

Vita Sancti Danielis (Peniarth 225)

edited by David Callander

Edited Text

Translation

Manuscript

References

Introduction

No full Life of Deiniol survives, but, in addition to the lections edited here, there is quite substantial evidence for his cult. His burial is noted for the year 583 in the *Annales Cambriae* A- and B-texts (Gough-Cooper 2012) and he is mentioned by Gerald of Wales (*Itinerarium Cambriae* ii.6 in Dimock 1868) and Geoffrey of Monmouth (GMon xi.179). There are a significant number of dedications to him throughout Wales (PW), including Bangor Cathedral and the church of St Daniel (the Latin form used for Deiniol) near Pembroke. Deiniol also occurs in other saints' lives, most notably VS Daudi, §50. He appears in BBeuno, §22, VS Elgari, §5, and the Life of St. Ciarán of Cluain moccu Nóis (VSH i, 210), as well as being Cybi's disciple in the Yale recension of the Life of Cybi. There is early evidence for the date of his festival on 11 September, from the Martyrology of Tallaght (c. 800) (Best and Lawlor 1931: 70). This date is also given in medieval and early modern Welsh calendars which contain Deiniol's festival (Harris 1955: 6–8). Deiniol occurs in the twelfth-century genealogical treatise *Bonedd y Saint* as the son of Dunod Fwr (EWGT 56). He also appears as one of the 'seven blessed cousins' (as he is sometimes described in poetry) in its late medieval offshoot *Achau'r Saint* (EWGT 71). Deiniol is fairly widely attested in poetry, with a reference in the *Oianau* from the mid-thirteenth-century Black Book of Carmarthen (LIDC, no. 17, l. 69), featuring in the later medieval poem *Teulu Cybi Sant* (LBS iv, 383). He occurs in the works of cywyddwyr including Dafydd ap Gwilym (DG.net, nos 95, 127, 128). Syr Dafydd Trefor composed a whole cywydd focusing on Deiniol and the work of Bishop Thomas Skeffington at Bangor Cathedral in around 1527 (GSDT no. 14). This poem appears to have used the lections edited here as a major source, though the poet's knowledge of Deiniol is

not confined to them. Finally, and significantly, there are prayers for the proper for St Deiniol added by Richard Peicke (a contemporary of Syr Dafydd Trefor) in NLW, Printed Books, IE Ven 94, associated with the diocese of Bangor (MWM 280). The collect added by Richard Peicke is also found at the end of the lections edited here.

Deiniol's Life survives only in the form of lections. These are readings to be read out on his feast day, each of the nine lections ending with the standard prayer *Tu autem domine miserere nostri* 'But you, o lord, have mercy upon us'. The lections contain a significant amount of information regarding Deiniol and his life. Following praise of God and Deiniol, the lections note that Deiniol, from a noble British family, left his native soil to become a hermit on a mountain near Pembroke where a church of St Daniel now stands. After the death of the bishop of Bangor, the clerics there receive divine instruction to seek out Deiniol as their next bishop. Deiniol is shocked to learn of this as he is illiterate, but after he prays at Bangor Cathedral he is miraculously filled with ecclesiastical knowledge and invested as bishop. The final three lections relate various miracles Deiniol carried out as a hermit near Pembroke, and are followed by the collect.

The lections survive only in the manuscript Peniarth 225, copied by Thomas Wiliems, which contains a great deal of Welsh hagiographical material. Thomas Wiliems dates the copy he makes to 1602, and notes that he was copying 'from an old manuscript book'. Despite the late manuscript, the lections are clearly a medieval product. In addition to Thomas Wiliems' claim regarding the source, the orthography is inconsistent, normally cohering to the norms of Thomas Wiliems and his contemporaries, but sometimes betraying its medieval origins, with the use of <e> for <œ> or <æ> (Harris 1955: 21). It appears most likely that these lections derive from a fuller Life of Deiniol (cf. Harris 1955: 14–15; MWM 281), with either certain episodes having been extracted, as is likely the case with the miracles, or the Life as a whole having been summarized. Harris notes that 'the abrupt transition, soon after the beginning of Lect. vij., from the enthroned bishop to the recitation of miracles' may be indicative of this (Harris 1955: 14). The seventh lection also contains a sentence lacking the main verb, which could be indicative of extraction and summary from a longer Life. In the first lection, the composer explicitly states that they have drawn out certain miracles performed by Deiniol, but are by no means able to relate them all, which is a common hagiographic topos but could here indicate extraction from more substantial material. Harris notes that the lections 'may be the only *Life* of Deiniol that was ever written', but in view of the evidence this seems less likely (Harris 1955: 15).

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

When, then, was the original Life written and when was it used for the lections? The original Life must post-date the foundation of Pembroke in 1093 by Earl Roger of Montgomery. Harris notes that the miracles described cohere with those found in other Latin Lives from Wales of the late eleventh or twelfth centuries (Harris 1955: 15). He cites a number of correspondences with the Lives of Cadog by Lifris and Caradog of Llancarfan, which he argues ‘make it fairly certain that the *Vita Cadoci* was laid under contribution for these lessons to St. Deiniol’ (Harris 1955: 15). If Harris is right, and the correspondences, such as vomiting forth worms after drinking from the saint’s well, are certainly striking, then the Life must post-date Lifris’ Life of Cadog, which is variously dated, with John Reuben Davies arguing for the period 1091–1104 (Davies 2003: 76). There is little to give the Life a clear *terminus ad quem*. It uses a British-based vocabulary throughout, which could indicate a date before 1150, but it is ambiguous as to whether *Brytania* refers to Wales here (Pryce 2001). It is nevertheless likely that it was composed at the same time as the vast bulk of Latin hagiography in Wales either at the end of the eleventh century or in the twelfth. It is unclear when the lections were made out of the Life. Syr Dafydd Trefor seems to have been familiar with the lections in something like their current state, and thus they must have been put together, and have been at Bangor, by around 1527 at the very latest, and were likely composed substantially earlier, given that Thomas Wiliems derives them from ‘an old manuscript book’.

As regards location, the original Life seems clearly to have been written in the vicinity of Pembroke. All the local details of the Life are situated around Pembroke, including the various miracles (§§7–9). A site of particular importance is ‘Deiniol’s Mount’ near Pembroke, where ‘a church of wondrous beauty and size has been built for that saint’s honour and renown’ (§3). This refers to St. Daniel’s church, a church which became annexed to Monkton Priory (a Benedictine foundation of c. 1098 situated very near Pembroke) (Harris 1955: 18). This is where Deiniol builds his hut and lives as a hermit, and is also the site of the well he let spring forth with water from the river Jordan (§9). As such, Monkton Priory is a distinct possibility for where the Life was first composed. The author shows no familiarity with Bangor or its diocese, and, indeed, the repeated references to the diocese of St Davids (§§2, 9) indicate a focus on that bishopric rather than Bangor. The fact that the clerics of Bangor are divinely instructed to elect as bishop a hermit dwelling in the diocese of St Davids (§4) may subtly suggest the supremacy of St Davids over Bangor. If the Life was thus originally composed in the vicinity of Pembroke, this is not necessarily true of the redaction of the lections. They certainly retain a focus on Pembroke, in

contrast to Syr Dafydd Trefor's cywydd, where such reference is fairly systematically removed. This might suggest the lections themselves are also a product of this area, and there is no evidence that there was ever a full Life at Bangor (from which the lections could be made). Nevertheless, the lections had clearly reached Bangor by around 1527 and the first lection, which highlights that God chose Deiniol, bishop and confessor, as a pastor for his holy church, fits well with a setting at Bangor. Similarly, the title in Peniarth 225 describes Deiniol as bishop of Bangor and the collect (§10) states that God wanted Deiniol the bishop as pastor for his church. Importantly, as has been noted, this collect is shared between Peniarth 225 and the Bangor-focused additions to NLW, Printed Books, IE Ven 94, without significant textual variation. It is thus a distinct possibility that the 'old manuscript book' from which Thomas Wiliems copied the lections was at Bangor. Syr Dafydd Trefor may also have consulted this manuscript. Taking this together, the most likely scenario is that the Life, which had been composed near Pembroke, was summarized and extracted at Bangor, giving us the lections which survive today.

Vita Sancti Danielis (Peniarth 225)

edited by David Callander

Introduction

Translation

Manuscript

References

Edited Text

Summary

Deiniol, patron saint of Bangor Cathedral, had a significant cult in medieval Wales and is attested in a number of different sources. According to his Life, which survives only in the form of these lections, he spent much of his life as a hermit in the vicinity of Pembroke. Following the death of the bishop of Bangor, it was revealed by divine grace to the clerics there that they should choose Deiniol as their next bishop. When the messengers reach Deiniol, he is shocked as he is illiterate, but, after praying at the altar at Bangor, Deiniol miraculously becomes learned in letters. Lections §§7–9 concern various miracles Deiniol carried out in the vicinity of Pembroke, and §10 contains the Collect, which also survives in manuscript additions to an early printed missal used at Bangor. This text is edited from Peniarth 225 (its only witness), with variants for the Collect from additions to NLW, Printed Books, IE Ven 94.

Text

Legenda 9 lectionum de Sancto Daniele, episcopo Bangoriensi.

§1

Lectio .I.

Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis et gloriosus in maiestate, volens sanctos suos a Christi fidelibus gloriosos reputari, et digne ac laudabiliter venerari, ipse mirabiliter innumeris non desistit decorare miraculis, inter quos beatissimum Danielem episcopum et confessorem, sanctitatis gratia decoratum, dominus noster, multimodis miraculis insignitum, ecclesiæ suæ sanctæ prælegit in

pastorem, et omnia miracula, quæ idem saluator meritis prædicti sancti Danielis operari dignatus est, nequaquam sufficimus enarrare, aliqua tamen ex illis devotioni vestræ duximus intimanda. Tu autem domine miserere nostri.

§2

Lectio secunda.

Beatus itaque Daniel ex nobili prosapia Brytonum oriundus, cum esset adultæ ætatis, relictis parentibus et solo natali, heremiticam et solitariam¹ cupiens ducere vitam (cui optima pars promittitur, adeoque non auferetur) ad quendam montem, qui nunc Mons Danielis nuncupatur, iuxta Penbrochiam Menevensis diœcesis pervenit. Considerans, quia illum locum a tumultu hominum segregatum, carpendis divinæ contemplationis fructibus vtilem et idoneum, statuit in mente, si Deus permiserit, ibidem moram trahere, suo perpetuo domino serviturus. Tu autem etc.

§3

Lectio tertia.

Quem dominus loci benigne suscipiens, de solo suo tantum sibi concessit, quantum ad victum quotidianum sibi necessarium fore existimaret, vna cum animalibus et ministris vtilibus ad agriculturam. Constructo in domum tugurio in loco vbi nunc ecclesia miræ pulchritudinis et magnitudinis in ipsius sancti honore et nomine fabricata est, in ieiuniis, in orationibus, ac aliis operibus pietatis, Deo omnipotenti creatori devotissime serviebat. Tu autem etc domine miserere nostri etc.

§4

Lectio 4^{ta}.

Procedente tempore, ecclesia cathedrali Bangoriensi per mortem pontificis sui vacante, illis ad quos in eadem ecclesia pontificis electio seu provisio pertinebat in vnum congregatis, invocata spiritus sancti gratia, divinitus revelatum est quod ad partes Penbrochiæ quantocius mitterent, et quendam heremitam, super montem ex parte australi Penbrochiæ commorantem, sibi ecclesiæ

¹ **solitariam** followed by vitam which was subsequently deleted P225.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIÆ

suæ eligerent in episcopum et pastorem. Adiectumque est quod Daniel vocaretur. Tu autem domine miserere nostri.

§5

Lectio quinta.

Qui statim nuncios miserunt ad partes prædictas. Venientes nuncii ibidem, ipsum heremitam in loco quem prædiximus invenerunt, nunciique, salutatione præmissa, interrogant eum: 'Quale nomen habes?' Ille vero humiliter respondit: 'Ego Daniel nuncupatus sum, sed non propheta.' Tunc nuncii, gavisus gaudio magno, itineris sui et adventus causam seriatim expresserunt. Ille vero ultra quam credi potest admirans, ait: 'Qualiter hoc fieri potest vt me asseritis in episcopum electum, cum sim vir omnino illiteratus, nec aliquam scientiam literatoriam cognovi?' Cui respondentes dixerunt: 'Voluntas Dei est vt ita fiat.' Ille vero devictus eorum instantia, et divinæ vocationi obtemperare volens, relictis omnibus quæ possidebat, sequutus est eos in nomine saluatoris, vsque dum venirent ad ingressum civitatis Bangoriensis. Tu autem domine, etc.

§6

Lectio sexta.

Statimque omnes campanæ civitatis absque manu hominis sunt pulsatæ. Audientes autem hii, qui in civitate fuerunt, sonitum campanarum, ingressi ecclesiam, nullum pulsantem campanas invenientes, dixerunt adinvicem quod 'Miraculum est quod dominus operatus est', et statim ecce nuncii cum Daniele ad valvas ecclesiæ iam steterunt. Tunc clerici eiusdem ecclesiæ ipsum Danielem ad summum ecclesiæ altare deducentes, et 'Te Deum Laudamus' devotissime cantantes, saluatoris laudantes clementiam. Et cum ab oratione Sanctus Daniel surrexisset, omnium literarum scientia ecclesiastica ita repletus est, quod nullus in Brytania illi tunc similis videbatur in scientia et literatura. Tu autem etc.

§7

Lectio vii.

Debitis postmodum temporis interstitiis ad omnes minores et maiores ordines rite promotus, in episcopum laudabiliter consecratur, et inthronizatur cum maxima et populi iucunditate. Pontificali igitur infula decoratus, Deo et omnibus hominibus amabilem se exhibuit. Miracula

vero quæ dominus ipsius meritis, tam in eius vita, quam post transitum eiusdem, operari dignatus est, prolixum nimis foret enarrare, erant enim multa valde. Quadam nocte cum vir ille sanctus in Monte Penbrochiæ morabatur, venerunt duo malevoli homines illuc, vt boves, ad terram suam arandam sancto viro commodatos, furarentur, et comprehendentes boves, eos abducere ceperunt. Audiens vero vir sanctus in hospiciolo suo strepitum hominum et animalium, vidit per fenestram fures abducentes boves, et exiens clamavit: 'Expectate! Expectate modicum in nomine domini!' At ipsi vocem ipsius audientes velocius cucurrerunt, sanctoque Daniele signum crucis faciente erga boves, ne ipse qui eos accommodauerat pro facto suo laudabili damnum reportaret, et statim fures versi sunt in duos lapides in eodem loco, ad instar hominum stantes vsque in hodiernum diem. Animalia autem ad pascua consueta conuertuntur. Tu autem domine etc.

§8

Lectio octava.

Alio autem tempore cum vir sanctus non inveniret animalia cum quibus terram suam araret, ecce venerunt de sylua Pencoet, quæ prope erat, duo cerui magni ad locum vbi terra aranda extiterat, et colla sua iugo submittentes, tanquam bestiæ mansuetæ tota die aratrum traxerunt, et, opere diei completo, ad syluam predictam reuersi sunt. Tu autem domine miserere nostri.

§9

Lectio nona.

Quodam autem tempore vir sanctus Hierusalem causa devotæ peregrinationis pergebat. Perlustratis locis nativitatis et passionis dominicæ, visitatoque sepulchro in quo corpus requieuit saluatoris, venit ad flumen Iordanis Christi baptismate consecratum, et quandam phialam ex aqua illa implevit, et eandem secum detulit vsque ad cacumen montis iuxta Penbrochiam, super quem constructum erat eius habitaculum, vbi non modica extitit aquæ penuria. Invocato Christi nomine baculum fixit, et aquam illam, quam de terra sancta portavit, fundebat in terram, et statim baculus crevit in arborem pulcherrimam, et fons aquæ dulcissimæ ibidem emanavit, ægritudinum diversarum, si in potum sumpta fuerit, curativa.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

Quædam etiam mulier de partibus Caerwy Menevensis diecesis vltra modum extitit inflata, ita quod nullo potuit consilio medicorum liberari. Tandem ad ecclesiam sancti² Danielis, et postea ad fontem predictum accedens, oransque sancti adiutorium, ex aqua illa potavit causa recuperandæ sanitatis, et ante ipsius recessum, in ostium ecclesiæ veniebat, et ex ore suo eiecit, multis astantibus et videntibus, tres vermes horribiles cum quatuor pedibus in singulis, et salua facta est mulier ex illa hora. Preterea vxor cuiusdam viri de partibus Oxoniis diutissime cæca, admonita³ in somnis per sanctum Danielem, imo verius per revelationem divinam, ad dictam ecclesiam sancti Danielis adducta, in orationibus devotis ibidem cum quodam capellano cæco et aliis multis pernoctavit, et vterque eorum visum recepit eadem nocte meritis ipsius confessoris, prestante domino nostro Iesu Christo, qui cum Deo patre et spiritu sancto viuit et regnat Deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen. Tu autem domine miserere nostri.

§10

Oracio de eodem.

Deus qui beatum Danielem antistitem ecclesię tuę pastorem esse voluisti, concede propitius vt, qui eius beneficiis innitimur, æternæ beatitudinis gloriam suis precibus⁴ mereamur, per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum etc⁵

Ex libro manuscripto antiquo.

1602

² **sancti** followed by **michaeli** which was subsequently deleted P225.

³ **admonita** followed by **est** which was subsequently deleted P225.

⁴ **suis precibus** sua prece IEVen94.

⁵ **Iesum Christum etc** — IEVen94.

Vita Sancti Danielis (Peniarth 225)

edited by David Callander

[Introduction](#)

[Edited Text](#)

[Manuscript](#)

[References](#)

Translation

A saint's Life of nine lections concerning St Deiniol, bishop of Bangor.

§1

The first lection.

God, marvellous in his saints¹ and glorious in majesty, wanting his saints to be considered glorious by Christ's faithful, and to be honoured worthily and in a praiseworthy manner, he himself does not cease from marvellously adorning them with innumerable miracles, among whom our lord chose the most blessed Deiniol, bishop and confessor, adorned with the grace of sanctity, marked out with manifold miracles, as pastor of his holy church, and we are by no means able to relate all the miracles which that saviour has deigned to work for the merits of the aforementioned St Deiniol, yet we have drawn out some of them to be made known to your devoutness.² But you, o lord, have mercy upon us.³

¹ **Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis (God, marvellous in his saints).** Cf. Psalms 67.36 (Vulgate; modern 68.35) (*mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis*). Versions of this statement occur frequently in saints' lives, cf. VS Samsonis (LL), §5; VS Wenefrede (Claud), §22; VS Dubricii (LL/Vesp), §§16, 20; VS Teliaui (LL), §29; VS Teliaui (Vesp), §5.

² This reference to *devotioni vestrae* (your devoutness) is ambiguous. It can be used as a title, like 'your holiness', and thus could refer to an individual who might have commissioned the lections (DMLBS s.v. *deuotio* 3), but it could also refer to a group of people, in particular the intended audience of the lections, and this is perhaps more likely in context.

³ **Tu autem domine miserere nostri (But you, o lord, have mercy upon us).** Cf. Psalms 40.11. This line is used frequently to end lections in the liturgy.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

§2

The second lection.

And so the blessed Deiniol, born of a noble British family,⁴ when he was of adult age, having left his parents and his native soil, wanting to lead an eremitic and solitary life (to which the best part is promised, and equally will not be taken away)⁵ reached a certain mountain, which is now called Deiniol's Mount,⁶ by Pembroke⁷ in the diocese of St Davids. Deeming that place, because it was separated from the uproar of people, serviceable and suitable for the fruits of divine contemplation to be harvested, he decided in his mind, if God should allow it, to take a stay there, to serve his perpetual lord. But you *etc.*⁸

§3

The third lection.

The lord of the place, accepting him in a kindly manner, granted to him of his own land as much as he thought would be necessary for him for his daily sustenance, together with animals and servants suitable for agriculture. After a hut had been built as a house in the place where now a church of wondrous beauty and size has been built⁹ for that saint's honour and renown, he served God, the omnipotent creator, most devoutly in fasts, in prayers, and other works of piety. But you, o lord, have mercy upon us *etc.*

⁴ *Brytonum* is probably used here to refer to the Welsh, although Deiniol's exact origin is left unclear and he could possibly be from Brittany or Cornwall.

⁵ **Cui optima pars promittitur, adeoque non auferetur (to which the best part is promised, and equally will not be taken away).** Cf. Luke 10.42 (*Maria optimam partem elegit quae non auferetur ab ea*).

⁶ This is the hill upon which St Daniel's church now stands, just south of Pembroke. Harris notes that 'both hill and church are referred to indiscriminately by later writers as "St Daniel's"' (Harris 1955: 17).

⁷ Pembroke is the county town of Pembrokeshire in south-west Wales and the site of a major Norman castle, built by Earl Roger of Montgomery in 1093

⁸ The copy of this text in Peniarth 225 uses *etc* to abbreviate the repeated prayer at the end of each lection, and such abbreviation may well have been present in the lost medieval exemplar, as it is a common abbreviation in liturgical books.

⁹ St Daniel's church near Pembroke, which this must describe, is an ancient church which, as Harris notes, 'was annexed to the Benedictine Priory (founded c. 1098) at Monkton near Pembroke. This was a cell of the abbey of St. Martin of Sées in Normandy' (Harris 1955: 18). On this priory, see Burton and Stöber (2015): 157–9; Coflein s.n. Monkton Priory; Monastic Wales s.n. Pembroke (Priory). The church building at St Daniel's also impressed early modern antiquaries with its height (Harris 1955: 18).

§4

The fourth lection.

With time going by, the cathedral church of Bangor being vacant through the death of its bishop, after those had gathered together to whom the election and provision of a bishop in that church pertained, the grace of the Holy Spirit having been invoked, it was divinely revealed that they should send as quickly as possible to the districts of Pembroke, and that they should choose for themselves for their church a certain hermit, dwelling upon a hill from the southern part of Pembroke, as bishop and pastor. And it was added that he was called Deiniol. But you, o lord, have mercy upon us.

§5

The fifth lection.

They at once sent messengers to the aforementioned district. The messengers, coming there, found that hermit in the place which we mentioned before, and the messengers, having first said their greeting, ask him: 'What is your name?' Truly, he responded humbly: 'I was named Deiniol, but I am not a prophet.'¹⁰ Then the messengers, gladdened with great delight, stated explicitly the cause of their journey and arrival in order. But he, marvelling more than can be believed, said: 'How can this come to pass, that you maintain I have been elected as a bishop, since I am a completely illiterate man, and have not been versed in any written knowledge?' Responding to him, they said: 'It is the will of God that it should be done so.' But, overcome by their insistence, and wanting to submit to the divine calling, having left everything which he possessed, he followed them in the name of the Saviour, until they came to the entrance of the see of Bangor. But you, o lord, etc.

§6

The sixth lection.

And at once all the bells of the see were struck without human hand. Moreover, those who were in the see hearing the sound of the bells, having entered the church, finding no-one striking the

¹⁰ In the Latin text, Deiniol's name is always *Danielis*, and thus identical with that of the Old Testament prophet Daniel.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

bells, said to each other that ‘It is a miracle which the lord has worked’, and at once behold the messengers now stood with Deiniol at the doors of the church. Then the clerics of that church, leading Deiniol to the highest altar of the church, and singing *Te Deum Laudamus*¹¹ most devoutly, praising the saviour’s mercy.¹² And when St Deiniol had risen from prayer, he was so filled with the ecclesiastical knowledge of all written learning that no-one in Wales¹³ at that time appeared like to him in knowledge and learning. But you etc.

§7

The seventh lection.

Afterwards, with the due intervals of time, elevated to all minor and major orders¹⁴ by proper ceremony, he is consecrated as bishop in a praiseworthy manner, and he is enthroned with the greatest joy and that of the people. And so, adorned with the episcopal garment, he showed himself to be loveable to God and all people. But the miracles which on account of his merits the lord deigned to work, both in his life and after his passing, would be too long to tell, for they were very many. On a certain night when that holy man was living on the mountain of Pembroke,¹⁵ two malevolent men came there, so that they should steal oxen bestowed to the holy man to plough his land, and, catching hold of the oxen, they started to lead them away. But the holy man in his little dwelling, hearing the clamour of people and animals, saw through a window the thieves leading away the oxen, and, going out, he exclaimed: ‘Wait! Wait a little in the name of the lord!’ But they, hearing his voice, ran faster, and St Deiniol, making the sign of the cross towards the oxen, so that he who had provided them should not bear a loss for his

¹¹ This Latin hymn in praise of God was used frequently in liturgical offices from the early medieval period onwards (Cross 1957: 1326).

¹² This sentence lacks a main verb and is possibly evidence for the reduction of a longer Life in creating the material for these readings.

¹³ *Brytania* could refer to either Wales or Britain here, but the latter is perhaps more likely given that the text’s focus is on Wales, where almost all its action takes place.

¹⁴ The minor orders represent lower degrees of the clergy, namely, porters, lectors, exorcists, and acolytes in the western church, which are received prior to major orders. Major orders refer to the more senior roles in Christian sacred ministry of deacon, priest, and bishop.

¹⁵ There are two other references to Deiniol dwelling on a hill near Pembroke (§§2, 9), which appear to refer to St Daniel’s. Here the reference is to *Monte Penbrochiæ*, literally ‘the mountain of Pembroke’, but it is likely still to refer to Deiniol’s dwelling at St Daniel’s. As St Daniel’s is so close to Pembroke, it could perhaps be seen as part of the same unit, and thus the mountain of Pembroke might refer to St Daniel’s here.

laudable deed, and¹⁶ at once the thieves were turned into two rocks in that place, standing to this day in the likeness of humans. Moreover, the animals were directed to their accustomed pasture. But you, o lord etc.

§8

The eighth lection.

Moreover, at another time, when the holy man could not find the animals with which he should plough his land, behold two large stags came from the forest of Pencoed,¹⁷ which was nearby, to the place where there had been land to be ploughed, and, submitting their necks to the yoke, they pulled the plough all day in the manner of tame animals, and, the day's work complete, they returned to the aforementioned forest. But you, o lord, have mercy upon us.

§9

The ninth lection.

Moreover, at a certain time, the holy man made his way to Jerusalem on devout pilgrimage. Having explored the places of the lord's Nativity and Passion, and having visited the grave in which the body of the saviour rested, he came to the river Jordan, hallowed by Christ's baptism, and filled a certain phial from that river, and carried that with him to the summit of the mountain by Pembroke,¹⁸ upon which his little dwelling was built, where there was no little shortage of water. Having invoked the name of Christ, he drove in his staff, and poured out onto the ground that water which he carried from the Holy Land, and at once the staff grew into a most beautiful tree, and a spring of the sweetest water flowed out in that place,¹⁹ curative of various illnesses, if it should be consumed as a drink.

¹⁶ The 'and' (*et*) here is superfluous and indeed stops the sentence working grammatically.

¹⁷ Pencoed is a fairly common Welsh place-name. Here it most likely refers to Pencoed in the vicinity of Lawrenny in southern Pembrokeshire, which is by far the closest Pencoed to Pembroke: ArchifMR s.n. Pencoed.

¹⁸ This appears to refer to St Daniel's.

¹⁹ This echoes the action of Moses in Exodus 17.5–6, where God commands him to strike the rock at Horeb with his staff and water comes out of it to provide for the thirsty Israelites.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

Also, a certain woman from the districts of Carew²⁰ in the diocese of St Davids was swollen beyond measure, so that she could not be cured by any medical advice. At last, coming to the church of St Deiniol and afterwards to the aforementioned spring, and praying for the saint's help, she drank from that water for the sake of regaining her health, and before her departure, she came to the entrance of the church, and she cast out from her mouth, with many people standing near and watching, three horrible worms with four feet on each one, and the woman was made healthy from that time. In addition, the wife of a certain man from the districts of Oxford,²¹ having been blind for a very long time, was urged in her sleep through St Deiniol, or more correctly through divine revelation. Having been brought to the said church of St Deiniol, she spent the night there in devout prayers with a certain blind chaplain and many others, and both of them received their vision that night through the merits of that confessor, with our lord Jesus Christ providing, who with God the Father and the Holy Spirit lives and reigns, God for ever and ever. Amen. But you, o lord, have mercy upon us.

§10

Prayer of the same.

O God, who chose blessed Deiniol, the bishop, to be a pastor of your Church: graciously grant that we, who are supported by his blessings, may by his prayers be worthy of the glory of eternal happiness, through our lord Jesus Christ etc.

From an old manuscript book.

1602.

²⁰ Carew (Welsh *Caeriw*) is a small settlement in south Pembrokeshire, around four miles east-north-east of Pembroke. It contains a tenth- or eleventh-century inscribed stone in honour of a certain Maredudd (Edwards 2007: 303–10) and is the site of a Norman castle probably founded around 1100 by Gerald of Windsor, constable of Pembroke (King and Perks 1962).

²¹ As Pembrokeshire was an area of strong Anglo-Norman influence, it is possible that this does indeed refer to someone originally from Oxford. Yet elsewhere the references are to local places in Pembrokeshire and Silas Harris suggests that this may be a corruption of a local place-name (Harris 1955: 17).

Vita Sancti Danielis (Peniarth 225)

edited by David Callander

Introduction

Edited Text

Translation

References

Manuscript

The lections concerning St Deiniol survive only in the early modern manuscript Peniarth 225. This manuscript was copied by Thomas Wiliems, who dates this section to 1602 and notes that he is copying from an old manuscript book. The collect at the end of the lections is also found in the early-sixteenth-century hand of Richard Peicke in manuscript additions to NLW, Printed Books, IE Ven 94, associated with the diocese of Bangor, alongside further liturgical material associated with Deiniol.

ABERYSTWYTH, NATIONAL LIBRARY OF WALES, PENIARTH 225, 155–60

Note on transcription. The following abbreviation is used: ampersand (× 23).

TRANSCRIPTION

{155}

- 1 Legenda 9. lectionum de Sancto daniele
- 2 Episcopo Bangoriensi.
- 3 lectio .I.
- 4 mirabilis deus in sanctis suis, et gloriosus in maiestate
- 5 volens sanctos suos a Christi fidelibus gloriosos
- 6 reputari, et digne ac laudabiliter venerari,
- 7 ipse mirabiliter innumeris *nōn* desistit decorare
- 8 miraculis, inter quos *beatissimum* danielem episcopum
- 9 et Confessorem, sanctitatis *gratia* decoratum, dominus
- 10 noster multimodis miraculis insignitum, ecclesiæ

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

11 suæ sanctæ prælegit¹ in pastorem, et *omnia*
12 miracula quæ idem saluator meritis prædicti
13 sancti danielis operari dignatus est, nequaquam
14 sufficimus enarrare, aliqua tamen ex illis
15 devotioni vestræ duximus intimanda. Tu
16 autem domine miserere nostri.

17 Lectio secunda.

18 Beatus itaque daniel ex nobili prosapia
19 Brytonum oriundus, cum esset adultæ ætatis
20 relictis parentibus et solo natali, heremiticam
21 et solitariam vitam cupiens ducere vitam,
22 cui optima pars promittitur, adeoque non auferetur,
23 ad quendam montem qui nunc mons danielis
24 nuncupatur iuxta penbrochiam menevensis diœcesis
25 pervenit, considerans quia illum locum a tumultu
26 hominum segregatum, carpendis divinæ contemplat=
27 ionis fructibus vtilem et idoneum, statuit in
28 mente² si deus permiserit, ibidem moram trahere,
29 suo perpetuo domino serviturus. Tu autem etc

30 Lectio tertia.

31 Quem dominus loci benigne³ suscipiens, de solo
32 suo tantum sibi concessit, quantum ad victum
33 quotidianum sibi necessarium fore existimaret,
34 vna cum animalibus et ministris vtilibus ad

{156}

1 Agriculturam constructo in domum tugurio
2 in loco vbi nunc ecclesia miræ pulchritudinis

¹ **prælegit** The æ is unclear and could simply be a poorly drawn e.

² **mente** Caerwyn Williams reads nocte and LBS mōte here. The word is far more similar to mente, which also makes the best sense in context. The forms of the first e and the et ligature (possibly to mark the abbreviation, although there is also a further line for abbreviation) are nevertheless unusual.

³ **benigne** There is a line over the final e.

3 et magnitudinis in ipsius sancti honore et
 4 nomine fabricata est, in ieiuniis, in orationibus
 5 ac aliis operibus pietatis, deo omnipotenti creatori
 6 devotissime seruiebat. Tu autem *etc*
 7 domine miserere nostri *etc*

8 Lectio 4^{ta}.
 9 procedente tempore, ecclesia cathedrali Bangoriensi
 10 per mortem pontificis sui vacante, illis ad quos
 11 in eadem ecclesia pontificis electio seu provisio
 12 pertinebat in vnum congregatis, invocata spiritus
 13 sancti gratia, divinitus revelatum est quod
 14 ap^{d4} partes penbrochiæ quantocius mitterent, et
 15 quendam heremitam super montem ex parte australi
 16 penbrochiæ commorantem, sibi ecclesiæ suæ
 17 eligerent in episcopum et pastorem, adiectumque
 18 est quod daniel vocaretur. Tu⁵ autem
 19 domine miserere nostri.

20 Lectio quinta.
 21 Qui statim nuncios miserunt ad partes prædictas
 22 Venientes nuncii ibidem ipsum heremitam in
 23 loco quem prædiximus invenerunt, nunciique, salutat=
 24 ione præd^missa, interrogant eum quale nomen habes.
 25 Ille vero humiliter respondit, ego daniel
 26 nuncupatus sum, sed non propheta. Tunc nuncii
 27 gavisı gaudio magno, itineris sui et adventus
 28 causam seriatim expresserunt. Ille vero vltra
 29 quam credi potest admirans ait, qualiter
 30 hoc fieri potest vt me asseritis in episcopum
 31 electum, cum sim vir omnino illiteratus, nec

⁴ ap^d Thomas Wiliems added an ascender to change the p into a d.

⁵ Tu There is a mark above the u.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

32 aliquam scientiam literatoriam cognovi -

{157}

1 Cui respondentes dixerunt, voluntas dei est
2 vt ita fiat,. Ille vero devictus eorum
3 instantia, *et* divinæ vocationi obtemperare
4 volens, relictis *omnibus* quæ possidebat,
5 sequutus est eos in *nomine* saluatoris, vsque
6 dum venirent ad ingressum civitatis Bangor=
7 iensis. Tu autem *domine. etc*

8 Lectio sexta.

9 Statimque *omnes* Campanæ civitatis absque
10 manu hominis sunt pulsatæ; Audientes
11 autem hii qui in civitate fuerunt, sonitum
12 campanarum, ingressi ecclesiam, nullum
13 pulsantem campanas invenientes, dixerunt
14 adinvicem *quod* miraculum est quod dominus
15 operatus est, *et* statim ecce nuncii cum daniele
16 ad valvas ecclesiæ iam steterunt. Tunc
17 clerici eiusdem ecclesiæ ipsum danielem
18 ad summum ecclesiæ altare deducentes, et
19 Te deum Laudamus devotissime cantantes,
20 Saluatoris laudantes clementiam. Et cum
21 ab oratione Sanctus daniel surrexisset,
22 *omnium* literarum scientia ecclesiastica ita
23 repletus est, *quod* nullus in Brytania
24 illi tunc similis videbatur in scientia
25 et literatura. Tu autem *etc*

26 Lectio VII.

27 debitis postmodum temporis interstitiis ad
28 *omnes* minores *et* maiores ordines rite promotus,
29 in episcopum laudabiliter consecratur, et
30 inthronizatur cum maxima *et* populi iucunditate.

{158}

1 pontificali igitur infula decoratus,⁶ deo et
 2 omnibus hominibus amabilem se exhibuit. miracula
 3 vero quæ dominus ipsius meritis, tam in eius vita,
 4 quam post transitum eiusdem operari dignatus est,
 5 prolixum nimis foret⁷ enarrare; erant enim multa
 6 valde. Quadam nocte cum vir ille sanctus in
 7 monte penbrochiæ morabatur, venerunt duo malevoli
 8 homines illuc, vt boves ad terram suam arandam
 9 sancto viro commo^odatos, furarentur, et comprehen=
 10 dentes boves, eos abducere ceperunt. Audiens
 11 vero vir sanctus in hospiciolo suo, strepitum
 12 hominum et animalium, vidit per fenestram fures,
 13 abducentes boves, et exiens clamauit, expect=
 14 ate, expectate modicum in nomine domini. At
 15 ipsi vocem ipsius audientes velocius cucurrerunt;
 16 Sanctoque daniele signum Crucis faciente,
 17 erga Boves ne ipse qui eos accommodauerat
 18 pro facto suo laudabili, damnum reportaret.
 19 et statim fures versi sunt in duos lapides
 20 in eodem loco, ad instar hominum stantes vsque
 21 in hodiernum diem. Animalia autem ad pascua
 22 consueta conuertuntur. Tu autem domine etc
 23 Lectio octava.
 24 Alio autem tempore cum vir sanctus non inveniret
 25 animalia cum quibus terram suam araret, eee

⁶ **decoratus** There are marks above the final us.

⁷ **foret** The first letter of this word is unclear. It looks closer to an s than an f, although the left loop may be obscured by the s of *transitum* and the bar across to the next letter not present due to the close proximity of the following o; cf. the f of *furarentur* on line 9. LBS and Harris read *foret*, and Caerwyn Williams reads *pret* with an abbreviation. The reading of LBS is preferable, and the line between the final t and *enarrare* may simply be linking these two words rather than marking an abbreviation.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

26 ecce venerunt de sylua pencoet quæ
27 prope erat, duo cerui magni ad locum vbi
28 terra aranda extiterat *et* colla sua iugo
29 submittentem, tanquam bestiae mansuetæ tota
30 die aratrum traxerunt, *et* opere diei completo,
31 ad syluam predictam reuersi sunt /
32 Tu autem domine,
33 miserere nostri.

{159}

1 Lectio nona.
2 Quodam autem tempore vir sanctus hierusalem causa
3 devotæ peregrinationis pergebat perlustratis
4 locis nativitatis *et* passionis dominicæ, visitatoque
5 sepulchro in quo corpus requieuit saluatoris.
6 venit ad flumen Iordanis Christi baptisate
7 consecratum, *et* quandam phialam ex aqua
8 illa impleuit, *et* eandem secum detulit.
9 vsque ad cacumen montis iuxta penbrochiam
10 super quem constructum erat eius habitaculum,
11 vbi non modica extitit aquæ penuria.
12 Invocato Christi nomine baculum fixit., *et*
13 aquam illam quam de terra sancta portauit,
14 fundebat in terram, *et* statim baculus creuit
15 in arborem pulcherrimam, *et* fons aquæ
16 dulcissimæ ibidem emanauit, ægritudinum
17 diversarum, si in potum sumpta fuerit,
18 curativa.
19 Quædam etiam mulier de partibus Caerwy
20 menevensis diocesis vltra modum extitit
21 inflata, ita quod nullo potuit consilio medicorum
22 liberari Tandem ad ecclesiam sancti

23 ~~m~~ichaeli⁸ danielis, *et* postea ad fontem
 24 predictum accedens, oransque sancti adiutorium,
 25 ex aqua illa potavit causa recuperandæ
 26 sanitatis, *et* ante ipsius recessum, in
 27 ostium ecclesiæ veniebat, *et* ex ore suo
 28 eiecit, multis astantibus *et* videntibus
 29 tres vermes horribiles cum quatuor
 30 pedibus in singulis, *et* salua facta est
 31 mulier ex illa hora. preterea vxor
 32 cuiusdam viri de partibus oxoniis diutissime
 33 cæca, admonita est in somnis per sanctum

{160}

1 danielem, imo verius per revelationem divinam,
 2 ad dictam ecclesiam sancti danielis adducta,
 3 in orationibus devotis ibidem cum quodam Capellano
 4 cæco *et* aliis multis pernoctavit, *et* vterque
 5 eorum visum recepit eadem nocte, meritis
 6 ipsius Confessoris, prestante domino nostro Iesu
 7 Christo, qui cum deo patre *et* spiritu sancto vivit
 8 *et* regnat deus per omnia secula seculorum
 9 Amen. Tu autem domine miserere nostri.

10 Oratio⁹ de eodem.

11 deus qui beatum danielem antistitem, ecclesię
 12 tuę pastorem esse voluisti, concede propitius
 13 vt qui eius beneficiis innitimur, æternę
 14 beatitudinis gloriam suis precibus mereamur
 15 per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum *etc*

16 Ex libro manuscripto antiquo.

17 1602

⁸ ~~m~~ichaeli This would appear to derive from Thomas Wiliems misreading danielis in the exemplar before realizing his mistake.

⁹ Oratio The final o could equally be an e, as Caerwyn Williams reads it, although the abbreviation oro for oracio is more common than ore for oremus.

References

- ArchifMR = 'Place-name database: Melville Richards Archive', <e-gymraeg.co.uk/enwaulleoedd/amr/>.
- Best, R.I., and H.J. Lawlor (1931), *The Martyrology of Tallaght: from the book of Leinster and MS. 5100-4 in the Royal Library, Brussels* (London).
- Burton, J., and K. Stöber (2015), *Abbeys & Priors of Medieval Wales* (Cardiff).
- Coflein = Online catalogue of archaeology, buildings, industrial and maritime heritage in Wales (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales), <coflein.gov.uk/en/>.
- Cross, F.L. (1957), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (London).
- Davies, J.R. (2003), *The Book of Llandaf and the Norman Church in Wales* (Woodbridge).
- DG.net = Dafydd ap Gwilym website, ed. D. Johnston *et al.*, <www.dafyddapgwilym.net>.
- Dimock, J.F. (1868), *Giraldi Cambrensis opera. Vol. 6, Itinerarium Kambriæ et descriptio Kambriæ* (London).
- DMLBS = *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (Turnhout, 2015), online at <clt.brepolis.net/dmlbs>.
- Edwards, N., with H. Jackson, H. McKee and P. Sims-Williams (2007), *A Corpus of Early Medieval Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculpture in Wales, ii: South-West Wales* (Cardiff).
- EWGT = *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, ed. P.C. Bartrum (Cardiff, 1966).
- GMon = *Geoffrey of Monmouth: The History of the Kings of Britain*, ed. M.D. Reeve and trans. N. Wright (Woodbridge, 2007).
- Gough-Cooper, H. (2012), 'Annales Cambriae, from Saint Patrick to AD 682: texts A, B & C in parallel', *The Heroic Age: A Journal of Early Medieval Northwest Europe* 15, <www.heroicage.org/issues/15/gough-cooper.php>.
- GSDT = *Gwaith Syr Dafydd Trefor*, gol. Rhiannon Ifans (Aberystwyth, 2005).
- Harris, S.M. (1955), 'Liturgical commemorations of Welsh saints (I)', *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales* 10, 5–22.

King, D.J.C., and J.C. Perks (1962), 'Carew Castle, Pembrokeshire', *The Archaeological Journal* 119, 270–307.

LBS = S. Baring-Gould and J. Fisher, *The Lives of the British Saints*, 4 vols (London, 1907–13).

LIDC = *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin*, gol. A.O.H. Jarman (Caerdydd, 1982).

MWM = D. Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts* (Cardiff, 2000).

Pryce, H. (2001), 'British or Welsh? National identity in twelfth-century Wales', *The English Historical Review* 116, 775–801.

PW = A.W. Wade-Evans, 'Parochiale Wallichanum', *Y Cymmrodor* 22 (1910), 22–124.

Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae partim hactenus ineditae, ed. C. Plummer, rev. D. Whitelock, 2 vols (Oxford, 1952).