

Welsh Lives from the *Nova Legenda Anglie*

edited by Francesco Marzella

Vita Sancti Bernaci

Vita Sancti Carantoci

Vita Sancti Carodoci

Vita Sancti Clitauri

Introductory Note:

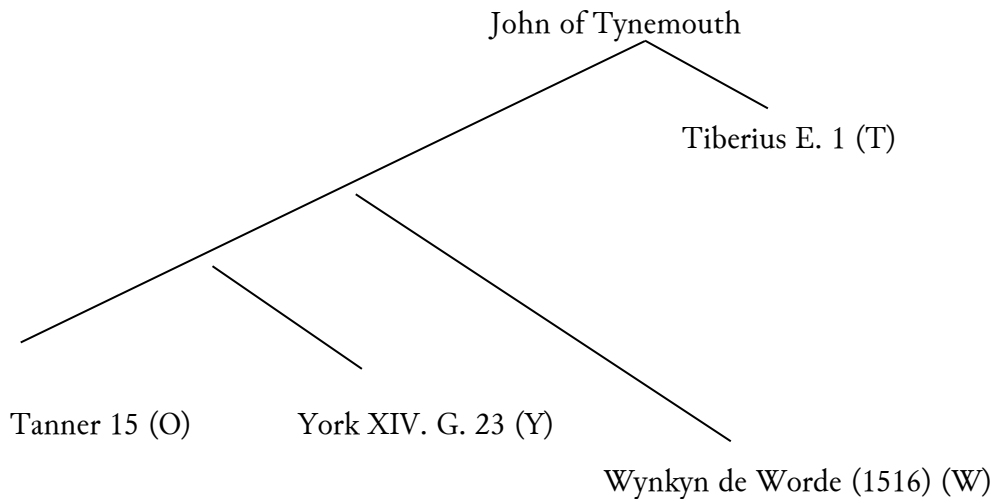
Manuscripts of the *Nova Legenda Anglie* and Editorial Method

by Paul Russell

John of Tynemouth's *Sanctilogium Angliae, Walliae, Scotiae et Hiberniae* is a collection of some 156 prose saints' Lives (for more details, Lapidge and Love 2001: 305–11; Horstman 1901: I.ix–lxviii) compiled in the first half of the fourteenth century; he has been associated with St Albans (since Tynemouth was a cell of St Albans) but it is clear that he travelled widely collecting the Lives. The earliest surviving copy, preserved in Cotton Tiberius E. i, lists the saints in calendrical order, but they are listed in alphabetical order in all other surviving versions including Wynkyn de Worde's printed edition in 1516, under the title *Nova Legenda Anglie*, which was the primary basis for Horstman's edition (1901). Wynkyn de Worde also added an extra thirteen Lives. The alphabeticisation of the collection has been attributed to John Capgrave, but this is now thought unlikely (Lucas 1997: 294–306). Within this monumental collection there are 19 Lives of Welsh saints and two more (Cungarus and Decumanus) were added in the 1516 printed edition (Horstman 1901: I.xvi). All of the Lives in John of Tynemouth's collection are abbreviated in relation to the other surviving versions; it seems that, in cases where this was possible, John of Tynemouth based his adaptations of the Welsh Lives on the versions preserved in the Vespasian MS (Horstman 1901: I.xxiii–xxv), or perhaps a manuscript closely related to it.

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In addition to the Cotton Tiberius E. I copy (which lists the Lives in calendrical order) the alphabeticised version is preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 15 and York Minster XIV. G. 23, both fifteenth-century. British Library, Cotton Otho D. ix, also contains a copy but it was so badly damaged in the Cotton fire and so little of the text survives that it is unusable. The Cotton Tiberius copy was also damaged in the fire and on average about 60% of it survives, though it is more useful for some Lives than others; generally more survives of the calendrically later Lives. On the basis of work by Lapidge (2003: 745–51; cf. Lapidge and Love 2001: 310) and work on the Lives of Welsh saints, it is clear that the Tanner and York copies are sister manuscripts (with the York copy being the less reliable); neither of them is the copy on which Wynkyn de Worde based his printed edition. The Cotton Tiberius copy contains errors and marginalia not found in the other versions and so cannot be the archetype of the copy which was alphabeticised which must be presumed lost. Assuming that the process of alphabeticisation only happened once, the following stemma suggests itself (not enough remains of Cotton Otho D. ix to be sure where it sits in the tradition though it is clear that it belongs in the alphabeticised group (Lapidge 2003: 750)):



For the purposes of editing the Lives of the Welsh saints, it is important that the editorial method can be consistently applied to all the Lives and that they are all edited in the same way. While the earliest surviving manuscript is Cotton Tiberius E. I (T), it was badly damaged in the Ashburnham House fire and only parts of the Lives of the Welsh saints are legible. Of the two other surviving manuscripts (leaving aside Cotton Otho D. ix) Tanner 15 (B) is the more reliable

(cf. Lapidge 2003: 571 who notes that the York manuscript ‘has a number of distinctive errors and omissions’); in addition and circumstantially, as noted in the description, Tanner 15 has Welsh connections: it has a note in Welsh on the top of the opening page; the Lives of the Welsh saints have marginal annotations by the Welsh notary and scholar Sir John Pryse (died 1555); and the text of the *NLA* is followed by extracts deriving from Vespasian A. xiv.

Tanner 15 (O) is, therefore, used here to provide the base text for the edition; it is complete but the text contains a number of errors, often involving minor confusion, and occasional changes in wording. In cases of obvious error the text is emended on the basis of, the Tiberius manuscript (T) where legible, York XIV. G. 23 (Y), and Wynkyn de Worde’s printed text (W). But where the Tanner text makes sense (and is not an obvious error) but differs from T, Y, and W, so as to preserve the character of the Tanner text, the Tanner reading is retained, though the agreement of the others witnesses will be noted in the apparatus. Details of any substantive deviation from the text of the Tanner copy are provided in the apparatus; variation in, for example, spelling is not noted unless particularly significant (e.g. in Welsh names); where a reading from T is not noted, this is because it is illegible at that point. An exception to this will have to be made for the Life of Tatheus which was omitted in both O and Y; in this case T contains most of the text and so the edition will be based on that manuscript collated with W. Readings from Horstman’s edition are only recorded where he has intervened editorially against the manuscript tradition. As a general principle, the text is only emended by reference to other versions of the *NLA* text and not by reference to readings in other versions external to the *NLA* tradition (though these can be noted in the apparatus but only where significant). As noted above, Tanner 15 and the York XIV. G. 23 are sister manuscripts on one side of the stemma but do not derive from T. Thus, when the reading of B or Y agrees with T, we take this to be the reading of the archetype. On the other hand, where B or Y agrees with W, that is less significant and only tells us about the readings in the alphabeticised version. The division into sections should correspond to other editions (where available); some sections may consequently be rather short but it does aid comparison with the other versions of the Lives.

The manuscripts:

London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius E. I (perhaps St Albans; s. xiv^{med.})

A large format manuscript (320 × 190 mm.) consisting of 340 fols now bound in two volumes with separate foliation (173 + 167 fols) written in two columns (43 × 44 lines per page) (cf.

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Lapidge 2003: 749). Copied mainly by one scribe, it contains the earliest surviving copy of John of Tynemouth's *Sanctilogium* with a 156 Lives listed in calendrical order; the Lives of Welsh saints are located as follows:

Vol. I

Cadocus	29r–31v
Gildas	31v–32r
Thelias	38r–39v
Dauid	48v–51v
Gundleus	85v–86v
Bernacus	87v–88v
Caradocus	93r–94v
Paternus	95v–97r
Carantocus	134r–135r

Vol. II

Oudoceus	26v
Sampson	37v–39r
Keyna	77v–78r
Wenefreda	95v–98r
Clitaucus	98v–99r
Itutus	101r–102v
Kebius	104v–105r
Dubricius	106r–108r
Iustinianus	125v–126v
Tatheus	127r–128r

The manuscript was badly damaged in the Cotton fire of 1731. Horstman (1901: i.xii) notes that 'the fire has irredeemably damaged the first leaves of the MS, and generally eaten around the corners, affecting the exterior column and the first lines of each page, which are often illegible to the naked eye, while the interior columns are generally readable.' James (1967: xxv–xxvi) notes that for the Life of David 'less than half of the text is now legible'. My own inspection confirms this. The pages have now been mounted on paper and so the original collation has been lost.

There is however considerable variation in the amount and nature of the damage. Volume I, fols 1–36, have been ‘cooked’ almost to transparency and are almost completely illegible; in the middle part of the volume the interior columns are generally legible except for the first few lines which are very distorted by the heat; the outer columns have often been cut by the conservers in order to allow them to lie flat but the text can sometimes be recovered. After *ca* fol. 100 very little of the outer columns survive. Volume II is generally in better condition: the interior columns are generally intact, while the outer columns are often damaged on the edges; most pages have been cut horizontally at various points to allow the folios to lie flat.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 15 (S.C. 9835) (1499)

A large format manuscript (360 × 265 mm.) consisting of 605 fols written in two columns (cf. Lapidge 2003: 749–50). It was copied in 1499 for Thomas Goldston II, prior of Christ Church, Canterbury by Jacob Neel of Rouen (colophon on p. 581), and richly decorated in the ‘French style’ (for images, see Pächt and Alexander 1966: 62 (no. 796); Watson 1984: I.116, II, pl. 804; Parkes 1997: 114). It is not listed in later Canterbury catalogues and perhaps did not reach there (Lapidge 2003: 750). But it did go through Welsh hands in the sixteenth century and in particular the hands of Sir John Prise (Ker 1955; Davies 2015: xv–xxxiv): in the top margin of p. v a Welsh note in a different hand (which has not yet been identified elsewhere) has been added, *Heb Dhuw heb dbim E.B.* ‘Without God, without anything, E.B.’ (E. B. has yet to be identified); the Lives of the Welsh saints were annotated by Sir John Prise; pp. 582–92 (after the end of the main text) contains extracts from *Vespasian A. xiv* which was also owned by Sir John Prise (Davies 2015: xxvii). The extracts are headed: *De primo statu Landavensis ecclesie – Excerpta de pervetusto Libro de vitis sanctorum Britanie* ‘On the original state of the church of Llandaf. Excerpts from a very old book of the lives of the saints of Britain’; the first part of these additions contains the text on the origins of the church of Llandaf and includes most of the first Life of Dyfrig (corresponding to *Vespasian A. xiv*, fol. 56r1–61r3), the second most of the Life of Bernachus (*Vespasian A. xiv*, fol. 77v1–79v34). The former text also occurs in the Book of Llandaf but the text here corresponds closely to the *Vespasian* version. It is written in a large italic hand by someone who was clearly unfamiliar with Welsh; in some places the Old Welsh boundary clauses and witness-lists became too much and he left a space which was then filled by Prise from the same source. Prise mentions *De primo statu* in his *Defensio* (Davies 2015: 222–3, 300, n. 54; cf. also xxvii) and it is likely that these texts were copied into this manuscript for Prise. He died in

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1555 and the volume must have reached Tanner by the early eighteenth century (on Prise's will, Davies 2015: xxiii–xxiv).

It contains a copy of the alphabeticised version of John of Tynemouth's *Sanctilogium Anglie* comprising 153 Lives; the Lives of Welsh saints are located as follows:

Bernacus	63a10–65a20
Cadocus	91a11–95a3
Carantocus	95a3–97a35 [Carodocus MS; Caruotocus in the Contents page]
Carantocus	97a35–98a34 [Caradocus in title, but Carantocus in l. 3 of the text; not listed in the Contents page]
Clitaucus	103b29–104a31
Dauid	139b23–145b45
Dubricius	146b44–149b20
Gildas	283b24–284b41
Gundleus	309a1–310a28
Iltutus	341a23–344a40
Iustinianus	356b4–358a12
Kebius	360b40–362a23
Keyna	362a23–363a43
Kynedus	363a43–366b31
Oudoceus	462b32–463a24
Paternus	463a24–466a35
Sampson	494b32–497b25
Tatheus	not in this manuscript; a Life of 'Thaddeus' is listed in the Contents but not in the collection.
Thelias	500b39–503a22
Wenefreda	531b8–535b32

York Minster XIV. G. 23 (1454)

A large format manuscript (465 × 335 mm.) consisting of 197 fols written in a small, compact script in two columns with 84 lines per column (Ker and Piper 1992: 705–6; cf. Lapidge 2003:

750). The scribe is Henry Mere (named on 107r and 192v), a scribe perhaps of German origin (Parkes 1961).

Fols 108–192 contain a copy of the alphabeticised version of John of Tynemouth's *Sanctilogium Anglie* and contains 153 Lives; the Lives of Welsh saints are located as follows:

Bernacus	119ra–rb
Cadocus	123va–124ra
Carodocus [Cardocus MS]	124ra–va
Karantocus	124va
Clitaucus	125va
Dauid	131rb–132ra
Dubricius	132rb–vb
Gildas	151ra
Gundleus	154va
Iltutus	159ra–va
Iustinianus	161ra–b
Kebius	161vb–162ra
Keyna	162ra
Oudoceus	176va
Paternus	176va–177ra
Sampson	181ra–va
Thathaeus	not in this manuscript; a life of is 'Thaddeus' listed in contents but not in collection.
Thelias	181vb–182rb
Wenefreda	186va–187ra

London, British Library, Cotton Otho D. ix, s. xv.

A smaller format manuscript (230 × 140 mm.) written in two columns. As noted above, insufficient text survives for it to be of any use for the present purposes.

It contains the remains of a copy of the alphabeticised version of John of Tynemouth's *Sanctilogium Anglie*; we may assume it was once complete but we cannot tell how many Lives it contained.

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Wynkyn de Worde, *Explicit Nova Legenda Anglie* (Oxford, 1615)

Fol. [6]+334+[1]

An alphabeticised redaction of John of Tynemouth's *Sanctilogium* under the title of *Nova Legenda Anglie* containing 163 Lives. It was augmented by a prologue and an additional fifteen Lives (two of which replaced existing Lives) including Cungarus and Decumanus (for discussion, see Horstman 1901: I.xvi–xxi; Lapidge 2003: 751; Sharpe 2007: 90, n. 3). There are no grounds for associating this redaction with John Capgrave (Lucas 1997: 294–306).

The Lives of Welsh saints are located as follows:

Bernacus	36vb–38ra
Cadocus	52vb–54vb
Carodocus	55ra–56rb
Carantocus	56rb–56vb
Clitaucus	59vb–60ra
Cungarus	80rb–82va
Dauid	82va–85vb
Dubricius	87rb–88va
Gildas	156ra–vb
Gundleus	168rb–169ra
Iltutus	187ra–188ra
Justinianus	201va–202rb
Kebius	203vb–204va
Keyna	204va–205ra
Kynedus	205ra–206va
Oudoceus	258ra–b
Paternus	258rb–259vb
Sampson	176rb–278ra
Tatheus	279vb–280va
Thelias	280va–281rb
Wenefreda	206vb–209ra

Vita Sancti Bernaci (*Nova Legenda Anglie* version)

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Edited Text

Translation

Transcription

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Introduction

The Life of St Brynach in John of Tynemouth's *Sanctilogium* (printed Horstman 1901: I.114–18) follows closely the structure of the longer *Vita* witnessed by the MS Cotton Vespasian A. xiv, of which it reproduces almost all the episodes. As usual, the process of shortening the original source consists in re-using the main sentences, leaving out secondary details, often omitting proper names and place names. In this case there is not any significant omission, the only chapter of the longer *Vita* almost completely omitted being chapter 6. This chapter tells how, when Brynach and his companions tried to settle down near the river Nevern, they were stopped by a divine prodigy: the wood and the other materials they prepared to build a monastery mysteriously disappeared over night 'as if everything had been swallowed up by the earth'. Brynach then suggested to pray and keep vigil in order to have a revelation about the prodigy. The revelation is described in chapter 7, when it is made clear that God wants them to proceed along the river, up to the tributary called Caman. There is no trace of these events in the shorter *Vita*, apart from the sentence 'He moved to another place' – the place along the Caman, that here is not named explicitly – that opens the second chapter, which tells also the remaining events told in the last part of chap. 7 of the longer *Vita*.

Thus, in chapter 1 of the *NLA* version we read Brynach's adventures in Rome, where he frees the population from the threaten of a dangerous dragon; we learn about his stay in Brittany and then how he spent some time in Dyfed, where he attracted the attention of a princess who

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planned to kill him, since she could not bend him to a forbidden love. The saint is even wounded by one of her men, but there is no mention here of the ‘Red well’ where he washed his wound as related in chap. 4 of the Vespasian *Vita*. Finally, the saint decides to dwell near a river (river Gwaun, as we learn from chap. 5 of the longer *Vita*).

In chap. 2 we read how a local ruler, Cletherus (Clechre, as we learn from the longer *Vita*), donated a land to the saint and his companions on account of a divine prophecy and how Brynach founded the church called ‘Mountain of the Angels’ (Carningli, Pembrokeshire). More is said about the saint’s extraordinary ability to tame wild animals and take advantage of their help in everyday works.

Finally, chapter 3 tells how the ‘king of Cambria’ (to be identified with Maelgwn Gwynedd) challenged the saint and in the end he was won by his virtue and granted freedom from royal taxation to the monastery and its territory. The chapter ends with Brynach’s death ‘on the seventh day of April’.

VSBernaci (<i>NLA</i>)	VSBernachii (<i>Vesp</i>)
1	1-5
2	7-10
3	11-16

Figure 1. The correspondence between NLA and Vespasian versions of the text.

Vita Sancti Bernaci (*NLA* version)

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Edited Text

Summary

Born of a noble stock, Brynach decided to leave everything behind and to go to Rome on a pilgrimage. After killing a dragon that was terrifying that area, he moved to Brittany where he earned a fame as a healer. Then he crossed the sea to go to Dyfed, where he was tempted in vain by a noble woman, who eventually even tried to kill him with no success. He settled down in Pembrokeshire and was challenged by a certain *rex Cambrie* (Maelgwn Gwynedd), who eventually released the monastery he founded and the surrounding territory from royal taxation. Brynach died on April 7.

Text

De sancto Bernaco confessore et abbate.¹

§1

Erat autem Bernacus venustus, ornatus moribus titulisque virtutum² insignibus excellens, ab vberibus matris sue dei sui³ nomen amplectens eiusque mandata non preteriens. Ab illustri siquidem prosapia ortus, diuiciis ad modum locupletatus extitit et patrimoniis dilatatus. Omnia tamen propter deum demum relinquens, transito prospere mari, Romam peregre proficiscitur. Eo tempore in partibus Rome seuiebat quidem belua⁴ pestifera que quoscumque conspiceret aut

¹ **De sancto...confessore** de sancto Bernaco episcopo et confessore B, om. Y, de sancto Bernaco episcopo W. For the sigla see the *introductory note* on the *NLA*.

² **virtutum** virtutibus OY.

³ **sui** sue O.

⁴ **belua** Belua O.

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cruentis faucibus⁵ lacerabat aut solo flatu venenoso ad mortem infecit, infinitaque animalia corpora laniabat. Tantum uiculis⁶ metum incuciebat vt felicem se estimaret qui suam habitacionem relinquendo diram huius pestem effugere posset. Uir autem sanctus, hominum illorum miseriis compaciens, quod populorum nequibat multitudo, sola precum instantia beluam⁷ mortiferam ad terram enecando prostrauit. Cumque ab omnibus magnificari cepisset, malens in occulto soli placere deo quam in ore⁸ populi qui sola solet exteriora propendere famosus versari, Romam autem clam deserens, minorem Britanniam ingreditur. Et per multos annos laudabiliter ibidem conuersatus, magnas virtutes ostendit. Confluebat ad eum cotidie infirmorum multitudo, et sanitate consecuta celestis doctrine monita salutaria percepit. Demum laudem populi et fauorem fugiens, solus accessit ad mare, et naue non reperta petram quandam in vnde superficie locauit. Totum se deo committens, petram ascendit et prospero cursu in⁹ Demetica regione idest Sowtwallia¹⁰ applicuit. Cumque aliquamdiu¹¹ deo famulando ibidem moraretur, humani generis aduersarius filiam optimatis, qui terram illam regebat, in amorem illius acrius incitauit. Omni ingenio suo famulum dei illecebrose voluptatis sue laqueis uinculare temptat et a consummatione melioris propositi¹² auertere conatur, nec cessabat¹³ illi propinare quod instituit¹⁴ inepte. Sanctus tamen dei, huiusmodi poculum respuens, fornicacionis insultus fugit. In hoc enim conflictu melius pugnat qui cedit¹⁵ quam qui resistit: forcius vincit qui forcius fugit. Puella tandem viri sancti animum ad amorem illicitum non ualens inclinare,¹⁶ amorem vertit in odium, et animam a corpore separare cogitabat. Repudiata, enim, omne malum excogitat et quem paulo ante¹⁷ vt animam suam dilexerat, in odium tunc stimulata, ad omne genus mortis eum perducere desiderat. Misit ergo viros quosdam, iniquitatis filios, ferociter precipiens vt si viuum non possent reducere,

⁵ **faucibus** facibus Y.

⁶ **uiculis** incolis T Y W Horstman.

⁷ **beluam** Beluam O.

⁸ **ore** ora Y.

⁹ **in** in in Y.

¹⁰ **Sowtwallia** Southwallia T W (and Horstman).

¹¹ **aliquamdiu** aliquam diu OY.

¹² **propositi** prepositi O W.

¹³ **cessabat** cessat T W (and Horstman).

¹⁴ **instituit** miscuit T W (and Horstman).

¹⁵ **cedit** cædit O, credit Y.

¹⁶ **amorem...inclinare** om. OY.

¹⁷ **paulo ante** pauloante W (and Horstman).

uiuum non sinerent abire. Illi autem pergentes in sanctum irruunt, et diro lancee vulnere quidam iniquitatis filius eum confodit, nutu tamen dei assistentes viri sanctum de manibus eorum eripiunt. Qui autem vulnus infixit, dei statim vlacione percussus, toto corpore pediculis alatis obsessus. Postquam diu languore et inedia afflictus fuerat, morte miserabili vitam finiuit. Sanitate demum diuino recepta suffragio, iuxta fluuium quendam inhabitare cepit, et locum illum a spiritibus immundis turbatum liberauit quem ipsi omni nocte oberrantes diris clamoribus horrendisque replentes vlulatus vsque ad illum diem inhabitabilem reddiderunt.

§2

Ad alium locum post hec se transferens, ignem accendit et totam noctem cum sociis,¹⁸ orationibus¹⁹ vacans, insompnem²⁰ duxit. Mane autem surgens dominus loci illius, nomine Cletherus, et ignem videns, vocatis viginti filiis suis, dixit: ‘Filiis mei, audite et auribus percipite quia venit vir ille quem diu nobis promissum nouimus, cuius fama super terram dilatata est.’ Et pergentes ad virum dei, et ad genua eius prouoluti, orauerunt ut miseretur sui. Et benedicens eos, sanctus Bernacus quid velint²¹ inquit. Senex ait: ‘Domine, multo tempore huius territorii dominus fui, sed quia dei prouidencia hunc locum tibi noui destinatum voluntati,²² dei cedo et tibi. Uerum hos filios meos tibi commendo, vt sub tutela paternitatis tue deo nostro valeant adherere.’ Suscepit ergo eos granter, regularibusque instructos disciplinis²³ consortes sui laboris habuit fideles. Pater uero senex illis valedicens osculatisque omnibus in partes Cornubie cessit, et deo ibidem seruiens, beatam domino animam commendauit. Sanctus itaque Bernacus corpus suum ieiuniis assiduis macerabat, et crebis vigiliis extenuabat, carnis insolenciam vestium asperitate gelideque quam intrabat cotidie aque in frigidacione cohibebat. Quod ori et toto corpori subtrahebat, in vsus pauperum conuertebat. Placentem ita deo vitam gerebat vt angelorum visione simul et allocucione crebra perfrui mereretur. Mons autem ille in quo conueniebant, in cuius pede ecclesia construitur, ‘Mons angelorum’ appellatur. Aduocabat quandoque de grege ceruos quos volebat ad trahendum currum in quo suppellex deferenda reponebatur, et soluti a²⁴ iugo ad

¹⁸ **sociis** socii O

¹⁹ **orationibus** om. OY.

²⁰ **insompnem** in sompnem O.

²¹ **velint** voluit O.

²² **voluntati** voluntate OY.

²³ **disciplinis** discipulis O.

²⁴ **soluti a** soluti³ O.

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pascua redire iussit. Vacam suam cotidie custodie cuiusdam lupi deputavit, qui more pastoris vaccam ad pascua mane agens, sero ad domum reduxit.

§3

Misit autem²⁵ rex Cambrie ad sanctum Bernacum, precipiens ut sibi cenam pararet. Ille uero nullam regi debere cenam, nec iniusto²⁶ eius precepto in aliquo se velle parere asseruit. Offensus ergo rex misit satellites qui vaccam sancti adducerent et inde sibi cibaria prepararent, minasque minis adiecit quod²⁷ in crastino sanctum a regno suo proscriberet locaque sua solotenus²⁸ penitus destrueret. Occisam autem vaccam et in partes diuisam, supra ignem in caldario locant, et igni ligna copiosa ministrant. Lupus interim custos vacce currit ad dominum suum tristis ac gemens, prostratus²⁹ ad³⁰ terram iacet quasi veniam postulaturus. Affuit eciam quidam vaccam a ministris regis raptam, occisam et ad³¹ coquendum positam denuncians. Nec mora, vir sanctus coram deo suo querimoniam deponens, totam causam suam diuino³² commisit arbitrio ventilandam. Aqua enim in qua caro coquenda iacuit sicut quando infusa erat, ita frigida permansit. Nec magis maximo igne supposito ad bullicionem vel calefactionem mouebatur,³³ quam si glaciei congeries non modica dempto igne supponeretur. Quo viso, humiliatus statim rex fastu regali deposito omnesque sui pariter contriti nudis pedibus incedentes ad virum dei venerunt. Omnibus enim ad pedes eius in terra prouolutis,³⁴ rex se grauiter peccasse confitetur, humili³⁵ postulans prece vt³⁶ sui misertus omnipotentem pro se et suis exoraret. Sanctus autem Bernacus regis dexteram suscipiens erexit eum, et gratanter quod³⁷ commiserat indulisit, vaccam in conspectu omni resuscitavit et lupo custodiendam commisit. Post hec regem rogavit ut secum pernoctaret et

²⁵ **autem** ergo.

²⁶ **iniusto** in iusto O.

²⁷ **quod** que O.

²⁸ **solotenus** soletenus OY.

²⁹ **prostratus** om. OY.

³⁰ **ad** in Y.

³¹ **ad** a O, om. Y.

³² **diuino** domino OY.

³³ **mouebatur** monebatur O.

³⁴ **prouolutis** prouoluti OY.

³⁵ **rex...humili** om. OY.

³⁶ **vt** et Y.

³⁷ **gratanter quod** quod gratanter Y.

quod paulo ante fronte obstinata negauerat, hoc nunc largiflua caritate et mente gratuita obtulit. Rex autem gratias ei agens, hilari mente remansit. Et cum vir dei nichil pro cena regis paratum haberet, accessit ad quercum que prope stabat et pro foliis dependentes triticeos decerpsit panes, quotquot habuit necesarios; vnde et quercus illa³⁸ ‘quercus panis’ dum stabat vocabatur. Accessit quoque ad torrentem qui prope erat et pro aqua in magna abundancia vinum hausit. Pro lapidibus de torrente eodem pisces ad saturitatem extraxit, et saturatis omnibus dormierunt usque mane. Tunc surgens rex ait ad sanctum Bernacum: ‘Quia gratuitam beneficienciam tuam accepi, ego munificenciam meam tibi gratis largiri non dedignor. In nomine dei et domini nostri Ihesu Christi te et locum tuum totumque territorium ad locum tuum pertinens necnon³⁹ omnes in eo manentes ab omni regia exactione inperpetuum libero.’ Quot et quantis sanctus ille in vita sua miraculis et bonis operibus effulserit difficile quisquam potest explicare. Transiit autem de hoc mundo ad dominum septimo Idus aprilis.

³⁸ **quecus illa** illa quercus Y.

³⁹ **necnon** nec non O.

Vita Sancti Bernaci (*NLA* version)

edited by Francesco Marzella

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Translation

On the holy Brynach confessor and abbot

§1

Brynach was charming,¹ adorned with good manners and outstanding for his remarkable signs of his virtue, and he embraced the name of his God from his mother's breasts and did not neglect his commandments. Since indeed he was born out of an illustrious stock, he was likewise greatly enriched with wealth and endowed with patrimonies. However, leaving behind everything for God at last, after having crossed the sea fortunately, he travelled to Rome on a pilgrimage. At that time in the parts of Rome a certain deadly beast was raging, and everybody it saw, it either tore apart with bloody jaws or solely by means of its venomous breath poisoned to death, and it also mutilated countless bodies of animals. It caused such great fear among the villages,² that one would consider himself fortunate, who, by leaving behind his home, could escape a dreadful pest of this sort. But the holy man, having compassion for the sufferings of those men, by the sheer zeal of his prayers threw the deadly beast to the ground, killing it, an act which the multitude of people could not do. And since he began to be glorified by everyone, preferring to please God alone in secret rather than being famous on the lips of the people,³ who is accustomed to consider only external things, he secretly left Rome and entered Brittany. He stayed there for many years, showing great virtues. Every day a multitude of ill people flocked to him, and having been restored to health, they would receive teachings concerning heavenly principles for the benefit of their souls. At length, running away from the worship and favour of the people, he came to the sea

¹ **charming** (*venustus*) In VSBernachii(Vesp), §1 the adjective is referred to Brynach's manners.

² **villages** (*uiculis*) *uiculis* is the reading in O, the original reading, witnessed by the other manuscripts and editions, is *incolis* (inhabitants).

³ **to please God alone** (*solī placere deo*) Cf. 1 Tess 2, 4.

alone, and, since he could not find a ship, he placed a certain rock upon the surface of the wave. Entrusting himself completely to God, he stepped up onto the rock and with a favourable journey he arrived in the region of Dyfed, that is South Wales.⁴ And while he was spending time in that place serving God, the ancient adversary of the human race incited the daughter of a nobleman, who was ruling over that land, to fall passionately in love with him. With all her cleverness, she makes an attempt to entangle the servant of God seductively in the snares⁵ of her charm and tries to distract him from the perfection of a better resolution, and she did not stop⁶ offering him what she has foolishly prepared.⁷ Nevertheless, the holy servant of God, rejecting a cup of this sort, fled from the assaults of fornication. For indeed in this struggle, he who withdraws fights better than he who remains; he who flees more bravely conquers more bravely. At last the girl, not being able to bend the holy man's mind to a forbidden love, transformed her love into hatred, and wished to separate his soul from his body. For the spurned woman devises all kinds of evil, and now that she is incited to hatred, she desires to lead to every sort of death the one whom a little earlier she had loved like her soul. Therefore, she sent certain men, sons of iniquity,⁸ fiercely warning them that if they could not bring him back alive, they should not permit him to escape alive. And making haste, they attack the holy man, and a certain son of iniquity stabbed him with a dreadful wound from a spear, but by the will of God some people coming to assist him wrested the holy man out of their hands. But the one who wounded him was straightaway struck by God's vengeance and was infested on his entire body by winged lice. After he had been afflicted for a long time with illness and poverty, he ended his life in a miserable death.⁹ Once Brynach recovered his health by divine intercession, he started to dwell near a certain river,¹⁰ and freed

⁴ **in the region...Wales** (*in Demetica...Soutwallia*) Cf. VSBernachii(Vesp), §3 'at Milford Haven in the region of Dyfed, on the shore of the river Cleddyf.

⁵ **snares** (*laqueis*) For the snares as metaphor of the charm of women cf. Eccli 9, 3.

⁶ **she did not stop** (*cessabat*) The original reading, as witnessed by the other manuscript and by the editions, is *cessat*, in the present tense, just like the other verbs of the sentence.

⁷ **what she has foolishly prepared** (*quod instituit inepte*) The woman prepared a drink with aconite, a poisonous plant. See VSBernachii(Vesp), §4. *Instituit* is the reading of O and Y, the original reading in the other witnesses is *miscuit* (concocted); the scribe of the progenitor of O and Y probably misread the original reading and was possibly confused by the fact that there is no mention of mixed herbs in this version.

⁸ **sons of iniquity** (*iniquitatis filios*) A biblical expression, see for example Ps 88, 23.

⁹ In VSBernachii(Vesp), §4 the story ends with Brynach washing his hands in the well then called 'Red Well', on which see VSBernachii(Vesp), trans. n. 23.

¹⁰ In VSBernachii(Vesp), §5 we learn that the river in question is River Gwaun.

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that place disturbed by impure spirits, because up to that day they had rendered it uninhabitable, roaming around every night with awful noises and filling it with terrifying wailing.

§2

He moved to another place,¹¹ lit a fire and spent the whole night with his companions without sleep, devoting himself to prayers. The lord of that place, named Cletherus,¹² rising up in the morning and seeing the fire, called his twenty sons and said to them: 'My sons, listen and lend me your ears, because that man has come, whom we have long known has been promised to us, and whose reputation will be spread on earth.' They came to the man of God, and having prostrated themselves before his knees, they prayed that he would have mercy upon them. And blessing them, the holy Brynach asked them what they wished. The old man said: 'Lord, for a long time I have been the lord of this territory, but since I know that this place was designated for you by God's providence, I yield to God and to you. But these my sons I commend to you, that under the protection of your paternity they may be able to cleave to our God.' Therefore, he received them with pleasure, and he kept them as faithful partners of his work, having instructed them in the monastic rule. The old father, saying goodbye after kissing each of them, withdrew to the regions of Cornwall; serving God in that place, he rendered his blessed soul to the Lord. And so the holy Brynach emaciated his body by continual fasts and weakened it by frequent vigils, restrained fleshly insolence through the roughness of his garments and through the chill of the cold water, which he plunged into daily. What deprived his mouth and his entire body of, he repurposed for the use of the poor. He led a life so pleasing to God that he was deemed worthy of enjoying frequent visions of angels as well as their conversation. That mountain, upon which they met and at the foot of which a church was erected, is called 'Mountain of the Angels'.¹³ He sometimes summoned out of the herd the two stags he wanted to pull the carriage, in which the household goods to be transported were laid, but once they were released from the yoke, he ordered them to return to their pastures. He daily entrusted his cow to the care of a wolf. who, in the

¹¹ **To another place** (*ad alium locum*) A place near the River Caman, a tributary of the Never, see VSBernachii(Vesp), §7 and n. 28.

¹² **Cletherus** According to VSBernachii(Vesp), §8 his name was Clechre, listed as one of the twelve pious sons of Brychan in the Life of Nectan. See VSBernachii(Vesp), trans. n. 30.

¹³ **Mountain of Angels** (*Mons angelorum*) That is, Carningli (Pembrokeshire).

manner of a shepherd, led the cow in the morning to pasture, and in the evening brought her back home.

§3

The king of Cambria¹⁴ sent word to the holy Brynach, demanding that he prepare a meal for him. He stated that he owed the king no meal, nor was he willing in any way to obey his unjust order. The king was consequently offended and sent his guards to take the holy man's cow and from her prepare him some food; and he piled threats upon threats, that on the very next day he would banish the holy man from his kingdom and completely raze his monasteries to the ground. They set the slaughtered cow, cut into pieces, over the fire in a cauldron, and supplied the fire with abundant wood. Meanwhile, the wolf, the guardian of the cow, runs to its master, and it lies prostrate upon the ground, sorrowing and sighing, as if begging for mercy. Someone was also there to say that the cow had been seized by the king's servants and that after she was cut up into pieces, she had been placed on the fire to cook. Without any delay, the holy man, lodging his grievance before his God, committed the whole case to be decided by divine judgement. For the water, in which the meat lay to be cooked, remained just as cold as when it was poured in. Nor was it any more brought to boiling or heating up after a very large fire was lit underneath it, than if the fire had been taken away and a large amount of ice had been placed there instead. After the king saw this, he was immediately humbled, having abandoned his royal haughtiness, and all his men were likewise contrite in spirit: they approached the holy man, walking on bare feet. And after all of them had thrown themselves on the ground before his feet, the king confessed that he had greatly sinned, begging with a humble prayer that he have pity upon him and pray to the Almighty on his behalf and that of his men. The holy Brynach, taking the king by his right hand, lifted him up and with joy pardoned what he had done; in the sight of all he resuscitated the cow and entrusted it again to the wolf for safekeeping. After this, he asked the king to stay with him throughout the night, and that which he had refused just a little earlier with stubborn countenance, he now offered with generous charity and a free mind. The king gave thanks, and stayed with a cheerful mind. And since the man of God did not have anything prepared for the meal of the king, he approached an oak tree that stood nearby and plucked loaves of wheat, which were hanging down in place of its leaves, as many as he thought necessary; for this reason that

¹⁴ **The king of Cambria (*rex Cambrie*)** According to VSBernachii(Vesp), §11, Maelgwn, to be identified with Maelgwn Gwynedd (d. 547). See VSBernachii(Vesp), trans., n. 34.

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oak was called 'Bread Oak', as long as it remained standing. He approached the torrent, which was flowing nearby¹⁵ and instead of water he drew out wine in abundance. Instead of stones he scooped out fish in fullness from that very torrent, and after all were full they slept until the morning. Then the king, rising in the morning, said to the holy Brynach: 'Since I have received your freely given kindness, I do not refuse to bestow upon you freely my own generosity. In the name of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, I release from all royal taxation for eternity you and your monastery and the entire territory belonging to your monastery, and everyone dwelling within it.' Scarcely could anyone relate with how many and how great miracles and good works this holy man shone in his life. He passed from this world to the Lord on the seventh day of April.

¹⁵ **torrent...nearby** (*torrentem...prope erat*) The Caman, see VSBernachii(Vesp), §14.

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30 nequibat multitudo sola precum *instancia*
31 Beluam *mortiferam* ad terram *enecando* pro
32 strauit. Cumque ab *omnibus* magnificari cepisset
33 malens in occulto soli placere deo *quam in ore*
34 *populi* qui sola solet exteriora *propendere* *famosus*
35 versari. Romam autem clam deserens mi
36 norem Britanniam *ingreditur*. et per
37 multos annos laudabiliter *ibidem conuersa*
38 tus. magnas virtutes ostendit. Conflue
39 bat ad eum cotidie *infirmorum* multitudo
40 et sanitate *consecuta* celestis doctrine mo
41 nita salutaria percepit. Demum laudem
42 *populi* et fauorem fugiens solus accessit ad
43 iuare *et naue* non reperta *petram* quandam
44 in vnde *superficie* locauit totum se deo *con*
45 mittens *petram* ascendit *et prospero* cursu
46 in demetica regione idest *sowtwallia*
47 applicuit. Cumque aliquam diu deo *famulan*
48 do *ibidem* moraretur *humani generis aduer*

{63b}

1 sarius *filiam* optimatis qui *terram* *illam*
2 regebat in *amorem* *illius* acius *incitauit*.
3 *Omni* ingenio suo *famulum* dei illecebrose
4 voluptatis sue laqueis *uinculare temptat*
5 et a *consummatione* melioris prepositi a
6 uertere conatur nec cessabat illi *propina*
7 re *quod* instituit inepte. *Sanctus tamen* dei huiusmodi
8 poculum respuens *fornicationis insultus*
9 fugit. In hoc enim *conflictu* melius *pugnat*
10 qui *credidit quam* qui resistit *forcius vincit qui*
11 *forcius* fugit. Puella tandem *virii sancti* ani
12 mum ad *amorem* vertit in *odium* et *animam*
13 a corpore separare cogitabat. Repudiata
14 enim omnem *malum* excogitat et quem paulo ante
15 vt *animam* suam dilexerat in *odium* tunc sti

16 *mulata ad omne genus mortis eum perducere*
17 *desiderat. Misit ergo viros quosdam iniquitatis*
18 *filios ferociter precipiens. Vt si viuum*
19 *non possent reducere. viuum non sinerent*
20 *abire. Illi autem pergentes in sanctum irruunt*
21 *et diro lancee vulnere quidam iniquitatis*
22 *filius eum confodit nutu tamen dei assistentes*
23 *virii sanctum de manibus eorum eripiunt. Qui autem*
24 *vulnus inflixit dei statim vlcione percussus toto*
25 *corpore pediculis alatis obsessus. Postquam*
26 *diu languore et inedia afflictus fuerat morte*
27 *miserabili vitam finiuit. Sanitate demum*
28 *diuino recepta suffragio iuxta fluuium quendam*
29 *inhabitare cepit et locum illum a spiritibus*
30 *immundis turbatum liberauit quem ipsi omni nocte*
31 *oberrantes diris clamoribus horrendis que re*
32 *plentes vlulatibus vsque ad illum diem inhabi*
33 *tabilem reddiderunt. Ad alium locum post*
34 *hec se transferens ignem accendit et totam*
35 *noctem cum socii vacans in sompnem duxit.*
36 *Mane autem surgens. dominus loci illius nomine*
37 *cletherus et ignem videns vocatis viginti fi*
38 *liis suis dixit. Filii mei audite et auribus*
39 *percipite quia venit vir ille quem diu nobis*
40 *promissum nouimus cuius fama super terram dila*
41 *tata est. Et pergentes ad virum dei et ad*
42 *genua eius prouoluti orauerunt ut mise*
43 *retur sui. Et benedicens eos sanctus bernacus*
44 *quid voluit inquirat. Senex ait. Domine*
45 *multo tempore huius territorii dominus fui*
46 *sed quia dei prouidencia hunc locum tibi noui*
47 *destinatum voluntate dei cedo et tibi. Uerum*
48 *hos filios meos tibi commendo vt sub tutela*

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{64a}

1 ³paternitatis tue deo nostro valeant adherere
2 Suscepit ergo eos gratanter regularibus
3 que instructos discipulis *consortes* sui laboris
4 habuit fideles. Pater *uero* senex illis *valedicens*
5 osculatisque *omnibus* in partes cornubie cessit et
6 deo *ibidem* seruiens *beatam domino animam* commendauit.
7 Sanctus itaque Bernacus corpus suum ieiuniis
8 assiduis macerabat et crebis vigiliis exte
9 nuabat carnis insolenciam vestium asperitate
10 gelideque *quam* intrabat cotidie aque infrigi
11 dacione cohibebat. Quod ori et toto corpori
12 subtrahebat in vsus pauperum conuertebat
13 placentem ita deo vitam gerebat. vt angelorum
14 visione simul et allocucione crebra *perfrui* me
15 reretur. Mons autem ille in quo conueniebant
16 in cuius pede ecclesia *construitur*. mons angelorum
17 appellatur. aduocabat *quandoque* de grege ceruos
18 quos volebat ad trahendum *currum* in quo sup
19 pellex deferenda reponebatur et soluti^a iugo
20 ad pascua redire iussit. Vacam suam
21 cotidie custodie cuiusdam lupi deputauit
22 qui more pastoris *vaccam* ad pascua mane
23 agens sero ad domum reduxit. Misit autem
24 Rex cambrie ad *sanctum bernacum* precipiens ut
25 sibi *cenam* pararet. Ille *uero* nullam regi debere
26 *cenam* nec in iusto eius precepto in aliquo
27 se velle parere asseruit. Offensus ergo rex
28 misit satellites qui *vaccam sancti* adducerent
29 et inde sibi cibaria prepararent *minasque*
30 minis adiecit *que* in crastino *sanctum* a regno
31 suo *proscriberet* locaque sua *soletenus* penitus
32 destrueret. Occisam autem *vaccam* et in partes

³ p. 64, col. a has the header ¶De Sancto Bernaco; col. b has the header ¶Episcopo et Confessore..

33 diuisam. supra ignem in caldario locant et
 34 igni ligna copiosa ministrant. Lupus interim
 35 custos vacce currit ad *dominum* suum tristic ac
 36 gemens ad terram iacet quasi veniam postula
 37 turus. Affuit eciam quidam vaccam a ministris
 38 regis raptam occisam et a coquendum positam
 39 denuncians. Nec mora vir *sanctus* coram deo
 40 suo querimoniam deponens. totam causam suam
 41 domino commisit arbitrio ventilandam. Aqua
 42 enim in qua caro coquenda iacuit sicut quando
 43 infusa erat. ita frigida permansit. Nec
 44 magis maximo igne supposito ad bullicio
 45 nem vel calefactionem monebatur. quam si gla
 46 ciei congeries non modica dempto igne
 47 supponeretur. Quo viso humiliatus statim
 48 rex fastu regali deposito omnesque sui pariter

{64b}

1 contriti nudis pedibus incedentes ad vi
 2 rum dei venerunt. Omnibus enim ad pedes
 3 eius in terra prouoluti postulans prece
 4 vt sui misertus omnipotentem pro se et suis exo
 5 raret. *Sanctus* autem *Bernacus* regis dexteram
 6 suscipiens erexit eum et gratanter quod
 7 commiserat indulsit. vaccam in conspectu
 8 omni resuscitauit. et lupo custodiendam
 9 commisit. Post hec regem rogauit ut se
 10 cum pernoctaret et quod paulo ante fronte ob
 11 stinata negauerat. hoc nunc largiflua
 12 caritate et mente gratuita obtulit. Rex
 13 autem gracias ei agens hilari mente re
 14 mansit. Et cum vir dei nichil pro cena
 15 regis paratum haberet. accessit ad quercum
 16 que prope stabat. et pro foliis dependentes
 17 triticeos decerpsit. panes quotquot habuit
 18 necesarios. vnde et quercus illa *quercus*

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19 panis dum stabat vocabatur. Accessit quoque
20 ad torrentem qui prope erat et pro aqua in
21 magna abundancia vinum hausit. Pro
22 lapidibus de torrente eodem pisces ad sa
23 turitatem extraxit. et saturatis omnibus
24 dormierunt usque mane. Tunc surgens
25 rex ait ad sanctum bernacum. Quia gratuitam
26 beneficienciam tuam accepi ego munifi
27 cenciam meam tibi gratis largiri non
28 dedignor. In nomine dei et domini nostri ihesu christi
29 te et locum tuum totumque territorium ad locum
30 tuum pertinens nec non omnes in eo ma
31 nentes ab omni regia exactione inperpetuum
32 libero. Quot et quantis sanctus ille in vita
33 sua miraculis et bonis operibus effulserit
34 difficile quisquam potest explicare. Transiit
35 autem de hoc mundo ad dominum. septimo Idus a
36 prilis. ¶ Narracio. Sanctus helias
37 secundum vincencium monasticam vitam
38 agens. feminei sexus miseracione commotus
39 deuotarum deo virginum curam habebat et
40 in quodam grandi monasterio vsque ad trecentarum
41 feminarum numerum collegerat earumque con
42 uersacionem ordinabat. Quod cum per biennium
43 iam fecisset et adhuc iuuenis quasi triginta
44 annorum esset subito carnis temptacionem
45 passus est. Relictoque monasterio dum per
46 solitudines iugi biduo ieunus erraret
47 ait. Domine deus aut occide me at tempta
48 cionem istam exclude a me. Uespere igitur

{65a}

1 ⁴ei subito sompnus irrepsit dicentes. Cur
2 egressus es de monasterio feminarum. Qui cum

⁴ p. 65, col. a has the header ¶De Sancto Brinio; col. b has the header ¶Episcopo et Confessore..

3 timuisse se diceret ne aut sibi aut illis no
4 ceret dixerunt. Si *huiusmodi* metu per nos liberatus
5 fueris rursus *illarum curam* suscipies. Cumque
6 libenter adqueuisset et hoc exigentibus
7 illis iuramento firmasset. vnus eorum ma
8 nus illius tenuit. et alter pedes. tercius vero
9 nouacula testiculos eius abscidit. non *quod*
10 vere hoc faceret sed *quod* facere videretur.
11 Angelis autem interrogantibus an aliquid
12 sibi *profuisse* sensisset *factum suum* vehementer
13 inquit intelligo *quoddam* onus circa me esse
14 sublatum et satis credo me *omni quam* formidabam
15 molestia liberatum. Igitur post *quinque* dies
16 regressus et *lugencium* *feminarum* monasterium
17 ingressus in cella *quadam* illic habitauit et
18 quadraginta annis post hec vixit *sanctis*
19 *precibus* asseuerans quod *nunquam* vltius in cor
20 eius cogitacio talis ascenderit.

Vita Sancti Carantoci (*Nova Legenda Anglie* version)

edited by Francesco Marzella

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Introduction

The Life of St Carantoc in the *Sanctilogium* (printed Horstman 1901: I.177–80) is uniquely not divided into chapters. John of Tynemouth made use of both *Vitae* witnessed in Cotton Vespasian A. xiv.

The first sentence of VSCarantoci(*NLA*) is taken from the first chapter of VSCarantoci(VespII). John then omits all the genealogical information from this *Vita*, but includes most of the fourth chapter, describing what happened after the arrival of the Irish (*Scoti*) in Wales. He then follows VSCarantoci(VespI), with no relevant omission apart from the opening remarks in the first chapter, and also part of the final reflections of chap. 6.

In VSCarantoci(*NLA*), therefore, we read all the main stories related to St Carantoc: how he preferred to be a hermit rather than becoming a king, his first visit in Ireland, where he met St Patrick and, preceded by an angel in the form of a dove, preached and performed many miracles, how he moved back to Wales and following a miraculous altar he reached the River Severn where he met Cadwr and Arthur. Then comes the story of the dragon tamed by the saint, and the account of how Arthur granted some lands to the saint before Carantoc finally moved to Ireland, where he died and was buried in the town of Chernach.

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edited by Francesco Marzella

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Summary

The son of Ceredig, eponymous king of Ceredigion, Carantoc left his country when his people wanted him to become king. He preferred to live the life of a hermit and eventually arrived in Ireland, where he met St Patrick and preached for many years, his name being changed into Cernach by the local people. He then moved back to Ceredigion and met the rulers Cador and Arthur. The saint helped Arthur by taming a dangerous dragon and the king granted him some land where he settled down and founded a church. He died as a pilgrim in Ireland and was buried in the town of Chernach.

Text

De sancto Carantoco heremita.¹

§1

Rex quidam nomine Keredicus multos habuit liberos, quorum vnus, nomine Carantocus, puer bone indolis, que deo placita erant implere cepit. Venerunt demum Scoti et omnem quasi regionem pugnantes occupauerunt. Keredicus uero rex senectute et bellis fessus, cum inimicis resistere non posset, seniores populi sui dixerunt ei: ‘Senex es, domine, nec amplius dimicare potes. Oportet nos Carantocum filium tuum ordinare in regem.’ Quo audito, Carantocus plus regem celestem terreno regno diligens et domini sui voluntatem quam humanum fauorem, fugam iniit et, emptis a paupere pera et baculo, iter arripuit. Et precedentem sibi a deo missam columbam sequens, vsque ad quendam locum satis amenum peruenit, vbi constructa ecclesia manere cepit,

¹ **De sancto ...heremita** de sancto caradoco confessore T W (and Horstman), om. Y. For the sigla see the *introductory note* on the *NLA*.

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et deuotas deo laudes persoluit. Ab annis enim pueritiae puritatem et innocenciam amplectens², perrexit tandem ad Hiberniam, amore sancti Patricii allectus. Quo cum peruenisset, inito consilio dixerunt ut separarentur vnus ad sinistram et alter ad dexteram quia multi clerici cum illis ambulabant, et³ vt conuenirent vna vice in anno condixerunt. Triginta autem annis ante natiuitatem sancti David episcopi, Carantocus in Hibernia conuersari cepit, et quocumque ibat angelus domini in similitudine columbe comitabatur eum et mutauit nomen eius in lingua eorum Cernach.⁴ Quocumque ibat virtutes et prodigia faciebat; multa hominum milia variis morbis⁵ afflicta sanauit, videlicet cecos claudos surdos et mutos et quacumque infirmitate detentos. Beati enim Cernachi, qui et Carantoci, opera miranda nimis et commendanda leguntur in Hibernia et gratia que apostolis data est in illo eciam impleta fuit. Mirabilis enim miles Christi extitit et spiritalis abbas, longanimis preceptor, iusta omnibus nuncians. Per multos annos viuens incredibilis⁶ peccatorum crimina dimisit, preces per singulos dies et noctes innumeras fudit. Et postquam multos in Hibernia populos ad fidem conuertisset et multa miracula pro ipso deus ostendisset, venit ad regionem suam Kereticam, ad suam speluncam cum clericis multis. Et dedit illi dominus altare honorabile de excelso, cuius nemo colorem intelligebat, et ad Sabrinam ampnem tandem veniens, misit altare in mare vt prederet ubi⁷ deus vellet illum venire. Illo uero tempore Catho et Arthurus regnabant in patria illa. Et venit Arthurus circuiens vt inueniret serpentem ingentem et terribilem qui multos agros vastauerat. Venit autem Carantocus et salutauit Arthurem qui gaudens accepit benedictionem ab illo. Et interrogauit eum sanctus vtum audisset ubi applicuisset altare suum. Et ille: 'Si habuero precium, nunciabo tibi.' 'Quod precium,' inquit, 'sanctus postulare vis?' Rex ait: 'Ut educas serpentem qui prope est tibi, si seruus Dei es ut videamus.' Tunc vir dei perrexit et orauit ad dominum⁸. Et illico venit serpens cum sonitu magno, quasi vitulus ad matrem currens. Et inclinauit caput suum ante seruum dei, quasi seruus domino suo obediens, humilis et oculis lenis. Et misit stolam suam circa collum eius et deduxit illum quasi agnum. Et erat collum illius quasi collum tauri, et vix stola circui poterat. Et

² **amplectens** amplect^(c)ns O.

³ **et** om. Y.

⁴ **Cernach** Cernath W (and Horstman; illegible in T).

⁵ **morbis** moribus O

⁶ **incredibilis** incredibilia W (and Horstman; illegible in T), incredulis VSCarantoci(VespI), §2.

⁷ **ubi** ibi OY.

⁸ **dominum** do^(minum) O.

perrexerunt pariter ad arcem, et salutato rege Cathone bene suscepti sunt ab eo. Et adduxit vir dei serpentem in mediam aulam, et conati sunt aliqui occidere illum, nec permisit sanctus illum occidere,⁹ sed dixit quod ex verbo dei venisset vt deleret peccatores qui in illo loco¹⁰ erant et vt ostenderet virtutem dei per illum. Et perrexit sanctus extra portam arcis, et soluit illum, et imperauit vt discederet et nemini vnquam nocere presumeret. Et factum est ita. Et accepit vir dei altare suum quod cogitauerat Arthurus in mensam edendi facere, sed quicquid super illam apponebatur in longinquum excuciebatur.¹¹ Post hec venit viro dei vox de celo vt mitteret altare¹² in mare, et cum hoc fecisset, misit ad Cathonem et Arthurum vt interrogarent de altari. Et nunciatum est illis quod ad hostium¹³ cuiusdam fluminis applicuit. Et dixit rex: ‘Date illi duodecim partes agri ubi altare inuentum est.’ Ubi edificata ecclesia uiuere cepit, nec multo post¹⁴ venit iterum vox illi de celo vt, relicta terra natiuitatis sue, in Hiberniam peregrinus pergeret, ubi in senectute bona plenus sanctis operibus quieuit in pace xvii^o kalendas Iunii. Et sepultus est in ciuitate sua, que a nomine suo¹⁵ vocata est Chernac.¹⁶

⁹ **occidere** occidi T Y W (and Horstman).

¹⁰ **illo loco** loco illo T W (and Horstman).

¹¹ **excuciebatur** excuciebat O.

¹² **altare** al^(t)are O.

¹³ **hostium** ostium W (and Horstman).

¹⁴ **multo post** post multos dies O.

¹⁵ **suo** sua O.

¹⁶ **Chernac** Chernat OY.

Vita Sancti Carantoci (*NLA* version)

edited by Francesco Marcella

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On the holy Carantoc, hermit.¹

§1

A certain king named Ceredig² had many sons; one of them, named Carantoc, a boy of good temperament, started to fulfil everything which was pleasing to God.³ The Irish came in due course, and they fought and almost occupied the entire territory. But Ceredig was weak on account of his old age and of the wars, and as he could not oppose the enemies, the elders of his people said to him: 'You are old, lord, and you cannot fight anymore. It is fitting we appoint Carantoc to be king.' When he heard this, Carantoc, esteeming the heavenly King more than earthly rule and the will of his Lord more than human favour, he set out to flee and, once he had bought from a poor man a staff and a hoe, he set off. And following a dove sent by God which went ahead of him, he came to a certain place, that was pleasant enough, where he built a church and started to stay and devoutly praised God. In fact, from the years of his youth onwards he embraced purity and innocence, and at last he went to Ireland, drawn by love of the holy Patrick. And when he arrived there, they took counsel and they said that they would separate, one to the left and the other to the right, because many clerics were traveling with them, and they agreed on meeting once in a year. So, thirty years before the birth of the holy Bishop David, Carantoc began to live in Ireland, and wherever he went an angel of the Lord would go with him in the

¹ **hermit** (*beremita*) This is the reading of the rubric in O, the original rubric, as witnessed by T W (followed by Horstman).

² **Ceredig** (*Keredicus*) Ceredig ap Cunedda (c. 420-453) was born in Scotland and took part in the campaign to defend Wales from Irish invaders; as a result of this successful campaign, he became eponymous king of Ceredigion.

³ **everything was pleasing to God** (*que deo placita erant*) See 2Pa 20,32.

form of a dove, and he changed his name to Cernach⁴ in their language. And wherever he went, he performed miracles and prodigies; he healed many thousands of people struck with different kinds of illnesses, namely the blind, the crippled, the deaf and the dumb and people affected by all other infirmities.⁵ The very wonderful and recommendable works of the blessed Cernach, who was also Carantoc, are read in Ireland and the grace that was granted to the apostles⁶ was fulfilled also in him. He was indeed an extraordinary soldier of Christ and spiritual abbot, a patient teacher, announcing just things to all. He lived unbelievably⁷ for many years, discharging the faults of the sins, he poured out innumerable prayers every day and night. And after he had converted to faith many populations in Ireland and God had shown many miracles through him, he came to his own territory, Ceredigion, in his cave with many clerics. And God gave him a venerable altar from on high, the colour of which no one could discern, and, arriving at last at the River Severn, he cast the altar in the sea so that it could go before where God wanted him to go. And truly at that time Cador⁸ and Arthur reigned in that country. And Arthur came, searching around in order to find a huge and terrible serpent, which had devastated many fields. And Carantoc came and greeted Arthur, who received a blessing from him with joy. And the holy man asked Arthur whether he had heard where his altar had landed. And he (said): 'If I will have a reward, I'll tell you.' 'What reward', the holy man said, 'do you demand?' The king said: 'That you bring out the serpent dwelling near you, so that we may see if you are a servant of God.' Then the man of God went and prayed to the Lord. And straightaway the serpent came with a great noise, like a calf running to its mother. And it bowed its head before the servant of God, just like a servant obeying his master, humble and with a gentle gaze. And he cast his stole around its neck and led it forth like a lamb. And its neck was like the neck of a bull, and the stole could barely encircle it. Then they went forth together to the citadel, and they greeted King Cador and were received by him favorably. The man of God led that serpent into the middle of the hall, and some people tried to

⁴ **Cernach** On the name Cernach see VSCarantoci(VespI), trans., n. 10.

⁵ **the blind... infirmity** (*cecos... detentos*) Cfr Mt 11,5.

⁶ The longer version explicitly mentions the evangelical quote 'go, teach all the nations' (Mt 18,18), see VSCarantoci(VespI), §2.

⁷ **extraordinarily** (*incredibilis*) *Incredibilis* (an adjective in the nominative case) is the reading of O and Y, clearly a corruption of *incredulis* ('to the disbelievers', dative, related to what follows, and so: 'discharging the faults of the sins to the disbelievers') of VSCarantoci(VespI), §2. W, followed by Horstman, has *incredibilia* (unbelievable), referred to *crimina*, that seems to be an emendation leading far from the text of the longer version. T, unfortunately, is illegible. **Incredibilis** must be considered a difficult reading belonging at least to the alphabeticised branch of the manuscript tradition, but it cannot be excluded that it goes back to John of Tynemouth's original text.

⁸ **Catho** (*Cador*) *Cato* in the longer version (see VSCarantoci(VespI), §4), was a king of Dumnonia who lived between the 5th and 6th century.

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kill it, and the saint did not permit its killing,⁹ but he said that it had come at the behest of God in order to destroy the sinners who were in that place¹⁰ and to show the power of God through him. And afterwards the holy man went outside the gate of the citadel, and set it loose, and ordered it to depart and not to dare to harm anyone and not to return any more. And so it was done. And the man of God accepted the altar, which Arthur had intended to use as a table, but whatever was placed upon it was flung into the distance. After these deeds, a voice came down to the man of God from heaven to cast the altar into the sea, and when he had done so, he sent Cador and Arthur to ask about the altar. And it was announced to them that it had landed in the mouth of a certain river.¹¹ And the king said: 'Give him twelve portions of the land where the altar was found.'¹² And after he built a church,¹² he began to live there, and after not a long time a voice from heaven came to him again, that, after leaving the land of his birth, he should go to Ireland as a pilgrim, where he rested in peace on the 16th May in a good old age¹³ and full of holy works.¹⁴ And he was buried in his town, that was named Chernac¹⁵ after his name.

⁹ **its killing** (*occidere*) *Occidere* is the reading of O, the original text, as witnessed by the other MSS, has the passive *occidi* (literally: 'the saint did not permit it to be killed').

¹⁰ **in that place** (*in illo loco*) Carrum, according to VSCarantoci(VespI), §5. *illo loco* is the word order in O and Y, the original order was *loco illo*.

¹¹ **of a certain river** (*cuiusdam fluminis*) River Wellitt (*Guellit*), according to VSCarantoci(VespI), §5.

¹² **a church** (*ecclesia*) Called Carrov, according to VSCarantoci(VespI), §5.

¹³ **in a good old age** (*in senectute bona*) IIReg 7,12.

¹⁴ **full of holy works** (*plenus sanctis operibus*) cfr Act 9,36.

¹⁵ **Cernac** Chernach in VSCarantoci(VespI), §6.

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edited by Francesco Marzella

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The transcription that follows is the text of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 15, fols 97a–98a. For the choice of this witness, see the *introductory note* on editing the *NLA*.

{97a}

35 ¹ de *sancto carodoco heremita*.
36 R² ex quidam nomine keredicus³
37 multos habuit liberos *quorum vnus*
38 nomine Carantocus puer bone
39 indolis que deo placita erant implere cepit.
40 Venerunt demum scoti *et omnem quasi regionem*
41 pugnantes occupauerunt. Keredicus uero
42 rex senectute et bellis fessus cum inimicis
43 resistere non posset. seniores populi sui dixe
44 runt ei. Senex es domine nec amplius dimi
45 care potes. oportet nos Carantocum filium tuum
46 ordinare in regem. Quo audito carantocus
47 plus regem celestem terreno regno dili
48 gens et domini sui voluntatem quam humanum

{97b}

1 fauorem fugam iniit *et emptis a paupere pera*
2 et baculo iter arripuit. et precedentem sibi a
3 deo missam columbam sequens vsque ad quendam

¹ p. 97, col. a has the header ¶ De Sancto Carodoco.; col. b has the header ¶ Heremita..

² R ex Initial R coloured in blue set in a red square extending downwards for three lines.

³ (margin){7 Cal. / Januarii}

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4 locum satis amenum peruenit. vbi constructa
5 ecclesia manere cepit. et deuotas deo laudes per
6 soluit. Ab annis enim pueritiae puritatem et
7 innocenciam amplect^(e)ns perrexit tandem ad hiber
8 niam amore sancti patricii allectus. Quo cum peruenisset
9 inito consilio dixerunt ut separarentur vnus ad
10 sinistram et alter ad dexteram quia multi clerici
11 cum illis ambulabant. et vt conuenirent vna
12 vice in anno condixerunt. Triginta autem annis
13 ante natiuitatem sancti david episcopi caranctocus in hi
14 berna conuersari cepit. et quocumque ibat angelus
15 domini in similitudine columbe comitabatur eum et
16 mutauit nomen eius in lingua eorum cernach.
17 Quocumque ibat virtutes et prodigia faciebat multa
18 hominum milia variis moribus. afflicta sanauit
19 videlicet cecos claudos surdos et mutos et qua
20 cumque infirmitate detentos. Beati enim
21 cernachi qui et carantoci opera miranda nimis
22 et commendanda leguntur in hibernia et gratia que
23 apostolis data est in illo. eciam impleta fuit. Mirabi
24 lis enim miles christi extitit et spiritalis abbas
25 longanimis preceptor iusta omnibus nuncians.
26 Per multos annos viuens incredibilis peccatorum
27 crimina dimisit preces per singulos dies et
28 noctes innumeras fudit. et postquam multos in
29 hibernia populos ad fidem conuertisset et multa mi
30 racula pro ipso deus ostendisset. venit ad regionem
31 suam kereticam ad suam speluncam cum clericis
32 multis. Et dedit illi dominus altare honorabile⁴
33 de excelso cuius nemo colorem intelligebat
34 et ad sabrinam ampnem tandem veniens misit
35 altare in mare vt prederet ibi deus vellet⁵

⁴ (margin){nota}

⁵ (margin){de Arthuro}

36 illum venire. Illo uero tempore catho et arthurus
 37 regnabant in patria illa. et venit arthurus⁶
 38 circuiens vt inueniret serpentem ingentem
 39 et terribilem qui multos agros vastauerat.
 40 Venit autem carantocus et salutauit arthu
 41 rum qui gaudens accepit benedictionem ab illo.
 42 Et interrogauit eum sanctus vtrum audisset ubi
 43 applicuisset altare suum. et ille. Si habuero
 44 precium nunciabo tibi. Quod precium inquit
 45 sanctus postulare vis. Rex ait. Ut educas
 46 serpentem qui prope est tibi. si seruus dei es ut vi
 47 deamus. Tunc vir dei perrexit et orauit ad do^(minum).
 48 et illico venit serpens cum sonitu magno

{98a}

1 ⁷quasi vitulus ad matrem currens. Et in
 2 clinauit caput suum ante seruuum dei quasi seruus domino
 3 suo obediens humilis et oculis lenis. Et
 4 misit stolam suam circa collum eius et deduxit
 5 illum quasi agnum. Et erat collum illius quasi collum
 6 tauri. et vix stola circuiiri poterat. Et per
 7 rexerunt pariter ad arcem et salutato rege
 8 cathone bene suscepti sunt ab eo. Et addu
 9 xit vir dei serpentem in mediam aulam et co
 10 nati sunt aliqui occidere illum nec permisit
 11 sanctus illum occidere sed dixit quod ex verbo
 12 dei venisset vt deleret peccatores qui in illo
 13 loco erant et vt ostenderet virtutem dei
 14 per illum. Et perrexit sanctus extra portam
 15 arcis et soluit illum et imperauit vt discede
 16 ret et nemini vnquam nocere presumeret.
 17 Et factum est ita. Et accepit vir dei altare
 18 suum quod cogitauerat arthurus in mensam edendi
 19 facere sed quicquid super illam apponebatur

⁶ (margin){Carantocus non / Caradocus est iste}}

⁷ p. 98, col. a has the header ¶ De sancto Cedd fratre sancti; col. b has the header ¶ Cedd episcopi..

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20 in longinquum excuciebat. Post hec venit
21 viro dei vox de celo vt micteret al^(t)are in
22 mare et cum hoc fecisset misit ad cathonem
23 et arthurum vt interrogarent de altari.
24 Et nunciatum est illis quod ad hostium cuius
25 dam fluminis applicuit et dixit rex. Date
26 illi duodecim partes agri ubi altare inuen
27 tum est. Ubi edificata ecclesia uiuere cepit.
28 nec post multos dies venit iterum vox
29 illi de celo vt relictam terra natiuitatis
30 sue in hiberniam peregrinus pergeret ubi in
31 senectute bona plenus sanctis operibus quieuit
32 in pace. xvii^o kalendas Iunii. et sepultus est
33 in ciuitate sua que a nomine sua vocata est
34 chernat.

Vita Sancti Carodoci (*Nova Legenda Anglie* version)

edited by Francesco Marzella

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Gerald of Wales mentions six times in his works a *Vita S. Karadoci* that he presented to Pope Innocent III so that he could consider the canonization of the blessed Caradog. Only the preface of this text survives on fos 94r–95v of Trinity College Cambridge MS R. 7. 11., the only manuscript containing the complete text of the *Symbolum electorum*, and it is now edited in Marzella 2022. There is no need to doubt that the text of John of Tynemouth’s version of the Life of St Caradog (printed by Horstman 1901: I.174–7) is based on the lost *Vita* written by Gerald of Wales: some stylistic evidence seems to confirm that the short text is a shorter version of Gerald’s one – as duly illustrated in Marzella 2022 – and it is also extremely unlikely that there could have been another *Vita*, known to John of Tynemouth and then lost, exactly like the one written by Gerald.

The first chapter of the *Vita* in the *Sanctilogium* seems to summarise at least four chapters of the longer one: we read the story of Caradog’s decision to become a man of God and how he received the tonsure in Llandaff; then we read about his ordination as a priest in Menevia; another episode tells the healing of a woman who suffered from a tumour and dropsy; the final story in the first chapter tells how Caradog fed some masons and workers who were building one of his churches with a few little fish.

The story in the (brief) second chapter illustrates the generosity of Caradog, who gives a poor man twelve pennies and twelve herring.

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The third chapter instead contains two stories. Firstly, while staying in the island of Ary, Caradog and his companions are kidnapped by some Norwegian pirates, but they find themselves back at the island: the pirates, frightened by the miracle, decide to set them free. In the second part of the chapter, Caradog is tempted by the devil, who pretends to be willing to serve him, but the saint sends him away.

The devil appears also in the fourth chapter. This time he steals the belt and the purse of the saint, but Caradog later forces the devil to return them.

In chapter 5 we read that the bishop of Menevia sends Caradog to the monastery of St Ismael, in the province of Rhos, in an area colonised by some Flemings sent by King Henry I. Here the saint is challenged by the cruel nobleman Richard Tancred, who is eventually punished by God and dies violently.

The very brief chapter 6 tells a 'crossing the Red sea'-like miracle, whereas the final chapter, chapter 7, tells the death of Caradog, anticipated by an angelic vision, and a *post mortem* miracle story, whose main character is no less than William of Malmesbury: years after the burial, when the body of the saint was translated and was found uncorrupted, William of Malmesbury wanted to tear off one of Caradog's fingers, but the saint miraculously closed his hand.

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Summary

Caradog came from a noble family, served at the court of Rhys ap Tewdwr before becoming a hermit. He received the tonsure in Llandaff, then settled with his companions in the church of St Cenydd. He moved to Menevia, then to island of Ary and lived the last part of his life in the monastery of St Ismael, in the province of Rhos, where he died in 1124. He was buried in Menevia.

Text

De sancto Carodoco¹ heremita.²

§1

Amicus dei Carodocus³ de Cambria oriundus et de prouincia Breghenot,⁴ parentibus non infimis propagatus, originale lineam duxit, et litterarum studiis deditus, dum virgam timuit et verba doctorum, non parum in doctrina profecit. Demum relictis litterarum disciplinis, curiam Resi Soutwallie⁵ principis adiens, eius se famulatui subicere⁶ curauit. Princeps autem ipsum magno diligens affectu, duorum leporariorum quos diligebat ei custodiam assignauit. Erat enim affabilis, liberalis et morigeratus. In lira quoque et musicis instrumentis plurimum doctus erat.

¹ **Carodoco** Caradoco T. For the sigla see the *introductory note* on the *NLA*.

² **De...heremita** om. Y.

³ **Carodocus** Caradocus T, Car^odocus Y.

⁴ **Breghenot** breghennoc TW (and Horstman).

⁵ **Soutwallie** Sowtwallie Y.

⁶ **subicere** subire Y.

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Cumque aliquamdiu in obsequiis illius principis deuotus et sedulus extitisset, domino disponente contigit vt dictos leporarios casu fortuito amitteret quatinus electus eius ad vtiliora et que sunt appetibilia, tali relicta vanitate, transiret.⁷ Vnde princeps et dominus⁸ eius valde offensus membrorum mutilacionem et mortem ei minabatur. Cui et Carodocus⁹ respondit: ‘Si longa et laboriosa seruicia mea adeo paruipenduntur sicut ex verbis istis euidenter apparet,¹⁰ illi de cetero principi labores meos et obsequium impendam qui mercedem uberem¹¹ pro labore modico donare nouit, qui canes hominibus non anteponit, nec morte sed vita eterna suos remunerat seruitores.’ Nec mora, de lancea sua sibi baculum faciens, votum deo vouit quod ab illo die et deinceps vitam celibem duceret et monachalem. Assumptis autem secum quibusdam sociis, versus Landauensem¹² ecclesiam et eius episcopum iter dirigit. Et cum per montana pergens victualibus careret, dominus qui suos in necessitate non deserit famulos, victualia sufficienter et habunde prouidit. Capream enim¹³ sagicta transfixam inuenientes, absque difficultate ceperunt, et cibum inde illis parauerunt. Veniens itaque Carodocus¹⁴ ad episcopum, coronam clericalem ab ipso suscepit et in ecclesia sancti Thelii aliquanto tempore deo seruiuit. Videns tandem locum illum propter nimiam hominum¹⁵ frequentiam¹⁶ religioni sue et proposito minus accomodum;¹⁷ inde secedens ad ecclesiam sancti Kynedy¹⁸ accessit, que tunc quasi deserta fuit. Casa igitur iuxta cimiterium edificata, spinis ac tribulis non sine labore grandi locum purgans, uix post triduum ecclesiam introire valebat. Sic enim olim contigit apud Meneuiam. Cum enim vrbs Meneuensis per piratas ab insulis Orchardum longis nauibus aduectos, exigentibus incolarum peccatis, crebra infestacione per septennium¹⁹ fere desolata fuisset, sacerdos quidam religiosus spinas et tribulos extirpando ad tumbam sancti confessoris

⁷ **transiret** transiret. Cui et Caradocus respondit. Si O.

⁸ **dominus** domus W.

⁹ **Carodocus** Caradocus O (T is illegible).

¹⁰ **apparet** aet O.

¹¹ **uberem** ubere O.

¹² **Landauensem** landanensem W.

¹³ **enim** enim cum Y.

¹⁴ **Carodocus** caradocus T.

¹⁵ **hominum** homini O.

¹⁶ **frequentiam** frequencia O.

¹⁷ **accomodum** acto modum O.

¹⁸ **Kynedy** kinedi W.

¹⁹ **septennium** septennium O.

Dauid uix septimo die peruenit. Cum autem Carodocus²⁰ monasterium illud laudabili conuersacione aliquamdiu illustrasset, aparuit ei angelus domini dicens: ‘Frater Carodoce,²¹ non hic diu habitare, nec uite cursum²² iuxta propositum tuum, deo aliter disponente, hic adimplere debes. Ecclesia namque Meneuensis et vita tua et morte decorabitur.’ Veniens ergo Meneuiam infra tempus breue ad sacerdocium meruit promoueri. Et cum de virtute in virtutem excresceret, puellam quandam tumore horribili et ydropico turgentem manu tangens, euanescente statim tam langore quam tumore, plene restituit sanitati. Cementarios et operarios cuiusdam sue ecclesie quadam sexta feria de paucis pisciculis²³ refecit.

§2

Oblatis²⁴ ei duodecim allecibus, cuidam²⁵ elemosinam petenti, cum aliud ad manum non haberet, cum seruo suo illa dare iussisset et ille²⁶ tardaret; ecce alius adueniens duodecim denarios ei dedit, quos simul cum allecibus pauperi hilari vultu erogauit dicens: ‘Accipe donum dei; non enim propter nos, ut estimo, sed magis propter te nobis misit²⁷ hoc deus.’ Vespere uero minister²⁸ adueniens allecia vbi prius reposita erant inuenit.

§3

Cum autem post hec in insula nomine Ary deo deuotum prestaret obsequium, Norwagenses pirate superuenientes ipsum et socios suos rapiunt et ad naues secum adducunt. Austro enim ad uota flante, nocte tota velificantes mane iuxta insulam se esse viderunt. Quo viso, barbari et increduli pauore et horrore percussi virum sanctum cum suis ad terram dimiserunt. Cumque²⁹

²⁰ **Carodocus** caradocus T.

²¹ **Carodoce** Caradoce OY (T is illegible).

²² **cursum** cursu OY.

²³ **pisciculis** pisculis O.

²⁴ **oblatis** oblatus OY.

²⁵ **cuidam** cuiusdam O.

²⁶ **et ille** om. OY.

²⁷ **nobis misit** misit nobis Y.

²⁸ **minister** ministri Y.

²⁹ **Cumque** Cumque ad O.

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socios suos ad terram³⁰ de insula misisset, affuit ei Sathanas et visibiliter in forma humana apparuit. Cui et ait: 'Quid³¹ me, miser,³² persequeris in vanum? Nichil in me per dei gratiam inuenies.'³³ Et demon: 'Ne solus hic remaneres et absque seruitore certe tibi seruiturus accessi non rogatus.' 'Uade, inquit vir dei, Sathana, humani generis inimice, quia non curo seruicia tua.'

§4

Iterum enim cum magno vir sanctus manuum labore fatigatus tunicam exueret zonamque prohiceret affuit sathan et zonam cum marsupio furtim abstulit. Expedito autem labore, zonam querens et nequaquam inuenire valens,³⁴ vidit malignum non longe ioculantem et saltantem. 'Num³⁵ tu, miser, inquit,³⁶ que amissa sunt asportasti? Adiuro te per nomen domini quatinus ablata restituas licet inuitus.' Et factum est ita.

§5

Cumque in illa insula propter irrupciones³⁷ barbarorum amplius manere non posset, assignauit ei episcopus³⁸ Meneuensis monasterium sancti Hismaelis in Rosensi³⁹ prouincia, vulgarter Ysam vocatum. Ubi cum aliquamdiu moram trahendo deo famularetur, superuenerunt Flandrenses viri armis robusti ab Anglorum rege Henrico primo cum vxoribus et liberis illuc transmissi; qui exclusis Wallensibus terram inhabitare ceperunt. Qui cum incolas regionis expulsissent, Carodocum⁴⁰ modis omnibus eicere⁴¹ nitebantur. Vnde cum quidam crudelis nomine Richardus⁴² Tanchard⁴³ oues eius et armenta, de quorum ante pauperes recreare

³⁰ In T, underneath f. 93v, col. a, a liturgical hymn to the saint was copied in the margin. Only few words are now legible.

³¹ **Quid** Qui^[d] O.

³² **miser** miserum Y.

³³ **inuenies** reperies T W (and Horstman).

³⁴ **valens** non Y.

³⁵ **Num** non O.

³⁶ **miser inquit** inquit miser T W (and Horstman).

³⁷ **irrupciones** irrupcones O irruptolies T.

³⁸ **episcopus** spiritus Y.

³⁹ **Rosensi** cofesi O confiensi Y.

⁴⁰ **Carodocum** caradocum TW.

⁴¹ **eicere** om. Y.

⁴² **Richardus** Ricardus TW.

⁴³ **Tanchard** tanchardi T.

solebat, biduo inclusa retinuit;⁴⁴ commotus inde vir dei ad deum preces fudit quatinus crudelitas hec et obstinacia diu impunita non maneret. Nec mora, superuenit vxor eiusdem viri virum sanctum suppliciter rogans quatinus pro inopinato iuuenis casu⁴⁵ diuinum auxilium implorare dignaretur. Nam subito quasi in terram corruerat, quasi ad mortem. Cumque ad preces sancti conualuisset et in nullo humiliatus nec correctus esset, dum venacioni intenderet, ceruus quidam vsque ad maris ripam ipsum precedens, et ipse calcaribus equum vrgens, a rupe quadam in precipitium se dedit et continuo expirauit, nec de ceruo nec⁴⁶ corpore iuuenis quicquam inueniri potuit.

§6

De monasterio autem sancti Hismaelis per spacium stadiorum septem ad preces sancti Carodoci mare se retrahens viam viro dei siccam dedit.

§7

Cum quodam paschali tempore misterio altaris se pararet, ecce viri duo stolis albis induti, mensam auream deferentes, ad ipsum introire visi⁴⁷ sunt et erat scriptum in mensa: ‘Sequere nos, habemus enim cibum manducare quem tu nescis.’⁴⁸ Perlecta autem scriptura, diem obitus sui imminere intellexit. Et uolens diem scire: ‘Quando, inquit, in conuiuio uestro⁴⁹ cum fratribus meis epulabor?’ Ad cenam, inquit,⁵⁰ agni prouidi.’ nichilque amplius adicientes recesserunt. Quarta uero postmodum feria, febre correptus fratribus ait: ‘Scitote, fratres karissimi, quod die dominica anima mea carnis ergastulo soluta⁵¹ ad dominum quem dilexit⁵² et concupiuit migrabit.’ Obiit autem anno domini millesimo centesimo vicesimo quarto et in Meneuensi ecclesia cum magno honore sepulture traditur. Post multos uero annos cum corpus eius congregata multorum copia virorum transferetur, incorruptum et incontaminatum

⁴⁴ **retinuit** detinuit T.

⁴⁵ **casu** casi O.

⁴⁶ **nec** nec de Y.

⁴⁷ **visi** uissi Y.

⁴⁸ **tu nescis** uos nescitis Y.

⁴⁹ **uestro** uestru OY.

⁵⁰ **inquiunt** inquit Y.

⁵¹ **soluta** solita O, soluta *add. in marg.* O.

⁵² **dilexit** diligit O.

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reperitum est. Cuius digitum cum Willelmus Malmesburiensis,⁵³ monachus et historiographus insignis, deuocionis gratia abscidere et secum forte auferre temptaret, sanctus quasi sciens membrorum abscisionem, collectis in uolam⁵⁴ digitis et simul in palmam replicatis, manum manica subtraxit. Quo viso, perterritus monachus a sancto humiliter veniam postulauit.

⁵³ **Malmesburiensis** malmesburyensis TW.

⁵⁴ **uolam** nolam OY.

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edited by Francesco Marzella

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Translation

On the holy Caradog, hermit.

§1

The friend of God, Caradog,¹ sprang from Cambria and the province of Brycheiniog;² begotten by noble parents, he continued the original lineage, and devoted himself to the study of liberal arts; while he feared the rod and the teachers' words,³ he made no little progress in erudition. After he left at last the disciplines of liberal arts, joining the court of Rees,⁴ prince of South Wales, he was solicitous about placing himself under his service. And the prince, who loved him with great affection, entrusted him with the care of two greyhounds he loved.⁵ For he was courteous, kind and moderate. He was indeed very much skilled also at the harp and the musical instruments. After he was for some time devoted and diligent in the service of that prince, through the Lord's disposition it happened that he accidentally lost the aforementioned greyhounds so that his choice, once he abandoned such a futility, moved to more useful and desirable matters. As a result of this his prince and lord, greatly offended, threatened him with mutilation of the limbs and death. And Caradog replied to him: 'If my long and hard services are

¹ **Caradog** (*Carodocus*) The Latin name of the saint is generally spelled as *Carodocus* in O, Y and W and as *Caradocus* in T. In the edited Latin text we keep the spelling of O, but the original form of the name was clearly *Caradocus*, as proved by the fact that this chapter is followed by the one on *Carantocus* in the alphabeticised version of the *Sanctilogium*.

² **Brycheiniog** (*Breghenot*, or *Breghennoc*) Kingdom in South Wales, part of today's Brecknockshire.

³ **the teachers' words** (*verba doctorum*) 'Feared' (*timuit*) does not seem to perfectly fit the second object, 'the teachers' words'. Possibly a second verb was lost in the abridgement. For the pun *verbal/verbera* see Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione* III (ed. Bartlett, p. 54, n. 49).

⁴ **Rhys** (**Resi**) Rhys ap Tewdwr, of the House of Dinefwr, king of Deheubarth at the time of the arrival of William the Conqueror in Wales. See Lloyd 1911: ii. 392–9.

⁵ Lloyd (1911: ii. 598, n. 88) suggests that Caradog was perhaps a *pencynydd*, 'chief huntsman'.

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so lightly esteemed as it clearly appears from these words, I will henceforth devote my efforts and my service to that prince who knows how to grant an abundant reward, who does not put dogs before men, and does not reward his servants with death but with eternal life.’⁶ With no delay, making a stick for himself out of his spear, he made a vow to God to live a celibate and monastic life from that day on. He took some companions with him and directed [his journey] towards the church of Llandaff and its bishop.⁷ And when proceeding through the mountains he ran out of food, the Lord, who does not abandon his servants in need, provided food adequately and abundantly. In fact, coming across a goat pierced by an arrow, they easily captured her and they made food for themselves⁸ from her. And so, Caradog went to the bishop, received the clerical tonsure from him and served God for a certain amount of time in the church of St Teilo.⁹ Seeing that that the place was less apt for his community and for his resolution because of the excessive multitude of men, he left there and reached the church of St Cenydd,¹⁰ that at that time was nearly deserted. Therefore, after they had built a house near the graveyard, cleansing the place of thorns and thistles¹¹ not without great effort, hardly after three days he managed to enter the church. Once the same thing happened in Menevia. In fact, when the city of Menevia was abandoned for almost seven years on account of the frequent attacks by the pirates carried by long ships from the Orkney islands (the sins of the inhabitants required it) a certain religious priest, uprooting thorns and thistles, only reached the tomb of the holy confessor David with difficulty on the seventh day.¹² When Caradog had for some time rendered illuminated that monastery

⁶ **does not reward...life** (*nec more...seruitores*) A biblical concept, see e.g. Rom 6, 22–3.

⁷ **and its bishop** (*et eius episcopum*) Herewald, whose consecration as bishop of Llandaff is disputed. He was suspended by Anselm of Canterbury between 1093 and 1100 (see ODNB, s. n. *Herewald*). Although John of Tynemouth sometimes omits proper names, in this case the omission could go back to the longer *Vita*, if its author preferred not to explicitly associated St Caradog with the name of such a controversial bishop. See also LL 279: ‘in qua ecclesia [in llan Cinith] ordinavit heruualdus episcopus caratocum uirum sanctum et religiosum in monachum’.

⁸ **for themselves** (*illis*) Here *illis* is used instead of the expected *sibi*.

⁹ **in the church of St Teilo** (*in ecclesia sancti Theliai*) The cathedral of Llandaff.

¹⁰ **the church of St Cenydd** (*ecclesiam sancti Kynedy*) Llangenith, in Gower. See VS Kynedi, §1.

¹¹ **thorns and thistles** (*spinis ac tribulis*) See Gen. 3, 18; Jud. 8, 16; Heb. 6, 8.

¹² The insertion of this story appears quite clumsy and it is only partially justified by the analogy with the story of Caradog and St Cenydd’s church covered with thorns and brambles. A more detailed version of the story in the longer *Vita* possibly appeared more correlated with the rest of the narration. In any case, the episode confirms the author’s familiarity with St Davids. No other version of this story survives and it can be compared to what Gerald wrote in his Life of St David about the origin of the name Menevia: ‘The boy was brought up in a place called *Vetus Rubus* which in Welsh is called *Hen Fynyw* and in Latin *Vetus Menevia*. This place was so called from Irish *Muine*

with his laudable manner of life, the angel of the Lord appeared to him saying: ‘Brother Caradog, do not live here any longer, and since God arranges differently, you must not fulfil here the time of your life according to your intention. For the church of Menevia will be adorned with your life and death.’ Therefore, he came to Menevia and in a short time he deserved to be promoted to priesthood. And since he grew from virtue to virtue, touching with his hand a certain girl, who was swollen with a horrible tumour and dropsy, he restored her to full health with both pain and tumour immediately disappearing. On a certain Friday he fed some masons and workers at one of his churches with few little fishes.¹³

§2

As twelve herrings were offered to him, since he had ordered his servant to give them to a certain man asking for alms, as he did not have anything else at hand, and that servant was being slow, behold, another one, coming, gave him twelve pennies, that he gave to the poor man together with the herrings with a cheerful expression, saying: ‘Receive the gift of God; in fact, as I think, God sent these not for us, but rather for you.’ In the evening the servant went and found the herrings where they were placed before.

§3

When after these deeds he was offering a devout service to God in the island named Ary,¹⁴ some Norwegian pirates arrived, kidnapped him and his companions and took them away on their ships with them. However, although the south wind was blowing according to their desires, they sailed for the whole night, but they saw in the morning that they were in the vicinity of the island. After seeing that, the barbarians and infidels struck with fear and dread, released the holy man with his companions on the dry land. And when he sent his companions from the island to the mainland, Satan came to him and appeared visibly in human form. And Caradog told him: ‘You wretch! Why do you persecute me in vain? You will find nothing in me, by God’s grace.’ And the

which means ‘thicket’; and as a result to this day St Davids is called in Irish *Cell Mbuine*. (*Puer autem nutritus est in loco, qui Vetus Rubus dicitur, qui et Cambrice Hen Meneu, Latine uero Vetus Meneuia uocatur. Sortitus est autem locus hoc nomen ab Hibernico Muni, quod et rubus sonat. Vnde et Kylmuni Hibernice adhuc ecclesia Meneuensis appellatur.*) See *VSDavid (Gerald)*, ed. Russell, §8.

¹³ **little fishes** (*pisciculis*) The same word used in Matthew 15, 34 and Mark 8, 7 for the episode of Jesus feeding the multitude, which is clearly the model for this story.

¹⁴ **Ary** It has been suggested that Ary could be identified with the coastal peninsula of Ynys Barry/Barry Island in Llanrhian parish, Pembrokeshire. See OPemb i.114–15.

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devil: 'I certainly came, even though not requested, to serve you so that you would not remain here alone and without a servant.' The man of God said: 'Away, Satan,¹⁵ enemy of the human race, because I do not care about your services.'

§4

However, a second time, when the holy man, weary from heavy manual labour, had pulled off his tunic and thrown down his belt, Satan came and secretly took away the belt together with a purse. Once Caradog finished his work, he looked for his belt and could not find it at all, he saw the evil one not far off, joking and dancing. He said: 'O wretch, did you take away what was lost? I adjure you, by the name of the Lord,¹⁶ that you return what you took, even if you do not want to.' And it was so done.¹⁷

§5

Since he could not remain any longer on that island because of the raids of the barbarians, the bishop of Menevia¹⁸ assigned to him the monastery of St. Ismael, in the province of Rhos,¹⁹ called Ysam in the common language. And when he was serving God spending some time there, some Flemish men, powerful in arms, arrived, sent there with their wives and sons by Henry I, king of the English; and after they drove out the Welsh, they started to inhabit that land.²⁰ And although they had driven out the inhabitants of that region, they strove to drive out Caradog by

¹⁵ **Away Satan** (*Uade...Sathana*) Cf. Matthew 16, 23 and Mark 8, 33.

¹⁶ **I adjure you by the name of the Lord** (*adiuro te per nomen domini*) Cf. Mark 5, 7.

¹⁷ **And it was so done** (*et factum est ita*) Gen. 1, 7 and 11 and 15 and 30.

¹⁸ **the bishop of Menevia** (*episcopus Meneuensis*) These events are probably set at the times of Wilfrid, bishop of Menevia from c. 1096 to 1115.

¹⁹ **the monastery of St. Ismael, in the province of Rhos** (*monasterium sancti Hismaelis in Rosensi prouincia*) Lloyd (1911: ii. 592, n. 91) suggests identification with East Haroldston (St. Issels; the church is dedicated to St. Ismael or Isfael, a supposed sixth-century bishop of Rhos), in Pembrokeshire, where there was a 'Caradog's Well'. See also Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium*, I.xi (ed. Dimock, pp. 85–6): *contigit autem [...] virum sanctum, cui nomen Karodocus, apud Sanctus Hysmaelem in Rosensi prouincia eremiticam et sanctissimam vitam ducere...*

²⁰ See William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, V.401 (ed. Mynors et al., I, 726–8); see also Laws 1888: 107–19.

every means.²¹ Hence, since a certain cruel man named Richard Tanchard²² impounded and detained²³ for two days Caradog's sheep and cattle, with which he previously used to feed the poor; the man of God, shaken, prayed God that that cruelty and obstinacy should not remain unpunished for too long. With no delay, the same man's wife came humbly asking that he, Caradog, might deign to beg for God's help for young man's unexpected accident. In fact, he had suddenly fallen to the ground, as if dead. And since by the prayers of the holy man he recovered and was neither humble nor corrected in any respect, while he was hunting, a stag was running ahead of him towards the seashore, and, urging his horse with the spurs, he threw himself from a certain rock off the cliff and immediately drew his last breath, and nothing at all of either the stag or the young man's body could be found.

§6

The sea, receding from the monastery of St Ismael for the space of seven stades at the prayers of the holy Caradog, offered a dry passage to the man of God.²⁴

§7

When once during Easter time he was getting ready for the mystery of the altar, behold, two men dressed in white garments were seen bringing him a golden altar, and on the altar it was written: 'Follow us, for we have food to eat that you cannot know of.' When he had read the

²¹ The general meaning of the sentence is clear (although the Flemish men tried in any way, they failed to drive out Caradog) but something (an adverb, maybe) must be missing.

²² **Richard Tanchard** (*Richardus Tanchardi*) The son of Tancard, first Flemish castellan of Haverfordwest, and Gwladus, aunt of Gerald of Wales. Comparing this episode with Gerald of Wales statement in his *Itinerarium* (I.xi; ed. Dimock, p. 86) that Richard was only a child when he met Caradog, J. E. Lloyd (1911: ii. 592, n. 92) suggests that the VSCarodoci (*NLA*) confuses Tancard with his son. This evidence could undermine the idea of Gerald's authorship of the VSCarodoci (*NLA*). According to Gerald, Tancard – who actually survived the saint – initially opposed to the burial of St. Caradog in Menevia, preferring to keep the corpse of the saint in his region. We must notice, in any case, that in the VSCarodoci (*NLA*) Richard is called twice *iuvēnis*, stressing his young age.

²³ **detained** (*retinuit*) T offers the equally acceptable reading *detinuit*.

²⁴ These few lines on this Red Sea-like miracle probably summarise the contents of one chapter of the longer *Vita*, failing to inform the reader about the circumstances that brought the saint to pray for such a miracle. It is interesting to notice how sometimes John of Tynemouth merged what were probably different chapters in the longer texts – as in the case of §5 of VSCarodoci (*NLA*) with two different stories – in one chapter and in other cases keeps the original division into paragraphs even if they summarised form consists of only few lines. For other cases of very brief chapters, cfr e. g. VSIustiniani (*NLA*), §5, VSKynedi (*NLA*), §3, VSOudocci (*NLA*), §3 and 4, VSWenefrede (*NLA*), §4, VSDavid (*NLA*), §21-23, 29, 31, 35.

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writing, he realised that the day of his departing was approaching. And, wanting to know the day, he said: ‘When will I eat at your banquet with my brothers?’ They say: ‘At the supper of the provident Lamb²⁵ and they departed without adding anything more. And truly four days after, seized with the fever he says to his brothers: ‘Dearest brothers, know that on Sunday my soul, freed from the prison of the flesh,²⁶ will pass over to the Lord whom it has loved and desired.’ He died in the year 1124 and was carried for burial with great honour to the church of Menevia. After many years,²⁷ when his body, once a multitude of many man was assembled, was translated, it was found uncorrupted and whole. When William of Malmesbury²⁸, monk and illustrious historiographer, tried to tear away and possibly take with him Caradog’s finger for the sake of devotion, the saint, as if he were perceiving the mutilation of his limbs, after gathering the fingers in the hollow of the hand and at the same time curling them into his palm, withdrew his hand in the sleeve. And when the monk saw that, he was terrified and humbly asked for the saint’s forgiveness.

²⁵ **At the supper of the provident Lamb** (*Ad cenam agni providi*) The answer is a quote of the first line of the homonymous hymn composed attributed to St Nicetas of Remesiana (fifth century) and included in the *Breviarium Romanum*, it is sung during Easter time at vespers. Also the idea of the men (or angels) dressed in white could come from this hymn, whose second line is ‘stolis solutis candidi’, but there is also a variant version ‘stolis albis candidi’. The original image, however, comes from Apo 7, 13.

²⁶ **the prison of the flesh** (*carnis ergastulo*) For this expression see Hieronimus, *Epistulae*, 22, 7: ‘miserrimae carnis ergastulum’. For some examples of the same expression used to describe death as liberation from the flesh in an insular context, see Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, IV, 9, 2 (‘ergastulo carnis educta est’) and Bede, *In Ezra et Nemiim libri III*, 2 (‘a carnis ergastulo soluti’).

²⁷ **After many years** (*Post multos annos*) What follows seems to belong a new chapter of original *Vita*, even though it is treated differently by John of Tynemouth, who presents it as the continuation of the same chapter.

²⁸ This is the only source witnessing the visit of William of Malmesbury’s to St Davids. See Thomson 2003: 6, n. 16: ‘If there is any truth in it all, William was presumably representing his monastery towards the end of the long time of vacancy (c. 1118–1139), during which Roger, bishop of Salisbury, was its titular abbot’.

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Transcription

The transcription that follows is the text of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 15, fols 95a–97a. For the choice of this witness, see the *introductory note* on editing the *NLA*.

{95a}

3 ¹de Sancto
4 A² micus Carodoco heremita
5 dei Carodocus de Cambria oriun
6 dus et de prouincia Breghenot³
7 parentibus non infimis propagatus originale
8 lineam duxit et litterarum studiis deditus dum
9 virgam timuit et verba doctorum non parum in
10 doctrina profecit. Demum relictis litterarum
11 disciplinis curiam resi soutwallie principis
12 adiens eius se famulatui subicere curauit.
13 Princeps autem ipsum magno diligens af
14 fectu duorum leporariorum quos diligebat ei
15 custodiam assignauit. Erat enim affabilis
16 liberalis et morigeratus. In lira quoque et mu
17 sicis instrumentis plurimum doctus erat.
18 Cumque aliquam diu in obsequiis illius principis
19 deuotus et sedulus extitisset domino disponente

¹ p. 95, col. a has the header ¶de Sancto Carodoco; col. b has the header ¶Heremita.

² A micus Initial *A* coloured in blue set in a red square extending downwards for three lines.

³ Breghenot (margin){Brechey/nog / Brecknok}.

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20 contigit vt *dictos* leporarios casu fortuito
 21 amitteret quatinus *electus* eius ad vtiora
 22 et que sunt appetibilia tali relictis *vanitate*
 23 transiret. Cui et *caradocus* respondit. Si
 24 Vnde *princeps* et *dominus* eius valde offensus
 25 membrorum *mutilacionem* et *mortem* ei mi
 26 nabatur. Cui et *caradocus* *respondit*. Si *longa*
 27 et laboriosa *seruicia* mea adeo *paruipenduntur*
 28 sicut ex verbis istis euidenter *aet* illi de ce
 29 tero *principi* labores meos *et* *obsequium*
 30 *impendam* qui *mercedem* ubere *pro* labore mo
 31 dico donare nouit qui canes *hominibus* non ante
 32 ponit. nec morte *sed* *vita* eterna suos remu
 33 nerat *seruitores*. Nec mora de lancea sua
 34 sibi *baculum* faciens *votum* deo vouit *quod* ab
 35 illo die *et* deinceps *vitam* *celibem* duceret et
 36 *monachalem*. Assumptis autem *secum* *quibusdam*
 37 sociis versus *landauensem* *ecclesiam* et eius
 38 *episcopum* iter dirigit. Et *cum* per *montana* *pergens*
 39 *victualibus* careret. *dominus* qui suos in necessi
 40 tate non deserit *famulos* *victualia* suffici
 41 enter et habunde *prouidit*. *Capream* enim
 42 *sagicta* *transfixam* *inuenientes* *absque* difficul
 43 tate ceperunt et *cibum* inde illis *parauerunt*.
 44 Veniens itaque *carodocus* ad *episcopum* *coronam*
 45 *clericalem* ab ipso suscepit et in *ecclesia* *sancti*
 46 *thelii* aliquanto tempore deo *seruiuit*.
 47 videns tandem *locum* illum *propter* *nimiam* *homini*
 48 *frequencia* *religioni* *sue* *et* *proposito* minus acto

{95b}

1 modum inde secedens ad *ecclesiam* *sancti* *kynedy*⁴ *accessit*
 2 *que* tunc quasi *deserta* fuit. Casa igitur
 3 *iuxta* *cimiterium* *edificata* *spinis* ac *tribulis* non

⁴ kynedy (margin){kynedvi lhangynidyr}.

4 sine labore grandi locum purgans uix post
5 triduum ecclesiam introire valebat. Sic enim
6 olim contigit apud meneuiam. Cum enim vrbs
7 meneuensis per piratas ab insulis orcha
8 dum longis nauibus aduectos exigentibus
9 incolarum peccatis crebra infestacione per septennum
10 fere desolata fuisset. sacerdos quidam religiosus
11 spinas et tribulos extirpando ad tumbam sancti
12 confessoris dauid uix septimo die peruenit.
13 Cum autem carodocus monasterium illud laudabili
14 conuersacione aliquam diu illustrasset. aparuit ei
15 angelus domini dicens. Frater caradoce non hic
16 diu habitare nec vite cursu iuxta propositum
17 tuum deo aliter disponente hic adimplere de
18 bes. Ecclesia namque meneuensis et vita tua
19 et morte decorabitur. veniens ergo meneuiam
20 infra tempus breue ad sacerdocium meruit pro
21 moueri. Et cum de virtute in virtutem excre
22 sceret. puellam quandam tumore horribili et
23 ydropico turgentem manu tangens euane
24 scente statim tam langore quam tumore plene
25 restituit sanitati. Cementarios et operarios
26 cuiusdam sue ecclesie quadam sexta feria de pauci^s
27 pisculis refecit. Oblatus ei duodecim allecibus
28 cuiusdam elemosinam petenti cum aliud ad manum
29 non haberet cum seruo suo illa dare iussisset
30 tardaret. ecce alius adueniens duodecim dena
31 rios ei dedit quos simul cum allecibus pauperi
32 hilari vultu erogauit dicens. Accipe donum
33 dei non enim propter nos ut estimo sed magis propter te
34 nobis misit hoc deus. Vespere uero minister adue
35 niens allecia vbi prius reposita erant inuenit.
36 Cum autem post hec in insula nomine ary deo
37 deuotum prestaret obsequium. norwagenses pi
38 rate superuenientes ipsum et socios suos rapiunt

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

39 et ad naues secum adducunt. Austro enim ad uota
40 flante nocte tota velificantes mane iuxta
41 insulam se esse viderunt. Quo viso barbari
42 et increduli pauore et horrore percussi virum
43 sanctum cum suis ad terram dimiserunt. Cumque ad
44 socios suos ad terram de insula misisset affuit
45 ei sathanas et visibiliter in forma humana
46 apparuit. cui et ait. Qui^[d] me miser persequeris
47 in vanum nichil in me per dei gratiam inuenies.
48 Et demon. Ne solus hic remaneres et

{96a}

1 ⁵absque seruitore certe tibi seruiturus accessi non
2 rogatus Uade inquit vir dei sathana huma
3 ni generis inimice quia non curo seruicia tua.
4 Iterum enim cum magno vir sanctus manuum
5 labore fatigatus tunicam exueret zonam que pro
6 hiceret affuit sathan et zonam cum marsupio
7 furtim abstulit. Expedito autem labore zonam
8 querens et nequaquam inuenire valens. vidit
9 malignum non longe ioculantem et saltantem.
10 Non tu miser inquit que amissa sunt aspor
11 tasti. adiuro te per nomen domini quatinus
12 ablata restituas licet inuitus. Et factum est
13 ita. Cumque in illa insula propter irrupcones
14 barbarorum amplius manere non posset assigna
15 uit ei episcopus meneuensis monasterium sancti hismaelis
16 in cofesi prouincia vulgariter ysam vocatum.
17 ⁶Ubi cum aliquamdiu moram trahendo deo fa
18 mularetur superuenerunt flandrenses viri
19 armis robusti ab anglorum rege henrico pri
20 mo cum vxoribus et liberis illuc transmissi

⁵ p. 96, col. a has the header ¶*de Sancto Carodoco*; col. b has the header ¶*Heremita*.

⁶ *Ubi...nitebantur* (margin){Nota fit quando flandrenses / primum acciti sunt ut inha/ bitarent walliam mari / finitimam}.

21 qui explusis wallensibus terram in habitare
 22 ceperunt. Qui cum incolas regionis expul
 23 sissent carodocum modis *omnibus* eicere nitebantur.
 24 Vnde cum quidam crudelis nomine richardus
 25 tanchard oues eius *et* armenta de quorum ante
 26 pauperes recreare solebat biduo inclusa
 27 retinuit. *Commotus* inde vir dei ad deum
 28 preces fudit *quatinus* crudelitas *hec* et obstina
 29 cia diu impunita *non* maneret. Nec mora
 30 superuenit vxor eiusdem viri virum *sanctum* suppli
 31 citer rogans *quatinus* pro *inopinato* iuuenis
 32 casi diuinum *auxilium* implorare dignaretur.
 33 Nam subito quasi in terram corruerat quasi ad
 34 mortem. Cumque ad preces *sancti* conualuisset et in
 35 nullo humiliatus nec correctus esset dum venaci
 36 oni intenderet. ceruus quidam vsque ad
 37 maris ripam ipsum precedens et ipse calca
 38 ribus equum vrgens a rupe quadam in preci
 39 picium se dedit et continuo expirauit nec
 40 de ceruo nec corpore iuuenis quicquam inue
 41 niri potuit. De monasterio autem *sancti* his
 42 maelis per spacium stadiorum septem ad preces
 43 *sancti* carodoci mare se retrahens viam viro
 44 dei siccam dedit. Cum quodam paschali
 45 tempore misterio altaris se pararet. ecce vi
 46 ri duo stolis albis induti mensam auream
 47 deferentes ad ipsum introire visi sunt *et* erat
 48 scriptum in mensa. Sequere nos habemus

{96b}

1 enim cibum manducare quem tu nescis *perlecta*
 2 autem scriptura diem obitus sui imminere intel
 3 lexit. Et uolens diem scire *quando* inquit in conui
 4 uio uestrum cum *fratibus* meis epulabor. Ad cenam
 5 inquirunt agni *providi* nichil *que* amplius adi
 6 cientes recesserunt. Quarta uero postmodum

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7 feria febre correptus fratribus ait. Scitote fratres
8 karissimi quod die dominica anima mea carnis ergastulo
9 solita⁷ ad dominum quem diligit et concupiuit
10 migrabit. Obiit autem anno domini millesimo
11 centesimo vicesimo quarto et in meneuensi
12 ecclesia cum magno honore sepulture traditur.
13 Post multos uero annos cum corpus eius congrega
14 ta multorum copia virorum transferetur
15 incorruptum et incontaminatum repertum est.
16 ⁸Cuius digitum cum willelmus malmesburien
17 sis monachus et historiographus insignis de
18 uocionis gratia abscidere et secum forte au
19 ferre temptaret sanctus quasi senciens mem
20 brorum abscisionem collectis in nolam digitis
21 et simul in palmam replicatis manum ma
22 nica subtraxit. Quo viso perterritus
23 monachus a sancto humiliter veniam postulauit.
24 C um⁹ enim gens Narracio.
25 hunorum perfidia cum rege suo athila
26 aurelianensi iun menia vallans
27 urbis ad interiutum aspiraret et sanctus anianus
28 episcopus sanctorum reliquias gestans super murumambu
29 lando preces domino fundebat. Tunc miser
30 quidam sacerdos a barbaris captus hiis verbis
31 eum alloquitur. Quod tu modo agis vnusquisque
32 vestrum in ciuitate sua studiose peregit. sed
33 nil profuit hec locutus diuina ulcione statim cecidit
34 mortuus perpetua pena condempnatus. Hosti
35 lis interim exercitus tela iactabat et arietibus
36 murum quaciebat. Tunc fugiente ad ecclesiam
37 populo episcopus hortabatur eum sperare in domino ipse

⁷ solita (margin){soluta}.

⁸ Cuius...postulatur (margin){Nota / manum / clausit / estensuro / Willelmo / malmes/buriense}.

⁹ C um Initial C coloured in blue set in a red square extending downwards for three lines.

38 vero murum ascendit *et tacitus celum aspiciens*
 39 orauit. Cumque sibi domini auxilium adesse sensis
 40 set repente contra barbaros expuit tanta
 41 que subito et impiorum impetum cum sputo plu
 42 uie moles descendit *et impiorum impetum quatridua*
 43 na inundacione compressit vt cateruam hostilam
 44 a muris fugere cogeret. In thebaide enim
 45 erat cenobium in quo plusque quinque milia
 46 fratrum sub vno abbate degebant. tantaque
 47 fuit obediencia omni euo quanta non potest apud
 48 nos vnus vel vni obedire. Informabantur

{97a}

1 ¹⁰enim nullas penitus cogitaciones prurientes
 2 in corde celare *sed confestim vt exhorte fuerint*
 3 eas suo patefacere seniori nec super eorum
 4 iudicio quicquam sue discrecioni committere
 5 *sed illud credere malum esse vel bonum quod discus*
 6 *serit senioris examen. Generale namque et*
 7 *euidens iudicium diabolice cogitacionis*
 8 *esse pronunciabant si eam seniori confunderentur*
 9 *aperire. Tanta obseruancia obediencie regula*
 10 *custodiebatur. vt absque prepositi sui scientiam*
 11 *vel permissu non solum non audebant cellam*
 12 *sed nec naturali necessitati satisfacere*
 13 *sua auctoritate presumebant. Sicque vni*
 14 *uersa complere quecumque fuerant ab ablate*
 15 *precepta tanquam si a deo essent celitus edita*
 16 *sine vlla discussione festinabant. Summe*
 17 *reputabantur delicie si herba sale condita*
 18 *quam lapsamum vocant aqua diluta ad re*
 19 *fectionem fratrum apponeretur. Cum autem sonitum*
 20 *audierunt ad orationem seu ad opus certatim*
 21 *prorumperunt. ita vt qui opus scriptoris excer*

¹⁰ p. 97, col. a has the header ¶*de Sancto Carodoco*; col. b has the header ¶*Heremita*.

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22 cebat *quam* repertus fuerat inchoasse *litteram*
23 finire *non* audebat. Inter quos nullum pecu
24 liari opus *non* dico effectu *sed* nec cogitatione
25 quidem ab aliquo penitus affectabatur. Nos
26 inquit cassianus miserabiles quid dicemus
27 qui in cinobiis *commorantes* cura et solici
28 tudine *constituti* peculⁱares *circumferimus*
29 claves. Quique itaque *non* numquam pro uilibus
30 nullisque rebus *actendimur* eas velut *proprias*
31 vendicantes vt si quis vel digito *quicquam*
32 ex hiis contrectare *presumpserit* tanta
33 contra eum *miseriordia* *suppleamur*. vt *commo*
34 cionem cordis *nostri* reuocare uix possumus
35 hic cassianus.

Vita Sancti Clitauri (*Nova Legenda Anglie* version)

edited by Francesco Marzella

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Introduction

The longer version of the Life of St Clydog is divided into six chapters; for a new edition, see *VS Clitauri*, ed. Ben Guy (2019). John of Tynemouth kept and summarised three of them, omitting, as usual, most of the proper names and place names and secondary (printed Horstman 1901: I.190–1). Therefore, John’s chapter 1 corresponds to chapter 1 of the longer versions: it introduces the character and illustrates the circumstances of his murder and burial. The second chapter tells the curious story of a nobleman and his wife, who profaned St Clydog’s territory by having intercourse on Sunday not far from his church; for this reason, they were punished until they asked for forgiveness and land are granted to be ‘free from every lay service’. This story follows the first chapter in the Cotton Vespasian A. xiv, but it appears as the fifth chapter in the other witness of the longer versions, the *Liber Landavensis*. It is evident that John was using the Vespasian version of the text (or a text very close to it). John’s third chapter – the story of two men who reach St Clydog’s church to make an oath, but eventually one kills the other and then mortally pierced himself with his own javelin – corresponds to the second chapter in the *Liber Landavensis* and to the fourth chapter of the Vespasian version.

John left out the story of the foundation of the church of St Clydog near the river Monnow by the two brothers Llifio and Gwrfan and their nephew Cynwr (chap. 3 in LL, 5 in Vesp), the story of the noble Ithel granting that territory to Llandaff (chap. 4 in LL, 6 in Vesp) – that included a Welsh charter – and the final brief chapter on the grant by the sons of Cynfleiddiau of Llech

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Llwyd to Clydog and Llandaff (6 in LL, 3 in Vesp). It seems plausible that John considered these chapters too 'technical' or too locally rooted, as it were, and not strictly related to the saint.

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edited by Francesco Marzella

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Summary

A king in South Wales, the pious and devoted Clydog was betrayed and ‘martyred’ by one of his companions on account of noble woman who claimed she would have not loved anyone else apart from Clydog. He was buried near River Monnow, where the village named after him, Clodock, now lies.

Text

De sancto Clitauco rege et martire¹

§1

Rex autem Clituacus cum esset in regno suo in Sowthwallia² tenens pacem et iusticie rigorem, factus est martir virtute et meritis, et corona celestis glorie cum palma carnalis castimonie decoratus. Virgo enim quedam potentis cuiusdam filia adamauit illum dicens requirentibus se nulli nupturam³ nisi Clitauco inclito et ab omnibus dilecto. Audito uero puelle responso, quidam de sodalibus regis, maligno spiritu inflatus et ardore libidinis accensus, fundamentum accipiens a fece temeritatis⁴ et liuore luxurie, quadam⁵ die in venatu regem Clitaucum innocentem, iuxta fluuium quendam venatorum cateruam expectantem et verba sacri eloquii et orationis cum summa

¹ *De sancto Clitauco...martire* om. Y, *De sancto Clitauco* O. For the sigla see the *introductory note* on the *NLA*.

² *Sowthwallia* Southwallia T; Soutwallia W; Sout[h]wallia Horstman.

³ *nupturam* nuputuram O.

⁴ *temeritatis* tennitatis OY.

⁵ *quadam* quedam OY.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

deuocione proferentem, gladio nequiter iugulauit. Quo mortuo, familiares sui et nobiles propinqui, iunctis bobus corpus auferentes, uadum fluuii iuxta quem occisus fuerat transire temptabant. Sed cum iuga bouum disrumpi et boues stare cepissent, de loco illo pre corporis nimia⁶ grauitate se mouere non poterant. Cumque multis modis corpus sanctum de loco transferre niterentur⁷ et nichil omnino proficerent, in loco sibi diuinitus preparato martiris corpus dimiserunt. Uisa est autem⁸ columpna ignis in sequenti nocte post sepulturam eius de tumulo ad celum mirabiliter eleuata ubi in honore sancti Clitauci ecclesia constructa est.

§2

Potens quidam⁹, die dominico cum vxore sua¹⁰ ad audiendum dei seruicium in ecclesia sancti Clitauci ueniens, super ripam fluminis non longe ab ecclesia positam¹¹ cum vxore sua concubuit et, peccato commisso, ab illa separari non potuit, immo iunctus vxori inseparabilis remansit. Et exclamans sodalibus uoce magna dixit, 'Ite ad sepulcrum martiris Clitauci et pratum istud a me ui et iniuste ablatum sibi restitui promittite, et pro me suppliciter queso intercedite.' Quo facto, ab horribili ligamine statim liberatus est.

§3

Uri duo inter se multo¹² tempore irati et infesti dixerunt¹³ intra se, 'Concordemur et tendamus ad ecclesiam sancti Clitauci, et simul iuremus super altare illius ut, oblito inuido liuore et iuncto¹⁴ federe, semper amodo simus fideles amici et in dilectione fratres.' Et confirmato federe,¹⁵ unus in reditu, rupta pace et uiolata fide, occidit alterum fraude. Et facto homicidio, seipsum sua lancea propria statim perforauit, et sic miserabiliter vitam finiuit.

⁶ **corporis nimia** nimia corporis T W (and Horstman).

⁷ **niterentur** uiterentur O.

⁸ **autem** ante O.

⁹ **quidam** quidem O.

¹⁰ **die dominico cum vxore sua** cum uxore sua die dominica Y.

¹¹ **positam** posita OY.

¹² **multo** mutuo OY.

¹³ **dixerunt** dixrunt O.

¹⁴ **iuncto** functo OY.

¹⁵ **semper...federe** om. OYW.

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Translation

On St Clydog king and martyr

§1

While King Clydog was in his kingdom in South Wales maintaining peace and the rigour of justice, he was made a martyr through virtue and merits and was adorned with the crown of heavenly glory together with the palm of bodily chastity. A maiden born of a certain powerful man fell in love with him, saying to those who were asking for her that she would marry no-one except noble Clydog, who was beloved by everyone. Once the girl's response had been heard, one of the king's companions, swollen with an evil spirit and inflamed with the spirit of passion, and taking as his basis the filth of audacity and the malice of lust, one day during a hunt miserably killed with his sword the innocent King Clydog, while he was waiting for the band of the hunters next to a certain river and pronouncing with great devotion the words of holy scripture and prayer. After he had died, the man's associates and the most faithful nobles, taking the body away on yoked oxen, tried to cross over the ford of the river near where he had been killed. But as the yokes of the oxen started to break apart and the oxen stood still, they could not move from that place on account of the body's excessive¹ weight. And as they were striving to move the holy body from that place in many ways and could not make any progress, they left the body of the martyr in the place divinely prepared for it. And a column of fire² was seen on the night following his burial rising miraculously from the tomb towards heaven in the place where a church was built in honour of St Clydog.

¹ body' excessive (*corporis nimia*) This is the word order in O and Y, the original text had *nimia corporis*.

² Exo 13,21 and 13,22; Num 14,14; Neh 9,12 and 9,19; Apo 10,1.

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§2

A certain powerful man, while was going to the church of St Clydog with his wife to hear the divine service on Sunday, lay with his wife on the bank of the river not far from the church and, having perpetrated the sin, he could not be separated from her, and rather he remained inseparably joined to his wife. And exclaiming, he said to his companions in a loud voice, 'Go to the tomb of the martyr Clydog and promise that this meadow, which I had unjustly seized by force, will be restored, and I humbly beg you to intercede on my behalf.' And after that was done, he was promptly freed from that horrible bond.

§3

One day, two men angry, and for a long time hostile to one another, said to each other, 'Let us come to terms and proceed to St Clydog's church,³ and together swear an oath on his altar, so that, having forgotten the envious malice and entered into an agreement, we may from now on always be firm friends and beloved brothers.' And with the agreement confirmed, one of them, on the return journey, having broken the peace and violated the faith, killed the other by trickery. And after committing the murder, he immediately pierced himself with his own spear and in this way he miserably put an end to his life.

³ In the longer version, the two men first plan to go to St. Dyfrig's church at Madley and then decide to go to St. Clydog's church to shorten their journey.

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Transcription

The transcription that follows is the text of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 15, fols 103b–104a. For the choice of this witness, see the *introductory note* on editing the *NLA*.

{103b}

29 **R** EX¹ ²De Sancto cli³ tauco.
30 autem Clitaucus cum esset in regno
31 suo in sowthwallia tenens pacem
32 et iusticie rigorem factus est martir vir
33 tute et meritis et corona celestis glorie
34 cum palma carnalis castimonie decoratus
35 Uirgo enim quedam⁴ potentis cuiusdam filia ad
36 amauit illum dicens. requirentibus se nulli
37 nuputuram nisi clitauco inclito et ab omnibus
38 dilecto. Audito uero puelle responso quidam
39 de sodalibus regis maligno spiritu inflatus et ardo
40 re libidinis accensus fundamentum accipiens
41 a fece tennitatis et liuore luxurie quedam
42 die in venatu regem clitaucum innocentem
43 iuxta fluuium quendam venatorum cateruam
44 expectantem et verba sacri eloquii et orationis
45 cum summa deuocione proferentem gladio nequiter
46 iugulauit. Quo mortuo familiares sui

¹ **R** ex initial *R* coloured in blue set in a red square and extending downwards for three lines.

² p. 103b has the header ¶ De Sancto Clitauco rege et martire..

³ A cut in the vellum follows.

⁴ A cut in the vellum follows.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

47 et nobiles *propinqui* iunctis bobus corpus
 48 auferentes uadum fluuii *iuxta quem* occisus

{104a}

1 ⁵Fuerat transire temptabant. Sed *cum* iuga
 2 boum disrumpi et boues stare cepissent
 3 de loco illo pre corporis nimia grauitate
 4 se mouere non poterant. *Cumque* multis mo
 5 dis corpus *sanctum* de loco transferre uiteren
 6 tur *et* nichil *omnino* proficerent in loco sibi di
 7 uinitus preparato martiris corpus dimiserunt.
 8 Uisa est ante columpna ignis in sequenti nocte
 9 post sepulturam eius de tumulo ad celum mira
 10 biliter eleuata vbi in honore *sancti* clitauci
 11 ecclesia constructa est **P**otens quidem die
 12 *dominico* cum vxore sua ad audiendum dei seruici
 13 um in ecclesia *sancti* clitauici veniens super ripam
 14 fluminis non longe ab ecclesia posita cum vxore
 15 sua concubuit. *et* peccato commisso ab illa separa
 16 ri non potuit. *immo* iunctus vxori inseparabilis
 17 remansit. Et exclamans sodalibus voce
 18 magna dixit. Ite ad sepulcrum *martiris* clitau
 19 ci et pratum istud a me vi *et* iniuste ablatum
 20 sibi restitui *promittite* et pro me suppliciter
 21 queso intercedite. Quo facto ab horribili
 22 ligamine statim liberatus est. **U**iri duo
 23 inter se mutuo tempore irati *et* infesti dix
 24 runt intra se. *Concordemur et tendamus* ad
 25 ecclesiam *sancti* clitauici et simul iuremus super
 26 altare illius ut oblito inuido liuore *et* functo
 27 federe.⁶ vnus in reditu rupta pace et
 28 uiolat a fide occidit alterum fraude. Et
 29 facto homicidio seipsum sua lancea propria

⁵ p. 104, col. a has the header ¶ **De Sancto Colfido.**; col. b has the header ¶ **abbate et confessore.**

⁶ A hole in the vellum follows, extending downwards for three lines.

30 statim perforavit. *et sic miserabiliter vitam*

31 finiuit.

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