

Vita Sancte Wenefrede (Claudius A. v 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. 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 (edited here) and one 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 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).

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The anonymous Life of Winefride is the subject of great uncertainty, especially in terms of its dating. In this, it contrasts entirely with Robert's Life, datable to 1137×1142 and written at Shrewsbury. The anonymous Life consists in the Life itself (§1–20), which is very short, and a longer selection of miracles (§21–48). The Life and Miracles differ in style (Winward 1999: 115–16), and it is not certain that they are by the same author, although there are clear connections between them, as in the description of Winefride (§20, §45). In the Miracles only, the author addresses *fratres* (brothers) at §21 and §30, suggesting that they may have been read out to monks at a monastery, although the address in § 30 'Consider, men, consider, women' indicates a broader audience as well, unless this is to be dismissed as simply a rhetorical flourish.

In the Life and Miracles there are a number of contradictory indications of date. There is no reference to Winefride's Translation to Shrewsbury in 1137×8, with the Life claiming that she still rests at Gwytherin (§20). This certainly could indicate a date prior to 1137/8, but it does not prove the Life was composed earlier than this. Only the Laud manuscript of Robert of Shrewsbury's Life actually contains the account of her Translation, with Trinity omitting it entirely and Lansdowne referring to it only very briefly. A version of the Welsh translation of Robert of Shrewsbury's Life, contained in the fifteenth-century manuscript Peniarth 27ii, also omits all mention of her being taken to Shrewsbury, similarly giving the impression that she still rests at Gwytherin. If it were not in the writer's interest to draw attention to Winefride's Translation, he might have omitted mention of it even if he knew it had taken place.

The Miracles refer to events in multiple different periods involving Normans, Danes, and the Welsh. There is a very intriguing reference to a miracle 'in the time of the Danes, when they were made subject to the British, in Tegeingl'. There are various possibilities before 1150 for when this might have been. It could be associated with Gruffudd ap Cynan, ruler of Gwynedd (died 1137), who had strong Hiberno-Scandinavian connections. Yet it is perhaps more likely that this refers to Scandinavian settlement not otherwise recorded in written sources: there is some albeit limited place-name evidence of Scandinavian influence in Flintshire (Loyn 1976: 10; Owen and Gruffydd 2017: s.v. Acstyn, Bretton; Owen 1994: 20–1). Owen links the place-name Bretton to Hiberno-Scandinavian settlers (and accompanying Welshmen) who came with Ingimund to the area surrounding Chester in 902 (Owen 1994: 21; Wainwright 1948). Significantly, although the exact dating is uncertain, the period referred to here is almost certainly before 1150, and the reference to the Welsh as *Britones* rather than *Wallii* would suggest this section was composed before that date as well. This section comes at the start of the miracles

(§21), which may also indicate a relatively early date, perhaps even prior to the coming of the Normans, as there are a number of subsequent references to the time of the Normans (§§23, 29).

Later in the miracles, and following these references to the time of the Normans, there is a reference to Winefride's Well running with milk 'after the expulsion of the Normans from all Gwynedd' (§45). This comes very near the end of the miracles, and there are no references to particular periods after this, suggesting perhaps that this was the period in which the author was living. The meaning of this reference, and its potential implications for dating, partly depends on whether *tota Uenedocia* 'all Gwynedd' is taken to include Tegeingl, which would be the most likely interpretation in context. If Gwynedd is not interpreted as including Tegeingl, this could refer to the Normans being pushed back in the late-eleventh and early-twelfth centuries (Davies 1987: 35–6). If Gwynedd included Tegeingl here, this could refer to the extension of control over Tegeingl by Owain Gwynedd and his sons in the 1150s and 1160s, indicating a rather later date for this section (Davies 1987: 49). The claim in some scholarship that the expulsion of the Normans took place after the death of Henry 1 in 1135 (LBS iii, 186) neglects the continued Anglo-Norman control of Tegeingl in the 1130s, with Owain and his sons only moving into Tegeingl more confidently after the death of Earl Ranulf of Chester in 1153 (Davies 1987: 45–9). The castle at Basingwerk was not taken until 1166 (HW ii, 519), and the miracle described here is most probably meant to take place at around this period. It is unclear whether incursion by the Welsh (see Jones 1955: 134, 148; Jones 1941: 102, 113) led to the monastery being unoccupied at any point, although it was without doubt in existence in 1148, 1154, and 1157 (Williams 1981: 90). Though it is not certain that Tegeingl is treated as part of Gwynedd in the Miracles, it does nevertheless seem likely. The reference to robbers from Gwynedd in §24 suggests a degree of separation at that point, but Tegeingl is part of Gwynedd in the Life, and Winefride's Well if not within Gwynedd would be celebrating throwing off the Norman yoke while itself remaining under Norman control. Although the miracles thus appear to cover some chronological range, they are nevertheless presented as the work of one author or compiler (§47).

As indicated above, the Life maintains a British-based vocabulary in referring to Wales and the Welsh at §7 and possibly §19 (that is, referring to Wales as *Brittania* and the Welsh as *Britones*), whereas in the Miracles there is a mixture of British- and Welsh-based terms (§§21, 37). Latin writers from Wales switched from using British-based to Welsh-based vocabulary over the course of the first half of the twelfth century (Pryce 2001) and the use of British-based vocabulary would indicate a date before 1150, unless it was carried over wholesale from a source. It is striking that

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the British-based vocabulary is used in the miracles when referring to the earlier period of Danish settlement (§21), and Welsh-based vocabulary in describing later conflict between the Welsh and Normans (§37), perhaps indicating that the miracles were composed over a period of time before being placed in their current compilation.

What conclusions can be drawn from this? The simplest solution for the movement between different periods in the miracles, with a corresponding change in terminology, is that they were recorded over a significant time, with the latest probably being recorded in the latter half of the twelfth century. The miracles were collected, organized, and at least partly rewritten by one figure. This figure had access to the Life and was perhaps responsible for putting the Life and miracles together. The manuscript Cotton Claudius A.v provides the *terminus ad quem* for any such compilation of c. 1200. Although admittedly limited, the British-based terminology used in the Life might suggest composition before the middle of the twelfth century, and the lack of reference to Winefride's Translation could indicate a date before 1137×8, although this is far from certain. British-based terminology could have been carried over from the Life of Beuno to the Life of Winefride (although probably not in the case of the miracles), yet it is worth noting that Robert of Shrewsbury, who drew on this same source, uses Wales-based terminology throughout, as was for the norm for his Anglo-Norman contemporaries. The miracles are not found in Lansdowne 436, which could indicate that the Life circulated separately, although Lansdowne also leaves out Robert's translation and makes clear that material has been omitted.

As regards authorship of the Life, there are also contradictory indicators as to who this figure might have been. There are a number of instances in the text of Welsh names spelled using Welsh orthography, indicating the familiarity of the author with the Welsh language, for example, *Guenphennaun* and *Karadauc/Caradocus*. These names largely occur in the Life rather than the miracles. These names could derive from a Latin Life of Beuno, and thus the author could simply have copied them, but again Robert of Shrewsbury makes for a useful contrast. Despite using the same source, he repeatedly uses Anglo-Norman forms and spellings of the Welsh names. The anonymous author thus likely knew Welsh, but one problem that has been raised with this is the reference to *Candida Wenefreda* 'white Winefride' in both the Life and the Miracles. The important passage at §20 (cf. §45) is as follows:

Quanta scientie eloquentia hec uirgo prefulserit non est nostre facultatis edicere, sermones quippe elogii ipsius melle dulciores lacteque nitidiores in sensibus audientium reputabantur. Unde et ab

omnibus publice Candida Wenefræda prenominata est, candore enim sophie eloquebatur et confirmiter degebat.

It is beyond our ability to tell with what eloquence of knowledge this virgin shone forth, for the words of her speech were considered to be sweeter than honey and whiter than milk in the thoughts of those listening. And for that reason she was named White Winefride by everyone openly, for she spoke with the whiteness of wisdom and she lived steadfastly.

Robert of Shrewsbury (§5) offers a more detailed explanation, claiming that Winefride's original name was Brewa, and that Wen was added to her name on account of the white scar around her neck. The problem with the explanation in the anonymous life is that the name Wenefreda (Welsh *Gwenfrewy*) already contains the element white (*gwen*), and thus the appellation *Candida Wenefreda* does not make sense in a wholly Welsh context. Given the evidence of proper nouns, it may not be the case that, as Winward argues, the author was unfamiliar with Welsh (Winward 1999: 103), but rather he was perhaps writing for a non-Welsh or only partially Welsh audience, for whom he wanted to make the meaning of Winefride's name clearer by adding the Latin word for white. It is worth noting here that, despite the claim that the origin of Winefride's name is 'muddled' (Winward 1999: 103), Lansdowne 436 actually prefers this explanation to that of Robert. Indeed, rather than being a corruption of the other explanation, it may simply represent a different tradition.

Where, then, might this author, familiar with Welsh but perhaps with a partly non-Welsh audience, have written this Life? It has been suggested that the Life and miracles were written by a monk of Basingwerk Abbey or at Holywell itself (LBS iii, 186; Sims-Williams 2018: 20). The possibility of Chester Abbey is less favoured, as, if the Life was written after 1137/8, we would not expect the Chester monks, who had helped Robert, to omit all mention of the Translation, and, if the Life was written before 1137/8 in Chester, Robert should in all probability have been familiar with it (Winward 1999: 99). Another possibility would be Clynnog Fawr, the main church of Beuno, given the focus on Beuno and the fact that this is where Winefride sends the cloak Beuno receives, although the concern of the Life is very much Holywell itself. Basingwerk Abbey's nature as a significant centre in very close proximity to Holywell makes it the prime candidate for the composition of the Life and miracles so focused on Holywell, although Holywell itself cannot be excluded, especially as a site for the composition of the miracles. On the site(s) of the abbey, see Williams 2001: 14.

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Basingwerk Abbey was founded in c. 1131 by Savigny monks, who merged with the Cisterican order in 1147 (Knowles, Brooke, and London 2001: 126). If the Life was composed at Basingwerk, which is a distinct possibility but far from certain, we would then have a *terminus a quo* of 1131. Following Basingwerk's foundation, control of Holywell fluctuated between Chester and Basingwerk (Winward 1999: 98), although the well had been of importance since at least 1117 when it was granted to Chester Abbey (Tait 1920–3: i, 41). Basingwerk Abbey has been described as being 'technically "in Wales" but not "of it" in nationalist feeling' in this period (Williams 2001: 7). It might then be less likely for a monk literate in Welsh, as the author of the Life likely was, to be there, although such a location would explain the clarifying use of *Candida Wenefreda*.

Yet we do not know enough about Basingwerk Abbey in this period to indicate that none of its monks was Welsh, and there is much to suggest that the abbey could have had some Welsh or Cambro-Norman monks as well as Anglo-Normans. Basingwerk, which became a site of patronage for Welsh poetry in the later Middle Ages (Williams 1981: 100), was not entirely without Welsh connections in the earlier period. They received grants of land from native rulers of Powys from at least the late twelfth century onwards (Pryce 2005: 685–92) and, as noted, Owain Gwynedd took the castle of Basingwerk in 1166. The presence of some Welsh or Cambro-Norman monks at Basingwerk in the twelfth century is not unlikely.

The analysis above would indicate that at least the final compiler of the miracles and the author of the Life were not the same figure, but they may well both have been Cambro-Norman monks, whose sympathies, though not clear-cut, were rather more on the side of the Welsh than the Normans. While Winefride's approval is given to the expulsion of the Normans from Gwynedd in the miracles (§45), the author of the miracles presents himself as separate from the locals living near Winefride's Well, whom he refers to as *incole* (§21) and *indigene* (§§45, 48), which suggests that he did not identify simply with the local Welsh (Winward 1999: 116). Given the exclusive focus on Holywell in the miracles, they are even more likely than the Life to have been compiled at nearby Basingwerk (Smith 1990: 341).

The anonymous Life of Winefride survives in British Library, Cotton Claudius A. v (edited here) and in revised form together with parts of Robert of Shrewsbury's Life in British Library, Lansdowne 436 (edited separately). Claudius A. v consists in three separate manuscripts, the manuscript containing Winefride being dated to around 1200 (MLGB 102). The manuscript

itself was possibly copied at the Cistercian abbey of Holme Cultram in Cumberland, which possessed the manuscript by the fourteenth century (MLGB 102; Winterbottom and Thomson 2002: 3), but the original compilation may have been put together at Worcester (cf. VSGB xvii). This is the only ostensibly complete witness to the anonymous Life and the only manuscript to contain this miracle collection. The only remaining significant witness 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 (without the miracles) and Robert's Life, as well as making its own changes, and is reduced in length.

Despite the similarity in many of the events they depict, the anonymous Life and that of Robert of Shrewsbury 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 unclear 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), its earliest manuscript dated 1346, which is thought to be based upon a lost Latin vita (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 (VS Wenefrede (Laud) §3–4; VS Wenefrede (Claud) §8–13), as also the description of Winefride's well (VS Wenefrede (Laud) §5; VS Wenefrede (Claud) §14) and Beuno's stone, by which Winefride sends Beuno a chasuble every year (VS Wenefrede (Laud) §11; VS Wenefrede (Claud) §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). Winward has also noted two intriguing parallels between VS Cadoci and the

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anonymous Life of Winefride, although they are not unique to these two Lives and are not sufficient to prove a connection (Winward 1999: 114).

The locations mentioned in the anonymous Life and miracles are rather fewer than those in Robert's Life, and are more focused around Holywell, which itself goes unnamed despite numerous references to the well. Almost all the action takes place in the cantref of Tegeingl (named at §§ 2, 21, 24) in north-east Wales, which appears to be part of Gwynedd in the Life. The three estates Winefride's father Tyfid has in Tegeingl are called *Abeluyc*, *Maenwen*, and *Gwenffynnon* (§2), none of which is identified. It is at *Abeluyc*, in the second instance spelled *Beluyc* (§6), that Beuno decides to live, and he builds a church in the valley of Sychnant 'Dry Valley' (as he does in Robert's Life, who gives only the Latin name *Siccauallis* §5), where ironically Winefride's spring bursts out. Beyond Holywell, Winefride sends a chasuble to Sachlen (Porth y Casul near Clynnog Fawr) every year while Beuno is alive (§16), makes a pilgrimage to Rome (§18, in contrast to Robert's Life (§Prologus)), and takes part in an assembly of saints at an undisclosed location (§19). The role of Gwytherin is much smaller than in Robert's Life, receiving only one brief mention as the place where she lived with her virgins and was buried (§20). The Miracles, while mentioning the Normans, Danes, and Gwynedd, focus entirely on events at and around the well itself, and do not mention other sites.

The name Winefride itself has been a matter of some discussion, with her Welsh name being *Gwenfrewy* (later also *Gwenf(f)rewi*). In both Latin 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/brewa* 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 chasuble 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 his advances. 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 anonymous text edited below was written in the twelfth century, possibly at Basingwerk Abbey. The text consists of the Life of Winefride (§1–20) together with a longer account of the posthumous miracles at Winefride's well (§21–48). It is unclear whether both sections are by the same author. The text is edited from Cotton Claudius A. v (Claud), with select variant readings from Lansdowne 436 (L436) for the Life.

Text

Incipit uita sancte Wenfrede uirginis et martyris.

§1

Qvanto opere regis archanum operire salubre est, tantopere Dei magnalia non reuelare tormentuosum est. Quamobrem quicquid de beata Wenefreda fauente Deo nobis traditione ueterum manifestatum est ad laudem ipsius Dei et ad uirginis sue merita declaranda, ut pote dignum est, inchoandum.

§2

In diebus igitur quibus Katuanus super Venedocie prouintias regnabat, strenuus quidam miles, trium dumtaxat possessor uillarum, nomine Teuyth Eylud filius, in Tekeynglia manebat. Quarum prima Abeluyc, secunda Maynguen, tertia Guenphennaun appellabantur.

§3

Huic Teuyth propago non fuit data filia sola excepta Wenefreda numpcupata. Hec statim ab ineunte cepit etate sponsum adamare celestem, hominesque transitorios respuens sibi soli suam dicauit uirginitatem. Quod illius genitor comperiens ex parte sollicitatur mestus, ex parte exultabat gratulabundus. Sibi enim inerat mesticia, eo quod prole carebat illa sola excepta. Et quod quidem grauius ferebat, ad obseruandum inposterum patrimonium uiro illa nubere renuebat. E contra uero gratulatio inerat sibi, suam prolem Dei se subdere dicioni. Cuius gratie causa, proposuit heros liberalibus artibus suam tradere satam.

§4

Dumque in tali existebat proposito, beatus Bennonus pre superfluitate filiorum Selym mansione sua priuatus in domo descendit ipsius. Quem heros bene literatum atque religiosum animaduertens, de sua eum consuluit nata, sibi eiusdem uotum enucleans. Perpensis itaque prorsus militis elogiis, Bennonus inquit, ‘Si Deo tuum in manu mea commendes predium, tecum hic habitabo, diuina lege tuam instruens genitam.’ Ad hec Teuyth, ‘Domine, si hoc in mea potestate constaret, nemo me auidius tale quid patraret. Sed nunc, serue Dei, nisi nimium diu tibi uideatur, te hic morari desidero quoadusque de talibus regis responsum recipiam.’ At ille, ‘Carissime fili, progredere teque Deus precedat quo tuum reperias negocium.’

§5

Teuyth igitur a domo sua egrediens domo regis domini eius,¹ palatium peciit,² illum obnixè interpellans, ut sibi faueret quod de suo patrimonio deliberaret. Ille refert, ‘O uir uenerande,³ nequaquam michi uel tibi sortitur tamen sequestrare rus a prouincie communionem, ne sibi sit inutile, uel mee necessitati. Sed harum quamcumque uillarum trium elegeris ad diuinum officium tibi libere annuo, si placatus fueris, michique reliquas relinque.’⁴

§6

Audito itaque regis responso optimo, domum repedauit, quicquid a rege audierat Bennono referens. ‘Ergo si mecum manere desideraueris,’ ait, ‘ad Dei ministerium ubi tibi uideatur

¹ **eius** changed to **sui** by different hand Claud.

² **peciit** **pecnt** Claud.

³ **uenerande** **wenerande** Claud.

⁴ **relinque** (reading supplied by a later hand) Claud.

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oportunius in meo elige patrimonio.’ Beatus Bennonus inquit, ‘In Beluyc solitudine michi mansionem delibero.’ Quod⁵ et ita factum est.

§7

Bennonus igitur cum Teuyth patrocínio suum fixit tugurium in conualle que Britonum lingua Sechnant appellabatur. Ecclesiamque paruulam ibidem struxit, in qua missam celebrabat, erudiens diuina cotidie pagina uirginem Wenefredam. Siquidem Teuyth domusque ipsius cotidie missarum officia adibant, ubi Bennonus celebrationem categorizabat.

§8

Ea tempestate accidit quadam die dominica Teuyth cum uxore ad missam existere audiendam, Wenefredamque in domo eius genitoris cunctatam fuisse, causa secum ferendi misse necessaria, ignem uidelicet et aquam cum sale. Interea Karadauc Alauc filius regali stirpe ortus, uenatione⁶ ferarum fatigatus, domui appropiauit potum querens, nimirum erat enim sitiens. Ad quam ubi peruenit, quo uille possessor erat interrogauit. Secretum enim aliquod habebat,⁷ quod sibi denudare gliscebat.

§9

Pvella⁸ igitur in domo sola existens, interroganti patrem ocus occurrit, eumque eleganter salutans ad audiendam Bennoni in missa predicationem parentes suos isse dixit. Caradoco itaque nimpe faciem candore ruboreque confectam intuente, ipsamque totam forma et uultu idoneam admirante, illius cor in sui concupiscentia cepit diffusim exardescere. Deprehendensque illam solam in domo absque alterius testimonio, sitim obliuiscens pre amoris magnitudine intulit ei, ‘O carissima uirgo, meis adquiesce consiliis mecum procorum familiaritatem patrando, te enim uehementer concupisco.’

§10

Ad hec uirgo, ‘Domine mi, quale elogium est hoc uiri tam ingenui ut tu ad ancillam tam degenerem uti ego?’ Iterum, ‘Domine, nequaquam hoc agere queo, desponsata sum enim alteri

⁵ **Quod** ~~Quæd~~ Claud (corrected by a later hand) Claud.

⁶ **uenatione** venacione Lansdowne; uenationem Claud.

⁷ **habebat** habebebat Claud.

⁸ **pvella** puella Lansdowne; vella Claud (corrected by a later hand).

uero, cui adpresens nubere debeo.’ Audiens hec Caradocus furore repletus ait, ‘Dimitte insulsa hec friuola nugatoria loqui et mecum commisceri consenti. Michi nube et ego te uxorem ducam.’

§11

Uidens igitur puella uiri animum in emulationem commotum, ad industriam se uertens ne uiri opprimeretur uiolentia, ait, ‘Concede michi, domine, uestiarium meum intrare, ut ornata uestibus decenter tecum possim aptius commiscere. Linquam enim ut necesse est ministerium michi iniunctum et iuxta uestrum ero arbitrium.’ Respondit puella Caradocus, ‘Si nulla tibi inerit mora, michi nimium non uidebitur te aliquantulum operiri.’ Accepta igitur licentia, per thalamum uallem celeribus adiuit passibus puella, cupiens quam cicius se a uiri abesse conspectibus.

§12

Karadocus itaque, uidens se uirginis industria delusum, furore repletus cum calcaribus fortiter punxit equum, puellam querens comprehendere. Puella uero uirum precesserat quousque ad monasterii ostium peruenerat, pacis tutelam a Deo et Benono assequi desiderans. Cumque suum infra limen uoluit figere pedem, uir eam framea anticipauit, eius abscidens capud.

§13

Quod parentes sui intuentes, in extasi aliquamdiu detenti sunt, et ad se reuersi, lacrimis maduerunt miserandis. Beunonus, quoque perniciem hanc conspiciens, mesticia per maxima irretitus est, altareque relinquens, ocius ostium adiuit, scire uolens quis huiusmodi peregisset cedem. Erectisque oculis contemplatus est Karadocum cruentum, adhuc cum gladio in manu sanguinolento stantem. Animaduertensque istud a Caradoco fieri, eum in eodem loco maledixit. Statimque in conspectu eius ille liquefactus est, ut ab igne cera.

§14

Deinde Beunonus ad cadauer reuertens, caput ictu gladii intus proiectum corpori deforis iacenti coaptauit, Deum obnixè interpellans illud uiuificare corpus, ne gauderet super illo inimicus, et mox cum prece corpus cum uiribus resumpsit animam, cicatrice nisi exili in ceruice non apparente. Area uero sanguine eius infecta crepuit, torrensque fons ibidem iriguus scaturiuit. Cuius lapides usque in hodiernum diem ut pote in die prima sanguinolenti uidentur. Mussa etiam ut thus odorat et diuersis languoribus medetur.

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§15

Beunonus itaque aspiciens Deum propter eam huiusmodi peregrisse miraculum, sibi in audientia parentum suorum inquit, 'Soror mi, hunc Deus tibi destinavit locum, meque oportet alias tendere, ubi Deus michi prouiderit perhendinare. Michi autem circa hunc diem unoquoque anno hoc facito, casulam michi dirige de uestro opere proprio.' 'Domine mi', inquit, 'hoc tibi impendere meo non extat molestum cordi, sed permaxima michi uidetur difficultas, id qualiter ad te peruenerit, ignoro enim quo habitaueris.' Cui sanctus, 'De hoc tibi absit sollicitudo. Saxum extat in medio fontis riuo supra quod meas consueui ruminare preces. Superpone huic in constituto termino casulam, et si michi aduenerit, adueniat.' Sic abinuicem post benedictionem mutuam disgregati sunt.

§16

Bæata uero Wenefreda in supradicta heremo multis diebus suam peregrit uitam, ut pote Bennonus sibi consuluerat.⁹ In annis quoque singularibus in Iohannis Baptiste uigilia, casulam hoc¹⁰ modo Bennono transmittibat: super saxum illam aptabat, saxum uero ipsam interius et exterius siccam cum fontis fluctibus labans usque in mare deferrebat, et sic per mare ad portum¹¹ Sachlen usque ad Bennonum. Ita Bennonus uirginis donum omni anno accipiebat.

§17

Huic casule uirginis ob meritum tanta uirtus inerat quod ubicumque Beunonus foret hanc indutus, nec pluuiæ humectari nec pilus eius posset uento moueri. Talis rei euentu, Beunonus Casulam Siccus agnominatus est.

§18

Eo tempore, ut memorant, Romam peciit, uisitandi causa sanctorum apostolorum loca, ut ibi in presentia reliquiarum sanctorum, se totam Deo deuote offerret. Quo peracto, ad desertum pristinum repedauit.

⁹ **consuluerat** consulerat Claud.

¹⁰ **hoc** hec Claud.

¹¹ **portum** portum Lansdowne; portam Claud.

§19

In diebus illis totius Britannie sancti ad sinodum Breui¹² contionabantur. Ad quam cum aliis sanctis etiam beata Wenefreda ascendit. Ibidemque omnibus ritu sinodali religiose institutis, uidelicet ut sancti, qui antea disparati singillatim uiuebant, nullam habentes regulam nisi uoluntatem, postea gregatim conuenirent in locis ad hoc congruis, et eorum conuersionem sub prioribus prouectis sibi prefectis emendarent. Unde contigit beatam Wenefredam undecim uirginibus esse preelectam, ut uite et sancte conuersionis¹³ exemplum ab ea exciperent.

§20

Quanta scientie eloquentia hec uirgo prefulserit non est nostre facultatis edicere,¹⁴ sermones quippe elogii ipsius melle dulciores lacteque nitidiores in sensibus audientium reputabantur. Unde et ab omnibus publice Candida Wenefræda prenominata est, candore enim sophie eloquebatur et confirmiter degebat. Locus quidem, quo cum uirginibus conuersata est, Guytherin¹⁵ uocatur. Quo etiam post uite dormitionem cum consodalibus uirginibus VIII kalendas Iulii sepulta, requiescit in Christo, cui est honor et gloria in secula seculorum. Amen.

Explicit uita sancte Wenfrede uirginis et martyris.

Incipiunt miracula eiusdem.

§21

Quedam incolis cognita uel uisa digna relatu decreuimus. A die quo manare fons cepit ubi martiris sanguis defluerat, miraculum seculis inauditum, dictu mirabile stupendumque auditu, in medio fontis ebullitu inerat, lapilli uidelicet tres limpidissimi, cum fontis scaturigine ascendentes et descendentes more artauorum¹⁶ a iaculatore projectorum. Desursum et deorsum sibi ad inuicem obuiabant, sicque multis annis durauit. Tempore uero Dacorum in Tekeynglia sub Britonibus subiugatorum, femina quedam infausta ad fontem descendit, que lapillos speculans sibi prelude, eorum auiditate accensa, unum arripuit, et iliquo reliquorum uterque¹⁷ euanuit. Deinde domum regressa, instanti morbo correpta est, et infra paucos dies defuncta est. Confessa

¹² **Breui** Wenefredi Claud.

¹³ **conuersionis** conuersationis Claud.

¹⁴ **edicere** edicere Lansdowne; edissere Claud.

¹⁵ **Guytherin** gwrtherin Claud; Wytern Lans.

¹⁶ **artauorum** artanorum Claud.

¹⁷ **uterque** utrique Claud.

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tamen ante obitum, lapillum redidit, sed quod prius gestum est omnino latuit. Non est mirum,¹⁸ fratres, quamquam lapides martiris potentiam suo approbabant¹⁹ testimonio, cum legimus sanctos patres illis in testimonium lapides tulisse.

§22

Contigit etiam aliquando quod uir, furto increpatus, super fontem et sacraria ecclesie martiris periurium perpetravit. Sed qualiter beata uirgo presumtoribus illiciti assentit tempestiue innotuit. Capra enim iam esa, in uentre furis orridum balatum protulit, et sic illum reum esse patuit. O res satis horrenda! Quod a rationali animali cum testamento denegatum est, hoc a bruto et, quod magis est insolitum, iam commesto reseratum est. Nec ambigendum est quin Deus propter sanctos mirabilia faciat, cum ipse in sanctis suis omnino est mirabilis.

§23

Diebus quin etiam Francorum in eadem terra ultio digna a Deo facta est per eandem martirem. Matrona namque quedam, emulationis zelo ducta aduersus ancillam, eam uerberibus acerbis discerpebat, et furiose illam ad uirginis ecclesiam fugientem tutele causa uerberando instabat. Misella uero ad templum ueniens ac ingredi temptans, ostium reperit firmiter pessumdatum, et antea infra basilicam tutelam sperans, tum ignorat quid agat. Ostium tamen adhesit, sed matrona eius dilacerationi minime pepercit. Prospiciens profecto martyr domini uim sibi illatam, condolens pudori suo et misere compatiens, extemplo a domino impetrauit uindictam. Captiua igitur, diu laniata sub pedibus prostrata, tandem ut Deus uoluit surrexit, et domine sue sibi incumbentis maxille capud suum impulit. Quo impulsu gena a compage disiuncta, gulaque retorta ad aurem alteram, sic usque ad obitum deformis permansit. Dignum nempe fuit, ut quae a flagris ante spiritus suffocationem cessare noluit, usque ad corporis et anime disgregationem a corripiendo eam non desisteretur. Sic sic qui non uerentur Dei et sanctorum tabernacula: implentur facies eorum ignominia.

§24

Item dimerso temporis interuallo, pacis iure ubique per patriam uiolato, Francis atque Gualensibus se adinuicem oppugnantibus, predones innumeri de Uenedocia totam Tekeyngiam depopulantes octo sacrilegos ad depredandum etiam uirginis Wenefrede habitaculum cum uilla

¹⁸ **Non est mirum** N_i^{on +est} mirum (corrected by a later hand) Claud.

¹⁹ **suo approbant** ~~xxx~~^{suo} appro^{-ba}ba^{n}~~tr~~ (corrected by a later hand) Claud.

direxerunt. Qui accelerantes etiam iumenta templi parieti alligata secum dirripuerunt, sed diu inde non gratulati sunt, enim uero morte horribili infra breue spacium inficiati sunt. Sed et principes iniquitatis, qui illud indiderunt, priusquam annus circumuolutus fuit, nece nefaria affecti sunt. Quid dicam uobis? Uix unus de tanta multitudine euasit, qui uel eorum comitatum tantum tenuit. Et quoniam zelus domus domini comedit eum, deiecti sunt dum alleuarentur.

§25

Illis iterum diebus, quidam eiusdem ecclesie diaconus, cum sacris signis in collo suspensis protectionis occasione, de uico quodam parochie sue decimam in equis domum asportans, ac usque infra metas fundi martyris perueniens, casu incidit latrones. Qui, nullam martyri uel eius sacris reuerentiam deferentes, eum spoliauerunt, et cum exuuiis eum, ut pro Deo uel pro martyre sua sui propiciarentur implorantem, secum ire compulerunt. Verumptamen sibi longius abducto ex nutu Dei et martiris, menti incidit, ut fugam iniret. Inita autem, ab ipso latronum duce pedetentim inuestigatus est. Denique uero eodem querente illum apprehendere, ruina prepeditus est, et in crure lancea propria perfossus, neruos amisit femoris, dum cedere nescit. Et sic uno castigato in corpore, reliqui omnes correpti sunt mente, et diaconus Deo et martyri pro impensa sibi liberatione grates persoluens, cum rebus domum saluus reuersus est, quoniam quidem immittit angelum dominus incircuitu timentium eum, et eripiet eos. Quibus autem non est timor domini et sanctorum ante oculos eorum, inuenitur iniquitas eorum sibi ad odium, et in uerticem ipsorum descendit.

§26

Ea nichillominus tempestate, miles quidam Francus, eiusdem fundi possessor, super riuum fontis molendinum dimeciens, aquam stagnare cepit. Cernens autem miles aquam ad saxum Beunoni erumpere, quod forte suberat stagno in medio riuo, precepit ut in stagno poneretur. Sed quamquam²⁰ centum iuga bouum admouerentur, a loco sane non resurgeret. Tam enim immobilis extitit ac si fixis radicibus euelli nesciret. Postremo uero, miles operarios suos id fecte agere opinans, eos iterum atque iterum compellit, ac putans se solummodo pede posse lapidem euoluere, pre ira animi permotus, saxum pede impegit, sed statim reflexis neruis in poplite et obduratis. Dum uixit, claudus effectus est.

²⁰ ~~quamquam~~ ^{qua}^{m} ⁿ^{quam} ~~do~~ ^{quidem} (corrected by a later hand) Claud.

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§27

Eodem quin in²¹ temporis decursu, uxor eiusdem militis ausu temerario ipsam fontis crepidinem ingressa, quod proprie infirmorum est, ibi illicite se balneauit. Ast id impune sibi non fuit. Sterilis enim usque ad finem uite permansit, unde pre omnibus doluit. Equum quippe fuit ut, qui in hereditatem martiris uenientes eius sanctuarium illicite polluerunt, omnibus postmodum in eorum circuitu forent illusio et derisium, subsanatio et obprobrium.

§28

Talibus et his mirabilioribus infinitis miraculis contra prauos uirgo domini claruit. Que omnia si literali memorie traderentur, tempus deficeret cicius quam copia fandi. Nunc uero ad castigationem scelestorum ne aliquod nefas iniure uirginis facere oblectent ista sufficiant, quia alias ad sulcandum aratrum nostrum est prouehendum, scilicet ad uirginis beneficia erga egros reuelanda.

§29

Tempore quoque Francorum in eadem regione, quidam diues eger multam pecuniam habens sed non semetipsum, audiens famam uirginis, deuctus uehiculo illuc quantocius tetendit. Qui ad memoriam beate uirginis perueniens, facultate sua tota ecclesie et egenis erogata seipsum pauperem reddit. Nichil amplius in mundi deliciis oblectans, sed in domino confidens. Deinde se tercio in fontis unda loto, et tercie noctis uigilia in ecclesia cum orationibus finita, mirum in modum audires ibi tunc in pedibus et in cruribus et in brachiis ingens baratrum, que ante a natiuitate turpiter curua et ad nates contracta, iam ossa sua in rectam compagum locationem distendebant. Putasne uideres illic tunc letam astantium cohortem et gratulantem Deo et uirgini? Uideres utique. O quam iusta recompensatio! Qui se peculiali sustantia destituerat, corporis proprii sustantiam, sensibus integram uiribusque, idem recepit. Quod dilexerat distribuit, quod semper affectarat inuenit. Et sic qui, usu pedum carens, uehiculo uenerat, pedibus utens plene et perfecte, incolumis recessit.

§30

Uir quidam pro delictis penitencia ductus, ferreis ligaminibus permultos annos circumcinctus,²² brachiis ferri rubigine miserabiliter corrosis, ad idem sanctuarium deuenit, peractaque ibidem

²¹ **quin in** quinni Claud.

²² **circumcinctus** circumcintus Claud.

nocte cum uigiliis et orationibus, diluculo ad fontem perrexit. Eo porro manus lauante atque brachia protensius infra fontem extendente, uise sunt sibi due manus delicate a lacertis suis uincola dissoluere. Quis, fratres, tum ibi uirginem presentem dubitat? Uir profecto ab ecclesia ad fontem exiens ligatus, a fonte uero ad ecclesiam rediens dissolutus. Gratulando Deo et martyri sue, pro signo eadem uincola ibidem suspendit. Que multis annorum lustris illic pendere uisa sunt. Perpendite uiri, perpendite mulieres, quam uenerabiliter et quam reuerende hec uirgo domini et martyr ab omnibus est excolenda, que tam patenter ad se clamantibus subuenit.

§31

Nec est omittendum quid circa limphaticum ad se uenientem, ad manus uix tractum, egerit. Quoniamquidem transactis uigiliis et ablutionibus in fontis fluctibus ita illum ab humore superfluo alleuauit, quod nichil nisi ad humane nature competit temperamentum remansit.

§32

Epilencius equidem nichilominus manum martyris sensit. Ductus namque ex more ad basilicam, ibi noctem uigilando et orando peregit. Mirabiliter ei contigit, passio namque bis eum inuasit, sed in utraque uice nil preualuit. In crepusculo etenim sibi epilentiam adesse sensit atque in templum festinanter cucurrit. Inuocato uero nomine domini et martyris a presbiteris super eum, confestim malum, quod incoauerat, eum dereliquit. Alia die diluculo, morbo in eum grassante, in fontem proiectus est et de reliquo numquam eum agressus est.

§33

Similiter, duo pueri fratres, eadem infirmitate eos inuadente, in fonte proiecti omnino sanati sunt. Sed et alii huiusmodi multi et innumerabiles.

§34

Asserant namque uirginem hanc egritudinem uirtute meritorum suorum maxime delere, quamuis et alias abstergat. Calamitosior enim nulla est quam hec, que sensum perdit, cor corrodit, animam pene euomit, cerebrum discutit, linguam²³ comedit, spumat, stridet, membra aduncat, se totam discerpit. Et quia sic est, maxime ad hanc curandum intendit.

²³ **linguam** liguam Claud.

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§35

Mulier etiam quedam puerum quendam filium suum, mutum a natiuitate, ad memoriam beate martiris secum attulit. Que celebratis rite solemnibus uigiliarum, ubi eum fonte perfudit et aquam in os misit, filium suum uerba recta promentem et uestes rogantem audiuit. Quo uiso, astantes Deum et martirem glorificantes mirantur et matri congratulantur.

§36

Alia quoque uice uenientes quidam consotiati iuuenes contracti una in fontem descenderunt, sed uni tantum, quia firmiter confisus est, salus attributa est. Hoc quidem descenso membris suis se distendentibus strepitus tam horribilis ab eo editus est, ut iuxta uel procul positorum hunc audientium aures tinnirent. Uirtus enim domini, cum a se precibus sanctorum exiit, nequaquam latere nouit.

§37

Quidam preterea puer membra sua sibi deputans inania, quia erant obmorta. Uirginis largitatem inolitam statim adeptus est. Ipsa namque precibus naturalem ei membrorum omnium redintegruit statum.

§38

Quidam insuper cecus natus in tabernaculo martyris ritu celebrato ad fontem abiit, et lauit, et uidit, et gracias egit.

§39

Pueri necnon duo, calculo laborantes, uirginem petentes, digestionem naturalem consecuti sunt. Quorum alter priuatus ibidem egritudine,²⁴ continuo debriatus est muse propheticie carismate.

§40

Ad modum horum plerique uermibus usque in medullas corrosi, opem uirginis cognouere, enimuero extinctis uermiculis sani repatriauerunt.

§41

Nonnulli mentis inopes, inmundis spiritibus uexati, dentibus dissecantes, queque uana profantes, in uinculis uix adducti, domum inde remeauerunt plenaria seipsos regentes ratione.

²⁴ **egritudine** egritudinem Claud.

§42

Frequenter quoque febricitantes ad eius gratuitam pietatem excubantes, sacri fontis fomento a febris cuiuscumque generis eruit.

§43

Multociensque hec uirgo benignissima ydropicos contemperat, paraliticos reformat, podagricos reparat, melancolicos curat. Nec minus sciasim remouet, cancrum eradicat, disnoim eneruat, emorroim²⁵ extirpat. Quinetiam tussim obstinatam excludit, uentris tortiones et fluxiones repellit, menstrua obstrusa sterilitatis dissoluit, sanguinem superfluum et immoderatum obstruit.

§44

Quid enumerando pauca cuncta explicare tempto? Tot et tanta sunt uirginis beneficia, quod eorum infinitas numero explicari²⁶ repudiat. Sed ut breuiter cuncta²⁷ perstringam, omnibus languidis, morbidis, egris, qualicumque infirmitate detentis martyris huius suffragium erga Deum pura fide poscentibus, pie et benignissime atque omni dilatione procul remota extimplo subuenit, atque eos sensibus ac uiribus utriusque hominis ad plenum inuestit.

§45

Nec Lethae obliuionis silentio recondendum, quod post expulsionem Francorum a tota Uenedocia, de fonte eiusdem uirginis constat factum. Fons siquidem martyris trium dierum spacio lacteo liquore emanare uisus est. Uerum primo illorum dierum diluculo, colorem lactis uerum et saporem seruat. Sacerdos namque a matutinis, in ecclesia martyris eiusdem ipsi fontis preminentem cominus, rite celebratis, summo mane egrediens, et tale quid comperiens, portando secum lagenam acurrit uelociter, et impletam accurate custodiuit ac diligenter. Denuo accelerans cum spongia ut hanc etiam impleret, liquor iam nitorem aliquantulum diminuerat. Sic per tres dies paulatim lactei coloris cum sapore detrimentum paciens, habitum priorem obtinuit. Et ne quis existimet, uentorum turbine aut pluuiarum intemperie hoc accidisse, sciat non breue tempus ante et post etiam tunc absque ulla elementorum commotione fuisse. Et nullatenus inde debet orriri hesitatio uel dubium, quia et hoc sepius uenisse ab indigenis est auditum. Liquore quidem a presbitero recepto infirmis ubique transmissis et potatis, opem, quam uirgo agere consueuit,

²⁵ **emorroim** eemorroim (first e is on the previous line) Claud.

²⁶ **explicari** explicare Claud.

²⁷ **cuncta** cuncta Claud.

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etiam hos sanando illis prestitit. Et bene fons illius lacteus atque dulcis saporis apparuit, que candida Wenefrida prenominata, se blandam, lenem, mansuetam, mellitam, piam, benignam, propiciam, dulcem, misericordem interpellantibus, se ostendit.

§46

Uilipendendum nullomodo est, quod adhuc per hanc uirginem circa puellulam actum est. Uesperacente²⁸ quadam die, homo cadauer puelle exanime secum ad martyris umbraculum baiulauit, ut sepeliretur. Uidens autem sacerdos noctem superuenire humationem illius usque in mane distulit. Corpus frigore letali rigidum sudario obuolutum, institis obsitum relinquens infra ecclesiam ualuasque firmiter obserans. Intrans uero presbiter ecclesiam summo diluculo ad celebrandas uigilias ex more, puellam iam uiuentem, ab institis et sudario penitus dissolutam, clunibus et palmis pre debilitate adhuc super aream repentem, omni mortis signo carentem et se hospicium et cibum rogantem inuenit. Et gratanter Deo et martyri gracias reddidit. Quid mirum si exanimis ad uitam prece sua reuocat, que defuncta denuo reuixerat?

§47

Memorie est reuocandum, quod ad sceleratorum correptionem supra omisimus.

Duo profecto clerici in diuersis temporibus infra uirginis mapalia sacrilegium perpetraverunt. Quorum alter manulem librum auferens, statim cum furto deprehensus est, et quia dignus est operarius mercede sua, uerberibus multatus est. Reliquus uero missalem codicem furans, omnibusque ubique pro precio offerens, neminem reperit qui secum mutaret. Denique quidem nutu Dei retro ueniens, et sacrilegium ulterius abscondere non preualens, quia promeruit suspensus fuit.

§48

Qui facit mirabilia solus hec miracula propter uirginem et martyrem suam Wenefredam uel ad remedium indigentium uel ad castigationem impiorum non cessat operari Deus, qui in trinitate perfecta uiuit et regnat unus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

Explicit passio sancte Wenefrede uirginis et martiris.

²⁸ Uesperacente Uesperacente Claud.

Vita Sancte Wenefrede (Claudius A. v version)

edited by David Callander

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Translation

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

§1

It is as beneficial to conceal the king's secret as it is agonizing not to reveal the powers of God. For which reason, with God's approval, we should begin to tell all that has been revealed to us of blessed Winefride from the tradition of the elders, to praise God himself and to demonstrate the merits of his virgin, as is fitting.

§2

So, in those days when Cadfan¹ was reigning over the territories of Gwynedd,² a certain bold soldier called Tyfid son of Eiludd³, owner of no less than three estates, was living in

¹ Cadfan was a seventh-century king of Gwynedd, who occurs in various genealogies, BBeuno and other Winefride Lives, and possibly a seventh-century Anglesey inscription, as well as in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (GMon 261–3).

² The kingdom of Gwynedd in north Wales varied in extent and dominance before its conquest in 1282, and for much of the Middle Ages did not control Tegeingl.

³ Winefride's father's name appears in various forms in her Latin and Welsh Lives (Claud: Teuyth; Lansdowne: Teuiht; Laud: Thevith; 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. Tyfid's father is only named in certain versions of Winefride's Life, as well as BBeuno (Claud: Eylud; Lansdowne: Eylut; Laud: Eliuth; 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. In Robert of Shrewsbury's Life of Winefride (§1), Eiludd's high status is emphasized, being second-in-rank to the king.

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Tegeingl.⁴ The first of these was called Abeluyc,⁵ the second Maenwen,⁶ and the third Gwenffynnon.⁷

§3

This Tyfid had not been granted any children apart from his daughter, called Winefride.⁸ From a very early age she began to love a celestial bridegroom and, rejecting transitory men, dedicated her virginity to him alone. When her father discovered this, he was in part concerned and sorrowful and in part rejoiced full of thankfulness. For he was sorrowful as he had no children other than she alone. Indeed he bore it all the more heavily that she refused to marry a man to preserve the estate in the future. On the other hand, he was truly joyful that his daughter was committing herself to God's authority. Because of this grace, the good man planned to commit his child to the liberal arts.

⁴ Tegeingl, now part of Flintshire, was a cantref in north-east Wales (see Davies 1987: 237). This area changed hands frequently in the course of the Middle Ages, being dominated by Norman lords shortly after the Norman Conquest, but falling increasingly under the control of Gwynedd in the mid-twelfth century (Davies 1987: 31).

⁵ This name also occurs in the form *Beluyc* (§6) and appears to refer to what would become the site of Winefride's well, at Holywell, Flintshire (Wade-Evans 1930: 331). The name is not otherwise attested and is unexplained.

⁶ This unlocated place-name (in the Latin *Maynguen*) consists of *mayn* 'stone' and *guen* 'white'. While the spelling *main* usually occurs in the Book of Llandaf, the *y*-spelling is found in later Welsh manuscripts like the Black Book of Chirk, and would not be wholly unexpected in twelfth-century north-east Wales. It is also possible that a later scribe changed an original *i* to *y* in order to clarify what would otherwise have been three final minims. *Guen* is the feminine form of Welsh *gwyn* (Old Welsh *guin(n)*), suggesting that *mayn* is feminine here, although it is more normally masculine. Although *guen* would have undergone a soft mutation (from /gw/ to /w/), this mutated form was still written <gu> in Old Welsh. This form thus indicates familiarity with Welsh spelling conventions.

⁷ Gwenffynnon (*Guenphennaun* in the Latin) translates as 'white or blessed well', and is not located although is clearly a significant name in the context of the Life, as is Maenwen. Unstressed /au/ in this position in Welsh reduced towards /o/ around the second half of the eleventh century, but continued to be written in forms such as <au> or <aw> for many centuries (LHEB 296–9). *Guenphennaun* here is thus likely to represent a Welsh written form, in contrast to Robert of Shrewbury's *fennan* (§5), which is his representation of a spoken form. The forms of these three names indicate Welsh authorship of the Life or the material upon which it drew (Winward 1999: 124). If this was present in the same material upon which Robert of Shrewsbury drew, Robert must have chosen to prefer his representation of an oral form to the Welsh written form.

⁸ On Winefride's name, see Introduction.

§4

And while he had this intention, the blessed Beuno,⁹ deprived of his dwelling-place because of the excessive number of the sons of Selyf,¹⁰ went into Tyfid's home. The good man noticed well that Beuno was learned and devout, and sought his advice regarding his daughter, explaining to him what she earnestly desired. And so indeed, after the soldier's words had been considered, Beuno said, 'If you should entrust your estate to God in my hands, I will live here with you and instruct your daughter in divine law.' Tyfid responded, 'Lord, if this should be in my power, no-one would carry out such a thing more eagerly than me. But now, servant of God, if it does not seem excessively long to you, I desire that you stay here until I receive the king's response regarding these things.' And Beuno said, 'Dearest son, go on and may God lead you to where you will find your task.'

§5

And so Tyfid, leaving his house for the house of his lord the king, made for his palace. He entreated him eagerly that he should approve that which he was considering regarding his estate. The king replied, 'O venerable man,¹¹ it is by no means my lot or your lot even so to separate land from the common ownership of the territory, in case that should be unprofitable to the community or for my need. But I allow you whichever of these three estates you choose for service of God, if you are satisfied with that, and leave me the remainder.'

§6

And thus after he had heard the king's most noble response, Tyfid returned home and told Beuno what he had heard from the king. 'So if you would like to stay with me', he said, 'choose the

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 Selyf ap Cynan was an early-seventh-century Welsh ruler, who is said to have died at the Battle of Chester in *Annales Cambriae* (Gough-Cooper 2012). In BBeuno (§10), the grandsons of Cynan (that is, the sons of Selyf) constantly dwell on the land given to Beuno, and ask for food. The food Beuno gives to them refuses to be cooked and, when one of the sons blames Beuno, Beuno curses him and he dies that day. Beuno chastises them for taking over the land which had been freely given to God by their grandfather and he curses them so their heirs will never possess it. Although this is not quite the same situation as described here, this is followed in BBeuno (§11) by Beuno leaving this area and meeting with Tyfid as depicted here.

¹¹ The Latin *uenerande* is spelt *wenerande* in the manuscript. The scribe appears to have initially thought he was copying the name *Wenefreda*.

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place which appears to you most suitable for serving God on my estate.’ The blessed Beuno said, ‘I lay claim to a dwelling for myself in the wastelands of Beluyc.’¹² And so it was done.

§7

And so Beuno, with his patron Tyfid, established his hut in a valley which was called Sychnant¹³ in the language of the Britons.¹⁴ And in the same place he built a small church in which he celebrated Mass, instructing the virgin Winefride in holy scripture every day. Indeed, Tyfid and his household went to the offices of Mass every day, where Beuno would preach the divine celebration.

§8

At that time on a certain Sunday, it happened that Tyfid and his wife were hearing Mass, and Winefride had been delayed in her father’s house because of things she had to carry with her necessary for the Mass, namely fire and water with salt.¹⁵ Meanwhile, Caradog son of Alâog,¹⁶ born of royal ancestry, tired from hunting wild beasts, drew near the house, seeking drink, for

¹² See note 5 above.

¹³ Sychnant (*Sechnant* in the Latin) comes from *sych* ‘dry’ + *nant* ‘stream’ or ‘valley’. Here it is represented by a normal Old Welsh spelling. This is miscopied as *sethnant* in Lansdowne and the equivalent *Siccauallis* ‘dry valley’ is used in Robert of Shrewsbury’s Life (§5). 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.

¹⁴ Before 1100, writers in Wales tended to refer to the Welsh as Britons (*Britones*) rather than Welsh (*Wallii*), and Wales as *Britannia* rather than *Wallia*. The Britannia-based terminology is found commonly in late eleventh and early twelfth century Latin saints’ lives from Wales. Latin writers in Wales largely switched to Wallia-based terminology over the course of the first half of the twelfth century (Pryce 2001).

¹⁵ Fire, water, and salt have all long played important roles in Christian ritual celebration, as in the use of salt for the preparation of holy water (Hebermann et al. 1907–58, vi. 79; Cross 1958: 1209–10).

¹⁶ Caradog ap Alâog occurs in BBeuno and the Lives of Winefride, as well as a number of later sources associated with these (WCD 101). The form Karadauc again indicates the hagiographer or his sources utilized Old Welsh orthography, retaining <au> (see note 7 above). The form *Caradocus*/*Karadocus* is more commonly used in the Life (§9–13), and is used in Lansdowne along with the erroneous *Carodocus*. This is also a common medieval Latin form in Wales, being the ‘old stereotyped conventional form derived ultimately from the archaic -ōg’, with the -auc being a more contemporary Welsh form (LHEB 296–8). This is in contrast to Robert of Shrewsbury’s *Chradocus*/*Chrodocus*, which is clearly based on a French-influenced latinization of the spoken form as he had heard it. Alâog originally appears to have had a disyllabic ending, although that is not clear from its *Alauc* spelling here (misspelled Alan in Robert of Shrewsbury’s Life §3). Alâog is mentioned in a poem by Prydydd y Moch (GLLlI 238) and possibly lent his name to what is now Penarlâg (Hawarden) in Flintshire (Williams 1945: 23).

no doubt he was thirsty. When he got there, he asked where the owner of the house was. For he had a certain secret which he desired eagerly to reveal to him.

§9

And so the girl, being at home alone, ran quickly to meet the one asking for her father, and, greeting him decorously, said that her parents had gone to hear Beuno's preaching at Mass. And thus Caradog gazed upon the young girl's face composed of white and red and marvelled at all of her, beautiful in her form and in her face.¹⁷ His heart began to burn greatly in his lust for her. And detecting that she was home alone without witness of another and forgetting his thirst because of the greatness of his desire, he said to her, 'O dearest virgin, agree to my intentions by bringing about the intimacy of suitors with me, for I desire you intensely.'

§10

The virgin responded, 'My lord, what kind of speech is this from a man as well-born as you to a maiden as low-born as me?' She said again, 'Lord, by no means can I do this, for I am pledged to another man, whom I am now bound to marry.' Hearing these things, Caradog, filled with rage, said, 'Stop talking about these stupid, silly, trifling things, and agree to sleep with me. Sleep with me and I will take you as my wife.'

§11

And so when the girl saw the man's heart was stirred into strife, she turned to a plan so that she would not be molested by the man's violence, and said, 'Permit me, lord, to go into my dressing chamber, so that, fittingly attired with clothes, I may in a more seemly way consort with you. For I will leave, as it is necessary, the task enjoined to me and I will be at your will.' Caradog responded to the girl, 'If you will not delay, waiting for you for a little while will not seem excessive to me.' And so, having received permission, the girl went with swift steps through the bedroom into the valley, wanting to get out of the man's sight as quickly as possible.

¹⁷ Compare the focus on the combination of white and red in the following description from the Middle Welsh *Peredur* (Goetinck 1976: 33–4): *Ac yn medyllyaw yd oedwn bot yn gynhebic gwynbet [y chnawt] y'r eira, a dubet y gwallt a'e haelau y'r vran, a'r deu vann gochyon oed yn y grudyau y'r deu dafyn waet.* 'And I thought that the whiteness of her flesh resembled the snow, and the blackness of her hair and brows the raven, and the two red spots on her cheeks the two drops of blood.'

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§12

And so Caradog, seeing that he had been tricked by the virgin's plan, filled with rage, struck his horse strongly with his spurs, seeking to catch the girl. But the girl had gone ahead of the man to the point that she had reached the doorway of the church, desiring to attain the protection of peace from God and Beuno. And when she was about to put her foot inside the threshold, the man caught up to her with a sword, cutting off her head.

§13

When her parents saw this, they were held in a stupor for some time, and when they came to their senses, they were soaked with wretched tears. Beuno, also seeing this terrible deed, was gripped by extreme sorrow, and leaving the altar, he went to the doorway without delay, wanting to know who had carried out the killing in such a manner. And having raised his eyes he observed bloodstained Caradog, still standing with the bloodied sword in his hand. And when Beuno saw that that deed had been done by Caradog, he cursed him in that very place. And immediately, in his sight, Caradog was melted, like wax by fire.¹⁸

§14

Then Beuno, returning to the corpse, attached the head, which had been thrown inside by the blow of the sword, to the body which lay outside, calling on God strenuously to bring that body to life, so that his enemy would not rejoice over it, and as soon as this prayer was made, the body regained life with all its faculties, with nothing but a slender scar being evident on her neck.¹⁹ But the ground stained with her blood burst open, and a rushing spring gushed forth watering the ground in that place. To this very day, the stones of that spring appear blood-stained as on the first day. The moss also smells like incense and heals various illnesses.²⁰

§15

And so Beuno, seeing that God had performed a miracle for her in this way, said to her within hearing of her parents, 'My sister, God assigned this place to you, and I am obliged to go elsewhere, where God will have ordained for me to stay.'²¹ But do this for me every year around

¹⁸ Similar descriptions of people being melted in such a way are found in: VS Cadoci (Vesp) §40, VS Iltuti §17, VS Cungiari (Wells), VS Teliaui (Llandaf) §17 (cf. Winward 1999: 114).

¹⁹ Note that there is no mention here of the scar being a particular colour.

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

²¹ The Latin *perbendinare* is a variant form of the more common *perendinare*.

this day: send me a chasuble of your own making.’ ‘My lord,’ she said, ‘giving this to you is not a trouble for my heart, but the difficulty seems to me to be very great as to how it should get to you, for I do not know where you will live.’ The saint responded to her, ‘Do not worry about this. There is a rock in the middle of the stream of the spring, upon which I have been accustomed to say my prayers. Place the chasuble upon this at the appointed time, and if it should come to me, let it come.’ Thus, after blessing each other, they were separated from one another.

§16

Truly, the blessed Winefride spent her life for many days in the aforementioned wilderness, just as Beuno had advised her. In every year also on the eve of John the Baptist²² she would send the chasuble to Beuno in this way: she would fit it above the rock, and the rock, wavering in the streams of the spring, would carry the chasuble, dry inside and out, all the way into the sea, and thus across the sea to Beuno at the harbour of Sachlen.²³ Thus Beuno received the virgin’s gift every year.

§17

This chasuble, on account of the virgin’s merit, contained such power that, wherever Beuno should be wearing it, it could neither be made wet by rain nor could its material be moved by wind. After that had happened, Beuno was distinguished by the nickname Dry-Chasuble.²⁴

²² The Eve of John the Baptist is celebrated on 23 June before the celebration of his Nativity, as entered in the calendar of Cotton Vespasian A. xiv.

²³ This has been identified with Porth y Casul (‘Harbour of the Chasuble), located near Beuno’s main church of Clynnog Fawr in Gwynedd (LBS i, 219; ArchifMR s.v. Porth y Casul). *Sachlen* means ‘sackcloth’ in Welsh, but is only otherwise attested from the fifteenth century (GPC s.v. sachlen), although the elements *sach* and *llen* are attested much earlier and were likely both in use when this material was copied. This form again shows correct deployment of Welsh orthography, the form being miscopied as *Sachelem* in Lansdowne. It is possible that Sach was also thought to be connected with Latin *saxum* ‘rock’, in light of the means by which the chasuble is delivered.

²⁴ This epithet also occurs elsewhere, as in the Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch version of *Bonedd y Saint* (EWGT 59). *Siccus* (nominative singular masculine) does not agree with *casulam* (accusative singular feminine) here, perhaps because the hagiographer was directly translating Welsh *casul sych*, where there is no such agreement. Another possibility is that this is an accusative of respect with *siccus* describing Beuno: Beuno is dry as regards his chasuble. Robert of Shrewsbury provides the Welsh form *casulsech* (§11), as well as the Latin translation *casula sicca*.

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§18

In that time, as they record, she went to Rome, in order to visit the places of the holy apostles, so that there, in the presence of the relics of the saints, she should offer herself entirely to God devotedly.²⁵ After this had been done, she returned to her earlier wilderness.

§19

In those days, the saints of all Britain²⁶ preached at the assembly of Brefi.²⁷ The blessed Winefride indeed went up to that with other saints. And there, everything was established by the procedure of the synod in accordance with the practice of the religious community, that is, that saints, who previously lived separately on their own, having no rule but their own will, afterwards would come together in communities in places suitable for this, and would improve their way of life under priors promoted as prefects for them. As a result of which it happened that blessed Winefride was chosen to be at the head of eleven virgins, so that they should take from her the example of life and holy living.

§20

It is beyond our ability to tell with what eloquence of knowledge this virgin shone forth, for the words of her speech were considered to be sweeter than honey and whiter than milk in the thoughts of those listening. And for that reason she was named White Winefride by everyone openly, for she spoke with the whiteness of wisdom and she lived steadfastly. Truly, the place in which she lived with her virgins is called Gwytherin.²⁸ In which place indeed, after death,²⁹ buried

²⁵ A similar description is made of Cadog's pilgrimage to Rome in VS Cadoci (Vesp) §35 (Winward 1999: 114).

²⁶ Cf. note 14 above.

²⁷ The Latin reads *Wenefredi*, which is here emended to Breui, following the tentative suggestion of Sims-Williams 2018: 22 n. 65. The synod of Llanddewi Brefi (in Ceredigion) is described in Rhygyfarch's VS Dauid §§49–58, where a great number of nobles and religious leaders gathered and David miraculously raised a hill so that he could be seen by all and preached to them. There David was made archbishop of all of the British nation (*Brittanice gentis*). Wade-Evans translates the phrase in this Life of Winefride as 'the Synod of Wenefredus' without explaining the identity of Wenefredus (VSB 295). Feiss's translation emends to 'of Whitby' (Pepin and Feiss 2000: 102), although perhaps Wenefredi could be an error for Wilfridi or Wilfredi. The Bollandists raise the possibility that this may be an error for Wini, bishop of the West Saxons (ActaS Nov I: 705).

²⁸ 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.

²⁹ The Latin phrase *post uite dormitionem* 'after the dormition of life' is very unusual and not found elsewhere. *Post dormitionem* is more common and it is possible that the phrase as it stands is a result of miscopying.

with her virgin companions on the 24th of June,³⁰ she rests in Christ, to whom there is honour and glory forever and ever. Amen.

Here ends the life of St Winefride, virgin and martyr.

Here begin her miracles.

§21

We have decided that some things known to the locals or seen by them are worth telling.³¹ From the day when the spring began to flow where the martyr's blood had flowed, a miracle unheard throughout the ages, miraculous to say and amazing to hear, was present in the bubbling middle of the spring, namely three very smooth little stones, going up and down with the gushing of the spring in the manner of knives cast by a thrower. They would pass each other up and down alternately, and thus it continued for many years. But in the time of the Danes,³² when they were made subject to the British,³³ in Tegeingl, a certain unfortunate woman went down to the spring, who, seeing the little stones playing before her and eager for them with passionate desire, seized one, and there and then both of those which had been left disappeared. Afterwards, having gone home, she was overcome by a sudden illness, and died within a few days. However, having confessed before her death, she put the little stone back, but that which was done earlier was completely hidden. It is no wonder, brothers, even though³⁴ stones confirmed the martyr's power with their testimony, when we read that the holy fathers carried stones as testimony to them.³⁵

³⁰ In Robert's Life she dies on 2 November (§22). The 24th of June, links Winefride again to John the Baptist, being the feast of his nativity, also recorded in the calendar of Cotton Vespasian A.xiv. This is the day after Winefride would send the chasuble to Beuno each year (23 June), in this Life.

³¹ The Latin *congnita* is a variant of the more common *cognita*.

³² An interesting reference, as written sources from Wales tend to focus on raiding activity rather than settlement (Loyn 1976: 12). Comparing other textual evidence, this could possibly be a reference to Danes under control of Gruffudd ap Cynan, whose connections to Hiberno-Scandinavians are well-documented (Maund 1991: 171–182; cf. VS Gundleii §12). It is perhaps more likely that this refers to Scandinavian settlement not otherwise recorded in written sources: there is some albeit limited place-name evidence of Scandinavian influence in Flintshire (Loyn 1976: 10; Owen and Gruffydd 2017: s.v. Acstyn, Bretton; Owen 1994: 20–1. Owen links the place-name Bretton to Hiberno-Scandinavian settlers (and accompanying Welshmen) who came with Ingimund to the area surrounding Chester in 902 (Owen 1994: 21; Wainwright 1948).

³³ See note 14 above.

³⁴ The use of *quamquam* here does not fit the sense well, and is perhaps an error for *quam*.

³⁵ This most likely alludes to God giving **duas tabulas testimonii lapideas** (two stone tablets of testimony) (Exodus 31.18) to Moses on Mount Sinai.

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§22

It also happened at a certain time that a man, having been accused of theft, committed perjury upon the well and sanctuaries of the martyr's church. But it became known immediately what the blessed virgin thinks of those who presume to do something illegal. For, after he had eaten a goat, it gave out a terrible bleating in the belly of the thief, and thus showed him to be guilty. What a horrible thing! That which was refuted by a rational creature, with a solemn declaration, was revealed by this one which was brutish and, what is more unusual, already eaten. It is not to be doubted that God does miracles for his saints, when he himself is miraculous in all ways in his saints.³⁶

§23

Indeed, in the days of the Normans³⁷ in the same land, due vengeance was carried out by God through the same martyr. For a certain married woman, led by the jealousy of envy against a maid, tormented her with cruel lashes, and furiously she attacked her with flogging as she fled to the virgin's church for protection.³⁸ But, when the wretched girl came to the church and tried to get in, she found the door to be firmly locked, and, having previously hoped for protection inside the church, she did not then know what she would do. She stayed by the door all the same, but the woman by no means held back from lacerating her. The martyr of the lord undoubtedly seeing the force inflicted upon her, and sympathising with her shame and feeling compassion pitifully, at once obtained retribution from the lord. And so the captive, lacerated for a long time and prostrate under the woman's feet, at last rose up as God wanted, and struck her head against the jaw of her mistress pushing on her. By that blow her jaw-bone was dislocated from the joint, and her throat twisted towards one ear. Thus up until her death she remained deformed. Without doubt it was just that there should be no stopping from rebuking her until the separation of body and soul, she who did not want to desist from lashes before the killing of

³⁶ **ipse in sanctis suis omnino est mirabilis (he himself is miraculous in all ways 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 Dubricii (LL / Vesp), §16, §20; VS Teliui (LL), §29; VS Teliui (Vesp), §5.

³⁷ The exact period to which this refers is unclear. On possible end-points for this period, see note 41 below.

³⁸ Cf. §12 above, where Winefride flees to seek protection in Beuno's church and is stopped at the threshold.

the spirit. So it is for those who do not fear God and the tabernacles of the saints: their faces are filled with shame.³⁹

§24

Likewise, after a period of time had passed, the law of peace had been violated everywhere throughout the land, with the Normans and Welsh⁴⁰ fighting one another and innumerable robbers from Gwynedd ravaging all of Tegeingl.⁴¹ They directed eight sacrilegious men to despoil even the habitation of the virgin Winefride with its estate. Making haste, they even stole the animals fastened to the church wall, but they did not rejoice at that for long, for truly they were poisoned by horrible death within a short time. But even the initiators of the wickedness, who set that in motion, were assailed by heinous murder before a year had gone by. What should I say to you? From such a multitude scarcely one escaped who so much as kept their company. And since zeal for the house of the Lord consumed him, they were thrown down as soon as they were lifted up.⁴²

§25

Also in those days, a certain deacon of the same church, with holy signs hanging from his neck for protection, was bringing the tithe home on horses from a certain settlement in his parish. Reaching the limits of the martyr's estate, by chance he ran into thieves. They, offering no veneration for the martyr or her holy things, robbed him and forced him to go with them with the spoils, pleading that for God or for his martyr they might be favourably disposed towards him. Nevertheless, when he had been led further away from the power of God and the martyr, it

³⁹ **implentur facies eorum ignominia (their faces are filled with shame)** Cf. Psalms 82.17 (Vulgate; modern 83.16) (*imple facies eorum ignominia*).

⁴⁰ In the Latin *Gualensibus*. This is an example of the Wallia-based vocabulary which had come into Latin in Wales after 1100 (see note 14 above), and a number of Latin texts from the first half of the twelfth century use a mixture of Britannia-based and Wallia-based vocabulary (Pryce 2001: 793–4). The initial <gu> spelling represents the Gallicized form of *Walenses* (Pryce 2001: 793).

⁴¹ This suggests a degree of separation between Tegeingl and Gwynedd, although elsewhere the composer of the miracles treats Tegeingl as part of Gwynedd (see note 4). This reference to fighting in Tegeingl, which does not appear to favour the Welsh of Gwynedd over the Normans, may refer to the campaign by Owain Gwynedd and his sons to take control of Tegeingl in the 1150s and 1160s (Davies 1987: 49).

⁴² **quoniam zelus domus domini comedit eum (since zeal for the house of the lord consumed him)** Cf. Psalms 68.10 (Vulgate; modern 69.9) (*quoniam zelus domus tuae comedit me*). **deiecti sunt dum alleuarentur (they were thrown down as soon as they were lifted)** Cf. Psalms 72.18 (Vulgate) (*deiecisti eos dum adlevarentur*).

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came into his mind that he should start to flee. When he had started to do so, he was tracked closely by the leader of the thieves himself. But then, seeking to catch him, that man was thwarted by disaster, and, pierced through the leg by his own spear, he separated the muscles from the thigh-bones so that he did not know how to walk. And thus, one having been punished in body, all the rest were corrected in mind, and the deacon, giving thanks to God and the martyr for the liberation given to him, returned home safe with the things, since indeed the lord sends an angel around those who fear him, and he will rescue them.⁴³ But as for those who do not have the fear of the lord and saints before their eyes,⁴⁴ their sinfulness is discovered to their dislike,⁴⁵ and it comes down on their heads.⁴⁶

§26

Likewise at that time, a certain Norman soldier, owner of the same estate, measuring out a mill above the spring's stream, began to dam off the water. Moreover, the soldier perceived that the water burst forth up to Beuno's rock, which was by chance below the pool in the middle of the stream. He ordered that it should be placed in the pool. But even if a hundred pairs of oxen should be applied to it, truly it would not rise from its place. For it remained as immovable as if it could not be torn away from fixed roots. But finally the soldier, thinking that his labourers were doing that by pretence, forced them on again and again. Thinking that he alone could roll away the stone with his foot and roused up by his mind's anger, he struck the rock with his foot, but at once the tendons in the hollow of his knee bent backwards and hardened. He was made lame for the rest of his life.

⁴³**Quoniam quidem immittit angelum dominus incircuitu timentium eum, et eripiet eos.** (Since indeed the lord sends an angel around those who feared him, and he will rescue them.) Cf. Psalms 33.8 (Vulgate; modern 34.7) (*vallabit angelus Domini in circuitu timentium eum et eripiet eos*). Versions of the Old Latin bible contain the variant reading *immittit angelum dominus*: VLD (Psalmi 33.8).

⁴⁴**Quibus autem non est timor domini et sanctorum ante oculos eorum.** (But to those who do not have the fear of the lord and saints before their eyes). Cf. Psalms 13.3 (Vulgate) (*non est timor Dei ante oculos eorum*) and 35.2 (Vulgate; modern 36.1) (*non est timor Dei ante oculos eius*).

⁴⁵**inuenitur iniquitas eorum sibi ad odium** (their sinfulness will be discovered to their dislike). Cf. Psalms 35.3 (Vulgate; modern 36.2) (*ut inveniatur iniquitas eius ad odium*).

⁴⁶**et in uerticem ipsorum descendit** (and it comes down on top of them.) Cf. Psalms 7.17 (Vulgate; modern 7.16) (*et in verticem ipsius iniquitas eius descendet*). Versions of the Old Latin bible contain the variant reading *descendit*: VLD (Psalmi 7.17).

§27

Indeed,⁴⁷ in the same period of time, the wife of that soldier, having entered with rash presumption the bank of the well, which is the privilege of the sick, bathed herself improperly there. But she did not go unpunished for that. For she remained barren for the rest of her life, from which she suffered more than anyone else. Truly it was fair for those who came into the inherited land of the martyr and defiled its consecrated ground improperly that they should afterwards become a mockery and derision, an object of contempt and shame, to all around them.⁴⁸

§28

With infinite miracles such as these and more miraculous than these, the virgin of the lord shone bright against the wicked. Time would run out faster than the abundance which could be told if all those things were consigned to written record. But now truly let these suffice for the punishment of the wicked, so that they should not take delight in committing any crime wrongly against the virgin, for our plough should be moved to make furrows elsewhere, that is, to reveal the virgin's benefits to the sick.

§29

Also in the time of the Normans in that region, there was a certain wealthy sick man, who had a lot of money in his keeping but not himself.⁴⁹ Hearing of the virgin's renown, he made his way there as quickly as possible by carriage. He reached the blessed virgin's shrine and gave all his wealth to the church and the needy, rendering himself a pauper. No more did he take pleasure in the delights of the world, but trusted in the Lord. Then, after having washed himself for the third time in the flow of the well and after the third night's vigil had been completed with prayers in the church, in a wondrous way you could hear there and then a great turmoil in his feet and

⁴⁷ The manuscript reads *quinni* which is here emended to *quin in*, although the sense is still difficult. It is possible that *quin in* is an error for *quin etiam*, if an *etiam* abbreviation were misread as *n* with a suspension mark, although the scribe does not appear to make such an error elsewhere.

⁴⁸ **omnibus postmodum in eorum circuitu forent illusio et derisium, subsanatio et obprobrium (they should afterwards become a mockery and derision, an object of contempt and shame, to all around them)** Cf. Psalms 78.4 (Vulgate; modern 79.4) (*facti sumus obprobrium vicinis nostris. substannatio et inlusio his qui circum nos sunt*). Versions of the Old Latin bible contain the variant reading *qui in circuitu nostro sunt*: VLD (Psalms 78.4).

⁴⁹ The Latin *multam pecuniam habens sed non semetipsum* (having much money but not himself) appears to describe the fact that, despite his wealth, the man did not have control over himself.

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legs and arms, which previously had been foully curved and drawn into the buttocks but now stretched their bones to the correct place in the joints. Do you think you could see there and then a rejoicing band of those nearby, giving thanks to God and the virgin? Without doubt you could see it. O what a just repayment! He who deprived himself of monetary goods, received the substance of his own body unimpaired in its senses and capabilities. He distributed that which he had prized, he found that which he had always desired. And thus he who had lacked the use of his feet and had come in a vehicle, left in good health using his feet completely and perfectly.

§30

A certain man, guided by repentance for worldly pleasures, had been fettered by iron shackles for many years and his arms had been wretchedly consumed by iron rust; he came to that consecrated ground and, having spent a night there with vigils and prayers, came to the well at dawn. Then having washed his hands and having stretched his arms out inside the well for a good while, it seemed to him that two hands gently shook off the fetters from his arms. Who, brothers, doubts that the virgin was there then? The man, having undoubtedly left the church for the well in fetters, truly returned from the well to the church unbound. Thanking God and his martyr, he hung up the same fetters there as a sign. These were seen hanging there for many cycles of years. Consider, men, consider, women, how venerably and how reverently this virgin and martyr of the lord is to be revered by all, she who so clearly aids those who call upon her.⁵⁰

§31

Nor should that be omitted which she did for the man suffering from dropsy who came to her, dragged with difficulty to her hands. For as soon as the vigils and cleansings in the well's stream were completed, thus she lifted him up from his superfluous moisture, so that nothing remained apart from such as is adequate for the equilibrium of human nature.

§32

Indeed, an epileptic likewise felt the hand of the martyr. For, having been brought as usual to the shrine, he spent a night there in vigil and prayer. Wondrously did it befall him, for the fit attacked him twice, but on each occasion it had no effect. And indeed at dusk he felt the epilepsy come to him and hurriedly ran into the church. Truly, after the priests had invoked the name of

⁵⁰ In these lines, the text plays with various compounds of *pendeo* (*suspendere* 'hang up'; *pendere* 'hang'; *perpendere* 'consider').

God and of the martyr over him, that sickness which had started immediately left him. On another day at dawn, the illness swelling up in him, he was thrown into the well, and for the rest of his days it never attacked him again.

§33

Similarly, two young brothers, when the same illness was attacking them, were thrown into the well and were completely cured. And many others, too numerous to count, were also cured in this way.

§34

For they affirm that the virgin by the power of her merits expunges this illness most of all, although she also removes others. For no illness is more disastrous than that which destroys the mind, wastes away the heart, almost spews out the soul, shakes apart the mind, eats the tongue, foams, grinds, crooks limbs, mangles all of itself. And because it is so, the virgin focuses most of all on curing this.

§35

Truly, a certain woman brought one of her young sons, who had been mute from birth, with her to the shrine of the blessed martyr. After the ceremonies of the vigils had been celebrated in the proper manner, when she submerged him in the well, and put water in his mouth, she heard her son uttering proper words and asking for his clothes. After this had been observed, those nearby marvelled, honouring God and the martyr, and congratulated the mother.

§36

At another time as well, some crippled young male companions came and went down together into the well, but good health was granted to only one, because he believed more steadfastly. Indeed, when he went down into the water and his limbs stretched themselves out, such a shocking cry was brought forth by him that the ears of those hearing him rang, whether they were situated near or far. For the power of the Lord, when it has come out from him by the prayers of the saints, cannot be hidden at all.

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§37

A certain boy, moreover, thought his limbs were useless to him, for they were not functioning. He gained at once the virgin's customary generosity. For she with prayers restored to him the natural state of all his limbs.

§38

In addition to this, a certain man born blind went out to the well after the ceremony had been carried out in the martyr's dwelling, and he washed, and he saw, and he gave thanks.

§39

Two boys as well, afflicted by kidney-stones, sought the virgin, and gained normal digestion. One of them, spared from illness there, was immediately steeped in the spiritual gift of the muse of prophecy.

§40

Like these people, many who had been eaten away into their innermost parts by worms became acquainted with the virgin's help and indeed, the worms having been killed, they returned home in good health.

§41

Some, deficient of mind, were afflicted by unclean spirits, cutting with their teeth, saying empty things, and could scarcely be brought there in shackles. They returned home from that place, in complete control of their reason.

§42

Frequently as well, she delivers feverish people, who keep vigil for her freely-given compassion, from fevers of whatever kind by the remedy of the holy well.

§43

And this most kind virgin often soothes those suffering from dropsy, heals paralytics, restores those suffering from gout, and cares for melancholic people. No less does she get rid of sciatica, eradicate canker, remove shortness of breath, and eliminate piles. Moreover, she stops a persistent cough, repels gripes and discharges of the stomach, she opens up the blocked menstruation of barrenness, and shuts off excess and superfluous blood.

§44

To what end do I try to explain everything in summing up a few things? So many and so great are the gifts of the virgin that their infinity refuses to be explained in quantity. But so that I should describe all briefly, she brings immediate relief dutifully and most kindly, and without any delay, to all the ill, the sick, the distressed, those held back by whatever kind of infirmity, who plead for that martyr's intercession with God with pure faith, and she invests them fully with the senses and faculties of both types of person.⁵¹

§45

Nor should it be concealed in the silence of Lethe's⁵² oblivion that, after the expulsion of the Normans from all Gwynedd,⁵³ a fact is known concerning the same virgin's well. Truly, the well of the martyr, for a period of three days, seemed to flow with a milk-like liquid. Moreover, at dawn on the first of those days, it preserves the true colour and taste of milk. For a priest went out very early from matins in the church of the same martyr, near to the very projecting part of the well,⁵⁴ after they had been duly celebrated, and discovered such a thing. Carrying a bottle with him, he ran up quickly and, having filled it, guarded it attentively and carefully. Afterwards, rushing with a sponge so that he might also fill that, the liquid had now lost a little brightness. Thus for three days, little by little, undergoing a decrease in its milky colour and taste, it gained its former state. And in case anyone should think that this happened due to the disturbance of

⁵¹ *Utriusque hominis* may refer to both genders. Wade-Evans (VSB 305) translates as 'pertaining to either sex'.

⁵² Lethe refers to a river of the underworld, which causes those who enter it to forget their previous life.

⁵³ The meaning of this reference, and its potential implications for dating, partly depends on whether *tota Uenedocia* 'all Gwynedd' is taken to include Tegeingl, which would be the most likely interpretation in context. If Gwynedd is not interpreted as including Tegeingl, this could refer to the Normans being pushed back in the late-eleventh and early-twelfth centuries (Davies 1987: 35–6). If Gwynedd included Tegeingl here, this could refer to the extension of control over Tegeingl by Owain Gwynedd and his sons in the 1150s and 1160s, indicating a rather later date for this section (Davies 1987: 49). The claim in some scholarship that the expulsion of the Normans took place after the death of Henry 1 in 1135 (LBS iii, 186) neglects the continued Anglo-Norman control of Tegeingl in the 1130s, with Owain and his sons only moving into Tegeingl more confidently after the death of Earl Ranulf of Chester in 1153 (Davies 1987: 45–9). The castle at Basingwerk was not taken until 1166 (HW ii, 519). In an earlier period, this might refer to gains made by Gruffudd ap Cynan with some degree of hyperbole. The twelfth-century *Vita Griffini Filii Conani* notes that Gruffudd in regaining power in Gwynedd *totam... Venedotiam gaudio repleuit* 'filled all Gwynedd with rejoicing' and the Welsh translation goes further in claiming Gruffudd gained *pop peth yg Wynedd* 'everything in Gwynedd' (HGK 28; VGC 84) prior to Henry I's expedition of 1114.

⁵⁴ The Latin *ipsi fontis preminenti cominus* with genitive *fontis* and dative *ipsi preminenti* is difficult here. *Preminenti* is understood as referring to the projecting part of the well, where water shoots up.

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winds or by excess of rain, let him know that for no short time before and even after that time it had been free from the disturbance of the elements. And by no means should uncertainty or doubt arise from that, because it has been heard from the locals that even this came about rather frequently. Truly, after the liquid had been acquired by the priest, and given to and drunk by the sick everywhere, it provided the help, which the virgin was wont to perform, to them for healing even those. And indeed that well of hers seemed to be milky and of sweet taste, she who, called white Winefride,⁵⁵ has shown herself to be pleasing, gentle, mild, delightful as honey, pious, kind, well disposed, sweet, and merciful to those calling to her.

§46

In no way should that be dismissed which was also carried out through this virgin for a little girl. On a certain day, towards evening, a man brought the body of a lifeless girl with him to the martyr's tabernacle, so that she should be buried. But the priest, seeing that night was falling, delayed her burial until morning. He left the body, which was rigid with the cold of death, wrapped in a cloth and covered with swaddling-bands, inside the church, and locked the doors securely. Truly, when the priest entered the church at the very break of day to celebrate vigils as usual, he found the girl now alive, set completely free from the swaddling-bands and cloth: she was still crawling over the floor with her haunches and palms because of her weakness, lacking any sign of death and asking for shelter and food for herself. Joyfully he gave thanks to God and the martyr. What wonder is it if she calls the dead back to life with her prayer, she who having died had lived again anew?

§47

That should be recalled in memory which we left out above regarding the chastisement of the wicked. Without doubt, two clerics at different times perpetrated a profane act within the virgin's tabernacle. One of them stole a Manual,⁵⁶ and was caught red-handed. And because the worker is worthy of his reward,⁵⁷ he was punished with lashes. But the second one, stealing a Missal⁵⁸ and offering it to everyone all over for money, did not find anyone who would buy it from him.

⁵⁵ The spelling *Wenefrida*, closer to the English vernacular forms of the name, is used in the one instance here.

⁵⁶ A liturgical Manual is a book containing the texts prescribed for carrying out sacraments.

⁵⁷ **dignus est operarius mercede sua (the worker is worthy of his reward)**. Cf. Luke 10.7 (*dignus enim est operarius mercede sua*).

⁵⁸ A Missal is a book containing the texts to be read and sung at Mass.

Finally, indeed, he came back by the power of God, and, no longer being able to hide the sacrilege, he was hanged because he deserved it.

§48

God, who alone makes miraculous things, does not cease from carrying out these miracles for the sake of his virgin and martyr Winefride whether to cure the locals or to punish the ungodly. He who in perfect Trinity lives and reigns as one for all time. Amen.

Here ends the Passion of Saint Winefride, virgin and martyr.

Vita Sancte Wenefrede (Claudius A. v version)

edited by David Callander

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Manuscript

The anonymous Life of Winefride survives in British Library, Cotton Claudius A. v and in revised form together with parts of Robert of Shrewsbury's Life in British Library, Lansdowne 436 (edited separately). This anonymous Life of Winefride was not drawn upon by John of Tynemouth.

Claudius A. v consists in three separate manuscripts bound together by Sir Robert Cotton. The manuscript containing Winefride is a small collection of saints' lives, covering fols 135–99, and is dated to around 1200 (MLGB 102). Robin Flower (VSB xvii) suggested that it was copied at Worcester, but Winterbottom and Thomson convincingly reject this on palaeographical grounds (Winterbottom and Thomson 2002: 3). The contents of the manuscript would nevertheless indicate a connection of Worcester, given its interest in Winefride and that William of Malmesbury's Life of Wulfstan is very strongly associated with Worcester (Winterbottom and Thomson 2002: xxv). It is thus possible that the compilation found in this manuscript was originally put together at Worcester. The manuscript itself was possibly copied at the Cistercian abbey of Holme Cultram in Cumberland, which possessed the manuscript by the fourteenth century (MLGB 102; Winterbottom and Thomson 2002: 3).

The contents of the manuscript are as follows:

- Life of St Erkenwald, fols 135r–138r
- Life of St Winefride, fols 138r–145v (miracles at 141r–145v)
- Life of St Neot (the Vita Secunda), fols 145v–160v
- William of Malmesbury's Life of St Wulfstan, fols 160v–199v

For further descriptions of the manuscript, see VSB xvi–xvii; Whatley 1989: 1–2; Winterbottom and Thomson 2002: 3. All four of the Lives have been previously edited: Whatley 1989: 86–96 (Vita Erkenwaldi); VSGB 288–308 (VS Wenefrede); ActaS Jul VII: 330–40 (Vita Secunda Sancti

Neoti, not edited from this manuscript, see Dumville and Lapidge 1985: cxii); Winterbottom and Thomson 2002: 8–154 (Vita Wulfstani).

CLAUDIUS A. v 138RB18–145VA8

Note on transcription. The following abbreviations are used in the Life in the manuscript:

Ampersand (×18); the homothetic sign [↷] (×10).

The following abbreviations are used in the Miracles in the manuscript:

Ampersand (×73); the homothetic sign [↷] (×29).

TRANSCRIPTION

{138rb18}

- 18 Incipit uita¹
 19 *sancte Wenfrede uirginis et martyris.*²
 20 **Q** vanto³ opere regis archa=
 21 num operire salubre est;
 22 tantopere dei magnalia
 23 non reuelare tormentuosum est;
 24 Quamobrem quicquid de
 25 beata Wenefreda fauente
 26 deo. nobis traditione ueterum
 27 manifestatum est. adlaudem
 28 ipsius dei et ad uirginis sue

{138va}

- 1 merita declaranda ut pote
 2 dignum est inchoandum.

¹ **Incipit uita** (margin) {VIII kalendas ...}. This is the same medieval hand that has added VIII kalendas Iulii at the end of the miracles.

² **martyris** (interlinear and margin) {Per Elerium Britannum Monachum. Anno 660 aut Rober=tum Salopi=ensem anno 1140}.

³ **Q** vanto **Q** is a large green initial covering three lines.

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3 Indiebus *igitur* quibus katuanus
 4 *super* Venedocie *prouintias* reg=
 5 nabat; strenuus quidam mi=
 6 les *trium* dumtaxat possessor
 7 uillarum. *nomine* teuyth eylud
 8 filius. intekeynglia manebat.
 9 Quarum *prima* abeluyc. *secunda*
 10 maynguen. *tertia* guenphenna=
 11 un appellabantur. Huic teu=
 12 yth *propago* non fuit data; filia
 13 sola excepta Wenefreda *numpcu*=
 14 pata. *Hec* statim ab ineunte ce=
 15 pit etate sponsum adama=
 16 re celest~~xx~~^{em} hominesque tran
 17 sitorios respuens sibi soli suam
 18 dicauit uirginitatem. Quod
 19 illius genitor *comperiens* expar=
 20 te sollicitatur mestus; expar
 21 te exultabat gratulabundus.
 22 Sibi enim inerat mesticia;
 23 eo quod *prole* carebat illa sola
 24 excepta. Et quod quidem
 25 *grauius* ferebat; ad obseruandum
 26 inposterum *patrimonium*
 27 uiro illa nubere renuebat.
 28 ^E *contra*g uero *gratulatio* in erat sibi;

{138vb}

1 suam *prolem* dei se subdere
 2 dicioni. Cuius gratie cau=
 3 sa. *proposuit* heros liberalibus
 4 artibus suam tradere satam.
 5 *Dumque* intali existebat *propo*=
 6 sito beatus bennonus *pre*^[-sul]⁴ *super*=
 7 fluitate filiorum selym mansi=

⁴ *pre*^[-sul] [-sul] is added between columns.

8 one sua *pr̄iuatus*ꝫ indomo des=
 9 cendit ipsius. *ꝑ*^{Qu}em heros
 10 bene *litei*^{r}~~ꝑ~~^{at}um⁵ *atque* religi=
 11 osum *animaduertens*ꝫ de sua
 12 eum consuluit nata. sibi
 13 eiusdem uotum enucleans
 14 *Perpensis itaque prorsus* mili=
 15 tis. *elogiis*.⁶ *bennonus* inquit
 16 Si ~~ꝑꝑꝑ~~^{deo} tuum in manu
 17 mea *commendes* *predium*ꝫ
 18 tecum hic habitabo. diuina
 19 *legē*^e *ꝑ*^tuam instruens *genitam*.
 20 Ad hec *teuyth*. Domine si hoc
 21 in mea potestate *constaret*ꝫ
 22 nemo me auidius tale quid
 23 *patraret*. *Sed* nunc serue dei
 24 nisi nimium diu tibi uideatur
 25 te hic morari desideroꝫ quo=
 26 adusque *detalibus* regis respon=
 27 sum recipiam. At ille. *Caris*⁷
 28 sime fili *progredere teque* deus

{139ra}

1 *precedat*ꝫ quo tuum reperias
 2 *negocium*. *Teuyth igitur* a domo
 3 sua egrediens. domo. regis
 4 domini ~~*eius*~~^{sui}⁸ *palatium* *pecnt*ꝫ
 5 illum obnixē interpellans.
 6 ut sibi faueret. quod de suo

⁵ *liteiꝑꝑꝑ*^{rat}um The middle letters of this word were changed from an original group consisting of i, possibly u, and r. A dot was added near the top of the i to change it to an r. The a was written over a deleted letter, and a heavy horizontal bar was added to the r to change it to t.

⁶ *elogiis*ꝫ The punctus of this punctus elevatus is missing. The scribe apparently deleted the punctus earlier in the line, but forgot to add it here.

⁷ *Caris* The scribe started writing s before realizing his error and finishing the letter as an i.

⁸ ~~*eius*~~^{sui} The same hand placed deletion marks below *eius* as added *sui*. Possibly the same hand as added *-sul* on previous folio.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

7 *patrimonio deliberaret. Ille*
 8 *refert. Ouir wenerande. ne=*
 9 *quaquam michi uel tibi sortitur. tamen*
 10 *sequestrare rus aprouincie com=*
 11 *munione; ne sibi sit inuti=*
 12 *le. uel mee necessitati. Sed ha=*
 13 *rum quamcumque uillarum trium*
 14 *elegeris; ad diuinum officii=*
 15 *um tibi libere annuo si placatus*
 16 *fueris. michique reliquas. {relinque.}*
 17 **A** *udito*⁹ *itaque regis*
 18 *responso; optima*^{o}10
 19 *domum repedauit; quicquid*
 20 *arege audierat bennono re*
 21 *ferens. Ergo simecum manere*
 22 *desideraueris ait; ad dei mi*
 23 *nisterium ubi tibi uideatur*
 24 *oportunius in meo elige patrimo*
 25 *nio. Beatus bennonus inquit.*
 26 *Inbeluyc solitudine michi man=*
 27 *sionem delibero. Quæ*^{o}*d et ita*
 28 *factum est. Bennonus igitur cum*

{139rb}

1 *teuyth patrocínio suum fixit*
 2 *tugurium inconualle que bri=*
 3 *tonum lingua sechnant ap=*
 4 *pellabatur. Ecclesiamque paruu=*
 5 *lam ibidem struxit; inqua*
 6 *missam celebrabat erudiens f*
 7 *diuina cotidie pagina uirginem*
 8 *Wenefredam. Siquidem teuyth*
 9 *domusque ipsius cotidie missarum*

⁹ **A** *udito* **A** is a two-line red initial.

¹⁰ **optima**^{o} Here a has been clumsily changed to o, with a large smudge over the letter. The tail of the a is still visible.

10 officia adibant; ubi bennonus
 11 celebrationem categorizabat.
 12 Ea tempestate accidit quadam
 13 die *dominica* teuyth cum uxore
 14 admissam existere audiendam;
 15 Wenefredamque indomo eius
 16 genitoris cunctatam fuisse.
 17 causa secum ferendi misse ne=
 18 cessaria. ignem uidelicet *et aquam*
 19 cum sale. Interea karadauc alauc
 20 filius regali stirpe ortus. uena=
 21 tionem ferarum fatigatus do=
 22 mui appropriauit. potum que=
 23 rens; nimirum. erat enim si=
 24 tiens. Ad quam *ubi peruenit;* quo
 25 uille possessor erat interrogauit.
 26 Secretum enim aliquod habe=
 27 bebat; quod sibi denudare
 28 gliscebat.

{139va}

1 {p}vella¹¹ *igitur* in domo sola existens.
 2 interroganti patrem ocius occurrit;
 3 eumque eleganter salutans. ad=
 4 audiendam bennoni inmissa
 5 *predicationem*. parentes suos isse
 6 dixit. Caradoco itaque nimphe
 7 faciem candore ruboreque con=
 8 fectam intuente. ipsamque to=
 9 tam forma *et uultu idoneam*
 10 admirante; illius cor insui con=
 11 cupiscentia cepit diffusim ex=
 12 ardescere. *Deprehendensque illam*
 13 solam indomo absque alterius

¹¹ {p-}vella It would appear that a large initial was originally planned to be here but was never added. The p with a following dash, added in the left margin, is more likely to be a later insertion than an original guide letter.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

14 testimonioꝝ sitim obliuiscens
 15 *pre*amoris magnitudine intulit
 16 ei. O carissima *uirgo* meis *adqui*=
 17 esce consiliis. mecum *pro*corum
 18 familiaritatem patrandoz te
 19 enim uehementer *concupisco*
 20 Ad *hec* *uirgo*. Domine mi *quale*
 21 *elogium est* hoc uiri tam inge=
 22 nui ut tu. ad ancillam tam
 23 degenerem uti egoꝝ.¹² Iterum
 24 *domine* nequaquam hoc agere queo de=
 25 sponsata sum enim alteri uiroz
 26 cui *adpresens* nubere debeo. Au=
 27 diens *hec* *caradocus* furore reple=
 28 tus ait. Dimitte *insulsa hec* friuo=

{139vb}

1 la *nugatoria* loquiꝝ *et* mecum
 2 *commisceri* consenti. Michi nu=
 3 beꝝ *et* ego te uxorem ducam.
 4 Uidens *igitur* puella uiri animum
 5 *in*¹³ *emulationem* commotum. adin=
 6 dustriam seuertens. ne uiri
 7 *opprimeretur* uiolentiaꝝ ait.
 8 Concede *michi domine* uestiarium
 9 meum intrareꝝ ut ornata ue=
 10 stibus decenter tecum possim ap=
 11 tius *commiscere*. Linqam enim
 12 ut necesse est *ministerium* michi
 13 *iniunctumꝝ et* iuxta *uestrum* ero
 14 *arbitrium*.
 15 **R**¹⁴ ESpondit puelle ca=
 16 radocus. Si nulla *tibi*

¹² . The purpose of this extra punctus is unclear.

¹³ **in** is to the left of the text box.

¹⁴ **R** is a large red initial, covering two lines.

17 inerit mora; *michi* nimium non
 18 uidebitur te *aliquantulum* operiri
 19 Accepta *igitur* licentia. *perthalamum*
 20 uallem *celeribus* adiuuit *passibus*
 21 puella; cupiens *quam* *cicuis*
 22 se ~~æ~~uiri ab esse *conspicibus*.
 23 *Karadocus* itaque uidens se *uirgi*=
 24 nis *industria* delusum. *furo*=
 25 re repletus cum *calcaribus*
 26 fortiter punxit equum; pu=
 27 ellam querens *comprehendere*.
 28 Puella uero uirum *precesserat*;

{140ra}

1 quousque *admonasterii* ostium
 2 *peruenerat*. *pacis* tutelam *ádeo*
 3 *et* *benono* assequi *desiderans*.
 4 Cumque suum *infra* limen uo=
 5 luit *figere* pedem. uir eam
 6 *framea* anticipauit; *eius* *absci*=
 7 dens capud. Quod *parentes*=
 8 sui *intuentes*; *inextasi* *aliquam*=
 9 diu *detenti* sunt. Et ad se *reuer*=
 10 si; *lacrimis* *maduerunt* *miseran*=
 11 dis. *Beunonus* quoque *perniciem*
 12 hanc *conspiciens* *mesticia* *per*
 13 *maxima* *irretitus est*; *altareque*
 14 *relinquens*. *ocius* ostium adiuuit.
 15 scire uolens quis *huiuscemodi*
 16 *peregisset* *cedem*. *Erectisque* *oculis*
 17 *contemplatus est* *karadocum* *cruentum*.
 18 adhuc cum *gladio* *inmanu*
 19 *sanguinolento* *stantem*. *animad*=
 20 *uertensque* *istud* a *caradoco* *fi*=
 21 *eri*; eum in *eodem* *loco* *male*=
 22 *dixit*. *Statimque* *inconspectu*

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

23 eius ille liquefactus *est*ꝫ ut abig=
 24 ne cera. Deinde beunonus
 25 ad cadauer reuertens. caput
 26 ictu gladii intus *proiectum*. cor
 27 pori deforis iacenti coaptauitꝫ
 28 deum obnixè interpellans il

{140rb}

1 lud uiuificare corpus. ne gau=
 2 deret *super illo inimicus*. Et mox
 3 cum *prece*. corpus cum uiribus
 4 resumpsit animamꝫ *cicatrice*
 5 nisi exili inceruice non *apparen*=
 6 te. Area *uero* sanguine eius infecta
 7 crepuitꝫ *torrensque* fons ibidem
 8 iriguus scaturiuit. Cuius lapi=
 9 des *usque* inhodiernum diem
 10 ut pote in die *prima* sanguino=
 11 lenti uidentur. Mussa etiam
 12 ut thus odoratꝫ *et* diuersis lan=
 13 guoribus medetur.
 14 **B**¹⁵ Eunonus itaque aspiciens
 15 deum *propter* eam huiuscemodi
 16 peregisse *miraculum*ꝫ sibi in audien=
 17 tia parentum suorum inquit.
 18 Soror mi. hunc deus *tibi* destina=
 19 uit locumꝫ *meque* oportet alias
 20 tendere. ubi *deus michi* prouiderit *per*
 21 hendinare. Michi autem circa
 22 hunc diem unoquoque anno hoc
 23 facitoꝫ casulam *michi* dirige de
 24 uestro opere proprio *Domine* mi inquit
 25 hoc tibi impendere meo non
 26 extat molestum cordiꝫ sed

¹⁵ B is a large green initial covering two lines.

27 *permaxima michi uidetur difficul*

28 *tas. id qualiter ad te peruenerit*

{140va}

1 *ignoro enim quo habitauere*

2 *ris. Cui sanctus. De hoc tibi*

3 *absit sollicitudo. Saxum ex-*

4 *tat in medio fontis riuo su-*

5 *pra quod meas consueui ru-*

6 *minare preces. super pone huic*

7 *inconstituto termino casulam;*

8 *et si michi aduenerit adueniat.*

9 *Sic abinuicem post benedictio*

10 *nem mutuam disgregati sunt.*

11 *Bæata uero Wenefreda in supra-*

12 *dicta heremo multis diebus*

13 *suam peregit uitam; ut pote*

14 *bennonus sibi consulerat. Inan-*

15 *nis quoque singularibus in iohannis*

16 *baptiste uigilia. casulam hec*

17 *modo bennono transmittebat.*

18 *Super saxum illam aptabat.*

19 *saxum uero ipsam interius et-*

20 *exterius siccam. cum fontis*

21 *fluctibus labans usque in mare*

22 *deferrebat. et sic permare ad-*

23 *portam sachlen usque ad benno-*

24 *num. Ita bennonus uirginis*

25 *donum omni anno accipiebat.*

26 *Huic casulæ uirginis obmeritum*

27 *tanta uirtus in erat; quod ubicumque*

28 *beunonus foret hanc indutus.*

{140vb}

1 *nec pluuiæ humectari. nec pilus*

2 *eius posset uento moueri. Talis*

3 *rei euentus; beunonus casulam*

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

4 siccus agnominatus est. Eo tem=
5 pore ut memorant romam
6 peciit; uisitandi causa *sanctorum*
7 *apostolorum* loca. ut ibi in *presentia*
8 *reliquiarum sanctorum*. se totam deo
9 deuote offerret. Quo *peracto*;
10 ad desertum *pristinum* repe=
11 dauit. In diebus illis. tocuis
12 britannie *sancti* ad sinodum We
13 nefredi contionabantur. Ad
14 quam cum aliis *sanctis* etiam bea
15 ta Wenefreda ascendit. *Ibidemque*
16 omnibus ritu sinodali religiose
17 institutus^{is} uidelicet ut *sancti* qui
18 antea disparati singillatim
19 uiuebant. nullam habentes
20 regulam nisi uoluntatem;
21 postea gregatim conuenirent
22 in locis ad hoc congruis. *et eorum*
23 conuersationem sub prioribus prouectis
24 sibi *perfectis* emendarent. Un=
25 de contigit beatam Wenefre
26 dam undecim uirginibus
27 esse *preelectam*; ut uite *et sancte*
28 conuersationis exemplum ab=

{141ra}

1 ea exciperent. Quanta scien=
2 tie eloquentia hec uirgo *prefulse*
3 rit; non *est nostre* facultatis edis=
4 sere. Sermones quippe *elogii*
5 *ipsius*; melle dulciores. lacteque
6 nitidiores *insensibus* audienti
7 um reputabantur. Unde *et ab*

8 omnibus publice candida We
 9 nefræda prenominata est. Cando=
 10 re enim sophie eloquebatur. et
 11 confirmiter degebat. Locus quidem
 12 quo cum uirginibus conuersata est.
 13 gurtherin uocatur. Quo etiam
 14 post uite dormitionem cum con
 15 sodalibus uirginibus. VIII. kalendas
 16 iulii sepulta requiescit in christo.
 17 cui est honor et gloria. in secula seculorum amen.

18 **Explicit uita sancte Wenfre=**
 19 **de uirginis et martyris.**

20

21 **Incipiunt miracula eiusdem.**

22 **Q**¹⁶ uedam incolis cong=
 23 nita uel uisa. digna
 24 relatu decreuimus. A die quo mana=
 25 re fons cepit ubi martiris sanguis^[s]¹⁷
 26 nis defluerat. miraculum seculis in
 27 auditum. dictu mirabile stupen
 28 dumque auditu. in medio fontis

{141rb}

1 ebullitu inerat.^[;]¹⁸ **f**^[L]apilli¹⁹ uideli=
 2 cet tres limpidissimi. cum
 3 fontis scaturigine ascendentes
 4 et de^scentes more artanorum
 5 aiaculatore proiectorum.^[;] desursum
 6 et deorsum sibi adinuicem ob
 7 uiabant Sicque multis annis
 8 durauit. Tempore uero dacorum

¹⁶ **Q** is a large red initial covering two lines.

¹⁷ **sanguis**^[s] The final minim was lengthened to an s by a different hand.

¹⁸ **f**^[;] The punctus elevatus was changed into a punctus versus by removing the tail of the upper punctus and adding one to the lower punctus.

¹⁹ **f**^[L]apilli The ascender of the initial l was lengthened and expanded to turn the letter into a majuscule.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

9 intekeynglia sub britonibus
 10 subiugatorum. femina quedam
 11 infausta ad fontem descendit.
 12 Que lapillos specularans sibi pre=
 13 ludere. eorum auiditate accensa.
 14 unum arripuit; et iliquo^{co}20 re=
 15 liquorum utrique euanuit. Deinde
 16 domum regressa. instanti
 17 morbo correpta est; et infra
 18 paucos dies defuncta est. Con
 19 fessa tamen ante obitum. ꝑlapillum
 20 redidit; sed quod prius gestum est
 21 omnino latuit. Ni^{on est} mirum
 22 fratres quamquam lapides^{} martiris po=
 23 tentiam. ~~xxx~~^{suo} appro^{-ba}ba^{n}tur²¹
 24 testimonio; cum legimus
 25 sanctos patres illis intestimonium.
 26 lapides tulisse.
 27 C²² ontigit etiam ali=
 28 quando quod uir fur

{141va}

1 to increpatu; super fontem et
 2 sacraria ecclesie martiris periuri=
 3 um perpetravit. Sed qualiter bea=
 4 ta uirgo presuntoribus illiciti assen=
 5 tit; tempestiue innotuit. Capra
 6 enim iam esa. inuentre furis or=
 7 ridum balatum protulit; et sic il=
 8 lum reum esse patuit. Ores satis
 9 horenda. Quod arationali²³ ani=
 10 mali cum testamento denega=

²⁰ {-co} is added in the margin and the same hand also placed deletion marks under quo.

²¹ **appro^{-ba}ba^{n}tur** {-ba} is added in the margin.

²² C is a large green initial covering two lines.

²³ **arationali** A mark was added by a second hand to divide a from rationali.

11 tum *est*; hoc abruto. *et* quod ma=
 12 ge *est* insolitum iam *commesto* re=
 13 seratum *est*. Nec ambigendum *est*
 14 quin *deus* propter sanctos mirabilia faciat;
 15 cum ipse *insanctis* suis omnino *est* mi=
 16 rabilis. Diebus quin etiam franco=
 17 rum in eadem terra ultio dig=
 18 na adeo facta *est* pereandem mar
 19 tirem. *Matrona* namque quedam
 20 emulationis zelo ducta aduersus
 21 ancillam eam uerberibus acerbis dis=
 22 cerpebat; *et* furiose illam aduir=
 23 ginis ecclesiam fugientem tute=
 24 le causa uerberando instabat.
 25 Misella uero ad templum ueniens
 26 ac ingredi temptans. ostium
 27 reperit firmiter pessusdatum;
 28 *et* antea infra basilicam tute=

{141vb}

1 lam sperans. tum ignorat quid
 2 agat. Ostium *tamen* adhesit; *sed* ma=
 3 trona eius dilacerationi minime pe=
 4 percit. *Prospiciens* profecto martyr &
 5 domini. uim sibi ~~illatam~~²⁴ condolens
 6 pudori suo *et* misere *compatiens*.
 7 extemplo adomino impetrauit uin
 8 dictam. Captiua *igitur* diu laniata^{o}25
 9 sub pedibus prostrata tandem ut *deus*
 10 uoluit surrexit; *et* domine sue sibi
 11 incumbentis. maxille capud
 12 suum impulit. Quo impulsu
 13 gena a compage disiuncta. gu=
 14 laque retorta ad aurem alteram;

²⁴ ~~illatam~~; The initial minim was created from another erased letter.

²⁵ laniata^{o} The purpose of this o, added by another hand, is unclear.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

15 sic. usque ad obitum deformis perman=
 16 sit. Dignum nempe fuit. ut
 17 quæ aflagris ante spiritus suffocationem
 18 cessare noluit; usque ad corporis et
 19 anime disgregationem accorpiendo
 20 eam non desisteretur. Sic sic qui non
 21 uerentur dei et sanctorum tabernacu
 22 la; implentur facies eorum ^{ignominia.}
 23 **I**²⁶ tem dimerso temporis in
 24 teruallo. pacis iure ubique
 25 per patriam uiolato. francis atque
 26 Gualensibus se adinuicem op=
 27 pugnantibus; predones innu=
 28 meri de uenedocia totam te=

{142ra}

1 keyngiam depopulantes. oc=
 2 to sacrilegos addepredandum
 3 etiam uirginis Wenefrede habi=
 4 taculum cum uilla direxerunt.
 5 Qui accelerantes etiam iumen=
 6 ta templi parieti²⁷ alligata secum=
 7 dirriperunt. sed diu inde non
 8 gratulati sunt; enim uero morte hor=
 9 ribili infra breue: spacium in=
 10 ficiati sunt. Sed et principes ini=
 11 quitatis qui illud indiderunt;
 12 priusquam annus circumuolutus fuit ne=
 13 ce nefaria affecti sunt Quid
 14 dicam uobis; Uix unus de
 15 tanta multitudine euasit;
 16 qui uel eorum committatum tantum
 17 tenuit. Et quoniam zelus domus

²⁶ **I** is a large red initial, covering two lines.

²⁷ **parieti** The scribe may well have originally written paneti, but used a mark above the second minim to transform this into parieti.

18 *domini commedit eum; deiecti*
 19 *sunt dum alleuarentur.*
 20 I²⁸ *llis iterum diebus quidam*
 21 *eiusdem ecclesie diaconus cum*
 22 *sacris signis in collo suspen-*
 23 *sis protectionis occasione. deui-*
 24 *co quodam parochie sue deci-*
 25 *mam inequis domum aspor-*
 26 *tans. ac usque inframetas fun-*
 27 *di martyris perueniens; ²⁹casu*
 28 *incidit latrones. Qui nullam*

{142rb}

1 *martyri uel eius sacris reuerentiam*
 2 *deferentes³⁰ eum spoliauerunt;³¹*
 3 *et cum exuuiis eum ut prodeo*
 4 *uel promartyre sua sui propicia*
 5 *rentur implorantem. secum ire³²*
 6 *compulerunt. Verumptamen*
 7 *sibi longius abducto. exnutu*
 8 *dei et martiris menti inci=³³*
 9 *dit; ut fugam iniret. Inita*
 10 *autem; ab ipso latron^{um} duce pe-*
 11 *detentim inuestigatus est. Denique³⁴*
 12 *uero eodem querente illum apprehen-*
 13 *dere; ruina prepeditus est. et incruce*
 14 *lancea propria perfossus. neruos. ami-*

²⁸ I is a large green initial covering three lines.

²⁹ Hole in parchment the width of two letters present when manuscript was originally copied.

³⁰ **deferentes** A punctus elevatus has possibly been erased after this word.

³¹ The punctus of this punctus elevatus is missing.

³² **ire** (margin) {a.../p.../to...}

³³ **inci=** (margin) {omnibu[.] non in uiA dis[.] i[.] a[.]i[.]a[.]}

³⁴ **Denique** (margin, illegible)

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

15 sit f^emoris.³⁵ dum cedere nescit.³⁶
 16 Et sic uno castigato incorpore
 17 reliqui omnes correpti sunt
 18 mente; et diaconus deo et martyri
 19 proimpensa sibi liberatione grates
 20 persoluens; cum rebus domum sal=
 21 uus reuersus est. Quoniam quidem immit=
 22 tit angelum dominus incircuitu timen
 23 tium eum; et eripiet eos. Quibus
 24 autem non est timor domini et sanctorum ante
 25 oculos eorum; inuenitur iniquitas
 26 eorum sibi adodium. et inuerticem
 27 ipsorum descendit.
 28 **E**³⁷ a nichillominus tempestate

{142va}

1 miles quidam francus eiusdem
 2 fundi possessor super riuum fon=
 3 tis molendinum dimeciens.
 4 aquam stagnare cepit. Cernens
 5 autem miles aquam ad saxum beuno=
 6 ni erumpere. quod forte suberat.
 7 stagno in medio riuo; precepit
 8 ut in stagno poneretur. Sed qua^{m} ~~n~~^{quam}³⁸
 9 ~~do~~quidem centum iuga boum
 10 admouerentur; a loco sane non
 11 resurgeret~~ur~~. Tam enim immo=
 12 bilis extitit; ac si fixis radici
 13 bus euelli nesciret. Postremo
 14 uero miles operarios suos id ficte

³⁵ **f^emoris** The e appears to have been changed from an o, by partially erasing the right-hand side of the o, and adding an upward sloping line across the middle of the letter.

³⁶ **nescit.** (margin) {Par[...] quod p[...] [...]}.
 37 **E** is a large red initial covering the equivalent of two lines. It extends below the final line of the column.

³⁸ **qua**^{m} ~~n~~^{quam} The scribe originally wrote quan. This was changed to *quamquam*, through the addition of a nasal bar, and changing the final n into a form of the *quam* abbreviation with a superscript a, and a crossed bar.

15 agere opinans eos iterum atque
 16 iterum *compellit*; ac putans se so=
 17 lummodo pede posse lapidem
 18 euoll^uere.³⁹ *preira* animi *permotus*.
 19 saxum pede impexit. *Sed statim*
 20 reflexis neruis *inpoplite et*
 21 obduratis; dum uixit claudus
 22 effectus est. Eodem *quin ni* temporis
 23 decursu. uxor eiusdem militis ausu
 24 temerario ipsam fontis crepidi
 25 nem in gressa. quod *proprie infirmorum est*
 26 ibi illicite se balneauit. Astid⁴⁰
 27 impune sibi non fuit. Sterilis
 28 enim usque ad finem uite perman

{142vb}

1 sit; unde *preomnibus* doluit. Equum
 2 quippe fuit. ut qui inheredita=
 3 tem martiris uenientes. eius
 4 sanctuarium illicite polluerunt;
 5 omnibus postmodum in eorum circui=
 6 tu forent *illusio et derisium*. sub=
 7 sanatio et obprobrium. Talibus et
 8 his mirabilioribus infinitis mira=
 9 culis contra *prauos uirgo domini claru*=
 10 it. *Que* omnia si *literali memoria*^e
 11 *traderentur*; *tempus deficeret* ci=
 12 *ciusquam* copia *frandi*. Nunc uero
 13 ad castigationem *scelestorum* ne
 14 *aliquod*⁴¹ nefas iniure uirginis *facere*
 15 oblectent ista sufficiant; quia
 16 alias ad *sulcandum*. aratrum

³⁹ euoll^uere The scribe originally produced a double ll, but removed the top of the ascender of the second l to form the first minim of the u.

⁴⁰ Astid Lines added between Ast and id to indicate word division.

⁴¹ aliquod There is some possible erasure above the loop of the d.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

17 *nostrum est prouehendum. scilicet ad=*
 18 *uirginis beneficia erga egros*
 19 *reuelanda.*
 20 **T**⁴² *empore quoque franco=*
 21 *rum ineadem re=*
 22 *gione. quidam diues*
 23 *eger multam pecuniam ha*
 24 *bens. sed non semetipsum Audiens*
 25 *famam uirginis. deuectus uehi*
 26 *culo illuc quantocius tetendit.*
 27 **Q**⁴³ *ui admemoriā beate*
 28 *uirginis perueniens. facultate sua*

{143ra}

1 *tota ecclesie et egenis erogata se=*
 2 *ipsum pauperem reddit; nichil*
 3 *amplius inmundi deleⁱciis⁴⁴ ob=*
 4 *lectans. sed in domino confidens. De=*
 5 *inde se tercio infontis unda loto.*
 6 *et tercie noctis uigilia in ecclesia cum*
 7 *orationibus finita; mirum in=*
 8 *modum audires ibi tunc in*
 9 *pedibus et in cruribus et in bra=*
 10 *chiis ingens baratrum. que an=*
 11 *te a natiuitate turpiter curua*
 12 *et adnates contracta. iam ossa*
 13 *sua in rectam compagum loca=*
 14 *tionem distendebant Putasne*
 15 *uideres illic tunc letam astan=*
 16 *tium cohortem et gratulantem*
 17 *deo et uirgini; Uideres utique.*
 18 *O quam iusta recompensatio. Qui*

⁴² **T** is a large green initial, covering three lines.

⁴³ Hole in vellum two letters wide, present when manuscript originally copied.

⁴⁴ **deleⁱciis** The scribe appears to have deleted the first c, and written an i in its place, possibly incorporating the base of the c.

19 se peculiari sustantia destituerat;
 20 corporis *proprii* sustanciam. sensibus
 21 integram. uiribusque idem recepit
 22 Quod dilexerat distribuit. quod
 23 semper affectarat *inuenit*. Et sic
 24 qui usu pedum carens. uehicu=
 25 lo uenerat; pedibus utens plene
 26 *et perfecte*. incolumis recessit.
 27 U⁴⁵ ir quidam *prodelictis* pe
 28 nitencia ductus. fer⁴⁶

{143rb}

1 reis ligaminibus *permultos* annos
 2 circumcintus. brachiis ferri rubi=
 3 gine miserabiliter *corrosis*; ad=
 4 idem *sanctuarium* deuenit. Per=
 5 actaque ibidem nocte cum uigi=
 6 liis *et orationibus*; diluculo ad=
 7 fontem *perrexit*. Eo porro ma=
 8 nus lauante atque brachia *proten*=
 9 sius *infra* fontem extendente;
 10 uise sunt sibi due manus delica=
 11 te *alacertis* suis uincula dissoluere.
 12 Quis *fratres* tum ibi *uirginem presentem*
 13 dubitat; Uir *profecto* ab *ecclesia* ad=
 14 fontem *exiens* ligatus. a fonte *uero*
 15 ad *ecclesiam* rediens *dissolutus*; *gratu*=
 16 lando deo *et martyri* sue. *prosigno*
 17 eadem uincula ibidem suspendit.
 18 Que multis *annorum* lustris illic
 19 pendere uisa sunt. Perpendite
 20 uiri *perpendite* mulieres. *quam*
 21 *uenerabiliter et quam* reuerende
 22 *hec uirgo domini et martyr* ab omnibus

⁴⁵ U is a large green initial covering two lines.

⁴⁶ fer (bottom of page, between columns) {II}

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

23 est excolendaꝫ que tam paten=
 24 ter ad se clamantibus subuenit.
 25 Nec est omittendum quid circa
 26 limphaticum ad se uenien=
 27 tem. ad manus uix tractum ege=
 28 rit. *Quoniamquidem transactis uigi*⁴⁷

{143va}

1 liis et ablutionibus infontis fluc=
 2 tibus ita illum abhumore su=
 3 perfluo alleuauitꝫ quod nichil
 4 nisi adhumane nature compe=
 5 tit temperamentum remansit.
 6 Epilencius equidem nichilo=
 7 minus manum martyris sensit.
 8 Ductus namque exmore ad basi=
 9 licam. ibi noctem uigilando et
 10 orando peregit. Mirabiliter ei con
 11 tigit passio namque bis eum in
 12 uasitꝫ sed inutraque uice nil pre
 13 ualuit. Increpusculo etenim
 14 sibi epilentiam ad esse sensit atque
 15 intemplum festinanter cucur=
 16 rit. Inuocato uero nomine domini et.
 17 martyris apresbiteris super eumꝫ
 18 confestim malum quod incoaue=
 19 rat. eum dereliquit. *Alio*^{A die}⁴⁸
 20 diluculo^{.} morbo in eum gras=
 21 sante. infontem proiectus estꝫ
 22 et dereliquo numquam eum
 23 agressus est Similiter duo pue
 24 ri fratres eadem infirmitate eos
 25 inuadente. infonte proiecti ~~omi~~

⁴⁷ *uigi* (base of column) {S} or perhaps {II}.

⁴⁸ *Alio*^{A die} Another hand changed the final o into a majuscule a by adding a looping line on its right-hand side, and added die after this on the same line.

26 omnino sanati sunt. Sed *et*
 27 alii huiusmodi multi *et* in
 28 numerabiles, asserant *namque*⁴⁹
 {143vb}
 1 uirginem hanc egritudinem uir=
 2 tute meritorum suorum maxime de
 3 lere quamuis *et* alias abstergat Ca
 4 lamitosior enim nulla *est* quam
 5 hec; *que* sensum perdit. cor corrodit.
 6 animam pene euomit. cerebrum
 7 discutit. liguam comedit. spu
 8 mat. stridet. membra aduncat.
 9 se totam discerpit. *et* quia sic
 10 est; maxime ad hanc curandum
 11 intendit
 12 **M**⁵⁰ ulier etiam quidam⁵¹
 13 puerum *quendam* filium
 14 suum mutum anatiuitate.
 15 admemoriam beate martiris
 16 secum attulit. Que celebratis
 17 rite solemnibus uigiliarum. *ubi*
 18 eum fonte perfudit. *et* aquam
 19 inos misit; filium suum uerba
 20 recta *promentem et* uestes rogan=
 21 tem audiuit. Quo uiso astan=
 22 tes *deum et* martirem glorifican=
 23 tes mirantur; *et* matri *congra*=
 24 tulantur. Alia *quoque* uice uenien=
 25 tes *quidam* consotiati iuuenes
 26 contracti. una in fontem descen=
 27 derunt; sed uni tantum *quia*
 28 firmiter confisus *est*. salus a tribu

⁴⁹ *namque* (base of column) {cvm [.]p[.]}.

⁵⁰ **M** is a large red initial, covering two lines.

⁵¹ **quidam** A top hook was added to the i, changing it to an e.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

{144ra}

1 ta *est*. hoc quidem descenso mem
 2 bris suis se disten^(den)tibus strepitus
 3 tam horribilis ab eo editus *est*; ut
 4 iuxta uel *procul* positorum hunc au
 5 dientium aures tinnirent. Uir
 6 tus enim *domini* cum ase *precibus*
 7 *sanctorum* exiit *nequaquam* latere nouit.
 8 Quidam *preterea* puer membra
 9 sua sibi deputans inania quia
 10 erant obmorta. uirginis
 11 largitatem inolitam statim
 12 adeptus *est*. Ipsa namque *precibus*.
 13 naturalem ei membrorum omnium
 14 redintegrauit statum. Quidam
 15 insuper cecus natus intaberna
 16 culo martyris ritu celebrato
 17 adfontem abiit; *et* lauit. *et* ui=
 18 dit. *et* gracias egit. Pueri nec
 19 non duo. calculo laborantes.
 20 uirginem petentes. digesti
 21 onem naturalem consecuti sunt.
 22 Quorum alter *priuatus* ibidem egri
 23 tudinem; continuo *debriatus est*
 24 muse *prophecie* carismate. Ad
 25 modum horum plerique *uer*
 26 mibus usque inmed^xillas cor
 27 rosi. opem uirginis cognouere
 28 enimuero extintis uermiculis

{144rb}

1 sani repatriauere. Non nulli *men*=
 2 tis inopes inmundis *spiritibus*
 3 uexati. dentibus dissecantes.
 4 queque uana *profantes*. inuinculis
 5 uix adducti; domum inde re=

6 meauere; plenaria seipsos re=
 7 gentes ratione. Frequenter
 8 quoque febricitantes ad eius gra=
 9 tuitatem pietatem excuban=
 10 tes; sacri fontis fomento afebri=
 11 bus cuiuscumque generis eruit.
 12 Multociensque hec uirgo benigni=
 13 nissima ydropicos contempe=
 14 rat. paraliticos reformat.
 15 podagricos reparat; melan=
 16 colicos curat. Nec minus scia=
 17 sim remouet. cancrum era=
 18 dicat. disnoim eneruat; e
 19 emorroim extirpat. Quin=
 20 etiam tussim obstinatam
 21 excludit. uentris tortiones
 22 et fluxiones repellit. menstrua
 23 obstrusa sterilitatis dissoluit.
 24 sanguinem superfluum et immo=
 25 deratum obstruit. Quid enu=
 26 merando pauca cuncta ex=
 27 plicare tempto; Tot et tanta
 28 sunt uirginis beneficia; quod⁵²

{144va}

1 eorum infinitas numero explica
 2 re repudiat Sed ut breuiter
 3 cuncta perstringam; omnibus
 4 languidis. morbidis. egris. qua=
 5 licumque infirmitate detentis
 6 martyris huius suffragium er=
 7 ga deum pura fide poscentibus.
 8 pie et benignissime atque omni
 9 dilatione procul remota extimplo
 10 subuenit; atque eos sensibus ac

⁵² quod (base of column) Possible illegible marginalia.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

11 uiribus *utriusque* hominis ad ple=
 12 num inuestit.
 13 **N**⁵³ EC lethee obliuionis silen=
 14 tio recondendum; quod
 15 post expulsionem francorum
 16 atota uenedocia. defonte *eiusdem*
 17 uirginis constat factum. *Fons*
 18 siquidem martyris *trium* di=
 19 erum spacio. lacteo liquore
 20 emanare uisus *est*. Uerum *pri*=
 21 mo illorum dierum dilucu=
 22 lo. colorem lactis uerum *et*
 23 sapor~~erem~~ seruat. Sacerdos
 24 namque amatutinis in*ecclesia*
 25 martyris *eiusdem* ipsi fontis
 26 *pre*minenti cominus. rite ce=
 27 lebratis. summo mane egredi
 28 ens. *et* tale quid comperiens;

{144vb}

1 portando secum lagenam a
 2 currit uelociter. *et impletam*
 3 accurrate custodiuit ac di=
 4 ligenter; Denuo accelerans
 5 cum spongia ut hanc etiam
 6 impleret; liquor iam nitorem
 7 aliquantulum diminuerat.
 8 Sic *per*tres dies paulatim lac=
 9 tei coloris cum sapore *detrimen*=
 10 tum paciens; habitum *prio*
 11 rem obtinuit. Et nequis exi
 12 stimet. uentorum turbine aut ꝑ
 13 pluuiarum intemperie hoc
 14 accidisse. sciat non breue tem
 15 pus. ante. *et* post. etiam tunc

⁵³ **N** is a large green initial covering two lines.

16 *absque ulla elementorium com*
 17 *motione fuisse. Et nullatenus*
 18 *inde debet orriri hesitatio uel*
 19 *dubium; quia et hoc sepius*
 20 *uenisse ab indigenis est auditum.*
 21 *Liquore quidem apresbitero*
 22 *recepto infirmis ubique transmis=*
 23 *so et potato; opem quam uirgo*
 24 *agere consuevit. etiam hos*
 25 *sanando illis prestitit. Et be*
 26 *ne fons illius lacteus atque*
 27 *dulcis saporis apparuit;*
 28 *que candida Wenefrida*

{145ra}

1 *prenominata. se blandam.*
 2 *lenem manusetam. mel=*
 3 *litam. piam. benignam.*
 4 *propiciam. dulcem misericordem.*
 5 *interpellantibus se ostendit.*
 6 **U**⁵⁴ *ilipendendum nul=*
 7 *lomodo est; quod ad*
 8 *huc perhanc uirginem circa pu=*
 9 *ellulam actum est. Uesperacen=*
 10 *cente quadam die. homo ca=*
 11 *dauer puelle exanime secum*
 12 *admartyris umbraculum*
 13 *baiulauit; ut sepeliretur.*
 14 *Uidens autem sacerdos noc=*
 15 *tem superuenire humatio=*
 16 *nem illius usque inmane di=*
 17 *stulit; corpus frigore letali=*
 18 *rigidum sudario obuolu=*
 19 *tum. institis obsitum relinquens.*
 20 *infra ecclesiam ualuasque fir=*

⁵⁴ **U** is a rubricated initial covering two lines.

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21 miter obserans. Intrans ue=
 22 ro *presbiter* ecclesiam summo di
 23 luculo adcelebrandas uigili=
 24 as exmore; puellam iam ui=
 25 uentem. abinstitis *et* sudario
 26 penitus dissolutam. clunibus
 27 *et* palmis *predebilitate* ad huc
 28 *super* aream *repentem* omni mor

{145rb}

1 tis signo carentem *et* se hospi=
 2 cium *et* cibum rogantem in
 3 uenit; *et* gratanter deo *et* mar
 4 tyri *gracias* reddidit. Quid
 5 mirum si exanimes ad uitam
 6 prece sua reuocat; qui^{e}⁵⁵ defunc
 7 ta. denuo reuixerat; Memorie
 8 est reuocandum; ~~d~~^{uo}⁵⁶ ad sce=
 9 leratorum correptionem supra
 10 omisimus.
 11 D⁵⁷ uo profecto clerici indi=
 12 uersis temporibus *infra*
 13 uirginis mapalia *sacrilegium*
 14 *perpetrauerunt*. Quorum alter ma=
 15 nualem librum auferens.
 16 statim cum furto *deprehensus*
 17 est; *et* quia dignus *est operarius*
 18 mercede sua. uerberibus mul=
 19 tatus *est* Reliquus uero missalem
 20 codicem furans; *omnibusque*
 21 *ubique pro precio offerens*; *neminem*
 22 reperit qui secum mutuaret.
 23 Denique quidem nutu dei retro

⁵⁵ qui^{e} A hook has been added to the top of the i, to change it into an e.

⁵⁶ ~~d~~^{uo} The scribe added a tail to the erroneous d to form a q.

⁵⁷ D is a large green initial covering two lines.

24 ueniensꝫ *et sacrilegium ulterius*
 25 abscondere non præualensꝫ quia
 26 promeruit suspensus fuit. Qui
 27 facit mirabilia solus hec mi=
 28 racula propter uirginem *et martyrem*

{145va}

1 suam Wenefredam uel adre=
 2 medium ind~~u~~gentium⁵⁸ uel ad
 3 castigationem impiorum non ces=
 4 sat operari deusꝫ qui intrinitate per
 5 fecta uiuit *et* regnat unus per
 6 omnia *secula seculorum*. AMEN.⁵⁹
 7 **Explicit passio sancte We=**
 8 **nefrede uirginis *et* martiris.**⁶⁰

⁵⁸ **indulgentium** l and the second minim of u are deleted, bringing the text into line with the Bollandists' emendation. It is unclear whether the deletion is by the main scribe, although method of deletion is similar to that at 141vb4 where deletion is almost certainly by the main scribe. This word is followed by what may be an erased punctus.

⁵⁹ AMEN Final N is lengthened to fill the line.

⁶⁰ **martiris** (below end of text, same hand as in n. 1) {VIII kalendas Iulii}.

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