est per me.' Et dixit Daud, 'Domine, si hoc dixero, non est qui mihi credat.' Ait Ihesus, 'Extende manum dexteram tuam.' Qua extensa tetegit Ihesus palmam suam et perforauit eam per medium. Et ait, 'Hoc tibi et omnibus uidentibus signum erit. Cras enim locum illum adibis et que dixi tibi fratribus enarrabis. Et ut fidem indubitatum dictis

<sup>295</sup> **temporibus** in Kambrie finibus add. WU.

<sup>296</sup> **deuosione** sic R, deuotione W.

<sup>297</sup> **exemplum** exemplar W exemplum U.

<sup>298</sup> **nutrimentum** munimentum WU; uiduis fulcimen pupillis pater monachis regula add. WU.

<sup>299</sup> **lucrifaceret Deo** WU.

<sup>300</sup> This section only in R.

<sup>301</sup> **fabricata Ihesum** R *Ihesum* miscopied by eyeskip from the line above.

tuis adhibeant, in eadem capella quam dedicare uolebas missam<sup>302</sup> celebrabis. Et cum perueneris ad uerba illa, “Per ipsum et cum ipso et in ipso, et cetera”, redintegritur manus tua.’ Quod et factum est omnibus uidentibus et Deum collaudantibus.

## §46

<sup>303</sup>De morte ipsius, quam predixerat, et tam angelica quam eciam Dominica uisitacione.

Hiis itaque<sup>304</sup> meritis longeque amplioribus quam pagina nostra potest<sup>305</sup> exprimere peractis,<sup>306</sup> cum ad senium usque feliciter perductus fuisset, centumque et quadraginta septem annorum curricula iam compleuisset.

## §47

A uia tandem ad patriam tendens, et humane fragelitati morem gerens, morbo demum decubuit letali correptus. Multas autem angelorum uoces et uisitaciones tam in ecclesia<sup>307</sup> ipso presente, quam in egritudinis lecto iam constituto, fratres audierunt, dicencium et canencium diem sue resolucionis iam<sup>308</sup> imminere, et tempus instare, quo finito feliciter uite temporalis<sup>309</sup> cursu brauium susciperet, et de mundo gloriose triumphans, ad palmam uictoriosus perueniret; sed<sup>310</sup> tamen mortem non uisurum, priusquam uideret Sanctum Dominum<sup>311</sup> ad se uenientem promiserunt.

## §48

Fama uero deliberacionis<sup>312</sup> eius et egritudinis extreme tam uisionibus quam angelicis reuelacionibus, uariis tam Britannie quam et<sup>313</sup> Hibernie locis, multis uiris sanctis

<sup>302</sup> **missam** missa R.

<sup>303</sup> Lectio X add. W.

<sup>304</sup> **itaque** uirtutum add. W.

<sup>305</sup> **potest** ualeat W.

<sup>306</sup> **peractis** only in R.

<sup>307</sup> **ecclesia** ecclesiam R.

<sup>308</sup> **iam** only in R.

<sup>309</sup> **uite temporalis** temporalis uite W.

<sup>310</sup> **sed** se W.

<sup>311</sup> **Dominum** Domini W.

<sup>312</sup> **deliberacionis** delibationis W.

<sup>313</sup> **et** etiam W.

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innotescens, eos<sup>314</sup> ad patris Dauid uisitacionem aduocauit. Adueniente uero die dominica, ualida tam populum quam clerum predicacione confirmans, participato coram omnibus corpore Dominico, quod et ipse consecrauerat, finita diuini obsequii solempnitate et benediccione data, quasi populo ualedicens, se tertia post feria ad Dominum a seculo migraturum palam predixit. O quantus luctus hominum.<sup>315</sup> Et quanta<sup>316</sup> precipue lamenta fratrum tunc et clericorum. Plangunt enim populi patrem, clerus pontificem, pauperes sustentatorem,<sup>317</sup> omnes uite duces et doctores.

### §49

Ab hac igitur hora usque ad terminum prefixum, totum id residuum temporis angelicis continue fere uisitacionibus<sup>318</sup> et diuinis solatiis consummauit; parum autem ante obitus sui<sup>319</sup> horam Dominus Iesus fidelem<sup>320</sup> suum iuxta sua promissa uisitare<sup>321</sup> dignatus est. In cuius aduentu non mediocri pater exultans gaudio,<sup>322</sup> lacrimis tamen quas leticia gingnit, hec confidenter ingemuit<sup>323</sup> uerba, 'Domine, tolle me post te.' Et quasi Symeonis cantico psallens, 'Nunc dimittis seruum tuum, Domine,<sup>324</sup> secundum uerbum tuum in pace. Quia uiderunt oculi mei salutare tuum,' et cetera.

### §50

In hiis itaque uerbis et similibus primo kalendarum Martii uir sanctus Deo spiritum reddidit, et talari indutus tunica, uita temporalis cursum feliciter compleuit, et ad eternam beatudinis<sup>325</sup> palmam mundo pariter et hoste triumphato uictoriosus ascendit, anno Domini quingentesimo quadragésimo secundo,<sup>326</sup> uocante eodem<sup>327</sup> Domino nostro Iesu

<sup>314</sup> eos eosdem W.

<sup>315</sup> hominum omnium W.

<sup>316</sup> quanta quante R.

<sup>317</sup> sustentatorem W, sustentarem R.

<sup>318</sup> uisitacionibus uisitacionis R.

<sup>319</sup> sui in R only.

<sup>320</sup> fidelem ending illegible in R.

<sup>321</sup> sua promissa uisitare promissa sua quoque ipsius uisitacione W.

<sup>322</sup> gaudio cum add. W.

<sup>323</sup> ingemuit ingeminans W.

<sup>324</sup> seruum tuum Domine inquit Domine seruum tuum W.

<sup>325</sup> beatudinis only in R.

<sup>326</sup> anno Domini quingentesimo quadragésimo secundo only in R.

<sup>327</sup> eodem only in R.

Christo cui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto est<sup>328</sup> honor, uirtus et Gloria in secula sempiterna.<sup>329</sup> Amen.

## §51

Sepultum est itaque corpus eius, et sicut tantum decebat thesaurum, ibidem a fratribus honorifice reconditum ubi usque in hodierna tempora se Dominus in sancto suo signis et prodigiis mirabilem ostendit. Que quidem alicuius in posterum<sup>330</sup> diligentia prioribus addita, renouato beneficio, nostrum quandoque uolumen extendent.<sup>331</sup>

<sup>328</sup> **est** only in R.

<sup>329</sup> **secula sempiterna** sempiterna secula W.

<sup>330</sup> **posterum** forte add. W.

<sup>331</sup> **extendent** extendet R; Responsio. Gloriose praesul Christi Dauid, suscipe uota seruorum tuorum, et pro nobis intercede ad Dominum magnum. Deus, qui ecclesiae tuae beatum Dauid pontificem tuum mirabilem tribuisti doctorem, concede propitius ut hunc apud te semper pium habere mereamur intercessorem, per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum. Amen add W.

# Vita Sancti Daid (Gerald of Wales)

edited by Paul Russell

Introduction

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## Translation

The life of St David, archbishop<sup>1</sup> in Wales

On the miraculous conception of the saint.

On Patrick, who had chosen his seat at St Davids thirty years previously and who on the advice of an angel was sent from there to Ireland.

On the learned Gildas falling silent at the presence of the pregnant Nonnita.

Of his miraculous birth and education.

About his teacher Paulinus whose sight was restored by him with the sign of the cross.

On the tyrant Boia being jealous of the holy group and father David strengthening the brothers.

On the very clear spring not far from the church given for sacramental use at the pressing of his disciples.

On the disciple Aidan who recovered unharmed some falling oxen with a sign of the cross; and about Swithun who was miraculously sent over from Ireland to Menevia by him.

On the incomplete gospel book.

On St Barroc riding over the sea and St Brendan meeting him on whale.

On St Aidan, his disciple, freed by the sign of the cross, and bees miraculously transported by him to Ireland.

On the blessed David's journey on pilgrimage to Jerusalem guided by an angel and his consecration as a bishop there by the patriarch.

On the synod of Brefi called against the Pelagian heresy, and father David raised to archbishop.

<sup>1</sup> **Archiepiscopi** (archbishop) The initial *ae-* is taken as an abbreviation of *archi-*; cf. the title in W where he is styled *Archiepiscopus*.



Concerning the hand of Saint David, which was pierced by Jesus Christ who appeared to him, and miraculously restored to health at Glastonbury.

On his death, which he had predicted, attended by a visitation of angels and the Lord.

...<sup>2</sup>

## §1

<sup>3</sup>I have at last reluctantly agreed at the pressing of my brothers and canons<sup>4</sup> to set out in the scholastic style<sup>5</sup> the Life of the archbishop St David, whom the common people call *Dewi*, even though I have been greatly taken up and delayed by other literary studies.<sup>6</sup> But since the course of that path is not plain sailing, and the subject matter did not seem to be perfectly shaped by the file of truth,<sup>7</sup> polishing<sup>8</sup> of this work would have seemed to me to be extremely inopportune,

<sup>2</sup> ... Omitted here are the headings relating to the posthumous miracles which follow the life of David in R.

<sup>3</sup> As a witness to Gerald's propensity for re-drafting, a re-written version of this preface was included in his *Symbolum Electorum* (SE); the adjustments are noted in the apparatus to the text.

<sup>4</sup> **canonicorum (canons)** The reading *concanonicorum* seems to be an addition in VitW.

<sup>5</sup> **scolastico declarare stilo (to set out in scholastic style)** On the significance of this, see Bartlett 1983: 605–7; Russell 2022b.

<sup>6</sup> **occupatus plurimum et detentus literarum studiis (greatly taken up and delayed by (other) literary studies)** This phrase is only found in W but seems to have been omitted in error in R by eyeskip from *aliis* to *studiis* which have to be construed together; accordingly the text is restored to the edition from W as it is otherwise impossible to understand *aliis*. The order of *occupatus plurimum* is reversed in SE; this kind of adjustment between versions is characteristic of Gerald's polishing.

<sup>7</sup> **lima ueritatis (by the file of truth)** The reading *linea* (derived from the manuscript's *liuea*) in R (against *lima* in W), is emended with hesitation to *lima* as it better fits the metaphor in *nec plana est uia, exculpta* and *expolicio*. The term *linea ueritatis*, however, can be used as a phrase referring to a truthful line of narrative running from the past to the present (e.g. Lapidge 2017: 33–4 for a ninth-century example from the *Concilia* (MGH *Concilia*, ed. Werminghoff 1908: ii, 2.525): *linea ueritatis ... quae ab antiquis patribus nostris usque ad nos inflexibiliter ducta est*) and, in view of the argument Gerald develops in the following lines about dispensing with old-fashioned diction and phrasing, it may be that he is arguing that, despite all the rewriting, a thread of truth is maintained here. The metaphor of polishing a literary work with a file can be traced back to Ovid and Horace (e.g. *Ars Poetica* 291, *limae labor et mora*), and is in fact used by Gerald at *Descriptio Cambriae* I.12 (p. 188): *eloquium [...] schematis huius lima [...] expolitur* 'an utterance polished by the file of this style'; note the use of *lima* in the same context as the verb *expolire*. *Linea* may be a copying error, but it is possible that *linea* was a subsequent change not by Gerald.

<sup>8</sup> **expolicio (the polishing)** This is the reading of all the manuscripts, although *expositio* might have been expected. The metaphor of polishing may, however, be appropriate if we take it to imply a pre-existing text as seems to be the case here.

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if it had not seemed to them opportune, or indeed high time, that it was done. There should be no need for an old-fashioned nor even antiquated mode of writing neither in words, in the arrangement of the narrative, or in content. But maintaining the rule of correction, with the inspiration of the Lord who sometimes reveals to little children what he keeps from the wise,<sup>9</sup> the reader will find in these present pages that which is superfluous cut back, that which is missing supplied, and that which is less artfully composed revised. This is what has given me the confidence to be able to write, that the same power seems to have been given by nature to three things, so that, just as with stones and plants,<sup>10</sup> the power of words is not lost through the fault of the one who bears them.<sup>11</sup>

### §2

#### Lesson I

On the miraculous conception of the saint.

Blessed David is said to have been of noble birth, the son of a prince of Ceredigion called Sanctus, uncle of king Arthur.<sup>12</sup> His begetting was thus. The aforementioned Sanctus, son of king Ceredig after whom Ceredigion was named, seeking recreation once upon a time set aside his royal concerns by driving out game from the thickets and enjoying the pleasure of hunting.<sup>13</sup> But on the very night when he had conceived this in his mind,<sup>14</sup> he received in a dream the following advice from an angel, ‘Tomorrow you will go hunting and by divine ordinance you will encounter

<sup>9</sup> Matthew 11:25

<sup>10</sup> The reference to stones, plants, and words here seems significant; it seems to occur in texts on driving out evil spirits but I am not aware of examples early enough for Gerald to have know them.

<sup>11</sup> In W a biblical example is provided at this point: ‘this was also found among the faithless sons of Sceva, as can be read in the Acts of Apostles, who were swearing by the Jesus about whom Paul was preaching, and casting out evil spirits from the possessed’; cf. Acts 19.11–20 where the sons of Sceva, despite their own wickedness, are seen as the bearers of the word of Christ. We may also note how Gerald continued to rework this example in SE. The fact that the example of the sons of Sceva occurs in the SE version is strong evidence that both the shorter R version of the Life and the slightly expanded and re-worked W version were completed before the compilation of SE in the late 1190s (Russell 2022b: 222–4).

<sup>12</sup> The connection with Arthur is unique to Gerald’s version of the VSDavid; he seems to have extracted it from Geoffrey HRB IX.158.404–5 (GMon 214–15); cf. also §42 below where Dubricius is depicted as handing over the archbishopric to David which derives from the same Galfridian passage.

<sup>13</sup> The opening lines of this section are referred to (but not quoted) by Ussher 1639: 475; Leland 1715: ii, 107.

<sup>14</sup> *ipsa nocte qua hoc animo conceperat (on the very night when he had conceived this in his mind)* I take the *anno* in W as a probable copying error.

three gifts: a stag which you will pursue by the cleverness of the noses of your hounds in scenting;<sup>15</sup> and in that place, namely near the river where the stag will be killed, you will find a fish and a nest of bees packed with honey. These three presage the nature<sup>16</sup> and true characteristics of the son to be born to you.’ Thus spoke the angel. And on the next day the truth of the event to come foretold in these words immediately followed. Just as the stag, when it has seized and consumed the serpent, seems totally renewed as if regaining its youth, so the David, whose life we are narrating, stamped on the cleverness of the ancient serpent, completely shed the aged man and put on the new one.<sup>17</sup> But the fish could signify his watery life. For just as a fish lives in water, thus he rejected wine, liquor, and everything which can cause inebriation, and taking the great Baptiser of Christ and precursor<sup>18</sup> as models in laudable emulation in this and also in many other respects, led a life blessed to God on bread and water alone. Thus in Welsh he is called *Dewi Dyfrwr*,<sup>19</sup> that is, David man of water. As for honey, that showed his wisdom. For just as honey is extracted from wax, so he understood spiritual sense in a literal statement.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>15</sup> **quem canum odora narium sagacitate persequeris** (which you will pursue by the cleverness of the noses of your hounds in scenting) On the ‘scholastic’ reworking of this phrase, see Bartlett 1983: 605. However, more can be added: the closely related phrase *canes narium sagacitate sequaces* was used by Gerald in his *Itinerarium* II.iii (and recycled in his *Descriptio* I.v) in the discussion about hunting beavers and it may have been taken over and reworked from there (on this passage, see Bartlett 1982: 141–4 (2006: 119–20) and Faletra 2018). But the phrase in the *Itinerarium* may itself derive ultimately from Cicero, *De natura deorum*, II.158: *tam incredibilis ad investigandum sagacitas narium*; we might further wonder whether in the Life of David he also drew on Virgil, *Aeneid*, IV.132: *odora canum vis*.

<sup>16</sup> **naturam (nature)** On the use of ‘nature’ here, see Bartlett 1983: 610–11.

<sup>17</sup> Based on Ephesians 4: 22–4. The last part of the text here is not very clear but seems to be an adaptation of Rhygyfarch’s *acceptis uiribus uelut iuuentute renouatur* ‘having gained strength is renewed as if with youth’ (Sharpe and Davies 2007: 108–9; James 1967: 2) incorporating the metaphor of a snake shedding its skin. On the rhetoric of this passage, see Bartlett 1983: 605–6.

<sup>18</sup> In *W Christi* has been moved back so that it depends on *precursorem* so that the emphasis is then on John the Baptist as Christ’s precursor rather than as the baptiser of Christ.

<sup>19</sup> Noted in Leland 1715: ii, 107.

<sup>20</sup> For this interpretation of *historico ... intrumento* I follow Sharpe and Davies 2007: 108–9.

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### §3

After thirty years had passed, the aforementioned prince of the Ceredigion, while visiting Dyfed, turned off into the region of Pebidiog.<sup>21</sup> There, wandering off by himself and becoming separated for some time from his crowd of followers, he encountered<sup>22</sup> a beautiful and very lovely girl called Nonnita. As soon as he set eyes upon her, he blazed with love for her from the depth of his being and immediately jumped off his horse, and delighted in her maidenly embraces her there and then. At the very hour of his conception two great stones emerged, one at her head and the other at her feet. The earth rejoicing at such a birth, as if opening out a hollow, pushed out those stones on that spot so that it might preserve the modesty of the girl by acting as a covering, and to provide a firm and holy constancy for the offspring-to-be.

### §4

On Patrick, who had chosen his seat at St Davids thirty years previously and who on the advice of an angel was sent from there to Ireland.

It has happened thirty years previously that Patrick, British in origin but trained in the teaching of Rome, a man plentifully endowed with the merits of virtue, when he had returned to his native soil of Britain from the parts of Italy where he had spent a long time, he came by chance to Ceredigion. After staying there for some time he then made for Dyfed. After wandering for some time he entered the land of Pebidiog tucked away in a corner. And so coming to the place called Vallis Rosina, and on inspection thinking that the land was far distant from the noise of people, a place of beautiful solitude overlooking the Irish sea and suitable for a contemplative religious life, he set his heart on it, fixed in his mind and with the thought that with a steady devotion he would serve there in devout prayer until his final breath.<sup>23</sup> But as he was eagerly mulling these thoughts over in his mind, he received the following from an angel to the contrary, 'God does not foresee this seat for you, but for a person not yet born and not to be born for another thirty

<sup>21</sup> On the significance of the local details in this and the following sections, see Evans 2007: 29; and James 2007; on the rape of Nonnita, see Cartwright 2007.

<sup>22</sup> **obuiam ... inuenit (encountered)** It is striking that on several occasions (Vit)W adds the adverb *forte* 'by chance' which R seems to avoid; cf. also §§4, 5, 25, 51.

<sup>23</sup> **fixumque ... mansipandum (and firm in his mind and thinking with a steady devotion that he would serve there in devout prayer until his final breath)** The syntax of this clause is complex; I construe *fixumque ... ratumque ...* as the syntactically complex object of *concepit*. It is hardly surprising that in W this is simplified by the addition of a second finite verb.

years after these.’ Upon hearing this, the saint was greatly amazed, and was upset in his mind, and saddened more than could be believed. He groaned, considering these things in his mind and spoke despairingly, ‘Have I inflicted these long drawn-out pains of abstinence on my body in vain? Am I vexing myself<sup>24</sup> with fasting in vain and with vigils<sup>25</sup> in vain? As a result I have gained no reward from so many deserving acts because one who is not yet born is preferred.’<sup>26</sup> But, as he was turning these thoughts over in his mind, he received words of consolation from an angel as follows: ‘Spare, Patrick, spare your grieving. Rather, take hope and regain hope. A great crown has been set aside for you on the island of Ireland. For this nation has not yet received the guidance of salvation and the words of life. God has appointed you the apostle of this race, the preacher and the greatest leader of this race. There you should thrive; there a seat has been readied by the Lord. There you will shine forth with signs and miracles, and you will subjugate the whole island to God. I shall be with you; and this shall be your sign. The whole island, which you will enter, I show to you immediately from this vantage point.’ Straightaway turning his eyes to the west, by a miracle he gazed on the whole island from the spot which is now called the Seat of Patrick over the great barriers and troughs of the sea and the mountains. Without delay, with everything prepared according to his instructions, he boarded a ship, first resurrecting a certain dead man called Donaud;<sup>27</sup> with the east wind blowing in answer to his prayers he joyfully entered his promised land. Those who desire to hear the rest of the outstanding aspects of his life should seek out writings on Ireland;<sup>28</sup> and as for us, let us return to where we began.

<sup>24</sup> **uexor (I am vexing myself)** The R reading *uexorum* is corrupt perhaps through misreading the following *ex* as part of the abbreviation of the ending.

<sup>25</sup> **uigiliis (with vigils)** W not unreasonably adds *ac oracionibus* ‘and with prayers’ to this list.

<sup>26</sup> On the rhetoric of this passage, see Bartlett 1983: 606.

<sup>27</sup> **Donaudus (Donaud)** In VS Dauid (Vesp) this name is applied to the step-daughter of Baia’s wife (Sharpe and Davies 2007: 124–5), and the dead man resurrected here is Cruimther (Sharpe and Davies 2007: 112–13).

<sup>28</sup> In a nice conceit Gerald has rephrased a sentence which is only preserved in the Nero-Digby tradition (though perhaps omitted from V (Sharpe and Davies 2007: 112)) in which for more on Patrick he refers the readers to the *Hibernensium litteris scripta* ‘writings in the script of the Irish’ and turned it into a reference to *scripta Hibernica* ‘writings on Ireland’ or ‘Irish writings’ (but not necessarily by the Irish) and by implication including his own works.

## §5

On the learned Gildas falling silent at the presence of the pregnant Nonnita.

As the womb of the afore-mentioned girl was growing and swelling in the natural way<sup>29</sup> it happened that the woman had entered a church located at a place called *Caer Morfa*, that is, a coastal town or fortress, in order to pray as was her usual custom;<sup>30</sup> the famous learned man Gildas<sup>31</sup> was at that time delivering a sermon to the congregation there. On her entry he immediately fell silent so that he was not able to utter a single further word of preaching. Asked by the congregation why the sermon had stopped and he had fallen silent for a time, he replied, ‘I can speak to you in ordinary speech, but I am unable to preach.’<sup>32</sup> But go outside and leave me here alone so that in that way I might find out whether I can perform my former duty of preaching.’ So the people went outside with only the humble and devout Nonnita remaining in a corner of the church; for desperately thirsting to hear his words of salvation only with difficulty did she withdraw from the urgency of his prayers. He then tried to speak and failed finding himself a second and third time speechless. Then, fearful and upset he burst into these words, exclaiming, ‘I swear’, he said, ‘and I call on the virtue of all-powerful God as witness that, if anyone is hiding here, let them come out into the middle and show themselves.’ Then, with her eyes lowered and with a modest expression, she replied, ‘My teacher and master, I have been hiding in this corner, seeking the pardon of your sanctity.’ And relying on divine providence so it seemed, he said, ‘And you go outside, and let all the congregation enter the church.’ Whereupon, immediately he began preaching as usual with a free tongue. He asked the woman whether she was pregnant, and when she confessed the truth, she immediately made it known in the presence of the holy man and the congregation that she would bring into the world one who

<sup>29</sup> **naturaliter (in the natural way)** On the use of *naturaliter* here, see Bartlett 1983: 610–11.

<sup>30</sup> Evans 2007: 29–30.

<sup>31</sup> While Gerald’s life seems to be based mainly on a Nero-Digby version of VS Daudid (see Introduction), that version is notable for not naming Gildas in this episode but referring rather to *quidam doctor*. Gerald seems to have known of Gildas’s participation from another source; perhaps he also had access to a copy of Rhygyfarch’s life (or one deriving from it) or to a version of the Life of Gildas (cf. Williams 1899–1901); we know that Gerald probably composed a life of Gildas as his preface survives in his *Symbolum Electorum* and he may have known about Gildas’s preaching from that (cf. Marzella 2022).

<sup>32</sup> **predicare autem non possum (but I cannot preach)** The simply phrasing of R becomes rather more emphatic and complex in W: *predicare uero nescio quo euentu nullatenus possum* ‘I am completely unable for some reason to preach’, and indicates that what prevents him preaching is some external force.

**contigit ut ... non possum** This passage is quoted by Ussher 1639: 442–3.

by the privilege of his status, by the brilliance of his wisdom, and by the ease of his speech, would incomparably excel all the learned men of Britain, just as by the subsequent life of the great man the truth of what happened was made known.<sup>33</sup>

## §6

Lesson IIII<sup>34</sup>

Of his miraculous birth and education.

Meanwhile there was a certain tyrant in the land who had heard through the spells of his wizards that a son<sup>35</sup> would be born in those lands whose power would take over the whole country. So straightaway, because he desired only earthly things, in so much as he had placed his hope<sup>36</sup> only on the basest things, he began to be exercised by great stabs of jealousy. Learning from the spells of the wizards the place and time of such a birth, and observing every detail particularly carefully, when Nonnita made for the aforementioned place, with the time of birth pressing, such a huge flood of rain and such a storm of thunder and lightning blew up such as had not been seen in those parts for a long time previously.<sup>37</sup> The place, however, where the woman was preparing to give birth, gleamed with such a serene light, such as is usual on a beautiful day lit by the brightest rays of the summer sun. But in the pangs of childbirth, when the woman pressed her hands against a nearby rock as the pain pressed her, the rock itself immediately split in two as if in some way sympathising with the pain of the mother. And so there is a church in that place and this stone is fixed to its altar like a slab fixed in front of it, and even to this day traces of her fingers

<sup>33</sup> **sicut ex uiri egregii uita subsequente ueritas euentum declaruit (just as by the subsequent life of the great man the truth of what happened was made known)** This final sentence is adapted from a sentence in the Nero-Digby version but which is not in V.

<sup>34</sup> **Lectio IIII (Lesson IIII)** The lesson numbers in R and W differ since W is divided into longer readings (Curley 2007: 138, n. 13).

<sup>35</sup> **filium (son)** W has *puerum*, but it may be that *filium* carries more force and points more clearly to the biblical resonances (see next note).

<sup>36</sup> **spem posuerat (had placed his hope)** At this point W adds *tanquam Herodes alter* ‘like a second Herod’ pointing up the obvious comparison with King Herod and the birth of Christ (Matthew 2.1–19). R only has *posuerat* and I take it that *spem* has been omitted in error as it is difficult to construe the clause otherwise.

<sup>37</sup> This sentence is a particularly compressed version of the earlier narratives (cf. Sharpe and Davies 2007: 114–15).

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are to be seen as if pressed in wax.<sup>38</sup> Thus the boy was brought into the light and not without immediate divine miracles.

### §7

For at the service of baptism a spring of the clearest water burst forth on the spot and to this day can be seen by visitors at that place called Porth Clais. He was baptised by Ailbe, bishop of Munster,<sup>39</sup> who by divine providence had come from Ireland at that moment; and a blind man called Mony,<sup>40</sup> who held him under the water, was splashed by holy water and his former ability to see<sup>41</sup> was restored to his eyes.<sup>42</sup>

### §8

The boy was brought up in a place called *Vetus Rubus* which in Welsh is called *Hen Fynyw* and in Latin *Vetus Menevia*. This<sup>43</sup> place was so called from Irish *Muine* which means ‘thicket’; and as a result to this day St Davids is called in Irish *Cell Mhuine*.<sup>44</sup> The boy grew up full of grace, and very keen on literary studies, and he excelled beyond his peers in the speed of his clear perspicacity. In addition he has been so endowed with grace that his fellow-pupils claimed that on many occasions they saw a snow-white dove, as it were, teaching and advising him.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>38</sup> The Vespasian and Nero-Digby versions of this narrative stress the fact that this stone lies hidden in the base of the altar, *tecta latet* (Sharpe and Davies 2007: 116–17) while here the stone is described as being on public display. See also James 2007: 49.

<sup>39</sup> On Ailbe, see Sharpe and Davies 2007: 117, n. 33.

<sup>40</sup> The spellings of this name vary and, even though the original form probably had *-u-* (see Sharpe and Davies 2007: 117, n. 34), I have retained the spelling of R because it may have been felt to be associated with the forms in *muni*, etc. in the next paragraph.

<sup>41</sup> **uidendi facultas (ability to see)** On this loaded term, see Bartlett 1983: 605.

<sup>42</sup> Gerald’s narrative presents this miracle as a restoration of sight (as is also suggested in the Lincoln life) as he omits the sentence about him being born without nostrils and eyes; the NLA version retains elements of both and so presents a contradictory version.

<sup>43</sup> The textual variation between *hoc* (agreeing with *nomen*) in R and *hic* (agreeing with *locus*) in W is characteristic of this text and presumably arose from an abbreviation.

<sup>44</sup> The explanations presented here by Gerald are an elaboration on Rhygyfarch’s *Vetus Rubus* (Sharpe and Davies 2007: 117, n. 35); on Gerald’s use of these Irish words, see Richter 1968–8: 384; Putter 2010: 101, n. 76.

<sup>45</sup> §§7–8 are quoted by Ussher 1639: 443–4.



## §9

As time passed, the merits of his virtues also developed and aspiring with great diligence to a hundred-fold crop,<sup>46</sup> and keeping his flesh immune from all desire, he rose stage by stage through the holy grades and was finally raised to the rank of priest.

## §10

Then he went off to the island of Vecta<sup>47</sup> where Paulinus, pupil of Germanus, completely devoted to divine duty, lived his life in a way pleasing to God so that both trained by the teaching of such a teacher and shaped by his example, David might far more effectively be imbued with divine scripture, and return from his travels to his native land.<sup>48</sup>

## §11

About his teacher Paulinus whose sight was restored by him with the sign of the cross.<sup>49</sup>

It happened at that time that, due to encroaching old age and frequent weeping, Paulinus' eyesight became badly damaged; at the master's instruction the pupils were called together and one by one at this request they pressed his eyes with the sign of the cross and blessed them.<sup>50</sup> Finally, when they had all completed this in order, it came to David. He was so modest and simple by nature<sup>51</sup> that, although he has now completed ten years of study there, he had scarcely laid eyes on his master's face, not even once. Nevertheless, when finally at the urging of all he touched his master's eyes with the sign of the cross and blessed them, immediately Paulinus

<sup>46</sup> Matthew 13:8, 23; this allusion to the parable of the sower occurs in Rhygyfarch in §12 where in Gerald's re-worked version the sentence has been omitted and used here instead.

<sup>47</sup> The name of this island in most versions is corrupt: Nero-Digby versions have some variant on *Wincdilentquendi* which may be a corrupt version of the name of Whitland; Vespasian seems to have avoided the issue by replacing the name with *in insula quadam* and is followed in this by NLA (on this see Sharpe and Davies 2007: 119, n. 40). Gerald's decision, in the face of the corrupt forms he would have encountered, seems to have been to replace them with *Vectam* and presumably he had the Isle of Wight in mind.

<sup>48</sup> This section consists of one sentence, and in R is treated as a continuation of the preceding sentence. §§9–10 are quoted by Ussher 1639: 463–4.

<sup>49</sup> **illuminato** (*sight was restored*) On the use of *illuminare* to refer to the restoration of sight, cf. Ps. 18.9, Eccles. 34.20.

<sup>50</sup> It is implied, but not stated, that the other pupils were not able to cure his eyes.

<sup>51</sup> **naturaliter** (*by nature*) On the use of *naturaliter* here, see Bartlett 1983: 610–11.

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regained the joy of his former sight. Then the virtue of God, which gives such power to men, is worthily commended. Then David began to be venerated by all and held in high regard with people talking to each other admiringly and saying, ‘Who will he be, do you think? For the hand of the Lord God was with him.’<sup>52</sup>

### §12

Not long after, the angel of the Lord appeared to Paulinus, ‘It is time’, he said, ‘that David should not bury the talent given to him in the ground;<sup>53</sup> let him not hide it away, but he should take the money of his Lord and bring it forth multiplied by praiseworthy profit. And let him not hide his light under a bushel but place it on a candlestick<sup>54</sup> so that it might bring light to all and open up the road of life for all.’<sup>55</sup> And so David thereafter on the salutary advice of his master drew back from study and began to sow, root in and plant the word of the Lord successfully, and by diverting springs away and scattering water in the streets,<sup>56</sup> in time he brought great fruits of harvest to the granary of the Lord. For in addition to the teaching of salvation which he exercised untiringly among the people, both in words and by the merits of his life, he established as many as twelve monasteries.

### §13

First at Glastonbury; then at Bath, where, finding the warm springs at the time useless and full of disease, by his blessing he rendered them acceptable for bathing; then, at Crowland and Repton, Colfan and Glascwm; then the monastery of Leominster, and also Raglan in Gwent, and Llangyfelach in the Gower, where later he also received an altar which had been sent to him.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>52</sup> ‘*Quis, putas, ... cum eo*’ (‘Who will he be, do you think? ...with him.’) Luke 1.66 where it is said of John.

<sup>53</sup> *Dauid commissum sibi talentum non in terram fodiat* (David should not bury the talent given to him in the ground) Matthew 25.14–28.

<sup>54</sup> *Neque lucernam sub modio ponat, set super candelabrum* (let him not hide his light under a bushel but place it on a candlestick) Matthew 5.15.

<sup>55</sup> *uite uiam aperiat* (open up the road of life) Cf. Prov. 15.10.

<sup>56</sup> *in plateas aquas spargens* (scattering water in the streets) Cf. Proverbs 5.16.

<sup>57</sup> *altare missum* (an altar which had been sent to him) Earlier in this section in the Rhygyfarch version there is mention of David having with him an *altare anceps* ‘a double altar’; this was omitted by Gerald and it may be that the later mention of the altar is intended to refer back to that. The VitW version adds that it was sent *a Domino*, and it may be that we are meant to think of a divinely delivered altar as happened after the trip to Jerusalem (§§33–7) when the gifts they received were sent to Wales by angels.

Around this time he also restored the benefit of sight to the king of Ergyng, called Proprius,<sup>58</sup> who had gone blind.<sup>59</sup>

## §14

When this was completed,<sup>60</sup> afterwards he spent as much time teaching as he had spent learning and then finally returned to the place he had come from, namely Menevia, as a holy man.<sup>61</sup> There was there at that time a bishop, his uncle, a venerable man called Gistlianus.<sup>62</sup> His nephew reported to him the angelic guidance which he had received as follows: ““The place”, said the angel, “in which you propose to serve God has not been accepted by Him. For He foresees only a modest or no future reward for Him. However, there is another place not far from here”, pointing to Vallis Rosina, where today there is a holy cemetery, “which would be far more suitable for religious worship and a holy congregation.” As a result of this, by divine providence he gained the greatest rewards of faithful souls.<sup>63</sup>

## §15

On the tyrant Boia being jealous of the holy group and father David strengthening the brothers. One day then<sup>64</sup> the three most faithful pupils of David came to him, namely, Aidan, called in Irish *Maedbhóg*, Eliud, who is today called *Teilo*, and Ysmael.<sup>65</sup> Immediately, accompanied by a

<sup>58</sup> The reading *Proprius* is restricted to manuscripts of the Nero-Digby group, while V and some N-D manuscripts read *Pepiau*. It seems likely that Proprius arose as a misreading of Pepiau (perhaps misreading *pe* as the abbreviation for *pro*).

<sup>59</sup> **quibus caruerat (who had gone blind)** I take the delayed antecedent of *quibus* to be *beneficia* and it may be that an early copying error led to the displacement of the relative clause. Gerald follows the N-D version by omitting the sentence about Boducat and Martrun at this point (Sharpe and Davies 2007: 120–1).

<sup>60</sup> Both here and at §42, W replaces R’s *peractis* with *patratis*.

<sup>61</sup> On Gerald’s ‘de-monasticizing’ in this passage, see Bartlett 1983: 604.

<sup>62</sup> On Gistlianus and the place-names here, see Evans 2007: 20-1 (and n. 4), 30.

<sup>63</sup> The narrative in this section is confusing. In Rhygyfarch’s version the place David returns to is *Vetus Rubus* (where he was educated in §8) and that is where he encounters Gistlianus. But Gerald has already identified *Vetus Rubus* with *Hen Meneu*, hence the elision here. The narrative in Rhygyfarch implies that Gistlianus is left at *Vetus Rubus* with its sub-standard cemetery but it is not clear what we are to make of Gerald’s version. Understanding is not helped by David himself (the *nepos*) reporting his conversation with the angel in direct speech.

<sup>64</sup> **Quadam igitur die (One day then)** Wherever this phrase occurs, R treats *die* as feminine, thus *quadam*, but W and Vit treat it as masculine (cf. also §§23 and 29).

<sup>65</sup> On the names here, see Sharpe and Davies 2007: 121, n. 49.

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crowd of fellow-pupils they lead their master to the predestined place and there in the name of the Lord lit a fire, and so much smoke rapidly emerged that it seemed as if it was spiralling up to cover the whole of the islands of Britain and also of Ireland.

### §16

In the vicinity of the place a powerful man called Boia, seeing such a sign from the top of the fortress where he lived and immediately incensed with the zeal of envy, was so enraged and angry that he refused to rest or to eat. His wife came to him to enquire and learn the cause of such upset. He said to her, 'I have seen smoke rising from Rosina Vallis which, as it spiralled and filled the air, cast a shadow over the whole land there. By that sign I am sure that the lighter of that fire will excel without compare all other people of this island in the glory of his fame which is what is signified by the smoke.' His wife said to him then, 'Go then with a column of slaves; you should not be frightened to put the lighter of the fire and all his adherents to the sword.' But the foolish man tried to make an attack, and presumptuously desiring to put it into effect, immediately he and all his men were gripped by a burning fever and restrained from the planned wickedness. However, because he could not use force, he attacked the holy group with words, threats and insults. On his return, therefore, deprived of his ability to do harm, though not of his willingness to do so, he met his wife on the road shouting and crying, 'Alas, alas, all our cattle have just suddenly dropped dead. Let us go straightaway to the saint and pray to him with humble devotion that he might have pity on us and our cattle.' Whereupon the land which the saint was occupying was left to him in perpetuity and free from all liability. The cattle which seemed dead were found restored to life. Doubtless the cattle and beast, upon which the signs were made, signify the bestial people of that time and who were grieving more than is proper over the loss of the beasts.<sup>66</sup>

### §17

#### Lesson VII

But neither did the envy grow quiet nor the evil cease. For the woman, remaining true to her female nature,<sup>67</sup> always tending towards wickedness, always persistent and obstinate in evil, sent

<sup>66</sup> This last sentence is an addition by Gerald, found only in his version of the life of David, to provide an interpretation of the story.

<sup>67</sup> On Gerald's misogyny here and elsewhere in this section, see Bartlett 1983: 602.

her crowd of girls to seduce the saintly group in the way women do, and she began to disturb and wear them down with frequent insults so that the brothers were unanimously ready to leave and abandon the place completely; for they knew that this kind of enemy is better overcome by flight than resistance, and that, according to the saying of Jerome, there is no security in sleeping next to a snake in that, even if it does not strike, it certainly does not cease from causing trouble.<sup>68</sup> But the holy father strengthened the souls of his disciples which were vacillating in this way with pious consolation teaching and advising them that the path which leads to life is made through trouble and affliction,<sup>69</sup> and the respite of the homeland cannot be reached except by the hard work of the journey. For who does not know of the long and dangerous labours of the people of Israel as they travelled to the promised land through the deserts of Egypt?<sup>70</sup> Who does not appreciate the dangers of shipwreck suffered by Paul on his journey to Italy even though inspired by divine advice?<sup>71</sup> But the ship of the heart remained whole and undamaged by the waves of the sea. Adversity, which is cast in the way of good prayers, is the test of virtue, not a judgement of disapproval. For virtue is achieved in weakness. And just as gold is tested by fire, so the constancy of faith, if it is sure, cannot be broken by tribulation,<sup>72</sup> just grows more like the mustard, and squeezed harder by afflictions it is not oppressed but rises up more strongly in the strength of perfection and consummation.<sup>73</sup> We ought therefore not to be overcome by evil but overcome it in good.<sup>74</sup> For if Christ is for us, who is against us?<sup>75</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Cf. *Hieronymi Adversus Vigilantium*, §16.13–15 (ed. Feiertag 2005): *Nulla securitas est uicino serpente dormire. Potest fieri ut me non mordeat. Tamen potest fieri ut aliquando me mordeat* ‘There is no peace of mind in sleeping beside a snake. It is possible that it will not bite me. Even so, it is possible that it will.’

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Matt. 7.14.

<sup>70</sup> The reference to the exodus from Egypt seems to be an addition by Gerald.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Acts 27.27–28.5.

<sup>72</sup> The whole of this passage from the reference to St Paul onwards is a reworked and re-ordered version of a passage in *Itinerarium Cambriae*, II.xiii (p. 147); part of it is a quotation from Gregory the Great, *Epistulae* (ed. Norberg 1982), IX.122.

<sup>73</sup> Luke 17.6

<sup>74</sup> Romans 12.21.

<sup>75</sup> Romans 8.31.

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### §18

The disciples were calmed by the advice of their father and a little later the woman went mad, and killed her harmless step-daughter.<sup>76</sup>

### §19

And so struck down by divine rage she ran off madly and after a short time was never seen again. Boia too was killed by an enemy called Leschi and his tower was consumed by fire sent from heaven and so he did not escape divine vengeance.

### §20

#### Lesson VIII

As plots by wicked people were ceasing through the will of God, the holy band built a fine monastery in the place divinely ordained. There devoted totally to the divine services far removed<sup>77</sup> from the crowds of people in a deserted corner overlooking the Irish Sea, they lived happily occupied by these four duties, namely manual labour, reading, prayer, and the sustenance of the poor.

### §21

As a result the reputation of this praiseworthy group spread far and wide so that by their example the fragrance of its name, as if soaked in oil,<sup>78</sup> encouraged many throughout the island by his effective example to similar acts of community.

### §22

Moreover many noblemen endowed with earthly power, the most famous of whom was Constantine, duke of Cornwall,<sup>79</sup> abandoned everything and took themselves to this place,

<sup>76</sup> It is striking that once David and his disciples have been granted the land and David has reassured them, the fates of Boya's wife, her step-daughter, and Boya himself are dealt with in three brief sentences (§§18–19) in contrast to the detailed narrative in Rhygyfarch (VS Daud (Vesp) §§17–19 (Sharpe and Davies 2007: 122–5).

<sup>77</sup> **longe remoti (far removed)** R reads *non longe remoti*, perhaps because a scribe understood it to mean 'not far from the Irish Sea'.

<sup>78</sup> **nominis eiusdem, tanquam effusi olei, fragancia (the fragrance of its name, as if soaked in oil)** Song of Songs 1.2; cf. §30 below.

<sup>79</sup> On Constantine, see Sharpe and Davies 2007: 129, n. 66.

choosing to end their life happily in a holy band.<sup>80</sup>

### §23

On the very clear spring not far from the church given by the father David for sacramental use at the pressing of his disciples.

One day as the brothers were gathered as a group they complained that they did not have a plentiful supply of clear water near the monastery for the solemnities of the mass and the sacrament of the body of the Lord. For the river Alun which ran through the valley bottom was murky and muddy and frequently dry in summer.<sup>81</sup> The father heard them and went straightaway to the cemetery where he was used to enjoy frequent conversations with angels. After continuing with his devoted prayers there for some time, a spring of the clearest water suddenly burst out on that very spot. It was completely suitable for sacramental use and other offices, and to this very day it flows from there; it has also been found with indubitable truth in ancient times occasionally to drip wine, and indeed in our times milk. But it is well known that many other springs of water had been granted around the same place according to the merits of the disciples in imitation of their father.

### §24

At Brawdy<sup>82</sup> too, where a church is known to have been founded in honour of St David about four miles from Menevia, at the urging of a man called Terdi the father produced a most beautiful spring of sweet water after similar pious requests.

<sup>80</sup> §§20–22 briefly skim over in four sentences the whole process of creating a monastic establishment and establishing its rule as narrated in Rhygyfarch in §§20–32 (Sharpe and Davies 2007: 124–31; James 1967: 12–14); on this ‘de-monasticizing’ of Gerald’s Life, see Bartlett 1983: 604.

<sup>81</sup> On the location of this event and those in the following section, see Evans 2007: 30.

<sup>82</sup> **Breudi (Brawdy)** The name is unique to Gerald’s version of the life; for the identification, see Charles 1992: i, 198; Richter (1968–9: 383) wrongly identifies it with Llanddewibrefi.

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### §25

On the disciple Áedán who recovered unharmed some falling oxen with a sign of the cross; and about Swithun<sup>83</sup> who was miraculously sent over from Ireland to Menevia by him.

But since any spiritual grace granted to the disciples redounds to the glory of their father and teacher, it should not be thought irrelevant to insert some miracles by his disciples. Áedán, then, trained in the discipline of divinity, a pupil worthy of such a teacher, when one day he was concentrating hard on his reading, on the instruction of the steward he set off with two oxen to bring back some logs. There was a wood he was making for some two miles from the monastery in the valley of Solfach.<sup>84</sup> When he was returning with the laden vehicle along the steep sides of the mountain, by chance the oxen and the cart and the whole load fell down the cliff; the saint, raising his hand in the sign of the cross restored both the vehicle and the oxen unharmed by a wondrous miracle. To the heap of miracles he added also this: when the clouds had meanwhile turned to heavy rain, he found the book, which in his excessive haste to obey the instructions he had received he had left open under the open sky, completely untouched by any moisture.

### §26

St Áedán, who in Irish is also called Maedhóg,<sup>85</sup> outstanding in virtue and abundantly trained in the discipline of divinity, gained permission from his father and then from his brothers to set off for Ireland with their full blessing. When after some time he had become famous for his portents and miracles, at length he built a fine monastery at Ferns. In it he gathered a group of brothers together and vowed to serve the Lord according to the form of the rule which he had learnt at Menevia from his holy father.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>83</sup> **Swithunus (Swithun)** The change of name in this episode from Scuthinus to Swithunus and the subsequent comment (§28 below) about becoming bishop of Winchester is unique to Gerald (Bartlett 1983: 606; Lapidge 2003: 148–9); it is possible that Gerald had encountered Swithun when working on his Irish works (cf. Lapidge 2003: 50–4).

<sup>84</sup> The geographical detail and place-name here are unique to Gerald (Evans 2007: 30); on the place-name, see Charles 1992: i, 20, 342–3.

<sup>85</sup> See Sharpe and Davies 2007: 131, n. 68.

<sup>86</sup> On this, see Evans 2007: 30.



## §27

After some time, when the holy man<sup>87</sup> was taking part in prayers on Easter night as was his usual custom, an angel appeared to him saying, ‘Do you not know, Aidan, that tomorrow poison will be served at dinner to your father David by some of the brothers?’ In reply he said, ‘I do not know that.’ The angel then said, ‘Quickly send one of your disciples to warn him.’ But he said, ‘I do not have a ship ready nor is the breeze favourable.’ The angel said, ‘Send your disciple, Swithun, quickly to the sea and I shall arrange both the wind and the mode of transport for him.’ Whereupon, when Swithun came to the sea and entered it up to his knees, he was taken up by a marine beast and miraculously carried over, and he warned the father of the danger.

## §28

When on Easter Day they had completed the solemnities of the mass and they had sat down together in the refectory at dinner, the deacon was serving as usual and placed the poisoned bread before the father; Swithun, who is also called Scoln, and afterwards was raised to the see of Winchester,<sup>88</sup> so they say, got up and sent the deacon away in confusion, and said, ‘I shall serve today.’ But the holy father blessing the bread with the sign of the cross divided it into three<sup>89</sup> and ordered one to be given to a dog and the second to a crow. When they ate them, both immediately died with everyone watching. The father himself however took the third part and in front of everyone blessed and ate it, fearlessly and unharmed.

## §29

On the incomplete gospel book.<sup>90</sup>

It happened one day that, when David was working on copying the gospel of John with his own hands, the bell rang and he leapt up immediately to attend divine service, and he hurried off to

<sup>87</sup> **uir sanctus (the holy man)** This continues from the previous section and must refer to Áedán.

<sup>88</sup> See n. 83 above; as Lapidge 2003: 149 notes, the phrase *ut perhibent* (so they say) suggests a non-hagiographical source.

<sup>89</sup> **crucis signaculo panem benedicens in tres diuisit (blessing the bread with the sign of the cross divided it into three)** This is a particularly striking example of Gerald’s rewriting between R and VitW where this passage reads *panem oblatum in tres diuidi porciones fecit*.

<sup>90</sup> This episode is unique to Gerald’s version of VS Daud; see Evans 2007: 30–1, Cowley 2007: 276, Pryce 2018: 24. For an unopened book, cf. VS Gildae (Caradog), §15 (also Williams 1899–1901: ii, 406–7 (1990: 96–7)).

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the church without closing the booklet or finishing the page. For it was the custom for the congregation serving God there that, whatever they were working on, even if it was incomplete at the moment the bell rang, they should quickly gather, showing thereby that divine prayers were to be preferred to all other duties. When the service was over and the holy man as usual returned to his scriptorium and his place of work, he found the incomplete work<sup>91</sup> finished in golden letters by an angelic hand. When he saw this, the father suppressed the miracle as best he could and adding nothing at all to it he closed the book and removed it from human gaze. Thus even to this day it remains closed in a volume with gold and silver binding<sup>92</sup> and its contents not displayed any more to human gaze; and it is read that from the time of St David to almost modern times no one has dared to inspect it or break the seal of the book. For some in recent days have presumed to attempt it because their love grows ever cold,<sup>93</sup> and their love of devotion and the fervour of their faith are fading from day to day but, though struck by a sudden intemperate passion from God, they have been called back from their rash attempt. That volume is called by the fellow-countrymen ‘the Incomplete Gospel’. To this day, famous for its portents and miracles, it is held not undeservedly in the greatest reverence by all.

### §30

On St Barroc riding over the sea and St Brendan meeting him on whale.

It was the custom in those days for the Irish to go on pilgrimage<sup>94</sup> to Rome and make devoted efforts to visit as often as possible the haunts of the apostles above all other places. Among them the abbot Barroc of Cork was returning to Menevia from that pilgrimage, and he was waiting

<sup>91</sup> **opus inchoatum (incomplete work)** In R the whole work seems to be completed, while in VitW *opus* has been replaced by *columnam*, thus making the miracle rather less impressive but thereby leaving the book incomplete and so recognizable.

<sup>92</sup> In Vit *decenter insignitum* is added in the margin and incorporated into the text of W which suggests that this was a late addition.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Matt. 24.12: *Et quoniam abundavit iniquitas, refrigescet caritas multorum* ‘And since iniquity will be in abundance, the love of many will grow cold’. Gerald also uses the same phrasing in the Preface to his Life of Caradog preserved in *Symbolum Electorum* (Marzella 2022), and elsewhere.

<sup>94</sup> **peregre proficiscendo (to go on pilgrimage)** Versions of the phrase are common in the text but the adverb is prone to scribal corruption to *pergere*. The context always seems to require an adverb meaning ‘abroad’ or ‘on pilgrimage’ rather than an infinitive which simply reiterates the action of movement. The confusion is not restricted to this text; Sharpe and Davies (2007: 138 (§44)) print *pergere* which is favoured by Vespasian and many of the Nero manuscripts though the Digby tradition is more circumspect (James 1967: 19, n. 15). An infinitive of purpose after parts of *proficiscor* seems to be very rare (TLL 10.2.1713.50).

there for the right winds for sailing. It was the custom among good men and those of authority while travelling on pilgrimage, whether going or returning, to desire with prayerful longing to enjoy conversation with David since his name was like flowing oil.<sup>95</sup> So when Barroc had broken his journey now for some time for divine conversation and holy contemplation with father David, finally thinking of his homeland and fearing for the dangers of a flock without a shepherd, because the wind<sup>96</sup> prevented his voyage, greatly presuming on the merits of the saint he trustingly sought and obtained a horse from David which he was accustomed to ride on church business. Receiving permission from the father and giving a blessing in return, he used the horse of the man of God as both a vehicle and a ship, and crossed the waves of the sea without oars or sail,<sup>97</sup> using only the rudder of faith.

## §31

When he had, as it were, ridden some distance over the sea, St Brendan appeared coming to meet him riding on a whale. They exchanged greetings and he humbly asked both who he was, riding over the sea thus, and where he had come from. When Barroc had related the troubles of his long pilgrimage and the solace of the father St David at Menevia and how he was travelling on his horse with his blessing, Brendan took his leave and passed by, saying that he would hurry on his own means of transport which had also been divinely granted to visit the saint. Barroc was then safely and without injury carried over the sea and reached Cork. He related to the brothers what had happened to him in order and they kept the horse in the care of the church until its death. After its death, as a perpetual memorial of such an unheard of miracle, they cast a small portable<sup>98</sup> horse in metal with a man sitting on it finely designed in gold and silver.<sup>99</sup> Up to this day it is usually kept in the church of St Barroc in Cork, famous for its portents and miracles,

<sup>95</sup> **oleum effusum (flowing oil)** Song of Songs 1.2.

**Mos erat illis diebus ...affectarent** This passage was quoted by Ussher 1639: 953.

<sup>96</sup> **aura (the wind)** The W version (V it is illegible) adds the rather obvious but clichéd *contraria*.

<sup>97</sup> **absque remis et uelo (without oars or sail)** R seems to preserve the more logical reading (with plural oars and singular sail).

<sup>98</sup> **portatilem (portable)** The same adjective is used in *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, l.xxv (p. 109) which may post-date its use here.

<sup>99</sup> On this passage (which is developed from Rhygyfarch), see Sharpe and Davies 2007: 137, n. 79, where it is suggested that Gerald had no more precise information than Rhygyfarch; but Gerald is certainly making it sound as if he knows more.

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and held in the greatest reverence by the people of the country.<sup>100</sup> And so God is miraculous in his holy acts and great in all his works. No creature ought to detest but rather admire and venerate the works of the Creator. ‘You will find’, says Jerome, ‘very many unbelievable things not looking as if they are true, but they are nevertheless true. For in no respect does nature prevail against the Lord of nature.’<sup>101</sup>

### §32

On holy Áedán, alias Maedhóg,<sup>102</sup> his disciple freed by the sign of the cross, and bees miraculously transported by him to Ireland.

One day when a disciple of the holy father called Maedhóg was hollowing out the sloping side of a mountain with a spade not far from the monastery together with his brothers and flattening it so that access would be easier for travellers carrying the burdens of what was necessary, at one point a certain monk was rebuked by him because he has been working too slowly, and blazing with anger he lifted up the spade which he was holding in his hand and was readying himself to bring it down on his head. But the holy father David seeing this from afar made the sign of the cross by raising his right hand towards them. He stopped the blow and withered the hand and arm of the one who was trying to strike the blow.

<sup>100</sup> At this point in VitW two biblical quotations were added (quoted from W as Vit is fragmentary): *His autem uehicularum miraculis illud in psalmo consonare potest, ‘In mari uia tua, et semita tua in aquis multis; et uestigia tua non cognoscentur.’ Item et illud in Cantico Abbacuk, ‘Viam fecisti in mari equis tuis, in luto aquarum multarum’* ‘These miracles of transportation correspond to what is found in the Psalms: “Your road shall be in the sea and your path among many waters, and your tracks will not be known” (Psalms 76.19–20). Similarly in the Song of Habbakuk, “You have made a road in the sea with your horses in the mass of much water” (Habbakuk 3.15)’. In Vit this has been added along the bottom margin and only the second half of each line is preserved (for an image, see Russell 2022b: 225). Again (cf. a similar case at the end of the Preface (§1)) this provides strong evidence for the secondary, re-worked nature of the VitW version.

<sup>101</sup> Slightly adapted from Jerome, *Epist.* LXXII.2: *Multa et alia dicuntur in scripturis, quae uidentur incredibilia et tamen uera sunt. Neque enim ualet natura contra naturae dominum*; versions of this same passage are quoted in *Itinerarium Cambriae*, I.8 (p. 78), and twice in *Topographia Hibernica*, Introitus (p. 210), II.xxiii (p. 356).

<sup>102</sup> **De sancto Aidano Maedhog (On holy Áedán, alias Maedhóg)** VitW read *De Mandabnauco* here which looks like a version of *De Modomnauco* or the like (see Sharpe and Davies 2007: 137, n. 80) and is almost certainly the older reading which also occurs in the body of this chapter; the spelling with *b* for /v/ instead of *m* looks like a old confusion arising from late Old Welsh spelling when *b* and *m* could both be used to spell /v/. I would assume that the R reading is a later modernising change which has the effect of associating all these events to one person.

When, however, the same disciple had been trained around his father for many years in the rules of obedience and adorned by the good deeds of his life, he then prepared to travel to the island of Ireland with the permission of his father; as he set out to sea all the swarms of bees which had been in and around Menevia followed him into the ship. For he among the brothers used to take part in this work in particular.<sup>103</sup> When he saw this, unwilling to deprive the brothers of their possessions, he returned to land and went back to see David and the bees returned to their hives from everywhere. On returning to the ship a second time, he saw the bees following him again from all sides. Again he returned to land just as on the first and second occasion and the bees followed. Making for his father and the brothers for a third time, since he was unwilling deliberately to deprive them of what was useful to them, but rather he wanted them to be free from loss, in the end commended to God by the pious prayers of his brothers and with the blessing of his father he accepted their permission to set off across the sea together with the bees. As a result it turned out that bees, which had, so it is said, never before been seen in Ireland, from that time after they had been so miraculously carried over, usually thrived there, but in Menevia they have been always lacking from that time on.<sup>104</sup>

## §33

On the blessed David's journey on pilgrimage to Jerusalem on the instructions of an angel and his consecration as a bishop there by the patriarch.<sup>105</sup>

After some time and as the merits of his miracles were growing with age, one night an angel appeared to him in a dream, instructing him that on the next morning he would travel to

<sup>103</sup> **indulgebat (he used to take part)** The explanation of what this *opus* entailed was added in *W*: *quod aluearia ad enutriendos apum fetus per examina disponebat* 'namely that he would distribute the hives among the swarms for feeding the young of the bees'. Ussher also has this explanation which he probably took from *W*. This may well have been another addition in *Vit*, but we cannot tell as *Vit* is missing for this section.

<sup>104</sup> **Cum autem discipulus ... consuerunt** The whole of this passage on Maedhóg and the bees was quoted by Ussher 1639: 953–4.

<sup>105</sup> The narrative of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem is presented in different ways in the lives of the three saints, David, Teilo and Padarn; see respectively *VSDauid(Vesp)*, §§44–8 (Sharpe and Davies 2007: 138–41); *VS Teliaui (LL)*, ed. Guy, §7; *VS Teliaui (Vesp)*, ed. Guy, §7; and for Padarn, Thomas and Howlett 2003: 21, 38 (cf. *VSB* 258–61; and also Russell 2012).

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Jerusalem without delay.<sup>106</sup> The angel added two companions to share in the great labour there, namely Eliud, now called Teilo by the common people, and Padarn. Both of their ways of life were well known to him. David surprised at the speed of the order, replied, 'So far as it is in me, I am ready to obey in all things, but those last-minute companions whom you attach to me are three days away from us and from each other.' The angel replied, 'Do not worry about them arriving, for they will come to meet you en route tomorrow without difficulty.' Early in the morning, then, David in obedience to his orders immediately made the necessary arrangements with his brothers and accepting their blessing set off quickly without any long preparation,<sup>107</sup> and taking nothing luxurious. He had not gone far when he met those who had been sent on ahead ready for the same task. They went on their way rejoicing, supported by the comfort of the angel; united in their purpose they went on their way as if there was one mind in three bodies. There was no contention between them, no disagreement, no discord. They would spend their days and nights simply in psalms, hymns, and spiritual song and divine conversation.

### §34

As they sailed across the English Channel<sup>108</sup> and over the Mediterranean, they heard the various languages of peoples, and like the apostles through divine grace they could all understand all of them, so that they had no need of translators among foreign peoples and by word and deed equally they fortified those vacillating in their faith.

### §35

As they were approaching the city of Jerusalem, the night before their arrival an angel appeared to the patriarch saying in a dream, 'Tomorrow three men will arrive, faithful and friends of God, from western lands. You should receive them kindly with great joy and the grace of hospitality, and their abbot, called David, you will consecrate as a bishop and a founder of the faith.' After this vision at daybreak the patriarch ordered three highly honoured seats to be prepared, for which he received with due honour three most worthy people. After he had hosted them for

<sup>106</sup> **iter ... incunctanter arriperet (he would travel ... without delay)** Some years later Gerald used a similar phrase, *iter incunctanter aggressus est* in *De rebus a se gestis* I.4 (p. 29).

<sup>107</sup> **non longo apparatu** (with little baggage) It is possible that *longo* is an error here (W has adjusted to *multo*) caused by looking forward to *non longo progressus itinere*. The reading of R is retained as it is not demonstrably in error.

<sup>108</sup> **trans mare Gallicum (across the channel)** Rhygyfarch calls it the *mare Brittannicam* (Sharpe and Davies 2007: 140–1). *Mare Gallicum* is Gerald's standard term for the English Channel.

some days with him generously and most fittingly, he promoted father David, elected by heaven, by consecrating him as a holy bishop<sup>109</sup> with all due ceremony.

## §36

When this had been duly carried out in this way, since at that time the rage of the Gentiles against Christianity had grown greatly in strength, the patriarch suggested, and successfully gain agreement for his suggestion, that they would sow the word of the Lord in the east for some time with him so that they might both strengthen in the faith those who were habitually faithful and recall the unfaithful and rebellious from the stubbornness of error.

## §37

When all this had been carried out for some time according to the patriarch's advice with great success and effect, finally with great difficulty they extracted leave to return, and the patriarch gave them four gifts, namely a portable<sup>110</sup> consecrated altar, a hand-bell, a fine staff and a tunic woven with gold. But since they were unwilling to carry<sup>111</sup> heavy, though honourable,<sup>112</sup> gifts with great effort, on their return to their own country each miraculously received their own gifts by the services of the angels. David received the bell and the altar in the monastery called Llangyfelach, both of which are famous to this day for their miracles. Padarn and Eliud received their gifts, also famous for their portents, in their own monasteries. Henceforth in perpetual memory of such a miracle to this day gifts are called by the common people 'the gifts coming from heaven'.

## §38

On the synod of Brefi called against the Pelagian heresy, and father David raised to archbishop.<sup>113</sup> Not long after these times the detested Pelagian corruption and heresy, once extinguished by the bishops, the blessed Germanus of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes, after they had been sent to this

<sup>109</sup> In VS Dauid (Vesp) §46 (Sharpe and Davies 2007: 142–3) he was consecrated as an archbishop (Pryce 2018: 24).

<sup>110</sup> **portatili (portable)** Cf. §31 above (and n. 98) where the same word it used.

<sup>111</sup> **ferre (to carry)** The reading *fratres* in R is almost certainly a misreading of *ferre* as the infinitive is required to make sense of *longo labore*; and the reading of VitW is adopted.

<sup>112</sup> **honorificata (honourable)** It is possible that *honorificata* in R is an error for *honorifica tam*, but as the reading makes sense it has been retained. If so, VitW seem to have added *tam* twice in this sentence: *tam onerosa ... tam longo*.

<sup>113</sup> On the relevance of this for the issue of the metropolitan status of St Davids, see, for example, Evans 2007: 38–9; Pryce 2018: 23–5.

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island, but now an illness renewed and a revived evil had now been resuscitated to the destruction of the Catholic faith. This gave an opportunity to gather together the universal synod of all Wales.<sup>114</sup> And so many bishops, abbots and religious men of various orders gathered in Ceredigion at Llanddewi Brefi, including lay princes and people from the whole region. Despite sermons made by many in public assembly, they did not succeed in bringing back to the path of faith a people almost irrevocably infected by the depravity of the heresy. Finally, bishop Paulinus, with whom David as a boy had once studied the discipline of the liberal arts, concluded in his persuasive summing-up that the bishop who had been recently consecrated by the patriarch, a holy man, as distinguished as he was eloquent who had not yet arrived should be jointly sent for<sup>115</sup> since the church was in such great crisis.

### §39

And so messengers were sent once and then a second time but achieved nothing. For he was a holy man dedicated to contemplation, and caring nothing or very little for temporal and secular matters unless driven by a more pressing necessity. But two most holy and faithful men were sent, namely Daniel and Dubricius.<sup>116</sup> David foresaw their arrival in his soul and predicted to his brothers that great men would come to him on the next day. So in the morning the aforesaid men arrived, as the saint had foreseen, and they were welcomed with honour and received with hospitality. On account of their holiness and the authority of the synod, finally he capitulated to their requests and on the following day he went off with them to the synod.

### §40

On their journey they reached a place not far from the synod where he found a mother whose son had died and in grief she was clutching the body of her dead son. When the mother heard of the arrival of such a great man, immediately she threw herself headlong at his feet begging the holy man to save her son. David, since he was noted for his piety and humanity, sympathising with the mother's misery and lamentation, straightaway came to the place of his death. Splashing the face of the dead boy with his tears and calling on the name of Christ, in the presence of all he miraculously resurrected the boy and restored him revived to his mother. Immediately with

<sup>114</sup> **Cambrie (Wales)** On Gerald's use of Cambria, see Bartlett 1982: 185, 2006: 152; Pryce 2001.

<sup>115</sup> **mitteretur (should be sent for)** A subjunctive verb is required by the syntax and the *uix* in R looks like a misreading of the abbreviation of the ending *-ur*.

<sup>116</sup> **Non longis autem (§38) ... Daniel uidelicet et Dubricius** This passage was quoted by Ussher 1639: 473–4.



the salvation of her son's soul in mind<sup>117</sup> she faithfully vowed her resurrected son to the holy father for the service of Christ. David then quickly placed on the boy's shoulders the text of the gospel which he was accustomed always to wear on his chest, and told him to carry it to the synod.

## §41

Whereupon they came to the congregation and were received with the greatest joy and delight. David was pressed by all to take on the duty of preaching. Standing on the flat ground, whereas the others who had been preaching previously has been used to standing on a pile of heaped up clothing, with so clear and pleasing a voice he resounded in the ears of all whether they were far or near so that for the benefit of their souls all together could hear him despite the size of the assembly.<sup>118</sup> According to the saying, 'Open your mouth and I shall fill it.'<sup>119</sup> Elsewhere, 'When you stand before kings and judges, do not think how to speak or what to say. It will be granted to you at that time what to say.'<sup>120</sup> And later, 'For it is not you who speaks but the Spirit of your Father who is speaking in you.'<sup>121</sup> Whereupon two portents appeared as clear signs for all the people. For, while he was speaking, a snow-white dove sent from heaven sat on his right shoulder, and as he was preaching the earth beneath his feet grew into a hill so that the herald of truth was clearly visible to all. On top of its rise a church was afterwards placed which to this day is adorned with the name of St David.

## §42

When this was done and the sermon was completed, with the help of grace the whole heresy vanished, completely struck down and destroyed. Father David by the joint election and

<sup>117</sup> **freta salubri consilio** (with the salvation of her son's soul in mind) The translation is intended to bring the full salvific sense of *salubri*. In W this has been re-ordered to *salubri freta consilio*. This is a frequent change between R and W, namely the creation of hyperbaton in simple phrases by moving a dependent adjective in front of the governing word, thus lifting the stylistic level of the narrative.

<sup>118</sup> The following biblical quotations seem to have been inserted by Gerald; they do not occur in other versions and are characteristic of his mode of developing and expanding a narrative by adding quotations at key points to slow the narrative down and allow the listener to dwell on the point being made.

<sup>119</sup> Adapted from Psalms 80.11, *Dilata os tuum, et implebo illud*. The first part, *aperi os tuum*, probably derives from Proverbs 31.8–9.

<sup>120</sup> Matthew 10.18–20; and cf. Mark 13.9–11.

<sup>121</sup> Mark 10.20.

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acclamation of both the clerics and the people was raised to be archbishop of the whole of Wales, an honour which Dubricius had previously by design yielded to him.<sup>122</sup>

### §43

In the course of time yet another synod was gathered which was called the Synod of Victory to which all the clergy of Wales were again summoned, and what had been established at the earlier synod was reconfirmed after rigorous examination and certain measures useful for the church were added. And so as a result of these two synods all those living in Wales adopted the standard and rule of the whole church with the involvement and confirmation of the church of Rome. These decrees which bishop David had promulgated by mouth he also confirmed in writing by his own saintly hand and he commended them to the safe-keeping of his own church and of many others throughout Wales. These writings indeed like many other famous treasures of a noble library have vanished as much as a result of old age as neglect and also especially as a result of the very frequent attacks from pirates who had been in the habit of sailing from the Orkneys in the summer in their longboats and laying waste to the coastal areas of Wales.<sup>123</sup>

### §44

In these times we have mentioned above the church of God flourished greatly and from day to day grew with its fruits. In many places everywhere monasteries were built; many congregations of the faithful in different orders gathered to worship Christ with blessed devotion. For all however father David, as if placed on high as a watch-tower, was the mirror and exemplar for life. He would instruct his devotees by word and by example, a highly effective preacher in speech but even greater in deed. For he was for those listening to him an education, a model for the

<sup>122</sup> This derives from Geoffrey HRB IX.158.404–5 (GMon 214–15); cf. also §2 where the same passage of Geoffrey is used to link David to Arthur; cf. also Gerald, *De inuentionibus*, II.10 and II.1 (Davies 1920: 131, 143; the same letter quoted twice) where Gerald draws on the same passage. For discussion, Pryce 2018: 24.

<sup>123</sup> On the Orkney pirates, cf. VS Gildae (Caradog), §10 (ed. Williams 1899–1901: ii, 408–9, 1990: 98–9). To judge from the NLA version of the Life of Caradog (NLA i, 174) which is based on Gerald's Life of Caradog (of which only the preface survives in Cambridge, Trinity College, R 7. 11, fols 94r–95v), Gerald would also have been familiar with the concept of raiders from the Orkneys attacking Wales (Marzella 2022); cf. also *Topographica Hibernica*, II.11.

religious, life for the needy, nourishment for orphans,<sup>124</sup> a path for the secular. He became all things to all men so that everything was of profit for God.<sup>125</sup>

§45

<sup>126</sup>Concerning the hand of Saint David, which was pierced by Jesus Christ who appeared to him, and miraculously restored to health at Glastonbury.

There is an account in the book of the history of the church of Glastonbury on the subject of a certain most noble chapel built in honor of the Mother of God, the Virgin Mary, that remains to this day most lovely. When Saint David was at that time archbishop of the church at Menevia, the abbot and brethren sent to this saintly man asking that he deign to come to dedicate its chapel out of love and honour for the glorious Virgin. The holy man, persuaded by their prayers, agreed to do what they asked. Taking seven of his suffragans with him he set forth on the way towards that place.<sup>127</sup> Note, however, that before he arrived at that place, Jesus Christ appeared to Saint David saying, ‘Where you are going?’ David replied, ‘To Glastonbury in order to dedicate the basilica of your most holy Mother.’ Jesus said to him, ‘My son, that is not necessary, for it has already been dedicated by me.’ David replied, ‘Lord, if I report this, no one will believe me.’ Jesus said, ‘Stretch out your right hand.’ When he did so, Jesus touched his palm and pierced it through the middle. He then said, ‘This will be a sign for you and for all who see it. Tomorrow you will go to that place and tell your brethren everything that I have told you. So that they might have unshakeable faith in your words, celebrate Mass in the very chapel that you wished to dedicate. When you come to these words: “Through him, with him and in him, etc.,”<sup>128</sup> your

<sup>124</sup> **orphanis nutrimentum (nourishment for orphans)** Note that W has the less obvious *munimen* ‘bulwark’ here. W also adds to the list at this point: *uiduis fulcimen pupillis pater monachis regula* ‘a prop for widows, a father for his pupils, a rule for monks’, perhaps another addition by Gerald in his second redaction.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. 1 Corinthians 9.22. §§42–4 were quoted by Ussher 1639: 474–5.

<sup>126</sup> This section is in R only and is probably a later addition (that is, not by Gerald); it is included here for completeness. The *liber hystoriarum* is almost certainly William of Malmesbury’s *De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie* (1129) of which this is a pro-St David and pro-St Davids adaptation (for detailed discussion with text and translation, see Curley 2007: 138–41).

<sup>127</sup> On the significance of the ‘seven suffragans’, see Curley 2007: 141.

<sup>128</sup> This is part of the eucharistic doxology: *Per ipsum, et cum ipso, et in ipso, est tibi Deo Patri omnipotenti in unitate Spiritus Sancti, omnis honor et gloria per omnia saecula saeculorum*. The point is that his hand will be healed when he

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

hand will be made whole.’ And this was done before all who were looking on and they praised God together.

### §46

On his death, which he had predicted, attended by a visitation of angels and the Lord.

And so by these merits, far greater than our page can express, he was brought blessedly to old age and had now completed the course of one hundred and forty seven years.

### §47

Finally turning from the path to his home with the air of human fragility, he finally lay down overcome by a fatal illness. His brothers heard many angelic voices and visitations, both as he was in church and when already lying on his sick-bed, speaking to him and singing that the day of his freedom was coming and the time was approaching when the course of his temporal life was ended and he could take up the heavenly reward and from the world in glorious triumph victoriously come to the palm of victory;<sup>129</sup> but they promised that he would not see death until he saw the Holy Lord coming to him.

### §48

Rumour of his deliverance<sup>130</sup> and final illness was made know by visions and angelic revelations in various places in Britain and Ireland to many holy men and summoned them to visit their father David. On the following Sunday, he strengthened both the people and the clergy by the power of his preaching; he took up the body of the Lord in the sight of all which he himself had consecrated; and when the service of divine worship was over and the blessing given, as if saying farewell to the people, he openly predicted that on the Tuesday he would migrate from this world to the Lord. How great was the grief of people!<sup>131</sup> And how great in particular were the laments

reaches the end of the mass. There may a play on words here, as *per ipsum* could be read in the first instance as referring to the perforation of the hand, i.e. ‘through it’.

<sup>129</sup> On this passage, cf. 1 Corinthians 9:24 and Philippians 3.14.

<sup>130</sup> **deliberacionis (deliverance)** The reading of R is followed here; based on the W reading, DMLBS s.v. *delibatio* suggested reading *debilitationis* here, but it is the only example given under this sense. For the meaning suggested here, see DMLBS s.v. *deliberatio* 2.

<sup>131</sup> **hominum (people)** W reads *omnium* here, and *hominum* could be a copying error but it can make sense and so is retained here.

of the brothers then and the clerics. For the people bewail their father, the clergy their bishop, the poor their sustainer, all their leader and teacher in life.

## §49

From this hour until his ordained end he occupied the whole of the remaining time in continual angelic visits and divine consolation. A little before the hour of his death the Lord Jesus honoured his faithful servant according to his promise by visiting him himself. At this arrival the father exulted with great joy but also with tears produced by his happiness, trustingly redoubling his words, ‘Lord, take me after you’, and just as the song of Simeon, ‘Now, Lord, you let your servant go in peace according to your word. For my eyes have seen your salvation, etc.’<sup>132</sup>

## §50

With these words and ones like them, on 1 March the holy man gave up his soul to God, and dressed in a tunic down to his ankles, happily fulfilled the course of his temporal life and victoriously ascended to eternal reward of blessedness, having triumphed over both the world and the enemy, in the five hundredth and forty second year of our Lord, summoned by our Lord Jesus Christ to whom, along with the Father and the Holy Spirit, there is honour, virtue and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

## §51

His body was buried and, just as was fitting for such a treasure, he was honourably placed where to this day the Lord shows by signs and portents that he is wonderful in his saint. These things may be added carefully to the preceding text and, when the blessing (of further miracles) has been renewed, at some time extend our volume.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>132</sup> Luke 2.29–30; this is an addition by Gerald not found in other versions.

<sup>133</sup> In W the following is added: *Responsio. Gloriose praesul Christi David, suscipe uota seruorum tuorum, et pro nobis intercede ad Dominum magnum. Deus, qui ecclesiae tuae beatum David pontificem tuum mirabilem tribuisti doctorem, concede propitius ut hunc apud te semper pium habere mereamur intercessorem, per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum. Amen* ‘Response. David, bishop of Christ in glory, accept the prayers of your servants, and intercede for us with the great Lord. God, you who granted the wonderful, blessed teacher David as your priest to the church, propitiously grant that we deserve to have this pious man as intercessor with you, by our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.’ On this final prayer (added in VitW) see Huws 2007: 224. The invitation to add posthumous miracles is taken up on a large scale in R; eleven miracles follow (Curley 2007), and it may be that the miracle of the perforated hand (§45) was inserted into an earlier version of R at the same time (inserted rather than appended because it was not a posthumous miracle).

# Vita Sancti Daid (Gerald of Wales)

edited by Paul Russell

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## Manuscripts and Transcriptions

The two medieval manuscripts are described and transcribed below. See also Russell 2022b.

[\(Go to Royal MS\)](#)

### BL COTTON VITELLIUS E. VII

Vellum. 70 fols. A composite manuscript which was badly damaged in the Cotton fire to the extent that earlier commentators assumed that it had been destroyed completely (Brewer et al. 1861–91: iii, xlii; James 1967: xxiv, Bartlett 1982: 217, 2006: 177; cf. Sharpe 2007: 91). It contains three parts:

1–2 Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (misplaced fragment of Cotton, Vitellius E. i (Ker 1964: 94))  
(s. xii<sup>2</sup>)

3–12 Gerald of Wales, Hagiographical works (fragments) (s. xii<sup>2</sup>)

3r–v: *Vita regis et martyris Ethelberti*

4r–9v: *Vita Sancti Daid*

10r–12v: *Vita Sancti Patricii*

13–70 Aelread of Rievaulx, *De institutione inclusarum* (s. xiv<sup>1</sup>)

The text of VS Daid (Gerald) printed in the Rolls series (Brewer et al. 1861–91: iii, 375–404) was copied from Wharton’s text (W) in *Anglia Sacra* (Wharton 1691: ii, 628–40) which itself was based on BL Cotton Vitellius E. vii (Vit) before it was burnt in the Cotton fire. Some 35% of the text of VS Daid (fol. 4r–9v) now survives though the fragments are not always easy to read. Although six separate folios have survived (all mounted on paper guards such that no collation is possible), none is complete; in most cases both columns survive (except for fol. 8 where the outer

column is badly burnt) but the text at the top of the text box is often lost. In addition, most pages have suffered damage where coloured letters were cut out (probably before the fire). As a result of the heat, some of the pages are almost transparent and difficulties can arise from show-through from the other side of the leaf. After the fire some pages were cut by conservators to reduce cockling; in such cases most of the text is in fact retrievable though sometimes difficult to read.

The section of VS Dauid contained in fols 4–8 contained a run of text which would have been complete for that section of Gerald’s text, but there is a gap after fol. 8 and fol. 9 contains a later section of text (for a recent discussion of these fragments, see Russell 2022b). The surviving text collated with the Rolls text and the current edition is as follows:

	Rolls (vol. iii, pp.)	Edition
fol. 4r	385.34–387.10	§§11–15
fol. 4v	387.10–388.13	§§15–16
fol. 5r	388.13—389.5	§17
fol. 5v	389.5–390.2	§§17–23
fol. 6r	390.2–391.9	§§23–25
fol. 6v	391.9–392.7	§§25–27
fol. 7r	392.7–393.12	§§27–29
fol. 7v	393.12–394.14	§§29–30
fol. 8r	394.14–395.22	§§30–31
fol. 8v	395.22– ...	§§31– ...
fol. 9r	398.17–399.14	§§36–38
fol. 9v	399.14–400.19	§§38–40

# VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

## TRANSCRIPTION

{4ra}

1     aquas spargens. multum in  
2     horrea *domini* tempore messis  
3     fructum afferebat. *preter* enim  
4     salutarem *quam* in populo doctri=  
5     nam tam uerbis quam uite  
6     meritis infatiganter exercebat;  
7     duodecim admodum cenobia  
8     fecit. *primum* apud *glastoniam*.  
9     deinde *badum*. *ubi* calidos inuen  
10    iens fontes, inutiles *hactenus*  
11    ac pestilentes; sua lauandis cor  
12    poribus benedictione reddidit ac  
13    ceptos. *postea* *croulan et reptun*.  
14    *coluan et glascum*. Ex hinc leo=  
15    nis monasterium, *ragalan quoque*  
16    in *winta. et langeuelach* apud  
17    goer. *ubi et altare missum* <sup>a domino</sup> *postea*  
18    suscepit. Circa hec eadem *quoque* tem=  
19    pora regi *ergin* cui *nomen proprius*  
20    quibus caruerat; lucis benefi=  
22    cia restaurauit. his ita *patratis*;  
22    *post* longa tam *discendi primo*  
23    *quam postea quoque* *docendi tempora*;  
24    ad locum unde *discesserat* me  
25    *neuiam* scilicet. *demum uir sanctus*  
26    repatriaui. *Erat autem eodem tem*

{4rb}

1     pore *ibidem episcopus auunculus*<sup>1</sup>  
2     *eius* uir uenerabilis cui *nomen*

<sup>1</sup> episcopus auunculus The top half of the letters are lost in the damage at the top of the page.



3 Gistlianus. huic *igitur* angelica que  
 4 iam susceperat monita nepos  
 5 inhuncmodum recitauit.  
 6 Locus inquit angelus in quo deo  
 7 seruire proponis *non est* ei acceptus.  
 8 Modicum enim uel nullum  
 9 *sibi futurum* inde fructum proui  
 10 dit. Ueruntamen *est alius non* procul  
 11 hinc locus. ostendens uallem  
 12 rosinam ubi sacrum hodie  
 13 cimiterium extat. longe religi  
 14 oni *et sancte* congregationi com  
 15 petentior. Ex hoc nempe maxi  
 16 mos *sibi* diuina prouidentia fide  
 17 lium animarum. thesau  
 18 ros elegit.<sup>2</sup>

19 *lectio iv* {*lectio ii*}

20

21 uodam<sup>3</sup> *igitur* die tres fide  
 22 [.]issimi discipuli *dauid* ad  
 23 ipsum ueniunt. aidanus scili  
 24 cet qui *et* hybernice maidaucus.  
 25 eliud, qui *et* hodie Teliau  
 26 dicitur. *et* ysmael. Qui statim

{4va}

1 multa condiscipulorum comi  
 2 tante caterua magistrum ad

<sup>2</sup> There is significant show-through on lines 18–20. Line 20 is blank and was probably left for the addition of a longer rubrication, as elsewhere in this manuscript.

<sup>3</sup> **uodam** It appears that a two-line capital Q was cut out here before the fire; the hole in the vellum may then have exacerbated the cockling which was then flattened by cutting horizontally from the edge of the page.

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

3 locum *perducunt* *predestina*  
 4 tum; *Accensoque* *ibidem* in no=  
 5 mine *domini* *rogo*. *fumus* *incon*=  
 6 *tinenti* *tantus* *emersit* *ut* *to*  
 7 tam *insulam* *britannicam*  
 8 necnon *et* *hybernicam* *circumgi*  
 9 *rans* *adimplere* *uideretur*.  
 10 *Quidam* *autem* *ex* *loci* *uicin*<sup>1</sup>*a*  
 11 *uir* *prepotens* *cui* *nomen* *Boia* *ui*  
 12 *so* *tali* *signo* *summa* *qua* *reside*=  
 13 *bat* *ab* *arce*; *zelo* *inuidie* *sta*  
 14 *tim* *accensus*; *tanta* *turbatus*  
 15 est *cum* *ira* *et* *indignatione* *ut* *et*  
 16 *requiem* *respueret* *et* *refectionem*.  
 17 *Ad* *quem* *uxor* *eius* *accedens*; *tan*=  
 18 *ti* *turbationis* *causas* *inquirere*  
 19 *cepit* *attentius* *et* *inuestigare*.  
 20 *ad* *quam* *ille*. *Uidi* *inquit* *fumum*  
 21 *ex* *rosina* *ualle* *surge*[.....<sup>4</sup>  
 22 *qui* *totam* *illico* *patriam*  
 23 circuiendo *et* implendo *adum*  
 24 *brabat*. *Quo* *pronostico* *certum*  
 25 *teneo* *quod* *eius* *incensor*. *fame*  
 26 *gloria* *que* *per* *fumum* *designatur*

{4vb}

1 *omnes* *insulanos* *incompar*  
 2 *abiliter* *antecellet*. *Cui* *coniux*.  
 3 *Uade* *ergo* *et* *seruorum* *septus* *agmi*  
 4 *ne* *in* *censorem* *illum* *cunctosque*  
 5 *ei* *adherentes* *in* *gladio* *perimere*  
 6 *non* *formides*. *Quod* *uir* *stolidus*

<sup>4</sup> *surge*[..... Letters missing after the removal of the letter on the recto.

7 aggre<sup>d</sup>di temptans; *et effectui*  
 8 mancipare uelle *presumens*  
 9 statim cum suis uniuersis fe=  
 10 brium igne correptus a con=  
 11 cepta nequitia temperauit. Uer  
 12 bis *tamen* minis *et opprobriis quia*  
 13 uiribus non poterat; *sanctam socie=*  
 14 tatem impugnauit. Reuertens  
 15 *igitur et facultate nocendi priuatus*  
 16 non uoluntate; coniugem *obiter*  
 17 ob uiam habuit; uociferantem  
 18 *et clamantem. Ue. Ue. quia mor=*  
 19 te subitanea iam pecora *nostra*  
 20 cuncta periere. Uirum itaque *sanctum*  
 21 statim adeuntes. humili de  
 22 uotione deploremus. ut *et nostri*  
 23 simul *et pecorum* misereatur. Quo  
 24 facto terra que quam possidebat  
 25 uir *sanctus* ei in perpetuum relicta  
 26 immuni; que mortua uide

{5ra1}

1 bantur pecora uite inuenta  
 2 sunt restituta. Per pecora ni=  
 3 mirum *et bestias* in quibus  
 4 signa sunt data; bestiales  
 5 temporis illius homines, *et de*  
 6 bestiarum amissione plus equo  
 7 dolentes; sunt designati.  
 8 **N** ec <sup>5</sup>sic *tamen* inuidia quieuit.

<sup>5</sup> **N** ec Two-line capital.

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9           nec <sup>sic</sup> malicia cessauit. Mu=  
 10    lier enim muliebri *non* dege=  
 11    nerans a *natura*. *semper* in nequi  
 12    ciam *prona*. *semper* in malo  
 13    *pertinax et obstinata*; *missis*  
 14    *puellarum turbis*. *sanctam cohortem*  
 15    *muliebriter* demulcendo. Cre=  
 16    bris *insultibus* a deo molesta=  
 17    re cepit *et fatigare*; ut a loco  
 18    discedere locum*que* deserere  
 19    penitus *fratres* unanimi con=  
 20    silio iam parassent. Scien=  
 21    tes quippe *quoniam* huiusmodi ge=  
 22    nus hostis melius fugiendo uin=  
 23    citur *quam* resistendo. Et *quoniam*  
 24    iuxta ieronimi sententiam  
 25    nulla securitas *est*; uicino  
 26    repente dormire. *quia et si*

{5rb1}

1    *non percutit certe sollicitare non*  
 2    desistit. *Sanctus autem pater* tituban  
 3    tes inhuncmodum disci=  
 4    *pulorum* animos pia consola  
 5    tione confirmauit; docens  
 6    *et monens. quoniam per tribula*=  
 7    tiones *et angustias*. *arta*  
 8    que ducit ad uitam; ince  
 9    dendum *est uia. nec nisi per uie*  
 10    laborem; ad *patrie requiem*  
 11    *peruenitur*. Quis enim is  
 12    raelitice plebis ad *terram pro*  
 13    missionis *per egypti deser*

14 ta tendentis longos *et*  
 15 *periculis* plenos labores *ig=*  
 16 *norat*ꝫ Quis pauli ad *i=*  
 17 *tali*am uergentis *quanquam*  
 18 *diuinis* afflati *monitis*  
 19 *naufragosa pericula non aduer*  
 20 *tit*ꝫ Sed *nauis* cordis *in*  
 21 [...] *fluctibus* *integra et*  
 22 *in concussa permansit. Ad*  
 23 *uersitas itaque que b[...]*<sup>6</sup>  
 24 *uotis obicitur*ꝫ *probatio [.....]*  
 25 *tis est non iudicium rep[...]*ati  
 26 *onis. Uirtus enim uero in infir*

{5va1}

1 *mitate perf[.....]. et sicut aurum*  
 2 *igne probatur sic fidei constantia*  
 3 *tribulationibus frangi nescia.*  
 4 *more sinapis plus excrescit*  
 5 *et inter angustias pressa. diutius*  
 6 *nec oppressa in robur perfecte consum=*  
 7 *mationis fortius exsurgit. Debe*  
 8 *mus itaque non uinci a maloꝫ sed*  
 9 *uincere* <sup>pocius</sup> *in bono malum.*  
 10 *Quia si christus pro nobisꝫ quis contra*  
 11 *nosꝫ sedatis igitur ad patris mo=*  
 12 *nita discipulis mulier paulo*  
 13 *post in insaniam uersaꝫ pri*  
 14 *uignam innocuam intere=*  
 15 *mit. Et sic diuina indigna=*

<sup>6</sup> b[...]. Loss of letters in ll. 23–5 due to a coloured letter being cut out on the verso.

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

16 tione percussa, debacca<sup>to</sup> discour=  
 17 rens impetu in breui non c[....  
 18 ruit. Boia quoque ab hoste inter  
 19 emptus cui nomen leschi turre[...  
 20 ipsius misso celitus igne [...  
 21 sumpta diuinam [.....]<sup>7</sup>  
 22 non euasit. [.....]<sup>8</sup>  
 23           Essantibus<sup>9</sup> itaque demum  
 24           deo propitio malignanti=  
 25 bus in<sup>in</sup>sidiis sancta societas in  
 26 loco diuinitus ostenso; mona=

{5vb}

1 sterium insigne construxit  
 2 in quo diuinis ex toto mancipa=  
 3 ti obsequiis; apopulari frequen  
 4 tia in angulari quadam solitu=  
 5 dine super hybernicum mare lon=  
 6 ge remoti; quatuor his curis;  
 7 manuum scilicet labore lecti=  
 8 one, et oratione. et pauperum  
 9 refectio; uitam feliciter exege  
 10 re. Unde et tanta tamque lau  
 11 dabilis congregationis huius  
 12 longe lateque creuit opinio; ut  
 13 nominis eiusdem tanquam effu  
 14 si olei fragrantia multos per in  
 15 sulam adsimilia sancte conuer  
 16 sationis opera; efficaci exempl[.

<sup>7</sup> diuinam [.....] End of line illegible through damage to MS.

<sup>8</sup> euasit. [.....] Rest of line filled with an illegible rubric.

<sup>9</sup> Essantibus It appears that a three-line capital C was cut out here before the fire; the hole was subsequently distorted by the heat.

17     *prouocaret. Multi quoque uiri ma[*  
 18     *nifici. et terrena facultate pre=*  
 19     *potentes. inter quos nominatis*  
 20     *simus exstiterat dux cornubie*  
 21     *constantinus; relictis omnibus ad*  
 22     *locum hunc se conferentes*  
 23     *uitam in sancta societate finire*  
 24     *feliciter elegerunt. lectio v*  
 25     *de fonte limpidissimo dis=*  
 26     *cipulorum instantia ad sacara=*

{6ra}

1     [.....]<sup>10</sup>  
 2     **Q** uodam<sup>11</sup> uero die *ecclesia dato.*  
 3         *conuenientes inunum*  
 4     *fratres communiter conqueruntur. quod*  
 5     *prope monasterium admissarum*  
 6     *solennia dominicique corporis sa=*  
 7     *cramenta lucidi limpidique fon=*  
 8     *tis copiam non haberent. Aluni*  
 9     *namque fluuius per uallis ima decur=*  
 10     *rens aqua turbida fuerat et cenu*  
 11     *lenta et frequenter in estate defec=*  
 12     *tua. Quo pater audito. ad locum*  
 13     *cemiterii ubi frequentius angelicis*  
 14     *frui consueuerat alloqui's statim*  
 15     *accessit. Cumque ibidem aliquan=*  
 16     *diu deuotis ad dominum oratio=*  
 17     *nibus institisset; limpidissime*  
 18     *fons aque eodem in loco subi=*

<sup>10</sup> Illegible rubric.

<sup>11</sup> **Q** uodam Two-line capital.

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19 to prorupit. Qui sacramentalibus ad  
 20 plenum usibus idoneus et of=  
 21 ficiis usque in hodiernum ibi  
 22 dem emanate. Antiquis aliquan=  
 23 do uinum temporibus nostris  
 24 autem aliquociens lac stillare di=  
 25 ebus indubitata ueritate com=  
 26 pertus. Sed et alias quoque fontium

{6rb}

1 scaturigines circiter locum e  
 2 undem discipulorum meritis ad  
 3 patris imitationem datas; con=  
 4 stat quamplurimas. Apud bre  
 5 udi quoque ubi ecclesia in honore sancti<sup>12</sup>  
 6 dauid quasi per miliaria quatuor  
 7 a meneuia distans funda=  
 8 ta dinoscitur; ad instantiam  
 9 uiri cuiusdam cui nomen terdi  
 10 pulcherimum dulcis aque fon=  
 11 tem piis similiter supplicati  
 12 onibus pater emisit. de aidano  
 13 discipulo qui boues preci[.....  
 14 gno crucis reduxit incol[.....  
 15 et swithuno ab hyb[.....  
 16 uiam ab eodem mira[.....  
 17 ed<sup>13</sup> quoniam quiquid gratie  
 18 spiritalis discipulis in  
 19 penditur in patris ac precep  
 20 toris procul dubio redundat

<sup>12</sup> honore sancti Here and in the following line, the edge is damaged by a cut made to flatten the vellum which had cockled in the heat.

<sup>13</sup> ed It appears that a two-line capital S was cut out here before the fire.



21 *gloriam; non nulla discipulorum*  
 22 *in signia interdum interserere*  
 23 *preter rem non putandum.*  
 24 *Aidanus igitur diuinis erudit*  
 25 *us disciplinis tantoque dig=*  
 26 *nus preceptore discipulus cum*  
 {6va}  
 1 *lectioni quandoque propensius*  
 2 *intenderet ex prepositi precepto*  
 3 *lectionem relinquens cum*  
 4 *duobus bobus ad ligna depor=*  
 5 *tanda perrexit. Erat autem*  
 6 *silua quam petebat quasi mi=*  
 7 *liaribus a monasterio distans*  
 8 *duobus scilicet in ualle de*  
 9 *saleuuach. Cum itaque ue=*  
 10 *hiculo impleto per prerupta mon=*  
 11 *tis latera reuerteretur bobus*  
 12 *forte cum reda et sarcina*  
 13 *tota in precipitium datis;*  
 14 *uir sanctus eleuata manu sig=*  
 15 *no crucis et uehiculum inte=*  
 16 *grum; et boues illesos mi=*  
 17 *ra uirtute reduxit. [.....]*  
 18 *sit et illud ad signorum [..]*  
 19 *mulum quod cum nubes in*  
 20 *terim in pluuiam magnam*  
 21 *resolute fuissent; librum*  
 22 *tamen quem preceptis obediendo*  
 23 *nimiam ob festinationem*  
 24 *apertum sub diuo reliquerat;*

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

25 ab omni madore repperit  
 26 prorsus immunem. *Sanctus autem*

{6vb}

1 aidanus qui hybernice [...  
 2 docus dicitur uirtutibus insigni[.  
 3 et diuinis affatim eruditus  
 4 disciplinis; exin licentia pri=  
 5 mum a patre deinde *fratribus*  
 6 accepta; cum omnium benedicti  
 7 one hyberniam petit. Ubi *cum*  
 8 aliquamdiu signis et uirtutibus  
 9 claruisset; demum apud fe  
 10 rnas nobile monasterium c[..  
 11 struxit; In quo ad formam  
 12 et regulam quam apud men[.  
 13 uiam a pio patre didicerat  
 14 collectis inunum *fratribus* d[.....  
 15 deseruire deuouit. Proce[...  
 16 uero temporis cum nocte pasca[..  
 17 orationibus consueto more  
 18 uir *sanctus* insisteret. astitit ei  
 19 angelus dicens. Nescis aida  
 20 ne quod patri tuo dauid  
 21 crastina die a *fratribus quibusdam*  
 22 uenenum ad prandium ap  
 23 ponetur; At ille respondens  
 24 nescio, inquit. Cui iterum an  
 25 gelus. Mitte ocus unum ex  
 26 discipulis ad indicandum ei.

{7ra}

1 [.....] inquit<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> The upper, left-hand, and lower edges of the page are badly damaged.

2 paratam habeo *nec* aura con  
 3 cordat. **Et** *angelus* *discipulum*  
 4 tuum *swithunum* ad mare  
 5 *quam citius* mitte *et* ego ei tam  
 6 .]entum *quam uehiculum* mi  
 7 nistrabo. Quo facto cum *swithu*  
 8 nus ad mare *peruenis*[.....<sup>15</sup>  
 9 ad genu<sup>a</sup> iam intrasse[.....  
 10 ..] a marina belua *et* mir  
 11 ....]ose *transuectus*; patri *periculum* in=  
 12 .....]uit cumque paschali die  
 13 .]ompletis *missarum* *solemni*=  
 14 ....]bus in refectorio ad cenam  
 15 ..]nsedissent diacono ex mo=  
 16 ..] ministrante panemque ~~uene~~<sup>{veneno}</sup>  
 17 ..]confectum patri apponen  
 18 ..] surgens *swithunus* qui *et*  
 19 *scolanus* dictus *est et* postmo  
 20 dum in *wintoniensi* <sup>ut</sup> *perhibent*  
 21 .]athedra *sublimatus* *diaco*=  
 22 ..] cum *confusione*<sup>{m}</sup> *repulso*.  
 23 ..]o inquit *hodie ministrabo*.  
 24 ...] *autem pater* panem oblatum in  
 25 .....] fecit  
 26 .....] *m* partem  
 {7rb}  
 1 canis *et* alteram coruo tradi  
 2 precepit. Quibus *deuoratis*; cer=  
 3 nentibus cunctis statim ex=

<sup>15</sup> *perueni*[..... The ends of ll. 8 and 9 are lost as a result of a letter being cut out on the verso.

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

4 pirauit *uterque*. Ipse *autem* *pater* *terti*=  
 5 *am* *sumens* *partem* *coram*  
 6 *omnibus* *benedicendo* *come*=  
 7 *dit* *intrepidus* *pariter* *et* *ille*  
 8 *sus*. [.....]<sup>16</sup>  
 9 ...]tigit<sup>17</sup> *autem* *die* **ab ho**  
 10 *quodam*, *cum* *euangelio* *ioh*=  
 11 *annis* *manibus* *propriis* *scri*=  
 12 *bendo* *operam* *daret*; *quod*  
 13 *campana* *pulsante* *statim*  
 14 *ad* *horam* *exiliit*; *et* *ad* *ec*  
 15 *clesiam* *nec* *clauso* *quaterno*.  
 16 *nec* *folio* *completo*; *festinauit*.  
 17 *Mos* *enim* *erat* *congrega*=  
 18 *tioni* *ibidem* *deo* *militanti*; *et*  
 19 *cuicumque* *insisterent* *operi* *quod*  
 20 *eodem* *ilico* *ad* *campane*  
 21 *pulum* *non* *completo*; *com*  
 22 *muniter* *ad* *horam* *accelera*  
 23 *rent*; *diuina*<sup>sic</sup> *indicantes* *ob*  
 24 *sequia* *cunctis* *officiis* *ante*  
 25 *ponenda*. *Completa* *autem*  
 26 *ram*[...]riptoriu[.....]

{7ua}

1 *locumque* *laboris* *uir* *sanctus* *iuxta*  
 2 *consuetudinem* *remeasset*; [...  
 3 *inuenit* *colum*<sup>na</sup> *inchoatam* *au*  
 4 *reis* *literis* *angelico* *minister*  
 5 *rio* *consummatam*. *Quo* *uiso* *pater*

<sup>16</sup> Rubric largely illegible.

<sup>17</sup> ...]tigit It appears that a two-line capital *C* was cut out here before the fire.

6 quoad potuit; miraculum sup=  
 7 pressit *et* ab humanis librum  
 8 aspe<sup>c</sup>tibus clausum nil penitus  
 9 addendo remouit. unde [.....]<sup>18</sup>  
 10 usque in hodiernum in [.....]  
 11 auro *et* argento [.....]er insignitum conclusus *et* a h<sup>19</sup>  
 12 {u}manis interius aspectibus *non* presen  
 13 tatur. *Nec* legitur quis[...] a tem  
 14 pore *sancti* usque ad moderna fere  
 15 tempora ausus inspicere uel li=  
 16 bri signaculum aperire. [.]uidam  
 17 etenim nouissimis his [.]iebus  
 18 id attemptare pres[.]pserunt.  
 19 quia *semper* caritas refrigescit;  
 20 *et* deuotionis de die in diem  
 21 amplius <sup>amor</sup> ac fidei feruor deique  
 22 ..] sed<sup>20</sup> incontinenti subita  
 23 diuinitus passione percussi a  
 24 temer<sup>ar</sup>iis ausibus sunt reuocati.  
 25 ...]atur *autem* a comprouin[.....]ibus  
 26 [.....]iste[.....]

{7vb1}

1 imperfectum qui us[.....]  
 2 ernum signis clarus *et* uirtu  
 3 tibus in maxima *non* immerito re  
 4 uerentia a cunctis habetur.  
 5 **de s. barroco super mare equi**

<sup>18</sup> The ends of ll. 9–11 are mainly lost as a result of a letter being cut out on the verso.

<sup>19</sup> [.....]er **insignitum** These words are added in the left margin by the main scribe with an insertion mark after *argento*, and seem to have been omitted in the text.

<sup>20</sup> ..] **sed** There are the remains of a marginal note which may add missing text.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

6     *tante et brendano super mari*  
7     *num cetum eidem obuiante.*  
8     [.]os erat illis diebus hyber=  
9         *mensibus romam peregre*  
10    *proficiscendo apostolorum limina pre*  
11    *locis omnibus magis frequenter*  
12    *deuoto labore uisitare. Inter*  
13    *quos abbas Barroculus de corca*  
14    *gie finibus ab eadem peregrin[...]*  
15    *one meneuiam usque reuersus*  
16    *ibidem uenti et nauigii tem[.]*  
17    *ra prestolabatur. In consuetudine*  
18    *nimirum uiri boni de hyber*  
19    *nia et autentici habebant*  
20    *quod peregre profecti uel in eund=*  
21    *o uel redeundo beati dauid alloquiis*  
22    *frui; quoniam oleum effusum erat*  
23    *nomen eius; uotiuo desiderio af*  
24    *fectarent. Cum itaque barroculus*  
25    *circa patrem dauid diuinis allo*  
26    *quiis et sanct[.....]*

{8ra}

1     [.....] moram fecisset;  
2     [.....] patria cogitans, gre=  
3     [.....] pastore pericula timens  
4     [.....]onem eiusdem  
5     [.....]ebat; equum  
6     [.....]  
7     [.....]  
8     [.....]  
9     [.....]  
10    [.....]xxxx

11 [.....]xxx  
 12 [.....]xxx  
 13 [.....]xxx  
 14 [.....]as;  
 15 [.....]tatur.  
 16 [.....]xxx<sup>21</sup>

{8rb}

1 hiculum exposuisset [.....]anus<sup>22</sup>  
 2 accepta licentia *preteriit*. dicens  
 3 ad uisitandum *similiter uirum*  
 4 *sanctum* se suo *quoque* uehiculo *diuinitus*  
 5 indulto *deproperare*. Barrocos  
 6 *autem illesus et indemnis trans*  
 7 *mare uectus corcagiam ue-*  
 8 *nit et fratribus que gesta fuerant*  
 9 ...]ordinem narrauit. Qui *et*  
 10 equum in celle minist[....] *usque*  
 11 ad obitum *eiusdem* tenuerunt.  
 12 Post obitum *uero* ad tanti tam  
 13 inauditi *miraculi perpetuam*  
 14 *memoriam;* equum *fusilem*  
 15 *modicum et portabilem*. Ui=  
 16 *rumque insidentem*. auro *et*  
 17 *argento egregie distinctum;*  
 18 *fecerunt*. Qui *usque in hodie-*  
 19 *num corcagie in ecclesia sancti Bar-*  
 20 *roci signis clarus et uirtutibus*.  
 21 in maxima *nimirum reueren-*  
 22 *tia a comprouincialibus haberi*

<sup>21</sup> The remaining ten lines of this column are lost.

<sup>22</sup> We have to assume that the text continues from the bottom of the previous column.

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

23 solet.<sup>23</sup> ...llud in psalmo consonare potest ... in aquis multis; et uestigia tua ... Abbacuk uiam fecisti in ...

Mirabilis itaque deus in

24 sanctis suis et magnus in omnibus

25 operibus suis. Nec detestari debet.

26 Sed admirari; sed uenerari crea=

{8va}

1 toris opera queuis creatura.

2 Multa nimirum ut ait iero

3 nimus incredibilia reperies. nec

4 uerisimilia. que nichilomi

5 nus tamen uera sunt. Nihil

6 enim contra nature dominum; pre

7 ualet natura. **de mandab**

8 **nauco discipulo signo crucis**

9 **liberato, et apibus ab eodem**

10 **in hiberniam miraculose**

11 **transuectis .lectio vii.**

12 **Q** uodam<sup>24</sup> autem die cum

13 quidam sancti patris dis

14 cipulus cui nomen mandabna

15 ucus non procul a monasterio una

16 cum fratribus deuexa montis

17 cuiusdam latera ferro cauaret

18 et complanaret; quatinus uian=

19 tibus ad deferenda necessita=

20 tum honera faciliior foret

21 accessus; quidam aliquotiens

22 in crepatus ab ipso quod nimis

23 segniter laborasset; iracundie

<sup>23</sup> The addition in the bottom margin is linked to the text by a signe de renvoi to be inserted at this point; it is likely that originally the addition ran under both columns of text, but only the text under column b now survives.

<sup>24</sup> **Q uodam** Two-line capital with the tail of the *Q* running across the column to the right under l. 13.



24	furore succensus· ferrum <i>quod</i>
25	manu tenebat in altum ele=
26	uans; illud in uiri uerticem
{8vb}	
1	contorquere [.....]
2	uidens a longe [.....]
3	crucis signo de [.....]
4	ad illos eleuatio[.....]
5	tenuit <i>et</i> m [.....]
6	<u>fer</u> [.....]
7	[.....]
8	[.....]
9	[.....]
10	instru[.....]
11	us cum h[.....]
12	<i>patris</i> li[.....]
13	par[.....]
14	gre[.....]
15	xx[.....]
16	xx[.....]
17	cu[.....]
18	x[.....] <sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> The remaining eight lines of this column are lost.

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

{9ra1}<sup>26</sup>

1 quibus in hunc modum rite  
 2 peractis *quoniam* e<sup>a</sup> tempestate gen=  
 3 tilium furor in *christianitatem*  
 4 nimis inualuerat; patriar=  
 5 cha monuit *et* monitis obti=  
 6 nuit. ut secum in orientis <sup>ali</sup>quan  
 7 diu partibus uerbum *domini* se=  
 8 minarent; *quatinus et* fide do=  
 9 mesticos in fide confirmarent.  
 10 *et* infideles atque rebelles ab  
 11 [..]roris <sup>sui</sup> *pertinacia* reuocarent.  
 12 [..]is igitur omnibus iuxta patriar=  
 13 ce monita aliquantis *gratiose*  
 14 [..]mporibus *et* ualde *efficaciter*  
 15 [..]actis. <sup>cum</sup> *redeundi denique* licen=  
 16 [..] uix obtinuissent; quat=  
 17 uor eos *muneribus* patriarcha  
 18 donauit. Altari uidelicet porta  
 19 tili consecrato. Campana ba=  
 20 iula. baculo insigni. *et* tuni  
 21 ca ex auro contexta. Sed *quoniam*  
 22 tam honerosa *quamquam* hono=  
 23 rifica tam longo labore ferre  
 24 recusabant; reuersi in *patriam*  
 25 angelico ministerio sua *quisque*  
 26 dona miraculose recepit. Dauid

{9rb}

1 quidem in m[.....] cui  
 2 nomen *langeuelach* nolam  
 3 *et* altare. que ambo *usque* in

<sup>26</sup> The text on fol. 9 is a separate fragment and does not follow on from fol. 8.

4 hodiernum uirtutibus clarent.  
 5 Paternus autem et eius sui  
 6 monasteriis munera signis  
 7 quoque clarentia susceperunt.  
 8 Unde et in perpetuum tanti  
 9 miraculi memoriam hec d[.]  
 10 naria de celo uenientia u[.]  
 11 go uocantur. *de sinodo apud*  
 12 *breui contra pelagianam*  
 13 *heresin conuocato et patre*  
 14 *dauid ibidem in archiepiscopum*  
 15 **N**on<sup>27</sup> longis *sullimato* .*lectio viii*  
 16 autem post hec temporibus pe  
 17 lagiana labes et heresis de  
 18 testanda per beatum Germa=  
 19 num autusiodorensem et  
 20 lupum trecensem in insulam  
 21 transmissos olim extincta reci=  
 22 diuo morb<sup>o</sup> rediuiuaque ma  
 23 litiam<sup>28</sup> fidei catholice perniciem  
 24 iam resuscitata. uniuersali  
 25 totius kambrie synodo colli  
 26 gende occasionem dedit. Unde

{9va}

1 [.....]  
 2 apud Breui episcopis et abba=  
 3 tibus uirisque religiosi diuer=  
 4 sorum ordinum multis. nec non

<sup>27</sup> **N** on Two-line capital.

<sup>28</sup> ~~litiam~~ It is difficult to work out the order of correction here, but the confusion may have arisen because the scribe thought this was in the accusative.

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

5 *et laicis principibus ac populis*  
 6 *deuniuersa regione collectis*  
 7 *cum a pluribus in publica au*  
 8 *dientia sermo factus populum*  
 9 *heretica prauitate pene irre=*  
 10 *uocabiliter infectum. ad fidei*  
 11 *reducere tramitem non preualu*  
 12 *isset; tandem paulinus episcopus. cum*  
 13 *quo dauid olim liberalibus disci=*  
 14 *plinis in puericia studuerat.*  
 15 *ut propter episcopum nuper a patriar*  
 16 *ca consecratum; uirum sanctum.*  
 17 *discretum pariter et disertum.*  
 18 *qui non dum aduenerat; commu=*  
 19 *niter ab omnibus adtantum ecclesie*  
 20 *discrimen mitteretur. uerbis quidem*  
 21 *suasoriis perorauit. Mittuntur*  
 22 *itaque nuncii semel et secundo nil*  
 23 *proficientes. Erat enim uir sanctus*  
 24 *contemplationi deditus. Detem*  
 25 *poralibus rebus et secularibus, nisi*  
 26 *necessitate urgentiore compulsus;*

{9vb}

1 *aut nichil aut parum [*  
 2 *rans. Tandem uero duo mi*  
 3 *ttuntur uiri sanctissimi ac fidelissi*  
 4 *mi; daniel uidelicet et dubri*  
 5 *cus. Dauid autem eorum aduentum*  
 6 *in spiritu preuidens magnos*  
 7 *ad se uiros in crastino uentu*  
 8 *ros fratribus predixit. Aduenerunt*  
 9 *itaque mane uiri predicti sicu[.]*

10 *et uir sanctus prouiderat. Hospiti[.]*  
11 *pro facultatibus honorificæ*  
12 *suscepti et exhibiti. Quorum [..]*  
13 *sanctitatem et sinodi par[....]*  
14 *auctoritatem demum m[...]*  
15 *tis obtemperans una cum [.....]*  
16 *die sequente uersus sinod[.]*  
17 *iter arripuit. Illis itaque proficiscent[.]*  
18 *cum ad loca iam peruenissent [.]*  
19 *sinodo non remota matrem*  
20 *inuenerunt orbatam filio que*  
21 *iuuenculi corpus extincti luc=*  
22 *tuosa seruabat. At ubi aduen=*  
23 *tum uiri tanti mater audierat*  
24 *ad pedes ipsius se quantocius toto*  
25 *corpore prosternendo. pro filii sa=*  
26 *lute uirum sanctum sollicitauit.*

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

*(Back to Vitellius MS)*

### BL ROYAL MS 13 C. I

(s. xv<sup>med.</sup>, probably 1453–9)

Paper; ff. 184. 305mm × 210mm maximum. A composite collection of mainly historical texts copied in part by William Worcestre (d. 1482?), secretary to Sir John Falstof, and probably compiled by him.

- 1r–41v: Higden, *Polychronicon*, book vii, preceded by the conclusion of Book VI, and with a continuation to 1374.
- 42r–v, 51r–v Selected list of archbishops of Canterbury from Augustine to John Stafford (1443–1452) and of bishops of Wells from Athelm to Ralph of Shrewsbury (1329–1363).
- 43v–50v Calendar of years with lunar cycle, dominical letter, and date of Easter from 1001 to 1532. Notes of historical events are inserted down to 1459.
- 52r–53v Notes, beg. ‘De acceptance munerum: Acceptio munerum est detestanda’.
- 53v–61v Historical collections, including lists of English bishops (fol. 53v), accounts of the Saxon kings before the unification of England (fol. 54v), genealogies of French kings and Norman dukes (fol. 56v), kings of Rome (fol. 57r) and Persia (fol. 57v), and extracts from Bible history (ibid.), etc.
- 62r–71v Life of Henry V, by Thomas Elmham; imperfect at the beginning.
- 72r–88v ‘De actibus tempore Regis Henrici sexti’.
- 89r–130r Chronicle of the reigns of Richard II and Henry IV.
- 131r–133r Copies of letters in French from John [of Heinsberg], Bishop of Liège (1419–1455) on the depredations committed by Sir Robert Poyninghes under letters of marque.
- 133v–141r ‘Exemples pour esperer prosperite et victoire non obstant que vn soit en adversite, et que celui qui est en prosperite puet trebucher, etc.’
- 141v–146r Notes on Roman history, extracted by William Wyrcester [*al.* Worcestre] from a French MS. in 1453.
- 147r–154r Historical abstract from the reign of Augustus to A. D. 1067.
- fols 153r–154v Brief historical abstract from A.D. 1 to 1189. Lat. f. 153.
- 155r–164v Brief chronicle from the Creation, with descriptions of the world and of England, and summary of English history to 1453.
- 165r–171v Historical notes on ecclesiastical and English history, to 1317.

- 172r–177v VS Dauid (Gerald), preceded by a table of chapters.  
 177v–180r Eleven posthumous miracles of St David, the last one dated to 1388.  
 180v Five *lectiones* on St Nonita, mother of St David.  
 181r–184v French treatise on the ages of the world.

Descriptions: Warner and Gilson 1921: ii, 101–2; Curley 2007: 135–7. Fols 172r–177v preserves a complete copy of VS Dauid (Gerald) which was not known to the editors of the Rolls Series edition. It provides a significantly differently worded text (argued in the introduction and in Russell 2022b to be Gerald's first recension). It contains an extra miracle on the perforation of David's hand, not found anywhere else and perhaps a later addition (edited in Curley 2007: 138–41). The text of the life is followed by a series of posthumous miracles associated with David and lections on the life of Nonnita (edited by Curley 2007: 184–205 and 2002 respectively). This transcription only covers the Life of St David and not the additional material.

## TRANSCRIPTION

{171r}

Vita *sancti dauid archiepiscopi*<sup>1</sup> in Wallia

- 1 de miraculoso uiri sancti conceptu. de *patricio* qui triginta annis ante *sedem* sibi apud
- 2 *meneuiam* elegerat angelo monente in *hyberniam* inde transmisso.
- 3 de *gilda* doctore ob *presenciam* nonite pregnantis obmutescente. de ortu dauid miraculoso *et*  
erudicione.
- 4 de paulino preceptore. *illius* signo crucis ab eodem illuminato. de boia tyranno sancte  
congregacioni
- 5 inuidente *et* patre dauid *fratres* confirmante . De fonte limpidissimo *discipulorum* instancia ad  
sacram
- 6 entales *vsus* a patre dauid *non procul* ab ecclesia dato //De aidano discipulo qui boues
- 7 ~~precipes~~ *precipites* signo crucis reduxit incolumes *et* swythyno ab *hybernia* *meneuiam* ab eodem
- 8 miraculose transmisso. de libro euangelico imperfecto //de *sancto* barroco *super* mare
- 9 equitante *et* brendano *super* marinum *cetum* eidem obuiante. //de *sancto* aidano discipulo
- 10 signo crucis liberato *et* apibus ab eodem in *hiberniam* miraculose transuectis.

<sup>1</sup> **aepiscopi** The initial letter looks like ligatured *ae-* but is taken to be an abbreviation for *archiepiscopi*.

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

11 De beato dauid ~~Jerolimam~~ Jerolimam angelicis monitis peregre profecto *et ibidem*  
12 a patriarcha in episcopum consecrato // De synodo apud breui contra pelagianam heresin  
13 conuocata *et patre dauid ibidem* in archiepiscopum sublimata // de manu beati dauid perforate  
14 per iesum christum sibi apparente mirabiliter sanitati restitua apud Glastoniam De morte  
15 ipsius quam predixerat *et tam angelica quam* eciam dominica uisitacione // De wallico a  
16 Sarracenis  
17 capto *et ad propria* miraculose restituto. De morte subita *meritis beati dauid* absedata.  
18 de puero in Ecclesia beati dauid ab alto corruente per xx. cubitos altitudine sine lesione  
19 conseruato // de latrone ecclesiam meneuensem spoliante miraculose inuento *et capto.*  
20 de naue per intercessionem sancii dauid salvata de puero resurgente de sepulchro  
21 post exequias per intercessionem beati dauid./ De mortuo per biduum suscitato apud  
22 wachet De muliere per v annos incurabili egritudine contracta in festo Sancti  
23 dauid mirabiliter sanata.  
24 Vitam sancti Dauid archiepiscopi quem ~~vulgares~~ vulgares dewi dicunt scolastico declarare  
25 stilo *quanquam* aliis fratrum tamen et canonicorum uictus instancia uix tandem *et inuitus* ad  
26 que quieui. Quoniam enim uero nec cursus istius plana est via nec materialis  
27 ad vnguem area liuea veritatis uidebatur exculpata *mibi* quidem rerum istarum expolicio  
28 ualde fuisset importuna nisi quoniam ipsius plurimum immo preter modum uisa est opportuna  
29 Leccionis igitur antique et prope modum iam antiquate. sicut nec uerba sic neque rerum hic  
30 series nec continencia requiratur. Correccionis quippe lege seruata domino inspirante  
31 qui interdum que abscondit a sapientibus reuelat paruulis et superflua rescindi *et*  
32 defectiua suppleri *et minus* exquisite dicta mutari in hac presenti pagina lector  
33 inueniet. Hoc autem *mibi* scribendi fiduciam prestare potuit: quia cum tribus in rebus  
34 a natura uirtus uideatur inserta. sicuti non lapidum non herbarum ita nec uerborum baiuli  
35 vicio uirtus amittitur // De miraculoso uiri sancti conceptu

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1 Beatus Dauid ingenuis natalibus ortus Keretica prouincia principis filius cui nomen  
2 Sanctus Arthuri uero regis auunculis fuisse perhibetur. Cuius generacio sic erat. Predictus  
3 enim uero sanctus Keritici regis filius. a quo *et* keretica regio nomen accepit. regales interdum  
4 curas alterna recreacione distinguens saltibus feras excire uenanciumque studio delectari  
5 ex industria disposuerat. Set ipsa nocte qua hoc animo conceperat in sompnis angelica



6 in hunc modum monita suscepit. Crastina die uenatum ituro tibi diuinitus tria occurrent  
7 munera. Ceruus quem canum odora narium sagacitate persequeris et eodem in loco prope  
8 fluuium scilicet ubi ceruus cesus erit piscem inuenies et apum examen cum melle  
9 congesto Que quidem tria filii tibi nascituri naturam presagiunt et proprietatem. Hec  
10 angelus;. Et in crastino futuri euentus uerba prenuncia statim veritas est subsecuta.  
11 Ceruus autem sicut sumpto serpente et consumpto resumpta quasi iuuentute totus  
12 renouari uidetur sic iste dauid de cuius agimus uita. calcata serpentis antiqui  
13 uersucia ueterem ex toto exutus est hominem et indutus nouum. Piscis uero aquaticam  
14 eiusdem uitam designare potuit. Sicut enim piscis aqua uiuit sic iste uinum et siceram  
15 et omne quod inebriare potest respuens magnumque ipsum baptistam et precursorem laudabili  
16 emulatione. in hoc. sicut in aliis multis imitari statuens beatam deo uitam  
17 in pane tantum et aqua perduxit. vnde et brittannice dewi deuerur. hoc est dauid  
18 uir aquaticus est appellatus. Mel autem sapienciam eius declarauit. Sicut enim ex fauo  
19 mel elicitur ita spiritalem sensum historico cepit instrumento. Elapsis igitur annis  
20 postea terdenis predictus Keretice regionis princeps in demeticam diuertens prouinciam  
21 ad partes de pepidiauc declinauerat. Vbi secum perlustrando et a comitancium  
22 turbis aliquantulum segregatus obuiam puellam inuenit pulchram et amabilem valde  
23 cui nomen Nonita. In quam ut oculos iniecit in cupidinem eius medullitus exardens  
24 statim equo delapsus uirginis ibidem amplexibus est delectatus. Ipsa uero conceptus  
25 hora duo lapides magni. alter ad pedes alter ad capud emergerunt. Tante  
26 nimirum geniture terra congaudens tanquam sinum aperiendo lapides ibidem illos  
27 emisit ut et ~~pu~~ puella uerecundiam pro uelamine conseruaret et prolis  
28 nasciture solidam sanctamque constanciam designaret. / — /De patricio qui xxx  
29 annis ante sedem sibi apud meneuiam elegerat angelo monente in hiberniam inde transmisso.  
30 Contigerat autem annis ante triginta patricium nacione britannium romanis  
31 disciplinis eruditum uirum uirtutum meritis affatim insignitum cum ab ytalie partibus  
32 vbi diutinam moram fecerat in natale britannie solum reuersus fuisset ad Kereticam  
33 regionem diuertisse. In qua per aliquantalum temporis conuersatus demeticam postmodum  
34 prouinciam petit. Vbi demum perlustrando angularem de pepidiauc terram intrauit.  
35 Veniens igitur ad locum qui uallis rosina uocatur uidens consideransque locum ab omni

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1 populari strapitu longe remotum. locum amena solitudine supra hibernicum mare religioni  
2 et contemplacioni idoneum. corde concepit fixumque in animo ratum que deuocione fixa  
3 ibidem ad usque extremum spiritus halitum deuotis obsequiis mansipandum. Set cum ista  
4 propensius meditando reuolueret hec in contrarium angelo proponente suscepit. hanc tibi  
5 sedem o patrici non prouidit deus immo uiro non dum nato nec nisi terdenis post  
6 hec annis elapsis nascituro. Quibus auditis uir sanctus uehementer admiratus et ultra  
7 quam credi possit animo consternatus et anxie contristatus ingemuit hic secum  
8 deliberans et desperata mente proponens frustra diutinis abstinentie tediis corpus  
9 afflixit frustra ieiuniis olim. frustra uigiliis uexorum ex quo tot meritis nichil  
10 ad huc meritis . quia nondum natus antefertur. Set hec et huiusmodi animo reuoluens  
11 consolacionis ab angelo in hunc modum uerba suscepit Parce patrici parce merori  
12 Spem pocius erige. Spemque resume. magna tibi in insula hybernica reposita est corona.  
13 Nondum enim hec nacio salutis monita nondum uite uerba suscepit. Gentis huius  
14 apostolum gentis huius predicatorem et principem summum te constituit deus. Ibi proficere  
15 debes. ibi sedes a domino tibi parata est. ibi signis et uirtutibus radiabis. totamque  
16 gentem illam deo subiugabis. Ego tecum ero et hoc tibi signum. Totam insulam quam in  
17 trabis tibi hoc ex prospectu statim ostendo. Et continuo in zephyrum oculos uertens  
18 totam insulam ex loco qui hodie sedes patricii dicitur. trans maris et montium tam intersticia  
19 quam obstacula tanta miraculose prospexit. Nec mora paratis omnibus iuxta monita  
20 nauem scandens resuscitato tamen prius ibidem mortuo quodam cui nomen donaudus  
21 euro ad uota spirante promissam feliciter patriam intrauit. Cetera uero uite ipsius  
22 insignia qui audire gestierint hibernica scripta requirant et nos ad cepta redeamus.  
23 De gilda doctore ob presenciam nonnate pregnantis obmutescente.  
24 Crescente igitur utero prenotate puelle et naturaliter intumescente contigit ut  
25 ecclesiam quandam in loco sitam cui nomen kaer morua. id est urbs maritima. uel castrum  
26 orandi gracia more consueto mulier intrasset in aqua doctor egregius gildas  
27 sermonem tunc ad populum faciebat. Qua ingressa statim obmutuit adeo ut nec  
28 unum predicacionis uerbum amplius enunciare ualuerit. Interrogatus autem a populo cur ita  
29 diucius interrupto sermone taceret respondit Ego quidem communi loquela uos  
30 alloqui possum predicare autem non possum set uos extra egredientes me solum hic relinquit  
31 ut si uel sic pristinum predicacionis officium loqui possim agnoscam. Egressa igitur foras plebe  
32 Nonita sola in angulo quodam ecclesie ut erat uerecunda simul ac deuota remansit uerba  
33 salutis et auide audire siciens et ab oracionum instancia uix recedens. Ipse uero loqui

34 temptans sicut primo sic et secundo elinguis inuentus non profecit. Iunc magis exterritus  
 35 animoque consternatus. in hec uerba prorumpens exclamauit. Adiuro inquit et per dei  
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1 uirtutem omnipotentis obtestor ut si quis hic latitat in medium procedens appareat.  
 2 Tunc ipsa capite demisso uultuque uenusto respondit Ego mi preceptor et domine  
 3 in hoc angulo te latui uestre sanctitatis ueniam petens. At ipse diuina ut uidebatur  
 4 prouidencia fretus et tu inquit foras egredere populus autem totus ecclesiam intret. Quo  
 5 facto statim ex more predicat lingua soluta. Interrogata uero muliere an pregnans  
 6 existeret uerumque professa statim uiro sancto populoque per ipsum propatulo claruit quod  
 scilicet

7 paritura foret. qui honoris priuilegio sapientie fulgore et sermonis facundia cunctos bri  
 8 tannie doctores incomparabiliter antecelleret. Sicut ex uiri egregii uita subsequente  
 9 ueritas euentum declaruit. De ortu eiusdem miraculoso et erudicione. Leccio iiii

10 Interea quidam in confinio tyrannus habebatur qui ex magorum prestigiis audierat filium  
 11 in finibus illis nasciturum cuius potestas totam patriam occuparet. Vnde et statim  
 12 quia terrenis tantum inhiabat puta qui solum in infimis posuerat : magnis cepit  
 13 inuidie stimulis exagitari. Notato itaque ex magorum presagiis et loco tanti partus et  
 14 tempore singulisque diligencius obseruatis urgente pariendi articulo predictum Nonita  
 15 locum petente. tanta pluuiarum inundacio tantaque fulgurum et coruscacionum tempestas  
 16 in ualuit. quanta multis antea temporibus in partibus illis uisa non fuerat. locus autem in quo  
 17 mulier parturire parabat. tanta lucis serenitate prefulgebat. quanta solet amena  
 18 dies clarissimis estiu solis radiis illustrata. mulier uero inter ipsas parturiendi angus  
 19 tias cum in petra quadam qua propius astabat urgente dolore. manibus innixa fuisset  
 20 ipsa statim diuisa. dolenti quodammodo matri condoluit. In eodem itaque loco ecclesia sita est  
 21 in cuius altari hec petra tanquam tabule uicem prefixa tenet digitorum uestigiis tanquam  
 22 in cera pressorum usque in hodiernum comparentibus. Nato itaque puero et in lucem emisso  
 statim

23 diuina non defuere miracula. ad baptizandi namque ministerium aque limpidissime fons  
 24 illico prorupit qui usque hodie in loco qui porthcleys appellatur cernentibus apparet.  
 25 Igitur ab Alueo muuenensium episcopo qui diuina prouidencia eadem illuc hora de Hibernia  
 26 uenerat baptizatus ceci cuiusdam oculis cui nomen mony qui eum sub unda tenebat cum sacro  
 27 fonte respersi fuissent. pristina uidendi facultas est restituta. Puer autem nutritus  
 28 est in loco qui uetus rubus dicitur. qui et cambrice henmeneu latine uero uetus meneuia

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29 uocatur. Sortitus est autem locus hic nomen ab hibernico muni quod et rubus sonat. Vnde et  
kylmuni  
30 hybernice adhuc ecclesia meneuensis appellatur. Puer itaque crescebat gracia plenus literarumque  
31 addictus studiis supra coetaneos perspicacis ingenii uelocitate proficiebat. Adeoque gracia  
32 desuper perfusus fuerat ut condiscipuli eius niueam columba tanquam eum docentem atque  
33 monente se multociens uidisse testarentur. Succedente uero tempore crescentibus quoque  
34 uirtutum meritis ad centesimum summopere fructum aspirans carnemque ab omni libidine  
seruans

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1 immunem ad sacros gradatim ordines prouectus tandem sacerdotali dignitate est sublimatus.  
2 exin profectus in uectam insulam ubi paulinus germani discipulus diuinis ex toto  
3 mancipatus officiis : gratam deo uita agebat. ut preceptoris eiusdem tam doctrinis  
4 instructus. quam exemplis informatus. longe efficacius et diuinis scripturis im  
5 bueretur et ad patriam a uia ~~transueheret~~ transueheretur. De Paulino preceptore ipsius  
6 signo crucis ab eodem illuminato.  
7 Contigit autem ut eodem Paulino tam etatis ingruencia quam lacrimarum quibus  
8 habundabat affluencia oculorum penitus acie fraudato conuocatis in unum ex magistri  
9 precepto discipulis singulisque eiusdem rogatu oculos ipsius crucis impressione signantibus ac  
10 benedicientibus tandem ab aliis omnibus hoc per ordinem complete. ad dauid vsque peruentum  
est.  
11 Qui adeo uerecundus ac simplex exstiterat naturaliter ut cum decennale studium ibidem  
12 iam complexset. uix magistri faciem uel semel defixo lumine intueretur. Demum tamen cum  
13 ad cunctorum instancia preceptoris oculos crucis signaculo tangens ac benedicens consignaret  
14 statim paulinus pristinae lucis gaudia recuperauit. Tunc dei uirtus que talem potestatem  
15 dedit hominibus digne ab omnibus commendatur. Tunc dauid uenerari cepit a cunctis et  
16 magnus haberi dicentibus ad inuicem et cum admiratione conferentibus. Quis putas iste erit?  
17 et enim manus domini erat cum eo. Nec multo post tempore. Angelus domini paulino apparuit  
18 dicens Tempus est inquit ut dauid commissum sibi talentum non in terram fodeat non abscondat  
19 set acceptam domini sui pecuniam laudabili pocius fenore multiplicatam in medium producat.  
20 Neque lucernam sub modio ponat set super candelabrum ut luceat hominibus et uite uiam aperiat  
21 uniuersis. Ab hinc ergo dauid ad salutaria magistri sui monita reuersus a studio uerbum  
22 domini cum effectu seminare radicare cepit et plantare Deriuatisque foras foras foras  
23 fontibus in plateas aquas spargens. multum in horrea domini tempore messis fructum  
24 afferebat preter enim salutarem quam in populo doctrinam tam uerbis quam uite meritis infati  
25 ganter exercebat duodecim admodum cenobia fecit. Primum apud glastoniam deinde

26 badum vbi calidos inueniens fontes inutiles hactenus ac pestilentes sua lauandis  
 27 corporibus benediccione ~~reddede~~ reddidit acceptos. Postea Craulan *et* reptun coluan *et*  
 28 Glascom. Ex hinc leonis monasterium Ragalan *quo que* *et* winta *et* lankeuelach apud  
 29 ~~fo~~ Goer vbi *et* altar<sup>e</sup> missum postea suscepit. Circa hec eadem *quoque* tempora Regi Erkyng  
 30 cui *nomen proprius* quibus caruerat lucis beneficia restaurauit hiis itaque *patratis* post longa *tam*  
 31 *discendi primo quam* postea *quoque* docendi tempora ad locum unde discesserat meneuiam  
 32 scilicet demum uir *sanctus* repatriauit. Erat autem eodem tempore *ibidem* episcopus auunculus  
 eius  
 33 uir uenerabilis cui *nomen* gistlianus. Huic *igitur* angelica que iam susceperat monita nepos  
 34 in hunc modum recitauit. locus inquit angelus in quo deo seruire *proponis non est ei [...]*<sup>2</sup>  
 35 acceptus. Modicum enim *uel* nullum *sibi* futurum fructum inde prouidit. *uerumquetamen est*  
 [.....]

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1 procul hinc locus ostendens uallem rosinam vbi vbi sacrum hodie cimiterium extat longe  
 2 religioni *et* *sancta* congregacioni competencior. Ex hoc nempe maximos sibi diuina  
 3 prouidencia fidelium *animarum* thesauros elegit. De Boia tyranno *sancte* congrigacioni inuidente  
 4 *et* patre dauid *fratres* confirmante.  
 5 Quadam *igitur* die tres fidelissimi discipuli dauid ad ipsum ueniunt. aydanus scilicet  
 6 qui et hibernice Maydauc. eliud qui *et* hodie teleau dicitur *et* ismael qui statim multa con  
 7 discipulorum *commitante* caterua *magistrum* ad locum *perducunt* predestinatum accensoque  
*ibidem* in  
 8 *nomine domini* rogo fumus in continenti tantus emersit ut totam insulam britannicam necnon  
 9 *et* hibernicam circumgirans ad implere uideretur. Quidam autem ex loci uicinia uir *prepotens*  
 10 cui *nomen* boya uiso tali signo summa qua residebat ab arce. zelo inuidie statim accensus  
 11 tanta turbatus est ira *et* indignacione ut *et* requiem respueret *et* refeccionem Ad quem uxor eius  
 12 accedens tante turbacionis causas inquirere cepit *attencius et* inuestigare. Ad quam ille  
 13 uidi *inqui* fumum ex rosina ualle surgentem qui totam illico *patriam* circueundo *et* implendo  
 14 abumbrabat. Quo pronostico certum teneo quod eius incensor fame gloria que per fumum desig  
 15 natur cunctos insulanos incomparabiliter antecellet. Cui coniuix Vade ergo *et* seruorum  
 16 septus agmine incensorem illum cunctos que ei adherentes in gladio *perimere non* formides.  
 17 Quod uir stolidus aggredi temptans *et* effectui mancipare uelle *presumens* statim cum  
 18 suis vniuersis febrium igne correptus a concepta nequicia se temperauit. *Verbis* tamen minis

<sup>2</sup> Last few words of this and the next line lost due to wear on corner of page.

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19 *et opprobriis quia uiribus non poterat sanctam societatem impugnauit. Reuertens igitur et*  
20 *facultate nocendi priuatus non uoluntate coniugem ob iter obuiam habuit uociferantem*  
21 *et clamantem Ve Ve quia morte subitanea iam pecora nostra cuncta periere. Virum itaque*  
22 *sanctum statim ad euntes humili deuotione imploremus ut et simul nostri et pecorum misereatur.*  
23 *Quo facto terra quam possidebat uir sanctus ei in perpetuum relicta immune ab omni feruore*  
24 *que*  
25 *mortua uidebantur pecora uite inuenta sunt restituta per pecora nimirum et bestias*  
26 *in quibus signa sunt data: bestiales temporis illius homines et de bestiarum amissione plus*  
27 *equo dolentes sunt designati. Leccio vii<sup>a</sup>*  
28 *Nec sic tamen inuidia quieuit nec sic malicia cessauit. mulier enim muliebri non de*  
29 *generans a natura. semper in nequiciam prona semper in malo pertinax et obstinata missis*  
30 *puellarum turbis sanctam cohortem muliebriter demulcendo crebris insultibus adeo molestare*  
31 *cepit et fatigare ut a loco discedere. locumque deserere penitus fratres unanimi consilio iam*  
32 *parassent. Scientes quippe quoniam huiusmodi genus hostis melius fugiendo uincitur quam*  
33 *resistendo.*  
34 *Et quoniam iuxta ieronimi sententiam nulla securitas est uicino serpente dormire quia etsi non*  
35 *percutit certe sollicitare non desistit. Sanctus autem pater titubantes in hunc modum*  
36 *discipulorum*  
37 *animos pia consolacione confirmauit docens et monens quoniam per tribulaciones et angustias*  
38 *facta que ducit ad uitam incedendum est uia nec nisi per uiam laborem ad patrie requiem*  
39 *peruenitur.*  
40 *Quis enim isralitice plebis ad terram promissionis per egipti deserta tendentis longos et periculis*  
{174r}  
41 *plenos labores ignorat? Quis pauli ad ytaliam uergentis quamquam diuinis afflati*  
42 *monitis naufragiosa pericula non aduertit. Set nauis cordis maris fluctibus integra et*  
43 *in concussa permansit. Aduersitas itaque que bonis uotis obicitur probacio uirtutis est*  
44 *non iudicium reprobacionis. Virtus enim uero in infirmitate perficitur. Et sicut aurum igne*  
45 *probatum sic fidei constancia tribulacionibus frangi nescia more sinapis plus excrescit*  
46 *Et inter angustias pressa diuisi diucius nec oppressa in robur perfecte consummacionis*  
47 *forcius exurgit debemus itaque non uinci malo: set uincere potius in bono malum. Quia si*  
48 *christus*  
49 *pro nobis quis contra nos. Sedatis igitur ad patris monita discipulis mulier paulo post*  
50 *in insaniam versa priuignam innocuam interemit. Et sic diuina indignacione percussa*  
51 *debasato discurrens impetu in breui non comparauit. Boia quoque ab hoste interemptus*  
52 *cui nomen leschi turreque ipsius misso celitus igne consumpta diuinam ulcionem non*

12 euasit. leccio viii<sup>a</sup>  
 13 Cessantibus itaque demum deo propicio malignantibus insidiis. Sancta societas in loco diui  
 14 nitus ostenso monasterium insigne construxit. In quo diuinis ex toto mancipati obsequiis  
 15 a ~~p~~o populari frequentia in angulari quadam solitudine super hibernicum mare non longe  
 16 remoti quatuor hiis curis manuum scilicet labore. leccione et oracione et pauperum refeccione  
 17 uitam feliciter exegere. Vnde et tanta tamque laudabilis congregacionis huius longe  
 18 lateque creuit opinio ut nominis eiusdem tanquam effusi olei fragrantia multos per  
 19 insulam ad similia sancta congrigacionis opera efficaci exemplo prouocaret. multi quoque  
 20 uis uiri magnifici et terrena facultate prepotentes inter quos nominatissimus exstiterat  
 21 dux cornubie constantinus relictis omnibus ad locum hunc se conferentes uitam in sancta  
 22 societate finire feliciter elegerunt. De fonte limpidissimo discipulorum instancia  
 23 ad sacramentales usus non procul ad ecclesiam dato.  
 24 Quadam uero die conuenientes in unum fratres communiter conqueruntur quod prope  
 25 monasterium  
 26 ad missarum solempnia dominicique corporis sacramenta lucidi limpidique fontis copiam  
 27 non haberent Aluni namque fluuius per uallis ima decurrens aqua turbida fuerat cenulenta  
 28 et frequenter in estate defectiua. Quo pater audito ad locum cimiterii vbi frequencius ange  
 29 licis frui consueuerat alloquiis statim accessit. Cumque ibidem ~~aliq~~ aliquandiu deuotis  
 30 ad dominum oracionibus institisset. limpidissime fons aque eodem in loco subito prorupit. Qui  
 31 sacramentalibus ad plenum usibus idoneus et officii vsque in hodiernum ibidem emanat  
 32 antiquis aliquando uinum temporibus nostris autem aliquociens lac stillare diebus indubitata  
 33 ueritate compertus est. Set et alias quoque foncium scaturigines circiter locum eundem  
 34 discipulorum  
 35 meritis ad patris imitationem datas constat quamplurimas. Apud breudi quoque vbi  
 36 ecclesia in honore sancti dauid et quasi per miliaria quatuor a meneuia distans fundata  
 37 dinoscitur ad instanciam uiri cuiusdam cui nomen terdi pulcherimum dulcis aque fontem piis  
 38 similiter supplicacionibus pater emisit.

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1 <sup>3</sup>Sed quoniam quicquid gratie spiritalis discipulis impenditur in patris ac preceptoris proculdubio  
 2 redundat gloriam nonnulla discipulorum insignia interdum interserere preter rem non  
 3 putandum.

<sup>3</sup> de aidano discipulo qui boues precipites signo crucis reduxit incolumes et Swithuno ab hibernia meneuiam ab eodem miraculose transmissio. Added in top margin by main scribe.

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3 aidanus *igitur* diuinis eruditus disciplinis tanto *que* dignus *preceptore* discipulus cum leccioni  
cumque  
4 propensius intenderet. ex *prepositi* *precepto* leccionem relinquens cum duobus bobus ad lingua  
de  
5 portanda *perrexit* Erat autem silua quam petebat quasi miliaribus a monasterio distans duobus  
6 scilicet in ualle salevuach. Cum ita uehiculo impleto *per prerupta* montis latera reuerteretur  
bobus cum  
7 reda et sarcina tota in precipitium datis uir *sanctus* eleuata manu signo crucis et uehiculum  
8 integrum et boues illesos ~~mis~~ mira uirtute reduxit. Accessit et illud ad signorum cumulum quod  
9 cum nubes interim in pluuiam magnam resolute fuissent librum tamen quem *preceptus*  
obediendo  
10 nimiam ob festinacionem apertum sub diuo reliquerat ab omni madore reperit prorsus  
immunem.  
11 *Sanctus autem Aidanus qui et hibernice maydocus dicitur* uirtutibus in signis et diuinis affatim  
eruditus  
12 disciplinis ex inde licencia primum a patre deinde a fratribus accepta cum omni benediccione  
hiberniam  
13 petit. Vbi cum aliquamdiu signis et uirtutibus clarisset demum apud fernas nobile monasterium  
14 construxit. In quo ad formam et regulam quam apud meneuiam a pio patre didicerat collectis  
15 in vnum fratribus domino deseruire deuouit. Processu uero temporis cum nocte paschali  
oracionibus  
16 consueto more uir *sanctus* insisteret astitit ei angelus dicens Nescis Aidane quod patri tuo  
17 dauid crastina die a fratribus quibusdam uenenum ad prandium apponetur Ac ille respondens  
nescio  
18 inquit. Cui iterum angelus. Mitte cicius vnum ex discipulis ad indicandum ei. Ac ille. Nec  
19 nauem inquit paratam habeo nec aura concordat. Ac angelus discipulum tuum Swithunum  
20 ad mare cicius mitte. et ego ei tam uentum quam uehiculum ministrabo. Quo ~~facto~~ facta  
21 cum Swythynus ad mare *perueniens* usque ad genu iam intrasset *assumptus* ad marina belua  
22 et miraculose transuectus patri periculum indicauit. Cumque die paschali completis missarum  
solem  
23 nitatibus in refectorio ad cenam consedisent diacono ex more ministrante panemque ueneno  
24 confectum patri apponente. Surgens Swythynus qui et scolanus dictus est et post modum in Win  
25 toniensi ut *perhibent* cathedra sublimatus diacono cum confusione repulso ego inquit hodie  
26 ministrabo. *Sanctus autem pater crucis signaculo panem benedicens* in tres diuisit ~~porciones~~  
quorum



- 27 *vnam partem cani et alteram coruo tradi precepit. Quibus deuoratis cernentibus cunctis statim  
expirauit*
- 28 *uterque. Ipse autem pater terciam sumens partem coram omnibus benedicendo comedit  
intrepidus pariter*
- 29 *et illesus. de libro euangelico imperfecto.*
- 30 *Contigit autem die quadam cum euangelio iohannis manibus propriis scribendo dauid operam  
daret*
- 31 *quod campana pulsante statim ad horam exiliit et ad ecclesiam nec clauso quaternione nec folio  
completo*
- 32 *festinauit. mos enim erat congregacioni ibidem deo militanti cuicumque insisterent operi*
- 33 *quod eodem illico ad campam pulsum non completo communiter accelerarent diuina sic  
indicantes*
- 34 *obsequia cunctis officiis ante ponenda. Completa autem hora cum ad scriptorium suum  
locumque*
- {175r}
- 1 *laboris uir sanctus iuxta consuetudinem remeasset inuenit opus inchoatum aureis literis angelico  
ministerio*
- 2 *consummatum. Quo uiso pater quo ad potuit miraculum suppressit et ab humanis librum  
aspectibus clausum*
- 3 *nil penitus addendo remouit. Vnde et vsque in hodiernum diem in textum auro et argento  
conclusus*
- 4 *humanis interius aspectibus non presentatur. Nec legitur quoque quispiam a tempore sancti dauid  
vsque ad*
- 5 *moderna fere tempora ausus fuit librum inspicere uel libri signaculum aperire. Quidam*
- 6 *etenim nouissimis hiis diebus id attemptare presumpserunt quia semper caritas refrigescit et  
deuocionis*
- 7 *de die in diem amor amplius ac fidei feruor eneruatur. Sed incontinenti subita diuinitus*
- 8 *passione percussi a temerariis ausibus sunt reuocati.*
- 9 *Vocatur autem a comprouincialibus textus iste euangelium imperfectum qui usque in hodiernum  
signis*
- 10 *clarus et uirtutibus in maxuma non in merito reuerencia a cunctis habetur.*
- 11 *De sancto Barroco super mare equitante et Brendano super marinum cetum eidem obuiante.*
- 12 *Mos erat illis diebus hibernensibus romam pergere proficiscendo apostolorum limina pre locis  
omnibus*
- 13 *magis frequenter deuoto labore uisitare Inter quos abbas barrocus de corcagie finibus ab eadem*

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- 14 peregrinatione meneuiam usque reuersus ibidem uenti et nauigii tempora prestolabatur. In  
consuetudine
- 15 nimirum uiri boni de hibernia et autentici habebant quod peregre profecti uel in eundo uel  
redeundo
- 16 beati dauid alloquiis frui quoniam oleum effusum erat nomen eius uotiuo desiderio affectarent.  
Cum itaque
- 17 barrocius circa patrem dauid diuinis alloquiis et sancta templacione iam aliquamdiu moram  
fecisset
- 18 tandem de patria cogitans gregisque sine pastore pericula timens quia nauigationem eiusdem aura  
19 prepediebat equum patris dauid cui ad ecclesiasticas utilitates insidere consueuerat de meritis uiri  
20 sancti ualde presumens fiducialiter expectiit et obtinuit. Licenciam igitur a patre suscipiens et be  
21 dicens et equo uiri dei pro uehiculo pariter et nauigio fungens super equoreas absque remis et  
uelo
- 22 transuectus undas solo fidei gubernaculo sustentatur. Cumque longius in mare sic equitando  
23 progressus fuisset apparuit ei sanctus brendanus super marinum cetum obuiam ueniens. Qui  
24 salutatione premissa quesiiuit humiliter et quis esset qui super aquas sic equitabat et unde  
25 uenisset. Qui barrocius cum longe peregrinationis tedia sanctique patris dauid apud meneuiam  
solacia
- 26 equique sui cum benedictione uehiculum exposuisset Brendanus accepta licencia preteriit dicens  
ad
- 27 uisitandum similiter uirum sanctum se quoque suo uehiculo diuinitus indulto deproperare.  
Barrocius autem
- 28 illesus et indemnis trans mare uectus corcagiam uenit et fratribus que gesta fuerant per ordinem  
29 narrauit. Qui et equum in cella ministerio usque ad obitum eius tenuerunt. Post obitum  
30 uero ad tanti tam in auditi miraculi perpetuam ~~maximam~~ memoriam equum fusilem modicum  
31 et portabilem uirumque insidentem auro et argento egregie et distincte fecerunt. Qui usque in  
32 hodiernum corcagie in ecclesia sancti barroci signis clarus et uirtutibus in maxima nimirum  
33 reuerencia a comprouincialibus haberi solet. mirabilis itaque deus in sanctis suis et magnus in  
34 omnibus operibus suis nec detestari debet sed admirari et uenerari creatoris opera que uis creatura  
35 multa nimirum ut ait ieronimus incredibilia reperies nec uerisimilia que nihilominus uera  
36 sunt. Nichil enim contra nature dominum preualet natura.

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- 1 De sancto Aidano aliter Maedhog discipulo signo crucis liberato et apibus ad eodem in  
hiberniam
- 2 miraculose transuectis.

3 Quodam autem die cum quidam sancti patris discipulus cui nomen maidauc non procul a  
monasterio  
4 vna cum fratribus deuexa montis cuiusdam latera ferro cauaret et complanaret quatinus uiantibus  
5 ad deferenda necessitatum honora facilius foret accessus quidam aliquociens increpatus ab ipso  
6 quod nimis segniter laborasset iracundie furore accensus ferrum quod manu tenebat in altum  
7 eleuans illud in uiri uerticem torquere parabat. Quod videns a longe sanctus pater dauid  
8 facto crucis signo dextre manus ad illos eleuacione et ictum tenuit et manum cum brachio  
9 ferire uolentis arescere fecit.  
10 Cum autem discipulus idem post annos plurimos circa patrem obediencie regulis instructus  
11 fuisset et uite meritis illustratus tum hybernicam insulam de patris licencia petere iam parasset  
12 mare ingressum cuncta apum examina que meneuie uel eiusdem confinio fuerant ipsum  
13 usque in nauem ipsam sunt secuta. Ipse enim inter fratres huic specialiter operi indulgebat quo  
14 uiso nolens fratres possessionis sue dampno fraudare ad terram rediit patrem que dauid  
15 ꝛ reuisitauit apibus ad sedes suas undequaue reuersis. Ad nauem autem secundo reuersus apes  
eum  
16 undique sequentes denuo conspexit. Iterumque ad terram reuertentem sicut primo sic et secundo  
sunt secute.  
17 Patrem autem et fratres iam tercio repetens quoniam suis eos de utilitatibus nullatenus defraudare  
18 set eos potius indempnes esse uolebat tandem piis fratrum oracionibus et patris benedictione deo  
19 commendatus transfretandi licenciam una cum apibus communiter accepit. Ex quo factum est  
20 ut apes que nunquam antea hybernia ut fertur uise fuerant ab eo quo tam miraculose per ipsum  
21 transuete sunt tempore ibidem habundare in meneuia uero ab illa hora semper deficere  
22 consueuerunt. De beato dauid Ierosolimam angelicis monitis peregre profecto et ibidem  
23 a patriarcha in episcopum consecrato.  
24 Processu uero temporis crescentibus cum etate virtutum meritis nocte quadam in somnis astitit  
25 ei angelus precipiens ut in crastino mane iter ierosolimitanum incunctanter arriperet duosque  
26 ibi socios et participes tanti laboris adiungeret elius scilicet qui nunc theliauus uulgo uocatur  
27 et paternum quorum amborum conuersacio satis eidem nota fuerat. Dauid autem admirans  
imperii maturacionem  
28 respondit Quantum in me est paratus sum in omnibus obedire set quos mihi commites tam  
festinos  
29 adiungis trium dierum spacio et a nobis et ab inuicem distant. Cui angelus ne sollicitaris  
30 inquit super eorum aduentu quia sine difficultate tibi cras obiter occurrent. dauid autem summo

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31 mane parens imperiis dispositis statim *fratrum* necessitatibus acceptaque eorundem benediccione  
non  
32 longo apparatu non sumptuoso continenter iter arripuit. *Et* non longo progressus itinere  
premissos  
33 ad eundem secum laborem promptos inuenit.  
34 Ibant itaque gaudentes angelicis fulti solaciis ibant *et* vnanimis puta quibus omnino fuerat  
35 tribus in corporibus animus vnus. nulla inter eos contencio nulla disparitas nulla discordia.  
36 Tantum in psalmis ymnis *et* canticis spiritalibus diuinisque colloquiis dies *et* noctes consum  
37 mabant. Cum autem trans mare gallicum *et* mediterraneum nauigio uecti diuersas nacionum  
38 linguas audirent more apostolico omnium noticiam gracia diuinitus indulta omnes habuerunt  
quatinus  
39 inter alienigenas interprete non indigerent *et* fide uacillantes uerbo pariter *et* opere confirmarent.  
40 appropinquantibus autem urbi ierosolimitane nocte proxima ante eorum aduentum apparuit  
41 patriarche in sompnis angelus dicens Tres tibi uiri ab occiduis finibus catholici *et* amici dei cras  
{176r}  
1 aduenient. Quos cum gaudio magno *et* hospitalitatis gracia benigne suscipias *et* abbatem ipsorum  
2 cui nomen dauid christo in episcopum *et* fideri fundatorem consecrabis patriarcha uero post hanc  
uisionem  
3 tres sedes honoratissimas summo mane parari iussit. quibus tres personas honore dignissimas  
4 honorifice fuisse suscepit. Quos cum diebus aliquot gratulanter secum *et* decentissime tenuisset  
5 patrem dauid diuinitus electum sacrum consecrando episcopum debita solempnitate prouexit.  
6 Quibus in hunc modum rite peractis quoniam ea tempestate gentilium furor in christianitatem  
nimis  
7 inualuerat patriarcha monuit *et* monitis obtinuit ut secum in orientis aliquamdiu partibus  
verbum  
8 domini seminarent quatinus *et* fide domesticos in fide confirmarent *et* infideles atque rebelles ab  
9 erroris pertinacia reuocarent.  
10 Hiis igitur omnibus iuxta patriarche monita aliquantis graciose temporibus *et* ualde efficaciter ex  
actis  
11 cum redeundi denique licenciam uix obtinuissent quatuor eos muneribus patriarcha donauit  
12 altari uidelicet portatili consecrato. Campana baiula Baculo insigni *et* tunica ex  
13 auro contexta. Set quoniam onerosa quamquam honorificata longo labore fratres recusabant  
reuersi in  
14 patriam angelico ministerio sua quisque dona miraculose recepit. dauid quidem in mo  
15 nasterio cui nomen lankeuelach nolam *et* altare que ambo usque in hodiernum diem uirtutibus  
16 clarent. Paternus autem *et* eliud sua suis monasteriis munera signis quoque clarencia susce

17 perunt. Vnde *et in perpetuam tanti miraculi memoriam* huc donaria de celo ueniencia uulgo  
 18 uocantur. De synodo apud breui *contra pelagianam heresim conuocata et patre*  
 19 dauid *ibidem in archiepiscopum sublimato.*  
 20 Non longis autem post *hec temporibus pelagiana labes et heresis detestanda per beatum*  
 21 *germanum autissiodorensem et lupum trecentem episcopos in insulam transmissos olim extincta*  
 22 *residuo morbo rediuiua que malicia in fidei catholice perniciem iam resussitata uniuersa*  
 23 *tocius cambrie sinodo colligente occasione dedit.* Vnde *et collectis in keretica regione apud*  
 24 *Landeweybreui episcopis et abbatibus uiris que religiosis diuersorum ordinum multis nec non et*  
 25 *laicis*  
 26 *principibus ac populis de vniuersa regione collectis cum a pluribus in publica audientia sermo*  
 27 *factus ~~per~~ populum heretica prauitate pene irreuocabiliter infectum ad fidei reducere tramitem*  
 28 *non preualuisset.* Tandem Paulinus episcopus cum quo dauid olim liberalibus disciplinis in puericia  
 29 studuerat ut *propter episcopum nuper a patriarcha consecratum uirum sanctum discretum pariter*  
 30 *et disertum*  
 31 *qui non dum aduenerat communiter ab omnibus ad tantum ecclesie discrimen mittere uix uerbis*  
 32 *quidem suasoriis perorauit. Mittuntur itaque nuncii semel et secundo nil proficientes.* Erat  
 33 enim uir *sanctus contemplacioni deditus a temporalibus rebus et secularibus nisi necessitate*  
 34 *urgenci hore compulsus aut nichil aut parum curans. Quidem vero duo mittuntur uiri*  
 35 *sanctissimi ac fidelissimi daniel uidelicet et dubricius dauid autem eorum aduentum in spiritu*  
 36 *preuidens magnos ad se uiros in crastino uenturos fratribus predixit aduenerunt itaque mane*  
 37 *uiri predicti sicut et uir sanctus preuiderat hospicio pro facultatibus honorificate suscepti et*  
 38 *exhibiti. Quorum ob sanctitatem et sinodi pariter auctoritatem demum monitis ob temperans*  
 39 *una cum ipsis die sequente uersus ~~sed~~ sinodum iter arripuit. Illis autem profisiscentibus cum ad*  
 40 *loca iam peruenissent. a sinodo non remota matrem inuenerunt orbatam filio que iuuentuli*  
 41 *corpus*

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1 extincti luctuosa seruabat at ubi aduentum uiri tanti mater audierat et pedes ipsius se  
 2 quantocius toto corpore prosternendo pro filii salute uirum sanctum sollicitauit. dauid autem ut  
 3 erat  
 4 pietate spectabilis et humanitate matris miserie condolens et lamentacioni confestim ad  
 5 funus accedens faciemque defuncti lacrimis rigans inuocato christi nomine coram omnibus et  
 6 puerum miraculose suscitauit et matri rediuiuum restaurauit. Que statim freta salubri  
 7 consilio filium suscitauit<sup>tum</sup> patri sancto ad christi obsequia fideliter assignauit. dauid autem  
 8 euangelii

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7 textum quem semper in pectore gestare consueuerat humeris pueri continenter imposuit et  
secum  
8 ad sinodum portare precepit. Quo facto congregacionem adeunt cum gaudio suscepti maximo et  
9 ~~gra~~ gratulacione predicacionis igitur officium patri dauid ab omnibus iniungitur Qui stans in  
terre  
10 planicie cum ~~eum~~ alii ~~autem~~ ante predicantes ibidem congestarum cumulum uestium ascendere  
11 consueuerint tam clara uoce et graciosa cunctorum pariter tam remotissimorum quam positorum  
prope auribus  
12 intonuit ut omnes eum communiter in tanta concione et salubriter audirent Iuxta illud aperi  
13 os tuum et ego ad implebo illud Et alibi Cum steteritis ante reges et presides nolite cogitare  
14 quomodo aut quid loquamini dabitur enim uobis illa hora quid loquamini Et subsequenter non  
15 enim uos estis qui loquimini set spiritus patris uestri qui loquitur in uobis vbi et signa duo  
manifest[.  
16 illico toti populo claruerunt indiciis Quia niuea columba celitus emissa quamdiu sermonem  
faciebat  
17 dextro eiusdem insedit humero et terra sub pedibus predicantis ut prece ueritatis cunctis  
euidencius  
18 preemineret in colem excreuit In cuius eciam uertice cacuminis ecclesia postmodum sita fuit que  
vsque  
19 in hodiernum diem nomine sancti dauid illustratur.  
20 Quibus ita peractis sermo ne completo tota cooperante gracia heresis euanuit discussa  
21 penitus et deleta. Pater autem dauid communi omnium tam cleri scilicet quam populi eleccione  
pariter  
22 et acclamacione cui et honorem antea destinacione dubricius cesserat. in cambrie tocius archi  
episcopum est sublimatus.  
23 Processu uero temporis et alia sinodus collecta est cui nomen uictorie in qua conuocato denuo  
24 tocius cambrie clero ea que in priori sinodo firmata fuerant adiectus quoque quibusdam super  
ecclesie  
25 comoditatibus firmo rigoris examine sunt renouata. Ex hiis itaque duabus sinodis omnes  
26 cambrie tocius ecclesie modum et regulam ecclesiam quoque romana auctoritatem adhibente et  
27 confirmante susceperunt. Quarum decreta que ore promulgauerat presul dauid sua quoque sancta  
28 manu literis mandauit sue que ecclesie aliis que per kambriam pluribus reseruanda commendauit.  
29 Que quidem sicut et alii quam plurimi nobilis bibliotece thesauri egregii tam uetustate  
30 quam incuria piratarum quoque precipue crebris insultibus qui de orcadum insulis estiuo tempore  
31 longis nauibus aduecti maritimas prouincias kambrie uastare consueuerant euanuerunt.  
32 Predictis itaque temporibus ecclesia dei floruit insignis et multis de die in diem fructibus

- 33 adoleuit multis ~~passim~~ passim in locis monasteria sunt constructa multe fidelium *congre*  
 34 *gaciones* in uariis ordinibus ad christi obsequia *sancta* deuotione collecta. Cunctis autem *pater*  
 35 *dauid tamquam* in specula positus eminentissima uite *speculum* erat *et exemplum*. Instruebat  
 {177r}
- 1 subditos uerbo instruebat *et exemplo efficacissimus* ore *predicator set opere* maior. Erat enim  
 audientibus
- 2 *doctrina* religiosi forma *egentibus* uita *orphanis* nutrimentum *secularibus* uia *omnibus omnia factus*  
 ut *omnia*
- 3 *lucris* deo. De manu *beati dauid perforata per ihesum christum* sibi *apparentem* mirabiliter  
 sani
- 4 tati restituta apud Glastoniam.
- 5 Scribitur in libro *hystoriarum ecclesie* Glastonie *pro fabricata ihesum* quadam *honestissima*  
 capella in
- 6 honore dei *genetricis et virginis marie* que ad huc stat *decentissima* *presidente tunc* temporis  
*ecclesie*
- 7 *menevie beato dauid archipresule* *missum est* ab *abbate et fratribus* ad *ipsum beatum uirum*  
 supplicando ut ipse
- 8 *ob amorem et honorem ipsius virginis gloriose* ad *eius capellam dedicandam* ad eos *accedere*  
 dignaretur
- 9 *sanctus uero eorum precibus inclinatus* *facturum se annuit quod petebant. Et assumptis secum*  
 septem
- 10 *suffragantis suis uersus dictum locum iter* arripuit. Nota *uero antequam* ad *ipsum locum*  
*peruenisset*
- 11 apparuit *ihesus christus beato dauid* dicens Quo tendes: Qui ait *Glastoniam* ad *basilicam*  
*beatissime matris tue dedicandam*. Ait ei *ihesus fili non est* *necesse iam enim* *dedicata est* per me.
- 13 Et dixit *dauid domine: si hoc dixero non est* qui *mibi credat*. ait *ihesus* *extende manum*  
 14 *dexteram tuam*. Qua *extensa tetegit ihesus palmam suam et perforauit eam per medium*. Et ait  
 15 *hoc tibi et omnibus uidentibus signum erit* *Cras enim* *locum illum* *adibis et* *que dixi tibi* *fratribus*  
 enarrabis
- 16 Et ut *fidem indubitatum* dictis tuis *adhibeant* in *eadem capella quam* *dedicare* uolebas  
 17 *missam* celebrabis. Et *cum peruenis* ad *uerba illa per ipsum et cum ipso et in ipso etcetera*  
 redintegrabitur
- 18 *manus tua*. Quod et *factum est omnibus uidentibus et deum collaudantibus*. De morte *ipsius*  
 19 *quam predixerat* et tam *angelica quam eciam dominica* uisitacione.

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- 20 Hiis itaque meritis longeque amplioribus quam pagina nostra potest exprimere peractis cum ad  
senium
- 21 usque feliciter perductus fuisset. centumque et xl septem annorum curricula iam compleuisset a  
uia
- 22 tandem ad patriam tendens. et humane fragilitati morem gerens morbo demum decubuit
- 23 letali correptus.
- 24 Multas autem angelorum uoces et uisitaciones tam in ecclesia ipso presente quam in egritudinis
- 25 lecto iam constituto fratres audierunt dicencium et canencium diem sue ~~et~~ resolutionis iam  
imminere
- 26 et tempus instare quo finito feliciter uite temporalis cursu brauium susciperet et de mundo glo  
27 riose triumphans. ad palmam uictoriosus perueniret. Sed tamen mortem non uisurum priusquam
- 28 uideret sanctum domini ad se uenientem promiserunt. fama uero deliberacionis eius et egritudinis  
extreme
- 29 tam uisionibus quam angelicis reuelacionibus uariis tam britannia quam et hibernie locis multis  
uiris
- 30 sanctis innotescens eos ad patris dauid uisitacionem aduocauit. adueniente uero die dominica  
ualida
- 31 tam populum quam clerum predicacione confirmans participato coram omnibus corpore  
dominico quod et ipse
- 32 consecrauerat finita diuini obsequii solempnitate et benediccione data quasi populo uale
- 33 dicens se tercia post feria ad dominum a seculo ~~miser~~ migraturum palam predixit. O quantus  
luctus
- 34 hominum et quante precipue lamenta fratrum tunc et clericorum Plangunt enim populi patrem  
clerus
- 35 pontificem pauperes sustentarem omnes uite duces et doctorem.
- 36 Ab hac igitur hora usque ad terminum prefixum totum id residuum temporis angelicis continue  
fere uisita
- 37 cionis et diuinis solaciis consummauit. Parum autem ante obitus sui horam dominus ihesus fidel..  
suum
- 38 iuxta sua promissa uisitare dignatus est. In cuius aduentu non mediocri pater exultans gaudio  
lacrimis tamen
- {177v}
- 1 quas leticia gignit hec confidenter ingemuit uerba. Domine tolle me post te et quasi syme
- 2 onis cantico psallens nunc dimittis seruum tuum domine secundum uerbum tuum in pace. Quia  
uiderunt
- 3 oculi mei salutare tuum et cetera. In hiis itaque uerbis et similibus primo kalendarum marcii uir  
sanctus deo



- 4 *spiritum reddidit et talari indutus tunica uita temporalis cursum feliciter compleuit et ad eternam*  
5 *beatudinis palmam mundo pariter et hoste triumphato uictoriosus ascendit anno domini*  
*quingentesimo*  
6 *quadagesimo secundo vocante eodem domino nostro ihesu christo cui cum patre et spiritu sancto*  
*est honor uirtus*  
7 *et gloria in secula sempiterna. Amen.*  
8 *Sepultum est itaque corpus eius et sicut tantum decebat thesaurum ibidem a fratribus honorifice*  
9 *reconditum vbi usque in hodierna tempora se dominus in sancto suo signis et prodigiis mirabilem*  
10 *ostendit. Que quidem alicuius in posterum diligencia prioribus addita renouato beneficio*  
11 *nostrum quandoque uolumen extendet.*

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