

Vita Sancte Wenefrede

(Robert of Shrewsbury, Laud Misc. 114 version)

edited by David Callander

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Introduction

Winefride is presented as a nun and martyr who lived in seventh-century north Wales, and more specifically, and significantly, north-east Wales. After being decapitated by Caradog, a spring burst forth at Holywell where Winefride's head had fallen, before Winefride was miraculously brought back to life by Beuno. Winefride went into holy orders and died at Gwytherin (having first passed through Bodfari and Henllan in Robert of Shrewsbury's Life). There is very little evidence of her veneration before the twelfth century. The reliquary known as *Arch Gwenfrewy* is of contested dating, with scholars arguing for dates between the eighth and twelfth centuries (WSE 106–22). There are few churches dedicated to Winefride (LBS iii, 193–4), and she only occurs in later genealogical material (EWGT 70). In the twelfth century, we find references to Holywell, the site of Winefride's well (Tait 1920–3: i, 41), and two Lives of Winefride are composed, one anonymous and one (edited here) by Robert, Prior of Shrewsbury Abbey. Winefride's relics were translated from Gwytherin to Shrewsbury in either 1137 or 1138. Neither of the Latin Lives was particularly widely copied, and we would have to wait until the later fourteenth century before Winefride gained her greatest significance, in both Wales and England. Her well became one of the most significant pilgrimage sites in Wales, a role which it has never since lost (Williams 1976: 354–5). Winefride occurs in a variety of medieval Welsh and English texts from the late fourteenth century onwards, including prose translations of Robert's Life and poems in honour of her and her well, surveyed in WSE 222–349. Her popularity was strengthened

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by the elevation in 1398 and again in 1415 of her festival (along with those of Chad and David) to be celebrated in the Canterbury province (WSE 226–38).

Robert's Life of Winefride can be dated and localized with a far greater degree of certainty than most other Lives of the Welsh saints. Robert was prior of Shrewsbury, later becoming abbot from c. 1148 until his death in 1168 (Knowles, Brooke, and London 2001: 71). It was there that he wrote the Life and Translation, presenting himself as a major figure in the latter. The journey into Wales to gain Winefride's relics begins in the second regnal year of King Stephen, likely around 22 December 1136 to 21 December 1137, and thus the Translation appears to have taken place in either 1137 or 1138. The Life is sent to Prior Warin of Worcester, who was succeeded by Ralph of Bath in 1142 (Knowles, Brooke, and London 2001: 83). Thus we can be practically certain that Robert composed the Life and Translation at Shrewsbury between 1137 and 1142. Most of the events and figures mentioned in the Translation are known from other sources to have existed, such as Godfrey the deceased former abbot of Shrewsbury, or Herbert the abbot of Shrewsbury when the Translation was instigated. Some figures are a little more ambiguous, not to say dubious. In particular, the Welsh leader to whom Robert is directed by the Bishop of Bangor could have been either Gruffudd ap Cynan (died 1137), or his son Owain Gwynedd, who succeeded him. Caxton claims that Winefride's Translation is commemorated on 19 September, but he does not specify in which year it took place any more than Robert (Horstmann 1880: 304). The lack of clarity over the exact date of the various stages of the Translation can thus lead to a degree of ambiguity, although it is still much more precisely dateable than many other saints' Lives, including the anonymous Life of Winefride.

Despite the similarity in many of the events they depict, Robert's Life and the anonymous Life are generally seen as independent of one another. There is no clear evidence that the author of either Life consulted the other, and it is in any case uncertain which Life is earlier. The strong connections between the Lives, in addition to what might be expected from shared oral traditions about the saint, have been convincingly argued to derive in part from their use of a Latin Life of Beuno (Winward 1999). Beuno's Life now survives only in a short Middle Welsh version (BBeuno), the earliest manuscript of which is dated 1346, which is thought to be based upon a lost Latin version (VSB xix; Sims-Williams 2018: 17–32). The lost Latin Life may have been composed between c. 1100 and c.1135, although the *terminus a quo* is quite uncertain (Sims-Williams 2018: 19). The connections between the Lives, both verbal and otherwise, are very

significant, and more numerous than noted by Winward, but they are also focused on particular sections, including Winefride's encounter with Caradog and her decapitation, and his liquefaction by Beuno (Robert's Life §3–4; Anonymous Life §8–13), as also the description of Winefride's well (Robert's Life §5; Anonymous Life §14) and Winefride sending Beuno a cloak every year (Robert's Life §11; Anonymous Life §15–16). All of these events but the last is paralleled in BBeuno §11–13, and the last also involves Beuno and probably formed part of the Latin Life. Thus it seems highly likely that both Lives drew independently upon this Latin Life of Beuno, and that this accounts for some of their similarities. It has been argued that the Life of Beuno could equally have drawn upon a Life of Winefride (Gray 2017: 101), although this seems far less likely given the prominence of Beuno in both the Lives of Winefride and the fact that Winefride is limited to one episode in BBeuno (§11–13). Sims-Williams 2018: 24–31 argues on the basis of agreements between BBeuno and Robert's Life against the anonymous Life that Robert's Life itself informed BBeuno when the Life of Beuno was adapted into Welsh. This is plausible, although the anonymous Life has a style very distinct from Robert's in its concision and brevity, and it is not impossible that the differences derive from intentional changes made by the author of the anonymous Life.

Robert's Life was extremely important for Winefride's later cult, forming the basis of the translations into both Middle Welsh and Middle English, as well as a number of later Latin and vernacular texts which drew upon it. Surprisingly, it only survives in three medieval Latin witnesses, only one of which (Laud) is likely to represent something close to what Robert wrote. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 114, the basis of the text edited here, contains Robert's lengthy Life of Winefride, and is the only Latin manuscript to contain the preface addressed to Warin and the Translation. The manuscript is dated to the late twelfth century and is associated with Pershore Abbey in Worcestershire (WSE 380–3; Coxe 1973: no. 114). Some of the English and Welsh translations of Robert's Life, although always shorter than Laud, contain material which Laud is lacking but appears to derive from Robert's Life or later additions to a Latin version of it (WSE 314–16). Cambridge, Trinity College O.4.42 (early thirteenth century, from Abbey Dore in Herefordshire) is the second most important witness to Robert's text, and contains a number of readings superior to those of Laud (James 1900–4: iii, 289–31). It contains most of Robert's Life up to and including chapter 18 of the Laud manuscript but omitting a great deal, and then cuts off abruptly with a brief reference to Winefride's death, thus leaving out the Translation entirely. Despite this, the Trinity version is obviously complete as it stands and

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has been deliberately condensed rather than being based on a damaged exemplar. The only remaining significant witness to Robert's Life is the extensive legendary in British Library, Lansdowne 436 (c. 1300). The manuscript's provenance is uncertain but it likely belonged to Romsey Abbey, Hampshire, from the fifteenth century onwards (Wright 2012; Gregory 2016: 18–20). The Lansdowne version is a composite Life based on the anonymous Life and Robert's Life, as well as making its own changes, and is greatly reduced in length. The Laud, Trinity, and Lansdowne Lives are all edited separately here, so that readers can gain a fairer idea of how each one functions, rather than consigning any of them entirely to the textual notes. None of these three manuscript versions draws on that of another extant manuscript, and thus they are all valuable as independent witnesses to Robert's texts and as crafted works in themselves.

The copy of Robert's Life of Winefride in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 8067–74, dated to 1631, is not collated in the edition. This is because it appears to be a copy of the text in the Laud manuscript. There are few variants between Laud and Brussels, and they can almost all be explained as instances of miscopying or minor correction. The variants are in fact fewer than those noted by the Bollandists, as many of the Bollandist variants stem from their own misreadings of either manuscript, or are marginally corrected in the Brussels manuscript, where it is quite clear that the scribe was correcting his own errors against his exemplar. Such misreadings as occur in Brussels are often found in places where the Laud manuscript could be expected to be misread, as in instances of abbreviation and line and page boundaries. An example of this is the misreading found on fol. 154r, where Laud's 'ing^[c]rescens' is copied as 'ingrauescens' in Brussels. This error is caused by visual confusion with 'grauī', which is found immediately above 'ing^[c]rescens' in Laud. This suggests it was the extant Laud text which was being copied, rather than another manuscript, where it is unlikely that 'grauī' and 'ing^[c]rescens' would have lined up in this way. In addition, the Brussels manuscript follows Laud exactly in where it divides the text using large initials. Most significantly, Brussels includes all the later marginalia added to Laud which is still legible, including the very late addition on the right margin of fol. 140r. 'Claruit sub Rege Stephano' with Robert's name underlined in the main text. 'Claruit hic Robertus sub Rege Stephano' is found in exactly the same place in Brussels, on the right margin at the start of the prologue. Although the Brussels text will therefore not be incorporated here, it is still of interest in itself. The colophon names 'Gulielmus farrarus præsbyter Notarius

Apostolicus, also found in a colophon at the end of a seventeenth-century copy of Rhygyfarch's Life of David in Yale, Beinecke Library, Osborn fb229, a manuscript which also contains Welsh saints' Lives and an English translation of Robert's Life of Winefride. William Farrar worked for the college at Douai and appears to have taken a particular interest in Welsh saints, although neither the Brussels Winefride nor the Yale manuscript is demonstrably in his own hand. Scribal knowledge of Welsh is in any case indicated by the fact that the Welsh spelling 'ffynnon' is added twice in the margin for Robert's 'fennan' at fol. vi. Possibly a different hand adds on fol. xi that Robert's *Witheriacus* is 'Britannice Gwytherin'.

Various significant locations feature in Robert's Life and Translation. Robert's monastery of Shrewsbury dominates the Translation. Winefride first shows her favour to a monk of Shrewsbury who has fallen ill (§30), and Abbot Herbert of Shrewsbury sends Prior Robert and another monk to Wales in order to gain Winefride's relics (§31). The final chapter of the Life (§37) is devoted to the lavish conclusion to her Translation into Shrewsbury Abbey. The abbey, dedicated to SS Peter and Paul, had been founded c. 1083–7 and had no relics from a founder saint, which explains its eagerness to gain those of Winefride (Baker 2002: 17). Relics of various other Welsh saints, including Eleri and Beuno, were translated to Shrewsbury in the following centuries (WSE 83, 227). Robert presents the monks of Shrewsbury as having been assisted in their endeavours by the monks of Chester (§30–1). Chester Abbey had a number of properties in Wales, including Holywell, control of which fluctuated between Chester and the closer Basingwerk Abbey (founded 1131): Tait 1920–3: i, 41; Winward 1999: 98–9. It is through the monks of Chester that those of Shrewsbury first come into contact with Winefride in the Life (§30), and it is likely that this was also the case in reality, given the closer connection of Chester to her primary cult site. In Robert's Life, Winefride moves across North Wales from Holywell, to Bodfari, to Henllan, and finally to Gwytherin, as opposed to simply from Holywell to Gwytherin in the anonymous Life. This may be so done in order to claim all these properties for Shrewsbury (or perhaps their allies in Chester), as Winefride now had a connection to all of them, and Shrewsbury had claimed Winefride. Robert also places far more emphasis on Gwytherin (the place from which he took the saint's body) than is found in the anonymous Life. James Gregory argues that this is part of a wider difference between the two Lives: 'the anonymous Life records the specifically Holywell tradition of Gwenfrewy's legend while Robert's *Vita et translatio* represents aspects of what can be called the Gwytherin tradition' (WSE 11). Finally it is worth noting the importance of Worcester Cathedral. Not only is the Life sent to Warin, Prior of

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Worcester, but the earliest manuscript (Laud) is associated with Pershore Abbey, less than ten miles from Worcester. The texts compiled in British Library, Cotton Claudius A V, fols. 135–99, which contains the anonymous Life of Winefride, may also have been put together at Worcester, although the manuscript was not copied there (VSB xvii; Winterbottom and Thomson 2002: 3). Like Shrewsbury and Chester, Worcester was in close proximity to Wales and, being dedicated to the virgin Mary, it had further reason for taking an interest in this Welsh virgin and martyr.

The name Winefride itself has been a matter of some discussion, with her Welsh name being Gwenfrewy (later also Gwenf(f)rewi). In both Lives, she is called Wenefreda, although Robert notes that her original name was Brewa, to which Wen (white) was added on account of the colour of her scar (§5). Winward has convincingly demonstrated that the name Wenefreda derives from Welsh Gwenfrewy, comparing the name Collfrewy to indicate that Gwenfrewy was a legitimate Welsh name (Winward 1999: 100–3). On the movement from *frewy* to *freda*, of which Robert himself was aware, Winward compares the Cornish saint Minver, whose name is latinized from Menfre to Men(e)freda (Winward 1999: 102). The various English forms of Winefride's name can be explained as anglicizations of Wenefreda (or possibly of Gwenfrewy directly), under the influence of pre-existing English names like Winifred.

A number of significant dates are associated with Winefride, and these vary greatly in her Lives and other sources. In the anonymous Life, she is buried on 24 June (§20), but in Robert's Life she dies on 2 November (§22). Robert's dating proved more influential, although the festival moves from 2 November to 3 November in later sources (WSE 156, 309–14). Caxton states that Winefride's Translation to Shrewsbury is celebrated on 19 September (Horstmann 1880: 304). Winefride sends a cloak to Beuno ever year on the first of May in Robert's Life (§11), but does so on the eve of John the Baptist (23 June) in the anonymous Life (§16).

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Summary

Winefride is presented as a nun and martyr who lived in seventh-century North Wales. She was brought back to life by St Beuno after having been killed by Caradog for attempting to escape from him. A spring arose where she first died and Winefride spent the rest of her life as a nun at Holywell and Gwytherin. There is little evidence for Winefride's veneration before the twelfth century. The text edited below was written between 1138 and 1142 by Prior Robert of Shrewsbury. The text consists of a prologue and the Life of Winefride (§1–28) together with an account of her translation to Shrewsbury (§29–37). The text is edited from Laud Misc. 114 (Laud), with select variant readings from Trinity O.4.42 (Trin), Lansdowne 436 (Lans), and John of Tynemouth's recension (JoT), all of which are edited separately. The corrector of Laud appears to have had access to the exemplar, but also seems to have made changes at his own will, sometimes changing the reading away from that supported in other manuscripts. As such, any change by the corrector is noted, and these changes are in some instances accepted into the main text and in others not, depending on the credibility of the reading and the evidence of other manuscripts. The chapter divisions below follow those of the Laud manuscript, which agree to a very significant extent with those of the Trinity manuscript. This differs from the system of chapters used in the Bollandist edition, although they do note the Laud chapter division as well, and the paragraphing within chapters normally follows that of the Bollandists.

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Text

Incipit prologus in uita sancte Uuenefrede uirginis et martiris.

§Prologus

Domino et patri Guarino reuerendo priori Wigornie, Rotbertus suus filius, uita peccator, cenobii Salopesberiensis prior, inoffenso pede uiam mandatorum Dei incedere. Quem diuinorum beneficiorum aliquam constat particulam cognouisse, affectu religionis ceteris debet caritatiue impertiri, quod sibi gratis diuinitus collatum est. Hoc enim eorum qui in Christo unum sunt deuotio sibi proprium uendicauit, in una scilicet fidei agnitione pariter communicare, quod aliquis diuinitus illapsus suscepit. Dei quippe consilia desiderantibus reuelare uirtutis est. Nolentibus uero et repugnantibus passim ingerere constantie et fortitudinis esse perhibetur. Alioquin si quod de communi omnium quibusdam tributum est uoluerit quis in sui ipsius iure attrahere, malens illud sub modio occultare, quam aliorum utilitati sumministrare, inuidie neuo laborare iuste conuincetur. Celitus enim delatum¹ beneficium omnibus uolentibus, si tamen promeruerint, debitum estimatur et ad uniuersorum salutem prospectat. Eapropter, o reuerende pater, bonorum, que penes nos de supernis nuper emicuerunt, cognitionem tibi non inuidi, rogantibus amicis quatinus tibi potius infusam nobis gratiam intimarem, tum quia tu in huiusmodi officiis summe studiosus, perpetuam tibi famam adquisieris, tum quia multa prece inde tibi dari postulaueris, destinatumque nimia, ut fertur, exultatione² suscepis. Et quoniam, ut ait uir sapiens, omnis affectio iuste et legitime tarditatis impatiens est, non ignoro te anhelo spiritu suspirare, donec ineffectum aliquid cognoueris eorum quibus suppleri deuotio tua prestolatur. Exinde tibi nuperrime digestam beate uirginis Wenefrede uitam direxi, quam partim per scedulas in ecclesiis patrie in qua deguisse dinoscitur collegi, partim quorundam sacerdotum relationibus addidici, quos et antiquitas ueneranda commendabat et quorum uerbis fidem adhibere ipse religionis habitus compellebat. Cuius edende causam primo Dei timor dedit, ne commissi michi talenti in terram respositi et non ad usuram commendati reus inuenirer. Secundario, uirginis amor, quo, de claratis ipsius meritis, honor ei debitus a fidelibus impenderetur. Tercio, fauor fratrum, pro quorum deuotione arctius michi colliganda, hunc tantum patienter sustinui laborem. Ceterum quod de itinere illius ad Romam penitus silui. Consultus egi, sicut et non nulla

¹ **delatum** delatum Laud.

² **exultatione** exultationem Laud.

plurimorum ore³ trita funditus omisi, quia nec ea in libris inueni, nec qui illa allegatione sua predicabant estimatione hominum digni erant, quorum sermonibus fidem adhiberem. Suffecit uero michi quod et tibi suffecturum non ignoro, ut, omni ambiguo remoto, conuersationis illius series simplici sermone texeretur. Vltro tamen quedam intermisi⁴ ueridicorum assertionem contestata, ne nimius in uerbis inuenirer et superfluitate aliqua redarguerer, sciens hec ad sacratissime huius uirginis uitam dinoscendam sufficere posse, simulque credens eius opitulatione tueque precis astipulatione me a Deo mercedem laboris mei adepturum.

§1

In occidua Maioris Brittannie regione est quedam prouintia Walia uocitata, ex una parte finibus regni Anglie, ex altera oceano mari collimitata. Hec olim a sanctis multorum et diuersorum meritorum est inhabitata, et usque ad hunc diem innumeris eorum prerogatiuis multipliciter decorata. Ex quorum numero quidam sanctus admodum insignis enituit, Beuouos nomine, uir summus et in omni illa sanctorum multitudine precipuus. Is itaque cum paternum prius contempsisset solum, et, mundi gloriam calcans, perniciosas illius illecebras abdicasset, pauper effugiens, monachus effectus est, in breui perfectum in Christo agens uirum. Denique cum in diuersis locis ecclesias fabricasset, fratresque in illis Deo seruituros constituisset, ipse diuino admonitus oraculo alias discessit, prouisam sibi a Deo quesiturus mansionem. Ducente uero illum spiritu sancto, gressumque eius ad multorum utilitatem dirigente, peruenit ad predium cuiusdam magni et potentissimi uiri nomine Theuith. Qui filius unius summi atque excellentissimi senatoris, et a rege secundi, Eliuth nomine, nichil sue progeniei incongruum, aut quod tantum genus dedeceret, admittere dignabatur, set nobilitatem generis honestis moribus exequens, in omni elegantia conspicuus apparebat.

Ad hunc ergo cum uir uenerabilis Beuouos uenisset, benigne satis ac reuerenter ab eo susceptus est. Qui diu non differens quod animo uolebat euoluere, et aduentus sui causam manifestare, uiro secretius aduocato, 'Domine', inquit, 'ad te sum cęlesti subnixus instinctu destinatus. Cum enim diuersis in locis hactenus habitauerim, et mansiones proposito meo conuenientes et uoluntati concordēs sufficienter inuenerim, nusquam tamen requiescere potuit spiritus meus, latenter me admonente spiritu Dei alium inuisere locum. Proinde, relictis illis quę michi

³ ore added in the margin by the main scribe (?) Laud.

⁴ intermisi intermissi Laud.

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plurimum complacebant habitaculis, ad te nunc ueni, ignorans ad quid presaga futurorum diuina dispositio huc me direxerit. Non enim fortuito aut sine certi causa misterii estimauerim accidisse, cum sine hesitatione crediderim cuncta solius Dei nutu agi, et hominis propositum Dei semper dispositione actitari. Si igitur meis adqueueris desideriiis, tue sollicitudinis intererit aduentum meum proprie salutis operarium efficere, et meis petitionibus patienter intendere, mentisque intellectum eis efficaciter impendere. Oro itaque⁵ quatinus de possessione a progenitoribus tuis iure hereditario tibi diriuata partem Deo et michi concedas, ut ibi ecclesiam fabricem, in illa Deo seruiturus, et pro tua salute deinceps omni die postulaturus.’

Ille autem qui iam toto conceperat animo illius obtemperare uoluntati, quoniam eum uirum dignum laude et in reuerentia habendum iudicabat, huiusmodi illi uerbis respondit. ‘Iustum quidem est de his quæ a Deo collata nobis sunt illi partem tribuere, et pro suis ei beneficiis gratias pro modulo nostro acceptabiles rependere. Vnde te michi gratiosum efficis, qui hoc a me petis quod ego dare plurimum gaudeo, et quod michi in bonum cedere non ignoro. Accedens ergo, quod postulas suscipito, hanc scilicet uillam liberam et quietam atque de omnibus quæ ad me siue ad successores meos pertinent⁶ solutam, ex hac deinceps die solius Dei seruitiis mancipatam. Et quoniam unica est michi filia, in qua pene totius gaudii mei summa atque spes posteritatis consistit, illam etiam tibi committens, deprecor quatinus pro ea dominum interpelles, ut ad suam ipsius uoluntatem et meum honorem disponat illius conuersationem, atque gaudium meum prouehat de illa.’ Hec dicens, predium illud beato uiro tradidit, in quo ecclesiam fabricaret et habitacula seruis Dei inibi mansuris construeret. Ipse uero omnia sua ad alium illum transponens locum, ex aduerso suum fixit tabernaculum, unde sancti uiri habitacula omni hora diei intueri posset. Ita uir sanctus animum illius in breui optinuerat, ut si a confabulatione eius aliquando necessario diuelleretur, iocundum sibi et gratum uideretur illuc oculorum suorum aspectum dirigere, quo mentis affectu intendebat, atque locum, quem omni deuotione spirituali incolebat, corporalis etiam uisionis presentia frequentare.

§2

Cum uero construende basilice sanctus intenderet, ipse nonnumquam manus apponebat, semper quidem sufficienter sumptus administrans, et tam labore suo quam industria opus accelerans.

⁵ itaque que deleted by corrector Laud; itaque Trin.

⁶ pertinent added by corrector Laud; pertinent Trin.

Interdum etiam cum uir beatus diuina celebraret misteria, ipse presens aderat cum uxore sua et filia Wenefreda⁷ nomine. Si autem quando sanctus uir populo precepta Dei reuelabat, prefatam uirginem ad pedes uiri Dei ponebat, admonens omnia sollerter aduertere et patulo suscipere corde, que ab illo dicebantur. Quod futurorum prescius Deus incassum fieri non permittebat. Nam uirgo, futura Dei templum, ardenti percipiebat desiderio, quę auribus hauriebat, et tenaci memoria recondebat, in proximo operibus exhibitura, quod tunc in animo congeriebat. Multociens quoque, petita et habita a parentibus licentia, ad uirum Dei ueniebat, sitibundo ebibens pectore, quę ab ipsius mellifluo proferebantur ore. Et licet a parentibus suis tenerrime diligeretur, et spes prolis suę augmentande, atque successio posteritatis in illa sola penderet, gratum tamen habebant quod sanctum uirum frequentare gaudebat, illius sermonibus doceri eam cupientes omnem incestum concubitum abdicare, et se legitimis intactam nuptiis conseruare. Illa autem interius inspirante Dei clementia, cotidie crescebat in melius et proficiebat in sapientia, mente sua spiritu sancto ardentem debriata. Iam omnem uirum penitus abdicare disponebat, atque solius Dei complexibus inhiare cogitabat, sed hoc parentibus suis innotescere formidabat. Illos offendere non sibi idoneum fore credebat, Deo uero funditus coniungi salutiferum esse sciebat. Parentum uoluntatem in hoc concordem et conuenientem non ignorabat, ut, uiro legitime tradita, propagationem sobolis sue sustentaret, uerum se ipsam uirginem castam exhibere Christo sine ambiguitate multo melius fore credebat.

In hoc igitur certamine spirituali, uirginis animus non modico distrahebatur anfractu, hinc parentum timore a proposito suo illam reuocante, illinc Dei amore ad perficiendum quod animo conceperat⁸ festinanter illam impellente. A magistro suo edocta fuerat uerbis domini fidem abhibere precipientis patri et matri renuntiare, Christumque sequi, sed etas imbecillis et immatura impedimento erat. Statuit tamen et firmiter in animo posuit ad ultimum illud faciendum, si aliter sui propositi compos esse non posset. Veruntamen per beatum uirum prius dignum duxit parentes suos conuenire, et illos cooperante Dei gratia sibi consencientes⁹ efficere. Ueniens ergo ad eum, solito orationi uacantem repperit, audacterque coram illo prorumpens, secreti sui eum conscium fecit. ‘Semina’, inquit, ‘uerbi diuini a tuo michi profusa ore ad quantum in me prouentum excreuerint manifestum tibi fieri uolo. Omnem seculi luxum amodo abdicare delegi, et

⁷ **Wenefreda** WENEFREDE changed by later hand Laud; Wenefreda Trin.

⁸ **conceperat** coneeperat Laud.

⁹ **consencientes** ~~ex~~^{consen}cientes Laud.

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uirginitatem meam ad honorem sponsi celestis integram et incontaminatam conseruare disposui, et hoc, o pater sanctissime, tua suffragatione ab utroque parente impetrare michi deoptulo.’

Hec audiens sanctus, pietate motus, gaudensque quod semen diuinum iam in illa pullularet, dixit se parentes eius sollicite conuenturum, atque hoc quod petebat pro posse suo acturum. Quod facillimum factu et leue ad impetrandum erat, tum quia parentes uirginis illius patrocínio se funditus subdiderant, qui ad intercedendum introducebatur, tum quia diuini nectaris plenitudo illorum etiam animos imbuerat, qua uniuersos homines presertimque mentem filiæ suæ debriari preoptabant. Proinde, cum a uiro Dei filie desiderium cognouissent, suffusi lacrimis Deum benedixerunt, ac quod postulabantur benigne concesserunt, diuinum ei imprecantes adiutorium. Deposito igitur onere, quo non mediocriter grauabantur, rerum suarum opulentiam multipharie diuiserunt, pauperibus, uiduis, et orphanis subsidia administrantes, atque Dei seruo operosius intendentes. Et quoniam uidebant filiam suam non nisi filio Dei nubtum dari uolentem, omnia quæ congregantes custodiebant illi tribuenda si homini terreno nuberet, in diuinis officiis expendebant. Ipsi quoque curis eatenus se plurimum opprimentibus expediti, preceptis Dei funditus se mancipabant, uiam iusticie inflexibiliter incedentes.

Puella uero adepta optabile desiderium suum, nimio afficiebatur gaudio, gestiensque in spiritu sancto, pedibus beati uiri interdum uotiuam assidebat, sitibundo hauriens pectore que de gloria sponsi sui ab ipsius defluebant ore. Concessaque sibi licentia propria uti potestate, dilatato corde currebat uiam mandatorum Dei, semper in anteriora se extendens, et penitus posteriora intermittens. Pro ipsius amore cui se deuouerat, nichil in se terrenum admittebat, uni soli cum propheta inhians, inhabitare scilicet in domo domini omnibus diebus uite sue. Iam non prestolabatur parentum ad ecclesiam aduentum, sed ipsa festinato itinere nonnumquam illuc pergens, diuinis intererat misteriis. Frequenter autem noctibus in ecclesia excubabat. Interdum etiam importunam se sancto ingerens, sollicitabat eum sermonem facere atque de sponsi sui moribus et uita tractare. Tota quippe illius desiderio inardescens, tunc aliquantulum gaudii habebat, cum de amici sui excellentia, decore, et potentia loqui audiebat. Atque huiusmodi eius refectio omnem¹⁰ terrenarum rerum iocunditatem excellebat, et in illius corde spiritualis iocunditatis indeficiens delectamentum retinebat. Et licet etate tenera esset, perfecta tamen moribus et corde cana erat, animum totius cupiditatis contemptorem habens. Immo quicquid consummate uirtutis uirum habere decet, penes illam satis habunde inueniebatur, et totum in illa

¹⁰ **omnem** ~~xxx~~ with omnem added possibly by main scribe Laud; omnem Trin.

diuine plenitudo gratiæ sufficienter infuderat. In exterioribus quoque non modicam diuinitus acceperat gratiam. Nam et erat uultu pulcherrima et uerbo affabilis, atque toto corpore decenter composita. Vnde callidi insidiatoris¹¹ astutias non usquequaque effugere preualuit. Ex hoc enim exorta materia, cum inimico generis humani certamen inire compulsa est. Cum enim in exercitiis, quæ ad salutem pertinent, studiosissime inuigilaret, cernens diabolus multa sui iuris per eam detrimenta fieri atque in illa patria uirtutem suam eneruari posse, totus contra eam insurgere et uires suas exercere cepit. Nec destitit, donec se illam uicisse et sibi ulterius non nocituram putauit. Quod huiusmodi exordium habuit.

§3

Postquam beatus Beunous ecclesiæ suæ fabricam cooperante Deo consummasset et eam Deo consecrasset, finitimi frequenter ad eam ueniebant, sed omni fere die prefate uirginis parentes ad audienda quæ Dei erant ibi conueniebant. Contigit autem quadam die dominica pergentibus omnibus ad ecclesiam, predictos simul uirginis parentes illuc ire, quatinus predicationi sancti uiri et celebrationi misse interessent. Virgo uero illorum filia aliquod forte perpessa incommodum, necessario domi est sola remanere coacta. Et ecce quidam iuuenis Chradocus¹² nomine filius Alani¹³ regis domum intrans, uirginem solam offendit iuxta focum sedentem. Quæ cognito regis filio concita surrexit, quid sibi placeret humiliter inuestigans. Illo uero interrogante quo pater illius discessisset et dicente se plurimum illius colloquio indigere, puella respondit. ‘Pater’, inquit, ‘meus ad ecclesiam iuit, diuinis misteriis interesse uolens. Atque ideo si tibi necessarius est, paululum te operiri oportet in proximo affuturum.’ Hec dicens simplici animo, nichil quidem doli uel astutie seu alicuius machinamenti suspicabatur. Re autem uera incentiua libidinis illum adduxerant et mentem illius titillabant. Ad quam explendam totus effrenis et preceps uolitabat. Cum enim dixisset puella oportere illum patrem suum expectare, respondit iuuenis, ‘Patienter’, inquit, ‘aduentum illius expectabo, si tu, interim in amicitiam meam ueniens, uoluntati meæ assensum prebueris. Regis me filium esse non ignoras, diuitiis et honoribus multis refertum, te etiam affluenter locupletaturum, si mee petitioni assentire uolueris.’ Illa autem sentiens eum de concubitu sermonem inseruisse, paululum demissa uultum, ruboreque suffusa, simulauit quidem

¹¹ **insidiatoris** changed from insidiatores by corrector or main scribe Laud; insidiatoris Trin.

¹² **Chradocus** changed from chrodocus by another hand Laud; chradocus Trin.

¹³ **Alani** Possibly changed to Alai Laud; alani Trin; Alani JoT.

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primo grauitur se ferre, quod eam incomptam et inornatam inuenisset. Deinde¹⁴ dixit ei, 'Cum tu, regio ortus genere, post modicum Deo annuente rex sis futurus, felicitate seculari me opulenter replendam esse non dubito, tuo matrimonio copulatam. Veruntamen paulisper patere, donec pater meus adueniat, et ego interim thalamum meum intrabo, cito ad te reditura.' Profecto hec dicens, solummodo ad horam auelli ab eo querebat. Uidebat enim miserrimum hominem infelici libidine accensum illius amore letaliter torqueri, et uelut amentem fieri. Sciebat quoque quod parentum absentia infestus hostis insanior redderetur, ideoque ab ipsius manibus abstrahi adpresens qualibet occasione cogitabat. Concessit tandem ut cameram suam ingrederetur, sperans illam cum decentiore ornatu atque acceptabilius compositam sine dilatione ad se redituram. Tunc illa surgens thalamum est ingressa, nichilque differens ex altera parte per ostium camere egreditur, et uersus ecclesiam prepeti cursu iter arripuit. Ibi enim et si non timore Dei, multitudine tamen hominum protegi ac defendi putabat.

Quę fuga mox iuueni infausto innotuit. Qui statim furibundus effectus uehementique iracundia repletus quod diffugium faceret ne ei commiseretur, arrepto gladio uelociter eam insequi cepit. Et quoniam aliquantulum spatii domum paternam ab ecclesia dirimebat, facili conamine assecutus est illam. Quam prius toruo uultu intuens, his uerbis eam affatus est. 'Olim te amaui, et meis amplexibus coniungere desiderauit. Nunc ad te uenientem refugis, et te petentem contempnis? Iam pro certo scias, quod aut michi inpresentiarum ultronea commisceberis, aut, sine mora gladio isto capite absciso,¹⁵ uitam finies.' Virgine itaque ad ecclesiam¹⁶ lumina uertente, atque sollicitate inspiciente si aliquis inde exiret qui sibi adiutorium ferret, nemo prorsus egressus est. Tunc ad iuuenem conuersa, 'Regis', inquit, 'eterni et omnium hominum iudicis filio in matrimonio copulata, nullum alium¹⁷ excipere possum, et ne te diutius protraham, nullum preter illum dum uixero admissura sum. Etenim sine illius contumelia hoc fieri non posset. Ideoque exime gladium, exere uires, qualibet feritate accinctus ut placet utere. Certusque esto quia nec terrores tui nec blanditie, nec promissiones siue mine, ab illius dilectionis dulcedine me diuellere poterunt, cuius amplexibus iam astricta sum et deuotioni copulata.' Incestus autem iuuenis audiens se contempni, sueque libidinis impatiens, simulque credens illam minui non posse, nec se quietem habere dum uirgo uiueret, euaginato gladio capud illius amputauit. Statimque ut capud uirginis ad terram

¹⁴ **inuenisset. Deinde** added by later hand Laud; inuenisset. Deinde Trin.

¹⁵ **capite absciso** ~~xxxxxxxx~~ rewritten by main hand in darker ink Laud; capite absciso Trin.

¹⁶ **ecclesiam** ecclesiam Laud; ecclesie Trin.

¹⁷ **alium** added possibly by main hand Laud; alium Trin.

corrui, in eodem loco fons lucidissimus ubertim erumpens emanauit, qui usque hodie fluere non desistit, multis infirmantibus beate uirginis meritis sanitatem prestans. Et quoniam iuxta ostium ecclesie uirginem apprehendens ei capud absciderat, statim capud in ecclesia corruit, corpore retrorsum extra ecclesiam remanente. Ad pedem enim cliui cuiusdam ecclesia sita erat, atque in descensu illius montis capud uirginis resectum facile ruendo in ecclesia elapsum est. Truncum uero corpus quo prius ceciderat locum optinebat. Inter uero pedes stantium in ecclesia et diuinis misteriis intendentium corruens capud, uniuersos admiratione permaxima commouit. Omnibusque nimio terrore perculsis, atque dirum nefas grauiterque ulciscendum patratum fuisse dicentibus, auctoremque illius detestantibus, parentes puelle tumultu aliorum commoti, accesserunt rem certius cognituri. Filiamque suam exanimem cernentes, hinc capud abscisum, illinc corpus truncum aspicientes, ad terram lacrimosi corruerunt, tristitiaque et anxietate soluti, flebilem uocem emittentes, clamoris planctibus dolorem suum prodiderunt.

§4

Cum igitur magnus in ecclesia tumultus oriretur, omnibus quidem uirginis interitum lamentantibus, multis tamen nimium¹⁸ miserantibus acerbitatem doloris que parentes illius inuaserat, uir sanctus strepitum audiens, et seditionem suspicatus, ad cetum peruenit astantium. Cernensque uirginem, quam Deo consecraturus erat, tam crudeliter peremptam, miserabiliter condoluit. Peremptor uero illius adhuc iuxta exanime corpus tumidus foris assistens, gladium suum cruore uirginis madidum cunctis aspicientibus per herbam detergebat. Nam quia filius regis erat, impune tantum se perpetrasse flagitium putabat. Sed et in admissione tanti facinoris nichil se Deum uereri testatus est. Sanctus uero grauiter ferens superbiam eius et obstinationem cordis illius, et quia pro sceleris sui perpetratione iactanter gloriaretur, accessit ad eum, in manibus suis uirginis capud tenens. Respiciensque in faciem iuuenis, his cepit illum uerbis affari. ‘O sceleste,’ inquit, ‘qui iuuenilis decoris indolem et regie dignitatis progeniem homicidali maculasti crimine, cur te tantum admisisse scelus non penitet? Pacem conturbasti, et ecclesiam tuo sacrilegio fedasti, Deumque nefarius irritasti. Nec doles? Nunc autem quoniam ecclesie non pepercisti, nec diei dominice reuerentiam exhibuisti, Deum meum deprecor, quatinus que tu indigne commisisti, in presenti digna recompensatione recipias.’ His dictis, iuuenis ilico ad terram corruens expirauit. Mirumque dictu, in conspectu omnium astantium corpus defuncti liquefactum disparuit, multis

¹⁸ **nimium** added by corrector Laud; *nimium* Trin.

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asseuerantibus tellure dehiscente absortum fuisse, et cum spiritu suo in baratro demersum. Vniuersi uero hoc uidentes pro insueti nouitate prodigii ineffabili pauore percelluntur.

Dehinc sanctus capud uirginis, quod inter manus assumpserat, sepius deosculans, turbatus est spiritu et flere compulsus. Postea uero ordine suo illud componens, adegit reliquo corpori, palliumque suum super illud sternens, in naribus illius insufflauit. Deinde parentibus nullam consolationem admittentibus sed continuis lamentis filie sue necem plangentibus, precepit luctum intermittere et tandem a dolore cessare.¹⁹ Ipse autem ad altare missam celebraturus accessit. Qua peracta, omnibus ad eum intendentibus,²⁰ et spem ad Deum erigentibus, ipse ad corpus exanimatum peruenit. Dehinc luculento ad populum sermone usus est, inter cetera dicens beatam uirginem uotum Deo fecisse, sed morte interceptam non congruum tempus exsoluendi habuisse, et ideo debere eos deuotius humi procumbentes pro resurrectione illius Deum interpellare, scientes se multas inposterum per eam commoditates adepturos. Quod illi satis accurate fecerunt, et in maturam puelle mortem et miseram parentum calamitatem miserati.

§5

Postquam igitur diu oratum est, uir beatus a terra surgens, et manus ad celum tendens, ‘Domine’, inquit, ‘Thesu Christe, pro cuius amore hec uirgo terrena respuit et celestia concupiuit, nos te deuotis inuocantes animis misericors exaudi, et uiscera pietatis tue super nos effunde, uotorum nostrorum effectorem in presenti²¹ te esse concedens. Et quamquam uirginem hanc pro tuo amore passam non ignoremus in celestis gaudii sinibus repositam, nostro ulterius non indigere contubernio, tu tamen, clementissime pater, filiis tuis te humiliter deprecantibus benignum te et exaudibilem prestans, supplicationibus eorum assensum prebe. Precipe²² itaque ut, puelle huius anima corpori suo inducta, regimen te et dominationem tam animarum quam corporum habere demonstret, quatinus tuę gratia misericordie rediuiua nomen tuum magnificet, et post longa uite spatia multiplicato bone conuersationis fenore, ad te redeat, sponsum suum unicum, uidelicet Dei patris filium, cum quo et cum spiritu sancto uiuis et gloriaris, Deus per infinita secula seculorum.’

¹⁹ **cessare** changed from *cessae* by corrector Laud; *cessare* Trin.

²⁰ **intendentibus** corrected from *intendentibus* possibly by main scribe Laud; *intendentibus* Trin.

²¹ **in presenti** ~~inprecepte~~ changed possibly by main scribe Laud; *in presenti* Trin.

²² **Precipe** *Precipue* Laud; *precipe* Trin.

Cumque omnes respondissent ‘Amen’, puella quasi a sompno surrexit, tergensque faciem suam atque emundans a puluere et sudore, astantes admiratione et gaudio repleuit. Porro ubi capud ipsius prius collotenus resectum et postea ui diuina compactum atque resolidatum fuerat, albedo quedam tenuissima in modum fili collum ambiebat, et locum sectionis obducebat. Quod deinceps ad demonstrandam capitis illius resectionem atque miraculi obstensionem, quamdiu uirgo in corpore deguit, semper uno modo permansit. Inde ferunt illius prouintie homines eam Wenefredam fuisse uocitatam, cum antea, ut ipsi asseuerant, Brewa nominata sit. Quod enim ipsi²³ in sua lingua Wen dicunt, latine candidum uocant. Sicque ex occasione albedinis collum circumdantis, ex re nomen habere dicta est, adiecta particula, quæ est Wen, atque eufonie causa pristini nominis duabus litteris transmutatis, compositum obtinere uocabulum quod Wenefreda dicitur. Fertur etiam quod, postquam de hoc mundo migravit, nulli penitus manifeste apparuerit, qui illo candido signo collum ipsius circumdatum non uiderit. Hoc quoque argumento titulum sue passionis admodum sibi placuisse designat, quem totiens patenter demonstrat quotiens alicui se uidendam ostendit.

Locus uero ubi sanguis illius effusus est, primitus Siccauallis dicebatur. Postquam autem capud uirginis abscisum terram tetigit et, ut prefati sumus, fons ibi aquæ salientis emanauit, qui etiam manet usque in hodiernum diem, sanans omnes languores tam in hominibus quam in pecoribus, locus isdem de nomine puelle uocabulum sortitus est. Nam illorum lingua Fennan²⁴ Wenefrede, nostra uero Fons Wenefrede nominatus est. Fennan²⁵ enim latino sermone fontem sonat. Et quoniam de corpore in descensu deuexi montis iacente multus fuerat effusus sanguis, lapides aspergine ipsius infecti, tam in fontis scaturigine quam in riuo illius, seu in amborum margine, passim iacebant. Et quod dictu uel auditu mirabile est, lapides illi conspersi sanguine adhuc pristinam conspersionem retinent, ut patet usque hodie scire uolentibus. Nam sunt quasi congelato cruore perfusi, nec situ temporis, nec assidua preterfluentis aquæ eluuione deteresi. Mussicula uero quæ eisdem lapidibus adheret, quasi thus redolet. Famosum satis atque patriam illam incolentibus notissimum est fontem illum adhuc pristino more durare, et lapides, ut prediximus, cruentatos in illo inueniri, merita uirginis patenter ostendentes et spem omnibus portendentes,²⁶ eandem uirginem se inuocantibus opitulari posse. Homines uero ipsius prouintie

²³ **ipsi** added possibly by main scribe Laud; ipsi Trin.

²⁴ **fennan** fenna^on Trin.

²⁵ **Fennan** Fenna^on Trin.

²⁶ **portendentes** portentibus Laud; portendentes Trin.

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qui nondum Deum cognouerant, nec illius iusticiam intellexerant, uidentes uirginis resuscitationem, et de fontis emanatione petrarumque conspersione tam apertum et euidens miraculum factum fuisse, ad pedes beati uiri Beuoi prouoluti, Dei misteriis se imbui petierunt. Quos ille benigna deuotione suscipiens, sacri baptismatis unda purificauit, et diuinorum preceptorum sermonibus instructos in Dei seruitio confirmauit. Qualiter uero beata uirgo Wenefreda post resuscitationem suam uixerit, uel quem uite modum habuerit, siue consummato presentis seculi cursu ad quem finem peruenerit, nunc²⁷ succincte dicere curabimus.

§6

Cum igitur, ut prelocuti sumus, a mortuis surrexisset, tota die sancti uiri pedibus adherens, illius sermonibus sedula deuotione intendebat, de omnibus quę ad Deum pertinent plenius instrui uolens. Quo facto, atque ecclesiastice discipline dogmate assecuto, illa magistri sui pedibus aduoluta, uelari se obnixè postulauit. ‘Cum enim’, inquit, ‘a parentibus meis hoc michi concessum sit, et meum noueris animum, omnem seculi luxum calcantem, solius Dei amori et cognitioni inhiare, nulla debet esse dilatio ad consequenda desiderii mei sacramenta. Nullatenus uero a te abstrahi aut a pedibus tuis diuelli potero, priusquam tua benedictione regularis discipline misteriis initiata, habitu etiam exteriore sortis Dei me fore monstrauero. Noli, ergo, pater sancte, meum diu differre desiderium, sed persuasionibus meis adquiescens, me uoti mei compotem protinus effice.’ Tunc uir beatus, uocatis parentibus eius, uirginis animum et uotum manifestauit, et prerogatum ei diuinam gratiam dixit, atque ipsius uoluntati se satisfacere uelle intimauit. Illis uero benigne consentientibus, filieque sue deuotionem iocundo affectu complectentibus, uir sanctus coram multis illam sacro uelamine indutam consecrauit, atque regularis propositi disciplinis sufficienter confirmauit. Que statim post completum desiderii sui uotum, totius uirtutis artem agrediens, et regularis discipline studiis deuotissime inherens, in breui totius ordinis peritiam et obseruantie perfectionem adepta est. Dehinc cotidie magis ac magis proficiens, beatum uirum pro nimia caritate sua admodum letificabat.

Qui uocatis parentibus illius²⁸ huiusmodi oratione usus est. ‘Uos me’, inquit, ‘prius hic suscepistis, et meis postulationibus uos paratos atque promptos exhibuistis. Demum quoque locum istum Dei seruitio instituendum concessistis, et uos illud²⁹ idem efficaciter complere studuistis. Nunc

²⁷ **nunc** added probably by main scribe Laud; nunc Trin.

²⁸ **illius** suis, probably changed by main scribe Laud; ipsius Trin; illius Lans.

²⁹ **illud** changed from illum by corrector; illud Trin; illud Lans.

uero quoniam diuina inter uos exuberauerunt beneficia, lumen celeste uobis et filię uestrę infusum diligenter attendite, gratiamque, qua respersi estis, sollicitè considerantes, preostensam uobis³⁰ salutis uiam uigilanter incedere curate. Et quoniam mei presentia ad presens carituri estis, quia alias me uocat Deus, exemplis et admonitionibus filię uestrę sollerter intendite, certissime scientes illam non solum uobis, uerum etiam omni populo exemplum salutis futuram.’ Ad uirginem uero conuersus, ‘Te’, inquit, ‘meis laboribus et exercitiis succedere precipit Deus, et ista incolere habitacula, uiamque uite a me tibi prelibatam sine intermissione incedere, aliisque incedendam ostendere. Te enim singularis meriti palmam coram se ferre delegit, tuique martirii exemplo atque bone uite conuersatione, multos in hoc seculo ad suum amorem informandos instituit. Tuum igitur erit exhinc locum istum incolere, atque uirgines in Dei famulicio uicturas et hic tecum mansuras congregare, unumque pro certo scias, te in hoc loco³¹ finem uite non habituram. Cum enim in iugi corporis abstinentia et spiritus afflictione Deo seruiens, septem hic annos peregeris, alium te inuisere locum diuinitus admonitam oportebit, Deo te dirigente et per te multorum cordium tenebras illuminante. Hoc etiam retine, quod celebris erit in hoc mundo memoria tua, et quanti apud Deum fueris meriti, multi per te incommodorum suorum remedia adepti contestabuntur.’

§7

Cumque beata uirgo super discessu et absentia doctoris sui plurimum contristata fleret, beatus Beunous arrepta manu eius dextera, duxit illam ad fontem, quem de loco, ubi capud ipsius abscisum ceciderat, emanasse superius designauimus. Statuensque illam super lapidem unum, qui tunc ibi forte repertus est et usque hodie in riuo fontis manet et lapis sancti Beunoi ab incolis appellatur, his illam uerbis denuo allocutus est. ‘Vides’, inquit, ‘adhuc hic uestigia tue passionis? Ecce lapides isti tuo conspersi sanguine te pro Deo martirium passam fuisse demonstrant, atque ad tui ipsius honorem perpetuum, aliorumque multorum monimentum, conspersionem, qua³² de tuo cruore madefacti sunt, quasi recentem seruant. Nunc igitur diligenti et tenaci memoria mea uerba reconde ad multorum noticiam reuerenti relatione peruentura, atque per futuras³³ temporum successiones non nullis plurimum profutura. Tria tibi donatiua a Deo erogata esse

³⁰ **uobis** added by corrector Laud; uobis Trin.

³¹ **loco** changed from seculo by corrector Laud; loco Trin.

³² **qua** quam Laud; qua Trin.

³³ **per futuras** peruenturas with addition of uel perfuturas by the corrector Laud; per futuras Trin.

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cognosce, quę et laudis tue titulum solenniter celebrabunt, et in posterorum mentibus deuotionis tue amorem digna ueneratione cumulabunt. Primum quidem est quod lapides, isti cruoris tui aspergine madidi, nulla poterunt per secula ablutione detergi, nec assiduo istius aque impetu abluui, sed ad tue passionis ostensionem semper cruentati apparebunt, Deo ad sue³⁴ gloriam maiestatis atque ad tue triumphum castitatis tale miraculum faciente. Secundum uero est quod quicumque aliqua infortunia passus te requisierit, et per te a sua inualitudine seu oppressione se liberari petierit, prima siue secunda aut certe tertia uice uoluntatis sue compos effectus, quod postulauerat se impetrasse gaudebit. Si autem contigerit petentem te trine uicis petitione quod optauerat non consecutum fuisse, certissime sciat se presentis uite luce in proximo cariturum, atque ideo occulto Dei iudicio precis sue fructu in presenti frustratum fuisse. Proficere sibi tamen ad anime sue medelam te inuocasse constanter intelligat, atque per te aliquid sibi maius diuinitus prestari, quam³⁵ si quod petebat exterius consequeretur. Tercium autem donatium huiusmodi est. Cum ad presens a te discessero, super litus maris locum ad manendum conuenientem largiri michi dignabitur Deus. Et licet a te magno interuallo discretus fuero, tuis tamen muneribus me omni anno inuisendum³⁶ precepit altissimus. Cum ergo quod michi dirigere uolueris in manibus paratum habueris, ad presentem fontem cum munere tuo festinabis, et quicquid illud fuerit, Deo prius commissum in fonte confidenter depones. Videbis statim depositum tuum a fonte per riuum ui diuina deduci, et impetu decurrentis aque insubtus decurrentem magnum fluuium illesum trahici. Moxque maris elemento Dei uoluntati obtemperante atque ministerium prebente, quod tu in fonte deposueris ad mei hospicioli ianuam deferetur, per sinuosa undarum uolumina, per tumescentes et undisonas³⁷ maris procellas, usque ad meum contubernium inuiolate delatum. Hoc quoque, omnibus annis dum michi uita comes fuerit, Deo precipiente contingere oportebit. Eruntque hec tria a Deo tibi concessa dona, prerogatiue diuinitus tibi collate designatiua, et dum mundus iste durauerit, ad tue celebritatem memorie et laudis gloriam, multorum narratione magnificata.' His dictis, ad ecclesiam eam reduxit, iterum huiusmodi uerbis illam alloquens. 'Ecce templum istud et habitacula circumstantia, partim meo labore, partim parentum tuorum sumptibus edificata, tibi relinquo, quatinus me hinc abeunte, tu, congregatis ad seruitium Dei

³⁴ **sue** added by corrector Laud; sue Trin.

³⁵ **quam** changed from quoniam by corrector Laud; quam Trin; quam Lans.

³⁶ **inuisendum** added by corrector Laud; inuisendum Trin.

³⁷ **undisonas** changed from undinosas by corrector Laud; undisonas Trin.

tecum mansuris uirginibus plurimis, hic in tuo proposito Deo seruias, bonam uite³⁸ conuersationem et exempla uiuendi a me tibi insinuata nullatenus intermittens. Sciasque quod in loco isto ad multorum utilitatem magna fiet uirtutis diuine ostensio, atque per hic manentium exempla ad Dei cognitionem ascendent plurimi, omnia mundi emolumenta postposituri, ut Christum lucrifaciant. Sanitates quoque multiformes et animarum et corporum diuersa infirmitate languentibus hic passim distribuentur. Omnis etiam etas uel sexus aliquid remedii se in hoc loco³⁹ contigisse gaudebit. Sed nec bruta animalia istius loci beneficiis immunia fore denuntio, Deo sua clementi potentia hoc habitaculum protegente, et ad tui celebritatem honoris tanta in illo prodigia faciente. Tu uero sic te Deo placabilem exhibe, et talem te in omnibus effice, quatinus in te nomen sanctum eius gloriosum existat, et te aspicientibus forma salutis efficiaris. Ego autem hinc nunc abeo, Deo alias pro modulo meo famulaturus, tuique deuotionem dum uixero intra cordis mei penetralia cum dulci memoria habiturus.’

§8

Hec dicens, assumpto solummodo baculo suo abire cepit, omnem domus sue suppellectilem et quicquid ibidem manenti per fidelium manus Deus dederat, totum beate uirgini eiusque consortibus derelinquens. Sicque cunctis Deo commendatis, atque ualedicto uniuersis, discessit, uno solo clerico comite⁴⁰ contentus. Semperque ad beatam Wenefredam lumina retorquebat, propter corporalem eius absentiam multis lacrimis madidas genas habens. Illa uero super uerbis illius atque discessione impatienter se agens, miseram lacrimis et tristitia faciem gerebat, se relictam et inconsultam dicens, et omnibus maliuolorum incursionibus patere, pastoris presentia et diligentia desolatam. Cumque temptassent plurimi consolatoriis illam uerbis delinire, ipsa aliquantisper ab ecclesia dulcem patrem suum abeuntem deducens, donec cum eo erat nullam prorsus consolationem admittebat. Comitum uero nullus in uia cum illa ibat qui a lacrimis abstinere posset, tam acerbo dolore eam torqueri uidens. Sanctus uero non diutius ferens illius lacrimas, quamuis et ipse non mediocri pietate moueretur, finem tamen tantis planctibus ponere uolens, citato gressu ab ea diuulsus est, porrecta manu prius et benedictione data. Sollicitis tamen aspectibus uirgo eum prosequens, cum iam ulterius non appareret cum comitibus suis domum

³⁸ **uite** tibi Laud; uite Trin.

³⁹ **loco** added possibly by main scribe Laud; loco Trin.

⁴⁰ **comite** added by corrector Laud; comite Trin.

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reuersa est. Nequaquam tamen dissimulare poterat acerbitatem tristicie, que illam pro digressionem doctoris sui inuaserat, quamdiu recens illius memoria erat.

Elapso autem aliquanto tempore, rediens ad se beata uirgo, et ad memoriam reducens conuersionis sue modum, passionisque titulum, atque beati doctoris sui Beunoi sermones seu uaticinia, uirilem constantiam aggrediens, omnem merorem⁴¹ funditus deposuit. Statimque sponsum suum Christum, cui se caste uiuendo deuouerat, toto mentis affectu amplectens, illi inhiare, illum sapere, ad eum suspirare ardenti desiderio cepit. Deinde nobilium filias secum congregans, docebat eas castitatem amare atque, spretis omnibus mundi blandimentis illecebris, leui iugo Christi colla summittere, et per regularis propositi normam se Dei seruitio mancipare. Nonnullae autem uidentes conuersionis illius seueritatem, et modestam uite grauitatem, gratia sunt diuina compuncte, atque arripientes monastici ordinis regulam, sacro indumento se uelari petierunt. Quibus beata Wenefreda boni pastoris uires et officia exercens, nunc eas ab insidiis fraudulentis predonis euangelicis uerbis et sanctorum patrum sententiis munitas esse docebat, nunc luculento sermonis sui affamine diuinum in earum pectoribus amorem infundebat. Assiduis autem admonitionibus non desistebat illas instruere, regule institutionibus sollerter intendere, propositique sui meminisse, atque in his officiosas existere. Ipsa uero sine intermissione eadem faciebat que subiectis suis facienda edocebat. Nam omni die ieiuniis et orationibus atque uigiliis studiose intendebat et qualiter sibi subdite⁴² uirgines uiuere debebant, ipsa operans preostendebat, facta forma gregis sibi commissi, ad exemplum beneuiuentium. In breui autem tempore ad omnium uirtutum arcem perueniens, patenter insinuabat Christum, Dei uirtutem, et Dei sapientiam cordis sui amplitudinem obtinere. Hoc autem innumere uirtutes et crebra miracula hinc aperte manifestabant, illinc documenta salutis ubertim ex ore illius demanantia illud liquido demonstrabant. Exinde plurimum creuit uirginum conuentus, illius boni odoris fragrantia eas ad Dei cognitionem attrahente, et in illarum cordibus diuinitatis amorem infundente. Gaudebatque nimium sancta illa congregatio talem sibi preesse matronam, in qua uisibiliter aspiciebat omnia uirtutis exercitia abundare et celestem cognoscebat gratiam uberius radiare.

⁴¹ **merorem** ~~xxxxx~~ changed by corrector Laud; merorem Trin.

⁴² **subdite** changed from sudite, possibly by main scribe Laud.

§9

Cum igitur in omnibus cęlestis uite studiis sedula insisteret, finitimi circa illius amorem ceperunt deuoti existere, longe positi autem pro ipsius bona fama admodum iocundabantur, dicentes nimia Dei clementia perfusos esse quibus ipsa aut conuersatione aut familiaritate propius adherebat. Et multe uirtutum exhibitiones in miraculis per eam fiebant. Illud plane et ferocium hominum corda magis illius deuotioni subdebat, et fidelium mentes reuerentiam sibi exhibere compellebat, et pariter omnium fauorem sibi concilians attrahebat. Iam omnibus fere iocundum erat in illius uicinitate manere, quibusdam totius boni delectamentum salutisque uiam per eam plurimum affectantibus, quibusdam uero, propter commoda sibi exterius in miraculis illata, uim in ea celestis gratię esse perpendentibus. Omnibus itaque cum multa ueneratione et reuerentia claritatem diuinam, que per eam late in prouintia renitebat, suscipientibus, subdite sibi uirgines, quibus illud clarius elucebat, magis inde proficiebant. Uidentes quippe illam cotidianis gemitibus ad Deum suspirare, et diuina ad eam frequenter oracula fieri, maiorem ad Deum deuotionem assumebant, et semper meliores efficiebantur. Beata uero Wenefreda cum huiusmodi bonis operibus perseueranter instaret, et per eam circumquaque cęleste lumen radiaret, sepissime uerborum et preceptorum magistri sui memoriam ad mentem reducens, in proximo instare perpendit diem discessionis illius, in qua scilicet ab ea ipse discesserat, et munus sibi mitti preceperat. Quod autem illa sollicita sedulitate in memoriam retinens, tam sui ipsius quam uirginum suarum labore casulam unam competenti textura composuit, uiro Dei transmittendam.

§10

Illucescente itaque die quo xenium illud mitti debebat, qui est kalendas Mai, uenit beata uirgo cum pluribus aliis ad fontem, in quo precepto uiri Dei munus suum depositura erat. Acceptamque casulam albo prius mantili inuoluit, sicque in medio fontis eam deposuit, se dicens fontis ministerio hanc beato uiro Beunoo dirigere. Et ecce mirabile dictu et nisi fideli homini minime credibile, panniculus ille, quo casula inuoluebatur, nullam lesionem ab aqua patiebatur, nec uel minimam aque infusionem sentiebat, sed omnino siccus cum casula permanens, impetu decurrentis aque per riuum est deductus, atque in magno flumine transuectus. Totaque illa die cum sequenti⁴³ nocte illud uirginis munus per marinos fluctus deductum, mane ad litus illud depulsum est, super quod uir sanctus habitacula sua composuerat. Cum autem beatus Beunous,

⁴³ cum sequenti consequenti Laud; cum sequenti Trin.

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mane ab ecclesia digressus, super oram maris staret, et qualiter prius exundate aquę in se redirent quadamque ui occulta ad se fluctus suos attraherent admirando intueretur, forte pannum inuolutum in littore eminus conspicatur. Accedensque propius, quid illud esset certius scire conatur. Admotaque manu ab arena maris illud eleuans, pannumque inuolutum euoluens, casulam inuenit, nichil penitus lesionis habentem. Pannus quoque, qui illam exterius obuoluerat, ita siccus apparebat, ac si aquam non attigisset. Cogitante autem illo sollertius, et causam huius inuentionis discernere conante, simulque admirante quod intra bibule arenę aquosa spatia aliquid non madidum inueniri potuerit, latenter subiit in mentem eius Deo dilecte uirginis Wenefrede memoria. Habitaque secum deliberatione qualiter ei preceperit omni anno munus sibi parare,⁴⁴ paratumque in fonte suo, qui in riuum fluit, deponere, cognouit tandem, spiritu sancto sibi reuelante, a beata uirgine illud transmissum, a beata uirgine per equoreas sinus illese sibi delatum. Deoque inde suppliciter gratias agens, munus illud benigne susceptum in ecclesia reposuit, tam sui ipsius quam aliorum seruorum Dei usibus deinceps exhibendum. Gaudebatque quam maxime, quod uerborum suorum beata uirgo memor extiterat,⁴⁵ et quod tam preclara fama illius fuit, quod ab illa omnis fere prouincia illuminata erat. Orabat autem dominum incrementa uirtutum in illa augeri, et quicquid in oculis eius placitum erat in ea multipliciter inueniri, aliorumque conscientias per illam cęlestę deuotione accendi.

Ex effectu uero satis patuit Deum preces ipsius suscepisse, auresque clementie sue exaudibiles illi exhibuisse. Etenim intantum celestis exercitii studium in uirgine profecerat, ut in illa totius perfectionis summa inueniretur, et ipsa quasi singulare iubar totius prouintię, forma uiuendi et exemplum beneagendi, tam presentibus quam absentibus appareret. Efficatiam quoque mirabilem atque diuinam habebat ad persuadendum quod uolebat. Nam quotiens commissum sibi talentum diuini uerbi aliis dispensandum suscipiebat, tanta uenerat ei in sermone facultas et in sententiis modesta grauitas, ut omnes fere ipsius loquela deliniret, et in deuotionem Dei deuinciret. Proinde uniuersi pene patriam illam inhabitantes, crebris admonitionibus coerciti, ab omnibus se abstinebant quę sibi salutem impedire poterant, ardentique feruore ad ea intendebant, quę fidei opera esse sciebant, et quę beatam uirginem uel suas consortes affectare uidebant. Ipsa uero ad omnia que beatus uir Beunous ei dixerat uel preceperat se curiosam exhibebat, nichil prorsus intermittens de omnibus sibi imperatis.

⁴⁴ **sibi parare** ~~parare~~ with sibi added by corrector Laud; sibi parare Trin.

⁴⁵ **extiterat** extiterat changed to extiterit by corrector Laud; exstiterat Trin.

§11

Singulis uero annis in die kalendarum Mai munus transmittibat magistro suo dum uiuebat, modo quo superius designauimus. Et licet magnum spacium illos abinuicem dirimebat, quinquaginta enim miliaria aut eo amplius inter illos distantiam faciebant, unius tamen noctis spacio per sinuosa maris uolumina deportatum ad ianuam monasterii sui mane in arena littoris inueniebatur. Ex hoc autem beato uiro additum cognomen est, quod apud Walie homines hodieque memoriale habetur. Nam Beunous Casulsech, id est, Beunous Casulasicca uocatur, eo quod per aquas ab aquis illesa ad eum sicca casula deferretur. Accidit autem dum uirgo hunc mittendi modum singulis annis obseruaret, ut beatus Beunous, longo confectus senio, uirtutibus plenus et operibus preclarus, caducum et erumpnis obsitum relinquens seculum, ad celeste migraret gaudium. De cuius uita uel obitu, et quę uiuens⁴⁶ egerit, uel quę post mortem mirabilia fecerit, habentur adhuc in reuerenti memoria monimenta, illius uite modum et mores designantia. Hoc quoque precipuum et memoriale de eo predicatur, quod multo plura miracula mortuus faciat quam uiuens.

Cuius discessus cum sancte uirgini innotuit, multis illum lacrimis et orationibus prosecuta est, atque prefatum munus ulterius transmittere destitit. Tunc autem primum omni humana consolatione se destitutam dicens, tedere cepit locum in quo morabatur. Paululumque procedente tempore cum pars maxima consortium suarum uirginum de hoc seculo migrasset, odio habere locum illum cepit, in quo eatenus conuersata erat. Memorque uerborum preceptoris sui, quibus illam post septem annos alium debere inuisere et incolere locum designauerat, in ultimi expletione anni cepit fastidire locum et omnia prorsus edificiorum genera intermittere. Et quoniam facies eius alias intendens⁴⁷ erat, requiem non habebat spiritus eius, dum ibi degebat. Nec tamen donec consummati essent prefati septem anni habitationem illam dimittere aut uspiam abire facultatem habere potuit. Cum autem omnes euoluti essent, tum illa sui ipsius compos effecta, toto conamine ad Deum mentem erigens, deprecabatur ut eam ad⁴⁸ talem locum destinaret, ubi et sibi placere et aliis proficere posset, locumque illum, in quo prius conuersationem habuerat, sua benedictione

⁴⁶ **iuuens** changed from iuuenis by corrector Laud.

⁴⁷ **intendens** intendentis Laud; intendens Trin.

⁴⁸ **ad** added by corrector Laud; ad Trin.

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perfundere dignaretur,⁴⁹ ut qui illuc orationis gratia aut alicuius remedii consequendi causa⁵⁰ adueniret, inuocato nomine ipsius atque patrocinantibus illis qui ibidem actus suos et mores pro illius amore correxerint, quod postularet consequeretur. Quam petitionem ad Dei aures peruenisse testantur innumere gentes in eodem loco a diuersorum morborum inualitudinibus liberate. Quod postea patentibus demonstrabitur exemplis, cum prius narrationem historie texuerimus.

§12

Cum igitur beata uirgo Wenefreda sollicite orationi instaret, Dei clementiam sibi affuturam et producem itineris sui eam fore depostulans, nocte quadam uigiliis et obsecrationibus intendenti, diuinum ei huiusmodi oraculum insonuit. 'Assumpta tecum una tantummodo uirgine comite, uade ad beatum Deiferum, qui moratur in loco qui Botauarrus appellatur, illoque consulto⁵¹ quid deinceps factura eris uel quo abitura cognosces.' Erat quippe uir ille magnus coram domino, in omnibus mandatis et iustificationibus eius sine querela incedens. De quo refertur quod cum uirtutum gratia copiosius exuberaret, fontem de terra erumpere⁵² fecerit, eoque extensa manu benedicto, Deum exorasse quatinus quicumque eger in illo se merserit, sanitate potitus ad sua reuertatur. Quod ita factum esse plerique ibidem sanitatem adepti contestati sunt. Cum uero plurima miracula per illum celebri sermone gesta referantur, unum tamen post obitum eius patratum specialius inserere placuit, quatinus, diligentius illo inspecto, cuius meriti fuerit facile dinoscatur. Fures quidam, ad latrocinandum exeuntes, in cimiterio beati Deiferi duos inuenerunt equos. Quos secum educentes, libere se illos abituros fore sperauerunt. Domini uero illorum ad cimiterium in quo eos deposuerant uenientes, et non illos ibidem repperientes, furto ablatos cognouerunt. Ad hospitiaque reuersi, candelas fecerunt, atque ecclesiam sanctissimi confessoris ingressi, super altare illas posuerunt. Quæ quoniam accense non erant, nec ignem quo eas accenderent⁵³ ad manum habebant, sanctum Dei humiliter deprecati sunt, quatinus aut eas lumine diuinitus emisso accenderet, aut inaccensas equa acciperet deuotione ac si illuminate sibi darentur. Sanctus uero illorum precibus se presentem adesse ostendens, ipsis coram positis luce

⁴⁹ **dignaretur** ~~xxxxx~~ changed by corrector Laud; dignaretur Trin; dignaretur Lans.

⁵⁰ **aut alicuius remedii consequendi causa** added by corrector Laud; aut alicus remedii consequendi causa Trin; aut alicuius remedii consequendi causa.

⁵¹ **consulto** changed from cons~~xxx~~ by corrector Laud; consulto Trin.

⁵² **erumpere** erumpere changed to erupere Laud; erumpere Trin.

⁵³ **accenderent** accenderant Laud.

subita candelas eorum accendit. Unde et maior illis ad sanctum Deiferum deuotio excreuit, et spes eis suborta est recuperandi quod iniuste amiserant.⁵⁴ Nec fefellit eos sua opinio. Nam prefati fures per omnem uagantes circumiacentem prouinciam, cum circa mediam noctem se longius effugisse putassent, sollertius scire uolentes locum ad quem peruenissent, tandem ad sepem, qua prefatum cimiterium ambiebatur, se uenisse compererunt. Nimioque affecti dolore, seque non impune, si capi possent, illud latrocinium fecisse scientes, iterum flexis habenis diffugium querere temptauerunt. Set nec tunc imbecillis erat uirtus diuina in illis manum potentie sue ostendere. Nam cum aliquantis per se elongatos putassent, erumpente diei crepusculo, ad predictum locum reduces fieri compulsi sunt, atque infra eiusdem cimiterii ambitum equis desilire, illorumque habenas in manibus suis tenere. Qui autem equos perdiderant, nondum ab eodem loco elongati fuerant, sed interim in ecclesia morati per sanctum domini aliquod solatium in proximo sibi fieri confidebant. Mane ergo illucescente de ecclesia exeuntes, uiderunt equos suos in atrio stare, et qui illos adduxerant eosdem in manibus tenere. Vnde Deum benedicentes, et sancto Deifero gratias agentes, caballos suos susceperunt, fures impunitos abire permittentes. Ex his itaque digestis, quanti meriti fuerit uir sanctus, ad quem beata Wenefreda diuino oraculo pergere iussa est, facile conici potest.

§13

Igitur sanctissima uirgo committens Deo locum suum et omnes cum quibus habitauerat, una sola uirgine comite contenta, ut in oraculo audierat, peregrinationem suam aggressa est. Ueniensque ad sanctum Deiferum, quem octo fere miliaris a loco de quo ipsa egressa est distare constabat, benigno fauore ab eo suscepta est. Cumque⁵⁵ prius orationi diutius incubuissent, consederunt pariter, uirgine causam aduentus sui illi penitus exponente. Cui uir sanctus in hunc modum respondit. ‘Ego’, inquit, ‘huius diuini consilii adhuc prorsus ignarus existo, sed parumper patere, hic nobiscum hac nocte degens. Forsitan dignabitur dominus aliquid nobis reuelare, quod sibi sit placitum et tui propositi compendium.’ Quod ipsa libenter annuit, proculdubio sciens ex responso cęlesti ad se facto insinuatam sibi fuisse, apud eundem sanctum se doceri quid acturi essent. Sancto igitur tota illa nocte, ut solitus erat, orationem facienti, uox de celis insonuit, dicens, ‘Dic karissime filie meę uirgini Wenefrede quatinus ad uicum eat, qui uocatur Henthlantus, ibi desiderii sui uotis ex aliqua parte potitura. Ibi enim uirum uenerabilem Saturnum nomine

⁵⁴ **amiserant** changed from **admiserant** by corrector Laud.

⁵⁵ **Cumque** que added by corrector Laud; Cumque Trin.

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inuentura est, per quem plenius audiet quid deinceps actura uel in quo loco omni uite sue tempore sit habitatura.⁵⁶ Mane itaque uirginem ad se conuocans sanctus Deiferus, nichil prorsus reticuit de omnibus quæ diuinitus edoctus fuerat. Viamque illi ostendens qua ad predictum sanctum pergere debebat, gaudenter eam incedere admonuit, dicens sibi de celestibus insinuatam esse quod apud eundem sanctum patenter sit auditura quid sibi conueniat, omnemque penitus suæ necessitatis seriem.

§14

Beata uero Wenefreda plurimum gauisa quod amota omni dubitatione ad aliquam certitudinem per beatum Deiferum sit perducta, et quia Deum curam sui habere cognouerit, sanctissimo uiro ualedicens, assumpta comite sua ad beatum Saturnum iter arripuit. Ad quem cum peruenisset, benignissime ab eo suscepta est. Ille siquidem totius propositi eius et itineris prius conscius effectus responso sibi de supernis super hac re facto, beatam uirginem omni deuotionis affectu suscepit. Dehinc admonens quatinus illa nocte secum maneret, crastina die omnibus quibus indigebat plenius instruenda, consensit. Atque ad orationem primitus ducta, cum eo resedit, dicens se iussu Dei ad illum uenisse, ut ipsius doctrina uoti sui compos efficeretur. Tota itaque nocte ibidem permanens, mane facto huiusmodi a beato Saturno uerba audiuit. 'Est locus quidam Witheriacus nuncupatus, multorum sanctorum pigneribus refertus, et pro illorum ueneranda conuersatione a Deo electus, atque ab omni populo in nimia reuerentia habitus. Hunc locum te⁵⁷ inuisere precipit Deus, atque dum aduixeris⁵⁸ tua presentia inhabitare, tuisque exemplis aliorum animos informare. Ibi est quidam multarum uirtutum abbas nomine Elerius, quem iugis gemitus et oratio perseuerans ita ab omnibus secularibus curis liberum et defecatum reddiderunt, ut iam nil terrenum sapiat, nichil prorsus mundane delectationis affectet, totus celestibus intentus. Ad hunc te destinare diuino sum precepto admonitus, tibi que insuper intimare, quod ibi inuentura sis quicquid anime celestia desideranti in presenti uita sufficere debet. Nam ibi sunt Deo dicatae uirgines, ab ipsis infantie rudimentis in professione uite sanctimonialis celibatum obseruantes, et diligenti deuotione proposito suo intendentes, tuis admonitionibus et exemplis Dei nutu aliquatenus meliores efficiende. Licet enim in famulicio Christi peruigili obseruantia se

⁵⁶ **habitatura** habitura Laud; habit^atura Trin.

⁵⁷ **te** added by corrector Laud; te Trin.

⁵⁸ **aduixeris** adduxeris Laud; aduixeris Trin.

custodiant, tuo tamen aduentu et deuotiores reddentur et maior eas diuinitatis splendor illustrabit.’

§15

Illa audita conuersatione uirginum, ad laudem earum plurimum alludens, iam dudum se eodem desiderio astringi profitetur, atque cum eis titulum uirginitatis libentissime uelle amplecti. Ducem autem uie postulat sibi quantotius prouideri. Sanctus uero Saturnus diaconum suum beate uirgini committens, et beato Elerio per eum illam⁵⁹ destinans, deducere eam et ipse aliquantulum cepit. Cumque inter loquendum multa illi de loci ipsius quem adibat amenitate retulisset, tandem discedere ab ea uolens, benedictionem postulatus impertitur. Deinde multa ei a Deo bona tribui deposcens, ad propria sanctus regressus est, et illa quo tendebat appropiauit. Cuius aduentum uir sanctus per spiritum sanctum prenoscens, citus in occursum illius profectus est. Et quemadmodum decebat fidelissimam Dei cultricem, illam suscepit, diacono, qui cum ea uenerat, omnia referente quę suo doctori diuinitus fuerant intimata, et qualiter Dei admonitione ad illum sit destinata locum. Sanctus uero prius illam rite salutatam, atque debita ueneratione honoratam, ecclesiam orandi gratia introduxit. Completaque oratione, sanctus in amplexus uirginis incumbit, et ut constantis sit animi exhortatur. Postmodum ad secretam collationem eam uocans, quid mente conceperit et quid agere deliberauerit percunctatur. ‘Quamuis⁶⁰ enim,’ inquit, ‘omnem uite tuę modum, uel qualiter sis diuinis initiata misteriis, uel quomodo proprii capitis abscissione passionis titulum sis adeptas, quę, ue, sint insignia martirii tui et cruoris effusi, paruitati meę a supernis sit manifestatum, quę causa tamen tanti itineris laborem assumere te compulerit tuo cupio ore doceri.’ Cui sic uirgo respondit, ‘Qui illa que modo intimasti tibi reuelare dignatus est, non funditus te ignarum reliquit, ut arbitror, de his que mente reuoluo, uel quare ad ipsum perueni locum. Nam ut potuit tibi que circa me fuerunt preterita reuelare, potuit etiam plane et michi euentura pariter manifestare. Ideoque suscipe me tibi diuinitus destinatam, meamque amodo conuersationem ita dispone, sicut tibi est celesti preostensum oraculo.’ Tunc uir sanctus nocte illa que imminebat huius consilii⁶¹ diffinitionem differre decreuit, illamque hoc patienter ferre satis humiliter exorauit.

⁵⁹ **eum illam** ~~xxxxx~~ changed by corrector Laud; eum ... illam Trin.

⁶⁰ **Quamuis** Quam with uis added by corrector Laud; Quamuis Trin.

⁶¹ **consilii** csilii Laud; consilii Trin.

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Sancto itaque Elerio per totam noctem orationibus incumbente, et beata Wenefreda pariter peruigili continuatione precibus intendente, huius negotii certitudo sancto confessori paululum circa crepusculum diei quiescenti manifestata est. Plurimumque gratulabundus effectus, ad uirginem mane uenit, rursusque in illius ruens amplexus, gaudere eam atque securitatem ex inde habere monuit. Postea uero manum ipsius arripiens, ad uirginum conuentum, qui in eodem loco, ut prediximus, celebris erat, eam introduxit, his sermonibus ad illas concionatus. ‘Animis estote attentiores, karissime filie. Est enim opereprecium uobis insinuare, quanto splendore uos illustrare dignata est misericorditer diuina clementia. Ecce hanc deuotam sibi uirginem ad commanendum uobis et conuiuendum destinauit, quatinus, inspecta uita⁶² eius, exemplis illius in Dei famulatu deuotiores efficiamini, et ipsi pro melioratione uestra in cęlis detur retributio. Hec est illa uirgo Wenefreda cuius ad aures uestras iam olim preclara conuolauit fama, quę ne castitatis suę detrimentum pateretur, persecutorum infestationes simul et blandientium lenocinia⁶³ contempsit, atque ad ultimum pro uirginitate sue custodia, abscisione capitis mori libenter elegit. Hec est, inquam, illa, cuius triumphi insignia late per ecclesiam emicant, et cuius titulis omnis ista prouincia magno se donari bono gloriatur. Hęc sola et martirii et egregie confessionis palmam a Deo se adepturam fore non ignorat. Ad uos ergo uenit uobiscum mansura atque obitus sui diem expectatura, quę iam meritis suis celos petiit, et cuius inter beatos martires locus retributionis conseruatur. Uos itaque pro ipsius aduentu admodum gaudentes estote, et cęlestem thesaurum inter uos habitantem deuotius amplectimini, sollicitè operibus illius intendentes, atque ipsam toto conamine imitantes. Etenim ad hoc illam huc destinauit altissimus, quatinus et uos illam inspicientes, merita uestra cum ipsius meritis in celesti reponatis, et locus hic, dum mundus iste durauerit, propter eam celebri fama respergatur.’

§16

Post hec uerba ad unam conuersus dominam, quę et mater sui ipsius erat et aliis sanctimonialibus prelata, ‘Tibi’, inquit, ‘o karissima mater, curam istius Deo dilecte uirginis specialius committo. Tu igitur eius uestigiis inhere, tu opera imitare, tu curam omnium quę ad eam pertinent uel quicquid sibi⁶⁴ placere cognoueris instanti sollertia exequere. Notumque sit tibi et ceteris in nostra nunc presentia considentibus, hanc beatam uirginem diuino oraculo ad hunc locum esse

⁶² **uita** uia with t added by corrector Laud; uita Trin.

⁶³ **lenocinia** ~~lexxxx~~ changed by corrector Laud.

⁶⁴ **sibi** added by corrector Laud; ei Trin.

transmissam. Ex quo maiorem deuotionem circa illam habere debetis et quante cure sit locus iste ante Deum non ignorare.’ His dictis sanctus confessor discessit, et beata Wenefreda cum ancillis Dei deinceps conuersatura remansit. Et tunc quidem totius religionis arcem arripere festinabat, atque in omnium uirtutum culmine constans persistebat, ac si eatenus huiusmodi sanctitatis funditus aliena extitisset. Et quoniam beato uiro referente prima conuersionis sue auspicia sanctis uirginibus reuelata fuerant, ita ardenti deuotione omnem salutis uiam aggressa est, uelud si tunc primitus conuerti ad Deum cepisset. Eratque in illa iugis abstinentia, custosque sue bonitatis et sanctimonie perseuerans oratio, et humilis conuersatio. In ipsa exemplum patientie et obedientie ceterae uirgines accipiebant, eamque in omnibus que ad salutem pertinebant preuiam sibi efficiebant. Omnia que honestatis erant, que uirtutis, in illa affluenter inueniebant, ideoque non modicam illi reuerentiam exhibebant. Illa uero que prelata eis erat, mater scilicet sancti confessoris Elerii, Theonia nomine, eam solenni affectu diligebat, atque illius consiliis tam sui ipsius quam ceterarum uirginum sibi commissarum curam dispensabat. Venerabatur etiam in illa peruigilem instantiam, et admirabatur continuam abstinentiam, dulcique gaudio omnium uirtutum in illa perseuerantiam amplectebatur. Sepius quoque cum illa de celestis regni desideriis tractans, lacrimas⁶⁵ de oculis eius effluere ubertim faciebat,⁶⁶ et ipsa eque lacrimabatur. Erat enim eadem matrona magne auctoritatis et religionis eximie, atque ad omnia opera caritatis et misericordie sollicite intenta. Et licet omnes uirgines inestimabili deuotione diligeret, sanctam tamen Wenefredam iocundo affectu suscipiebat, et suo obsequio confouebat, atque ad illius uenerationem non minimam operam impendebat.

§17

Sanctus uero Elerius, qui seorsum cum fratribus suis et condiscipulis domino in simplicitate cordis et nimia spiritus afflictione seruiebat, nonnumquam ad illam ueniebat, et eam aliis imitandam proponebat. Frequentius autem de secretis celestibus interdum uero de misteriis ecclesiasticis cum illa agens, inueniebat eam de his que ad Deum pertinent uberius redundare, atque de necessariis exterioribus sollerti astutia pollere. Sicque ad suos reuertebatur, admirans in illa et exterioris scientie affluentiam et interius diuine gratie plenitudinem. Nec hoc diu finitimos latere potuit. Vnde locus ille in breui magnam celebritatem adeptus est, et in ingenti reuerentia est habitus. Accurrebant enim undique cateruatim fideles populi, cernere cupientes uirginem pro

⁶⁵ **lacrimas** lacrimis Laud.

⁶⁶ **ubertim faciebat** faciebat ubertim, order swapped by a second hand Laud.

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Christi amore prius capite truncatam, sed cuiusdam sancti beneficio rediuuam effectam, magnifice predicantes locum quem incolebat summa esse reuerentia dignum. Quibusdam uero sufficebat sola illius uisio et allocutio. Nonnulli autem importunius se ingerentes, locum sectionis in collo uirginis ostendi sibi humiliter petebant. Quorum petitionibus reluctari timebat, ne et illorum deuotio inde minueretur et sibi illud ad superbiam deputeretur. Qui uidentes in collo eius pellem sectionis locum obtegentem, niueo colore albescentem, a lacrimis abstinere non poterant. Deumque in suis magnalibus⁶⁷ benedicentes, et nimia pleni admiratione, ad propria redibant.

§18

Quadam uero die beatus Elerius claustra sanctimonialium est ingressus, sanctam uirginem Wenefredam uisitaturus, et cum illa quae Dei erant tractaturus. Loquentibus autem eis ad inuicem diutius, fortuito sermo incidit de memoria mortis. Tunc sanctus, nacta occasione proferendi quod frequentius animo reuoluerat, 'Gaudeo', inquit, 'quod Deus ad hunc te destinauerit locum, corpus meum sepulture tradituram meique memoriam post obitum meum habituram. Hoc enim a Deo michi concedi sepius deprecatus sum, ut uidelicet aliquem ex suis famulis siue ancillis huc destinaret, qui et me sepeliret, et post me hunc incolens locum, celebrem illum faceret.' Cui sic beata uirgo respondit. 'Non equidem ita futurum est, nec sic est preordinatum a Deo. Te enim oportet, me superstita et coactante, dominam meam matrem tuam prius humi tradere, atque demum post aliquantum curricula annorum corpus meum sepelire. Dehinc tu plenus dierum in pace uitam consummabis, atque ad patres tuos translatus in celesti regno inuenies quae ibi conseruanda reposueris.' His sanctus confessor auditis, discessit. In proximo autem patuit illam ueram protulisse prophetiam. Nam post aliquantulum temporis beata Theonia, graui infirmitate correpta, aculeis mortis ad presens superuenture cepit urgeri. Cumque filie eius, uirgines scilicet quae sub illius disciplina erant, cognouissent uelocem eius abscessum, nimio fletu et dolore tabescere ceperunt. Vehementer enim lamentabantur quia amittebant matrem quae eas aluerat, et in Dei seruitute educauerat, et diuina misteria edocuerat. Quas illa uerbis consolatoriis confortans, ibi debere dicebat huiusmodi lugubres uoces emitti, ubi meliori deterior succedit, et ubi iura diuina per malos successores decidunt. Vbi uero bono melior succedit, et illa quae Dei sunt in melius semper prouehuntur, ibi non luctus et desolationes admittende sunt, sed potius hilari corde cum gaudio spirituali meliorationem a supernis emissam suscipere hominis est bonam mentis habitudinem possidentis. 'Et uos', inquit, 'ideo meum discessum patienter tolerare debetis,

⁶⁷ **magnalibus** magnaliis Laud.

quoniam hanc beatissimam uirginem Wenefredam uobiscum habitare estis, in qua omnia quę ad doctrinam uel ad exemplum salutis pertinent sufficienter inuenire potestis. Illam oculis interioribus intuemini, et mentis affectu imitamini, ad illam quasi ad singulare sidus gressus uestros dirigite, et omnium agendorum uestrorum curas illi imponite,⁶⁸ scientes proculdubio Deum uobis ad omnia coadiutorem existere, si istius uirginis consiliis consentientes adqueueritis.' Post hec uerba a filio suo,⁶⁹ sancto uidelicet confessore Elerio, uiuificam dominici corporis et sanguinis communionem accepit, atque statim de hoc seculo migrans, in manus sanctorum angelorum spiritum reddidit. Qua decenter composita et, ut talem tantamque decebat matronam, cum nimio planctu et fletu cunctorum sepulta, uir sanctus beate Wenefrede ceterarum uirginum custodiam et curam commisit. Cuius imperio quamuis illa plurimum resistere laboraret, tamen uerens iudicium Dei subire si ulterius reniti temptasset, tandem consensit, suoque oneri aliorum curam adiecit. Iam uero enarrari non potest quanta obstinatione totius abstinentie austeritatem arripuerit, quas cruces uel quanta supplicia corpori suo indixerit, quante parcitatis seu seueritatis sibi ipsi extiterit. Verum ut absolute cuncta diffiniam, nichil prorsus intactum dimittebat, quod ad propriam salutem uel aliorum exemplum et utilitatem pertinere cognoscebat. In his igitur modis constituta, ab uniuersis simplici diligebatur affectu, et tam extranei quam domestici honorem ei exhibebant, et eam reuerenter uenerabantur.

§19

Beatus uero Elerius et ceteri qui in Walian morabantur summi uiri uidentes in uirgine tantam perfectionem, multum ei deferebant, atque reuerentur eam. Optimates quique et nobiles patrie eam dulci deuotione amplectebantur, et, uidentes benignam illius conuersationem, nimis edificabantur. Multi quoque minoris dignitatis uiri ad illam uenientes, et modestiam habitudinis attendentes, magnamque ex sermonibus eius edificationem accipientes, promtiores ad Dei seruitium deinceps reddebantur. Sed et latrunculi et aliene possessionis inuasores, inspecta uultus illius habitudine atque auditis sermonibus eius, corde conpuncti sunt, et quidam illorum exinde mitiores effecti, nonnulli uero omnino latrocinia intermittentes, conuersi sunt ad dominum, publicam de commissis suis penitentiam agentes. Et ut definite cuncta complectat, nulla etas, nullusque sexus, nullus etiam negotiationis homo infra illam patriam relictus uidebatur, qui de beneficiis huius uirginis aliquod emolumentum non haberet. Gratulabatur inde ineffabiliter

⁶⁸ **imponite** changed from *impendite* by corrector Laud.

⁶⁹ **suo** changed from *sua* by corrector Laud.

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amicus Dei sanctus Elerius, predicationemque populo de ea nonnumquam faciebat, dicens inter cetera quod Deus ad illuminationem fidelis populi illam eidem patrie destinauerit, et quia inhabitaret illam uirtus diuinitatis. Quod multi satis compertum habebant. Nam uirtutes innumere et sanitates egrotis per eam largite diuinitatis uirtutem illam obtinere plurimum contestabantur. Quicumque enim eger ad illam ueniebat, sospitate recepta, incolumis discedebat. Qui tristis adueniebat, gaudens redibat. Qui aliqua oppressus cordis molestia, uel alia exterius accidente causa grauatus, accurrebat, statim liberatus a curis se prementibus atque sue uoluntatis compos effectus, ad sua hilaris reuertebatur. Nulli quidem nocebat, sed uniuersis communiter et singulis particulariter in aliquo proficiebat. Quicumque enim per ambitum illius predii habitantes⁷⁰ corporum aut animarum suarum infortuniis urgebantur, per illam celerius cupita remedia consequabantur. Se ipsam ab omnibus implicamentis mundialibus ita alienam custodiebat, ut immundam se putaret si uel paruissimum quid de omnibus que ad huius seculi pertinebant⁷¹ luxum, in usus sui ipsius uel in necessitatibus suorum admitteret. Frugalitate quoque in omnium admiratione utebatur.⁷² Ad custodiam uirginum sibi subiectarum sedula persistebat. Ad cauendum etiam callidi hostis astutias, cautas eas et sufficienter doctas faciebat. Ipsa uero et sermonibus suis et orationibus continuis ab inimico generis humani et peruasore dominici iuris illas defendebat, indefesse admonendo quatinus in omnibus actionibus suis circumspecte essent atque proprie salutis curam continuam haberent.

§20

Contigit ergo inter hæc postquam Deo dilecta uirgo Wenefreda deuoto famulatu acceptam superno regi uitam duxisset, ecce dominus Ihesus ancillam suam de laboriosa huius uite seruitute ad perpetue beatitudinis requiem assumere uolens, quadam nocte in oratorio orationibus uacanti⁷³ diem obitus sui proxime instare innotuit. Quæ ut se uocatam sensit confestim gratia Dei se uisitatum cognouit, ouantique spiritu ad perhennis regni gaudia se preparare cepit. Tunc noctibus continuis in ecclesia orans pernoctabat, diebus uero in omni uirtute toto conamine persistebat, nichil pro uiribus infectum relinquens de omnibus quæ facienda didicerat. Virginibus autem secum manentibus abscessum suum cito instare denuntiauit. Quo audito ancille Dei nimio

⁷⁰ **predii habitantes** ~~xxxxx~~ changed by corrector Laud.

⁷¹ **pertinebant** pertinebat Laud.

⁷² **utebatur** utebantur changed by corrector Laud.

⁷³ **uacanti** uocanti changed by scribe Laud.

ceperunt merore affici et inconsolabili dolore torqueri. Quas beata uirgo suis consolationibus refouere temptans, dicebat illas pro sua corporali discessione non debere contristari, quoniam de corruptione ad incorruptionem, de miseriis ad gaudia transmigrabat, debere eas potius plurimum gratulari et secum congaudere, quia ad talem dominum pergebat apud quem pro illis intercedere, et eis quam maxime patrocinari poterat. Exhortabatur etiam eas ut a fraudulenter surripientis inimici calliditate cauerent, astutias uersutiae illius multiformes esse docens, suis presertim exemplis inniterentur, et tales se ipsas exhiberent, ut ipsius suffragiis adiuuari mererentur. Vt autem ad beati Elerii cognitionem rumor iste perlatus est, ipse presertim super abscessu dilecte sibi uirginis nimis gemitibus angebatur. Sciens quippe illam peculiaris gratiae dote diuinitus donatam, dum ipse in corpore peregrinaretur secum manere nimia deuotione optabat. Nunc autem quamuis illa de calamitate et erumpnis ad sine fine mansurum transiret gaudium, se in perturbationibus mundialibus relicto, solatia peregrinationis suae se amittere egre ferebat. Illius tamen aspectibus et colloquutionibus quasi ingerendo⁷⁴ se sepius inserens, boni pastoris uices et mores gerebat, illius in omnibus curam habendo, et quae sibi profutura sciebat operosius subministrando.

§21

Interea cepit beata uirgo graui uiscerum dolore urgeri. Cumque languor uehemens esset et cotidie increscens,⁷⁵ cognouit se obitus sui incitamentis coartari. Tunc totis uiribus ad Deum intendens, ut sui misereretur exorabat, et ut anime suae pius presul et custos existeret, ne pessimi predonis preda fieret. Deinde uocato ad se sancto confessore Elerio, muniuit se dominici corporis et sanguinis uiatico. Cernens uero socias suas uirgines pro sua egritudine nimis gemitibus tabefieri, uerbis consolatoriis eas adhortata est, dicens, ‘Nolite, filiae, nolite pro meo discessu nimia tristitia affici, quoniam relicta presenti miseria ad summum et incommutabile bonum Dei misericordia peruentura sum. Nunc gaudeo quod sponsum terrenum respui, quod omnia mundi delectamenta⁷⁶ solius Dei amore succensa calcaui, uel quod nichil in hoc mundo proprium habere disposui. Ad illum itaque me nunc perrecturam scitote, quem rebus omnibus preposui, et in cuius comparatione omnia mundalia ut stercus arbitrata sum. Illius inquam uisione me persecula fruituram cognoscite, pro cuius amore me ipsam detrimentum feci et omnia carnis oblectamenta

⁷⁴ **ingerendo** inge with rendo added by corrector Laud.

⁷⁵ **increscens** changed from ingrescens by corrector Laud.

⁷⁶ **delectamenta** ~~xxxxxx~~ changed by corrector Laud.

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contempsi. Vos itaque talem ac tantum dominum diligenti deuotione amplectimini, propositis uobis et preostensis salutis exemplis tota intentione innitimini, celestique sponso, cui fidem et castimoniam seruare pepigistis, pactum uestrum custodire conamini. Ipsius enim solius auxilio hunc diem spe segura expectare potestis, atque inimicorum uestrorum insidias deuitare, pacemque perpetuam habere. Leue quippe et momentaneum existimate, quicquid oculis uestris carnalibus se ingerit. Non enim debetis rebus intendere quę hodie sunt et cras euanescunt, nec ab illis incommutabilibus bonis animum flectere quę nunquam deficient, in quibus pax et securitas et gaudium est sempiternum.' Post hec uerba, ad orationem conuersa, a manibus domini spiritum suum suscipi deposcebat.

§22

Igitur in die kalendarum Nouembrium acrius cepit corporis sui dissolutione fatigari. Set nec tunc inter dolores a salutaris predicatione quieuit. Nam omnibus, qui ad illam ueniebant, terminum uite sue sollicite obseruare admonendo precipiebat, ostendens quantam leticiam habituri sunt, qui purgatis animis et a mundi spurcicia defecatis de hoc seculo migrauerint. Cumque nimia egritudinis molestia corpus illius attenuaretur, et iam in proximo obitum suum imminere cerneret, aduocatum ad se beatum Elerium rogauit quatinus corpus suum iuxta corpus beate Theonie matris suę sepulture traderetur. Quod cum sanctus uir benignissime concederet, orationi iterum intendens, eadem die, id est quarto nonas Nouembris, spiritum suum in manus creatoris commendauit, celestibus choris sociandum. Quod uidentes qui aderant, grauissimis lamentis pro ipsius sunt discessione dissoluti. Quid ibi gemituum, quid effusum est lacrimarum? Nullus a planctu immunis erat. Omnis sexus et etas ad lamentum profusius se uertebat. Et eo quisque sibi magis consulere et proficere credebat, quo maiorem dolorem pro illius absentia assumebat. Cumque omnibus communiter intolerabilis luctus esset, uirgines presertim, quę cum illa uixerant, ingens affecit mesticia. Ipse enim dominam et salutis ductricem se amisisse plangebant.

Omnibus itaque diuerso genere abscessum illius lamentantibus, accurrens beatus Elerius, uerbis consolatoriis silentium illis imposuit. De hinc commendans animam eius Deo, sollicite procurare cepit omnia que ad exequias beate uirginis pertinere uidebantur. Deinde corpus sepeliendorum more compositum in ecclesiam deportari precepit. Peractis uero omnibus que ad funus siue ad sepulturam pertinebant, in loco quo ipsa petierat, cum maximo omnium planctu et gemitu corpus humi est traditum. In eodem quoque cimiterio multi quidem et magnorum meritorum uiri

requiescunt, sed et preclariores et maioris⁷⁷ fame feruntur sanctissimi confessores Chebius et Senanus,⁷⁸ quorum prior ad capud illius tumulatus est, alter uero in eodem ordine quo ipsa iacet requiescit. Qui utrique⁷⁹ magnarum uirtutum uiri fuisse apud indigenas memorantur, eundemque locum ob sanctorum adisse frequentiam, quos ad exemplum uite presentis agonem illuc conuenisse audierant. Extant adhuc in eadem prouincia nonnullae in illorum memoria basilice, in quibus quantorum ante Deum sint meritorum per crebra mortalibus miracula liquido manifestatur. Ad leuam illius beata Theonia de qua supra retulimus sepulta quiescit. Ceterum aliorum sanctorum nomina uel numerum ibidem quiescentium solius Dei cognitio retinet. Tanta enim sanctorum congerie isdem locus uenerabilis habetur, ut nullus mortalis⁸⁰ omnino omnium eorum nomina scire, uel etiam numerum congestorum comprehendere potuerit. Cum quibus omnibus eundem exornat locum beata uirgo Wenefreda, uirtutibus clara et miraculis innumeris choruschans. Post mortem uero eius multi illuc aduenientes, et per ipsius suffragia petentes a Deo infirmitatum suarum medelam, uotiuua sunt adepti remedia. Locus autem ille in magna celebritate deinceps est habitus, atque cum magna reuerentia et ueneratione a multis orationis causa expetitus. Post aliquantum uero⁸¹ curricula annorum, beatus Elerius, summe sanctitatis et nimie perfectionis uir, uita discedens, plenus omni honestate et religione migravit ad dominum. Qui in basilica sui nominis sepultus, usque ad hunc diem multis miraculis choruschare non destitit. Qui etiam eidem loco plurimum reuerentiae et dignitatis conferens, miraculis plurimis clarescit.

§23

Locus uero, in quo prima conuersationis beate uirginis auspicia claruerunt, nimia fidelium frequentatione uenerabilis habetur. Nam multociens ibidem obtentu beate uirginis preclara fiunt miracula, per quae et beatam Wenefredam suis incommoditatibus opitulari posse aduenientes intelligunt, et eo deuotius illuc cateruatim undique turba fidelis populi accurrit, precibus illius corporum et animarum suarum remedia se adipisci sperans. Augetur autem in dies aduenientium deuotio, uidentium rapidissimum fontem qui de loco erupit, in quo prius capud uirginis ad terram

⁷⁷ **maioris** maiores Laud.

⁷⁸ **Senanus** Seuanus Laud; Sanan BGwenfrewy(P27ii); Sevan BGwenfrewy(L1st34); Senanum JoT.

⁷⁹ **utrique** ut'que added by corrector Laud.

⁸⁰ **mortalis** added by corrector Laud.

⁸¹ **uero** added by corrector Laud.

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corrui, atque perspicientium lapides qui in fundo fluminis iacent, in quibus conseruato adhuc sanguine uirginis martirium rubuisse perspicuum est. Ad quod uidendum cum multi pronis animis circumfluant, intuentes cruorem lapidibus inherentem super decurrentis aquę assidua eluuiione non posse abstergi, admirantur rei nouitatem, et uirginis prerogatiuam magnificantes, ad propria reuertuntur. Multi quoque debiles illuc adueniunt, et sani facti ad sua redeunt.

§24

Quidam uir faber in illa patria degens filiam habebat a natiuitate sua cecam. Qui audiens plures per beate Wenefrede merita sanitate donatos, filiam suam cotidie petentem se perducere ad fontem sancte uirginis cum nimia deuotione perduxit. Quę sero ibi adducta, de fonte suum capud primum lauit, et sic demum ad ecclesiam est perducta, tota nocte ibidem insomniis oratura. Quod dum fieret, facto mane rogauit quatinus paululum quiescere permetteretur. Quo sibi concesso, atque loco ad pausandum sibi parato, diutius obdormiuit. Dehinc expergiscens bene se uidere testata est. Intuens autem illam pater ipsius, atque ita ut asserebat comperiens, omnibus insinuauit quę circa filiam suam propter merita sancte Wenefrede operatus fuerat Deus. Atque ad predicanda uirginis preconia uniuersos qui aderant suis sermonibus incitans, cum filia sua ad propria est regressus. Ex hoc miraculo multi in deuotione beate uirginis accensi, passim omnibus audientibus predicabant magnalia uirtutum illius. Quidam uero per huiusmodi mirabilia opera, quę per illam fiebant, flagitanti amore ei inherentes, ad ipsam quasi ad singulare refugium accedebant, atque post paululum uotis suis potiti, ad sua remeabant. Quod patenter ex subiecto demonstrabitur⁸² exemplo.

§25

Ex euentu accidit quodam tempore non modica in illis partibus perturbatio. Cumque illius prouintie nobiliores et potentiores uicinis amicis suis internuntium direxissent, quatinus sollicitam rebus suis custodiam adhiberent, et sibi ipsis cautissime precauerent, nuntius illorum a latronibus circumuentus ad ecclesiam beate uirginis Wenefrede uelociter confugium fecit. Insequentibus autem semper illum euestigio inimicis suis, ipse atrium ecclesię cum equo quem equitabat ingressus, ad hostium ecclesię equo desiliuit, et frenum ad seram hostii ligans firmauit. Demum quoque nimium appropiantes sibi hostes declinare uolens, ad altare uelociter cucurrit. Latronum uero unus ceteris proteruior, qui nec Deum nec sanctos eius reuerbatur, audaci

⁸² **demonstrabitur** demonstrabitur Laud.

presumptione septa ingrediens, ad equum cursu celeri peruenit. Quem extensa manu arripiens, frenumque a sera porte resoluens, nichil uirginis merita ueritus abduxit. Homo uero cuius fuerat equus ab ecclesia egressus, non inuenit quem ibi deposuerat caballum. Sciens autem quod ab illis qui eum fugientem insecuti fuerant adeptus sibi suus fuerat equus, iterum se in ecclesia contulit. Vbi coram Deo et beata uirgine querimoniam suam deponens, multis lamentis conquerebatur de uiolentia sibi illata, et quia infra septa ecclesie pacem habere non potuerit. Multaque depostulatione sanctam uirginem Wenefredam efflagitans, quatinus illius presumptuose et nimium audacis contumacie memor existeret, atque procommisso facinore celerem ultionem inferret, a basilica exiens iter, quod eques inceperat, pedes perficere cogebatur. Post modicum uero beata uirgo uiolationem atrii sui seu basilice sue cure sibi fore ostendit, atque querimoniam sibi cum gemitu depositam se non usquequaque negligenter intermittere manifestauit. Homo enim, qui equum ad hostium ecclesie ligatum⁸³ soluerat, et secum abduxerat, grauissima cepit infirmitate languescere. Post paululum quoque languor ille a toto corpore deductus in dextro se brachio funditus contulit. Tantaque miseria et afflictione miserrimum hominem afficiens corripuit, ut mori mallet, quam tantis calamitatibus affligi. Crescebat etiam cotidianis augmentis cruciatus, nec poterat alicuius medici cura leniri. Nec destitit donec ex congesto ibidem noxio humore totum illud brachium cum manu sua putrefactum, post nimias et intolerabiles passiones a reliquo corpore decideret. Sed nec tunc miserrimus homo quiescere, aut priores molestias funditus euitare potuit, donec ad prefatam ecclesiam ueniens, beate uirginis merita humiliter confiteretur, et pro commisso scelere ueniam deprecaretur. Dehinc uero miseratione sancte uirginis a dolore uehementi aliquantulum releuatus, ad aliorum cautelam ibidem reseruatus est. Eo namque uiso terrebantur omnes qui alienis rebus insidiabantur, et ne aliqui ulterius atria ecclesie irrumpere presumerent terribiliter monebantur. Omnes quoque qui illum intuebantur pro tali ausu et tam misera presumptione tam lacrimabili recompensatione multatum fuisse, uirginis merita admirabantur, et deuotiores in eius obsequiis efficiebantur. Ipse uero qui brachium perdiderat, publica penitentia satisfaciens beate uirgini quod temerario ausu septa basilice ipsius irruperat et manum suam contra eam leuauerat, multos ab huiusmodi presumptione compescuit. Accurrebant cateruatim undique populi, miraculum illud insolitum uidere cupientes, uisoque illo pleni admiratione redibant, preconia uirginis magnifice predicantes.

⁸³ **ligatum** ~~agatum~~ changed by corrector Laud.

§26

Aliud quoque non minus mirabile per beatam Wenefredam patratum est miraculum. Quodam tempore fures in territorio prefate ecclesie uaccam inuenientes, nullam reuerentiam beate uirgini exhibentes, secum illam furto deduxerunt. Ueruntamen metuentes ne uicini populi illos insequerentur, et per uestigia uacce quam ducebant recto itinere ad se perducerentur, diuerterunt ad uiam duram et saxosam, in qua nec sui ipsorum nec animalis uestigia cognosci posse putabant. Verum non est consilium, non est prudentia, neque uirtus contra dominum. Ut enim uiam petrosam ingressi sunt, in qua magis se occultare putabant, ibi prius illorum nequitia⁸⁴ detegit cepit. Statim enim pedes suos uacca usque ad genua humi infigebat, et tam in saxis quam in dura et arida uia uestigia animalis patenter apparebant. Et quo se occultius incedere putabant, eo fuge illorum maior cognitio fiebat, Deo merita uirginis per incessus ipsorum declarante. Illi quippe quo longius incedebant, eo sibi ipsis tucius fore credebant, et securius possidere quod abstulerant confidebant, sed econtrario illis contingebat. Nam ex quo illi quibus uacca furata fuerat compererunt animal suum sibi ablatum furto fuisse, statim cum nimia hominum caterua fures insequi ceperunt. Videntesque uestigia animalis inpressa lapidibus et aride terre certiores effecti, sollicite pedum inpressionem legebant. Inuocantesque beate uirginis auxilium, per cuius merita tam euidentis miraculum in petris et in dura humo conspiciebant, currebant uiam uacce uestigiis sibi preostensam. Latrones uero clamorem insequentium se audientes, timentesque se capi ab illis, cum animali quod ducebant extra uiam abierunt. Sed nec sic occultari poterant. Nam quocumque persequentes incedebant, semper inpressiones pedum animalis in silicibus et in⁸⁵ arido solo patenter inueniebant.⁸⁶ Confirmatique animis, et confortati miraculo sibi premonstrato, confidenter insequiebantur. Et semper quo longius incedebant, eo manifestius animalis uestigia, cognoscentes se nequaquam euadere posse, nisi dimissa uacca diffugium quererent. Reliquerunt illam in nemore, et ipsi uelocissime fugientes se occuluerunt. Qui uero insequiebantur eos, uaccam solam inuenientes, fugatis eis qui illam ducebant, quod suum erat receperunt, et retrorsum abire ceperunt. Inquirentes autem sollicite utrum animal suum eiusmodi uestigia faceret in lapidibus et in terra rediendo retrorsum, sicut fecerat cum abduceretur, minime inuenerunt. Tunc quidem cognouerunt⁸⁷ quod beata uirgo illorum causa miraculum illud operata

⁸⁴ **nequitia** added by corrector Laud.

⁸⁵ **in** added by corrector Laud.

⁸⁶ **inueniebant** changed from ineniebant by corrector Laud.

⁸⁷ **cognouerunt** changed from cognouerunt by corrector Laud.

fuerat, ut uidelicet persigna animalis agnoscerent⁸⁸ quo incedere deberent et quod sibi iniusta rapina ablatum fuerat⁸⁹ celerius consequerentur. Redeuntes uero uaccam domino suo restituerunt, et miraculum quod factum erat publice predicauerunt. Multi quoque abierunt uisuri que de uestigiis dicebantur, et inuenientes uera fore que predicabantur, et ipsi pariter eadem predicare non cessabant. Ex hoc perterriti sunt plurimum omnes qui aliorum rebus inhiabant et dolum in corde suo machinabantur, presertimque horribiliter admoniti, ne⁹⁰ infra territorium quod ad ecclesiam beate uirginis pertinebat aliquid diriperent, aut aliquatenus latrocinarentur. Latrones autem uerentes iram uirginis, et ne Deus propter illius contemptum grauiter indignatus illorum presumptuosam audaciam ulcisceretur, et sic pene⁹¹ darentur, ad basilicam sancte uirginis summissis animis uenerunt, ueniam postulantes. Vbi publica allegatione se deliquisse confitentes, magnifice uirginis merita predicauerunt, atque omnes, qui eos audierunt, ab huiusmodi illicita presumptione dehortantes, ad propria regressi sunt.

§27

Item de fonte, quem prelibauimus ubi capud uirginis abscisum ad terram corruit erupisse, ueridicorum assertionibus miranda recitantur. Cum pueri tenelli aliquo sui corporis incommodo laborantes egrotant, proiectos in ipsius scaturigine fontis et pernicitate fluminis delatos, matres illorum hilares eos et sospitati restitutos repente suscipiunt. Uulgare est atque famosissimum apud omnes fere⁹² Walie habitatores, quod si quis febricitans aut aliquo membro patiens se illa aqua perfudit, uel lapides, quos cruore ipsius perfusus per riuum inueniri predocuimus, patienti membro adhibuerit, prius potata aqua ex lapidum ablutione, confestim sanitati redonabitur. Nonnulli etiam quatinus illuc lotum eant diuinitus admonentur. Frequentius autem ipsa eadem uirgine noctu per uisionem exhortante, multi illuc adueniunt, atque inde reuertentes uotis suis potiuntur.

⁸⁸ **agnoscerent** changed from aonoscerent by corrector Laud.

⁸⁹ **fuerat** ~~xxxx~~ changed by corrector Laud.

⁹⁰ **ne** ~~xx~~ changed by corrector Laud.

⁹¹ **pene** penas Laud.

⁹² **fere** added by corrector Laud.

§28

In descensu eiusdem riui peroptimum habetur molendinum, ad beate uirginis Wenefrede ius pertinens, quod nulla unquam imbrium siue niuis habundantia pereffluente,⁹³ aut aliqua urentis gelu siue⁹⁴ estiuē siccitatis molestia perstringente molere desistit. Quod semel latrones ingressi ferramenta illa seu instrumenta, quibus id genus utitur, secum extulerunt, alio illa transponentes molendino. Verum donec ea ibi fuerunt, nec rota circuire, nec officialibus illis aliquis profectus euenire potuit. Custodes autem officii uidentes questum suum quaquā die minorari propter ea que allata fuerant, non ulterius passi minorationem suam, foras eiecerunt ea quę a furibus acceperant, statimque rota molendini uertendi licentiam accepit, atque cetera officialia instrumenta pristinum sunt consecuta morem. Que eiecta latrones iterum aliis transposuerunt locis, quibus eadem per omnia contigerunt. Tandemque comperientes ista diuina dispensatione actitari, uidelicet quod nullius loci possent commodo uel utilitati inseruire, penitentia ducti ad proprium illa detulerunt locum, per suffragia beate uirginis ueniam postulantes. In quo facto sancte Wenefrede merita apud omnes illam patriam inhabitantes et laudes ipsius in excelsis efferunt, et bestialem malignantium retundunt insaniam, dum sibi quique in malum cedere non ignorant, si quando in sanctorum possessionibus letali cupiditate illecti grassantur.

Ex huiusmodi occasionibus locus ille maximam celebritatem adeptus est, in quo primitus beata uirgo Wenefreda conuersata est, adeoque preualuit in eo beati Beunoi uaticinium, ut per beatam uirginem, cuius in illo prima conuersatio fuit, publice Dei predicentur magnalia, atque multi infirmitatibus suis desiderata consequantur ibidem remedia. Et sicut illa a Deo locum illum benedici et cęlesti uisitatione perlustrari postulauit, ita patentibus signis postea declaratum est adeo illam super hoc exauditam fuisse. In exhibitione enim miraculorum et mirandorum quę ibidem fiunt operum, approbatione prefatum sanctum uera preconatum fuisse liquido patet, cuius presagio fuit locum illum cęlesti gratia perlustrandum, Deumque ibi per merita eiusdem uirginis multorum salutem operaturum. Hoc quoque hodieque testantur fidelium turme, illuc cateruatim confluentes, et propter quę uenerint adeptę, cum gaudio ad propria reuertentes. Multoque uberius ibidem super infirmantes diuine fiunt miserationes, quam in loco in quo sanctissimi corporis eius gleba tumulata fuit. Quod ideo reor factum esse, quod illum locum semper specialius peculiarem habuerit, in quo conuersionis sue primordia micuerunt et ipsa diuinis misteriis est initiata, et in

⁹³ **pereffluente** effluente with per added by corrector Laud.

⁹⁴ **siue** ~~xxx~~ changed by corrector Laud.

quo signa martirii illius per omne tempus recentia perseuerant. Veruntamen utrobique mirabiliter diuina uirtus operatur, et per ipsius suffragia innumera fiunt magnalia egrisque cupita prestantur remedia. Cecis enim per illam uisus restauratur, et surdis auditus donatur, omnes fere aduenientes uotis suis se potitos per eam gloriantur,⁹⁵ ad laudem domini nostri Ihesu Christi, qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat, Deus per omnia secula seculorum, amen.

§29

Igitur postquam beata Wenefreda innumeris effulgens uirtutibus cęlestia migrauit ad regna, multis interlabentibus annis, regnante Willielmo rege, qui primus de Normannis regnauit in Anglia, Rogerus comes, uir illustris et in omni morum et religionis honestate conspicuus, in urbe Salopesberie cenobium edificare cepit. Ad hoc perficiendum cum diligenti cura intendens, sumptibus suis illud adauxit, dehinc abbatem posuit, fratresque ibidem Deo seruituros constituit. Processu uero temporis, locus ille Deo miserante excrescens, multis ad uiam salutis profuit, cunctisque patriam illam incolentibus diuini odoris fragrantiam prebuit. Cumque fratres illi uirtutibus pollerent, quę uirtutis erant sollerti instantia inuestigare ceperunt. Sepiusque conquesti adinuicem quod reliquiis sanctorum nimium indigerent, ad id perquirendum summopere animos appulerunt.⁹⁶ Et quoniam in Walia quę uicina erat eis multorum corpora sanctorum retineri audierant, quia eadem prouincia ante multis⁹⁷ inhabitata sit sanctis, quorum merita diuersis in locis predicabantur, qualiter aliquem illorum habere possent omnimodis perscrutari studuerunt. Scientes quippe illius patrociniis se plurimum apud Deum muniri posse, cuius honorem cotidiana deuotione excolerent in terris, qui sic eis patrocinaretur diligenter procurare conati sunt. Verum cum plures preclarissimi et excellentissimi confessores ibidem haberentur, cui potissimum intenderent, uel quem specialiter⁹⁸ desiderarent, hesitare ceperunt.

§30

Accidit interea quod quidam ex fratribus graui oppressus infirmitate, ceteros fratres, uehementer sibi compatiens, nimio dolore conturbaret. Qui, plurimum pro eo solliciti, supplicibus animis Deum pro eius incolumitate deprecati sunt, uicinarum ecclesiarum monachis ut idem facerent humiliter demandantes. Ut uero tanta fratris illius molestia Cestrensis ecclesię monachis innotuit,

⁹⁵ **gloriantur** gloriatur Laud.

⁹⁶ **appulerunt** ~~æpulerunt~~ (perhaps for *compulerunt*); changed to *appulerunt* by corrector Laud.

⁹⁷ **multis** nullis added in the margin by corrector Laud.

⁹⁸ **specialiter** speciali; ter added by corrector Laud.

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et ipsi, equę consternati animis, Deum pro ipsius sospitate rogaturi in ecclesia processerunt. Quibus ante sanctum altare prostratis septemque psalmos humili deuotione decantantibus,⁹⁹ unus eorum, Radulfus nomine, qui supprioratus officio fungebatur, uir admodum simplicis animi, obdormiuit. Uisumque est ei uirginem speciosissimam sibi astare, placidoque uultu in hec uerba prorumpere, 'Quid est', inquit, 'pro quo prostrati oratis?' Monachus respondit, 'Frater quidam ex nostris familiaribus grauissima infirmitate cruciatur, pro cuius incolumitate oraturi, nos et preces nostras suppliciter Deo prosternimus.' Ad hec iterum illa, 'Et ego noui quod frater ille mentis alienationem patitur, sed si eius sanitatem ueraciter obtatis, unus ex uobis eat ad fontem sancte Wenefrede, et in ecclesia quę ibi est in illius memoria missam celebret, statimque liberabitur frater egrotus.' Hec dicens, disparuit. Monachus uero ad se reuersus et quę uiderat uel audierat mente pertractans, noluit quidem tunc uisionem illam ceteris denuntiare, timens a sociis suis ludibrio haberi et fantasie deputari quę uiderat. Sicque transactis ferme quadraginta diebus, eger semper grauius patiens, lectulo decumbebat. Delatus item rumor¹⁰⁰ Cestrie de molestissima incommoditate, qua prefatus frater urgebatur, atque loquendi de illo ceteris fratribus occasionem dedit. Cumque multis sermonibus egrotum plangerent, condolentes ei, ille qui uisionem uiderat sumpta audacia retulit eam ex ordine, cunctis benignissime amicis ipsius uerbis fidem accommodantibus. Qui iam olim uirginis¹⁰¹ merita preclara fore audientes, et multa per eam miracula fieri cognoscentes, facile animos ad credendum quę dicebantur appulerunt, atque uisioni fidem dederunt. Nam ad cuius fontem ire et in cuius honorem ibi missam cantare monebantur, illam procerto sanctam Wenefredam uocari sciebant. Quam etiam prefato fratri apparuisse aiebant. Itaque consulentibus eis, mittuntur duo monachi ad fontem beate Wenefrede, in ecclesia illius, que ibi iusta fontem est, missam celebraturi, et pro egroto oraturi. Factum est eadem hora, qua missa ibidem decantata est, infirmus frater apud Salopesberiam de inualitudine sua conualuit, consortesque suos pro sua sospitate¹⁰² exhilarauit.¹⁰³ Post aliquantulum uero temporis, isdem frater qui infirmus fuerat ad eundem locum perductus est, Deo et sancte uirgini gratias pro sanitate sibi indulta persoluturus. Cumque in ecclesia prius orasset et postea de fonte bibisset, et inde lotus fuisset, omnimodis sospes effectus ad monasterium est reuersus. Exinde beate uirginis

⁹⁹ **decantantibus** ~~xxxxx~~; decantantibus added by a later hand Laud.

¹⁰⁰ **rumor** romorem; changed to rumor by corrector, who also added ad monacos Laud.

¹⁰¹ Corrector adds illius Laud.

¹⁰² Corrector adds plurimum Laud.

¹⁰³ **exhilarauit** exhilauit; ra added by corrector Laud.

memoria in fratrum cordibus deuotius inoleuit, ita ut se felices estimarent, si uel modicam particulam de eius sanctissimo corpore consequi possent. Et licet id arduum et difficile et uires suas excedere putarent, temptandum¹⁰⁴ tamen prorsus statuerunt. Scientesque nichil uoluntati Dei resistere posse, Deum sibi propitium fieri, et coadiutorem affuturum exorauerunt, cuius nutu quelibet impossibilia uel difficilia, leuiter sibi ad manum prouenire posse non dubitarent.

§31

Eodem tempore rex Henricus, uir summus et amicus pacis, arcem regni gubernabat, cuius auctoritate pax et securitas totam insulam obtinebant, eoque magis, omnibus quocumque incedere uellent, pacifice licebat. Vnde prefati fratres frequenter nuntios in Waliam transmittentes, ubinam excellentiores sancti requiescerent, uel potius ubi prefate uirginis tumulus esset, sollicito quæsiuerunt. Inuentoque loco quo¹⁰⁵ sancte uirginis Wēnefredę ossa quiescebant, nimio sunt gaudio exhilarati. Deinde Bangornense pontifice, cuius illa prouincia diocesis erat, sibi consentiente et adiutorium pollicente, principes et nobiles patrie consentaneos sibi et fauentes effecerunt. Res cotidie gradatim procedens, celerem efficaciam portendere uidebatur, atque fratrum animos in spe sui desiderii extollebat. Sed mors predicti regis Henrici repente interueniens, nimia calamitate omnem oppressit Britanniam, et negotium istud intermittere ad tempus coegit. Secundo uero imperii regis Stephani anno, sedatis perturbationibus pristinaque reddita tranquillitate, prefati cenobii abbas, Herebertus nomine, consilio fratrum priorem suum uocabulo Robertum in Waliam destinauit, adiuncto sibi socio quodam monacho Ricardo uocitato. Isdem autem prior in huius rei procuratione ceteris sollicitior existens, transmissis frequenter legatis suis et litteris per patriam, hoc in responso acceperat, ut si ipse ueniret, uoti sui compos effectus, cum gaudio reuerteretur. Veniens itaque presulem Bangornensis ecclesie prius adiit, et ab eo ad principem illius terre transmissus, satis benigne ab eo est susceptus. Cui cum seriem itineris sui et aduentus causam exposuisset, ille huiusmodi uerba ei respondit, 'Non equidem estimauerim te¹⁰⁶ sociosque tuos tantum laborem sine Dei nutu et beate uirginis uoluntate assumpsisse. Forte enim uidens debitam sibi reuerentiam a suis non inferri, alias asportari desiderat, ut ab alienis honorem accipiat, quem sibi sui impendere aut contempnunt aut negligunt. Proinde cedo libens et beneplacito suo assentire me fateor, ne resistens indignationem

¹⁰⁴ **temptandum**; corrector changes to *temptandum* Laud.

¹⁰⁵ **quo** altered from *que* Laud.

¹⁰⁶ **te** — Laud.

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eius in ultione pati compellar.¹⁰⁷ Et licet omnibus inmundiciis inquinatus, omnium hominum infimus uel deterior, tamen audacter ad tumulum eius prorumperem, et sancta¹⁰⁸ ossa tangens uobis ea traderem, nisi pro communi utilitate patrie alias intendere me oporteret. Ipsam hoc uelle et labores uestri et uisiones uobis ostense manifestent. Euntes igitur mee auctoritatis licentia confirmati, locum in quo beata uirgo requiescit festinanter adite inuenturi, ut reor, aliquos qui uestrę dispositioni rebelles existent. Sed confidite, quia illius obtentus eos uobis pacificabit, cuius affectus uos tantum laborem arripere incitauit. Veruntamen ego ad illos homines in quorum patrimonio predictę uirginis corpus requiescit nuntium destinabo, qui et eis uoluntatem meam insinuabit et illos aliquanto pacificiores uobis efficiet.’ His dictis eos in pace dimisit.

Itaque profecti ab eo, recto tramite tetenderunt ad locum in quo sanctissimum corpus uenerabilis Wenefrede repositum erat. Erantque simul septem, prefatus uidelicet prior et cum eo uiri uenerabiles: prior Censtrensis, quidamque sacerdos, multarum uirtutum uir, eadem gente progenitus, fraterque quem¹⁰⁹ de monasterio secum prior adduxerat, tresque uiri alii. Cumque simpliciter in itinere gradientes de eodem negotio loquerentur, obuium habuerunt hominem unum illius patrie non ignobilem, quis esset prior Salopesberiensis¹¹⁰ interrogantem. Cui sibi ostenso hec uerba intulit, ‘Legationem uirorum, qui illud predium inhabitant in quo sanctę Wenefrede uirginis ossa continentur, quod Witheriacus nuncupatur, tibi dicturus adueni. Noueris graui eos indignatione aduersum te commoueri, quod sanctorum corpora penes se reposita, quibus ipsi et omnia sua sunt commissa, asportare conaris. Sciasque pro certo, quia nec principis timor, nec dominorum suorum comminatio, neque alicuius pecunie cupiditas, eos tibi in hac re consentientes efficient.’ His dictis, discessit. Prior uero consortesque sui propter hec uerba plurimum contristati, quid facerent, quo se uerterent, funditus ignorabant. Ad Deum tamen conuersi, ab illo spiritum consilii sibi emitti¹¹¹ summissis animis postulauerunt. Et qui solo imperii sui uerbo uentorum et maris tempestates sedauerat, ut has¹¹² inimicitias pacificaret, et istorum hominum animos sibi confederaret,¹¹³ humili mente deprecati sunt. Deinde confidentia

¹⁰⁷ **compellar** changed from *compellor* by corrector Laud.

¹⁰⁸ **sancta** *sancta eius* Laud.

¹⁰⁹ **fraterque quem** *fraterque quem* Laud.

¹¹⁰ **salosberie** *Salopesberiensis* added by a later hand in bottom margin Laud.

¹¹¹ **emitti** changed from *committi* by corrector Laud.

¹¹² **has** added by corrector Laud.

¹¹³ **confederaret** changed from *confideraret* by corrector Laud.

sancti spiritus animati, ceptum iter tenuerunt. Cumque fere ad locum peruenissent in quo beate uirginis ossa continebantur, prior deliberato cum fratribus consilio, duos ex sociis, priorem uidelicet Cestrie et prefatum presbiterum, per patriam illam bene notos premisit, sollicite omnia, quę necessaria eis erant, prouisuros.

Ipsa autem retento suo sodali in quodam rure eadem nocte remanens, propter legationem quam audierat nimiis curis affligebatur. Et ecce decantatis laudibus matutinis, quędam grauis et honesta persona mulieris effigiem gerens, cuidam suo seruienti apparuit, hec uerba dicens, ‘Surge quamtotius et dic domino tuo, ut, deposita mesticia et curis, quibus nimium opprimitur, spem suam ad Deum erigat, sciens sese cum magno gaudio hinc discessurum. Illa enim, pro cuius amore et honore ad istam est prouinciam destinatus, et illius uoluntatem expediet, atque sui desiderii compotem¹¹⁴ prorsus eum efficiet. Nam in proximo adepturus est unde et gaudens domum redibit et socios suos suo aduentu letificabit.’

§32

Alia quoque uisio ipsa nocte eidem priori huiusmodi accidit. Quidam magne religionis abbas qui eiusdem Salosberiensis¹¹⁵ cenobii pater fuerat, sed confectus senio et multis uirtutibus plenus ab hac uita discesserat, Godefridus nomine, ei apprensus, a curis quibus angebatur compescuit illum,¹¹⁶ dicens, ‘Noli pusillanimis esse sed confide, quia bene uincemus inimicos nostros, et obsistentes nobis Dei adiutorio superabimus. Sciasque nos in proximo consecuturos quod summa deuotione desideramus.’ Post hec uerba ab oculis eius euanuit. Ex his itaque uisionibus oborta est aliquantula securitas in mentibus eorum, et reddita est spes obtinendi quod petebant. Ista igitur summo mane inter eos referri inceperant,¹¹⁷ et mentibus audientium aliquantulum iocunditatem indulserant, cum repente quidam de hesternis nuntiis adueniens securitatem augmentauit, admonens quatinus illum ocius sequerentur, Deo annuente quod uotie desiderabant inuenturi atque abituri. Qui statim ascensis equis illuc aduenientes, peractis prius orationibus sacerdotem loci illius secretius solum conuocauerunt, ut eis in adiutorium esset obnixius obsecrantes.

¹¹⁴ **compotem** compotes Laud.

¹¹⁵ **salosberiensis** changed from salosberien~~cx~~ by later hand Laud.

¹¹⁶ **illum** added by corrector Laud.

¹¹⁷ **inceperant** changed from ceperant by corrector Laud.

§33

Sacerdos uero patienter uerbis illorum intendens, huiusmodi responsum dedit, ‘Ego quidem’, inquit, ‘leui conamine ad uota uestra perduci potero, hinc quia uobis arctius confederatus esse uolo, illinc quia iam olim uoluntatem Dei et uirginis super hoc negotio cognoui, ut inpresentiarum¹¹⁸ et pie uobis ostendam. Sabbato uigilie Pasche in ecclesia, quam presentem cernitis, pernoctabam, matutinales ymnos, cum tempus adesset, decantaturus. Cumque, transcurso ex ordine psalterio, coram altari super gradum me collocarem paulisper requieturus, uisionem uidi quæ me plurimum perterrit, et ne uobis rebellis existerem comminando admonuit. Et, ut uidebatur, nondum me grauis sompnus oppresserat, cum quidam iuuenis splendidissimus, angelicum preferens uultum, coram me stetit, et me pulsare cepit, dicens, ‘Surge!’ Ego uero, putans illum excitare me ut officium nocturnale inciperem, respondi ei, ‘Nondum est tempus incoandi officium. Non surgam.’ Ille, ut michi uisum fuit,¹¹⁹ discessit, et me grauior oppressit sompnus. Et ecce idem denuo ueniens, duriusque me pulsans, ‘Surge! Surge!’ inquit. Ego uero adquiescere illi nolens, priora uerba respondi. Pallioque quo indutus eram caput meum cooperiens, totus in sompno solutus sum. Aliquantulum intercesserat spacium, cum iuuenis iterum affuit, manumque suam pallio quo induebar admouit, a capite meo illud ui nimia abstrahens, et subtus scapulas deducens, tercioque dixit, ‘Surge! Surge! Surge, et me sequere.’ Tunc festinus surgere michi uidebar, et eum e uestigio sequi. Venimus itaque usque ad sepulchrum beate uirginis Wenefrede, quod ille digito suo michi ostendens, ‘Diligenter,’ inquit, ‘locum istum notato, et uerba, quæ ego tibi dixero, tenaci reconde memoria. Si huc uenerit aliquis in hoc anno aut in sequenti qui lapidem istum hinc amouere uoluerit,’ laminam ostendens que sacro corpori superposita fuerat, ‘caue ne ullatenus contradicas. Quod si puluerem istum hinc eicere uoluerit, similiter patere, nulla ratione resistens. Si autem ossa uirginis hinc asportare uoluerit, non repugnes, sed manum appone, in omnibus quibus poteris adiutorium ei prebens. Vnde si negligens fueris, et sermonum meorum contemptor inuentus, que diuinitus tibi intimata sunt facere distuleris, miserabili et longo languore cruciatus, statim post hoc uitam amittes.’ His dictis, uisio, ut reor, angelica disparuit. Iccirco me uobis benigno corde cooperari noueritis, et quod propositum uestrum expedire ualuerit, pro posse meo uigilanter subministrare. De me ergo securitatem habentes, reliquos conuenite, eosque quibus potueritis modis ad libitum uestrum

¹¹⁸ **inpresentiarum** inpresenti; changed by corrector Laud.

¹¹⁹ **fuit** fuerit; er deleted Laud.

applicare. Namque ego meo studio atque industria placitum uestrum exequar, et istorum animos, ad quorum ius hec uilla pertinet, uestre uoluntati subdere operam dabo. Et quoniam uestris oculis sors obtulit illos, dicite quę uultis, quia sunt audire parati.’

§34

Tunc prior, eodem presbitero mediante seu interprete, cateruam hominum quę astabat allocutus, causam itineris sui eis exposuit, et ut ei assensum preberent blandis sermonibus admonuit. Nichilque de uisionibus nec de aliis rebus que acciderant eis reticens, et quia eiusdem uirginis admonitione et impulsu tantum assumpserit laborem publice contestans, pene eos ad satisfaciendum sibi flexit. Uerum quidam homo, uir belial, subito emergens, cunctam contionem turbauit, non esse iustum dicens, ut sancti a suo natali solo euellantur et ad patriam nichil ad eos pertinentem deportentur. Adiciebat etiam clamitans quasi furiis ageretur, se illud nullatenus pati posse. Quidam uero tumultum illius comprimentes, ceteros consultum ire rogauerunt, atque ex omnium decreto uerbis illatis conuenienter respondere. Quibus hoc consentientibus et ad consilium abeuntibus, prior mentem prefati hominis in maliciam obstinatam uidens, et quod ipse solus obstaculum eis esset, consilio fratrum internuntium ad illum misit, dataque pecunia arctius eum sibi confederauit, et ad socios suos remisit. Ceteri uero qui hoc simpliciter solo amore Dei concedebant, uidentes illum subito funditus emollitum, plurimum admirati ui diuina illud actitari¹²⁰ estimabant, eoque magis accendebantur rogata perficere. Post multorum igitur uerborum ambages, post innumera intercidentium¹²¹ causarum discrimina, omnes in uno concordantes, quod rogati fuerant benigne concesserunt. Prior autem consortesque sui Deo et sibi gratias exhibentes, locum sibi ostendi petierunt.

Porro locus, in quo tantus thesaurus retinebatur, cimiterium est ab alio cimiterio, ubi nunc morentium corpora condiuntur, discretum, plurimorum aliorum sanctorum corporibus refertum, quod actenus in tanta ab incolis reuerentia est habitum, ut nullus tante temeritatis esse audeat, qui illud nisi gratia orationis intrare presumat. In cuius medio, id est, ad capud sancte Wenefrede, lignea stat ecclesiola magnis populorum frequentationibus honorata. Ad quam facilis patet accessus omnibus ibidem orare uolentibus. Multi languidi, multi diuersorum morborum molestiis oppressi, illam ad postulandam sibi remedia intrant, nec diu dilata dolent quę postulant. Nam

¹²⁰ **actitari** changed from *æxtari* by corrector in Laud.

¹²¹ **intercidentium** changed from *intercedentium* by corrector Laud.

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protinus sanctorum meritis indulta sibi sanitate, sospites ad propria reuertuntur. Nullum brutum animal, nulliusque generis bestia illud interius attingere et uiuere permittitur. Statim enim ut herbam, quæ super sanctorum corpora crescit, pascens attingerit, cadens moritur. Nemo etiam temerarius illud ingrediens impunitus euadet.

§35

Denique refertur quod, biennio antequam prefati fratres illuc aduenissent, quidam ex inhabitantibus idem more patrio ex crudis animalium pellibus calciamenta sibi conficiens, ligaminibus, quibus illa pedibus suis astringeret, indiguerit. Est autem in eodem atrio intra sanctorum sepulchra quercus mire proceritatis, ab antiquis temporibus pro sanctorum ueneratione intacta. Deliberans autem prefatus homo de tenera ipsius arboris cortice qui liber uocatur sibi ligamina facere, arrepta securi, ad quercum nil ueritus properauit. Eleuataque manu cum securi arborem percutiens, multo aliud quam sperabat inuenit. Nam percussa quercus in percussione sua ita securim astrinxit, ut nullatenus moueri posset, et securis ita manum aridam et brachium inflexibile uel indomabile reddidit, ut ea ad usus suos homo flectere nequaquam posset. Sed neque manum a securi abstrahere¹²² poterat, nec ullatenus eam mouere. Verum quadam ui diuina manubrium securis manum hominis retinebat, et totum brachium quasi mortuum reddiderat. Sicque miserabiliter ibi pendens, et gemebundis uocibus clamans, flebiles pro temeritate sua penas dabat. Ad cuius clamorem ingens utriusque sexus multitudo accurrit. Videntesque a securi pendentem, plures quidem in lacrimis resoluti sunt, omnes autem condoluerunt, quid ei acciderit et quæ fuerit huiusmodi calamitatis causa inquirentes. Ille autem ex ordine omnem rei seriem enarrans, pro insolita miseria uniuersos ad sui compassionem inflexit. Qui cum eum admonuissent quatinus reatus sui peniteret, et quia sanctis reuerentiam non exhibuerat culpam confiteretur et ueniam deprecaretur, ipse hoc deuotius agere cepit, parentes quoque illius ad tumbam sancte uirginis Wenefrede prostrati solo, ut eius misereretur¹²³ lacrimabiliter postulabant. Et quia nomen illius uirginis ceterorum sanctorum ibidem quiescentium uocabulis celebrius erat, et merita exuperabant, ad illam corde et corpore conuersi, indulgentiam de illo commisso deprecabantur. Cumque omnes tam ille qui patiebatur, quam ei compatientes unanimiter dicerent, 'Sancta Wenefreda miserere eius,' subito miseratione Dei languidus sanato brachio manum ad se traxit, et securis ab arbore decidit. Hoc uidentes qui

¹²² **abstrahere** absthere Laud.

¹²³ **misereretur** miseretur; changed by corrector (or main scribe?) Laud.

astabant, Deum glorificauerunt, et in beate uirginis ueneratione deuotiores extiterunt. Quercus adhuc stat ibi, quasi sit percussa recenter, que recitata manent, uera fuisse docens. Ex huius miraculi euentu et¹²⁴ aliorum plurimorum, que ibi claruisse noscuntur, locus ille preclarus habetur, atque ingenti apud incolas deuotione celebratur.

§36

Ad hunc ergo locum prefati fratres cum perducerentur pro quo uenerant habituri, atque desiderio suo potituri,¹²⁵ prefatus prior sodales suos instinctu, ut reor, sancti spiritus preueniens, solus nemine ducente uel preostendente recto tramite ad tumbam sancte Wenefrede peruenit. Et qui nunquam eatenus ibi fuerat, nec prius locum tumuli aliquo designante cognouerat, solus Deo preduce atrium illud ingressus, ad sancte uirginis sepulchrum nil deuians uenit. Stansque ad capud beate uirginis et socios expectans, quasi diuino quodam oraculo interius est admonitus, illud esse sepulchrum beate uirginis¹²⁶ quod desiderabat.¹²⁷ Venientes uero qui locum designaturi erant, eundem ei ostenderunt quem ipse preelegerat, et cui assistebat. Tunc remotis laicis, et tam monachis quam clericis qui ibidem aderant psalmos decantantibus, duo ex fratribus, prior uidelicet Cestrie et frater quem de monasterio cum priore uenisse superius designauimus, cum fossoribus et ligonibus terram fodere ceperunt. Aliquantulum spacii interuenerat, cum iam, exacto nimio sudore, pene laboribus fessi, ad optatum peruenerunt thesaurum. Quo inuento, deuotis animis Deo gratias reddiderunt, atque extracta de puluere ossa, ut tunc temporis commodum illiserat, in mantilibus decenter ligata composuerunt. Sicque ualedicentes in illo predio commanentibus, cum immenso gaudio remeare ceperunt.

Ibant igitur alacribus animis iter suum incedentes, uarioque¹²⁸ uiam sermone leuabant. Vnum autem inter mutua uerba frequentius inserebant, quod multis et magnis diuiciis preferrent, si quod ab eis portabatur cuius meriti esset agnoscerent. Nec diu distulit Deus et in hoc illorum satisfacere uoluntati. Nam aduesperacente die, a quodam fideli hospitio sunt suscepti. Discumbentibus uero illis, egrotus quidam in secretiori parte domus planctus terribiles et

¹²⁴ **euentu et** euentu ~~et~~ et Laud.

¹²⁵ **potituri** potitituri Laud.

¹²⁶ **uirginis** changed from uirginis et socios by corrector, who adds ibique habere Laud.

¹²⁷ **desiderabat** desiderabant Laud.

¹²⁸ **uarioque** uorioque; a added by corrector Laud.

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miserandas¹²⁹ uoces emittere cepit. Interrogante uero priore illius doloris que causa fuisset, responsum est ei, languidum nimia corporis inualitudine ibi retineri, magnaue se a Deo mercedem¹³⁰ habiturum, si aliquid ei conferret, unde ad sanitatem perduci posset. Tunc prior allatam aquam benedixit. Ac deinde de puluere inuento in capite beate uirginis modicum in illa mittens, infirmo dari precepit. Qui sine dilatione parari locum sibi ad pausandum petens, statim obdormiuit. Post paululum uero surgens, sanum se et incolumen inuenit, Deo et sancte uirgini gratias exsoluens. Et hoc miraculo fide confirmata, legati letiores effecti sunt, et in uirginis ueneratione deuotiores. Multis quoque aliis signis innotuit eis in uia, diuinum esse munus quod ferebant.

§37

Septimo itaque die ad urbem Salospesberie de qua emissi fuerant uenientes, legatos ad monasterium destinauerunt, se propter que ierant habere denuntiaturus. Congregatio uero tota his auditis plurimum est gauisa, consuluitque ut in ecclesia sancti Egidii, quę in urbis exitu sita est, sanctissime reliquie deponerentur, incongruum fore dicens, tantum thesaurum in monasterio recipi, nisi cum auctoritate et benedictione episcopi, atque magno totius prouincie populi occursum. Placuit hic sermo uniuersis, prioremque iterum ad¹³¹episcopum destinauerunt, illius auctoritate confirmandum quod de pignore celitus sibi concesso facturi erant. Interim fratres a conuentu deputati sunt, qui officia noctis et diei coram beate uirginis corpore deuotiuis animis celebrarent. Quibus ad ea quę Dei erant sollicite intendentibus, et cotidie excubias diligenti deuotione obseruantibus, adueniebant per circuitum fideles populi, precibus et meritis sancte uirginis se committentes. Eratque in eadem uilla iuuenis quidam, nimia corporis atritus molestia, nulliusque membrorum suorum ualitudine potitus. Inclinator enim capite fere ad terram, nullatenus capud erigere ualebat, sed amissis totius substantie sue officialibus instrumentis, spem sanitatis funditus amiserat. Hic audito rumore de aduentu beate uirginis, equum sibi quamtotius parari precepit. Quo ascenso, amicorumque suorum manibus ex utraque parte retentus, ad prefatam ecclesiam in qua reliquie sancte continebantur est perductus. Ibidemque in oratione pernoctans, circa finem noctis acerbissimo est compagum suarum dolore uexatus. Mane autem paulisper requiescens, post modicum, clarescente iam die, incipiente sacerdote officium misse, conualescere cepit. Desperatis

¹²⁹ **miserandas** miserandes Laud.

¹³⁰ **mercedem** mercede Laud.

¹³¹ **ad** et; changed by corrector Laud.

omnibus qui aderant, pristinae sospitati est restitutus. Relictoque post euangelium lecto, in quo tota nocte laborans iacuerat, ad altare festinus processit, Deo et presbitero oblationem¹³² suam porrecturus. Dehinc Deo et beate uirgini grates pro sanitate suscepta deuotissime reddens, ad parentum domum suis pedibus remeauit, qui aliorum manibus inde abductus fuerat.

Hoc miraculum congregationis animos admodum letificauit, et, in breui per prouintiam diuulgatum, audientium mentes ad metum et reuerentiam plurimum excitauit. Crescebatque cotidianis successibus in maius nomen illius et memoria, uniuersis pene questionem facientibus, quando eius translatio¹³³ fieri deberet. Prior itaque de pontifice rediens, auctoritate ipsius fultus, omnibus, qui in uirginis ueneratione deuoti erant, benedictionem Dei et suam detulit. Dies igitur est denominata, et per uicinarum parrochiarum conuenticula denuntiata, ad quam conuenire omnes admoniti sunt, qui uenerande translationi interesse uoluissent. Statutaque itaque die, procedentibus fratribus obuam cum crucibus et candelis et numerosa populi multitudine allatum est sacratissimum corpus beate uirginis Wenefrede, uniuersis genua flectentibus, pluribusque pre nimio gaudio a fletu se non continentibus. Fratres uero qui pro sancto pignore suscipiendo¹³⁴ exierant, diuina super eos patenter micare compererunt beneficia, per beate uirginis Wenefrede patrocinia. Imber enim circumiacentes campos ubertim infusus irradiabat, fratresque qui cum preciosioribus¹³⁵ ornamentis ecclesie obuam¹³⁶ exierant, non modicum timere compellebat, ne ex occasione imminentis pluuiæ aliquid honori beatissime uirginis detraheretur, et quod summa deuotione solenniter celebrandum inceperant, non usquequaque perfectum intermittere cogentur. Horum uotiuæ ad Deum perlata desideria, obtentu sancte Wenefrede, uoluntate sua potiri meruerunt, Deo sua clementia perlucidum ibidem faciente miraculum. In omni enim illa processione egredientium de monasterio et in sanctarum susceptione reliquiarum, uideres aquas nubium prope terram ui¹³⁷ diuina suspensas, interdumque singulas guttas ad terram emittentes, se quodammodo ad cadendum paratas designantes, sed cęlesti uirtute¹³⁸ retentas. Contemplabantur illud uniuersi qui aderant, pluribus plurimum pertimescentibus, ne grauis

¹³² **oblationem** changed from ablutionem by later hand Laud.

¹³³ **translatio** translati; changed by corrector Laud.

¹³⁴ **suscipiendo** suscipienda Laud.

¹³⁵ **preciosioribus** changed from precioribus by corrector Laud.

¹³⁶ **ęcclesie** obuam added by corrector Laud.

¹³⁷ **ui** in Laud.

¹³⁸ **uirtute** uirtutes Laud.

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inundatio irrueret et eos perturbatos diffugere compelleret, plurimis uero diuina potentia aquas ne deciderent coercitas comperientibus, et inde uirginis merita amplius uenerantibus. Igitur post sanctarum susceptionem reliquiarum, cum fratres ad monasterium regredi cepissent, placuit omnibus ut prefatus prior, qui easdem detulerat, multitudinem alloqueretur, atque omnes instrueret quantarum uirtutum uel quorum meritorum esset uirgo, cuius ibidem translatio fiebat. Cumque hoc diutius fecisset, nubibus per uicinum aerem uolitantibus, et casum suum minitantibus, atque circumflumam patriam infusione sua irrorantibus, susceptum est a fratribus sanctissime uirginis corpus cum decenti reuerentia, resonantibus insullime Dei laudibus, atque ad monasterium est delatum, et super altare quod constructum est in honore sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli ueneranter collocatum. Vbi ad ostendendam beate uirginis prerogatiuam, egrotis sanitates tribuuntur, et fiunt innumere uirtutes ad gloriam et laudem Dei, honor, decus, imperium, per eterna secula seculorum. Amen.

Vita Sancte Wenefrede

(Robert of Shrewsbury, Laud Misc. 114 version)

edited by David Callander

Introduction

Edited Text

Manuscript

References

Translation

Here begins the prologue to the Life of St Winefride, virgin and martyr.

§Prologus

To the lord and father Warin,¹ reverend prior of Worcester,² his son Robert,³ a sinner in life, prior of the monastery of Shrewsbury,⁴ may you walk the path of God's commandments with unobstructed foot. He who is known to have become acquainted with a certain small part of divine gifts should bestow that which was granted to him freely by God to others, in a spirit of friendship with religious devotion. For the devotion of those who are one in Christ has claimed this property for itself, namely to have in common that which anyone should receive from God in one recognition of the faith. For it is virtuous to reveal God's advice to those who long for it. But it is held to be firm and courageous to convey God's advice to those who do not want it and

¹ Warin was prior (second in importance to the abbot (in this case, also the bishop)) of Worcester Cathedral from c. 1124–c. 1142 (Knowles, Brooke and London 2001: 83).

² Worcester Cathedral, dedicated to St Mary, was built in the second half of the tenth century, and was the second cathedral to be built in Worcester, with an earlier foundation having been dedicated to St Peter (Engel 2007: 22). It continued to be dominated by English monks until the early twelfth-century, but these were largely replaced by Normans by the second quarter of the twelfth century (Engel 2007: 22). On the history of Worcester Cathedral up to and including this period, see Engel 2007: 17–24 and 55–82; Baker, Romain and Guy 2007: 3–36.

³ Robert was prior of Shrewsbury Abbey before becoming abbot in around 1148, a position he held until his death in 1168 (Knowles, Brooke and London 2001: 71).

⁴ Shrewsbury Abbey, dedicated to SS Peter and Paul, was founded c. 1083–7 by Roger de Montgomery, 1st Earl of Shrewsbury (cf. §29). On the abbey's early history see Gaydon 1973: 30–7.

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who resist it everywhere. Otherwise, if someone would want to take unto his own authority that which was offered to certain people for the common use of all, preferring to hide that under a bushel⁵ than to provide it for the benefit of others, justly will he be proven to be vexed by the blemish of ill will. For the gift brought down from heaven is judged to be due to all those who want it, if they should have earned it, that is, and it looks out for the salvation of everyone. For that reason, oh reverend father, I have not begrudged you the knowledge of good things, which have recently shone forth from above towards us, since friends have entreated for this, that I would make known to you the grace which has poured down upon us, first because you, extremely attentive in duties of this kind, have acquired perpetual fame for yourself, and secondly because with much prayer you have asked for something to be given to you as a result of that, and you have received that which was sent with, it is said, great joy. And since, as a wise man said, every desire is impatient of just and legitimate delay,⁶ I am not unaware that you long with panting breath while you know that any of those things with which your devotion expects to be supplied is not put into effect. For that reason I very recently dispatched an account of the life of the blessed virgin Winefride, which partly I composed by means of documents in the churches of the land in which she is known to have lived, and partly I learned from the accounts of certain priests, whom both venerable age commended and whose religious life itself compelled them to apply good faith to their words. Firstly, fear of God gave me cause to compose that, in case I should be found guilty of having laid aside the Talent entrusted to me in the earth and not having deposited it to gain interest. Secondly, the love of the virgin, so that thereby, regarding her illustrious merits, the honour due to her should be granted by the faithful. Thirdly, the goodwill of brothers, because of whose devotion, which is to be bound together very closely to me, I patiently endured so great a labour. For the rest, however, I have entirely omitted mention of her journey to Rome.⁷ I acted advisedly, just as I also completely omitted several well-worn things from the mouths of very many people, because I have not found them in books, and those who made those things

⁵ Cf. Matthew 5.15; Mark 4.21; Luke 11.33.

⁶ The unnamed wise man here is Roman senator and orator Quintus Aurelius Symmachus (died 402), this quotation deriving from a letter of his to Magnillus, consular of Liguria. Robert's quotation differs little from the wording of the statement in Symmachus' letter: *est uera adfectio omnis inpatiens etiam iustae ac legitimae tarditatis* 'truly every desire is impatient even of a just and legitimate delay' (Callu 1972–2002: ii, 173). Symmachus was a pagan, but his work continued to be copied and quoted in the medieval period, especially through florilegia (Callu 1972–2002: i, 29–57).

⁷ This journey to Rome is described in the anonymous Life of Winefride (§18).

known by their assertion did not deserve to be judged as men whose words I would believe. However, that has sufficed for me which I know will also be sufficient for you, that, every doubt having been removed, the account of her life should be composed in simple language. All the same, I have omitted on my own initiative certain things maintained by the assertion of honest men, in case I should be found to be superfluous in words and should be rebuked for some excess, knowing these things can suffice to distinguish the life of this most holy virgin, and at the same time believing with her help and your affirmation of prayer that I will attain a reward from God for my labour.

§1

In the western region of Great Britain, there is a certain province called Wales, adjoined on one side by the borders of the kingdom of England, on the other by the ocean of the sea.⁸ This was once inhabited by saints of many and diverse merits, and to this day is abundantly honoured by their innumerable privileges. From their number a certain very distinguished saint shone forth, Beuno⁹ by name, a splendid man and foremost in all that multitude of saints. And so when he had first refused his father's land, and, trampling on the world's glory, had renounced its deadly enticements, fleeing this as a pauper, he became a monk, in a short time performing the life of a perfect man in Christ. Then, when he had built churches in various places, and had established brothers in them to serve God, he himself, urged by a divine message, departed elsewhere to seek the dwelling place provided to him by God. In truth, with the holy spirit guiding him, and directing his progress for the benefit of many, he came to the estate of a certain great and very powerful man called Tyfid.¹⁰ He, the son of one splendid and most excellent senator, and second

⁸ Robert deploys the standard Anglo-Norman terminology of his time throughout by naming Wales only as *Walia*, and using *Brittannia* to refer to Britain as a whole. *Brittannia (Minor)* could also be used to refer to Brittany, and in Latin texts from Wales *Brittannia* often refers to Wales, as in the anonymous *Life of Winefride* (Pryce 2001).

⁹ Beuno is a major saint of north Wales, who is the subject of his own Welsh *Life* (BBeuno), composed originally in Latin, and also occurs in the other *Lives of Winefride*, Welsh poetry, and genealogies, being presented as Winefride's uncle in *Achau'r Saint* (EWGT 70). His main church was at Clynnog Fawr, Gwynedd.

¹⁰ Winefride's father's name appears in various forms in her Latin and Welsh *Lives* (Laud: Thevith; Claud: Teuyth; Lans: Teuiht; Trin: Teuith; P27ii: Tyvid; Ll34: Tybyt) and as *Temic* in BBeuno. These forms are likely to derive from an original *Temit*, Modern Welsh *Tyfid*, which occurs elsewhere as a personal name in medieval texts from Wales (WCD 627). In a late offshoot of *Bonedd y Saint* known as *Achau'r Saint* (§ 27, EWGT 70), Tyfid is said to have married Beuno's sister, Gwenlo.

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from the king, called Eiludd,¹¹ would not deign to allow anything unbecoming of his lineage or which would disgrace so great a family, but, persisting in the honourable nature of his family with respectable practices, he showed himself to be conspicuous in every elegant thing.

And so when the venerable man Beuno had come to him, Beuno was received from him in a kindly enough manner and honourably. Not delaying for long making known that which he was considering in his spirit, and revealing the cause of his arrival, having called the man into a more private place, he said, 'Lord, I was sent to you supported by divine instigation. For though I have lived up to now in various places, and found dwellings fitting for my way of life and conforming adequately to my will, yet my spirit could never rest, with the spirit of God secretly urging me to visit another place. For that reason, having left those habitations which used to please me greatly, I have now come to you, unaware to what end divine arrangement, knowing of future things, should have directed me here. For I would not suppose this to have happened by chance or without the cause of a certain mystery, since I would have believed without hesitation that all these things are done by the power of God alone, and that a man's plan is always carried out in accordance with God's arrangement. And so, if you agree to my desires, it will be of concern to you to make my arrival a producer of your own salvation, and to listen patiently to my requests, and to devote your understanding intensely to those intentions. And so I ask that you should grant a share of the property derived from your ancestors by hereditary law to God and me, so that I might build a church there, to serve God in it, and to ask for your salvation every day thereafter.'

Indeed, Tyfid, who had now in his whole mind entertained submitting to his will, for he judged him to be a man worthy of praise and being held in reverence, responded to him with these words. 'It is certainly just to grant a share to him of those things which have been granted to us by God, and to render appropriate thanks to him for his gifts as best we can. For which reason you make yourself pleasing to me, you who seek from me that which I greatly rejoice to give, and which I am not unaware falls to my benefit. And so, agreeing, may you take what you ask for, namely this estate, free and quit and released from all things which pertain to me or to my

¹¹ Tyfid's father is only named in certain versions of Winefride's Life, as well as BBeuno (Laud: Eliuth; Claud: Eylud; Lansdowne: Eylut; BBeuno: Eliud). The name is omitted from the Trinity version of Robert of Shrewsbury's Life, and was probably also omitted in the source used for the Welsh translations, as it is absent there. Here in Robert's Life, Eiludd's high status is emphasized, being second-in-rank to the king.

successors, from this day forward granted for service of God alone. And since I have only one daughter, in whom almost all of my whole joy and hope for descendants consists, committing her to you as well, I pray that you appeal to the lord for her, so that he should incline her will according to his own and her way of life to my honour, and that he bring my joy forth from her.' Saying these things, he gave that estate to the blessed man, in which he should build a church and should construct habitations for God's servants to dwell in that place. Now, carrying himself and all his possessions to that other place, he erected his dwelling on the opposite side, from which he might gaze upon the holy man's habitations every hour of the day. The holy man had so gained the heart of that man in a short time, that, if he should sometimes of necessity be separated from his conversation, it would seem pleasing and agreeable to him to direct his eyes' gaze to that place, to which he would apply himself with devotion of mind, and likewise to regularly visit in the presence of his corporal vision that place which he inhabited with every spiritual devotion.

§2

Now when the saint was directing his efforts to construct a church, Tyfid himself sometimes took action, always, in fact, making resources available sufficiently, and speeding the work through both his effort and diligence. Meanwhile as well, when the blessed man was celebrating the divine mysteries, Tyfid himself was present with his wife and daughter called Winefride. Moreover, whenever the holy man would reveal God's teachings to the people, he would place the aforementioned virgin at the feet of the man of God, urging her to notice diligently and to receive with open heart all those things which were being said by him. God, foreknowing of future things, would not allow that to be done to no purpose. For the virgin, who would be God's temple, received with ardent desire those things which she drew in through her ears, and stored them in retentive memory, to display very soon in deeds that which she was then assembling in her mind. Many times as well, permission having been sought and received from her parents, she came to the man of God, absorbing in her thirsty chest the things which were produced from his mouth sweet as honey. And although she was loved most tenderly by her parents, and the hope to increase their family line and the succession of descendants depended solely upon her, yet they were pleased that she rejoiced in visiting the holy man often, desiring her to be instructed by his words to renounce all unchaste sexual activity, and to keep herself untouched for lawful marriage. Now she, breathing in God's mercy inside, grew better every day and advanced in wisdom, her

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mind ardently steeped in the holy spirit. Now she decided to renounce every man completely, and intended to desire the embraces of God alone, but she was afraid that this would become known to her parents. She believed it would not be suitable for her to displease them, but she knew it would bring health to the soul to be completely joined to God. She was not unaware of her parents' agreed and consistent desire in this, that, having been given lawfully to a man, she would sustain the reproduction of their offspring, but she believed without doubt it would be much better to present herself as a chaste virgin to Christ.

And so in this spiritual struggle, the virgin's mind was pulled apart with no small twisting, fear of her parents having called her back this way from her plan, love of God driving her on there quickly to complete that which she had conceived in her mind. She had been taught by her teacher to put faith in the Lord's words which instruct to renounce father and mother, and to follow Christ,¹² but her weak and unripe age was an obstruction. Yet she stood firm and put it resolutely in her mind to do that last thing, if her purpose could not otherwise be achieved. Nevertheless, she first considered it appropriate to meet with her parents through the blessed man, and to make them agree, with the grace of God supporting her. And so, coming to him, she found him devoting himself to his usual prayer, and bravely rushing in front of him, she made him privy to her secret. 'I want it to be made clear to you', she said, 'to how great a yield the seeds of the divine word poured forth from your mouth to me have grown in me. I have chosen to renounce every worldly indulgence from now on, and I have decided to keep my virginity unimpaired and undefiled for the honour of the heavenly bridegroom, and, oh most holy father, I need to obtain this for myself from both of my parents with your support.'

Hearing these things, the saint, moved by piety, and rejoicing that the divine seed was now sprouting inside her, said he would meet her parents with care, and do what she asked as best he could. That was most easy to do and not difficult to obtain, both because the virgin's parents had completely submitted to the patronage of that man, who was brought in to intercede, and because an abundance of divine nectar had likewise filled their hearts, in which they desired everyone and especially the mind of their daughter to be steeped. For that reason, when they had learned their daughter's desire from the man of God, covered with tears they blessed God, and kindly granted that for which they were asked, praying for divine help for her. And so, after the burden, by which they were weighed down to no small degree, had been taken away, they divided the riches

¹² Cf. Luke 14.26; Matthew 10.37.

of their possessions in many ways, supplying assistance to paupers, widows, and orphans, and paying attention more diligently to the servant of God. And since they saw their daughter did not want to be given in marriage but to the son of God, they spent on service of God all those things which, gathering together, they were keeping to give to her if she married an earthly man. They also, set free from cares which had troubled them up to that point, devoted themselves entirely to God's teachings, walking the path of justice without diverting.

Now the girl, having obtained her desired wishes, was affected by great joy, and, exulting in the holy spirit, she would sometimes sit dedicated at the feet of the holy man, drinking in her thirsty chest those things regarding the glory of her bridegroom which would flow from his mouth. And, permission having been given to her to use her own power, with an enlarged heart she ran the path of God's commandments, always stretching towards the things in front of her, and leaving behind completely the things behind her.¹³ For love of that one to whom she had devoted herself, she would not allow anything earthly within her, desiring with the prophet one thing alone, namely to dwell in the house of the lord for all the days of her life.¹⁴ Now she would not wait for her parents' arrival at the church, but, often making her way there herself with swift course, she attended the divine mysteries. Moreover, she frequently kept vigil at night in the church. Sometimes as well, imposing herself importunately on the saint, she would pester him to make a speech and discuss the conduct and life of her bridegroom. For, burning completely with desire for him, she would then have a little joy, when she heard tell of her friend's excellence, beauty, and power. Refreshment of this kind surpassed every joy from worldly things, and she never failed to keep the delight of spiritual joy in her heart. And although she was of a tender age, yet she had been brought to maturity in conduct and in heart, having a mind which despised all sexual desire. Moreover, whatever of consummate virtue is fitting for a man to have, it was found in her possession plentifully enough, and an abundance of divine grace had poured down on her fully and sufficiently. In outward things she had also received no little grace from God.

¹³ **semper in anteriora se extendens, et penitus posteriora intermittens** (always stretching towards the things in front of her, and leaving behind completely the things behind her). Cf. Philippians 3.13 (Vulgate) (*quae quidem retro sunt obliviscens ad ea vero quae sunt in priora extendens me*). Versions of the Old Latin bible contain greatly varied readings, some of them including the words *anteriora* and *posteriora*: VLD (ad Philippenses 3.13).

¹⁴ **inhabitare scilicet in domo domini omnibus diebus uite sue** (namely to dwell in the house of the lord for all the days of her life) Cf. Psalms 26.4 (Vulgate; modern 27.4) (*unam petii a Domino hanc requiram ut inhabitem in domo Domini omnes dies vitae meae*).

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For she was both most beautiful in countenance and courteous in speech, and fittingly built in her whole body. On account of which she did not succeed in escaping the tricks of the crafty ambusher in every way. For, a case having arisen from this, she was forced to enter battle with the enemy of the human race. For when she was most diligently being watchful in the exertions which pertain to salvation, the devil, considering that many detriments to his rule were being done through her and that his strength could be weakened in that land, began completely to rise up against her and to use his powers. He did not stop until he thought that he had beaten her and that she would not do harm to him any more. This began in this way.

§3

After the blessed Beuno had completed construction of his church, with God helping, and had consecrated it to God, those living nearby would come to it frequently, but almost every day the parents of the aforementioned virgin would come together there to hear those things which pertained to God. But it so happened on a certain Sunday, after everyone had made their way to the church, that the aforementioned parents of the virgin went there together, so that they should be present at the holy man's teaching and celebration of the mass. But their virgin daughter, by chance having endured some inconvenience, was forced of necessity to remain home alone. And behold, a certain youth called Caradog, son of King Alan,¹⁵ coming into the house, found the virgin alone sitting by the hearth. She, having acknowledged the king's son, got up very quickly, humbly enquiring what would please him. But after he had asked where her father had departed and said that he greatly needed to speak with him, the girl responded. 'My father', she said, 'has gone to church, wanting to be present for the divine mysteries. And for that reason, if it is necessary for you, you need to wait for a little while for he who will very soon be here.' Saying these things with simple heart, she did not suspect any trickery or craft at all, or any artifice. But in reality the temptations of lust had brought him there and were stimulating his mind. To satisfy this, he was rushing around completely unrestrained and in haste. For when the

¹⁵ Caradog ap Alâog occurs in BBeuno and the Lives of Winefride, as well as a number of later sources associated with these (WCD 101). Robert of Shrewsbury's form *Chradocus/Chrodocus* is clearly based on a French-influenced latinization of the spoken form. Alâog originally appears to have had a disyllabic ending, but the Alani form here in all manuscripts of Robert of Shrewsbury's Life appears to be based on a misreading of <u> as <n> (which is possibly corrected in Laud), and possibly of a final <c> as <i>: cf. the form *Alauc* in the anonymous Life. Alâog is mentioned in a poem by Prydydd y Moch (GLILl 238) and possibly lent his name to what is now Penarlâg (Hawarden) in Flintshire (Williams 1945: 23).

girl had said that he needed to wait for her father, the youth responded, 'Patiently', he said, 'I will await his arrival, if you, coming into my friendship in the meantime, give assent to my desire. You are not unaware that I am the king's son, abundant in riches and many honours, and that I will also enrich you copiously, if you want to agree to my request.' But, perceiving that he had resorted to talking about sex, having cast down her face a little, and covered with blushing, she actually pretended at first that she bore herself sadly because he had found her dishevelled and plain. Next she said to him, 'Since you, having arisen from royal stock, after a while are going to be king with God's assent, I do not doubt that I will be filled lavishly with earthly joy, bound in marriage with you. But even so, endure for a short while, until my father should arrive, and I in the meantime will go into my private quarters, soon to return to you.' Having finished saying these things, she sought only to be pulled away from him right at that moment. For she saw that the most wretched man, having been set aflame by his unhappy lust, was tormented fatally by his desire, and had become like a madman. She also knew that her parents' absence rendered the harmful enemy even more frenzied, and for that reason she gave thought to being instantly pulled away from his hands at any opportunity. Finally he allowed that she could enter her room, hoping that she would return to him without delay with more seemly attire and more acceptably made up. Then she, getting up, entered her private quarters, and without delaying at all went out from the other side through the door of the room, and with swift running started on the way to the church. For there, even if not by fear of God, yet she thought she would be protected and defended by the crowd of people.

This fleeing soon became known to the accursed youth. He immediately, having become furious and filled with violent anger that she was making an escape so as not to have sex with him, having drawn his sword, he began to chase her quickly. And since some expanse divided her father's house from the church, he caught up with her with little effort. At first looking upon her with a savage face, he addressed her with these words. 'Once I loved you, and wanted to join you to my embraces. Now you flee from the one coming to you, and despise the man who seeks you? Now may you know for certain, that either you at this very moment will lie with me willingly, or, after I have cut off your head with this sword, without delay you will end your life.' And so, the girl turning her eyes towards the church, and looking anxiously if anyone should come out from there who might give her help, no-one came out at all. Then, having turned back to the youth, she said, 'Being joined in marriage to the son of the eternal king and judge of all people, I cannot take any other, and, in case I should delay you longer, while I live I will not accept

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anyone other than him. And indeed this cannot be done without affronting him. And for that reason draw your sword, exert your powers, having been prepared, make use of whatever fierceness pleases you. And be certain that neither your terrors nor flattery, neither promises nor threats, will be able to separate me from the sweetness of his love, in whose embraces I am now bound, and joined in devotion.' But the profane youth, hearing himself being refused, and unable to bear his lust, and at the same time believing that she could not be diminished, nor that he could have peace while the virgin lived, having unsheathed his sword he cut off her head. And as soon as the virgin's head fell down to the ground, in that place a most radiant spring flowed out, bursting forth abundantly, which has not ceased flowing to this day, providing health through the blessed virgin's merits to many sick people. And since it was by the door to the church that he, seizing the virgin, had cut off her head, the head at once fell down in the church, the body remaining back outside the church. For that church was situated at the foot of a hill, and the virgin's severed head on the slope of that hill easily slipped into the church in falling. But the maimed body occupied the place on which it had first fallen. But, the head falling down among the feet of those standing in the church and listening to the divine mysteries, it stirred up everyone with very great wonder. And, everyone having been struck by great terror, and having said it was a dreadful offence that had been perpetrated and that retribution should be inflicted heavily for it, and cursing the author of the deed, the girl's parents, stirred up by the tumult of others, came near to know the fact more certainly. And, perceiving that their daughter was dead, seeing her severed head here, the mutilated body there, they fell down to the ground crying, and, undone by sadness and worry, giving out a doleful sound, they showed their pain with loud laments.

§4

And so, when great turmoil sprang forth in the church, with everyone indeed having lamented the virgin's death, and yet many greatly bewailing the harshness of the pain which had seized her parents, the holy man, hearing the uproar, and having suspected violence, came to the company of those standing near. And perceiving that the virgin whom he was going to consecrate to God had been so cruelly killed, he felt compassion pitifully. But her killer, still standing by the dead body outside, swollen by pride, was wiping his sword, drenched in the blood of the virgin, on the grass, with everyone looking on. For because he was the son of a king, he thought that he could commit such a shameful act with impunity. And what's more, even in the admission of such a crime he affirmed that he did not fear God at all. But the saint, bearing that man's arrogance and

obstinacy heavily in his heart, and that he was boastfully exulting in the perpetration of his wicked deed, went up to him, holding the head of the virgin in his hands. And, fixing his gaze on the youth's face, he began to address him with these words. 'Oh wicked man,' he said, 'who has blemished the nature of handsome youth and offspring of royal dignity with a homicidal crime, why does it not cause you regret to have admitted such a wicked deed? You have disturbed the peace, and defiled the church with your sacrilege, and you, offending moral law, have provoked God. Do you not feel sorrow? But now, since you did not spare the church, nor show reverence for Sunday, I pray to my God, that those things which you unworthily perpetrated, you may receive in return by due recompense.' These things being said, the youth, falling to the ground there and then, breathed his last. And, amazing to say, in the sight of everyone standing nearby, the body of the dead man vanished, having melted, with many affirming that it had been engulfed by the gaping ground and sunk with his spirit in the pit of darkness. But everyone seeing this is struck by unspeakable fear on account of the novel happening of the unusual wonder.

Thereafter, the saint, frequently kissing the head of the virgin, which he had taken in his hands, was disturbed in spirit and forced to weep. But afterwards, putting it together in its order, bound it to the rest of the body, and, spreading out his cloak over it, breathed into her nostrils. The parents in turn having allowed for no consolation but having bewailed the death of their daughter with continual laments, he instructed them to leave their grief for a while and finally to desist from sorrow. But he went to the altar to celebrate mass. Having done this, with everyone listening to him and lifting up hope towards God, he himself came to the lifeless body. Thereafter he carried out a splendid speech to the people, saying among other things that the blessed virgin had made a solemn promise to God, but, having been obstructed by death, she had not had fitting time to discharge it, and for that reason it was owed that they, bowing down on the ground more devoutly, appeal to God for her resurrection, knowing that they would attain many advantages through her in the future. They did that carefully enough, having shown compassion for both the girl's untimely death and her parents' wretched misfortune.

§5

And so, after prayers were said for a long time, the blessed man, rising from the ground, and extending his hands towards the sky, said 'Lord Jesus Christ, for whose love this virgin rejected earthly things and desired celestial ones, listen, compassionate, to us calling upon you with devout minds, and pour out the innermost parts of your goodness upon us, conceding that you are the

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author of our desires at this time. And although we are not unaware that this virgin, having suffered because of your love, has been placed in the folds of celestial joy, no longer to stand in need of our society, yet you, most merciful father, providing yourself kind and ready to hear to your children who are humbly praying to you, grant assent to their requests. Therefore give the command so that, after this girl's soul has been brought into her body, she should show you to have control and lordship of both souls and bodies, that, revived by grace of your mercy, she may extol your name, and after the long periods of a life, the profit of a good way of living having been multiplied, she may return to you, her only bridegroom, namely the son of God the father, with whom and with the holy spirit you live and are glorified, God for ever and ever.'

And when everyone had responded 'Amen', the girl rose up as if from sleep, and wiping her face and cleansing it of dust and sweat, she filled those present with wonder and joy. Furthermore, where her head had previously been cut off around the neck and afterwards by divine power fit together and reunited, a certain most slender whiteness surrounded the neck in the manner of a thread, and overlaid the place of the cutting. To demonstrate the severing of her head thereafter and to display the miracle, and as long as the virgin dwelt in her body, it always remained in the same fashion. People of that province say that she was called Winefride on account of that, when previously, as they assert, she was called Brewa.¹⁶ For what they call Wen in their language,¹⁷ they call in Latin *candidus* (white). And so, on account of the whiteness encircling her neck, she was said to have her name from that, a particle having been added, which is Wen, and, the two letters of her earlier name having changed on account of sounding better, to have the composite name, which is called Wenefreda. It is also said that, after she went from this world, there was no-one at all to whom she appeared openly who did not see her neck encircled by that white sign. By this evidence she also makes known that the mark of her suffering very much pleased her, which she openly shows as often as she reveals herself to be seen by anyone.

¹⁶ Robert was clearly familiar with Winefride's Welsh name *Gwenfrewy*, from which the name *Wenefreda* in both her Latin Lives likely derives: Winward 1999: 100–3. The name *Brewa* by itself is not otherwise attested and is unexplained. Winward speculates the name may be connected with *briw*, but there is no evidence for this, and the forms we have surviving do not support such an interpretation: Winward 1999: 101.

¹⁷ (*G*)*wen* is the feminine form of the Welsh word for *white*, and this is how Robert interprets the first part of Winefride's Welsh name *Gwenfrewy*.

Now the place where her blood was spilled was called Dry Valley to begin with.¹⁸ But after the virgin's severed head touched the ground and, as we mentioned earlier, a spring of gushing water flowed out there, which still remains up to this very day, healing all illnesses both in people and in animals, that place acquired a designation from the girl's name. For it was called in their language Winefride's Fennan,¹⁹ but in ours *Fons Wenefrede* (Winefride's Well). For *fennan* denotes *fons* (well) in Latin speech.²⁰ And since much blood had been spilled from the body lying on the descent of the sloping hill, stones, stained by its sprinkling, were lying here and there in the bubbling of the spring and in its stream, and on the edge of both. And, what is remarkable to say or hear, those stones besprinkled with blood still retain their earlier sprinkling, as is visible to this day to those who want to know. For they are, as it were, suffused with congealed blood, and not wiped clean by the decay of time, nor by the constant inundation of water flowing by. Now the moss which clings to those stones smells like frankincense. It is famous enough and very well known to those who inhabit that land that that well still continues in its original manner, and that bloody stones, as we said above, are found in it, clearly showing the merits of the virgin, and indicating hope for everyone, that that virgin can help those who call upon her. Indeed, the people of that province who had not yet known God, nor understood his justice, seeing the virgin's restoration, and that such a clear and evident miracle had been performed in the flowing of the spring and the sprinkling of the stones, having prostrated themselves at the feet of the blessed man Beuno, sought to be steeped in God's mysteries. He, receiving them with kind devotion, purified them with the stream of holy baptism, and, after they had been instructed by discussions of divine teachings, he confirmed them in service of God. But now we will take care to say succinctly how the blessed virgin Winefride lived after her restoration, and what

¹⁸ In both Lives of Winefride, the valley was originally called Dry Valley, but here the Latin name *Siccauallis* is used, whereas in the anonymous Life it is called by the Welsh name *Sechnant* (Modern Welsh *Sychnant*), also meaning dry valley or dry stream. *Sychnant* is a common place-name in Wales (ArchifMR s.v. *sychnant*), and the story may partly derive from the ironic contrast between this place-name and the powerful well.

¹⁹ *Fennan* in Laud is clearly a form of Welsh *ffynnon* (spring, well), commonly spelled *Finnaun* in Old Welsh. While the form here could be of oral derivation, it might also derive from miscopying a written *Fennaun*, a possible Old Welsh form of the noun. In this regard, it is interesting that Trin reads *Fenna^on*, with the <o> added above the line. Although the <a> is not deleted, this could indicate that Robert's form was *Fennon*, more clearly indicating this was from an oral source. However, given the <a> is not deleted, this added <o> could also be an error for a <u>, which would suggest that the written *Fennaun* was Robert's form copied from a Latin source. Yet it seems most likely that Robert wrote *Fennan* or *Fennon*, and that this could represent an oral form or a miscopying of a written form.

²⁰ Cf. the description of the decapitation of the virgin Dunod in VS Dauid §18.

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manner of life she had, and, having exhausted the course of the present world, what end she came to.

§6

And so when, as we mentioned previously, she had risen from the dead, staying by the holy man's feet all day, she listened to his words with diligent devotion, wanting to be instructed more fully about everything which pertains to God. After this had been done and after the doctrine of ecclesiastical instruction had been fulfilled, she, having prostrated herself before the feet of her teacher, eagerly asked to be veiled as a nun. 'For since', she said, 'this has been granted to me by my parents, and you know that my heart, despising every worldly luxury, desires the love and knowledge of God alone, there should be no delay in following the oaths of my desire. Indeed, I will not be able to be dragged away from you or torn away from your feet, before, having been initiated in the mysteries of monastic regulation with your blessing, I should have demonstrated that I will belong to God in visible dress as well. Do not, therefore, holy father, delay my desire for long, but, acquiescing to my exhortations, give me my wish at once.' Then the blessed man, having called her parents, showed them the virgin's purpose and wishes, and said that divine grace had been bestowed upon her, and made known that he wanted to fulfil her desire. After they had truly given their consent in a kindly manner, and had welcomed their daughter's devotion with joyous affection, the holy man consecrated her in the presence of many, dressed with the sacred veil, and confirmed her properly in the disciplines of monastic purpose. She, immediately after her will had been accomplished, undertaking the art of complete virtue, and adhering most devoutly to the studies of monastic regulation, in short attained knowledge of the whole order and complete excellence in the practice. Thereafter, achieving more and more every day, she greatly gladdened the blessed man because of her great love.

He, having called her parents, performed this speech. 'You', he said, 'previously received me here, and showed yourselves to be prepared and readily inclined to my requests. Finally you granted this place to be established for service of God, and you strove intensely to complete that. But now, since divine gifts have abounded among you, observe diligently the light poured in from heaven to you and your daughter, and, considering with care the grace with which you have been sprinkled, take care vigilantly to walk the path of salvation revealed to you in advance. And since you are now to be deprived of my presence, for God calls me elsewhere, pay attention diligently to the examples and admonitions of your daughter, knowing most certainly she will be an example

of salvation not only to you but also to all people.’ Now having turned to the virgin, he said, ‘God has instructed you to become successor to my labours and my exertions, and to dwell in these habitations, and without interruption to walk the path of life mentioned before by me to you, and to show others the way to go. For he has elected you to hold the highest place of particular merit in his presence, and by the example of your martyrdom and good way of life, he has established many in this world to be instructed in his love. Therefore, this place will be yours to inhabit hereafter, and to gather virgins to gain victory in God’s service and to remain here with you, and may you know one thing for certain, that you will not end your life in this place. For when, serving God in continual abstinence of the body and affliction of the spirit, you will have completed seven years here, it will be necessary for you, urged by God, to find another place, with God directing you and through you lighting up the darkness of many hearts. Likewise remember this, that your memory will be celebrated in this world, and many will bear witness, having gained remedies for their troubles through you, of what great merit you were with God.’

§7

And when the blessed virgin, greatly saddened by the departure and absence of her instructor, was crying, the blessed Beuno, having laid hold of her right hand, led her to the spring, which we have indicated above had flowed out from the place where her severed head had fallen. And standing her upon a stone, which was then found there by chance and which remains in the stream of the spring to this day and is called St Beuno’s stone by the inhabitants,²¹ he addressed her anew with these words. ‘Do you still see’, he said, ‘the vestiges of your suffering here? Look at these stones besprinkled with your blood, which show that you suffered martyrdom for God, and for your own perpetual honour, as an instruction to many others, they maintain the sprinkling, by which they were made wet from your blood, as if it were recent. Now, therefore, store in diligent and retentive memory my words, which will come to the notice of many in reverend telling, and through future courses of time will be very useful to some in the future. Know that three gifts have been bestowed on you by God, which will both solemnly commemorate the distinction of your renown, and will heap up love of your devotion with due reverence in the minds of future generations. The first is that those stones, wetted by the sprinkling of your blood, through the ages will not be able to be wiped clean by washing, nor

²¹ This stone also features in the anonymous *Life* (§16), where it fulfils the same function although it is not named as St Beuno’s stone (*lapis sancti Beunoi*).

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cleansed by the persistent rush of that water, but will always appear bloodied to show your suffering, God making such a miracle for the glory of his majesty and for the triumph of your chastity. Now the second is that whoever, having suffered from misfortune, will have sought you, and through you tried to be freed from his illness or oppression, having obtained his desire at the first or second or certainly the third time, he will rejoice that he has obtained that for which he had asked. But if it should happen that the petitioner has not obtained what he had desired in request three times, let him know most certainly that he is about to lose the light of this present life very soon, and for that reason by the hidden judgement of God he was deprived of the proceeds of his request at present. Yet let him understand that it aids the cure of his soul to have called upon you constantly, and something greater is provided from heaven through you to him, than if he attained that which he was seeking externally. Now the third gift is of this kind. When I will now have departed from you, God will deign to give me place above the shore of the sea fitting to dwell in. And although I should be separated from you by a large distance, yet the highest one has ordered that every year I should be visited by your gifts. Therefore, when you will have prepared in your hands that which you want to send to me, you will hurry to the spring here with your gift, and whatever it should be, having first entrusted it to God, you will place it confidently in the spring. You will see at once that the gift you set down will be carried away from the spring down the stream by divine power, and by the rush of running water conveyed undamaged into a great flowing river. And soon, with the element of the sea submitting to the will of God and offering support, that which you will have placed in the spring will be carried to the gate of my modest lodgings, conveyed to me without damage through undulating rolls of waves, through swelling and crashing storms of the sea. It will also be proper for this to happen, with God's instruction, in all the years when life is a companion to me. And these three gifts were granted to you from God, indicative of the privilege conferred on you from heaven, and while this world lasts, for the celebration of your memory and glory of your esteem, honoured by the story of many people.' Having said these things, he took her back to the church, addressing her again with words of this kind. 'Behold, I leave this church and surrounding habitations, built partly by my labour, partly by the expenditures of your parents, that you, with me going away from here, may serve God here in your purpose, having gathered many virgins to stay with you for the service of God, not at all ceasing the good way of life and examples of living instilled by me in you. And may you know that in this place a great show of divine power will be performed to the benefit of many, and through the examples of those dwelling here many will ascend to

recognition of God, to set aside every worldly profit that they may gain Christ. Here in every part many kinds of cures will be distributed to those suffering from various illnesses of both spirit and body. Every age or sex will also rejoice that they have attained something of a remedy in this place. But I prophesy that not even brute beasts will be exempt from the benefits of that place, with God protecting this habitation with his merciful power, working such wonders in it to celebrate your honour. But thus show yourself pleasing to God, and make yourself such in everything, that his glorious holy name may be present in you, and you be made the model of salvation for those looking upon you. But I now go away from here, to be a servant to God elsewhere as I can, and, while I live, to hold your devotion among the innermost parts of my heart with sweet memory.'

§8

Saying these things, having taken just his staff, he began to go away, leaving everything to the blessed virgin and her companions, all the trappings of his house, and whatever God had given to him through the hands of the faithful when he was dwelling there. And thus, after everyone had been commended to God, and after he had said farewell to them all, he departed, content with just one cleric as a companion. And he always directed his eyes back towards the blessed Winefride, having cheeks wet with many tears on account of her corporal absence. But she, behaving impatiently at his words and departure, bore a face miserable with tears and sadness, saying that she was abandoned and not provided for, and open to every attack from those of ill will, being deprived of the shepherd's presence and care. And though many people had tried to soothe her with consolatory words, she, for some time leading her sweet departing father out from the church, did not allow any consolation at all while she was with him. Truly, none of her companions who would go with her on the path could abstain from tears, seeing she was being wracked by such bitter pain. But the saint, not bearing her tears longer, although even he was moved by no little compassion, yet wanting to put an end to such laments, with quick walking he was separated from her, first having extended his hand and given a blessing. The virgin, however, following him with anxious glances, when he now was no longer visible she returned home with her companions. Yet in no way was she able to disguise the harshness of the sadness, which had assailed her because of her instructor's departure, as long as the memory of it was recent.

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But after some time had gone by, the blessed virgin, coming to her senses, and calling to mind the manner of her life, and the distinction of her suffering, and the speeches or prophecies of her blessed instructor Beuno, she, undertaking male constancy, lay down all mourning completely. And at once embracing her bridegroom Christ, to whom she had devoted herself in chaste living, with all the affection of her mind, she began to covet him, to savour him, to sigh for him with ardent desire. Thereafter, gathering the daughters of nobles together with her, she would teach them to love chastity and, having rejected all worldly flatteries and enticements, to submit their necks to the gentle yoke of Christ, and through the rule of monastic purpose to devote themselves to service of God. Moreover, some, seeing the sternness of that way of living, and the disciplined heaviness of life, were inspired by divine grace, and, taking hold of the rule of the monastic order, sought to be covered by the holy veil. Blessed Winefride, practising the powers and services of the good shepherd for them, sometimes taught them to be fortified against the traps of the deceitful robber with the gospel words and the doctrines of the holy fathers, at other times she poured divine love into their chests with the splendid address of her speech. But she did not cease from instructing them with persistent warnings to pay attention diligently to the practices of the rule, and to bear in mind her own conduct, and to be dutiful in these things. Truly she without pause did those things which she taught her wards to do. For every day she attentively applied herself to fasts and prayers and vigils and, herself doing this, showed beforehand how the virgins placed under her protection should live, having been made a model for the flock committed to her, as an example of living well. But in a short time, reaching the stronghold of all virtues, she clearly taught that Christ, the virtue of God, and the wisdom of God²² possessed the extent of her heart. Now innumerable virtues and frequent miracles showed this clearly on one side, teachings of salvation passed down from her mouth in abundance evidently demonstrated it on the other. Thereafter the convent of virgins became very distinguished, the sweet smell of her good fragrance drawing them towards recognition of God, and pouring love of the divinity into their hearts. And that holy community would rejoice greatly to have such a mistress controlling it, in whom it saw every labour of virtue abound manifestly and knew celestial grace to radiate plentifully.

²² **Christum, Dei uirtutem, et Dei sapientiam** (Christ, the virtue of God, and the wisdom of God). Cf. 1 Corinthians 1.24 (Vulgate) (*ipsis autem vocatis Iudaeis atque Graecis Christum Dei uirtutem et Dei sapientiam*).

§9

And so when the diligent virgin pressed on in every pursuit of the heavenly life, those living nearby began to be devout in love for her, but even those living far away were very pleased by her good fame, saying that those to whom she stuck more closely in living or in friendship were suffused with God's great mercy. And many manifestations of powers in miracles came about through her. It clearly subdued the hearts of even fierce people to greater devotion for her and compelled the minds of the faithful to display reverence to her, and likewise, reconciling, she drew the goodwill of everyone towards herself. Now it was pleasant for almost everyone to stay in her vicinity, some greatly desiring the delight of every good thing and the way of salvation through her, but others truly thinking that the power of divine grace was in her, on account of the advantages conveyed to them externally in miracles. And so, after everyone had received with great veneration and reverence the divine brilliance which gave light through her over a wide range in the province, the virgins subordinated to her, to whom it would shine more brightly, achieved more on account of that. For, seeing how she expressed longing for God with daily sighs, and that divine speeches would frequently be addressed to her, they took up greater devotion towards God, and they were made ever better. Now when the blessed Winefride was striving steadfastly with good works of this kind, and celestial light was radiating all around through her, very frequently calling to mind the memory of her teacher's words and instructions, she considered that the day of his departure was soon at hand, on which he had of course departed from her, and had instructed that a gift be sent to him. But she, keeping this in mind with concerned assiduity, produced with suitable weaving by her own work and that of her virgins one chasuble to be given to the man of God.

§10

And so, when the day was dawning on which that gift was supposed to be sent, which is the first of May, the blessed virgin came with many others to the spring, in which she was about to deposit her gift in accordance with the man of God's instruction. And, having received the chasuble, she first wrapped it up in a white cloth, and thus set it down in the middle of the spring, saying that she was sending this to the holy man Beuno with the help of the spring. And behold, miraculous to say and not at all credible to anyone other than a faithful person, that cloth, in which the chasuble was wrapped, suffered no damage from the water, nor did it feel even the slightest inflow of water, but, remaining dry in every way with the chasuble, it was brought along the stream by

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the rush of running water, and carried in a great river. And after that virgin's gift had been carried through the sea waves all that day and the following night, in the morning it was driven to that shore, above which the holy man had constructed his habitations. Now when blessed Beuno, having departed from the church early on, was standing above the sea shore, and was observing with wonder how the waters first having risen would return into themselves and by some hidden power would draw their waves towards themselves, by chance he sees from afar the wrapped cloth on the shore. And coming closer, he tries to ascertain more certainly what it should be. And, lifting it up from the sand of the sea with his hand, and unwrapping the wrapped cloth, he found the chasuble, having no damage at all. Likewise the cloth, which had covered it on the outside, thus appeared dry, as if it had not touched water. Now thinking more diligently about that, and trying to discern the cause of this discovery, and at the same time marvelling that something could be found unsoaked among the watery expanse of thirsty sand, the memory of the virgin Winefride, loved by God, secretly entered his mind. And, having considered himself how he ordered her to prepare a gift for him every year, and after it had been prepared to place it in her spring, which flows into the stream, he finally recognized, with the holy spirit revealing it to him, that it had been sent by the holy virgin, conveyed to him from the holy virgin unharmed through the watery folds. And humbly thanking God on account of that, having received that gift in a kindly manner, he put it away in the church, to display it thereafter for the benefits of himself and other servants of God. And he rejoiced greatly that the blessed virgin had been mindful of his words, and that her renown was so outstanding that almost all the province had been enlightened by her. Now he would pray to the lord for the increases of virtues to be enhanced in her, and for whatever was pleasing in his view to be found abundantly in her, and for the consciences of others to be incited with celestial devotion through her.

Truly from the consequence of that it was clear enough that God had received his prayers, and had offered the ready ears of his mercy to him. And indeed the pursuit of celestial exertion had improved to such an extent in the virgin that the whole of complete excellence was found in her, and she appeared as the special radiance of the whole province, in her model of living and example of doing well, to those both present and absent. She also had a miraculous and divine ability to urge what she wanted. For whenever she received the talent of the divine word, entrusted to her for distribution to others, such an ability in speech and disciplined severity in her ways of thinking had come to her, that she cajoled almost everyone by her speech, and subdued them into devotion to God. For that reason almost all the inhabitants of that land, regulated by numerous

admonitions, abstained from all things which could hinder their salvation, and with ardent fervour directed their minds towards those things which they knew to be works of faith, and which they saw that the blessed virgin or her companions strove for. Truly she showed herself to be concerned about all those things which the blessed man Beuno had said to her or instructed to her, not at all ceasing all those things commanded to her.

§11

Truly every year on the first of May she would send the gift to her teacher, while he lived, in the way we specified above. And although a great distance divided them from each other, for fifty miles or more formed the distance between them, yet having been carried in the space of one night through the undulating rolls of the sea, it would be found in the morning on the sand of the shore at his monastery's gate. Now on account of this a nickname was given to the holy man, which is held to be worthy of remembrance today as well among the people of Wales. For he is called Beuno Gasulsych,²³ that is, Beuno Dry-chasuble, because the dry chasuble would be conveyed to him through waters undamaged by waters. But it happened that while the virgin was observing this way of sending it every year, that blessed Beuno, exhausted by long old age, full of virtues and outstanding in deeds, leaving the transitory world beset by hardships, passed to the celestial joy. Regarding his life or death, and what he did when he was young, or what miracles he performed after his death, memorials are still held in reverend memory, describing the manner and customs of his life. This excellent and remarkable thing is also made known about him, that he should perform many more miracles dead than when alive.

When his death became known to the holy virgin, she honoured him with many tears and prayers, and did not send the aforementioned gift any more. But then in the first place saying she was deprived of all human consolation, she began to grow tired of the place in which she was living. And after time had gone on a little, when the largest part of her virgin companions had passed from this world, she started to hate the place in which she had lived to that point. And, mindful of the words of her instructor, with which he had specified that she should visit and inhabit another place after seven years, at the end of the final year she started to feel disdain for the place

²³ This epithet also occurs elsewhere, as in the Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch version of *Bonedd y Saint* (EWGT 59). Robert of Shrewsbury provides the Welsh form *Casulsech*, as well as the Latin translation *casula sicca*, whereas the anonymous Life only gives the Latin *Casulam Siccus*. It is possible that Robert came across the epithet *Casulsech* in a written Latin source from Wales, as it is a possible spelling according to Welsh orthography of the time.

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and neglect all kinds of buildings completely. And since her form was directing its efforts elsewhere, her spirit did not have rest, while she lived there. Yet not until the aforementioned seven years had been finished could she leave that habitation or have the ability to go off anywhere. But when they had all rolled by, then, after she had been made able in herself, with a full effort directing her mind upwards to God, she prayed that he should send her to such a place, where she could both please herself and help others, and he would deem fit to suffuse with his blessing that place, in which she had first had her habitation, so that anyone who should arrive there for the sake of prayer, or in order to attain some cure, should gain that for which he asks, after her name has been invoked and with the support of those who in that place have amended their acts and customs out of love for her. The innumerable people who have been freed from sicknesses of various diseases in that place testify that this request reached God's ears. This will be demonstrated afterwards with clear examples, when we have first constructed the narrative of the story.

§12

And so, when the blessed virgin Winefride was devoting herself to concerned prayer, requiring that God's mercy would be with her and would be the guide on her journey, when she was paying attention to vigils and prayers on a certain night, a divine speech resounded loudly before her in this way. 'Having taken just one virgin with you as a companion, go to the blessed Dier,²⁴ who dwells in a place which is called Bodfari,²⁵ and, having sought advice from him, you will know what you are to do thereafter or where you are to go.' For that man was great in the sight of the lord, walking in all his commandments and justifications without complaint.²⁶ It is said of him

²⁴ This saint's name occurs in various forms, such as *Dibeyuyr* or *Dier*, and something like the form *Dyeuer* printed by Bartrum likely led to the latinized version of the name *Deiferus*. Robert may have come across this in a written source or latinized a Welsh form he had heard or seen. The form *Dier* is used here as that is consistently used in the medieval Welsh translation of Robert's Life. Little is known of this saint other than the details given by Robert, although the saint was connected with a well with healing properties (*Ffynnon Ddier*) in Bodfari, and the church of Bodfari was earlier dedicated to him before being dedicated to St Stephen (LBS ii, 340–2). His name occurs in *Bonedd y Saint* (EWGT 61), where he is also connected with Bodfari and presented as the grandson of Amlawdd Wledig.

²⁵ Bodfari is a rural community now in Denbighshire, but formerly within Flintshire and Tegeingl.

²⁶ **Erat quippe uir ille magnus coram domino, in omnibus mandatis et iustificationibus eius sine querela incedens.** (For that man was great in the sight of the lord, walking in all his commandments and justifications without

that since he flowed copiously with the grace of virtues, he made a spring burst forth from the earth, and, after he had blessed it, having reached out his hand, that he prayed to God that whichever sick person should plunge themselves into it should return to their own having acquired good health. Most of those who gained good health there maintain that it happened in this way. But though many miracles are said to have been carried out through him in well-known report, yet it has been pleasing to include one, carried out after his death, more particularly, so that, having looked at it more attentively, it should easily be discerned of what merit he was. Certain thieves, going out to loot, found two horses in the cemetery of blessed Dier. Leading these out with them, they expected that they were about to have them free. But the masters of those horses, coming to the cemetery in which they had left them and not finding them there, knew that they had been taken away by theft. And having returned to the lodgings, they made candles, and, having entered the church of the most holy confessor, they placed them upon the altar. Because they were not lit and they did not have fire to hand by which they might light them, they humbly prayed God's saint, that he should either kindle them with light sent from God, or that he should accept them unlit with equal devotion as if they should be given to him lit. Truly the saint, showing himself to be present and ready for their prayers, lit their candles placed before them with sudden light. On account of that and more than these things, devotion to St Dier grew, and hope arose for them of recovering what they had unjustly lost. Their belief did not deceive them. For the aforementioned thieves, roaming through all the surrounding province, when at around midnight they thought they had fled quite far, wanting to know more precisely the place they had reached, at last they discovered that that they had come to a hedge by which the aforementioned cemetery was surrounded. And, assailed by great sorrow, and knowing that they would not have committed that theft with impunity, if they could be caught, having turned the reins again they tried to find escape. But divine virtue was not weak then to show the hand of its power in them. For when they thought they had gone further away for some time, the dawn of the day bursting into view, they were compelled to return to the aforementioned place, and to jump down from the horses within the compass of that cemetery, and to hold their reins in their hands. Now those who had lost the horses had not yet gone far from that place, but, having waited in the church in the meantime, they believed that some solace

complaint.) Cf. Luke 1.6 (Vulgate) (*erant autem iusti ambo ante Deum incedentes in omnibus mandatis et iustificationibus Domini sine querella*).

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would soon be made for them through the lord's saint. And so, early in the day when it was becoming light, going out from the church, they saw their horses standing in the churchyard, and those who had taken them holding them in their hands. Blessing God and giving thanks to St Dier on account of that, they received their horses, allowing the thieves to go away unpunished. And so from these things which have been expounded it can easily be conjectured of what merit the holy man was to whom blessed Winefride was ordered to go by a divine speech.

§13

And so the most holy virgin entrusting her place to God and everyone with whom she had lived, satisfied with only one virgin as company, as she had heard in the speech, embarked on her journey. And coming to saint Dier, whom it was established was at a distance of almost eight miles from the place which she left, she was received by him with kindly goodwill. And when they had first applied themselves vigorously to prayer for a long time, they sat down together, the virgin revealing the cause of her arrival to him completely. The holy man responded to her in this way. 'I, he said, 'have been completely ignorant of this divine counsel until now, but wait for a short while, dwelling here with us this night. Perhaps the lord will deign to reveal something to us which would be pleasing to himself and to the profit of your plan.' She allowed that gladly, knowing without doubt, from the heavenly answer made for her, that it had been made known to her that in the company of that saint she was to be taught what they were to do. And so a voice from the heavens resounded to the saint, making prayers all that night as he had been used to, saying, 'Say to my dearest daughter the virgin Winefride that she should go to a settlement which is called Henllan,²⁷ to obtain there in some part the wishes of her desire. For there she will find a venerable man called Sadwrn,²⁸ through whom she will hear more fully what she will do from now on or in which place she will live for all the time of her life.' And so, early in the day, St Dier, calling the virgin to himself, stayed silent about nothing at all of all the things which he had been taught from heaven. And showing her the path on which she should make her way to the aforementioned saint, he joyfully urged her to proceed on it, saying that it was made known

²⁷ Henllan is a rural community in Denbighshire, which formed an extensive medieval parish (LBS iv, 128). The spelling used here (Laud: Henthlantus; Trin: Henthlandus) is Robert's representation of an oral form with <thl> approximating /h/ and -lant/-land being a common Anglo-Norman adaptation of -(l)lan.

²⁸ Sadwrn of Henllan is known largely only through Robert's Life. Near the church of Henllan, which is dedicated to Sadwrn, is a crossroads known as Bwlch Sadwrn (Sadwrn's Pass): PW 103; LBS iv, 128. Another saint also bore the name Sadwrn (WCD 572-3).

to him by heavenly beings that she would clearly hear with that saint what would be fitting for her and the whole course of her necessity entirely.

§14

Truly, blessed Winefride, having taken great joy that she was led to some certainty through the blessed Dier, with all doubt removed, and because she knew that God had care of her, saying farewell to the most holy man, having taken her companion she started a journey to blessed Sadwrn. When she had reached him, she was received by him in a most kindly manner. For indeed having previously been made privy to her whole intention and journey by an answer made for him from above concerning this matter, he received the blessed virgin with every affection of devotion. After that, urging that she should stay the night with him to be instructed the next day with everything which she required, she agreed. And having been brought to prayer first, she sat down with him, saying that she had come to him by God's command, so that by his teaching she would be fulfilled of her desire. And so, staying in that place all night, at dawn she heard words like this from blessed Sadwrn. "There is a certain place called Gwytherin,²⁹ filled with the relics of many saints, chosen by God for their venerable way of life, and held in great reverence by all the people. God instructs you to visit this place and to inhabit it with your presence while you live, and to instruct the minds of others with your examples. There there is a certain abbot of many virtues called Eleri,³⁰ whom continual sighing and persistent prayer have thus rendered free and purified from all worldly cares, so that now he savours no earthly thing, does not desire at all worldly delight, entirely focused on heavenly things. I have been urged by divine instruction to send you to him, and to make known to you as well, that you will find there whatever should in this present life suffice a soul desiring celestial things. For there there are virgins consecrated to God, observing celibacy in the avowal of religious life from the very beginnings of infancy, and taking heed of your intent with diligent devotion, to be made somewhat better through your

²⁹ Gwytherin is a small community in modern-day Conwy (part of medieval Gwynedd) where Winefride was buried until her translation to Shrewsbury in 1137/8. Robert's latinization of this place-name as *Witheriacus* (the form in both Trin and Laud) appears to be his own, and is not found in sources independent of him. The form in the anonymous Life appears to have been something like *Guytherin*, miscopied as *Gurtherin* in Claud. Lansdowne gives both variants: *Wytern siue Wyteriacus*.

³⁰ The main source for St Eleri is Robert's Life of Winefride, but he also occurs in genealogies, where he is likewise the son of Tenoï and associated with Gwytherin (EWGT 57). The church at Gwytherin is dedicated to him (PW 103).

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admonitions and examples by God's will. For although they keep themselves in the service of Christ with ever-vigilant attentiveness, yet by your arrival they will both be made more devout and a greater brilliance of divinity will enlighten them.'

§15

After hearing of the virgins' manner of living, alluding most of all to praise of them, she declares that she was constrained from that desire for some time now, and wanted to embrace the distinction of virginity with them most gladly. But she asks to be provided with a guide for the path as soon as possible. Now St Sadwrn, entrusting his deacon to the holy virgin, and sending her to blessed Eleri through him, began to lead her himself as well for a short while. And when in discussion he had told many things to her of the loveliness of that place to which she was going, at last, wanting to depart from her, having been asked for a blessing, he gives it. Thereafter, requesting that many good things would be bestowed on her from God, the saint returned to his own, and she drew near to where she was heading. The holy man, knowing in advance of her coming through the holy spirit, set out quickly to meet her. And he received her as befit God's most faithful worshipper, the deacon who had come with her telling everything which had been divinely made known to his instructor, and how she was sent to that place by God's urging. Now the saint, having first greeted her properly, and honoured her with due reverence, brought her in to the church to pray. And when the prayer had been completed, the saint leans on the virgin's embraces, and encourages her to be of constant mind. Afterwards, calling her to private discussion, he inquires what she conceived in her mind and what she considered doing. 'For although', he said, 'the whole manner of your life has been revealed to my humble self from above (how you were initiated in divine mysteries, in which way you gained the mark of suffering with the severing of your own head, what, alas, are the signs of your martyrdom and of blood shed), yet I desire to be informed from your mouth what cause has driven you to take up the exertion of such a journey.' The virgin responded to him thus, 'He, who has deigned to reveal to you those things which you have now communicated, has not left you utterly ignorant, as I think, of those things which I turn over in my mind, or why I came to this place. For as he could reveal to you those past things which concerned me, he could likewise also show clearly those which will happen to me as well. And therefore accept me, sent to you from God, and so arrange my way of living from now on, just as was revealed to you beforehand by a heavenly message.' Then the holy

man, on account of the imminent night, decided to put off a decision regarding this advice, and requested her humbly enough to bear this patiently.

And so, after St Eleri had lain down in prayers for the whole night, and the blessed Winefride likewise with ever wakeful persistence having directed her efforts towards prayers, certainty in this matter was made clear to the holy confessor somewhat near dawn. And, having been made most joyful, he came to the virgin early in the day, and once again rushing into her embraces, he advised her to rejoice and have assurance from that. But afterwards, laying hold of her hand, he brought her into the convent of virgins, which was renowned in that place, as we previously said, having preached to them with these words. 'Be more persistent in your hearts, dearest daughters. For it is necessary to tell you with what brilliance divine clemency has mercifully deigned to enlighten you. Behold he has sent this virgin devoted to him to dwell and live together with you so that, having observed her life, you will be made more devout in God's service by her examples, and so that a reward should be given to her in heaven because of your improvement. This is that virgin Winefride whose outstanding fame has for a long time now hastened to your ears, who, in case she should suffer the loss of her chastity, disdained the vexations of persecutors as well as the allures of flatterers, and, for the preservation of her virginity to the end, she chose willingly to die by the severing of her head. This is her, I say, whose signs of triumph spring forth widely through the church, and on account of her distinctions all that province exults that it is endowed with a great good. She is not unaware that she alone will gain the victory of both martyrdom and outstanding confession of faith from God. Therefore she has come to you to dwell with you and await the day of her death, who all this time sought to obtain the heavens through her merits, and whose place of reward is conserved among the blessed martyrs. And so be very joyful because of her arrival, and very devoutly embrace the heavenly treasure dwelling among you, paying attention to her works with care, and copying her with complete effort. For the highest one sent her here for this, that, with you also observing her, you should give in exchange your merits with her merits in heaven, and that this place, while this world survives, should be sprinkled with celebrated renown because of her.'

§16

After these words, having turned to one lady, who was also his own mother and placed in charge of the other nuns, 'To you', he said, 'oh dearest mother, I entrust the care of this virgin loved by God most especially. Therefore, cling to her footsteps, copy her works, with constant diligence

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carry out the management of all things which pertain to her or whatever you know pleases her. And may it be known to you and others now sitting in our presence, that this blessed virgin was sent to this place by a divine pronouncement. On account of which you should have greater devotion towards her and not be unaware of how great concern this place is in the presence of God.' Having said these things, the holy confessor departed, and blessed Winefride remained to live with the nuns thereafter. And indeed at that time she would hurry to seize the citadel of all devotion, and remained constant at the summit of all virtues, as if she had hitherto been completely detached from this sort of holiness. And since the first beginnings of her way of life had been revealed to the holy virgins by the blessed man's telling, with such ardent devotion she embarked on every route of salvation, as if she had then for the first time begun to be turned towards God. In her was continual abstinence, and a guardian of her goodness and sanctity, persistent prayer, and a humble way of living. In her the other virgins received a model of patience and obedience, and made her their leader in all things which pertained to salvation. They found copiously in her all things which were of moral integrity, which were of virtue, and for that reason they showed no small reverence to her. Now she who was placed in charge of them, namely the mother of the holy confessor Eleri, Tenoï by name,³¹ loved her with solemn affection, and managed the care of both herself and the other virgins entrusted to her according to her counsels. She also venerated the ever-wakeful determination in her, and admired her continual abstinence, and cherished the steadfastness of every virtue in her with sweet joy. Frequently as well, discussing with her the longings for the heavenly kingdom, she would make tears flow out from her eyes copiously, and she herself would equally shed tears. For that mistress was of great authority and of outstanding devotion, and focused with care on all works of charity and mercy. And although she loved all the virgins with incalculable devotion, yet she would receive St Winefride with joyful affection, and cherished her with her service, and put in no little effort in venerating her.

³¹ Tenoï, mother of Eleri, is also the mother of four other saints according to *Bonedd y Saint* (EWGT 57), with Robert's Life of Winefride again being the main narrative source describing her. Tenoï was also saint of the extinct church of Llandenoï in Pembrokeshire (PW 27). Robert gives the latinized form *Theonia*, which probably represents a Norman spelling of <th> for <t>. The spelling *Theon*, found in the medieval Welsh translation of Robert's Life, is likely a cambricization of Robert's Latin form, rather than representing a native Welsh form.

§17

Now St Eleri, who separately served the lord with his brothers and fellow pupils in simplicity of heart and great affliction of the spirit, would often come to her, and would put her forward as one to be imitated by others. But frequently treating of celestial secrets with her, sometimes of ecclesiastical mysteries, he found that she very copiously abounded in those things which pertain to God, and that she excelled in necessary worldly tasks with diligent wariness. And thus he would return to his own, marvelling at both the abundance of worldly knowledge in her, and the fullness of divine grace on the inside. This could not escape the knowledge of those nearby for long. On account of that, that place soon gained great renown, and was held in huge reverence. For the faithful people would run towards it in crowds from all directions, wanting to behold the virgin first decapitated for love of Christ, but restored to life by the grace of that holy one, lavishly declaring that that place which she inhabited was worthy of the highest reverence. Truly just seeing and conversing with her alone sufficed for some. But quite a few, presenting themselves less decorously, humbly requested for the place of severance in the virgin's neck to be shown to them. She was afraid of resisting their request, both in case their devotion might be diminished on account of that and in case it might be considered pride on her part. They, seeing the place of severance in her neck covering the skin, gleaming with a snowy colour, were unable to hold back tears. And blessing God in his great deeds, and full of great wonder, they would return to their own.

§18

But one day the blessed Eleri entered the nuns' cloisters to visit the holy virgin Winefride, and to discuss things pertaining to God with her. But when they had spoken to each other for a long time, by chance they fell into conversation about the remembrance of death. Then the saint, having found an opportunity to bring forward what he had very frequently turned over in his mind, said 'I rejoice that God has sent you to this place, to commit my body to the grave and to hold my memory after my death. For I frequently prayed for this to be granted to me by God, that namely he should send someone from his servants or handmaidens, who would both bury me and after me, inhabiting this place, make it renowned.' The blessed virgin responded to him thus. 'It is certainly not going to be like that, nor is it thus ordained by God. For it is right that you, while I continue to live and remain by your side, first commit my mistress your mother to the earth, and finally after the course of a few years place my body in a tomb. Thereafter you, full

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of days, will finish your life in peace, and, conveyed to your fathers, you will find in the heavenly kingdom those things you placed to be guarded there.' Having heard these things, the holy confessor departed. But soon it was evident that she had uttered a true prophecy. For after a little time the blessed Tenoï, assailed by a grave illness, began to be impelled by the stings of death now about to come upon her. And when her daughters, namely virgins who were under her tuition, had become aware of her rapid departure, they began to waste away with excessive weeping and pain. For they lamented intensely because they were sending away the mother who had nourished them, and had brought them up in God's service, and had taught the divine mysteries. She, reassuring them with comforting words, said that such mournful sounds should be uttered where worse followed better, and where divine ordinances fall into ruin through bad successors. But where better follows good, and those things which pertain to God are always advanced for the better, in that case lamentations and distress are not to be admitted, but rather people possessing a good state of mind should receive with happy heart and spiritual joy the improvement sent from above. 'And you', she said, 'for that reason should patiently endure my departure, for you are going to have this most blessed virgin Winefride with you, in whom you can sufficiently find all things which pertain to doctrine or to the model of salvation. Look upon her with your inner eyes, and imitate her with your affection of mind, direct your steps to her as if to a single star, and place the charge of all the things you should do with her, knowing without doubt that God will be an assistant to you in all things, if you, consenting, agree to this virgin's counsels.' After these words, she received from her son, namely the holy confessor Eleri, the life-giving communion of the lord's body and blood, and, at once passing from this world, she gave her spirit into the hands of holy angels. When she was arranged in a seemly manner and, as was fitting for so great a mistress, buried with great lamentation and weeping from everyone, the holy man entrusted the custody and care of the other virgins to the blessed Winefride. Although she strove greatly to resist his command, yet fearing undergoing God's judgment if she had tried to struggle further, at last she agreed, and added to her burden the care of others. But now it cannot be fully described with what persistence she seized upon the rigour of complete abstinence, which torments or how great punishments she inflicted on her body, how moderate or severe she was to herself. But, that I should precisely describe all things completely, she left nothing at all untouched which she knew pertained to her own salvation or to a model and advantage for others. And so, confirmed in these ways, she was loved by everyone with simple affection, and both outsiders and those in the household showed honour to her, and they venerated her reverently.

§19

Now blessed Eleri and the other greatest men who lived in Wales, seeing such perfection in the virgin, deferred to her a great deal and revered her. All the most distinguished people and nobles of that land embraced her with sweet devotion, and, seeing her mild way of life, were instructed greatly. Many men of lesser rank coming to her as well and, paying attention to her modesty of disposition, receiving great edification from her speeches, were made more ready in the service of God from then on. But even brigands and invaders of others' property, having looked at the appearance of her face and having heard her words, they were troubled at heart, and, some of them having been made more gentle from that, indeed not a few leaving off robberies entirely, they were turned towards the lord, doing public penance for their misdeeds. And, as sums up everything completely, no person of any age, sex, or even occupation, seemed to be left inside that land, who did not have some advantage through the benefits of that virgin. The friend of God, St Eleri, rejoiced inexpressibly on account of that, and often gave a sermon to the people concerning her, saying among other things that God had sent her to that land for the enlightenment of the faithful people, and that the godhead's power dwelt in her. Many held that to be certain enough. For innumerable miracles and cures bestowed on the sick through her bore united witness that she possessed the godhead's power to the greatest degree. For whichever sick person should come to her, having received good health, would leave unafflicted. He who arrived sad would return rejoicing. He who should run there burdened by some trouble of the heart, or weighed down by some matter happening to him externally, at once, freed from the worries pressing down upon him and having gained his desire, he would return to his people happy. She harmed no-one, but she helped everyone in common and each one individually in some thing. For whoever, dwelling in the region of that estate, was oppressed by troubles of their bodies or spirits, they would very quickly gain the desired remedies through her. She thus kept herself detached from all worldly activities, so that she would think herself unclean if she were to allow even the smallest thing of all those which pertained to the indulgence of this world, for her own uses or for the necessities of her nuns. She also performed self-restraint as a source of wonder for everyone. She persevered, assiduous, in the preservation of the virgins placed beneath her. Likewise to guard against the tricks of the crafty fiend, she made them cautious and adequately learned. But she, in both her sermons and continual prayers, defended them from the enemy of the human race and invader of the lord's privilege, by tirelessly urging that they should be prudent in all their actions and that they should take continuous care of their own salvation.

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§20

Therefore it happened among these things after the virgin Winefride, loved by God, had led with devout service the life received from the king above, behold the lord Jesus, wanting to take his handmaiden from the laborious servitude of this life to the relief of perpetual blessedness, devoting herself to prayers on a certain night in the chapel, made known that the day of her death was soon at hand. She felt herself called as soon as she knew she had been visited by the grace of God, and with exulting spirit she began to prepare herself for the joys of the everlasting kingdom. Then she stayed up praying in the church on continual nights, but in the days she persisted in every virtue with all her effort, leaving nothing undone according to her powers of all those things which she had learnt were to be done. Moreover, she announced to the virgins dwelling with her that her departure was soon at hand. Having heard this, the nuns began to be affected by excessive grief and tortured by sorrow for which there is no consolation. The blessed virgin, trying to support them with her consolations, said that they should not be saddened by her corporal decease, for she was passing from corruption to imperishability, from miseries to joys, that they should rather show gladness in the highest degree and join her in rejoicing, for she was proceeding towards such a lord with whom she could intercede for them, and protect them as much as possible. She also exhorted them that they should guard against the fiend's craftiness deceitfully catching them unawares, teaching that the tricks of his cunning had many forms, that they should trust especially in her examples, and show themselves to be such, that they should deserve to be helped by her prayers. But when that news was brought to the knowledge of the blessed Eleri, he was especially distressed with great sighs at the departure of the virgin loved by him. For, knowing that she was endowed with a dowry of special grace from God, while he would travel on earth in body, he wished to stay with her in great devotion. But now although she was crossing over from distress and anguishes to joy which will remain without end, he, having been left in worldly confusions, bore it with difficulty that he was losing the comforts of his earthly journey. Yet, applying himself to looking at and speaking with her often, drinking her in as it were, he carried out the duties and customs of the good pastor, in having care of her in all things, and in very diligently providing those things which he knew would be of use to her.

§21

Meanwhile the blessed virgin began to be afflicted by great pain in her insides. And when the illness was powerful and increasing in strength every day, she knew she was being oppressed by

the stimuli of her death. Then, directing her mind to God with all her powers, she prayed that he should have mercy on her, and that he should be a kind protector and guardian to her soul, in case it should become prey to the worst robber. Then, having called the holy confessor Eleri to her, she defended herself with the viaticum of the lord's body and blood. But, perceiving that her fellow virgins were becoming weakened with excessive sighs on account of her illness, she exhorted them with consolatory words, saying, 'Do not, daughters, do not on account of my decease be affected by excessive sadness because, having left the miseries of this present life, I am going to reach the highest and changeless goodness with God's mercy. Now I rejoice that I rejected an earthly spouse, that I despised all the world's delights, aflame with love of God alone, or even that I decided to have nothing of my own in this world. And so know that I am now going to make my way towards him, whom I have preferred to all things, and I have judged all earthly things as excrement in comparison with him. Recognize, I say, that I will have pleasure in seeing him forever, for love of whom I did harm to myself and refused all delights of the flesh. And so embrace such a lord and such a great one with diligent devotion, rely in your whole purpose on models of salvation put forward and shown in advance to you, and strive to preserve your agreement with the heavenly bridegroom, for whom you promised you would maintain faith and chastity. For only through his help can you await this day with confident hope, and escape the snares of your enemies, and have perpetual peace. Indeed, consider whatever is brought to your bodily eyes to be insignificant and transitory. For you should not pay attention to things which exist today and shrivel up tomorrow, nor direct your mind away from those changeless good things, which never decline, in which there is peace and security and everlasting joy.' After these words, having turned to prayer, she prayed for her spirit to be accepted by the lord's hands.

§22

And so on the first of November she began to be assailed more painfully by the dissolution of her body. But not even then in the midst of her pains did she rest from health-giving preaching. For she would instruct all those who came to her to observe the end of her life with attentive warning, showing how much joy they are going to have, who should pass from this world with spirits cleansed and purified from the world's filth. And when her body was emaciated by the great discomfort of the illness, and she now perceived that her death was soon at hand, having called the blessed Eleri to herself, she asked that her body should be committed for burial next to the body of blessed Tenoï, her mother. When the holy man allowed that in a most kindly

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manner, focusing on prayer again, on that day, that is, 2 November, she entrusted her spirit to the hands of the creator, to be united with the celestial choirs. Those who were there, seeing this, were broken up by the gravest laments on account of her decease. What groaning was there, what a pouring forth of tears? No-one was exempt from lamenting. Every age and gender applied itself to weeping profusely. And whoever believed that they could provide for and advance themselves to a larger extent, the greater the pain they would take up because of her absence. And while the mourning was unendurable for everyone in common, huge sadness particularly affected the virgins who had lived with her. For they lamented that they had lost their mistress and guide to salvation.

And so, while everyone from diverse stock was lamenting her departure, the blessed Eleri, running towards them, laid down silence upon them with consolatory words. After that, commending her spirit to God, he attentively began to arrange all the things which seemed to pertain to the blessed virgin's burial rites. Thereafter, he ordered the body, made up in the manner of those to be buried, to be carried into the church. Now after all those things had been carried out which pertained to funeral rites or to burial, in the place which she had asked, the body was transferred to the earth with the greatest lamentation and weeping from everyone. Also in that cemetery indeed, many men of great merits rest, but the holiest confessors Cybi³² and Senan³³ are held to be more outstanding and of greater renown, the first of whom was buried at her head, but the other rests in the same row in which she herself lies. Both men are remembered by the locals to have been men of great virtues, and to have gone to that place because of the multitude of its saints, which they had heard joined the battle of this present life there as an example. A number of churches in memory of them still exist in that province, in which it is clearly revealed of what great merit they are before God through many miracles for mortals. On the left-hand side of her, the blessed Tenoï, whom we discussed above, rests buried. The knowledge of God alone retains the memory of the names or the number of the other remaining saints resting there. For that

³² On St Cybi, see the two versions of his Life contained in *Vespasian* (VS Kepii). There he dies at Holyhead, and it appears that his shrine was there historically (LBS ii, 212).

³³ Robert's *Senanus* has been identified with St Sannan, the patron saint of Llanannan, a rural community now in the county of Conwy, but formerly part of Gwynedd, around five miles from Gwytherin (PW 104). Sannan appears to have been identified with St Senan of Iniscathy (LBS iv, 182–94; WCD 580). The first <n> of the name has been misread as <u> in both Laud and the Llanstephan 34 version of BGwenfrewy. The name is spelt *Sanan* in the Peniarth 27ii version of BGwenfrewy.

place is held to be venerable with such an assemblage of saints, that no mortal could know the names of all of them entirely, or even comprehend the number of those gathered there. Together with all those, the blessed virgin Winefride glorifies that place, brilliant in virtues and sparkling with innumerable miracles. In truth, after her death, many who came there, and sought the cure for their illnesses from God through her intercessions, gained their desired remedies. Moreover, that place was from then on held in great renown, and sought out by many for prayer with great reverence and veneration. But after a few cycles of years, the blessed Eleri, a man of the height of sanctity and of great perfection, departing from life, filled with all honour and devotion, passed to the lord. Buried in the church of his name, to this day he has not ceased from gleaming with many miracles. He likewise, granting the greatest reverence and dignity to that place, is illustrious with very many miracles.

§23

But the place in which the first beginnings of the blessed virgin's life shone bright is held to be venerable on account of the very frequent resort of the faithful to it. For many times very evident miracles are made in that place on account of the blessed virgin, through which those who arrive there understand that the blessed Winefride can also assist with their sicknesses, and on account of that the faithful crowd of people runs there together more devoutly from everywhere, hoping that they would gain by prayers the cures for their bodies and souls. Moreover the devotion of those arriving is continually increased, that of those who see the most rapid spring which burst forth from the place in which the virgin's head first fell down to the ground, and that of those who perceive the stones which lie at the bottom of the stream, in which, the blood still preserved, it is clear that the virgin's martyrdom was red. When many flow round with eager spirits to see that, observing that the blood sticking to the stones upon the persistent inundation of running water could not be wiped away, they wonder at the novelty of the thing, and, glorifying the virgin's privileged status, they return to their own places. Many infirm people also arrive there, and having been made healthy go back to their own.

§24

A certain craftsman dwelling in that land had a daughter blind from her birth. He, hearing that many people had been endowed with good health through the merits of the blessed Winefride, with his daughter asking every day to be brought to the holy virgin's well, he brought her with great devotion. She, having been brought there late in the day, first washed her head from the

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well, and so at last was brought to the church, to pray there all night without sleeping. When that had been done, early in the morning she asked that she might be allowed to rest for a little while. After this had been granted to her, and a place provided for her to rest, she went to sleep for a long time. Waking up after that, she asserted that she saw well. Her father, seeing her, and learning that it was just as she was affirming, he made known to all the things which God had done concerning his girl on account of the merits of St Winefride. And, with his words inciting everyone who was there to proclaim the virgin's praises, he returned to his own with his daughter. Because of this miracle, many having been kindled in devotion for the blessed virgin, everywhere they would proclaim the glories of her virtues to all who were listening. But some, through miraculous works of this sort, which were done through her, adhering to her with importunate love, came to her as if to a special refuge, and after a short time, having obtained their desires, they would return home. This will be clearly demonstrated by this appended example.

§25

Following this occurrence at a certain time a great disturbance came about in those parts. And when the more noble and powerful people of that province had sent a message to their neighbouring friends, that they should devote attentive care to their matters, and that they themselves should be most cautiously on guard, their messenger, surrounded by robbers, quickly took refuge at the church of the blessed virgin Winefride. But his enemies having constantly chased him closely behind, he, having entered the churchyard with the horse he was riding, jumped down from the horse at the door of the church, and, fastening the bridle to the door-lock, secured it. Finally, wanting to escape from the excessive number of enemies drawing near him, he ran quickly to the altar. But one of the thieves, more impudent than the others, who was afraid of neither God nor his saints, entering the sacred space with bold presumption, reached the horse with quick running. Laying hold of it with outstretched hand, and unfastening the bridle from the gate's lock, having in no way revered the virgin's merits, he led it away. But the man whose horse it had been, having come out from the church, did not find that horse which he had left there. But knowing that the horse had been taken away from him by those who had pursued him when he was fleeing, he betook himself into the church again. There, before God and the blessed virgin, laying down his expression of grievance, he complained with many laments about the offence inflicted upon him, and that he could not have peace within the sacred confines of the church. With great desire beseeching the holy virgin Winefride that she should be aware

of this presumptuous and excessively bold act of wilful arrogance, and that she should inflict swift vengeance for the crime committed, going out from the church, he was forced to finish on foot the journey which he had started on horseback. But after a short time the blessed virgin showed that infringement of her churchyard or her church would be of concern to her, and she made clear that she would not ever neglectfully put off the complaint laid down before her with sighing. For the man who had unfastened the horse tied to the church's door, and had led it away with him, began to become weak from a most grave illness. Indeed, after a small amount of time that illness derived from all his body inflicted itself completely on his right arm. And, assailing him with such misery and affliction, it seized the most wretched man, so that he preferred to die than to be afflicted by such distresses. The torture grew as well with daily increases, nor could he be comforted by the care of any doctor. It did not cease until that whole arm with its hand, putrid from the harmful humour accumulated there, fell from the rest of the body after great and intolerable pains. But not then could the most wretched man rest, or completely avoid his former troubles, until, coming to the aforementioned church, he humbly professed the blessed virgin's merits, and prayed for forgiveness for the wicked thing committed. Now after that, relieved a little from his intense pain by the holy virgin's compassion, he was kept there as a warning for others. For, having seen him, everyone who lay in wait for the things of others was overawed, and they were distressingly warned in case they should presume to intrude into the church's precincts any more. Indeed everyone who observed that he had been punished for such audacity and such wretched presumption with such a lamentable recompense marvelled at the virgin's merits and was made more devout in her services. Indeed, he who had lost an arm restrained many from this sort of presumption, satisfying the blessed virgin with public repentance that he with reckless audacity had intruded into the sacred spaces of her church and had raised his hand against her. People ran together from everywhere, wanting to see that unusual miracle, and having seen it, they would return full of wonder, proclaiming the virgin's praises gloriously.

§26

Likewise another miracle no less wondrous was carried out through the blessed Winefride. One time, thieves, discovering a cow in the land of the aforementioned church, showing no reverence for the blessed virgin, led it away with them stealthily. However, fearing in case the people living nearby should pursue them, and be led directly to them by the hoof prints of the cow which they were leading, they betook themselves to a hard and rocky road, in which they thought neither

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their own tracks nor the animal's could be recognized. But there is no wisdom, there is no prudence, and there is no power against the lord.³⁴ For when they went on to the stony path, on which they believed they would conceal themselves the more, there their wickedness first began to be uncovered. For at once the cow drove its hooves into the earth up to the knees, and both in the stones and in the hard and dry path the animal's tracks clearly appeared. And the more secretly they thought they were proceeding, the greater was made the recognition of their fleeing, God having revealed the virgin's merits through their forward movement. For the further they would progress, the more they believed they would be safe, and trusted that they would more securely possess what they had taken away, but it turned out for them on the contrary. For, after those from whom the cow had been stolen learnt that their animal had been stealthily taken away from them, at once they began to chase the thieves with a great band of people. And having been made more certain seeing the animal's tracks pressed into stone and dry land, they attentively read the hoof prints. And invoking the holy virgin's help, through whose merits they could see so evident a miracle in stones and in dry earth, they ran down the path indicated in advance to them by the cow's hoof prints. But the thieves, hearing the uproar of the pursuers, and fearing that they would be captured by them, went away from the path with the animal which they were leading. But they could not thus be concealed. For wherever the pursuers would go, they would always find the clear impressions of the animal's hooves in hard rocks and in dry soil. And encouraged in spirits and reassured by the miracle displayed to them earlier, they gave chase confidently. And ever the further they would proceed, the more clearly the animal's hoof prints,³⁵ recognizing that they could by no means escape, unless, having released the cow, they should seek refuge. They left it in a forest, and fleeing most quickly concealed themselves. But they who were pursuing them, finding the cow alone, those who were leading it having fled, took back what was theirs, and began to go back. But, carefully investigating whether their animal was making tracks of that sort in the rocks and in the ground in going back, just as it had done when

³⁴ **non est consilium, non est prudentia, neque uirtus contra dominum (there is no wisdom, there is no prudence, and there is no power against the lord)** Cf. Proverbs 21.30 (Vulgate) (*non est sapientia non est prudentia non est consilium contra Dominum*).

³⁵ The text appears corrupt here, and the lack of other direct witnesses to this section makes it difficult to correct (the Welsh translation in Llanstephan 34 is not directly equivalent here). There is an abrupt shift from the pursuers to the thieves. A particular problem is *manifestius*, which, if a comparative adjective, does not agree with the plural *vestigia*. If it is taken adverbially, it lacks a verb if we, as here, take *se* as the object of *cognoscentes*. It is possible that the scribe accidentally skipped over a line in the exemplar.

it was being led away, they did not come across it at all. Then indeed they knew that the blessed virgin had carried out that miracle for their sake, namely that by the animal's marks they might know where they should go and more quickly attain that which had been stolen from them by unrighteous robbery. Now, returning, they restored the cow to its master, and they openly proclaimed the miracle which had been done. Many even went off to see those things which they said about the tracks, and discovering that those things which were proclaimed would be true, they themselves likewise did not cease from proclaiming those things. On account of this, all those who coveted the things of others and plotted trickery in their heart were greatly terrified, and they were particularly horrifically warned in case they should steal anything inside the land which belonged to the church of the blessed virgin, or in case they should loot at all. Now the robbers, fearing the virgin's wrath and that God, seriously aggrieved by his being scorned, might avenge their presumptuous audacity, and that such punishments would be given to them, they came to the church of the holy virgin with meek spirits, asking for forgiveness. There, confessing that they had done wrong by public assertion, they proclaimed the virgin's merits gloriously, and, dissuading all those who would hear them from unlawful presumption of that sort, they returned to their own.

§27

Likewise wondrous things are related by the assertions of truthful people regarding the spring, which we mentioned beforehand burst forth where the virgin's severed head fell down to the ground. When young boys are ill, suffering from some trouble of their body, having been thrown into the discharge of that spring and carried by the swiftness of the stream, their mothers receive them happy and immediately restored to good health. It is widespread and most well-known among almost all the inhabitants of Wales, that if someone with a fever or suffering in any part of the body should cover himself with that water, or should apply those stones, which we previously informed are found suffused with her blood along the stream, to the suffering part of the body, having first drunk the water which washes the stones, he will be immediately restored to health. Some likewise are urged by God that they should go to that place. Moreover, very frequently when that virgin herself has encouraged them at night through a vision, many arrive there, and obtain their desires returning from there.

§28

In the downward flow of that stream there is a most excellent mill, belonging to the blessed virgin Winefride's rule, that never stops milling on account of overflowing from abundance of rains or snow, or being bound by some burning frost or by the trouble of summer dryness. Once, thieves, having entered it, carried out with them its iron tools or equipment, which that kind of mill uses, carrying them over to another mill. But as long as they were there, the wheel could not turn, and no advancement could take place in those pieces of equipment. But those in charge of that office, seeing that their profit was being reduced every day on account of those things which had been brought, not suffering their decrease any further, threw out those things which they had received from thieves, and at once the mill-wheel received permission to turn, and the other functional instruments followed their earlier custom. After these were thrown out, the thieves carried them off again to other places, in which the same things happened in every way. And finally learning that those things were done by divine governance, namely that they could not serve the advantage or use of any place, led by repentance they carried them to their proper place, asking for forgiveness through the blessed virgin's intercessions. That having been done, they proclaimed St Winefride's merits among all those dwelling in that land and proclaimed her praises in the highest, and they dull the beastly madness of the ill-willed, since each one is not unaware that they fall to evil if they prowl about the properties of the saints enticed by deadly greed.

On account of happenings like these, that place, in which the blessed virgin Winefride first lived, gained the greatest celebrity, and the blessed Beuno's prophecy succeeded in it so much, that through the blessed virgin, whose first habitation was in it, God's glories would be made known publically, and many would gain the desired remedies for their sicknesses in that place. And just as she asked for that place to be blessed by God and illuminated by a heavenly visitation, so it was revealed by clear signs afterwards how much she was heard in this. For, in the display of miracles and miraculous works which were done in that place, it is clearly obvious that the aforementioned saint was foretelling with true authority, according to whose prediction that place was to be illuminated by celestial grace, and God was going to bring about salvation for many there through the merits of that virgin. The hosts of the faithful also affirm this today as well, converging together there, and having attained that for which they come, returning to their own with rejoicing. And acts of divine compassion are carried out for the infirm much more abundantly in

that place than in the place in which the mortal clay of her most holy body had been buried. I believe that that was done for that reason, that she always held that place to be more particularly special, in which the beginnings of her conversion had shone forth and she was initiated in divine mysteries, and in which the recent signs of her martyrdom persist through all time. But even so divine power is miraculously at work in both places, and through her intercessions innumerable great things are done and desired remedies are provided for the sick. For sight is restored to the blind through her, and hearing is given to the deaf, almost all those who arrive there exult that they have attained their desires through her, to the praise of our lord Jesus Christ, who with the father and holy spirit lives and reigns, God for ever and ever, amen.

§29

And so, after Winefride, shining with innumerable virtues, moved to the celestial realm, with many years having passed, when King William was reigning,³⁶ who was the first of the Normans to rule in England, Earl Roger,³⁷ a distinguished man and conspicuous in every honour of practices and devotion, began to build a monastery in the town of Shrewsbury. Aiming to complete this with scrupulous care, he enhanced it with all his resources, thereafter appointed an abbot and established brothers to serve God in the same place. Moreover, time having moved on, that place growing due to God being merciful, for many it was useful for the path of salvation, and offered the sweet smell of divine fragrance to all the people dwelling in that land. And while those brothers excelled in virtues, they began to search out with diligent constancy things which were of virtue. And, having complained quite often to one another that they greatly needed saints' relics, with the utmost effort they drove their minds towards that which was to be sorted out. And seeing that they had heard the bodies of many saints were held in Wales, which was nearby, because that territory was previously inhabited by many saints, whose merits were made known in various places, they devoted themselves to considering carefully in every way how they might obtain one of them. For, knowing that they could be most protected before God by the protecting

³⁶ William the Conqueror reigned in England from his coronation following the conquest in 1066 until his death in 1087.

³⁷ Roger de Montgomery, 1st earl of Shrewsbury, (died 1094) was an advisor to Duchess Matilda in Normandy during William the Conqueror's invasion and one of the wealthiest landowners in England following the conquest. He was made earl of Shrewsbury around 1070–1 after most of Shropshire had been granted to him. Shrewsbury was one of Roger's major power centres in the Severn valley, and he proclaimed his intention to found a Benedictine abbey there in 1083 (Mason 2004).

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relics of one whose honour they cultivated with daily devotion on earth, they attempted attentively to obtain someone who might thus protect them. But since many most brilliant and most excellent confessors were kept there, they began to hesitate as to whom they should aim for especially, or whom they desired particularly.

§30

It so happened meanwhile that a certain one of the brothers, oppressed by grave illness, dismayed the other brothers, sharing greatly in his suffering, with excessive sorrow. They, being extremely concerned for him, prayed to God with humble hearts for his well-being, meekly requiring the monks of nearby churches that they should do the same. Moreover, as soon as that brother's great distress became known to the monks of the church of Chester,³⁸ they also, equally dismayed in their spirits, made a procession in the church to entreat God for his well-being. After they had prostrated themselves before the holy altar and sung seven psalms with humble devotion, one of them, called Ralph,³⁹ who carried out the duties of a subprior, a man of rather simple mind, fell asleep. And it seemed to him that a most beautiful virgin was standing near him, and with a kindly face she burst forth into these words, 'What is it', she said, 'that you are lying down praying for?' The monk responded, 'A certain brother from our friends is being tortured by a most grave illness, and we prostrate ourselves and our prayers in humble entreaty to God, to pray for his well-being.' She responded to this, 'And I have become aware that that brother is suffering from madness, but if you truly desire his good health, let one of you go to the well of St Winefride, and in the church which is there celebrate mass in memory of him, and at once the sick brother will be set free.' Saying these things, she disappeared. But the monk, when he had come to and thought over in his mind those things he had seen or heard, did not actually want to announce that vision to others then, fearing that what he had seen would be considered a joke by his companions and judged to be his imagination. And so, after almost forty days had passed, the sick man suffering ever worse, he lay down on the sick-bed. News of the very distressing affliction, by which the aforementioned brother was oppressed, came likewise to Chester, and it gave the

³⁸ Like Shrewsbury, Chester Abbey (dedicated to St Werburgh) was an independent Benedictine house, and at this time would have been under its second abbot, William (held the abbacy 1121–40): Knowles, Brook and London 2001: 39. It was founded in 1092 and Holywell was granted to the abbey in 1119, although control fluctuated between Chester and the closer Basingwerk Abbey (founded 1131): Tait 1920–3: i, 41; Winward 1999: 98–9.

³⁹ Possibly the same Ralph who went on to succeed William as abbot in 1141 (Knowles, Brook and London 2001: 39).

other brothers a reason to speak about him. And when they with many words lamented the sick man, feeling compassion for him, he who had seen the vision, having gathered his courage, related it in order, with all of his friends putting faith in his words in a most kind manner. They, now having heard for a long time that the virgin's merits were splendid, and knowing that many miracles came about through her, with ease they moved their minds to believe those things which were said, and they gave credence to the vision. For they knew for certain that she was called St Winefride, to whose well they were advised to go and sing mass there in her honour. Indeed, they said that she had appeared to the aforementioned brother. And thus after they had consulted, two monks are sent to the well of the blessed Winefride, to celebrate mass in her church which is there by⁴⁰ the well, and to pray for the sick man. At the same time in which the mass was sung in that place, it happened that the sick brother at Shrewsbury got better from his illness, and gladdened his companions because of his good health. Moreover, after a little time, the same brother who had been ill was brought to that place, to give thanks to God and the holy virgin for the health granted to him. And when he had first prayed in the church and afterwards drunk from the well, and had been washed by it, he returned to the monastery having been made healthy in every way. On account of that the memory of the blessed virgin became more devoutly ingrained in the hearts of the brothers, so that they would judge themselves fortunate if they could attain even a small part of her most holy body. And although they thought it arduous and difficult and exceeding their powers, they nevertheless planned to try it. And knowing that nothing can resist the will of God, they prayed for God to become well-disposed towards them and to be their helper in the future, with whose power they did not doubt that any impossible or difficult things could come into their possession.

§31

At that time, King Henry,⁴¹ a most excellent man and friend of the peace, was governing the authority of the kingdom, by whose power peace and safety held the whole island, and, more than that, he allowed everyone to go peacefully wherever they wanted. On account of which, the aforementioned brothers, frequently sending messengers into Wales, asked with care where the pre-eminent saints rested, or rather where the grave of the aforementioned virgin was. And after the place had been found in which the holy virgin Winefride's bones were resting, they were

⁴⁰ *Iusta* in the Latin is a medieval variant of *iuxta*.

⁴¹ Henry I, King of England and Lord of Normandy, reigned from 1100 until his death on 1 December 1135.

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gladdened by great delight. Then, when the bishop of Bangor,⁴² in whose diocese that province was, agreed with them and promised them support, they caused the leaders and nobles of that land to be agreeable and favourable to themselves. The matter moving forward every day step by step, it seemed to portend a speedy fulfilment, and it lifted up the brothers' spirits in hope of their desire. But, the death of the aforesaid King Henry intervening without warning, it burdened all Britain with great disaster, and forced them to postpone that business for a time. But in the second year of the reign of king Stephen,⁴³ after the disturbances had been calmed and the former serenity restored, the abbot of the aforementioned monastery, called Herbert,⁴⁴ at the advice of the brothers sent his prior, called Robert, into Wales, together with a certain fellow monk called Richard. Moreover, that prior, being more anxious about taking care of this thing than others, after his messengers and letters had frequently been sent through the land, had received this in response, that if he himself were to come, he would return with joy, his desire having been brought about. And so coming there, he first visited the bishop of the church of Bangor and, having been sent over from him to the leader of that land, he was received in a kindly enough manner by him.⁴⁵ When he had revealed the course of his journey and the reason for his arrival, the leader responded to him with these words, 'I for my part would not have supposed you and your fellows to have taken up such a work without the will of God and the desire of the blessed virgin. For perhaps seeing that the veneration due to her is not paid by her own people, she desires to be taken away elsewhere, so that she might receive honour from foreigners, which her own people either refuse or neglect to bestow on her. For that reason I grant willingly and I

⁴² The bishop of Bangor at this time was David the Scot, who had been bishop since 1120 (Pearson 2003: 1–2).

⁴³ Stephen, King of England, had a turbulent reign from 1135 to his death 1154. The exact time period referred to here is unclear as it is not known how the regnal year was calculated before the reign of Henry II (Cheney 1945: 12). As Stephen was crowned on 22 December 1135, his second regnal year may be 22 December 1136 to 21 December 1137, given that the date of coronation marked the start of regnal years from the reign of Henry II to that of Henry III. As such, Winefride's translation is thought to have taken place in 1137 or 1138. The disturbances and disaster in all Britain described following Henry's death in 1135 may refer to the capture of a number of towns in northern England by David, King of Scots, although Stephen's reign after this, including in 1137–8, was anything but serene (King 2010).

⁴⁴ Herbert was abbot of Shrewsbury from 1128 to around 17 December 1138, when he was deposed by a legatine council (Knowles, Brooke and London 2001: 71; Gaydon 1973: 30–7).

⁴⁵ This leader, who is never named, may have been either Gruffudd ap Cynan, who died in 1137, or his son, Owain Gwynedd, who succeeded him. Gruffudd ap Cynan (if still alive) would at this point have been very aged and blind, but Robert may not have wanted to draw attention to that, if indeed this meeting actually took place.

declare that I agree with his good will, in case that, opposing it, I should be forced to suffer her wrath as retribution. And although stained with every moral impurity, the lowest of all people or worse, yet bravely I would burst into her tomb, and, touching the holy bones, I would hand them over to you, if it were not necessary for me to be elsewhere for the common good of the land. Both your labours and the visions shown to you would make clear that she herself wants this. And so going on, secured by the permission of my authority, go quickly to the place in which the blessed virgin rests to find, as I think, some who will be unlawfully opposed to your arrangement. But have faith, for her protection, devotion for whom incited you to take up so great a task, will make them peaceful towards you. But even so I will send a messenger to those people in whose estate the aforesaid virgin's body rests, who will both make my desire known to them and make them somewhat more conciliatory to you.' Having said these things, he sent them away in peace.

And so, having set off from him, by a direct path they reached the place in which the most holy body of the venerable Winefride had been placed. And there were seven of them together, namely the aforementioned prior and with him venerable men: the prior of Chester, and a certain priest, a man of many virtues, born of that people, and the brother whom the prior had brought with him from the monastery, and three other men. And when they, walking as one group on the journey, were talking of that task, they met one man of that land of no humble status, asking who might be the prior of Shrewsbury. After he had shown himself, that man said these words to him, 'I have come to tell you the report of the men who inhabit that settlement, called Gwytherin, in which the bones of the holy virgin Winefride are enclosed. You should realize that they are stirred up with great anger against you, that you should try to take away the bodies of the saints placed in their keeping, with which they and all theirs have been entrusted. And you should know for certain, that neither fear of a ruler, nor the threat of their lords, nor desire for any wealth should make them complicit with you in this thing.' Having said these things, he departed. But the prior and his companions, greatly saddened on account of these words, did not know at all what they should do or to whom they should turn. But having turned towards God, they asked with submissive spirits for the breath of counsel to be given forth from him to them. And he who with only a word of his power had calmed the storms of the winds and sea, they with humble mind entreated that he should restore these hostilities to peace and ally the minds of those men with them. After that, infused by the confidence of the holy spirit, they took up the journey they had begun. And when they had almost reached the place in which the blessed

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virgin's bones were contained, the prior, after taking counsel with the brothers, sent ahead two of the companions, namely the prior of Chester and the aforementioned priest, both well known across that land, to make provision in advance with care for all things which were necessary for them.

But he himself, having held his companion back with him, staying that night somewhere in the country, was afflicted by great worries on account of the report which he had heard. And behold, after the matins praises had been sung, a certain serious and worthy person, having the likeness of a woman, appeared to one who was serving her, saying these words, 'Rise as quickly as possible and say to your lord that, having set aside sadness and cares, with which he is excessively troubled, he should raise up his hope towards God, knowing that he will soon go from here with great joy. For she, out of love and respect for whom he was sent to this province, will also make his desire come about more quickly, and more than that she will make him have what he desires. For very soon he will gain that on account of which he will return home rejoicing and will gladden his companions with his arrival.'

§32

Another vision also came upon that prior on that same night in this way. A certain abbot of great piety, who had been father of that monastery of Shrewsbury, but, exhausted by age and filled with many virtues, had departed this life, Godfrey⁴⁶ by name, appeared to him. He calmed him from the worries by which he was distressed, saying, 'Do not be faint-hearted but have confidence, for we will beat our enemies well, and with God's help we will overcome those standing in our way. And know that we very soon will attain that which we desire with great devotion.' After these words he vanished before his eyes. And so because of these visions, some small freedom from fear arose in their minds, and hope for obtaining that which they sought was restored. And so, very early in the morning, they had started to report those things amongst themselves and they had permitted a little cheerfulness to the minds of those listening, when suddenly one of the messengers from the previous day came and increased the guarantee, urging that they should follow him without delay, to find, with God consenting, that which they earnestly desired, and to depart. Having mounted horses immediately, they arrived there and, after prayers had first

⁴⁶ Godfrey was the second abbot of Shrewsbury, from around 1119 until his death in 1128 (Knowles, Brooke and London 2001: 71).

been carried out, they called rather covertly upon the only priest of that place, that he should be of help to them, beseeching very eagerly.

§33

But the priest, heeding their words patiently, gave a response in this manner, 'Certainly I', he said, 'will be able to be brought to your wishes with little effort, on the one hand because I want to be more closely united with you, and on the other because for a long time now I have been aware of the will of God and the virgin regarding this matter, as I will now reveal to you dutifully. On Holy Saturday, I was spending the night in the church which you behold here, to sing the matins hymns when it was time. And when, having run through the psalter in order, I put myself upon the step before the altar to rest for a little while, I saw a vision which terrified me greatly, and it warned me with threats that I should not be unlawfully opposed to you. And, as it seemed, heavy sleep had not yet overpowered me, when a certain most splendid youth, bearing an angelic face, stood in front of me and started to beat me, saying, 'Rise!' But I, thinking that he was waking me up so I could start the nocturnal office, responded to him, 'It is not yet time to start the office. I will not get up.' He, as it had seemed to me, departed, and a heavier sleep overcame me. And behold the same youth coming back anew and striking me harder. 'Rise! Rise!' he said. But I, not wanting to acquiesce to him, responded with the previous words. And, covering my head with the cloak in which I had been dressed, I was entirely released into sleep. A small length of time had passed, when the youth was there again, and moved his hand towards the cloak in which I was dressed, dragging it away from my head with great force, and bringing my shoulders down, and he said for a third time, 'Rise! Rise! Rise, and follow me.' Then I seemed to rise quickly, and follow him closely behind. And so we came to the grave of the blessed virgin Winefride, which he pointed out to me with his finger, saying, 'Take note of this place attentively, and store in firm memory the words which I will have said to you. If anyone should come here in this year or in the next, who should desire to remove that stone from here,' indicating the slab which had been placed on top of the holy body, 'beware of denying them in any way. But if he should want to throw out this dust from here, similarly allow it, not resisting with any argument. If, moreover, he should want to carry off the virgin's bones from here, may you not oppose this, but take action, offering him help in everything in which you will be able. If you are negligent of this, and, found to be a despiser of my words, you lay aside doing those things which were communicated to you from God, having been tortured by a wretched and long-lasting illness,

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you will immediately after this lose your life.’ These things being said, the angelic vision, as I think, disappeared. For that reason you should know that I cooperate with you with a kind heart, and that I supply vigilantly that which can expedite your plan to the best of my ability. And so, having a guarantee from me, meet with the others, and bring them to your will in such ways as you can. For I will strive after your desire with my earnest attention and diligence, and I will devote my efforts to subduing to your desire the spirits of those to whose jurisdiction this estate belongs. And because fate has brought them to your eyes, say what you will, for they are ready to hear.’

§34

Then the prior, with that priest mediating and likewise being an interpreter, having addressed the company of people which was standing nearby, revealed the reason for his journey to them, and urged with pleasing words that they should grant him their assent. And leaving nothing of the visions or of the other things which had happened unsaid, and publicly asserting that he had taken up such a task on account of that virgin’s urging and incitement, almost prevailed on them to fulfil his wish. But a certain person, a very evil man, suddenly appearing, stirred up the whole gathering, saying it was not just, that saints should be uprooted from their native soil and banished to a land not belonging to them at all. Still he continued, crying out as if induced by Furies, that he could by no means allow it. But some, subduing his noise, asked the rest to seek advice and, words having been said, to respond suitably following the decision of everyone. Having agreed this and going away to take council, the prior, seeing the mind of the aforementioned man to be resolutely in a wicked condition, and that he was their only hindrance, at the advice of the brothers he sent a message to him, and, after money had been given, he allied that man more closely to himself, and sent him back to his fellows. But the others, who granted this simply through love of God alone, seeing that that man was suddenly completely mellowed in heart, supposed with great wonder that that was brought about by divine power, and more than that, they were incited to carry out the things which had been asked. And so after the complications of many words, after the tests of innumerable intervening cases, everyone agreeing on one thing, they kindly granted that for which they had asked. But the prior and his companions, giving thanks to God and each other, asked for the place to be shown to them.

The place, moreover, in which such a treasure was held, is a cemetery distinct from another cemetery where the bodies of those who die now are interred, stuffed full with the bodies of many

other saints, which to this day is held in such reverence by the locals, that none of them should dare be of such recklessness that he should presume to enter it unless for the sake of prayer. In the middle of which, that is, at the head of St Winefride, stands a little wooden church, honoured by great crowds of people. The unobstructed approach to that church is obvious for all those who want to pray there. Many sick people, many vexed by the troubles of various diseases, enter it to ask for cures for themselves, and they do not feel pain that those things for which they ask are delayed a long time. For as soon as health is granted to them through the merits of the saints, they return to their own in good health. No brute animal and no beast of any type is allowed to touch it on the inside and live. For as soon as it should touch in grazing the grass which grows above the bodies of the saints, it falls dead. No presumptuous person who goes inside it leaves unpunished.

§35

Next it is told that two years before the aforementioned brothers reached there, one of the inhabitants, by that ancestral custom making shoes for himself from raw animal pelts, lacked ties by which he might bind them to his feet. But in that churchyard among the graves of the saints there is an oak-tree of wondrous height, untouched from ancient times out of veneration for the saints. Now the aforementioned man, considering making ties for himself from the tender bark of that tree, which is called the inner bark, having got hold of an axe and having shown no reverence he hurried to the oak. And having raised up his hand with the axe, striking the tree, he found something very different from what he hoped. For the struck oak so bound the axe in its strike that it could not be moved in any way and so it rendered the hand with the axe withered and the arm rigid or uncontrollable, so that the man could by no means turn them to his uses. But he was not even able to drag the hand away from the axe, nor move it at all. But by a certain divine power the handle of the axe held the man's hand fast, and had rendered the whole arm as if it were dead. And thus hanging there wretchedly and crying out with mournful sounds, he paid lamentable penalties for his rashness. A great number of both men and women ran towards him shouting. And seeing him hanging from the axe, many indeed dissolved in tears, but everyone felt compassion, asking what should have happened to him and what should have been the cause of such disaster. Now that man, describing fully the whole account of the thing in order, brought everyone to sympathy for him because of his unusual misery. When they urged him to repent his offence and confess his guilt because he had not shown reverence to the saints, and pray for

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forgiveness, he began to do that very devoutly, and his family, having prostrated themselves on the soil at the tomb of the holy virgin Winefride, asked with tears that she might have mercy on him. And because the name of that virgin was more renowned than the names of the other saints resting in that place, and her merits exceeded theirs, having turned to her in heart and body, they prayed for a pardon for that misdeed. And when both he who was suffering and those sympathizing with him said with one mind, 'St Winefride, have mercy upon him,' suddenly through God's mercy the sick man drew his hand towards him with a restored arm, and the axe fell from the tree. Those who were standing nearby, seeing this, honoured God, and were more devout in veneration of the blessed virgin. The oak is still standing there, as if it were recently struck, teaching that those things which continue to be told had really happened. On account of this miraculous event and many others, which are known to have been evident there, that place is held to be outstanding, and it is celebrated with great devotion among the locals.

§36

And so when the aforementioned brothers were brought to this place, to have what they had come for and to obtain their desire, coming before his companions at the prompting, I think, of the holy spirit, the aforementioned prior alone, with no-one leading him or pointing out the way, came by a direct path to the grave of St Winefride. And he who had never yet been there, and had never before been aware of the place of the grave through anyone showing him, having entered that churchyard alone with God as a guide, he came to the holy virgin's grave without deviating. And, standing at the head of the blessed virgin and awaiting companions, as if by some divine pronouncement it was brought to his mind inwardly that this was the tomb of the blessed virgin which he desired. Truly, when those who were supposed to indicate that place arrived, they showed him that same place which he himself had already chosen, and by which he was standing. Then, the lay people having been removed, and while both monks and clerics who were in that place were singing psalms, two of the brothers, namely the prior of Chester and the brother whom we specified above had come from the monastery with the prior, started to dig the earth with spades and hoes. A short space of time had passed when now, great toil having been exacted, almost exhausted by labours, they reached the desired treasure. Having found this, they gave thanks to God with devout spirits, and, having pulled the bones out of the dust, as it had then struck a convenient time, they placed them in cloths tied up in a seemly manner. And

thus taking their leave from those dwelling in that settlement, with immense joy they began to go back.

And so they went with brisk spirits proceeding on their journey, and lightened the journey with varying conversation. But they would add one thing more frequently among words between them, that they would prefer it more than many great riches, if they could recognize the power of that which was carried by them. God did not long delay satisfying their wishes in this as well. For when the day was growing late, they were received by a certain faithful household. But as they were taking their places at the table, a sick man in the more private part of the house started to give out the terrible and wretched sounds of a lament. But after the prior asked what had been the cause of his sorrow, it was responded to him that the sick man was held back there by excessive weakness of the body, and that he would have a great reward from God, if he would grant him anything by which he might be brought to health. Then the prior blessed the water which had been brought. And then, putting a little of the dust found in the head of the blessed virgin in it, instructed that it be given to the sick man. He, without delay requesting that a place be prepared for him to rest, at once fell asleep. But rising after a short time, he found himself healthy and unharmed, giving thanks to God and the holy virgin. And, their faith having been confirmed by this miracle, the messengers were made more joyful, and more devout in veneration of the virgin. With many other signs as well, God made known to them on the way that the gift they were carrying was divine.

§37

And so on the seventh day, coming to the town of Shrewsbury from which they had been sent out, they sent messengers to the monastery to announce that they had that which they had gone to obtain. Indeed, the whole community rejoiced greatly after hearing these things, and advised that the most holy relics should be placed in the church of holy Giles,⁴⁷ which is situated at the exit to the town, saying it would be improper for such a treasure to be received in the monastery, unless with the authority and blessing of a bishop, and by the great meeting of the people of the whole province. This speech pleased everyone, and they sent the prior once more to the bishop, by his authority to confirm that which they were about to do regarding the body granted to them

⁴⁷ The church of St Giles (*Egidius* in Robert's Latin) is thought to have originally been the chapel of the hospital of St Giles (Gaydon 1973: 105–8). It is located less than a mile south-east of Shrewsbury Abbey.

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from heaven. Meanwhile, brothers were appointed from the convent who would celebrate the night and day offices before the blessed virgin's body with more devout spirits. After they had listened with care to those things which were God's and observed the vigils every day with diligent devotion, the faithful people from all around came, entrusting themselves to the prayers and merits of the holy virgin. And in that settlement there was a certain youth, worn down by excessive bodily trouble, and in control of the power of none of his limbs. Being bowed with his head almost on the ground, in no way did he have strength to raise his head up, but, having lost the functional organs of his entire being, he had entirely lost hope of good health. He, having heard talk of the blessed virgin's arrival, ordered his horse to be prepared as quickly as possible. Having mounted it, held by the hands of his friends on both sides, he was led to the aforementioned church in which the holy relics were held. And spending the night in prayer in that place, at around the end of night he was afflicted by a most bitter pain in his joints. But, resting for a little while early in the day, after a short time, with day now shining forth and the priest starting the office of Mass, he began to recover. After everyone who was there had given up, he was restored to his former good health. And after the gospel reading, having left his bed, on which he had lain struggling all night, he hurried to the altar to hold out his offering to God and the priest. Thereafter, giving thanks most devoutly to God and the blessed virgin for the good health he had received, he who had been led away from there by the hands of others returned to his parents' home on foot.

This miracle greatly cheered the community's spirits, and, soon announced throughout the province, it greatly provoked the minds of those listening to fear and reverence. And her fame and memory grew more every successive day, with almost everyone asking the question, when her Translation should be carried out. And so the prior, returning from the bishop, supported by his authority, conveyed the blessing of God and himself to all those who were devout in veneration of the virgin. And so the day was appointed, and proclaimed throughout the churches of neighbouring parishes, for which everyone was urged to assemble, who had wanted to attend the holy Translation. And so, after the day had been appointed, the most holy body of the blessed virgin Winefride was brought forward to meet the brothers proceeding with crosses and candles and the numerous multitude of people, everyone having knelt down, and many not being able to hold themselves back from crying on account of their great joy. But the brothers, who had gone out to receive the pledge of the holy body, found that divine benefits shone clearly over them, through the protecting relics of the blessed virgin Winefride. For rain which had copiously

poured in lit up the surrounding fields, and it compelled the brothers who had gone out towards the church with very precious adornments to fear in no small degree, in case that, on account of the threatening rain, something should be detracted from the honour of the most blessed virgin, and that they would be forced to postpone that which they had started to celebrate solemnly with the highest devotion, not complete in every way. Their earnestly desired wishes having been conveyed to God, by St Winefride's petition, they merited receiving their will, God in his mercy working a very clear miracle in that place. For in all that procession of those going out from the monastery and in the receiving of holy relics, you would see waters from the clouds suspended by divine power near the earth, and in some instances sending out individual drops to the earth, in a way declaring themselves ready to fall but held back by heavenly power. Everyone who was there saw it, with many dreading greatly in case the heavy downpour should fall and force them to flee disturbed, but it appeared to most that the waters held back by divine power would not fall, and therefore they honoured the virgin's merits even more. And so, after the holy relics had been received, when the brothers had started to return to the monastery, it pleased everyone that the aforementioned prior, who had carried them, should address the crowd, and inform everyone of what great virtues or of what merits that virgin was, whose Translation was taking place there. And when he had done this for rather a long time, with clouds having flown through the nearby air and threatened their fall of rain, and having moistened the surrounding land with their downpour, the body of the most holy virgin was received by the brothers with fitting reverence, God's praises resonating in the highest,⁴⁸ and the body was carried to the monastery, and honourably set in place above the altar which was constructed in honour of the holy apostles Peter and Paul. In that place, to show the privileged status of the blessed virgin, cures are given to the sick, and innumerable miracles are performed for the glory and praise of God, the honour, the glory, the power, for ever and ever. Amen.

⁴⁸ *Insullime* is a form of *insublime*.

Vita Sancte Wenefrede

(Robert of Shrewsbury, Laud Misc. 114 version)

edited by David Callander

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Manuscript

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 114 is a parchment manuscript of 186 folios. It is dated to the late twelfth century (Coxe 1973: no. 114) and is associated with Pershore Abbey, Worcestershire, and in particular Prior Gilbert of that abbey (MLGB 150; WSE 380–3). The hand of the earliest list of contents, added around 1200, has been identified with that of Oxford, St John’s College 96, another Pershore manuscript, which appears to have been owned by Prior Gilbert. References to Pershore Abbey are also found on fol. 23r and in a sixteenth-century list of contents (WSE 382–3). Robert’s complete Life and Translation of Winefride survives only in Laud Misc. 114. A condensed version is found in Cambridge, Trinity College O.4.42 (edited separately) and a composite version (drawing more upon the anonymous Life) is found in British Library, Lansdowne 436 (edited separately). The copy of Robert’s Life of Winefride in Brussels, Bibliotheque Royale, MS 8067–74, dated to 1631, appears to be a copy of the text in the Laud manuscript.

Following the reformation, Laud Misc. 114 came in to the possession of Welsh scholar Sir John Prise (died 1555), and was one of forty-seven of his manuscripts which later came to Jesus College, Oxford (Ker 1955: 20), likely through the will of his son, Gregory Prise, who died in 1600 (Jeens 2016). William Laud subsequently gained possession of the manuscript in 1635 (Ker 1955: 20). The manuscript opens with a copy of Augustine’s *De Doctrina Christiana* (not present in the earliest list of contents), but is otherwise a large compilation of saints’ Lives. For a full list of the manuscript’s contents, see WSE 381–2 and Coxe 1973: no. 114. The final 50 or so folios of the manuscript concern the virgin saints Frideswide, Winefride, and Catherine, and these saints were clearly placed together purposefully. Robert’s Life of Winefride covers fols. 140r–163v

(Translation at 158r–163v). It is preceded by the Life of St Frideswide (fols. 132r–140r), and followed by the Passion of St Catherine (164r–184v). The Life of Winefride is copied by the same hand which copied the preceding Life of Frideswide (WSE 380), and was emended by a contemporary corrector. The subsequent Passion of St Catherine is copied in a different hand (WSE 382).

For further descriptions of the manuscript, see WSE 380–3 and Coxe 1973: no. 114.

LAUD MISC. 114 140R11–163V30

Note on transcription. The following abbreviations are used in the Life in the manuscript: Ampersand (×491); Tironian *et* (×1); the homothetic sign [∴] (×39).

TRANSCRIPTION

{140r}

11 Incipit prologus in uita Sancte uenefrede uirginis et martiris.

12 D¹ OMNO ET Patri Guarino Reuerendo priori wigornie. Rotbertus²

13 suus filius uita peccator. cenobii Salopesberiensis prior. inoffen

14 so pede uiam mandatorum dei incedere. Quem diuinorum beneficiorum aliquam

15 constat particulam cognouisse. affectu religionis ceteris debet caritatiue

16 impertiri. quod sibi gratis diuinitus collatum est. Hoc enim eorum qui in christo unum
sunt

17 deuotio sibi proprium uendicauit. in una scilicet fidei agnitione pariter

18 communicare. quod aliquis diuinitus illapsus suscepit. Dei quippe consilia de-

19 siderantibus reuelare. uirtutis est. Nolentibus uero et repugnantibus passim

20 ingerere. constantie et fortitudinis esse perhibetur. Alioquin si quod de communi

21 omnium quibusdam tributum est uoluerit quis in sui ipsius iure attrahere. malens

22 illud sub modio occultare. quam aliorum utilitati sumministrare. inui-

23 diu neuo laborare iuste conuincetur. Celitus enim delatum beneficium. omnibus

24 uolentibus si tamen promeruerint debitum estimatur. et ad uniuersorum salu-

¹ D is a large red initial covering three lines.

² *Rotbertus* (margin) {Claruit sub Rege Stephano}

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25 *tem* prospectat. Ea *propter* o reuerende pater; bonorum que penes nos de
 26 *supernis nuper emicuerunt cognitionem tibi non inuidi; rogantibus* amicis qua=
 27 *tinus tibi potius infusam nobis gratiam intimarem. tum quia* tu inhuiusmodi officii
 28 *summe studiosus. perpetuam tibi famam adquisieris; tum quia* multa prece inde
 29 *tibi dari postulaueris. destinatumque nimia ut fertur exultationem susceperis.*
 30 Et *quoniam* ut ait uir sapiens omnis affectio iuste *et* legitime tarditatis im=
 31 *patiens est; non ignoro te anhelu spiritu suspirare. donec ineffectum*

{140v}

1 *aliquid cognoueris eorum quibus suppleri deuotio tua prestolatur. Exinde tibi nuper*=
 2 *rime digestam beate uirginis WENEFREDE uitam direxi; quam partim per sce*=
 3 *dulas in ecclesiis patrię in qua deguisse dinoscitur collegi. partim quorundam sacer*=
 4 *dotum relationibus addidici; quos et antiquitas ueneranda commendabat. et*
 5 *quorum uerbis fidem adhibere ipse religionis habitus compellebat. Cuius eden*=
 6 *de causam primo dei timor dedit. ne commissi michi talenti in terram repositi et*
 7 *non ad usuram commendati reus inuenirer; secundario uirginis amor. quo de*
 8 *claratis ipsius meritis. honor ei debitus a fidelibus impenderetur; tercio fauor*
 9 *fratrum. pro quorum deuotione arctius michi colliganda. hunc tantum patienter sustinui*
 10 *laborem. Ceterum quod de itinere illius ad romam penitus silui. consultus egi; sicut*
 11 *et non nulla plurimorum ^{ore} trita. funditus omisi. quia nec ea in libris inueni.*
 12 *nec qui illa allegatione sua predicabant. estimatione hominum digni erant.*
 13 *quorum sermonibus fidem adhiberem. Suffecit uero michi quod et tibi suffecturum non*
 14 *ignoro; ut omni ambiguo remoto. conuersationis illius series simplici ser*=
 15 *mone texeretur. Vltro tamen quedam intermissi. ueridicorum assertionem contesta*=
 16 *ta; ne nimius in uerbis inuenirer. et superfluitate aliqua redarguerer. sci*=
 17 *ens hec ad sacratissime huius uirginis uitam dinoscendam sufficere posse.*
 18 *simulque credens eius opitulatione. tueque precis astipulatione me a deo*
 19 *mercedem laboris mei adepturum.*
 20 ^IN occidua maioris britannie regione. est *quedam prouintia*
 21 *Walia uocitata; ex una parte finibus regni anglie. ex altera oceano*
 22 *mari collimitata. Hec olim a sanctis multorum et diuersorum meritorum est inha*=

³ I is a large green initial, covering six lines. It does not impinge on the text.

23 bitata; *et usque ad hunc diem innumeris eorum prerogatiuis multipliciter*
 24 *decorata. Ex quorum numero quidam sanctus admodum insignis enituit. BEVNO=*
 25 *VS nomine. uir summus. et in omni illa sanctorum multitudine precipuus.*
 26 *Is itaque cum paternum prius contempsisset solum. et mundi gloriam calcans.*
 27 *pernitiosas illius illecebras abdicasset; pauper effugiens monachus effec=*
 28 *tus est; in breui perfectum in christo agens uirum. Denique cum in diuersis lo=*
 29 *cis ecclesias fabricasset. fratresque in illis deo seruituros constituisset; ipse*
 30 *diuino admonitus oraculo alias discessit. prouisam sibi a deo quesiturus*
 31 *mansionem. Ducente uero illum spiritu sancto. gressumque eius ad multorum utili=*
 {141r}

1 *tatem dirigente; peruenit ad predium cuiusdam magni et potentissimi ui=*
 2 *ri nomine THEVITH. Qui filius unius summi atque excellentissimi senatoris.*
 3 *et a rege secundi Eliuth nomine; nichil sue progeniei incongruum. aut quod*
 4 *tantum genus dedecret admittere dignabatur; set nobilitatem generis ho=*
 5 *nestis moribus exequens. in omni elegantia conspicuus apparebat. Ad*
 6 *hunc ergo cum uir uenerabilis Beunous uenisset; benigne satis ac reue=*
 7 *reter ab eo susceptus est. Qui diu non differens quod animo uolebat*
 8 *euoluere. et aduentus sui causam manifestare; uiro secretius aduocato.*
 9 *domine inquit ad te sum celesti subnixus instinctu destinatus. Cum enim diuersis inlo=*
 10 *cis hactenus habitauerim. et mansiones proposito meo conuenientes. et uolun=*
 11 *tati concordēs sufficienter inuenerim; nusquam tamen requiescere potuit*
 12 *spiritus meus. latenter me admonente spiritu dei alium inuisere locum. Proinde re=*
 13 *lictis illis que michi plurimum complacebant habitaculis. ad te nunc ueni; igno=*
 14 *rans ad quid presaga futurorum diuina dispositio huc me direxerit. Non*
 15 *enim fortuitu aut sine certi causa misterii estimauerim accidisse; cum*
 16 *sine hesitatione crediderim. cuncta solius dei nutu agi. et hominis propositum dei*
 17 *semper dispositione actitari. Si igitur meis adqueueris desideriis. tue sollicitu=*
 18 *dinis intererit aduentum meum proprie salutis operarium efficere; et meis petiti=*
 19 *onibus patienter intendere; mentisque intellectum eis efficaciter impendere. Oro*
 20 *itaque quatinus de possessione a progenitoribus tuis iure hereditario tibi diriuu=*
 21 *ta. partem deo et michi concedas; ut ibi ecclesiam fabricem. in illa deo seruiturus;*
 22 *et pro tua salute deinceps omni die postulaturus. Ille autem qui iam toto conce*

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23 perat animo illius obtemperare uoluntati. quoniam eum uirum dignum laude et in
 24 reuerentia habendum iudicabat; huiusmodi illi uerbis respondit. Iustum qui=
 25 dem est de his que a deo collata nobis sunt illi partem tribuere; et pro suis ei benefi=
 26 ciis gratias pro modulo nostro acceptabiles rependere. Vnde te michi gratiosum effi=
 27 cis; qui hoc a me petis quod ego dare plurimum gaudeo. et quod michi in bonum cedere
 28 non ignoro. Accedens ergo quod postulas suscipito. hanc scilicet uillam libe=
 29 ram et quietam. atque de omnibus que ad me siue ad successores meos ^{pertinent} solutam;
 ex
 30 hac deinceps die solius dei seruitiis mancipatam. Et quoniam unica est michi filia in
 31 qua pene totius gaudii mei summa atque spes posteritatis consistit; illam etiam tibi com=
 {141v}
 1 mittens. deprecor quatinus proea dominum interpelles. ut ad suam ipsius uoluntatem et
 2 meum honorem disponat illius conuersationem; atque gaudium meum prouehat de
 3 illa. Hec dicens. predium illud beato uiro tradidit; in quo ecclesiam fabricaret.
 4 et habitacula seruis dei inibi mansuris construeret. Ipse uero omnia sua ad alium
 5 illum transponens locum. ex aduerso suum fixit tabernaculum. unde sancti uiri ha=
 6 bitacula omni hora diei intueri posset. Ita uir sanctus animum illius in breui
 7 optinuerat. ut si a confabulatione eius aliquando necessario diuelleretur.
 8 iocundum sibi et gratum uideretur illuc oculorum suorum aspectum dirigere. quo
 9 mentis affectu intendebat; atque locum quem omni deuotione spirituali incole=
 10 bat. corporalis etiam uisionis presentia frequentare.
 11 **C** VM⁴ uero construende basilice sanctus intenderet; ipse non numquam manus
 12 apponebat. semper quidem sufficienter sumptus administrans. et tam labo=
 13 re suo quam industria opus accelerans. Interdum etiam cum uir beatus diuina
 14 celebraret misteria; ipse presens aderat cum uxore sua et filia WENEFRE=
 15 DE^{A}5 nomine. Si autem quando sanctus uir populo precepta dei reuelabat. pefatam
 uirgi=
 16 nem ad pedes uiri dei ponebat; admonens omnia sollerter aduertere. et
 17 patulo suscipere corde. que ab illo dicebantur. Quod futurorum prescius deus. incassum

⁴ C is a large red initial covering two lines.

⁵ WENEFRE DE^{A} The correction is noted in the margin.

18 fieri non permittebat. Nam uirgo futura dei templum. Ardenti percipiebat desi=
 19 derio quę auribus hauriebat. et tenaci memoria recondebat; in proximo
 20 operibus exhibitura; quod tunc in animo congerebat. Multociens quoque petita et
 21 habita a parentibus licentia ad⁶ uirum dei ueniebat; sitibundo ebibens
 22 pectore. quę ab ipsius mellifluo proferebantur ore. Et licet a parentibus suis te=
 23 nerrime diligeretur. et spes prolis suę augmentande. atque successio posterita=
 24 tis in illa sola penderet; gratum tamen habebant quod sanctum uirum frequentare gau=
 25 debat. illius sermonibus doceri eam cupientes omnem incestum concubitum
 26 abdicare. et se legitimis intactam nuptiis conseruare. Illa autem inte=
 27 rius inspirante dei clementia cotidie crescebat in melius. et proficiebat in=
 28 sapientia; mente sua spiritu sancto ardentem debriata. Iam omnem uirum penitus
 29 abdicare disponebat. atque solius dei complexibus inhiare cogitabat;
 30 sed hoc parentibus suis innotescere formidabat. Illos offendere non sibi ido=
 31 neum fore credebat; deo uero funditus coniungi salutiferum esse sciebat.

{142r}

1 Parentum uoluntatem in hoc concordem et conuenientem non ignorabat. ut uiro
 2 legitime tradita. propagationem sobolis sue sustentaret; uerum se ipsam uirgi=
 3 nem castam exhibere christo sine ambiguitate multo melius fore; credebat.
 4 In hoc igitur certamine spirituali. uirginis animus non modico distrahebatur anfrac=⁷
 5 tu; hinc parentum timore a proposito suo illam reuocante. illinc dei
 6 amore ad perficiendum quod animo conceperat⁸ festinanter illam impellente. A ma=
 7 gistro suo edocta fuerat uerbis domini fidem abhibere; precipientis patri et matri
 8 renuntiare. christumque sequi; sed etas imbecillis et immatura impedimento erat.
 9 Statuit tamen et firmiter in animo posuit ad ultimum illud faciendum; si aliter
 10 sui propositi compos esse non posset. Veruntamen per beatum uirum prius dignum
 11 duxit. parentes suos conuenire; et illos cooperante dei gratia sibi ~~ex~~^{consen}cientes
 12 efficere. Ueniens ergo ad eum; solito orationi uacantem repperit; audacterque
 13 coram illo prorumpens. secreti sui eum conscium fecit. Semina inquit uerbi di=
 14 uini a tuo michi profusa ore ad quantum in me prouentum excreuerint; mani=

⁶ **licentia ad** There is a line between the two words.

⁷ **anfrac=** A mark above the c appears to be the first part for a ct ligature.

⁸ **conceperat** Sic.

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15 *festum tibi fieri uolo. Omnem seculi luxum amodo abdicare delegi. et uirginita=*
16 *tem meam ad honorem sponsi celestis integram et incontaminatam conser=*
17 *uare disposui; et hoc o pater sanctissime tua suffragatione ab utroque pa=*
18 *rente impetrare michi depostulo. Hec audiens sanctus pietate motus;{.} gau=*
19 *densque quod semen diuinum iam in illa pullularet; dixit se parentes eius*
20 *sollicite conuenturum. atque hoc quod petebat proposse suo acturum.*
21 *Quod facillimum factu et leue ad impetrandum erat; tum quia parentes*
22 *uirginis illius patrocinio se funditus subdiderant. qui ad intercedendum intro=*
23 *ducebatur. tum quia diuini nectaris plenitudo illorum etiam animos im=*
24 *buerat; qua uniuersos homines presertimque mentem filie sue debriari*
25 *preoptabant. Pro inde cum a uiro dei filie desiderium cognouissent. suffu=*
26 *si lacrimis deum benedixerunt; ac quod postulabantur benigne concesserunt. di=*
27 *uinum ei imprecantes adiutorium. Deposito igitur onere quo non mediocriter*
28 *grauabantur; rerum suarum opulentiam multipharie diuiserunt. pauperibus*
29 *uiduis. et orphanis subsidia administrantes; atque dei seruo operosius*
30 *intendentes. Et quoniam uidebant filiam suam non nisi filio dei nubtum dari uo=*
31 *lentem; omnia que congregantes custodiebant illi tribuenda si homini terreno*
{142v}
1 *nuberet. in diuinis officiis expendebant. Ipsi quoque curis eatenus se plurimum*
2 *opprimentibus expediti. preceptis dei funditus se mancipabant; uiam iusticie*
3 *inflexibiliter incedentes. Puella uero adepta optabile desiderium suum. nimio*
4 *afficiebatur gaudio; gestiensque inspiritu sancto. pedibus beati uiri interdum uo*
5 *tua assidebat. sitibundo hauriens pectore que de gloria sponsi sui ab*
6 *ipsius defluebant ore. Concessaque sibi licentia propria uti potestate. dila=*
7 *tato corde currebat uiam mandatorum dei; semper in Anteriora se extendens.*
8 *et penitus posteriora intermittens. Pro ipsius amore cui se deuouerat. nichil in*
9 *se terrenum admittebat; uni soli cum propheta inhians. inhabitare scilicet*
10 *in domo domini omnibus diebus uite sue. Iam non prestolabatur parentum ad ecclesiam*
ad=
11 *uentum; sed ipsa festinato itinere non numquam illuc pergens. diuinis intere=*
12 *rat misteriis. Frequenter autem noctibus in ecclesia excubabat. Interdum etiam*
13 *importunam se sancto ingerens. sollicitabat eum sermonem facere; atque de*

14 sponsi sui moribus *et* uita tractare. Tota quippe illius desiderio inardescens. *tunc*
 15 aliquantulum gaudii habebat; *cum* de amici sui excellentia. decore *et* po=
 16 tentia loqui audiebat. Atque huiusmodi eius reffectio. ~~xxx~~^{omnem}⁹ terrenarum rerum io=
 17 cunditatem excellebat; *et* in illius corde spiritualis iocunditatis indeficiens
 18 delectamentum retinebat. Et licet etate tenera esset. perfecta tamen moribus *et*
 19 corde cana erat; animum totius cupiditatis contemptorem habens. Immo
 20 quicquid consummate uirtutis uirum habere decet. penes illam satis habundex
 21 inueniebatur. *et* totum in illa diuine plenitudo gratiæ sufficienter infuderat.
 22 In exterioribus quoque non modicam diuinitus acceperat gratiam. Nam *et* erat uultu
 23 pulcherrima. *et* uerbo affabilis; atque toto corpore decenter composita.
 24 Vnde callidi insidiatore's¹⁰ astutias non usquequaque effugere preualuit. Ex hoc
 25 enim exorta materia; *cum* inimico generis humani certamen inire compul=
 26 sa est. *Cum* enim in exercitiis que ad salutem pertinent studiosissime inui=
 27 gilaret; cernens diabolus multa sui iuris per eam detrimenta fieri. atque in
 28 illa patria uirtutem suam eneruari posse; totus contra eam insurgere. *et* uires
 29 suas exercere cepit. Nec destitit; donec se illam uicisse. *et* sibi ul=
 30 terius non nocituram putauit. Quod huiusmodi exordium habuit.¹¹

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1 P¹² ostquam beatus beunous ecclesie sue fabricam cooperante deo consummas=
 2 setx *et* eam deo consecrasset. finitimi frequenter ad eam ueniebant. sed
 3 omni fere die prefate uirginis parentes ad audienda que dei erant ibi conuenie=
 4 bant. Contigit autem quadam die dominica pergentibus omnibus ad ecclesiam. predictos
 5 simul uirginis parentes illuc ire; quatinus predicationi sancti uiri *et* celebratio=
 6 ni misse interessent. Virgo uero illorum filia aliquod forte perpessa incommodum;
 7 necessario domi est sola remanere coacta. Et ecce quidam iuuenis chro^{a}=
 8 docus nomine filius Alani¹³ regis domum intrans; uirginem solam offendit iuxta focum

⁹ ~~xxx~~^{omnem} Uncertain if by main scribe. Bollandists claim that omnium was erased here.

¹⁰ **insidiatore's** Uncertain if changed by main scribe.

¹¹ This page contains one fewer line than normal.

¹² P is a large green initial, with the body covering two lines and the tail a further three.

¹³ **Alani** The line joining the two minims of the n appears to have been deleted, perhaps to change this to Alai, the reading in the Brussels manuscript.

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9 sedentem. Quę cognito regis filio concita surrexit. quid sibi placeret humi=
10 liter inuestigans. Illo uero interrogante quo pater illius discessisset^{} et dicente se
11 plurimum illius colloquio indigere; puella respondit. Pater inquit meus ad ecclesiam
12 iuit; diuinis misteriis interesse uolens. Atque ideo si tibi necessarius est paululum
13 te operiri oportet inproximo affuturum. Hec dicens simplici animo; nichil quidem
14 doli uel astutie. seu alicuius machinamenti suspicabatur. Re autem uera incentiua
15 libidinis illum adduxerant. et mentem illius titillabant; Ad quam explendam totus effre=
16 nis et preceps uolitabat. Cum enim dixisset puella oportere illum patrem suum expectare;
17 respondit iuuenis. Patienter inquit aduentum illius expectabo; si tu interim in Ami=
18 citiam meam ueniens. uoluntati meę assensum prebueris. Regis me filium esse non
ignoras.

19 diuitiis et honoribus multis refertum; te etiam affluenter locupletaturum. si mee
petitioni
20 assentire uolueris. Illa autem sentiens eum de concubitu sermonem inseruisse; paulu
21 lum demissa uultum. ruboreque suffusa. simulauit quidem primo grauitate se ferre. quod
eam
22 incomptam et inornatam ^{inuenisset; deinde} dixit ei. Cum tu regio ortus genere. post
modicum deo annuente rex
23 sis futurus. felicitate seculari me opulenter replendam esse non dubito; tuo matrimonio
24 copulatam. Veruntamen paulisper patere. donec pater meus adueniat. et ego interim
thalamum

25 meum intrabo. cito ad te reditura. Profecto hec dicens; solummodo ad horam auelli ab=
26 eo querebat. Uidebat enim miserrimum hominem infelici libine accensum; illius
27 Amore letaliter torqueri; et uelut amentem fieri. Sciebat quoque quod parentum absentia
28 infestus hostis insanior redderetur; ideoque ab ipsius manibus abstrai adpresens qualibet
29 occasione cogitabat. Concessit tandem ut cameram suam ingrederetur; sperans illam
30 cum decentiore ornatu atque acceptabilius compositam sine dilatione ad se redituram.
31 Tunc illa surgens thalamum est ingressa; nichilque differens ex altera parte perostium
{143v}

1 camere egreditur. et uersus ecclesiam prepeti cursu iter arripuit. Ibi enim et si non timore
dei.

2 multitudine tamen hominum protegi ac defendi putabat. Quę fuga mox iuueni

3 infausto innotuit. *Qui statim furibundus effectus. uehementique iracundia repletus*
 4 *quod diffugium faceret ne ei commisceretur;* arrepto gladio uelociter eam insequi cepit.
 5 Et *quoniam aliquantulum spatii domum paternam ab ecclesia dirimebat;* facili conami=
 6 ne assecutus est illam. *Quam prius toruo uultu intuens;* his uerbis eam affatus est.
 7 *Olim te amaui;* et meis amplexibus coniungere desiderauit. *Nunc ad te uenientem*
 8 *refugis. et te petentem contempnis;* iam procerto scias. *quod aut michi inpresentiarum*
 9 *ultronea commisceberis;* aut sine mora gladio isto ~~ca~~^pite absciso uitam finies.
 10 *Virgine itaque ad ecclesiam lumina uertente. atque sollicite inspiciente. si ali=*
 11 *quis inde exiret qui sibi adiutorium ferret;* nemo prorsus egressus est. *Tunc ad iuuenem*
 12 *conuersa. regis inquit eterni et omnium hominum iudicis filio in matrimonio copu=*
 13 *lata;* nullum ^{alium} excipere possum. *et ne te diutius protraham;* nullum preter illum dum
 ui=
 14 xero admissura sum. *Et enim sine illius contumelia hoc fieri non posset. Ideoque*
 15 *exime gladium. exere uires;* qualibet feritate accinctus. ut placet utere.
 16 *Certusque esto quia nec terrores tui nec blanditie. nec promissiones siue mine.*
 17 *ab illius dilectionis dulcedine me diuellere poterunt;* cuius amplexibus iam
 18 *astricta sum;* et deuotioni copulata. *Incestus autem iuuenis audiens se contemp=*
 19 *ni. sueque libidinis impatiens. simulque credens illam minui non posse. nec*
 20 *se quietem habere* ~~u~~^dum¹⁴ uirgo uiueret. euaginato gladio capud illius amputauit.
 21 *Statimque ut capud uirginis ad terram corruit. in eodem loco fons lucidissimus*
 22 *ubertim erumpens emanauit;* qui usque hodie fluere non desistit. multis in=
 23 firmantibus beate uirginis meritis sanitatem prestans. *Et quoniam iuxta ostium*
 24 *ecclesie uirginem apprehendens ei capud absciderat;* statim capud in ecclesia corruit.
 25 *corpore retrorsum extra ecclesiam remanente. Ad pedem enim cliui cuiusdam ecclesia*
 26 *sita erat;* atque in descensu illius montis capud uirginis resectum. facile
 27 *ruendo in ecclesia elapsus est. Truncum uero corpus quo prius ceciderat locum optinebat.*
 28 *Inter uero pedes stantium in ecclesia et diuinis misteriis intendentium corruens*
 29 *capud;* uniuersos admiratione permaxima commouit. *Omnibusque nimio terro=*
 30 *re percussis. atque dirum nefas grauiterque ulciscendum patratum fuisse dicentibus;*
 31 *auctoremque illius detestantibus;* parentes puelle tumultu aliorum com

¹⁴ ~~u~~^dum The scribe inked a d over the erroneous u.

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1 moti. accesserunt; rem certius cognituri. Filiamque suam exanimem cernentes.
 2 hinc capud abcisum. illinc corpus truncum aspicientes. ad terram lacrimosi corru=
 3 erunt; tristiciaque et anxietate soluti flebilem uocem emittentes. clamosis
 4 planctibus dolorem suum prodiderunt.
 5 **C**¹⁵ VM igitur magnus in ecclesia tumultus oriretur; omnibus quidem uirginis interitum
 6 lamentantibus. multis tamen ^{nimium} miserantibus acerbitatem doloris quæ paren=
 7 tes illius inuaserat; uir sanctus strepitum audiens et seditionem suspicatus. ad
 8 cetum peruenit astantium. Cernensque uirginem quam deo consecraturus erat. tam cru=
 9 deliter peremptam; miserabiliter condoluit. Peremptor uero illius adhuc iuxta exa=
 10 nime corpus tumidus foris assistens; gladium suum cruore uirginis madidum
 11 cunctis aspicientibus perherbam detergebat. Nam quia filius regis erat; impu=
 12 ne tantum se perpetrasse flagitium putabat. Sed et in admissione tanti fa=
 13 cinoris; nichil se deum uereri testatus est. Sanctus uero grauiter ferens superbiam eius et
 ob=
 14 stinationem cordis illius. et quia prosceleris sui perpetratione iactanter gloriaretur; ac=
 15 cessit ad eum. in manibus suis uirginis capud tenens. Respiciensque infaciem
 16 iuuenis; his cepit illum uerbis affari. O sceleste inquit qui iuuenilis decoris
 17 indolem et regię dignitatis progeniem homicidali maculasti crimine. cur=
 18 te tantum admisisse scelus non penitet; Pacem conturbasti. et ecclesiam tuo sacri=
 19 legio fedasti. deumque nefarius irritasti. nec doles; Nunc autem quoniam ecclesie non
 pepercisti.
 20 nec diei dominicę reuerentiam exhibuisti; deum meum deprecor. quatinus quę tu indigne
 21 commisisti. in presenti digna recompensatione recipias. his dictis; iuuenisq;
 22 ilico ad terram corruens expirauit. Mirumque dictu. in conspectu omnium astan=
 23 tium corpus defuncti liquefactum disparuit. multis asseuerantibus tellure dehis=
 24 cente absortum fuisse. et cum spiritu suo in baratro demersum. Vniuersi uero hoc ui=
 25 dentes proinsueti nouitate prodigii ineffabili pauore percelluntur. Dehinc
 26 sanctus capud uirginis quod inter manus assumpserat sepius deosculans; turbatus est
 spiritu et

¹⁵ C is a large red initial covering two lines.

27 flere compulsus. Postea uero ordine suo illud componens. adegit reliquo corpori.
 28 palliumque suum super illud sternens. in naribus illius insufflauit. Deinde paren=
 29 tibus nullam consolationem admittentibus sed continuis lamentis filie sue necem
 30 plangentibus; precepit luctum intermittere. et tandem a dolore cessa^[r]e. Ipse
 31 autem ad altare missam celebraturus accessit. Qua peracta; omnibus ad eum intenden=
 {144v}
 1 teibus. et spem ad deum erigentibus. ipse ad corpus exanimatum peruenit. De hinc lucu=
 2 lento ad populum sermone usus est; inter cetera dicens beatam uirginem uotum deo
 fecis=
 3 se. sed morte interceptam non congruum tempus exsoluendi habuisse. Et ideo debere
 4 eos deuotius humi procumbentes pro resurrectione illius deum interpellare. scientes se
 5 multas in posterum per eam commoditates adepturos. Quod illi satis accurate fecerunt. et
 in=
 6 maturam puelle mortem. et miseram parentum calamitatem miserati.
 7 P¹⁶ ostquam igitur diu oratum est; uir beatus a terra surgens. et manus ad celum
 ten=
 8 dens. domine inquit ihesu christe pro cuius amore hec uirgo terrena respuit.
 et ce=
 9 lestia concupiuit; nos te deuotis inuocantes animis misericors exaudi. et
 10 uiscera pietatis tue super nos effunde; uotorum nostrorum effectorem inprecept^{sent}i te
 esse
 11 concedens. Et quamquam uirginem hanc pro tuo amore passam non ignoremus in
 celestis gau=
 12 dii sinibus repositam. nostro ulterius non indigere contubernio; tu tamen clementissime
 pater filiis
 13 tuis te humiliter deprecantibus benignum te et exaudibilem prestans. supplicationibus
 14 eorum assensum prebe. Precipæ itaque ut puelle huius anima corpori suo inducta.
 15 regimen te et dominationem tam animarum quam corporum habere demonstret;
 quatinus tuę

¹⁶ P is a large green initial, the body of which covers two lines and the tail a further three.

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16 *gratia misericordie rediuiua nomen tuum magnificet*¹⁷. *et post longa uite spatia multi=*
 17 *plicato bone conuersionis fenore. ad te redeat sponsum suum unicum uidelicet*
 18 *dei patris filium; cum quo et cum spiritu sancto uiuis et gloriaris deus per infinita secula*
seculorum.
 19 *Cumque omnes respondissent amen; puella quasi a sompno surrexit. tergensque faciem*
 20 *suam atque emundans a puluere et sudore; astantes admiratione et gaudio re=*
 21 *pleuit. Porro ubi capud ipsius prius collotenus resectum. et postea ui diuina compactum*
 22 *atque resolidatum fuerat; albedo quedam tenuissima inmodum fili collum ambie=*
 23 *bat; et locum sectionis obducebat. Quod deinceps ad demonstrandam capitis il=*
 24 *lius resectionem atque miraculi obstensionem; quamdiu uirgo in corpore deguit; semper*
 25 *uno modo permansit. Inde ferunt illius prouintie homines eam WENEFREDAM fuisse*
 26 *uocitatum; cum antea ut ipsi asseuerant BREWA nominata sit. Quod enim ipsi in sua*
 27 *lingua WEN dicunt; latine candidum uocant. Sicque ex occasione albedinis*
 28 *collum circumdantis. ex re nomen habere dicta est. adiecta particula que est Wen; atque*
 29 *eufonie causa pristini nominis duabus litteris transmutatis. compositum obtinere uoca=*
 30 *bulum quod WENEFREDA dicitur. Fertur etiam quod postquam de hoc mundo migravit.*
nul=
 31 *li penitus manifeste apparuerit; qui illo candido signo collum ipsius circumda=*
 {145r}
 1 *tum non uiderit. Hoc quoque argumento titulum sue passionis admodum sibi placu=*
 2 *isse designat; quem totiens patenter demonstrat. quotiens alicui se uiden=*
 3 *dam ostendit. Locus uero ubi sanguis illius effusus est; primitus siccauallis dicebatur.*
 4 *Postquam autem capud uirginis abscisum terram tetigit. et ut prefati sumus fons ibi aque*
 5 *salientis emanauit; qui etiam manet usque in hodiernum diem. sanans omnes*
 6 *languores tam in hominibus quam in pecoribus; locus isdem de nomine puelle uocabu=*
 7 *lum sortitus est. Nam illorum lingua fennan WENEFREDE. nostra uero fons WENE=*
 8 *FREDE nominatus est. Fennan enim latino sermone fontem sonat. Et quoniam de*
 9 *corpore in descensu deuexi montis iacente multus fuerat effusus san=*
 10 *guis; lapides aspergine ipsius infecti. tam in fontis scaturigine quam in riuo*

¹⁷ **magnificet** Three minims have been inked after the g. The scribe mistakenly connected the second and third minim instead of the first and second minim. He erased this erroneous connecting stroke and inked a connecting stroke between the first and second minims, thus changing -in to -ni.

11 illius. seu in amborum margine passim iacebant. Et quod dictu uel auditu
 12 mirabile est. lapides illi *conspersi sanguine adhuc pristinam conspersionem retinent;*
 13 ut patet usque hodie ~~æ~~scire uolentibus. Nam sunt quasi congelato cruore perfu=
 14 si; nec ¹⁸ situ temporis. nec assidua *preterfluentis aquę eluuione deter*=
 15 *sicula uero quę eisdem lapidibus adheret; quasi thus redolet. Famosum sa*=
 16 *tis atque patriam illam incolentibus notissimum est fontem illum adhuc pristino*
 17 *more durare; et lapides ut prediximus cruentatos in illo inueniri. merita*
 18 *uirginis patenter ostendentes; et spem omnibus portentibus eandem uirginem se inuo*=
 19 *cantibus opitulari posse. Homines uero ipsius prouintie qui nondum deum cognoue*=
 20 *rant. nec illius iusticiam intellexerant uidentes uirginis resuscitationem. et*
 21 *de fontis emanatione petrarumque conspersione tam apertum et euidens miraculum*
 22 *factum fuisse; ad pedes beati uiri Beunoi prouoluti. dei misteriis se imbui*
 23 *petierunt. Quos ille benigna deuotione suscipiens. sacri baptismatis un*=
 24 *da purificauit; et diuinorum preceptorum sermonibus instructos in dei ser*=
 25 *uitio confirmauit; Qualiter uero beata uirgo WENEFREDA post resuscitationem suam*
 26 *uixerit. uel quem uite modum habuerit; siue consummato presentis seculi cur*=
 27 *su ad quem finem peruenerit. ^{nunc} succincte dicere curabimus.*
 28 **C**¹⁹ VM igitur ut prelocuti sumus a mortuis surrexisset; tota die sancti uiri
 29 pedibus adherens. illius sermonibus sedula deuotione intende=
 30 bat; de omnibus quę ad deum pertinent plenius instrui uolens. Quo facto. atque
 31 *ęcclesiastice discipline dogmate assecuto; illa magistri sui pedibus ad*=
 {145v}
 1 uoluta. uelari se obnixè postulauit. Cum enim inquit a parentibus meis hoc
 2 michi concessum sit; et meum noueris animum. omnem seculi luxum calcantem. solius
 dei
 3 amori et cognitioni inhiare; nulla debet esse dilatio ad consequenda de=
 4 siderii mei sacramenta. Nullatenus uero a te abstrahi. aut a pedibus tuis diuelli
 5 potero; priusquam tua benedictione regularis discipline misteriis initiata. ha=
 6 bitu etiam exterioris sortis dei me fore monstrauro. Noli ergo pater sancte meum diu

¹⁸ **nec** A rip in the parchment, present at the time of copying, covers the space of approximately three letters here and in line 15.

¹⁹ **C** is a large red initial covering two lines.

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7 differre desiderium; sed persuasionibus meis acquiescens. me uoti mei compo=
8 tem protinus effice. Tunc uir beatus uocatis parentibus eius. uirginis animum
9 et uotum manifestauit; et prerogatam ei diuinam gratiam dixit. atque ipsius
10 uoluntati se satis facere uelle intimauit. Illis uero benigne consentientibus.
11 filieque sue deuotionem iocundo affectu complectentibus; uir sanctus coram mul=
12 tis illam sacro uelamine indutam consecrauit. atque regularis propositi disci=
13 plinis sufficienter confirmauit. Que statim post completum desiderii sui uotum.
14 totius uirtutis artem agrediens. et regularis discipline studiis ²⁰ deuotis=
15 sime inherens; inbreui totius ordinis peritiam et obseruantie perfectionem
16 adepta est. De hinc cotidie magis ac magis proficiens. beatum uirum proni=
17 mia caritate sua admodum letificabat. Qui uocatis parentibus suis ^{illius} huius
18 modi oratione usus est. Uos me inquit prius hic suscepistis. et meis postu=
19 lationibus uos paratos atque promptos exhibuistis; demum quoque locum istum
20 dei seruitio instituendum concessistis. et uos ~~illum~~ ^(illud) idem efficaciter complere stu=
21 duistis. Nunc uero quoniam diuina inter uos exuberauerunt beneficia. lumen celeste
22 uobis et filie uestrę infusum diligenter attendite; gratiamque qua respersi estis sol=
23 licite considerantes. preostensam ^{uobis} salutis uiam uigilanter incedere curate. Et
quoniam
24 mei presentia ad presens carituri estis. quia alias me uocat deus; exemplis et
25 admonitionibus filie uestrę sollerter intendite. certissime scientes illam non so=
26 lum uobis. uerum etiam omni populo exemplum salutis futuram. Ad uirginem
27 uero conuersus; te inquit meis laboribus et exercitiis succedere precipit deus. et
28 ista incolere habitacula; uiamque uite a me tibi prelibatam sine intermissione
29 incedere. aliisque incedendam ostendere. Te enim singularis meriti palmam co=
30 ram se ferre delegit; tuique martirii exemplo atque bone uite conuer=
31 satione; multos in hoc seculo ad suum amorem informandos instituit.

²⁰ studiis A rip in the parchment, present at the time of copying, covers the space of approximately three letters after this word and in line 14.

{146r}

1 Tuum *igitur* erit ex hinc locum istum incolere. atque uirgines in dei famulicio uic=²¹
 2 turas et hic tecum mansuras congregare; unumque procerto scias. te in hoc ~~seculo~~^{loco}
 3 finem uite non habituram. CUM enim iniugi corporis abstinentia et spiritus afflictio=
 4 ne deo seruiens. septem hic annos peregeris; alium te inuisere locum diui=
 5 nitus admonitam oportebit. deo te dirigente; et per te multorum cordium tene=
 6 bras illuminante. Hoc etiam retine. quod celebris erit in hoc mundo me=
 7 moria tua; et quanti apud deum fueris meriti. multi per te incommodorum suorum
 8 remedia adepti contestabuntur.
 9 C²² VMque beata uirgo super discessu et absentia doctoris sui plurimum
 10 contristata fleret; beatus Beunous arrepta manu eius dextera. du=
 11 xit illam ad fontem. quem de loco ubi capud ipsius abscisum ceciderat. emanasse
 12 superius designauimus. Statuensque illam super lapidem unum qui tunc ibi forte re=
 13 pertus est et usque hodie in riuo fontis manet. et lapis sancti Beunoi ab incolis
 14 appellatur; his illam uerbis denuo allocutus est. Vides inquit adhuc hic uesti=
 15 gia tue passionis; Ecce lapides isti tuo conspersi sanguine. te pro deo marti=
 16 rium passam fuisse demonstrant; atque ad tui ipsius honorem perpetuum. aliorumque
 17 multorum monimentum. conspersionem quam de tuo cruore madefacti sunt. quasi re=
 18 centem seruant. Nunc igitur diligenti et tenaci memoria mea uerba reconde.
 19 ad multorum noticiam reuerenti relatione peruentura; atque peruenturas²³ temporum
 20 successiones. non nullis plurimum profutura. Tria tibi donatiua a deo erogata
 21 esse cognosce; que et laudis tue titulum solenniter celebrabunt. et in posterorum
 22 mentibus deuotionis tue amorem digna ueneratione cumulabunt. Primum quidem
 23 est quod lapides isti cruoris tui aspergine madidi. nulla poterunt per secula
 24 ablutione detergi. nec assiduo istius aque impetu abluui. sed ad tue passi=
 25 onis ostensionem semper cruentati apparebunt. deo ad ^{sue} gloriam maiestatis. atque
 26 ad tue triumphum castitatis tale miraculum faciente. Secundum uero est quod quicumque
 27 aliqua infortunia passus te requirit^{si}erit²⁴. et per te a sua inualitudine seu oppres=

²¹ uic= A mark above the c represents the first part of the ct ligature.

²² C is a large green initial covering two lines.

²³ peruenturas (interlinear) {uel perfuturas}.

²⁴ requirit^{si}erit The scribe lengthened one minim of the erroneous u to form an s and used the other minim as an i.

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28 sione se liberari petierit; prima siue secunda aut certe tertia uice uoluntatis
29 sue compos effectus. quod postulauerat se impetrasse gaudebit. Si autem contigerit
30 petentem te trine uicis petitione quod optauerat non consecutum fuisse; certis=
31 sime sciat se presentis uite luce in proximo cariturum; atque ideo occulto
{146v}
1 dei iudicio precis sue fructu in presenti frustratum fuisse. Proficere sibi tamen
2 ad animę suę medelam te inuocasse constanter intelligat. atque per te aliquid
3 sibi maius diuinitus prestari; quonia^{ua}m si quod petebat exterius consequeretur. Tercium
autem do=
4 natium; huiusmodi est. Cum ad presens a te discessero; super litus maris locum
5 ad manendum conuenientem largiri michi dignabitur deus. Et licet ate magno
6 interuallo discretus fuero; tuis tamen muneribus me omni anno ^{inuisendum} precepit
altissimus.
7 Cum ergo quod michi dirigere uolueris in manibus paratum habueris. ad presentem
8 fontem cum munere tuo festinabis; et quicquid illud fuerit. deo prius commissum in=
9 fonte confidenter depones. Videbis statim depositum tuum a fonte per riuum ui
10 diuina deduci. et impetu decurrentis aque insubtus decurrentem magnum
11 fluuium illesum trahici. Moxque maris elemento dei uoluntati obtemperantem atque
12 ministerium prebente; quod tu infonte deposueris. ad mei hospicioli ianuam de=
13 feretur; persinuosa undarum uolumina. per tumescentes et undin^{s}os^{n}as maris
14 procellas usque ad meum contubernium inuiolate delatum. Hoc quoque omnibus annis
dum
15 michi uita comes fuerit; deo precipiente contingere oportebit. Eruntque hec tria
16 a deo tibi concessa dona. prerogatiue diuinitus tibi collate designatiua; et dum mundus
17 iste durauerit. ad tue celebritatem memorie et laudis gloriam. multorum narratio=
18 ne magnificata. His dictis; ad ecclesiam eam reduxit. iterum huiusmodi uerbis illam al=
19 loquens. Ecce templum istud et habitacula circumstantia. partim meo labore. par=
20 tim parentum tuorum sumptibus edificata tibi relinquo; quatinus me hinc abeunte; tu
21 congregatis ad seruitium dei ^{***} tecum mansuris uirginibus plurimis. hic in tuo proposito
22 deo seruias; bonam tibi conuersionem et exempla uiuendi a me tibi insinuata nul=
23 latenus intermittens. Sciasque quod in loco isto ad multorum utilitatem magna fiet
24 uirtutis diuine ostensio; atque perhic manentium exempla ad dei cognitionem

25 ascendunt plurimi. omnia mundi emolumenta postposituri; ut christum lucrifaciant.
 26 Sanitates quoque multiformes et animarum et corporum diuersa infirmitate languen=
 27 tibus hic passim distribuentur. Omnis etiam etas uel sexus. aliquid remedii se in hoc loco^{loco}
 28 ~~xxx~~ contigisse gaudebit. Sed nec bruta animalia istius loci beneficiis immunia
 29 fore denuntio; deo sua clementi potentia hoc habitaculum protegente;
 30 et ad tui celebritatem honoris tanta in illo prodigia faciente. Tu uero sic te
 31 deo placabilem exhibe. et talem te in omnibus effice; quatinus in te nomen sanctum eius

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1 gloriosum existat. et te aspicientibus forma salutis efficiaris. Ego autem hinc
 2 nunc abeo. deo alias pro modulo meo famulaturus; tuique deuotionem dum uix=
 3 ro intra cordis mei penetralia cum dulci memoria habiturus.
 4 **H**²⁵ EC dicens. assumpto solummodo baculo suo abire cepit;
 5 omnem domus sue suppellectilem. et quicquid ibidem manenti perfidelium
 6 manus deus dederat; totum beate uirgini eiusque consortibus derelinquens. Sicque cunctis
 7 deo commendatis. atque ualedicto uniuersis. discessit; uno solo clerico^{comite} contentus.
 8 Semperque ad beatam WENEFREDAM lumina²⁶ retorquebat; propter corporalem eius
 9 absentiam multis lacrimis madidas genas habens. Illa uero super uerbis illius atque
 10 discessione impatienter se agens. miseram lacrimis et tristitia faciem gerebat;
 11 se relictam et inconsultam dicens. et omnibus maliuolorum incursionibus patere.
 12 pastoris presentia et diligentia desolatam. Cumque temptassent plurimi consola=
 13 toriis illam uerbis delinire; ipsa aliquantisper ab ecclesia dulcem patrem suum abe=
 14 untem deducens. donec cum eo erat. nullam prorsus consolationem admittebat.
 15 Comitum uero nullus in uia cum illa ibat. qui a lacrimis abstinere posset; tam acer=
 16 bo dolore eam torqueri uidens. Sanctus uero non diutius ferens illius lacrimas. quamuis et
 17 ipse non mediocri pietate moueretur; finem tamen tantis planctibus ponere uolens.
 18 citato gressu ab ea diuulsus est; porrecta manu prius et benedictione data.
 19 Sollicitis tamen aspectibus uirgo eum prosequens. cum iam ulterius non appareret; cum
 comi=
 20 tibus suis domum reuersa est. Nequaquam tamen dissimulare poterat acerbiteram tristi=

²⁵ **H** is a large red initial, the body of which covers two lines and the ascender a further three. (margin: guide letter for the rubricator) {H}.

²⁶ **lumina** (margin) {lumina}.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

21 cie. *que* illam pro digressionem doctoris sui inuaserat; *quam*diu recens illius me=
 22 moria erat. Elapso autem aliquanto tempore. rediens ad se beata uirgo; *et*
 23 ad memoriam reducens conuersionis sue modum. passionisque titulum. atque
 24 beati doctoris sui Beunoi sermones seu uaticinia; uirilem constantiam
 25 aggrediens. omnem ~~xxxiii~~^{merorem} funditus deposuit. Statimque sponsum suum *christum*
 26 cui se caste uiuendo deuouerat. toto mentis affectu amplectens; illi in=
 27 hiare. illum sapere. ad eum suspirare ardenti desiderio cepit. Deinde no=
 28 bilium filias secum congregans. docebat eas castitatem amare. atque spretis
 29 omnibus mundi blandimentis illecebris. leui iugo *christi* colla summittere;
 30 *et per* regularis propositi normam se dei seruitio mancipare. Non nulle autem
 31 uidentes conuersionis illius seueritatem. *et* modestam uite grauitatem. *gratia*
 {147v}

1 sunt diuina compuncte; atque arripientes monastici ordinis regulam; sacro
 2 indumento se uelari petierunt. Quibus beata WENEFREDA boni pastoris uires
 3 *et* officia exercens. nunc eas ab insidiis fraudulentis predonis euangelicis
 4 uerbis *et* sanctorum patrum sententiis munitas esse docebat; nunc luculento ser=
 5 monis sui affamine diuinum in earum pectoribus amorem infundebat.
 6 Assiduis autem admonitionibus non desistebat illas instruere. regule institu=
 7 tionibus sollerter intendere; propositique sui meminisse. atque in his officio=
 8 sas existere. Ipsa uero sine intermissione eadem faciebat; *que* subiectis suis
 9 facienda edocebat. Nam omni die ieiuniis *et* orationibus atque uigiliis
 10 studiose intendebat; *et* qualiter sibi subdite uirgines uiuere debebant. ipsa
 11 operans preostendebat; facta forma gregis sibi commissi. ad exemplum bene=
 12 uiuendi. In breui autem tempore ad omnium uirtutum arcem perueniens; paten=
 13 ter insinuabat *christum* dei uirtutem *et* dei sapientiam cordis sui amplitudi=
 14 nem obtinere. Hoc autem innumere uirtutes *et* crebra miracula hinc aperte
 15 manifestabant; illinc documenta salutis ubertim ex ore illius demanantia
 16 illud liquido demonstrabant. Exinde plurimum creuit uirginum conuentus. il=
 17 lius boni odoris fragrantia eas ad dei cognitionem attrahente; *et* in illarum
 18 cordibus diuinitatis amorem infundente. Gaudebatque nimium sancta illa
 19 congregatio talem sibi preesse matronam. in qua uisibiliter aspiciebat omnia uirtu=
 20 tis exercitia abundare; *et* celestem cognoscebat gratiam uberius radiare.

21 C²⁷ VM igitur in omnibus cęlestis uite studiis sedula
 22 insisteret; finitimi circa illius amorem ceperunt deuoti existere.
 23 longe positi autem pro ipsius bona fama admodum iocundabantur; dicentes
 24 nimia dei clementia perfusos esse quibus ipsa aut conuersione aut familiari=
 25 tate propius adherebat. Et multe uirtutum exhibitiones inmiraculis per eam
 26 fiebant; illud plane et ferocium hominum corda magis illius deuotioni
 27 subdebat. et fidelium mentes reuerentiam sibi exhibere compellebat; et pariter
 28 omnium fauorem sibi concilians attrahebat. Iam omnibus fere iocundum erat in illius
 29 uicinitate manere; quibusdam totius boni delectamentum salutisque uiam peream
 30 plurimum affectantibus. quibusdam uero propter commoda sibi exterius in miraculis illa
 31 ta; uim in ea celestis gratię esse perpendentibus. Omnibus itaque cum multa uene

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1 ratione et reuerentia claritatem diuinam que per eam late in prouintia renitebat
 2 suscipientibus; subdite sibi uirgines quibus illud clarius elucebat. magis inde
 3 proficiebant. Uidentes quippe illam cotidianis gemitibus ad deum suspirare.
 4 et diuina ad eam frequenter oracula fieri; maiorem ad deum deuotionem assu=
 5 mebant. et semper meliores efficiebantur. Beata uero WENEFREDA cum huius=
 6 modi bonis operibus perseueranter instaret. et per eam circumquaque cęleste lumen radi=
 7 aret; sepiissime uerborum et preceptorum magistri sui memoriam ad mentem re=
 8 ducens. in proximo instare perpendit diem discessionis illius. in qua scilicet ab=
 9 ea ipse discesserat; et munus sibi mitti preceperat. Quod autem illa sollicita sedu=
 10 litate in memoriam retinens. tam sui ipsius quam uirginum suarum labore casulam
 11 unam competenti textura composuit; uiro dei transmittendam.
 12 I²⁸LLVcescente itaque die quo xenium illud mitti debebat. qui est kalendas mai;
 13 uenit beata uirgo cum pluribus aliis ad fontem. in quo precepto uiri dei munus
 14 suum depositura erat. Acceptamque casulam albo prius mantili inuoluit. sicque
 15 in medio fontis eam deposuit; se dicens fontis ministerio hanc beato ui=
 16 ro beunoódirigere. Et ecce mirabile dictu et nisi fideli homini minime credi=
 17 bile. panniculus ille quo casula inuoluebatur. nullam lesionem ab aqua patie=

²⁷ C is a large green capital covering two lines.

²⁸ I is a large capital covering approximately seven lines. It does not impinge on the text.

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18 batur. nec uel minimam aquę infusionem sentiebat; *sed omnino siccus cum casula per=*
 19 *manens. impetu decurrentis aquę perriuum est deductus; atque in magno*
 20 *flumine transuectus. Totaque illa die consequenti nocte illud uirginis munus*
 21 *permarinos fluctus deductum; mane ad litus illud depulsum est super quod uir*
 22 *sanctus habitacula sua composuerat. Cum autem beatus Beunous mane ab ecclesia*
 23 *digressus. super oram maris staret. et qualiter prius exundate aquę in se redirent*
 24 *quadamque ui occulta ad se fluctus suos attraherent. admirando intueretur;*
 25 *forte ~~u~~^pannum²⁹ inuolutum in littore eminus conspicatur. Accedensque propius;*
 26 *quid illud esset certius scire conatur. Admotaque manu ab arena maris*
 27 *illud eleuans. pannumque inuolutumque euoluens; casulam inuenit.*
 28 *nichil penitus lesionis habentem. Pannus quoque qui illam exterius obuoluerat. ita*
 29 *siccus apparebat; ac si aquam non attigisset. Cogitante autem illo soller=*
 30 *tius. et causam huius inuentionis discernere conante; simulque admirante*
 31 *quod intra bibule arenę aquosa spatia aliquid non madidum inueniri potu=*
 {148v}

1 erit; latenter subiit in mentem eius deo dilecte uirginis WENEFREDE memoria.
 2 Habitaque secum deliberatione. qualiter ei preceperit omni anno munus ^{sibi} ~~xx~~ parare.
 para=
 3 tumque in fonte suo qui in riuum fluit deponere; cognouit tandem spiritu sancto sibi
 reue=
 4 lante. a beata uirgine illud transmissum. a beata uirgine per equoreas sinus illese
 5 sibi delatum. Deoque inde suppliciter gratias agens. munus illud benigne susceptum
 6 in ecclesia reposuit; tam sui ipsius quam aliorum seruorum dei usibus deinceps exhi=
 7 bendum. Gaudebatque quam maxime; quod uerborum suorum beata uirgo memor
 8 extiterat^{i}t. et quod tam preclara fama illius fuit; quod ab illa omnis fere prouincia
 9 illuminata erat. Orabat autem dominum incrementa uirtutum in illa augeri. et
 10 quicquid in oculis eius placitum erat; in ea multipliciter inueniri. aliorumque consci=
 11 entias per illam cęlestę deuotione accendi. Ex effectu uero satis patuit deum
 12 preces ipsius suscepisse; auresque clementie sue exaudibiles illi exhibuisse.
 13 Et enim in tantum celestis exercitii studium in uirgine profecerat; ut in illa

²⁹ ~~u~~^pannum The scribe inked a p over the erroneous u.

14 totius perfectionis summa inueniretur. et ipsa quasi singulare iubar totius prouintię.
 15 forma uiuendi et exemplum beneagendi; tam presentibus quam absentibus appare=
 16 ret. Efficaciam quoque mirabilem atque diuinam habebat. ad persuadendum quod uole=
 17 bat. Nam quotiens commissum sibi talentum diuini uerbi aliis dispensandum suscipiebat.
 18 tanta³⁰ uenerat ei in sermone facultas. et insententiis modesta grauitas;
 19 ut omnes fere ipsius loquela deliniret. et in deuotionem dei deuinciret. Pro inde
 20 uniuersi pene patriam illam inhabitantes. crebris admonitionibus coerciti;
 21 ab omnibus se abstinebant. que sibi salutem impedire poterant; ardentique feruo=
 22 re ad ea intendebant. que fidei opera esse sciebant; et que beatam uirginem uel suas
 23 consortes affectare uidebant. Ipsa uero ad omnia que beatus uir Beunous ei dixerat
 24 uel preceperat. se curiosam exhibebat; nichil prorsus intermittens de omnibus sibi
 imperatis.

25 **S**³¹ ingulis uero annis in die kalendarum mai munus transmittebat
 26 magistro suo dum uiuebat. modo quo superius designauimus. Et licet magnum spa=
 27 cium illos ab inuicem dirimebat; quinquaginta enim miliaria aut eo amplius inter
 28 illos distantiam faciebant; unius tamen noctis spacio per sinuosa maris uolumi=
 29 na deportatum. ad ianuam monasterii sui mane in arena littoris inueni=
 30 ebatur. Ex hoc autem beato uiro additum cognomen est; quod apud Walie homines ho=
 31 dieque memoriale habetur. Nam Beunous casulsech. idest Beunous casula=

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1 sicca uocatur; eo quod per aquas ab aquis illesa ad eum sicca casula deferretur. Accidit
 2 autem dum uirgo hunc mittendi modum singulis annis obseruaret; ut beatus Be=
 3 unous longo confectus senio. uirtutibus plenus. et operibus preclarus. caducum et
 erumpnis
 4 obsitum relinquens seculum; ad celeste migraret gaudium. De cuius uita uel obitu.
 5 et que iuuenis egerit. uel que post mortem mirabilia fecerit; habentur adhuc in re=
 6 uerenti memoria monumenta. illius uite modum et mores designantia. Hoc quoque
 7 precipuum et memoriale de eo predicatur; quod multo plura miracula mortuus fa=
 8 ciat; quam uiuens. Cuius discessus cum sancte uirgini innotuit; multis illum lacrimis

³⁰ tanta (margin, possibly just marking out a line of interest) †

³¹ S is a large red initial covering one line.

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9 et ^op^orationibus³² prosecuta est; atque prefatum munus ulterius transmittere destitit. Tunc
autem

10 primum omni humana consolatione se destitutam dicens. tedere cepit locum in quo
mora=

11 batur. Paululumque procedente tempore cum pars maxima consortum suarum uirginum
de=

12 hoc seculo migrasset; odio habere locum illum cepit. in quo eatenus conuersata erat.
Me=

13 morque uerborum preceptoris sui. quibus illam post septem annos alium debere inuisere
et in=

14 colere locum designauerat; inultimi expletione anni cepit fastidire locum.

15 et omnia prorsus edificiorum genera intermittere. Et quoniam facies eius alias intendentis

16 erat; requiem non habebat spiritus eius. dum ibi degebat. Nec tamen donec consummati
essent.

17 prefati septem anni habitationem illam dimittere. aut uspiam abire facultatem

18 habere potuit. Cum autem omnes euoluti essent; tum illa sui ipsius compos effecta; toto

19 conamine ad deum mentem erigens. deprecabatur ut eam ^{ad} talem locum destinaret. ubi

20 et sibi placere et aliis proficere posset³³ Locumque illum in quo prius conuersionem
habuerat.

21 sua benedictione perfundere ~~xxxxxx~~^{dignaretur}; ut qui illuc orationis gratia.³⁴ adueniret;
inuo=

22 cato nomine ipsius atque patrocinantibus illis qui ibidem actus suos et mores pro illius
amore

23 correxerint; quod postularet consequeretur. Quam petitionem ad dei aures peruenisse

24 testantur innumere gentes in eodem loco a diuersorum morborum inualitudinibus

25 liberate. Quod postea patentibus demonstrabitur exemplis; cum prius narrationem
histo=^{rie texuerimus.}³⁵

³² **p^orationibus** The scribe erased the descender of the p to transform it into an o.

³³ **posset** A punctus may have been deleted here due to the deletion of the word below.

³⁴ **gratia** (margin with a signe-de-renvoi) {aut alicuius remedii consequendi causa}.

³⁵ **histo=^{rie} texuerimus.** The letters in superscript are written in a space on the subsequent line.

26 **C**³⁶ VM igitur beata uirgo WENEFREDA
 27 sollicite orationi instaret. dei clementiam sibi affuturam; et preducem iti=
 28 neris sui eam fore depostulans. nocte quadam uigiliis et obsecrationibus inten=
 29 denti; diuinum ei huiusmodi oraculum insonuit. Assumpta tecum una tantummodo
 30 uirgine comite. uade ad beatum deiferum qui moratur in loco qui botauarrus
 31 appellatur; illoque ~~consi~~^[ulto]³⁷ quid deinceps factura eris uel quo abitura cognosces.

Erat

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1 quippe³⁸ uir ille magnus coram domino; in omnibus mandatis et iustificationibus eius sine
 2 querela incedens. De quo refertur quod cum uirtutum gratia copiosius exuberaret.

fontem

3 de terra erumpere fecerit; eoque extensa manu benedicto. deum exorasse quatinus
 4 quicumque eger in illo se mererit. sanitate potitus ad sua reuertatur. Quod ita factum

esse

5 plerique ibidem sanitatem adepti contestati sunt. Cum uero plurima miracula per illum
 cele=

6 bri sermone gesta referantur; unum tamen post obitum eius patratum specialius inserere
 7 placuit. quatinus diligentius illo inspecto; cuius meriti fuerit facile dinoscatur.

8 Fures quidam ad latrocinandum exeuntes. in cimiterio beati Deiferi duos inue=

9 nerunt equos. Quos secum educentes; libere se illos abituros fore sperauerunt. Domini
 uero illorum

10 adcimiterium in quo eos deposuerant uenientes; et non illos ibidem repperientes.

11 furto ablatos cognouerunt. Ad hospitiaque reuersi. candelas fecerunt. atque

12 ecclesiam sanctissimi confessoris ingressi. super altare illas posuerunt. Quæ quoniam ac=

13 cense non erant. nec ignem quo eas accenderant ad manum habebant; sanctum dei hu=

14 militer deprecati sunt. quatinus aut eas lumine diuinitus emisso accenderet. aut in=

15 accensas equa acciperet deuotione; ac si illuminate sibi darentur. Sanctus uero illorum

³⁶ **C** is a large red initial covering two lines.

³⁷ ~~consi~~^[ulto] One of the deleted letters seems to have been a single minim, which has been used to form part of the u in the emendation.

³⁸ **quippe** (top margin, erased) There is erased marginalia here, which may prove more visible if subject to multispectral imaging or similar techniques.

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16 *precibus se presentem adesse ostendens; ipsis coram positis luce subita candelas*
17 *eorum accendit. Unde et maior illis ad sanctum Deiferum deuotio excreuit; et*
18 *spes eis suborta est recuperandi quod iniuste admiserant. Nec fefellit eos*
19 *sua opinio. Nam prefati fures per omnem uagantes circumiacentem prouinciam. cum*
20 *circa mediam noctem se longius effugisse putassent; sollertius scire uolentes*
21 *locum ad quem peruenissent. tandem ad sepem qua prefatum cimiterium ambiebatur se*
22 *uenisse compererunt. Nimioque affecti dolore. seque non impune si capi possent*
23 *illud latrocinium fecisse scientes; iterum flexis habenis diffugium querere temp=*
24 *tauerunt. Set nec tunc imbecillis erat uirtus diuina. in illis manum potentie*
25 *sue ostendere. Nam cum aliquantis per se elongatos putassent; erumpente diei*
26 *crepusculo. ad predictum locum reduces fieri compulsi sunt; atque infra eiusdem*
27 *cimiterii ambitum equis desilire. illorumque habenas in manibus suis tenere.*
28 *Qui autem equos perdiderant. nondum ab eodem loco elongati fuerant; sed interim*
inecclesia
29 *morati per sanctum domini aliquod solatium in proximo sibi fieri confidebant. Mane ergo*
30 *illucescente de ecclesia exeuntes. uiderunt equos suos in atrio stare. et qui illos*
31 *adduxerant eosdem inmanibus tenere. Vnde deum benedicentes. et sancto DEI=*
{150r}
1 *fero gratias agentes; caballos suos susceperunt; fures impunitos abire*
2 *permittentes. Ex his itaque digestis. quanti meriti fuerit uir sanctus ad quem be=*
3 *ata WENEFREDA diuino oraculo pergere iussa est; facile conici potest.*
4 **I**³⁹*GITVR sanctissima uirgo committens deo locum suum. et omnes*
5 *cum quibus habitauerat; una sola uirgine comite contenta; ut in oraculo audie=*
6 *rat. peregrinationem suam aggressa est. Ueniensque ad sanctum DEiferum quem octo*
7 *fere miliaris a loco de quo ipsa egressa est distare constabat; benigno fauo=*
8 *re ab eo susceptam ~~est~~^{est}.⁴⁰ Cum^{que} prius orationi diutius incubuissent; consederunt pa=*
9 *riter. uirgine causam aduentus sui illi penitus exponente. Cui uir sanctus inhunc*
10 *modum respondit. Ego inquit huius diuini consilii adhuc prorsus ignarus ex=*
11 *isto; sed parumper patere. hic nobiscum hac nocte degens. Forsitan digna=*

³⁹ I is a large green initial covering six lines.

⁴⁰ ~~est~~^{est}. Accent above the e suggests the scribe originally intended to write the abbreviation for est, before changing his mind and writing the word in full.

12 bitur dominus aliquid nobis reuelare. quod sibi sit placitum; et tui propositi
compendium.

13 Quod ipsa libenter annuit; proculdubio sciens ex responso celesti ad se
14 facto insinuatam sibi fuisse. apud eundem sanctum se doceri quid acturi esset. Sancto
15 igitur tota illa nocte ut solitus erat orationem facienti; uox de celis insonuit
16 dicens. Dic karissime filie mee uirgini WENEFREDE. quatinus ad uicum eat qui uocatur
17 henthlantus. ibi desiderii sui uotis ex aliqua parte potitura. Ibi enim uirum ue=
18 nerabilem Saturnum nomine inuentura est; per quem plenius audiet quid deinceps actura
19 uel in quo loco omni uite sue tempore sit habitura. Mane itaque uirginem ad se conuo=
20 cans sanctus Deiferus; nichil prorsus reticuit de omnibus que diuinitus edoctus fuerat.

Viamque

21 illi ostendens qua ad predictum sanctum pergere debebat; gaudenter eam incedere ad=
22 monuit; dicens sibi de celestibus insinuatam esse quod apud eundem sanctum patenter
23 sit auditura quid sibi conueniat. omnemque penitus sue necessitatis seriem.
24 **B**⁴¹ EATA uero WENEFREDA plurimum gauisa. quod amota omni
25 dubitatione ad aliquam certitudinem per beatum Deiferum sit perducta.
26 et quia deum curam sui habere cognouit; sanctissimo uiro ualedicens; assumpta
27 comite sua ad beatum Saturnum iter arripuit. Ad quem cum peruenisset; be=
28 nignissime ab eo suscepta est. Ille siquidem totius propositi eius et itineris prius conscius
29 effectus. responso sibi de supernis super hac re facto; beatam uirginem omni deuo=
30 tionis affectu suscepit. De hinc admonens quatinus illa nocte secum ma=
31 neret. crastina die omnibus quibus indigebat plenius instruenda; consensit.

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1 Atque ad orationem primitus ducta. cum eo resedit; dicens se iussu dei ad illum
2 uenisse. ut ipsius doctrina uoti sui compos efficeretur. Tota itaque nocte ibidem
3 permanens. mane facto huiusmodi a beato saturno uerba audiuit. Est locus
4 quidam Witheriacus nuncupatus. multorum sanctorum pigneribus refertus; et pro illorum
5 ueneranda conuersatione a deo electus. atque ab omni populo in nimia reuerentia
6 habitus. Hunc locum ^{te} inuisere precipit deus. atque dum adduxeris tua presentia in=
7 habitare; tuisque exemplis aliorum animos informare. Ibi est quidam multarum

⁴¹ B is a large red initial covering two lines. The B at the bottom of the page is possibly a guide letter.

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8 uirtutum abbas nomine Elerius. quem iugis gemitus et oratio perseuerans. ita ab omnibus
9 secularibus curis liberum et defecatum reddiderunt. ut iam nil terrenum sapiat; nihil
10 prorsus mundane delectationis affectet. totus celestibus intentus. Ad hunc te desti=
11 nare diuino sum precepto admonitus; tibi que insuper intimare. quod ibi inuentura
12 sis quicquid anime celestia desideranti in presenti uita sufficere debet. Nam ibi sunt
13 deo dicite uirgines. ab ipsis infantie rudimentis in professione uite sanctimoni=
14 alis celibatum obseruantes. et diligenti deuotione proposito suo intenden=
15 tes. tuis admonitionibus et exemplis dei nutu aliquatenus meliores efficiende.⁴²
16 Licet enim in famulicio christi peruigili obseruantia se custodiant; tuo tamen
17 aduentu et deuotiores reddentur. et maior eas diuinitatis splendor il=^{lustrabit.}⁴³
18 I⁴⁴LLa audita conuersatione uirginum. ad laudem earum
19 plurimum alludens; iam dudum se eodem desiderio astringi profitetur; atque cum eis
20 titulum uirginitatis libentissime uelle amplecti. Ducem autem uie postulat
21 sibi quantotius prouideri. Sanctus uero saturnus diaconum suum beate uirgini
committens. et be=

22 ato Elerio per ~~xxxxxx~~^{eum illam} destinans. deducere eam et ipse aliquantulum cepit.
Cumque

23 inter loquendum multa illi de loci ipsius quem adibat amenitate retulisset; tandem
24 discedere ab ea uolens. benedictionem postulatus impertitur. Deinde multa ei a deo
25 bona tribui deposcens. ad propria sanctus regressus est; et illa quo tendebat appropiauit.
26 Cuius aduentum uir sanctus per spiritum sanctum prenoscens; citus in occursum illius
profectus est. Et

27 quemadmodum decebat fidelissimam dei cultricem illam suscepit; diaconⁿo⁴⁵ qui cum ea
28 uenerat omnia referente que suo doctori diuinitus fuerant intimata; et qualiter dei
29 admonitione ad illum sit destinata locum. Sanctus uero prius illam rite salutata. atque
30 debita ueneratione honorata; ecclesiam orandi gratia introduxit. Completaque
31 oratione. sanctus in amplexus uirginis incumbit; et ut constantis sit animi exhor=

⁴² efficiende. Final de. appears to have been redrawn in darker ink.

⁴³ il=^{lustrabit.} The letters in superscript are written in a space on the subsequent line.

⁴⁴ I is a large green initial covering five lines.

⁴⁵ diaconⁿo The n of diacono appears to have been adapted from the base of a t with a further minim added.

{151r}

1 tatur. Postmodum ad secretam collationem eam uocans. quid mente conceperit. et quid
agere

2 deliberauerit percunctatur. Quam^{uis} enim inquit omnem uite tuę modum uel qualiter
sis diuinis

3 initiata misteriis. uel quomodo proprii capitis abscisione passionis titulum sis adeptus
4 ta; que ue sint insignia martirii tui. et cruoris effusi.⁴⁶ paruitati meę a su=
5 pernis sit manifestatum; que causa tamen tanti itineris laborem assumere te compulerit
6 tuo cupio ore doceri. Cui sic uirgo respondit. Qui illa que modo intimasti tibi re=
7 uelare dignatus est; non funditus te ignarum reliquit ut arbitror de his que mente
8 reuoluo. uel quare ad ipsum perueni locum. Nam ut potuit tibi que circa me fuerunt
preteri=

9 ta reuelare; potuit etiam plane et michi euentura pariter manifestare. Ideoque
10 suscipe me tibi diuinitus destinatum. meamque amodo conuersationem ita dispone. sicut
11 tibi est celesti preostensum oraculo. Tunc uir sanctus nocte illa que imminebat huius
csilii⁴⁷

12 diffinitionem differre decreuit. illamque hoc patienter ferre satis humiliter
13 exorauit. Sancto itaque Elerio per totam noctem orationibus incumbente. et beata
14 WENEFREDA pariter peruigili continuatione precibus intendente; huius negotii cer=
15 titudo sancto confessori paululum circa crepusculum diei quiescenti manifestata est.
16 Plurimumque gratulabundus effectus. ad uirginem mane uenit; rursusque in illius ruens
17 amplexus. gaudere eam atque securitatem ex inde habere monuit. Postea uero manum
18 ipsius arripiens. ad uirginum conuentum qui in eodem loco ut prediximus celebris erat
eam

19 introduxit; his sermonibus ad illas concionatus. Animi estote attentiores –
20 karissime filie. Est enim opere precium uobis insinuare. quanto splendore uos illustrare
21 dignata est misericorditer diuina clementia. Ecce hanc deuotam sibi uirginem ad comma=
22 nendum uobis et conuiuendum destinauit. quatinus inspecta ui^{t}a eius; exemplis illius
23 in dei famulatu deuotiores efficiamini; et ipsi pro melioratione uestra in celis

⁴⁶ **effusi** An ascender rises from the left side of the e, possibly a remnant of an incomplete f, s, l, or b which the scribe initially wrote.

⁴⁷ **csilii** Sic. No abbreviation mark.

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24 detur retributio. Hec est illa uirgo WENEFREDA cuius ad aures uestras iam olim precla=
 25 ra conuolauit fama; quę ne castitatis suę detrimentum pateretur. persecutorum infesta=
 26 tiones; simul et blandientium ~~lexxxx~~^{nocinia} contempsit; atque ad ultimum pro uirgi=
 27 nitate sue custodia. abscisione capitis mori libenter elegit. Hec est inquam
 28 illa. cuius triumphi insignia late per ecclesiam emicant; et cuius titulis omnis ista
 29 prouincia magno se donari bono gloriatur. Hęc sola et martirii et egregie
 30 confessionis palmam. a deo se adepturam fore non ignorat. Ad uos ergo uenit uo=
 31 biscum mansura. atque obitus sui diem expectatura; quę iam meritis suis celos petiit.

{151v}

1 et cuius inter beatos martir^es⁴⁸ locus retributionis conseruatur. Uos itaque pro ipsius ad=
 2 uentu admodum gaudentes estote; et cęlestem thesaurum inter uos habitan=
 3 tem deuotius amplectimini; sollicite operibus illius intendentes. atque ipsam
 4 toto conamine imitantes. Et enim ad hoc illam huc destinauit altissimus.
 5 quatinus et uos illam inspicientes. merita uestra cum ipsius meritis in celesti reponatis.
 6 et locus hic dum mundus iste durauerit. propter eam celebri fama respergatur.
 7 **P**⁴⁹ ost hec uerba ad unam conuersus dominam quę et mater sui ipsius erat. et aliis
 8 sanctimonialibus prelata; tibi inquit o karissima mater curam istius deo dilecte
 9 uirginis specialius committo. Tu igitur eius uestigiis inhere. tu opera imitare.
 10 tu curam omnium quę ad eam pertinent. uel quicquid ^{sibi} placere cognoueris; instanti
 sol=
 11 lertia exequere. Notumque sit tibi et ceteris in nostra nunc presentia consistentibus.
 12 hanc beatam uirginem diuino oraculo ad hunc locum esse transmissam. Ex quo ma=
 13 iorem deuotionem circa illam habere debetis; et quante cure sit locus iste ante deum
 14 non ignorare. His dictis sanctus confessor discessit; et beata WENEFREDA cum
 15 ancillis dei deinceps conuersatura remansit. Et tunc quidem totius religionis arcem
 16 arripere festinabat. atque in omnium uirtutum culmine constans persistebat. ac si
 17 eatenus huiusmodi sanctitatis funditus aliena extitisset. Et quoniam beato uiro re=
 18 ferente prima conuersionis sue auspicia sanctis uirginibus reuelata fuerant. ita
 19 ardenti deuotione omnem salutis uiam aggressa est; uelud si tunc primitus conuer=

⁴⁸ martir^es The scribe changed the erroneous r into an e by adding a loop.

⁴⁹ P is a large red initial, the body of which covers two lines and the descender a further three.

20 ti ad *deum* cepisset. Eratque in illa iugis abstinentia. custosque sue boni=
 21 tatis et sanctimonie perseuerans oratio; et humilis conuersatio. In ipsa exem=
 22 plum patientie et obedientię ceterę uirgines accipiebant; eamque in omnibus
 23 quę ad salutem pertinebant preuiam sibi efficiebant. Omnia quę honestatis erant.
 24 quę uirtutis. in illa affluenter inueniebant; ideoque non modicam illi reueren=
 25 tiam exhibebant. Illa uero que prelata eis erat. mater scilicet sancti confessoris=
 26 Elerii. Theonia nomine. eam solenni affectu diligebat; atque illius consiliis
 27 tam sui ipsius quam ceterarum uirginum sibi commissarum curam dispensabat. Venera=
 28 batur etiam in illa peruigilem instantiam. et admirabatur continuam abstinentiam.
 29 dulcique gaudio omnium uirtutum in illa perseuerantiam amplectebatur. Sepius
 30 quoque cum illa de celestis regni desideriis tractans. lacrimis de oculis eius efflu=
 31 ere ~~faciebat ubertim~~ ^{ubertim faciebat}⁵⁰. et ipsa eque lacrimabatur. Erat enim eadem matrona
 {152r}

1 magne auctoritatis et religionis eximie; atque ad omnia opera caritatis et
 2 misericordię sollicite intenta. Et licet omnes uirgines inestimabili deuotione
 3 diligeret; sanctam tamen WENEFREDAM iocundo affectu suscipiebat. et suo
 4 obsequio confouebat. atque ad illius uenerationem non minimam operam impendebat.
 5 S⁵¹ ANCTUS uero Elerius qui seorsum cum fratribus suis et condiscipulis domino
 6 in simplicitate cordis et nimia spiritus afflictione seruiebat. non num=
 7 quam ad illam ueniebat; et eam aliis imitandam proponebat. Frequentius autem
 8 de secretis celestibus interdum uero de misteriis ecclesiasticis cum illa agens; in=
 9 ueniebat eam de his quę ad deum pertinent uberius redundare. atque de neces=
 10 sariis exterioribus sollerti astutia pollere. Sicque ad suos reuertebatur; ad=
 11 mirans in illa et exterioris scientie affluentiam. et interius diuine gratie ple=
 12 nitudinem. Nec hoc diu finitimos latere potuit. Vnde locus ille in bre=
 13 ui magnam celebritatem adeptus est; et in ingenti reuerentia est habitus. Accur=
 14 rebant enim undique cateruatim fideles populi. cernere cupientes uirginem pro christi
 15 amore prius capite truncatam. sed cuiusdam sancti beneficio rediuiuam effectam; mag=
 16 nifice predicantes locum quem incolebat summa esse reuerentia dignum. Quibus=

⁵⁰ ~~faciebat ubertim~~ ^{ubertim faciebat} A second hand has inked a miniscule b over faciebat and a miniscule a over ubertim, indicating that the order of these two words should be inverted.

⁵¹ S is a large green initial, covering two lines.

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17 *dam uero sufficiebat sola illius uisio et allocutio. Nonnulli autem importunius se*
18 *ingerentes. locum sectionis in collo uirginis ostendi sibi humiliter petebant.*
19 *Quorum petitionibus reluctari timebat. ne et illorum deuotio inde minue=*
20 *retur; et sibi illud ad superbiam deputaretur. Qui uidentes in collo eius pellem secti=*
21 *onis locum obtegentem. niueo colore albescentem. a lacrimis abstinere non po=*
22 *terant. Deumque in suis magnaliis benedicentes. et nimia pleni admirati=*
23 *one; ad propria redibant.*
24 **Q**⁵² *Adam uero die beatus Elerius claustra sanctimonialium est ingressus. sanctam*
25 *uirginem WENEFREDAM uisitaturus. et cum illa quae dei erant tractaturus.*
26 *Loquentibus autem eis ad inuicem diutius. fortuitu sermo incidit de memoria*
27 *mortis. Tunc sanctus nacta occasione proferendi quod frequentius animo reuoluerat;*
gau=
28 *dio inquit quod deus ad hunc te destinauerit locum. corpus meum sepulture tradituram.*
29 *meique memoriam post obitum meum habituram. Hoc enim a deo michi concedi sepius*
30 *deprecatus sum. ut uidelicet aliquem ex suis famulis siue ancillis huc desti=*
31 *naret. qui et me sepeliret; et post me hunc incolens locum. celebrem illum face=*
{152v}
1 *ret. Cui sic beata uirgo respondit. Non equidem ita futurum est; nec sic est preordi=*
2 *natum x a deo. Te enim oportet me superstiti et coastante. dominam meam matrem*
tuam
3 *prius humi tradere. atque demum post aliquantum curriculum annorum corpus meum*
sepe=
4 *lire. Dehinc ^{tu} plenu~~ss~~ dierum in pace uitam consummabis; atque ad patres tuos*
5 *translatus. in celesti regno inuenies quae ibi conseruanda reposueris. His sanctus*
6 *confessor auditis; discessit. In proximo autem patuit illam ueram protulisse prophetiam.*
7 *Nam post aliquantulum temporis beata theonia graui infirmitate correpta. acule=*
8 *is mortis ad presens super uenture cepit urgeri. Cumque filie eius uirgines scilicet*
9 *quae sub illius disciplina erant cognouissent uelocem eius abscessum; nimio fle=*
10 *tu et dolore tabescere ceperunt. Vehementer enim lamentabantur quia amittebant*
11 *matrem quae eas aluerat. et in dei seruitute educauerat; et diuina misteria*

⁵² Q is a large red initial covering two lines.

12 edocuerat. Quas illa uerbis consolatoriis confortans. ibi debere dicebat huius=
 13 modi lugubres uoces emitti. ubi meliori deterior succedit; et ubi iura diui=
 14 na per malos successores decidunt. Vbi uero bono melior succedit. et illa quæ
 15 dei sunt in melius semper prouehuntur. ibi non luctus et desolationes admittende sunt.
 16 sed potius hilari corde cum gaudio spiritali meliorationem a supernis emissam sus=
 17 cipere. hominis est bonam mentis habitudinem possidentis. Et uos inquit ideo meum
 18 discessum patienter tolerare debetis. quoniam hanc beatissimam uirginem WENEFRE=
 19 DAM uobiscum habiture estis; in qua omnia quæ ad doctrinam uel ad exemplum salutis
 pertinent

20 sufficienter inuenire potestis. Illam oculis interioribus intuemini. et mentis affectu
 21 imitamini; ad illam quasi ad singulare sidus gressus uestros dirigite. et omnium agen=
 22 dorum uestrorum curas illi impe^[o]ndite. scientes proculdubio deum uobis ad omnia
 coad=
 23 iutorem existere. si istius uirginis consiliis consentientes adqueueritis. Post hec uerba a
 filio

24 sua^[o] sancto uidelicet confessore Elerio. uiuificam dominici corporis et sanguinis
 commu=

25 nionem accepit; atque statim de hoc seculo migrans. in manus sanctorum angelorum
 spiritum

26 reddidit. Qua decenter composita et ut talem tantamque decebat matronam cum ni=
 27 mio planctu et fletu cunctorum sepulta; uir sanctus beate WENEFREDE ce=
 28 terarum uirginum custodiam et curam commisit. Cuius imperio quamuis illa plurimum
 re=

29 sistere laboraret; tamen uerens iudicium dei subire si ulterius reniti temptasset;
 30 tandem consensit. suoque oneri aliorum curam adiecit. Iam uero enarrari non potest.
 31 quanta obstinatione totius abstinentie austeritatem arripuerit; quas cruces uel=
 {153r}

1 quanta supplicia corpori suo indixerit. quante parcitatis seu seueritatis sibi ipsi
 2 extiterit. Verum ut absolute cuncta diffiniam. nichil prorsus intactum dimitte=
 3 bat; quod ad propriam salutem. uel aliorum exemplum et utilitatem pertinere cognosce=
 4 bat. In his igitur modis constituta. ab uniuersis simplici diligebatur affectu; et tam
 5 extranei quam domestici honorem ei exhibebant. et eam reuerenter uenerabantur.

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6 **B**⁵³ *E*atus uero Elerius et ceteri qui in Waiiam morabantur summi uiri uidentes in
 7 uirgine tantam perfectionem; multum ei deferebant; atque reuerentur eam.
 8 Optimates quique et nobiles patrie eam dulci deuotione amplectebantur; et ui=
 9 dentes benignam illius conuersationem. nimis edificabantur. Multi quoque minoris
 10 dignitatis uiri ad illam uenientes. et modestiam habitudinis attendentes.
 11 magnamque ex sermonibus eius edificationem accipientes; promtiores ad dei serui=
 12 tium deinceps reddebantur. Sed et latrunculi et aliene possessionis inuaso=
 13 res. inspecta uultus illius habitudine atque auditis sermonibus eius. corde con=
 14 puncti sunt; et quidam illorum exinde mitiores effecti. nonnulli uero omnino latrocinia
 15 intermittentes. conuersi sunt ad dominum; publicam de commissis suis penitentiam
 16 agentes. Et ut definite cuncta complectat. nulla etas. nullusque sexus nul=
 17 lius etiam negotiationis homo. infra illam patriam relictus uidebatur; qui de beneficiis
 18 huius uirginis aliquod emolumentum non haberet. Gratulabatur inde ineffabiliter
 19 amicus dei sanctus Elerius. predicationemque populo de ea non numquam faciebat; dicens
 inter=
 20 cetera quod deus ad illuminationem fidelis populi illam eidem patrie destinauerit. et quia
 in
 21 ^{habitaret} illa^{m} ~~destina~~ uirtus diuinitatis. Quod multi satis compertum habebant. Nam
 uirtutes
 22 innumere et sanitates egrotis peream largite. diuinitatis uirtutem illam ~~o~~^obtinere⁵⁴ pluri=
 23 mum contestabantur. Quicumque enim eger ad illam ueniebat; sospitate recepta incolu=
 24 mis discedebat. Qui tristis adueniebat; gaudens redibat. Qui aliqua oppressus cordis
 25 molestia. uel alia exterius accidente causa grauatus accurrebat; statim liberatus
 26 acuris se prementibus atque sue uoluntatis compos effectus; ad sua hilaris reuerte=
 27 batur. Nulli quidem nocebat. sed uniuersis communiter. et singulis particulariter in=
 28 aliquo proficiebat. Quicumque enim perambitum illius ~~xxxxx~~^{predii habitantes.} corporum aut
 animarum sua=
 29 rum infortuniis urgebantur; per illam celerius cupita remedia consequiebantur. Se ipsam

⁵³ B is a large green initial covering two lines.

⁵⁴ ~~o~~^obtinere The initial o appears to have been formed from another letter. Traces of a descender can be seen underneath.

30 ab *omnibus implicamentis mundialibus* ita alienam custodiebat. ut *immundam* se pu=
 31 taret si uel paruissimum quid de *omnibus que* ad huius *seculi* pertinebat luxum. in usus=
 {153v}

1 sui ip^sius uel in necessitatibus suorum admitteret. Frugalitate quoque in omnium
 2 admiratione utebatur. Ad custodiam uirginum sibi subiectarum sedula persistebat.
 3 Ad cauendum etiam callidi hostis astutias. cautas eas et sufficienter doctas
 4 faciebat. Ipsa uero et sermonibus suis et orationibus continuis. ab inimico generis
 5 humani. et peruasore dominici iuris illas defendebat; indefesse admonen=
 6 do quatinus in omnibus actionibus suis circumspecte essent atque proprie salutis curam
 conti^{nuam} haberent.⁵⁵

7 C⁵⁶ ONtigit ergo inter hęc postquam deo
 8 dilecta uirgo WENEFREDA deuoto famulatu acceptam superno re=
 9 gi uitam duxisset; ecce dominus iesus ancillam suam de laboriosa huius uite serui=
 10 tute. ad perpetue beatitudinis requiem assumere uolens. quadam nocte in ora=
 11 torio orationibus u^acanti diem obitus sui proxime instare innotuit. Quę ut se
 12 uocatam sensit. confestim gratia dei se uisitatum cognouit; ouantique spiritu ad=
 13 perhennis regni gaudia se preparare cepit. Tunc noctibus continuis in ecclesia
 14 orans pernoctabat. diebus uero in omni uirtute toto conamine persistebat; nichil
 15 pro uiribus infectum relinquens. de omnibus quę facienda didicerat. Virginibus autem
 16 secum manentibus abscessum suum cito instare denuntiauit. Quo audito ancil=
 17 le dei nimio ceperunt merore affici; et inconsolabili dolore torqueri. Quas bea=
 18 ta uirgo suis consolationibus refouere temptans; dicebat illas pro sua corporali=
 19 discessione non debere contristari. quoniam de corruptione ad incorruptionem. de
 20 miseriis ad gaudia transmigrabat. Debere eas potius plurimum gratulari. et secum
 21 congaudere; quia ad talem dominum pergebat. apud quem pro illis intercedere. et eis
 quam ma=

22 xime patrocinari poterat. Exhortabatur etiam eas ut a fraudulenter surripi=
 23 entis inimici calliditate cauerent. astutias uersutie illius multiformes esse
 24 docens; suis presertim exemplis inniterentur. et tales se ipsas exhiberent. ut ip=

⁵⁵ conti^{nuam} haberent. The letters in superscript are written in a space on the subsequent line.

⁵⁶ C is a large red initial covering two lines.

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25 *suis suffragiis adiuuari mererentur. Vt autem ad beati Elerii cognitionem ru=*
 26 *mor iste perlatus est: ipse presertim super abscessu dilecte sibi uirginis nimiis gemi=*
 27 *tibusangebatur. Sciens quippe illam peculiaris gratie dote diuinitus donatam;*
 28 *dum ipse in corpore peregrinaretur; secum manere nimia deuotione optabat.*
 29 *Nunc autem quamuis illa de calamitate et erumpnis ad sine fine mansurum transi=*
 30 *ret gaudium; se in perturbationibus mundialibus relicto. solatia peregrinationis*
 31 *sue se amittere egre ferebat. Illius tamen aspectibus et colloctionibus quasi inge^{rendo}*

{154r}

1 *sese pius inserens. boni pastoris uices et mores gerebat; illius in omnibus curam ha=*
 2 *bendo. et que sibi profutura sciebat operosius subministrando.*
 3 *I⁵⁷nterea cepit beata uirgo graui uiscerum dolore urgeri. Cumque languor*
 4 *uehemens esset et cotidie ing^{c}rescens; cognouit se obitus sui incitamentis*
 5 *coartari. Tunc totis uiribus ad deum intendens. ut sui miseretur exorabat;*
 6 *et ut anime sue pius presul et custos existeret. ne pessimi predonis preda*
 7 *fieret. Deinde uocato ad se sancto confessore Elerio; muniuit se dominici cor=*
 8 *poris et sanguinis uiatico. Cernens uero socias suas uirgines pro sua egritudine*
 9 *nimiis gemitibus tabefieri; uerbis consolatoriis eas adhortata est dicens. Nolite*
 10 *filie nolite pro meo discessu nimia tristitia affici; quoniam relicta presenti miseria*
 11 *ad summum et incommutabile bonum dei misericordia peruentura sum. Nunc gaudeo*
 quod

12 *sponsum terrenum respui. quod omnia mundi ~~xxxxxxx~~^{delectamenta} solius dei amore*
 succensa

13 *calcaui; uel quod nichil in hoc mundo proprium habere disposuit. Ad illum itaque*
 14 *me nunc perrecturam scitote. quem rebus omnibus preposui; et in cuius comparatione*
 15 *omnia mundialia ut stercus arbitrata sum. Illius inquam uisione me per secula fruituram*
 16 *cognoscite pro cuius amore me ipsam detrimentum feci; et omnia carnis oblectamen=*
 17 *ta contempsi. Vos itaque talem ac tantum dominum diligenti deuotione amplecti=*
 18 *mini. propositis uobis et preostensis salutis exemplis. tota intentione innitimi=*
 19 *ni; celestique sponso cui fidem et castimoniam seruare pepigistis. pactum uestrum*
 20 *custodire conamini. Ipsius enim solius auxilio hunc diem spe segura expectare po=*

⁵⁷ I is a large green initial covering five lines.

21 testis. atque inimicorum uestrorum insidias deuitare; pacemque perpetuam habere.
 22 Leue quippe et momentaneum existimate. quicquid oculis uestris carnalibus se inge=
 23 rit. Non enim debetis rebus intendere quę hodie sunt. et cras euanescunt. nec
 24 ab illis incommutabilibus bonis animum flectere quę nunquam deficient; in quibus
 25 pax et securitas. et gaudium est sempiternum. Post hec uerba adorationem conuer=
 26 sa; amanibus domini spiritum suum suscipi deposcebat.
 27 **I**⁵⁸gitur in die kalendarum nouembrium acrius cepit corporis sui dissolutione
 28 fatigari. Set nec tunc inter dolores a salutari predicatione quieuit. Nam omnibus qui
 29 ad illam ueniebant. terminum uite sue sollicite obseruare admonendo preci=
 30 piebat; ostendens quantam leticiam habituri sunt. qui purgatis animis et a mundi
 31 spurcitia defecatis de hoc seculo migrauerint. Cumque nimia egritudinis mo=
 {154v}
 1 lestia corpus illius attenuaretur. et iam in proximo obitum suum imminere cerneret;
 2 aduocatum ad se beatum Elerium rogauit quatinus corpus suum iuxta corpus beate
 3 Theonie matris suę sepulture traderetur. Quod cum sanctus uir benignissime concederet
 4 orationi iterum intendens. eadem die id est quax^rto nonas nouembris spiritum suum in
 manus
 5 creatoris commendauit. celestibus choris sociandum. Quod uidentes qui aderant;
 6 grauissimis lamentis proipsius sunt discessione dissoluti. Quid ibi gemituum. quid
 effusum
 7 est lacrimarum; Nullus a planctu immunis erat. Omnis sexus et etas ad lamentum
 8 profusius se uertebat. Et eo quisque sibi magis consulere et proficere credebat. quo maio=
 9 rem dolorem pro illius absentia assumebat. Cumque omnibus communiter intolerabilis
 luctus
 10 esset; uirgines presertim quę cum illa uixerant ingens affecit mesticia. Ipse enim
 dominam
 11 et salutis ductricem se amisisse plangebant. Omnibus itaque diuerso genere abscessum
 12 illius lamentantibus; accurrens beatus Elerius. uerbis consolatoriis silentium illis im=
 13 posuit. De hinc commendans animam eius deo. sollicite procurare cepit omnia que ad

⁵⁸ **I** is a large red initial covering five lines.

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14 *exequias beate uirginis pertinere uidebantur. Deinde corpus sepeliendorum more*
compo=
15 *situm in ecclesia deportari precepit. Peractis uero omnibus que ad funus siue ad*
sepulturam pertine=
16 *bant; in loco quo ipsa petierat. cum maximo omnium planctu et gemitu corpus humi est*
17 *traditum. In eodem quoque cimiterio multi quidem et magnorum meritorum uiri*
requiescunt. sed et
18 *preclariores et maiores fame feruntur sanctissimi confessores chebius et seuanus. quorum*
19 *prior ad capud illius tumulatus est; alter uero in eodem ordine quo ipsa iacet requiescit.*
20 *Qui ^{utique} magnarum uirtutum uiri fuisse apud indigenas memorantur. eundemque*
locum ob=
21 *sanctorum adisse frequentiam; quos ad exemplum uite presentis agonem illuc conuenisse*
22 *audierant. Extant adhuc in eadem prouincia non nulle in illorum memoria*
23 *basilice. in quibus quantorum ante deum sint meritorum; per crebra mortalibus miracula*
24 *liquido manifestatur. Ad leuam illius beata Theonia de qua supra retulimus sepulta*
25 *quiescit. Ceterum aliorum sanctorum nomina uel numerum ibidem quiescentium; solius*
dei cog=
26 *nitio retinet. Tanta enim sanctorum congerie isdem locus uenerabilis habetur. ut nullus*
27 *^{mortalis} omnino omnium eorum nomina scire; uel etiam numerum congestorum*
comprehendere po=
28 *tuerit. Cum quibus omnibus eundem exornat locum beata uirgo WENEFREDA; uir=*
29 *tutibus clara. et miraculis innumeris choruschans. Post mortem uero eius multi*
30 *illuc aduenientes. et per ipsius suffragia petentes a deo infirmitatum sua=*
31 *rum medelam; uotiuia sunt adepti remedia. Locus autem ille in magna celebritate*
{155r}
1 *deinceps est habitus. atque cum magna reuerentia et ueneratione a multis orationis*
2 *causa expetitus. Post aliquantum ^{uero} curricula annorum beatus Elerius summe*
sanctita=
3 *tis et nimie perfectionis uir uita discedens. plenus omni honestate et religi=*
4 *one migravit ad dominum. Qui in basilica sui nominis sepultus; usque ad hunc diem*
multis
5 *miraculis choruscharæ non destitit. Qui etiam eidem loco plurimum reuerentie et dig=*
6 *nitatis conferens; miraculis plurimis clarescit.*

7 **L**⁵⁹ ocus uero in quo prima conuersionis beate uirginis auspicia claruerunt;
 8 nimia fidelium frequentatione uenerabilis habetur. Nam multociens ibidem obten=
 9 tu beate uirginis preclara fiunt miracula; per que et beatam WENEFREDAM suis
 10 incommoditatibus opitulari posse aduenientes intelligunt. et eo deuotius illuc
 11 cateruatim undique turba fidelis populi accurrit. precibus illius corporum et animarum
 12 suarum remedia se adipisci sperans. Augetur autem indies aduenientium deuo=
 13 tio. uidentium rapidissimum fontem qui de loco erupit. in quo prius capud uirginis
 14 ad terram corruit; atque perspicientium lapides qui infundo fluminis iacent.
 15 in quibus conseruato adhuc sanguine uirginis martirium rubuisse perspicuum est.
 16 Ad quod uidendum cum multi pronis animis circumfluant; intuentes cruorem lapi=
 17 dibus inherentem super decurrentis aque assidua eluuione non posse abstergi.
 18 admirantur rei nouitatem. et uirginis prer^ogatiuam magnificantes. ad propria
 19 reuertuntur. Multi quoque debiles illuc adueniunt. et sani facti ad sua redeunt.
 20 **Q**⁶⁰ VIDAM uir faber in illa patria degens. filiam
 21 habebat a natiuitate sua cecam. Qui audiens plures per beate WE=
 22 NEFREDE merita sanitate donatos. filiam suam cotidie petentem se perduci ad
 23 fontem sancte uirginis. cum nimia deuotione perduxit. Que sero ibi adducta;
 24 de fonte suum capud primum lauit. et sic demum ad ecclesiam est perducta. tota
 25 nocte ibidem in sompnis oratura. Quod dum fieret; facto mane rogauit quatinus
 26 paululum quiescere permetteretur. Quo sibi concessa; atque loco ad pausandum sibi
 27 parato. diutius obdormiuit. Dehinc expergiscens bene se uidere testata est.
 28 Intuens autem illam pater ipsius; atque ita ut asserebat comperiens. omnibus insinu=
 29 auit que circa filiam suam propter merita sancte WENEFREDE operatus fuerat deus. Atque
 30 ad predicanda uirginis preconia uniuersos qui aderant suis sermonibus incitans;
 31 cum filia sua ad propria est regressus. Ex hoc miraculo multi in deuotione bea=
 {155v}
 1 te uirginis accensi; passim omnibus audientibus predicabant magnalia uirtu=
 2 tum illius. Quidam uero perhuiusmodi mirabilia opera que per illam fiebant flagitanti
 amo=

⁵⁹ **L** is a large green capital, covering four lines.

⁶⁰ **Q** is a large red initial covering two lines.

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3 re ei inherentes. ad ipsam quasi ad singulare refugium accedebant; atque post pau=
4 lulum uotis suis potiti. ad sua remeabant. Quod patenter ex subiecto demonstbitur⁶¹
exemplo.⁶²

5 E⁶³ x euentu accidit quodam tempore
6 non modica in illis partibus perturbatio. Cumque illius prouintie nobiliores
7 et potentiores uicinis amicis suis internuntium direxissent. quatinus sollicitam
8 rebus suis custodiam adhiberent. et sibi ipsis cautissime precauerent; nuntius
9 illorum a latronibus circumuentus; ad ecclesiam beate uirginis WENEFREDE uelociter
10 confugium fecit. Insequentibus autem semper illum euestigio inimicis suis; ipse atrium
11 ecclesie cum equo quem equitabat ingressus. ad hostium ecclesie equo desiliuit; et frenum
12 ad seram hostii ligans firmauit. Demum quoque nimium appropiantes sibi hostes
13 declinare uolens; ad altare uelociter cucurrit; Latronum uero unus ceteris
14 proteruior;⁶⁴ qui nec deum nec sanctos eius reuerbatur. audaci presumptione septa
ingre=

15 diens. ad equum cursu celeri peruenit. Quem extensa manu arripiens. fre=
16 numque a sera porte resoluens; nichil uirginis merita ueritus abduxit. Homo
17 uero cuius fuerat equus ab ecclesia egressus; non inuenit quem ibi deposuerat ca=
18 ballum. Sciens autem quod ab illis qui eum fugientem insecuti fuerant adeptus
19 sibi suus fuerat equus; iterum se in ecclesia contulit. Vbi coram deo et beata
20 uirgine querimoniam suam deponens; multis lamentis conquerebatur de uiolen=
21 tia sibi illata. et quia infra septa ecclesie pacem habere non potuerit. Multaque
22 depostulatione sanctam uirginem WENEFREDAM efflagitans. quatinus illius presump=
23 tuose et nimium audacis contumacie memor existeret. atque procommisso
24 facinore celerem ultionem inferret. a basilica exiens iter quod equs ince=
25 perat; pedes perficere cogebatur. Post modicum uero beata uirgo uiolationem
26 atrii sui seu basilicę suę. cure sibi fore ostendit; atque querimoniam sibi cum ge=
27 mitu depositam se non usquequaque negligenter intermittere manifestauit. Ho=

⁶¹ **demonstbitur** Sic.

⁶² **exemplo.** This word is written in a space on the subsequent line.

⁶³ **E** is a large green initial covering two lines.

⁶⁴ **proteruior** The *er* abbreviation mark is in a darker ink, perhaps to clarify the more ambiguous mark left by the original scribe.

28 mo enim qui equum ad hostium ꝛclesiꝝ ^[li]gatum soluerat. et secum abduxerat
 29 grauissima cepit infirmitate languescere. Post paululum quoque languor
 30 ille a toto corpore deductus. inextro se brachio funditus contulit.
 31 Tantaque miseria et afflictione miserrimum hominem afficiens corripuit.
 {156r}
 1 ut mori malletꝫ quam tantis calamitatibus affligi. Crescebat etiam
 2 cotidianis augmentis cruciatus. nec poterat alicuius medici cura le=
 3 niri. Nec destitit. donec ex congesto ibidem noxio humore totum il=
 4 lud brachium cum manu sua putrefactumꝫ post nimias et intolerabi=
 5 les passiones a reliquo corpore decideret. Sed nec tunc miserrimus homo
 6 quiescere. aut priores molestias funditus euitare potuitꝫ donec ad=
 7 prefatam ecclesiam ueniens. beate uirginis merita humiliter confiteretur.
 8 et pro commisso scelere ueniam deprecaretur. Dehinc uero miseratione sanctꝫ
 9 uirginis a dolore uehementi aliquantulum releuatusꝫ ad aliorum caute=
 10 lam ibidem reseruatus est. Eo namque uiso terrebantur omnes qui alienis rebus
 11 insidiabanturꝫ et ne aliqui ulterius atria ꝛclesiꝝ irrumpere presumerent ter=
 12 ribiliter monebantur. Omnes quoque qui illum intuebantur. pro tali ausu et
 13 tam misera presumptione tam lacrimabili recompensatione multatum
 14 fuisseꝫ uirginis merita admirabantur. et deuotiores in eius obsequiis
 15 efficiebantur. Ipse uero qui brachium perdiderat. publica penitentia satis=
 16 faciens beate uirgini. quod temerario ausu septa basilice ipsius ir=
 17 ruperat. et manum suam contra eam leuaueratꝫ multos ab huiusmodi pre=
 18 sumptione compescuit. Accurrebant cateruatim undique populiꝫ mira=
 19 culum illud insolitum uidere cupientes. uisoque illo pleni admiratione
 20 redibantꝫ preconia uirginis magnifice predicantes.
 21 **A**⁶⁵ LIUD quoque non minus mirabile per beatam Wenefredam patratum est mi=
 22 raculum. Quodam tempore fures in territorio prefate ꝛclesiꝝ uaccam
 23 inuenientesꝫ nullam reuerentiam beate uirgini exhibentes. secum il=
 24 lam furto deduxerunt. Ueruntamen metuentes ne uicini populi illos
 25 insequerentur. et per uestigia uacce quam ducebant recto itinere ad

⁶⁵ A is a large red initial covering two lines.

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26 se perducerentur. diuerterunt ad uiam duram et saxosam. in qua nec sui ip=
 27 sorum nec animalis uestigia cognosci posse putabant. Verum non
 28 est consilium non est prudentia; neque uirtus contra dominum. Ut enim
 29 uiam petrosam ingressi sunt; in qua magis se occultare putabant
 30 ibi prius illorum⁶⁶ detegi cepit. Statim enim pedes suos uacca usque
 31 ad genua humi infigebat. et tam in saxis quam in dura et ari=
 {156v}
 1 da uia uestigia animalis patenter apparebant. Et quo se occultius
 2 incedere putabant. eo fugae illorum maior cognitio fiebat; deo me=
 3 rita uirginis per incessus ipsorum declarante. Illi quippe quo longius in=
 4 cedebant; eo sibi ipsis tucius fore credebant. et securius possidere quod
 5 abstulerant confidebant; sed econtrario illis continebat.
 6 Nam ex quo illi quibus uacca furata fuerat compererunt animal suum
 7 sibi ablatum furto fuisse. statim cum nimia hominum caterua
 8 fures insequi ceperunt. Videntesque uestigia animalis inpressa la=
 9 pidibus et aride terre certiores effecti; sollicite pedum inpressio=
 10 nem legebant. Inuocantesque beate uirginis auxilium. per cuius me=
 11 rita tam euidentis miraculum in petris et in dura humo conspicio=
 12 bant; currebant uiam uacce uestigiis sibi preostensam. Latrones
 13 uero clamorem insequentium se audientes. timentesque se capi ab illis;
 14 cum animali quod ducebant extra uiam abierunt. Sed nec sic occultari
 15 poterant. Nam quocumque persequentes incedebant; semper inpressiones pedum
 16 animalis in silicibus et ^{in} arido solo patenter in^{u}eniebant; Confirmatique
 17 animis. et confortati miraculo sibi premonstrato; confidenter insequen=
 18 bantur. Et semper quo longius incedebant; eo manifestius animalis uesti=
 19 gia cognoscentes se nequaquam euadere posse. nisi dimissa uacca diffu=
 20 gium quererent; reliquerunt illam in nemore; et ipsi uelocissime fugi=
 21 entes se occuluerunt. Qui uero insequabantur eos; uaccam solam inuenientes.
 22 fugatis eis qui illam ducebant. quod suum erat receperunt; et retrorsum abi=
 23 re ceperunt. Inquirentes autem sollicite utrum animal suum eiusmodi uesti=

⁶⁶ illorum (gutter with a signe-de-renvoi) {nequitia}

24 gia faceret in lapidibus et * in terra rediendo retrorsum. sicut fecerat cum
 25 abduceretur; minime inuenerunt. Tunc quidem cognos~~xxxx~~^{uerunt} quod bea=
 26 ta uirgo illorum causa miraculum illud operata fuerat. ut uidelicet per=
 27 signa animalis a~~o~~^{g} noscerent quo incedere deberent et quod sibi iniusta
 28 rapina ablatum ~~xxxx~~^{fuerat.} celerius consequerentur. Redeuntes uero uaccam domino
 29 suo restituerunt. et miraculum quod factum erat publice predicauerunt.
 30 Multi quoque abierunt uisuri que de uestigiis dicebantur; et inuenientes
 31 uera fore que predicabantur; et ipsi pariter eadem predicare non cessabant.
 {157r}

1 Ex hoc perterriti sunt plurimum omnes qui aliorum rebus inhiabant. et dolum in
 2 corde suo machinabantur; presertimque horribiliter admoniti. ~~xx~~^{ne} infra
 3 territorium quod ad ecclesiam beate uirginis pertinebat aliquid diriperent; aut
 4 aliquatenus latrocinauerunt. Latrones autem uerentes iram uirginis. et ne
 5 deus propter illius contemptum grauiter indignatus illorum presumptuosam au=
 6 daciam ulcisceretur. et sic penas darentur; ad basilicam sancte uirginis sum=
 7 missis animis uenerunt. ueniam postulantes. Vbi publica allega=
 8 tione se deliquisse confitentes; magnifice uirginis merita predicauerunt.
 9 atque omnes qui eos audierunt ab huiusmodi illicita presumptione dehortantes.
 10 I⁶⁷TEM de fonte quem prelibauimus ubi ad propria regressi sunt.
 11 capud uirginis abscisum ad terram corruit erupisse; ueridicorum assertio=
 12 nibus miranda recitantur. Cum pueri tenelli aliquo sui corporis incommodo
 13 laborantes egrotant; proiectos in ipsius scaturigine fontis et pernicipita=
 14 te fluminis delatos. matres illorum hilares eos et sospitati restitutos
 15 repente suscipiunt. Uulgare est atque famosissimum apud omnes ^{fere} Wa=
 16 lie habitatores; quod si quis febricitans. aut aliquo membro patiens se il=
 17 la aqua perfudit. uel lapides quos cruore ipsius perfusos per riuum inueniri
 18 predocuimus. patienti membro adhibuerit; prius potata aqua ex la=
 19 pidum ablutione. confestim sanitati redonabitur. Non nulli etiam qua=
 20 tinus illuc lotum eant diuinitus admonentur. Frequentius autem ipsa ea=
 21 dem uirgine noctu per uisionem exhortante. multi illuc adueniunt;

⁶⁷ I is a large green initial, covering five lines.

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22 *atque inde reuertentes uotis suis potiuntur.*
 23 **I**⁶⁸*N* *descensu eiusdem riui per optimum habetur molendinum. ad beate uirginis*
 24 *Wenefrede ius pertinens; quod nulla unquam imbrium siue niuis ha=*
 25 *bundantia ^{per} effluente. aut aliqua urentis gelu ~~xxx~~^{siue} estiuē siccitatis*
 26 *molestia perstringente molere desistit. Quod semel latrones ingressi*
 27 *ferramenta illa seu instrumenta quibus id genus utitur secum extulerunt. alio*
 28 *illa transponentes molendino. Verum donec ea ibi fuerunt; nec rota*
 29 *circuire. nec officialibus illis aliquis profectus euenire potuit. Custodes*
 30 *autem officii uidentes questum suum quaqua die minorari. propterea que al=*
 31 *lata fuerant; non ulterius passi minorationem suam. foras eiecerunt ea*
 {157v}
 1 *que afuribus acceperant; statimque rota molendini uertendi licentiam*
 2 *accepit. atque cetera officialia instrumenta pristinum sunt consecuta mo=*
 3 *rem. Que eiecta latrones iterum aliis transposuerunt locis; quibus eadem*
 4 *per omnia contigerunt. Tandemque comperientes ista diuina dispensatione*
 5 *actitari. uidelicet quod nullius loci possent commodo uel utilitati in=*
 6 *seruire; penitentia ducti ad proprium illa detulerunt locum; persuffragia*
 7 *beate uirginis ueniam postulantes. Inquo facto sancte Wenefrede*
 8 *merita apud omnes illam patriam inhabitantes et laudes ipsius in ex=*
 9 *celsis efferunt. et bestialem malignantium retundunt insaniam;*
 10 *dum sibi quique in malum cedere non ignorant. si quando insanctorum possessio=*
 11 *nibus letali cupiditate illecti grassantur. Ex huiusmodi occasionibus*
 12 *locus ille maximam celebritatem adeptus est. in quo primitus beata uir=*
 13 *go Wenefreda conuersata est; adeoque preualuit in eo beati Beunoi*
 14 *uaticinium. ut per beatam uirginem cuius in illo prima conuersatio fuit pu=*
 15 *blice dei predicentur magnalia; atque multi infirmitatibus suis desidera=*
 16 *ta consequantur ibidem remedia. Et sicut illa a deo locum illum benedici. et*
 17 *celesti uisitatione perlustrari postulauit. ita patentibus signis postea*
 18 *declaratum est adeo illam super hoc exauditam fuisse. In exhibitione*
 19 *enim miraculorum. et mirandorum que ibidem fiunt operum. approbatione*

⁶⁸ **I** is a large red initial, covering five lines.

20 *prefatum sanctum uera preconatum fuisse liquido patet; cuius presagio fuit lo=*
 21 *cum illum cęlesti gratia perlustrandum. deumque ibi permerita eiusdem uirginis*
 22 *multorum salutem operaturum. Hoc quoque hodieque testantur fidelium turme.*
 23 *illuc cateruatim confluentes. et propter quę uenerint adeptę. cum*
 24 *gaudio ad propria reuertentes. Multoque uberius ibidem super infirman=*
 25 *tes diuine fiunt miserationes. quam in loco in quo sanctissimi corporis*
 26 *eius gleba tumulata fuit. Quod ideo reor factum esse. quod illum locum semper*
 27 *specialius peculiarem habuerit; in quo conuersionis sue primordia micu=*
 28 *erunt. et ipsa diuinis misteriis est initiata et in quo signa martirii*
 29 *illius per omne tempus recentia perseuerant. Veruntamen utrobique mira=*
 30 *biliter diuina uirtus operatur; et per ipsius suffragia innumera fiunt*
 31 *magnalia egrisque cupita prestantur remedia. Cecis enim per illam uisus*
 {158r}
 1 *restauratur. et surdis auditus donatur; omnes fere aduenientes uotis*
 2 *suis se potitos peream gloriatur. ad laudem domini nostri iesu christi. Qui cum patre. et*
spiritu
 3 *sancto uiuit et regnat deus per omnia secula seculorum amen.*
 4 **I**⁶⁹*GITUR postquam BEATA WENEFREDA innumeris*
 5 *effulgens uirtutibus cęlestia migrauit ad regna; multis interla=*
 6 *bentibus annis. regnante Willielmo rege qui primus de normannis reg=*
 7 *nauit in anglia. Rogerus comes uir illustris et in omni morum et re=*
 8 *ligionis honestate conspicuus; in urbe salopesberie cenobium edifi=*
 9 *care cepit. Ad hoc perficiendum cum diligenti cura intendens. sump=*
 10 *tibus suis illud adauxit. de hinc abbatem posuit. fratresque ibidem deo ser=*
 11 *uituros constituit. Processu uero temporis locus ille deo miserante ex=*
 12 *crescens. multis ad uiam salutis profuit; cunctisque patriam illam inco=*
 13 *lentibus. diuini odoris fragrantiam prebuit. Cumque fratres illi uirtutibus polle=*
 14 *rent; quę uirtutis erant sollerti instantia inuestigare ceperunt. Sepiusque*
 15 *conquesti ad inuicem quod reliquiis sanctorum nimium indigerent; ad id perquiren=*
 16 *dum summopere animos ~~æ~~^{ap}pulerunt. Et quoniam in Walia quę uicina erat eis*

⁶⁹ I is a large green initial covering around seven lines.

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17 multorum corpora sanctorum retineri audierant; quia eadem prouincia ante ^{nullis}
 18 inhabitata sit sanctis. quorum merita diuersis in locis predicabantur; quali=
 19 ter aliquem illorum habere possent. omnimodis perscrutari studuerunt. Sci=
 20 entes quippe illius⁷⁰ patrociniis se plurimum apud deum muniri posse. cuius
 21 honorem cotidiana deuotione excolerent in terris qui sic eis patrocini=
 22 naretur diligenter procurare conati sunt. Verum cum plures preclarissimi
 23 et excellentissimi confessores ibidem haberentur; cui potissimum in=
 24 tenderent. uel quem speciali^{ter} desiderarent; hesitare ceperunt.
 25 **A**⁷¹ CCIDIT interea quod quidam ex fratribus graui oppressus infirmitate. ce=
 26 teros fratres uehementer sibi compatiens. nimio dolore conturbaret.
 27 Qui plurimum pro eo solliciti. supplicibus animis deum pro eius incolumitate
 28 deprecati sunt uicinarum ecclesiarum monachis ut idem facerent. humiliter
 29 demandantes. Ut uero tanta fratris illius molestia cestrensis ecclesie monachis
 30 innotuit; et ipsi eque consternati animis. deum pro ipsius sospitate roga=
 31 turi in ecclesia processerunt. Quibus ante sanctum altare prostratis septemque psal=
 {158v}

1 mos humili deuotione ~~xxxxxx~~^{decantantibus} unus eorum. Radulfus nomine qui sup=
 2 prioratus officio fungebatur. uir admodum simplicis animi obdormiuit.
 3 Uisumque est ei uirginem speciosissimam sibi astare. placidoque uultu in hec
 4 uerba prorumpere. Quid est inquit pro quo prostrati oratis; Monachus respondit.
 5 Frater quidam ex nostris familiaribus grauissima infirmitate cruciatur. pro cuius in=
 6 columitate oraturi. nos et preces nostras suppliciter deo prosternimus. Ad
 7 hec iterum illa. Et ego noui. quod frater ille mentis alienationem patitur. sed si=
 8 eius sanitatem ueraciter obtatis. unus ex uobis eat ad fontem sancte Wenefre=
 9 de. et in ecclesia que ibi est in illius memoria missam celebret. statimque libera=
 10 bitur frater egrotus. Hec dicens; disparuit. Monachus uero ad se reuersus; et que
 11 uiderat uel audierat mente pertractans. noluit quidem tunc uisionem illam ceteris
 12 denuntiare. timens a sociis suis ludibrio haberi. et fantasie depu=
 13 tari que uiderat. Sicque transactis ferme. xl^{ta}. diebus; eger semper grauius

⁷⁰ There is a rip, present when the manuscript was first copied, running from line 20 to 23, around two letters wide.

⁷¹ **A** is a large red initial covering two lines.

14 patiens. lectulo decumbebat. Delatus item *re^(u)morem*.⁷² cestrie. de mo=
 15 lestissima incommoditate qua prefatus frater urgebatur; atque loquendi de illo ce=
 16 teris fratribus occasionem dedit. Cumque multis sermonibus egrotum plangerent.
 17 condolentes ei; ille qui uisionem uiderat sumpta audatia retulit eam ex ordi=
 18 ne. cunctis benignissime amicis ipsius uerbis fidem accommodantibus.
 19 Qui iam olim uirginis⁷³ merita preclara fore audientes. et multa peream miracula
 20 fieri cognoscentes; facile animos ad credendum que dice⁷⁴ bantur appule=
 21 runt. atque uisioni fidem dederunt. Nam ad cuius fontem ire et in cuius hono=
 22 rem ibi missam cantare monebantur; illam procerto sanctam Wenefre=
 23 dam uocari sciebant. Quam etiam prefato fratri apparuisse aiebant.
 24 Itaque consulentibus eis. mittuntur duo monachi ad fontem beate We=
 25 nefrede. in ecclesia illius que ibi iusta fontem est missam celebraturi; et pro egroto
 26 oraturi. Factum est eadem hora qua missa ibidem decantata est; infirmus
 27 frater apud salopesberiam de inualitudine sua conualuit. consortesque suos pro=
 28 sua sospitate ^{plurimum} exhila^{ra}uit. Post aliquantulum uero temporis isdem frater qui
 infir
 29 mus fuerat ad eundem locum perductus est; deo et sancte uirgini gratias pro sani=
 30 tate sibi indulta persoluturus. Cumque in ecclesia prius orasset. et postea
 31 de fonte bibisset. et inde lotus fuisset; omnimodis sospes effectus ad=
 {159r}
 1 monasterium est reuersus. Ex inde beate uirginis memoria infratrum cordibus
 2 deuotius inoleuit; ita ut se felices estimarent. si uel modicam particulam
 3 de eius sanctissimo corpore consequi possent. Et licet id arduum et difficile.
 4 et uires suas excedere putarent; tem^{p}tandum tamen prorsus statuerunt. Scien=
 5 tesque nichil uoluntati dei resistere posse; deum sibi propitium fieri. et coad=
 6 iutorem affuturum exorauerunt; cuius nutu quelibet impossibilia uel dif=
 7 ficilia. leuiter sibi ad manum prouenire posse non dubitarent.

⁷² *re^(u)morem* (gutter, with a signe-de-renvoi) {ad monacos}

⁷³ *uirginis* (margin, with a signe-de-renvoi) {illius}

⁷⁴ There is a rip, present when the manuscript was first copied, running from line 20 to 23, around two letters wide.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

8 **E**⁷⁵ ODEM tempore rex henricus uir summus et amicus pacis arcem regni
 9 gubernabat. cuius auctoritate pax et securitas totam insulam
 10 obtinebant; eoque magis omnibus quocumque incedere uellent. pacifice lice=
 11 bat. Vnde prefati fratres frequenter nuntios in Waliā transmittentes. ubi=
 12 nam excellentiores sancti requiescerent. uel potius ubi prefate uirginis tu=
 13 mulus esset sollicite quesiuerunt. Inuentoque loco que^[o] sancte uirginis Węne=
 14 fredę ossa quiescebant; nimio sunt gaudio exhilarati. Deinde ban=
 15 gornense pontifice cuius illa prouincia diocesis erat sibi consentiente;
 16 et adiutorium pollicente. principes et nobiles patrie consentaneos sibi
 17 et fauentes effecerunt. Res cotidie gradatim procedens. celerem effica=
 18 tiam portendere uidebatur; atque fratrum animos inspe sui desiderii extollebat.
 19 Sed mors predicti regis henrici repente interueniens. nimia calami=
 20 tate omnem oppressit brittanniam; et negotium istud intermittere ad=
 21 tempus coegit. Secundo uero imperii regis stephani anno sedatis perturbatio=
 22 nibus pristinaque reddita tranquillitate; prefati cenobii abbas herebertus no=
 23 mine consilio fratrum priorem suum uocabulo Robertum in Waliā destinauit;
 24 adiuncto sibi socio quodam monacho Ricardo uocitato. Isdem autem prior in
 25 huius rei procuratione ceteris sollicitior existens; transmissis frequenter le=
 26 gatis suis et litteris per patriam. Hoc in responso acceperat; ut si ipse
 27 ueniret. uotixsui compos effectus. cum gaudio reuerteretur. Veniens
 28 itaque presulem bangornensis ecclesie prius adiit; et ab eo ad principem illius
 29 terre transmissus. satis benigne ab eo est susceptus. Cui cum seriem itine=
 30 ris sui et aduentus causam exposuisset; ille huiusmodi uerba ei respon=
 31 dit. Non equidem estimauerim sociosque tuos tantum laborem sine dei
 {159v}
 1 nutu et beate uirginis uoluntate assumpsisse. Forte enim uidens debi=
 2 tam sibi reuerentiam a suis non inferri. alias asportari desiderat; ut ab ali=
 3 enis honorem accipiat. quem sibi sui impendere. aut contempnunt aut ne=
 4 gligunt. Proinde cedo libens. et beneplacito suo assentire me
 5 fateor; ne resistens indignationem eius in ultione pati compello^[a]r.

⁷⁵ E is a large green initial covering two lines.

6 Et licet omnibus inmundiciis inquinatus omnium hominum infimus uel de=
 7 terior; tamen audacter ad tumulum eius prorumperem. et sancta ~~eius~~ ossa tangens
 8 uobis ea traderem. nisi pro communi utilitate patrie alias intendere me oportet.
 9 ipsam hoc uelle. et labores uestri. et uisiones uobis ostense mani=
 10 festent. Euntes igitur mee auctoritatis licentia confirmati. locum in quo be=
 11 ata uirgo requiescit festinanter adite; inuenturi ut reor aliquos qui uestre
 12 dispositioni rebelles existent. Sed confidite. quia illius obtentus eos
 13 uobis pacificabit; cuius affectus uos tantum laborem arripere incitauit.
 14 Veruntamen ego ad illos homines in quorum patrimonio predictae uirginis
 15 corpus requiescit nuntium destinabo; qui et eis uoluntatem meam insinua=
 16 bit. et illos aliquanto pacificiores uobis efficiet. His dictis; eos in pace
 17 dimisit. Itaque profecti ab eo. recto tramite tetenderunt ad locum in quo
 18 sanctissimum corpus uenerabilis Wenefrede repositum erat. Erantque simul=
 19 septem; prefatus uidelicet prior. et cum eo uiri uenerabiles prior censtrensis. qui=
 20 damque sacerdos multarum uirtutum uir. eadem gente progenitus; fraterque quem
 21 quem de monasterio secum prior adduxerat. tresque uiri alii. Cumque simpli
 22 citer in itinere gradientes de eodem negotio loquerentur; obuium habue=
 23 runt hominem unum illius patrie non ignobilem. quis esset prior salosberie interrogan=
 24 tem. Cui sibi ostenso hec uerba intulit. Legationem uirorum qui illud predium
 25 inhabitant in quo sancte Wenefrede uirginis ossa continentur. quod Witheri=
 26 acus nuncupatur; tibi dicturus adueni. Noueris graui eos indignatione
 27 aduersum te commoueri; quod sanctorum corpora penes se reposita. quibus ipsi et
 28 omnia sua sunt commissa; asportare conaris. Sciasque procerto. quia nec prin=
 29 cipis timor. nec dominorum suorum comminatio; neque alicuius pecunie cu=
 30 piditas. eos tibi in hac re consentientes efficiet. his dictis; discessit.
 31 prior uero consortesque sui propter hec uerba plurimum contristati; quid facerent.⁷⁶

{160r}

1 quo se uerterent funditus ignorabant. Ad deum tamen conuersi; ab illo spiritum
 2 consilii sibi ~~eam~~^[c]mitti; summissis animis postulauerunt. Et qui solo imperii
 3 sui uerbo uentorum et maris tempestates sedauerat; ut ^[has] inimicitias pa=

⁷⁶ facerent (lower margin) {salopesberiensis}

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

4 cificaret. *et istorum hominum animos sibi conf^[e]deraret.*⁷⁷ humili mente deprecati sunt.
5 Deinde *confidentia sancti spiritus animati;* ceptum iter tenuerunt. Cumque fere
6 ad locum peruenissent in quo beate uirginis ossa *continebantur;* prior delibera=
7 to cum *fratribus consilio.* duos ex sociis *priorem uidelicet cestrie. et prefatum presbi=*
8 *terum per patriam illam bene notos premisit;* sollicite *omnia que necessaria eis*
9 *erant prouisuros.* Ipse autem retento suo sodali in *quodam rure eadem*
10 *nocte remanens. propter legationem quam audierat nimiis curis affli=*
11 *gebatur.* Et ecce decantatis laudibus matutinis. *quedam grauis et honesta*
12 *persona mulieris effigiem gerens. cuidam suo seruienti apparuit;* hec
13 uerba dicens. *Surge quamtotius. et dic domino tuo ut deposita mesticia*
14 *et curis quibus nimium opprimitur;* spem suam ad deum erigat. sciens sese cum
15 magno gaudio hinc discessurum. Illa enim *pro cuius amore et honore*
16 *ad istam est prouinciam destinatus. et illius uoluntatem expediet;* atque sui
17 desiderii *compotes prorsus eum efficiet.* Nam in *proximo adepturus est unde et*
18 *gaudens domum redibit. et socios suos suo aduentu letificabit.*
19 **A**⁷⁸ *LIA quoque uisio ipsa nocte eidem priori huiusmodi accidit. Quidam*
20 *magne religionis abbas qui eiusdem salosberien~~cx~~^[sis] cenobii pater*
21 *fuerat. sed confectus senio et multis uirtutibus plenus ab hac uita disces=*
22 *serat Godefridus nomine ei apparens;* acuris quibus *angebatur compescuit* ^{illum}
23 *dicens. Noli pusillanimis esse sed confide quia bene uincemus inimicos nostros;*
24 *et obsistentes nobis dei adiutorio superabimus. sciasque nos in proximo conse=*
25 *cuturos. quod summa deuotione desideramus.* Post hec uerba ab oculis eius
26 euanuit. Ex his itaque uisionibus *oborta est aliquantula securitas in mentibus*
27 *eorum. et reddita est spes obtinendi quod petebant.* Ista *igitur summo mane*
28 *inter eos referri* ^{in} *ceperant. et mentibus audientium aliquantulam iocunditatem*
29 *indulserant;* cum repente *quidam de hesternis nuntiis adueniens securi=*
30 *tatem augmentauit. admonens quatinus illum ocius sequerentur. deo annuen=*
31 *te quod uotiue desiderabant inuenturi atque abituri.* Qui statim as=

⁷⁷ **conf^[e]deraret** A loop was added towards the top of the i, transforming it into an e.

⁷⁸ **A** is a large red initial covering two lines.

{160v}

1 censis equis illuc aduenientes; peractis prius orationibus sacerdotem loci illius secre=
 2 tius solum conuocauerunt. ut eis in adiutorium esset obnixius obsecrantes.
 3 **S**⁷⁹ acerdos uero patienter uerbis illorum intendens. huiusmodi respon=
 4 sum dedit. Ego quidem inquit leui conamine ad uota uestra perduci po=
 5 tero. Hinc quia uobis arctius confederatus esse uolo. illinc quia iam olim uoluntatem
 6 dei et uirginis super hoc negotio cognoui. ut in presenti^{arum} et pie uobis ostendam.
 7 Sabbato uigilie pasche in ecclesia quam presentem cernitis pernoctabam. matu=
 8 tinales ymnos cum tempus adesset. decantaturus. Cumque transcurso ex ordine psal=
 9 terio coram altari super gradum me collocarem paulisper requieturus. uisionem uidi
 10 que me plurimum perterruit. et ne uobis reb^{x}ellis existerem; comminando admonu=
 11 it. Et ut uidebatur nondum me grauis sompnus oppresserat; cum quidam iuuenis splen=
 12 didissimus angelicum preferens uultum coram me stetit. et me pulsare cepit
 13 dicens. Surge. Ego uero putans illum excitare me ut officium nocturnale
 14 inciperem; respondi ei. Nondum est tempus incoandi officium. non surgam.
 15 Ille ut michi uisum fuerit discessit. et me grauior oppressit sompnus. Et ecce idem
 16 denuo ueniens. duriusque me pulsans; surge. surge. inquit. Ego uero
 17 adquiescere illi nolens; priora uerba respondi. Pallioque quo indutus eram ca=
 18 put meum cooperiens; totus in sompno solutus sum. Aliquantulum intercesserat
 19 spacium. cum iuuenis iterum affuit. manumque suam pallio quo induebar ad=
 20 mouit; a capite meo illud ui nimia abstrahens. et subtus scapulas de=
 21 ducens; tercioque dixit. Surge. surge. surge; et me sequere. Tunc festinus
 22 surgere michi uidebar; et eum e uestigio sequi. Venimus itaque usque ad sepul=
 23 chrum beate uirginis Wenefrede. quod ille digito suo michi ostendens; di=
 24 ligenter inquit locum istum notato. et uerba que ego tibi dixero. tenaci recon=
 25 de memoria. Si huc uenerit aliquis in hoc anno aut in sequenti qui lapi=
 26 dem istum hinc amouere uoluerit. laminam ostendens que sacro corpori
 27 superposita fuerat; caue ne ullatenus contradicas. Quod si puluerem istum
 28 hinc eicere uoluerit; similiter patere. nulla ratione resistens. Si autem
 29 ossa uirginis hinc asportare uoluerit; non repugnes. sed manum appone;

⁷⁹ S is a large green initial covering two lines.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

30 in omnibus quibus poteris adiutorium ei prebens. Vnde si negligens fueris. et
 31 sermonum meorum contemptor inuentus. que diuinitus tibi intimata sunt facere distu=
 {161r}

1 leris. miserabili et longo languore cruciatus. statim post hoc uitam amittes.
 2 his dictis. uisio ut reor angelica disparuit. Iccirco me uobis benigno cor=
 3 de cooperari noueritis. et quod propositum uestrum expedire ualuerit. proposse
 4 meo uigilanter subministrare. De me ergo securitatem habentes. reliquos
 5 conuenite. eosque quibus potueritis modis. ad libitum uestrum applicate. Namque
 6 ego meo studio atque industria placitum uestrum exequar. et istorum animos ad quorum
 7 ius hec uilla pertinet. uestre uoluntati subdere operam dabo. Et quoniam uestris oculis
 8 sors obtulit illos. dicite que uultis. quia sunt audire parati.

9 **T**⁸⁰ UNC prior eodem presbitero mediante seu interprete cateruam hominum que
 10 astabat allocutus. causam itineris sui eis exposuit. et ut ei assensum pre=
 11 berent blandis sermonibus admonuit. Nichilque de uisionibus nec de aliis
 12 rebus que acciderant eis reticens. et quia eiusdem uirginis admonitione et impul=
 13 su tantum assumpserit laborem publice contestans. pene eos ad satis faci=
 14 endum sibi flexit. Uerum quidam homo uir belial subito emergens. cunc=
 15 tam contionem turbauit. non esse iustum dicens. ut sancti a suo natali solo euel=
 16 lantur et ad patriam nichil ad eos pertinentem deportentur. Adiciebat etiam
 17 clamitans quasi furiis ageretur. se illud nullatenus pati posse. Quidam uero
 18 tumultum illius comprimentes. ceteros consultum ire rogauerunt. atque ex omnium
 19 decreto uerbis illatis conuenienter respondere. Quibus hoc consentientibus. et
 20 ad consilium abeuntibus. prior mentem prefati hominis in maliciam obstinatam uidens.
 21 et quod ipse solus obstaculum eis esset. consilio fratrum internuntium ad illum
 22 misit. dataque pecunia arctius eum sibi confederauit. et ad socios suos remisit.
 23 Ceteri uero qui hoc simpliciter solo amore dei concedebant. uidentes illum
 24 subito funditus emollitum. plurimum admirati ui diuina illud aꝛ^[cti]
 25 tari estimabant. eoque magis accendebantur. rogata perficere. Post
 26 multorum igitur uerborum ambages. post innumera interce^[i]dentium causarum
 27 discrimina. omnes in uno concordantes. quod rogati fuerant benigne

⁸⁰ T is a large red initial covering four lines.

28 *concesserunt. Prior autem consortesque sui deo et sibi gratias exhibentes; locum sibi*
 29 *ostendi petierunt. Porro locus in quo tantus thesaurus retinebatur. cimite=*
 30 *rium est ab alio cimiterio ubi nunc morentium corpora condiuntur discre=*
 31 *tum; plurimorum aliorum sanctorum corporibus refertum. quod actenus in tanta ab=*
 {161v}

1 *incolis reuerentia est habitum. ut nullus tante temeritatis esse au=*
 2 *deat; qui illud nisi gratia orationis intrare presumat. In cuius medio id est ad*
 3 *capud sancte Wenefrede lignea stat ecclesiola magnis populorum frequenta=*
 4 *tionibus honorata. Ad quam facilis patet accessus. omnibus ibidem ora=*
 5 *re uolentibus. Multi languidi. multi diuersorum morborum molesti=*
 6 *is oppressi. illam ad postulandam sibi remedia intrant; nec diu di=*
 7 *lata dolent que postulant. Nam protinus sanctorum meritis indulta sibi sanita=*
 8 *te. sospites ad propria reuertuntur. Nullum brutum animal. nulliusque ge=*
 9 *neris bestia illud interius attingere. et uiuere permittitur. Statim*
 10 *enim ut herbam que super sanctorum corpora crescit pascens attingerit; ca=*
 11 *dens moritur. Nemo etiam temerarius illud ingrediens. impunitus eua=^{det.81}*
 12 **D**⁸² *ENIQUE refertur quod biennio antequam prefati fratres illuc*
 13 *aduenissent. quidam ex inhabitantibus idem more patrio excru=*
 14 *dis animalium pellibus calciamenta sibi conficiens; ligaminibus quibus il=*
 15 *la pedibus suis astringeret indiguerit. Est autem in eodem atrio intra=*
 16 *sanctorum sepulchra quercus mire proceritatis. ab antiquis temporibus pro sanctorum*
 17 *ueneratione intacta. Deliberans autem prefatus homo de tenera ipsius ar=*
 18 *boris cortice. qui liber uocatur sibi ligamina facere; arrepta securi ad*
 19 *quercum nil ueritus properauit. Eleui^ataque⁸³ manu cum securi arborem percu=*
 20 *tiens. multo aliud quam sperabat inuenit. Nam percussa quercus in percus=*
 21 *sione sua ita securim astrinxit. ut nullatenus moueri posset; et secu=*
 22 *ris ita manum aridam et brachium inflexibile uel indomabile reddi=*
 23 *dit. ut ea ad usus suos homo flectere nequaquam posset. Sed neque*

⁸¹ **eua**^{det.} The letters in superscript are written in a space on the subsequent line.

⁸² **D** is a large green initial covering two lines.

⁸³ **Eleui^ataque** The scribe initially started to write a minim instead of the first a.

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24 manum a securi absth⁸⁴er⁸⁴ poterat. nec ullatenus eam mouere. Verum
 25 quadam ui diuina manubrium securis manum hominis retinebat. et totum
 26 brachium quasi mortuum reddiderat. Sicque miserabiliter ibi pendens.
 27 et gemebundis uocibus clamans. flebiles pro temeritate sua pe=
 28 nas dabat. Ad cuius clamorem ingens utriusque sexus multitudo accur=
 29 rit. Videntesque a securi pendentem. plures quidem in lacrimis re=
 30 soluti sunt. omnes autem condoluerunt. quid ei acciderit et que fuerit huius=
 31 modi calamitatis causa inquirentes. Ille autem ex ordine omnem
 {162r}
 1 rei seriem enarrans. pro insolita miseria uniuersos ad sui compassionem in=
 2 flexit. Qui cum eum admonuissent quatinus reatus sui peniteret. et quia sanctis
 3 reuerentiam non exhibuerat culpam confiteretur. et ueniam deprecaretur. ipse
 4 hoc deuotius agere cepit. parentes quoque illius ad tumbam sancte uirginis Wene=
 5 frede prostrati solo. ut eius miser~~xxxxs~~^{reretur} lacrimabiliter postulabant.
 6 Et quia nomen illius uirginis ceterorum sanctorum ibidem quiescentium uocabulis
 7 celebrius erat. et merita exuperabant. ad illam corde et corpore conuer=
 8 si. indulgentiam de illo commisso deprecabantur. Cumque omnes tam ille qui
 9 patiebatur. quam ei compatientes unanimiter dicerent. sancta Wenefre=
 10 da miserere eius. subito miseratione dei languid^{is}^{us85} sanato brachio
 11 manum ad se traxit. et securis ab arbore decidit. Hoc uidentes
 12 qui astabant. deum glorificauerunt. et in beate uirginis ueneratione deuo=
 13 tiores extiterunt. Quercus adhuc stat ibi. quasi sit percussa recenter. que
 14 recitata manent. uera fuisse docens. Ex huius miraculi euentu ~~et~~
 15 et aliorum plurimorum que ibi claruisse noscuntur. locus ille preclarus ha=
 16 betur. atque ingenti apud incolas deuotione celebratur.⁸⁶
 17 **A**⁸⁷ D hunc ergo locum prefati fratres ^{cum} perducerentur pro quo uenerant habituri.
 18 atque desiderio suo potituri. prefatus prior sodales suos instinc=
 19 tu ut reor sancti spiritus preueniens. solus nemine ducente uel preostenden=

⁸⁴ absth^{er} Sic.

⁸⁵ languid^{is}^{us} The top of the erroneous s has been erased and combined with the preceding minim to form a u.

⁸⁶ celebratur Appears to be followed by an erasure of some kind.

⁸⁷ **A** is a large red initial covering two lines.

20 te recto tramite ad tumbam sancte Wenefrede peruenit.⁸⁸ Et qui nunquam ea=
 21 tenus ibi fuerat. nec prius locum tumuli aliquo designante cognouerat.
 22 solus deo preduce atrium illud ingressus. ad sancte uirginis sepulchrum nil
 23 deuians uenit. Stansque ad capud beate uirginis et socios expectans.
 24 quasi diuino quodam oraculo interius est admonitus. illud esse sepulchrum bea=
 25 te uirginis ~~et socios~~⁸⁹ quod desiderabant. Venientes uero qui locum designaturi
 26 erant. eundem ei ostenderunt quem ipse preelegerat. et cui assistebat.
 27 Tunc remotis laicis. et tam monachis quam clericis qui ibidem aderant.
 28 psalmos decantantibus. duo ex fratribus prior uidelicet cestrie et frater quem
 29 de monasterio cum priore uenisse superius designauimus. cum fossoribus et
 30 ligonibus terram fodere ceperunt. Aliquantulum spacii interuenerat. cum iam
 31 exacto nimio sudore pene laboribus fessi. ad optatum peruenerunt
 {162v}
 1 thesaurum. Quo inuento. deuotis animis deo gratias reddiderunt. atque ex=
 2 tracta de puluere ossa ut tunc temporis⁹⁰ commodum illis erat. inmantilibus
 3 decenter ligata composuerunt. Sicque ualedicentes in illo predio commanen=
 4 tibus. cum inmenso gaudio remeare ceperunt. Ibant igitur alacribus animis iter
 5 suum incedentes. uo^{a}rioque⁹¹ uiam sermone leuabant. Vnum autem inter mutua
 6 uerba frequentius inserebant. quod multis et magnis diuiciis preferrent. si
 7 quod ab eis portabatur cuius meriti esset agnoscerent. Nec diu distulit deus.
 8 et in hoc illorum satisfacere uoluntati. Nam aduesperacente die. a quodam
 9 fideli hospitio sunt suscepti. Discumbentibus uero illis. egrotus quidam insecreti=
 10 ori parte domus. planctus terribiles et miserandes uoces emittere. cepit.
 11 Interrogante uero priore illius doloris que causa fuisset. responsum est ei. langui=
 12 dum nimia corporis inualitudine ibi retineri. magnaue se a deo
 13 mercede habiturum. si aliquid ei conferret. unde ad sanitatem perduci
 14 posset. Tunc prior allatam aquam benedixit. Ac deinde de puluere

⁸⁸ **peruenit** The abbreviation is ambiguous here, with a bar through the descender of the p (standard *per* abbreviation) but also a curved line above the p (*pre* abbreviation).

⁸⁹ ~~et socios~~ (margin with a signe-de-renvoi) {ibique habere}

⁹⁰ **temporis** There are marks under the m, possibly for deletion.

⁹¹ **uo^{a}rioque** The scribe did not delete the o.

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15 inuento in capite beate uirginis modicum in illa mittens; infir=
16 mo dari precepit. Qui sine dilatione parari locum sibi ad pausandum
17 petens. statim obdormiuit. Post paululum uero surgens; sanum se
18 et incolumen inuenit. deo et sancte uirgini gratias exsoluens. Et hoc
19 miraculo fide confirmata; legati letiores effecti sunt; et in uirginis
20 ueneratione deuotiores. Multis quoque aliis signis innotuit eis in
21 uia. diuinum esse munus quod ferebant.

22 **S**⁹² Eptimo itaque die adurbem salospesberie de qua emissi⁹³ fuerant
23 uenientes; legatos ad monasterium destinauerunt. se propter que
24 ierant habere denuntiuros. Congregatio uero tota his auditis pluri=
25 mum est gauisa. consulitque ut in ecclesia sancti EGidii que inurbis exitu
26 sita est sanctissime reliquie deponerentur. incongruum fore dicens. tantum
27 thesaurum in monasterio recipi. nisi cum auctoritate et benedictione
28 episcopi; atque magno totius prouincie populi occursum. Placuit hic sermo
29 uniuersis. prioremque iterum et^{ad} episcopum destinauerunt. illius auctoritate confir=
30 mandum. quod de pignore celitus sibi concesso facturi erant. Interim
31 fratres a conuentu deputati sunt. qui officia noctis et diei coram beate
{163r}

1 uirginis corpore deuotius animis celebrarent. Quibus ad ea que dei erant
2 sollicite intendentibus et cotidie excubias diligenti deuotione obser=
3 uantibus; adueniebant percircuitum fideles populi. precibus et meritis
4 sancte uirginis se committentes. Eratque in eadem uilla iuuenis quidam nimia
5 corporis atritus molestia. nulliusque membrorum suorum ualitudine potitus.
6 Inclinatorum enim capite fere ad terram. nullatenus capud erigere ualebat;
7 sed amissis totius substantie sue officialibus instrumentis. spem sanitatis
8 funditus amiserat. Hic audito rumore de aduentu beate uirginis;
9 equum sibi quamtotius parari precepit. Quo ascenso; amicorumque suorum ma=
10 nibus ex utraque parte retentus; ad prefatam ecclesiam in qua reliquie sancte con=
11 tinebantur est perductus. Ibidemque in oratione pernoctans. circa finem noctis

⁹² S is a large green initial covering two lines.

⁹³ **emissi** The initial e was originally a minim, but was transformed into an e by adding a loop.

12 acerbissimo est compagum suarum dolore uexatus. Mane autem paulisper=
 13 requiescens; post modicum clarescente iam die incipiente sacerdote officium
 14 misse. conualescere cepit; desperatis omnibus qui aderant. pristine sospi=
 15 tati est restitutus. Relictoque post euangelium lecto. in quo tota nocte labo=
 16 rans iacuerat; ad altare festinus processit. deo et presbitero ~~ablutionem~~^{oblacionem}
 17 suam porrecturus. De hinc deo et beate uirgini grates pro sanitate suscep=
 18 ta deuotissime reddens. ad parentum domum suis pedibus remea=
 19 uit. qui aliorum manibus inde abductus fuerat. Hoc miraculum congrega=
 20 tionis animos admodum letificauit. et in breui per prouintiam diuul=
 21 gatam. audientium mentes ad metum et reuerentiam plurimum excitauit.
 22 Crescebatque cotidianis successibus in maius nomen illius et memo=
 23 ria uniuersis pene questionem facientibus; quando eius translati^{o} fieri de=
 24 beret. Prior itaque de pontifice rediens; auctoritate ipsius fultus. omnibus
 25 qui in uirginis ueneratione deuoti erant benedictionem dei et suam
 26 detulit. Dies igitur est denominata. et peruicinarum parrochiarum con=
 27 uenticula denunciata. ad quam conuenire omnes admoniti sunt; qui
 28 uenerande translationi interesse uoluissent. Statutaque itaque die
 29 procedentibus fratribus obuam cum crucibus et candelis et numerosa po=
 30 puli multitudine. allatum est sacratissimum corpus beate uirginis
 31 Wenefrede. uniuersis genua flectentibus; pluribusque pre ni=

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1 mio gaudio a fletu se non continentibus. Fratres uero qui pro sancto pignore suscipi=
 2 enda exierant. diuina super eos patenter micare compererunt beneficia.
 3 per beate uirginis Wenefredę patrocina. Imber enim circumiacentes cam=
 4 pos ubertim infusus irradiabat. fratresque qui cum precio^{sio}rib^{us} ⁹⁴ ornamentis ecclesie
 5 ^{obuam} exierant non modicum timere compellebat. ne ex occasione imminentis
 6 pluuię aliquid honori beatissime uirginis detraheretur. et quod summa de=
 7 uotione solenniter celebrandum inceperant; non usque quaque perfectum intermittere
 8 cogentur. Horum uotiuę ad deum perlata desideria obtentu sancte Wene=
 9 frede uoluntate sua potiri meruerunt; deo sua clementia perlucidum ibi=

⁹⁴ Gap left of approximately three letters.

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10 dem faciente miraculum. In omni enim illa processione egredientium de=
11 monasterio et in sanctarum susceptione reliquiarum. uideres aquas nubium
12 prope terram in diuina suspensas. interdumque singulas guttas adterram
13 emittentes. se quodammodo ad cadendum paratas designantes; sed celesti
14 uirtutes retentas. Contemplabantur illud uniuersi qui aderant. plu=
15 ribus plurimum pertimescentibus; ne grauis inundatio irrueret. et
16 eos perturbatos diffugere compelleret. plurimis uero diuina potentia
17 aquas ne deciderent coercitas comperientibus. et inde uirginis merita
18 amplius uenerantibus. Igitur post sanctarum susceptionem reliquiarum cum fratres ad
19 monasterium regredi cepissent. placuit omnibus ut prefatus prior qui eas=
20 dem detulerat multitudinem alloqueretur; atque omnes instrueret quanta=
21 rum uirtutum. uel quorum meritorum esset uirgo cuius ibidem translatio fie=
22 bat. Cumque hoc diutius fecisset. nubibus per uicinum aerem uolitantibus.
23 et casum suum minitantibus. atque circumfluam patriam infusione sua
24 irrorantibus. susceptum est a fratribus sanctissime uirginis corpus cum decenti
25 reuerentia. resonantibus insullime dei laudibus; atque ad monaste=
26 rium est delatum. et super altare quod constructum est in honore sanctorum
27 apostolorum petri et pauli ueneranter collocatum. Vbi ad ostendendam
28 beate uirginis prerogatiuam egrotis sanitates tribuuntur. et fiunt
29 innumere uirtutes. ad gloriam et laudem dei. honor. decus. imperium
30 per eterna secula seculorum AMEN.

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