

Vita Sancti Paterni (Vespasian A. xiv)

edited by David Callander

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References

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 *Possessio 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 *Possessio 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 conuersatio atque uirtutes in sua continentur 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

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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 Emyr 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).

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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.

§I

Christus filius Dei uiui, tercia Trinitatis diuine persona, coeternus et consubstantialis 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

calcauerit, 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. Qui igitur 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 heredem 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 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, uiueret an non, aut si uiueret, ubi erat, et cur alibi moraretur, ac non potius in propria hereditate mansitasset. Cui lacrimando mater respondit. 'Pater tuus quidem uiuit, et plus Deo quam mundo. Perrexit autem hinc ad Hiberniam, ubi ieiunat, orat, uigilat, meditatatur, 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 imitatione? Nam si rex sit pater, illum imitari in regimine filius appetit. Itaque moriar, si non assequar 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

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prudenter insistens, aliud primum precipuumque foras emittit examen, ut alibi mellificet, ita Letauia accrescente serenitate religionis cateruam¹ 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 transnauigandum, Britanniam 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 debeas in populis ad exemplum uite.'

§7

Prospero igitur nauigio omnes clerici oras insule Brittanorum tenent. Paternum secuntur octingenti xlvii monachi. Capit sanctus cum sanctis locum, in ecclesia cognomento mauritana ubi sanctus Paternus postea miraculo honesto claruit. Edificauit itaque mox ibi monasterium.

§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

At tunc temporis in Hibernia reges duarum prouinciarum discordabant.² Vastationes abinuicem oriuntur. Rapiuntur prede. Domus cremantur. Consurgunt bella. Cadunt fratres. Terra ad internicionem et solitudinem desolatur.

¹ **cateruam** caterua V.

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

§10

Tandem misericors arbiter orbis, solita misertus prouidentia, causam insperate pacis ad episcopum cuiuslibet ciuitatis ecclesie per angelum suum mittit. Et ait, 'Nisi uterque exercitus uultus sancti nuper ex Bruttannia uenientis uiderit, nunquam placabuntur adinuicem reges maliciosi.' Extimplo legati mittuntur. Paternum honorifice aduocant. Exercitus conuocantur. Paternum in medio statuunt. Gracia uultus eius diaboli discordie propelluntur. Pax perpetua inter utrasque prouincias oritur. Eterna unitas nascitur a Deo, ut in signo unitatis hominum cadant ligna prouincie in casu lignorum alterius prouincie.

§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 impletur in munere Cirguen. Tanta namque utilitas baculi istius est, ut siqui duo discordantes sint per eius coniurationem pacentur.

§12

De Christo autem dicitur quod bonus pastor agnoscit que sint eius oues, secundum quod preceptum sanctus Paternus fratres, quos in Britannia reliquerat, in memoriam reducit. Vale dicit patri. Benedicitur a patre. Britanniam adiit. Fratres incolumes corpore et animo inuenit.

§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 incolumis duces sanctum Paternum.' Dicto cicius, mirabili nauigio maritimam ecclesiam in oris Bruttannie 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, Guinnus, Guippir, Nimannauc. Sanctus igitur Paternus lampas in

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doctrina et opere effectus est per totam Britanniam.

§15

Interea Mulgun, rex borealium Brittonum, australes Brittanos ad debellandos et subiciendos uisitans, 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

Illi nequiter scrutantes uenerunt ad percliuum Clarauch. Fiscos musco et glarea implent. Thesaurus regales assimilant ad sanctum apportandos. Custodire hos mandant dum rex prospere reuertatur. Sanctus annuit. Deponi iubet illos. Inueniendos esse sicut relictos fuerant affirmat.

§17

Rex preterit. Pretores secuntur. Pacifice reuertitur rex, pacatis Brittanis. Et misit pretones malignos ut temptarent sanctum. Tunc celeriter cellam adeunt. Fiscos attolunt. Interiora eorum exenterant. Muscos et glareas deponunt. Proterue exclamant omnes regis thesauros furtim raptos, et pro eis glareas et muscos esse inmissos. Sanctus econtra respondit, ut dimissos, ita fore inuentos. At illi ruinam totius cellę minabantur, si non tesauri redderentur.

§18

A rege autem antea per totam Britanniam edictum fuerat, ut omnis mendax aqua feruentissima deprehenderetur. Tunc in feruore spiritus iubet Paternus aquam in eneo cacabo calefacere, donec efferueret ter. Hoc subito impletur. Paternus suam manum ilico in aquam feruentissimi ardoris misit. Que deposita alba ac frigida ut nix apparuit. Mox coguntur precones ut manus suas in aquam mittant. Mox manus eorum exustę maliciam mentium declarant. Et extimplo precones toti combusti uitam finiunt. Anime inspeciebus coruinis alueum aduolant, quod nomine altero usque hodie uocatur, id est Grabani.

§19

Tunc rex ipse Mailgun in sua statione cecatur oculis. Infirmatur corde. Genibus titubat. Se moriturum confitetur propter reatum sue nequicię in sanctum Paternum. Ilico rex Paternum adiit, cui genua flectit, indulgentiam petit. Ac sanctus Paternus indulgentiam dedit. Rex ille remunerat 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 oculis. Uegetatur corde. Genibus subsistit. Pacabiles abinuicem recedunt, sanctus Paternus et rex, Deus autem in Paterno, Paternusque in Deo, per hoc miraculum.

§20

Cum hec aguntur celestis nuntius ad sanctum Daud in Rosina Ualle Christo Deo seruientem uenit, et ait illi, 'Surge, et uade in Ierusalem, ut ibi ordineris. Adde tibi duos condignos comites, qui pariter ordinentur, id est Paternum et Teliu.' Mox Daud ad illos misit. Illi nec mora uenerunt. Perrexerunt pariter trans barbaras gentes, gratiam linguarum accipientes. Nam essent uiri unius lingue unumquemque hominem propria lingua in qua natus fuerat alloquebantur. Peruenerunt tandem adusque Ierusalem. Ibiq̄ue predicant nobilissima post apostolos predicatione. Postea per impositionem manus patriarche episcopi ordinati sunt illi tres sancti. Inde muneribus ditati sunt. Paternus quidem duplici munere ditatus est, baculo uidelicet et tunica ex toto contexta. Reuersi sunt feliciter. Diuiserunt Britanniam in tres episcopatus suos, nisi postea malicia tyrannorum turbaret.

§21

Cum autem Paternus esset in ecclesia requiescens post tantum laborem marinum,³ deambulabat quidam tyrannus regiones altrinsecus Arthur nomine. Qui quadam die uenit ad cellam sancti Paterni episcopi. Et dum Paternum alloqueretur, aspexit tunicam. Quam confossus zelo auaricie petiuit ut sua fieret. Respondens sanctus ait, 'Non habitu cuiuslibet maligni hec tunica condigna est, sed habitu clericatus.' Ille bacando monasterium exiuit. Iterumque indignando reuertitur, ut tolleret tunicam contra comitum suorum consilia. Unus autem discipulorum Paterni uidens illum in furore reuertentem cucurrit ad sanctum Paternum, et ait, 'Tyrannus, qui hinc antea exiuit, reuertitur. Insultans, subiciens⁴ plantis terram⁵ placat.' Respondit Paternus, 'Immo absorbeat eum tellus.' Cum dicto statim terra aperit sinum suę profunditatis. Absorbetque Arthurum adusque mentum. Qui ilico agnoscens suum reatum, incipit Deum pariter Paternumque laudare, donec ueniam petens terra illum sursum emitteret. Ab illo loco sanctum flexis genibus poposcit

³ **marinum** marinam V.

⁴ **subiciens** subiciens V. *uel* 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.

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indulgentiam. Cui sanctus indulsit. Ille uero Paternum sibi sempiternum accepit patronum, ac sic discessit.

§22

In illis diebus Caradauc cognomento Brechbras transterminos etiam Brittanie regnum suum dilatauit. Et ad Letauiam ueniens illam cepit imperio. Armorici autem uenerunt ad illum dicentes, nisi Paternum nostratem ad nos preuocaueris ex Britannia, non nos placabiles poteris inuenire.' At Caradauc deambulans per circuitum regni sui, tandem uenit adusque istam ciuitatem quam tunc incolebat sanctus Paternus. Hec autem terra antequam Paternus ueniret Campus Heli dicebatur. Nunc autem metropolis sancti Paterni dicitur. Nam .XX^{ti} I^o. annis istas tres ecclesias in arcta penitencia incoluit. Hoc est .VII. in maritima, VII^{tem}que in media illa nomine Crucis Agie,⁶ ubi Grabanum et Terillanum uicit. Ac septem ultimis post episcopatum soli Deo in theorica uiuens in ista magna sua ecclesia mansit. Caradauc itaque obnixis precibus illum rogat, ut tandem ad documentum Letauie⁷ pergeret. At Paternus per apostolicum preceptum potestati resistere nolens, consensit pergere. Innuitque regi ut leges in eternum permansuras ecclesiis suis statueret. Ilico uerbum regis sequitur dicentis. 'In tempore quidem meo sint ecclesie tue ceu insule maris magni. Dicoque ego qui sedeo in summa cathedra regni Britannorum, ut siquis rex aut filius regis aut dux hanc legem irritam fecerit, aut breuietur dies eius aut eius genealogia, nec numeretur in terra, aut sempiternum infernum possideat.' Et respondit uniuersus populus et exercitus regis et omnes sancti discipuli Paterni 'Amen.'

§23

Sanctus igitur Paternus ualedicens fratribus suis, quos hic ad regendas ecclesias suas reliquit, et confortans illos ne in tribulationibus suis deficerent sed in omnibus dominum per illum semper rogarent, ad Letauiam⁸ peruenit, ubi multa a falsis fratribus pertulit. Nam mox ut illuc peruenit, fama illius totam Letauiam⁹ impleuit.

§24

Tunc autem Samson, quem precipuum in sanctitate omnes Armorici magnificabant,

⁶ Agie Agā V.

⁷ letauie letie V. Contemporary corrector adds letauī. (final letter lost in margin).

⁸ letauiam letiam V. Contemporary corrector adds uel letauiam.

⁹ letauiam letiam V. Contemporary corrector adds letauī. (final letter lost in margin).

perambulabat parrochias, ut ecclesie omnium sanctorum Armoricorum census episcopatus 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

Tunc unus monachorum Samsonis maligne¹⁰ scrutans ait Samsoni, 'Mitte ad sanctum ex Britannia nuper uenientem, ut probes eius humilitatem. Et manda eum nuntio, ut, quocumque statu sit quando ueniet ei nuntius, eodem inexcusabiliter ad te properet.' Samson autem consilium simpliciter accipiens, ac nullam stropham in illo sentiens, nuntium misit. Nuntius autem nec mora ad sanctum uenit. Paternum indutum ocrea¹¹ et caliga in uno pede inuenit, altero nudo manente. Seruus nuntiat legationem per suum modum. Paternus autem futura preuidens non distulit: uadit ad consilium. Maliciosus ille monachus, auctor mali consilii, Paternum semiuestitum pedibus subridet. Qui ilico arreptus demonio in terram cadit. Moxque Samson causam intelligit, hoc est quod auctor nefande temptationis in sancto Paterno extiterat. At tunc pacifice salutatur. Indulgentiam petit, datque Paternus. Fatigatum sanat. Diabolum pellit. Honoratur dominus in sancto Paterno.

§26

Tunc etiam statuit sanctus Samson, ut quamuis omnes episcopatus totius Letauie censum sancto Samsoni redderent, episcopatus tamen sancti Paterni liber ab omni homine fieret. Et quicumque hanc legem irritam faceret in ecclesiis sancti Paterni et in possessionibus earum in Letauia et in Britannia, eisdem maledictionibus quibus rex Caradauc eum damnauit pereat. Et respondit uniuersus chorus clericorum Letie 'Amen. Amen.'

§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 synodo 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.

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septiformis gracie extans, timensque ne per intolerantiam illorum aliquo uel tenui modo irasceretur, Letiam deserens, Francos adiuit. Ibi in domino obdormiuit .XVII^o. kalendarum Maii mensis. Nam tres illius solemnitates Armorici colunt. Hoc est istam diem kalendarum Nouembris, quando unitatem perpetuam statuit cum sex precipuis sanctis Letie, et diem sui obitus, et diem qua ordinem episcopatus accepit, id est .XII^o. kalendarum Iulii mensis.

§28

Post obitum autem sancti Paterni Letiam acra fames inuasit. Nam trium annorum spacio post mortem illius nec ros nec pluuia de celo per totam Letiam ascendit. Inquirunt omnes causam penurie et tanti caumatis. Inuenerunt tandem quod sanctus Paternus iniuriosis et falsis fratribus afflictus deseruisset Letiam. Consilio inito perrexerunt omnes ad locum sepulture eius apud Francos, destinantque ut honorifice secum transportarent reliquias eius, quod implere non ualuerunt. Nam etiam unum ex ossibus eius totus exercitus transportare non poterant. Turbati sunt itaque. Nesciebant quid facerent. Tandem quidam nobilis ex urbe Guenet interuenit, et dixit, 'Dum uiueret sanctus Paternus a me postulabat semper aream meam, ut ibi fundamentum sue ecclesie statueret. Quod itaque priuauit illum sua petitione dum uiueret, hanc post mortem donabo. Surgat itaque, sumat honorem, petitionem accipiat.' Cum dicto scrinium reliquiarum a terra sustollunt. Faciliter etiam duo uel unus portant. Ad Letiam ueniunt. Reliquias in ymnis et canticis spiritualibus in area nobilis supradicti honorifice sepeliunt.

§29

Ita factum est, ut sicut templum Salomonis in area Hornan Iebusei Deo honorifice edificatum est, sic templum Christo amabile in area illius nobilis circa reliquias sancti Paterni edificare statuerunt Armorici. Et edificata est alia ciuitas apud Francos ubi primo sepultus fuerat. In urbe itaque Guenet expectant reliquie eius diem iudicii feliciter. Anima autem eius in celo letatur in unitate nouem graduum celestium, in unitate sanctorum, episcoporum, confessorum, et apostolorum, in unitate eccellente omnem unitatem, id est in unitate Trinitatis, patris et filii et spiritus sancti. Precamur itaque summum sanctum Paternum, ut quemadmodum ille feliciter uiuit in celis, ita et nos per intercessionem illius habitemus in celestibus regnis per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.

Incipit possessio agrorum sancti Paterni episcopi.

§30

Presente igitur patriarcha Ierusalem successerunt tria regna dextralia Britannorum sub tribus episcopatibus trium sanctorum. Regnum Seisil consecrationem ecclesiarum et impositionem graduum ecclesiasticorum et confirmationem episcopalis baptismi, oleumque crismale, et omnia debita episcopalia ab episcopatu sancti Paterni accepit. Regnum autem Rein hec predicta iura ab episcopatu sancti Dauid accepit. Ac regnum Morgant a sancto Eliud episcopalia debita suscepit. Itaque tercius episcopalis locus est apud dextrales Brittanos ciuitas sancti Paterni episcopi. Quomodo autem oblatum est proprium territorium sancti Paterni predictum est in miraculo, quod egit sanctus Paternus contra Mailgun.

§31

Quodam uero tempore dum incoleret sanctus Paternus episcopus cellam suam, contigit ut quidam ministrorum eius necessario monasterii siluas uisitaret. Qui incidit in latrones, occisus est. Illo autem non reuertente, dubitauerunt ecclesiastici uiri cur moram faceret. Sed causa morarum illius diuulgata est adusque aures pontificis Paterni. Quod audiens et siluam adiens uocauit ministrum suum proprio nomine, dicendo, 'Responde, Reaus, magistro.' Tunc capud reuulsum a cadauere respondit, 'Hic assum, domine.' Cum qua uoce peruenit episcopus ad locum responsionis, ubi uidit seiunctum a corpore capud ministri. Ac eleuatis oculis in celum benedixit totum cadauer. Cum benedictione beati uiri, coniuncta sunt capud et corpus, surrexitque minister uiuens. Ambo egerunt gracias in miraculo Christi. Fama autem suscitationis eius peruenit ad satrapam dictum nomine Eithir. Qui commotus uirtute miraculi adiuuit episcopum, inquires, 'Mei sunt malitiosi interfectores tui ministri. Et ne ultio diuina per commotionem¹² tui animi me anticipet, ueniam peto. Et ut placabilem mentem tuam ad me efficiam, partem agri elegantissimi dicabo tibi sine repetitione census alicuius hominis. Hoc est ab aggere Liuluuin inter duos amnes, hoc est Retiaul, et Peit, usque ad horam maris.' Cui sanctus Paternus indulgentiam dedit ac prenuntians, 'Antequam finias uitam tuam domino placebis, et in cimiterio loci istius honorifice sepelieris. Tibi solempnitas apud hunc chorum in eternum celebrabitur.' Quem uocitant uulgari nomine fuit Eithir map Arthat.

¹² **commotionem** commmotionem V.

Vita Sancti Paterni (Vespasian A. xiv)

edited by David Callander

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Translation

Here begins the Life of Saint Padarn, bishop.

§1

Christ son of the living God, one of the three persons¹ 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.² Truly, Luke the Evangelist, disciple of St Paul the Apostle,³ 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. *tertius* 5(d); GPC s.v. *trydydd* (b); cf. Thomas and Howlett 2003: 31. See also *tertius* at §30 below. The same use can be made of *tress* in Medieval Irish (eDIL: s.v. 2 *tress*).

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 centies 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.

³ According to the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline epistles, Luke accompanied Paul on various missionary journeys and stayed with him during his captivity in Rome (Cross 1957: 828–9). The instruction would appear to refer to Luke 14.26, where (as with Matthew 19.29 and Mark 10.30) Christ encourages the crowd to put aside father and mother to follow him.

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*.⁴ 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,⁵ 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,

⁴ Padarn's parents also occur in the genealogical tract *Bonedd y Saint* §21 (EWGT 57–8). There, his father is called *Petrun* 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.

⁵ **Deus de Deo, lumen de lumine (God of God, light of light)**. Cf. the Nicene Creed (**Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine**): Burn 1909: 13.

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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 *oras insule 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 Llywelyn Fardd I, which focuses on celebrating the *clas* at Tywyn, and provides the most information about Cadfan of any source: *CadfanLlF*, GLIF 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 (GDLI 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.⁸ 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.⁹

§10

At last the merciful judge of the world, having pitied with his normal providence, sent the cause of the unhopd-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,¹⁰ the malicious kings

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). *Mauritana* 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

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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

manuscript titles of Lazamon’s *Brut* (an English verse adaptation of Wace’s *Roman de Brut*, itself an adaptation and versification of Geoffrey’s *Historia Regum Britanniae*) (Brook and Leslie 1963–78: i, 2–3).

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, Guinnus, Guippir, and Nimannauc.¹⁴ And so St Padarn became a lamp in learning and deeds throughout all Wales.¹⁵

§15

Meanwhile, Maelgwn,¹⁶ 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.¹⁷ 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.¹⁸

§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

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.

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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.¹⁹ 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.²⁰

§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

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.²¹ 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,²² 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.’²³ 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.²⁴ They returned happily. They divided Wales²⁵ 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 *Brittannia* 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).

§21

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.²⁶ 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.’²⁷ 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,²⁸ and thus he departed.

²⁶ 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).

²⁷ Angela Kinney identifies a hexameter here: **subici|ens plant|is terr|am plac|at resp|ondit**. 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.

²⁸ 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,²⁹ 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 Britannia, 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.³⁰ 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,³¹ and seven in that middle one called of the Holy Cross,³² 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.³³ 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,³⁴ 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,³⁵ 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 *Breibras* (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 afon 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.

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eternal hell. And all the people and the king's army and all the pupils of St Padarn responded 'Amen.'³⁶

§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.³⁷

§25

Then one of Samson's monks, malignly perusing, said to Samson, 'Send word to the saint recently come from Britannia,³⁸ 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 *Britannia* 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 Wales³⁹ would be destroyed by the same curses by which king Caradog condemned him. And the entire choir of the clerics of Brittany⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹ 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,⁴² 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).

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Brittany, he went to the Franks.⁴³ And there he fell asleep in the lord on the fifteenth of the month of April.⁴⁴ 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,⁴⁵ 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.⁴⁶

§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.

⁴³ Padarn's death among the Franks derives from the further mixing of Padarn with St Paternus of Avranches (Doble 1940: 32).

⁴⁴ A festival of Padarn is also noted for 15 April in the calendar in Vespasian (fol. 2v). A calendar from Llanbadarn Fawr (c. 1500) gives 17 April as the date of his chief festival (Doble 1940: 44).

⁴⁵ 1 November is All Saints' Day, but in other sources appears to have no particular connection with Padarn (LBS iv, 51).

⁴⁶ The date of his ordination is noted in the Vespasian Calendar as 23 September (fol. 5r), but there is also a reference to him, without specification of the festival, on this date (20 June), added by a different hand (fol. 3v). This date is not otherwise associated with Padarn in calendars (LBS iv, 51). In a Llanbadarn Fawr calendar of c. 1500, the dedication of St Padarn is celebrated on 15 July (Doble 1940: 44).

§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 Seisyll⁴⁹ 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 Rhein⁵¹ received these aforementioned privileges from the bishopric

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 Pendeuic 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, Rhieinwg (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 Rhieinwg can be associated with Brycheiniog: Bartrum 1970.

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of St David. And the kingdom of Morgan⁵² 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.⁵³ 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.⁵⁴ Hearing this and going to the forest, he called his attendant by his own name, saying, 'Respond, *Reaus*,⁵⁵ 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.⁵⁶ 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*,⁵⁷ between two rivers, that is Rheidol

⁵² The kingdom of *Morgannwg* (Glamorgan) in South-East Wales was probably named after Morgan ab Owain (died 974), although the Morgan in question is not specified here (WCD 486, EWGT 139). The text associates the area of this kingdom with the diocese of Llandaf, which had associated itself strongly with St Teilo from the eleventh century onwards.

⁵³ This refers to Llanbadarn Fawr (cf. §22 above). The text here shares with the Life itself a focus on emphasizing the episcopal status of Llanbadarn Fawr. For the sense of *tercius*, see §1.

⁵⁴ Only here is Padarn referred to as *pontifex*. The usual term to denote Padarn's episcopal status, both in this document and the Life itself, is *episcopus*.

⁵⁵ Padarn's servant *Reaus* is not otherwise attested.

⁵⁶ Eithir ap Arthad only occurs here, but Bartrum suggests he may have given his name to Llaneithir near Devil's Bridge in Ceredigion (WCD 232).

⁵⁷ *Liuluuin* is unidentified. The second element may be *llwyn* 'bush, grove', although the usual spelling in Old Welsh, as in the Book of Llandaf, is *luin*.

and Paith,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.

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 *Retiaul* (see also §19) and *Peit*.

Vita Sancti Paterni (Vespasian A. xiv)

edited by David Callander

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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.

VESPASIAN A. XIV, 80V–84V

Note on transcription. The following abbreviations are used: ʒ (×61), ampersand (×4), the homothetic sign [≐] (×17). Single curly brackets are used for the contemporary corrector, double curly brackets for other annotators.

TRANSCRIPTION

{80v}

7 **X** *ristus*¹ filius dei uiui *tercia trinitatis* **Incipit Vita Sancti Paterni episcopi.**
8 diuin^e persona coeternus *et* consubstantialis² patri *et* spiritui sancto dedit hoc
9 preceptum ecclesie. ut affectantius prouocaret hominum mentes ad religio=
10 nemꝫ pollicendo illis geminam mercedem. id est hic centuplum. *et* uitam eter=
11 nam infuturo. Lucas uero euangelista discipulus sancti pauli apostoli. medicus
12 corporis *et* anime hoc preceptum ob communem christianorum salutem scrip=
13 sit. Talis autem est sensus istius precepti. Qui propter regnum dei accipien=

¹ **X** *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.

² **consubstantialis** The final s is possibly changed from a minim.

14 *dum omnes affectus contemserit. et omnes scilicet diuicias luxusque calcauerit;*
 15 *multo plura in presenti recipiet. quoniam a fratribus atque consortibus propositi*
 16 *sui. qui ei spiritali glutino colligantur. multo graciores 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 necessitudo³ coniungit. satis breuem constat esse*
 20 *ac fragilem. Qui igitur propter 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 uisitans summum regni celestis fieri heredem. atque ciuem con-*
 25 *cupiuit. Qui gente quidem armoricus fuit. parentibus⁵ autem nobilibus*
 26 *ortus est. Petrano scilicet patre. Matre uero guean. Qui uno conuentu uten-*
 27 *tes; genuerunt sanctum patrum; Postea uero se sempiterno deo seruicio*
 28 *dedicauerunt. Nam petranus illico ~~lex~~^{iam}⁶ deserens. hiberniam expetiuit.*
 29 *Graciosa itaque apparuit natiuitas sancti paterni. per quem pater eius sanctus effec-*
 30 *tus est;⁷ et mater eius famula christi effecta. religiosam uitam duxit in eternum.*
 31 *Conuenienti igitur ordine^e 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 nasceretur.*
 34 *Illico enim ut natus est ille; christum sequi elegerunt. At paternus mox ut*
 35 *sensit aliquid rationale in mundo; interrogat matrem cum qua derelictus*
 36 *fuerat; quem patrem habuisset. Viueret. an non. Aut si uiueret; ubi*

³ **necessitudo** The scribe originally wrote the letter c twice, but erased a portion of the second c in order to form an e.

⁴ **atque** There appears to have been an erasure after the a.

⁵ **parentibus** Possible erasure beneath the p.

⁶ **lex^{iam}** A letter has been deleted, with 'ta' being added in its place and 'u' above in superscript. (margin) {[...]morica [...]ue letauia [...]ttan=[.] 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.

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{81r}

1 erat. Et cur alibi moraretur; ac non potius in *propria* hereditate mansitasset.
 2 Cui lacrimando mater respondit. Pater tuus quidem uiuit; et plus deo
 3 quam mundo. Perrexit autem hinc; ~~xxx~~ ad ~~xxxxxx~~⁸ hiberniam. Vbi ieiunat
 4 orat. uigilat. meditat. miseretur. dormit. in psiathico; genuflec=
 5 tit alto *domino*. quot diebus. quotque noctibus. Tunc adolescens spiritu sancto
 desuper flante
 6 confortatus ait. Quo ergo modo meliore potest filius uiuere; quam boni patris
 7 imitatione; Nam si rex sit pater illum imitari in regimine filius appetit.
 8 Itaque mori^[r]ar; si non assequar patrem meum per semitas quas elegit. In
 9 illo tempore corus ecclesiasticus monachorum let~~xxx~~^[auiam] deserens. brittan =
 10 nie meditabantur oras appetere. Nam sicut hiemale al~~xx~~^[ue]arium ar=
 11 ridente uere animos extollens. et augende proli prudenter insistens.
 12 aliud primum precipuumque foras emittit examen. ut alibi mellificet.
 13 ita let~~xxx~~^[auia] accrescente serenitate religionis caterua *sanctorum* ad originem
 14 unde exierunt. transmittit subter ducibus ketinlau. Catman. Titechon. Hac
 15 etiam prouocatus fama *sanctus* iuuenis paternus. cinxit se cum ceteris in exilium
 16 non segnior senioribus. sed quanto iunior tanto inlaborando feruenti=
 17 or. etatem suam in religiosis moribus transcendebat. Itaque conueniunt
 18 omnes chori ad transnauigandum. britanniam unanimiter pete^entes.⁹ Mox
 19 paternus quartus dux cohortis efficitur. non postulacione sua. sed conso=
 20 brini eius uidentes illum properare ad culmen perfectionis. statuerunt
 21 dicentes. Quoniam dominus prefecit te in moribus. oportet ut preesse debe=
 22 as in populis. ad exemplum uite. Prospero igitur nauigio omnes clerici oras
 23 insule brittanorum tenent. Paternum secuntur.¹⁰ octingenti . xl.vii.
 24 monachi. capit *sanctus* cum *sanctis* locum. in ecclesia cognomento mauritana
 25 ubi *sanctus* paternus postea miraculo honesto claruit. Edificauit itaque
 26 mox ibi monasterium. Postquam autem edificauit templum ac monas=
 27 terium subequon~~x~~^[om]no.¹¹ et proposito. et decano statuit^[.] reminisce=

⁸ The scribe does not appear to have written ad over an erasure here, which suggests it was already present. Perhaps the scribe initially copied Tunc adolescens (line 5) through eye-skip.

⁹ pete^entes The scribe initially wrote c and this was altered into an e.

¹⁰ secuntur The n is possibly written over an erasure.

¹¹ subequon~~x~~^[om]no The corrector changed the final n into an m by adding an initial minim.

28 tur sui *patris*. *Benedicit* *fratribus*. *licentiam* accipit. *hiberniam* na=
 29 uigat. *patrem* uisitat. *inuicem* resalutant. *gratias* summo deo
 30 *christo* agunt. tandem simul sedent. At tunc temporis inhiber=
 31 nia reges duarum *prouinciarum* ~~discordant~~.^{discordab[...]}¹² Vastationes abin=
 32 uicem oriuntur.^{} Rapiuntur prede. *Domus* cremantur. consur=
 33 gunt bella. cadunt *fratres*. *terra* adinternicionem¹³ *et* *solitudinem* de=
 34 solatur. Tandem misericors arbiter orbis. solita misertus proui=
 35 dentia. *causam* insperate pacis. ad *episcopum* cuiuslibet ciuitatis

{81v}

1 e^{e}cclesie^{e} per angelum suum mittit. Et ait. Nisi uterque exercitus uultus sancti
 nuper
 2 ex bruttannia uenientis uiderit nunquam placabuntur adinuicem re=
 3 ges maliciosi. Extimplo legati mittuntur. Paternum honorifice aduo=
 4 cant. exercitus conuocantur. paternum in medio statuunt. *Gracia* uul=
 5 tus eius^{} diaboli¹⁴ discordiæ^{e} xpropelluntur. Pax perpetua inter utrasque pro=
 6 uincias oritur. e^{e}terna unitas nascitur. a deo; ut insigno unitatis
 7 hominum cadant ligna prouincie^{e} in casu lignorum alterius prouincie.
 8 Tunc omnes dominum magnificent. inseruo suo paterno; ac omnes bene=
 9 dicentes dixerunt. Sit semper tibi signum pacis per quod clarescat nomen
 10 tuum in terra.¹⁵ dum uiuas. *et* post mortem. Quod impletur in mune=
 11 re cirguen.¹⁶ Tanta namque utilitas baculi istius est.^{} ut si qui
 12 duo discordantes sint; per eius coniuracionem pacentur. De *christo* autem
 13 dicitur. quod bonus pastor agnoscit que sint eius oues. secundum quod
 14 preceptum sanctus paternus fratres quos in brittannia reliquerat; in me=
 15 moriam reducit. Vale dicit patri. benedicatur a patre. Brittanniam ad=
 16 iit. fratres incolumes corpore *et* animo inuenit. Inter quos niman=
 17 nauc nuper aduenientem re^{p}perit. Qui inlexxxxxxx^{tauia post} paternum uiuere
 18 non ualens; ad oram maris uenit. quandamque petram inuenit. in qua
 19 stetit *et* ait. Si domino deo sunt placita que meditor; *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.

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20 nus ille quem assequi uolo. surgat petra. et nata^{e}t^{super} equora. so=
 21 lidentur unde. obduret pelagus ne mergat lapidem; uehar
 22 ^{que} ad *dominum* incolumis ducem *sanctum* paten^rnum¹⁷. Dicto ceⁱcius¹⁸; mirabi=
 23 li nauigio. *maritimam* e^{e}cclⁱesiam in oris bruttannie petit. Salu=
 24 tatur a *fratribus*. suam *historiam* narrat. *Dominum* deum omnes una uoce
 25 magnificent *insanctis* suis; qui humile uotum *nimannauc*
 26 *impleuit*. et *uirtutem summi sancti* sui manifestauit. id est *paterni*.
 27 Tunc *Paternus* *monasteria*. et *ecclesias per totam cereticam regionem*
 28 edificauit. quibus duces statuit. idest. Samson. Guinnius. Guippir.
 29 Nimannauc. *Sanctus*¹⁹ igitur *Paternus* lampas in doctrina. et opere effectus est per
 totam
 30 *brittanniam*. Interea *mulgun rex*²⁰ *borealium brittonum* australes BrittaN=
 31 nos ad debellandos et subiciendos uisitans. cum forti exercitu adusque
 32 *hostium fluminis clarauch* uenit. Ac *quoniam* ipse semper temptator *sancto*=
 33 *rum* aderat; duos *preto*~~xx~~^{re}s²¹ *six*^{e} precedere iussit. ut *sanctum paternum* a=
 34 liquo malicioso modo temptarent. Dicebantur autem graban. et te=
 35 rillan. Illi nequiter scrutantes^{.} uenerunt ad *perclium clarauch*. fis=

{82r}

1 cos musco. et glarea implent; thesauros regales assimilant ad
 2 *sanctum* a^{p}portandos.²² Custodire hos mandant; dum rex prospere reuertatur.
 3 *Sanctus* annuit. deponi iubet; illos inueniendos esse.²³ sicut relictis fue=
 4 rant affirmat. Rex preterit. *pretores*²⁴ secuntur. Pacifice reuertitur
 5 rex; pacatis brittannis. Et misit *pretones*²⁵ malignos^{.} ut temptarent

¹⁷ **paten^rnum** Part of the first n has been erased to form the r.

¹⁸ **ceⁱcius** 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) {{.ailgun Gwyneth}}

²¹ **preto~~xx~~^{re}s** The first of a number of ambiguous examples of preconos or pretores. The erasure is so messy that it is 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 **pretores** 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 betwen and the p and the t, perhaps to turn the t into a c.

6 *sanctum*. Tunc *celeriter cellam* adeunt. *fiscos attolunt*.^{c} interiora *eorum* ex=
7 *ī*^{e}nterant. *muscos et glareas* deponunt. *Proterue* exclamant *omnes*
8 *regis thesauros furtim raptos. et pro eis glareas. et muscos esse inmis*=
9 *sos. Sanctus* *econtra* respondit. ut *dimissos*; *ita fore inuentos*. At illi
10 *ruinam totius celle*^{e} minabantur. *si non tesauri redderentur*. A *rege* autem
11 *antea per totam brittaniam edictum fuerat*; ut *omnis mendax aqua*
12 *feruentissima deprehenderetur*. Tunc in *feruore spiritus* iubet *pater*=
13 *nus aquam in eneo*²⁶ calefacere.^{c} donec *efferueret* ter. hoc *subito imple*=
14 *tur*. Paternus *suam manum* ilico in *aquam feruentissimi ardoris*
15 *misit*. que *deposita alba ac frigida* ut *nix apparuit*. Mox
16 *coguntur precor*^{n}*es*.²⁷ ut *manus suas in aquam mittant*. Mox *manus* ^{eorum}
17 *exuste*^{e} *maliciam mentium* declarant. Et *extimplo præ*^{c}*or*^{n}*es*²⁸ *toti combus*=
18 *ti*; *uitam* finiunt. *Anime inspeciebus coruinis alueum* aduolant.
19 *quod nomine alteri*^{o} ~~xx~~ *usque*; *hodie uocatur* id est *Grabani*. Tunc
20 *rex ipse mailgun* in *sua statione cecatur oculis*. *infirmatur corde*. *ge*=
21 *nibus* titubat. *se moriturum confitetur. propter reatum sue nequicie*^{e}.^{c}
22 *in sanctum paternum*. Illico *rex paternum adiit*. cui *genu flectit*.^{c}²⁹ *indul*=
23 *gentiam* petit. Ac *sanctus paternus*; *indulgentiam* dedit. *Rex ille remu*=
24 *nerat* *quantitate agri*. id est *ab ostio fluminis Retiaul*. *sursum*
25 *uersi* donec *confinium amnis clarauch* in *capite tangit. et per*
26 *longitudinem eiusdem amnis adusque mare prolongatur terminus*.
27 *In illa hora rex sanatur oculis. uegetatur corde. genibus* *subsistit*.
28 *Pacabiles ab inuicem recedunt. sanctus paternus. et rex. deus autem* in *pa*=
29 *terno. paternusque in deo*; *per hoc miraculum*. *Cum hec aguntur celestis*
30 *nuntius ad sanctum dauie*^{d}³⁰ *in rosina ualle christo deo seruientem ue*=
31 *nit. et ait illi. Surge. et uade in ierusalem. ut ibi ordineris. Adde*
32 *tibi duos condignos comites. qui pariter ordinentur. id est pa*=

²⁶ **eneo** (margin with a signe de renvoi) {cacabo}.

²⁷ **precor**^{n}**es** The r has been changed to an n through the addition of a second minim.

²⁸ **præ**^{c}**or**^{n}**es** 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 **dauie**^{d} The corrector changed the c to a d through the addition of a final long vertical stroke.

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33 ternum. *et* Teliau.³¹ Mox dauie^{d}³² ad illos misit. Illi nec mora uene=
 34 runt. Perrexerunt pariter trans barbaras gentes^{:} *graciam* lingua=
 35 rum accipientes. Nam essent uiri unius linguae unumquemque ho=
 {82v}
 1 minem propria lingua in qua natus fuerat alloquebantur peruene=
 2 runt tandem adusque ierusalem. Ibiue predicant nobilissima post
 3 apostolos predicatione. postea per impositionem manus patriarcheꝝ
 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}x^{t}ext~~ta~~a. Reue~~x~~^rsi sunt feliciter. Diuiserunt brittanniam intres
 7 episcopatus suos: nisi postea malicia tyrannorum turbaret. Cum autem
 8 paternus esset in ecclesia requiescens. post tantum laborem marinamꝝ
 9 deambulabat quidam tyrannus regiones altrinsecus arthur³³ no=
 10 mine. Qui quadam die uenit ad cellam sancti paterni episcopi. Et dum paternum
 11 alloqueretur³⁴ aspexit tunicam. Quam confossus ~~xxx~~ x^{z}o^{e}lo³⁵ auaricie
 12 petiuit ut sua fieret. Respondens sanctus ait. Non habitu cuiuslibet
 13 maligni hec tunica condigna est^{:} sed habitu clericatus. Ille baecan=
 14 do monasterium exiuit. Iterumque indignando reuertitur. ut tol=
 15 leret tunicam^{:} contra comitum suorum consilia. Unus autem disci=
 16 pulorum paterni uidens illum in furore reuertentem cucurrit ad
 17 sanctum paternumꝝ *et* ait. Tyrannus qui hinc antea exiuitꝝ reuer=
 18 titur. insultans. subiciens³⁶ plantis terram placat. Respondit
 19 paternus. Immo absorbeat eum tellus. Cum dicto statim terra
 20 aperit sinum sue^{e} profunditatis^{-}³⁷ Absorbetque arthurum adusque

³¹ **Teliau** Something has been erased between the i and the a.

³² **dauie**^{d} The corrector changed the c to a d through the addition of a final long vertical stroke.

³³ **arthur** (margin) {{Arthurus Tyrannus deuterus}} (deuterus is Howlett's expansion, meaning Greek for second).

³⁴ **alloqueretur** There appears to be an erasure above the r.

³⁵ ~~x~~^{z}o^{e}lo The first character deleted here is in fact an x.

³⁶ **subiciens** (margin) *uel* 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.

³⁷ The contemporary corrector adds a downward leaning horizontal line between *profunditatis* and *Absorbetque*.

21 mentum. *Qui illico agnoscens suum reatum. incipit deum pariter*
 22 *paternumque laudare. donec ~~xxxxxxxx~~^{ueniam petens} terra illum sursum emit=*
 23 *teret. Ab illiceo loco sanctum flexis genibus poposcit indulgentiam.*
 24 ~~xxxxxx~~ *Cui sanctus indulsit. {Ille uero} Paternum ~~que~~ sibi sempiternum accepit*
 25 *patronum^{.} ac sic discessit. In illis diebus caradauc cognomen=*
 26 *to brechbras³⁸ transterminos etiam brittanie^{.} regnum suum di=*
 27 *latauit. Et ad let~~xxxx~~^{auiam}³⁹ ueniens. illam cepit imperio. Armorici=*
 28 *autem uenerunt ad illum dicentes. nisi paternum nostratem*
 29 *ad nos p~~ro~~^{re}uocaueris ex brittannia. non nos placabiles poteris*
 30 *inuenire. At caradauc deambulans per circuitum regni*
 31 *sui. tandem uenit adusque istam ciuitatem. quam tunc incole=*
 32 *bat sanctus paternus. Hec autem terra antequam paternus ue=*
 33 *niret. campus heli dicebatur. Nunc autem metropolis sancti*
 34 *paterni dicitur. Nam .XX^{ti} 1^o. annis istas tres e^{e}ccllesias in arcta peni=*
 35 *tencia incoluit. Hoc est .VII. in maritima .VII^{tem}que. in*

{83r}

1 media illa nomine crucis agā⁴⁰^{.} ubi grabanum et terillanum ui=
 2 cit. Ac septem ultimis post episcopatum soli deo intheorica uiuens.
 3 in ista magna sua ecclesia mansit. Caradauc itaque obnixis preci=
 4 bus illum rogat. ut tandem ad documentum letie⁴¹ pergeret. At pa=
 5 ternus per apostolicum preceptum potestati resistere nolens. consensit *pergere*.
 6 Innuitque regi ut leges ineternum permansuras ecclesiis suis statueret.
 7 Illico uerbum regis sequitur dicentis. In tempore quidem meo sint
 8 ecclesie tue. ceu insule maris magni. Dicoque ego qui sedeo in sum=
 9 ma cathedra regni brittannorum. ut si quis rex. aut filius regis. aut
 10 dux hanc legem irritam fecerit. aut breuietur dies eius^{.} aut eius ge=

³⁸ **caradauc ... brechbras** (margin) {{carat^Dauc .reighvras}} Howlett reads [c]aradauc / breghvras, although there appears to be an i before the g, following the reverse e form.

³⁹ **let~~xxxx~~^{auiam}** (margin) {{letan^uia}}.

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 Ágiae.

⁴¹ **letie** (margin, with signe de renvoi) {letaui.}.

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11 neologia. nec numeretur in terra. aut *sempiternum* infernum possideat.
 12 Et respondit uniuersus populus. *et exercitus regis*^[c] *et omnes sancti* discipuli pater
 13 ni. AMEN. *Sanctus igitur* paternus uale-dicens⁴² *fratribus* suis quos hic ad regendas
 14 ecclesias suas reliquit. *et confortans illos* ne in tribulationibus suis defi-
 15 cerent. *sed in omnibus dominum per illum* semper rogarent. ad letiam⁴³ peruenit.
 ubi
 16 multa a falsis *fratribus* pertulit. Nam mox ut illuc peruenit. fama illius
 17 totam letiam⁴⁴ impleuit. Tunc autem samson quem precipuum in *sanctitate*
 18 omnes armorici magnificabant. *perambulabat* parrochias. ut ec-
 19 clesie omnium *sanctorum armoricorum*. census *episcopatui eius*^[c] *et tunc et postea*
 solue=
 20 rent in eternum. Contigit autem ut deueniret ad uicinxa loca ur=
 21 bis guenet.⁴⁵ iuxta quam *sanctus* paternus *episcopus* monasterium edificare^[ui] t.
 22 Tunc unus monachorum samson^[is] maligne^[e] sc^[r]utans ait samsoni.
 23 Mitte ad *sanctum* ex brittannia nuper uenientem. ut probes eius humi=
 24 litatem. Et manda eum nuntio. ut quocumque statu sit quando ueniet
 25 ei nuntius. eodem inexcusabiliter ad te properet. Samson autem con=
 26 silium simpliciter accipiens. ac nullam stropham in illo sene^[t] iens.
 27 nuntium misit. Nuntius autem nec mora ad *sanctum* uenit. Paternum
 28 indutum oscrea. *et caliga* in uno pede inuenit.^[c] altero nudo
 29 manente. Seruus nuntiat legationem per suum modum. pater=
 30 nus autem futura preuidens non distulit. uadit ad consilium.
 31 Maliciosus ille monachus auctor mali consilii. paternum
 32 semiuestitum pedibus subridet. Qui illico a^[r] reptus demonio in terram
 33 cadit. ~~xxxxx~~^[Moxque] samson causam intelligit. hoc est quod auctor nefan=
 34 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) {uel letaiam}.

⁴⁴ letiam (margin) {letai.}.

⁴⁵ guenet (margin, with a signe de renvoi) {id est 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.

35 lutat. indulgentiam petit. datque paternus. fatigatum sa=
 {83v}

1 nat. diabolum pellit. honoratur dominus in sancto paterno. Tunc etiam sta=
 2 tuit sanctus samson. ut quamuis omnes episcopatus totius letie⁴⁶ censum sancto
 samson^{i}

3 redderent. episcopatus tamen sancti paterni liber ab omni homine fieret. Et
 quicumque

4 hanc legem irritam faceret. in ecclesiis sancti paterni. et in possessionibus. earum in
 5 letia⁴⁷ et in brittannia. eisdem maledictionibus quibus rex caradauc eum damna=
 6 uit pereat. Et respondit uniuersus chorus clericorum letie^{e}. amen. amen.

7 Urbs autem Guenet⁴⁸ sedes episcopatus sancti paterni est. in qua petrus apostolus
 unam ec=
 8 clesiam tenet. Nam periussum commendauit ut excepta sola aula caradauc.
 9 honor semper illius urbis. et nomen. et fama. dedicaretur. sancto paterno. Post
 10 hec tanta statuerunt sancti septem episcopatum totius letie. ut conuenirent in
 11 uno monte. et confirmarent suam unitatem in perpetuo mansuram. In
 12 qua sinodo paternus multum ab inuidiosis. et falsis fratribus fatigatus con=
 13 firmans unitatem suam cum precipuis sex sanctis. et ille septimus secundum nu=
 14 merum septiformis graciae extans. timensque ne perintollerantiam illorum
 15 aliquo uel tenui modo irasceretur. letiam deserens. francos adiuit.

16 Ibi in domino obdormiuit .XVII^o. kalendarum Maii Mensis. Nam tres illius
 17 solemnitates armorici colunt. hoc est istam diem kalendarum nouem=
 18 bris. quando unitatem perpetuam statuit cum sex precipuis sanctis letie^{j}
 19 et diem sui obitus. et diem qua ordinem episcopatus accepit. id est .XII^o. kalendarum
 iu=
 20 lii Mensis. Post obitum autem sancti paterni letiam acra fami^{e}s inuasit.
 21 Nam trium annorum spacio post mortem illius nec ros nec pluuia
 22 de celo per totam letiam⁴⁹ ascendit. Inquirunt omnes causam penurie. et
 23 tanti caumatis. Inuenerunt tandem quod sanctus paternus iniuri=
 24 osis et falsis fratribus afflictus deseruisset letiam. Consilio inito per=

⁴⁶ letie (margin with a signe de renvoi) {letauie}.

⁴⁷ letia (margin with a signe de renvoi) {letauia}.

⁴⁸ Urbs autem Guenet (margin) {{Guenet vrbs in .etavia}}.

⁴⁹ letiam (margin) {m.nor .rittannia} Uncertain if contemporary corrector.

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25 rexerunt omnes ad locum sepulture eius; apud francos. Destinant
 26 que ut honorifice secum transportarent reliquias eius. Quod implere non
 27 ualuerunt. Nam etiam unum ex ossibus eius totus exercitus transpor=
 28 tare non poterant. Turbati sunt itaque. nesciebant quid face=
 29 rent. Tandem quidam nobilis ex urbe Guenet interuenit. et dix=
 30 it. Dum uiueret sanctus paternus a me postulabat semper aream
 31 meam; ut ibi fundamentum sue ecclesie statuere^[a]tueret. Quod itaque pri=
 32 uai illum sua petitione dum uiueret; hanc^[a]nc post mortem dona=
 33 bo. Surgat itaque sumat honorem. petitionem accipiat. Cum
 34 dicto scrinium reliquiarum a terra sustollunt. Faciliter etiam
 35 duo uel unus portant. ad letiam ueniunt. reliquias. in ym=

{84r}

1 nis et canticis spiritualibus in area nobilis supradicti honorifice sepeliunt.
 2 Ita factum est. ut sicut templum salomonis in area hornan iebusei
 3 deo honorifice edificatum est.^[c] sic templum christo amabile in area illius
 4 nobilis circa reliquias sancti paterni edificare statuerunt armorici.
 5 Et edificata est.^[c] alia ciuitas apud francos ubi primo sepultus fuerat.
 6 In urbe itaque Guenet expectant reliquie eius diem iudicii feliciter. A=
 7 nima autem eius in celo letatur. in unitate nouem graduum celestium. in uni=
 8 tate sanctorum episcoporum. confessorum. et apostolorum. in unitate eccellente
 omnem uni=
 9 tatem. id est in unitate trinitatis. patris. et filii. et spiritus sancti. Precamur itaque
 10 summum sanctum paternum. ut quemadmodum ille feliciter uiuit in celis. ita
 11 et nos per intercessionem illius habitemus in celestibus regnis. per infinita
 12 secula seculorum amen. **INCIPIT possessio agrorum sancti PATERNI EPISCOPI.**
 13 **P** RESENTE⁵⁰ igitur patriarcha ierusalem successerunt tria regna dextralia
 14 brittannorum sub tribus episcopatibus trium sanctorum. Regnum seisil⁵¹
 consecratio=
 15 nem ecclesiarum. et impositionem graduum ecclesiasticorum.^[e] et confirmationem
 16 episcopalis baptismi. oleumque crismale. et omnia debita episcopalia ab episcopatu⁵²

⁵⁰ **P** RESENTE The **P** is a large rubricated initial covering five lines.

⁵¹ **Regnum seisil** (margin) {{Regnum sei... Episcopatus pa....}}.

⁵² **episcopatu** (margin) {episcopa...} Contemporary corrector?

17 *sancti paterni accepit. Regnum autem Rein*⁵³ *hec predicta iura ab episcopa=*
 18 *tu sancti dauid*⁵⁴ *accepit. Ac regnum Morgant*⁵⁵ *a sancto eliu*^{d}*episcopalia*⁵⁶ *de=*
 19 *bita suscepit. Itaque tercius episcopalis locus est apud dextrales brittannos*
 20 *ciuitas sancti paterni episcopi. Quomodo autem oblatum est proprium territorium*
 21 *sancti paterni predictu*^{m} *est in miraculo. quod egit sanctus paternus contra Ma=*
 22 *ilgun. Quodam uero tempore dum incoleret sanctus paternus episcopus cellam*
 23 *suam. contigit ut quidam ministrorum eius necessario monasterii*
 24 *siluas uisitare. Qui incidit in latrones occisus est. Illo autem non*
 25 *reuertente. dubitauerunt e*^{e}*cclasiastici uiri. cur moram faceret. Sed*
 26 *causa morarum illius diuulgata est. adusque aures pontificis pa=*
 27 *terni. Quod audiens et siluam adiens uocauit ministrum suum proprio*
 28 *nomine.*⁵⁷ *dicendo. Responde. reus magistro. Tunc capud reuul=*
 29 *sum a cadauere*^{} *respondit. Hic assum domine. Cum qua uoce peruenit episcopus ad*
 30 *locum responsionis. ubi uidit se-iunctum a corpore capud ministri.*
 31 *Ac eleuatis oculis in celum benedixit totum cadauer. Cum benedictione*
 32 *beati uiri. e*^{con}*iuncta sunt capud et corpus. surrexit*^{que} *minister uiuens. Am=*
 33 *bo egerunt gracias. in miraculo christi. fama autem suscitationis eius*
 34 *peruenit ad satrapam dictum nomine eithir.*⁵⁸ *Qui commotus uirtute mi=*
 35 *raculi.*^{} *adiuit episcopum inquiring. Mei sunt malie*^{t}*iosi interfectores*^{e}

{84v}

1 tui ministri. Et ne ultio diuina per commotionem⁵⁹ tui animi
 2 me anticipet.^{} ueniam peto. Et ut placabilem mentem tuam ad me
 3 efficiam. partem agri elegantissimi dicabo tibi sine repetitione
 4 census alicuius hominis. Hoc est ab aggere liuluuin inter duos
 5 amnes. hoc est Retiaul. et peit. usque ad Horam maris. Cui sanctus pater=
 6 nus indulgentiam dedit. ac prenuntians. Antequam finias uitam

⁵³ **Regnum autem Rein** (margin) {{Regnum Rej. }}.

⁵⁴ **episcopa=tu sancti dauid** (margin) {{Episcopatus Men....}}.

⁵⁵ **regnum Morgant** (margin) {{Regnum Mor....}}.

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

⁵⁷ ⚡ The mark appears thus, although it does not seem to be a question.

⁵⁸ **eithir** (margin) {{Eithir}}.

⁵⁹ **commotionem** 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.

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- 7 tuam domino placebis. *et* in cimiterio loci istius honorifice sepelie=
8 ris. tibi solempnitas apud hunc chorum in *eternum* celebrabitur.
9 Quem uocitant uulgari nomine. fuit eithir. Map Arthat.

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