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 Dauid (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
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).

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Vita Sancti Gildae (Caradog of Llancarfan)

edited by Paul Russell

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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.
VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

De primo studio regendi scolas
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 orto\(^2\) 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\(e\)s\(e\)a orto MS, orto D.
§1

§2

§3
Audita fama famosissimi aduene confluxerunt ad eum scolares plurimi undique. Audierunt ab eo .vii. disciplinarum scienciam subtilissime, unde ex discipulis magistri effecti sunt sub magistrali honore.

§4

3 Scotiæ Scotorum corrected to Scocie D, Scotorum U.
VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

§5

Predicatorem erat clarissimus per tria regna Britanniae. Reges timebant timendum, cui obediebant, audita acceptabili sua predicatone. Predicabat omni dominica die apud maritimam ecclesiam que stat in Pepidiauc regione in tempore Trifuni regis innumerabili multitudine plebis illum\(^4\) audiente. Et dum inciperet predicare, retenta est uox predicationis in predicante, unde plebs ammirata est ualde pro ammirabili retentione.

§6


§7

Post finitum sermonem interrogavit angelum dei\(^6\) predictam rem, scilicet qua de causa inceperat predicare et non poterat ducere ad finem. At ille revelauit ei talia dicens. ‘Nonnita, mulier sancta, manet in ecclesia, que nunc pregnans puerum paritura est cum inmensa gratia pro quo non potuisti\(^7\) predicare, divina potestate sermonem retinente. Maioris gratie erit puer uenturus.’ ‘Nullus ei equiperabit 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 convertit ad fidem catholicam. Contemporaneus Gildas uir sanctissimus fuit Artvrii regis totius maioris Britanniae, quem diligendum diligebat, cui semper cupiebat obedire.

\(^4\) illum illo MS.
\(^5\) parietaem sic MS.
\(^6\) angelum dei added above in a later hand (Dumville’s C\(^1\)), D.
\(^7\) potuisti potui MS, D.
§9

§10
Gildas Britonum historiographus tunc remanens in Hibernia studium regens, et predicans in ciuitate Ardmaca, auduit fratrem suum ab Arthurio\(^10\) rege interfectum suisse. Doluit ab auditu. Fleuit cum gemitu, ut frater karissimus pro karissimo fratre. Oravit pro spiritu fraterno cotidie. Orabat insuper pro Arthurio fratris sui persecutore et interfector, 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 Carbana 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 Arthurium\(^12\) pacificarent ex

\(^8\) iuuenem\, Followed by et optimum which was copied in error by eyskip from a few lines below and then deleted.

\(^9\) Arturus MS, D (elsewhere he is Arthurius).

\(^10\) Arturio MS, arthuro D.

\(^11\) abbatibus et episcopis MS, episcopis et abbatibus D.

\(^12\) Arturium MS, corrected to Arthurum D.
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 Arthurius\textsuperscript{13} 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, Nancarbonensis ecclesie abbatem, eam uoluisse emere. Sed quam uouerat sancto Petro apostolo offerre nolebat uendere. Apostolicus his auditis dixit, 'Nosco Cadocum uenerabilem abbatem qui septies adiuit istam ciuitatem et ter ierosolimam post inmensa pericula et assiduum laborem. Remeato et cupiendi habere ut des concedo. Destinatum est enim illi\textsuperscript{14} ut habeat ex hoc presenti miraculo.' Gildas itaque benedictam campanam recepit, et reuersus est et reportatam sancto Cadoco gratis impendit. Recepta a manibus abbatis intonuit 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

Sanctus\textsuperscript{15} Cadocus abbas Nancarbonensis ecclesie rogauit Gildam doctorem ut regeret studium scolarum per anni spaciun. Et rogatus rexit utillimum, nulla mercede recepta a scolaribus preter oraciones clerii 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 apposittum.

\textsuperscript{13} Arthurius MS, arthurus D.
\textsuperscript{14} enim illi MS, illi enim D.
\textsuperscript{15} Sanctus om. D.
§16


§17

Summus creator uidens suum Gildam, dilectum famulum, carere durabili aqua preter16 guttas pluuiales que cadebant super saxa17 et que retinebantur cadentia, fecit riuum effluere de rupe alta qui effluxit et effluuit 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 estiua regione. Susceptus uir suscipiendus a Glestoniense abbate docuit confratres et diversas plebes, seminans semen seminandum celestis doctrine.

§20

Ibi scripsit histories 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.
VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

§21
Obsessa est itaque ab\textsuperscript{18} Arthurio\textsuperscript{19} tyranno cum innumerabili multitudine propter Guennuuar\textsuperscript{20} 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 exercitum\textsuperscript{21} totius\textsuperscript{22} Cornubie et Dibnenie.\textsuperscript{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 abbati\textsuperscript{24} et numquam uiolare sanctissimum locum nec etiam subiacentia loco principal.

§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.

\textsuperscript{18} Obsessa est itaque ab Added in erasure.
\textsuperscript{19} Arthurio MS, arthuro D.
\textsuperscript{20} Guennuuar MS, guennimar D.
\textsuperscript{21} exercitum MS, exercitus D.
\textsuperscript{22} totius added in erasure.
\textsuperscript{23} Dibnenie dhubuenie U.
\textsuperscript{24} Glastoniensi abbati MS, abbat glastonensi D.
Visitabant sancti uiri illum uisitandum de longinquis partibus Britannie. Ammoniti redibant et audita ortonamenta 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 angelis consociantibus anime.

§29

Post commendationem lacrimabilem completam, defer tur a confratribus corpus leuissimum ad abbatiam. Et cum planctu maximo et honore dignissimo se pelitur in medio pauimento ecclesiæ sancte Marie. Cuius anima requieuit et requiescit, ac requiescet in celesti requie. Amen.

§30


Nancarbanensis dictamina sunt caratoci.

Qui legat, emendet; placet illi compositori.

Explicit.
Vita Sancti Gildae (Caradog of Llancarfan)

edited by Paul Russell

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Translation

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 hermitical 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.
§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 fersula.

\(^9\) Transfretatui (§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. And just as he was beginning to preach, the words of the preaching were held within the preacher, 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 God 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,
with great grace, to give birth to a boy about whom you could not preach, as divine power was holding back your speech. The boy who is to come will be of greater grace.’ [And Gildas replied,] ‘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, 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. The 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. 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, 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 Dauid (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. After killing him, Arthur returned in victory, rejoicing greatly that he had overcome his strongest enemy.

§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.’

§11
Meanwhile, the most holy Gildas, the venerable historian, came to Britain, bringing with him a very beautiful and sweet-sounding bell, 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. 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,

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23 According to Gerald of Wales, Descriptio Cambrie, 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 (auditus ... gemitus, persecutore ... interfecit) 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(e) seem to be earlier and gradually replaced by Llan-.
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 it was either deprived of the use of his tongue, 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. The native Welsh hold this volume as the most valuable

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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 lingue 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 that 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 intraut ... 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 individue 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).
§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. Glastonbury, that is, the glassy city, which took its name from glass, is a city that had its name originally in the British tongue.

§21

It was besieged by the tyrant Arthur 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.

§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

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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.

and Devon. 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. He accomplished what he wanted.

§26

He built a church there in the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity, 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 Glastonie (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 individue trinitatis (in the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity) For this phrasing, see n. 34 above.
VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRAEI

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 Ynysgwyrin, 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 perseveraret (§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

Introduction
Edited Text
Translation
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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 CCCC 66 and CUL Ff.I.27. A copy of CCCC 139 was made in 1166 in Durham, now Cathedral Library B.II.35, fols 165v–167v (D). After that copy was made, CCCC 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; CCCC 101, pp. 43–51 is a transcript of CCCC 139 by Parker.

CCCC 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 (11x); an ampersand is used (34x); or the tironian note (this is printed as italic et) (44x), 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.
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 predictione in pepidiauc regio -- ne
16 DE primo miraculo per sanctum Gildam et sanctum De -- wi
17 DE resolutione angelica ruelata 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 orto per Gil ----------------- dam
28 DE piratis affligentibus eun --------------- dem
29 DE recessione eiusdem ad insulam uitrem .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 abbat(e) Glastonie frater(nitatem) confirm(a) te
35 DE repetita heremitaria uit(a) Gil -------------- de

\{177ra\}
1 DE edificatione ecclesie supra ripam axi\(^1\) flumi ---- nis
2 DE egrotante eo ------------------------ dem
3 DE obitu eius -------------------------- dem
4 DE sepultura eius ---------------------- dem

5 \(\text{2NAU FU} \text{I} \text{T REG} \text{E} \text{SCOTIE}\)
6 nobilissimus regum aquilonal-
7 um. qui .xxiii. filios habuit
8 \(^3\) uictores· 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\(^\text{a} \text{b}\)at
13 diligentissime· nec ledebat obliuo --
14 Studuit studiosus assidue inter suates
15 in artibus .vii. donec peruenit ad iuuen-
16 -ntutem. \(\text{4Dum iuuenis factus: cito}\)
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 -sor\(^\text{um}\) volumen· remeauit ad maio-
23 -rem britanniam· \(\text{5Audita fama f} \text{a}-\)

\(^1\) 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.
\(^1\) 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.
VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

24 mosissimi aduene: confluxerunt
25 ad eum scolares plurimi undique·
26 Audierunt ab eo .vii. disciplina-
27 -rum scien ciam subtilissime. Vnde ex
28 discipulis magistri effecti sunt: 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 -ueniebat· nec poterat inueniri pro sui
34 meritis excellenti bus. Ieiunabat ut
35 heremita Antonivs: orabat uir

{177rb}
1 religiosissimus cilicio indu tus· Quicquid
2 dabatur ei continuo impendebat
3 pauperibus. Abstinebat se a lactea
4 dulcedine & a melle· caro fuit illi
5 in odio· fontane herbe potius in a-
6 -more· panem ordeicum comedebat
7 commix tum cinere· fontanam aquam
8 bibebat cotidie. balnea non intra-
9 -bat· quod diligebatur a sua gente max-
10 -ime. Macies apparebat in facie quasi
11 quidam febricitans uidebatur grauis-
12 sime. Fluualem aquam intrare
13 solebat media nocte· ubi manebat
14 stabilitus donec dic eretur ab ipso ter
15 oracio dominica· his peractis repetebat {suum}7
16 oratorium· ibi exorabat genu flec-
17 tendo diuinam maiestatem usque

6 .III. Section number in red added in left margin.
7 suum Added in right margin by main scribe.
diem clarum. Dormiebat modice·
iacebat supra petram uestitus solummodo
una ueste. Manducabat sine sa-
turitate· saciatus tamen metando premi-
um celeste· celestia premia erant ei
in desiderio. Precipiebat spenere am-
monebat despicere que transeunt
in momento. 8Predicator erat clarius-
simus per tria regna britannie. Reges
timebant timendum· cui obediebant·
audita acceptabili sua predicatione.
9Predicabat omni dominica die apud
maritimam ecclesiam que stat in pe-
pidiauc regione in tempore trifuni
regis innumerabili multitudine illo
audiente. Et dum inciperet predicare:
retenta est uox predicationis in predi-
te· unde plebs ammirata est ualde· pro

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

8 .V. Section number in red added in right margin.
9 obediebant 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. 15 Cui respondit: Non-
8 -nita pregnans: Dewi sanctissimi pueri
9 mater futura: Ego nonnita hic maneō
10 inter parietam & ianuam nolens intrare
11 turbam. His auditis: precepit illi exire --
12 16 Et postquam exierat: uocuit plebem. 17 Que
13 uocata: uenit: ut audiret eum laudificem
14 predictionem. 18 Post finitum sermonem: inter-
15 roguit [angulum de]19 predictam rem: scilicet qua de causa in
16 inceperat predicare: et non poterat ducere
17 ad finem. 20 At ille revelauit ei talia di-
18 -cens. 21 Nonnita 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. 22 Maioris grātie erit pu-
23 -er uenturus. 23 Nullus ei equiperabit in
24 nostris partibus. Ego relinquam illam istam
25 regionem: ipse cito crescat: et floreat de
26 etate in etatem. Angelus enim de nuncius mihi
27 declaravit istam ueram destinationem.
28 24 Vnde contigit quod sanctissimus predicat Gil-
29 -das transiuit ad hibernam: 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 angulum de. Added with insertion mark before predictam by a later hand (Dumville’s C).
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.
Contemporaneus Gildas\textsuperscript{25} ur sanctissimus fuit ARTVRI\textsuperscript{26} regis totius maioris bri-
tannie quem diligendum diligebat· cui semper cupiebat obedire. \textsuperscript{27}Confratres tamen
.xxiii. resistebant regi rebelli predicto.

nolentes pati dominum· sed crebro fuga-
-bant· & expellebant a saltu et bello. Hueil
maior natu belliger assiduus & miles
famosissimus nulli regi obediuit nec etiam
arturio. \textsuperscript{28}Affligebat eundem commouebat
inter utrumque maximum furorem. \textsuperscript{29}A Scocia
ueniebat sepissime incendia ponebat·
predas ducebat cum victoria ac laude. \textsuperscript{30}Unde
rex uniuersalis britannie audiens
magnanimum iuuem· et optimum\textsuperscript{31}
talia fecisse & equalia facere: persecutus
est victoriosissimum iuuem· et optimum
ut aiebant & sperabant indigene· futu-
rum regem. In persecutione autem hostili &
in conuentu bellico in insula Mynau
interfecit inimicum predatorem. \textsuperscript{32}Post illam
interfectionem art\textsuperscript{h}VRus uictor remeauit
gaudens· maxime quod superauertat suum

\textsuperscript{25}Gildas The letters are infilled in red.
\textsuperscript{26}ARTVRII Black lettering lined in red.
\textsuperscript{27}.IX. Section number in red added in left margin. The capital C is infilled in red.
\textsuperscript{28}The capital A is infilled in red.
\textsuperscript{29}The capital A is infilled in red.
\textsuperscript{30}The capital U is infilled in red.
\textsuperscript{31}et optimum\textsuperscript{u} Copied error by eyskip from l. 12 below nad then deleted.
\textsuperscript{32}The capital P is infilled in red.
fortissimum hostem. Gildas britonum historiographus tunc remanens in hibernia studium regens et predicans in ciuitate – ardmaca: audiuit fratrem suum ab arth-
-urio rege interfectumuisse. Doluit ab audiuit· fleuit cum gemitu· ut frater kar-
rissimus pro karissimo fratre. Oruit pro spiritu fraterno cotidie· orabat insuper pro arthurio fragris sui persecutore et interfectore: complens apostolicum preceptum quod dicit· Orate pro persequen-
tibus uos: et benefacite his qui oderunt uos.

Interea sanctissimus Gildas uenerabilis histo-
riographus uenit ad britanniam portans unam pulcherrimam & dulcissimam campanam quam uouerat offerre apostolico romane ecclesie in presentationem. Pernoc-
tauit honorifice receptus a cadoco eu-

-nerabili abbate· in carbana ualle· qui monstrauit illi laudabilem campanam· monstrata accept· acceptam emere uo-
-luit magno precio quam possessor uendere nolebat. Audito aduentu Gilde sa-
-pientis ab Arthurio rege· et primatibus
tocius Britannie abbatibus et episcopis conue-
-nerunt innumerables ex clero & populo.

ut arthurium pacificarent ex supradic-

-at homicidio. 40 At ille sicut primitus fece-

-rat cognito rumore de obitu fratri in-

-dulcit inimico ueniam postulanti os-

-culum dedit & benignissimo animo

benedixit osculanti. 41 Hoc peracto: rex arth-

-urius dolens et lacrimans: accept ab-

-episcopis adstantibus penitentiam: et emenduit

in quantum potuit: donec consummauit

uitam. 42 Inde egregius Gildas uir pacificus: et

catholicus: adiuit romanum: et apostolico roma-

-ne ecclesie tribuit predictam campanam:

que commota a manibus apostolici nullum soni-

tum emittebat. V43 unde ille hoc uidens:

talia dicebat. O44 uir dilecte a deo et ab

homin: reuela mibi quod tibi contigit in iti-

-nere de hac presentatione. 45 At ille reue-

-lauit sanctissimum caducum nancarbanensi

ecclesie abbatem eam uoluisse emere. 46 Sed quam

uouerat 47 Sancto petro apostolo offerre: nolebat

uendere. 48 Apostolicus his auditis: dixit. 49 Nosco

caducum uenerabilem abbatem qui septies ad-

-iuit istam ciuitatem: et ter ierosolimam post in-
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 recepti: & reuersus est et reportatum 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. 54Sanctus55 Cadocus abbas nancarbonen
9 -sis ecclesie rogauit Gildam doctorem ut regeret
10 studium scolarum per anni spaciun: et rogatus
11 rexit utillimum: nulla mercede recepta a
12 scolaribus preter oraciones cleri & scolarium. 56Vbi
13 ipsemet scripsit opus .iii.:evangelistarum: 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.
primis appositum. \textsuperscript{57} Finito anni spacio \& sco-
laribus recedentibus a studio: sanctus abbas caducus.
et Gildas doctor optimus comuni consilio
adierunt duas insulas: scilicet ronech \& et echni.
\textsuperscript{58} Caducus intrauit proximiorem gualie: gildas ad-
iciens anglicie. \textsuperscript{59} Nolebant impediri in ec-
clesiasticus officio a confluxia hominum:
propterea nesciebant melius consilium quam relinquere
carbanam uallem et adiere insulare secretum.
\textsuperscript{60} Gildas fundauit in honore sancte et indiuidue
trinitatis oratorium: et iuxta illud suum cubi-
culum: non in illo tamen habebat suum lectum:
sed sub alta rupe positum: ubi iacebat usque me-
diam nocte uigilans \& orans supra petram
omnipotentem deum. \textsuperscript{61} Deinde adi-bat ecclesiam

\{178va\}

frigescens nimium: frigus erat ei dulce:
\& tolerabile propter deum. Pisculos trahere.
bat a reti: \& oua a nidis volucrum:
unde uivebat: quod sibi sufficiebat ad a-
limentum. Visitabat unus alterum: rema-
entia talis durauit spacio vii. annorum
\textsuperscript{63} Summus creator uidens suum Gildam
dilectum famulum carere durabili aqua
preter guttas pluiales que cadebant super

\textsuperscript{57} X\textsuperscript{VI}. Section number in red added in left margin. The capital F is infilled in red.
\textsuperscript{58} The capital C is infilled in red.
\textsuperscript{59} The capital N is infilled in red.
\textsuperscript{60} The capital G is infilled in red.
\textsuperscript{61} The capital D is infilled in red.
\textsuperscript{62} trahe- .xxii. added in right margin.
\textsuperscript{63} X\textsuperscript{VII}. Section number in red added in left margin. Capital S infilled in red with black line decoration in left margin.
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10 tecta saxa· & que retinebantur cadentia·
11 fecit riuum effluere de rupe alta· qui
effluxit et effluet· et manabit sine defec-
12 -tione aliqua. 64Dum sic perseveraret
Sanctus Gildas intentus ieiuniis et orationibus
uenerunt pirate de insulis orcadibus
qui affliexerunt illum· raptis ab eo sui
famulis seruientibus & ductis in exilium
cum spoliis et omnibus sue habitationis sup
-pellectilibus. Vnde afflictus nimium non po-
tuit amplius ibi habitare. 65Reliquit in
-sulam· ascendit nauiculam et ingressus
est glastoniam: cum magno dolore. Melua³
rege regnante in estiua regione. Su-
-sceptus uir suscipientus a Glestonien-
-se abbate docuit confratres· et diuersas plebe³
seminans semen seminandum celestis
doctrine. 66Ibi scripsit histories de regibus bri-
-tannie. Glastonia. id est urbs uitrea· que nomen
sumpsit a uitreo· et urbis nomine primitus
in britannico sermone. 68 {Obses sa est itaque ab} 69
arthurio tyranno cum innumerabili
multitudine propter Guennuuar uxorem
suam· uiolatam & raptam a predicto iniquo
rege· & ibi ductam propter refugium inviolati
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'sa est itaque ab Added by C¹ in erasure.
fluminis et paludis causa tutele.

Quesierat rex rebellis regina

anni circulum. Auduit tandem illam

remanentem. Ilico commouit exercitum

totius cornubie et dibnenie paratum est

bellum inter inimicos. Hoc uiso: abbas

glastonie comitante clero et Gilda sapienter: intraut medias acies consuluit

melas regi suo pacifice ut redderet

raptam. Reddita ergo fuit que reddenda

fuerat: per pacem & beniuolentiam

His peractis: duo reges largiti sunt

abati multa territoria qui uenerunt

ad templum sancte MARIE uisitandum et

orandum confirmante abbe fraternita-

tem dilectam pro pace habita et pro bene-

ficis que fierant et amplius que facturi

erant. Inde redierunt reges pacificati

promittentes ueneranter obedire reuerentis-

simo glastoniensi abbat et numquam uiola-

re sanctissimum locum nec etiam subiacentia

loco principali.

Habita licentia abbatis glastoniensis

cleri & populi cupiuit religiosissimus

Gildas heremitarium iterum uitam colere

supra ripam fluminis proximi glastonic:
VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

27 & uoluntatem\textsuperscript{76} compleuit in opere. \textsuperscript{77}Vbi edificavit ecclesiam in nomine sancte & indiuidue
28 -uit ecclesiam in nomine sancte & indiuidue
29 trinitatis· in qua ieunabat & ora-
30 -bat assidue et cilio 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. \textsuperscript{78}Egrautavit tandem· & dum aggrauretur eruditio;
2 conuocauit abbatem glastonie qui roga-
3 uit cum magna pietate· ut finito
4 cursu uite faceret deferri suum corpus
5 ad abbatiam glastonie· quam diligebat
6 maxime. \textsuperscript{79}Abbat promittente dignos rogatus
7 explere et propter auditos dolente et nimium
8 lacrimante expiravit sanctissimus Gildas e-
9 -grotans ulde multis audientibus splen-
10 -dorem angelicum circa corpus odoriferum
11 et angeli\textsuperscript{80} consociantibus anime. \textsuperscript{81}Post commen
12 dationem lacrimabilem completam: defertur a con-
13 -fratribus corpus leuissimum ad abbatiam. Et cum
14 planctu maximo & honore dignissi-
15 -mo: sepelitur in medio pauimento ecclesi-
16 sancte MARIE. Cuius anima requieuit et requies-

\textsuperscript{76} uoluntatem Correction probably made by Dumville's C\textsuperscript{1}.
\textsuperscript{77} .XXVI. Section number in red added in left margin. The capital V is infilled in red.
\textsuperscript{78} .XXVII. Section number in red added in left margin. The capital E is infilled in red.
\textsuperscript{79} .XXVIII. Section number in red added in left margin. The capital A is infilled in red.
\textsuperscript{80} Sic for angelis
\textsuperscript{81} .XXIX. Section number in red added in left margin.
18 -cit ac requiescet in celesti requie. AMEN.\textsuperscript{82}
19 \textsuperscript{83}Ynisgutrin nominata fuit
20 antiquitus glastonia et adhuc nominatur
21 a britannis indigenis ynis in brita-
22 -nnico sermone: insula latine. Gutrin uera:
23 uitrea. Sed post aduentum angligenarum et expul-
24 sis britannis id est Walensis: reuocata est
25 glastigb'ri ex ordine pri mi vocabiuli sclicet
26 glas anglice: utrum latine. Beria: ciuita\textsuperscript{3}
27 inde: glastigeria id est utrea ciuitas.
28 \textsuperscript{84}Nancarbanensis dictamina sunt caratoci.
29 Qui legat emendet placet illi compositori.-
30 Ex --- pli --- cit\textsuperscript{85}

\textsuperscript{82} AMEN Picked out in red.
\textsuperscript{83} The red \textit{Y} is very elaborate with a tail running down the left margin as far as line 23.
\textsuperscript{84} The tail of the red capital \textit{N} fills the space of two lines and its left stroke runs down the left margin as far as line
30.
\textsuperscript{85} Explicit In red and extending across the width of the column with a very long crossbar to the \textit{t} extending to the right margin.
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