# Vita Sancti Samsonis (Liber Landavensis)

edited by Ben Guy

Edited Text <u>Translation</u> <u>Manuscript</u> <u>Concordance</u> <u>References</u>

## Introduction

St Samson of Dol was a British bishop who lived in the middle of the sixth century. The only credible contemporary evidence for him is a record of the Council of Paris that took place sometime between 556 and 573, and quite possibly in 561: one of the witnesses to this document is recorded with the words Samson subscripsi et consensi in nomine Christi 'I, Samson, have signed and agreed in the name of Christ' (Wood 2017: 103–5). Intriguingly, Samson is the only witness whose presence is recorded in a leonine hexameter, perhaps attesting to an aspect of his education (Davies 2002: 381). The detail of Samson's life is known only from hagiographical accounts written about him after his death. He was born in south Wales to parents called Ammon and Anna. He received his education in the monastery of St Illtud (presumably Llantwit Major, Llanilltud Fawr), where he was ordained a deacon and then a priest by Bishop Dyfrig. He spent some time living in various locations in south Wales and Ireland, namely in the monastery of Piro on Caldey Island (where he was successively cellarer and abbot), in a fortress at Howth Head near Dublin, and in a cave hermitage near the River Severn. Eventually, others convinced him that he should be consecrated as a bishop, and the consecration was performed by Bishop Dyfrig. Shortly afterwards, he set off on a journey to Brittany, apparently at the urging of an angel. He travelled through Cornwall, where he encountered a certain Viniauus in the monastery of Docco (St Kew), converted Lord *Guedianus* and his people to Christianity, and established a monastery somewhere nearby (Olson 1989: 9-18). When he finally reached Brittany, he established the monastery of Dol and other unnamed churches in the surrounding area. Only one major episode is recounted of his time on the Continent, which involved him travelling east to the court of the Merovingian king Childebert I (511–58) in an attempt to free Iudwal, son of the defeated Breton

count Ionas. While he was there, he vanquished a serpent that had been troubling Childebert's lands, and in gratitude the king allowed him to establish a monastery at Pentale (Saint-Samson-de-la-Roque), overlooking the lower Seine. Eventually Samson died at Dol, which would thereafter become his primary cult centre.

The First Life of St Samson of Dol is one of the earliest surviving saints' Lives concerning a British saint. It was written at Dol in the early Middle Ages. Although the dating of the text has proved controversial, with a number of dates between the seventh and ninth centuries having been proposed, new evidence adduced by Richard Sowerby has helped to encourage the view that it was composed around 700, or perhaps a little earlier (Sowerby 2011: 14-23; cf. Olson 2017: 15-16). Others, nevertheless, maintain that it should be dated later, perhaps to the late eighth century (Poulin 2017). The First Life of St Samson is divided into two books, the first describing Samson's life, as summarised above, and the second providing additional episodes that have been worked into a sermon. The text is long, well written and notable among saints' Lives for its continuity and consistency. Famously, the author of the text claims to have had access to particularly good information about his subject. The author himself had travelled from Brittany to Britain and had visited some of the significant places in Samson's life, such as Illtud's monastery. Furthermore, the author explains in his preface that, while he was in Britain, he had conversed with a man of about eighty years of age who in his youth had joined the monastery that Samson had founded (probably the one in Cornwall) not long after Samson's death (for the preface, see Olson 2017: 3-4). Moreover, the old man's uncle, a deacon called Henoc, was Samson's cousin, and had written an account of Samson that the author of the First Life had been able to use as a source. It is very likely that these claims are true; the hotly debated question concerns the extent to which the extant text reproduces this earlier source, which must have been written very close to Samson's own lifetime.

Although the Life of St Samson was revised and reworked in the ninth century and later (cf. Poulin 2009: 336–47), it is the First Life that is important in the present context, for it was this version of the Life that was rewritten and abbreviated in the Liber Landavensis (Fawtier 1912: 18–21; Flobert 1997: 41–2; Davies 2003: 128–9). The Liber Landavensis version consists of the events of Samson's life as relayed in the first book of the First Life; nothing from the second book is reproduced. Most sections of the First Life are present in some form in the Liber Landavensis version, though they are usually much reduced. There is one episode found in the

Liber Landavensis text that does not derive from the First Life: namely, the episode concerning Samson's attempt to deal with the sparrows that were ravaging Illtud's barley field (§9; cf. Davies 2003: 128–9). The same episode appears in the twelfth-century Life of St Illtud (VS Iltuti (Vesp), §14). It is likely that both Welsh versions of this episode derive ultimately from the earlier Life of the Breton saint Paul Aurelian, written by Wrmonoc in 884 (Cuissard 1881–3: 423–5 (§4); LWS 110–1, n. 58; cf. Davies 2003: 128–9, 194).

The only other additions to the Liber Landavensis Life of St Samson involve SS. Dyfrig and Illtud, whose roles in the early stages of Samson's career are afforded increased prominence (cf. Jankulak 2017: 177–8). This is in accordance with the overall purpose of the Life of St Samson in the Liber Landavensis. It is clear that the Life was abbreviated specifically with a view to its incorporation into the Liber Landavensis, since it there serves to provide supporting evidence for St Dyfrig's supposedly pivotal role in the early British church. It is notable that two of the chapters featuring St Dyfrig furnish him with the titles *occidentalis Britannię archiepiscopus* ('archbishop of western Britain', §2) and *beatus archiepiscopus* ('blessed archbishop', §39). Neither of the equivalent chapters in the First Life features St Dyfrig, and indeed where Dyfrig does appear in the First Life, he is given the titles *papa* ('father') and *episcopus* ('bishop') rather than *archiepiscopus* (Flobert 1997: 166, 170, 196, 208, 210, 248, 250 (i.13, i.15, i.33, i.34, i.43, i.44, ii.7)). The Life of St Samson was used in other ways to support the purposes of the compiler of the Liber Landavensis. Most obviously, in the Life of St Dyfrig there is a story (§16) that has been borrowed wholesale from the Life of St Samson (§§27–9 of this version), but in the Dyfrig version it has been reworked so that the miracle is performed through Dyfrig rather than Samson.

It has been argued that the emphasis placed by the Liber Landavensis on the relationship between Dyfrig, as archbishop, and Samson, as his subordinate bishop, was designed to rebuff a claim made by St Davids in a letter addressed to Pope Honorius II (1124–30). The letter claims that Samson was David's successor as archbishop of St Davids, and that the original pallium of St Davids had been removed when Samson, fleeing from the plague, had carried it away to Brittany, where he would establish the archbishopric of Dol (Davies 2003: 65). However, the letter to Honorius is preserved only in Gerald of Wales's *De Inuectionibus*, written in *c*. 1203, and its authenticity has been doubted, since it appears to quote Geoffrey of Monmouth's *De gestis Britonum* (cf. Barrow 1998: 4; the opposite view is adopted in Brooke 1986: 21, n. 23, 22, n. 26).

The latter was completed by 1138, after the reign of Honorius II and most probably after the Liber Landavensis had been written.

# Vita Sancti Samsonis (Liber Landavensis)

# edited by Ben Guy

Introduction <u>Translation</u> <u>Manuscript</u> <u>Concordance</u> <u>References</u>

## **Edited Text**

#### Summary

St Samson was a native of South Wales who lived in the middle of the sixth century. He is best known for founding the church of Dol in Brittany. The version of the Life of St Samson in the Liber Landavensis is mainly an abridgement of the early medieval First Life of St Samson, though the Liber Landavensis version lays greater emphasis on Samson's interactions with the southern Welsh saints Dyfrig and Illtud (Fawtier 1912: 18–21; Flobert 1997: 41–2; Davies 2003: 128–9; Jankulak 2017: 177–8).

#### Text

Incipit vita sancti Sansonis, archiepiscopi et confessoris.

#### §1

Fvit vir Amon regali prosapia de regione Methiana, et uxor eius Anna. Cuius frater Umbrafeles iunior se accepit Annę uxoris sororem Affrellam in uxorem, que tres filios genuit.

## §2

Anna uero diu sterilis remansit. Ambo steriles, ambo dolentes pro nimia sterilitate sua, et timentes post obitum suum caput totius parentelę ne sua hereditas nullo posse medicamine medicinari, nullo posse conamine auxiliari. Appropinquantes nimium sepulturę et senectuti, et fere sine spe prolis, dixerunt ad inuicem, 'Nunquid Elisabeth, sterilis post nullam spem prolis, facta est fecunda de tanto Iohanne? Nunquid Deus, qui cuncta creauit ex nichilo, equalis semper per secula, idem et inenarrabilis et mirabilis, et cui omnia possibilia, que uerbo que opere que

cogitatione premeditantur et operantur, omnia sibi manifesta, et que nobis preterita, presentia et futura sibi omnia presentia, et qui, uoluntate sua, redemit humanum genus ab errore suo et ab antiqua fece, ille idem in omnibus nos peccatores liberet ab orbitate et sterilitate ista? Faciamus igitur ieiunium et orationem et elemosinam, ut qui Sidrac, Misac et Abdinago, tres pueros in camino, liberauit ab incendio et carcere suo ipse nos liberet a peccato et cum prole faciat nos letari, fecundos et cum hereditario.' Facta oratione cum ieiunio, deprecati sunt Dubricium sanctum, occidentalis Britannie archiepiscopum, simulque abbatem Ildutum, ut eorum deprecatione sibi prolem summus Creator et Gubernator redderet, et quam, illis uouentes Deo, si tribueret, summopere ad scientiam litterarum et ad diuinum officium peragendum, illis nominatim rederent. His peractis, audierunt quendam librarium uersus aquilonem, longinquam terram habitantem, uera multis prophetantem, cum muneribus ad quam processerunt.

## §3

Et die tertia ad ipsum peruenerunt. Quos ille benigne hospitio recipiens et causam itineris exposuit, dicens, 'Causam scio aduentus uestri. Fac uirgam argenteam coequatam tuę uxori et eroga pauperibus Christi, et habebitis prolem et placitum desiderii uestri.' Quod Ammon audiens dixit, 'Tres dabo argenteas sibi coequatas.'

#### §4

Nocte sequenti, beata Anna uidit per somnium sibi dicentem angelum: 'Dominus confortare dignatus est merorem tuum, et lacrimę tuę uertentur tibi in gaudium. Nam paries filium et uocabis Sansonem episcopali officio condignum, et ipse erit septies candidior argento illo quod tuus maritus donauit pro te Deo.'

#### §5

Cuncta que ab angelo audiuit, ex re facta uiro replicauit. Librarius, mane consurgens, Annam allocutus est, dicens, 'Michi hac nocte Dominus reuelauit de te et de tua prole: talem Britannia nunquam genuit, nec umquam generabit. Nam ut dicitur, "mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis."

#### **§6**

Deprecatione sanctorum uirorum, concepit mulier et peperit filium. Imposito sibi nomine a beato uiro Ildvto Samsone, quoniam ipse de sacro fonte leuauit et baptizauit. Et reductus ad paternum limen, creuit de die in diem infans honestę, personę et staturę. Statim post tempus suę maturitatis moderatę, amabilis uultu et hilari specie, non tam parentelę, uerumetiam genti extraneę. Qui cum crescebat in corpore, crescebat in sapientia et equali discretione. Qui cum loquebatur, avdiebatur et mirabili audientia pro nimia sagacitate, in tantum quod clerus et populus, a primeua etate, dicebat, 'Puer iste, uir nobis, futurus solamen et spes totius patrię, uir mirabilis memorię et summę prudentię, et, ut dicitur, filius bonus gaudium totius parentelę.'

§7

Dormiente patre Ammon quadam nocte ex abrupto stupefactus est et expergefactus pro nimia et horribili uisione, et clamans dixit, 'O quam pauidus cur tremesco! O quam indebilis sentio! Uix manum leuare nec pedem mouere conualeo.' Audito ab uxore sua clamore simul et stupore ipsius, domino dixit, 'O pie, o marite! Clamas; quid clamasti? Luges; vnde luctus tibi? Aut infra somnium, aut ante aliquid inconueniens uidisti? Quod solitum ut quicquid aliquis ante dormitationem precogitat, hoc idem in eadem euenit.' Qui dixit, 'Cogitabam quidem de unico filio meo, et prenotabam qualitates suas honestas in omnibus, et regię curię aptas ut decet et parentelę, nec ad alium usum preparandas nisi ad regendum populum suum gladio et laicali iustitia. Quod impie, quod iniuste nunc cordi meo sedet de iniqua precogitatione, ut quod michi Deus dedit ad tempus ut consolarer, et quod sibi ante tempus concipiendi promisi et post tempus parturiendi sibi ipsi et summo patri meo Dubricio et patrono Ilduto pepigi, et in primeua ętate hoc idem auferre uolui. Nunc quem proposui hereditarium in seculo, hereditarius sit amodo in paradiso, ut simus simul participes perhenni solacio et palatio.' Ambo consentientes ad unum pater et mater duxerunt filium unicum uoluntarium bene agendum, et quamuis pusillus parebat in specie, tamen pre nimio gaudio optabat iterum Ildutum adire et uidere.

#### **§**8

Et commendatum sibi in perpetuo filium cum esset annorum .v. edocuit. Et ad litterarum studium coetaneos suos deuicit, vt, qui statim erat discipulus, efficiebatur eorum miro modo magister simul et discipulus; adeo diligebat eum magister et dominus sanctus Ildutus ut omnibus horis pre cunctis scolaribus eum cariorem in cunctis, et cum eo diligentius seruiebat ecclesie.

§9

Sanctus Ildutus, laborans ut requiesceret, et uiuens labore ut uiueret, habebat satum unum, ad quod seruandum autumnali tempore uice mutua mittebat discipulos, ne passeres ex solito segetem ordei consummerent. Tandem ad fratrem Samsonem peruenit obedientia, et cum summa lętitia iuit ad custodiam. Inuentos omnes passeres albos coadunauit uolatiles, uelut campestres oues, et

duxit ad horrevm. Clauso hostio, rediit tamen ad segetem, et ibi nullo tamen passere manente obdormiuit per spatium. Consocii quidem, mirantes de tanta Samsonis mora et tamen tacti quadam inuidia, dixerunt, 'Eamus et uideamus nescienter quid faciet amabilis puer'. Et inuentum illum in somno letati, redierunt ad magistrum. Et simul cum magistro redierunt ad puerum, et dixerunt ad illum, 'Quem diligitis, inuenimus somnolentum inobedientem et pigrum.' Peruenientes ad illum, excitauerunt dicentes, 'Puer, nunquid dormiunt passeres, inimici tui et nostri? Nunquid funda tua omnes interemisti? Qui tamen, discrete et sine aliquo feruore, dixit, 'Inueni uastatores in segete, et auxiliante Deo reseruo eos communiter nobis et uobis in carcere.' Et ait, 'Reseruatis illis omnibus in horreo, nunquam opportebit nos amplius habere huiusmodi curam aut custodiam.' Et ita factum est. Abbas Ildutus, sancti Germani discipulus, humana et diuina peritus, genere magnificus, et futurorum prescius, gratias Deo agens, et, respiciens in celum, dixit, 'Hunc Deus Samsonem dignatus est nobis mittere patrie lumen. En caput augustum omnium nostrum, et pontifex summus multum ecclesie Dei profuturus! En egregius sacerdos! En peritissimus fundator ecclesiarum post apostolos!' Miro modo, in tantum conflagrauit in eo caritas et sapientia ut, in paucis annis, magistrum uideretur excellere prudentia. Cum quo duxit uitam sanctam per dies et tempora, uitam preclaram<sup>1</sup> et honestam, que, cum ducebat in longius, emendebatur in melius. Quod ore loquebatur, corde credebat; quod credidit, diligebat.

## §10

Quadam namque die ille et magister eius quandam profundam questionem inuenientes nec explanare ualentes. Sanctus Samson ieiuniis et uigiliis incubuit, rogans per Dominum quod per magistrum non potuit. Tertia nocte ieiunii audiuit uocem dicentem sibi, 'Ne amplius fatigeris, hęc et quęcunque a Deo petieris impetrabis.'

#### §11

Quodam itaque estiuo tempore, dum fratres ad purgandam messem ibant, ilider de rubo exiliens fratrem quendam momordit in unguine. Quem extremum anhelitum iam trahentem, sanctus Sanson serpentino morsu signum sanctę crucis imposuit et aqua oleo<sup>2</sup> mixtum dedit, et fratribus incolumem reddidit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> **preclaram** pleclaram L.

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  **oleo** oleo <br/>oleo L.

## §12

Beatus uero Eltutus, uidens sanctum Samsonem in uirtutibus crescere, fecit eum diaconatus ordinem consecrare. Cumque episcopus nomine Dubricivs missam ordinationis eius celebrauit una cum magistro Eltuto, columbam celitus emissam super sanctum Samsonem mirabiliter stare uidit. Et cum super eum episcopus manum leuauit, columba<sup>3</sup> in dexteram<sup>4</sup> scapulam eius descendit et ibi consedit quandiu episcopus officium celebrauit.

#### §13

Non multum post hec annis transactis, ab eodem episcopo consecratus est in ordinem presbiteratus. Sed et columba de celo super eum sicut prius descendit, et electum Dei innocentia signauit.

#### **§**14

Hic uero Eldutus in suo monasterio duos nepotes habuit germanos, quorum unus sacerdos, alter autem sine gradu eius fuit cellerarius. Sacerdos uero cupiens post auunculum possidere monasterivm, sed metuens sanctum Samsonem, ne ob gratiam uirtutum ad abbatem ab omnibus eligeretur, et ipse sic monasterio priuaretur, mortiferum cum fratre iniit consilivm. Nam eiusdem loci fratres habebant in consuetudine potionem herbarum post missas habere. Cellerarius, fratris sui consilio, uenenum confecit et per pelacem mortiferum esse probauit, et in scifum sancti Samsonis fudit. Quod ille per spiritum sanctum intelligens potumque benedicens totvm bibit, nichil mali ex eo sentiens.

#### §15

Eodem die post prandium, sanctus Samson cum cellerario amicissimum habuit colloquium. 'Mi frater dulcissime, sanet te Deus ab omni egritudine, quia magnam sanitatem corpori meo poculum prebuit quod mihi dedisti hodie.' Hęc illo audiente, compunctus ingemuit, fratremque suum, nefandi incentorem, penitere commonuit. Sed noluit.

#### **§**16

Sequenti dominica die, cum idem sacerdos sacram communionem de manu sancti Samsonis suscepit, eodem momento Diabolus eum arripuit. Ille autem psallens se ilico totum dilanians et

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> **columba** colu<del>xx</del> L (corrected by a later hand).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> dexteram dexterram L.

labia mordens, astantibus dixit, 'Quid hic statis? Si Samsonem dominatorem mei presentem non uiderem, minime de uobis curarem.' Ildutus uero, ut hec uidit, ligari eum ac foras duci eum iussit. Frater autem eius hec audiens utrorumque culpam monstrauit, et ueniam a sancto Samsone postulauit.

§17

Sanctus uero Samson dolore commotus fleuit. Aquam et oleum benedixit, et dari ei ad gustandvm precepit; et sic eum a Diaboli laqueis liberauit. Itaque factum est iusto Dei iudicio, ut primatum quod nequiter quesiuit nunquam habere potuit.

§18

Erat autem non longe ab hoc cenobio insula quedam, in qua monasterium erat constructum a uiro nomine Piro.

§19

Illuc sanctus Samson, Deo ducente ac magistro fauente, festinanter perrexit, et ibi gloriosam et angelicam uitam duxit. Amabilis moribus, piis insistens operibus, peruigil in orationibus.

§20

Post hec autem, quodam hiemis tempore, pater sancti Samsonis, graui infirmitate depressus, a suis commonitus est uicinis ut, iuxta morem, susciperet sacrificium communionis. Ille uero obnixe affirmauit nunquam se mortem gustaturum, nunquam sacrificium sumpturum, nunquam sanitatem recepturum, priusquam Samsonem filium suum uideret, ac per ipsum pariter corporis et animę sanitatem reciperet. Parentes ergo ad eum legatos miserunt, poscentes ut patrem in confinio mortis decubantem uisitaret.

§21

Sanctus uero Samson dolore commotus, ait, 'Potens est Deus absque me egrotantem sanare.' Tandem, abbatis precibus conuictus, legatos remisit et se uenturum esse concessit.

§22

Mane itaque facto, abbatis sui benedictione accepta cum iuuene diacono cepit iter agere. Cumque per uastam solitudinem perrexissent, horribilem uocem iuxta se audierunt. Ad hanc uocem, diaconus perterritus equm dimisit et, pallium suum proiciens, in fugam se conuertit. Quem theomaca ursuta et cornuta cum lancea trisulcata, per uastas siluas uolitans, seminecem prostrauit.

10

Beatus uero Samson, intrepidus progrediens et theomacam a longe fugientem aspiciens, clamauit post eam, dicens, 'In nomine Iesu Christi impero tibi, expecta et loquere mihi.'

## §23

Cui ille dixit, 'Quis es tu?' Illa respondit, 'Theomaca sum. Nam parentes mei huc usque preuaritores uobis extitere, et nemo in hac silua remansit nisi ego de meo genere. Habeo octo sorores et matrem que adhuc uiuunt et in ulteriori silua degunt. Et ego marito tradita sum in hac heremo, sed quia mortuus est recedere de hac silua nequeo.' Cui sanctus Samson ait, 'Potesne fratrem quem percussisti rediuiuum reddere, et a malo declinare?' Respondit, 'Nec illum possum sanare, nec in melius reparari,<sup>5</sup> quia ab infantia semper male uixi.' Beatus Samson dixit, 'In nomine Iesu Christi, precipio tibi ne amplius hominibus noceas, sed citissime ab hac uita discedas.' Que statim saltum dans precipitem, corruit et exspirauit.

#### §24

Sanctus Samson reuersus ad fratrem pene mortuum, more Helisei, os ori ac membra menbris composuit, et sic illum sanitati restituit.

#### §25

Itaque ceptum iter perrexerunt. et die tertia ad Ammonem peruenerunt. Ammon uero, ut eos uidit, cum ingenti lętitia dixit, 'Ecce auxilium corporis et animę meę, quod mihi Dominus per somnium dignatus est demonstrare!' Ipso namque die per benedictionem sancti Samsonis a morbo conualuit. Ac supplici petitione, una cum fratre suo Umbrafele, monachicum habitum suscipere meruit. Sed et uenerabilis Anna, cum Affrella sorore sua, eius benedictione est consecrata. Partim substantiarum pars pauperibus erogauit, partim ad monasterium construendum commisit, partim matris et fratrum usui concessit. Ordinatis omnibus per gratiam sancti spiritus, assumptis patre et patruele, per aliam quam uenerat uiam ad suum monasterium reuersus est.

#### §26

Per eandem quoque uiam serpentem mirę magnitudinis repperit, quem solo sermone prostrauit. §27

Cumque ad monasterium redirent, Dvbricivm episcopum initiante quadragesima ibi commanentem inuenit.

<sup>5</sup> reparari reparrari L.

## §28

Episcopus autem, ad se diaconum conuocans, et ab eo cuncta que gesta fuerant in uia condiscens, maximo cum honore sanctum Samsonem sociosque suos suscepit. Et eodem die, sanctum Samsonem cellerarium illius loci constituit. Ille uero, ac si iussus esset diuinitus, cum magna diligentia seruiuit fratribus, et in quantum potuit ministrauit pauperibus.

#### §29

Sed frater qui ante eum fuerat<sup>6</sup> in eodem ministerio, eius operibus bonis inuidens, dicebat sanctum Samsonem omnia in effusionem fenerasse et lenternas melle plenas indecenter euacuasse. Quod episcopus audiens et rei ueritatem scire cupiens, cellarium intrauit. Quod beatus Samson per spiritum sanctum agnoscens lenternas quas euacuauerat,<sup>7</sup> signum crucis composuit, et easdem episcopus plenas repperit. Episcopus autem admirans Samsonem spiritu sancto plenum esse credidit, et in sullimium officio dignum esse iudicauit.

## §30

Post hec paucis interiacentibus diebus, Piro morte preuentus, sanctus Samson ad abbatem illius monasterii ab omnibus est electus. Obediente autem illo non uoluntarie, primatum anno tertio et dimidio illius congregationis tenuit.

#### §31

Postea uero quam, peritissimi Scothi, Roma reuertentes, ad eum uenerunt, quos perscrutans sapientes agnouit. Et episcopo permittente, cum illis ad patriam illorum abiit. Ibique aliquantulum demorans, ab omnibus religiosis ut angelus est receptus. Cecos illuminauit; leprosos mundauit; demones ex hominibus fugauit; et cunctis uiam salutis monstrauit.

#### §32

Cunque in arce demoraretur, uolens ad patriam reuerti, et nauis iam parata inueniebatur. Et ut nauim ascenderet a nautis precabatur, quibus ipse respondit, 'Opera Dei prius faciemus quam ab hac prouincia nauigemus.' Nautę uero, ad irancundiam prouocati, carbasa suspendebant. Quibus ipse ait, 'Ite in pace hodie reuersuri, et simul erimus cras ituri.' Euntibus autem illis, ecce quidam uenit ad eum, rogans ut proximum monasterium uisitaret, dicens, 'Abbatem nostrum Diabolus inuasit et alligatum tenet, qui te uidere desiderat.' Sanctus Samson cum illo perrexit et eum

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> fuerat fuerant L (corrected by a later hand).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> euacuauerat euacuauer $\frac{1}{2}$  L (corrected by a later hand).

alligatum repperit. Qui, in occursum eius, magna uoce clamauit, 'En quem semper quesiui! En quem uidere tota deuotione desideraui!' Orante sancto Samsone, sanitati redditus est energuminis. Monasterium relinquens, sanctum Samsonem est secutus.

#### §33

Benedictis in monasterio fratribus abiit, et ad portum nauim iam reuersam sicut predixit inuenit. Mane cum sociis nauim conscendit. Et prospero uento, insulam in qua prius habitauerat altera die petiit. Ingressus itaque monasterium, patrem et patruum pre ceteris degentibus laudabiliter in conuersatione proficere inueniebat, et ex hoc Omnipotenti gratias referebat.

#### §34

Sumens itaque patruum Umbrafelem, presbiteratus officio iam perfunctum, ad monasterium in Hibernia abbatem misit in quo priorem a Diabolo<sup>8</sup> liberauit. Beatus uero Samson, cum Ammone et supradicto abbate et quodam fratre presbitero, uastissimum heremum adiit, ac iuxta Habrinum flumen tugurivm et in eo fontem dulcissimum repperit. Ibique patrem cum duobus sociis collocauit.

#### §35

Ipse, interius heremvm progrediens, secretissimum specum inuenit. Hostiumque eius ad orientem situm, eumque quasi a Deo preparatum adamauit. Et in eo fontis uenam precibus promeruit. Vbi soli Deo, sine intermissione, uacabat; uersutias Temptatoris non timebat. Angelorum assuetus colloquio, per quos se commendabat Altissimo. Per cunctos autem dominicarvm dies, tres fratres uisitabat quos<sup>9</sup> in heremo collocauit, et communionem ab eis accipiebat.

#### §36

Facto itaque sinodo, ac percunctantibus terrę principibus ubi nam sanctus Samson habitaret, affuit quidam qui dicebat se scire speluncam in qua celestem uitam ageret. Missus itaque cum ceteris precibus, ad sinodum pertrahunt; uidentes eum quasi angelum, excipiunt abbatemque nolentem in monasterio a sancto Germano constructo constituunt. In eodem itaque monasterio,

 $<sup>^{8}</sup>$  **Diabolo** diabo<del>xx</del> L (corrected by a later hand).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> uisitabat quos quos uisitabat L.

pro reuerentia, habebant, id est, in cathedra beati Petri apostoli, consedere episcopos cum conuenerant.

#### §37

Factum est autem annuali festo appropinquante, episcopique consuetum expectarent conuentvm. Quadam nocte, uidit sanctus Samson circumseptari densissimis candidatorum turmis, et tres egregios episcopos, diadematibus ornatos aureis in faciem, sibi assistere, atque cum illis ecclesiam ingredi et orare. Quorum nomina causamque aduentus eorum subtiliter et humiliter requisiuit. Cui princeps uisionis dixit, 'Ego sum Petrus, Christi apostolus, et hic frater Domini Iacobus, et Iohannes euangelista. Dominus Iesus Christus te sibi in presulem preelegit, et te consecrare nos misit.' Quem cum benedictione celesti confirmauerunt, ab oculis eius elapsi sunt. Episcopi autem, ad diem condictum uenientes, duos secum ordinandos adducentes, ad honorem Sancte Trinitatis tres ordinare uolebant. Sed quem eligerent ad hoc ignorabant. Nocte itaque sequenti, beato Dubritio angelus Domini astitit, eique sanctum Samsonem ad episcopum ordinare precepit. Beatus uero Dvbritivs, pre gaudio angelice uisionis, in unum conuenire fecit fratres congregationis, et ouanter quod ab angelo audierat exposuit eis.

#### §38

Statimque omnes occlamantes Deo gratias egerunt, eumque cum ceteris in cathedra episcopali collocauerunt. Omnes ergo qui aderant columbam celitus emissam super eum dum consecraretur immobiliter stare uidebant. Eadem namque die, sancto Samsone sacrosancta misteria celebrante, beatus Dvbritius, cum duobus monachis, uidit columpnam ignis de ore eius choruscando procedere. Ille uero, omni tempore uitę suę, quando missam celebrauit, angelos assistentes sibique in altaris sacrificio seruientes uidere promeruit.

## §39

Quadam autem nocte resurrectionis Dominicę, uigilante illo et orante in templo, angelus Domini cum magna claritate astitit, et ne timeret confortauit, dicens, 'Samson, Deo dilectissime, uiriliter age; de nostra et de cognatione tua egredere. Predestinatus es enim a Deo ultra mare fundator monachorum magnificus, rectorque in populo gloriosus.' Autem similia alia beato uiro angelus per totam noctem gratulando predixit. Et mane ueniente, clero et conuocato, nil resistens uisioni angelicę, immo obtemperans<sup>10</sup> cum summa caritate, dixit, 'O pater sancte, cuius manus

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> obtemperans obt<del>x</del>m<del>x</del>ans L (corrected by a later hand).

impositione sullimatus sum, quamuis indigne, cogit me angelicus uisus fines natiuos relinquere et ultra marinos festinanter adire, et nominatim ad Armoricas terras<sup>11</sup> Brittannicę gentis transire.' His auditis, beatus archiepiscopus Dubritius non dubitauit uirum permittere inter Brittannos, eo quod linguę et sciens illum precinctum diuino robore et ornatum moribus cum sanctitate. Dixit, 'Esto uir robustus; pugna in acie. Hinc te conducant preces Britannię cum gaudio et cum alacritate.' Et data sibi benedictione patris Dubricii abbatisque Elduti et totius cleri et populi, recessit. Consummato itaque pascalis sollempnitatis officio, ac pręparato nauigio, assumptis quibusdam secum fratribus citra Abrinum mare perrexit. Terram matremque suam uisitauit, et ecclesiam ab ea factam consecrauit, multosque egrotos illis in locis sanitati restituit.

§40

Postquam matrem ceterosque parentes plene<sup>12</sup> de uerbis Domini instruxisset, Deo ducente, Auferreum mare cum sociis transfretauit.

§41

Cunque per quendam pagum quem Tricurrium uocant transiret, uidit ibi homines profano ritu bachantes idolum quoddam adorare. Quo uiso, sanctus Samson ingemuit, eosque precibus et doctrinis commonuit ut idola, humano generi inimica, relinquerent, unum et uerum Deum qui in celis est adorarent. Cui comes eorum Gedianus respondit, 'Deum quem predicatis ignoramus. Deos uero quos coluerunt patres nostri hos adoramus.' Dum hec loquerentur, puer<sup>13</sup> quidam, equo insedens et circa idolum currens, ad terram corruit, fractoque collo mortuus iacuit.

§42

Flentibus cunctis, sanctus Samson dixit eis, 'Ecce potestis uidere quod simulacrum uestrum non potest huic mortuo uitam reddere. Si uolueritis idola uestra destruere et in Deum meum credere, inuocato nomine<sup>14</sup> Domini faciam mortuum uestrum resurgere.' Illis autem adquiescentibus, sanctus Samson profusis ab eo precibus mortuum uitę reddidit palam omnibus. Super hec, mira et inaudita attoniti uisione, omnes unanimes idola destruentes, baptizati sunt, in Iesum filium Dei credentes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> terras  $\frac{1}{2}$  L (reading supplied by a later hand).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> **plene** pleni L.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> **puer** puxx L (corrected by a later hand).

 $<sup>^{14}</sup>$  nomine nomen L (corrected by a later hand).

#### §43

In eadem nanque prouincia serpens quidam mirę magnitudinis erat, qui mortifero flatu suo pene duo pagos deleuerat. Quo comperto, sanctus Samson, miserię hominum condolens, puerum nuper resuscitatum secum assumens, et iam precedente cum eo Gediano comite cum uniuerso populo, ubi serpentem in antro latitare nouerant perrexit. Postera nanque die, illuscescente sole, antrum ubi serpens inerat ultra quoddam flumen uidere. Ibique sanctus Samson comitem cum populo dimisit. Ipse, cum puero nuper suscitato, ultra flumen processit. Cumque ad hostivm antri perueniret, eminus puerum stare precepit. Ille uero, signo sanctę crucis munitus, confestim antrum intrauit. Atque serpentem linea zona qua erat precinctus circa collvm ligauit. Trahens eum foras, de quadam grandi altitudine precipitauit, precipiens ei in nomine Domini ne amplius uiueret. Puer autem recucurrit et comiti Gediano Deique populo quę uiderat nuntiauit. Omnis itaque populus super hac uisione magna gaudebat, et laudes Deo sanctoque Samsoni ex intimis profusas uisceribus proclamabat. Cui sanctus Samson precepit ut monasterium prope antrum construeret. Ipse uero interim in antro ieiuniis et orationibus incumbebat.

#### §44

Vbi fontis uenam precibus promeruit, que usque hodie fluere<sup>15</sup> non desinit.

#### §45

Cunque populus monasterium perfecisset, et hoc beatus Samson dedicasset, patrem suum Ammonem, et cum eo consobrinum suum, in eodem constituit. Ipse in Britanniam cum suis, Deo ducente, nauigauit. Cunque in portum peruenisset atque de naui descendisset, uidit iuxta portum tugurium, et in eo quendam priuatum miserabiliter plorantem semperque ad mare aspicientem. Cui Samson ait, 'Frater, quid ploras?' Qui dixit ei, 'Vxorem habeo leprosam in hac mansione, et filiam demoniacam, quas michi Dominus sanare promisit per quendam transmarinum. Quem triduo hic expectans spero uenturum in hunc portvm.' Beatus uero Samson, hec audiens, atque cum eo domum suam introiens, super eas supplex orauit sanitatique restituit. In eadem itaque mansione aptissimvm repperit locum, in qua honorificum construxit monasterium, quod usque hodie Dolum nuncupatur. Vbi plurima insignia uirtutum miracula fecit, atque per prouincias multa monasteria construxit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> **usque hodie fluere** These three words appear to have been written over an erasure by a later hand. The erased words are no longer visible.

#### §46

His namque<sup>16</sup> diebus comes commotus externus, seuus et infaustus,<sup>17</sup> omnibus Britannis preerat; qui Ionam, Britannorum indigenam comitem, occiderat, filiumque eius Iudualum<sup>18</sup> regi Hildeberto et reginę in captiuitate custodiendum tradiderat. Quo audito, sanctus Samson miserię eorum condoluit, et ad regem Hildebertum festinanter perrexit, cupiens Iudualum<sup>19</sup> captiuitate redimere et populum externo iudice liberare.

## §47

Ingrediente beato Samsone regis palatium, quendam comitem ibi repperit energuminum, quem benedicto oleo in facie et pectore perunxit et sic de Diabolo liberauit.

#### §48

Rex autem, cum hec audisset et quod pro Iudualo sibi supplicare uenisset, inito cum suis obtimatibus consilio, beatum Samsonem digno cum honore suscepit, et secvm prandendum impetrauit. Regina uero, cum Iudualvm uinctum in sua captiuitate teneret et eum dimittere nollet, beatum Samsonem precibus eius obsistendo uerbisque contumeliosis concrepando irritauit. Et ut eum perderet, mortiferum sibi poculum preparauit. Cumque rex et beatus archiepiscopus ad epulandum consedissent, et omnes qui aderant de eius aduentu gratulassent, regina, instigante Diabolo, in uitro uenenum uino miscuit, et beato Samsoni ad bibendum per suum ministrvm optulit. Tum ille, diuinitus nimirum inspiratus, uitro signum crucis imposuit, uitrum autem in quattuor partes crepuit. Et effuso super manu tenentis ueneno, cunctis intuentibus, usque ad ossa corrosa est cutis et caro. Tunc beatus Samson ait, 'Non est conueniens hoc poculum ad bibendum.'

#### §49

Turbato itaque rege, cunctisque admirantibus, beatus Samson manum lesi consignauit et ex integro restaurauit. Postquam pransissent, beatus Samson, rege concedente, ad locum ubi Iudualus seruabatur festinauit. Cui obuiam regina equum furibundum ut eum perimeret

<sup>18</sup> **Iudualum** indualum L.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> **namque** This word appears to have been written over an erasure by a later hand. The erased word is no longer visible.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> infaustus incaustus L.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> **Iudualum** indualum L.

destinauit, quem mox electus cum cruce consignauit, suaque sella superposita conscendit. Tamque mite<sup>20</sup> processit quasi ipsum Rex celi sub suo milite domuerit.

#### §50

Adhuc etiam, indurato<sup>21</sup> corde, ferocem sibi obuiam leonem cum custodibus ut eum inuaderet direxit. Sed electum Dei dextera protexit, et ueluti conto leo percussus se in fugam conuertit. Beatus uero Samson, aspiciens post eum, ait, 'Impero tibi in nomine Iesu Christi ne cuiquam amplius noceas, sed ut uelociter pereas.' Qui statim saltum dans precipitem, exspirauit. Videns autem rex tanta mirabilia in sancto Dei, Iudualum catenis adductum donauit ei. Regina quoque, cvm suis fautoribus eius pedibus prostrata, ueniam postulauit a sancto.

#### §51

Quo facto, omnes per gratiam Dei compagati nimiumque letificati, rex ait beato Samsoni, 'Est serpens in hac prouincia, cirivm quoque habitantes graui affligens pestilentia; et quia te uidemus uirtutibus fulgere, rogamus ut nos digneris ab eo liberare.' Cui sanctus Samson dixit, 'Inuenite ductorem itineris, et in Dei uirtute expellam eum partibus uestris.' Itaque ductore inuento, duobus secum fratribus assumptis ceterisque cum Iudualo in palatio relictis, uiam carpebat subito, confidens et exultans semper in Domino. Cumque ad antrum ubi serpens inerat peruenisset, ibique flexis genibus Dominum exorasset, serpentem per collum arripuit et extraxit, et ultra flumen quod Sigona uocatur natare et ibi sub quodam lapide manere precepit.

## §52

Quem paulo post solo sermone in mari demersit. In eodem namque loco monasterium construxit, et in eo fratres Christo seruitvros collocauit. Denique rex Hildebertus<sup>22</sup> pro tam magnis uirtutibus beatum Samsonem plurimum adamauit, sibique ingentia gratanter dona tribuens, in auro scilicet et argento, in uasis pretiosis, in prediis, et in possessionibus plurimis; se suis orationibus commendauit. Accepto secum itaque Iudualo, Lesiam Angiamque adiit, ibique exercitum congregauit et cum eo in Britanniam rediit. Beato igitur Samsone ieiunante et orante, atque Iudualo cum exercitu contra Commorum preliante, Iudualus sancti precibus hostem uno ictu prostrauit. Et ex inde ipse et generationis eius successores super Britanniam dominium tenuit. Mox autem, Iudualus a suis ouanter susceptys et in ducem totius Britannię electus, seipsum cum

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> **mite** mitem L.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> **indurato** induratum L.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Hildebertus hildebtus L (corrected by a later hand).

cunctis ad se pertinentibus beato Samsoni mancipauit, et orationibus eius deuote commendauit. Gratias agat dux redemptori; exultat populus commissus tanto pastori. Vnde principatus totius Britannię apud Dolvm iuste constare uidetur usque hodie. Nam quantas uirtutes per eum Dominus ultra citraque mare fecerit, quantumque doctrina claruit, nullius scriptoris uel doctoris eloquentia comprehendit.

## §53

Perfectus itaque uita et etate cunctisque adornatus uirtutibus, acri morbo correptus, in Dolo monasterio circumflente clero, corpus seculo animam reddidit celo. Clerus sanctum corpus cum unguentis sepeliebat, ipsoque audiente celestis exercitus animam cum ymnis et laudibus ad Christum deducebat. Signum autem beatitudinis eius apud nos habemus, in his scilicet miraculis que<sup>23</sup> cotidie per eum facit Deus ad laudem et gloriam nominis eius, qui cum Deo Patre et Spiritu Sancto uiuit et regnat, Deus per infinita secula seculorum amen. Finit amen.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> **que** que L (with a cedilla underneath the q).

# Vita Sancti Samsonis (Liber Landavensis)

# edited by Ben Guy

Introduction Edited Text Manuscript Concordance <u>References</u>

## Translation

Here begins the Life of Saint Samson, archbishop and confessor.

§1

There was a man of royal stock called Ammon from the region of *Methiana*,<sup>1</sup> and his wife Anna. His younger brother, Umbraphel, took as his wife Affrella, sister of Ammon's wife Anna, and she gave birth to three sons.<sup>2</sup>

§2

Anna, however, remained barren for a long time. Ammon and Anna were both barren, and both suffered on account of their excessive barrenness, fearing for the headship of the whole kindred after they were dead if their ability to produce an heir could not be remedied with medicine, or else aided through some measure.<sup>3</sup> Since they were now fast approaching burial and old age, having almost no hope of offspring, they said to each other, 'Was not Elizabeth, who was barren

<sup>1</sup> Methiana The First Life of St Samson (I.1) has *Demetiana*, for Dyfed (Flobert 1997: 146). It is probable that the name became corrupted because a copyist thought that the first part of the name was the Latin preposition *de* ('from') and that *metiana* was the proper noun. However, John Reuben Davies understands *Methiana* as a rendering of Meath in Ireland and argues that Ammon's place of origin was deliberately altered in the Liber Landavensis version of the Life of St Samson so as to diminish the connection between St Samson and St Davids (Davies 2003: 65; followed by Jankulak 2017: 178).

<sup>2</sup> The names Ammon, Anna and Umbraphel are biblical, and Affrella (a version of Latin Aurelia) may be a play on Umbraphel: cf. Davies 2012: 187 and 191; Sowerby 2017: 35.

<sup>3</sup> ne sua hereditas nullo posse medicamine medicinari, nullo posse conamine auxiliari (if their ability to produce an heir could not be remedied with medicine, or else aided through some measure) One would usually expect a finite subjunctive verb (*posset*) after *ne*, rather than a present infinitive (*posse*). and had no hope of offspring, made pregnant with such a man as John?<sup>4</sup> And God, who made all things from nothing, who is forever constant through the ages, both indescribable and marvellous, for whom all things are possible, which are premeditated and brought about either in word or deed or thought, to whom all things are made manifest, and all the things that are past, present or future to us are present to him, and who, by his own volition, redeemed the human race from its error and from ancient impurity, might he not free us, sinners in all respects, from this childlessness and barrenness? Let us therefore fast and pray and give alms, so that he who freed Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, the three boys in the furnace, from their burning and imprisonment<sup>5</sup> may free us from sin and make us rejoice with offspring, becoming fertile and obtaining an heir.' Once they had prayed and fasted, they beseeched holy Dyfrig, archbishop of western Britain, and also Abbot Illtud, so that through their prayers the High Creator and Ruler might give them a child, which they, pledging it through them to God, if he should grant it, would deliver specifically to them,<sup>6</sup> most especially for instruction in letters and for performance of the divine office.<sup>7</sup> After these things had been done, they heard about a certain learned man to the north, living in a distant land, who was prophesying truths to many people, and they went there with gifts.

## §3

And on the third day they reached him. He kindly received them in his home and identified the reason for their journey, saying, 'I know the reason for your arrival. Make a silver rod the same size as your wife and give it to Christ's poor, and the two of you will have a child and your desire will be satisfied.' Hearing this, Ammon said, 'I will give three silver rods the same size as her!'<sup>8</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Elizabeth, mother of John the Baptist; see Luke 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> qui Sidrac, Misac et Abdinago, tres pueros in camino, liberauit ab incendio et carcere suo (he who freed Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, the three boys in the furnace, from their burning and imprisonment) Cf. Daniel 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> illis (to them) I.e. Dyfrig and Illtud.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Neither Dyfrig nor Illtud appear in this chapter in the First Life of St Samson.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The advice concerning the silver rod that is to be the same size as Ammon's wife, deriving from the First Life of St Samson (I.3), is reminiscent of the Mabinogi tale of *Branwen uerch Lyr* and the Iorwerth redaction of the Welsh laws. In *Branwen*, part of the Irish king Matholwch's honour price is a silver rod as thick and as tall as himself. In the Iorwerth redaction of the laws, it is specified that part of the payment for insulting the king of Aberffraw was a golden rod as tall as the king and as thick as his little finger. Similar but more complex stipulations appear in other versions of the Welsh laws. Editors and translators of *Branwen* generally follow Ifor Williams (PKM 175–7) in

## §4

The following night, blessed Anna saw an angel speaking to her in a dream: 'The Lord has deigned to comfort your grief, and your tears shall be turned into joy for you. For you will give birth to a son worthy of episcopal office and you will call him Samson, and he will be seven times brighter than that silver which your husband gave to God on your behalf.'

## §5

Afterwards, she repeated to her husband everything that she heard from the angel. The learned man, rising in the morning, spoke to Anna, saying, 'Last night the Lord revealed to me something about you and your child: that Britain has never produced the like, nor will it ever again. For as it is said, "God is wonderful in his saints.""<sup>9</sup>

## §6

Thanks to the prayers of the holy men, the woman conceived and gave birth to a son. The blessed man Illtud bestowed the name Samson upon him, because it was he who washed and baptized him in the holy font.<sup>10</sup> And after he returned to his father's home, the child grew from day to day in honesty, character and stature. As soon as he had grown up,<sup>11</sup> he became loveable in demeanour and acquired a cheerful appearance, not just to his kin, but also to foreign peoples. As he grew in body, so he grew in wisdom and prudence to the same degree. When he spoke, he was heard with such marvellous attentiveness on account of his great astuteness, to such an extent that, from the time of his youth, the clergy and the people would say, 'This boy, a man to us, will be the solace and hope of the whole country, a man of marvellous memory and the utmost prudence, and, as it is said, a good son is the joy of the whole kindred.'

emending the text of *Branwen* in accordance with the Iorwerth redaction, thus introducing the idea that the rod in *Branwen* should be as thick as the king's little finger rather than as thick as the king himself, but the emendation is unnecessary (Russell 2017). For a full discussion, along with quotations and translations of the relevant passages, see Russell 2017 (discussion of the Life of St Samson at p. 5).

<sup>9</sup> mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis (God is wonderful in his saints) From Psalms 67.36 (Vulgate; modern 68.35). Cf. VS Dubricii (LL / Vesp), §§16, 20; VS Teliaui (LL), §§5, 29; VS Teliaui (Vesp), §5.

 $^{10}$  Illtud plays no such role in the First Life of St Samson (I.6) and does not appear in this section.

<sup>11</sup> Statim post tempus suę maturitatis moderatę (As soon as he had grown up) John Reuben Davies notes that the phrase *post tempus (suę) maturitatis* recurs twice in the Life of St Euddogwy (VS Oudocei (LL), §§1, 7; Davies 2003: 137).

§7

One night, his father Ammon, while sleeping, was suddenly stunned and awakened by an overbearing and fearsome dream, and, crying out, he said, 'Oh, why do I shake with such trembling? Oh, how I feel so very weak! I can scarcely lift my hand or move my foot.' His wife heard his cry and shock, and she said to her husband, 'Oh my love, oh my husband! You cry out; why did you cried out? You lament; where did your lamentation come from? Have you seen something unbecoming in a dream, or beforehand? Because it usually happens that whatever one thinks about before sleep, that same thing happens within it.' He said, 'Actually, I was thinking about my only son, and considering how honest he is in all matters, making him suitable both for the royal court and for the kindred, as is fitting, and preparing him for no other purpose than to rule his people with sword and with lay justice. What impiety, what unrighteousness now sits in my heart for having thought about such wickedness, since that which God gave to me at one time that I might be consoled, and that which I promised to him before the time of conception and agreed with him and my most excellent father Dyfrig and my patron Illtud after the time of birth, that same thing I have wished to steal in the prime of his life.<sup>12</sup> But now, may he whom I have established as an heir in this world be from now on an heir in paradise, so that we too may share in everlasting solace and in heaven.' Both his father and mother were in agreement, and they led away their only son, who wished to do well, and no matter how small he seemed in appearance, nonetheless he still chose to go back and see Illtud again with great gladness.

#### §8

And when he was five years old, Illtud instructed the boy who had been commended to him in perpetuity. And he overtook his contemporaries in the study of letters, such that, though he was initially a pupil, he remarkably became their teacher and fellow pupil at the same time; holy Illtud, his teacher and master, loved him so much that at all times [he held] him to be dearer in every way than every other student,<sup>13</sup> and with him he served the church more diligently.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Dyfrig and Illtud are not mentioned in this context in the First Life of St Samson (I.7), since Ammon had not promised them anything prior to Samson's birth.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> ut omnibus horis pre cunctis scolaribus eum cariorem in cunctis (that at all times [he held] him to be dearer in every way than every other student) The Latin text appears to lack a main verb in this *ut* clause. In the translation, 'he held' has been supplied to convey the sense.

§9

Holy Illtud, working so that he could rest, and living in toil so that he could live, had one field sown with crops, which in Autumn time he would send his pupils one by one to tend, lest the sparrows should consume the barley in their usual way.<sup>14</sup> At length, the job came to brother Samson, and with the greatest joy he went to guard the field. He assembled all the white sparrows he could find flying about, just like sheep in a meadow, and led them to the granary. Having closed the door, he nevertheless returned to the field, and since no sparrow remained there he went to sleep for a while. Certain companions, marvelling at Samson's procrastination and indeed touched by a certain amount of envy, said, 'Since we do not know, let us go and see what the loveable boy is doing'. And delighted to find him sleeping, they returned to their master. And together with the master they returned to the boy, and said to their master, 'We found the one you love sleeping disobediently and lazily.' Going over to him, they woke him up and said, 'Boy, surely the sparrows, your enemies and ours, do not sleep? Surely you have not killed them all with your sling?' He, however, discretely and without any rage, said, 'I found the despoilers in the field, and with God's help I am keeping them together in a prison for all of us.' And he said, 'With all of them shut up in the granary, it will no longer be necessary for us to have such worry or guard the field in the same way.' And so it happened. Abbot Illtud, a pupil of holy Germanus, wise in earthly and divine matters, noble in race, and prescient of future things, gave thanks to God, and, gazing towards heaven, said, 'God has deigned to send us this Samson as a light for the country. Behold, the venerable head of us all, destined to be the very highest bishop of God's church! Behold, the outstanding priest! Behold, the wisest founder of churches since the apostles!' Remarkably, love and wisdom burned in Samson to such an extent that, in a few years, he was seen to surpass the master in prudence. He led a holy life with his master for some time,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> This is the only episode in the Liber Landavensis version of the Life of St Samson that is entirely absent from the First Life of St Samson. The same episode occurs in Wrmonoc's Life of St Paul Aurelian, written in 884 (Cuissard 1881–3: 423–5 (§4)), Vitalis's early eleventh-century Life of St Gildas (Williams 1899: 22–3 (§5)) and the twelfth-century Life of St Illtud (VS Iltuti (Vesp), §14) (Flobert 1997: 42). It is likely that the versions of the story in the Lives of Gildas and Illtud and in the Liber Landavensis Life of St Samson derive ultimately from Wrmonoc's version (LWS 110–1, n. 58; cf. Davies 2003: 128–9, 194).

a life very pure and honest, which, after he was leading it for a long while, was made even better. That which was spoken by his mouth, he believed in his heart; that which he believed, he loved.<sup>15</sup>

## §10

Indeed, one day he and his master came across a certain profound question that they were unable to explain. Holy Samson applied himself to fasts and vigils, asking the Lord what he could not ask his master. On the third night of the fast he heard a voice saying to him, 'Lest you be wearied any further, you will obtain this and whatever else you have asked from God.'

## §11

And one summer, while the brothers were going to winnow the crops, a snake<sup>16</sup> leapt up from the thicket and bit one of the brothers on the fingernail.<sup>17</sup> As the brother was drawing his final breath, holy Samson made the sign of the holy cross over the snake bite and applied to it a mixture of water and oil, and he returned him unharmed to his brothers.

## §12

Moreover, blessed Illtud, seeing that holy Samson was growing in virtues, had him consecrated to the order of the diaconate. And when the bishop called Dyfrig celebrated the mass of his ordination together with master Illtud, he saw a dove sent from heaven standing miraculously

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Quod ore loquebatur, corde credebat; quod credidit, diligebat (That which was spoken by his mouth, he believed in his heart; that which he believed, he loved) Cf. *Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua*, Canon 10, for the admission of a cantor: *Vide, ut quod ore cantas, corde credas; et quod corde credis, operibus comprobes* (See that what you sing with your mouth you believe in your heart; and what you believe in your heart, you show forth in your works) (Hefele et al. 1907–: ii, pt 1, 113); repeated in *Decretum Gratiani*, XXIII.xx (https://geschichte.digitale-sammlungen.de/ decretum-gratiani/kapitel/dc\_chapter\_0\_216, accessed 3 January 2019).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> **ilider (snake)** In the First Life of St Samson, i.12 (Flobert 1997: 164), this is *hilider*, which itself is based on Classical Latin *chelydrus*. The author of the First Life of St Samson seems to have adduced the unhistorical nominative singular form *hilider* as a back-formation from an oblique case of *chelydrus* (e.g. *chelydrum*), by analogy with other words that end in *-er* in the nominative singular and -rV(-) in oblique cases (e.g. *magister, magistrum* etc). There are, though, some other occurrences of the word that show the loss of the initial *ch*- or *h*-, as in the Liber Landavensis; for example, *ylidrus* is used in the Enigmata of Eusebius (alias Hwætberht, Abbot of Wearmouth-Jarrow, d. *c.* 744); see DMLBS s.v. *chelydrus*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> **unguine (fingernail)** The First Life of St Samson, i.12 (Flobert 1997: 164), has *inguine* (groin) rather than *unguine*. The reading in the Liber Landavensis presumably arose due to an additional minim being added to the beginning of the word.

above holy Samson. And when the bishop raised his hand above him, the dove descended onto his right shoulder and sat there for as long as the bishop celebrated the office.

#### §13

Not many years later, he was consecrated by that same bishop to the rank of priest. And what is more, the dove from heaven descended above him just as before, and marked God's elect with its innocence.

## §14

At this time, Illtud had two nephews in his monastery, sons of his brother, one of whom was a priest, and the other, being without rank, was his cellarer. The priest, however, desiring to possess the monastery after his uncle, but afraid lest holy Samson should be elected as abbot by everyone on account of the grace of his virtues, and he himself should thus be deprived of the monastery, entered into discussion with his brother about how to cause Samson's death. Now, the brothers of that place used to have a custom whereby they would have a draught of herbs after mass. The cellarer, on the advice of his brother, made a poison and tried to cause holy Samson's death by deceit, and he poured the poison into holy Samson's cup. But holy Samson perceived this through the Holy Spirit and, blessing the drink, drank all of it, experiencing nothing bad from it.

## §15

After lunch on the same day, holy Samson had a very friendly conversation with the cellarer. 'My dearest brother, may God grant you health from all sickness, because the drink that you gave me today bestowed great health upon my body.' Hearing this,<sup>18</sup> the cellarer lamented, feeling full of remorse, and he urged his brother, the instigator of the evil, to repent. But he refused.

#### §16

The following Sunday, just at the moment when the same priest was taking holy communion from holy Samson's hand, the Devil seized him. And while singing the psalms, the priest at once completely wrought havoc upon himself and bit his lips, and he said to those standing nearby, 'Why do you all stand there? If I had not seen that my lord Samson was present, I would not

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> **Hęc illo audiente (Hearing this)** In the Latin, this is an ablative absolute construction, even though it is describing the subject of the following main verb (*ingemuit*, 'he lamented'). One would normally expect a present participle to have been used in this context (i.e. *Hęc ille audiens*...).

have bothered about you lot at all.' But Illtud, as he saw this, ordered that he be bound and taken outside. And hearing this, the man's brother revealed that they were both guilty, and asked for forgiveness from holy Samson.

## §17

Holy Samson, however, was shaken with sorrow<sup>19</sup> and wept. He blessed some water and oil, and ordered that it be given to the man to taste; and thus he freed him from the snares of the Devil. And so it happened by the just judgement of God, that the man was never able to obtain the primacy which he sought wickedly.

#### §18

And not far from that monastery there was a certain island, on which was a monastery built by a man named Piro.<sup>20</sup>

#### §19

Holy Samson went there quickly, guided by God and with the approval of his master, and there he led a glorious and angelic life. He was loveable in his habits, devoting himself to good works and praying through the night.

## §20

And afterwards, one winter time, holy Samson's father, afflicted with a grave illness, was urged by his neighbours to receive the sacrifice of the Eucharist, as was the custom. But he asserted resolutely that he would never taste death, never take the sacrifice, never recover health, before he had seen his son Samson, and through him he would recover health in body and spirit equally.

<sup>19</sup> Sanctus uero Samson dolore commotus (Holy Samson, however, was shaken with sorrow) The same phrase is used in §21. No similar phrasing appears in the First Life of St Samson.

<sup>20</sup> **Piro** Within the present text, the name *Piro* is treated as indeclinable (cf. §30). In the First Life of St Samson, the name is declined as *Piro*, *-onis* (cf. ablative singular *Pirone* at i.21: Flobert 1997: 180). The island in question is Caldey Island, known in Welsh as Ynys Bŷr. It seems likely that, in the First Life of St Samson, the name *Piro*, which is attributed to the founder of the monastery on Ynys Bŷr, was adduced from the name of the island itself. The word *insula* is used more ambiguously in the First Life of St Samson, since it is said that Piro founded the *insula*, rather than the *monasterium* on the *insula*, leading to the suggestion that, in this part of the First Life, *insula* actually means 'monastery' or 'small convent' rather than 'island' (Fawtier 1912: 41–4; Loth 1914: 289–90; Flobert 1997: 179, n. 20.3). However, it cannot be a coincidence that there is indeed an island that shares Piro's name off the coast of south Wales; it is likely that the author of the First Life envisaged a connection with the island. Perhaps there is an error at this point in the extant text of the First Life.

His relatives accordingly sent messengers to him, asking him to visit his father who lay on the brink of death.

§21

Holy Samson, however, was shaken with sorrow,<sup>21</sup> and said, 'God is powerful enough to heal a sick man without me.' At length, overcome by his abbot's requests, he sent the messengers back and promised that he would come.

§22

And so, once morning came, he accepted his abbot's blessing and set out on the journey accompanied by a young deacon. And after they had travelled through the desolate emptiness, they heard a fearsome voice near them. At the sound of that voice, the terrified deacon let go of his horse and, throwing down his cloak, turned in flight. A shaggy and horned<sup>22</sup> witch,<sup>23</sup> flitting through the desolate woodland, laid low the deacon, now half dead, with her three-pronged spear.<sup>24</sup> But blessed Samson, advancing fearlessly and spying the witch fleeing at a distance, called after her, saying, 'I order you in the name of Jesus Christ, stay and speak to me.'

## §23

He said to her, 'Who are you?' She replied, 'I am a witch. For my relatives lived around here as transgressors against all of you, but nobody now remains in this forest from my race except me. I have eight sisters and a mother who are still alive and dwell in a forest some distance away. And I was committed to a husband in this wilderness, but because he died I am unable to leave this forest.' Holy Samson said to her, 'Can you restore to life the brother whom you struck, and desist from evil?' She replied, 'I can neither restore him to health, nor return myself to a better state, because I have always lived wickedly from infancy.' Blessed Samson said, 'In the name of Jesus

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Sanctus uero Samson dolore commotus (Holy Samson, however, was shaken with sorrow) The same phrase is used in §17. No similar phrasing appears in the First Life of St Samson.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> **cornuta (horned)** Note that the First Life of Samson (i.26) describes the *theomaca* not as *cornuta* (horned) but as *canuta* (grey-haired) (Flobert 1997: 184).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> theomaca (witch) Literally 'an enemy of God'. For discussion of the origins of the *theomaca*, see Merdrignac 2001: 147–52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> This description of the *theomaca* agrees with other literary descriptions of sorcerers (see Merdrignac 2001: 148).

Christ, I command you not to cause harm to people any more, but instead to withdraw very speedily from this life.<sup>25</sup> Suddenly making a headlong leap, she fell down and breathed her last.<sup>26</sup>

## §24

Holy Samson returned to the brother who was almost dead, and, in the manner of Elisha, he put his mouth on his mouth, and his limbs on his limbs, and thus restored him to health.<sup>27</sup>

#### §25

And so they went on the journey that they had begun, and on the third day they came to Ammon. Indeed Ammon, as he saw them, said with great happiness, 'Behold, the relief of my body and soul, which the Lord deigned to show me in my dream!' For on that day he recovered from the illness through the blessing of holy Samson. And making a humble request, he, together with his brother Umbraphel, gained the right to take the monastic habit. Furthermore, the venerable Anna, with her sister Affrella, was consecrated with his blessing. A part of his possessions he gave to the poor, a part he assigned for the construction of a monastery, a part he granted for the use of his mother and brothers. Once everyone had been ordained through the grace of the Holy Spirit, holy Samson returned to his monastery by a different route than the one by which he had come, taking his father and uncle with him.

#### §26

Along that route he also happened upon a serpent of extraordinary size, which he laid low by speech alone.

<sup>25</sup> In nomine Iesu Christi, precipio tibi ne amplius hominibus noceas, sed citissime ab hac uita discedas (In the name of Jesus Christ, I command you not to cause harm to people any more, but instead to withdraw very speedily from this life) Samson issues a similar command to the lion in §50: *Impero tibi in nomine Iesu Christi ne cuiquam amplius noceas, sed ut uelociter pereas* (I order you in the name of Jesus Christ not to cause harm to anyone any more, but instead to perish immediately). The wording of the First Life of St Samson is not particularly close.

<sup>26</sup> Quę statim saltum dans precipitem, corruit et exspirauit (Suddenly making a headlong leap, she fell down and breathed her last) Almost the same phrase is used of the lion in §50: *Qui statim saltum dans precipitem, exspirauit* (Suddenly making a headlong leap, it breathed its last). No similar phrasing appears in the First Life of St Samson. <sup>27</sup> more Helisei, os ori ac membra menbris composuit, et sic illum sanitati restituit (in the manner of Elisha, he put his mouth on his mouth, and his limbs on his limbs, and thus restored him to health) Cf. 2 Kings 4.34 (Vulgate), concerning Elisha: *et ascendit et incubuit super puerum, posuitque os suum super os eius, et oculos suos super oculos eius, et manus suas super manus eius, et incurvavit se super eum et calefacta est caro pueri (*And he went up, and lay upon the child: and he put his mouth upon his mouth, and his eyes upon his eyes, and his hands upon his hands: and he bowed himself upon him, and the child's flesh grew warm).

## §27

And when they returned to the monastery, he found Bishop Dyfrig dwelling there at the beginning of Lent.

#### §28

And the bishop, calling the deacon to him, learned from him all the things that had taken place along the way, and he received holy Samson and his companions with the greatest honour. And on the same day, he appointed holy Samson as the cellarer of that place. And holy Samson, as if ordered by the divine, served the brothers with great care, and administered to the poor as much as he was able.

#### §29

But the brother who had been in that position before him was jealous of his good deeds, and said that holy Samson was lending everything out at interest to the point of excess and shamefully emptying the receptacles filled with honey. The bishop, hearing about this and desiring to know the truth of the matter, entered the cellar. Blessed Samson, recognising through the Holy Spirit that the brother had emptied the receptacles, made the sign of the cross, and the bishop found them filled up. And the bishop, marvelling, believed that Samson was filled up with the Holy Spirit, and decided that he should be dignified with high office.

#### §30

A few days later, Piro was overtaken by death,<sup>28</sup> and holy Samson was elected by everyone as abbot of that monastery. And though he did not comply voluntarily, he held the primacy of that community for three and a half years.<sup>29</sup>

#### §31

Afterwards, some exceedingly learned Irishmen, returning from Rome, came to him, and examining them carefully he realised that they were wise. And with the bishop's permission, he went with them to their country. And dwelling there for a short time, he was received by all

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> This version omits to mention that Abbot Piro died because he fell into a well while drunk (see Flobert 1997: 198–9).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> By contrast, in the First Life of St Samson (i.3) he is *non plus anno et dimidio primatum tenens* (holding the primacy for not more than a year and a half).

devout people like an angel.<sup>30</sup> He gave the blind sight; cleansed the lepers; exorcised demons from people; and showed the way of salvation to all.<sup>31</sup>

#### §32

And while he was dwelling in the fortress,<sup>32</sup> he wished to be taken back to his country, and a ship was found that was already ready to go. And he was asked by the sailors to board the ship, but he replied to them,<sup>33</sup> 'We will say the offices of God before we sail away from this province.' However, the sailors, provoked to anger, raised the sails. He said to them, 'Go in peace today and you will come back, and we will go together tomorrow.' And as they were going, behold! someone

<sup>30</sup> **ab omnibus religiosis ut angelus est receptus (he was received by all devout people like an angel)** Cf. Galatians 4.14 (Vulgate): *et temptationem vestram in carne mea non sprevistis neque respuistis, sed sicut angelum Dei excepistis me sicut Christum Iesum* (And you despised not, nor rejected, your temptation in my flesh: but received me as an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus).

<sup>31</sup> Cecos illuminauit; leprosos mundauit; demones ex hominibus fugauit; et cunctis uiam salutis monstrauit (He gave the blind sight; cleansed the lepers; exorcised demons from people; and showed the way of salvation to all) Cf. Matthew 10.8 and Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Hiezechihelem prophetam*, lib. 2, hom. 1, l. 445. This passage follows the First Life of St Samson, i.37, fairly closely: [...] *multos caecos illuminans multosque leprosos mundans ac daemoniacos fugans, plerosque de uia erroris saluauit* (Flobert 1997: 200). However, the Liber Landavensis version is worded in such a way as to parallel more closely the description of St Patrick in the Harleian recension of *Historia Brittonum* (HB §54): *caecos illuminabat, leprosos mundabat, surdos audire faciebat, daemones obsessis corporibus fugiebat, mortuos numero usque ad novem suscitavit*. The version of the same passage in the Vatican recension of *Historia Brittonum*, §28, is more similar to the present text in its use of verbs in the perfect rather than imperfect tense, but where the present text, in common with the Harleian recension, uses the verb *fugare* to describe the action against the demons, the Vatican recension uses *eicere* (Dumville 1985: 106). The closest parallel in Patrician hagiography is the statement in the *vita quarta* that *omnes morbos uerbo sanabat et demones ex obsessis corporibus expellebat* (Bieler 1971: 106, ll. 4–5; Dumville 1975: i, 231).

<sup>32</sup> in arce (in the fortress) Called *arx Etri* in the First Life of St Samson, i.38 (Flobert 1997: 200). Loth identified it with Dún Étair (Howth Head) near Dublin (Loth 1914: 287–9; Ó Riain 1984: 321; Flobert 1997: 201, n. 38.1).

<sup>33</sup> Et ut nauim ascenderet a nautis precabatur, quibus ipse respondit (And he was asked by the sailors to board the ship, but he replied to them) Since *precor* is a deponent verb, the first clause should mean 'And he [i.e. Samson] asked of the sailors that he might board the ship', but the second clause implies that it is the sailors who speak first and that Samson then responds to them, the change of subject being marked by *ipse*. Similarly, it is the sailors who try to convince Samson to board the ship in the First Life of Samson: *uiris nauticis iter festine properantibus atque eum compellentibus ut nauem confestim ascenderet, respondit sanctus Samson* [...] (as the sailors were hurrying to set off promptly on their journey and were urging him to board the ship immediately, holy Samson replied [...]). It appears, therefore, that in the present context *precabatur* is being treated as a passive form of an active verb, with Samson as its subject. There are a few other examples of *precor* being treated as a non-deponent verb (see TLL s.v. *precor*; e.g. ablative absolute *genitore precato* in Juvencus III.85).

came to him, asking him to visit a monastery nearby,<sup>34</sup> saying, 'The Devil has seized our abbot and holds him bound, and he desires to see you.' Holy Samson went with him and found the abbot so bound. Upon holy Samson's arrival, the abbot exclaimed in a loud voice, 'Look, the one I have always sought after! Look, the one I have desired to see with fulsome devotion!' Holy Samson prayed and returned him from among the possessed to a healthy state. Leaving the monastery, he followed holy Samson.

## §33

Holy Samson departed with the blessings of the brothers in the monastery and found that the ship had now returned to port just as he foretold. In the morning, he boarded the ship with his companions. And with a favourable wind, he travelled on the second day to the island where he had lived previously. And so he entered the monastery and found that his father and uncle had commendably advanced beyond the other inhabitants in the religious life, and for this reason he gave thanks to the Almighty.

## §34

And so he took hold of his uncle Umbraphel, who was by now functioning in the office of priest, and sent him as abbot to the monastery in Ireland where he had freed the prior from the Devil. Moreover, blessed Samson, along with Ammon and the aforementioned abbot and a certain brother, a priest, went over to a most desolate wasteland, and next to the River Severn he found a hut<sup>35</sup> which had the sweetest spring in it. And there he established his father with his two companions.

#### §35

He himself, proceeding further into the wasteland, came across a very secluded cave. And its opening faced towards the east, and he cherished it as if it had been prepared by God. And through his prayers, he earned the stream of a spring<sup>36</sup> in it. There, without ceasing, he focussed his attention on God alone; he had no fear of the cunning of the Tempter. He was accustomed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> proximum monasterium (a monastery nearby) This monastery has not been identified: see Ó Riain 1984.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> **tugurivm (hut)** In the First Life of St Samson, i.40 (Flobert 1997: 204), Samson and his companions find a *castellum* on the bank of the River Severn, which, as Flobert notes, was probably intended to designate a natural fortification of some kind (Flobert 1997: 205, n. 40.1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> fontis uenam precibus promeruit (through his prayers, he earned the stream of a spring) The same phrase is used in §44. No similar phrasing appears in the First Life of St Samson.

to converse with angels, through whom he commended himself to the Highest. And every Sunday, he visited the three brethren that he had established in the wilderness and received communion from them.

## §36

And after a synod had taken place, the principal men of the land started to look for where holy Samson was living. There was a certain man who said that he knew a cave where holy Samson led a heavenly life.<sup>37</sup> And so he was sent with others to beseech him, and they dragged him along to the synod; seeing that he was like an angel, they selected him and established him, though unwilling, as an abbot in the monastery constructed by holy Germanus. And in that monastery, on account of its esteem, they had [a custom]<sup>38</sup> that they would enthrone bishops when they assembled, that is, on the feast of the blessed apostle Peter's chair.<sup>39</sup>

#### §37

And this happened as the annual feast was approaching, while the bishops were awaiting the customary assembly. One night, holy Samson saw himself beset by dense crowds of white-clad people, and he saw three outstanding bishops standing by him, adorned with golden crowns on their heads, and he saw himself entering the church with them and praying. He gently and humbly asked them their names and the reason for their arrival. The leader of the vision said to him, 'I am Peter, the apostle of Christ, and here is the Lord's brother James, and John the Evangelist. The Lord Jesus Christ has selected you to be his bishop, and he sent us to consecrate

<sup>39</sup> I.e. 22 February. Flobert suggested that Llandaff is the *monasterium* intended, but this is very unlikely, since there is no evidence that Llandaff was a place of any ecclesiastical importance before the eleventh century (Flobert 1997: 208, n. 42.2; cf. Davies 2003: 16–18). However, this was probably how the text was interpreted in Llandaff in the twelfth century, especially since, as the Liber Landavensis repeatedly emphasises, the cathedral church of Llandaff was dedicated to St Peter, whose association with the episcopacy is mentioned in the present text. It is possible that the First Life of St Samson envisaged Llanilltud Fawr as the monastery founded by Germanus, considering its notice of Illtud as a former pupil of Germanus (i.7, Flobert 1997: 156; cf. Fawtier 1912: 52; LWS 58, 91; WCD 215); although Abbot Illtud reappears later in the present version of the text, in §39, he does not appear again after this point in the First Life, his final appearance being in §14. Otherwise, churches dedicated to St Germanus (alias Garmon) in Wales appear to be restricted to Powys and Gwynedd (see the map in Jones 2009: 63).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> **celestem uitam ageret (led a heavenly life)** For the idea that hermits lead the life of heaven, see Jerome's Life of St Paul the Hermit, §8 (ActaS Jan. i, 605).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> habebant (they had [a custom]) There is no direct object for *habebant*, so 'a custom' has been supplied for sense. The equivalent section of the First Life of St Samson (i.42; Flobert 1997: 208) has *diem consuetum habentes* [...] ([they], having a customary day [...]).

you.' When they confirmed him with heavenly blessing, they slipped away out of sight. Now, the bishops, coming on the appointed day, brought with them two people to be ordained, but they wanted to ordain three people in honour of the Holy Trinity. But they did not know whom to choose for this. And so on the following night, an angel of the Lord appeared to blessed Dyfrig, and ordered him to ordain holy Samson as a bishop. Indeed, due to his joy at the angelic vision, blessed Dyfrig had the brothers of the community assemble together, and he gladly revealed to them what he had heard from the angel.

## §38

And straightaway everyone, crying out, gave thanks to God, and they established holy Samson with the others in the episcopal chair. Then everyone who was there saw a dove sent from heaven standing stationary above him as he was consecrated. And indeed on that same day, as holy Samson was celebrating the holy mysteries, blessed Dyfrig, together with two monks, saw a column of fire<sup>40</sup> coming out of his mouth gleaming. Moreover, for the rest of his life, whenever he celebrated the mass, he deserved to see angels standing by him and serving him in the sacrifice of the altar.

## §39

And on the night of the Lord's resurrection, while he was keeping vigil and praying in the church, an angel of the Lord appeared with great brightness, and reassured him lest he be afraid, saying, 'Samson, dearest to God, act courageously; depart from your kindred and from ours. For you have been destined by God to be a great founder of monasteries beyond the sea, and a glorious leader among the people.' And the angel foretold other similar things to the blessed man as he rejoiced through the night. And once morning came, he called the clergy together, and wishing not to resist the angelic vision, but rather to obey it with the greatest love, he said, 'Oh holy father, by the laying-on of whose hand<sup>41</sup> I was elevated, however unworthily, an angelic vision compels me to leave my native lands and travel quickly overseas, and in particular to cross over to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> columpnam ignis (column of fire) From Exodus 13.21–22; cf. VS Clitauci (LL), §1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> **cuius manus impositione (by the laying-on of whose hand)** The same phrase is used in the Life of St Dyfrig to describe Dyfrig's healing of the sick (*eius manus impositione*) and twice in the Life of St Teilo to describe Dyfrig's baptism of Samson (*cuius manus impositione*) and Teilo's healing of the sick (*eius manus impositione*) (VS Dubricii (LL / Vesp), §16; VS Teliaui (LL), §§11, 17). Neither passage appears in the Vespasian A. xiv Life of St Teilo.

Armorican lands<sup>42</sup> of the British people.' Hearing these things, the blessed archbishop Dyfrig did not hesitate to allow the man to be among the Bretons,<sup>43</sup> because of their language<sup>44</sup> and because he knew that he was girded with divine strength and equipped with habits of holiness. He said, 'May you be a strong man; go and fight on the battlefield. May the prayers of Britain lead you from here with joy and zeal.' And once the blessings of father Dyfrig and Abbot Illtud and all the clergy and people had been given to him, he departed.<sup>45</sup> After he had completed the solemn rites of Easter, a ship was prepared, and taking certain brothers with him he proceeded on the near side of the Severn sea. He visited his land and his mother and consecrated a church that had been founded by her, and restored many sick people to health in those parts.

§40

After he had instructed his mother and other relatives fully<sup>46</sup> about the words of the Lord, he crossed over the *Auferreum* sea<sup>47</sup> with his companions, guided by God.

<sup>42</sup> **Armoricas terras (Armorican lands)** Armorica is not mentioned by name at this point in the First Life of St Samson.

<sup>43</sup> inter Brittannos (among the Bretons) The text's *Brittannos* could refer to any Britons, but the context implies that the Britons of Brittany are meant.

<sup>44</sup> **eo quod linguę (because of their language)** It is likely that this passage is corrupt, since *eo quod* should be followed by a finite verb. There is no mention of Dyfrig or of any language at this point in the First Life of St Samson.

<sup>45</sup> Again, Dyfrig and Illtud do not appear in the equivalent section of the First Life of St Samson.

<sup>46</sup> **plene (fully)** In the manuscript, this word appears as *pleni*, but this makes little sense. It is simplest to suppose that *pleni* was miscopied from the adverb *plene*.

<sup>47</sup> Auferreum mare (*Auferreum* sea) The meaning of *Auferreum* is obscure. Evans suggested that the name might have some connection with Aust on the east bank of the Severn, and that the meaning might be 'Aust-ferry' (LL 387; Coe 2002: 82). Coe (2002: 81) thinks that it is more likely that the word arose from a misreading of the First Life of St Samson, i.47, which refers to the *mare quod Austreum uocant* (sea which they call *Austreum*) (Flobert 1997: 214). This seems much more likely; the misreading would presumably have been prompted by a tall *s* being misread as an *f* and a flat-topped *t* being misread as an *e*. Flobert translates *Austreum* as 'Méridionale' ('Southern') and takes it to refer to the English Channel, but Coe suggests that it should be understood as the Bristol Channel, because he thought that at this point Samson was travelling between Wales and Cornwall. However, if Samson's visit in i.46 of the First Life (omitted in the Liber Landavensis) to the monastery called *Docco*, which takes place before the reference to the *Austreum* sea, is understood as a reference to St Kew or, less probably, the nearby Lanow Farm in Cornwall (Loth 1914: 292; Olson 1989: 14–16, 82; Flobert 1997: 83, 213, n. 45.4; Padel 2002: 321–2, 343; Sowerby 2011: 27; Olson 2017: 9), then the journey across the *Austreum* sea would indeed be from Cornwall to Brittany. This is the implication of the First Life of St Samson's specification that Samson crossed the *Austreum* sea to reach *Europa*. Perhaps therefore the statement in the present section (= i.47 of the First Life) was supposed to indicate Samson's

§41

And while he was passing through a certain district which they call Trigg,<sup>48</sup> he saw there people raving in a profane ritual and worshipping some idol. Seeing this, holy Samson lamented, and urged them through prayers and teachings to renounce their idols, hateful to the human race, and worship the one true God who is in heaven. Their lord *Gedianus*<sup>49</sup> replied to him, 'We do not know the God of whom you speak. Instead, we worship those gods that our fathers venerated.' While they were speaking about these things, a certain boy, sitting on a horse and riding around the idol, fell to the ground, and lay dead with a broken neck.

#### §42

As everyone wept, holy Samson said to them, 'Behold! you can see that your image is unable to return that dead person to life. If you decide to destroy your idols and believe in my God, then by invoking the name of the Lord I will cause your deceased to rise again.' And since they agreed, holy Samson poured out prayers and returned the dead person to life in the sight of everyone. On account of this, terrified by the miraculous and unheard of spectacle, they agreed unanimously to destroy the idols, and they were baptized, believing in Jesus son of God.

#### §43

However, there was in that province a certain serpent of extraordinary size, which had almost destroyed two districts with its death-bringing breath. Discovering this, holy Samson,

general intent, notwithstanding the subsequent episodes that take place in Cornwall prior to the completion of his journey to Brittany.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> **Tricurrium (Trigg)** I.e. Greater Triggshire in Cornwall. See Fawtier 1912: 60–1; Loth 1914: 295; Keynes and Lapidge 1983: 175, 317; CPNE 64–5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> **Gedianus** Manuscripts of the First Life of St Samson, dating no earlier than the end of the tenth century (Flobert 1997: 50–1), have *Guedianus*. Flobert emends to *Vedianus*, comparing both *Widianus*, the form of this name in the Second Life of St Samson, and *Viniauus*, a name form appearing elsewhere in the First Life (Flobert 1997: 217, n. 48.4). Unlike *Widianus* and *Viniauus*, the form *Guedianus*, replicated by the *Gedianus* in the Liber Landavensis, shows the development of initial /w/ > /gw/, which began to be spelled (normally as *gu-*) in Welsh, Breton and Cornish during the ninth century (Loth 1914: 285; HPB 428–9; Sims-Williams 1991: 71–2). It seems most likely that the spelling of the name was updated from *Vedianus* or *Vidianus* to *Guedianus* in witnesses to the First Life of St Samson on one or more occasions no earlier than the ninth century, and that the same orthographic change is witnessed in the Liber Landavensis.

sympathizing with the suffering of the people,<sup>50</sup> took with him the boy who had just been brought back to life, and followed Lord *Gedianus*, together with all the people, over to where they knew the serpent to be lying hidden in a cave. And the next day, as the sun was rising, they saw beyond a certain river the cave where the serpent was. And at that point holy Samson sent away the lord with his people. He himself, with the recently revived boy, proceeded across the river. And when he came to the entrance of the cave, he told the boy to stand at a distance. He, however, protected by the sign of the holy cross, entered the cave immediately. And he bound the serpent around the neck with the flaxen cord that he had been wearing. Dragging it outside, he cast it down from a great height, commanding it in the name of the Lord to live no more. And the boy ran back and described what he had seen to Lord *Gedianus* and to God's people. All the people therefore rejoiced at such a great spectacle, and praising God and holy Samson they proclaimed profound thanks from deep within themselves. Holy Samson ordered the people to construct a monastery near the cave.<sup>51</sup> But in the meantime, he settled down in the cave to fast and pray.

#### §44

In that place, through his prayers, he earned the stream of a spring,<sup>52</sup> which has not ceased to flow to this very day.

### §45

And when the people had completed the monastery, and blessed Samson had dedicated it, he established his father Ammon in it, and with him his cousin.<sup>53</sup> He himself sailed to Brittany with his own people, guided by God. And when he arrived at the port and alighted from the ship, he

<sup>50</sup> Quo comperto, sanctus Samson, miserię hominum condolens (Discovering this, holy Samson, sympathizing with the suffering of the people) A similar phrase is used in §46: *Quo audito, sanctus Samson miserię eorum condoluit* (Hearing about this, holy Samson sympathized with their suffering). No similar phrasing appears in the First Life of St Samson.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Possibly St Sampson's, Golant (Fawtier 1912: 61–2; Olson 1989, 12–14; Flobert 1997: 221, n. 50.5). Others are sceptical of this identification (Poulin 2009: 331, n. 79, 333; Sowerby 2011: 25, n. 123).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> fontis uenam precibus promeruit (through his prayers, he earned the stream of a spring) The same phrase is used in §35. No similar phrasing appears in the First Life of St Samson.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> I.e. Samson's cousin. This is a reference to the cousin of Samson who, according to the prologue of the First Life of St Samson, was named Henoc and was involved with the production of an early account of St Samson's life, which was later relayed to the author of the First Life of St Samson by Henoc's nephew, who was by that time an old man of about eighty years (Flobert 1997: 140–3; WCD 576).

saw next to the port a hut, and in it was a certain individual weeping miserably and continually looking out to sea. Samson said to him, 'Brother, why do you weep?' He said to him, 'I have a wife in that house with leprosy, and a daughter possessed by a demon, both of whom the Lord promised me that he would heal through a certain person coming from overseas. I am expecting him here in three days' time and hope that he will come into this port.' Hearing these things, blessed Samson entered his home with him, prayed humbly over them and restored them to health. Indeed, in that house he discovered a very suitable location, and there he constructed an honourable monastery, which is called Dol up to this day. In that place he performed numerous remarkable miracles of power, and constructed many monasteries throughout the provinces.

## §46

And in those days an energetic foreign count,<sup>54</sup> harsh and ill-fortuned, was ruling over all the Bretons;<sup>55</sup> he had killed Ionas,<sup>56</sup> the native count of the Bretons, and had delivered up his son Iudwal to King Childebert<sup>57</sup> and the queen<sup>58</sup> to be held in captivity. Hearing about this, holy Samson sympathized with their suffering,<sup>59</sup> and he went quickly to King Childebert, desiring to release Iudwal from captivity and free the people from the foreign ruler.

#### §47

Blessed Samson entered the king's palace and found there a certain demonically possessed count, whom he anointed with blessed oil on his face and chest and thus freed from the Devil.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> **comes (count)** The count is unnamed at this point, but he is called Commorus in §52. It is possible that the word *commotus* (energetic), of which there is no equivalent in the corresponding section of the First Life of St Samson, is a corruption of the name *Commorus*, the *r* having been misread as a *t*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> **Britannis (Bretons)** Both of the references to 'Britons' in this section apply specifically to the Britons of Brittany. <sup>56</sup> **Ionam (Ionas)** For discussion of Ionas and his son Iudwal, see Chédeville and Guillotel 1984: 75–7. A late genealogy, found no later than the twelfth century in the Second Life of St Winnoc (ActaS Nov. iii, 267–8; Fleuriot 1974: 4) and later still in the *Chronicon Briocense* (1394 × 1416; Le Duc and Sterckx 1972: 234–5), makes Ionas the son of Riatham, son of Deroch, son of Riwal, the latter of whom, according to various late hagiographical sources, was an early British settler in northern Brittany (cf. WCD 571).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> **Hildeberto (Childebert)** The Merovingian king Childebert I, who reigned 511–58. Childebert I's role in Breton hagiography of the ninth century is somewhat different from that which appears here; he is more often the benevolent patron of Breton saints than their antagonist (Sowerby 2011: 16).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> regine (the queen) Here unnamed. King Childebert's historical queen was called Ultragotha.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Quo audito, sanctus Samson miserię eorum condoluit (Hearing about this, holy Samson sympathized with their suffering) A similar phrase is used in §43: *Quo comperto, sanctus Samson, miserię hominum condolens* (Discovering this, holy Samson, sympathizing with the suffering of the men). No similar phrasing appears in the First Life of St Samson.

§48

But the king, when he had heard about these things and about what Samson had come to request from him on behalf of Iudwal, took counsel with his nobles and decided to receive blessed Samson with due honour, and he asked Samson to dine with him. However, since the queen held Iudwal bound in captivity and did not want to release him, she provoked blessed Samson to anger by opposing his requests and shouting out insulting words. And in order to kill him, she prepared a deadly drink for him. And when the king and the blessed archbishop had sat down together to feast, and everyone who was there had rejoiced at his arrival,<sup>60</sup> the queen, at the instigation of the Devil, mixed the poison with the wine in a glass, and by means of her servant she offered it to blessed Samson to drink. But then he, being no doubt inspired by the divine, made the sign of the cross over the glass, and the glass cracked into four parts. And as the poison spilled out over the hand of the servant holding it, everyone saw that his skin and flesh was eaten away right up to the bones. Then blessed Samson said, 'This drink is not suitable to drink.'

#### §49

And so the king became angry, and everyone else marvelled, and blessed Samson marked the hand of the injured person with the cross and restored it completely. After they had eaten, blessed Samson, with the king's permission, hastened to the place where Iudwal was being kept. The queen dispatched against him a raging horse to kill him, but shortly thereafter the chosen one marked it with the cross, put his own saddle on it and mounted it. And it proceeded so calmly<sup>61</sup> that is was as if the King of heaven had tamed it under his soldier.

<sup>60</sup> omnes qui aderant de eius aduentu gratulassent (everyone who was there had rejoiced at his arrival) Since *gratulor* is a deponent, the main verb should have the passive form *gratulati essent* rather than the active form *gratulassent*. It seems either that the deponent has been deliberately made active, or that the two words *gratulati essent* have been accidentally merged together, the intervening letters -ti e- having been omitted.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> **Tamque mite processit (And it proceeded so calmly)** The manuscript has *mitem* rather than *mite*, but there is no corresponding verb that would take the accusative *mitem*. It is likely that, in the course of recopying, a nasal suspension mark was accidentally added above the *e*, and that the word was previously the adverb *mite*. That the word should refer somehow to the horse is confirmed by the First Life of St Samson, i.56, which has the nominative singular form *mitis*, agreeing with *equus* (Flobert 1997: 226).

#### §50

But still, with a hardening heart,<sup>62</sup> the queen sent against him a fierce lion with its handlers to attack him. But God's right hand defended the chosen one, and the lion turned itself in flight just as if it had been struck by a pole. But blessed Samson, gazing after him, said, 'I order you in the name of Jesus Christ not to cause harm to anyone any more, but instead to perish immediately.'<sup>63</sup> Suddenly making a headlong leap, the lion breathed its last.<sup>64</sup> And the king, seeing such miracles in God's saint, removed the shackles from Iudwal and gave him to Samson. Even the queen, falling down at his feet with her followers, asked for forgiveness from the saint.

#### §51

Once that was done, everyone joined together through God's grace and rejoiced greatly, and the king said to blessed Samson, 'There is a serpent in this province, inflicting a dreadful pestilence upon the lords and the inhabitants; and because we see that you shine forth with virtues, we ask that you would deign to free us from it.' Holy Samson said to him, 'Find a guide for the mission, and through God's strength I will expel it from your regions.' And so a guide was found. Taking two brothers with him and leaving the others behind with Iudwal in the palace, he reached the road quickly, trusting and rejoicing continually in the Lord. And when he had come to the cave where the serpent was, and had entreated the Lord there on bended knees, he seized the serpent by the neck and dragged it out, and commanded it to swim beyond the river which is called the Seine and remain there under a certain rock.

<sup>62</sup> **indurato corde (with a hardening heart)** The manuscript incorrectly has accusative singular *induratum* rather than ablative singular *indurato*. The scribe may have been prompted to make the error by the memory of a phrase used repeatedly in Exodus, which probably provided the model for the present passage in the first place: *induratum est cor Pharaonis* (Pharaoh's heart hardened) (e.g. Exodus 7.13, 7.22, 8.19).

<sup>63</sup> Impero tibi in nomine Iesu Christi ne cuiquam amplius noceas, sed ut uelociter pereas (I order you in the name of Jesus Christ not to cause harm to anyone any more, but instead to perish immediately) Samson issues a similar command to the *theomaca* in §23: *In nomine Iesu Christi, precipio tibi ne amplius hominibus noceas, sed citissime ab hac uita discedas* (In the name of Jesus Christ, I command you not to cause harm to people any more, but instead to withdraw very speedily from this life). The wording of the First Life of St Samson is not particularly close.

<sup>64</sup> Qui statim saltum dans precipitem, exspirauit (Suddenly making a headlong leap, the lion breathed its last) Almost the same phrase is used of the *theomaca* in §23: *Que statim saltum dans precipitem, corruit et exspirauit* (Suddenly making a headlong leap, she fell down and breathed her last). §52

A little while afterwards, he drowned it in the sea by speech alone.<sup>65</sup> And indeed in that place he built a monastery, and he established brothers in it to be servants of Christ.<sup>66</sup> At last, King Childebert loved blessed Samson very much on account of such great miracles, and he freely gave him huge gifts, namely of gold and silver, of precious vessels, of estates, and of numerous possessions; he thus commended himself to Samson's prayers.<sup>67</sup> And so, taking Iudwal with him, holy Samson went to Lesia and Angia,<sup>68</sup> and there he assembled an army and returned to Brittany with it. Then, as blessed Samson was fasting and praying, Iudwal and his army fought against Commor,<sup>69</sup> and through the saint's prayers Iudwal laid low his enemy with a single blow. And because of that he and his successors held lordship over Brittany. Soon afterwards, Iudwal was received by his people with joy and was elected as duke of all Brittany, and he consigned himself along with everything belonging to him to blessed Samson, and commended himself devoutly to his prayers. The duke gave thanks to his redeemer; the people rejoiced to be entrusted to such a great pastor. Thus, the leadership of all Brittany is seen to belong justly to Dol even today. For so many were the miracles that the Lord worked through him both beyond and on this side of the sea, and so much did his learning shine forth, that no other writer or teacher had the eloquence to grasp it.

#### §53

And so, when his life and time was completed and adorned with all virtues, he was overcome by a painful sickness, and, with the clergy in the monastery of Dol gathered around him, his body

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Quem paulo post solo sermone in mari demersit (A little while afterwards, he drowned it in the sea by speech alone) This sentence seems to refer to the serpent in the previous section, but in the First Life of St Samson (i.60) it is a different serpent that he drowns in the sea (Flobert 1997: 232).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> This place is now called Saint-Samson-de-la-Roque. In the First Life of St Samson (i.38), the monastery is named *Penetale* (Flobert 1997: 202). The connection between *Penetale* and the monastery founded by Samson in this chapter is made clearer in the Second Life of St Samson, ii.9 (Plaine 1887: 130–1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> se suis orationibus commendauit (he thus commended himself to Samson's prayers) Although the phrase *suis orationibus* implies that the king was commending himself to his *own* prayers, it is likely that the prayers of Samson are meant here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Lesiam Angiamque (*Lesia* and *Angia*) Supposedly, *Lesia* is Guernsey and *Angia* is Jersey (Flobert 1997: 232, n. 59.2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> **Commorum (Commor)** For references to this character in other Breton saints' Lives, see WCD 141–2; Bourgès 1996. He is probably based on an historical sixth-century Breton leader, but there are problems with harmonising the sources that mention him: see Charles-Edwards 2013: 67–8.

delivered his soul from the world to heaven. The clergy buried his holy body with ointments, and, hearing this, the army of heaven led away his soul to Christ with hymns and praises. And we have a sign of his blessedness with us, namely in those miracles that God works through him every day to the praise and glory of his name, who lives and reigns with God the Father and the Holy Spirit, God forever and ever amen. Here it ends, amen.

# Vita Sancti Samsonis (Liber Landavensis)

## edited by Ben Guy

Introduction Edited Text Translation Concordance References

### Manuscript

The Liber Landavensis contains the unique copy of this version of the Life of St Samson. The text was written by scribe B on quire 5, which contains only the Lives of SS. Elgar and Samson (MWM 129, 142, 154). It has been argued that scribe B was none other than Urban, bishop of Llandaff (1107–34), whose attempts to strengthen the position of his diocese resulted in the compilation of the Liber Landavensis (Davies 1998b). No other copies of any version of the Life of St Samson have been preserved in manuscripts of Insular provenance.

#### LIBER LANDAVENSIS, 30VA-36RB

Note on transcription. Note that, unlike the original manuscript, the digitised version of the Liber Landavensis on the National Library of Wales's website is in the wrong order. The first folio of the Life of St Elgar, the real folio 29, is labelled on the website's contents list as folio 34, interrupting the Life of St Samson. Consequently, the first five folios of the Life of Samson, the real folios 30v–34, are labelled on the website as folios 29v–33. For the order of the actual manuscript, see MWM 127.

The following abbreviations are used for this text in the manuscript:

Ampersand (×81); Tironian *et* (×134); the homothetic sign  $[\div]$  (×10); Insular *autem* abbreviation (×20).

#### TRANSCRIPTION

### {30va}

- 1 INCIPIT VITA SANCTI SANSONIS
- 2 ARCHIEPISCOPI ET CONFESSORIS
- 3 **F**VIT<sup>1</sup> VIR AMON<sup>2</sup> REGALI P*RO*SAPIA
- 4 deregione methiana. *et* uxor ei*us*
- 5 anna. cuius f*rate*R umbrafeles<sup>3</sup> iu=
- 6 nior se accepit annę uxoris so=
- 7 rorem affrellam inuxorem. quę
- 8 tres filios genuit. Anna u*ero* diu $^4$
- 9 sterilis remansit. Ambo steriles.
- 10 ambo dolentes p*ro*nimia sterilitate
- 11 sua. *et* timentes post obitum suum
- 12 caput totius parentelę ne sua he=
- 13 reditas nullo posse medicamine
- 14 medicinari. nullo posse conami=
- 15 ne auxiliari. appropinquantes
- 16 nimium sepulturę *et* senectuti. *et* fe=
- 17 re sine spe p*ro*lis. dixer*un*t adinuicem.
- 18 Nunquid elisabeth sterilis post nul=

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> **F**VIT The *F* is a six-line rubricated initial.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> **A**MON (margin) {Amon}.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> **umbrafeles** (margin) {Vmbrafeles fr*ater* Amonis}.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> (margin) {Vita beati Sampsonis}.

MANUSCRIPT

- 19 lam spem p*ro*lis facta est fecunda
- 20 detanto iohanner Nunquid d*eu*s
- 21 qui cuncta creauit exnichilo equalis
- 22 semper persecula. idem et inenarrabilis et
- 23 mirabilis. et cui omnia possibilia que
- 24 uerbo quę op*er*e quę cogitatione
- 25 premeditantur et operantur omnia sibi ma=
- 26 nifesta. et que nobis preterita. presen=
- 27 tia *et* futura sibi omnia p*re*sentia.
- 28 et qui uoluntate sua redemit hu=
- 29 manum genus aberrore suo. *et* ab
- 30 antiqua fece. ille idem inomnib*us*
- 31 nos peccatores liberet aborbitate
- 32 *et* sterilitate ista. Faciamus igit*ur*
- 33 ieiunium *et* oratione*m et* elemosina*m*.
- 34 ut qui sidrac misac *et* abdinago
- 35 tres pueros incamino liberauit

## {30vb}

- 1 ab incendio *et* carcere suo ipse
- 2 nos liberet apeccato *et* cum p*ro*le
- 3 faciat nos letari fecundos *et* cum
- 4 hereditario. Facta oratione cum ie=
- 5 iunio deprecati sunt Dubricium

6	s <i>anctu</i> m <sup>5</sup> occidentalis britannię archi=
7	ep <i>iscopu</i> m <sup>6</sup> simulq <i>ue</i> abbatem Ildutum
8	ut eor <i>um</i> deprecatione sibi p <i>ro</i> lem sum=
9	mus creator et gubernator redderet
10	<i>et</i> quam illis uouentes deo si tribu=
11	eret su <i>m</i> mop <i>er</i> e adscientiam litt <i>er</i> arum
12	et addiuinum officium peragendum
13	illis nominatim rederent. His
14	p <i>er</i> actis <u>:</u> audier <i>un</i> t quenda <i>m</i> librarium
15	uersus aquilonem. longinquam terram
16	habitantem. uera multis p <i>ro</i> phetan=
17	tem. cum munerib <i>us</i> adquam p <i>ro</i> cesse=
18	runt. <i>et</i> die tertia adipsum p <i>er</i> uene=
19	runt. Quos ille benigne hospitio
20	recipiens. <i>et</i> causam itineris expo=
21	suit. dicens. Causam scio aduentus <sup>7</sup>
22	u <i>est</i> ri. Fac uirgam <sup>8</sup> argentea <i>m</i> coeq <i>ua</i> ta <i>m</i>
23	tuę uxori. <i>et</i> eroga paup <i>er</i> ib <i>us christ</i> i.
24	<i>et</i> habebitis p <i>ro</i> lem. <i>et</i> placitum desi=

25 derii uestri. Quod ammon audiens. dixit.

<sup>5</sup> **Dubricium** *sanctum* (top right) {Nota sanctum dubricium} {{occidentalis britannię archiepiscopum}}.

<sup>6</sup> **Dubricium sanctum occidentalis britannię archi=ep***iscopu***m** (bottom, below both columns) {No*ta* sanctu*m* dubriciu*m* occidentalis britannié Archiep*iscopu***m**}.

<sup>7</sup> Causam scio aduentus (central margin) {causam itineris exposuit librarius}.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Fac uirgam (central margin) {quod iussit fieri}.

MANUSCRIPT

- 26 Tres dabo argenteas sibi coequatas.
- 27 Nocte sequenti beata anna uidit
- 28 persomnium sibi dicentem angelum<sup>9</sup>.
- 29 Dominus confortare dignatus est me=
- 30 rore*m* tuum. *et* lacrimę tuę uer=
- 31 tent*ur* tibi ingaudium. Nam pa=
- 32 ries filium *et* uocabis Sansone*m*.
- 33 episcopali officio condignum. et ipse
- 34 erit septies candidior argento
- 35 illo quod tuus maritus donauit

## {31ra}

1	prote c	leo.	Cuncta	quę	aban=
---	---------	------	--------	-----	-------

- 2 gelo audiuit. exre facta uiro
- 3 replicauit. Librarius mane con=
- 4 surgens: annam allocutus est
- 5 dicens. Michi hac nocte d*ominus* re=
- 6 uelauit de te. *et* detua prole.
- 7 Talem britannia<sup>10</sup> nunquam ge=
- 8 nuit. nec umq*ua*m generabit.
- 9 Nam ut d*icitur*. mirabilis d*eus* ins*anct*is
- 10 suis deprecatione sanctorum uirorum con=

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> dicentem angelum (central margin) {quomodo Anna vidit angelum}.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Talem britannia (margin) {nota talem e britanniâ}.

11	cepit mulier. <i>et</i> pep <i>er</i> it filium. im=
12	posito sibi no <i>min</i> e abeato uiro ildv
13	to samsone. q <i>uonia</i> m ipse desacro
14	fonte leuauit. <i>et</i> baptizauit. <i>et</i> re=
15	ductus ad paternum limen cre=
16	uit de die indiem infans hone=
17	stę p <i>er</i> sonę <i>et</i> staturę. statim post
18	tempus suę maturitatis mode=
19	ratę amabilis uultu <i>et</i> hilari
20	specie. non tam parentelę. ue=
21	rumetiam genti extraneę. Qui
22	cum crescebat incorpore. cresce=
23	bat insapientia. <i>et</i> equali discre=
24	tione. Qui cum loquebatur av=
25	diebatur. <i>et</i> mirabili audien=
26	tia p <i>ro</i> nimia sagacitate. in tan=
27	tum q <i>uo</i> d clerus <i>et</i> populus apri
28	meua etate dicebat. Puer iste
29	uir nobis futurus solamen
30	<i>et</i> spes totius p <i>at</i> rię. uir mirabi=
31	lis memorię et summę pru=
32	dentię. <i>et</i> ut d <i>icitu</i> r. Filius bonus
33	gaudium totius parentelę.
34	Dormiente p <i>at</i> re ammon q <i>ua</i> da <i>m</i>

MANUSCRIPT

# {31rb}

1	nocte exabrupto stupefactus <i>est</i> .
2	<i>et</i> exp <i>er</i> gef <i>actu</i> s p <i>ro</i> nimia <i>et</i> horribili
3	uisione. <i>et</i> clamans d <i>ixit</i> . O quam <sup>11</sup>
4	pauidus cur tremesco. o quam
5	indebilis sentio. uix manum le=
6	uare nec pedem mouere conua=
7	leo. Audito ab uxore sua clamo=
8	re simul <i>et</i> stupore ipsius. d <i>omi</i> no dixit.
9	O pie. o marite clamas. Quid cla=
10	masti <u>r</u> Luges. Vnde luctus tibi.
11	aut infra somniu <i>m</i> . aut ante ali=
12	q <i>ui</i> d inconueniens uidisti. q <i>uo</i> d so=
13	litu <i>m</i> ut quicq <i>ui</i> d aliq <i>ui</i> s ante dor=
14	mitationem precogitat. hoc idem
15	ineadem euenit. Qui d <i>i</i> x <i>it</i> . Cogi=
16	tabam quide <i>m</i> deunico filio meo.
17	<i>et</i> p <i>re</i> notabam qualitates suas ho=
18	nestas inomnibus et regię curię
19	aptas ut decet <i>et</i> parentelę nec
20	ad alium usum preparandas.
21	nisi adregendum populu <i>m</i> suum

<sup>11</sup> (margin) {Ammonis visio de filio suo samso[..]}.

- 22 gladio. *et* laicali iustitia. q*uo*d im=
- 23 pie quod iniuste nunc cordi meo se=
- 24 det de iniqua p*re*cogitatione.
- 25 ut q*uo*d michi d*eu*s dedit adtempus
- 26 ut consolarer. *et* quod sibi ante tem=
- 27 pus concipiendi promisi. et post
- 28 tempus parturiendi sibi ipsi.
- 29 et summo patri meo Dubricio. et
- 30 patrono ilduto pepigi. et inpri=
- 31 meua etate. hoc idem auferre
- 32 uolui. Nunc quem proposui heredita=
- 33 rium inseculo. hereditarius sit
- 34 amodo inparadiso. ut simus

## {31va}

1	simul participes p <i>er</i> henni sola=
2	cio <i>et</i> palatio. Ambo consentien=
3	tes adunum pater et mater duxerunt
4	filium unicum uoluntarium
5	bene agendum. <i>et</i> quamuis pu=
6	sillus parebat inspecie <sub>:</sub> tamen
7	p <i>re</i> nimio gaudio optabat iterum
8	ildutum adire <i>et</i> uidere. <i>et</i> com=
9	mendatum sibi inp <i>er</i> petuo f <i>iliu</i> m

MANUSCRIPT

- 10 cum esset annorum .v. edocuit.  $et^{12}$
- 11 adlitt*er*arum studiu*m* coetaneos
- 12 suos deuicit. vt qui statim  $\mathbf{x}^{e=}$
- 13 rat discipulus: efficiebat*ur* eor*um*
- 14 miro modo magister. simul *et*
- 15 discipulus. Adeo diligebat eum
- 16 magister. et dominus sanctux<sup>s</sup> ildutus: ut
- 17 omnibus horis pre cunctis scolaribus
- 18 eum cariore*m* incunctis. *et* cu*m* eo
- 19 diligentius seruiebat ęccl*esi*ę.
- 20 Sanctus ildutus laborans ut requi=
- 21 esceret. *et* uiuens labore ut ui=
- 22 ueret. habebat satum unum.
- 23 adq*uo*d seruandu*m* autumnali te*m*=
- 24 pore uice mutua mittebat
- 25 discipulos ne passeres ex solito
- 26 segetem ordei consu*m*merent.
- 27 Tandem adf*rat*rem Samsonem
- 28 peruenit obedientia. et cum sum=
- 29 ma lętitia iuit adcustodiam.
- 30 Inuentos om*ne*s passeres albos

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> (margin) {Samson .5. annos natus ab Illtuto edoctus coetaneos superauit}.

- 32 campestres oues. *et* duxit ad=
- 33 horrev*m*. clauso hostio. rediit
- 34 tam*en* adsegete*m. et* ibi nullo t*ame*n

# {31vb}

1	passere manente obdormiuit
2	p <i>er</i> spatium. Consocii q <i>ui</i> de <i>m</i> miran=
3	tes detanta samsonis mora. <i>et</i>
4	tam <i>en</i> tacti quadam inuidia. di=
5	xerunt. Eamus et uideamus nescien=
6	ter quid faciet amabilis puer.
7	et inuentum illum insomno
8	lętati. redier <i>un</i> t ad magistrum.
9	<i>et</i> simul cum magistro redie=
10	r <i>un</i> t adpueru <i>m. et</i> dixerunt adil=
11	lum. Quem diligitis. inuenimus
12	somnolentum. inobedientem et
13	pigrum. P <i>er</i> uenientes adillum <sub>č</sub>
14	excitauerunt dicentes. Puer
15	nunquid dormiunt passeres
16	inimici tui <i>et nostr</i> i <sub>r</sub> Nunquid

17 funda tua omnes interemi=

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> uolatiles (margin) {Nota bolatiles.} {{passeres in horreum congregauit}}.

MANUSCRIPT

- 18 stir qui tam*en* discrete *et* sine
- 19 aliquo feruore dixit. Inue=
- 20 ni uastatores insegex<sup>t</sup>e. *et* au=
- 21 xiliante d*e*o reseruo eos co*m*=
- 22 muniter nobis et uobis incar=
- 23 cere<sup>14</sup>. Et ait. Reservatis illis
- 24 omnibus inhorreo. nunquam
- 25 opportebit nos amplius ha=
- 26 bere h*uiu*smodi cura*m* aut custo=
- 27 diam. Et ita factum est. Abbas
- 28 ildutus sancti germani<sup>15</sup> discipu=
- 29 lus humana *et* diuina p*er*itus.
- 30 genere magnificus. *et* futuror*um*
- 31 prescius<sup>16</sup>. gr*ati*as d*e*o agens. *et* res=
- 32 piciens incelum. dixit. Hunc deus
- 33 samsone*m* dignatus est nobis
- 34 mittere patrię lumen. En caput

### {32ra}

- 1 augustum omnium nostrum. et
- 2 pontifex summus multum ęccl*esi*ę

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> **incar=cere** (margin) {Nota incarc[...]}.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> germani (above line and down the right margin) {*scilicet* altissiodore*nsis* q*ui* heresim pelagianam cum doctorib*us* britannie dubricio. Teliao et dauid feliciter extinxit}.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> **prescius** (bottom, keyed with a *signe de renvoi* [ $\therefore$ ]) {No*ta* ildutu*m san*cti germani discipulu*m*} {{et quomodo de Samsone predixit}}. The words in the first hand are copied from lines 28–9.

- 3 dei profuturus. en egregius sacer=
- 4 dos. en peritissimus fundator ecclesia=
- 5 rum post ap $ostolos^{17}$ . miro modo in
- 6 tantum  $confr^{1}agrauit^{18}$  ineo cari=
- 7 tas *et* sapientia. ut inpaucis annis
- 8 magistrum uideretur excellere
- 9 prudentia. cum quo duxit ui=
- 10 tam sanctam per dies et tempora. uitam
- 11 pleclara $m^{19}$  et honestam. quę cum
- 12 ducebat inlongius. emendeba=
- 13 tur inmelius. quod ore loqueba=
- 14 tur. corde credebat. quod credidit
- 15 diligebat. Quadam namque die
- 16 ille *et* magister eius q*ua*nda*m* profun=
- 17 dam questione*m* inuenientes.
- 18 nec explanare ualentes. sanctus Sam=
- 19 son ieiuniis *et* uigiliis incubuit.
- 20 rogans per dominum quod per magistrum
- 21 non potuit. Tertia nocte ieiunii
- 22 audiuit uocem dicente*m* sibi.

<sup>17</sup> **post apostolos** (top, indicated by a signe de renvoi [ $\therefore$ ]) {Nota post apostolos}. No corresponding signe de renvoi appears adjacent to the note.

<sup>19</sup> pleclaram Sic.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> **confr**<sup>18</sup> **confr**<sup>18</sup>

#### MANUSCRIPT

## V. S. SAMSONIS (LIBER LANDAVENSIS) ed. GUY

- 23 Ne amplius fatigeris hec *et*  $que^{20}$
- 24 cunque a deo petieris impetrabis.
- 25 Quoda*m* itaq*ue* estiuo tempore dum
- 26 fratres adpurgandam messem ibant
- 27 ilider derubo exiliens. fratre $m^{21}$
- 28 quendam momordit inun=
- 29 guine. Quem extremum an=
- 30 helitum iam trahentem sanctus Sanson
- 31 serpentino morsu. signum sanctę<sup>22</sup>
- 32 crucis imposuit. *et* aqua oleo
- 33 oleo mixtum dedit. et fratribus inco
- 34 lume*m* reddidit. Beatus u*ero* eltu=
- 35 tus uidens sanctum samsonem in

#### {32rb}

- 1 uirtutib*us* crescere: fecit eum di= $^{23}$
- 2 aconatus ordinem consecrare. Cu*m*q*ue*
- 3 episcopus nomine DUBRICIVS missam ordina=
- 4 tionis eius celebrauit. una cum ma=
- 5 gistro eltuto columbam<sup>24</sup> celitus

<sup>20</sup> (margin) {Samson vocem audiuit de questione}.

<sup>21</sup> (margin) {[.]uomodo samson sanauit heremitam quem Ilider [.]omordit}.

<sup>22</sup> sancte A later hand has placed a contraction mark over this word.

<sup>23</sup> (top) {Iltutus Samsonem in dyaconatus ordinem consecrauit dubricio diuina celebrante.}.

 $^{24}$  **columbam** (margin) {No*ta* colu*m*bam} {{celitus emissa*m*}}. A vertical line in the right margin indicates that the episode to which the note draws attention is found on lines 5–16, though the vertical line extends down to line 17.

- 6 emissam super sanctum Samsonem. mira=
- 7 biliter stare uidit. Et cum super eum
- 8 episcopus manum leuauit; colu<del>xx</del><sup>{mba}25</sup> inde=
- 9 xterram scapulam eius descendit. et ibi
- 10 consedit: quandiu episcopus officium
- 11 celebrauit. Non multum post hec
- 12 annis transactis: ab eodem episcopo conse=
- 13 cratus *est* inordinem presbiteratus<sup>26</sup>. Sed
- 14 *et* columba decelo sup*er* eum sicut
- 15 prius descendit. et electum dei inno=
- 16 centia signauit. Hic uero ELDUtus
- 17 insuo monasterio duos nepotes
- 18 habuit germanos. quor*um* unus sa=
- 19 cerdos. alt*er autem* sine gradu ei*us* fuit
- 20 cellerari*us*. Sacerdos u*ero*<sup>27</sup> cupiens
- 21 post auunculum possidere monasterivm:
- 22 sed metuens *sanctum* Samsone*m*. ne ob
- 23 gr*ati*am uirtutum adabbatem abomnibus
- 24 eligeretur. et ipse sic monasterio priua=
- 25 ret*ur*: mortiferum cum fratre iniit consilivm.

<sup>25</sup> **coluxx**<sup>{*mba*}</sup> A later hand has drawn a nasal contraction mark over the *u* and has written *ba* over an erasure of two unidentifiable letters.

- <sup>26</sup> presbiteratus (margin) {Samson presbiter consecratus.}.
- <sup>27</sup> **Sacerdos uero** The scribe left a gap because of a hole in the parchment.

MANUSCRIPT

- 26 Nam eiusde*m* loci f*ratre*s habebant
- 27 inconsuetudine potione*m* herba=
- 28 rum post missas habere. Cellerarius
- 29 fratris sui consilio uenenum confecit.
- 30 *et per pelacem mortiferum esse pro=*
- 31 bauit. *et* ins<del>xx</del><sup>ci</sup>fum<sup>28</sup> sancti Samsonis
- 32 fudit. Quod ille perspiritum sanctum intelli=
- 33 gens. potumq*ue* benedicens:  $totvm^{29}$
- 34 bibit. nichil mali exeo sentiens.
- 35 Eodem die postprandium; sanctus Samson.

## {32va}

1	cum cellerario amicissimum
2	habuit colloquiu <i>m</i> . Mi f <i>rate</i> r dulcissi=
3	me <sub>?</sub> sanet te d <i>eu</i> s abomni egritudi=
4	ne. quia magnam sanitatem cor=
5	pori meo poculum p <i>re</i> buit q <i>uo</i> d m <i>ibi</i>
6	dedisti hodie. Hęc illo audiente <sub>?</sub>
7	compunctus ingemuit. fratremque
8	suum nefandi incentore <i>m</i> penite=
9	re commonuit. sed noluit. Seq <i>ue</i> nti

10 d*omi*nica die cum ide*m* sacerdos sacram

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> ins $xx^{ci}$  fum The *ci* looks like it has been written over an erasure, which has caused a small hole in the parchment.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> (margin) {samson venenum bibit et ei non  $\frac{1}{2}$  \*nocuit}.

- 11 communionem demanu sancti Samso=
- 12 nis suscepit. eodem mom*en*to dia=
- 13 bolus eum arripuit. Ille *autem* psal=
- 14 lens se ilico totum dilanians.
- 15 et labia mordens. astantibus dixit.
- 16 Quid hic statis<sub>r</sub> Si samsonem
- 17 d*omi*natore*m* mei p*re*sente*m* non uidere*m*.
- 18 minime deuobis curarem. Ildutus
- 19 uero ut hec uidit: ligari eum. ac foras
- 20 duci eum iussit<sup>30</sup>. F*rate*R *autem* eius hec
- 21 audiens. utror*umque* culpam mons=
- 22 trauit. *et* ueniam asancto Samsone
- 23 postulauit. Sanctus uero Samson dolo
- 24 re sanctis commotus fleuit: aquam et o=
- 25 leum b*ene*dixi $t^{31}$ . *et* dari ei adgustandv*m*
- 26 precepit<sup>32</sup>: et sic eum adiaboli laqueis
- 27 liberauit. Itaq*ue factu*m est iusto dei
- 28 iudicio: ut primatum quod nequiter
- 29 quesiuit. nunquam habere potuit.
- 30 Erat *autem* non longe ab hoc ceno=

<sup>30</sup> eum iussit These words are separated by a hole in the parchment.

<sup>31</sup> aqua*m et* o=leum benedixit (margin) {Nota aqua*m et* oleu*m* benedixit} {{q*ui*bus Sacerdotem liberauit a demone dilaceratu*m* q*ui* prius venenu*m* ei p*re*parasset ne in abbate*m* post Iltutu*m* eligeretur}}.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> **precepit** According to Evans (LL 345), the contraction mark was added by a later hand.

MANUSCRIPT

31	bio	insula	quedam	inqua	mona=
			1	1	

- 32 steriu*m* erat constru $\mathbf{r}^{c}$ tu*m*<sup>33</sup> auiro
- 33 no*min*e piro. Illuc sanctus Samson deo
- 34 ducente ac magistro fauente.
- 35 festinant*er* p*er*rex*it<sub>:</sub> et* ibi gl*ori*osam *et*

# {32vb}

1	angelicam uitam duxit. Amabilis mo=
2	rib <i>us</i> . piis insistens op <i>er</i> ib <i>us</i> . p <i>er</i> uigil
3	inorationib <i>us</i> . Post h <i>ec autem</i> quodam
4	hiemis tempore. p <i>ate</i> r sancti Samsonis
5	g <i>ra</i> ui infirmitate dep <i>re</i> ssus. asuis
6	commonitus est uicinis ut iuxta mo=
7	rem susciperet sacrificium communionis.
8	Ille u <i>ero</i> obnixe affirmauit nunq <i>ua</i> m
9	se morte <i>m</i> gustaturu <i>m</i> . nunq <i>ua</i> m sac <i>ri</i> =
10	ficiu <i>m</i> sumpturu <i>m</i> . nunq <i>ua</i> m sanita=
11	tem recepturu <i>m</i> . p <i>ri</i> usq <i>ua</i> m Samsone <i>m</i>
12	filiu <i>m</i> suum uideret <sub>:</sub> ac p <i>er</i> ipsum pa=
13	riter corporis et animę sanitatem
14	reciperet. Parentes ergo adeum legatos
15	miserunt. poscentes ut patrem incon=
16	finio mortis decubante <i>m</i> uisitaret.

<sup>33</sup> **constru**<sup>*c*</sup>**tu***m* The *r* has been altered so that it resembles a *c*.

17 5	Sanctus	uero	Samson	dolore	commotus.	ait.
------	---------	------	--------	--------	-----------	------

- 18 Potens *est* d*eus* absq*ue* me egrotantem
- 19 sanare. Tande*m* abbatis precib*us*
- 20 conuictus. legatos remisit. et se uen=
- 21 turum esse concessit. Mane itaque
- 22 facto abbatis sui benedictione accep=
- 23 ta: cum iuuene diacono cepit it*er*
- 24 agere. Cumque peruastam solitudi=
- 25 nem perrexissent. horribilem uocem
- 26 iuxta se audier*unt*. Adhanc uocem
- 27 diaconus perterritus. equm dimisit.
- 28 *et* pallium suu*m* proiciens. infugam
- 29 se conu*er*tit. Que*m* theomaca ursuta
- 30 *et* cornuta cu*m* lancea trisulcata
- 31 per uastas siluas uolitans semine=
- 32 cem prostrauit. Beatus uero Samson
- 33 intrepidus progrediens. et theoma=
- 34 cam alonge fugientem aspiciens: cla=
- 35 mauit post eam dicens. Innomine

## {33ra}

- 1 Iesu christi impexro tibi expecta  $et^{34}$
- 2 loquere m*i*hi. Cui ille d*i*x*i*t. Quis es

<sup>34</sup> (top) {Quomodo samson Theomacam imperauit quę diaconum semimortuum prostrauerat, quem resuscitauit}.

MANUSCRIPT

- 3 tur Illa respondit. Theomaca
- 4 sum. Nam parentes mei huc
- 5 usq*ue* p*re*uaritores uob*is* extitere.
- 6 *et* nemo inhac silua remansit.
- 7 nisi ego demeo genere. Habeo
- 8 octo sorores *et* matre*m* quę adhuc
- 9 uiuunt. *et* inult*er*iori silua de=
- 10 gunt. et ego marito tradita sum in
- 11 hac heremo; sed quia mortuus est.
- 12 recedere dehac silua nequeo.
- 13 Cui sanctus Samson ait. Potesne
- 14 fratrem quem percussisti rediuiuum
- 15 reddere. *et* amalo declinarer
- 16 Respondit. Nec illum possum
- 17 sanare. nec inmelius rep*ar*rari<sup>35</sup>.
- 18 q*ui*a abinfantia semp*er* male ui=
- 19 xi. Beatus Samson d*ixit*. Inno*min*e
- 20 *iesu christ*i precipio t*ibi* ne amplius
- 21 hominibus noceas. sed citissime ab
- 22 hac uita discedas. Quę statim
- 23 saltum dans precipitem. corruit
- 24 et exspirauit. Sanctus Samson reuer=

<sup>35</sup> rep*arrari Sic.* 

- 25 sus adf*rat*rem pene mortuu*m*: mo=
- 26 re helisei os ori. ac membra men=
- 27 bris composuit. *et* sic illum sa=
- 28 nitati restituit. Itaq*ue* ceptu*m* it*er*
- 29 perrexerunt. et die tertia adammonem
- 30 peruenerunt. Ammon uero ut eos ui=
- 31 dit<sub>:</sub> cum ingenti letitia dixit.
- 32 Ecce auxilium corporis *et* animę
- 33 meę. quod mihi dominus per somnium digna=
- 34 tus est demonstrare. Ipso namque
- 35 die p*er* benedictione*m* sancti samsonis

{33rb}

1	amorbo conualuit. ac supplici pe= <sup>36</sup>
2	titione una cum f <i>rat</i> re suo umb <i>ra</i> fele
3	monachicu <i>m</i> habitum suscip <i>er</i> e me=
4	ruit. Sed <i>et</i> uenerabil <i>is</i> anna cum
5	affrella sorore sua eius benedictione
6	est consecrata. Partim substantiar <i>um</i>
7	pars paup <i>er</i> ib <i>us</i> erogauit. partim
8	admonasterium construendum
9	co <i>m</i> misit. partim matris <i>et frat</i> rum
10	usui concessit. Ordinatis om <i>n</i> ib <i>us</i>

<sup>36</sup> (margin) {quomodo Samson patre egr[.]tante liberat reuersus}.

MANUSCRIPT

- 11 per gratiam sancti spiritus. assumptis patre
- 12 *et* patruele p*eraliam* qua*m* uenerat
- 13 uiam adsuum monasterium reuersus est.
- 14 Per eandem quoque uiam serpentem<sup>37</sup>
- 15 mirę magnitudinis repp*er*it<sub>:</sub> quem
- 16 solo sermone p*ro*strauit. Cumq*ue* ad
- 17 monasterium redirent. DVBRI=
- 18 CIVM episcopum initiante quadragesima
- 19 ibi commanentem inuenit. Episcopus autem
- 20 adse diaconum conuocans. et abeo
- 21 cuncta que gesta fuerant inuia
- 22 condiscens. maximo cu*m* honore
- 23 sanctum samsonem sociosque suos suscepit.
- 24 et eodem die sanctum samsonem cellera
- 25 rium illius loci constituit. Ille
- 26 u*ero* ac si iussus esset diuinit $u_{s_1}$  cum<sup>38</sup>
- 27 magna diligentia seruiuit
- 28 fratribus. et inquantum potuit. minis=
- 29 trauit pauperibus. Sed frater qui ante
- 30 eum fuera<del>nt</del><sup>t39</sup> ineode*m* minist*er*io

<sup>37</sup> (margin) {Samson solo sermone serpentem prostrauit.}.

<sup>38</sup> (margin) {Samson cellarius constrictus}.

<sup>39</sup> fuerant<sup>t</sup> The *t* has been written over an erasure, possibly by a later hand. Evans (LL 345) was able to read the original word as *fuerant*.

31 ei <i>us</i> op <i>er</i> ib <i>us</i> bonis <sup>40</sup> inuidens dicebat	ī
--	---

- 32 sanctum samsonem omnia ineffusionem
- 33 fenerasse. *et* lent*er*nas melle plenas
- 34 indecenter euacuasse. Quod episcopus au=
- 35 diens. *et* rei ueritate*m* scire cupiens.

{33va}

- 1 cellariu*m* intrauit. Quod beatus sam=
- 2 son perspiritum sanctum agnoscens lenternas
- 3 q*uas* euacuau $erxx^{at41}$ ; signum crucis com=
- 4 posuit. *et* easdem ep*iscopus* plenas repp*er*it.
- 5 Episcopus autem admirans. samsonem spiritu sancto
- 6 plenum esse credidit. et insullimium
- 7 officio dignum esse iudicauit.
- 8 Post hec paucis interiacentibus diebus:
- 9 piro morte preuentus. sanctus  $SamsoN^{42}$
- 10 ad<del>xx</del><sup>ab</sup>batem illius monasterii ab
- 11 omnibus est electus. Obediente autem il=
- 12 lo non uoluntarie: primatum an=
- 13 no tertio et dimidio illius congregati=
- 14 onis tenuit. Postea u*ero* q*uam* peritissimi

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> **bonis** The *nis* is blurred, possibly due to the small tear in the parchment (see the note to *suspendebant* on the verso of this folio, column a, line 31).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> euacuau $erxx^{at}$  The *at* has been written over an erasure, possibly by a later hand.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> (margin) {Samson abbas}.

MANUSCRIPT

15	scothi roma reu <i>er</i> tentes adeum
16	uener <i>unt</i> . q <i>uo</i> s p <i>er</i> scrutans. sapientes a=
17	gnouit. <i>et</i> ep <i>iscop</i> o p <i>er</i> mittente. cu <i>m</i> illis
18	adp <i>at</i> riam illor <i>um</i> abiit. Ibiq <i>ue</i> aliq <i>ua</i> n=
19	tulum demorans. abom <i>n</i> ib <i>us</i> religi=
20	osis ut angelus est receptus. Cecos <sup>43</sup> il=
21	luminauit. leprosos mundauit.
22	demones exho <i>min</i> ib <i>us</i> fugauit. <i>et</i> cunc=
23	tis uia <i>m</i> salutis monstrauit. Cunq <i>ue</i>
24	inarce $d^{e}$ moraret $ur^{44}$ ; uolens
25	adp <i>at</i> riam reu <i>er</i> ti. <i>et</i> nauis iam para=
26	ta inueniebat <i>ur. et</i> ut nauim ascen=
27	deret. anautis p <i>re</i> cabat <i>ur</i> . Quib <i>us</i> ipse
28	respondit. Op <i>er</i> a d <i>e</i> i prius faciem <i>us</i> .
29	qua <i>m</i> ab hac p <i>ro</i> uincia <sup>45</sup> nauigem <i>us</i> .
20	Nautę u <i>ero</i> ad irancundia <i>m</i> prouocati <sub>:</sub>
30	rade dero ad nancandiam prodocaci.
30 31	carbasa suspendebant <sup>46</sup> . Quib <i>us</i> ip=

33 *et* simul erim*us* cras ituri. Euntib*us* 

<sup>43</sup> Cecos (margin) {Nota cecos} {{etc.}}.

<sup>44</sup> **inarce** <sup>de</sup>**moraretur** It may be that the scribe initially left a space here because a word in the exemplar was illegible, and that the scribe later returned to the gap to supply *de* as the missing word.

<sup>45</sup> **prouincia** The *uinc* looks like it has been retraced.

<sup>46</sup> **suspendebant** The *bant* is blurred, possibly due to the small tear in the parchment (see the note to *bonis* on the recto of this folio, column b, line 31).

<sup>47</sup> Ite in pace hodie reuersuri The *Ite* and *reuersuri* seem to have been written in lighter ink.

34 <i>autem</i> illis. ecce quic	am uenit ad eum ro=
----------------------------------	---------------------

35 gans ut proximum monasterium

{33vb}

1	uisitaret. dicens. Abbatem nostrum <sup>48</sup>
2	diabolus inuasit. <i>et</i> alligatum
3	tenet. qui te uidere desiderat.
4	Sanctus Samson. cum illo perrexit.
5	<i>et</i> eum alligatu <i>m</i> repp <i>er</i> it. qui in
6	occursum ei <i>us</i> magna uoce
7	clamauit. En que <i>m</i> semp <i>er</i> qu <del>e</del> <sup>e49</sup> =
8	siui. en que <i>m</i> uidere tota deuo=
9	tione desideraui. Orante sancto
10	Samsone. sanitati redditus <i>est</i>
10 11	Samsone. sanitati redditus <i>est</i> energuminis. monast <i>er</i> ium re=
11	energuminis. monast <i>er</i> ium re=
11 12	energuminis. monast <i>er</i> ium re= linquens s <i>anctu</i> m samsonem <sup>50</sup> est se=
11 12 13	energuminis. monast <i>er</i> ium re= linquens s <i>anctu</i> m samsonem <sup>50</sup> est se= cutus. Benedictis inmonast <i>er</i> io
11 12 13 14	energuminis. monast <i>er</i> ium re= linquens s <i>anctu</i> m samsonem <sup>50</sup> est se= cutus. Benedictis inmonast <i>er</i> io f <i>rat</i> rib <i>us</i> abiit. <i>et</i> adportu <i>m</i> nauim
11 12 13 14 15	energuminis. monast <i>er</i> ium re= linquens s <i>anctu</i> m samsone <i>m</i> <sup>50</sup> est se= cutus. Benedictis inmonast <i>er</i> io f <i>rat</i> rib <i>us</i> abiit. <i>et</i> adportu <i>m</i> nauim ia <i>m</i> reu <i>ersam</i> sic <i>ut</i> p <i>re</i> dixit inuenit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> (top) {Nota abbat*em* demoniaru*m* qu<u>em</u> Samson libera[...]}.

 $<sup>^{49}</sup>$   $\mathbf{qug}^{\mathrm{e}}$  The cedilla underneath the e has been erased.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> sanctum samsonem (margin) {Nota sanctum Sampsonem}.

MANUSCRIPT

- 19 Ingressus itaque monasterium. pa=
- 20 trem *et* patruum preceteris degen=
- 21 tibus laudabiliter inconuersatione
- 22 proficere inueniebat. et exhoc
- 23 om*n*ipotenti gr*ati*as referebat.
- 24 Sumens itaq*ue* patruu*m* umbra=
- 25 felem presbiteratus officio iam perfunc=
- 26 tum admonasterium inhibernia
- 27 abbatem misit. inq*uo* priorem a=
- 28 diabo<del>xx<sup>lo51</sup> liberauit.</del> Beatus uero Sam=
- 29 son cum Ammone *et* supradicto ab=52
- 30 bate *et* quoda*m* fratre presbitero uas=
- 31 tissimu*m* heremum adiit<sub>:</sub> ac
- 32 iuxta habrinu*m* flum $en^{53}$  tuguriv*m*.
- 33 *et* ineo fontem dulcissimu*m* repp*er*it.
- 34 ibiq*ue* patrem cum duob*us* sociis
- 35 collocauit. Ipse interius heremv*m*

{34ra}

1 progrediens. secretissimum specu $m^{54}$ 

<sup>51</sup> **diaboxx**<sup>10</sup> The *lo* has been written over an erasure, possibly by a later hand. The act of erasing seems to have made a small hole in the parchment.

<sup>52</sup> (margin) {Vmbra[..]les abba[.]}.

<sup>53</sup> habrinum flumen (bottom, keyed with a signe de renvoi [::]) {Habrinum flumen nota. et quere an illud iam Sabrinum bocetur; Walice enim .Hafren. bocatur}.

<sup>54</sup> (top) {Samson heremita}.

- 2 inuenit. hostiumq*ue* eius ad
- 3 orientem situm. eu*m*q*ue* quasi ad*e*o
- 4 prepara $x^{t}$ um  $x^{a}$ damauit. et in eo=
- 5 fontis uenam precibus promeruit.
- 6 Vbi soli d*e*o sine intermissione
- 7 uacabat. uersutias temptatoris
- 8 non timebat. angelor*um* assuetus
- 9 colloquio. p*erquo*s se commendabat
- 10 altissimo. Per cunctos autem dominicarvm
- 11 dies. tres fratres quos uisitabat inhere=
- 12 mo collocauit. *et* communionem
- 13 abeis accipiebat. Facto itaque sino=
- 14 do. ac percunctantibus terrę principibus.
- 15 ubi nam sanctus Samson habitaret.
- 16 affuit quida*m* qui dicebat se sci=
- 17 re spelunca*m* inqua celeste*m* uita*m*
- 18 ageret. Missus itaq*ue* cum ceteris
- 19 precibus adsinodum pertrahunt- uid=
- 20 entes eum quasi angelum excipiunt.
- 21 abbatemq*ue* nolente*m* inmonast*er*io<sup>55</sup>
- 22 asancto Germano constructo con=
- 23 stituunt. Ineode*m* itaq*ue* monast*er*io

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> (central margin) {samson abbas}.

MANUSCRIPT

- 24 proreuerentia habebant. idest inca=
- 25 thedra beati petri ap*osto*li<sup>56</sup> consed*er*e
- 26 episcopos cum conuenerant. Factum est autem
- 27 annuali festo app*ro*pinq*ua*nte.
- 28 episcopique consuetum expectarent
- 29 conuentv*m*. q*ua*da*m* nocte uidit s*anctu*s
- 30 Samson circumsepta<sup>ri</sup> densissi=
- 31 mis candidator*um* turmis. *et* tres
- 32 egregios episcopos diadematibus orna=
- 33 tos. aureis infacie*m* sibi assist*er*e.
- 34 atque cum illis ecclesiam ingredi et orare.

 $\{34rb\}$ 

- 1 Quorum nomina causamque aduentus
- 2 eor*um* subtilit*er et* humilit*er* req*ui*siuit.
- 3 Cui princeps uisionis dixit. Ego sum
- 4 petrus *christ*i apostolus. *et* hic frater domini iacobus.
- 5 et iohannes euangelista. Dominus iesus christus
- 6 te sibi inp*re*sule*m* p*re*elegit. *et* te con=
- 7 secrare nos misit. Que*m* cum bene=
- 8 dictione celesti confirmauer*unt*.
- 9 Aboculis eius elapsi sunt. Episcopi autem ad
- 10 diem condictum uenientes. duos

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> **ca=thedra beati petri apostoli** (margin) {Nota cathedram beati petri apostoli}.

- 11 secum ordinandos adducentes:
- 12 adhonore*m* sanctę trinitatis tres <del>xx</del><sup>or</sup>=
- 13 dinare uolebant. sed quem eli=
- 14 gerent ad hoc. ignorabant. Noc=
- 15 te itaq*ue* seq*uenti*. beato DUBRITIO<sup>57</sup>
- 16 angelus domini astitit. eique sanctum Samso=
- 17 nem adep*iscopu*m ordinare p*re*cepit. Be=
- 18 atus uero DVBRITIVS pregaudio ange=
- 19 licę uisionis inunum conueni=
- 20 re fecit f*ratre*s congregationis.<sup>58</sup>
- 21 et ouanter quod abangelo audierat
- 22 exposuit eis. Statimq*ue* omnes
- 23 occlamantes deo gr*ati*as egerunt.
- 24 eumque cum ceteris incathedra episcopali
- 25 collocauer*unt*. Om*nes ergo* qui aderant.
- 26  $\operatorname{colux}^{\mathrm{m}}\mathrm{ba}m^{59}$  cęlitus emissam sup*er*
- 27 eum dum consecraret*ur* immo=
- 28 biliter stare uidebant. Eadem
- 29 namque die sancto Samsone sacro=
- 30 sancta misteria celebrante- beatus

<sup>57</sup> **beato DUBRITIO** (margin) {No*ta* dub*ric*io b*ea*to q*uomodo* ille sanctu*m* sampsone*m* ad ep*iscopu*m ordi*n*are p*re*cepit<u>.</u> no*ta* b*ene*}.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> (margin) {samson episcopus}.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> **colu<del>x</del><sup>m</sup>bam** (margin) {Nota columbam}.

MANUSCRIPT

	31	DVbritiuS cum duob <i>us</i> mona=
	32	chis uidit columpnam ignis de
	33	ore ei <i>us</i> choruscando p <i>ro</i> cedere.
	34	Ille u <i>ero</i> omni tempore uitę suę
{34va}		
	1	q <i>ua</i> ndo missa <i>m</i> celebrauit <sub>:</sub> ange=
	2	los assistentes <sup>60</sup> sibiq <i>ue</i> inaltaris
	3	sacrificio seruientes uidere pro=
	4	meruit. Quada <i>m autem</i> nocte resur=
	5	rectionis d <i>omi</i> nicę uigilante illo.
	6	<i>et</i> orante intemplo. ang <i>elus</i> d <i>omi</i> ni
	7	cum magna claritate astitit.
	8	et ne timeret confortauit dicens.
	9	Samson d <i>e</i> o dilectissime. uirilit <i>er</i>
	10	age di <sup>e</sup> n <i>ost</i> ra <i>et</i> decognatione tua
	11	egredere. Predestinatus es enim
	12	adeo ultra mare fundator mo=
	13	nachor <i>um</i> magnificus <sub>?</sub> rectorq <i>ue</i>
	14	in pop <i>u</i> lo gl <i>ori</i> osus. <i>autem</i> similia alia
	15	beato uiro angelus pertotam noctem
	16	gratulando p <i>re</i> d <i>ixit</i> . Et mane ue=
	17	niente clero <i>et</i> conuocato nil re=

<sup>60</sup> ange=los assistentes (top left) {no*ta* angelos assis} {{tentes}}.

- 18 sist<del>x</del><sup>e</sup>ns uisioni angelicę. immo
- 19  $obt x^e m x^{per} ans^{61}$  cum summa carita=
- 20 te. dixit. O pater sancte cuius manus im=
- 21 positione sullimatus sum quam=
- 22 uis indigne. cogit me angelicus
- 23 uisus fines natiuos relinquere.
- 24 *et* ultra marinos festinant*er* adi=
- 25 re. *et* nominatim ad armoricas
- 26  $\frac{1}{2}$  brittannicę gentis transire.<sup>62</sup>
- 27 His auditis: beatus archiep*iscopus*
- 28 Dubritius non dubitauit uiru*m*
- 29 permittere inter brittannos. eoquod
- 30 linguę. *et* sciens illum precinctum
- 31 diuino robore. *et* ornatu*m* moribus
- 32 cum sanctitate. Dixit. Esto uir robu=
- 33 stus. pugna inacie. hinc te con=
- 34 ducant preces britannię cum gau=

## $\{34vb\}$

- 1 dio et cum alacritate. et data
- 2 sibi benedictione p*at*ris Dubricii.
- 3 abbatisque Elduti. et totius cleri et po=

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> **obt\***<sup>em\*</sup>**m**\*<sup>per</sup>**ans** It is uncertain if the correcting letters, which seem to have been written over erasures, are in a later hand.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> (margin) {Nota recessum sancti sampsonis ad armoricum regnum vltra mare}.

MANUSCRIPT

- 4 puli recessit. Consummato itaque pas=
- 5 cal*is* solle*m*pnitatis officio: ac prę=
- 6 parato nauigio. assumptis quibus=
- 7 dam secum fratribus citra abrinum mare<sup>63</sup>
- 8 perrexit. terram matremque suam uisitauit.
- 9 *et* eccl*esi*am ab ea f*a*ctam consecrauit.
- 10 multosque egrotos illis inlocis sa=
- 11 nitati restituit. Postq*uam mat*rem
- 12 ceterosque parentes pleni deuerbis do=
- 13 mini instruxisset <del>xx</del><sup>deo</sup> ducente au
- 14 ferreu*m* mare cum sociis tran<del>xxx</del><sup>sfr</sup>e=
- 15 tauit. Cunq*ue* per quendam pagum quem
- 16 tricurrium uocant. transiret, ui=
- 17 dit ibi ho*min*es p*ro*fano ritu bachantes.
- 18 idolum q*uo*ddam adorare. Quo uiso.
- 19 sanctus Samson ingemuit. eosque precibus
- 20 *et* doctrinis commonuit. ut idola hu=
- 21 mano generi inimica relinque=<sup>64</sup>
- 22 rent. unum et uerum deum qui incelis est
- 23 adorarent. Cui comes eorum Gedianus
- 24 respondit. Deum quem predicatis igno=

<sup>63</sup> **abrinum mare** (top, keyed with a *signe de renvoi* [ $\therefore$ ]) {Nota habrinum mare: Walice hafren [ $\ldots$ ]}. According to Evans (LL 335) the last word is *mor*, but this is difficult to confirm.

<sup>64</sup> (margin) {Vnus deus adorandus.}.

- 25 ramus. deos uero quos coluerunt patres nostri-
- 26 hos adoramus. Dum hec loquerentur:
- 27  $puxx^{\{er\}}$  quidam equo insedens. *et* circa
- 28 idolum currens. adt*erram* corruit.
- 29 fractoq*ue* collo mortuus iacuit.
- 30 Flentibus cunctis: sanctus Samson dixit
- 31 eis. Ecce potestis uidere quod simu=
- 32 lacrum u*estru*m non potest huic $^{65}$
- 33 mortuo uitam reddere. Si uolueri=
- 34 tis idola u*est*ra destruere. *et* ind*eu*m<sup>66</sup>

#### {35ra}

1	meum credere inuocato nomen <sup>{nomine}</sup> domini
2	faciam mortuum u <i>estru</i> m resurge=
3	re. Illis <i>autem</i> adquiescentib <i>us</i> : <i>sanctus</i> Sam=
4	son p <i>ro</i> fusis abeo p <i>re</i> cib <i>us</i> . mortuum
5	uitę reddidit palam omnibus.
6	Super hec mira et inaudita attoniti
7	uisione om <i>ne</i> s unanimes idola de=
8	struentes. baptizati s <i>un</i> t. in <i>iesu</i> m fi=
9	lium dei credentes. Ineadem nanque
10	p <i>ro</i> uincia serpens quida <i>m</i> mirę

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> (margin) {mortuu*m* pueru*m* rediuiuit}.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> (bottom) {Nota ydola iuste destructa pro christum et sanctum sampsonem famulum eius}.

MANUSCRIPT

- 11 magnitudinis erat. qui morti=
- 12 fero flatu suo pene duo pagos
- 13 deleuerat. Quo comperto. sanctus Samson
- 14 miserię ho*min*um condolens. puer*um*
- 15 nup*er* resuscitatum secum assum*ens*
- 16 *et* iam precedente cum eo gedia=
- 17 no comite cum uniu*er*so pop*u*lo.
- 18 ubi serpente*m* inantro latitare
- 19 nouerant perrexit. Postera nanque
- 20 die illusce $n^{sc}$ ente<sup>67</sup> sole. antrum
- 21 ubi serpens inerat ult*ra* quoddam
- 22 flumen uidere. Ibique sanctus Samson
- 23 comite*m* cum pop*u*lo dimisit. Ipse
- 24 cum puero nup*er* suscitato ultra
- 25 flumen p*ro*cessit. Cumq*ue* adhostiv*m*
- 26 antri perueniret: eminus puerum
- 27 stare precepit. Ille uero signo sanctę cru=
- 28 cis munitus. confestim antrum
- 29 intrauit. atque serpentem linea zo=
- 30  $na^{68}$  qua erat precinct*us*. circa collv*m*
- 31 ligauit. trahens eum foras deq $uadam^{69}$

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> illuscen<sup>sc</sup>ente The two minims of the original first *n* have been altered to *s* and *c* respectively.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> **linea zo=na** (margin) {No*ta* linea*m* zona*m*}.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> (margin) {quomodo serpentem necauit}.

32	grandi	altitudine	precipitauit.
----	--------	------------	---------------

- 33 precipiens ei innomine domini ne amplius
- 34 uiueret. Puer *autem* recucurrit.
- 35 *et* comiti Gediano deiq*ue* pop*u*lo

#### $\{35rb\}$

1	ane	uiderat	nuntiauit.	Omnis	itanue
T	quy	unuerat	nunnaurt.	0111/10	ruque

- 2 populus super hac uisione magna gau=
- 3 debat; et laudes deo sanctoque Samsoni
- 4 exintimis profusas uisceribus proclama=
- 5 bat. Cui sanctus Samson precepit. ut mona= $^{70}$
- 6 sterium prope antrum construeret.
- 7 Ipse uero interim inantro ieiuniis et ora=
- 8 tionib*us* incumbebat. Vbi fontis ue=
- 9 nam precibus promeruit: quę <del>xxxxx</del><sup>{usque}</sup>
- 10  $\frac{10}{2} \times \frac{10}{2} \times \frac{10}{$
- 11 populus monasterium perfecisset. et hoc
- 12 beatus Samson dedicasset: patrem
- 13 suum Ammonem. et cum eo consobrinum
- 14 suu*m* ineodem constituit. Ipse inbri=
- 15 tannia*m* cum suis deo ducente naui=
- 16 gauit. Cunque inportum peruenisset.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> (margin) {Gedian iussu samsonis monasterium constuxit [sic]}.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> xxxxx<sup>{hodie}</sup> xxxxxx<sup>{fluere}</sup> The signs of erasure underneath these words are less clear than for *usque* in the previous line.

MANUSCRIPT

- 17 atque denaui descendisset; uidit iu=
- 18 xta portum tugurium. *et* ineo
- 19 quenda*m* priuatum miserabilit*er* plo=
- 20 rante*m*: Semp*erque* admare aspiciente*m*.
- 21 Cui Samson ait. FrateR quid ploras:
- 22 Qui d*ixit* ei. Vxore*m* habeo lep*ro*sam in<sup>72</sup>
- 23 hac mansione. *et* filiam demoniacam.<sup>73</sup>
- 24 quas michi dominus sanare promisit perquen=
- 25 da*m tra*nsmarinum. que*m* triduo hic
- 26 expectans spero uenturum inhunc portvm.
- 27 Beatus uero Samson hec audiens. atque cum
- 28 eo domu*m* sua*m* introiens. sup*er* eas sup=
- 29 plex orauit. sanitatiq*ue* restituit.
- 30 Ineade*m* itaq*ue* mansione aptissimv*m*
- 31 repperit locum. inqua honorificum
- 32 construxit monasteriu $m^{74}$ . quod usque
- 33 hodie dolum nuncupa<del>n</del>tur.
- 34 Vbi plurima insignia uirtutum
- 35 miracula<sup>75</sup> fecit<sub>:</sub> atq*ue* per prouincias

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> (margin) {lep*ro*sa*m* sanauit}.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> (margin) {demoniacam liberau*it*}.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> monasterium (margin) {Nota monasterium Dolum} {{samsone constructum}}.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> miracula (margin) {samson miraculos<u>us</u>}.

#### {35va}

1	multa monast <i>er</i> ia construxit. <sup>76</sup>
2	His <del>xxx</del> <sup>{namque}</sup> diebus comes commotus. ex=
3	ternus seuus et incaustus omnibus
4	britanni <del>i</del> s p <i>re</i> erat <sub>:</sub> qui iona <i>m</i> bri=
5	tannor <i>um</i> indigenam comit $e^{\{0\}}m^{77}$ occi
6	derat. filiumq <i>ue</i> eius indualum <sup>78</sup>
7	regi Hildeb <i>er</i> to <i>et</i> reginę incaptiui= <sup>79</sup>
8	tate custodiendum tradiderat. Quo
9	audito: sanctus samson miserię eorum
10	condoluit. et adregem Hildebertum
11	festinanter perrexit: cupiens indu=
12	alum <sup>80</sup> captiuitate redimere. <i>et</i> po=
13	pulum externo iudice lib <i>er</i> are. Ingre=
14	diente beato samsone regis pala=
15	tium. quendam comitem ibi repperit
16	energuminum. quem benedicto oleo in
17	facie et pectore perunxit: et sic dedia=
18	bolo liberauit. Rex <i>autem</i> cum h <i>ec</i> au=
10	1 1 . 1 1 . 1. 1.

19 disset. *et* q*uo*d p*ro* iudualo sibi suppli=

<sup>76</sup> (top, above both columns) {Nota bene de Archiepiscopatu dolensi / et Sancto Sampsone Archiepiscopo dolensi}.

<sup>77</sup> **comite**<sup>(o)</sup>*m* The *e* has been partially changed into an *o*, but the nasal abbreviation mark has not been altered.

<sup>78</sup> indualum Sic.

<sup>79</sup> (margin) {Samson regem hildebertum assessit vt in dualum [sic] captiuum liberaret}.

<sup>80</sup> indu=alum Sic.

20	care uenisset.	inito cum	suis obti=

- 21 matibus consilio: beatum samsonem
- 22 digno cum honore suscepit. *et* secvm
- 23 prandendum impetrauit. Regina uero
- 24 cum <del>ni</del><sup>iu</sup>dual<del>o</del><sup>vm81</sup> uinctum insua ca=
- 25 ptiuitate teneret. *et* eum dimitt*er*e
- 26 nollet. beatum samsonem precibus eius
- 27 obsistendo. uerb*isque* contumeliosis
- 28 concrepando. irritauit: et ut eum
- 29 perderet. mortiferum sibi poculum
- 30 preparauit. Cumque rex et beatus ar= $^{82}$
- 31 chiepiscopus adepulandum consedissent.
- 32 *et* om*nes* qui aderant deeius aduen=
- 33 tu gratulassent- regina instigan=
- 34 te diabolo inuitro uenenum
- 35 uino miscuit. *et* beato samsoni

#### $\{35vb\}$

- 1 adbibendu*m* per suum ministrv*m*
- 2 optulit. Tum ille diuinitus nimi=
- 3 rum inspiratus<sub>:</sub> uitro signum

<sup>81</sup>  $ni^{iu}$  dualo<sup>vm</sup> The *ni* was altered to *iu* (or possibly *ui*) by erasing the stroke connecting the first two minims, and the *v* was written over an erased *o*. It is unclear whether these changes were made by the original scribe or by a later hand.

<sup>82</sup> (margin) {Archiepiscopus dolensis et nota infra quomodo sanctus Theliaus fuit etiam archiepiscopus dolensis}.

4	crucis imposuit. uitrum autem in
5	q <i>ua</i> ttuor partes crepuit <sup>83</sup> . <i>et</i> effuso <sup>84</sup>
6	sup <i>er</i> manutenentis ueneno. cunctis
7	intuentib <i>us</i> usq <i>ue</i> adossa corrosa <i>est</i>
8	cutis et caro. Tunc beatus samson ait.
9	Non est conueniens hoc poculum
10	adbibendum. Turbato itaq <i>ue</i> rege.
11	cunctisq <i>ue</i> admirantib <i>us</i> : beatus sam=
12	soN manum lesi consignauit.
13	<i>et</i> exintegro restaurauit. Postq <i>ua</i> m
14	p <i>ra</i> nsissent. beat <i>us</i> samson rege con=
15	cedente adlocum <sup>ubi</sup> <del>ni</del> <sup>iu</sup> dualus <sup>85</sup> se <sup>r</sup> ua=
16	bat <i>ur</i> festinauit <sub>:</sub> cui obuia <i>m</i> regina <sup>86</sup>
17	equum furibundum ut eum
18	p <i>er</i> imeret <sub>?</sub> destinauit. Que <i>m</i> mox
19	electus cum cruce consignauit.
20	suaq <i>ue</i> sella sup <i>er</i> posita conscendit.
21	ta <i>m</i> q <i>ue</i> mitem p <i>ro</i> cessit. quasi ipsum
22	rex cęli sub suo milite domuer <del>a</del> <sup>i</sup> t.

23 Adhuc etia*m* induratum corde fe=

<sup>83</sup> crepuit (margin, keyed with a *signe de renvoi* [.:.]) {Nota crepu[..]}.

<sup>84</sup> (central margin) {de poc*u*lo mortifero}.

<sup>85</sup>  $ni^{iu}$  dualus As in the previous column, it appears that an initial *ni* was altered to *iu* or *ui* by erasing the original connection between the first two minims.

<sup>86</sup> (central margin) {de equo furibu*n*do}.

MANUSCRIPT

- 24 roce*m* sibi obuiam leone*m* cu*m* custo= $^{87}$
- 25 dib*us* ut eum inuaderet<sup>88</sup>. direxit.
- 26 sed electum d*e*i dext*era* protexit. *et*
- 27 ueluti conto leo percussus: se in
- 28 fugam conuertit. Beatus uero samson
- 29 aspiciens post eum. ait. Impero
- 30 tibi innomine iesu christi, ne cuiquam
- 31 amplius noceas. sed ut uelociter
- 32 pereas. Qui statim saltum dans
- 33 precipitem exspirauit. Videns autem
- 34 rex tanta mirabilia ins*anct*o dei-
- 35 iudualum catenis ad<del>ex<sup>du</sup>ctum<sup>89</sup></del>

#### {36ra}

- 1 donauit ei. Regina<sup>90</sup> quoq*ue*  $cvm^{91}$
- 2 suis fautorib*us* ei*us* pedib*us* prostrata.
- 3 ueniam postulauit asancto. Quo facto:
- 4 omnes pergratiam dei compagati. nimiumque
- 5 letificati<sub>:</sub> rex ait beato Samsoni.
- 6 Est serpens inhac p*ro*uincia. ciriv*m*

<sup>87</sup> (margin) {de leone}.

<sup>88</sup> inuaderet This reading was been clarified through the erasure of the foot of the first minim.

<sup>89</sup> adex<sup>du</sup>ctum The erroneous c has been converted into a d, and the following u has been written over an erasure of an unidentifiable letter.

<sup>90</sup> **Regina** The loop of the *R* has been filled in with red.

<sup>91</sup> (top) {uidualu*m* [*or* nidnalu*m etc*] captiuu*m* liberauit sa*m*son. ta*n*de*m* penitenc*i*am egit regem quę <u>maliferiose</u> eu*m* p*er*deret}.

- 7 q*uo*q*ue* habitantes. g*ra*ui affligens pes=
- 8 tilentia: et quia te uidemus uirtutibus
- 9 fulgere. rogam*us* ut nos digneris
- 10 abeo lib*er*are. Cui<sup>92</sup> sanctus SamsoN dixit.
- 11 Inuenite ductore*m* itineris; *et* in=
- 12 dei uirtute expellam eum partibus
- 13 u*estr*is. Itaq*ue* ductore inuento:
- 14 duobus secum fratribus assumptis. ceterisque
- 15 cum iudualo inpalatio relictis<u>-</u> uiam
- 16 carpebat subi $\Theta^{t} \mathbf{x}^{093}$ : confidens *et* exul=
- 17 tans semper indomino. Cumque<sup>94</sup> adantrum<sup>95</sup>
- 18 ubi serpens inerat peruenisset; ibique
- 19 flexis genibus dominum exorasset. ser=
- 20 pentem per collum arripuit. et extraxit.
- 21 et ultra flumen quod Sigona uocatur
- 22 natare. *et* ibi subquoda*m* lapide
- 23 manere precepit. quem paulo post
- 24 solo sermone inmari demersit.
- 25 Ineodem namque loco monasterium
- 26 construxit. et ineo fratres christo seruitv=

<sup>92</sup> **Cui** The *C* has been filled in with red.

<sup>94</sup> **Cumque** The *C* has been filled in with red.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> subio'x° The original *o* has been altered to a *t* and the second *o* was written over an erasure.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> (central margin) {deserpente a samsone rogatu regis destructo.}.

	27	ros collocauit. Deniq <i>ue</i> <sup>96</sup> rex hilde=
	28	b <sup>{er}</sup> tus <sup>97</sup> p <i>ro</i> tam magnis uirtutibus
	29	beatum samsone <i>m</i> plurimu <i>m</i> ada=
	30	mauit. sibiq <i>ue</i> ingentia g <i>ra</i> tanter
	31	dona t <i>ri</i> buens. ina <del>i</del> <sup>u</sup> ro scili= <sup>98</sup>
	32	cet et argento. inuasis pretiosis.
	33	inp <i>re</i> diis. <i>et</i> inpossessionib <i>us</i> pluri=
	34	mis <sub>:</sub> se suis orationib <i>us</i> commendauit.
{36rb}		
	1	Accepto secum itaque iudualo lesiam
	2	angiamq <i>ue</i> adiit. ibiq <i>ue</i> exercitum c <i>on</i> =
	3	g <i>re</i> gauit. <i>et</i> cum eo inbritannia <i>m</i> rediit.

- 4 Beato<sup>99</sup> *igitur* Samsone ieiunante *et* orante.
- 5 atq*ue* iudualo cum exercitu cont*ra* co*m*=
- 6 morum preliante. iudualus sancti precibus
- 7 hostem uno ictu p*ro*strauit. *et* exinde
- 8 ipse *et* generationis ei*us* successores sup*er*
- 9 britannia*m* dominiu*m* tenuit. Mox<sup>100</sup>
- 10 *autem* iudualus asuis ouant*er* susceptvS.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>96</sup> **Deniq***ue* The D has been filled in with red.

<sup>97</sup> **hilde=b**<sup>{er}</sup>**tus** The contraction mark was supplied by a later hand.

<sup>98</sup> ina<sup>i</sup>ro scili= The scribe left a gap due to a hole in the parchment.

- $^{99}$  Beato The lower loop of the *B* has been filled in with red.
- $^{100}$  Mox The first loop of the M has been filled in with red.

<sup>101</sup> (margin) {iudualus [*or* nidnalus *etc*] dux britannię constitutus.}.

11	et inducem totius britannię electus:
12	seipsum cum cunctis adse p <i>er</i> tinentib <i>us</i>
13	beato Samsoni mancipauit. <i>et</i> ora=
14	tionib <i>us</i> ei <i>us</i> deuote commendauit. Gra=
15	tias agat dux rede <i>m</i> ptori. exultat
16	pop <i>ulu</i> s co <i>m</i> missus tanto pastori. Vn <i>de</i>
17	p <i>ri</i> ncipatus toti <i>us</i> britannię ap <i>ud</i> dolv <i>m</i> <sup>102</sup>
18	iuste constare uidet <i>ur</i> usq <i>ue</i> hodie.
19	Nam <sup>103</sup> q <i>ua</i> ntas uirtutes p <i>er</i> eum d <i>omi</i> n <i>u</i> s
20	ult <i>ra</i> cit <i>ra</i> q <i>ue</i> mare fecerit. q <i>ua</i> ntumq <i>ue</i>
21	doctrina claruit. nulli <i>us</i> scriptoris
22	uel doctoris eloq <i>ue</i> ntia comp <i>re</i> hendit.
23	Perfectus itaque uita et etate. cunctisque
24	adornat <i>us</i> uirtutib <i>us<sub>č</sub></i> acri morbo cor=
25	rept <i>us</i> . indolo monast <i>er</i> io circu <i>m</i> flen=
26	te clero. corp <i>us secu</i> lo. animam reddi=
27	dit celo. Clerus <sup>104</sup> sanctum corpus cumungu= <sup>105</sup>
28	entis sepeliebat. ipsoq <i>ue</i> audiente cele=
29	stis exercit <i>us</i> anima <i>m</i> cu <i>m</i> ymnis <i>et</i> laudi=
30	b <i>us</i> ad <i>christu</i> m deducebat. Signu <i>m</i> <del>xxxx</del> <sup>autem</sup>

<sup>102</sup> **dolv***m* (margin) {Nota dolum}.

 $<sup>^{103}</sup>$   ${\rm Nam}$  The top compartment of the N has been filled in with red.

 $<sup>^{104}</sup>$  Clerus The *C* has been filled in with red.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> (margin) {de morte sa*m*sonis Archiep*iscop*i dolensis}.

- 31 beatitudinis ei*us* ap*ud* nos habem*us*. inhis
- 32 scilicet miracul*is* que<sup>106</sup> cotidie pereum facit
- 33 deus adlaudem et gloriam nominis eius. Quicum deo
- 34 patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat. deus per infinita secula seculorum AMEN.
- 35 FINIT AMEN.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> **q**ue The q has a cedilla underneath it.

# Concordance

Vita aviana canati	Libertendevensie
Vita prima sancti	Liber Landavensis version
Samsonis, book I 1	
2	1 2
3	
4	3 4
5	5
6 7	6 7
	/
8	
9	0
10	8
11	9
11	10
12	11
13	12
14	14
15	13
16	14
17	15
18	16
19	17
20	18
21	19
22	20
23	21
24	21
25	22
26	22
27	23
28	24
29	25
30	25
31	25
32	26
33	27
34	28
35	29
36	30
37	31
38	32
39	33
40	34
41	35
42	36

Liber Landavensis	Vita prima sancti
version	Samsonis, book I
1	1
2	2
3	3
4	4
5	5
6	6
7	7
	8
	9
8	10
9	
10	11
11	12
12	13
13	15
14	14, 16
15	17
16	18
17	19
18	20
19	21
20	22
	23
21	24
22	25, 26
23	27
24	28
25	29, 30, 31
26	32
27	33
28	34
29	35
30	36
31	37
32	38
33	39
34	40
35	41
36	42
37	43
38	44
39	45
	46

# V. S. SAMSONIS (LIBER LANDAVENSIS) ed. GUY CONCORDANCE

43	37
44	38
45	39
46	
47	40
48	41
49	42
50	43
51	44
52	45
53	46
54	47
55	48
56	49
57	50
58	51
59	52
60	52
61	53
01	55

40	47
41	48
42	49
43	50
44	51
45	52
46	53
47	54
48	55
49	56
50	57
51	58
52	59 <i>,</i> 60
53	61

#### References

- ActaS = Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur (Antwerp and Brussels, 1643-).
- Barrow, J. (1998), St Davids Episcopal Acta 1085-1280 (Cardiff).
- Bieler, L. (1971), Four Latin Lives of St. Patrick: Colgan's Vita Secunda, Quarta, Tertia, and Quinta (Dublin).
- Bourgès, A.-V. (1996), 'Commor entre le mythe et l'histoire: profil d'un "chef" Breton du Vie siècle', Mémoires de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne 74, 419–28.
- Brooke, C.N.L. (1986), *The Church and the Welsh Border in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. D.N. Dumville and C.N.L. Brooke (Woodbridge).
- Charles-Edwards, T.M. (2013), Wales and the Britons, 350-1064 (Oxford).
- Chédeville, A., and Guillotel, H. (1984), La Bretagne des saints et des rois, Ve-Xe (Rennes).
- Coe, J.B. (2002), 'The Place-Names of the Book of Llandaf', unpublished Ph.D. (Aberystwyth).
- CPNE = O.J. Padel, *Cornish Place-Name Elements*, English Place-Name Society 56/7 (Cambridge, 1985).
- Cuissard, M.Ch. (1881-3), 'Vie de saint Paul de Léon en Bretagne', Revue celtique 5, 413-60.
- Davies, J.R. (1998b), 'Liber Landavensis: its date and the identity of its editor', Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies 35, 1–11.
- Davies, J.R. (2002), 'The saints of south Wales and the Welsh Church', in A. Thacker and R. Sharpe (eds), Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West (Oxford), pp. 361–95.
- Davies, J.R. (2003), The Book of Llandaf and the Norman Church in Wales (Woodbridge).
- Davies, J.R. (2012), 'Old Testament personal names among the Britons', Viator 43, 175-92.
- DMLBS = Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources (Turnhout, 2015) <a href="http://clt.brepolis.net/dmlbs/Default.aspx">http://clt.brepolis.net/dmlbs/Default.aspx</a>>.
- Dumville, D.N. (1975), 'The Textual History of the Welsh-Latin Historia Brittonum', 3 vols, unpublished Ph.D. (Edinburgh).
- Dumville, D.N. (1985), The Historia Brittonum. 3: The 'Vatican' Recension (Cambridge).

- Fawtier, R. (1912), La vie de saint Samson (Paris).
- Fleuriot, L. (1974), 'Old Breton genealogies and early British traditions', Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies 26, 1–6.
- Flobert, P. (1997), La vie ancienne de Saint Samson de Dol (Paris).
- HB = Historia Brittonum (Harleian recension), ed. E. Faral in La légende arthurienne: études et documents, 3 vols (Paris, 1929), iii, 5–61.
- Hefele, C.J. et al. (1907–), Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux, 2nd edn (Paris).
- HPB = K.H. Jackson, A Historical Phonology of Breton (Dublin, 1967).
- Jankulak, K. (2017), 'Present and yet absent: the cult of St Samson of Dol in Wales', in L. Olson (ed.), St Samson of Dol and the Earliest History of Brittany, Cornwall and Wales (Woodbridge), pp. 163–80.
- Jones, O.W. (2009), 'Hereditas Pouoisi: the pillar of Eliseg and the history of early Powys', Welsh History Review 24, 41–80.
- Keynes, S., and M. Lapidge (1983), Alfred the Great: Asser's Life of King Alfred and Other Contemporary Sources (Harmondsworth).
- Le Duc, G., and C. Sterckx (1972), Chronicon briocense (Paris).
- LL = The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv, ed. J. Gwenogvryn Evans and J. Rhys (Oxford, 1893).
- Loth, J. (1914), 'La vie la plus ancienne de saint Samson de Dol', Revue Celtique 35, 269-300.
- LWS = G.H. Doble, Lives of the Welsh Saints, ed. D.S. Evans (Cardiff, 1971).
- Merdrignac, B. (2001), 'Une course en char dans l'hagiographie bretonne? Saint Samson contre la theomacha', in J. Carey et al. (eds), *Studies in Irish Hagiography: Saints and Scholars* (Dublin), pp. 140–58.
- MWM = D. Huws, Medieval Welsh Manuscripts (Cardiff, 2000).
- Olson, L. (1989), Early Monasteries in Cornwall (Woodbridge).
- Olson, L. (2017), 'Introduction: "Getting somewhere" with the First Life of St Samson of Dol', in L. Olson (ed.), *St Samson of Dol and the Earliest History of Brittany, Cornwall and Wales* (Woodbridge), pp. 1–18.

- Ó Riain, P. (1984), 'Samson alias San(c)tán?', Peritia 3: 320-3.
- Padel, O.J. (2002), 'Local saints and place-names in Cornwall', in A. Thacker and R. Sharpe (eds), Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West (Oxford), pp. 301–60.

PKM = Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi, gol. I. Williams (Caerdydd, 1930).

- Plaine, F. (1887), 'Vita antiqua S. Samsonis Dolensis episcopi', Analecta Bollandiana 6, 77–150.
- Poulin, J.-C. (2009), L'hagiographie bretonne du haut Moyen Âge: répertoire raisonné (Ostfildern).
- Poulin, J.-C. (2017), 'La circulation de l'information dans la Vie ancienne de s. Samson de Dol et la question de sa datation', in L. Olson (ed.), St Samson of Dol and the Earliest History of Brittany, Cornwall and Wales (Woodbridge), pp. 37–82.
- Russell, P. (2017), 'From plates and rods to royal drink-stands in *Branwen* and medieval Welsh law', *North American Journal of Celtic Studies* 1, 1–26.
- Sims-Williams, P. (1991), 'The emergence of Old Welsh, Cornish and Breton orthography, 600–800: the evidence of Archaic Old Welsh', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 38, 20–86.
- Sowerby, R. (2011), 'The Lives of St Samson: rewriting the ambitions of an early medieval cult', *Francia* 38, 1–31.
- Sowerby, R. (2017), 'A family and its saint in the Vita Prima Samsonis', in L. Olson (ed.), St Samson of Dol and the Earliest History of Brittany, Cornwall and Wales (Woodbridge), pp. 19– 36.
- TLL = Thesaurus linguae Latinae online (Berlin, 2009). http://www.degruyter.com/view/db/tll.
- WCD = P.C. Bartrum, A Welsh Classical Dictionary: People in History and Legend up to about A.D. 1000 (Aberystwyth, 1993).
- Williams, H. (1899), Two Lives of Gildas by a Monk of Ruys and Caradoc of Llancarfan (London; repr. Felinfach, 1990).
- Wood, I.N. (2017), 'Columbanus, the Britons, and the Merovingian Church', in L. Olson (ed.), St Samson of Dol and the Earliest History of Brittany, Cornwall and Wales (Woodbridge), pp. 103–14.