

Vita Sancti Gildae (Caradog of Llancarfan)

edited by Paul Russell

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Introduction

The main themes of the narrative of Caradog's VS Gildae set it clearly apart from the earlier Life of Gildas composed in Brittany. The overlap is minimal (LBS 81–130 conflates the two versions): both Lives identify him as a son of Caw (*Naw* in VS Gildae (Caradog) is probably an early misreading) and he is depicted as spending time in Ireland and Rome. Apart from that, Caradog's Life is preoccupied with three themes: Arthur, Cadog, and Glastonbury. It also took over episodes from other Welsh saints' Lives and other literary sources: the episode of Gildas unable to preach in the presence of a Nonnita pregnant with David derives from Rhygyfarch's VS Daud (Vesp) §5 (Sharpe and Davies 2007: 112–15); the episode of the bell which Cadog is keen to acquire is based on VS Catoci (Vesp) §22 (VSB §27); the narrative of the kidnap of Gwenhwyfar is clearly related to the poem *Ymddiddan Melwas a Gwenhwyfar* (Sims-Williams 1991: 58–61; Jones 2019: 28–9; Jones and Lloyd-Morgan 2020). It is easy to see VS Gildae (Caradog) as a gathering of hagiographical motifs and narratives to provide a Welsh-based Life of Gildas, and for that reason VS Gildae (Caradog) does not get a good press (Rabin 2019: 21–2; cf. Henken 2019: 218–19). The Glastonbury element has been seen as reflecting Caradog's presence in Glastonbury in the early-mid-twelfth century (Gransden 1976: 346–7, 363; Echard 1998: 122–3; Kennedy 2011). However, Rabin (2019) has argued for a greater degree of coherence: starting from the description of Arthur as a *rex rebellis* and *tyrannus* he makes a case that the Life may reflect 'the interests, priorities and anxieties of a monastic community (*sc.* Glastonbury), particularly one of the Anglo-Welsh border, during the early years of the civil war between King Stephen and the Empress Matilda' (Rabin 2019: 23). He notes that the inter-connectibility between Llancarfan and Glastonbury, only separated by an easily crossed section of the Bristol Channel, allows us to see Glastonbury as part of an English-Welsh frontier area, 'a cross-cultural space with both a distinct

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history during the civil war, a specific pattern of political affiliations' (Rabin 2019: 23). In the latter sections Gildas is depicted as a peace-maker between Arthur and Melwas, but this is in a sense only a development of the way he deals with Arthur which emphasises his pacific role, even though his brother Huail has been killed by Arthur (for Huail, see Jones 1968; TYP 399–402; Lloyd-Morgan 2019: 209–10; Jones and Lloyd-Morgan 2020). Furthermore, the episode of the bell, taken over from VS Catoci (Vesp), is extended to include a peace-making element (Rabin 2019: 30–1).

On the basis of the couplet added at the end of the Life, the authorship of Caradog has generally been accepted. He is thus identified with the Caradog to whom Geoffrey of Monmouth hands over the continuation of the Welsh strand of *De gestis Brittonum* (DGB XI.208.601–2; Reeve and Wright (2007), 280–1) and who composed the second Life of Cadog (VS Catoci (Caradog)). Stylistically, Davies (2003: 133–6, 194–203 (esp. 198–9)) has made a very good case for attributing the Lives of Illtud, Gwynllyw, and Tathan (Tatheus) to Caradog as well as VS Gildae (Caradog) and VS Catoci (Caradog).

The text was first edited by Stevenson (1838: xxv–xli (text: xxxi–xli) based on BL Burney 310 and a copy of it, BL Royal 13.B.vii (cf. xxix–xxx)). The standard edition has been that of Mommsen (1898: 107–10, based on CCCC 139 and BL Burney 310). It was also printed and translated by Williams (1899–1901: ii, 390–413 (the 1990 reprint of this is currently the standard edition)). Substantial extracts were printed by Ussher (1639: 442, 468–70, 676, 677–8) from one of the later manuscripts. (For the various manuscripts see *MSS and Transcription* below.) An abbreviated version is contained in John of Tynemouth's *Sanctilogium (Nova Legenda Anglie)* (Horstman 1901: i, 468–9, and VS Gildae (JT), ed. and trans. Marzella). More recently, another abbreviated version has come to light in Newhaven, Yale University, Beinecke, Osborn fb229, pp. 22–3 (Callander 2019).

The following edition is based on CCCC 139, fol. 178v–181r, the oldest surviving copy, dated to 1164–6 (Dumville 1972–4: 370–1), but it also includes the list of *capitula* at the beginning which has been ignored in previous editions even though they are in the same hand as the text (Dumville 1972–4: 375, n. 1); at one point the *capitula* provide a detail not mentioned in the text. The text edited here is sub-divided into sections corresponding to these *capitula*; the edition in Williams (1899–1901: 390–413) is divided into larger sections.

The following concordance collates sections of the edition and the manuscript with the editions of Mommsen and Williams (the second pagination for Williams refers to the pagination of the 1990 reprint).

<i>Sections</i>	<i>CCCC 139</i>	<i>Mommsen (pp.)</i>	<i>Williams (pp.)</i>
1	177ra5	107.1	394/84.1
2	177ra16	107.5	394/84.7
3	177ra23	107.8	394/84.11
4	177ra29	107.1	394/84.15
5	177rb25	107.23	396/86.15
6	177va1	107.27	398/88.6
7	177va14	108.4	400/90.8
8	177va28	108.10	400/90.17
9	177va34	108.14	400/90.22
10	177vb19	108.23	402/92.10
11	177vb30	108.28	402/92.18
12	178ra5	108.33	404/94.2
13	178ra18	108.39	404/94.12
14	178rb8	109.7	404/94/30
15	178rb12	109.10	406/96.2
16	178rb21	109.14	406/96.9
17	178va7	109.25	408/98.2
18	178va13	109.28	408/98.6
19	178va20	109.31	408/98.11
20	178va27	109.35	408/98.15
21	178va30	109.36	408/98.18
22	178vb2	109.39	408/98.22
23	178vb12	109.44	410/100.2
24	178vb18	110.2	410/100.5
25	178vb23	110.4	410/100.9
26	178vb27	110.7	410/100.12
27	179ra1	110.10	410/100.18
28	179ra7	110.13	410/100.21
29	179ra12	110.16	410/100.25
[30]	179ra19	110.20	410/100.30

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The following concordance allows cross-referencing between the manuscript and the sub-sections used by Mommsen and Williams.

<i>CCCC 139</i>	<i>Sections</i>	<i>Mommsen (pp.)</i>	<i>Williams (pp.)</i>
177ra5	1	107.1	394/84.1
177ra17	2	107.6	394/84.8
177ra29	3	107.10	394/84.15
177rb23	4	107.22	396/86.14
177va31	5	108.10	400/90.20
177vb30	6	108.28	402/92.18
178ra18	7	108.39	404.94.12
178rb8	8	109.7	404.94.30
178rb21	9	109.14	406/96.9
178va7	10	109.25	408/98.3
178vb6	11	109.42	408/98.26
178vb22	12	110.4	410/100.9
179ra1	13	110.10	410/100.18
179ra19	14	110.20	410/100.3

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Summary

VS Gildae (Caradog), attributed to Caradog of Llancarfan in a colophon, was composed perhaps in the second quarter of the twelfth century (approx. 1135–1145) in Wales. In content, it only has some overlap with the first life composed in Brittany by a monk of Rhuys. Caradog's Life is very focused on Wales with particular interests in Cadog and Glastonbury. Throughout there is a significant Arthurian component especially in the account of the death of Gildas's brother at the hands of Arthur, and in the story of the kidnap of Gwenhwyfar by Melwas. The earliest copy, CCCC 139, is dated to 1166, relatively close to the time of composition.

Sigla

- B BL, Burney 310, fols 165v–167v
C CCCC 139, fol. 178v–181r
D Durham, now Cathedral Library B.II.35, fols 165v–167v
U Ussher 1639: 442, 468–70, 676, 677–8

Text

Vita sanctissimi atque doctissimi uiri Gilde incipit.

Incipiunt capitula¹

De nobilitate Gilde sapientis

De transitu ad Galliam

¹ Incipiunt capitula om. D.

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- De primo studio regendi scholas
- De religione eiusdem
- De prima predicatione in Pepidiauc regione
- De primo miraculo per sanctum Gildam et sanctum Dewi
- De reuelatione angelica reuelata Gilde
- De transfretatione ad Hiberniam
- De fratribus eiusdem et de interitu
- De eodem dolente post fratrem
- De reditu ab Hibernia ad Britanniam
- De amicitia sancta inter eundem et Arturium regem
- De miraculo sancto per sanctum Cadocum de campana uaria
- De studio in Carbana ualle
- De scriptura eiusdem in opere .iiii. euangelistarum
- De aditu eiusdem et sancti Cadoci ad insulas Echni et Runech
- De fonte orto² per Gildam
- De piratis affligentibus eundem
- De recessione eiusdem ad insulam uitream .i. Glastoniam
- De scriptura historiarum Britannie
- De obsessione Glastonie per Arthurium
- De refugio non uiolato
- De largitate regis Arthurii
- De abbate Glastonie fraternitatem confirmante
- De repetita heremitaria uita Gilde
- De edificatione ecclesie supra ripam Axi fluminis
- De egrotante eodem
- De obitu eiusdem
- De sepultura eiusdem.

² orto ~~orta~~ orto MS, orto D.

§1

Nau fuit rex Scotie³ nobilissimus regum aquilonalium. Qui .xxiiii. filios habuit uictores bellicosos, quorum unus nominabatur Gildas, quem parentes sui commiserunt studio litterarum. Puer bone indolis et studiosus floruit ingenio. Quicquid audiebat a magistro, commemorabat diligentissime, nec ledebat obliuio. Studuit studiosus assidue inter suates in artibus .vii. donec peruenit ad iuuentutem.

§2

Dum iuuenis factus, cito deseruit regionem. Transfretauit mare gallicum. In ciuitatibus gallie remansit, studens optime spacio .vii. annorum. Et in termino septimi anni, cum magna mole diuersorum uoluminum remeauit ad maiorem Brittanniam.

§3

Audita fama famosissimi aduene confluerunt ad eum scolares plurimi undique. Audierunt ab eo .vii. disciplinarum scienciam subtilissime, unde ex discipulis magistri effecti sunt sub magistrali honore.

§4

Religio sapientissimi doctoris magnificabatur et conlaudabatur in tantum a Britannigenis omnibus quod nec par ei inueniebatur, nec poterat inueniri pro suis meritis excellentibus. Ieiunabat ut heremita Antonius, Orabat uir religiosissimus cilicio indutus. Quicquid dabatur ei, continuo impendebat pauperibus. Abstinebat se a lactea dulcedine et a melle. Caro fuit illi in odio. Fontane herbe potius in amore. Panem ordeiceum comedebat commixtum cinere. Fontanam aquam bibebat cotidie. Balnea non intrabat quod diligebatur a sua gente maxime. Macies apparebat in facie quasi quidam febricitans uidebatur grauissime. Fluuialem aquam intrare solebat media nocte ubi manebat stabilitus donec diceretur ab ipso ter oracio dominica. His peractis repetebat suum oratorium. Ibi exorabat genu flectendo diuinam maiestatem usque diem clarum. Dormiebat modice. Iacebat supra petram uestitus solummodo una ueste. Manducabat sine saturitate, saciatus tamen metando premium celeste. Celestia premia erant ei in desiderio. Precipiebat spernere ammonebat despicere que transeunt in momento.

³ Scotie Scottorum corrected to Scocie D, Scottorum U.

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§5

Predicator erat clarissimus per tria regna Britannie. Reges timebant timendum, cui obediebant, audita acceptabili sua predicatione. Predicabat omni dominica die apud maritimam ecclesiam que stat in Pepidiauc regione in tempore Trifuni regis innumerabili multitudine plebis illum⁴ audiente. Et dum inciperet predicare, retenta est uox predicationis in predicante, unde plebs ammirata est ualde pro ammirabili retentione.

§6

Sanctus Gildas illud operiens precepit omnibus astantibus exire ut posset scire utrum per aliquem illorum fiebat impedimentum predicationis diuine. Nec etiam post recessionem eorum potuit predicare. Interrogauit postea si aliquis uel aliqua esset in ecclesia latenter. Cui respondit Nonnita pregnans, Dewi sanctissimi pueri mater futura, 'Ego Nonnita hic maneo inter parietam⁵ et ianuam nolens intrare turbam.' His auditis, precepit illi exire. Et postquam exiuerat, uocauit plebem. Que uocata, uenit ut audiret euangelicam predicationem.

§7

Post finitum sermonem interrogauit angelum dei⁶ predictam rem, scilicet qua de causa inceperat predicare et non poterat ducere ad finem. At ille reuelauit ei talia dicens. 'Nonnita, mulier sancta, manet in ecclesia, que nunc pregnans puerum paritura est cum inmensa gratia pro quo non potuisti⁷ predicare, diuina potestate sermonem retinente. Maioris gratie erit puer uenturus.' 'Nullus ei equiparabit in nostris partibus. Ego relinquam illi istam regionem. Ipse cito crescet et florebit de etate in etatem. Angelus enim, dei nuncius, mihi declarauit istam ueram destinationem.'

§8

Vnde contigit quod sanctissimus predicator Gildas transiuit ad Hiberniam ubi innumerabiles conuertit ad fidem catholicam. Contemporaneus Gildas uir sanctissimus fuit Artvrii regis totius maioris Britannie, quem diligendum diligebat, cui semper cupiebat obedire.

⁴ illum illo MS.

⁵ parietam sic MS.

⁶ angelum dei added above in a later hand (Dumville's C¹), D.

⁷ potuisti potui MS, D.

§9

Confratres tamen .xxiii. resistebant regi rebelli predicto, nolentes pati dominum, sed crebro fugabant et expellebant a saltu et bello. Hueil, maior natu, belliger assiduus et miles famosissimus, nulli regi obediuit nec etiam Arturio. Affligebat eundem. Commouebat inter utrumque maximum furorem. A Scocia ueniebat. Sepissime incendia ponebat. Predas ducebat cum uictoria ac laude. Unde rex uniuersalis Britannie audiens magnanimum iuuenem⁸ talia fecisse et equalia facere, persecutus est uictoriosissimum iuuenem et optimum, ut aiebant et sperabant indigene, futurum regem. In persecutione autem hostili et in conuentu bellico in insula Mynau interfecit inimicum predatorem. Post illam interfectionem Arthurus⁹ uictor remeauit gaudens, maxime quod superauerat suum fortissimum hostem.

§10

Gildas Britonum historiographus tunc remanens in Hibernia studium regens, et predicans in ciuitate Ardmaca, audiuit fratrem suum ab Arthurio¹⁰ rege interfectum fuisse. Doluit ab auditu. Fleuit cum gemitu, ut frater karissimus pro karissimo fratre. Orauit pro spiritu fraterno cotidie. Orabat insuper pro Arthurio fratris sui persecutore et interfectore, complens apostolicum preceptum quod dicit, 'Orate pro persequentibus uos; et benefacite his qui oderunt uos.'

§11

Interea sanctissimus Gildas uenerabilis historiographus uenit ad Britanniam portans unam pulcherrimam et dulcissimam campanam quam uouerat offerre apostolico Romane ecclesie in presentationem. Pernoctauit honorifice receptus a Cadoco uenerabili abbate in Carvana ualle. Qui monstrauit illi laudabilem campanam; monstratam accepit; acceptam emere uoluit magno precio. Quam possessor uendere nolebat.

§12

Audito aduentu Gilde sapientis ab Arthurio rege et primatibus tocius Britannie abbatibus et episcopis,¹¹ conuenerunt innumerabiles ex clero et populo ut Arthurium¹² pacificarent ex

⁸ **iuuenem** Followed by ~~et optimum ut~~ which was copied in error by eyskip from a few lines below and then deleted.

⁹ **Arthurus** MS, D (elsewhere he is *Arthurius*).

¹⁰ **Arthurio** MS, arthuro D.

¹¹ **abbatibus et episcopis** MS, episcopis et abbatibus D.

¹² **Arthurium** MS, corrected to Arthurum D.

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supradicto homicidio. At ille sicut primitus fecerat cognito rumore de obitu fratri, indulsit inimico ueniam postulanti. Osculum dedit et benignissimo animo benedixit osculanti. Hoc peracto, rex Arthurus¹³ dolens et lacrimans accepit ab episcopis adstantibus penitentiam, et emendauit in quantum potuit, donec consummauit uitam.

§13

Inde egregius Gildas uir pacificus et catholicus adiuuit Romam et apostolico Romane ecclesie tribuit predictam campanam. Que commota a manibus apostolici nullum sonitum emittebat. Vnde ille hoc uidens, talia dicebat, 'O uir dilecte a deo et ab homine, reuela mihi quod tibi contigit in itinere de hac presentatione.' At ille reuelauit sanctissimum Cadocum, Nancarbanensis ecclesie abbatem, eam uoluisse emere. Sed quam uouerat sancto Petro apostolo offerre nolebat uendere. Apostolicus his auditis dixit, 'Nosco Cadocum uenerabilem abbatem qui septies adiuuit istam ciuitatem et ter ierosolimam post inmensa pericula et assiduum laborem. Remeato et cupienti habere ut des concedo. Destinatum est enim illi¹⁴ ut habeat ex hoc presenti miraculo.' Gildas itaque benedictam campanam receipt, et reuersus est et reportatam sancto Cadoco gratis impendit. Recepta a manibus abbatis in tonuit ilico pulsata ammirantibus cunctis. Vnde remansit omnibus portantibus per totam Gualiam pro refugio. Et quicumque per illam illicite iuraret, aut priuaretur linguę officio aut malefactor fateretur suam iniuriam continuo.

§14

Sanctus¹⁵ Cadocus abbas Nancarbonensis ecclesie rogauit Gildam doctorem ut regeret studium scolarum per anni spacium. Et rogatus rexit utillimum, nulla mercede recepta a scolaribus preter oraciones cleri et scolarium.

§15

Vbi ipsemet scripsit opus quattuor euangelistarum quod adhuc remanet in ecclesia sancti Cadoci auro et argento undique coopertum ad honorem dei et scriptoris sanctissimi et euangeliorum. Tenent Walenses indigene illud uolumen preciosissimum in coniurationibus suis, nec audent aperire ad uidendum, nec confirmant pacem et amicitiam inter inimicos, nisi illud affuerit in primis appositum.

¹³ **Arthurus** MS, arthurus D.

¹⁴ **enim illi** MS, illi enim D.

¹⁵ **Sanctus** om. D.

§16

Finito anni spacio et scolaribus recedentibus a studio, sanctus abbas Cadocus et Gildas doctor optimus comuni consilio adierunt duas insulas, scilicet Ronech et Echni. Cadocus intrauit proximiolem Gualie, Gildas adiacentem Anglie. Nolebant impediri in ecclesiastico officio a confluentia hominum. Propterea nesciebant melius consilium quam relinquere Carbanam uallem et adire insulare secretum. Gildas fundauit in honore sancte et indiuidue Trinitatis oratorium et iuxta illud suum cubiculum. Non in illo tamen habebat suum lectum sed sub alta rupe positum ubi iacebat usque mediam noctem uigilans et orans supra petram omnipotentem deum. Deinde adibat ecclesiam frigescens nimium. Frigus erat ei dulce et tolerabile propter deum. Pisciculos trahebat a reti et oua a nidis uolucrum unde uiuebat, quod sibi sufficebat ad alimentum. Visitabat unus alterum. Remanentia talis durauit spacio .vii. annorum.

§17

Summus creator uidens suum Gildam, dilectum famulum, carere durabili aqua preter¹⁶ guttas pluuias que cadebant super saxa¹⁷ et que retinebantur cadentia, fecit riuum effluere de rupe alta qui effluxit et effluit et manabit sine defectione aliqua.

§18

Dum sic perseueraret sanctus Gildas intentus ieiuniis et orationibus, uenerunt pirate de insulis Orcadibus qui afflixerunt illum, raptis ab eo suis famulis seruientibus et ductis in exilium cum spoliis et omnibus sue habitationis suppellectilibus. Vnde afflictus nimium non potuit amplius ibi habitare.

§19

Reliquit insulam. Ascendit nauiculam et ingressus est Glastoniam cum magno dolore, Meluas rege regnante in estiuia regione. Susceptus uir suscipiendus a Glestoniense abbate docuit confratres et diuersas plebes, seminans semen seminandum celestis doctrine.

§20

Ibi scripsit historias de regibus Britannie. Glastonia, id est urbs uitrea, que nomen sumpsit a uitro, et urbis nomine primitus in Britannico sermone.

¹⁶ **preter** MS, propter D.

¹⁷ ~~saxa tecta~~ saxa MS, saxa D.

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§21

Obsessa est itaque ab¹⁸ Arthurio¹⁹ tyranno cum innumerabili multitudine propter Guennuar²⁰ uxorem suam uiolatam et raptam a predicto iniquo rege et ibi ductam propter refugium inuiolati loci propter munitiones arundineti et fluminis ac paludis causa tutele.

§22

Quesiuerat rex rebellis reginam per unius anni circulum. Audiuit tandem illam remanentem. Ilico commouit exercitum²¹ totius²² Cornubie et Dibnenie.²³ Paratum est bellum inter inimicos. Hoc uiso, abbas Glastonie, comitante clero et Gilda sapiente, intrauit medias acies. Consuluit Meluas regi suo pacifice ut redderet raptam. Reddita ergo fuit que reddenda fuerat per pacem et beniuolentiam.

§23

His peractis, duo reges largiti sunt abbati multa territoria qui uenerunt ad templum sancte Marie uisitandum et orandum, confirmante abbate fraternitatem dilectam pro pace habita et pro beneficiis que fecerant, et amplius que facturi erant.

§24

Inde redierunt reges pacificati promittentes ueneranter obedire reuerentissimo Glastoniensi abbati²⁴ et numquam uiolare sanctissimum locum nec etiam subiacentia loco principali.

§25

Habita licentia abbatis Glastoniensis cleri et populi, cupiuit religiosissimus Gildas heremitariam iterum uitam colere supra ripam fluminis proximi Glastonie. Et uoluntatem compleuit in opere.

§26

Vbi edificauit ecclesiam in nomine sancte et indiuidue trinitatis in qua ieiunabat et orabat assidue et cilicio indutus, exemplum donans omnibus irreprehensibile bene uiuendi cum religione.

¹⁸ **Obsessa est itaque ab** Added in erasure.

¹⁹ **Arthurio** MS, arthuro D.

²⁰ **Guennuar** MS, guennimar D.

²¹ **exercitum** MS, exercitus D.

²² **totius** added in erasure.

²³ **Dibnenie** dibuenie U.

²⁴ **Glastoniensi abbati** MS, abbati glastonensi D.

Visitabant sancti uiri illum uisitandum de longinquis partibus Britannie. Ammoniti redibant et audita ortamenta et consilia retinebant cum exultatione.

§27

Egrotauit tandem. Et dum aggrauaretur egritudine, conuocauit abbatem glastonie qui rogauit eum cum magna pietate ut finito cursu uite faceret deferri suum corpus ad abbatiam Glastonie quam diligebat maxime.

§28

Abbate promittente dignos rogatus explere et propter auditos dolente et nimium lacrimante, exspirauit sanctissimus Gildas egrotans ualde, multis audientibus splendorem angelicum circa corpus odoriferum et angelis²⁵ consociantibus anime.

§29

Post commendationem lacrimabilem completam,²⁶ defertur a confratribus corpus leuissimum ad abbatiam. Et cum planctu maximo et honore dignissimo sepelitur in medio pauimento ecclesie sancte Marie. Cuius anima requieuit et requiescit, ac requiescet in celesti requie. Amen.

§30

Ynisgutrin nominata fuit antiquitus²⁷ Glastonia et adhuc nominatur a Britannis indigenis: *ynis* in Britannico sermone, *insula* Latine. *Gutrin* uero uitrea. Sed post aduentum angligenarum et expulsis Britannis, id est Walensibus, reuocata est Glastigberi ex ordine primi uocabuli, scilicet *glas* anglice, *uitrum* latine. *Beria* ciuitas; inde *glastigberia*, id est uitrea ciuitas.

Nancarbanensis dictamina sunt caratoci.

Qui legat, emendet; placet illi compositor.

Explicit.²⁸

²⁵ **angelis** angeli MS, D.

²⁶ **completam** expletam D.

²⁷ **nominata fuit antiquitus** added above line D (probably omitted in error).

²⁸ Nancarbanensis ... Explicit om. D.

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Here begins the life of the most holy and learned man, Gildas.

Here begin the headings.

On the noble origins of wise Gildas.

On the crossing to Gaul.

On his first keenness to supervise the schools.

On his religious life.

On his first preaching in the land of Pebidiog.

On the first miracle by holy Gildas and holy David.

On the angelic revelation revealed to Gildas.

On the crossing to Ireland.

On his brothers and on a death.

On him grieving for his brother.

On his return from Ireland to Britain.

On the friendship between him and king Arthur.¹

On the holy miracles by holy Cadog concerning the variegated bell.

On studying at Llancarfan.

On his copying of the four gospels.

On his and holy Cadog's going to Echni and Runech.

On the spring which rose for Gildas.

On pirates afflicting him.

On his withdrawal to the island of glass, i.e. Glastonbury.

On the writing of the history of Britain.

¹ *Arthurius* Except for one instance Arthur is referred to throughout as *Arthurius*.

On the siege of Glastonbury by Arthur.
 On the unviolated sanctuary.
 On the generosity of king Arthur.
 On the abbot of Glastonbury confirming their brotherhood.
 On the hermtical life sought by Gildas.
 On the building of a church on the bank of the river Axe.²
 On him being ill.
 On his death.
 On his burial.

§1

Nau,³ the king of Scotia, was the noblest of the northern kings. He had twenty-four victorious and warlike sons. One of these was named Gildas, whom his parents engaged in the study of letters. A boy, naturally endowed with talent and devoted to study, he flourished with his innate abilities. Whatever he heard from his master⁴ he would commit to memory most diligently, and he was not afflicted by forgetfulness.⁵ Devoted to his studies, he assiduously studied among his own people⁶ in the seven arts until he reached the age of adolescence.⁷

§2

On becoming a young man, he speedily left the country. He crossed the Gallic Sea. He remained in the cities of Gaul for seven years, studying well. And at the end of the seventh year he returned, with a huge load of various volumes, to greater Britain.

² **Axi** (Axe) The River Axe runs from near Glastonbury west into the Bristol Channel. In §25 the river on the bank of which Gildas settles is not named. Does the addition of the name here suggest local knowledge?

³ **Nau** (Naw) Elsewhere the name of Gildas's father is Caw, and *Nau* is probably a scribal misreading of a capital letter; cf. the first life of Gildas (Williams 1899–1901: ii, 323/13), VS Catoci (Vesp), §22 (VSB §27), VS Dauid (Vesp), §5 (Sharpe and Davies 2007: 112–13).

⁴ **magistro** (**master**) The master is not named here but is probably Illtud.

⁵ On the parallels with the phrasing of VS Tathei, see Davies 2003: 199.

⁶ **inter suates** (**among his own people**) This is an extremely rare word; it does not occur in Caradog's other works. In the context of our text its sense is clear and it is probably to be understood as an indirect derivative of the possessive pronoun *suus*, perhaps created on the stem of the common adverb *suatim* '(acting) according to one's natural disposition' (DMLBS, s.v. 1 *suatim*; cf. also *meatim*, *tuatim*).

⁷ **Nau fuit ... ad iuentutem** The first paragraph was printed by Ussher 1639: 676, but from a later manuscript.

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§3

Hearing of the repute of the illustrious outsider, great numbers of scholars from all parts flocked to him. They heard from him knowledge of the seven branches of learning delivered in the finest detail, as a result of which teachers were created from pupils beneath the status of a master.⁸

§4

The piety of the very wise teacher was magnified and praised to such a degree by all the Britons that no one equal to him was found nor could be found, owing to his outstanding abilities.⁹ He used to fast like the hermit Antony.¹⁰ A most devoted man, he used to pray clad in sack-cloth.¹¹ Whatever was given to him, he would immediately spend it on the poor. He used to abstain from dairy produce and honey. Meat was hateful to him. Instead he loved eating herbs from fresh running water. He used to eat barley-bread mixed with ashes. He would drink spring water daily. He used not to take baths, a habit much loved by his people. Thinness was visible in his face, and he had the appearance of like a person suffering from a very serious fever. It was his habit to go into the river at midnight, where he would remain unmoving until he had said the Lord's Prayer three times. This done, he would make for his oratory. There he would pray on his knees to the divine majesty until broad daylight. He used to sleep moderately. He would lie upon a rock, dressed only in single garment. He used to eat without getting full, contented with obtaining a share of the heavenly reward. Heavenly rewards were his great desire. He instructed men to spurn and advised them to scorn transitory things.

§5

He was the most famous preacher throughout the three kingdoms of Britain.¹² Kings feared him as a man to be feared, but they would obey him after hearing his welcome preaching. In

⁸ **sub magistrali honore (beneath the status of a masterer)** The phrase is otherwise unattested; more commonly we find *sub magistrali ferula*.

⁹ **Transfretauit (§2) ... meritis excellentibus** Printed by Ussher 1639: 442, but probably from a later manuscript.

¹⁰ Antonius, St Anthony, the desert father; cf. Williams 1899–1901: ii, 396/86, n. 5, where it is suggested that it is 'a purely legendary addition' as it is inconsistent with Gildas's role as a teacher. But the text does not say he lived an eremitical life, simply that he fasted like St Anthony.

¹¹ On the parallels in this section with the phrasing of VS Iltuti §§7, 16, 18, and VS Gundlei §6, see Davies 2003: 199.

¹² **per tria regna Britannie (throughout the three kingdoms of Britain)** At this period, and since Gildas is described as coming from Scotland, this probably refers to England, Wales and Scotland.

the time of king Tryffin, he used to preach every Sunday in a coastal church in the district of Pepidiog, with a countless crowd of people listening to him.¹³ And just as he was beginning to preach, the words of the preaching were held within the preacher,¹⁴ and as a result the people were struck with amazement at the extraordinary act of containment.

§6

Concealing that, holy Gildas told all who were present to go out, that he could learn whether his divine preaching was prevented by one of them. And yet, even after they had withdrawn, he could not preach. He then asked whether there was any man or women hiding in the church. Nonnita, who was with child and destined to become the mother of the most holy boy, Dewi, answered him, 'I, Nonnita, am staying here between the wall and the door, not wishing to go out into the crowd.' Having heard this, he told her to leave. And, after she had gone, he summoned the people. At his summons they came to listen to the preaching of the gospel.

§7

At the end of the sermon, he asked the angel of God¹⁵ about this matter, as to why he had begun to preach but could not get to the end. And he revealed the matter to him as follows, 'Nonnita, a saintly woman, who is now with child, remains in the church, and she is destined,

¹³ **illum audiente (listening to him)** The MS has *illo* in error; the ablative absolute is *multitudine ... audiente*, but a scribe may have understood it as *illo audiente* as meaning 'in the hearing of him (i.e. Tryffin) which then would leave *multitudine* stranded bereft of a participle. On Tryffin and Pebidiog, cf. VS Daudid (Vesp) §5 (Sharpe and Davies 2007: 113, n. 113); for the geography, see James 2007: 47–56. This episode on the failure of Gildas to be able to preach with Nonnita present has been adapted from VS Daudid (Vesp) §5 (Sharpe and Davies 2007: 112–13). It has to derive from a Vespasian-style text as the Nero-Digby derived versions do not name Gildas.

¹⁴ **Predicator ... predicante** Printed by Ussher 1639: 442, but from a later manuscript.

¹⁵ **angelum dei (the angel of God)** This phrase is inserted by a later hand (hand C¹ in Dumville's analysis (Dumville 1972–4: 374–5), hence the phrase occurs in D), and its absence may account for the confusion in the following text about who is speaking. Williams (1899–1901: ii, 400–1/90–1) punctuates the two speeches so as to break them at ... *partibus.* 'Ego ...' but does not indicate that the first is by the angel and the second by Gildas. However, I take '*Nullus ei equiperabit in nostris partibus*' as the opening of Gildas's reply which gives the reason why he renounces any claim to the land and in the next section goes off to Ireland, all of which is parallel to Patrick's departure for Ireland in VS Daudid (Vesp) §3 (Sharpe and Davies 2007: 110–13). Such a separation of the speeches allows us to avoid emendation: if we were to take that sentence as uttered by the angel, it would be necessary to emend *nostris* to *uestris* (easy though such an error would have been). Furthermore, it also parallels the structure of Patrick's speech.

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with great grace, to give birth to a boy about whom you could¹⁶ not preach, as divine power was holding back your speech. The boy who is to come will be of greater grace.’ [And Gildas replied,]¹⁷ ‘No one in our parts will be his equal. I shall leave this land to him. He will grow quickly and flourish from one stage of life to another. For an angel, the messenger of God declared this true destiny to me.’

§8

As a result,¹⁸ it came about that that most holy preacher Gildas crossed over to Ireland, where he converted a countless number of people to the catholic faith.¹⁹ ²⁰The most holy Gildas was a contemporary of Arthur, the king of the whole of greater Britain, whom he loved as someone who deserved to be loved, and whom he always desired to obey.

§9

Nevertheless his twenty-three brothers used to resist the afore-mentioned rebellious king, refusing to put up with him as their lord, but they often routed and drove him out from forest and battle-field. Huail, the elder brother, an persistent warrior and most distinguished soldier, submitted to no king, not even to Arthur.²¹ He used to harass him. He would provoke the greatest anger between them both. He used to come down from Scotland, set fire to things, and carry off spoils in famous victories. In consequence, the king of all Britain, on hearing that the high-spirited youth had done such things and was doing similar things, pursued the fine victorious youth, who, as the inhabitants used to claim and hope, was destined to be king. In the hostile pursuit and encounter in battle on the island of Isle of Man,²² he killed the hostile

¹⁶ **potuisti (you could)** There seems to have been another misunderstanding here as to who is speaking; a copyist seems to have assumed it to be Gildas (when in fact it is the angel) and therefore assumed this needed to be 1st sg. *potui*.

¹⁷ **[And Gildas replied,]** This has been added in the translation for clarity.

¹⁸ **Vnde (As a result)** The sentence connector marks the causal connection between the angel’s words and Gildas’s decision to go to Ireland, and so emphasises the parallels with the Patrick episode in VS Daudid (Vesp).

¹⁹ This one sentence encapsulates Gildas’s time in Ireland which in the earlier version takes up §§9–12 (Williams 1899–1901: ii, 336–43/26–33).

²⁰ The section from here to the end of §10 has been translated into Welsh by Jones 1968: 61–2.

²¹ On Huail, see Jones 1968; TYP 399–402.

²² **Mynau (Isle of Man)** Cf. Williams (1899–1901: ii, 402/91, n.).

plunderer.²³ After killing him, Arthur returned in victory, rejoicing greatly that he had overcome his strongest enemy.²⁴

§10

Gildas, historian of the Britons, who was at that time in Ireland directing studies and preaching in the city of Armagh, heard that his brother had been slain by King Arthur. He was grieved at the news. He wept with lamentation, as a dear brother should for a dear brother. He used to pray daily for his brother's spirit. Moreover, he used to pray for Arthur, his brother's persecutor and murderer, fulfilling the apostle's commandment, which says, 'Pray for those who persecute you, and do good to those who hate you.'²⁵

§11

Meanwhile, the most holy Gildas, the venerable historian, came to Britain, bringing with him a very beautiful and sweet-sounding bell,²⁶ which he had vowed to present as a gift to the pope. He spent the night as a guest honourably entertained by the venerable abbot Cadog in Llancarfan.²⁷ The latter pointed out that fine bell to him, and after pointing to it, handled it; and after handling it wanted to buy it at a great price. But its owner refused to sell it.

§12

When king Arthur and the chief abbots and bishops of all Britain heard of the arrival of wise Gildas, countless numbers from among the clergy and people gathered together to come to terms with Arthur for the above-mentioned murder. But Gildas, as he had done when he first heard the news of his brother's death, was courteous to his enemy as he begged for pardon. He kissed him, and most kindly blessed him as he was kissing him in return. When this was done,

²³ According to Gerald of Wales, *Descriptio Kambrie*, ii.2, this is why Gildas does not mention Arthur in the *De Excidio* (cf. Thorpe 1978: 280).

²⁴ **Contemporaneus (§8) ... fortissimum hostem** Printed by Ussher 1639: 677–8, but from a later manuscript.

²⁵ Luke 6, 27. We may note the heavily rhyming prose (*auditu ... gemitu, persecutore ... interfectore*) and paronomasia (*karissimus ... karissimo, Orauit ... Orabat*) in this section presumably to mark the depth of Gildas's grief (on such features in the works connected with Caradog, see Davies 2003: 136–42).

²⁶ **campanam (bell)** Cf. VS Catoci (Vesp) §22 (VSB §27). In the earlier life of Gildas the bell is commissioned from Gildas by St Brigit and never leaves Ireland (Williams (1899–1901: ii, 338–9/28–9).

²⁷ **in Carbana ualle (in Llancarfan)** On the forms of the name *Llancarfan/Nancarfan*, see EANC 47–50 (cf. also Pierce 1968: 67–70); the forms in *Nan(t)-* seem to be earlier and gradually replaced by *Llan-*.

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king Arthur, in grief and tears, accepted penance imposed by the bishops present, and mended his ways as far as he could, until he completed his life.

§13

Then the fine Gildas, a peaceable and devout man, visited Rome, and presented the aforementioned bell to the pope; but when the bell was shaken by the hands of the pope, it made no sound. Consequently, on seeing this, the pope said, 'You, beloved of God and Man, relate to me what happened to you on your journey to make this presentation.' And he related that the most holy Cadog, abbot of the church of Llancarfan, had wished to buy the bell. But that he had refused to sell what he had vowed to present as an offering to the apostle St Peter. When the apostolic bishop heard this, he said: 'I know the venerable abbot Cadog, who has visited this city seven times, and Jerusalem three times, after great dangers and incessant toil. I grant that, if he comes again and wishes to possess it, you may give it to him. For, in the light of this present miracle, it has been destined that he should have it.' And so Gildas took back the bell after it was blessed, and returned, and he brought it back and donated it to holy Cadog in return for nothing. When it was taken by the hands of the abbot and straightaway struck, to the surprise of all it rang out. Then it remained as a point of refuge for all who carried it throughout the whole of Wales. And whoever swore falsely upon it²⁸ was either deprived of the use of his tongue,²⁹ or the evil-doer would straightaway confess his crime.

§14

Holy Cadog, the abbot of the church of Llancarfan, asked the teacher Gildas to oversee the study in his schools for a period of one year; and at this request he oversaw them most usefully, receiving no fee from the scholars except the prayers of the clergy and scholars.

§15

And there he himself copied out the work of the four evangelists, a work that still remains in the church of holy Cadog, covered all over with gold and silver to the honour of God, of the most holy writer, and of the Gospels.³⁰ The native Welsh hold this volume as the most valuable

²⁸ **per illam (upon it)** Taken wrongly by Williams (1899–1901: ii, 405/95) to refer to *Gualia* ('throughout that land'), but it must refer to the bell.

²⁹ **linguę officio (the use of his tongue)** Note that *lingua* can also refer to the clapper of a bell (DMLBS, s.v. *lingua*) and underlines the parallel between the silence of the bell and when it rings out in Cadog's hands.

³⁰ Cf. VS Catoci (Vesp) §28 (VSB §34) where the book is copied on Echni.

possession for their oaths, and they do not dare to open it in order to look into it,³¹ nor do they confirm peace and friendship between hostile parties, unless it be present, specifically placed there for the purpose.³²

§16

At the end of the year, and when the scholars were withdrawing from study, the saintly abbot Cadog and the excellent teacher Gildas by mutual agreement went off to two islands, namely, Rhonech and Echni.³³ Cadog landed on the one nearer to Wales, and Gildas on the one lying nearer to England. They did not wish to be hindered in their ecclesiastical duties by the crowds of people. And so they could think of no better plan than to leave the valley of Llancarfan and to resort to the privacy of an island. Gildas founded an oratory there in honour of the holy and indivisible Trinity,³⁴ and close by it his bed-chamber. But he did not have his bed there but at the foot of a steep cliff, where he used to lie until midnight, keeping vigil and praying on the rock to Almighty God. Then he would enter the church quite faint with cold. But for the sake of God the cold was sweet and tolerable to him. He used to catch some small fish in a net, and eggs from birds' nests; and it was on this he lived which was enough nourishment for him. They used to visit each other. This manner of dwelling lasted for the space of seven years.

§17

The supreme Creator, seeing that his beloved servant, Gildas was lacking a constant supply of water except for the raindrops which fell upon the rocks and were caught as they trickled down, made a stream to flow out from the steep cliff, and it flowed out, and still flows out, and will run without fail.

³¹ **ad uidendum (in order to look into it)** On the idea of an unopened book, cf. VS David (Gerald) §29 on the incomplete gospel (an episode only found in Gerald's version).

³² **Cadocus abbas (§§14–16) ... secretum (omitting *Cadocus intrauit ... Anglie*)** Printed by Ussher 1639: 468–9.

³³ **Ronech et Echni** (Rhonech and Echni) Cf. VS Catoci (*Vesp*) §24 (VSB §29). They are identified with two islands in the Bristol Channel, respectively Steep Holm, to the south and closer to Somerset, and the more northerly Flat Holm. According to the next sentence, Cadog would have gone to Echni and Gildas to Rhonech. It then makes sense that, when harassed by pirates, Gildas took refuge at Glastonbury.

³⁴ **in honore sancte et indiuidue Trinitatis (in honour of the holy and indivisible Trinity)** For the phrasing, cf. VS Iltuti §7, VS Gundlei §5, VS Tathei §6 (Davies 2003: 198).

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§18

While holy Gildas was thus persevering, devoted to fasting and prayers, pirates came from the Orkneys, who harassed him carrying off his servants from him when at their duties, and taking them off into exile, along with spoils and all the furniture of his dwelling. Exceedingly distressed by this, he could not dwell there any longer.

§19

He left the island. He embarked on board a small ship, and with great grief went to Glastonbury where king Melwas was reigning in the summer country. He was received as worth being taken up by the abbot of Glastonbury, and taught the brothers and the scattered people, sowing the seed of heavenly doctrine which needed to be sown.

§20

It was there that he wrote the history of the kings of Britain.³⁵ Glastonbury, that is, the glassy city, which took its name from glass, is a city that had its name originally in the British tongue.³⁶

§21

It was besieged by the tyrant Arthur³⁷ with a countless multitude on account of his wife Gwenhwyfar, whom the aforesaid wicked king had raped and carried off, and brought there to protect her owing to the safety offered by its invulnerable position due to the fortifications provided by the reed-beds, river, and marsh.³⁸

§22

The rebellious king had searched for the queen throughout the course of one year, and at last heard that she was staying there. Straightaway he roused the armies of the whole of Cornwall

³⁵ **historias de regibus Britannie (the history of the kings of Britain)** Presumably we have to take this as referring to the *De Excidio*.

³⁶ Further discussion of the form of the name is found in §30 below.

³⁷ **ab Arthurio tyranno (by the tyrant Arthur)** Cf. also *rex rebellis* in the next section. For discussion of these terms and the whole of this episode, see Rabin 2019.

³⁸ On the abduction of Guinevere by king Melwas, see TYP 378–80; Sims-Williams 1991: 58–61; Jones 2019: 28–9; Jones and Lloyd-Morgan 2020.

and Devon.³⁹ War was prepared between the enemies. When he saw this, the abbot of Glastonbury along with the clergy and wise Gildas stepped in between the two battle lines. In a peaceable manner he advised his king, Melwas, to restore the lady who had been carried off. Accordingly, she who should have been restored in peace and good will, was restored.

§23

When these things were done, the two kings donated many domains to the abbot, and they came to visit the temple of holy Mary and to pray, while the abbot confirmed their beloved brotherhood in return for peace they had established, and for the benefits which they had conferred and which they would confer even more abundantly.

§24

Then the kings returned from there with peace made, promising reverently to obey the most venerable abbot of Glastonbury, and never violate that most sacred place nor even the districts adjoining the chief seat.

§25

When he had obtained permission from the abbot of Glastonbury and his clergy and people, the most devout Gildas desired to live a hermit's life again upon the bank of a river very close to Glastonbury.⁴⁰ He accomplished what he wanted.

§26

He built a church there in the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity,⁴¹ in which he fasted and prayed assiduously, clad in sackcloth, giving to all an irreproachable example of living a good religious life. Holy men used to visit him from distant parts of Britain. After advice from

³⁹ **Cornubie et Dibnenie (of Cornwall and Devon)** The spelling of *Dibnenie* with *b* for /v/ seems not to be found elsewhere. On the other hand, the *b* for /w/ in *Cornubia* is much more widespread. It is possible that these spellings have been influenced by Galfridian-style spellings. I am grateful to Oliver Padel for discussing this with me.

⁴⁰ **fluminis proximi Glastonic (of a river very close to Glastonbury)** In the *capitula* the river is named as the Axe (*Axi*) which may be later addition based on local knowledge.

⁴¹ **in nomine sancte et indiuidue trinitatis (in the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity)** For this phrasing, see n. 34 above.

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him, they would return and cherish with delight the encouragement and guidance they had heard from him.⁴²

§27

In the end he fell sick. And, while he was weighed down with illness, he summoned the abbot of Glastonbury to him, and asked him, with great piety, when the end of his life had come, to have his body taken to the abbey of Glastonbury, which he loved exceedingly.

§28

When the abbot promised to observe his worthy requests, and was grieved at what he had heard, and shed copious tears, holy Gildas, being now very ill, expired, while many observing the angelic brightness around his fragrant body, and angels attending upon his soul.

§29

After the mournful words of the commendation were over, his very light body was removed by the brethren into the abbey; and amid very loud wailing and with the most befitting funeral rites, he was buried in the middle of the floor of St Mary's church. His soul rested, rests, and will rest in heavenly repose. Amen.

§30

Glastonbury was of old called Ynysgwydrin, and is still called so by the native British. *Ynys* in the British language is *insula* in Latin, and *gwydrin* 'made of glass'. But after the coming of the English and the expulsion of the Britons, that is, the Welsh, it received a fresh name, Glastigberi, according to the structure of its first name, that is English *glass*, Latin *vitrum*, and *beria* a city; then Glastinberia, that is, the City of Glass.⁴³

These are the words of Caradoc of Llancarfan.

Whoever reads them, may he correct them; so wills the author.

⁴² *Dum sic perseueraret (§18) ... cum exultatione* Printed by Ussher 1639: 469–70.

⁴³ For discussion of the onomastics of this passage, see EANC 180, 198, Sims-Williams 1991: 60; Roberts 1991: 83.

Vita Sancti Gildae (Caradog of Llancarfan)

edited by Paul Russell

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Manuscripts and Transcription

The present edition is based on Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 139, fols 176v–179r (C), the oldest surviving copy, dated to 1164–6 (Dumville 1972–4: 370–1), where it follows a copy of *Historia Brittonum* which has been collated and annotated with a copy of the ‘Nennian’ recension (Dumville 1977: 20–1; cf. also Dumville 1972–4, 1975–6). The manuscript has been identified as one of two manuscripts surviving from the Cistercian abbey of Sawley (now in Lancashire), the other surviving as parts of CCC 66 and CUL Ff.I.27. A copy of CCC 139 was made in 1166 in Durham, now Cathedral Library B.II.35, fols 165v–167v (D). After that copy was made, CCC 139 continued to be annotated with a series of notes containing Old Welsh phrases (Dumville 1977: 21–49) argued to be from a Scottish source (Clancy 2000; cf. also Guy 2015: 45–7). In the fourteenth century a copy of the Durham manuscript was made which is now BL, Burney 310, fols. 165v–167v (B). Later copies of the Burney manuscript are BL Sloane 4785, fols 9–15 and Royal 13.B.VII, fols 20–5; CCC 101, pp. 43–51 is a transcript of CCC 139 by Parker.

CCC 139, 176vB8–179rA30

Notes on Transcription

The raised dot · is printed thus, but seems to be used like a modern comma to separate phrases or clauses. There are three different forms of *et* in use: it can be written plene (11×); an ampersand is used (34×); or the tironian note (this is printed as italic *et*) (44×), the last occurring more frequently in the latter part of the text, perhaps suggesting that the scribe was tending to replace it with the ampersand but doing so less efficiently later in the text.

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Sections are marked by roman numeral in red usually in the left margin. Capital letters at the beginning of sections are usually in black either picked out or infilled in red. Other capitals are similarly ornamented though more commonly in the earlier part of the text. On occasions the red ink on one page has imprinted onto the facing page, for example, 177r from the rubrication on 176v.

{176vb}

- 8 *Vita sanctissimi*
9 *atque doctissimi uiri Gilde incipit.*
10 *Incipiunt ca --- pi --- tu --- la*
11 *DE nobilitate Gilde sapien ----- tis*
12 *DE transitu ad Galli ----- am*
13 *DE primo studio regendi sco ----- las*
14 *DE religione eius ----- dem*
15 *DE prima predicatione in pepidiauc regio -- ne*
16 *DE primo miraculo per sanctum Gildam et sanctum De -- wi*
17 *DE reuelatione angelica reuelata Gil ----- de*
18 *DE transfretatione ad hiberni ----- am*
19 *DE fratribus eiusdem & de interi ----- tu*
20 *DE eodem dolente post fratr ----- #m*
21 *DE reditu ab hibernia ad britanni ----- am*
22 *DE amicitia sancta inter eundem et arturium re -- gem*
23 *DE miraculo sancto per sanctum Cadocum de campana uari -- a*
24 *DE studio in carbana ual ----- le*
25 *DE scriptura eiusdem in opere .iiii. euangelista ---- rum*
26 *DE aditu eiusdem et sancti Cadoci ad insulas echnie et runech*
27 *DE fonte ~~orta~~ orto per Gil ----- dam*
28 *DE piratis affligentibus eun ----- dem*
29 *DE recessione eiusdem ad insulam uitream .i. Glastoniam*
30 *DE scriptura historiarum britanni ----- e*
31 *DE obsessione Glastonie per arthuri ----- um*
32 *DE refugio non uiola ----- to*
33 *DE largitate regis arthu ----- rii*

- 34 DE abbate Glastonie fraternitatem confirman ---- te
 35 DE repetita heremitaria uita Gil ----- de
 {177ra}
- 1 DE edificatione ecclesie supra ripam axi¹ flumi ---- nis
 2 DE egrotante eo ----- dem
 3 DE obitu eius ----- dem
 4 DE sepultura eius ----- dem
 5 ²NAU FUTIT REX SCOTIE
 6 nobilissimus regum aquilonali-
 7 um. qui .xxiiii. filios habuit
 8 ³uictore^s bellicosos. quorum unus nominabatur
 9 Gildas. quem parentes sui commiserunt
 10 studio litterarum puer bone indolis
 11 & studiosus floruit ingenio. quicquid
 12 audiebat a magistro. commemo^{ra}bat
 13 diligentissime. nec ledebat obliuio --
 14 Studuit studiosus assidue inter suates
 15 in artibus .vii. donec peruenit ad iuue-
 16 -ntutem. ⁴Dum iuuenis factus. cito
 17 deseruit regionem. Transfretauit
 18 mare gallicum. in ciuitatibus gal-
 19 -lie remansit. studens optime spa-
 20 cio .vii. annorum. Et in termino sep-
 21 -timi anni. cum magna mole diuer-
 22 -sorum uoluminum. remeauit ad maio-
 23 -rem brittanniam. ⁵Audita fama fa-

¹ sic.

² N Large capital in green ink, three lines deep, and the ornate left stroke drops down the left margin as far as line 14.

.I. Section number in red added in left margin.

³ uictores Squeezed in under the capital N, perhaps originally omitted. Final s added above the re.

⁴ .II. Section number in red added in left margin. The capital D is infilled in red.

⁵ .III. Section number in red added in left margin. The capital A is infilled in red.

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24 mosissimi adueneꝝ confluxerunt
 25 ad eum scolares plurimi undique
 26 Audierunt ab eo .vii. disciplina-
 27 -rum scienciam subtilissime. Vnde ex
 28 discipulis magistri effecti suntꝝ sub
 29 magistrali honore. ⁶Religio sapien-
 30 tissimi doctoris magnificabatur
 31 & conlaudabatur in tantum a britan-
 32 -nigenis omnibus quod nec par ei in-
 33 -ueniebaturꝝ nec poterat inueniri pro sui^s
 34 meritis excellentibus. Ieiunabat ut
 35 heremita antonivsꝝ orabat uir

{177rb}

1 religiosissimus cilicio indutus. Quicquid
 2 dabatur ei continuo impendebat
 3 pauperibus. Abstinebat se a lactea
 4 dulcedine & a melleꝝ caro fuit illi
 5 in odioꝝ fontane herbe potius in a-
 6 -moreꝝ panem ordeiceum comedebat
 7 commixtum cinereꝝ fontanam aquam
 8 bibebat cotidie. balnea non intra-
 9 -batꝝ quod diligebatur a sua gente max-
 10 ime. Macies apparebat in facie quasi
 11 quidam febricitans uidebatur grauis-
 12 sime. Fluuialem aquam intrare
 13 solebat media nocteꝝ ubi manebat
 14 stabilitus donec diceretur ab ipso ter
 15 oracio dominicaꝝ his peractis repetebat ^{suum}⁷
 16 oratoriumꝝ ibi exorabat genu flec-
 17 tendo diuinam maiestatem usque

⁶ .IIII. Section number in red added in left margin.

⁷ ^{suum} Added in right margin by main scribe.

18 diem clarum. Dormiebat modice·
 19 iacebat supra petram uestitus solummodo
 20 una ueste. Manducabat sine sa-
 21 turitate· *saciatu* tamen metando premi-
 22 -um celeste· celestia premia erant ei
 23 in desiderio. Precipiebat spernere am-
 24 -monebat despiciere que transeunt
 25 in momento. ⁸Predicator erat claris-
 26 simus *per tria* regna britannie. Reges
 27 timebant timendum· cui obedi^{eb}ant·⁹
 28 audita acceptabili sua *predicatione*.
 29 ¹⁰Predicabat *omni dominica* die apud
 30 *maritimam ecclesiam* que stat in pe-
 31 -pidiauc regione in tempore trifuni
 32 regis innumerabili multitudine^{plebis}¹¹ illo
 33 audiente. Et dum inciperet *predicare*:
 34 *retenta est* uox *predicationis* in *predican-*
 35 -te· unde plebs ammirata est ualde· pro

{177va}

1 ammirabili retentione. ¹²Sanctus ¹³Gildas il-
 2 -lud operiens: *precepit omnibus astantibus* exi-
 3 re· ut posset scire utrum *per aliquem illorum*
 4 fiebat *impedimentum predicationis* diuine
 5 nec *etiam post recessionem eorum* potuit *predicare*.
 6 ¹⁴Interrogauit *postea* si aliquis uel aliqua esset

⁸ .V. Section number in red added in right margin.

⁹ obedi^{eb}ant *eb* added above by main scribe.

¹⁰ The capital *P* is decorated in black line in the left margin.

¹¹ plebis Added above the end of the previous word by main scribe.

¹² .VI. Section number in red added in left margin. The capital *S* is infilled in red.

¹³ The capital *G* is infilled in red.

¹⁴ The capital *D* is lined in red.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

7 in ecclesia latenter. ¹⁵Cui respondit· Non-
 8 -nita pregnans· Dewi *sanctissimi* pueri
 9 mater futura· Ego nonnita hic maneo
 10 inter parietam & ianuam nolens intrare
 11 turbam. His auditis· *precepit* illi exire --
 12 ¹⁶Et *postquam* exiuerat· uocauit plebem. ¹⁷Que
 13 uocata· uenit· ut audiret euangelicam
 14 *predicationem*. ¹⁸Post finitum sermonem· inter-
 15 rogauit ^{angelum dei}¹⁹ *predictam* rem· *scilicet* qua de *causa* ~~in~~
 16 *inceperat predicare*· *et* non poterat ducere
 17 ad finem. ²⁰At ille reuelauit ei talia di-
 18 -cens. ²¹Nonnita mulier *sancta* manet in
 19 ecclesia· que nunc pregnans· puerum
 20 paritura est· cum *inmensa gratia*. *Pro* quo non po-
 21 -tui *predicare* diuina potestate sermo-
 22 nem retinente. ²²Maiores *gratie* erit pu-
 23 -er uenturus. ²³Nullus ei equiperabit in
 24 nostris partibus. Ego *relinquam* illi istam
 25 regionem· ipse cito crescet· *et* florebit de
 26 etate in etatem. *Angelus enim* dei nuncius *mibi*
 27 declarauit istam ueram destinationem.
 28 ²⁴Vnde contigit quod *sanctissimus* *predicator* Gil-
 29 -das transiuit ad hiberniam· *ubi* innume-
 30 rabiles conuertit ad fidem catholicaM.

¹⁵ The capital *C* is infilled in red.

¹⁶ The capital *E* is infilled in red.

¹⁷ The capital *Q* is infilled in red.

¹⁸ .VII. Section number in red added in left margin. The capital *P* is infilled in red.

¹⁹ *angelum dei* Added with insertion mark before *predictam* by a later hand (Dumville's C¹).

²⁰ The capital *A* is infilled in red.

²¹ The capital *N* is infilled in red.

²² The capital *M* is infilled in red.

²³ The capital *N* is infilled in red.

²⁴ .VIII. Section number in red added in left margin. The capital *V* is infilled in red.

31 Contemporaneus Gildas²⁵ uir sanctissimus
 32 fuit ARTVRII²⁶ regis totius maioris bri-
 33 -tannie quem diligendum diligebat· cui
 34 semper cupiebat obedire.²⁷Confratres tamen
 35 .xxiii. resistebant regi rebelli predicto.

{177vb}

1 nolentes pati *dominum*· sed crebro fuga-
 2 -bant· & expellebant a saltu *et bello*. Hueil
 3 maior natu belliger assiduus & miles
 4 famosissimus nulli regi obediuit nec *etiam*
 5 arturio.²⁸Affligebat eundem commouebat
 6 inter utrumque maximum *furorem*.²⁹A Scotia
 7 ueniebat sepissime incendia ponebat·
 8 *predas* ducebat cum uictoria ac laude.³⁰Unde
 9 rex uniuersalis britannie audiens
 10 magnanimum iuuenem· ~~et optimum ut~~³¹
 11 talia fecisse & equalia *facere*: *persecutus*
 12 *est* uictoriosissimum iuuenem· *et optimum*
 13 ut aiebant & sperabant indigene· futu-
 13 -rum regem. In *persecutione* autem hostili &
 15 in conuentu bellico in insula Mynau
 16 interfecit inimicum *predatorem*.³²Post illam
 17 *interfectionem* art^hVRus uictor remeauit
 18 gaudens· maxime quod superauerat suum

²⁵ **Gildas** The letters are infilled in red.

²⁶ **ARTVRII** Black lettering lined in red.

²⁷ **.IX.** Section number in red added in left margin. The capital *C* is infilled in red.

²⁸ The capital *A* is infilled in red.

²⁹ The capital *A* is infilled in red.

³⁰ The capital *U* is infilled in red.

³¹ ~~et optimum ut~~ Copied error by eyskip from l. 12 below nad then deleted.

³² The capital *P* is infilled in red.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

19 fortissimum hostem. ³³Gildas britonum
 20 historiographus tunc remanens in hibernia
 21 studium regens· et predicans in ciuitate –
 22 ardmaca: audiuit fratrem suum ab arth-
 23 -urio rege interfectum fuisse. ³⁴Doluit ab
 24 auditu· fleuit cum gemitu· ut frater ka-
 25 rissimus pro karissimo fratre. ³⁵Orauit pro spiritu
 26 fraterno cotidie· orabat insuper pro arthurio
 27 fratris sui persecutore et interfectore: complens
 28 apostolicum preceptum quod dicit· Orate pro persequen-
 29 tibus uos: et benefacite his qui oderunt uos.
 30 ³⁶Interea sanctissimus Gildas uenerabilis histo-
 31 riographus uenit ad britanniam portans
 32 unam pulcherrimam & dulcissimam
 33 campanam quam uouerat offerre apostolico
 34 romane ecclesie in presentationem. ³⁷Pernoc-
 35 tavit honorifice receptus a cadoco ue-
 {178ra}
 1 -nerabili abbate· in carbana ualle· qui
 2 monstrauit illi laudabilem campanam·
 3 monstratam accepit· acceptam emere uo-
 4 -luit magno precio quam possessor uendere
 5 nolebat. ³⁸Audito aduentu ³⁹Gilde sa-
 6 -pientis ab Arthurio rege· et primatibus
 7 tocius britannie abbatibus et episcopis: conue-

³³ **X.** Section number in red added in left margin. *Gildas* infilled with red.

³⁴ The capital *D* is infilled in red.

³⁵ The capital *O* is infilled in red.

³⁶ **XI.** Section number in red added in left margin. Capital *I* with red-line decoration and black decoration running into the left margin; the section number is wrapped within the decoration.

³⁷ The capital *P* is infilled in red.

³⁸ **XII.** Section number in red added in left margin. The capital *A* is infilled in red.

³⁹ The capital *G* is infilled in red.

8 -nerunt innumerabiles ex clero & populo·
 9 ut arthurium pacificarent ex supradic-
 10 -to homicidio. ⁴⁰At ille sicut *primitus* fece-
 11 -rat cognito rumore de obitu *fratris* in-
 12 -dulsit inimico ueniam postulanti os-
 13 -culum dedit· & benignissimo animo
 14 benedixit osculanti. ⁴¹Hoc *peracto*· rex arth-
 15 -urium dolens *et lacrimans*· accepit ab-
 16 *episcopis* adstantibus penitentiam· *et emendauit*
 17 in *quantum* potuit· donec consummauit
 18 uitam. ⁴²Inde egregius Gildas uir pacificus· et
 19 *catholicus*· adiuuit romam· *et apostolico roma-*
 20 -ne ecclesie tribuit *predictam* campanam·
 21 *que commota* a manibus apostolici nullum soni-
 22 -tum emittebat. ⁴³Vnde ille hoc uidens·
 23 talia dicebat. ⁴⁴O uir dilecte a deo *et ab*
 24 homine· reuela mihi quod tibi contigit in iti-
 25 -nere de hac *presentatione*. ⁴⁵At ille reue-
 26 lauit *sanctissimum* cadocum nancarbanensi^s
 27 ecclesie abbatem eam uoluisse emere. ⁴⁶Sed quam
 28 uouerat ⁴⁷Sancto petro apostolo offerre· nolebat
 29 uendere. ⁴⁸Apostolicus his auditis· dixit. ⁴⁹Nosco
 30 cadocum uenerabilem abbatem qui septies ad-
 31 -iuit istam ciuitatem· *et ter ierosolimam post in-*

⁴⁰ The capital *A* is infilled in red.

⁴¹ The capital *H* is infilled in red.

⁴² **XIII.** Section number in red added in left margin. The capital *I* is lined in red.

⁴³ The capital *V* is infilled in red.

⁴⁴ The capital *O* is infilled in red.

⁴⁵ The capital *A* is infilled in red.

⁴⁶ The capital *S* is infilled in red.

⁴⁷ The capital *S* is infilled in red.

⁴⁸ The capital *A* is infilled in red.

⁴⁹ The capital *N* is infilled in red.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

32 -mensa pericula & assiduum laborem remea-
 33 -to & cupienti habere: ut des concedo. ⁵⁰Desti-
 34 -natum est enim illi ut habeat: ex hoc presenti mi-
 35 -raculo. Gildas⁵¹ itaque benedictam campanam
 {178rb}
 1 recepit: & reuersus est et reportatam sancto cadoco
 2 gratis impendit. Recepta a manibus abbatis:
 3 intonuit ilico⁵² pulsata· ammirantibus
 4 cunctis. Vnde remansit omnibus portantibus
 5 per totam gualiam pro refugio. Et quicumque per illam
 6 illicite iuraret: aut priuaretur linguę⁵³ officio
 7 aut malefactor fateretur suam iniuriam
 8 continuo. ⁵⁴Sanctus ⁵⁵Cadocus abbas nancarbonen
 9 -sis ecclesie rogauit Gildam doctorem ut regeret
 10 studium scholarum per anni spacium· et rogatus
 11 rexit utillimum· nulla mercede recepta a
 12 scolaribus preter oraciones cleri & scolarium. ⁵⁶Vbi
 13 ipsemet scripsit opus .iiii.^{or} euangelistarum· quod adhuc
 14 remanet in ecclesia sancti cadoci· auro & argen-
 15 -to undique coopertum ad honorem dei· et scripto-
 16 -ris sanctissimi· et euangeliorum. Tenent Walen-
 17 -ses indigene illud uolumen preciosissimum
 18 in coniurationibus suis· nec audent aperire
 19 ad uidendum· nec confirmant pacem &
 20 amicitiam inter inimicos: nisi illud affuerit in

⁵⁰ The capital *D* is infilled in red.

⁵¹ The capital *G* and final *s* are infilled in red.

⁵² **ilico** Traces of a second *l* added.

⁵³ **linguę** The cauda seems to have been added later.

⁵⁴ **.XIII.** Section number in red added in left margin. The capital *S* is elaborately decorated in black with red infill.

⁵⁵ The capital *C* is infilled in red.

⁵⁶ **.XV.** Section number in red added in left margin.

21 *primis appositum.* ⁵⁷Finito anni spacio· & sco-
 22 -laribus recedentibus a studio: *sanctus abbas cadocus*·
 23 et Gildas doctor optimus comuni consilio
 24 adierunt duas insulas· *scilicet ronech· et echni.*
 25 ⁵⁸Cadocus intrauit *proximiorē gualie*· gildas ad-
 26 -iacentem anglie. ⁵⁹Nolebant impediri in ec-
 27 -clesiastico officio a confluentia hominum·
 28 *propterea nesciebant melius consilium quam relinquere*
 29 *carbanam uallem et adire insulare secretum.*
 30 ⁶⁰Gildas fundauit in honore *sancte et indiuidue*
 31 *trinitatis oratorium· et iuxta illud suum cubi-*
 32 -culum· non in illo *tamen habebat suum lectum·*
 33 *sed sub alta rupe positum· ubi iacebat usque me-*
 34 -diam noctem uigilans· & orans *supra petram*
 35 *omnipotentem deum.* ⁶¹Deinde adi-bat ecclesiam

{178va}

1 *frigescens nimium· frigus erat ei dulce:*
 2 & tolerabile *propter deum.* Pisciculos trahe-⁶²
 3 bat a reti· & oua a nidis uolucrum:
 4 unde uiuebat· *quod sibi sufficiebat ad a-*
 5 -limentum. Visitabat *unus alterum· rema-*
 6 -nentia talis durauit spacio .vii. annorum
 7 ⁶³Summus creator uidens suum Gildam
 8 dilectum famulum carere durabili aqua
 9 *preter guttas pluuias que cadebant super*

⁵⁷ .XVI. Section number in red added in left margin. The capital *F* is infilled in red.

⁵⁸ The capital *C* is infilled in red.

⁵⁹ The capital *N* is infilled in red.

⁶⁰ The capital *G* is infilled in red.

⁶¹ The capital *D* is infilled in red.

⁶² *trahe-* .xxii. added in right margin.

⁶³ .XVII. Section number in red added in left margin. Capital *S* infilled in red with black line decoration in left margin.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

10 ~~teeta~~ saxa· & que retinebantur cadentia·
 11 fecit riuum effluere de rupe alta· qui
 12 effluxit et effluit· et manabit sine defec-
 13 -tione aliqua. ⁶⁴Dum sic perseueraret
 14 Sanctus Gildas intentus ieiuniis et orationibus
 15 uenerunt pirate de insulis orcadibus
 16 qui afflixerunt illum· raptis ab eo suis
 17 famulis seruentibus & ductis in exilium
 18 cum spoliis et omnibus sue habitationis sup-
 19 -pellectilibus. Vnde afflictus nimium non po-
 20 -tuit amplius ibi habitare. ⁶⁵Reliquit in
 21 -sulam· ascendit nauiculam et ingressus
 22 est glastoniam: cum magno dolore. Melua^s
 23 rege regnante in estiuia regione. Su-
 24 -sceptus uir suscipiendus a Glestonien-
 25 -se abbate docuit confratres· et diuersas plebe^s
 26 seminans semen seminandum celestis
 27 doctrine. ⁶⁶Ibi scripsit historias de regibus bri-
 28 -tannie. Glastonia· ^{id est}⁶⁷ urbs uitrea· que nomen
 29 sumpsit a uitro· et urbis nomine primitus
 30 in britannico sermone. ⁶⁸ {Obsessa est itaque ab}⁶⁹
 31 ar^thurio tyranno cum innumerabili
 32 multitudine propter Guenuuar uxorem
 33 suam· uiolatam & raptam a predicto iniquo
 34 rege· & ibi ductam propter refugium inuiolati
 35 loci· propter munitiones arundineti· et

⁶⁴ .XVIII. Section number in red added in left margin.

⁶⁵ .XIX. Section number in red added in left margin.

⁶⁶ .XX. Section number in red added in left margin. Ibi written in erasure iby C¹.

⁶⁷ Id est Written in another hand, perhaps C¹.

⁶⁸ .XXI. Section number in red added in left margin.

⁶⁹ Obses^a est itaque ab Added by C¹ in erasure.

{178vb}

1 fluminis· ac paludis causa tutele.
 2 ⁷⁰Quesiuerat rex rebellis reginam *per unius*
 3 anni circulum. Audiuit tandem *illam*
 4 remanentem. Ilico *commouit exercitum*
 5 *totius*⁷¹ cornubie et dibnenie· paratum est
 6 bellum inter inimicos. Hoc uisoꝝ abbas
 7 glastonie comitante clero· et Gilda sapi-
 8 -enteꝝ intrauit medias acies· consuluit
 9 meluas regi suo pacifice· ut redderet
 10 raptam. Reddita *ergo* fuit que reddenda
 11 fuerat· *per pacem & beniuolentiam* --
 12 ⁷²His *peractis*· duo reges largiti sunt
 13 abbati multa territoria· qui uenerunt
 14 ad templum *sancte MARIE* uisitandum· *et*
 15 orandum· confirmante abbate *fraternita-*
 16 -tem dilectam *pro pace habita· et pro bene-*
 17 -ficiis que fecerant· *et amplius que facturi*
 18 erant. ⁷³Inde redierunt reges pacificati
 19 promittentes *ueneranter* obedire reuerentis-
 20 -simo glastoniensi abbati *et numquam uiola-*
 21 -re *sanctissimum* locum nec *etiam* subiacentia
 22 loco principali.⁷⁴
 23 ⁷⁵Habita licentia abbatis glastoniensis
 24 cleri & populi cupiuit *religiosissimus*
 25 Gildas *heremitariam iterum uitam* colere
 26 *supra ripam fluminis proximi glastonie*·

⁷⁰ .XXII. Section number in black (unlike all the others which are in red) added in left margin.

⁷¹ *Totius* Added in erasure.

⁷² .XXIII. Section number in red added in left margin. The capital *H* is infilled in red.

⁷³ .XXIII. Section number in red added in left margin.

⁷⁴ .XXV. Section number in red added in space.

⁷⁵ The capital *H* is decorated in black line running into the left margin.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

27 & uolun^{ta}tem⁷⁶ compleuit in opere. ⁷⁷Vbi edifica-
 28 -uit ecclesiam in nomine sancte & indiuidue
 29 trinitatis· in qua ieiunabat & ora-
 30 -bat assidue et cilicio indutus exemplum
 31 donans omnibus irreprehensibile bene ui-
 32 -uendi cum religione. Visitabant
 33 sancti uiri illum uisitandum de longinquis
 34 partibus britannie· ammoniti redi
 35 bant et audita ortamenta et consilia

{179ra}

1 retinebant cum exultatione. ⁷⁸Egrotā-
 2 -uit tandem· & dum aggrauaretur egritudine·
 3 conuocauit abbatem glastonie qui roga-
 4 uit eum cum magna pietate· ut finito
 5 cursu uite faceret deferri suum corpus
 6 ad abbatiam glastonie· quam diligebat
 7 maxime. ⁷⁹Abbate promittente dignos rogatus
 8 explere et propter auditos dolente et nimium
 9 lacrimante exspirauit sanctissimus Gildas e-
 10 -grotans ualde multis audientibus splen-
 11 -dorem angelicum circa corpus odoriferum
 12 et angeli⁸⁰ consociantibus anime. ⁸¹Post commen-
 13 dationem lacrimabilem completam· defertur a con-
 14 -fratribus corpus leuissimum ad abbatiam. Et cum
 15 planctu maximo & honore dignissi-
 16 -mo· sepelitur in medio pauimento ecclesie
 17 sancte MARIE. Cuius anima requieuit et requies-

⁷⁶ uolun^(ta)tem Correction probably made by Dumville's C¹.

⁷⁷ .XXVI. Section number in red added in left margin. The capital V is infilled in red.

⁷⁸ .XXVII. Section number in red added in left margin. The capital E is infilled in red.

⁷⁹ .XXVIII. Section number in red added in left margin. The capital A is infilled in red.

⁸⁰ Sic for angelis

⁸¹ .XXIX. Section number in red added in left margin.

18 -cit· ac requiescet in celesti *reque*. AMEN.⁸²
 19 ⁸³Ynisgutrin nominata fuit
 20 antiquitus glastonia *et* adhuc nominatur
 21 a britannis indigenis· ynis in brita-
 22 -nnico sermone: insula latine. Gutrin uero:
 23 uitrea. *Sed post aduentum angligenarum et expul-*
 24 *sis britannis id est Walensibus: reuocata est*
 25 *glastigb^eri ex ordine primi uocabuli· scilicet*
 26 *glas anglice: uitrum latine. Beria: ciuita^s·*
 27 *inde· glastigberia id est uitrea ciuitas.*
 28 ⁸⁴Nancarbanensis dictamina *sunt* caratoci.
 29 Qui legat emendet placet illi compositori.-
 30 Ex --- pli --- cit⁸⁵

⁸² AMEN Picked out in red.

⁸³ The red *Y* is very elaborate with a tail running down the left margin as far as line 23.

⁸⁴ The tail of the red capital *N* fills the space of two lines and its left stroke runs down the left margin as far as line 30.

⁸⁵ *Explicit* In red and extending across the width of the column with a very long crossbar to the *t* extending to the right margin.

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