Introduction

The earliest references to Padarn, who is presented as a contemporary of Teilo, Samson and David, are all associated with the important church of Llanbadarn Fawr in Ceredigion. This was clearly already dedicated to Padarn when it was ravaged by the Vikings in 988 and subsequently by Gruffudd ap Llywelyn in 1039 (Davies 2002: 379). More significantly, the later eleventh century witnessed the production of a substantial amount of poetry concerning Padarn at Llanbadarn Fawr. Between 1085 and 1091, Ieuan ap Sulien produced a copy of Augustine’s De Trinitate (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 199), incorporating his own Latin poetry with a number of references to Padarn (Lapidge 1973). Ieuan may also have been responsible for the Welsh englyn in praise of Padarn’s staff Cyrwen, which he wrote out, like the Latin distichs, in the top margins of CCCC MS 199 (fol. 11r) (Russell 2012). Seven churches dedicated to Padarn are found in Ceredigion, Radnorshire, and Carmarthenshire, attesting to the saint’s importance across a large area of west and mid Wales, and he also appears to have been a subject of devotion in Gwynedd (Doble 1940: 33–4).

Padarn’s Life survives only in Vespasian A.xiv (s. xii ex.), following that of Brynach and preceding the Life of Clydog. The body of the Life and an account of the reburial of Padarn’s relics make up folios 80v7–84r12, entitled Vita Sancti Paterni Episcopi (§§1–29). The separately rubricated Possesio Agrorum Sancti Paterni Episcopi (§§30–1) then follows for slightly less than a page, concluding the Padarn material. While it refers back to the Life, this section does not continue onwards chronologically, but rather describes how Padarn was granted land a little to the south of Llanbadarn Fawr in Ceredigion while still alive.
Wade-Evans’ claim that the Life dates to c. 1120 gained some acceptance from scholars although there is no evidence for it (VSB xii–xiii; cf. WCD 522). The references Wade-Evans cites, which present David as bishop of Rheinwg, Teilo as bishop of Morgannwg, and Padarn as bishop of Seisyllwg, all derive from the Possesio Agrorum Sancti Paterni Episcopi, which is clearly separated from the rest of the text and could possibly be a later addition at Llanbadarn Fawr, although no later than the first half of the twelfth century. Furthermore, the association of Teilo with Morgannwg need not be such a late feature as to be diagnostic of the early twelfth century, and could indeed be as early as the first half of the eleventh century (Russell 2012: 12–14). Thus Wade-Evans’ dating has more recently been challenged and arguments have been put forward for an earlier date for the Life (Thomas and Howlett 2003: 65–77; Russell 2012: 12–14).

Rhygyfarch’s Life of David contains a reference to ‘Paternum, cuius conversatio atque virtutes in sua continetur hystoria’ (‘Padarn (whose life and miracles are contained in his own history)’: ed. and transl. Sharpe and Davies 2007: 138–9). One could follow the editors of Rhygyfarch’s Life (Sharpe and Davies 2007: 139 n. 85) in taking this as a reference to the extant text, and thus as indicating that the Life of Padarn predates Rhygyfarch’s Life of David (variously dated 1081–95: Davies 2007: 159–160). However, this is not unproblematic, as the Life of Padarn (§20) appears to draw upon another account of the pilgrimage of David, Padarn, and Teilo to Jerusalem, where certain similarities of structure and wording indicate that the accounts in Rhygyfarch’s Life and that of Padarn are directly related (as with that also found in the two versions of the Life of Teilo) (LWS 176). As the account is initially focused on David (it is he whom the angel addresses), it is far more likely that it originated in a Life of David than in that of Padarn. Several possibilities present themselves. If we viewed the Life of David as the earlier, Rhygyfarch could be referring to a different, earlier Life of Padarn, or an earlier version of the extant text. If Rhygyfarch’s work is later, then the account of the Jerusalem pilgrimage could derive from an earlier source, such as an earlier Life of David, and thus have influenced the Life of Padarn before the composition of the Life of David. Perhaps the simplest explanation would be that the lives were written in the same location at the same or similar times, allowing the Life of Padarn to utilize the Life of David while itself being cited in Rhygyfarch’s Life (cf. Thomas and Howlett 2003: 76). This would also allow for the Life of Padarn to pre-date Ieuan ap Sulien’s Carmen de uita et familia Sulgeni (copied out in 1085×91), which contains significant links with the prose Vita, although the possibility that these connections derive from a shared source or the prose drawing upon the verse cannot be excluded (Lapidge 1973: 99–100; Russell 2012: 12–14). In any case, the closing decades of the
eleventh century are a distinct possibility for the period in which the Life of Padarn was composed.

The location of the text’s composition is less controversial. The Life records grants of land to Padarn in the vicinity of Llanbadarn Fawr and there are repeated references to Padarn as a bishop. The latter indicates that the author was concerned with (re)affirming Llanbadarn Fawr’s status as an episcopal see, something which also seems to have been of interest to Ieuan ap Sulien, as indicated by his poetry (Doble 1940: 7–8, 25; Lapidge 1973). Indeed, Thomas and Howlett argue that Ieuan was the author of the Life (Thomas and Howlett 2003: 65–77). This is a possibility, especially given the links between Ieuan’s poetry and the Vita. However, other clerics at Llanbadarn Fawr likely had similar concerns, and thus it is difficult to attribute the anonymous text to one individual with any certainty.

Paternus was a common Roman name, and thus the Welsh Padarn becomes confused, possibly deliberately, with a number of other saints bearing the name Paternus. In particular, Padarn appears to be conflated with SS Paternus of Vannes in Brittany and of Avranches in Normandy, both of whom were also confused with one another on the continent (Doble 1940: 4; Brett 2017: 96). Padarn is said to have been born in Brittany (§2), and a significant proportion of his Life appears to be set there (§§23–9). Scribe H, who originally copied the Life in Vespasian A. xiv, calls Brittany let(t)ia (Thomas and Howlett 2003: 68). The manuscript’s contemporary corrector, who had access to the exemplar, changed this to the less ambiguous letauia with remarkable perseverance for most of the text. Bonedd y Saint presents Padarn as the grandson of Emýr Llydaw (EWGT 57), showing that not only this Life links Padarn with his continental namesakes. Clearly much of the material concerning Brittany was composed in Brittany. Padarn’s monastery is explicitly exempted from the tribute that all the other bishoprics in Brittany owed to Samson (§26). An author at Llanbadarn Fawr may have been unlikely to invent this detail, but it would have been important for a cleric at Vannes attempting to uphold the see’s independence from Dol (Fawtier 1912: 26–7). Thus the author of the Life of Padarn appears to have drawn upon materials from Brittany concerning Paternus of Vannes, perhaps including a non-extant Vita (Brett 2017: 97). This deliberate incorporation of material suggests that the combination of the Welsh Padarn and Paternus of Vannes was no accident. Rather, it can be seen as an attempt by the hagiographer to link Padarn to prominent continental saints, and thus to defend and augment his foundations (cf. Thomas and Howlett 2003: 69).
The Life (§22) refers to three churches in which Padarn dwelt while in Wales, for periods of seven years each, namely the ‘maritima’ or maritime church, the church ‘nomine Crucis Agā’, and his great church (‘magna sua ecclesia’), which is also presented as a bishopric. Scholars have disagreed about the location of all of these. The great church must refer to Llanbadarn Fawr in Ceredigion, given its importance for Padarn’s cult in this period. While another church called Llanbadarn Fawr is found in Maelienydd, it seems inconceivable that the author would view this as the great church of Padarn, as opposed to his far more prominent foundation in Ceredigion (pace Doble 1940: 22; WCD 523). This means that the ‘maritima’ church, initially misspelt ‘mauritina’ (§7), apparently cannot refer to Llanbadarn Fawr, Ceredigion. Thomas and Howlett suggest that this is rather Henfynyw, Ceredigion, which is possible given its coastal location, although there is no strong evidence for this (Thomas and Howlett 2003: 99–102). The church ‘nomine Crucis Agā’, possibly for ‘Crucis Agie’ (of the Holy Cross), remains unidentified and little can be added to Thomas and Howlett’s note that it was ‘north of Llanbadarn Fawr and somewhere in the valley of the river Clarach’ (Thomas and Howlett 2003: 98–9).
Vita Sancti Paterni (Vespasian A. xiv)

edited by David Callander

Summary

Padarn is presented as a contemporary of Teilo, Samson, and David, and was strongly associated with his main foundation of Llanbadarn Fawr in Ceredigion, which is first mentioned in 988. According to his Life, Padarn came from Brittany, before going to Wales and founding monasteries there, as well as resolving disputes in Ireland. At the request of King Caradog, Padarn returned to Brittany and later died among the Franks, but his body was subsequently returned to Vannes. The anonymous text edited below, being the only surviving Life of Padarn, was probably written at Llanbadarn Fawr towards the end of the eleventh century. The text consists of the Life itself, followed by a short, separately rubricated section telling how Padarn was granted land just to the south of Llanbadarn Fawr, which may be a later addition. It is edited from Cotton Vespasian A. xiv, as emended by the contemporary corrector.

Text

Incipit vita sancti Paterni episcopi.

§1

Christus filius Dei uiui, tercia Trinitatis diuine persona, coeternus et consubstancialis patri et spiritui sancto, dedit hoc preceptum ecclesie, ut affectantius prouocaret hominum mentes ad religionem, pollicendo illis geminam mercedem, id est hic centuplum et uitam eternam in futuro. Lucas uero euangelista discipulus sancti Pauli apostoli, medicus corporis et anime, hoc preceptum ob communem Christianorum salutem scripsit. Talis autem est sensus istius precepti. Qui propter regnum Dei accipiendum omnes affectus contemserit, et omnes scilicet diuicias luxusque
calciverit, multo plura in presenti recipiet, quoniam a fratribus atque consortibus propositi sui, qui ei spirituali glutino colligantur, multo graciorem etiam in hac uita caritatem recipiet. Hanc siquidem caritatem, quam inter parentes ac filios, atque germanos, et coniuges, et propinquos, siue societas copule, seu consanguinitatis necessitudo coniungit, satis breuem constat esse ac fragilem. Quiigitur propter regnum Dei temporalia spernunt etiam in hac uita eiusdem regni gaudia certa fide degustant, atque in expectatione patrie celestis omnium pariter electorum sincerissima dilectione fruuntur.

§2
Ex quibus est sanctus Paternus episcopus, qui terrenam hereditatem derelinquens ac exilium uisitans, summum regni celestis fieri heredom atque ciuem concupiuit. Qui gente quidem armoricus fuit. Parentibus autem nobilibus ortus est, Petrano scilicet patre, matre uero Guean. Qui uno conuentu utentes, genuerunt sanctum Paternum. Postea uero se sempiterno Deo seruicio dedicauerunt. Nam Petranus illico Letauiam deserens Hiberniam expetiuit. Graciosa itaque apparuit natiuitas sancti Paterni, per quem pater eius sanctus effectus est, et mater eius famula Christi effecta religiosam uitam duxit in eternum. Conuenienti igitur igitur ordine a Deo preuisum est, ut sicut Christus ex summo patre, Deus de Deo, lumen de lumine ortus est, ita Paternus sanctus ex sanctis parentibus nasceretur. Ilico enim ut natus est ille, Christum sequi elegerunt.

§3
At Paternus mox ut sensit aliquid rationale in mundo, interrogat matrem, cum qua derelictus fuerat, quem patrem habuisset, viueret an non, aut si uiueret, ubi erat, et cur alibi moraretur, ac non potius in propria hereditate mansisset. Cui lacrimando mater respondit. ‘Pater tuus quidem uiui, et plus Deo quam mundo. Perrexit autem hinc ad Hiberniam, vbi ieiunat, orat, uigilat, meditatur, miseretur, dormit in psiathico, genuflectit alto domino, quot diebus quotque noctibus.’ Tunc adolescens spiritu sancto desuper flante confortatus ait, ‘Quo ergo modo meliore potest filius uiuere quam boni patris imitacione? Nam si rex sit pater, illum imitari in regimine filius appetit. Itaque moriar, si nonassequar patrem meum per semitas quas elegit.’

§4
In illo tempore corus ecclesiasticus monachorum Letauiam deserens, Brittannie meditabantur oras appetere. Nam sicut hiemale aluearium arridente uere animos extollens, et augende proli
prudenter insistens, aliud primum precipuumque foras emittit examen, ut alibi mellificet, ita Letauia accrescente serenitate religionis cateruam sanctorum ad originem unde exierunt transmittit subter ducibus Ketinlau, Catman, Titechon.

§5

Hac etiam prouocatus fama sanctus iuuenis Paternus cinxit se cum ceteris in exilium non segnior senioribus, sed quanto iunior tanto in laborando feruentior, etatem suam in religiosis moribus transcendebat.

§6

Itaque conueniunt omnes chori ad transnavigandum, Brittanniam unanimiter petentes. Mox Paternus quartus dux cohortis efficitur, non postulacione sua sed consobrini eius uidentes illum properare ad culmen perfectionis statuerunt dicentes, ‘Quoniam dominus prefecit te in moribus, oportet ut preesse debeat in populis ad exemplum uite.’

§7


§8

Postquam autem edificauit templum ac monasterium sub equonomo et proposito et decano statuit, reminiscitur sui patris. Benedicit fratribus, licentiam accipit, Hiberniam nauigat, patrem uisitat. Inuicem resalutant, gratias summo Deo Christo agunt, tandem simul sedent.

§9


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1 *cateruam* caterua V.
2 *discordabant* discordant deleted by contemporary corrector who adds *discordab...* (final three letters lost in margin) V.
§ 10

§ 11
Tunc omnes dominum magnificant in seruo suo Paterno, ac omnes benedicentes, dixerunt, ‘Sit semper tibi signum pacis per quod clarescat nomen tuum in terra dum uiuas et post mortem.’ Quod implesitur in munere Cirguen. Tanta namque utilitas baculi istius est, ut siqui duo discordantes sint per eius coniuracionem pacentur.

§ 12

§ 13
Inter quos Nimannauc nuper aduenientem repperit. Qui in Letauia post Paternum uiuere non ualens, ad oram maris uenit, quandamque petram inuenit, in qua stetit et ait, ‘Si domino Deo sunt placita que meditor, et si uere sanctus est Paternus ille quem assequi uolo, surgat petra et natet super equora. Solidentur unde. Obduret pelagus ne mergat lapidem, ueharque ad dominum incoluimis ducem sanctum Paternum.’ Dicto cicio, mirabili nauigio maritimam ecclesiam in oris Brittannie petit. Salutatur a fratribus. Suam historiam narrat. Dominum deum omnes una uoce magnificant in sanctis suis, qui humile uotum Nimannauc impleuit, et uirtutem summi sancti sui manifestauit, id est Paterni.

§ 14
Tunc Paternus monasteria et ecclesias per totam Cereticam regionem edificauit, quibus duces statuit, id est, Samson, Guinnius, Guippir, Nimannauc. Sanctus igitur Paternus lampas in
doctrina et opere effectus est per totam Brittanniam.

§15

Interea Mulgun, rex borealium Brittonum, australes Brittannos ad debellandos et subiciendos usitans, cum forti exercitu adusque ostium fluminis Clarauch uenit. Ac quoniam ipse semper temptator sanctorum aderat, duos pretores se precedere iussit, ut sanctum Paternum aliquo malicioso modo temptarent. Dicebantur autem Graban et Terillan.

§16


§17


§18


§19


§20

§21

3 *marinum* marinam V.

4 *subiciens* subiciens V. _tel subiecta is added in the margin, possibly by the main hand._

5 *terram* terram with smudged abbreviation mark (possibly to be changed to terra) V.
indulgentiam. Cui sanctus indulsit. Ille uero Paternum sibi sempiternum accept patroon, ac sic discessit.

§22


§23

Sanctus igitur Paternus ualedicens fratribus suis, quos hic ad regendas ecclesias suas reliquid, et confortans illos ne in tribulationibus suis deficerent sed in omnibus dominum per illum semper rogarent, ad Letauiam peruenit, ubi multa a falsis fratribus pertulit. Nam mox ut illuc peruenit, fama illius totam Letauiam impleuit.

§24

Tunc autem Samson, quem precipuum in sanctitate omnes Armorici magnificabant,
perambulabat parrochias, ut ecclesie omnium sanctorum Armoricorum census episcopati eius et tunc et postea soluerent in eternum. Contigit autem ut deueniret ad uicina loca urbis Guenet, iuxta quam sanctus Paternus episcopus monasterium edificauit.

§25


§26


§27

Urbs autem Guenet sedes episcopatus sancti Paterni est, in qua Petrus apostolus unam ecclesiam tenet. Nam per iussum commendauit, ut, excepta sola aula Caradauc, honor semper illius urbis et nomen et fama dedicaretur sancto Paterno. Post hec tanta statuerunt sancti septem episcopatum totius Letie, ut conuenirent in uno monte et confirmarent suam unitatem in perpetuo mansuram. In qua sinodo Paternus multum ab inuidiosis et falsis fratribus fatigatus, confirmans unitatem suam cum precipuis sex sanctis, et ille septimus secundum numerum

10 maligne maligne V. Changed by contemporary corrector to maligne.
11 ocrea oscrea V.

§28


§29

Incipit possessio agrorum sancti Paterni episcopi.

§30


§31


12 commotionem commmotionem V.
Vita Sancti Paterni (Vespasian A. xiv)

edited by David Callander

Introduction
Edited Text
Manuscript
References

Translation

Here begins the Life of Saint Padarn, bishop.

§1

Christ son of the living God, one of the three persons of the divine Trinity, co-eternal and of one substance with the Father and the Holy Spirit, gave this instruction to the church, so that it should eagerly encourage peoples’ minds towards religion, by promising the double reward to them, that is, a hundredfold here and eternal life in the future. Truly, Luke the Evangelist, disciple of St Paul the Apostle, a physician of the body and soul, wrote this instruction for the common salvation of Christians. But such is the sense of this instruction. He who for the sake of receiving the kingdom of God should disdain all desires, and should trample on all riches and luxuries in fact, will acquire much more in the present life, because from brothers and those

1 The use of tercia (normally meaning ‘third’) here does not indicate that Christ is lower in rank than the father and holy spirit. Rather, it shows the influence of the Medieval Welsh use of trydyd, which can simply mean ‘one of three’ without suggesting a hierarchy: DMLBS s.v. tertiu 5(d); GPC s.v. trydydd (b); cf. Thomas and Howlett 2003: 31. See also tercia at §30 below. The same use can be made of tres in Medieval Irish (eDIL: s.v. 2 tres).

2 hic centuplum et uitam eternam in futuro (a hundredfold here and eternal life in the future). Cf. Matthew 19.29 (omnis qui reliquit domum vel fratres aut sorores aut patrem aut matrem aut uxorem aut filios aut agros propter nomen meum centuplum accipiet et vitam aeternam possidebit) and Mark 10.30 (nemo est qui reliquerit domum aut fratres aut sorores aut matrem aut patrem aut filios aut agros propter me et propter evangelium qui non accipiat centes tantum nunc in tempore hoc domos et fratres et sorores et matres et filios et agros cum persecutionibus et in saeculo futuro vitam aeternam). The meaning of the hundredfold reward on earth as well as the heavenly one is subsequently explained.

who share his way of life, who are connected to him by a spiritual bond, he will likewise acquire much more pleasing love in this life. For this love, which the partnership of marriage or the obligation of blood-kinship holds together between parents and children, and siblings, and spouses, and relatives, is known to be transitory enough and fragile. Therefore, those who reject worldly things for the sake of God’s kingdom even in this life taste the joys of that kingdom with certain faith, and in awaiting the heavenly land enjoy likewise the purest love of all the chosen.

§2

Of such ones is St Padarn the bishop, who, abandoning his earthly inheritance and going into exile, desired passionately to be made the finest heir and inhabitant of the heavenly kingdom. He was indeed a Breton by nation. Moreover, he was descended from noble parents, namely his father Petran, and his mother Guean. They, engaging in one act of intercourse, engendered St Padarn. But afterwards they dedicated themselves to the everlasting service of God. For Petran, leaving Brittany there and then, went to Ireland. And so the nativity of St Padarn appeared fortunate, through whom his father was made a saint, and his mother, having been made a servant of Christ, led the religious life forever. Therefore, it was foreseen by God in fitting arrangement, that just as Christ descended from the highest father, God of God, light of light, so St Padarn was born of holy parents. For as soon as he was born, they chose to follow Christ.

§3

But Padarn, as soon as he perceived anything rational in the world, asked his mother, with whom he had been left, what father he had had, whether he lived or not, or if he lived, where he was, and why he dwelt elsewhere, and had not rather stayed on living in his own heritage. His mother responded to him crying. ‘Your father lives indeed, and more for God than the world. But he has made his way from here to Ireland, where he fasts, prays, keeps vigil, meditates, shows compassion, sleeps on a rush-mat, bends the knee to the exalted lord, for as many nights as days.’ Then the youth, invigorated by the holy spirit blowing from above, said, ‘In what way, therefore,

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4 Padarn’s parents also occur in the genealogical tract Bonedd y Saint §21 (EWGT 57–8). There, his father is called Petru or Petrun, and, in manuscripts of the sixteenth century onwards, it is noted that Padarn’s mother was called Gwenn or Gwean. Howlett emends to Guena (Thomas and Howlett 2003: 15), but Guean is retained here as a lectio difficilior also attested beyond this one instance.

can the son better live than in imitation of the good father? For if his father should be a king, the son desires to take him as a model in rulership. And so I will die if I will not follow my father down the paths which he chose.’

§4

At that time, when an ecclesiastical band of monks was leaving Brittany, they thought about seeking out the shores of Britain.\(^6\) For just like a winter beehive lifting its spirits with spring smiling, and prudently devoting itself to increasing offspring, sends another first and principal swarm outside so that it should make honey elsewhere, so Brittany, growing in excellence of religion, sent a host of saints under the leaders Ketinlau, Cadfan, and Tydecho, to their origin whence they came.\(^7\)

§5

Also encouraged by this news, the holy youth Padarn surrounded himself with the rest in exile being no more slothful than his elders, but as much as he was younger so he was the more fervent in work, surpassing his age in religious conduct.

§6

And so all the companies come together to sail across, seeking Britain with one mind. Soon Padarn is made one of four leaders of the company, not at his request but his cousins, seeing him

\(^6\) This text uses Britain-based terminology throughout in referring both to Wales and Britain, as would be expected from a late eleventh-century Latin text from Wales (Pryce 2001). It is often ambiguous, although in this instance appears to refer to the island Britain, given the subsequent reference to *orae insulae Brittanorum* ‘shores of the island of the Britons’ (§7).

\(^7\) St Cadfan also occurs in *Bonedd y Saint* §19 (EWGT 57), where he is associated with Ynys Enlli (Bardsey Island, off the coast of North–West Wales) a grandson of Emyr Llydaw and son of Eneas Lydewig (that is, of Brittany). Cadfan is the subject of ‘Canu y Gaduan’, a twelfth-century poem by Llywel yn Fardd I, which focuses on celebrating the *clas* at Tywyn, and provides the most information about Cadfan of any source: *CadinLlIF*: GLlF 9–32. There are churches and chapels dedicated to Cadfan in Gwynedd, Powys, and Carmarthenshire (WCD 75). St Tydecho is otherwise only described in a fifteenth-century poem by Dafydd Llwyd o Fathafarn, which gives more detail on his life (GDLl 117–19). There are a number of churches dedicated to Tydecho in mid Wales (PW 107, 109). Ketinlau is the most problematic name here. Ketinlau was tentatively identified by Egerton Phillimore with St Cynllo, who has a number of foundations in Maelienydd and Ceredigion, and thus his cult appears to have been in fairly close proximity with that of Padarn (OP ii, 454; WCD 181–2). Doble views this identification as unconvincing (Doble 1940: 22). These three names appear in different forms in Latin sources from Brittany connected to Paternus (LBS ii, 40).
hurry towards the height of perfection, established him, saying, ‘Since the lord has made you a leader in conduct, it is fitting that you should be in charge of people as a model of living.’

§7

And so by a successful journey all the clerics reach the shores of the island of the Britons. 847 monks follow Padarn. The saint enters into a place with saints, in a church with the alternative name mauritana, where St Padarn afterwards shone bright with a worthy miracle. And so he soon built a monastery there.

§8

Moreover, after he built the church and monastery and established it under a steward and a prior and a dean, he calls to mind his father. He blesses the brothers, receives permission, sails to Ireland, visits his father. They greet each other, they give thanks to Christ, God most high, at last they sit together.

§9

But at that time in Ireland the kings of two provinces were discordant. Ravagings issue forth from each to the other. Spoils are seized. Houses are burned. Wars rise up. Brothers fall. The land is laid waste to the point of extermination and emptiness.

§10

At last the merciful judge of the world, having pitied with his normal providence, sent the cause of the unhoped-for peace through his angel to the bishop of the church of each city. And he said, ‘Unless each army sees the face of the saint recently come from Britain, the malicious kings

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8 This church is unidentified. It cannot be Llanbadarn Fawr, as this is his major church, which is differentiated from this church at §22 below (contra Doble 1940: 22, WCD 523). Mauritina appears to be an error for maritima ‘maritime’, and the church must have been on the Welsh coast (see §§13, 22 below). Thomas and Howlett suggest that this is Henfynyw, Ceredigion, which is possible given its coastal location, although there is no strong evidence for this (Thomas and Howlett 2003: 99–102).

9 Here and at a number of points below (§§12, 17, 25), the author employs a short asyndetic style, consisting of a series of sentences often containing only the subject and a finite verb. This can enable the author to cover a sequence of events very quickly (as at §12), or to give a concise and powerful description of a situation, as here.

10 Here and at §13 below the spelling Bruttannia is used for Brittannia in Vespasian. This spelling, which is almost certainly not original, was used as a rarer variant of Brittannia from the twelfth-century onwards, and is associated especially with Geoffrey of Monmouth. Cf. Hystoria Brutonum and Liber Brutonum, the thirteenth-century
will never be reconciled to one another.’ At once messengers are sent. They summon Padarn
honourably. The armies are called together. They place Padarn in the middle. Because of his face,
the devils of discord are expelled. Perpetual peace arises between both provinces. Eternal unity is
born from God, so that as a sign of the unity of people the woods of the one province fall at the
falling of wood in the other province.

§11

Then everyone praises the lord in his servant Padarn, and, everyone giving blessing, they said,
‘May you always have the sign of peace through which your name will shine bright on earth while
you live and after death.’ That is fulfilled in the reward Cyrwen.¹¹ For such is the advantage of
that staff, that if any two persons are discordant, they are made peaceful by its invocation.

§12

Moreover it is said by Christ that the good pastor recognizes which sheep are his,¹² following
which teaching St Padarn called to mind those brothers he had left in Britain. He says farewell
to his father. He is blessed by his father. He went to Britain. He found his brothers unharmed
in body and soul.

§13

Among them he found Nimannauc¹³ recently arrived. Unable to live in Brittany after Padarn, he
came to the sea-shore and found a certain rock, on which he stood and said, ‘If those things
which I am thinking through are pleasing to the lord God, and if that Padarn whom I want to
follow truly is a saint, let this rock rise and float upon the seas. Let the waves be made firm. Let
the sea grow hard so it does not immerse the stone, and may I be carried unharmed to the lord
leader St Padarn.’ Sooner than it was said, by miraculous sailing, he
goes to the maritime church
on the shores of Britain. He is greeted by his brothers. He tells his story. Everyone with one

¹¹ Cyrwen (in the text Cirguen) is the name of Padarn’s staff. A Welsh englyn survives in the hand of Ieuan ap Sulien in praise of the staff (Russell 2012).

¹² bonus pastor agnoscit que sint eius oues (the good pastor recognizes which sheep are his). Cf. John 10.14 (ego sum pastor bonus et cognosco meas).

¹³ Nimannauc is a monk, otherwise unknown, who followed Padarn from Brittany to Wales.
voice glorifies the lord God in his saints, who carried out the humble wish of Nimannauc, and revealed the power of his highest saint, that is, Padarn.

§14

Then Padarn built monasteries and churches throughout the whole region of Ceredigion, in which he established leaders, namely, Samson, Guinnius, Guippir, and Nimannauc. And so St Padarn became a lamp in learning and deeds throughout all Wales.

§15

Meanwhile, Maelgwn, king of the northern Welsh, visiting the southern Welsh to subdue them and make them subject to him, came with a strong army all the way to the mouth of the river Clarach. And since the tempter of saints himself was there, he ordered two officials to go ahead of him, so that they should tempt St Padarn in some malicious way. They were called, moreover, Graban and Terillan.

§16

They came searching wickedly to the descent of the Clarach. They fill baskets with moss and gravel. They make them like royal treasures to be carried to the saint. They order them to watch over until the king successfully returns. The saint agreed. He ordered them to be deposited. He affirms that they are to be found just as they had been left.

§17

The king goes past. The officials follow. The king returns peacefully, the Welsh having been pacified. And he sent the injurious heralds to tempt the saint. Then quickly they come to the

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14 These figures are otherwise unknown (WCD 524). Samson would not appear to be Samson of Dol here, who features at §§24–6 below, although the Life does not make the distinction clear, and it is perhaps significant that this Samson is ordained by Padarn, not the other way around.

15 *Per totam Britanniam* here probably refers to Wales, although the ambiguity of the term allows the possibility that Padarn was a lamp of learning throughout the entire island of Britain.

16 Maelgwn Gwynedd was a king of Gwynedd contemporary with Gildas, whom Gildas famously chastises for his moral wickedness. In Latin saints’ lives from Wales, he often acts negatively towards saints, before being forced to repent his actions (WCD 438–41). Here his name is misspelled *Mulgun*, although a correct spelling *Mailgun* is given at §§19 and 30.

17 Afon Clarach flows into Cardigan Bay a little to the north of Llanbadarn Fawr. The spelling in this text is always *Clarauch*, but this spelling is not otherwise attested: ArchifMR s.n. Clarach.

18 It is unclear from the text whether these two men are *pretores* (officials), *precones* (heralds), or perhaps both. They are not otherwise attested.
monastery. They lift up the baskets. They take out their contents. They lay down moss and gravel. They shamelessly cry out that all the king’s treasures have been secretly taken away, and gravel and moss inserted in their place. The saint responded on the contrary, that they were so found as they were left. But they threatened the ruin of the entire monastery, if the treasures were not returned.

§18

Moreover, it had previously been decreed throughout all Britain by the king, that every liar should be detected through boiling water. Then in the rage of his spirit he orders Padarn to heat water in a brazen cauldron until it boiled over thrice. This is completed immediately. At once, Padarn put his hand into the water of the hottest intensity. After the hand had been lowered it appeared white and cold like snow. Soon the heralds are compelled to put their hands in the water. Soon their burnt hands reveal their minds’ malice. And at once the heralds, having been completely burnt, end their lives. Their souls fly in the form of ravens up the channel, which to this day is called by another name, that is Graban.

§19

Then king Maelgwn himself is made blind in his eyes where he stands. He is weakened at heart. He wobbles on his knees. He confesses he is about to die on account of the offence of his wickedness against St Padarn. At once, the king went to Padarn, bends the knee to him, seeks forgiveness. And St Padarn gave forgiveness. That king repays this with the extent of an area of land, that is, from the mouth of the river Rheidol turned upwards until it touches the boundary of the river Clarach at the top, and its boundary is extended along the length of that river up to

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19 This is the type of trial by ordeal known as trial by hot water, where the hands of an innocent person would, supposedly, either not be burnt by the hot water or their wounds would heal quickly. Trial by ordeal is known to have taken place in Europe from at least c. 510 onwards before a decline in the thirteenth century and its subsequent gradual disappearance. Trial by ordeal scarcely appears in Welsh law-codes, although it clearly was used in medieval Wales. Indeed, shortly after the period when this Life was written, an agreement of 1126 between Bishop Urban of Llandaf and Robert, earl of Gloucester, refers to an ‘ordeal of hot iron’ and ‘ordeal of water’ (Bartlett 1986: 47–8).

20 No place-name equivalent to Graban survives in this area, although it is very thinly attested as a place-name in Denbighshire and Monmouthshire: ArchifMR s.n. Graban. It is also attested from the seventeenth century as a Welsh botanical term for darnel: GPC s.v. graban.
the sea. At that time the king is healed in his eyes. He is given strength at heart. He stays still on his knees. They withdraw peaceful from one other, St Padarn and the king, but God in Padarn, and Padarn in God, through this miracle.

§20

When these things are being done, a celestial messenger came to St David, serving the God Christ in Rosina Uallis, and he said to him, ‘Rise up, and go to Jerusalem to be ordained there. Add to yourself two suitable companions, who will likewise be ordained, namely Padarn and Teilo.’ Soon David sent to them. They came without delay. Side by side they made their way through barbarous peoples, accepting the gift of tongues. For they were men of one language and would speak to every man in his own language in which he had been born. At last they reached Jerusalem. And there they preach with most noble teaching following the apostles. Afterwards through the laying on of the patriarch’s hand those three saints were ordained bishops. After that they were enriched with gifts. Indeed, Padarn was enriched with a double gift, namely with a staff and with a completely woven tunic. They returned happily. They divided Wales into their three episcopates, unless afterwards the malice of monarchs should disturb it.

21 Afon Rheidol flows south of Llanbadarn Fawr and Aberystwyth in Ceredigion from its source in Pumlumon in the Cambrian Mountains. Afon Clarach, around a little over two miles north of Afon Rheidol, is a smaller river flowing into Cardigan Bay to the north of Llanbadarn Fawr. As they currently stand, Afon Clarach and Afon Rheidol do not converge, and it is unclear where exactly the eastern extent of the territory granted is, although the source of the rivers in the Cambrian Mountains would be a possibility. Nevertheless, this clearly refers to the area of land between Afon Rheidol and Afon Clarach, which would include the immediate vicinity of Llanbadarn Fawr and a substantial territory to the east of it.

22 Rosina Uallis is the name of the valley where David settles (VS Dauid (Vesp), §§3, 15, 16). Its literal meaning in Latin is ‘Rosy Valley’, but Rosina is possibly based upon the Welsh word Rhosan ‘little marsh’, which occurs in several place-names close to St Davids (Wade-Evans 1923: 68).

23 This pilgrimage to Jerusalem also occurs in VS Dauid (Vesp), §§44–8; VS Teliaui (LL), §§7–8; VS Teliaui (Vesp), §§7–8. Verbal and structural similarities indicate that the version here is directly related to that in the other lives (LWS 176). Given the focus on David, it appears to have originated in a Life of David, although it is unclear whether Rhygyfarch’s Life of David predates this Life of Padarn.

24 Tunica ex toto contexta (a completely woven tunic). This tunic possibly features in the englyn to Padarn in the hand of Ieuan ap Sulien (Russell 2012). The original reference may have been to tunica ex auro contexta (a tunic woven from gold): cf. VS David (Vesp), §48.

25 Britannia here would appear to refer to Wales rather than the island of Britain. If so, it is noteworthy that these three saints whose major foundations are in the south are apparently given supremacy over North Wales as well. Note the more specific reference to the three southern kingdoms of the Welsh below (§30).
But when Padarn was resting in the church, after such an effort on the sea, a certain monarch called Arthur was walking around the regions at both ends. On a certain day, he came to the monastery of St Padarn the bishop. And while he was addressing Padarn, he looked at the tunic. Pierced by the fervour of greed, he sought to obtain it so that it should become his own. Responding, the saint said, ‘This tunic is not suitable for the dress of any malign person, but for the dress of clergy.’ He went out of the monastery raging. And he returns again indignant, so that he should take away the tunic, against the advice of his companions. But one of Padarn’s pupils, seeing him returning in a rage, ran up to St Padarn, and said, ‘The monarch who previously went out from here is returning. Taunting, pressing down, he beats the ground with the soles of his feet.’ Padarn responds, ‘Rather, let the ground engulf him.’ When this was said, at once the earth opens the cavity of its depths. And it engulfs Arthur up to his chin. Acknowledging his offence there and then, he begins to praise God and Padarn equally, until, seeking to obtain forgiveness, the land sent him upwards. From that place on bended knees he asked the saint insistently for forgiveness. The saint was lenient to him. But he took Padarn as his eternal protector, and thus he departed.

Arthur, like Maelgwn Gwynedd, features as a secular anti-hero here. Although this may be surprising to modern audiences, Arthur plays such a role in certain other Latin saints’ lives from Wales as well: VS Cadoci §22; VS Carantoci §4 (Tatlock 1939).

Angela Kinney identifies a hexameter here: subiciens plantis terram placat respondit. The fifth foot, unusually, is a spondee rather than a dactyl, although instances of this are attested elsewhere (Flaucher 2008: 34; cf. Norberg 2004: 58). Kinney notes that the use of a spondee may be artful here, making the line heavy and slow, fitting its description of Arthur hitting the ground over and over with his feet. Thomas and Howlett 2003: 29 argue that subiciens and placat (for subigiens and plagat) indicate ‘equation of voiced g with unvoiced c’. In the Welsh of this period, <c> certainly was used for /g/, and it is not impossible that this had an influence on Latin orthography here, although Howlett provides no other examples. As the apparent use of <c> for /g/ occurs in both these words in this verse here, it is retained in the edition.

Latin patronus ‘protector’ can also refer to a bishop (DMLBS s.v. patronus 2), and this meaning seems relevant here too, given the text’s continual focus on Padarn’s episcopal status.
§22

In those days, Caradog, by an alternative name Breichfras, expanded his kingdom beyond the limits even of Britain. And coming to Brittany, he took it into his kingdom. But the Bretons came to him saying, unless you will have previously summoned our Padarn to us from Brittannia, you will not be able to find us easily appeased.' But Caradog, going through the circuit of his kingdom, at last came to that city which St Padarn then inhabited. Moreover, this land was called Heli Plain before Padarn came. But now it is called the mother city of St Padarn. For he inhabited those three churches in stringent penance for twenty-one years. That is, seven in the maritime church, and seven in that middle one called of the Holy Cross, where he overcame Graban and Terillan. And in seven final years after the period of episcopal office living for God alone in the contemplative life he remained in that great church of his. And so Caradog asks him with eager prayers, that at last he should go to the instruction of Brittany. And Padarn, not wanting to resist the authority through the apostolic instruction, agreed to make his way there. And he indicated to the king that he should establish privileges to last forever for his churches. There and then the word of the king speaking follows. 'In my time indeed, may your churches be as islands of the great sea. And I, who sit on the highest throne of the kingdom of the Britons, say that, whatever king or king's son or duke should damage this privilege, may either his days or his genealogy be shortened, or may he not be counted on earth, or may he occupy

29 Brechras (stout-arm) is written in standard Old Welsh orthography in Vespasian, equivalent to Modern Welsh Breichfras. Caradog Freichfras occurs in a number of other medieval Welsh texts, where he is often associated with Arthur (WCD 102–4).

30 Heli means in Welsh ‘salt water’ and by extension ‘sea’, and the Latin Campus Heli ‘Heli Plain’, may be a translation of a Welsh Maes Heli. It indicates the proximity of Padarn’s main foundation to the sea, which indeed is true of Llanbadarn Fawr.

31 This is unidentified but must have been on the Welsh coast.

32 Crucis Agā is emended to Crucis Agie here. This is unidentified, but the reference to Padarn overcoming Graban and Terillan (§§15–18) indicates the church is near aon Clarach, to the north of Llanbadarn Fawr (Thomas and Howlett 2003: 98–9).

33 This must refer to Padarn’s main foundation of Llanbadarn Fawr, Ceredigion (pace Doble 1940: 22; WCD 523).

34 Cf. Acts 1.8.

35 The author might be utilizing the ambiguity of the reference to Britannorum here. It maintains its power in both a Welsh and British context, and so Caradog’s statement stands regardless of whether the authority of the time is a Welsh ruler or those subject to the most powerful ruler in all Britain.
eternal hell. And all the people and the king’s army and all the pupils of St Padarn responded ‘Amen.’

§23
And so St Padarn, saying farewell to his brothers whom he left here to control his churches, and comforting them so that they should not fail in their troubles but should always pray to the lord in all things through him, he reached Brittany, where he suffered many things from false brothers. For as soon as he got there, the news of that filled all Brittany.

§24
Now at that time Samson, whom all the Bretons glorified as foremost in sanctity, was walking through the ecclesiastical districts, so that the churches of all the Breton saints should pay their share to his bishopric both at that time and forever after. But it so happened that he came to places near to the town of Vannes, next to which St Padarn the bishop built a monastery.

§25
Then one of Samson’s monks, malignly perusing, said to Samson, ‘Send word to the saint recently come from Brittania, so that you may test his humility. And command him by a messenger that, whatever state he may be in when the messenger comes, he should hasten to you in that state without making an excuse.’ Now Samson, accepting this advice simple-heartedly, and sensing no trick in it, sent a messenger. Moreover, the messenger came to the saint without delay. He found Padarn dressed with a boot and stocking on one foot, the other remaining bare. The servant announces the errand in his way. But Padarn, foreseeing future things, did not delay: he goes to his purpose. That malicious monk, author of the evil counsel, sneers at Padarn semi-clothed about his feet. There and then, seized by a demon, he falls down to the earth. And soon Samson understands the cause, that is, that he was the creator of the wicked test against St Padarn. But then he greets him in friendship. He seeks forgiveness, and Padarn gives it. He restores the weary man. He banishes the devil. The lord is honoured in St Padarn.

36 The use of such curses is common in charter material: cf. VS Cadoci §§55–68; Davies 1979: 9.
37 Vannes is a city on the south-west coast of Brittany. St Paternus of Vannes was attested as its bishop in 465, and the mixing of Paternus of Vannes with Padarn of Llanbadarn Fawr is responsible for the prominent role Vannes plays in this text (Doble 1940: 3–4).
38 Brittania could refer to either Wales or Britain here.
§26

Then St Samson also established that, although every bishopric in the whole of Brittany would render payment to St Samson, yet the bishopric of St Padarn should be made free from every human obligation; and whoever would not recognise this law in the churches of St Padarn and in their possessions in Brittany and in Wales would be destroyed by the same curses by which king Caradog condemned him. And the entire choir of the clerics of Brittany replied, ‘Amen. Amen.’

§27

Moreover, the town of Vannes is the seat of the bishopric of St Padarn, in which Peter the Apostle holds one church. For he commended through a command that, except for a single hall of Caradog’s, the honour and reputation and fame of that town would always be dedicated to St Padarn. After such great things, the saints of the seven bishoprics of all Brittany established that they would come together on one mountain and confirm their unity to continue forever. In that synod, Padarn, very wearied by jealous and false brothers, confirming his unity with the six foremost saints, and he being the seventh following the number of sevenfold grace, and fearing in case he might in some even slight way become angry through their unbearableness, leaving

39 Britannia most probably refers to Wales here, although this naturally would not exclude its wider reference to the island of Britain.

40 From this point on, the contemporary corrector gives up changing Let(t)ia to Letauia, but it still clearly refers to Brittany.

41 Both Wade-Evans and Howlett make Caradog the explicit subject of the main clause here, without mentioning him in the following subordinate clause (‘Caradog by command enjoined’ / ‘For through an order Caradog commended’). This is problematic, as the only instance of Caradog (Caradauc) in the sentence occurs after the ut ‘that’. It appears easier to view Caradauc here as an unmarked genitive, which often occurs when Welsh names are used, and take it together with the single hall: excepta sola aula Caradauc ‘except for a single hall of Caradog’s / for Caradog’. The subject of the main clause is not explicit, but is more likely to be Samson than Caradog, given that Samson establishes the free status of the bishopric in the previous section. A further difficulty is that the church of Peter the Apostle (Vannes Cathedral) has just been mentioned, and that this might be expected to be the sole building not dedicated to Padarn, rather than Caradog’s hall. It is possible that Caradauc here therefore derives from the incorporation at an incorrect point of a marginal note, especially given that Caradauc also occurs just three lines above in Vespasian.

42 The holy spirit was associated with seven gifts or graces (wisdom, understanding, counsel, fortitude, knowledge, piety, fear of the lord), this association deriving from Isaiah 11.2–3 (Cross 1957: 1245).
Brittany, he went to the Franks. And there he fell asleep in the lord on the fifteenth of the month of April. For the Bretons celebrate three of his festivals. That is, the first day of November, when he established perpetual unity with the six foremost saints of Brittany, and the day of his death, and the day on which he accepted the rank of the office of bishop, that is, the twentieth of the month of June.

§28

But after the death of St Padarn a painful famine set upon Brittany. For in the space of three years after his death neither dew or rain fell throughout all Brittany. Everyone seeks out the cause of the shortage and of such heat. They discover at last that St Padarn, afflicted by jealous and false brothers, had left Brittany. Having taken counsel, everyone proceeded to the place of his burial among the Franks, and they intend that they should transport his relics with them honourably, which they could not complete. For the whole army could not transport even one of his bones. And so they were agitated. They did not know what they should do. At last a certain noble from the town of Vannes intervened and said, ‘While St Padarn was alive, he always asked me for my threshing floor, so that he might establish the foundation of his church there. And so, because I deprived him of his request while he was alive, I will give this after his death. And so let him rise, let him take hold of the honour, let him receive his request.’ When this was said, they lifted the box of relics from the ground. Even two or one carry it easily. They come to Brittany. They bury the relics honourably amid hymns and spiritual songs in the threshing floor of the nobleman mentioned above.
§29

So it was done, that just as the temple of Solomon was built honourably for God on the threshing floor of Ornan the Jebusite,\(^{47}\) so the Bretons ordained to build a beloved temple to Christ on the threshing floor of that nobleman around the relics of St Padarn. And another city was built among the Franks where he had first been buried. And so in the town of Vannes his relics await the Day of Judgement happily. But his soul rejoices in heaven, in the unity of the nine celestial ranks, in the unity of saints, bishops, confessors, and apostles, in the unity excelling all unity, that is, in the unity of the Trinity, of the father and the son and the holy spirit. Therefore we beseech the highest saint Padarn, that as he lives happily in heaven, so may we also live through his intercession in the celestial kingdom, for ever and ever. Amen.

Here begins the possession of the fields of St Padarn the bishop.

§30

With the patriarch of Jerusalem present, the three southern kingdoms of the Welsh moved into the shelter of the three bishoprics of the three saints.\(^{48}\) The kingdom of Seisyll\(^{49}\) received the consecration of churches and the fixing of ecclesiastical ranks and the confirmation of episcopal baptism,\(^{50}\) and chrismal oil, and all due episcopal things, from the bishopric of St Padarn. Moreover the kingdom of Rhein\(^{51}\) received these aforementioned privileges from the bishopric

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\(^{47}\) See 2 Chronicles 3.1.

\(^{48}\) Here we find a use typical of Latin texts from Wales of *dextralis* to mean ‘southern’, paralleling the vernacular use of *deau* for both ‘right’ and ‘southern’ in Welsh.

\(^{49}\) Seisyllwg (the kingdom of Seisyll ap Clydog (ruled c. 730)) is supposed to have contained the four cantrefs of Ceredigion and the three cantrefs of Ystrad Tywi (HW 257). *Pwyll Penduac Dyuet* (variously dated between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries) provides the evidence for this (PKM 27) and, while little can be known for certain about the historic kingdom in the eighth century, it is plausible that our late eleventh-century hagiographer also identified Seisyllwg with Ceredigion and Ystrad Tywi. Seisyll ap Clydog also occurs in genealogical tracts (EWGT 12, 47, 49, 100). The document here appears to make the claim for a bishopric based at Llanbadarn Fawr and covering the extent of Seisyllwg.

\(^{50}\) Bishops, unlike priests, were able to administer the rite of confirmation (Cross 1957: 173).

\(^{51}\) On the basis of this passage, Rheinwg (less commonly Rheinwg) has been associated with the kingdom of Dyfed, as it is presented as the territory of the diocese of St Davids: HW 281–2. However, the evidence is generally unclear, and elsewhere Rheinwg can be associated with Brycheiniog: Bartrum 1970.
of St David. And the kingdom of Morgan received the due episcopal things from St Teilo. And so the city of St Padarn the bishop is one of three episcopal sites among the southern Welsh. But how his aforementioned own territory was given to St Padarn is by a miracle, which St Padarn carried out against Maelgwn.

§31

Now at a certain time, while St Padarn the bishop was inhabiting his monastery, it happened that one of his attendants was visiting the woods for the monastery’s necessity. He ran into thieves and was killed. But when he did not return, the men of the church doubted why he should make a delay. But the cause of his delay was divulged all the way to the ears of Padarn the bishop. Hearing this and going to the forest, he called his attendant by his own name, saying, ‘Respond, Reaus, to your teacher.’ Then the head, torn away from the dead body, responded, ‘I am here, lord.’ At this sound, the bishop reached the place of response, where he saw the head of the attendant separated from the body. And having raised his eyes to heaven, he blessed the whole corpse. With the blessing of the blessed man, head and body were put together, and the attendant rose up alive. They both gave thanks for Christ’s miracle. Moreover, news of his revival reached a nobleman called Eithir by name. Stirred up by the power of the miracle, he went to the bishop, saying, ‘The malicious killers of your attendant are my men. And in case divine vengeance should seize me for agitating your soul, I seek forgiveness. And so that I should make your mind conciliatory towards me, I will devote part of the finest area of land to you with no-one having the right to reclaim taxes. This is from the bank of Liuluuin, between two rivers, that is Rheidol.
and Paith,\textsuperscript{58} up to the seashore.’ St Padarn gave him a pardon and, predicting, ‘Before you finish your life you will please the lord, and you will be honourably buried in the cemetery of this place. Rites will be celebrated for you by this choir forever.’ He was the one whom they call by his vernacular name Eithir son of Arthad.

\textsuperscript{58} Afon Rheidol (see §19) flows just south of Llanbadarn Fawr and Nant Paith is a stream flowing around a mile south of the Rheidol. Eithir ap Arthad thus grants Padarn an area south of Llanbadarn Fawr, extending eastwards from the sea between Afon Rheidol and Nant Paith: cf. the grant of land between Afon Rheidol and Afon Clarach at §19. The forms of Afon Rheidol and Afon Paith occur in their expected Old Welsh orthography here as \textit{Retiaul} (see also §19) and \textit{Peit}.
Vita Sancti Paterni (Vespasian A. xiv)

edited by David Callander

Introduction
Edited Text
Translation
References

Manuscript

Vespasian A. xiv contains the only full copy of the Life of Saint Padarn. The only other version of the Life is that abbreviated by John of Tynemouth, which has been edited separately (VS Paterni (JT)). The text was written by scribe H on quires 11 and 12. It was also corrected by a contemporary scribe with reference to the exemplar.

VESPA\NEW{IAN A. XIV, 80v–84v}

Note on transcription. The following abbreviations are used: Æ (x61), ampersand (x4), the homothetic sign [z] (x17). Single curly brackets are used for the contemporary corrector, double curly brackets for other annotators.

TRANSCRIPTION

{80v}

7\hspace{1em}X\hspace{1em}ristus\textsuperscript{1} filius dei uiiu tercia trinitatis Incipit Vita Sancti Paterni episcopi.
8\hspace{1em}diuin\textsuperscript{e} persona coeternus et consubstancialis\textsuperscript{2} patri et spiritui sancto dedit hoc preceptum ecclesie. ut affectantius pr\textsc{ouocaret} hominum mentes ad religio=
9\hspace{1em}nem,\ pollicendo illis geminam mercedem. id est hic centuplum. et uitam eter=
10\hspace{1em}nam infuturo. Lucas uero euangelista discipulus sancti pauli apostoli. medicus corporis et anime hoc preceptum ob communem christianorum salutem scrip=
11\hspace{1em}sit. Talis autem est sensus istius precepti. Qui pr\textsc{opter} regnum dei accipien=

\textsuperscript{1} X\hspace{1em}ristus The X is a two-line coloured initial. This would normally be transcribed as Ch under our conventions, but it is retained here so as to highlight that this is an individual large initial.

\textsuperscript{2} consubstancialis The final s is possibly changed from a minim.
V. S. PATERNI (VESPAVISION) ed. CALLANDER

14 dum omnes affectus contemserit. et omnes scilicet diuicias luxusque calcaverit. 
15 multo plura in presenti recipiet. quoniam a fratribus atque consortibus propositi 
16 sui. qui ei spirituali glutino colligantur. multo graciorem etiam in hac uita 
17 caritatem recipiet. Hanc siquidem caritatem quam inter parentes ac filios 
18 atque germanos. et coniuges. et propinquos. siue societas copule. seu 
19 consanguinitatis necessestitudo3 coniungit. satis breuem constat esse 
20 ac fragorem. Qui igitur propert regnum dei temporalia spernunt. etiam in hac uita 
21 eiusdem regni gaudia certa fide degustant. atque4 inexpectatione 
22 patrie celestis. omnium pariter electorum sincerissima dilectione fruuntur. 
23 Ex quibus est sanctus paternus episcopus. qui terrenam hereditatem derelinquens 
24 ac exilium usitans sumnum regni celestis fieri heredem. atque ciuem con=
25 cupuiuit. Qui gente quidem armoricus fuit. parentibus5 autem nobilibus 
26 ortus est. Petro scilicet patre. Matre uero guean. Qui uno conuentu uten=
27 tes. genunrent sanctum paternum. Postea uero se sempiterno deo seruicio 
28 dedicauerunt. Nam petranus illico lexia6iam deserens. hiberniam expetuiit. 
29 Graciosa itaque apparuit natiuitas sancti paterni. per quem pater eius sanctus effec=
30 tus est;6 et mater eius famula christi effecta. religiosam uiam duxit inernum. 
31 Conuenienti igitur ordine6 a deo preuisum est.7 ut sicut christus ex summo patre. 
32 deus de deo. 
33 lumen de lumine ortus est. ita paternus sanctus ex sanctis parentibus nascetur. 
34 Illico enim ut natus est ille, christum sequi elegerunt. At paternus mox ut 
35 sensit aliquid ratione in mundo. interrogat matrem cum qua derelictus 
36 fuerat. quem patrem habuisset. Viueret. an non. Aut si uiueret. ubi

3 necessestitudo The scribe originally wrote the letter c twice, but erased a portion of the second c in order to form an c.
4 atque There appears to have been an erasure after the a.
5 parentibus Possible erasure beneath the p.
6 lexiaiam A letter has been deleted, with ‘ta’ being added in its place and ‘u’ above in superscript. (margin) ([..]morica [...]ue letauia [...]tan-[]) minor.). Howlett reads (almost certainly correctly) ‘ar]morica / [si]ue letauia / [b]rittan- /[ni]a minor.’ Methods such as multispectral imaging might allow further letters to be read.
7 This symbol could either be a punctus with a poorly executed addition, or a punctus elevatus with the upper stroke erased.
erat. Et cur alibi moraretur, ac non potius in propria hereditate mansitasset.

Cui lacrimando mater respondit. Pater tuus quidem uiiuit, et plus deo
quam mundo. Pertexit autem hinc, ad hiberniam. Vbi ieiunat
orat. uigilat. meditatur. miseretur. dormit. in psiathico, genuflecit=
tit alto domino. quot diebus. quotidque noctibus. Tunc adolescens spiritu sancto
desper flante

confortatus ait. Quo ergo modo meliore potest filius uiiueret, quam boni patris
imitatione. Nam si rex sit pater illum imitari in regimine filius appetit.

Itaque moias si non assequar patrem meum per semitas quasi elegit. In
illo tempore corus ecclesiasticus monachorum letet deserens. brittan =
nie meditabantur oras appetere. Nam sicut hiemale ariam ar=

ridente uere animos extollens. et augende proli prudenter insistens.

aliud primum precipuumque foras emittit examen. ut alibi mellificet.

ita lecta accrescente serenitate religionis catera sanctorum ad originem
unde exierunt. transmittitur subter ducibus ketinlau. Catman. Titechen. Hac
etiam prouocatus fama sanctus iuuenis paternus. cinxit se cum ceteris inexitium
non egner senioribus. sed quantum iunior tanto inlabando feruenti=
or. etatem suam in religiosis moribus transcendebat. Itaque conueniunt
omnes chori ad transnaugigandum. britanniam unanime petentes. Mox
paternus quartus dux cohortis efficitur. non postulacione sua. sed conso=
brini eius uidentes illum properare ad culmen perfectionis. statuerunt
dicentes. Quoniam dominus prefecit te in moribus. oportet ut preesse debe=
as in populis. ad exemplum uite. Prospero igitur nauigio omnes clerici oras
insule brittanorum tenent. Paternum secuntur. octingenti. xlvii.
monachi. capit sanctus cum sanctis locum. in ecclesia cognitione mauritana
ubi sanctus paternus postea miraculo honesto claruit. Edificauit itaque
mox ibi monasterium. Postquam autem edificauit templum ac monas=
terium subequonix. et proposito. et decano statuit; reminisci=

vita sanctorum cambriae
tur sui patris. Benedict fratribus. licentiām accipit. hiberniam na=
uiagat. patrem usitat. inuicem resalutant. gratias summo deo
christo agunt. tandem simul sedent. At tunc temporis inhiber=
nia reges duarum prouinciarum discordant. [discordab[...]]12 Vastationes abin=
uiicem orientur.13 Rapiuntur prede. Domus cremantur. consur=
gunt bella. cadunt fratres. terra adinternicionem13 et solitudinem de=
solatur. Tandem misericors arbitër orbis. solita misertus prōi=
dentia. causam insperate pacis. ad episcopum cuiuslibet ciuitatis

{81v}

nuper
2 ex bruttania uenientis uiderit nunquam placabuntur adiniuicem re=
ges maliciosi. Extimplo legati mittuntur. Paternum honorifice adu=
cant. exercitus conuocantur. paternum in medio statuunt. Gracia uul=
8 Tunc omnes dominum magnificant. inseruo suo paterno[2] ac omnes bene=
dicentes dixerunt. Sit semper tibi signum pacis per quod clarescat nomen
tuum interra.15 dum uias. et post mortem. Quod impetur in mune=
re cirguen.16 Tanta namque utilitas baculi istius est[4] ut si qui
duo discordantes sint; per eius coniuracionem pacentur. De chri
dicitur. quod bonus pastor agnoscit que sint eius oues. secundum quod
preceptum sanctus paternus fratres quos in britannia reliequerat[2] in me=
moriam reducit. Vale dicit patri. benedictur a patre. Britanni
im ad=
ii. fratres incoluines corpore et animo inuenit. Inter quos niman=
non ualens[2] ad oram maris uenit. quandamque petram inuenit. in qua
stetit et ait. Si domino deo sunt placita que meditor[2] et si uere sanctus est pater=

12 discordant The contemporary corrector has placed deletion marks below discordant and added discordab[...] in
the right margin, with signes de renvoi. The punctus following discordant has been changed to a punctus elevatus.
13 adinternicionem Erasure has taken place around the final e.
14 diaboli There appears to be a deletion behind the b.
15 interra The i appears to be written over a partially erased mark.
16 cirguen (margin) [[.] nomine(?) baculi pacificantur]. Howlett's 'in nomine baculi / pacificantur' appears correct.
VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

20 nus ille quem assequi uolo. surgat petra. et nata\(^{(e)}\)\(t^{(super)}\) equora. so=
21 lidentur unde. obduret pelagus ne mergat lapidem. uhar
22 \{que\} ad dominum incolmis ducem sanctum patronum\(^{17}\). Dicto ce\(^{i}\)c\(^{i}\)us\(^{18}\) mirabi=
23 li nauigio. maritimam e\(^{(e)}\)clesiam in oris bruttannie petit. Salu=
24 tatur a fratibus. suam historiam narrat. Dominum deum omnes una uoce
25 magnificent insanctis suis. qui humile uotum nimannauc
26 impleuit. et uirute summi sancti sui manifestauit. id est paterni.
27 Tunc Paternus monasteria. et ecclesias per totam cereticam regionem
29 Nimannauc. Sanctus\(^{19}\) igitur Paternus lampas in doctrina. et opere effectus est per
totam
30 britanniam. Interea mulgun rex\(^{20}\) borealium brittonum australiae Britta\(N\)=
31 nos ad debellandos et subiciendos uisitans. cum forti exercitu adusque
32 hostium fluminis clarua uenit. Ac quonium ipse semper temptator sancto=
33 rum aderat. duos preto\(x\)s\(^{21}\)\(s\) precedere iussit. ut sanctum paternum a=
34 liquo malicioso modo temptarent. Dicebantur autem graban. et te=
35 rillan. Illi nequiter scrutantes\(^{1}\) uenerunt ad percliuuum Clarauch. fis=

\{82r\}

1 cos musco. et glarea imple\(\)t. thesauros regales assimulant ad
2 sanctum a\(p\)\(\) portandos.\(^{22}\) Custodi\(e\) hos mandant.\(e\) dum rex prospere reuertatur.
3 Sanctus annuit. deponi iubet. illos inueniendos esse.\(^{23}\) sicut reliqui fue=
4 rant affirmat. Rex preterit. preto\(r\)es\(^{24}\) secuntur. Pacifice reuertitur
5 rex. pacatis britannis. Et misit pretones\(^{25}\) malignos.\(^{1}\) ut temptarent

\(^{17}\) patronum Part of the first n has been erased to form the r.
\(^{18}\) ce\(\text{cius}\) The scribe originally wrote cccius, but erased part of the second c to form an i.
\(^{19}\) Sanctus Possible erasure beneath the c.
\(^{20}\) mulgun rex borealium brittonum (margin) {{\(\text{ailgun Gwyneth}\)}}
\(^{21}\) preto\(x\)s\(^{2}\)s The first of a number of ambiguous examples of precones or pretores. The erasure is so messy that it
difficult to read both the original and added text.
\(^{22}\) a\(p\)\(\) portandos The added first p seems to have been partially erased and may have been changed from a d.
\(^{23}\) esse Marks appear to have been erased below each e.
\(^{24}\) preto\(r\)es The second 'r' appears to have been redrawn in lighter ink (perhaps from an original n) and some erasure
made between the p and the t, as in other examples of this word, perhaps to turn the t into a c.
\(^{25}\) pretones There is an erasure between and the p and the t, perhaps to turn the t into a c.
sanctum. Tunc celeriter cellam adeunt. fiscos attolunt, interant. muscos et glareas deponunt. Proterue exclamant omnes regis thesauros furtim raptos. et pro eis glareas. et muscos esse inmis=
so. Sanctus e contra respondit. ut dimissos, ita for inuentos. At illi
ruinam totius cellae minabantur. sinon tesauri redderentur. A rege autem
antea per totam britanniam edictum fuerat. ut omnis mendax aqua
feruentissima deprehenderetur. Tunc in fereuor spiritus iubet pater=

misit. que deposita alba ac frigida ut nix apparuit. Mox
coguntur precoes. ut manus suas in aquam mittant. Mox manus eorum
exustae maliciam mentium declarant. Et extimplo precoes toti combus=

tur. Paternus suam manum ilico in aquam feruentissimi ardoris

in san
tum. Ilico rex paternum adiit. cui genu flectit. hodie uocatur id est Grabani. Tunc
rex ipsa mailgun in sua statione eccatur oculus. infirmatur corde. ge=
nibus titubat. se moriturum confitetur. propter reatum sue nequiciae
in sanctum paternum. Illico rex paternum adiit. cui genu flectit. indul=
geniam petit. Ac sanctus paternus, indulgentiam dedit. Rex ille remu=
nerat quantitate agri. id est ab ostio fluminis Retiaul. sursum
uersi donec confinium amnis clarauch in capite tangit. et per
longitudinem eiusdem amnis adusque mare prolongatur terminus.
In illa hora rex sanatur oculus. vegetatur corde. genibus subsistit.
Pacabiles ab inuicem recedunt. sanctus paternus. et rex. deus autem in pa=
terno. paternusque in deo. per hoc miraculum. Cum hec aguntur celestis
nuntius ad sanctum daui in rosina ualle christo deo seruientem ue=
nit. et ait illi. Surge. et uade in ierusalem. ut ibi ordineris. Adde
tibi duos condignos comites. qui pariter ordinentur. id est pa=

26 eneo (margin with a signe de renvoi) [cacabo].
27 precoes The r has been changed to an n through the addition of a second minim.
28 precoes The t has been partially erased to change it into a c, and the r has been changed to an n through the addition of a second minim.
29 flectit The corrector has added a ct ligature.
30 daui The corrector changed the c to a d through the addition of a final long vertical stroke.
VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

33 ternum. et Teliau.\textsuperscript{31} Mox dauie\textsuperscript{d}\textsuperscript{32} ad illos misit. Illi nec mora uene=
34 runt. Perrexerunt pariter trans barbaras gentes;\textsuperscript{j} graciām lingua=
35 rum accipientes. Nam essent uiri unius lingue unumquamque ho=

\{82v\}

1 minem propria lingua in qua natus fuerat alloquebantur perue=
2 runt tandem adusque ierusalem. Ibique predicant nobilissima post
3 apostolos predicatione. postea per impositionem manus patriarche,
4 episcopi ordinati sunt illi tres Sancti. Inde muneribus ditati sunt. Paternus
5 quidem duplici munere ditatus est baculo uidelicet. et tunica ex
6 toto (con)\textsuperscript{x}\textsuperscript{e}x. Reue\textsuperscript{si} sunt feliciter. Diuiserunt britanniam intres
7 episcopatus suos nisi postea malicia tirannorum turbaret. Cum autem
8 paternus esset in ecclesia requiescens. post tantum laborem marinam,
9 deambulabat quidam tirannus regiones altrinsecus arthur\textsuperscript{33} no=
10 mine. Qui quadam die uenit ad cellam sancti paterni episcoпи. Et dum paternum
11 alloqueretur\textsuperscript{34} asperxit tunica. Quam confossus xxx \textsuperscript{x} \textsuperscript{e} \textsuperscript{o} \textsuperscript{i}\textsuperscript{5}\textsuperscript{35} auaricie
12 petiuit ut sua fieret. Respondens sanctus ait. Non habitu cuiuslibet
13 maligni hec tunica condigna est\textsuperscript{j} sed habitu clericatus. Ille baecan=
14 do monasteriu exiuit. Iterumque indignando reuertitur. ut tol=
15 leret tunica\textsuperscript{36} contra comitu\textsuperscript{37} suoru\textsuperscript{m} consilia. Unus autem disci=
16 pulorum paterni uidens illum in furore reuertente cucurrit ad
17 sanctum paternum\textsuperscript{j} et ait. Tirannus qui hinc antea exiuit reuer=
18 titur. insultans. subiciens\textsuperscript{36} plantis terram placat. Respondit
19 paternus. Immo absorbet eum tellus. Cum dicto statim terra
20 aperit sinum sue\textsuperscript{3} profunditatis\textsuperscript{37} Absorbetque arthurum adusque

\textsuperscript{31} Teliau Something has been erased between the i and the a.
\textsuperscript{32} dauie\textsuperscript{d} The corrector changed the c to a d through the addition of a final long vertical stroke.
\textsuperscript{33} arthur (margin) {{Arthurus Tirannus deu\textsuperscript{e}\textsuperscript{teru}\textsuperscript{s}}} (deu\textsuperscript{e}\textsuperscript{teru}\textsuperscript{s} is Howlett’s expansion, meaning Greek for second).
\textsuperscript{34} alloqueretur There appears to be an erasure above the r.
\textsuperscript{35} \textsuperscript{x}\textsuperscript{e}\textsuperscript{o}\textsuperscript{i}\textsuperscript{5}\textsuperscript{35} The first character deleted here is in fact an x.
\textsuperscript{36} subiciens (margin) \textsuperscript{i}\textsuperscript{el} subiecta (possibly in the main hand). The scribe does not make clear where subiecta might be inserted. The abbreviation mark above terra is smudged, and it is possible that the scribe viewed ‘subiecta ... terra’ as an alternative interpretation.
\textsuperscript{37} The contemporary corrector adds a downward leaning horizontal line between profunditatis and Absorbetque.
mentum. Qui illico agnoscent suum reatum. incipit deum pariter
paternumque laudaret, donec terret. Ab illicio loco sanctum flexis genibus poposcit indulgentiam.
Cui sanctus indulsit. (ille aure) Paternum quoque sibi sempiternum acceptit
patronum, ac sic discissit. In illis diebus caradauc cognomen=
to brecbras38 transterminos etiam brittanici regnum suum di=
latauit. Et ad letaui39 ueniens illum cepit imperio. Armorici=
autem uenerunt ad illum dicentes. nisi paternum nostratem
ad nos plerique luocaueris ex britannia, non nos placabiles poteris
inuenire. At caradauc deambulans per circitum regni
sui. tandem uenit adusque istam ciuitatem, quam tunc incole=
bat sanctus paternus. Hec autem terra antequam paternus ue=
niret, campus heli dicebatur. Nunc autem metropolis sancti
paterni dicitur. Nam XXI° annis istas tres ecclesias in arcta peni=
tencia incoluit. Hoc est VII in maritima VIItemque in

media illa nomine crucis agā40 ac ubi grabanum et terillanum ui=
cit. Ac septem ultimis post episcopatum soli deo intheorica uiuens,
in ista magna sua ecclesia mansit. Caradauc itaque obnixis preci=
bus illum rogitat, ut tandem ad documentum letie41 pergeret. At pa=
ternus per apostolicum preceptum potestati resistere nolens, consensit pergere.
Innuitque regi ut leges ineternum permansuras ecclesiis sui statueret.
Illico uerbum regis sequitur dicentis. In te pore quide moe sint
ecclesia tue. ceu insule maris magni. Dicoque ego qui sedeo in sum=
ma cathedra regni brittanorum. ut si quis rex. aut filius regis. aut
dux hanc legem irritam fecerit. aut breuientur dies eius, aut eius ge=

38 caradauc ... brecbras (margin) {[caradwc .reghvras]} Howlett reads [c]aradauc / breghvras, although there appears to be an i before the g, following the reverse e form.
39 letaui39 (margin) {[letan"ia]}.
40 agā It is unclear how this abbreviation is to be expanded, perhaps to agie. There are marks connection the word to the preceding crucis and some signs of erasure at the base of the a. Wade-Evans retains agā, Howlett emends and classicizes to Aegiae.
41 letie (margin, with signe de renvoi) {letau.}.
VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAEE

nealogia. nec numeretur in terra. aut sempiternum infernum possideat.

Et respondit uniuersus populus, et exercitus regis\(^3\) et omnes sancti discipuli pater
ni, AMEN. Sanctus igitur paternus uale-dicens\(^{42}\) fratribus suis quos hic ad regendas
ecclesias suas reliquit, et confortans illos ne in tribulationibus suis defi-
cerent, sed in omnibus dominum per illum semper rogarent, ad letiam\(^{43}\) peruenit.
ubi
multa a falsis fratribus pertulit. Nam mox ut illuc peruenit, fama illius
totam letiam\(^{44}\) impleuit. Tunc autem samson quem precipuuum in sancritate
omnes armorici magnificabant. perambulabat parrochias. ut ec=

clesie omnium sanctorum armoricorum. census episcopatui eius\(^{10}\) et tunc et postea
solue=
rent internum. Contigit autem ut deueniret ad uicin\(\text{a}\) loca ur=
bis guenet.\(^{45}\) iuxta quam sanctus paternus episcopus monasterium edificase\(\text{u}\) t.

Tunc unus monachorum Samson\(^{10}\) maligne\(^{10}\) sc\(^{10}\) utans ait samsoni.
Mitre ad sanctum ex britannia nuper uenientem, ut probes eius humi=
litatem. Et manda eum nuntio. ut quocunque statu sit quando ueniet
ei nuntius, eodem inexcusabiliter ad te properet. Samson autem con=
silium simpliciter accipiens. ac nullam stropham in illo sens\(^{10}\)iens,
nuntium misit. Nuntius autem nec mora ad sanctum uenit. Paternum
induttum oscera. et caliga in uno pede inuenit\(^{13}\) altero nudo
manente. Serius nuntiat legationem per suum modum, pater=
nus autem futura preuidens non distulit. uadit ad consilium.
Maliciousus ille monachus auctor mali consili. paternum
semiuestitum pedibus subridet. Qui illico a\(^{10}\) reptus demonio in terram
cadit. \(\text{Moxq}\) samson causam intelligit, hoc est quod auctor nefan=
de temptationis in sancto paterno extiterat. At tunc pacifice sa=

\(^{42}\) uale-dicens The contemporary corrector added a horizontal line to connect uale and dicens.

\(^{43}\) letiam (margin, with signe de renvoi) \(\text{uid letaiam}\).

\(^{44}\) letiam (margin) \(\text{leta}u_j\).

\(^{45}\) guenet (margin, with a signe de renvoi) \(\text{id et spaud.}\). Note the use of runic wynn, rather than p. Cf. Cotton
Vespasian A. xiv fols. 15r, 27r (p for wynn), and 52r. These erroneous ‘snowdon’ glosses are important. They occur
as glosses on a number of different lives and are witnesses to a great ignorance of (north) Wales on the part of
whoever wrote them, who must have annotated Vespasian’s exemplar (or a manuscript further back in its textual
history), or another manuscript containing the lives upon which the contemporary corrector drew. The fact that
runic wynn (or p) is mistakenly used throughout shows that they have been copied and are not the contemporary
corrector’s invention.
lutat. indulgentiam petit. datque paternus. fatigatum sa=

{83v}

nat. diabolum pellit. honoratur dominus in sancto paterno. Tunc etiam sta=
tuit sanctus samson. ut quamuis omnes episcopatus totius letie\textsuperscript{46} censum sancto
samson\textsuperscript{[l]} rederent. episcopatus tamen sancti paterni liber ab omni homine fieret. Et
quicunque

hanc legem irritatm faceret. in ecclesiis sancti paterni. et inpossessionibus. carum in
letia\textsuperscript{47} et inbrittannia. eisdem maledictionibus quibus rex caradauc eum damna=
uit pereat. Et respondit uniuersus chorus clericorum letie\textsuperscript{[l]}; amen. amen.

Urbs autem Guenet\textsuperscript{48} sedes episcopatus sancti paterni est; in qua petrus apostolus
unam ecc=
cleiam tenet. Nam periussum commendauit ut excepta sola aula caradauc.
honor semper illius urbis. et nomen. et fama. dedicaretur. sancto paterno. Post
hec tanta statuerunt sancti septem episcopatum totius letie. ut conuenirent in
uno monte. et confirmarent suam unitatem in perpetuo mansuram. In
quia sinodo paternus multum ab inuidiosis. et falsis fratibus fatigatus con=
firmans unitatem suam cum precipuis sex sanctis. et ille septimus secundum nu=
merum septiformis gracie extans. timensque ne perintollerantiam illorum
aliquo uel tenui modo irasceretur. letiam deserens. francos aduit.
Ibique in domino obdormuit .XVII\textsuperscript{a}. kalendaram Maii Mensis. Nam tres illius
solemnitates armoricu colunt. hoc est istam diem kalendaram nouem=
bris. quando unitatem perpetuam statuit cum sex precipuis sanctis letic\textsuperscript{[l]}
et diem sui obitus. et diem qua ordinem episcopatus acceptit. id est .XII\textsuperscript{a}. kalendaram
iu=
lii Mensis. Post obitum autem sancti paterni letiam acra fami\textsuperscript{[e]}s inuasit.
Nam trium annorum spacio post mortem illius nec ros nec pluua

de celo per totam letiam\textsuperscript{49} ascendit. Inquirunt omnes causam penurie. et
tanti caumatis. Inuenerunt tandem quod sanctus paternus iniuri=
24
osis et falsis fratibus afflictus deserviisset letiam. Consilio inito per=

\textsuperscript{46} letie (margin with a signe de renvoi) \{letauie\}.
\textsuperscript{47} letia (margin with a signe de renvoi) \{letauia\}.
\textsuperscript{48} Urbs autem Guenet (margin) \{\{Guenet yrbs in .etavia\}\}.
\textsuperscript{49} letiam (margin) \{m. nor .rittannia\} Uncertain if contemporary corrector.
reverunt omnes ad locum sepulture eius, apud francos. Destination
que ut honorifice secum transportarent reliquias eius. Quod implere non
valuerunt. Nam etiam unum ex ossibus eius totus exercitus transpor-
tare non poterant. Turbati sunt itaque. nesciebant quid face-
rent. Tandum quidam nobilis ex urbe Guenet interuenit. et dix-
it. Dum uiueret sanctus paternus a me postulabat semper aeam
meam; ut ibi fundamentum sue ecclesie sustulerat. Quod itaque pri-
uaui illum sua peticione dum uiueret; ha[s]nc post mortem dona=
bo. Surgat itaque sumat honorem. peticionem accipiat. Cum
dicto scrinium reliquiarum a terra sustollunt. Faciliter etiam
duo uel unus portant. ad letiam ueniunt. reliquias. in ym="}
sanci paterni accepit. Regnum autem Rein\textsuperscript{53} hec predicta iura ab episcopa=

tu sanci dauid\textsuperscript{54} accepit. Ac regnum Morgant\textsuperscript{55} a sancto elieu\textsuperscript{4} episcopalia\textsuperscript{56} de=

bita suscipit. Itaque tercius episcopolis locus est apud dextrales britannos

ciuitas sanci paterni episcopi. Quomodo autem oblatum est proprium territorium

sanci paterni predictu\textsuperscript{m} est in miraculo. quod egit sanctus paternus contra Ma=

ilgun. Quodam uero tempore dum incoleret sanctus paternus episcopus cellam

suum. contigit ut quidam ministrorum eius necessario monasterii

siluas usitaret. Qui incidit in latrones occisus est. Illo autem non

reuerternt. dubitauerunt \textsuperscript{e}\textsuperscript{(e)} ecclesiastici uiiri. cur moram faceret. Sed

causa morarum illius diuulgata est, adusque aures pontificis pa=

terni. Quod audiens et siluam adiens uocavit ministrum suum proprio

nomine\textsuperscript{57} dicendo. Responde\textsuperscript{r} reaus magistro. Tunc capud reuul=

sum a cadauere\textsuperscript{(cl)} respondit. Hic assum domine. Cum qua uoce peruenit episcopus ad

locum responcionis, ubi uidit se-siunctum a corpore capud ministri.

Ac eleuatis oculis in celum benedixit totum cadauer. Cum benedictione

beati uiiri, \textsuperscript{φ} inuncta sunt capud et corpus. surrexit\textsuperscript{que} minister uiuens. Am=

bo egerunt gracias, inmiraculo christi. fama autem suscitationis eius

peruenit ad satrapam dictum nomine eithir.\textsuperscript{58} Qui commnotus uiurtue mi=

raculi.\textsuperscript{(cl)} adiuit episcopum inquiens. Mei sunt malie\textsuperscript{r} iosi interfector\textsuperscript{r} s

\{84v\}

1 tui ministri. Et ne ultio diuina per commmitionem\textsuperscript{59} tui animi

2 me anticipet.\textsuperscript{(cl)} ueniam peto. Et ut placabilem mentem tuam ad me

3 efficiam, partem agri elegantissimi dicabo tibi sine repeticione

4 census alicius hominis. Hoc est ab aggere liuluiuin inter duos

5 amnes. hoc est Retiaul. et peit. usque ad Horam maris. Cui sanctus pater=

6 nus indulgentiam dedit. ac prenuntians. Antequant finias uitam

\textsuperscript{53} Regnum autem Rein (margin) \{(Regnum Rej. \}.

\textsuperscript{54} episcopa=tu sanci dauid (margin) \{(Episcopatus Men...\}.

\textsuperscript{55} regnum Morgant (margin) \{(Regnum Mor...\}.

\textsuperscript{56} sancto eliu\textsuperscript{4} episcopalia (margin) \{(Episcopatus Teli...\} Howlett omits the last two of these, and episcopa... in the middle possibly by contemporary corrector.

\textsuperscript{57} \(r\) The mark appears thus, although it does not seem to be a question.

\textsuperscript{58} eithir (margin) \{(Eithir\}.

\textsuperscript{59} commmitionem The scribe has incorrectly written two instances of m as well as the abbreviation mark. The final instance of m and the following o appear to be written over partial erasures and perhaps changed from other letters.
tuam domino placebis. \( \alpha \) in cimiterio loci istius honorifice sepelie=
ris. tibi solemnitas apud hunc chorum in eternum celebrabitur.
Quem uocitant uulgari nomine. fuit eithir. Map Arthat.．
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