

Vita Sancte Wenefrede

(Robert of Shrewsbury, Trinity O.4.42 version)

edited by David Callander

Edited Text

Translation

Manuscript

References

Introduction

Cambridge, Trinity College O.4.42 contains a shortened version of Robert of Shrewsbury's Life of Winefride (for a broader introduction to this, see VS Wenefrede (Laud): Introduction). While the Bollandist edition (ActaS Nov I: 708–31) printed only variants from Trinity, here we present an edition of the whole text, so that it can be studied as an artistic product in itself. Cambridge, Trinity College O.4.42 is an early thirteenth-century Latin manuscript containing a mixture of religious texts, including saints' Lives. It was most probably produced at the Cistercian abbey of Dore in Herefordshire (Ker 1964: 58).

While remaining a substantial Life, it is clear that the text here has undergone major redaction in comparison with Laud. The Prologue and the story of the Translation of Winefride's relics are wholly omitted. Yet the key events of Winefride's martyrdom and the emergence of her well are cut much less severely than the later stages of her Life and posthumous miracles (chapters 17 and 19–28 are left out entirely). In this version of the Life, the focus is thus more on Winefride as a virgin martyr, rather than her later role as leader of a convent of nuns and the events following her death. This is curious, as the manuscript also contains the Life and Passion of St Julian and his wife Basilissa (55v–65r). Basilissa was a virgin (she and Julian maintained chastity in marriage), but significantly was also leader of a group of virgins, and the descriptions of her as such are retained in Trinity. Thus the changes in the Life of Winefride do not appear to be part of a general lack of interest in abbesses in the codex, and may reflect the interests of an earlier redactor

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rather than those responsible for producing the extant manuscript. In addition to re-emphasizing the Life's content, there are also many stylistic changes, with Robert's frequent doubling repetition often being removed; *meis laboribus et exercitiis* 'to my labours and my exertions' for example becomes just *laboribus meis* 'to my labours' (§6). Sometimes the reduction of Robert's Life leads to a loss of grammaticality. In particular, there are a number of sentences without main verbs (§§1, 2).

The exemplar appears to have been very similar to Laud, but not identical. Although the readings in Laud are generally superior, Trinity contains a number of better or legitimate variant readings. While some of these could easily be corrections by the Trinity scribe, certain readings in Trinity appear more likely to be original than Laud. The description of Beuno discovering the chasuble sent by Winefride (§10) in Trinity avoids the awkward repetition of Laud, which was probably a result of dittography: *a beata uirgine illud sibi transmissum, angelorumque ministerio per equoreos sinus illese sibi delatum* 'that it had been sent by the holy virgin, and by the support of angels conveyed to him unharmed through the watery folds' (cf. Laud *a beata uirgine illud transmissum, a beata uirgine per equoreas sinus illese sibi delatum* 'that it had been sent by the holy virgin, conveyed to him from the holy virgin unharmed through the watery folds.') The compound Life in Lansdowne 436 drew on a manuscript closer to Laud than Trinity (Gregory personal communication). It is unknown at exactly what stage the redaction was made. Trinity is certainly a clean and luxurious copy, and it appears unlikely that the scribe was redacting a far longer text as he went along. The recension thus likely predates this early thirteenth century manuscript, meaning that it was probably produced at some point between *c.* 1140 and the start of the thirteenth century. Given the Herefordshire location of the manuscript and the Life's composition at Shrewsbury (addressed to a prior of Worcester), it is likely that the recension itself was also made somewhere in the Welsh marches. Yet exactly where and when the recension which survives in Trinity was produced remains a matter of uncertainty.

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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 text edited below is a redacted version of that written between 1138 and 1142 by Prior Robert of Shrewsbury. The text consists of the Life of Winefride (§§1–16, 18). The text is edited from Trinity) O.4.42 (Trin), with select variant readings from Laud Misc. 114 (Laud) and Lansdowne 436 (Lans), both of which are edited separately. For ease of comparison, the chapter divisions below follow those of the Laud manuscript, which agree to a very significant extent with those of the Trinity manuscript. This differs from the system of chapters used in the Bollandist edition, although they do note the Laud chapter division as well.

Text

Incipit vita sancte Wenefrede uirginis et martyris, decimo kalendas Iulii.

§1

In occidua Maioris Britannie regione est quedam prouincia Wallia uocitata, ex una parte finibus regni Anglie, ex altera oceano mari collimitata. Hec olim a sanctis multorum et diuersorum meritorum est inhabitata, et usque ad hunc diem innumeris eorum prerogatiuis multipliciter

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decorata, ex quorum numero quidam sanctus Beunous nomine, uir summus et in omni illa sanctorum multitudine precipuus. Is itaque, cum paternum prius contempsisset solum, et, mundi gloriam calcans, pauper effugiens, monachus effectus est, in breui perfectum in Christo agens uirum. Denique cum in diuersis locis ecclesias fabricasset, fratresque in illis Deo seruituros constituisset, ipse diuino admonitus oraculo alias discessit, prouisam a Deo sibi quesiturus mansionem. Ducente uero illum spiritu sancto, gressumque eius ad multorum utilitatem dirigente, peruenit ad predium cuiusdam magni et potentissimi uiri nomine Teuith, qui filius unius summi et excellentissimi senatoris fuit. Nichil sue progeniei incongruum admittere dignabatur, sed nobilitatem generis honestis moribus exequens, in omni elegantia conspicuus apparebat.

Ad hunc ergo cum uir uenerabilis Beunous uenisset, honorifice ab eo susceptus est. Qui diu non differens que animo uoluebat eoluere, et aduentus sui causam manifestare, uiro secretius aduocato, 'Domine', inquit, 'ad te sum celesti subnixus instinctu destinatus. Cum enim diuersis in locis hactenus habitauerim, et mansiones proposito meo conuenientes et uoluntati mee concordēs sufficienter inuenerim, nusquam tamen requiescere potuit spiritus meus, admonente me latenter spiritu Dei alium inuisere locum. Proinde, relictis illis que michi plurimum complacebant habitaculis, ad te nunc ueni, ignorans ad quid presaga futurorum diuina disposito huc me direxerit. Non enim fortuitu aut sine certi causa misterii estimauerim accidisse, cum sine hesitatione crediderim cuncta solius Dei nutu agi, et hominis propositum Dei semper dispositione actitari. Quero itaque quatinus de possessione a progenitoribus tuis iure hereditario tibi deriuata partem Deo et michi concedas, ut ibi ecclesiam fabricem, in illa Deo seruiturus, et pro tua salute deinceps omni tempore Deum postulaturus.

Ille autem qui iam toto conceperat animo illius obtemperare uoluntati, quoniam eum uirum laude dignum et reuerencia habendum iudicabat, huiusmodi illi uerbis respondit. 'Iustum quidem est de hiis que a Deo collata sunt nobis illi partem tribuere, et pro suis beneficiis gratias ei pro modulo nostro rependere. Unde graciosum te michi efficis, qui hoc a me petis. Quod ego habeo ut darem plurimum gaudeo, et quod michi in bonum cedere non ignoro. Accedens igitur, quod postulas suscipito, hanc scilicet uillam liberam et quietam atque de omnibus que ad me siue ad successores meos pertinent solutam, ex hac deinceps die solius Dei seruicio mancipatam. Et quoniam unica est michi filia, in qua pene tocus gaudii mei summa atque spes posteritatis consistit, illam etiam tibi committens, deprecor quatinus pro ea rogans dominum interpelles, ut ad suam ipsius uoluntatem et meum honorem disponat illius conuersionem, atque prouehat de

illa gaudium meum.' Hec dicens, predium illud tradidit beato uiro, in quo ecclesiam fabricaret et habitacula seruis Dei inibi mansuris construeret. Ipse uero omnia sua ad alium transponens locum, ex aduerso suum fixit tabernaculum, unde sancti uiri habitaculum omni hora posset intueri.

§2

Cum uero construende basilice sanctus intenderet, ipse nonnumquam manus apponebat, semper quidem sufficienter sumptus administrans, et tam labore suo quam industria opus accelerans. Interdum etiam cum uir beatus diuina celebraret misteria, ipse presens aderat cum uxore sua et filia nomine Wenefreda. Quando autem uir sanctus populo mandata domini reuelabat, prefatam uirginem ad pedes uiri Dei ponebat, admonens omnia sollerter aduertere et patulo corde suscipere, que ab illo dicebantur. Quod futurorum prescius Deus incassum fieri non permittebat. Nam uirgo, futura Dei templum, ardenti desiderio percipiebat, que auribus hauriebat, et tenaci memoria recondebat, in proximo operibus exhibitura, quod tunc animo congerebat. Multociens quoque, petita a parentibus licencia, ad uirum Dei ueniebat, sitibundo ebibens pectore, que ab ipsius mellifluo proferebantur ore. Illa interius inspirante Dei gracia, cotidie crescebat in melius et proficiebat in sapientia, mente sua spiritu sancto ardentem debriata. A magistro suo fuerat edocta uerbis, domini fidem adhibere preceptis, patri et matri renunciare Christumque sequi, sed etas inbecillis et inmatura impedimento erat. Statuit firmiter in animo id quod docuerat faciendum. Ueniens igitur ad uirum Dei, rogans ut patrem et matrem conueniret ut dominum sequeretur, et audacter secreti sui eum conscium fecit. 'Semina', inquit, 'uerbi diuini a tuo michi profusa ore manifesta tibi fiere uolo. Omnem seculi luxum amodo abdicare delegi, et uirginitatem meam ad honorem sponsi celestis integram et incontaminatam conseruare disposui. Et hoc, pater sanctissime, tuo obtentu ab utroque parente impetrare michi depostulo.'¹

Hec audiens sanctus, pietate motus, gaudensque quod semen diuinum iam in illa pullularet, dixit se parentes eius sollicite conuenturum, et hoc pro posse suo quod petebat acturum. Quod facillimum factum et leue ad impetrandum erat, tum quia parentes eius patrocinio se funditus subdiderant, qui ad intercedendum introducebatur, tum quia diuini nectaris plenitudo illorum etiam animos imbuerat. Proinde, cum a uiro Dei parentes filie sue desiderium cognouissent, suffusis lacrimis Deum benedixerunt, et benigne concesserunt. Deposito igitur onere, quo non mediocriter grauabantur, rerum suarum opulenciam multifarie diuiserunt, pauperibus, uiduis, et orphanis subsidia administrantes, atque Dei seruo operosius intendentes. Et quoniam uidebant

¹ **depostulo** de added by corrector Trin; depostulo Laud.

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filiam suam non nisi filio Dei nuptui dari uolentem, omnia que congregantes custodiebant illi tribuenda si homini terreno nuberet, in diuinis officiis expendebant.

Puella uero adepta obtabile desiderium suum, nimio afficiebatur gaudio, gestiensque in spiritu sancto, sitibundo hauriens pectore que de gloria sponsi sui ab ipsius defluebant ore. Uirgo itaque pro ipsius amore, cui se deuouerat, nichil in se terrenum admittebat, uni soli inherere, uni soli inhabitare, uidelicet in domo domini omnibus diebus uite sue. Sepe ad ecclesiam pergebat; frequenter in ea pernoctabat. Interdum se sancto ingerens, sollicitabat eum sermonem facere de sponsi sui moribus, tota quippe illius desiderio inardescens. Tunc aliquantulum gaudii herebat, cum de amici sui moribus et uita tractare, cum de eius excellencia, decore, et potencia loqui audiebat. Atque huiusmodi eius refectio omnem terrenarum rerum iocunditatem excellebat, et in illius corde spiritualis iocunditatis indeficiens delectamentum retinebat. Et licet etate tenera esset, perfecta tamen moribus et corde cana erat, animum tocus cupiditatis contemptorem habens. In exterioribus quoque non modicam diuinitus acceperat graciam. Erat autem uultu pulcherima et uerbo affabilis, atque toto corpore decenter composita. Unde callidi insidiatoris astucias non usquequaque effugere preualuit. Ex hoc enim materiam assumpsit.

§3

Postquam beatus Beunous ecclesie sue fabricam cooperante Deo consummasset et eam Deo consecrasset, finitimi ad eam ueniebant, sed et omni fere die uirginis parentes ad audienda que Dei erant ibi conueniebant. Contigit autem quadam dominica die pergentibus omnibus ad ecclesiam, et uirginis parentes, uirgo illorum filia aliquod forte incommodum perpessa, domi sola remanere choacta est. Et ecce quidam iuuenis Chradocus nomine filius Alani regis domum intrauit. Uirginem solam iuxta focum sedentem inuenit. Que cognito regis filio confestim surrexit. Quid sibi placuerit humiliter requisiiuit. Illo uero interrogante quo pater illius discessisset et dicente se plurimum illius colloquio indigere, puella respondit. 'Pater', inquit, 'meus ad ecclesiam iuit diuinis misteriis interesse. Si tibi neccesarius est, paululum te illum operiri oportet,' uolensque ab illo alicubi diuertere, hec dicens simplici animo, nichil quidem doli uel astucie suspicabatur. Re autem uera incentiua libidinis illum adduxerant. Ad quam explendam totus effrenis et preceps uoluitabat. Cum enim dixisset puella oportere illum patrem suum expectare, respondit iuuenis, 'Patienter', inquit, 'aduentum eius expectabo, si tu, interim in amiciciam meam ueniens, uoluntati mee assensum prebueris. Regis me filium esse non ignoras, diuitiis et honoribus multis refertum, te etiam affluenter locupletaturam, si mee petitioni assentire uolueris.'

Uirgo uero sentiens eum de concubitu sermonem inseruisse, paululum demissa uultu, ruboreque² suffusa, simulauit quidem primo grauitate se ferre, quod eam incomptam et inornatam inuenisset. Deinde dixit ei, 'Cum tu, regio ortus genere, post modicum Deo annuante rex sis futurus, felicitate seculari me opulenter replendam esse non dubito, tuo matrimonio copulatam. Uerumptamen paulisper patere, donec pater meus adueniat, et ego interim thalamum meum intrabo, cito ad te reditura.' Profecto hec dicens, solummodo ad horam auelli ab eo querebat. Uidebat miserimum hominem infelici libidine accensum illius amore letaliter torqueri, et uelut amentem fieri. Sciebat uero quod parentum absentia infestus hostis insanior redderetur, ideoque ab ipsius manibus abstrahi adpresens qualibet occasione cogitabat. Concessit tandem ut cameram suam ingrederetur, sperans illam cum decentiore ornatu ad se redituram. Tunc illa surgens thalamum est ingressa. Nichil differens ex altera parte per ostium camere egreditur, et uersus ecclesiam prepeti cursu iter arripuit. Ibi enim et si non timore Dei, multitudine tamen hominum protegi et defendi putabat.

Que fuga mox iuueni infausto innotuit. Qui statim furibundus effectus uehementique iracundia repletus, arepto gladio uelociter eam insequi cepit. Et quoniam aliquantulum spacii domum paternam ab ecclesia dirimebat, facili conamine assecutus est illam. Quam prius toruo uultu intuens, hiis uerbis eam affatus est. 'Olim te amaui, et meis amplexibus coniungere desiderauit. Nunc ad te uenientem refugis, et te petentem contempnis? Iam pro certo scias, quod aut michi in presentiarum ultronea commisseberis, aut, sine mora gladio isto capite absciso, uitam finies.' Uirgine itaque ad ecclesie limina se³ uertente, et sollicite inspiciente si aliquis inde exiret qui sibi adiutorium ferret, nemo prorsus egressus est. Tunc ad iuuenem uirgo conuersa, ait, 'Regis eterni,' inquit, 'sum filia, et omnium hominum iudicis filio in matrimonio copulata, nullum alium recipere possum, et ne te diutius protraham, nullum preter illum dum uixero admissura sum. Ideoque exime gladium, exere uires. Certusque esto quia nec terrores tui neque blandicie ab illius dilectionis dulcedine me poterunt diuellere.' Ille uero audiens se contempni, simulque credens illam muniri non posse, euaginato gladio caput Wenefrede uirginis amputauit. Statim uero ut caput uirginis ad terram corruit, in eodem loco fons lucidissimus vbertim⁴ erumpens emanauit, qui usque hodie fluere non desistit, multis infirmantibus beate uirginis meritis sanitatem prestans. Et quoniam iuxta ostium ecclesie uirginem apprehendens ei caput absciderat, statim caput in

² **uultu ruboreque** uultum ~~ruboreque~~ Trin; uultum ruboreque Laud.

³ **se** added by corrector Trin; — Laud.

⁴ **vbertim** added by corrector Trin; ubertim Laud.

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ecclesia corruit, corpore retrorsum extra ecclesiam remanente. Ad pedem enim cliui cuiusdam,⁵ sub quo ecclesia sita erat, atque in dessensu illius montis caput uirginis resectum facile ruendo in ecclesia elapsum est. Truncum uero corpus quo prius extra ceciderat locum optinebat. Inter pedes uero stancium in ecclesia corruens caput, uniuersos admiratione permaxima commouit. Omnibusque nimio terrore percussis, atque dirum nefas grauiterque ulciscendum patratum fuisse dicentibus, auctoremque illius detestantibus, parentes puella tumultu aliorum commoti, accesserunt rem certius cognituri. Filiamque suam exanimem cernentes, hinc caput abscisum, illinc corpus truncum aspicientes, ad terram lacrimosi corruerunt, tristiciaque⁶ et anxietate soluti, flebilem uocem emittentes, clamosis planctibus dolorem suum prodiderunt.

§4

Cum igitur magnus in ecclesia tumultus oriretur, omnibus quidem uirginis interitum lamentantibus, multis tamen nimium miserantibus acerbitatem doloris que parentes illius inuaserat, uir igitur sanctus strepitum audiens, et seditionem suspicatus, ad cetum peruenit astancium. Cernensque uirginem, quam Deo consecraturus erat, tam crudeliter preemptam, miserabiliter condoluit. Peremptor uero uirginis adhuc iuxta corpus tumidus foris assistens, gladium suum cruore uirginis madidum cunctis aspicientibus per herbam detergebat. Nam quia filius regis erat, inpune tantum se perpetrasse flagitium putabat. Sed et in tanti admissione facinoris nichil se Deum uereri testatus est. Sanctus uero, grauiter ferens superbiam et obstinationem, accessit ad eum in manibus suis capud uirginis tenens. Et respiciens in faciem iuuenis, his uerbis illum affari cepit. ‘O sceleste’, inquit, ‘qui iuuenilis decoris indolem et regie dignitatis progeniem homicidali maculasti crimine, cur te tantum admisisse scelus non penitet? Pacem conturbasti, et ecclesiam tuo sacrilegio fedasti, Deumque nefarius irritasti. Nec doles? Nunc autem quia ecclesie non pepercisti, nec dominice diei reuerentiam exhibuisti, Deum meum deprecor, quatinus que tu indigne commisisti, in presenti digna recompensatione recipias.’ His dictis, iuuenis illico ad terram corruens expirauit. Mirumque dictu, in conspectu omnium astancium corpus defuncti liquefactum disparuit, multis aseuerantibus tellure dehiscente absorbtum fuisse, et cum spiritu suo in baratro demersum. Uniuersi uero hoc uidentes pro insueti nouitate prodigii ineffabili pauore percelluntur.

⁵ **cuiusdam** added by corrector Trin; cuiusdam Laud.

⁶ **tristiciaque** que added by corrector Trin; tristiciaque Laud.

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

§5

Postquam igitur diu oratum est, uir sanctus a terra surgens, et manus ad celum tendens, ‘Domine’, inquit, ‘Iesu Christe, pro cuius amore hec uirgo terrena respuit et celestia concupiuit, nos te deuotis inuocantes animis misericors exaudi, et uiscera pietatis tue super nos effunde, uotorum nostrorum effectorem in presenti te esse concedens. Et quamquam uirginem hanc pro tuo amore passam non ignoremus in celestis gaudii sinibus repositam, nostro ulterius non indigere contubernio, tu tamen, clementissime pater, filiis tuis te humilem deprecantibus benignum te et exaudibilem prestans, precipe itaque⁷ ut, puelle huius anima corpori suo inducta, regimen te et dominationem tam animarum quam corporum habere demonstret, quatinus tue gracia misericordie rediuiua nomen tuum magnificet, et post longa uite spacia multiplicato bone conuersationis fenore, ad te redeat, sponsum suum unicum, uidelicet Dei patris filium, cum quo et spiritu sancto uiuis et regnas, Deus per infinita secula seculorum.’

Cumque omnes respondissent ‘Amen’, puella quasi a sompno surrexit, tergensque faciem suam atque emundans a puluere et sudore, astantes admiratione et gaudio repleuit. Porro ubi caput ipsius collotenus prius resectum et postea in diuina gracia compactum atque resolidatum fuerat, albedo quedam tenuissima in modum fili collum ambiebat, et locum sectionis obducebat. Quod deinceps ad demonstrandam capitis illius resectionem⁸ atque miraculi ostentionem, quamdiu uirgo in corpore deguit, semper uno modo permansit. Inde ferunt illius prouincie homines eam

⁷ **itaque** added by corrector Trin; itaque Laud.

⁸ **resectionem** re added by corrector Trin; resectionem Laud.

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Wenefredam fuisse uocatam, cum antea, ut ipsi asseuerant, Brewa nominata sit. Quod enim ipsi in sua lingua Wen dicunt, latini candidum uocant. Sicque ex occasione albedinis collum circumdantis, ex re nomen habere dicta est, adiecta particula que est Wen.⁹ Fertur etiam quod, postquam de hoc mundo migravit, nulli penitus manifeste apparuerit, qui illo candido signo collum ipsius circumdatum non uiderit. Hoc quoque argumento titulum sue passionis admodum sibi placuisse designat, quem tociens patenter demonstrat quotiens alicui se uidendam ostendit.

Locus uero ubi sanguis illius effusus est, primitus Cicca¹⁰ Uallis dicebatur. Postquam autem caput eius abcisum terram tetigit, et, ut prefati sumus, fons ibi aque salientis emanauit, qui etiam manet usque in hodiernum diem, sanans omnes languores tam in hominibus quam in pecoribus, locus isdem de nomine puelle uocabulum sortitus est. Nam illorum lingua Fennaon¹¹ Wenefrede, nostra Fons Wenefrede nominatur. Fennaon¹² enim latino sermone fontem sonat. Et quoniam de corpore in descensu deuexi montis iacente uultus fuerat effusus sanguis, lapides aspergine ipsius infecti, tam in fontis scaturigine quam in riuo illius, seu in amborum margine, passim iacebant. Et quod dictu et auditu mirabile est, lapides illi conspersi sanguine adhuc pristinam retinent conspersionem, que patet usque in presentem diem scire uolentibus. Nam sunt quasi congelato cruore perfusi, nec situ temporis, nec assidua preterfluentis aque eluuione deterisi. Mussicula¹³ uero que eisdem lapidibus adheret,¹⁴ quasi thus redolet. Famosum¹⁵ satis atque omnibus patriam illam incolentibus notissimum est fontem illum adhuc pristino more durare, et lapides, ut prediximus, cruentatos in illo inueniri, merita uirginis ostendentes et spem omnibus portendentes, eandem uirginem se inuocantibus opitulari posse. Homines uero illius prouincie qui nondum Deum cognouerant, uidentes uirginis resuscitationem, et de fontis emanatione petrarumque conspersione tam apertum et euidens miraculum factum fuisse, ad pedes sancti Beunoi prouoluti, Dei misteriis se imbui petierunt. Quos ille benigna deuotione suscipiens, sacri baptismatis unda purificauit, et diuinorum preceptorum sermonibus instructos in Dei seruitio

⁹ **Wen** Wei (changed to Wey by much later hand) Trin; Wen Laud.

¹⁰ **cicca** changed to sicca with sicca Vallis added in the margin by a later medieval hand; sicca Laud.

¹¹ **Fennaon** o added by corrector Trin; Fennan Laud.

¹² **Fennaon** o added by corrector Trin; Fennan Laud.

¹³ **Mussicula** Mussicla with abbreviation mark deleted after the l Trin; Mussicula Laud.

¹⁴ **adheret** around two letters deleted before this Trin; adheret Laud.

¹⁵ **Famosum** The suspension mark to indicate the m is erased, perhaps by accident while erasing letters on the line above Trin; Famosum Laud.

confirmauit. Qualiter beata uirgo post resuscitationem suam uixerit, et quem uite modum habuerit, nunc succincte curabimus.

§6

Cum igitur, ut prelocuti sumus, beata uirgo a mortuis resurrexisset, tota die sancti uiri pedibus adherens, illius sermonibus sedula deuotione intendebat, de omnibus que ad Deum pertinent plenius instrui uolens. Quo facto, discipline dogmate sufficienter assecuto, illa magistri sui pedibus aduoluta, uelari se obnixè petiit. ‘Cum enim’, inquit, ‘a parentibus meis hoc michi concessum est, et meum noueris animum, omnem seculi luxum calcantem, solius Dei amori et cognitioni inhiare, nulla debet a modo esse dilatio ad consequenda desiderii mei sacramenta. Noli, ergo, pater sancte, meum diutius differre desiderium.’ Tunc uir beatus, uocatis parentibus eius, uirginis uotum eis manifestauit, et prerogam¹⁶ ei diuinam gratiam datam predixit, atque ipsius uoluntati se satisfacere uelle intimauit. Illis uero benigne consentientibus, filieque sue deuotionem iocundo affectu complectentibus, uir sanctus coram multis illam sacro uelamine indutam consecrauit, atque regularis propositi disciplinam sufficienter in eam confirmauit. Que statim post completum desiderii sui uotum, tocius uirtutis arcem agrediens, et regularis discipline studiis deuotissime inherens, in breui tocius ordinis peritiam, et obseruantie perfectionem adepta est. Dehinc cotidie magis ac magis proficiens, beatum uirum pro nimia sanctitate sua admodum letificabat.

Qui uocatis parentibus ipsius huiusmodi sermone usus est. ‘Uos me’, inquit, ‘prius hic suscepistis, et meis postulationibus uos paratos exhibuistis. Demum quoque locum istum Dei seruiicio instituendum consensistis, et uos illud idem efficaciter complere studuistis. Nunc uero quoniam diuina prouidentia inter¹⁷ nos exuberauerunt beneficia, lumen celeste uobis et filie uestre infusum diligenter attendite, gratiamque, qua respersi estis, sollicitè considerantes,¹⁸ preostensam uobis salutis uiam uigilanter incedere curate. Et quoniam mei presentia ad presens carituri estis, quia alias me uocat Deus, exemplis et admonitionibus¹⁹ filie uestre sollerter intendite, scientes illam non solum uobis, uerum etiam omni populo exemplum salutis futuram.’ Ad uirginem uero conuersus, ‘Te’, inquit, ‘laboribus meis succedere precipit Deus, uiamque uite a me tibi prelibatam incedere, aliisque incedendam ostendere. Te enim singularis meriti palmam coram se ferre delegit,

¹⁶ **prerogam** prerogatamm Trin; prerogam Laud.

¹⁷ **inter** ter added by corrector Trin; inter Laud.

¹⁸ **considerantes** considerates Trin; considerantes Laud, Lans.

¹⁹ **admonitionibus** d added by corrector Trin; admonitionibus Laud.

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tuique martyrii exemplo atque bone uite conuersione, multos in hoc seculo ad suum amorem informandos instituit. Tuum igitur erit exhinc locum istum incolere, atque uirgines in Dei seruitio uicturas et hic tecum mansuras congregare. Unum pro certo scias, te in hoc loco finem uite non habituram. Cum enim in iugi corporis abstinentia et spiritus afflictione Deo seruiens, septem annos hic peregeris, alium te inuisere locum diuinitus admonitam oportebit, Deo te dirigente et per te multorum cordium tenebras illuminante. Hoc etiam retine, quod celebris erit in hoc mundo memoria tua, et quanti apud Deum fueris meriti, multi per te incommodorum suorum remedia adepti contestabuntur.’

§7

Cumque beata uirgo super discessu²⁰ doctoris sui plurimum contristata fleret, beatus Bevnous arrepta manu eius dextera, duxit illam ad fontem, quem de loco, ubi capud eius abscisum ceciderat, emanasse superius designauimus. Statuensque illam super lapidem unum, qui tunc ibi repertus est et usque hodie in riuo fontis manet et lapis sancti Beunoi ab incolis appellatur, hiis illam uerbis denuo allocutus est. ‘Uides’, inquit, ‘adhuc hic uestigia tue passionis? Ecce lapides isti tuo conspersi sanguine te pro Deo martyrium passam fuisse demonstrant, atque ad tui ipsius honorem²¹ perpetuum, aliorumque multorum monumentum, conspersionem, qua de tuo cruore madefacti sunt, quasi recentem seruant. Nunc igitur diligenti et tenaci memoria mea uerba reconde, ad multorum noticiam reuerenti relatione peruentura, atque per futuras temporum successiones nonnullis plurimum profutura.

Tria autem donatiua a Deo tibi erogata esse²² cognosce, que et laudis tue titulum sollempniter celebrabunt, et in posterorum mentibus deuotionis tue amorem digna ueneratione cumulabunt.

Primum Donatum.

Primum quidem est quod lapides isti, cruoris tui aspergine madidi, nulla poterunt per secula ablutione detergi, nec assidue istius aque impetu abluui, sed ad tue passionis ostentionem semper cruentati apparebunt, Deo ad sue gloriam maiestatis atque ad tue triumphum castitatis tale miraculum faciente.

²⁰ **discessu** changed from *dissessu* Trin; *discessu* Laud.

²¹ **honorem** *honoris* Trin; *honorem* Laud.

²² **esse** *cē* Trin; *esse* Laud.

Secundum uero est quod quicumque aliqua infortunia passus te requisierit, et per te a sua inualitudine seu oppressione se liberari petierit, prima siue secunda aut certe tertia uice uoluntatis sue compos effectus, quod postulauerat se impetrasse gaudebit. Si autem contigerit petentem te trine uicis petitione quod rogauerat non secutum fuisse, certissime sciat se presentis uite luce in proximo cariturum, atque ideo occulto iudicio Dei precis sue fructu in presenti frustratum fuisse. Proficere sibi tamen et²³ ad anime sue medelam te inuocasse constanter intelligat, atque per te aliquid sibi diuinitus maius prestari, quam si quod petebat exterius consequeretur.

Tercium donatiuum huiusmodi est. Cum ad presens a te discessero, super litus maris locum ad manendum conuenientem largiri michi dignabitur Deus. Et licet magno a te interuallo discretus fuero, tuis tamen muneribus me omni anno inuisendum precepit altissimus. Cum ergo quod michi dirigere uolueris in manibus paratum habueris, ad presentem fontem cum munere tuo festinabis, et quicquid illud fuerit, Deo prius illud commissum in fonte confidenter depones. Statimque uidebis depositum tuum a fonte per riuum deduci, et impetu decurrentis aque insubtus decurrentem magnum fluuium illesum traici. Moxque magno maris elemento Dei uoluntati obtemperante atque ministerium preparante ac prebente, quod tu in fonte deposueris²⁴ ad mei hospicioli ianuam deferetur, per sinuosa undarum uolumina, per tumescentes et undisonas²⁵ maris procellas, usque ad meum contubernium inuiolate delatum. Hoc quoque, omnibus annis dum michi uita comes fuerit, Deo precipiente contingere oportebit. Eruntque hec tria a Deo tibi concessa dona, prerogatiue diuinitus tibi collate designatiua, et dum mundus iste durauerit, ad tue celebritatem memorie et laudis gloriam, multorum narratione magnificata.' His dictis, ad ecclesiam eam reduxit, iterum huiusmodi uerbis illam alloquens. 'Ecce templum istud', inquit, 'et habitacula circumstantia, partim meo labore, partim²⁶ parentum tuorum sumptibus edificata, tibi relinquo, quatinus me hinc abeunte, tu, congregatis ad seruitium Christi tecum mansuris uirginibus plurimis, hic in tuo proposito Deo seruias. Bonam uite conuersionem et exempla uiuendi a me tibi insinuata nullatenus intermittas. Sciasque quod in loco isto ad multorum utilitatem magna fiet uirtutis diuine ostencio, atque per hic manentium exempla ad Dei cognitionem ascendent plurimi, omnia mundi emolumenta postposituri, ut Christum lucrifaciant. Sanitates quoque multiformes et animarum et corporum diuersa infirmitate

²³ et added by main hand Trin; — Laud.

²⁴ deposueris de added by corrector Trin; deposueris Laud.

²⁵ per tumescentes et undisonas per tumescentis et undis/onas Trin; per tumescentes et undisonas Laud.

²⁶ partim r added by corrector Trin; partim Laud.

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languentibus hic passim distribuentur. Omnis etas uel sexus aliquid remedii se in hoc loco contigisse gaudebit. Tu uero sic te Deo placabilem exhibe, et talem te omnibus effice, quatinus in te nomen sanctum eius gloriosum existat, et te aspicientibus forma salutis efficiaris. Hinc autem nunc abeo, Deo alias famulaturus, tuique deuotionem dum uixero cum dulci memoria habiturus.’

§8

Hec dicens, assumpto solummodo baculo suo abire cepit. Omnem domus sue supellectilem et quicquid ibidem sibi manenti per fidelium manus Deus dederat, totum beate uirgini eiusque consortibus dereliquit. Sicque²⁷ Deo commendatis atque ualedicto uniuersis, discessit, uno solo clerico comite contentus. Illa uero super uerbis illius atque discessione impacienter se agens, miseram lacrimis et tristitia faciem gerebat, se inconsultam dicebat, pastoris presencia et diligencia desolatam.

Elapso autem aliquanto tempore, rediens ad se beata uirgo, et ad memoriam reducens conuersionis sue modum, passionisque titulum, atque beati doctoris sui Beunoi sermones seu uaticinia, uirilem constanciam agrediens, omnem merorem funditus deposuit. Statimque sponsum suum Christum, cui se caste uiuendo deuouerat, toto mentis affectu amplectens, illi inhiare, ipsum sapere, ad eum suspirare ardenti desiderio cepit. Deinde nobilium filias secum congregans, docebat eas castitatem amare atque, spretis omnibus mundi blandientis illecebris, leui iugo Christi colla submittere, et per²⁸ regularis propositi normam se Dei seruicio mancipare. Nonnullae autem uidentes conuersionis illius seueritatem, et modestam uite grauitatem, gracia sunt diuina compuncte, atque arripientes monastici ordinis regulam, sacro indumento se uelari petierunt. Quibus uirgo gloriosa Wenefreda boni pastoris officia exercens, sanctorum patrum sententiis munitas esse docebat. Assiduis autem admonitionibus²⁹ non desistebat illas instruere. Regule institutionibus sollerter intendere, propositique sui meminisse, atque in hiis officiosas existere admonebat. Ipsa uero sine intermissione eadem³⁰ faciebat, que subiectis suis facienda edocebat.³¹

²⁷ **Sicque** que added by corrector Trin; Sicque Laud.

²⁸ **per** – Trin; per Laud.

²⁹ **admonitionibus** d added by corrector Trin; admonitionibus Laud.

³⁰ **eadem** eadam Trin; eadem Laud, Lans.

³¹ **edocebat** e added by corrector Trin; edocebat Laud, Lans.

§9

Cum igitur in omnibus celestis uite studiis sedula insisteret, finitimi regionis illius circa illam deuoti existere admodum iocundabantur, dicentes nimia Dei clemencia perfusos esse quibus ipsa aut conuersione aut familiaritate propius adherebat. Et quoniam multe uirtutum exhibitiones in miraculis per eam fiebant, illud plane et ferocium hominum corda magis illius deuotioni subdebat, et fidelium mentes reuerenciam sibi exhibere compellebat. Beata uero Wenefreda cum huiusmodi bonis operibus perseueranter instaret, et per eam circumquaque celeste lumen radiaret, sepiissime uerborum et preceptorum magistri sui memoriam ad mentem reducens, in proximo instare perpendit diem discessionis illius, in qua scilicet ab ea discesserat, et munus sibi mitti preceperat. Quod illa sollicita sedulitate in memoria retinens, tam sui ipsius quam uirginum suarum labore casulam unam competenti textura composuit, uiro Dei transmittendam.³²

§10

Illucescente³³ itaque die quo exennium³⁴ illud mitti debebat, qui est kalendas Maii, uenit beata uirgo cum pluribus aliis ad fontem, in quo precepto uiri Dei munus suum depositura erat. Acceptamque casulam albo prius mantili inuoluit, sicque in medio fontis eam deposuit, dicens se fontis ministerio hanc beato uiro Beunoo dirigere. Et ecce mirabile dictu et nisi fideli homini minime credibile, panniculus ille, quo casula inuoluebatur, nullam lesionem ab aqua patiebatur, nec uel minimam aque infusionem sentiebat, sed omnino siccus cum casula permanens, impetu decurrentis aque per riuum est deductus, atque in magno flumine transuectus. Totaque illa die cum sequenti nocte illud uirginis munus per uarios fluctus marinos deductum, mane ad litus illud depulsum est, super quod uir sanctus habitacula sua composuerat. Cum autem beatus Beunous, mane ab ecclesia sua digressus, super horam maris staret, et qualiter prius exundate aque in se redirent quadamque ui occulta ad se fluctus suos attraherent quoddam nescio quid admirando intueretur. Accedensque propius, quid illud esset certius scire conatur. Admotaque manu ab arena illud eleuans, pannumque inuolutum euoluens, casulam inuenit, nichil omnino lesionis habentem. Pannus quoque, qui illam exterius obuoluerat, ita siccus apparebat, ac si aquam non attigisset. Cogitante autem illo sollertius, et causam huius inuentionis discernere conante, quod intra bibule arene aquosa spacia aliquid non madidum inueniri potuerit, latenter subiit inmentem

³² **transmittendam** second t added by corrector Trin; transmittendam Laud.

³³ **Illucescente** ce added by corrector Trin; Illucescente Laud.

³⁴ **exennium** first n added by corrector Trin; xenium Laud.

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eius de dilecte uirginis Wenefrede memoria. Habitaque secum deliberatione qualiter ei preceperit omni anno munus sibi parare, paratumque in fonte suo, qui in riuum fluit, deponere, cognouit tandem, spiritu sancto sibi reuelante, a beata uirgine illud sibi transmissum, angelorumque ministerio per equoreos sinus illese sibi delatum. Deoque inde suppliciter gracias agens, munus illud benigne susceptum in ecclesia reposuit, tam sui ipsius quam aliorum seruorum Dei usibus deinceps exhibendum. Gaudebatque, quod uerborum suorum uirgo sancta memor exstiterat, et quod tam preclara fama illius fuerit, quod ab illa omnis prouincia illuminata erat. Orabat autem dominum incrementa uirtutum in ea augeri, et quicquid in oculis eius placitum erat in ea multipliciter inueniri.

Ex effectu uero satis patuit Deum preces ipsius suscepisse, auresque clementie sue exaudibiles illi exhibuisse. Etenim intantum celestis exercitii studium in uirgine profecerat, ut in illa tocius perfectionis forma inueniretur, et ipsa quasi singulare iubar tocius prouincie, forma uiuendi et exemplis beneagendi, tam absentibus quam presentibus uirgo Wenefreda semper appareret.³⁵ Efficatiam quoque mirabilem atque diuinam habebat ad persuadendum quod uolebat. Nam quotiens sermonem domini proferebat, tanta inerat ei in sermone facultas et in sententiis modesta grauitas, ut omnes ipsius loquela liniret, ipsa uero ad omnia que beatus Beunous ei preceperat prompta et obediens nichil omnino intermittens de omnibus sibi imperatis.

§11

Singulis uero annis in die kalendarum Maii munus trans mittebat doctori suo dum uiuebat, modo quo superius designauimus. Et licet magnum spacium illos abinuicem dirimebat, quinquaginta enim miliaria aut eo amplius inter illos distanciam faciebant, unius tamen noctis spacio per sinuosa maris uolumina³⁶ deportatum ad ianuam monasterii sui mane in arena litoris inueniebatur. Ex hoc autem beato uiro cognomen additum est, quod apud Wallie homines usque in hodiernum diem memoriale habetur. Nam Beunous Casulsech, id est, Beunous Casula Sicca uocatur, eo quod per aquas ab aquis illesa ad eum sicca casula deferetur. Accidit autem dum uirgo hunc modum mittendi singulis annis obseruaret, ut beatus Beunous, longo confectus senio, uirtutibus plenus et operibus preclarus, relinquens seculum ad celeste migravit gaudium.

Cuius discessus cum sancte uirgini innotuit, multis illum lacrimis et orationibus prosecuta est, atque prefatum munus ulterius trans mittere destitit. Tunc autem primo omni humana

³⁵ **appareret** second re added by corrector Trin; appareret Laud.

³⁶ **uolumina** molumina Trin; uolumina Laud.

consolatione se destitutam dicebat. Tedere igitur cepit locum in quo morabatur. Paululumque procedente tempore cum pars maxima consortum suarum uirginum de hoc seculo migrasset, odio habere cepit locum illum, in quo eatenus conuersata erat. Memorque uerborum doctoris sui, quibus illam post septem annos ait alium debere inuisere locum, et quoniam alias facies eius intendens erat, requiem non habebat spiritus eius, dum ibi degebat. Cum autem omnes euoluti anni essent et illa sui ipsius compos effecta fuisset, toto conamine ad Deum mentem erigens, deprecabatur ut eam ad talem locum destinaret, ubi et sibi placere et aliis proficere posset, locumque illum, in quo prius conuersionem suam habuerat, sua benedictione perfundere dignaretur, ut qui illuc orationis gracia aut alicuius remedii consequendi causa adueniret, inuocato nomine ipsius qui ibidem actus suos et mores pro illius amore correxerit, quod postularet consequeretur. Quod postea manifeste demonstrabitur.

§12

Cum igitur beata uirgo Wenefreda sollicite instaret orationi, Dei clementiam sibi affuturam et reducem itineris sui eam fore depostulans, nocte quadam uigiliis et obsecrationibus intendenti, diuinum ei huiusmodi oraculum insonuit. ‘Assumpta tecum una tantummodo uirgine comite, uade ad beatam Deiferum, qui moratur in loco qui Botauarrus uocatur. Illoque consulto, quid deinde factura eris cognosces.’ Erat quippe uir ille magnus coram domino, in omnibus mandatis et iustificationibus sine querela incedens. De quo refertur quod cum uirtutum gracia copiosius exuberaret, fontem de terra erumpere fecerit, eoque extensa manu³⁷ benedicto, Deum exorasse quatinus quicumque eger in illo se merserit, sanitate potitus ad sua reuertatur.

§13

Igitur sanctissima uirgo committens Deo locum suum et omnes cum quibus habitauerat, una sola uirgine comite contenta, peregrinationem suam aggressa est. Ueniensque ad sanctum Deiferum, quem octo fere miliarium a loco de quo ipsa egressa est distabat, benigno fauore ab illo suscepta est. Cumque prius orationi diutius incubuissent, consederunt pariter, uirgine causam aduentus sui illi penitus exponente. Cui uir sanctus in hunc modum respondit. ‘Ego’, inquit, ‘huius diuini consilii adhuc ignarus prorsus existo, sed parumper patere, hic nobiscum hac nocte degens. Forsitan dignabitur aliquid dominus reuelare nobis.’ Sancto igitur tota illa nocte, sicut solitus erat, orationem facienti, uox de celis insonuit, dicens, ‘Dic karissime filie mee uirgini Wenefrede

³⁷ manu added by corrector Trin; manu Laud.

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quatinus ad uicum eat, qui uocatur Henthlandus. Ibi enim uirum uenerabilem Saturnum nomine inuentura est, per quem plenius audiet quid deinceps actura uel in quo loco omni tempore uite sue sit ipsa habitatura.³⁸ Mane itaque uirginem ad se conuocans sanctus Deiferus, nichil prorsus reticuit de omnibus que diuinitus edoctus fuerat. Uiamque illi ostendens qua ad beatum sanctum predictum pergere debebat, gaudenter eam incedere admonuit, dicens sibi de celestibus insinuatam esse quod apud eundem sanctum patenter sit auditura quid sibi conueniat, omnemque penitus necessitatis seriem.

§14

Beata uero Wenefreda plurimum gauisa quod amota omni dubitatione ad aliquam certitudinem per beatum Deiferum sit perducta, sancto uiro ualedicens, assumpta comite sua, iter arripuit. Cito ad beatum Saturnum peruenit, a quo benignissime suscepta est. Ille uero tocus propositi eius et itineris prius conscius effectus responso sibi de supernis super hac re facto, die altera huiusmodi uerba a sancto Saturno audiuit. 'Est locus quidam Witheriacus nuncupatus, multorum sanctorum pignoribus refertus et ab omni populo nimia reuerencia habitus. Hunc locum te inuisere precepit Dominus,³⁹ atque dum aduixeris inhabitare, tuisque exemplis aliorum animos informare. Est ibi quidam multarum uirtutum abbas nomine Elerius, quem iugis gemitus et oratio perseuerans totum celestibus reddunt⁴⁰ intentum. Ad hunc te destinare diuino sum precepto admonitus, tibi que insuper intimare, quod ibi inuentura sis quicquid anime desideranti celestia in presenti uita sufficere debet. Nam ibi sunt Deo dicatae uirgines, ab ipsis infantie rudimentis in professione uite sanctimonialis celibatum obseruantes, tuis tamen exemplis Dei nutu meliores efficiende.'

§15

Illa autem audita conuersatione uirginum, plurimum gauisa est, atque cum eis titulum uirginitatis sue libentissime se uelle amplecti dicebat. Ducem uie a sancto sibi postulat prouideri. Sanctus uero Saturnus diaconem suum beate uirgini committens, et per eum sancto Elerio illam destinans, deducere et illam ipse aliquantulum cepit. Deinde multa ei a Deo bona tribui deposcens, ad propria sanctus regressus est, et illa quo tendebat apropiavit. Cuius aduentum uir sanctus per spiritum sanctum precognoscens, citius in occursum eius profectus est, et eam honorifice suscepit, diacono, qui cum ea uenerat, omnia referente que suo doctori diuinitus fuerant intimata. Sanctus

³⁸ **habitatura** ta added by corrector Trin; habitura Laud.

³⁹ **Dominus** dominus Trin; deus Laud.

⁴⁰ **reddunt** reddebant with siue reddunt in margin and siue -unt in rubric above the line Trin; reddiderunt Laud.

uero post orationem factam in amplexus uirginis ruit, et ut constantis sit animi exortatur. Postmodum ad secretam colloquutionem eam uocans, ait, 'Quamuis enim omnem uite tue modum, quo ue modo proprii capitis abscissione passionis titulum sis adepta, paruitati mee a supernis sit manifestatum, tamen que causa te tanti itineris laborem assumere compulerit tuo cupio ore doceri.' Cui sic uirgo respondit, 'Qui illa que michi modo intimasti tibi reuelare dignatus est, non funditus te ignarum reliquit, ut arbitror, de hiis que mente reuoluo. Ideoque suscipe me diuinitus tibi destinatum, meam amodo conuersationem ita dispone, sicut tibi celesti preostensum est oraculo.' Tunc uir sanctus huius consilii diffinitionem distulit, illamque hoc patienter ferre humiliter exorauit.

Sancto itaque per totam noctem orationibus incumbente, huius negotii certitudo sancto confessori circa crepusculum manifestata est. Mane uero sanctus ad uirginem uenit. Deinde gaudere et securitatem habere monuit. Postea autem manum ipsius arripiens, ad uirginum conuentum eam introduxit, hiis sermonibus ad illas concionatus. 'Animis estote attentiores, filie karissime. Est enim opereprecium uobis insinuare, quanto splendore uos illustrare dignata est diuina clementia. Ecce hanc deuotam uirginem ad commanendum⁴¹ uobiscum et conuiuendum⁴² destinauit, quatinus, inspecta uita eius, exemplis illius in Dei famulatu deuotiores et sanctiores efficiamini. Hec est illa uirgo Wenefreda cuius ad aures uestras iam preclara conuolauit fama. Que ne castitatis sue detrimentum pateretur, et pro uirginitatis sue custodia, abscissione capitis mori libenter elegit. Hec est enim illa cuius triumphus insignia late per ecclesiam emicant, et cuius titulus omnis ista prouincia magno se ditari bono gratulatur. Ad uos ergo uenit uobiscum mansura atque obitus sui diem exspectatura, que iam meritis suis celos petiit, et cuius inter sanctos martyres locus retributionis conseruatur.'

§16

Post hec uerba ad unam conuersus dominam, que mater ipsius erat et prelata uirginum conuentui, 'Tibi', inquit, 'o karissima mater, curam istius dilecte uirginis specialius committo. Tu eius uestigiis inhere, tu opera ipsius imitare, tu curam illius habe, et quicquid ei placere cognoueris instanti sollercia exequere.' Hiis dictis sanctus confessor discessit, et beata Wenefreda cum ancillis Dei remansit. Et tunc quidem tocuis religionis arcem arripere festinabat, atque in omni uirtutum culmine constans persistebat. Erat in illa iugis abstinentia, perseuerans oratio, et humilis

⁴¹ **commanendum** um added by corrector Trin; commanendum Laud.

⁴² **conuiuendum** conuiuend^{um} Trin; conuiuendum Laud.

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conuersatio. In ipsa exemplum patientie et obedientie ceterae uirgines accipiebant. Omnia que honestatis et que uirtutis erant, in illa affluenter inueniebant.

§18

Quadam die sanctus Elerius uirginem Wenefredam uisitauit. Loquentibus autem sibi adinuicem, sermo incidit de memoria mortis. Tunc sanctus, nacta occasione, 'Gaudeo', inquit, 'quod Deus ad hunc te destinauerit locum, corpus meum sepulture tradituram meique memoriam post obitum meum habituram. Hoc enim a Deo michi concedi sepius deprecatus sum, ut aliquem ex famulis suis siue ancillis huc destinaret, qui et me sepeliret, et post me, hunc incolens locum, celebrem illum faceret.' Cui sic uirgo sancta Wenefreda respondit. 'Non equidem ita nec sic futurum est, nec sic ordinatum a Deo. Te enim oportet, me superstita et coactante, dominam meam matrem tuam prius humi tradere, atque demum post aliquantum curricula annorum corpus meum sepelire. Dehinc tu plenus dierum in pace uitam tuam consummabis, atque ad patres tuos translatus in celesti regno inuenies que ibi conseruanda reposueris.' Hiis auditis, sanctus confessor domini discessit. In proximo autem patuit illam ueram protulisse prophetiam. Nam post aliquantulum temporis beata Theonia, mater sancti Elerii et prelata uirginibus, graui infirmitate correpta, a seculo migravit ad dominum. Cui sancta Wenefreda successit et sanctimonialium martyr uitam finiuit, et feliciter ad celi palacia peruenit.

Explicit uita sancte Wenefrede, uirginis et martyris, decimo kalendas Iulii.

Vita Sancte Wenefrede

(Robert of Shrewsbury, Trinity O.4.42 version)

edited by David Callander

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Translation

Here begins the Life of St Winefride, virgin and martyr, 22 June.¹

§1

In the western region of Great Britain, there is a certain province called Wales, adjoined on one side by the borders of the kingdom of England, on the other by the ocean of the sea.² This was once inhabited by saints of many and diverse merits, and to this day is abundantly honoured by their innumerable privileges. A certain saint from their number was called Beuno³, a splendid man and foremost in all that multitude of saints.⁴ And so when he had first refused his father's land, and,⁵ trampling on the world's glory, fleeing this as a pauper, he became a monk, in a short time performing the life of a perfect man in Christ. Then, when he had built churches in various

¹ The date of Winefride's festival(s) varies significantly from source to source, and in the Laud copy of Robert's Life is 2 November (§2). Here it is close to the date given in the anonymous Life, which is 24 June (§20).

² Robert deploys the standard Anglo-Norman terminology of his time throughout by naming Wales only as *Walia*, and using *Brittannia* to refer to Britain as a whole. *Brittannia (Minor)* could also be used to refer to Brittany, and in medieval Latin texts from Wales *Brittannia* often refers to Wales, as in the anonymous Life of Winefride (Pryce 2001).

³ 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.

⁴ The reduction of the Life has led to the removal of the main verb (*enituit*) here.

⁵ The *et* here is superfluous as the subsequent finite verb (*abdicasset*) has been removed.

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places, and had established brothers in them to serve God, he himself, urged by a divine message, departed elsewhere to seek the dwelling place provided to him by God. In truth, with the holy spirit guiding him, and directing his progress for the benefit of many, he came to the estate of a certain great and very powerful man called Tyfid,⁶ who was the son of one splendid and most excellent senator.⁷ He would not deign to allow anything unbecoming of his lineage but, persisting in the honourable nature of his family with respectable practices, he showed himself to be conspicuous in every elegant thing.

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

Indeed, Tyfid, who had now in his whole mind entertained submitting to his will, for he judged him to be a man worthy of praise and being held in reverence,⁸ responds to him with these words. ‘It is certainly just to grant a share to him of those things which have been granted to us by God, and to render appropriate thanks to him for his gifts as best we can. For which reason you make yourself pleasing to me, you who seek this from me. I greatly rejoice to give what I have, and I

⁶ Winefride’s father’s name appears in various forms in her Latin and Welsh Lives (Laud: Thevith; Claud: Teuyth; Lans: Teuiht; Trin: Teuith; P27ii: Tyvid; L134: 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.

⁷ Tyfid’s father Eiludd is not named in the Trinity version.

⁸ Trinity omits *in* before *reuerencia*.

am not unaware that it falls to my benefit. And so, agreeing, may you take what you ask for, namely this estate, free and quit and released from all things which pertain to me or to my successors, from this day forward granted for service of God alone. And since I have only one daughter, in whom almost all of my whole joy and hope for descendants consists, committing her to you as well, I pray that you appeal to the lord for her, so that he should incline her will according to his own and her way of life to my honour, and that he bring my joy forth from her.' Saying these things, he gave that estate to the blessed man, in which he should build a church and should construct habitations for God's servants to dwell in that place. Now, carrying himself and all his possessions to that other place, he erected his dwelling on the opposite side, from which he might gaze upon the holy man's habitation every hour of the day.

§2

Now when the saint was directing his efforts to construct a church, Tyfid himself sometimes took action, always, in fact, making resources available sufficiently, and speeding the work through both his effort and diligence. Meanwhile as well, when the blessed man was celebrating the divine mysteries, Tyfid himself was present with his wife and daughter called Winefride. Moreover, when the holy man would reveal the lord's commandments to the people, he would place the aforementioned virgin at the feet of the man of God, urging her to notice diligently and to receive with open heart all those things which were being said by him. God, foreknowing of future things, would not allow that to be done to no purpose. For the virgin, who would be God's temple, received with ardent desire those things which she drew in through her ears, and stored them in retentive memory, to display very soon in deeds that which she was then assembling in her mind. Many times as well, permission having been sought from her parents, she came to the man of God, absorbing in her thirsty chest the things which were produced from his mouth sweet as honey. She, breathing in God's grace inside, grew better every day and advanced in wisdom, her mind ardently steeped in the holy spirit. She had been taught by her teacher in words to put faith in the Lord's instructions to renounce father and mother, and to follow Christ,⁹ but her weak and unripe age was an obstruction. She placed it resolutely in her mind to do that which he had taught. And so, coming to the man of God, asking that he should meet her father and mother, that she might follow the lord, and¹⁰ she bravely made him privy to her

⁹ Cf. Luke 14.26; Matthew 10.37.

¹⁰ Another superfluous *et*. A previous phrase containing the finite verb *repperit* has been removed.

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secret. 'I want', she said, 'the seeds of the divine word poured forth from your mouth to me to be made clear to you. I have chosen to renounce every worldly indulgence from now on, and I have decided to keep my virginity unimpaired and undefiled for the honour of the heavenly bridegroom. And, oh most holy father, I need to obtain this for myself from both of my parents by your petition.'

Hearing these things, the saint, moved by piety, and rejoicing that the divine seed was now sprouting inside her, said he would meet her parents with care, and do what she asked as best he could. That was most easy to do and not difficult to obtain, both because the parents had completely submitted to the patronage of that man, who was brought in to intercede, and because an abundance of divine nectar had likewise filled their hearts. For that reason, when they had learned their daughter's desire from the man of God, their tears having poured down, they blessed God, and kindly granted it. And so, after the burden, by which they were weighed down to no small degree, had been taken away, they divided the riches of their possessions in many ways, supplying assistance to paupers, widows, and orphans, and paying attention more diligently to the servant of God. And since they saw their daughter did not want to be given in marriage but to the son of God, they spent on service of God all those things which, gathering together, they were keeping to give to her if she married an earthly man.

Now the girl, having obtained her desired wishes, was affected by great joy, and, exulting in the holy spirit, drinking in her thirsty chest¹¹ those things regarding the glory of her bridegroom which would flow from his mouth. And so the virgin, for love of that one to whom she had devoted herself would not allow anything earthly within her, to cling to one thing alone, to dwell in one thing alone, namely in the house of the lord for all the days of her life.¹² Often she would proceed to the church; frequently she would spend the night in it. Sometimes as well, imposing herself on the saint, she would pester him to make a speech concerning the conduct of her bridegroom, for she was burning completely with desire for him. Then she would have a little joy, when she heard related the conduct and life of her friend, when she heard tell of his excellence, beauty, and power. The refreshment of this kind he provided surpassed every joy from

¹¹ The main clause lacks a main verb here, due to the removal of the phrase containing *assidebat* in the process of reduction.

¹² **uni soli inhabitare, uidelicet in domo domini omnibus diebus uite sue (to dwell in one thing alone, namely in the house of the lord for all the days of her life)** Cf. Psalms 26.4 (Vulgate; modern 27.4) (*unam petii a Domino hanc requiram ut inhabitem in domo Domini omnes dies vitae meae*).

worldly things, and she never failed to keep the delight of spiritual joy in her heart. And although she was of a tender age, yet she had been brought to maturity in conduct and in heart, having a mind which despised all sexual desire. In outward things she had also received no little grace from God. Moreover, she was both most beautiful in countenance and courteous in speech, and fittingly built in her whole body. On account of which she did not succeed in escaping the tricks of the crafty ambusher in every way. For on account of this she undertook something.

§3

After the blessed Beuno had completed construction of his church, with God helping, and had consecrated it to God, those living nearby would come to it frequently, but also almost every day the parents of the virgin would come together there to hear those things which pertained to God. But it so happened on a certain Sunday, after everyone had made their way to the church, including the virgin's parents, their virgin daughter, by chance having endured some inconvenience, was forced to remain home alone. And behold, a certain youth called Caradog, son of king Alan,¹³ entered into the house. He found the virgin alone sitting by the hearth. She, having acknowledged the king's son, got up immediately. She humbly asked what would please him. But after he had asked where her father had departed and said that he greatly needed to speak with him, the girl responded. 'My father', she said, 'has gone to church to be present for the divine mysteries. If it is necessary for you, you need to wait for a little while.' And wanting to depart to any place away from him, saying these things with simple heart, she did not suspect any trickery or craft at all. But in reality the temptations of lust had brought him there. To satisfy this, he was rushing around completely unrestrained and in haste. For when the girl had said that he needed to wait for her father, the youth responded, 'Patiently', he said, 'I will await his arrival, if you, coming into my friendship in the meantime, give assent to my desire. You are not unaware that I am the king's son, abundant in riches and many honours, and that I will also enrich you copiously, if you want to agree to my request.' But the virgin, perceiving that he had resorted to

¹³ Caradog ap Alâog occurs in BBeuno and the Lives of Winefride, as well as a number of later sources associated with these (WCD 101). Robert of Shrewsbury's form *Chradocus/Chrodocus* is clearly based on a French-influenced latinization of the spoken form. Alâog originally appears to have had a disyllabic ending, but the Alani form here in all manuscripts of Robert of Shrewsbury's Life appears to be based on a misreading of <u> as <n> (which is possibly corrected in Laud), and possibly of a final <c> as <i>: cf. the form *Alauc* in the anonymous Life. Alâog is mentioned in a poem by Prydydd y Moch (GLILl 238) and possibly lent his name to what is now Penarlâg (Hawarden) in Flintshire (Williams 1945: 23).

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

This fleeing soon became known to the accursed youth. He immediately, having become furious and filled with violent anger, having drawn his sword, began to chase her quickly. And since some expanse divided her father's house from the church, he caught up with her with little effort. At first looking upon her with a savage face, he addressed her with these words. 'Once I loved you, and wanted to join you to my embraces. Now you flee from the one coming to you, and despise the man who seeks you? Now may you know for certain, that either you at this very moment will lie with me willingly, or, after I have cut off your head with this sword, without delay you will end your life.' And so, the girl turning herself towards the thresholds of the church, and looking anxiously if anyone should come out from there who might give her help, no-one came out at all. Then, the virgin having turned back to the youth, she said, 'I am a daughter of the eternal king' she said, 'and joined in marriage to the son of the judge of all people, I cannot take any other, and, in case I should delay you longer, while I live I will not accept anyone other than him. And for that reason draw your sword, exert your powers. And be certain that neither your terrors nor flattery will be able to separate me from the sweetness of his love.' But, hearing himself being refused, and at the same time believing that she could not be protected, having unsheathed his sword he cut off the head of the virgin Winefride. But as soon as the virgin's head fell down to the ground, in that place a most radiant spring flowed out, bursting forth abundantly, which has

not ceased flowing to this day, providing health through the blessed virgin's merits to many sick people. And since it was by the door to the church that he, seizing the virgin, had cut off her head, the head at once fell down in the church, the body remaining back outside the church. For at the foot of a hill, under which the church was situated, and on the slope of that hill, the virgin's severed head easily slipped into the church in falling. But the maimed body occupied the place on which it had first fallen. But, the head falling down among the feet of those standing in the church, it stirred up everyone with very great wonder. And, everyone having been struck by great terror, and having said it was a dreadful offence that had been perpetrated and that retribution should be inflicted heavily for it, and cursing the author of the deed, the girl's parents, stirred up by the tumult of others, came near to know the fact more certainly. And, perceiving that their daughter was dead, seeing her severed head here, the mutilated body there, they fell down to the ground crying, and, undone by sadness and worry, giving out a doleful sound, they showed their pain with loud laments.

§4

And so, when great turmoil sprang forth in the church, with everyone indeed having lamented the virgin's death, and yet many greatly bewailing the harshness of the pain which had seized her parents, the holy man, hearing the uproar, and having suspected violence, came to the company of those standing near. And perceiving that the virgin whom he was going to consecrate to God had been so cruelly killed, he felt compassion pitifully. But the virgin's killer, still standing by the body outside, swollen by pride, was wiping his sword, drenched in the blood of the virgin, on the grass, with everyone looking on. For because he was the son of a king, he thought that he could commit such a shameful act with impunity. And what's more, even in the admission of such a crime he affirmed that he did not fear God at all. But the saint, bearing this arrogance and obstinacy heavily, went up to him, holding the head of the virgin in his hands. And, fixing his gaze on the youth's face, he began to address him with these words. 'Oh wicked man,' he said, 'who has blemished the nature of handsome youth and offspring of royal dignity with a homicidal crime, why does it not cause you regret to have admitted such a wicked deed? You have disturbed the peace, and defiled the church with your sacrilege, and you, offending moral law, have provoked God. Do you not feel sorrow? But now, because you did not spare the church, nor show reverence for Sunday, I pray to my God, that those things which you unworthily perpetrated, you may receive in return by due recompense.' These things being said, the youth, falling to the

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ground there and then, breathed his last. And, amazing to say, in the sight of everyone standing nearby, the body of the dead man vanished, having melted, with many affirming that it had been engulfed by the gaping ground and sunk with his spirit in the pit of darkness. But everyone seeing this is struck by unspeakable fear on account of the novel happening of the unusual wonder.

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

§5¹⁴

And so, after prayers were said for a long time, the holy man, rising from the ground, and extending his hands towards the sky, said, 'Lord Jesus Christ, for whose love this virgin rejected earthly things and desired celestial ones, listen, compassionate, to us calling upon you with devout minds, and pour out the innermost parts of your goodness upon us, conceding that you are the author of our desires at this time. And although we are not unaware that this virgin, having suffered because of your love, has been placed in the folds of celestial joy, no longer to stand in need of our society, yet you, most merciful father, providing yourself kind and ready to hear to your children who are praying to your humble self, give the command therefore so that, after this girl's soul has been brought into her body, she should show you to have control and lordship of both souls and bodies, that, revived by grace of your mercy, she may extol your name, and after the long periods of a life, the profit of a good way of living having been multiplied, she may

¹⁴ The Trinity manuscript does not indicate a new section here.

return to you, her only bridegroom, namely the son of God the father, with whom and the holy spirit you live and reign, God for ever and ever.’

And when everyone had responded ‘Amen’, the girl rose up as if from sleep, and wiping her face and cleansing it of dust and sweat, she filled those present with wonder and joy. Furthermore, where her head had previously been cut off around the neck and afterwards fit together and reunited in divine grace, a certain most slender whiteness surrounded the neck in the manner of a thread, and overlaid the place of the cutting. To demonstrate the severing of her head thereafter and to display the miracle, and as long as the virgin dwelt in her body, it always remained in the same fashion. People of that province say that she was called Winefride on account of that, when previously, as they assert, she was called Brewa.¹⁵ For what they call Wen in their language,¹⁶ the Latins call *candidus* (white). And so, on account of the whiteness encircling her neck, she was said to have her name from that, a particle having been added, which is Wen. It is also said that, after she went from this world, there was no-one at all to whom she appeared openly who did not see her neck encircled by that white sign. By this evidence she also makes known that the mark of her suffering very much pleased her, which she openly shows as often as she reveals herself to be seen by anyone.

Now the place where her blood was spilled was called Dry Valley to begin with.¹⁷ But after her severed head touched the ground and, as we mentioned earlier, a spring of gushing water flowed out there, which still remains up to this very day, healing all illnesses both in people and in animals, that place acquired a designation from the girl’s name. For it is called in their language Winefride’s Fennaon,¹⁸ but in ours *Fons Wenefrede* (Winefride’s Well). For *fennaon* denotes *fons*

¹⁵ Robert was clearly familiar with Winefride’s Welsh name *Gwenfrewy*, from which the name *Wenefreda* in both her Latin Lives likely derives (Winward 1999: 100–3). The name *Brewa* by itself is not otherwise attested and is unexplained. Winward speculates the name may be connected with *briw*, but there is no evidence for this, and the forms we have surviving do not support such an interpretation (Winward 1999: 101).

¹⁶ (*G*)*wen* is the feminine form of the Welsh word for *white*, and this is how Robert interprets the first part of Winefride’s Welsh name *Gwenfrewy*.

¹⁷ In both Lives of Winefride, the valley was originally called Dry Valley, but here the Latin name *Siccauallis* is used, whereas in the anonymous Life it is called by the Welsh name *Sechnant* (Modern Welsh *Sychnant*), also meaning dry valley or dry stream. *Sychnant* is a common place-name in Wales (ArchifMR s.v. *sychnant*), and the story may partly derive from the ironic contrast between this place-name and the powerful well.

¹⁸ *Fennan* in Laud is clearly a form of Welsh *ffynnon* (spring, well), commonly spelled *Finnaun* in Old Welsh. While the form here could be of oral derivation, it might also derive from miscopying a written *Fennaun*, a possible Old Welsh form of the noun. In this regard, it is interesting that Trin reads *Fenna^on*, with the <o> added above the line.

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(well) in Latin speech.¹⁹ And since blood had been spilled from the body lying on the descent of the sloping hill, stones, stained by its sprinkling, were lying here and there in the bubbling of the spring and in its stream, and on the edge of both. And, what is remarkable to say and hear, those stones besprinkled with blood still retain their earlier sprinkling, which is visible up to the present day to those who want to know. For they are as if suffused with congealed blood, and not wiped clean by the decay of time, nor by the constant inundation of water flowing by. Now the moss which clings to those stones smells like frankincense. It is famous enough and very well known to all those who inhabit that land that that well still continues in its original manner, and that bloody stones, as we said above, are found in it, clearly showing the merits of the virgin, and indicating hope for everyone, that that virgin can help those who call upon her. Indeed, the people of that province who had not yet known God, seeing the virgin's restoration, and that such a clear and evident miracle had been performed in the flowing of the spring and the sprinkling of the stones, having prostrated themselves at the feet of St Beuno, sought to be steeped in God's mysteries. He, receiving them with kind devotion, purified them with the stream of holy baptism, and, after they had been instructed by discussions of divine teachings, he confirmed them in service of God. But now we will succinctly take care of how the blessed virgin Winefride lived after her restoration, and what manner of life she had.

§6

And so when, as we mentioned previously, the blessed virgin had risen from the dead, staying by the holy man's feet all day, she listened to his words with diligent devotion, wanting to be instructed more fully about everything which pertains to God. After this had been done, the doctrine of instruction having been properly fulfilled, she, having prostrated herself before the feet of her teacher, eagerly sought to be veiled as a nun. 'For since', she said, 'this has been granted to me by my parents, and you know that my heart, despising every worldly luxury, desires the love and knowledge of God alone, there should be no delay from now on in following the oaths of my desire. Do not, therefore, holy father, delay my desire longer.' Then the blessed man, having called her parents, showed them the virgin's wishes, and stated beforehand that divine

Although the <a> is not deleted, this could indicate that Robert's form was *Fennon*, more clearly indicating this was from an oral source. However, given the <a> is not deleted, this added <o> could also be an error for a <u>, which would suggest that the written *Fennaun* was Robert's form copied from a Latin source. Yet it seems most likely that Robert wrote *Fennan* or *Fennon*, and that this could represent an oral form or a miscopying of a written form.

¹⁹ Cf. the description of the decapitation of the virgin Dunod in VS Dauid §18.

grace had been bestowed upon her, and made known that he wanted to fulfil her desire. After they had truly given their consent in a kindly manner, and had welcomed their daughter's devotion with joyous affection, the holy man consecrated her in the presence of many, dressed with the sacred veil, and properly confirmed the discipline of monastic purpose in her. She, immediately after her will had been accomplished, undertaking the art of complete virtue, and adhering most devoutly to the studies of monastic regulation, in short attained knowledge of the whole order and complete excellence in the practice. Thereafter, achieving more and more every day, she greatly gladdened the blessed man because of her great sanctity.

He, having called her parents, performed this speech. 'You', he said, 'previously received me here, and showed yourselves to be prepared for my requests. Finally you granted this place to be established for service of God, and you strove intensely to complete that. But now, since by divine providence gifts have abounded among us, observe diligently the light poured in from heaven to you and your daughter, and, considering with care the grace with which you have been sprinkled, take care vigilantly to walk the path of salvation revealed to you in advance. And since you are now to be deprived of my presence, for God calls me elsewhere, pay attention diligently to the examples and admonitions of your daughter, knowing she will be an example of salvation not only to you but also to all people.' Now having turned to the virgin, he said, 'God has instructed you to become successor to my labours, and to walk the path of life mentioned before by me to you, and to show others the way to go. For he has elected you to hold the highest place of particular merit in his presence, and, by the example of your martyrdom and good way of life, he has established many in this world to be instructed in his love. Therefore, this place will be yours to inhabit hereafter, and to gather virgins to gain victory in God's service and to remain here with you. May you know one thing for certain, that you will not end your life in this place. For when, serving God in continual abstinence of the body and affliction of the spirit, you will have completed seven years here, it will be necessary for you, urged by God, to find another place, with God directing you and through you lighting up the darkness of many hearts. Likewise remember this, that your memory will be celebrated in this world, and many will bear witness, having gained remedies for their troubles through you, of what great merit you were with God.'

§7

And when the blessed virgin, greatly saddened by the departure of her instructor, was crying, the blessed Beuno, having laid hold of her right hand, led her to the spring, which we have indicated

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above had flowed out from the place where her severed head had fallen. And standing her upon a stone, which was then found there by chance and which remains in the stream of the spring to this day and is called St Beuno's stone by the inhabitants,²⁰ he addressed her anew with these words. 'Do you still see', he said, 'the vestiges of your suffering here? Look at these stones besprinkled with your blood, which show that you suffered martyrdom for God, and for your own perpetual honour, as an instruction to many others, they maintain the sprinkling, by which they were made wet from your blood, as if it were recent. Now, therefore, store in diligent and retentive memory my words, which will come to the notice of many in reverend telling, and through future courses of time will be very useful to some in the future.

Know, moreover, that three gifts have been bestowed on you by God, which will both solemnly commemorate the distinction of your renown, and will heap up love of your devotion with due reverence in the minds of future generations.

First gift.²¹

The first is that those stones, wetted by the sprinkling of your blood, through the ages will not be able to be wiped clean by washing, nor cleansed persistently by the rush of that water, but will always appear bloodied to show your suffering, God making such a miracle for the glory of his majesty and for the triumph of your chastity.

Now the second is that whoever, having suffered from misfortune, will have sought you, and through you tried to be freed from his illness or oppression, having obtained his desire at the first or second or certainly the third time, he will rejoice that he has obtained that for which he had asked. But if it should happen that the petitioner has not followed²² what he had desired in request three times, let him know most certainly that he is about to lose the light of this present life very soon, and for that reason by the hidden judgement of God he was deprived of the proceeds of his request at present. Yet let him understand that it aids him and the cure of his soul to have called upon you constantly, and something greater is provided from heaven through you to him, than if he attained that which he was seeking externally.

²⁰ This stone also features in the anonymous *Life* (§16), where it fulfils the same function although it is not named as St Beuno's stone (*lapis sancti Beunoi*).

²¹ Here the Trinity manuscript differs from Laud in its description of the gifts. The reference to the *primum donatum* 'first gift' is in rubric, and a large initial opens the following section.

²² *Secutum* here is probably an error for *consecutum* as found in Laud.

Now the third gift is of this kind. When I will now have departed from you, God will deign to give me place above the shore of the sea fitting to dwell in. And although I should be separated from you by a large distance, yet the highest one has ordered that every year I should be visited by your gifts. Therefore, when you will have prepared in your hands that which you want to send to me, you will hurry to the spring here with your gift, and whatever it should be, having first entrusted it to God, you will place it confidently in the spring. And at once you will see that the gift you set down will be carried away from the spring down the stream, and by the rush of running water conveyed undamaged into a great flowing river. And soon, with the great element of the sea submitting to the will of God and preparing and offering support, that which you will have placed in the spring will be carried to the gate of my modest lodgings, conveyed to me without damage through undulating rolls of waves, through swelling and crashing storms of the sea. It will also be proper for this to happen, with God's instruction, in all the years when life is a companion to me. And these three gifts were granted to you from God, indicative of the privilege conferred on you from heaven, and while this world lasts, for the celebration of your memory and glory of your esteem, honoured by the story of many people.' Having said these things, he took her back to the church, addressing her again with words of this kind. 'Behold,' he said, 'I leave to you this church and surrounding habitations, built partly by my labour, partly by the expenditures of your parents, that you, with me going away from here, may serve God here in your purpose, having gathered many virgins to stay with you for the service of Christ. May you not at all cease the good way of life and examples of living instilled by me in you. And may you know that in this place a great show of divine power will be performed to the benefit of many, and through the examples of those dwelling here many will ascend to recognition of God, to set aside every worldly profit that they may gain Christ. Here in every part many kinds of cures will also be distributed to those suffering from various illnesses of both spirit and body. Every age or sex will rejoice that they have attained something of a remedy in this place. But thus show yourself pleasing to God, and make yourself such in everything, that his glorious holy name may be present in you, and you be made the model of salvation for those looking upon you. But I now go away from here, to be a servant to God elsewhere, and, while I live, to hold your devotion with sweet memory.'

§8

Saying these things, having taken just his staff, he began to go away. He left everything to the blessed virgin and her companions, all the trappings of his house, and whatever God had given

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to him through the hands of the faithful when he was dwelling there. And thus, after everyone had been commended to God and he had said farewell to them, he departed, content with just one cleric as a companion. But she, behaving impatiently at his words and departure, bore a face miserable with tears and sadness, said that she was not provided for, being deprived of the shepherd's presence and care.²³

But after some time had gone by, the blessed virgin, coming to her senses, and calling to mind the manner of her life, and the distinction of her suffering, and the speeches or prophecies of her blessed instructor Beuno, she, undertaking male constancy, laid down all mourning completely. And at once embracing her bridegroom Christ, to whom she had devoted herself in chaste living, with all the affection of her mind, she began to covet him, to savour him, to sigh for him with ardent desire. Thereafter, gathering the daughters of nobles together with her, she would teach them to love chastity and, having rejected all worldly flatteries and enticements, to submit their necks to the gentle yoke of Christ, and through the rule of monastic purpose to devote themselves to service of God. Moreover, some, seeing the sternness of that way of living, and the disciplined heaviness of life, were inspired by divine grace, and, taking hold of the rule of the monastic order, sought to be covered by the holy veil. The glorious virgin Winefride, practising the powers and services of the good shepherd for them, taught them to be fortified with the doctrines of the holy fathers. But she did not cease from instructing them with persistent warnings. She urged them to pay attention diligently to the practices of the rule, and to bear in mind her own conduct, and to be dutiful in these things. Truly she without pause did those things which she taught her wards to do.

§9

And so when the diligent virgin pressed on in every pursuit of the heavenly life, those living nearby in that region were greatly delighted to be devout for her, saying that those to whom she stuck more closely in living or in friendship were suffused with God's great mercy. And since many manifestations of powers in miracles came about through her, it clearly subdued the hearts of even fierce people to greater devotion for her and compelled the minds of the faithful to display reverence to her. Now when the blessed Winefride was striving steadfastly with good works of this kind, and celestial light was radiating all round through her, very frequently calling to mind

²³ The Trinity version greatly reduces the description of Winefride's grief at Beuno's departure.

the memory of her teacher's words and instructions, she considered that the day of his departure was soon at hand, on which he had of course departed from her, and had instructed that a gift be sent to him. She, keeping this in mind with concerned assiduity, produced with suitable weaving by her own work and that of her virgins one chasuble to be given to the man of God.

§10

And so, when the day was dawning on which that gift was supposed to be sent, which is the first of May, the blessed virgin came with many others to the spring, in which she was about to deposit her gift in accordance with the man of God's instruction. And, having received the chasuble, she first wrapped it up in a white cloth, and thus set it down in the middle of the spring, saying that she was sending this to the holy man Beuno with the help of the spring. And behold, miraculous to say and not at all credible to anyone other than a faithful person, that cloth, in which the chasuble was wrapped, suffered no damage from the water, nor did it feel even the slightest inflow of water, but, remaining dry in every way with the chasuble, it was brought along the stream by the rush of running water, and carried in a great river. And after that virgin's gift had been carried through the varying sea waves all that day and the following night, in the morning it was driven to that shore, above which the holy man had constructed his habitations. Now when blessed Beuno, having departed from his church early on, was standing above the sea shore, and was observing a certain unknown thing²⁴ with wonder how the waters first having risen would return into themselves and by some hidden power would draw their waves towards themselves. And coming closer, he tries to ascertain more certainly what it should be. And, lifting it up from the sand of the sea with his hand, and unwrapping the wrapped cloth, he found the chasuble, having no damage at all. Likewise the cloth, which had covered it on the outside, thus appeared dry, as if it had not touched water. Now thinking more diligently about that, and trying to discern the cause of this discovery, that something could be found unsoaked among the watery expanse of thirsty sand, something concerning the memory of the beloved virgin Winefride secretly entered his mind. And, having considered himself how he ordered her to prepare a gift for him every year, and after it had been prepared to place it in her spring, which flows into the stream, he finally recognized, with the holy spirit revealing it to him, that it had been sent by the holy virgin,

²⁴ The reduction and adaptation here appears to have rendered this sentence ungrammatical, in giving 'intueretur' ('was observing') two objects, namely 'quoddam nescio quid' ('a certain unknown thing') and the phrase 'qualiter ... attraherent' ('how ... they would draw').

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and by the support of angels conveyed to him unharmed through the watery folds. And humbly thanking God on account of that, having received that gift in a kindly manner, he put it away in the church, to display it thereafter for the benefit of himself and other servants of God. And he rejoiced that the virgin had been mindful of his words, and that her renown was so outstanding that almost all the province had been enlightened by her. Now he would pray to the lord for the increases of virtues to be enhanced in her, and for whatever was pleasing in his view to be found abundantly in her.

Truly from the consequence of that it was clear enough that God had received his prayers, and had offered the ready ears of his mercy to him. And indeed the pursuit of celestial exertion had improved to such an extent in the virgin that the form of complete excellence was found in her, and the virgin Winefride always appeared as the special radiance of the whole province, in her model of living and example of doing well, to those both absent and present. She also had a miraculous and divine ability to urge what she wanted. For whenever she uttered a speech of the lord, such an ability in speech and disciplined severity in her ways of thinking was in her, that she cajoled everyone by her speech, truly she was ready and obedient for all those things which the blessed Beuno had instructed to her, not at all ceasing all those things commanded to her.

§11

Truly every year on the first of May she would send the gift to her teacher, while he lived, in the way we specified above. And although a great distance divided them from each other, for fifty miles or more formed the distance between them, yet having been carried in the space of one night through the undulating rolls of the sea, it would be found in the morning on the sand of the shore at his monastery's gate. Now on account of this a nickname was given to the holy man, which is held to be worthy of remembrance to this day among the people of Wales. For he is called Beuno Gasulsych,²⁵ that is, Beuno Dry-chasuble, because the dry chasuble would be conveyed to him through waters undamaged by waters. But it happened that while the virgin was observing this way of sending it every year, that blessed Beuno, exhausted by long old age, full of virtues and outstanding in deeds, leaving the world passed to the celestial joy.

²⁵ This epithet also occurs elsewhere, as in the Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch version of *Bonedd y Saint* (EWGT 59). Robert of Shrewsbury provides the Welsh form *Casulsech*, as well as the Latin translation *casula sicca*, whereas the anonymous Life only gives the Latin *Casulam Siccus*. It is possible that Robert came across the epithet *Casulsech* in a written Latin source from Wales, as it is a possible spelling according to Welsh orthography of the time.

When his death became known to the holy virgin, she honoured him with many tears and prayers, and did not send the aforementioned gift any more. But then in the first place she said she was deprived of all human consolation. And so she began to grow tired of the place in which she was living. And after time had gone on a little, when the largest part of her virgin companions had passed from this world, she started to hate the place in which she had lived to that point. And, mindful of the words of her instructor, with which he said that she should visit another place after seven years, and since her form was directing its efforts elsewhere, her spirit did not have rest, while she lived there. But when they had all rolled by and she had been made able in herself, with a full effort directing her mind upwards to God, she prayed that he should send her to such a place, where she could both please herself and help others and he would deem fit to suffuse with his blessing that place, in which she had first had her habitation, so that anyone who should arrive there for the sake of prayer, or in order to attain some cure, having invoked her name, he who in that place should have amended his acts and customs out of love for her, should gain that for which he asks. This will be clearly demonstrated afterwards.

§12

And so, when the blessed virgin Winefride was devoting herself to concerned prayer, requiring that God's mercy would be with her and would be the guide on her journey, when she was paying attention to vigils and prayers on a certain night, a divine speech resounded loudly before her in this way. 'Having taken just one virgin with you as a companion, go to the blessed Dier,²⁶ who dwells in a place which is called Bodfari.²⁷ And having sought advice from him, you will know what you are to do thereafter.' For that man was great in the sight of the lord, walking in all commandments and justifications without complaint.²⁸ It is said of him that since he flowed

²⁶ This saint's name occurs in various forms, such as *Dibeyuyr* or *Dier*, and something like the form *Dyeuer* printed by Bartrum likely led to the latinized version of the name *Deiferus*. Robert may have come across this in a written source or latinized a Welsh form he had heard or seen. The form *Dier* is used here as that is consistently used in the medieval Welsh translation of Robert's Life. Little is known of this saint other than the details given by Robert, although the saint was connected with a well with healing properties (*Ffynnon Ddier*) in Bodfari, and the church of Bodfari was earlier dedicated to him before being dedicated to St Stephen (LBS ii, 340–2). His name occurs in *Bonedd y Saint* (EWGT 61), where he is also connected with Bodfari and presented as the grandson of Amlawdd Wledig.

²⁷ Bodfari is a rural community now in Denbighshire, but formerly within Flintshire and Tegeingl.

²⁸ **Erat quippe uir ille magnus coram domino, in omnibus mandatis et iustificationibus sine querela incedens.** (For that man was great in the sight of the lord, walking in all commandments and justifications without complaint.)

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copiously with the grace of virtues, he made a spring burst forth from the earth, and, after he had blessed it, having reached out his hand, that he prayed to God that whichever sick person should plunge themselves into it should return to their own having acquired good health.

§13

And so the most holy virgin entrusting her place to God and everyone with whom she had lived, satisfied with only one virgin as company, embarked on her journey. And coming to saint Dier, who was at a distance of almost eight miles from the place which she left, she was received by him with kindly goodwill. And when they had first applied themselves vigorously to prayer for a long time, they sat down together, the virgin revealing the cause of her arrival to him completely. The holy man responded to her in this way. 'I', he said, 'have been completely ignorant of this divine counsel until now, but wait for a short while, dwelling here with us this night. Perhaps the lord will deign to reveal something to us.' And so a voice from the heavens resounded to the saint, making prayers all that night as he had been used to, saying, 'Say to my dearest daughter the virgin Winefride that she should go to a settlement which is called Henllan.²⁹ For there she will find a venerable man called Sadwrn,³⁰ through whom she will hear more fully what she will do from now on or in which place she will live for all the time of her life.' And so, early in the day, St Dier, calling the virgin to himself, stayed silent about nothing at all of all the things which he had been taught from heaven. And showing her the path on which she should make her way to the aforementioned saint, he joyfully urged her to proceed on it, saying that it was made known to him by heavenly beings that she would clearly hear with that saint what would be fitting for her and the whole course of necessity entirely.

§14

Truly, blessed Winefride, having taken great joy that she was led to some certainty through the blessed Dier, with all doubt removed, saying farewell to the holy man, having taken her

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

²⁹ Henllan is a rural community in Denbighshire, which formed an extensive medieval parish (LBS iv, 128). The spelling used here (Laud: Henthlantus; Trin: Henthlandus) is Robert's representation of an oral form with <thl> approximating /h/ and -lant/-land being a common Anglo-Norman adaptation of -(l)lan.

³⁰ Sadwrn of Henllan is known largely only through Robert's Life. Near the church of Henllan, which is dedicated to Sadwrn, is a crossroads known as Bwlch Sadwrn (Sadwrn's Pass): PW 103; LBS iv, 128. Another saint also bore the name Sadwrn (WCD 572-3).

companion, she started a journey. She quickly reached the blessed Sadwrn, by whom she was received in a most kindly manner. Indeed, having previously been made privy to her whole intention and journey by an answer made for him from above concerning this matter, on the second day she heard words like this from blessed Sadwrn. ‘There is a certain place called Gwytherin,³¹ filled with the relics of many saints and held in great reverence by all the people. God instructs you to visit this place and to inhabit it while you live, and to instruct the minds of others with your examples. There there is a certain abbot of many virtues called Eleri,³² whom continual sighing and persistent prayer give his whole purpose to heavenly things. I have been urged by divine instruction to send you to him, and to make known to you as well, that you will find there whatever should in this present life suffice a soul desiring celestial things. For there there are virgins consecrated to God, observing celibacy in the avowal of religious life from the very beginnings of infancy, to be made better through your examples by God’s will.’

§15

After hearing of the virgins’ manner of living, she rejoiced greatly, and said she wanted to embrace the distinction of her virginity with them most gladly. She asks to be provided with a guide for the path by the saint. Now St Sadwrn, entrusting his deacon to the holy virgin, and sending her to St Eleri through him, began to lead her himself as well for a short while. Thereafter, requesting that many good things would be bestowed on her from God, the saint returned to his own, and she drew near to where she was heading. The holy man, knowing in advance of her coming through the holy spirit, set out the more quickly to meet her, and he received her honourably, the deacon who had come with her telling everything which had been divinely made known to his instructor. Now, after he had prayed, the saint rushes into the virgin’s embraces, and encourages her to be of constant mind. Afterwards, calling her to private discussion, he said, ‘For although the whole manner of your life and in which way you gained the mark of suffering with

³¹ Gwytherin is a small community in modern-day Conwy (part of medieval Gwynedd) where Winefride was buried until her translation to Shrewsbury in 1137/8. Robert’s latinization of this place-name as *Witheriacus* (the form in both Trin and Laud) appears to be his own, and is not found in sources independent of him. The form in the anonymous Life appears to have been something like *Guytherin*, miscopied as *Gurtherin* in Claud. Lansdowne gives both variants: *Wytern siue Wyteriacus*.

³² The main source for St Eleri is Robert’s Life of Winefride, but he also occurs in genealogies, where he is likewise the son of Tenoï and associated with Gwytherin (EWGT 57). The church at Gwytherin is dedicated to him (PW 103).

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the severing of your own head has been revealed to my humble self from above, yet I desire to be informed from your mouth what cause has driven you to take up the exertion of such a journey.’ The virgin responded to him thus, ‘He, who has deigned to reveal to you those things which you have now communicated to me, has not left you utterly ignorant, as I think, of those things which I turn over in my mind. And therefore accept me, sent to you from God, and so arrange my way of living from now on, just as was revealed to you beforehand by a heavenly message.’ Then the holy man put off a decision regarding this advice, and requested her humbly to bear this patiently.

And so, after the saint had lain down in prayers for the whole night, certainty in this matter was made clear to the holy confessor near dawn. Indeed, early in the morning the saint came to the virgin. Next he advised her to rejoice and have assurance from that. But afterwards, laying hold of her hand, he brought her into the convent of virgins, having preached to them with these words. ‘Be more persistent in your hearts, dearest daughters. For it is necessary to tell you with what brilliance divine clemency has deigned to enlighten you. Behold he has sent this devout virgin to dwell and live together with you so that, having observed her life, you will be made more devout and holier in God’s service by her examples. This is that virgin Winefride whose outstanding fame has for a long time now hastened to your ears. She, in case she should suffer the loss of her chastity, and for the preservation of her virginity, chose willingly to die by the severing of her head. For this is she whose signs of triumph spring forth widely through the church, and on account of her distinctions all that province rejoices that it is enriched with a great good. Therefore she has come to you to dwell with you and await the day of her death, who all this time sought to obtain the heavens through her merits, and whose place of reward is conserved among the holy martyrs.’

§16

After these words, having turned to one lady, who was his own mother and placed in charge of the convent of virgins, ‘To you’, he said, ‘oh dearest mother, I entrust the care of this virgin most especially beloved. Cling to her footsteps, copy her works, have the care of her, and with constant diligence carry out whatever you know pleases her.’ Having said these things, the holy confessor departed, and blessed Winefride remained with the nuns. And indeed at that time she would hurry to seize the citadel of all devotion, and remained constant on all the summits of the virtues. In her was continual abstinence, persistent prayer, and a humble way of living. In her the other

virgins received a model of patience and obedience. They found copiously in her all things which were of moral integrity and which were of virtue.

§18

One day St Eleri visited the virgin Winefride. Moreover, speaking to each other, they fell into conversation about the remembrance of death. Then the saint, having found an opportunity, said, 'I rejoice that God has sent you to this place, to commit my body to the grave and to hold my memory after my death. For I frequently prayed for this to be granted to me by God, that he should send someone from his servants or handmaidens, who would both bury me and after me, inhabiting this place, make it renowned.' The holy virgin Winefride responded to him thus. 'It is certainly not going to be like that or thus, nor is it thus ordained by God. For it is right that you, while I continue to live and remain by your side, first commit my mistress your mother to the earth, and finally after the course of a few years place my body in a tomb. Thereafter you, full of days, will finish your life in peace, and, conveyed to your fathers, you will find in the heavenly kingdom those things you placed to be guarded there.' Having heard these things, the lord's holy confessor departed. But soon it was evident that she had uttered a true prophecy. For after a little time the blessed Tenoï, the mother of St Eleri placed in charge of the virgins, assailed by a grave illness, passed from the world to the lord. St Winefride succeeded her and the martyr finished a life of monastic concerns, and happily reached the palaces of heaven.

Here ends the Life of St Winefride, virgin and martyr, 22 June.

Vita Sancte Wenefrede

(Robert of Shrewsbury, Trinity O.4.42 version)

edited by David Callander

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Manuscript

Robert of Shrewsbury's Life of Winefride survives in different versions in three manuscripts. The edition here is of the condensed version found only in Cambridge, Trinity College O.4.42. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 114 (edited separately) provides the fullest version of Robert's Life, with both the prologue and the story of the Translation of Winefride's relics. A composite version (drawing more upon the anonymous Life) is found in British Library, Lansdowne 436 (edited separately).

Cambridge, Trinity College O.4.42 is a parchment manuscript consisting of 113 folios. It is dated to the early thirteenth century (Ker 1964: 58). Its provenance from the Cistercian abbey of Dore in Herefordshire is identified by an *ex libris* inscription on folio 1r.

The manuscript contains a range of Latin religious texts, beginning with the rule of St Basil and other works associated with him, including his Vita and miracles (folios 43v–55v). Among homiletic and theological materials, the manuscript also contains the Life and Passion of St Julian and his wife Basilissa (55v–65r). The Life of Winefride is the final item in the manuscript at folios 106v–113v.

For further details of the contents, see James 1900–4: iii, 289–91. This manuscript has been fully digitized by the Wren Library.

TRINITY O.4.42 106VA–113VB13

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

Tironian *et* (×148); the homothetic sign [÷] (×2).

{106va}¹

1 Incipit vita *sancte* wenefrede uirgi=
 2 nis et MARTYRIS .X^o. kalendas Iulii.
 3 I²N occidua maioris Britannie re=
 4 gione est quedam prouincia Wal=
 5 lia uocitata; ex una parte finibus
 6 regni anglie. ex altera oceano mari
 7 collimitata; hec olim a sanctis mul=
 8 torum et diuersorum meritorum est in habita=
 9 ta; et usque ad hunc diem innumeris eo=
 10 rum prerogatiuis multipliciter decora=
 11 ta. Ex quorum numero quidam sanctus Beu=
 12 nous nomine. uir summus et in omni il
 13 la sanctorum multitudine precipuus.
 14 Is itaque; cum paternum prius contempsisset
 15 solum. et mundi gloriam calcans. pau=
 16 per effugiens monachus effectus est;
 17 in breui perfectum in christo agens uirum.
 18 Denique cum in diuersis locis ecclesias
 19 fabricasset fratresque in illis deo seruitu=
 20 ros constituisset; ipse diuino ad=
 21 monitus oraculo alias discessit. proui=

¹ Running title (above the two columns) *vita sancte*.

² I is a large blue and red decorated initial, covering around 30 lines but not impinging on the text.

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22 sam a deo sibi *quesiturus* mansionem.
 23 Ducente uero illum *spiritu sancto* Gressumque eius
 24 ad multorum utilitatem dirigente;
 25 peruenit ad *predium* cuiusdam magni=
 26 et potentissimi uiri nomine teuth. qui
 27 filius unius summi et excellentissimi
 28 senatoris fuit. nichil sue *progeniei*
 29 incongruum ad mittere dignabatur;
 30 sed nobilitatem generis honestis mori=
 31 bus exequens. in omni elegantia con=
 32 spicuus apparebat.
 33 A³ D hunc ergo cum uir uenerabilis
 34 Beⁿuⁿous⁴ uenisset; honori=
 35 fice ab eo susceptus est. Qui diu non
 36 differens que animo uoluebat euol=
 37 uere et aduentus sui causam manifesta=

{106vb}

1 re; uiro secretius ad uocato. domine inquit
 2 ad te sum celesti subnixus instinctu
 3 destinatus. Cum enim diuersis in locis hac=
 4 tenus habitauerim. et mansiones pro=
 5 posito meo conuenientes. et uolunta=
 6 ti mee concordem sufficienter inuenerim;
 7 nusquam tamen requiescere potuit spiritus meus
 8 admonente me latenter spiritu dei alium
 9 inuisere locum. Proinde relictis illis que
 10 michi plurimum complacebant habitaculis

³ A is a large red initial covering two lines.

⁴ Beⁿuⁿous The upper stroke connecting the two minims of the n was erased in order to transform it into a u.

11 ad te *nunc* ueni ignorans ad quid *pre=*
 12 *saga futurorum* diuina disposito huc
 13 me ~~dix~~^fexerit.⁵ Non *enim* fortuitu aut
 14 sine certi causa misterii estimauerim
 15 accidisse; cum *sine* hesitatione crediderim
 16 cuncta solius dei nutu agi. et hominis *pro=*
 17 *positum* dei semper dispositione actitari.
 18 Quero itaque quatinus de possessione
 19 a *progenitoribus* tuis iure hereditario tibi
 20 deriuata; partem deo et michi concedas. ut
 21 ibi ecclesiam fabricem in illa deo serui=
 22 turus. et protua salute deinceps omni tempore
 23 deum postulaturus; Ille autem qui iam
 24 toto conceperat animo illius obtemperare uo=
 25 luntati; quoniam eum uirum laude dignum et
 26 reuerencia habendum iudicabat; huiusmodi
 27 illi uerbis respondit. Iustum quidem ~~ex~~^s
 28 de hiis que a deo collata sunt nobis
 29 illi partem tribuere; et pro suis beneficiis
 30 *gracias* ei pro modulo nostro rependere. Unde
 31 *gracioso* te michi efficis; qui hoc a me
 32 petis. Quod ego habeo ut darem
 33 plurimum gaudeo; et quod michi in bonum ce=
 34 dere non ignoro. Accedens igitur quod postulas
 35 suscipito. hanc scilicet uillam libe=
 36 ram et quietam atque de omnibus que ad
 37 me siue ad successores meos pertinent

⁵ ~~dix~~^fexerit An x is deleted. The scribe appears to have written the x too early, erasing the tail to turn it into an r.

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{107ra}⁶

1 solutam; ex hac deinceps die solius
2 dei seruicio mancipatam. Et *quoniam* u=
3 nica est *michi* filia in qua penetocius gav=
4 dii mei *summa* atque spes posteritatis
5 consistit; illam etiam tibi committens depre=
6 cor *quatinus* pro ea rogans *dominum* interpelles.
7 ut ad suam ipsius uoluntatem *et* meum
8 honorem disponat illius *conuersionem*; *atque*
9 prouehat de illa *gaudium* meum. Hec di=
10 cens *predium* illud tradidit Beato uiro
11 in quo *ecclesiam* fabricaret; *et* habita=
12 cula seruis dei inibi mansuris *constru*=
13 eret. Ipse uero omnia sua ad *alium* transpo=
14 nens locum ex aduerso suum fixit *taberna*=
15 *culum*; unde *sancti* uiri *habitaculum* omni
16 hora posset intueri.
17 C⁷ um uero construende Basilice
18 sanctus intenderet. ipse *nonnumquam*
19 manus apponebat. semper quidem suffi=
20 cienter sumptus administrans; et tam
21 labore suo *quam* *industria* opus acce=
22 lerans. *Interdum* etiam cum uir beatus
23 diuina celebraret *misteria*; ipse *presens*
24 aderat cum uxore sua *et* filia nomine
25 Wenefreda. *Quando* autem uir *sanctus* po=

⁶ Running title (above the two columns): **Wenefrede uirginis**.

⁷ C is a large blue and red initial covering two lines.

26 pulo mandata *domini* reuelabat. *prefatam*
 27 uirginem ad pedes uiri *dei* ponebat;
 28 admonens. *omnia* sollerter aduertere
 29 et patulo corde suscipere que ab illo di=
 30 cebantur. Quod futurorum *prescius deus*
 31 in cassum fieri *non* permittebat. Nam
 32 uirgo futura *dei* templum ardenti desi=
 33 derio percipiebat. que auribus hauri=
 34 ebat; et tenaci memoria recondebat
 35 inproximo operibus exhibitura quod tunc
 36 animo congerebat. Multociens quoque peti=
 37 ta a parentibus licencia ad uirum *dei*

{107rb}

1 ueniebat sitibundo ebibens pecto=
 2 re que ab ipsius mellifluo profereban=
 3 tur ore. Illa interius inspirante *dei*
 4 gracia cotidie crescebat in melius et
 5 proficiebat in sapientia; mente sua spiritu *sancto*
 6 ardentem debriata a magistro suo fue=
 7 rat edocta uerbis. *domini* fidem adhi=
 8 bere preceptis; patri et matri renunciare
 9 christumque sequi; sed etas inbecillis et in=
 10 matura inpedimento erat. Statuit
 11 firmiter in animo id quod docuerat facien=
 12 dum. Ueniens igitur ad uirum *dei* rogans.
 13 ut patrem et matrem conueniret ut do=
 14 minum sequeretur; et audacter secre=
 15 ti sui eum conscium fecit. Semina inquit

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

16 uerbi diuini a tuo *michi profusa* ore ma=
17 nifesta tibi fiere uolo. *Omnem seculi*
18 lux^{um} *amodo* abdicare delegi; *et uirginita*=
19 tem *meam* ad honorem sponsi celes=
20 tis *integram et incontaminatam* conser=
21 uare disposui. Et hoc *pater sanctissi*=
22 me tuo obtentu ab *utroque* parente
23 impetrare *michi* ^{de}postulo. Hec audiens
24 *sanctus* pietate motus. *gaudensque quod se*=
25 *men diuinum iam in illa* pullularet;
26 dixit se parentes eius sollicite conuen=
27 turum; et hoc *pro* posse suo *quod* petebat
28 acturum. *Quod facillimum factu et le*=
29 ue ad impetrandum erat. tum *quia pa*=
30 rentes. eius patrocinio se funditus sub=
31 diderant. qui ad *intercedendum* introdu=
32 cebatur; tum *quia* diuini nectaris ple=
33 nitudo *illorum etiam animos* imbuerat.
34 Proinde *cum* a uiro dei parentes filie
35 sue desiderium cognouissent; suf=
36 fuis lacrimis *deum benedixerunt. et be*=
37 nigne concesserunt. Deposito *igitur*

{107va}⁸

1 onere quo *non mediocriter grauabantur*;
2 rerum *suarum* opulenciam multifa=
3 rie diuiserunt. *pauperibus. uiduis et*
4 orphanis subsidia administrantes

⁸ Running title: **sancte**

5 atque dei seruo operosius intendentes.
 6 Et quoniam uidebant filiam suam non nisi
 7 filio dei nuptum^[i] dari uolentem⁷ omnia
 8 que congregantes custodiebant il=
 9 li tribuenda. si homini terreno nube=
 10 ret⁷ in diuinis officiis expendebant.
 11 Puella uero adepta obtabile desideri=
 12 um suum. nimio afficiebatur gau=
 13 dio. gestiensque in spiritu sancto. sitibun=
 14 do hauriens pectore que de gloria spon=
 15 si sui ab ipsius defluebant ore. Uir=
 16 go itaque pro ipsius amore cui se deuoue=
 17 rat nichil in se terrenum admittebat⁷
 18 uni soli inherere. uni soli inhabitare.
 19 uidelicet in domo domini omnibus diebus
 20 uite sue. Sepe ad ecclesiam pergebat
 21 frequenter in ea pernoctabat⁷ Interdum se
 22 sancto ingerens sollicitabat eum sermo=
 23 nem facere de sponsi sui moribus⁷ tota
 24 quippe illius desiderio inardescens. Tunc
 25 aliquantulum gaudii herebat. cum deami=
 26 ci sui moribus et uita tracetare. cum de
 27 eius excellencia. Decore. et potencia⁷ loqui
 28 audiebat. Atque huiusmodi eius refectio.
 29 omnem terrenarum rerum iocunditatem
 30 excellebat⁷ et in illius corde spiritualis
 31 iocunditatis indeficiens delecta=
 32 mentum retinebat. Et licet etate tenera

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

33 *esset. perfecta tamen moribus. et corde cana*
 34 *erat. animus tocius cupiditatis contemp=*
 35 *tozem habens. in exterioribus quoque non modi=*
 36 *cam diuinitus acceperat gratiam. Erat*
 37 *autem uultu pulcherima. et uerbo affa=⁹*

{107vb}

1 *bilis. atque toto corpore decenter composi=*
 2 *ta. unde callidi insidiatoris astuci=*
 3 *as non usquequaque effugere preualuit. Ex*
 4 *hoc enim materiam assumpsit.*
 5 **P**¹⁰ *ost quam Beatus Ben^unous¹¹ ecclesie*
 6 *sue fabricam cooperante deo*
 7 *consummasset et eam deo consecrasset. fi=*
 8 *nitimi ad eam ueniebant. sed et*
 9 *omni fere die uirginis parentes ad au=*
 10 *dienda que dei erant. ibi conuenie=*
 11 *bant. Contigit autem quadam Dominica¹²*
 12 *Die pergentibus omnibus ad ecclesiam. et*
 13 *uirginis parentes. uirgo illorum filia*
 14 *aliquod forte incommodum perpessa. domi*
 15 *sola remanere choacta est. Et ecce*
 16 *quidam iuuenis chradocus nomine. fi=*
 17 *lius alani regis domum intrauit. uir=*
 18 *ginem solam iuxta focum sedentem*

⁹ **affa=** Something was erased above the first a.

¹⁰ **P** is a large red and blue initial, with the body covering two lines and the tail a further ten.

¹¹ **Ben^unous** The top stroke connecting the two minims of the erroneous n was erased in order to transform it into a u.

¹² **Dominica** (margin) {Nota} This marginalia is highly decorative, with all the other letters contained in the shape of the N.

19 inuenit. Que cognito regis filio
 20 confestim surrexit; *quid* sibi placu=
 21 erit humiliter *requisiuit*. Illo uero *in*=
 22 *terrogante* quo *pater* illius *discessis*=
 23 *set*. et dicente se *plurimum* illius collo=
 24 *quio* indigere; puella respondit. *Pater*
 25 *inquit meus* ad *ecclesiam* iuit. diuinis
 26 *misteriis interesse*. Si tibi *neccesarius est*. pau=
 27 *lulum* te *illum operiri oportet*; uolensque
 28 ab illo alicubi *diuertere*. hec *dicens sim*=
 29 *plici animo*; nichil quidem doli uel a=
 30 *stucie suspicabatur*. B^Re¹³ *autem* uera
 31 *incentiua libidinis illum adduxe*=
 32 *rant*; ad *quam explendam totus ef*=
 33 *frenis et preceps uolitabat*. *Cum enim*
 34 *dixisset puella oportere illum pa*=
 35 *trem suum expectare*; respondit iu=
 36 *uenis*. *Patienter inquit aduentum eius*
 37 *expectabo*; si tu *interim in amiciciam*

{108ra}¹⁴

1 *meam ueniens uoluntati mee as*=
 2 *sensum prebueris*. *Regis me filium esse*
 3 *non ignoras diuitiis et honoribus mul*=
 4 *tis refertum*. te etiam *affluenter locuple*=
 5 *taturam*; si mee *peticioni assentire*
 6 *uolueris*. *Uirgo uero sentiens eum de*

¹³ B^Re The scribe initially appears to have written B, perhaps expecting to write Beata, but then attempted to correct this to R, by adding two new downward hooks.

¹⁴ Running title: *Wenefrede*.

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7 concubitu sermonem inseruisse; pau=
8 lulum demissa uultu ~~m~~ ~~æ~~boreque suffu=
9 sa. simulauit quidem primo grauiter
10 se ferre quod eam incomptam et inor=
11 natam inuenisset. Deinde dixit
12 ei. Cum tu regio ortus genere post/mo=
13 dicum deo annuante rex sis futurus fe=
14 licitate seculari me opulenter replen=
15 dam esse non dubito; tuo matrimonio
16 copulatam. Uerumptamen paulisper
17 patere donec pater meus adueniat; et ego
18 interim thalamum meum intrabo cito
19 ad te reditura. Profecto hec dicens
20 solummodo ad horam auelli ab eo quere=
21 bat. Uidebat miserimum hominem in=
22 felici libidine accensum. illius amo=
23 re letaliter torqueri; et uelut amentem
24 fieri. Sciebat uero quod parentum absenti=
25 a infestus hostis insanior redde=
26 retur; ideoque ab ipsius manibus abstra=
27 hi adpresens qualibet occasione cogita=
28 bat. Concessit tandem ut cameram
29 suam ingrederetur; sperans illam cum
30 decentiore ornatu ad se redituram.
31 Tunc illa surgens thalamum est ingres=
32 sa; nichil differens ex altera parte per
33 ostium camere egreditur; et uersus ecclesiam
34 prepeti cursu iter arripuit. Ibi enim et

35 *si non timore dei multitudine tamen*
 36 *hominum protegi et defendi putabat. Que*
 37 *fuga mox iuueni infausto innotu=*
 {108rb}
 1 *it; qui statim furibundus effectus*
 2 *uehementique iracundia repletus arep=*
 3 *to gladio uelociter eam insequi cepit.*
 4 *Et quoniam aliquantulum spacii domum pa=*
 5 *ternam ab ecclesia dirimebat; facili*
 6 *conamine assecutus est illam. Quampri=*
 7 *us toruo uultu intuens. hiis uerbis*
 8 *eam affatus est. Olim te amaui et*
 9 *meis amplexibus coniungere deside=*
 10 *raui; nunc ad te uenientem refugis. et te*
 11 *petentem contempnis; Iam pro certo sci=*
 12 *as. quod aut michi in presentiarum ultro=*
 13 *nea commisseberis; aut sine mora gla=*
 14 *dio isto capite absciso uitam finies.*
 15 *Uirgine itaque ad ecclesie limina¹⁵ {se}*
 16 *uertente et sollicite inspiciente. si ali=*
 17 *quis inde exiret qui sibi adiutorium*
 18 *ferret. Nemo prorsus egressus est. Tunc*
 19 *ad iuuenem uirgo conuersa. ait. Regis eter*
 20 *ni inquit sum filia; et omnium hominum*
 21 *iudicis filio in matrimonio copula=*
 22 *ta. nullum alium recipere possum; et ne=*
 23 *te diutius protraham; nullum preter il=*

¹⁵ **ecclesie limina** These words both appear to be partially written on an erasure.

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24 lum dum uixero admissura sum. Ideoque
 25 exime gladium. uires. Certusque
 26 esto quia nec terrores tui neque blandicie
 27 ab illius dilectionis dulcedine me po=
 28 terunt diuellere. Ille uero audiens se
 29 contempni simulque credens illam muniri
 30 non posseꝫ euaginato gladio caput
 31 Wenefrede uirginis amputauit.
 32 Statim uero ut caput uirginis ad terram
 33 corruitꝫ in eodem loco fons¹⁶ lucidis=
 34 simus ^{vbertim} erumpens emanauitꝫ qui usque
 35 hodie fluere non desistit. Multis in=
 36 firmantibus Beate uirginis meritis. sani=
 37 tatem prestans. et quoniam iuxta ostium ecclesie

{108va}¹⁷

1 uirginem apprehendens ei caput absci=
 2 deratꝫ statim caput in ecclesia corruit
 3 corpore retrorsum extra ecclesiam rema=
 4 nente. Ad pedem enim cliui ^{cuiusdam} sub quo ec=
 5 clesia sita erat atque in dex~~xxxx~~^{ssens}u illius
 6 montis caput uirginis resectum faci=
 7 le ruendo in ecclesia elapsus est. TruN
 8 cum uero corpus quo prius extra ceciderat
 9 locum optinebat. Inter pedes uero stanci=
 10 um in ecclesia corruens caput uni=
 11 uersos admiratione permaxima com=

¹⁶ fons (margin){nota de fonte sancte Wenefrede uirginis. vbertim erumpente qui usque hodie fluere non desistit}.

¹⁷ Running title: **sancte**.

12 mouit, *omnibusque* nimio terrore per=
 13 culsis. atque dirum nefas grauiusque ul=
 14 ciscendum patratum fuisse dicentibus;
 15 auctoremque illius detestantibus. Pa=
 16 rentes puella tumultu aliorum com=
 17 moti accesserunt; rem certius cogni=
 18 turi. Filiamque suam exanimem cer=
 19 nentes. hinc caput ab scisum. illinc
 20 corpus truncum aspicientes; ad terram
 21 lacrimosi corruerunt. tristitia^{que} et an=
 22 xietate soluti flebilem uocem emitten=
 23 tes; clamoris planctibus dolorem
 24 suum prodiderunt.
 25 C¹⁸ um igitur magnus in ecclesia tu=
 26 multus oriretur. omnibus quidem
 27 uirginis interitum lamentantibus mul=
 28 tis tamen nimium miserantibus acerbita=
 29 tem doloris que parentes illius inuase=
 30 rat. Uir igitur sanctus strepitum audiens et
 31 seditioem suspicatus ad cetum perue=
 32 nit astancium. Cernensque uirginem quam
 33 deo consecraturus erat tam crudeliter
 34 peremptam. miserabiliter condoluit.
 35 Peremptor uero uirginis adhuc iuxta
 36 corpus tumidus foris assistens; gla=
 37 dium suum cruore uirginis madidum

¹⁸ C is a large blue and red initial covering two lines.

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{108vb}

1 cunctis aspicientibus *per* herbam deterge=
 2 bat. Nam *quia* filius regis erat inpune
 3 tantum se perpetrasse flagicium putabat;
 4 *Sed et* in tanti admissione facinoris ni=
 5 chil se *deum* uereri testatus est. *Sanctus uero*
 6 *grauiter* ferens *superbiam et obstinationem*
 7 accessit ad eum in manibus suis capud
 8 uirginis tenens. et respiciens in faci=
 9 em iuuenis his uerbis illum affari cepit.
 10 O sceleste inquit qui iuuenilis d^ocoris¹⁹
 11 indolem et regie dignitatis *progeniem*
 12 homicidali maculasti *crimine*; Cur
 13 te tantum admisisse scelus *non* penitet;
 14 Pacem *conturbasti. et ecclesiam* tuo *sacri*=
 15 legio fedasti; *deumque* nefarius irritasti.
 16 *nec* doles; Nunc *autem* quia *ecclesie non* peper=
 17 cisti; *nec dominice* diei reuerentiam exhibu=
 18 isti; *deum* meum *deprecor. quatinus* que tu
 19 indigne *commisisti. in presenti* digna
 20 *recompensatione* recipias. His *dictis*; iu=
 21 uenis illico ad *terram* corruens ex=
 22 spirauit. *Mirumque* dictu in conspectu
 23 *omnium* *astancium* *corpis* defuncti *lique*=
 24 *factum* disparuit; multis *aseueranti*=
 25 bus tellure dehiscente *absorb^{tum}*²⁰ fu=

¹⁹ **d^ocoris** The scribe erased part of the o to form an e.

²⁰ **absorb^{tum}** A nasal bar above the t has been erased.

26 *isse. et cum spiritu suo in baratro demersum.*
 27 *Uniuersi uero hoc uidentes pro insueti*
 28 *nouitate prodigii. in effabili pauo=*
 29 *re percelluntur. Dehinc sanctus caput*
 30 *uirginis quod inter manus assumpserat. se=*
 31 *pius deosculans; turbatus est. spiritu et*
 32 *flere compulsus. Postea uero ordine*
 33 *suo illud componens adegit reliquo cor=*
 34 *pori. palliumque suum super illud sternens;*
 35 *in naribus illius insufflauit. Deinde*
 36 *parentibus nullam consolationem²¹ ad=*
 37 *mittentibus sed continuis lamentis*

{109ra}²²

1 *filie sue necem plangentibus; prece=*
 2 *pit luctum intermittere. et a dolore ces=*
 3 *sare. Ipse autem ad altare missam ce=*
 4 *lebraturus accessit. Qua peracta omni=*
 5 *bus ad eum intendentibus et spem ad*
 6 *deum erigentibus; ipse ad corpus exa=*
 7 *nimum peruenit. Dehinc luculen=*
 8 *to ad populum sermone usus est; inter*
 9 *cetera dicens uirginem illam uotum deo fe=*
 10 *cisse sed morte interceptam non congru=*
 11 *um tempus exsoluendi habuisse; et ideo*
 12 *debere eos deuotius humi procumbentes*
 13 *pro resurrectione illius deum interpellare;*

²¹ *consolationem* The scribe may have originally written u, which he then tried to changed into ti.

²² Running title: *Wenefrede*.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

14 scientes se multas *imposterum per eam*
15 *commoditates ad epturos. Quod il=*
16 *li satis acurate fecerunt; et de imma=*
17 *tura uirginis morte parentum dolorem*
18 *meritis sancti mitigauere. Postquam igitur*
19 *diu oratum est. uir sanctus a terra surgens*
20 *et manus ad celum tendens; domine inquit*
21 *iesu christe pro cuius amore hec uirgo terrena*
22 *respuit et celestia concupiuit; nos*
23 *te deuotis inuocantes animis mi=*
24 *sericors exaudi. et uiscera pietatis tue*
25 *super nos effunde; uotorum nostrorum ef=*
26 *fectorem in presenti te esse concedens. Et*
27 *quamquam uirginem hanc pro tuo amore pas=*
28 *sam. non ignoremus in celestis gaudii*
29 *sinibus repositam. nostro ulterius non in=*
30 *digere contubernio. tu tamen clementissime*
31 *pater. filiis tuis te humilem deprecanti=*
32 *bus. benignum te et exaudibilem pres=*
33 *tans; precipe ^{itaque} ut puelle huius anima cor=*
34 *pori suo inducta; regimen te et do=*
35 *minationem tam animarum quam corpor=*
36 *um habere demonstret; quatinus tue*
37 *gracia misericordie rediuiua. nomen tuum mag=*

{109rb}

1 *nificet; et post longa uite spacia*
2 *multiplicato bone conuersionis fe=*
3 *nore ad te redeat sponsum suum*

4 unicum uidelicet dei patris filium; cum
 5 quo et spiritu sancto uiuis et regnas deus
 6 per infinita secula seculorum. Cumque omnes
 7 respondissent Amen; puella quasi
 8 a sompno surrexit tergensque fa=
 9 ciem suam atque emundans a pul=
 10 uere et sudore. astantes admira=
 11 tione et gaudio repleuit. Porro ubi
 12 caput ipsius collotenus prius resectum.
 13 et postea in diuina gracia compactum atque re=
 14 solidatum fuerat; albedo quedam tenu=
 15 issima in modum fili collum ambie=
 16 bat. et locum sectionis obducebat. Quod
 17 deinceps ad demonstrandam capitis
 18 illius ^{re}sectionem. atque miraculi ostentionem.
 19 quamdiu uirgo in corpore deguit; semper
 20 uno modo permansit. Inde ferunt illius
 21 prouincie homines eam Wenefredam
 22 fuisse uocatam; cum antea ut ipsi as=
 23 seuerant Brewa²³ nominata sit.²⁴ Quod enim
 24 ipsi in sua lingua. Wen; dicunt; lati=
 25 ni candidum uocant. Sicque ex occa=
 26 sione albedinis collum circumdantis.
 27 ex re nomen habere dicta est adiecta particula

²³ **Brewa** (margin, eighteenth- or nineteenth-century hand) {Gwen bre wy / Albi collis aqua}. The Welsh is thus glossed by Latin. ‘Wy’ for water appears first to occur in Lhuyd’s *Archaeologica Britannica* (1707): see GPC s.v. ‘gwy’.

²⁴ **sit** (margin) {Binom~~x~~ina WenBrewa pro Wenefreda}.

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28 que est ~~Wei~~^{Wey}²⁵ Fertur etiam quod postquam de hoc
 29 mundo migravit nulli penitus manifes=
 30 te apparuerit qui illo candido signo
 31 collum ipsius circumdatum non uiderit. Hoc
 32 quoque argumento titulum sue passionis ad=
 33 modum sibi placuisse designat; quem
 34 tociens patenter demonstrat; quotiens
 35 alicui se uidendam ostendit. Locus
 36 uero ubi sanguis illius effusus est. primitus
 37 e^sicca²⁶ uallis dicebatur; postquam autem caput
 {109va}²⁷
 1 eius abcisum terram tetigit. et ut prefati
 2 sumus fons ibi aque salientis emana=
 3 uit; qui etiam manet usque in hodie=
 4 num diem. sanans omnes languores tam
 5 in hominibus quam in pecoribus. Locus isdem
 6 de nomine puelle uocabulum sortitus est.
 7 Nam illorum lingua. fenna^{o}n Wene=
 8 frede. nostra fons Wenefrede nominatur.
 9 Fenna^{o}n enim latino sermone fontem
 10 sonat. Et quoniam de corpore in descensu
 11 deuexi montis iacente uultus fue=
 12 rat effusus sanguis; lapides aspergi=
 13 ne ipsius infecti tam in fontis scatu=

²⁵ ~~Wei~~ deletion appears to be carried out by eighteenth or nineteenth century hand, and Wey added in the margin by the same hand.

²⁶ e^sicca The scribe changed the initial letter from a c into an s by adding a long curved tail. (margin with a signe-de-renvoi) {sicca Vallis}.

²⁷ Running title: Sancte.

14 rigine *quam* in riuo *illius* seu in *amborum*
 15 margine passim iacebant. Et *quod* dic=
 16 tu *et* auditu mirabile *est*; lapides illi
 17 *consersi* sanguine ad huc *pristinam* retinent
 18 *consersionem*; *que* patet usque in *presentem* di=
 19 em scire uolentibus. Nam sunt *quasi* con=
 20 gelato cruore *perfusi*; *nec* situ *temporis* *nec*
 21 assidua *preterfluentis* aque eluuione
 22 *detersi*. *Mussic~~la~~*²⁸ uero que eisdem lapi=
 23 *dibus* ~~xx~~*adheret*;²⁹ *quasi* thus redolet. Fa=
 24 *mosum*³⁰ satis atque *omnibus* *patriam* *illam*
 25 *incolentibus* notissimum *est*; *fontem* *illum*
 26 adhuc *pristino* more durare. et lapi=
 27 des ut *prediximus* *cruentatos* in ~~u~~*illo*³¹ *inue*=
 28 *niri*. *merita* *uirginis* ostendentes *et* *spem*
 29 *omnibus* portendentes; *eandem* *uirginem*
 30 *se inuocantibus* opitulari posse. *Homines*
 31 *uero* *illius* *prouincie* qui *nondum* *deum* *cogno*=
 32 *uerant*. *uidentes* *uirginis* *resuscitationem*
 33 *et* de fontis emanatione. *petrarumque* con=
 34 *spersione* tam *apertum* *et* *euidens* *miracu*=
 35 *lum* *factum* *fuisse*; ad *pedes* *sancti* *Beu*~~x~~=
 36 *noi* *prouoluti*. *dei* *misteriis* *se* *imbui*
 37 *petierunt*. *Quos* *ille* *benigna* *deuo*=

²⁸ *Mussic~~la~~* Abbreviation mark deleted after l.

²⁹ ~~xx~~*adheret*; The deleted letters may be pt with a suspension mark above them.

³⁰ *mosum* The suspension mark was accidentally erased in part through deleting the letters of the line above.

³¹ ~~u~~*illo* The scribe changed the u to an i by erasing the first minim.

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{109vb}

1 tione suscipiens sacri baptismatis un=
 2 da purificauit; et diuinorum *preceptorum*
 3 sermonibus instructos in dei seruitio
 4 confirmauit. *Qualiter Beata uirgo*
 5 *post resuscitationem suam uixerit. et quem uite*
 6 *modum habuerit; nunc succincte curabimus.*
 7 **C**³² Um *igitur* ut prelocuti sumus
 8 Beata uirgo a mortuis resur=
 9 rexisset; tota die *sancti* uiri pedibus
 10 adherens. *illius* sermonibus sedula de=
 11 uotione intendebat; de omnibus que
 12 ad *deum* pertinent plenius instrui uolens.
 13 Quo *facto*; discipline dogmate suffici=
 14 enter assecuto. illa *magistri* sui pedibus
 15 ad uoluta; uelari se obnixe petiit.
 16 *Cum enim.* inquit. a parentibus meis hoc *michi*
 17 *concessum est. et meum noueris animum omnem se=*
 18 *culi luxum calcantem. solius dei amor*
 19 *et cognitioni inhiare;* nulla debet a
 20 *modo esse dilatio;* ad *consequenda* deside=
 21 *rii mei sacramenta. Noli ergo pater sancte me=*
 22 *um diutius differre desiderium. Tunc uir*
 23 *Beatus uocatis parentibus eius. uirginis uo=*
 24 *tum eis manifestauit;* et *prerogatamm*³³
 25 *ei diuinam gratiam datam predixit; atque*

³² **C** is a large red and blue initial covering two lines.

³³ **prerogatamm** The scribe added a nasal abbreviation mark above the final a and wrote an m at the end of the word.

26 ipsius uoluntati se satis *facere* uelle
 27 *intimauit. Illis uero benigne consentienti=*
 28 *bus. filieque sue deuotionem iocundo af=*
 29 *fectu complectentibus; uir sanctus coram mul=*
 30 *tis illam sacro uelamine indutam*
 31 *consecrauit; atque regularis propositi disci=*
 32 *plinam sufficienter in eam confirmauit.*
 33 *Que statim post completum desiderii sui uo=*
 34 *tum. tocius uirtutis arcem agrediens;*
 35 *et regularis discipline studiis deuotissi=*
 36 *me inherens; in breui tocius ordinis peri=*
 37 *tiam. et obseruantie perfectionem adep=*

{110ra}³⁴

1 ta est. De hinc cotidie magis ac ma=
 2 gis proficiens. *Beatum uirum pro nimia sancti=*
 3 *tate sua admodum letificabat. Qui*
 4 *uocatis parentibus ipsius huiusmodi sermo=*
 5 *ne usus est. Uos me inquit prius hic*
 6 *suscepistis. et meis postulationibus uos*
 7 *paratos exhibuistis; demum quoque locum*
 8 *istum dei seruiicio instituendum consen=*
 9 *sistis; et uos illud idem efficaciter*
 10 *complere studuistis. Nunc uero quoniam diui=*
 11 *na prouidentia in^{ter} nos exuberauerunt*
 12 *beneficia; lumen celeste uobis et filie*
 13 *uestre infusum diligenter atten^dite. graci=*
 14 *amque qua respersi estis sollicite con=*

³⁴ Running title: **Wenefrede.**

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

15 siderates; *preostensam* uobis salutis
 16 uiam uigilanter incedere curate. Et
 17 quoniam mei presentia ad presens caritu=
 18 ri estis. quia alias me uocat deus; exem=
 19 plis. et a^{d}monitionibus filie uestre sollerter
 20 ~~xxxxxxx~~^{intendite}; scientes illam non solum uobis.
 21 uerum etiam omni populo exemplum sa=
 22 lutis futuram. Ad uirginem uero conuersus.
 23 te inquit. laboribus meis succedere preci=
 24 pit deus; uiamque uite a me tibi preliba=
 25 tam incedere; aliisque incedendam osten=
 26 dere. Te enim singularis meriti palmam
 27 coram se ferre delegit; tuique martyrii
 28 exemplo. atque bone uite conuersione mul=
 29 tos in hoc seculo ad suum amorem informan=
 30 dos instituit. Tuum igitur erit. ex hinc lo=
 31 cum istum incolere atque uirgines in dei
 32 seruiicio uicturas. et hic tecum mansu=
 33 ras congregare. Unum procerto scias;
 34 te in hoc loco finem uite non habituram.
 35 Cum enim in iugi corporis abstinencia
 36 et spiritus afflictione deo seruiens .VII^{tem}. an=
 37 nos hic peregeris; alium te inuisere lo=

{110rb}

1 cum diuinitus admonitam. oportebit;
 2 deo te dirigente. et per te multorum cordium
 3 tenebras illuminante. Hoc etiam re=
 4 tine. quod celebris erit in hoc mundo

5 memoria tuaꝫ et quanti apud deum fu=
 6 eris meriti multi per te incommodorum
 7 suorum remedia adepti contestabuntur.
 8 C³⁵ umque Beata
 9 uirgo super dissc^cessu³⁶ doctoris sui
 10 plurimum contristata fleretꝫ Beatus Bev=
 11 nous arrepta manu eius dextera.
 12 duxit illam ad fontem quem de loco ubi
 13 capud eius abscisum ceciderat emanas=
 14 se superius designauimusꝫ statuensque
 15 illam super lapidem unum qui tunc ibi
 16 repertus est. et usque hodie in riuo fontis
 17 manetꝫ ꝫ^{et} lapis sancti Beunoi ab incolis
 18 appellatur. Hiis illam uerbis denuo
 19 allocutus est. ꝫ^Uides³⁷ inquit ad huc hic
 20 uestigia tue passionisꝫ Ecce lapi=
 21 des isti tuo conspersi sanguine. te pro deo
 22 martyrium passam fuisse demonstrantꝫ
 23 atque adtui ipsius honoris perpetuum
 24 aliorumque multorum monumentum. con=
 25 spersionem qua de tuo cruore made=
 26 facti sunt quasi recentem seruant. Nunc igitur
 27 diligenti et tenaci memoria. mea
 28 uerba reconde. ad multorum noticiam
 29 reuerenti relatione peruenturaꝫ atque
 30 per futuras temporum successiones non=

³⁵ C is a large blue and red initial covering two lines.

³⁶ dissc^cessu The scribe erased half of the erroneous s and thickened the remaining portion to form a c.

³⁷ ꝫ^Uides The scribe lengthened the minims of the u to change it from minuscule to majuscule.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

31 nullis plurimum profutura. ¶Tria³⁸ autem
 32 donatiua a deo tibi erogata cē³⁹ cog=
 33 nosce, que et laudis tue titulum
 34 sollempniter celebrabunt; et in post^e=
 35 riorum mentibus deuotionis tue amo=
 36 rem digna ueneratione cumulabunt.
 37 **Primum Donatum.**

{110va}⁴⁰

1 P⁴¹ Rimum quidem est quod lapides
 2 isti cruoris tui aspergin^e⁴² madi=
 3 di nulla poterunt per secula ablutio=
 4 ne detergi; nec assidue istius aque im=
 5 petu ablu; sed ad tue passionis osten=
 6 tionem semper cruentati apparebunt; deo
 7 ad sue gloriam maiestatis. atque ad tue
 8 triumphum castitatis tale miraculum
 9 faciente. ¶Secundum uero est; quod quicumque
 10 aliqua infortunia passus te requisierit.
 11 et perte a sua inualitudine seu oppres=
 12 sione se liberari petierit; prima siue secunda
 13 aut certe tertia uice; uoluntatis sue com=
 14 pos effectus. quod postulauerat se impetras=
 15 se gaudebit. Si autem contigerit petentem te

³⁸ Tria (margin){Nota}

³⁹ cē The scribe appears to have written an initial c in error for e, this otherwise being the abbreviation for esse.

⁴⁰ Running title: Sancte

⁴¹ P is a large red and blue initial, the body of which covers two lines. The tail, which does not impinge on the text, covers a further seven.

⁴² aspergin^e The scribe transformed the erroneous u into an e by erasing the final minim and inking a loop onto the remaining minim.

16 trine uicis petitione *quod* rogauerat non
 17 secutum fuisse; *certissime* sciat se *presen*=
 18 tis uite luce in *proximo* cariturum; *atque*
 19 ideo occulto iudicio dei *precis* sue fruc=
 20 tu in presenti frustratum fuisse; *proficere*
 21 sibi tamen ^{et} ad anime sue medelam te inuo=
 22 casse *constanter* intelligat; *atque* perte
 23 aliquid sibi diuinitus maius prestari. *quam*
 24 si *quod* petebat exterius *consequeretur*. ¶Ter=
 25 cium donatiuum huius modi est Cum ad presens a=
 26 te discessero *super* litus maris locum ad
 27 manendum conuenientem largiri michi
 28 dignabitur deus; et licet magno a te
 29 interuallo discretus fuero; tuis ~~tamen~~
 30 muneribus me omni anno inuisendum⁴³
 31 precepit altissimus. Cum ergo quod michi diri=
 32 gere uolueris in manibus paratum
 33 habueris; ad *presentem* fontem cum
 34 munere tuo festinabis; *et* quicquid illud
 35 fuerit. deo prius illud *commissum* in fon=
 36 te *confidenter* depones. Statimque uide=
 37 bis depositum tuum a fonte *perriuum*

{110vb}

1 deduci. *et* impetu decurrentis aque
 2 insubtus decurrentem magnum fluui=
 3 um illesum traici. Moxque magno
 4 maris elemento dei uoluntati obtemper=

⁴³ **inuisendum** This word's final abbreviation is ambiguous.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

5 ante atque ministerium preparante ac pre=
6 bente, quod tu in fonte ^[de]posueris. ad
7 mei hospicioli ianuam deferetur, per
8 sinuosa undarum uolumina. per tu=
9 mescentis et undisonas⁴⁴ maris procel=
10 las. usque ad meum contubernium inuio=
11 late delatum. Hoc quoque omnibus annis
12 dum michi uita comes fuerit. deo precipien=
13 te contingere oportebit. Eruntque hec tria
14 a deo tibi concessa dona prerogatiue
15 diuinitus tibi collate designatiua, et
16 dum mundus iste durauerit ad tue ce=
17 lebritatem memorie. et laudis gloriam.
18 multorum narratione magnificata. His
19 dictis, ad ecclesiam eam reduxit, iterum
20 huiusmodi uerbis illam alloquens. Ecce
21 templum istud inquit et habitacula circumstan=
22 tia partim meo labore. pa^[r]tim paren=
23 tum tuorum sumptibus edificata, tibi relin=
24 quo, quatinus me hinc abeunte. tu
25 congregatis ad seruitium christi tecum man=
26 suris uirginibus plurimis, hic intuo propo=
27 sito deo seruias. bonam uite conuersatio=
28 nem. et exempla uiuendi a me tibi insi=
29 nuata nullatenus intermittas. Sciasque
30 quod in loco isto ad multorum utilitatem.
31 magna fiet uirtutis diuine ostencio,

⁴⁴ undisonas An insertion mark appears to have been added by the o and then deleted.

32 atque per hic manentium exempla ad
 33 dei cognitionem ascendent plurimi; omnia
 34 mundi emolumenta postposituri. ut
 35 christum lucri faciant. Sanitates quoque
 36 multiformes et animarum et corporum diuer=
 37 sa infirmitate languentibus. hic passim
 {111ra}⁴⁵
 1 distribuentur. Omnis etas uel sexus. ali=
 2 quid remedii se in hoc loco contigis=
 3 se gaudebit. Tu uero sic te deo placa=
 4 bilem exhibe. et talem te omnibus effice;
 5 quatinus in te nomen sanctum eius gloriosum existat.
 6 et te aspicientibus forma salutis effi=
 7 ciaris. Hinc autem nunc abeo; deo alias
 8 famulaturus; tuique deuotionem dum
 9 uixero cum dulci memoria habiturus.
 10 H⁴⁶ ec dicens. assumpto solummodo ba=
 11 culo suo abire cepit; omnem do=
 12 mus sue suppellectilem et quicquid ibidem sibi
 13 manenti perfidelium manus deus dederat
 14 totum Beate uirgini eiusque consortibus dere=
 15 liquid. Sic^{que} deo commendatis atque ualedicto
 16 uniuersis discessit; uno solo clerico
 17 comite contentus. Illa uero super uerbis il=
 18 lius atque discessione impacienter se agens
 19 miseram lacrimis et tristitia faciem gere=

⁴⁵ Running title: **Wenefrede**.

⁴⁶ H is a large blue and red initial, the body of which covers two lines and the ascender a further three.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

20 batꝫ se inconsultam dicebat pasto=
21 ris *presencia. et diligencia desolatam.*
22 Elapso autem aliquanto tempore rediens ad
23 se Beata uirgo. et ad memoriam redu=
24 cens *conuersionis sue modum passionisque*
25 *titulum. atque Beati doctoris sui undisonas Beunoi*
26 *sermones seu uaticinia uirilem constaN=*
27 *ciam agrediensꝫ omnem merorem fun=*
28 *ditus deposuit. Statimque sponsum suum*
29 *christum cui se caste uiuendo deuouerat.*
30 *toto mentis affectu amplectensꝫ illi in=*
31 *hiare. ipsum sapere. ad eum suspirare*
32 *ardenti desiderio cepit. Deinde no=*
33 *bilium filias secum congregans doce=*
34 *bat eas castitatem amareꝫ atque spre=*
35 *tis omnibus mundi blandientis ille=*
36 *cebris. leui iugo christi colla submit=*
37 *tereꝫ et regularis propositi normam se dei*

{111rb}

1 seruicio mancipare. Nonnullae autem
2 uidentes *conuersionis illius seueritatem.*
3 *et modestam uite grauitatemꝫ gracia sunt*
4 *diuina compuncte. atque arripien=*
5 *tes monastici ordinis regulam sacro*
6 *indumento se uelari petierunt. Quibus*
7 *uirgo gloriosa Wenefreda boni pasto=*
8 *ris officia exercens. sanctorum patrum sen=*
9 *tenciis munitas esse. docebatꝫ assidu=*

10 is autem a^[d]monitionibus non desistebat illas
 11 instruere. Regule institutionibus sol=
 12 lenter intendere; propositique sui meminiss=
 13 se. atque in hiis officiosas existere;
 14 admonebat. Ipsa uero sine intermissione
 15 eadem faciebat; que subiectis suis
 16 facienda ^[e]docebat.
 17 **C**⁴⁷ UM igitur in omnibus celestis uite
 18 studiis sedula insisteret. fini=
 19 timi regionis illius circa illam deuoti
 20 existere. ad modum iocundabantur; di=
 21 centes nimia dei clemencia perfusos. esse
 22 quibus ipsa aut conuersatione aut fami=
 23 liaritate propius adherebat. Et quoniam
 24 multe uirtutum exhibitiones in mi=
 25 raculis per eam fiebant. illud plane
 26 et ferocium hominum corda magis illius
 27 deuotioni subdebat; et fidelium men=
 28 tes reuerenciam sibi exhibere compellebat.
 29 Beata uero Wenefreda cum huiusmodi bonis
 30 operibus perseueranter instaret; et per eam
 31 circumquaque celeste lumen radiaret; se=
 32 pissime uerborum et preceptorum magistri
 33 sui memoriam ad mentem reducens.
 34 Inproximo instare perpendit diem
 35 discessionis illius. in qua scilicet ab

⁴⁷ C is a large red and blue initial covering two lines.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

36 ea discesserat. *et munus sibi mitti*
 37 *preceperat. Quod illa sollicita sedulita=*
 {111va}
 1 *te in memoria retinens; tam sui*
 2 *ipsius quam uirginum suarum labore. casu=*
 3 *lam unam competenti textura composu=*
 4 *it uiro dei transmi^[t]tendam. Illu^[ce]scen=*
 5 *te itaque die quo exe^[n]nium illud mit=*
 6 *ti debebat. qui est. kalendas maii; uenit*
 7 *Beata uirgo cum pluribus aliis ad fontem*
 8 *in quo precepto uiri dei munus suum*
 9 *depositura erat; acceptamque casu=*
 10 *lam albo prius mantili inuoluit sic*
 11 *que in medio fontis eam deposuit;*
 12 *dicens se fontis ministerio hanc be=*
 13 *ato uiro Beunoo dirigere. Et ecce*
 14 *mirabile dictu et nisi fideli homini*
 15 *minime credibile. panniculus ille*
 16 *quo casula inuoluebatur nullam*
 17 *lesionem ab aqua patiebatur; nec*
 18 *uel minimam aque infusionem senti=*
 19 *ebat; sed omnino siccus cum casula per=*
 20 *manens. impetu decurrentis aque*
 21 *per riuum est deductus; atque in magno*
 22 *flumine transuectus. Totaque illa*
 23 *die cum sequenti nocte illud uirginis*
 24 *munus. per uarios fluctus marinos*
 25 *deductum; mane ad litus illud*

26 depulsum est super quod uir sanctus habitacu=
 27 la sua composuerat. Cum autem Beatus
 28 Beunous mane ab ecclesia sua di=
 29 gressus super horam maris staret;
 30 et qualiter prius exundate aque in se re=
 31 dirent quadamque ui occulta ad se
 32 fluctus suos attraherent. quoddam
 33 nescio quid admirando intueretur. Acce=
 34 densque propius quid illud esset certius sci=
 35 re conatur; admotaque manu ab
 36 harena illud eleuans. pannumque in=
 37 uolutum euoluens. casulam inue=

{111vb}

1 nit; nihil omnino lesionis habentem. Pan=
 2 nus quoque qui illam exterius obuoluerat
 3 ita siccus apparebat; ac si aquam non
 4 attigisset. Cogitante autem illo soller=
 5 tius et causam huius inuentionis discer=
 6 nere conante; quod intra bibule are=
 7 ne aquosa spacia aliquid non madidum in=
 8 ueniri potuerit. latenter subiit inmeN=
 9 tem eius de dilecte uirginis Wenefrede
 10 memoria. Habitaque secum deliberati=
 11 one. qualiter ei preceperit omni anno munus
 12 sibi parare. paratumque in fonte suo qui
 13 in riuum fluit deponere. Cognouit
 14 tandem spiritu sancto sibi reuelante. a Beata
 15 uirgine illud sibi transmissum; angelorum

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

16 *que ministerio per equoreos sinus illese sibi*
17 *delatum. Deoque inde suppliciter gracias*
18 *agens; munus illud benigne suscep=*
19 *tum in ecclesia reposuit; tam sui ipsius*
20 *quam aliorum seruorum dei usibus deinceps*
21 *exibendum. Gaudebatque quod uerborum*
22 *suorum uirgo sancta memor exstiterat. et quod*
23 *tam preclara fama illius fuerit; quod*
24 *ab illa omnis prouincia illuminata*
25 *erat. Orabat autem dominum incrementa uir=*
26 *tutum in ea augeri; et quicquid in oculis*
27 *eius placitum erat in ea multipliciter in=*
28 *ueniri. Ex effectu uero satis patuit*
29 *deum preces ipsius suscepisse; auresque*
30 *clementie sue exaudibiles illi exhibu=*
31 *isse. Etenim intantum celestis exercitii*
32 *studium in uirgine profecerat; ut in il=*
33 *la tocius perfectionis forma inueniretur; et*
34 *ipsa quasi singulare iubar tocius prouincie*
35 *forma uiuendi. et exemplis bene a=*
36 *gendi; tam absentibus quam presentibus*
37 *uirgo Wenefreda semper appare^{re}t. Effi=*

{112ra}⁴⁸

1 *catiam quoque mirabilem atque diui=*
2 *nam habebat ad persuadendum quod uole=*
3 *bat. Nam quotiens sermonem domini profe=*
4 *rebat; tanta inerat ei in sermone*

⁴⁸ Running title: **Wenefrede.**

5 facultas *et* insententiis modesta *gra*=
 6 uitas; ut omnes ipsius loquela lini=
 7 ret. Ipsa uero ad omnia que *Beatus* Beu=
 8 nous ei *preceperat* *prompta et* obediens
 9 nichil *omnino* intermittens de omnibus sibi
 10 imperatis.
 11 **S**⁴⁹ Ingulis uero annis in die kalen=
 12 darum maii munus *transmittebat* doc=
 13 tori suo dum uiuebat; modo *quo superius*
 14 designauimus; Et licet magnum spa=
 15 cium illos abinuicem dirimebat; quin=
 16 quaginta *enim*. miliaria aut eo amplius
 17 inter illos *distanciam* faciebant; unius
 18 tamen noctis spacio. *persinuosa* maris
 19 molumina *deportatum*. ad ianu=
 20 am *monasterii* sui mane in are=
 21 na litoris inueniebatur. Ex hoc *autem*
 22 *Beato* uiro cognomen additum est; quod
 23 apud Wallie homines usque in hodie=
 24 num diem *memoriale* habetur. Nam
 25 Beunous *casulsech*. id est Beunous
 26 casula sicca uocatur; eo quod per aquas
 27 ab aquis illesa ad eum sicca casu=
 28 la deferetur. Accidit *autem* dum uirgo
 29 hunc modum mittendi singulis an=
 30 nis obseruaret; ut beatus Beuno=
 31 us longo confectus senio. *uirtuti*=

⁴⁹ S is a large blue and red initial covering two lines.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

32 bus plenus. *et operibus preclarus. relinquens*
33 *seculum ad celeste migravit gaudium.*
34 Cuius discessus cum *sancte uirgini innotu=*
35 *it. multis illum lacrimis et orationibus prose=*
36 *cuta est atque prefatum munus ulterius trans=*
37 *mittere destitit. Tunc autem primo omni*

{112rb}

1 humana *consolatione se destitutam di=*
2 *cebat. Tedere igitur cepit locum in quo*
3 *morabatur. Paululumque procedente tempore. cum*
4 *pars maxima consortum suarum uirginum*
5 *de hoc seculo migrasset; odio habere cepit*
6 *locum illum in quo eatenus conuersata ~~xxx~~^{erat.}*
7 *Memorque uerborum doctoris sui. quibus*
8 *illam post septem annos ait. alium*
9 *debere inuisere locum; Et quoniam alias*
10 *facies eius intendens erat. requiem non*
11 *habebat spiritus eius; dum ibi degebat. Cum*
12 *autem omnes euoluti anni essent. et illa*
13 *sui ipsius compos effecta fuisset; toto*
14 *conamine ad deum mentem erigens.*
15 *deprecabatur ut eam ad talem locum des=*
16 *tinaret; ubi et sibi placere. et aliis pro=*
17 *ficere posset. Locumque illum in quo prius*
18 *conuersionem suam habuerat sua bene=*
19 *dictione perfundere dignaretur; ut qui illuc*
20 *orationis gracia aut alicuius remedii consequen=*
21 *di causa adueniret; inuocato nomine*

22 ipsius qui ibidem actus suos *et* mores
 23 pro illius amore correxerit. *quod* postularet
 24 *consequeretur*; *quod* postea manifeste demon^{=strabitur}.⁵⁰
 25 **C**⁵¹ *um igitur Beata*
 26 *uirgo Wenefreda sollicite in*
 27 *staret orationi. dei clementiam sibi affutu*
 28 *ram. et preducem itineris sui eam fore*
 29 *depostulans; nocte quadam uigiliis et*
 30 *obsecrationibus intendenti. diuinum ei huius*
 31 *modi oraculum insonuit. Assumpta tecum*
 32 *una tantummodo uirgine comite. uade ad*
 33 *Beatam deiferum qui moratur in loco qui*
 34 *Botauarrus uocatur. illoque consulto;*
 35 *quid deinde factura eris cognosces. Erat*
 36 *quippe uir ille magnus coram domino;*
 37 *in omnibus mandatis et iustificationibus*

{112va}⁵²

1 sine querela incedens. De quo re=
 2 fertur *quod cum uirtutum gracia copiosius*
 3 *exuberaret fontem de terra erumpere fece*
 4 *rit; eo que extensa* ^{manu} *benedicto deum exo*
 5 *rasse. quatinus quicumque eger in illo se*
 6 *merserit sanitate potitus ad sua re*^{=uertatur}.⁵³
 7 **I**⁵⁴ *gitur sanctissima*

⁵⁰ **demon**^{=strabitur}. The letters in superscript are written in a space on the subsequent line.

⁵¹ **C** is a large red and blue initial covering two lines.

⁵² Running title: **Sancte**

⁵³ **re**^{=uertatur}. The letters in superscript are written in a space on the subsequent line.

⁵⁴ **I** is a large blue and red initial, covering around ten lines. It does not impinge on the text.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

8 uirgo committens deo locum suum et omnes
9 cum quibus habitauerat. una sola uir=
10 gine comite contenta peregrinationem
11 suam aggressa est. Ueniensque ad
12 sanctum deiferum. quem octo fere milia=
13 rium a loco de quo ipsa egressa est. dista=
14 bat. benigno fauore ab illo suscep=
15 ta est. Cumque prius orationi diutius incu=
16 buissent. consederunt pariter. uirgine
17 causam aduentus sui illi penitus exponen=
18 te. Cui uir sanctus in hunc modum res=
19 pondit. Ego inquit huius diuini con=
20 siliii adhuc ignarus⁵⁵ prorsus existo.
21 Sed parumper patere hic nobiscum
22 hac nocte degens. forsitan digna=
23 bitur aliquid dominus reuelare nobis. Sancto
24 igitur tota illa nocte sicut solitus
25 erat orationem facienti. uox de celis
26 insonuit dicens. Dic karissime filie
27 mee uirgini Wenefrede. quatinus ad ui=
28 cum eat qui uocatur heuthlandus.
29 Ibi enim uirum uenerabilem saturnum
30 nomine inuentura est. per quem plenius
31 audiet quid deinceps actura. uel
32 in quo loco omni tempore uite sue sit
33 ipsa habi^[ta]tura. Mane itaque uirginem

⁵⁵ **ignarus** There are two horizontal lines on either side of ignarus, similar to those used above the ii of siliii on the same line.

34 ad se conuocans *sanctus* deiferus. nichil
 35 prorsus reticuit de omnibus que diui
 36 nitus edoctus fuerat. Uiamque illi
 37 ostendens qua ad *beatum sanctum predictum*

{112vb}

1 pergere debebat. Gaudenter eam ince=
 2 dere admonuit; dicens sibi de ce=
 3 lestibus insinuatam esse. quod apud eun=
 4 dem *sanctum* patenter sit auditura quid sibi
 5 conueniat. omnemque penitus necessitatis
 6 seriem.
 7 **B**⁵⁶ eata uero Wenefreda plurimum
 8 gauisa. quod amota omni dubitatione
 9 ad aliquam certitudinem per *Beatum* deiferum
 10 sit perducta. *Sancto* uiro ualedicens;
 11 assumpta comite sua iter arripuit.
 12 Cito ad *Beatum saturnum* peruenit; a quo
 13 benignissime suscepta est. Ille uero
 14 tocius propositi eius et itineris prius conscius
 15 effectus. responso sibi desupernis super hac
 16 re facto; die altera huiusmodi uerba a *sancto*
 17 *saturno* audiuit. Est locus quidam
 18 *Witheriacus* nuncupatus multorum
 19 *sanctorum* pignoribus refertus; et ab omni
 20 populo nimia reuerencia habitus.
 21 Hunc locum te inuisere precepit dominus.
 22 atque dum aduixeris inhabitare; tu=

⁵⁶ **B** is a large red and blue initial, covering two lines.

VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

23 isque exemplis aliorum animos infor=
 24 mare. Est ibi quidam multarum
 25 uirtutum abbas. nomine elerius, quem iu=
 26 gis gemitus et oratio perseuerans. totum cele=
 27 tibus ~~xxxxxx~~^{reddebant⁵⁷} intentum. Ad hunc
 28 te destinare diuino sum precepto ad=
 29 monitus, tibi que insuper intimare quod
 30 ibi inuentura sis quicquid anime deside=
 31 ranti celestia in presenti uita suffice=
 32 re debet. Nam ibi sunt deo dicte uir=
 33 gines. ab ipsis infantie rudimentis
 34 in professione uite sanctimonialis celi=
 35 batur obseruantes, tuis tamen exemplis
 36 dei nutu meliores efficiende.
 37 **I**⁵⁸lla autem audita conuersatione uirginum

{113ra}⁵⁹

1 plurimum gauisa est, atque cum eis titu=
 2 lum uirginitatis sue libentissime se
 3 uelle amplecti dicebat. Ducem uie,
 4 a sancto sibi postulat prouideri. Sanctus uero
 5 saturnus diaconem suum beate uirgini
 6 committens, et per eum sancto elerio illam
 7 destinans, deducere et illam ipse aliquan=
 8 tulum cepit. Deinde multa ei a deo
 9 bona tribui deposcens, ad propria sanctus
 10 regressus est, et illa quo tendebat apro=

⁵⁷ ~~xxxxxx~~^{reddebant} (interlinear) {*siue unt*}. (margin) *siue reddunt*.

⁵⁸ **I** is a large blue and red capital, covering around six lines. It does not impinge on the text.

⁵⁹ Running title: **Wenefrede**.

11 piauit. Cuius aduentum uir *sanctus* per
 12 *spiritum sanctum* precognoscens. citius in oc=
 13 cursum eius profectus est. et eam hono=
 14 rifice suscepit; diacono qui cum ea
 15 uenerat omnia referente que suo doc=
 16 tori diuinitus fuerant intimata. *Sanctus*
 17 uero post orationem factam in amplexus^x
 18 uirginis ruit; et ut constantis sit
 19 animi exortatur. Postmodum ad secre=
 20 tam collocutionem eam uocans; ait.
 21 Quamuis enim omnem uite tue modum.
 22 quoue modo proprii capitis abscisi=
 23 one passionis titulum sis adepta;
 24 paruitati mee a supernis sit manifes=
 25 tatum; tamen que causa te tanti itiner=
 26 is laborem assumere compulerit. tuo
 27 cupio ore docer^u^{i.60} Cui sic uirgo res=
 28 pondit. Qui illa que michi modo intimas=
 29 ti tibi reuelare dignatus est; non fun=
 30 ditus te ignarum reliquit ut arbitror
 31 de hiis que mente reuoluo. Ideoque
 32 suscipe me diuinitus tibi destinatam;
 33 meam a modo conuersionem ita dispone.
 34 sicut tibi celesti preostensum est oracu=
 35 lo. Tunc uir *sanctus* huius consilii diffini=
 36 tionem distulit; illamque hoc patien=
 37 ter ferre humiliter exorauit. Sancto ita=

⁶⁰ **docer^u** The scribe originally wrote a u; he erased one minim to transform it into an i.

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{113rb}

1 *que pertotam noctem orationibus incumben=*
 2 *te; huius negotii certitudo sancto confes=*
 3 *sori circa crepusculum manifestata*
 4 *est. Mane uero sanctus ad uirginem uenit;*
 5 *deinde gaudere et securitatem habere mo=*
 6 *nuit. Postea autem manum ipsius*
 7 *arripiens ad uirginum conuentum*
 8 *eam introduxit; hiis sermonibus ad*
 9 *illas concionatus. Animis esto=*
 10 *te attentiores filie karissime. Est enim*
 11 *opereprecium uobis insinuare; quan=*
 12 *to splendore uos illustrare digna=*
 13 *ta est diuina clementia. Ecce hanc*
 14 *deuotam uirginem ad commanend^{um}*
 15 *uobiscum et conuiuend^{um} destinauit;*
 16 *quatinus inspecta uita eius. exemplis il=*
 17 *lius in dei famulatu deuotiores*
 18 *et sanctiores efficiamini. Hec est*
 19 *illa uirgo Wenefreda. cuius ad au=*
 20 *res uestras iam preclara conuolauit*
 21 *fama. Que ne castitatis sue detri=*
 22 *mentum pateretur. et pro uirginitatis sue*
 23 *custodia; abscisione capitis mo=*
 24 *ri libenter elegit. Hec est enim illa cuius*
 25 *triumphi insignia late per ecclesiam*
 26 *emicant; et cuius titulis omnis ista*
 27 *prouincia. magno se ditari bono;*

28 *gratulatur. Ad uos ergo uenit uobis=*
 29 *cum mansura; atque obitus sui diem*
 30 *exspectatura; que iam meritis suis*
 31 *celos petiit. et cuius inter sanctos mar=*
 32 *tyres locus retributionis conseruatur.*
 33 **P**⁶¹ *ost hec uerba ad unam conuersus*
 34 *dominam que mater ipsius erat.*
 35 *et prelata uirginum conuentui; tibi*
 36 *inquit o karissima mater curam istius dilecte*
 37 *uirginis specialius committo; tu eius*

{113va}⁶²

1 *uestigiis inherere. tu opera ipsius imi=*
 2 *tare. Tu curam illius habe; et quic=*
 3 *quid ei placere cognoueris instanti*
 4 *sollercia exequere. Hiis dictis sanctus*
 5 *confessor discessit; et Beata Wene=*
 6 *freda cum ancillis dei remansit. Et*
 7 *tunc quidem tocuis religionis arcem*
 8 *arripere festinabat; atque in omni uir=*
 9 *tutum culmine constans persistebat.*
 10 *Erat in illa iugis abstinentia; perse=*
 11 *uerans oratio; et humilis conuersatio.*
 12 *In ipsa exemplum patientie et obe=*
 13 *dientie cetera uirgines accipiebant.*
 14 *Omnia que honestatis. et que uirtu=*
 15 *tis erant; in illa affluenter inueni=^{ebant.}63*

⁶¹ **P** is a large red and blue initial, the body of which covers two lines and the tail a further six.

⁶² Running title: *Sancte Wenefrede virginis.*

⁶³ **inueni=^{ebant.}** The letters in superscript are written in a space on the subsequent line.

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16 Q⁶⁴ uadam die
 17 *sanctus* elerius uirginem Wenefre=
 18 dam uisitauit. Loquentibus autem sibi
 19 adinuicem; sermo incidit de memoria
 20 mortis. Tunc *sanctus* nacta occasione;
 21 gaudeo inquit quod deus ad hunc te desti=
 22 nauerit locum corpus meum sepulture
 23 tradituram. meique memoriam post
 24 obitum meum habituram. Hox^c enim a deo
 25 michi concedi sepius deprecatus sum; ut ali=
 26 quem ex famulis suis siue ancillis huc
 27 destinaret. qui et me sepeliret. et post
 28 me hunc incolens locum celebrem il=
 29 lum faceret. Cui sic uirgo *sancta* We=
 30 nefreda respondit. Non equidem ita.
 31 nec sic futurum est; nec sic ordinatum a deo.
 32 Te enim oportet me superstate et coas=
 33 tante dominam meam matrem tuam prius
 34 humi tradere; atque demum post aliquanto=
 35 rum *curricula* annorum corpus meum
 36 sepelire. De hinc tu plenus dierum
 37 in pace uitam tuam consummabis; atque

{113vb}

1 ad patres tuos translatus in celesti reg=
 2 no inuenies que ibi conseruanda repo=
 3 sueris. Hiis auditis; *sanctus* confessor
 4 domini discessit. In proximo autem patuit.

⁶⁴ Q is a large blue and red initial, the body of which covers two lines and the tail a further nine.

5 illam ueram protulisse prophetiam, nam
6 post aliquantulum temporis Beata the=
7 onia mater sancti elerii et prelata uirgini=
8 bus. graui infirmitate correpta; a se=
9 culo migravit ad dominum. Cui sancta We=
10 nefreda successit, et sanctimonialium
11 martyr uitam finiuit, et feliciter ad celi
12 palacia peruenit. **Explicit uita sancte We=**
13 **nefrede uirginis et martyris .X^o. kalendas. Iulii.**⁶⁵

⁶⁵ **Iulii.** (bottom of page) **XIII.**

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