

RHYGYFARCH'S *LIFE* OF ST DAVID

*Ed. and transl. Richard Sharpe and John Reuben Davies*

The text reflects the text-historical argument set out in Chapter 5. It is based on BL MS Cotton Vespasian A. XIV (V), the only complete witness to the original Latin text of Rhygyfarch's *Life*. The text published in J.W. James's edition, referred to as the Nero–Digby version, represented an attempt to restore the reading of a shortened version prepared, it is argued, for Bishop Bernard in the 1120s. Since this was based on a copy of the complete text far earlier than V, and possibly earlier than the exemplar of V, it provides a means to restore original readings corrupt in V. A choice between V and ND may be taken on its merits, bearing in mind that, where they differ, ND may represent the decision of the reviser while V should offer only accidental error. There ought, therefore, to be a disposition in favour of V over ND where both readings make sense. The agreement of V with N against D, or conversely with D against N, ought to reflect the archetype. Divergences between the various later witnesses classified as relating to N or D will for the most part result from error subsequent to the hyparchetype ND and therefore contribute nothing to the edited text. Passages in V that were cut out or paraphrased in making the shorter ND text are enclosed in partial brackets <sup>r</sup> <sup>1</sup>. In general readings of ND are expressed in terms of the consensus of manuscripts classified under N or D by James; the reporting of more diverse readings derives from his apparatus and uses his suprascript numbers to identify individual witnesses.

Notes to the Latin text are concerned with the readings of the manuscripts, decisions as to preferred readings, and the character of the changes introduced to the original by the abbreviator of ND. The brief notes to the English translation are concerned with the understanding of the text; we have not attempted a historical commentary, for which one can still consult the extensive notes by Wade-Evans, *The Life of St David*, 57–116.

## VITA SANCTI DAVID

Incipit uita beati Daud, qui et Dewi, episcopi et confessoris Kal. Martii.<sup>a</sup>

**1** DOMINUS noster, quamuis omnes suos ante constitutionem mundi<sup>a</sup> dilexit atque presciuit, nonnullos tamen multis reuelationum ostensionibus prenuntiauit. Iste itaque sanctus, quem tinctio Daud uulgus autem Dewi clamat, ueriloquis angelorum oraculis ad patrem quidem prius, deinde ad sanctum Patricium terdenis annis priusquam nasceretur non solum prophitatus, uerum etiam mysticis donationum muneribus ditatus innotuit. **2** Nam quodam tempore pater eius, meritis et nomine Sanctus, Ceretice gentis regali potentia fretus, qua tandem deposita celeste regnum comparans, angelica in somnis monitus uoce audiuit, ‘Crastina die expergefactus uenatum iturus, ceso prope fluuium ceruo, tria ibi munera repperis ‘iuxta amnem Theibi’, ceruum scilicet quem persequeris, piscem, apumque examen ‘in arbore positum, in loco qui uocatur Linhenlann<sup>a1</sup>. Ex his itaque tribus reserues fauum scilicet partemque piscis et cerui, que custodienda filio ex te nascituro transmitt<sup>b</sup> ad Maucanni monasterium,’ quod nunc usque Depositi Monasterium uocatur. Quequidem munera huius uitam prenuntiant; fauus enim mellis eius sapientiam clamat; sicut enim mel in cera, ita spiritualem<sup>c</sup> sensum historico cepit instrumento. Piscis uero aquaticam eius uitam sonat; sicut enim piscis aqua uiuit, ita iste, uinum et siceram et omne quod inebriare potest respuens, beatam Deo uitam in pane tantum et aqua duxit; inde<sup>d</sup> etiam Daud aquatice uite cognominatur. Ceruus autem in antiquo serpente signat dominium, sicut enim ceruus, expoliatis<sup>e</sup> serpentibus pastus, fontem aque desiderans, acceptis uiribus uelut iuuentute renouatur, sic iste quasi ceruorum pedibus super excelsa statutus, antiquum humani generis serpentem uiribus nocendi contra semetipsum expolians, fontem uite assiduis lacrimarum cursibus adoptans, de die

### *Inscription*

<sup>a</sup> *The manuscripts all have different headings, but this from V is well preserved; the earliest witnesses also use the spelling Daud, N<sup>4</sup> Incipit uita sancti Daud, N<sup>2</sup> Incipit uita sancti Daud archiepiscopi. Significant developments in later copies are the change from indeclinable Daud to genitive Daudis, its replacement with Dewi, and preference for the title of archbishop.*

### *Section numbering*

*The text was divided into sections by Wade-Evans, whose numbering is included in James’s text, though without paragraphing. In this text these established section numbers are still given, but the paragraph breaks follow those of the large coloured initials in V. These are closely matched by the red initials in D, though the paragraphing in that manuscript ends with the red C at the start of § 44. Each paragraph intended to have a coloured initial is here shown with the first word in small capitals.*

§ 1

<sup>a</sup> mundi constitutionem ND

§ 2

<sup>a</sup> Linhenlanu V

<sup>b</sup> transmitt<sup>b</sup> V ] transmittes ND, *apparently a false parallel with present subjunctive reserues.*

<sup>c</sup> spiritualem ND ] spiritalem V, *which elsewhere (§§ 46, 50) has the spelling spiritualis.*

<sup>d</sup> unde ND

<sup>e</sup> expoliatis ND (*‘having grazed on despoiled snakes’*) ] expoliatus V. *James, 29n, provides references for this notion from folk-lore.*

## THE LIFE OF SAINT DAVID

Here begins the Life of the Blessed David, who is also Dewi, Bishop and Confessor, 1st March.

§ 1. Our Lord, although he loved and foreknew all his people before the foundation of the world,<sup>1</sup> has nevertheless foretold some of them by frequent signs and revelations. And so it was that this holy man, who was baptized David, but whom the common people call Dewi, became known; not just because he was foretold by the truth-telling prophecies of angels, first to his father, and then to St Patrick, thirty years before he was born, but also because he was enriched with mystical gifts and endowments. § 2. One time, his father, Sanctus (by merits and by name),<sup>2</sup> who enjoyed sovereignty over the people of Ceredig<sup>3</sup> (sovereignty he later laid aside to win a heavenly kingdom), heard the voice of an angelic prophecy in a dream:<sup>4</sup> “When you wake up tomorrow, you will go hunting; having killed a stag near the river, you will find there beside the river Teifi three gifts; namely, the stag that you will pursue, a fish, and a swarm of bees situated in a tree, in a place called Llyn Henllan.<sup>5</sup> You should set aside, out of these three, the honeycomb, and a portion of the fish and the stag; and you should deliver them to the monastery of Meugan,<sup>6</sup> keeping them for the son who is going to be born to you.” (To this day it is called the Monastery of the Deposit.) These gifts foretell his life. The honeycomb proclaims his wisdom, for just as the honey is in the wax, so he has understood the spiritual meaning in a literal statement. The fish signifies his watery life, for as the fish lives by water, so does he; rejecting wine and liquor and everything that can inebriate,<sup>7</sup> he has led a blessed life for God on just bread and water; because of this he is surnamed David ‘of the watery life’. The stag signifies dominion over the ancient serpent,<sup>8</sup> for just as the stag desires a spring of water when it has grazed on despoiled snakes,<sup>9</sup> and having gained strength is renewed as if with youth, so he is established on the heights, as though with stags’ feet,<sup>10</sup> despoiling the human race’s ancient serpent of his power to harm him. Choosing the fount of life by the constant flow of tears, renewed from day to day,<sup>11</sup> he made progress, so that in the name of the Holy Trinity

<sup>1</sup> cf. Jn. 13.1: *cum dilexisset suos qui erant in finem dilexit eos*; Eph. 1.4: *sicut elegit nos in ipso ante mundi constitutionem*.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. ‘saint’, ‘holy man’.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. Ceredigion.

<sup>4</sup> Is there perhaps an allusion here to the story in Tob. 6.1–5, where the angel instructs Tobias to keep three parts from the fish that had jumped out of the river?

<sup>5</sup> Probably the village of Henllan, on the River Teifi, Ceredigion (SN 35 40).

<sup>6</sup> St Meugan, author of *Orationes Moucani* in BL MS Royal 2 A. xx (*saec.* viii<sup>2</sup>), fols 42r–45r. He is also attested in an eleventh-century litany from Exeter, Lifris’s *Vita S. Cadoci*, and several place-names. Howlett, ‘*Orationes Moucani*’, 55–74.

<sup>7</sup> Lev. 10.9, Num. 6.3, 1 Sam. 1.15; also Lk. 1.15, where a similar phrase occurs within the story of the conception of St John the Baptist, which appears to form the model for § 5.

<sup>8</sup> *antiquus serpens*, ‘the ancient serpent’, is a quotation from Rev. 12.9 and 20.2.

<sup>9</sup> The parallel in English, Psalm 42.1, ‘As a hart longs for flowing streams’, is not present in the Latin, *sicut areola praeparata ad inrigationes aquarum*.

<sup>10</sup> Ps. 18.33 (Vulgate 17.34): *coaequans pedes meos ceruis et super excelsa statuens me*, ‘Making my feet like stags’ feet, and setting me secure on the heights’; this verse is paralleled in 2 Sam. 22.34 and Hab. 3.19.

<sup>11</sup> 2 Cor. 4.16: *renouatur de die in diem*.

in diem renouatus profecit, ut in nomine sanctę Trinitatis salutarem scientiam <et> castioris prandii parcitate<sup>f</sup> dominandi in demones habere potestatem inciperet.<sup>g</sup>

**3** DEINDE Patricius, Romanis eruditus disciplinis, comitantibus uirtutum turmis, pontifex effectus, gentem <sup>a</sup>qua exulauerat petiuit, in qua fructuosi operis lucernam oleo gemine karitatis infatigabili reficiens labore, non sub modio sed super candelabrum imponere uolens ut cunctos, glorificato omnium patre, roraret, Cereticę gentis regionem adiit, in qua per aliquantum temporis conuersatus Demetica intrat rura, ibique perlustrans tandem ad locum qui Vallis Rosina nominabatur peruenit, et gratum agnoscens locum deuouit Deo ibi fideliter deseruire. Sed cum hæc secum meditando reuolueret, apparuit ei angelus Domini, ‘Tibi,’ inquit, ‘non istum locum Deus disposuit, sed filio qui nondum est natus nec nisi peractis prius<sup>b</sup> triginta annis nascetur.’ Audiens autem hec sanctus Patricius merens <sup>c</sup>et stupens iratusque dixit, ‘Cur Dominus despexit seruum suum ab infantia sua sibi seruientem cum timore et amore, elegitque alium nondum in hac luce natum sed neque ante .xxx.<sup>ta</sup> annos nascetur?’ Parauitque fugere, et Dominum suum Iesum Christum deserere,<sup>1</sup> dicens, ‘Cum ante Domini mei conspectum incassum labor meus redigitur, et mihi qui nondum est natus superponitur<sup>d</sup>, uadam et tali labori amodo non subiaceam.’ <sup>e</sup>‘Sed Dominus diligebat Patricium, misitque ad eum angelum suum ut illum uerbis familiaribus blandiretur, cui ait, ‘Patrici, letare, Dominus enim misit me ad te ut ostendam tibi totam Hiberniam insulam de sede que est in Rosina Valle,’ que modo Sedes Patricii nominatur. Aitque angelus ei, ‘Exulta, Patrici, tu enim eris apostolus illius totius insule quam cernis, multaue propter nomen Domini Dei tui in ea patieris, sed Dominus erit tecum in omnibus que facturus sis,<sup>1</sup> nondum enim uerbum uite accepit. Ibique<sup>f</sup> prodesse debes, ibi parauit tibi Dominus sedem, ibi signis et uirtutibus radiabis, totamque gentem Deo subiugabis.<sup>g</sup> Sit tibi hoc in

<sup>f</sup> parcitate VN ] parcitatem D

<sup>g</sup> inciperet V ] inciperet percurreret N inciperet limitaret D. *What is the syntax of this sentence? The simplest conjecture would be to follow V and to insert et earlier in the clause, but inciperet more clearly governs potestatem habere than salutarem scientiam; a verb may be missing. After ut there are two verbs in ND but no conjunction; Rhygyfarch often has two verbs at end of sentence, but the divergence and opacity of the readings of N and D argue for their struggling with the text of their archetype.*

§ 3

<sup>a</sup> a qua VN<sup>2</sup> ] qua N<sup>1</sup> quam D quia N<sup>5</sup>. *While an ablative of separation does not require the preposition, exulare is usually construed with ab; without it ND lost their way, with some copyists conjecturing qua<m> or qu<i>a.*

<sup>b</sup> prius added as a primary correction in V (in same hand as \prodes//se below), but omitted by James ] om. ND

<sup>c</sup> stupensque uolutat, deliberans et corde ND, *deliberately removing Patrick's railing against God.*

<sup>d</sup> superponitur ND ] preponitur V. *The survival of the stronger reading in ND is persuasive.*

<sup>e</sup> Hęc autem secum cogitans, talibus blanditiis ab angelo uerba consolationis accepit, Non ita fiet, sed Hibernensium insule principem constituit te Dominus ND

<sup>f</sup> ibique V ] ibi ND

<sup>g</sup> Ego ero tecum ND, *rescuing the phrase from the shortened passage above.*

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he would begin to have the knowledge of salvation<sup>12</sup> <and> by the frugality of purer food the power of holding dominion against demons.

§ 3. Then Patrick, a man learned in the Roman disciplines and possessed of a multitude of virtues, having been made a bishop, sought the nation from which he had lived in exile, where he might, through untiring labour, refresh the lamp of fruitful work with the oil of twofold love;<sup>13</sup> for he did not want to place the lamp under a bowl, but on a lamp-stand, so that having glorified the father of all, it might shine on everyone.<sup>14</sup> So he came to the region of the people of Ceredig, and having lived there for a short time, he entered the country of Dyfed.<sup>15</sup> Surveying the country, he eventually reached the place that is named *Vallis Rosina*,<sup>16</sup> and recognizing that it was a pleasant location, he vowed that he would faithfully devote himself to God there. But as he turned these things over in his mind, an angel of the Lord appeared to him. "This place is not assigned to you," he said, "but to a son who is not yet born, nor will be born until thirty years have first passed." Hearing this, however, the worthy Saint Patrick, both surprised and angered, said, "Why has the Lord despised his servant who has been in his service from his infancy with fear and love,<sup>17</sup> and has chosen another who has not yet been born into this light but will not be born for another thirty years?"<sup>18</sup> And he got ready to take flight and forsake his Lord Jesus Christ, saying, "Since my labour is rendered useless in the eyes of my Lord, and one not yet born is set above me, I shall go away, and from now on I shall not submit to such work." But the Lord greatly valued Patrick, and sent his angel to him, to soothe him with kindly words. He said to him, "Patrick, rejoice, for the Lord has sent me to you, so that I may show you the whole island of Ireland from the seat that is in *Vallis Rosina*" (which is now named Patrick's Seat). And the angel said to him, "Be glad, Patrick, for you will be apostle to the whole of that island which you behold, and you will suffer many things in it on account of the name of the Lord your God; but the Lord will be with you in everything that you do, for it has not yet received the Word of Life. And there you must do good, where the Lord has prepared you a seat, where you shall shine with signs and miracles,<sup>19</sup> and you shall make the whole nation subject to God. Let this be a sign to you:<sup>20</sup> I shall show you the whole island,

<sup>12</sup> Perhaps a reference to Lk. 1.77: *ad dandam scientiam salutis plebi eius*, 'to give knowledge of salvation to his people'.

<sup>13</sup> This twofold love is probably that described by Christ in Lk. 10.27: 'You should love the Lord your God ... and your neighbour ...'.

<sup>14</sup> Mt. 5.15, 'Nor do men light a lamp and put it under a bushel, but on a stand, and it gives light to all in the house.' The verb *rorare* is evidently used to mean 'shine on' here (and 'shine' in § 6), although it correctly means to sprinkle with dew; Rhygyfarch's usage was very likely fostered by phrases involving sunrise, such as Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XIII 622, 'Sunrise drops dew (*rorat*) on the whole world'.

<sup>15</sup> Patrick was known to be a Briton who lived and worked as a missionary in Ireland, a voluntary exile from his homeland; Rhygyfarch's story of a return to preach in western Britain is not found in any of the Lives of St Patrick.

<sup>16</sup> Literally, 'the Rosy Valley', but it may be a misinterpretation of an original Welsh name, possibly *Nant Rhosan*, 'the valley of the little marsh', in which the cathedral stands. See Wade-Evans, *Life of St. David*, 66–8. Another possibility (not mutually exclusive) is that the author is playing on the Latin noun *ros, roris*, etymologically implied by the verb *roraret* (see n. 14, above).

<sup>17</sup> *seruum suum ab infantia sua* has biblical overtones: cf. Gen. 46.34, *uirii pastores sumus serui tui ab infantia nostra*, 'Your servants have been keepers of cattle from our youth'.

<sup>18</sup> cf. Ps. 56 (55).13: *ut ambulem coram Deo in luce uiuentium*, 'that I may walk before God in the light of life'.

<sup>19</sup> cf. 2 Esdr. 9.6; Acts 2.22; 2 Cor. 12.12; Heb. 2.4.

<sup>20</sup> Lk. 2.12.

signum: totam tibi insulam ostendam, curuentur montes, humiliabitur pelagus, oculus trans omnia erectus<sup>b</sup> ex loco prospectans uidebit promissum.’ His dictis, erectisque oculis ex loco in quo stabat, qui modo Sedes Patricii dicitur, totam prospexit insulam. <sup>i</sup> Tandem animus Patricii sedatus libenter dimisit locum sanctum Daud agio; paransque nauem in Portu Magno suscitauit quendam senem nomine Cruimther<sup>j</sup> per .xii. annos iuxta litus illud sepultum; nauigauitque Patricius in Hiberniam habens secum nuper suscitatum, qui postea episcopus factus est. <sup>7</sup> <sup>k</sup> <Cetera autem uite eius in Hibernensium litteris scripta qui uoluerit reperit.>

4 <sup>a</sup> PERACTIS autem .xxx. predictis annis, uirtus diuina misit Sanctum regem Cereticę regionis usque ad plebem Demeticę gentis. Inuenitque rex obuam sibi sanctimoniam, nomine Nonnitam uirginem, puellam pulchram nimis et decoram, quam concupiscens tetigit ui oppressam, et concepit filium suum Daut agium<sup>1</sup>, que nec antea nec post uirum agnouit, sed in castitate mentis et corporis perseuerans fidelissimam duxit uitam. Nam ab ipso conceptionis tempore<sup>b</sup> pane tantum et aqua uiuit. In loco autem in quo oppressa concepit, modicus patet campus, uisu amenus, munere superni roris plenus, in quo campo tempore ipso conceptionis duo grandes lapides apparuerunt, unus ad caput, alter ad pedes, qui antea uisi non fuerant. Nam terra, conceptui eius<sup>c</sup> congaudens, sinum suum aperuit ut et puelle uerecundiam seruaret et prolis soliditatem prenuntiaret.

5 CRESCENTE autem utero, mater ex proprio more ad offerendas pro partu oblationum elemosynas quandam ingreditur ecclesiam <sup>a</sup> ad predicationem euangelii audiendam, quam predicabat sanctus Gildas, Cau filius, in tempore regis Triphuni et filiorum eius<sup>7</sup>. Ingressa autem matre, subito Gildas<sup>c</sup> obmutescens quasi clauso guttore tacuit. Interrogatus autem a populo cur interrupta predicatione obmutuerat, respondit, ‘Ego communi loquela uos alloqui possum, predicare autem non possum; sed uos extra egredientes, me solum remanere facite ut si uel sic possim predicare.’ Egressa igitur foras plebe, ipsa mater in angulo se<sup>d</sup> abscondens latuit,

<sup>h</sup> erectus ND ] euectus V. *Although both make sense, the phrase erectisque oculis a few words later is more likely to pick up the words of the command than to vary them.*

<sup>i</sup> ac protinus paratis omnibus nauim petit, resuscitatoque mortuo qui ante duodecim annos defunctus fuerat promissam patriam intrat ND

<sup>j</sup> Cruimther ] Cri ] umther V at line-end, Criumther ND, a confusion of minims in the archetype rather than a variant on the Irish name.

<sup>k</sup> om. V, but it seems more likely to be original than to have been added in the process of abridgement; compare also below, § 65.

§ 4

<sup>a</sup> Labentibus autem .xxx. annorum curriculis Sanctus Cereticę gentis rex Demetiam proficiscitur, ibique perlustrans obuia ei facta est puella nomine Nonita, pulchra nimis uirgoque decora, quę concupiscens oppressit eam ND, *omitting the reference to David’s conception in what seems to be a careless abridgement.*

<sup>b</sup> tempore conceptionis ND

<sup>c</sup> eius V *though James reports the reading as sui ] om. ND*

§ 5

<sup>a</sup> in qua quidam doctor uerbum faciebat ad populum ND, *omitting the name of Gildas throughout*

<sup>c</sup> om. ND

<sup>d</sup> se VN<sup>1</sup>D<sup>4578</sup> ] om. N<sup>2-9</sup> D<sup>1-2</sup>

mountains shall be moved, and the sea shall be calmed; with your eyes lifted over everything, looking from this place, you shall see the promised land.”

When he had said these things, he surveyed the whole island, raising his eyes from the place where he was standing, which is now named Patrick's Seat. At length, when Patrick's emotion had settled, he willingly surrendered that holy place to St David. As he was preparing a ship at Porth Mawr, he raised up an old man, named Cruimther, who had been buried near that shore for twelve years.<sup>21</sup> Patrick sailed to Ireland, taking with him the newly resuscitated man, who was later made a bishop. As for the rest of his life, he who wishes may find it written in the writings of the Irish.<sup>22</sup>

§ 4. When the foresaid thirty years had passed, divine providence sent Sanctus, king of the territory of Ceredig, as far as the kingdom of the people of Dyfed.<sup>23</sup> And the king came across a nun named Nonnita, who was a virgin, an exceedingly beautiful girl, and modest.<sup>24</sup> Lusting after her, he raped her, and she conceived his son, the holy David. Neither before nor after did she know a man, but continuing steadfastly in chastity of mind and body, she led her life most devoutly; for, from the very time she conceived, she lived only on bread and water. In the place where she had been raped and had conceived, there lies a small meadow, pleasant to behold, and filled with the gift of heavenly dew. In that field, at the moment she conceived, there appeared two large stones that had not been seen before, one at her head and the other at her feet; for the land, rejoicing at his conception, opened its bosom, that it might both preserve the modesty of the girl, and declare the significance of her offspring.

§ 5. When her womb had grown, the mother, in accordance with enduring custom, went into a church to offer alms and oblations for the unborn child, and to hear the preaching of the gospel, which St Gildas, son of Caw,<sup>25</sup> was preaching in the time of King Tryffin and his sons.<sup>26</sup> But when the mother entered, Gildas suddenly became dumb, as if his throat were closed. Asked by the people why he had interrupted his sermon and become silent, he replied, “I am able to talk to you in normal conversation, but I am not able to preach. You should go outside and leave me alone, to see if I am able to preach that way.” So the people went outside, but the mother concealed herself and hid in a corner: she stayed behind not to disobey his word but, with an intense thirst for the Word of Life, to assert the privilege of her great offspring. Then, for a second time, prevented by heaven, the preacher could

<sup>21</sup> *Cruimther*, an Irish word for ‘priest’ (an early loan-word from Latin *presbiter*), is usually used as an epithet in front of a personal name; perhaps a name followed the epithet in an earlier source.

<sup>22</sup> Rhygyfarch presumably alludes to one or more of the Latin Lives of St Patrick, known to him from Irish sources but not recognized as ordinarily circulating in Britain.

<sup>23</sup> *ad plebem Demetice gentis*, ‘to the kingdom of the people of Dyfed’: Charles-Edwards (‘The seven bishop-houses’, 251) has given reasons to understand the word *plebs* as sometimes meaning ‘kingdom’.

<sup>24</sup> 1 Kgs 1.4, where King David's courtiers seek a maiden to comfort him in his old age, and find Abishag the Shunammite, *puella pulchra nimis*.

<sup>25</sup> This story was later borrowed and shortened by Caradog of Llancarfan in his Life of St Gildas, ed. H. Williams, *Gildae de excidio Britanniae*, 390–413 (§ 4). For a form of the story older than Rhygyfarch's, see note on § 7, below.

<sup>26</sup> *Triphun* is no doubt the king of Dyfed who is the grandfather of Vortipor in the Harley genealogies (*EWGT*, 4; Vortipor is the ‘tyrant of the Demetae’ mentioned by Gildas, *De excidio*, § 31). *Tryfun* appears in the Llandaf charters (125b) as father of *Aircol Lauhir*, king of Dyfed.

non quod precepto non obediens, sed ingenti auiditate precepta sitiens uitalia ad demonstrandum tante prolis priuilegium remanebat. Deinde et secundo toto cordis annisu desudans, celitus inhibitus, nichil ualuit. Hinc perteritus, excelsa profatur<sup>27e</sup> uoce, ‘Adiuro te<sup>f</sup>,’ inquit<sup>g</sup>, ‘siquis me latet, ut <sup>h</sup>te ex latibulo ostendas<sup>1</sup>.’ Tunc ipsa respondens, ‘Ego,’ inquit, ‘hic lateo <sup>i</sup>inter ualuam et parietem<sup>1</sup>.’ Ipse uero diuina fretus prouidentia, ‘Tu,’ inquit<sup>i</sup>, ‘foras egredere, populus autem ecclesiam ingrediens repedet.’<sup>j</sup> ‘Venitque unusquisque sicut prius fuerat in sede, et predicauit Gildas quasi de buccina clare. Interrogauitque plebs agium Gildam et dixit, ‘Cur non potuisti prima uice euangelium Christi predicare nobis uolentibus audire?’. Et respondit Gildas et dixit, ‘Vocate huc sanctimoniam, que exiit extra ecclesiam’. Interrogata autem matre, se esse pregnantem confessa est, et ait Nonnita sancta, ‘Ecce assum.’ At ille dixit, ‘Filius, qui est in utero istius sanctimonialis, maiorem gratiam ac potestatem ordinationemque habet quam ego, quia illi dedit Deus priuilegium et monarchiam ac bragminationem \principatus uel dignitas/ omnium sanctorum Britannie in eternum ante et post iudicium. Valet, fratres et sorores. Ego non possum hic diutius habitare propter filium huius sanctimonialis, quia sibi tradita est monarchia super omnes homines istius insule, et ad aliam insulam necesse est michi ire, et Britanniam totam huius filio dimittere.’ Vnde cunctis liquido patuit,<sup>1</sup> quod illa seculo paritura esset, qui honoris priuilegio, sapientie fulgore, sermonis facundia, cunctos Britannie doctores excelleret.<sup>k</sup>

**6** INTEREA quidam ex confinio tyrannus habebatur, qui ex magorum uaticinio audierat<sup>a</sup> filium suis in finibus nasciturum, cuius potestas totam occuparet patriam. Ipse qui solis terrenis intentus summum sibi bonum in his infimis deputabat, magno inuidie liuore cruciatur. Notato itaque ex magorum oraculis loco, in quo postea filius nascebatur, ‘Solus,’ inquit<sup>b</sup>, ‘tot diebus loco supersedeam<sup>c</sup>, et quemcunque ibi uel modicum quiescentem<sup>d</sup> inueniam, meo peremptus gladio occumbet.’ His ita destinatis, reuolutisque nouem mensibus quis<sup>e</sup> pariendi tempus aderat, mater per ipsam quadam die egrediebatur uiam in qua parturiendi locus aderat, quem ex magorum presagio tyrannus seruabat. Vrgente autem partus tempore, mater predictum petiuit locum. Ipsa uero die tanta aeris tempestas inualuit ut nullus uel etiam fores egredi poterat, ingens enim choruscationum fulgur, horridus tonitruo-

<sup>e</sup> profatur VND ] profatus *Wade-Evans*; compare also § 59.

<sup>f</sup> om. ND; see note *h*

<sup>g</sup> inquit V. *The text in V has inquit twenty-one times, inquit nine times.*

<sup>h</sup> sese ex latibulo ostendens innotescat ND, *presumably to avoid the switch between second-person te and third-person siquis.*

<sup>i</sup> inquit V

<sup>j</sup> Hoc facto, lingua soluta ex more predicat. Interrogata autem matre illaque se esse pregnantem confessa, cunctis pro patulo claruit quod ND, *abridging Gildas's role and again removing his name. The word buccina is used again in § 52 and again omitted by ND.*

<sup>k</sup> ND adds Quod ex subsequentis uite meritis comprobatur

§ 6

<sup>a</sup> audierat V ] audiebat ND

<sup>b</sup> inquit V

<sup>c</sup> supersedeam ND ] supersedebo VN<sup>5</sup>. *The future indicative was clearly intended, but present subjunctive for future indicative is a common confusion in early insular Latin; it is more likely that V and N<sup>5</sup> have corrected the grammar than that ND has made the reverse change.*

<sup>d</sup> requiescentem ND

<sup>e</sup> quis ND, *the contracted form of quibus ] quibus VN<sup>79</sup> quando N<sup>5</sup> om. N<sup>4</sup>. Three copies, including V, have correctly interpreted the word, but the other two readings show that the more obscure form quis was original.*

do nothing, even though he was striving with all his might. Terrified by this, he spoke out with a raised voice: "I implore you," he said, "if anyone is hiding from me, to come out from your hiding place." Then she replied and said, "I am hiding here between the door and the wall." But now prompted by divine providence, he said, "You should go outside, and let the people re-enter the church." And everyone came and sat in the same seat as before, and Gildas preached loud and clear as a trumpet.<sup>27</sup> And the people questioned the holy Gildas and said, "Why were you not able to preach the gospel of Christ to us the first time when we wanted to hear it?" And Gildas replied and said, "Summon the nun who went outside the church." And when they had questioned the mother, she acknowledged that she was pregnant, and Saint Nonnita said, "Behold, I am here." But he said, "The son who is in the womb of that nun is greater in grace and power and rank than I, for God has given him the privilege, sovereignty, and princely dignity<sup>28</sup> of all the saints of Wales for ever, before and after Judgement Day. Farewell, brothers and sisters. I am not able to live here any longer on account of the son of this nun, for the sovereignty over all the people of this island has passed to him, and it is necessary for me to go to another island, and leave the whole of Britain to her son."<sup>29</sup> For this reason, it was plain to everyone that the child she was about to bring into the world, by the privilege of his honour, the splendour of his wisdom, and the eloquence of his speech, would excel all the teachers of Britain.<sup>30</sup>

§ 6. Meanwhile, there was a tyrant living nearby who had found out, from the divination of seers, that a boy would be born within his borders whose power would take over the whole country.<sup>31</sup> This man, concerned only with earthly things, considered his highest good to be in these lowest concerns, and was tormented by great malice and envy.<sup>32</sup> And so, when the place where the boy was afterwards born had been pointed out by the revelations of the seers, he said, "I shall keep watch there on my own for so many days, and whomever I find resting there – if only for a short time – shall die, slain by my sword." These things having been foretold in this way, when the nine months had come round and the time for the birth drew near, the mother went out one day along that same road which led to the place of the birth, where the tyrant kept watch in accordance with the seers' prophecy. The time for the birth was pressing, so the mother sought the predicted place; but on that very day, such a great storm blew up that no one could even go outside, for there were flashes of lightning, terrifying peals of thunder, and a tremendous downpour of hail and rain;

<sup>27</sup> *buccina*: a word known from the Vulgate (Lev. 25.9, Judg. 3.27, 6.34, Ps. 80.4, etc.), but omitted from the text of ND both here and in § 52.

<sup>28</sup> The unusual word *bragminatio*, here with interlinear gloss *principatus uel dignitas*, is picked up again below in § 57 (see note).

<sup>29</sup> Gildas's leaving Britain for Ireland was given its place in the B-version of the *Annales Cambriae*, s.a. 565.

<sup>30</sup> For this story, cf. Lk. 1.8–23.

<sup>31</sup> The following story is modelled on Herod in Mt. 2.1–19.

<sup>32</sup> 'his highest good'; compare the opening words of Isidore's *Sententiae*, 'Summum bonum Deus est.'

rum<sup>f</sup> clangor, nimia grandinum pluuiarumque inundantia affuit. Locus autem, in quo mater parturiens ingemiscebat, tanta lucis serenitate prelucebat ut ueluti sole presente Deo nubibus obducto roraret. Mater uero parturiens quandam iuxta habebat petram, in qua urgente dolore manibus innixa fuerat, <sup>g</sup>quare uestigium ueluti cere impressum petra intuentibus ostendit; que in medium diuina dolenti matri condoluit, <sup>f</sup>cuius altera pars saltauit desuper caput sanctimonialis <sup>h</sup>tenus pedes eius quando enixa est puerpera<sup>1</sup>; in quo loco ecclesia sita est, in huius uero altaris fundamine hęc c petra tecta latet.

7 <sup>a</sup>DEINDE, cum baptizaretur ab Helue Muminensium<sup>b</sup> episcopo, in ipso loco ad baptizandi ministerium fons lucidissime undę erumpens subito apparuit, qui nunquam antea uisus fuerat. Curauit quoque oculos Moui ceci, qui tenuit eum dum baptizaretur; intelligens enim sanctus ille cecus, qui, sicut fertur, ab utero matris sine nare et sine oculis natus fuerat, infantem quem in sinu suo tenebat plenum esse gratia Spiritus Sancti, accepit aquam de qua corpus sancti infantis ter immersum fuerat, sparsitque faciem suam ex ea tribus uicibus et, dicto cicuius, claritatem oculorum totamque integritatem faciei suę hilariter sumpsit; cunctique qui aderant glorificauerunt Dominum et Daud agium in die illa.<sup>1</sup> 8 <sup>a</sup>Locus autem, in quo Daud agius eruditus est, Vetus Rubus uocatur;<sup>1</sup> crescebatque gratia plenus, uisu amabilis; <sup>f</sup>illicque didicit Daud agius rudimentum, psalmos, lectiones totius anni, et missas, et sinaxin; ibique uiderunt condiscipuli eius columbam cum rostro aureo ad labia eius ludentem, eumque docentem, et ymnos Dei canentem.<sup>1</sup> 9 Sed <sup>a</sup>succedente tempore, crescentibusque uirtutum meritis, uirginem a sponse complexibus seruans

<sup>f</sup> tonitruorum V ] tonitruum ND tonitruum N<sup>23</sup> *The grammar of the original has been corrected in ND*

<sup>g</sup> quare uestigium ueluti cere impressum petra intuentibus ostendit V *'for which reason the rock shows the trace impressed as on wax to those who look'* ] quare uestigium ueluti cera impressum petram intuentibus ostendit ND. *It is tempting to emend quare to quarum, referring back to manibus in the previous phrase, 'hands, whose trace the rock shows. . .'. James's translation reads 'whereby the marks of her hands, as though impressed on wax, have identified that stone for those who have gazed upon it'.*

<sup>h</sup> tenus pedes V *presumably for pede tenus*

§ 7

<sup>a</sup> Deinde ab Elue Muniensium episcopo baptizatus Moui ceci oculos qui eum sub unda tenebat respersis aqua oculis ignotum predstando diem aperuit. In ipse uero loco ad baptizandi ministerium fons subito lucidissime undę erumpens apparuit ND

<sup>b</sup> Muminensium ND, *though individual copies show a variety of forms, evidence that the word was not recognized* ] Meneuensium N<sup>23</sup>D<sup>4</sup> *and the primary reading in V, corrected by the copyist to Muminensium, was an obvious if misguided alteration.*

§ 8

<sup>a</sup> ND *paraphrases.*

§ 9

<sup>a</sup> succedente VN ] et succedente D

*Rhygyfarch's 'Life' of St David*

but the place where the labouring mother was groaning was lit with such serene light that it shone as if God were present, though the sun was obscured by clouds. The mother, in her labour, had a stone near her on which she had leaned with her hands when pressed by her pains, which is why to those who look the rock shows the mark impressed as on wax. It broke in half in sympathy with the mother in her agony; the other part of it jumped over the head of the nun as far as her feet when the mother gave birth. A church has been built in that place, and this stone lies hidden in the base of its altar.

§ 7. Later, when he was baptized by Ailbe, bishop of Munster, at the same place,<sup>33</sup> a spring of very clear water suddenly appeared, springing up for the administration of the baptism, where none had ever been seen before. Furthermore, it healed the eyes of the blind Móbí,<sup>34</sup> who held him while he was being baptised; for that blind holy man, who, as it is said, had been born from his mother's womb without nostrils and without eyes, perceiving that the infant whom he held in his bosom was full of the grace of the Holy Spirit, took the water, in which the body of the infant had been immersed three times, and splashed it on his face three times and, quicker than saying it, he joyfully obtained the sight of his eyes and the whole completeness of his face; and everyone who was there that day glorified the Lord and the holy David. § 8. Now the place where the holy David was educated is called *Vetus Rubus*, the Old Grove;<sup>35</sup> and he grew up full of grace,<sup>36</sup> pleasant to behold; and there the holy David learned the rudiments, the psalms, the readings of the whole year, the masses, and the divine office;<sup>37</sup> and there his fellow pupils saw a dove with a golden beak playing about his lips,<sup>38</sup> and teaching him, and singing the hymns of God.<sup>39</sup> § 9. But as time passed, he grew in virtues and merits, and keeping his flesh innocent of a wife's embraces, he was made a priest, and elevated to the sacerdotal

<sup>33</sup> Ailbe's presence in Britain is not explained, but his association with St David is reflected in the dedication of St Elvis (in Welsh *Llaneilw*), near Solva, discussed by Wade-Evans. In the earliest text of the *Life of St Ailbe*, § 21 (Heist, *Vitae*, 123), Ailbe takes the place of Gildas in a story similar to that in § 5 above; Ailbe, not yet himself a bishop, was unable to say mass in the presence of David's pregnant mother because of the unborn bishop in her womb. That text dates from the eighth or ninth century, and may reflect a *Life of St David* from a still earlier date. One may wonder whether Ailbe figured earlier than David's baptism in Rhygyfarch's main source.

<sup>34</sup> St Móbí of Glasnevin, known in Irish as Móbí Cláraineach ('flat-faced') from his having been born without eyes or nose. No *Life* survives. He is named in the eighth-century *Life of St Fintan of Clonenagh*, § 3 (Heist, *Vitae*, 146), and in the later but related *Life of St Colum of Terryglass*, § 13 (Heist, *Vitae*, 228); his story appears in brief in the Middle Irish scholia on the *Féilire Oengusa* (Stokes, 216, 222–5).

<sup>35</sup> Gerald of Wales equates this name with *Hen Fynyw* 'Old Menevia', but the Welsh text merely translates the Latin, *yr Hennllwyn* 'Old Grove', suggesting the location intended was by then no longer understood.

<sup>36</sup> 'full of grace', Lk. 1.28.

<sup>37</sup> This series advances up the scale of religious knowledge, and the meaning of *synaxis* as the final stage is unclear. The word is used in the New Testament for a religious meeting (e.g. Acts 11.26, 14.27), while in the *Rule of St Benedict*, § 17, it is used with reference to vespers, 'uespertina synaxis'; Columbanus defines the word, *cursu psalmodum et orationum modo canonico* 'the canonical round of psalms and prayers'. Distinct from the mass, it may refer to the round of daily services that make up the divine office. In Byzantine usage it refers to the service on special occasions such as saints' days.

<sup>38</sup> The phrase *ad labia eius ludentem* 'playing at his lips' may reflect a vernacular idiom, though the Welsh version has simply *yn gware yn y gylch* 'playing around him'; compare Irish *ar bélaib* 'on the lips', an idiom for in front of someone.

<sup>39</sup> A dove would later instil words into David's preaching, § 52.

carnem, presbyter effectus, sacerdotali dignitate sullimatur. **10** <sup>a</sup>Exinde perrexit ad Paulinum<sup>b</sup> scribam, discipulum sancti Germani episcopi<sup>1</sup>, qui in insula <sup>c</sup>in Wincdilatquendi gratam Deo uitam agebat, <sup>d</sup>quique eum docuit in tribus partibus lectionis donec fuit scriba. Mansit autem ibi sanctus Daudid multis annis legendo implendoque quod legebat<sup>1</sup>. **11** <sup>a</sup>Contigit autem, dum esset Daudid agius apud Paulinum<sup>b</sup> magistrum, illum amisisse lumen oculorum suorum propter nimium dolorem eorum; uocauitque cunctos discipulos suos ex ordine ut inspicerent et benedicerent oculos suos, feceruntque sicut preceperat illis, et a nullo eorum accepit remedium. Tandem inuitauit Daudid agium ad se, et ait illi, ‘Daudid agie, considera oculos meos, multum enim me cruciant.’ Responditque Daudid agius et dixit, ‘Pater mi, ne mihi precipias uultum tuum inspicere, decem enim anni sunt ex quo tecum scripturę operam dedi, et adhuc faciem tuam non aspexi.’ Et ait Paulinus<sup>c</sup> nimiam uerecundiam admirans illius, ‘Quia ita est, satis erit ut palpando benedicas oculos meos et sanabor’. Stاتمque ut tetigit eos in ictu oculi sanati sunt, expulsisque oculorum tenebris, sublatam magister accepit lucem. Tunc grates Deo soluuntur, benedixitque Paulinus<sup>d</sup> Daudid agium omnibus benedictionibus, que in ueteri et in nouo testamento scriptę sunt.<sup>1</sup>

**12** NON <sup>a</sup>post multum temporis angelus Paulino<sup>b</sup> apparens<sup>c</sup>, ‘Tempus est,’ inquit<sup>d</sup>, ‘ut <sup>e</sup>Daudid agius, duplicatis ex commercio talentis, commissum sibi<sup>f</sup> sapientię talentum non terrę fodiens lento desidię torpore pigrescens mandet, sed acceptam Domini sui pecuniam meliore lucri incremento auget ut intra gaudium Domini constitutus animarum manipulos ad superna ęternę beatitudinis horrea cumulando aggreget.’ Nam quantis exortationis ungue exaratis triticeis seminibus insertis aliis quidem centenum aliis sexagesimum<sup>g</sup> aliis tricesimum<sup>h</sup> bonę messis captauit fructum. In boue enim firmę et asino exiguę uirtutis pariter non arans, sed aliis firmum uite panem aliis pię exortationis lac attribuens, quosdam intra cenobialis claustris septa coartans, quosdam uero latioris uite sequaces diuersa monitos eruditione a secularium uoluptatum lubricis cupiditatibus ablactans, omnibus omnia factus est. **13** Nam duodecim <sup>a</sup>ad laudem Dei monasteria fundauit; primum adueniens Glas-

§ 10

<sup>a</sup> Exin profectus Paulinum Germani discipulum adit doctorem ND

<sup>b</sup> Paulinum ND ] Paulentem V, *corrected above the line*; in § 49 Paulinus is the reading of all witnesses

<sup>c</sup> in Wincdilatquendi ND with a diversity of spellings ] quadam V

<sup>d</sup> om. ND

§ 11

<sup>a</sup> ND *paraphrases*.

<sup>b</sup> Paulentem V

<sup>c</sup> Paulens V

<sup>d</sup> Paulens V, *corrected above the line*

§ 12

<sup>a</sup> post multum temporis V ] post multum tempus ND, *normalizing the grammar*.

<sup>b</sup> Paulenti V

<sup>c</sup> apparens ND ] apparuit, *corrected to* apparens V; *Wade-Evans printed* apparuit.

<sup>d</sup> inquit V

<sup>e</sup> Daudid agius V ] Dewi ND

<sup>f</sup> sibi VND ] *James incorrectly reports the reading of* V as ibi.

<sup>g</sup> sexagenum *Wade-Evans*

<sup>h</sup> tricenum *Wade-Evans*

§ 13

<sup>a</sup> ad laudem Dei V ] admodum ND, *except that* D<sup>8</sup> omits and N<sup>5</sup> *paraphrases, suggesting that there was some unclarity in the reading.*

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rank. § 10. After that he went to the scholar Paulinus, a disciple of the holy bishop Germanus, who, in an island in *Wincdylantquendi*,<sup>40</sup> led a life pleasing to God. He taught him in the three parts of reading until he was a scholar. Saint David remained there many years studying the Bible and following what he studied. § 11. While the holy David was with his teacher Paulinus, it came about that the latter lost the sight of his eyes because of their great pain. He called each of his disciples in turn to inspect and bless his eyes; they did as he had told them, but he did not receive a cure from any of them. At last he summoned the holy David to him and said to him, "Holy David, look closely at my eyes, because they are tormenting me." And the holy David responded and said, "My father, do not ask me to look at your face, because for ten years I have given my attention with you to scripture, and so far I have not looked at your face." And Paulinus, admiring his extreme modesty, said, "Since it is so, it will be sufficient for you to touch my eyes and bless them, and I shall be cured." And as soon as he touched them – in a twinkling – his eyes were cured;<sup>41</sup> the darkness of his eyes having been banished, the teacher received the light that he had lost. Then thanks were rendered to God, and Paulinus blessed the holy David with all the blessings that are written in the Old and the New Testament.

§ 12. Not long afterwards an angel appeared to Paulinus and said, "It is time that the holy David, having doubled his talents by putting them to good use, should not bury in the ground the talent of wisdom entrusted to him and become sluggish with the lingering inactivity of idleness, but should increase the money he had received from his lord with a better growth of profit; so that, established in the joy of the Lord, he might gather in the sheaves of souls to fill up the heavenly storehouse of eternal bliss."<sup>42</sup> For he sowed and ploughed a great quantity of wheat-seed with the ploughshare of exhortation, and then gathered in the fruit of a good harvest, in some instances a hundred-fold, in others sixty-fold, and in others thirty-fold.<sup>43</sup> For he did not plough with a powerful ox and a weak ass together,<sup>44</sup> but he provided some with the strong bread of life, and others with the milk of godly encouragement; he gathered some within the cloisters of monastic communities, but counselled others eager for the broader road of life with different advice, in order to wean them from the slippery desires of worldly pleasures. Thus he became all things to all men.<sup>45</sup> § 13. For he founded twelve monasteries to the glory of God. Reaching Glastonbury first,

<sup>40</sup> The name is corrupt. *Wincdi* might represent OW \*Uuinn-di, 'Gwyn-dy, White-house'; or \*Uuint-di, 'Gwynt-dy, Windy-house'. *Lantquendi* looks like *Lant=Nant* (cf. Llancarfan for Nantcarfan in Lifris's *Vita S. Cadoci*), and then *-quendi* looks like *Gwyndy* again – or possibly even *Gwendy*. N<sub>5</sub> has *Wincdiland* simply; thus, *-quendi* could be a gloss that has crept into the text. The name is given as *Withland*, i.e. Whitland (Hendy-gwyn), Carmarthenshire (SN 19 16), in N<sub>7</sub>, I<sub>1-3, 5</sub>, but this may be speculation on the part of the copyist. It could be that the whole phrase is a later gloss that has entered the text, where in *Wincdylant (quendi)* may have been intended as synonymous with *in insula quadam*. Alternatively, V may have replaced gibberish with *quadam* where its exemplar contained a name, and the shortened ND text has unusually preserved the name. (We are grateful to Dr O. J. Padel for help with this note.)

<sup>41</sup> Mt. 9.29; 20.34: *tetigit oculos*.

<sup>42</sup> cf. the parable of the talents, Mt. 25.14–28.

<sup>43</sup> cf. the parable of the sower, Mt. 13, esp. 13.8.

<sup>44</sup> cf. Deut. 22.10. This analogy uses the image of a plough that would have been drawn either by two oxen or two asses, as opposed to one of each at the same time.

<sup>45</sup> 1 Cor. 9.22.

timberi<sup>b</sup>, ecclesiam ibi construxit; deinde uenit Badum<sup>c</sup>, ibique mortiferam aquam benedictione salutarem efficiens, lauandis corporibus dignam perpetuo donauit calore; postea uenit Croulan et Reptun<sup>d</sup>; «inde ad<sup>1</sup> Coluan<sup>e</sup> et Glascum<sup>f</sup>, «et altare anceps secum habebat<sup>1</sup>; hinc Leuministre monasterium fundauit; postea in regione Guent in loco, qui dicitur Raclam<sup>g</sup>, edificauit ecclesiam; deinde monasterium «in loco, qui dicitur<sup>1</sup> Langemelach, «fundauit in regione Guhir<sup>1</sup>, in quo postea altare missum accepit. Pepiau<sup>h</sup> quoque regem Ercig<sup>i</sup> cecum, restauratis oculorum luminibus, sanauit; «duo quoque sancti Boducat et Martrun in prouincia Cetgueli dederunt sibi manus<sup>1</sup>. **14** His itaque ex more fundatis, dispositisque canonici ordinis utensilibus, ac ordinata cenobialis habitus regula, ad locum, quo prius proficiscens exulauerat, i. ad Veterem Rubum, rediit. Habitabat autem ibi Guistilianus<sup>a</sup> episcopus fratruelis eius; cum autem colloquiis diuinis inter se consolarentur, sanctus <sup>b</sup>«inquit Daud, «Angelus Domini mihi<sup>1</sup> locutus dixit, Ex loco, in quo deseruire proponis, uix e centum unus <sup>c</sup>«poterit ad Dei regnum euadere. Ostenditque mihi locum, ex quo pauci in infernum intrabunt, omnis enim qui in cimiterio illius loci sana fide sepultus fuerit, misericordiam consequetur<sup>1</sup>.’

**15** QUADAM uero die <sup>a</sup>Daud et tres eius fidelissimi discipuli, multa condiscipulorum comitante turba, conueniunt, Aidanus, scilicet, Eliud, et Ismael, pariterque una concordēs dilectione locum, quem angelus premonuerat, adeunt, <sup>b</sup>«id est, Rosinam Vallem, quam uulgari nomine Hodnant Brittones uocitant, in qua, primo<sup>1</sup> accenso in nomine Domini foco, fumus in summis eleuatus, totam, ut apparebat, insulam necnon et Hiberniam circumgirans, implebat. **16** Quidam autem ex uicinia loci propinquus «satrapa magusque<sup>1</sup>, Baia uocatus, «Scottus,<sup>1</sup> sparsis in mundo solis fulgoribus, arcis menibus residens, uiso tali signo hebetans intremuit; tantaque permotus ira ut nec prandii meminisset totum tristis peregit diem; ad quem «eiusdem<sup>1</sup> mulier «ueniens

<sup>b</sup> Glastimber ND ] Glastoniam V, a *Latinized form that had become more widely known in the twelfth century.*

<sup>c</sup> Badum ND ] Bathoniam V, another increasingly accessible Latinization.

<sup>d</sup> Reptun ND ] Repetun V

<sup>e</sup> Coluan ND ] Colguan V *The letter u in ND represents the sound /v/, gu in V represents /w/; on the alternation of these sounds in Middle Welsh, Evans, Grammar, § 10.*

<sup>f</sup> Glascum ND ] Glascun V

<sup>g</sup> Raclam ND ] Raglam V

<sup>h</sup> Pepiau VD<sup>347</sup> ] Proprium ND. *It is hard to explain the split among the readings of the D family. Peibio Claforog (MW Pepiau Clauorauc) appears in the Life of St Dyfrig and several charters in LL as king of Ergyng.*

<sup>i</sup> Ercig ND ] Erging V

§ 14

<sup>a</sup> Guistilianus V ] Guistianus N<sup>37</sup> Guistianus N<sup>2</sup> Guistianus N<sup>159</sup>D<sup>1247</sup> *with a variety of still more decadent forms in other manuscripts.*

<sup>b</sup> inquires Dewi, Mecum ait qui comitatur angelus ND

<sup>c</sup> ND paraphrases.

§ 15

<sup>a</sup> Daud et V ] ad eum ND *The reading of V is clear, ‘David and three disciples meet’, but ND’s reading, ‘to him three disciples come together’, is not merely less clear but goes against the convention of naming the saint in each chapter; and here there is a definite chapter-marker in the phrase ‘Quadam uero die’.*

<sup>b</sup> om. ND, losing details of the topographical setting of David’s career.

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he built a church there; then he came to Bath, and here, making the death-dealing water health-giving by blessing it, he endowed it with perpetual heat, making it suitable for the bathing of bodies. Afterwards he came to Crowland and Repton; from there to Colfa and Glascwm, and he had a double altar with him; from here he founded the monastery of Leominster; afterwards he built a church in a place called Raglan, in the region of Gwent; then he founded a monastery in the place called Llangyfelach, in the region of Gower, in which he later received the altar sent to him. He also cured the blind Peibio, king of Eryng, by restoring his eyesight;<sup>46</sup> also two holy men in Cydweli, Byddugad and Martrun, helped him. § 14. When he founded these churches according to the usual practice, having distributed to each one the vessels of canonical order, and having laid down the rules of monastic dress, he returned to the place which he had left behind when he first set out, that is *Vetus Rubus*, the Old Grove. His brother's son, Bishop Gwystli, was living there;<sup>47</sup> but when they were comforting each other with godly conversation, Saint David said, "The angel of the Lord has told me, 'From the place where you intend to serve God, scarcely one out of a hundred will be able to ascend to the kingdom of God.' Instead, he showed me a place from where few will go to perdition; for everyone who is buried in good faith in the graveyard of that place will obtain forgiveness."<sup>48</sup>

§ 15. One day, David and his three most faithful disciples – namely Aidan, Eliud and Ishmael<sup>49</sup> – all met together, accompanied by a throng of their fellow disciples.<sup>50</sup> By unanimous choice, they went to the place previously foretold by the angel, that is, the *Vallis Rosina*, which the Welsh are in the habit of calling by the common name of Hoddnant. There, when the first fire had been lit in the name of the Lord, the smoke rose up on high, and it seemed to fill the whole island, also swirling around Ireland too.<sup>51</sup> § 16. A neighbour from the surrounding area, a warlord and seer called Baia, an Irishman, was resting within the ramparts of his castle while the sun's rays were diffused over the earth. On seeing such an omen he trembled and grew faint; and he was moved to such great anger that he did not remember his lunch and spent a

<sup>46</sup> This king appears in the Llandaf charters (72a, 72b, 73a, 73b, 75, 76a) and in the Life of St Dyfrig in the Book of Llandaf and Vespasian A. xiv.

<sup>47</sup> *Sanctus Gistlianus episcopus et confessor* appears in the Kalendar of BL MS Cotton Vespasian A. xiv with his feast on 2 March ('The kalendar', ed. Harris, 47).

<sup>48</sup> Burial in the right place was seen as a guarantee of salvation in the traditions of several Irish saints, among them St Finnbar of Cork (see § 39).

<sup>49</sup> On Aidan, whose name is Irish, see §§ 35–7, 42 below. Eliud (better known under the Welsh hypocoristic form Teilo) appears again, §§ 44, 48. Ishmael does not appear elsewhere in the Life, but his Hebrew name (like David's own) is a distinctive feature of Welsh custom, and he is mentioned in other sources. *Llanismael* 'St Ishmael's' is second (after St Davids) among the seven bishop-houses of Dyfed (Wade-Evans, *Welsh Medieval Law*, 121).

<sup>50</sup> Lk. 6.17: *turba discipulorum eius*.

<sup>51</sup> For the dramatic story of how St Patrick lit his fire in Ireland before the fire was lit in the king's house, and its prophetic implications, see Muirchú's Life of St Patrick, I 15, or in *Vita III S. Patricii*, § 37.

interrogansque<sup>1</sup> cur insolitum mense obliuisceretur, ‘Quid tam tristior et tam stupefactus’, inquit, ‘solus meres ipse?’ Ad hæc ille, ‘Vidisse me,’ inquit, ‘doleo fumum ex Rosina Valle surgentem, qui omnem circumibat patriam, certum enim teneo quod eius incensor potestate et gloria cunctos antecellet ‘in quamcunque partem fumus hostię eius circumiuit usque in finem mundi’<sup>1</sup>; nam<sup>a</sup> quasi quodam prenuntio fumus iste eius famam predicit.’ Cui coniunx ‘in insaniam uersa’<sup>1</sup>, ‘Surge,’ inquit, ‘acceptaque seruorum turba, ‘uirum illum et seruos suos ignem accedentes super agros tuos absque precepto tuo’<sup>1</sup>, tale ausos facinus, strictis insecutus gladiis, cunctos interime.’<sup>b</sup> ‘Veneruntque Baia satellitesque eius ut occiderent Dauid et discipulos eius, sed febris subito per uiam gradientes tenuit eos, nec potuerunt occidere Dauid aut pueros eius, sed blasphemauerunt Deum et Dauid agium, malaque uerba dixerunt’<sup>1</sup>; neque enim nocendi uoluntas deerat, quamuis eterno prohibita numine operandi facultas exinaniret. Domum inde regressi, obuiam inuenerunt coniugem. ‘Pecora’ inquit ‘nostra’<sup>c</sup> ‘et iumenta et oues et omnia animalia mortua sunt.’ Et lamentauerunt Baia et coniunx eius et tota familia eius ualde, et ululauerunt omnes pariter et dixerunt ‘Sanctus ille et discipuli eius, quos blasphemauimus, mortificauerunt pecora nostra’<sup>1</sup>; reuertamur itaque, flexisque poplitibus misericordiam postulantes, seruum Dei adoremus ut si uel sic et nostri et pecorum misereatur’. Reuertentesque<sup>d</sup> seruum Dei adeunt, lacrimis et orationibus misericordiam petentes, ‘Terra,’ inquit, ‘in qua es, tua in sempiternum fiat’. ‘Deditque Baia eadem die Dauid agio totam Rosinam Vallem perpetuo possidendam.’<sup>1</sup> Seruus autem Dei, ‘Dauid,’<sup>1</sup> respondens benigno animo, ‘Pecora,’ inquit, ‘uestra reuiuiscunt.’ ‘Inuenitque Baia domum reuersus pecora sua uiua ac sana.’<sup>1</sup>

**17** ALTERA autem die uxor eius liuoris zelo accensa, conuocatis ancillis, ‘Ite,’ inquit, ‘ad flumen quod dicitur Alun,’<sup>1</sup> et nudatis corporibus in conspectu sanctorum ludicra exercentes, impudicis utimini uerbis.’ Ancille obediunt, impudicos exercent ludos, concubitus simulant, blandos amoris nexus ostendunt; monachorum mentes quorundam ad libidines pertrahunt, quorundam molestant. <sup>a</sup> ‘Cuncti uero discipuli eius illam intolerabilem iniuriam non ferentes, dixerunt Dauid agio ‘Fugiamus de hoc loco quia non possumus hic habitare propter molestiam muliercularum malignantium’.<sup>1</sup> Sanctus autem pater ‘Dauid’<sup>1</sup> patientię longanimitate solidus, cuius anima nec prosperis mollita dissolueretur nec aduersis fatigata terreretur, ‘Nostis,’ inquit, ‘quod odit uos mundus, sed tunc<sup>b</sup> scitote quod plebs Israelitica, comitante federis archa, terram repromissionis ingrediens, continuis preliorum periculis cesa<sup>c</sup>

§ 16

<sup>a</sup> nam quasi ND ] namque quasi V

<sup>b</sup> Hoc facto grande pacti scelus ingenti per uiam gradientes febre correpti eneruauere. Viribus tamen inualidi spurcissimis opprobriorum blasphemis oppugnant ND

<sup>c</sup> *It is not apparent that this omission was deliberate, in the interests of economy, or accidental, caused by eye-skip.*

<sup>d</sup> Reuertentesque V ] Reuerso gressu ND

§ 17

<sup>a</sup> deserere monachi locum conantur ND

<sup>b</sup> tunc ND ] *om.* V

<sup>c</sup> cesa VN ] cassata D

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whole day in gloom. His wife came to him, asking why he should have unusually forgotten his meal. "Why are you so miserable and confused," she said, "feeling sorry for yourself on your own?" To this he replied, "I have been disturbed by the sight of the smoke rising from *Vallis Rosina*, which is encompassing the whole country, for I am certain that he who lit that fire will excel everyone in power and glory wherever the smoke of his sacrifice travels, even to the end of the earth; for, as if by some portent, this smoke predicts his fame." His wife said to him, having turned angry, "Get up and take a troop of slaves and, with your swords drawn, kill that man and his servants, who light a fire on your estates without your permission, for having dared such an offence." And Baia and his attendants came to kill David and his disciples; but walking along the road, a fever suddenly gripped them and they could kill neither David nor his servants; but they blasphemed God and holy David and spoke evil words, for the will to do them injury was not lacking, even if the means to accomplish it was drained from them, having been thwarted by providence. When they were returning home from there, they found his wife coming to meet them. "Our cattle," she said, "and beasts of burden, and sheep and all the animals are dead." And Baia and his wife and his whole household lamented very much, and everyone wailed alike and said, "That saint and his disciples, whom we have blasphemed, have killed our cattle; therefore let us return and ask for mercy on bended knees, and entreat the servant of God that he will thus have mercy both on us and our cattle." And turning back, they came to the servant of God; begging for mercy with tears and prayers, they said, "The land where you are shall be yours for ever." And on that same day Baia gave holy David the whole of *Vallis Rosina* in perpetual possession. And David, the servant of God, responding in good spirit, said, "Your cattle will revive." And when he returned home, Baia found his cattle alive and well.

§ 17. Another day, his wife, inflamed with jealous spite, called her maids and said, "Go to the river called Alun and bare your bodies, playing games and using lewd words in front of the holy men." The maids obeyed, they played immodest games, imitating sexual intercourse and displaying love's seductive embraces. They enticed away the minds of some of the monks to lust; they irritated the minds of others. Indeed, all of his disciples, not willing to suffer that intolerable insult, said to the holy David, "Let us flee from this place because we cannot live here on account of the annoyance of these mischievous little women." But the holy father, David, steadfast with the long-suffering of patience, whose soul might neither be melted when softened by prosperity, nor be frightened when wearied by adversities, said, "You know that the world hates you,<sup>52</sup> yet understand that the Israelites, accompanied by the Ark of the Covenant, entering the promised land, beaten down by the continuous dangers of battles, yet not defeated, annihilated the uncircumcised people who were

<sup>52</sup> Jn. 15.18.

nec tamen uicta, insistentem<sup>d</sup> prope et incircumcisum deleuit populum, quod nostrę uictorię certamen manifesto signat indicio; qui enim supernę patrię promissum querit, necesse est aduersitatibus fatigari nec tamen uinci, sed Christo comite inmundam uitiorum labem tandem superare. Debemus itaque non uinci a malo, sed uincere in bono malum, quia si Christus pro nobis, quis contra nos? Estote ergo fortes insuperabili bello, ne de fuga uestra inimicus uester gaudeat. Nos debemus manere, Baia autem deficere.’ His dictis, discipulorum corda roborauit, ‘et ieiunauit Dauid in illa nocte et discipuli eius usque mane<sup>1</sup>.

**18** <sup>a</sup>IN ILLA DIE dixit coniunx Baia ad priuignam suam, ‘Eamus simul ad uallem Alun, et queramus cucumeros illius ut inueniamus nuces in eis’. Ac illa humiliter sue nouerçę respondit dicens, ‘En ego prompta assum.’ Perrexerunt pariter ad profunditatem uallis predictę; cumque peruenissent illuc, nouerca sedens delicate ait ad priuignam suam, Dunaut nomine, ‘Tribue caput tuum in sinu meo, uolo enim cirros tuos leniter inuestigare’; ac illa puella innocens, que ab infantia sua pie ac caste inter pessimas mulierum turmas uixerat, uertit caput innocuum in sinum nouerçe sue; illa uero nouerca insan<i>ens cito euaginauit nouaculam suam, amputauitque caput illius felicissimę uirginis; sanguis uero eius in terram fluxit, fonsque lucifluus ab eo loco surrexit, qui multos hominum languores abunde sanauit, quem locum Martirium Dunaut usque in hodiernam diem uulgus uocitat. Illa uero nouerca a Baia fugit, nemoque sub celo nouit quanam morte uitam finiuit; hinc Baia satrapa amariter fleuit, Dauid uero cum pueris suis laudem Deo eterno decantauit.<sup>1</sup> **19** <sup>a</sup>Sicque destinauit Baia ut Dauit agium occideret. At filius Paucaut, inimicus suus, Lisci nomine, in arce sua caput eius amputauit; erat enim porta illius diluculo aperta, cum hostis inopinatus de naue uenisset; moxque ignis de celo cecidit totumque edificium suum cito combussit. Nemoque dubitet quod Dominus propter Dauid seruum suum percussit Baiam et uxorem eius;<sup>1</sup> nam qui uiri Dei mortem sub cede minabatur, dignum est ut <sup>b</sup>iusta eum cedens persequatur, et qui in seruos Dei immisericors erat, sine misericordia uindictetur.

**20** Expulsa igitur Deo propitio inimicorum malitia, monastica in Domino classis in loco, quem angelus premonuerat, insigne construxit monasterium. **21** Perfectisque omnibus, talem cenobialis propositi<sup>a</sup> feruore rigorem sanctus decreuit pater ut

<sup>d</sup> insistentem V ] insidentem ND, a near arbitrary change from pursuit to ambush by the uncircumcised.

§ 18

<sup>a</sup> The whole section is tastefully reduced to: Proxima autem die eadem uxor, occisa prius innocente priuigna, in cuius martyrii sede fons sanitatum redditor emanauit, in insaniam uersa, nusquam comparuit ND

§ 19

<sup>a</sup> Baia autem inopinato percussus hoste interiit; arx uero eius emisso celitus igne combusta euertitur ND

<sup>b</sup> iusta scripsi ] ista N iusta D<sup>1</sup> ita D<sup>2</sup> iusta D<sup>347</sup> om. V An early confusion is attested in ND, suggesting a lack of clarity in the exemplar; ista contributes little or nothing, and D<sup>34</sup> appear to offer the best sense, though it may well represent a shrewd conjecture at that point in the transmission.

§ 21

<sup>a</sup> propositi ND ] prepositi VN<sup>13</sup>

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closely pursuing them. That struggle is an evident token of our victory, for he who seeks the promise of the heavenly country must be wearied by adversities yet not be overcome, but with Christ as his companion, he must eventually prevail over the evil stain of his sins. Therefore we must not be overcome by evil but overcome evil with good,<sup>53</sup> for if Christ is for us, who is against us?<sup>54</sup> Show yourself strong,<sup>55</sup> therefore, with a dogged fight, lest your enemy rejoice in your flight. We must stand fast; it is Baia who must withdraw.” Having said these things, he strengthened the hearts of his disciples, and that night David fasted, and his disciples too, until the morning.

§ 18. On that day, Baia’s wife said to her stepdaughter, “Let us go together to the Alun valley and look for its earth-nut plants so that we may find nuts in them.”<sup>56</sup> She humbly answered her stepmother, saying, “See! I am ready now.” They went together to the bottom of the aforesaid valley, and when they arrived there, the stepmother, sitting delicately, said to her stepdaughter, named Dunod, “Place your head in my bosom, because I want gently to examine your locks.” That innocent girl, who had lived piously and chastely among multitudes of the worst women since her infancy, turned her innocent head to the bosom of her stepmother, and the barbarous woman quickly unsheathed her razor and cut off the head of that most fortunate virgin. Her blood ran on to the ground, and a clear spring rose up from that place,<sup>57</sup> and it abundantly cured many human diseases.<sup>58</sup> The common people call this place Merthyr Dunod to this very day.<sup>59</sup> The stepmother fled from Baia, and no one under heaven knew by what manner of death she ended her life; therefore the warlord, Baia, wept bitterly, but David and his pupils sang praise to the everlasting God. § 19. So Baia planned to kill the holy David, but his enemy Llysgi, the son of Peugod, cut off his head in his castle, for its gate was open at daybreak when the enemy had come unexpectedly from a ship. Soon after, fire fell from heaven and quickly burned down the whole of his building. No one may doubt that the Lord smote Baia and his wife on account of his servant David; for it was fitting that a just death should catch up with the one who was threatening the man of God with death by the sword, and that he who was unmerciful to the servants of God should be punished without mercy.

§ 20. Now that the malice of its enemies had been cast out by the favour of God, the monastic community built a famous monastery in the Lord’s name on the site that the angel had previously shown them. § 21. When everything was complete, the holy father, in his zeal for the monastic vow, decreed such austerity that every monk, sweating away at his daily work, spent his life in the community in manual labour.

<sup>53</sup> Rom. 12.21.

<sup>54</sup> Rom. 8.31.

<sup>55</sup> 2 Sam. 13.28.

<sup>56</sup> Literally, ‘look for its cucumbers (*cucumeros*) so that we may find nuts (*nuces*) in them’; the Welsh translation refers only to nuts, ‘ac awn yn dwy y Lynn Alun y geissyaw kneu’. Anthony Harvey points out that in a Middle Irish tract on Latin declension (Stokes, *Irish Glosses*, 3–35, at 32, line 1049), *cucumber* is translated *cūlarán* ‘pig-nut, earth-nut’, cognate with Welsh *cylor*, but the word refers to the ‘nut’, that is the edible root-tuber, rather than the plant. The genus is *Conopodium Majus*, and is common in British woodland.

<sup>57</sup> *fonsque lucifluus*: *lucifluus* is a late Latin adjective that is first used by Juvencus; it is found in Ieuan ap Sulien, *de familia Sulgeni*, line 84: *lucifluum ... regnum* (ed. Lapidge, ‘The Welsh-Latin poetry’, 84).

<sup>58</sup> *qui multos hominum languores abunde sanauit*: cf. Mt. 4.23: *sanans omnem languorem*.

<sup>59</sup> Otherwise unknown.

monachorum quisque, cotidiano desudans operi, manuum labore suam in commune transigeret uitam. Qui enim non laborat, ait apostolus, non manducet. Noscens enim quod secreta quies uitiorum fomes et mater esset, monachorum humeros diurnis<sup>b</sup> fatigationibus subiugauit; nam qui sub otii quiete tempora mentesque summittunt, instabilem accidię spiritum libidinisque stimulos sine quiete parturiunt. **22** Igitur inpensiori studio, pede manuque laborant; iugum ponunt in humeris; suffossoria<sup>a</sup> uangasque inuicto brachio terrę defigunt<sup>b</sup>; sarculos serrasque ad succidendum sanctis ferunt manibus; cuncta congregationis necessaria propriis expendunt uiribus. Possessiones respuunt, iniquorum dona reprobant, diuitias detestantur; boum nulla ad arandum cura introducitur; quisque sibi et fratribus diuitię, quisque et bos. Acto opere, nullum audiebatur murmur, nullum preter necessarium habebatur colloquium, sed quisque, aut orando aut recte cogitando, iniunctum peragebat opus. **23** Peracto autem rurali opere, ad monasterii claustra reuertentes, aut legendo aut scribendo aut orando totam ad uesperum peragebant diem. Veniente autem uespere, cum nolę pulsus audiebatur, quisque studium deserebat; si enim in auribus cuiuscunque pulsus resonaret, scripto litterę apice uel etiam dimidia eiusdem litterę figura, citius assurgentes sua sinebant officia, sicque cum silentio sine ulla colloquii fabulositate ecclesiam petunt. Expletis psalmorum canticis, consona cordis et uocis intentione, genuflexionibus inseruiunt quoadusque sidera celo uisa finitum clauderent diem. Solus autem pater, egressis omnibus, secretam Deo <sup>a</sup>pro ecclesię statu fundebat orationem. **24** Tandem ad mensam conueniunt; quique<sup>c</sup> fessos artus accepte cenę refectione releuant<sup>b</sup>, nec tamen<sup>c</sup> ad saturitatem, nimia enim satietas, quamuis solius panis, luxuriam gignit, sed tunc pro impari corporum uel ętatum statu quisque cenam capit. Non diuersorum fercula saporum, non esculentiores pastus apponunt, sed pane et oleribus sale conditis pasti, ardentem sitim temperato potionis genere restingunt. Infirmis tunc uel ętate prouectis uel etiam longo itinere fatigatis, aliqua suauioris cibi oblectamenta procurant, non enim omnibus ęquali mensura pensandum est. **25** Peracta autem gratiarum actione, ecclesiam canonica <sup>a</sup>cum pulsione adeunt, ibique quasi per tres horas uigiliis orationibus genuflexionibus insistent. Quamdiu autem in ecclesia orarent<sup>b</sup>, nullus oscitare, nullus sternutationem facere, nullus saliuam foras iacere licenter audebat. **26** His ita gestis, sopori membra componunt. Pullorum uero cantu expergefacti, orationi genuflexioni dediti,

<sup>b</sup> diurnis D ] diuinis VN *The stemma argues for diuinis 'godly exertions', but there is no contextual need for this word; plain sense argues for diurnis 'daily exertions'; the two words are easily confused, and diuinis might have arisen as a mistake with more than one copyist.*

§ 22

<sup>a</sup> suffossoria VN<sup>239</sup> ] suffossorias ND

<sup>b</sup> defingunt V ] figunt ND

§ 23

<sup>a</sup> pro ecclesię statu VN<sup>269</sup> D<sup>347</sup> ] per ecclesię statum N<sup>134</sup>D<sup>12</sup> *It would seem that ND was in error, but it is a simple correction to restore the text, and several ND copies made it.*

<sup>a</sup> quique VD ] quisque N

<sup>b</sup> releuant V ] renouant ND

<sup>c</sup> tamen VN<sup>5</sup>D<sup>347</sup> ] tunc N<sup>23469</sup>D<sup>12</sup> *om. N<sup>1</sup> Again it appears that ND read tunc but several copies corrected the text.*

§ 25

<sup>a</sup> cum pulsione V 'with canonical ringing of the bell' ] compulsione ND

<sup>b</sup> orarent VN ] laborarent D

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“For he who does not work”, says the apostle, “let him not eat.”<sup>60</sup> Knowing that carefree leisure was the kindling and the mother of vices, he burdened the shoulders of the monks with godly exertions; for those who, in the tranquillity of leisure, relax their heads and minds, develop an inconstant spirit of sloth and restless urges to lust. § 22. Therefore they would work with their feet and hands with more vehement zeal; they would place the yoke upon their shoulders;<sup>61</sup> they would push spades and shovels into the earth with their unfailing arms; they would carry hoes and saws in their holy hands for cutting, and they would, by their own efforts, provide for all the needs of the community. They despised possessions, they rejected the gifts of the wicked,<sup>62</sup> and they detested riches. There was no bringing in of oxen to do the ploughing; rather, everyone was rich unto himself and the brethren – and ox too. When the work was completed, not a murmur would be heard; no conversation was held beyond what was necessary, but each one performed his appointed task with prayer and proper meditation. § 23. When the work in the fields was completed, returning to the cloisters of the monastery, they would spend the whole of the day until evening in reading or writing or praying. When evening arrived and the ringing of the bell was heard, everyone would abandon what he was doing. Even if the bell resounded in anyone’s ears when just the tip of a letter – or even half the shape of that letter – was written, they would quickly get up and leave what they were doing. Thus, in silence, and without any chatter, they would make their way to the church. When the chanting of the psalms had ended, the purpose of their voices and their hearts being in harmony, they would devote themselves on bended knees until the appearance of the stars in the heavens brought the day to a close. After everyone had gone out, the father, alone, would pour out his private prayer to God for the condition of the church. § 24. Eventually they gather at table. Everyone relieves his weary limbs by partaking of dinner, but not to excess – for being filled to excess, even with bread on its own, gives rise to dissipation – rather, everyone receives a meal according to the varying condition of their bodies or their age. They do not serve dishes of different flavours, nor richer types of food, but feeding on bread and herbs seasoned with salt, they quench their burning thirst with a temperate kind of drink. Then, for either the sick, those advanced in age, or likewise those tired by a long journey, they provide some other pleasures of tastier food, for it is not to be dealt out to all in equal measure. § 25. When they have performed the thanksgiving, they go to church at the canonical ringing of the bell, and there they apply themselves to vigils, prayers, and genuflexions for about three hours. While they pray in church, no one freely dares to yawn, no one to sneeze, no one to spit. § 26. After spending the day in this way, they arrange their limbs for sleep. Waking up at cock-crow

<sup>60</sup> 2 Thess. 3.10.

<sup>61</sup> An early Irish parallel for monks’ pulling the plough themselves can be found in the eighth-century Life of St Fintan of Clonenagh, § 4 (ed. Heist, *Vitae*, 147), which Rhygyfarch may have known (see n. 34).

<sup>62</sup> cf. *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*, 1. 8: ... *non praesumat dona iniquorum, quae reprobant Altissimus*; 2. 22: *Dona iniquorum, quae reprobantur a Deo, reprobantur a sanctis*; 2. 23: ... *caetera iniquorum reproba, quae reprobant Altissimus* ...

totam deinceps <sup>a</sup>insomnem ad mane usque perducunt noctem; sicque per ceteras noctes inseruiunt.

**27** A NOCTE sabbati quousque post diluculum prima diei dominice hora eluxerit, uigiliis orationibus genuflexionibus sese impendunt<sup>a</sup>, excepta una tunc hora post sabbati matutinas. **28** Cogitationes patri propalant, patris licentiam etiam uel ad naturę requisita adquirunt. Omnia communia, nichil meum uel tuum, quisquis enim aut 'meum librum' aut aliud aliquid pronuntiaret, protinus durę subderetur penitentię. Vilibus induebantur uestibus, maxime pellinis. Indeficiens obedientia ad patris imperium, nimia perseuerantia in agendis actibus, probitas in omnibus. **29** Nam qui sancti propositi conuersionem desiderans, fratrum inire consortium postularet, prius decem diebus pre foribus monasterii quasi reprobatus, nec non et uerborum opprobriis confutatus remaneret; si autem bene utens patientia ad decimum perstaret diem, acceptus prius sub seniore qui portę preesset constitutus seruiebat; ibique per multum temporis desudans, fractusque<sup>a</sup> multis animi aduersitatibus, tandem fratrum merebatur inire consortium. **30** Nichil habebatur superfluum, uoluntaria diligebatur paupertas; nam quicumque eorum conuersionem cupiebat, nichil eius substantie quam mundo renuntians dimisisset, uel unum, ut ita dicam, denarium in usum monasterii pater acciperet sanctus, sed nudus ueluti e naufragio euadens receptus, nequaquam inter fratres extollens sese eleuaret, uel sua fultus substantia equalem fratribus non iniret laborem; aut religionis habitum apostatans<sup>a</sup> ui extorqueat, quę monasterio relinquit, et fratrum pacientiam commoueat in iram. **31** Ipse autem pater cotidianis lacrimarum fontibus exundans, thurificatis orationum holocaustomatibus redolens, geminę karitatis ardore flagrans, debitam dominici corporis oblationem puris sacrabat manibus, sicque ad angelicum solus post matutinas horas pergebat alloquium. Hinc protinus frigidam petebat aquam, in qua diutius morando rigans omnem carnis ardorem domitabat<sup>a</sup>. Totam deinceps diem docendo, orando, genuflectendo, curam fratrum faciendo, nec non et orphanorum, pupillarum, uiduarum, egentium, debilium, infirmantium, peregrinorum, multitudinem pascendo, immobilis et indefessus ducebat. Sicque incepit, peregit, finiuit. Reliqua autem eius disciplinę rigoris, quamuis ad imitandum necessaria, proposita compendii breuitas uetat nos exponere. Sed Egyptios monachos imitatus, similem eis duxit uitam. **32** Audita itaque boni odoris fama 'Dauid agii'<sup>1</sup>, reges, principes seculares deserunt sua regna eiusque monasterium petunt. Hinc contigit ut Constantinus, Cornubiensium rex,

§ 26

<sup>a</sup> insomnem ad mane ND ] diem insomnem a mane V *The two versions differ in their interpretation; while ND takes it that cockcrow is still during the night and that the text concerns the night office, V takes it that cockcrow begins the day and refers to the community spending a sleepless day. The day office is dealt with in § 31.*

§ 27

<sup>a</sup> impendunt VN ] impendant D<sup>12</sup> impendebant D<sup>347</sup>

§ 29

<sup>a</sup> fractusque N<sup>69</sup>D<sup>12347</sup>V<sup>23</sup> ] fractisque VN<sup>1234</sup> *The agreement of the manuscripts goes against the stemma, but the error that attracts fractus to agree with multis might occur in more than one context, and the correction is easily made too.*

§ 30

<sup>a</sup> apostatans ND *though some copies have* apostans D<sup>124</sup> *corrected in* D<sup>24</sup> *apostans* N<sup>2</sup> ] *apostans* V *apostans* N<sup>1</sup> *The archetype would appear to have been less than clear, since relatively early copies such as* D<sup>12</sup>N<sup>1</sup> *already show divergent readings; V's* aporians *'impoverishing' (2 Cor 4:8) is perhaps a rather imaginative guess when faced with apostans?*

§ 31

<sup>a</sup> domitabat VN ] domitauit D

*Rhygyfarch's 'Life' of St David*

and having prayed and genuflected, they spend the rest of the night, until morning, without sleep; and so they devote themselves throughout the other nights.

§ 27. From Friday evening until after daybreak shines at the first hour of Sunday, they devote themselves to vigils, prayers, and genuflexions, except for one hour after matins on Saturday.<sup>63</sup> § 28. They reveal their thoughts to the father, and even obtain his permission for the requirements of nature. All things were in common: nothing was 'mine' or 'yours',<sup>64</sup> for whoever might declare either 'my book' or 'my anything else' would be subjected straightaway to severe penance. They wore clothes of poor quality – mainly skins. There was unflinching obedience to the father's command, their perseverance in the performance of their duties and their uprightness in all things were beyond measure. § 29. He who desired the way of life of a holy vow – who might ask to enter the fellowship of the brethren – would first remain before the gates of the monastery for ten days as one rejected, and even be put down by reproachful words. If he put his patience to good use, however, and stood there until the tenth day, having first been admitted he would be put to serve under the elder who had charge of the gate. He would exert himself there for a long time, and subdued by the many conflicts of his soul, he would at last be considered worthy to enter the fellowship of the brethren. § 30. Nothing would be kept that was superfluous – voluntary poverty was highly valued – for the holy father would not accept anything for the monastery's use from property that anyone who desired their way of life had given up to the world when he renounced it – not even one penny, so to speak. Rather he was received naked, as though escaping from a shipwreck, lest he should by any means exalt himself among the brethren, praising himself; or lest on grounds of his wealth he should not undertake his equal share of work with the brethren; or lest, renouncing his monastic habit, he should extort by force what he had left to the monastery and excite the patience of the brethren to anger. § 31. But the father himself, brimming with daily well-springs of tears, perfumed with the censured sacrifices of prayers, and ablaze with the fire of twofold love,<sup>65</sup> would consecrate the due oblation of the Lord's Body with pure hands; and in this way, after matins, he would go alone to talk with angels. Immediately afterwards he would seek cold water; by remaining in it long enough and pouring it over himself he would tame every passion of the flesh. After that he would spend the whole day teaching, praying, genuflecting, and caring for the brethren; also in feeding a multitude of orphans, wards, widows, needy, feeble, sick, and pilgrims; he did this invariably and untiringly. In this way he began, continued, and finished. The intended brevity of this short account, however, prevents us from explaining the remaining aspects of the severity of his discipline, although they are necessary as an example; but he imitated the monks of Egypt and lived a life like theirs. § 32. And so, having heard the report of the good reputation of the holy David, kings and princes of the world would abandon their kingdoms and seek his monastery. Hence it came about that Constantine, king of Cornwall, abandoned his kingdom and submitted the hitherto untamed neck of his pride in lowly obedience in one of this father's cells; and he lived there for a long time in faithful service.<sup>66</sup> At length he departed for another

<sup>63</sup> *A nocte sabbati* 'from the nightfall on Saturday' must here refer to Friday evening; liturgical custom begins the cycle with nocturns in the evening.

<sup>64</sup> Acts 4.32.

<sup>65</sup> See above, note 13.

<sup>66</sup> King Constantine was addressed as ruler of the south-west peninsula by Gildas, *De excidio*, § 28. For later traditions, see Doble, *St Constantine*.

suum desereret regnum, ac indomita ante suę elationis colla humilitatis obedientię in huius patris cella subiugaret; ibique diu fideli conuersatus seruitio, tandem in aliam longinquam patriam monasterium fundauit<sup>a</sup>. Sed quia satis de eius conuersatione locuti sumus, nunc iterum ad eius miracula redeamus.

**33** QUADAM die conuenientes in unum fratres conqueruntur, ‘Locus iste,’ inquit, ‘<sup>a</sup>hyeme habet aquas, sed<sup>b</sup> estate uix tenui riulo fluiuis illabitur.’ His auditis, sanctus proficiscens pater ad proximum locum, quo eum angelus alloquebatur, perrexit, ibique sedule ac diutissime deprecans, eleuatis in celum oculis, necessariam petiuit aquam. Cum uoce orantis fons lucidissime<sup>c</sup> affluxit<sup>d</sup> aque; et quia uineis fructifera<sup>e</sup> non erat patria ad efficiendum dominici corporis ‘et sanguinis’ sacramentum, in uinum uersa est, ‘ita ut in tempore suo nunquam indiguerit mero. A Domino Deo tali uiro donum fuit dignissimum’<sup>1</sup>. Sed et alias dulces aquas a discipulis ad patris imitationem datas hominum utilitati et sanitati proficuas nouimus.

**34** QUADAM quoque die quidam rusticus, nomine Terdi, orans et <sup>a</sup>deprecans multum, caritatis petebat officia, ‘Terra,’ inquiens, ‘nostra aqua<sup>b</sup> est exhausta, ‘quare’ laboriosam ad aquandum, quia e longinquo distat fluiuis, habemus uiam<sup>c</sup>. Sanctus autem pater proximorum compatiens necessitati, humilis ingressus est, credens quod supplici petentis postulatione et eius humillima compassione aquam poterat inuenire. Egrediens itaque et<sup>d</sup> aperiens paululum baculi cuspidē glebę superficiem, fons emanauit lucidissimus, qui perpetua ebulliens uena frigidissimam caloris tempore donat aquam.

**35** ALIO autem tempore dum sanctus Aidanus eius discipulus casu quodam ad firmandum <sup>a</sup>doctrinę acceptum <librum><sup>a</sup> foris legeret monasterii affuit prepositus imperans ei ut ad deportanda de ualle ligna acceptis duobus bobus abiret<sup>b</sup>, erat

§ 32

<sup>a</sup> fundauit V ] edificauit ND

§ 33

<sup>a</sup> hyeme habet aquas VN<sup>2</sup> ] tepidas habet aquas N<sup>13</sup>D<sup>47</sup> tepide habetur aque N<sup>456</sup>D<sup>123</sup> rapide habetur aque conj. James The reading of VN<sup>2</sup> is clearly preferable, contrasting hyeme with estate, but the course ND has taken is obscure.

<sup>b</sup> sed et D Compare § 9, where D again adds et after sed.

<sup>c</sup> lucidissime V ‘of most clear water’ ] dulcissime ND ‘of most sweet water’

<sup>d</sup> affluxit V ] effluit N<sup>1</sup>D<sup>1238</sup> affluit N<sup>234569</sup> effluxit D<sup>4</sup> The perfect tense is appropriate, but ND had favoured a present tense; D4 has realised the preferability of the perfect.

<sup>e</sup> fructifera V ] frugifera ND

§ 34

<sup>a</sup> deprecans multum V ] multum deprecans ND

<sup>b</sup> aqua V ] aquis ND, perhaps to break the sequence of -a endings.

<sup>c</sup> uiam VN<sup>236</sup> ] uitam N<sup>149</sup>D

<sup>d</sup> et VN ] terram D

§ 35

<sup>a</sup> doctrin” acceptum ] doctrin” librum apertum N<sup>4</sup> doctrinam acceptum libram D<sup>8</sup> The word librum seems to be a conjecture in both cases, inferable from context but not mentioned in any extant copy until several lines later; acceptum however requires a noun to agree with it, and it is probable that the book was mentioned.

<sup>b</sup> abiret V ] iniret ND iret N<sup>5</sup>D<sup>478</sup>

distant land and built a monastery there. But since we have said enough about the way David lived, let us now once more return to his miracles.

§ 33. One day the brethren gathered together and complained. "This place", they said, "has water in winter but in summer the river flows as scarcely even a trickle." When he heard this the holy father set out and went to the place nearby where the angel would talk to him; and earnestly praying there at great length, with his eyes raised to heaven,<sup>67</sup> he asked for the essential water. While he was praying, a spring of the clearest water flowed out; and since that region produced no vines, the water was turned into wine for celebrating the sacrament of the Lord's Body and Blood, so that in his time they would never want for pure wine. This was a most worthy gift to such a man from the Lord God. But we also know of other sweet waters that were provided by his disciples, in imitation of the father, for the use of mankind and the benefits of health.

§ 34. One day, moreover, a peasant named Terddi, appealing and entreating excessively, was pleading for charitable assistance, saying, "Our land is exhausted of water, and so we have a laborious journey to fetch water because the river lies a long way off." But the holy father, sympathizing with the needs of his neighbours and being a humble man, gave it his attention, believing that by the lowly request of the petitioner, and by his own most humble compassion, he would be able to find water. And so he went forth and made a little opening in the surface of the soil with the point of his staff, and the clearest spring flowed out; its stream welled up all the year round, providing the coldest water, even in the hot season.

§ 35. Another time, while his disciple, Saint Aidan, happened to be out of doors reading a book given to him to strengthen his learning, the abbot of the monastery showed up and ordered him to take two oxen and go down to fetch firewood from the valley, for the forest was some distance away.<sup>68</sup> Aidan the disciple, being obedient, as soon as it was said, and not taking care to shut the book, made for the forest. When he had prepared the wood and harnessed the beasts, he started to walk back.

<sup>67</sup> Jn. 17.1.

<sup>68</sup> St Aidan, introduced in § 15 as one of David's three most devoted disciples, is nowhere in the Life identified as Irish, though his name is Irish. He is better known in Ireland under the hypocoristic name Maedóc (see § 42 below; Maodhog in Modern Irish, St Mogue). This story appears in a more detailed and exotic form in the Life of St Maedóc (§ 12), which was available to Rhygyfarch, and is also to be found in BL MS Vespasian A. xiv.

enim silua in longinquo posita. Discipulus autem Aidanus citius dicto obediens nec <sup>c</sup>claudendi librum moram accipiens siluam petit. Paratis autem lignis iumentisque impositis regrediens uiam carpit. Via autem<sup>d</sup> ad preruptum gradiebatur precipitium <sup>e</sup><sub quo mare influit. Veniente autem ad precipitium> uehiculo boues precipitati sunt in mare. Ruentibus autem signum imponit crucis, atque ita factum est ut ex undis sanos et incolumes cum uehiculo accipiens boues letus ingrederetur uiam. Cum autem iter faceret tanta pluuiarum inundantia exoritur ut fosse riuulis fluerent. Perfecto itinere, solutisque e labore bobus, ubi librum reliquerat ingreditur, sicque apertum et a pluuiis illesum repperit <sup>f</sup>‘sicut dimisit’. Fratribus autem hec audientibus, et patris gratia et discipuli humilitas pariter collaudatur<sup>f</sup>. Nam patris gratia librum indicabat <sup>g</sup><a><sup>g</sup> pluuiis intactum obedienti seruatum discipulo, discipuli autem humilitas boues patri custodit incolumes. **36** Sanctus autem Aidanus ad plenum eruditus, uirtutibus pollens<sup>a</sup> plurimum excoctis ad purum uitiiis Hiberniam petit; constructoque <sup>b</sup>monasterio ibi quod Hibernensi lingua Guernin uocatur, sanctissimam duxit uitam.

**37** CUM autem nocte Paschali orationem impensius assequeretur, apparuit ei angelus, inquiens, ‘Nosti quod uenerabili sancto Daid<sup>a</sup> uestro scilicet patri crastina die uenenum a quibusdam fratribus ad prandium apponetur?’. Sanctus autem <sup>f</sup>‘Aidanus’ respondens, ‘Nescio,’ inquit. Cui angelus, ‘Mitte,’ ait, ‘ex ministris quendam patri ad indicandum.’ Respondens autem sanctus Aidanus, ‘Nec nauis,’ inquit<sup>b</sup>, ‘parata, nec uentus ad nauigandum est directus.’ Cui angelus inquit<sup>c</sup>, ‘Condiscipulus<sup>d</sup> tuus, Scutinus nomine, ad litus pergat maris, ego enim eum illuc transferam.’ Discipulus autem obediens litus petit, mare intrat ad genu<sup>e</sup>. Accipiens autem eum belua transuexit ad ciuitatis confinia. **38** Peractis autem Paschalis festiuitatis solemnibus, sanctus pater <sup>a</sup>Daid agius refectorium ad prandium una cum fratribus petit. Cui obuius factus est quondam discipulus eius Scutinus. Narratisque<sup>b</sup> omnibus que erga eum gesta fuerant et que de illo angelus mandauerat, pariter in refectorium discumbunt leti gratias Deo agentes. Finita oratione, assurgens diaconus, qui patri ministrare consueuerat, panem ueneno confectum mense inponit, cui cocus et economus consenserant. Scutinus autem, qui et Scolanus aliud nomen habens, se erigens, ‘Hodie,’ inquit<sup>c</sup>, ‘nullum, frater, patri ministerium adhibebis. Ego enim impendam<sup>d</sup>’.

<sup>c</sup> claudendi librum V ] librum claudendi ND

<sup>d</sup> autem <qua> V, an attempt to restore sense lost through the omission later in the line

<sup>e</sup> om. VN<sup>23469</sup> by eye-skip; the same mistake must have happened at least twice.

<sup>f</sup> collaudatur N ] collaudantur V celebratur D

<sup>g</sup> a ND ] om. V

§ 36

<sup>a</sup> uirtutibus pollens V ] the word pollens is out of place in ND, following uitiiis, and different copies make different attempts to restore sense or resort to omission.

<sup>b</sup> ibi monasterio ND

§ 37

<sup>a</sup> Dewi ND

<sup>b</sup> inft ND

<sup>c</sup> inquit V

<sup>d</sup> <autem> ND

<sup>e</sup> genu VN ] genua D

§ 38

<sup>a</sup> Daid agius V ] Dewi ND

<sup>b</sup> narratisque V ] narratis ND

<sup>c</sup> inquit V

<sup>d</sup> impendam VN ] ministerium impendam D

*Rhygyfarch's 'Life' of St David*

Now, the road led to an abrupt precipice, under which the sea flowed. When the cart came to the precipice, the oxen fell into the sea. But he made the sign of the cross over them as they tumbled; and so it came about that he received the oxen and the cart safe and sound from the waves and joyfully proceeded on his way. But as he was travelling, such a rain-storm suddenly blew up, that the ditches flowed with streams of water. When he had completed his journey and released the oxen from their labour, he went to the place where he had left the book, and he found it open, just as he had left it, and not damaged by the rain. When the brethren heard these things, both the father's grace and the disciple's humility were praised in equal measure; for the father's grace showed that the book was preserved untouched by the rain for the obedient disciple; and the disciple's humility preserved the oxen, unharmed, for the father. § 36. Now, Saint Aidan, when he had been fully instructed, excelling in virtue, his vices purged to the highest purity, travelled to Ireland; and he built a monastery there, which in Irish is called *Fernae*, Ferns, and led a most holy life.<sup>69</sup>

§ 37. Now, on Easter Eve, when he was rather earnestly engaged in prayer, an angel appeared to him, saying, "Do you know that tomorrow, at lunch, poison will be served up by some of the brethren for the venerable Saint David, that is, your father?" Saint Aidan answered, "I do not know." The angel said to him, "Send one of your servants to inform the father." And Saint Aidan answered, "There is no ship ready, and the wind is in the wrong direction for sailing." The angel said to him, "Let your fellow disciple Scuihín go down to the seashore, and I will transport him there." The obedient disciple made for the shore and entered the sea up to his knees; and a sea-beast took him and carried him across to the outskirts of the city.<sup>70</sup>

§ 38. When the Easter solemnities had ended, the holy father, Saint David, made his way, along with the brethren, to the refectory for dinner. His former disciple, Scuihín, met him and told him everything that had been done towards him and what the angel had commanded concerning him. They took their places together at table in the refectory, joyfully giving thanks to God. When they had said grace, the servant<sup>71</sup> who had been accustomed to serving the father got up and placed the bread made with poison on the table (the cook and the steward had agreed to this plan). And Scuihín (who also had another name, Scolanus)<sup>72</sup> got up and said, "Today, brother, you shall not wait upon the father: I shall serve." The servant, being conscious of what he had done, withdrew, confused and stupefied with fear.

<sup>69</sup> St Aidan or Maedóc was the founder of the monastery of *Fernae* (gen. *Fernann*), Ferns in Co. Wexford; as elsewhere Rhygyfarch writes the Irish place-name in a Welsh spelling, Gwernin.

<sup>70</sup> There are other stories of holy men who were carried by sea creatures, but Scuihín appears in the *Félire Oengusso*, when St Bairre, travelling by ship, meets him riding on the waves (ed. Stokes, 41).

<sup>71</sup> Rhygyfarch uses the Greek word *diaconus* 'servant who waits at table', and hence liturgically 'deacon', but there is no evident connotation of clerical status.

<sup>72</sup> Scuihín's alternate name points towards Ysgolan, a figure of Welsh legend who appears in a poem in the Black Book of Carmarthen (Jarman, *Llyfr Du*, 55).

Diaconus autem confusus abscedens, facti conscius, hebetans dirigit. <sup>e</sup>f Accepitque Daid agius panem illud uenenosum, diuidensque in tres partes, unam dedit canicule foris stanti iuxta ostium, statimque ut morsum gustasset misera morte uitam finiuit. Omnes enim pili illius in ictu oculi ceciderunt, ita ut uiscera eius foras erumperent, corio passim infracto, stupueruntque fratres omnes illud uidentes. Misitque Daid agius alteram partem coruo, qui erat in nido suo in fraxino, quę erat inter refectorium et amnem ad australem plagam, moxque ut rostro tetigit exanimis de arbore cecidit. Tertiam uero partem Daid agius in manu sua tenuit, et benedixit comeditque eam cum gratiarum actione, inspexeruntque in eum cuncti fratres miro modo stupentes<sup>1</sup> quasi per tres horas. Ipse autem, nullo mortiferi ueneni signo apparente, intrepidus uitam seruauit incolumem. <sup>1</sup>Nuntiauitque Daid agius fratribus suis omnia, que ab illis tribus predictis uiris facta fuerant. Surrexeruntque fratres omnes, et planxerunt, maledixeruntque illos uiros dolosos, economum scilicet et cocum et diaconum, dampnaueruntque eos et successores eorum, ex uno ore dicentes nunquam habituros eos partem regni cęlestis in ęternum.<sup>1</sup>

**39** ALIO quoque tempore cum inextinguibile<sup>a</sup> desiderium ad sanctorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum reliquias uisitandas haberet<sup>a</sup>, inter ceteros fidelissimus ille abbas Hibernensium<sup>b</sup>, cui nomen Barre, sacram peregrinandi uiam indefessis carpebat plantis. Perfecto salutari uoto, ad monasterii claustra reuertens<sup>c</sup>, sanctum uisitabat uirum, <sup>1</sup>Daid agium,<sup>1</sup> ibique per aliquantulum temporis in diuinis colloquiis ex uoto moratus, prepedita uentorum indigentia nauis qua patriam reuisere parauerat, longiori retardabatur mora. Timens autem ne sine abbate in fratribus contentiones, lites, rixe, soluto caritatis uinculo, exorirentur, ueluti apes, rege perempto, fauorum cellas quas tenaci glutino solidauerant, diruunt, euertunt, sollicita perscrutatus mente mirabile inuenit iter. Nam quadam die equum, in quo sanctus pater <sup>1</sup>Daid<sup>1</sup> ad ecclesiasticas utilitates insidere<sup>d</sup> consueuerat, petiuit. Concessum accepit. Accepta patris benedictione, portum petit, mare intrat; fidens patris benedictione ac sustentaculo equi utitur pro nauis. Equus enim tumentes fluctuum cumulos ceu planum perarabat campum. **40** Cum autem in mare longius graderetur, apparuit ubi sanctus Brendanus super marinum cetum miram ducebat uitam. Sanctus autem Brendanus, hominem in mare uidens equitantem, stupefactus, ait, ‘Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis.’ Eques appropinquabat ubi erat<sup>a</sup>, ita ut <sup>b</sup>salutare se inuicem possent. Salutantibus <sup>1</sup>illis se<sup>1</sup> mutuo, Brendanus rogat unde esset et a quo uenisset et quomodo in mare equitasset. Cui Barre, narratis suę peregrinationis causis, inquit, ‘Cum me prepedita nauis a fratribus suspenderet, sanctus pater Daid<sup>c</sup> equum, in quo insidere<sup>d</sup>

<sup>e</sup> ND *paraphrases*.

§ 39

<sup>a</sup> cum inextinguibile desiderium . . . haberet V ] cum inextinguibile Hibernensium desiderium . . . arderet ND *By moving the word Hibernensium ND avoids describing Bairre as ‘abbot of the Irish’, and the associated change of haberet to arderet creates an impersonal desire among the Irish to visit Rome.*

<sup>b</sup> om. ND *See previous note.*

<sup>c</sup> reuertens V ] reuersus ND

<sup>d</sup> insidere VN ] insedere D; *compare §§ 40, 43.*

§ 40

<sup>a</sup> erat V ] esset ND

<sup>b</sup> salutare se VN ] se salutare D<sup>3</sup> resalutare D<sup>124</sup>

<sup>c</sup> Daid V ] Dewi ND

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And holy David took the poisoned bread: dividing it into three parts, he gave one of them to a little dog that stood just outside the door. Immediately, as it tasted the mouthful, the dog died a miserable death, for all its hair fell out in the twinkling of an eye, its bowels ruptured, and its skin was broken all over. When they saw it, all the brethren were astonished. Holy David sent the second part to a crow that was on its nest in an ash tree between the refectory and the river, on the south side. As soon as it touched it with its beak, the crow fell down dead from the tree. Holy David held the third part in his hand; he blessed it and ate it with thanksgiving.<sup>73</sup> All the brethren looked at him with wonder and amazement for about three hours; but undaunted, he confidently preserved his life unharmed and no sign of the deadly poison appeared.<sup>74</sup> Holy David told the brethren about all the things that had been done by those three men. The brethren all rose up and wailed, and they cursed those deceitful people – the steward, the cook, and the servant – and unanimously condemned them and their successors, saying that they should never have a place in the kingdom of heaven.

§ 39. Another time, affected by an unquenchable desire to visit the shrines of SS. Peter and Paul the apostles, that most faithful abbot of the Irish, named Bairre, among others trod the pilgrims' hallowed route with unwearied footsteps.<sup>75</sup> When he had accomplished his soul-saving vow, he turned back towards his own monastic cloisters and visited the holy David. He wanted to linger there for a while in godly conversation, and prolonged his stay because the ship that was made ready for his return to his own country was delayed by a lack of wind. Fearing that, in their abbot's absence, the bond of charity would be loosened and that disputes, quarrels, and brawls would arise among the brethren – just as the bees, when their sovereign dies, pull apart and break up the honeycomb cells which they had fastened together with firmly binding wax – he anxiously searched and found a wonderful way to return. One day he asked for the horse which the holy father, David, had been accustomed to ride on church business. He obtained permission, and having received the father's blessing, he reached the harbour and entered the sea. Trusting in the father's blessing, he used the horse instead of a ship as support. The horse ploughed its way through the swelling crests of the waves as if through a level field.<sup>76</sup> § 40. When he had travelled further out to sea, he came to where Saint Brendan was leading a wonderful life on the back of a whale.<sup>77</sup> Seeing a man riding a horse on the sea, Saint Brendan was astonished and said, "God is wonderful in his saints."<sup>78</sup> The man on horseback was approaching the place where he was, so that they would be able to greet each other. Having exchanged mutual greetings, Brendan asked from what place he might be, from whom he might have come, and how he rode a horse on the sea. Having related the cause of his journey, Bairre told him, "Since my ship's delay was keeping me away from my brethren, the holy father David gave me the horse on which he was accustomed to ride, so that I might have use of it in my need; and

<sup>73</sup> cf. *David agius in manu sua tenuit, et benedixit comeditque eam*: cf. Mat. 26.26, *accepit Iesus panem et benedixit ac fregit deditque discipulis suis et ait, 'Accipite et comedite ...'*

<sup>74</sup> cf. Mk. 16.18: *si mortiferum quid biberint non eos nocebit*.

<sup>75</sup> St Bairre or Finnbar, patron of Cork. The story of his riding St David's horse across the sea appears in the O-text of the Life of St Bairre, quoted by Plummer, *Vitae*, i. 69n.

<sup>76</sup> Compare the Irish story of Manannán, in the voyage-tale *Immram Brain*, who rides his chariot over the sea as if over a flowery plain.

<sup>77</sup> The story is told in the late-eighth-century *Nauigatio S. Brendani*, ed. Selmer, § 10.

<sup>78</sup> Ps. 67.36.

consueuerat, ut eo necessitate fungerer donauit, sicque eius benedictione munitus, talem ingressus sum uiam.’ Cui Brendanus, ‘Vade,’ inquit<sup>e</sup>, ‘in pace. Ego ueniam et uidebo eum.’ Barre autem illeso gressu patriam adiit. Fratribus <sup>f</sup>erga eum que gesta fuerant narrauit<sup>g</sup>. Equum in cellę ministerio <sup>h</sup>usque ad obitum eiusdem<sup>b</sup> tenuerunt. Post obitum uero ad miraculi memoriam depictam equi imaginem formauerunt, que usque adhuc, auro tecta, in Hibernensium insula habetur, que etiam signorum copia claret.

**41** ALIO quoque tempore alius eius discipulus, Modomnoc<sup>a</sup> nomine, cum fratribus uiam prope ciuitatis confinia in procliuo cauabat, quo ad deferenda necessitatum onera uiantibus facilius fieret accessus. Ipse autem cuidam ex laborantibus inquit ‘Quid tu tam desidiose et segniter laboras?’ At ille ad loquentis uerba iracundie permotus spiritu, ferrum, quod manu tenebat, id est, bipennem, in altum eleuans, in uertice eum ferire conatus est. Sanctus autem pater <sup>f</sup>Dauid<sup>1</sup> hoc a longe aspiciens, facto crucis signo, manum ad illos eleuauit, sicque <sup>b</sup>manus ferientis arida facta est.

**42** <sup>f</sup>VERUM pene tertia pars uel quarta Hibernię seruit Dauid Aquilento, ubi fuit Maidoc, qui et Aidanus ab infantia, cui dedit sanctus Dauid tintinnabulum, quod uocatur Crue din. Sed ille, nauigans ad Hiberniam, oblitus est tintinnabuli sui. Misitque Maidoc nuntium ad Dauid agium ut transmitteret ad se gratum tintinnabulum. Aitque sanctus Dauid, ‘Perge puer ad magistrum tuum’. Et factum est, dum reuerteretur legatus ille, et ecce fuit tintinnabulum crastina die iuxta Aidanum clarum, angelo portante trans mare antequam uenisset nuntius eius.<sup>1</sup>

**43** POSTQUAM autem <sup>a</sup>predictus sanctus Modomnoc<sup>a</sup> longo annorum uertigine obedientię humilitati deditus fuerat, crescentibus uirtutum meritis, Hiberniam petiit<sup>b</sup> insulam. Nauim ingressum<sup>c</sup> cuncta apum multitudo eum secuta est, secumque in nauis, ubi insederat<sup>d</sup>, collocauit<sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup>in prora nauis<sup>1</sup>. Nam idem<sup>f</sup>, apum stationibus inseruiens, cum reliquo fraternitatis opere alueariis ad nutriendos examinum fetus operam dedit<sup>g</sup>, quo indigentibus aliqua suauioris cibi oblectamenta procuraret. Ipse

<sup>d</sup> insidere V ] insedere ND; compare §§ 39, 43.

<sup>e</sup> inquit V

<sup>f</sup> erga eum que VN ] que erga eum D

<sup>g</sup> narrauit VN ] indicauit D

<sup>h</sup> usque ad obitum eiusdem V ] ad eiusdem usque obitum ND usque ad eiusdem obitum D<sup>347</sup>

§ 41

<sup>a</sup> Modomnoc V ] Midimnauc ND, assimilating the name to Welsh orthography as *Myddyfnawg*; the form is phonetically correct.

<sup>b</sup> manus ferientis arida facta est V ] ferientis manus aruit ND

§ 43

<sup>a</sup> predictus sanctus Modomnoc V ] idem discipulus ND

<sup>b</sup> petiit V ] petit ND

<sup>c</sup> ingressum VN ] ingressus D

<sup>d</sup> insederat VD ] insiderat N

<sup>e</sup> collocauit VN ] collocant D

<sup>f</sup> isdem D

<sup>g</sup> dabat ND

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so fortified by his blessing, I have travelled on such a route as this.” Brendan said to him, “Go in peace. I shall come and see him.” So Bairre reached his country, his journey unimpaired, and told the brethren what had happened to him. They kept the horse in the service of the monastic house until its death. After its death, they fashioned a likeness of the horse in memory of the miracle. To this day, covered with gold, it is preserved in the island of Ireland, and is famous also for a great number of miracles.<sup>79</sup>

§ 41. On a different occasion, another one of his disciples, named Modomnóc,<sup>80</sup> was digging a road with the brethren on the slope near the boundary of the monastery, so that access should be made easier for travellers to deliver their loads of supplies. He said to one of the workmen, “Why do you work so slothfully and slowly?” The worker, excited by a spirit of wrath at the speaker’s words, lifted up the tool that he was holding in his hand (that is, a twin-headed axe), and attempted to strike him on the head. The holy father, David, however, seeing this from a distance, made the sign of the cross, lifted up his hand towards them, and so the hand of the assailant was withered.

§ 42. And nearly a third or a quarter of Ireland served David Aquilentus, where Maedóc was, who was also named Aidan since his infancy. He is the one to whom Saint David gave a little bell,<sup>81</sup> which is called *Crue din*.<sup>82</sup> When he sailed to Ireland, however, he forgot his little bell. So Maedóc sent a messenger to the holy David, so that he might send on to him the pleasing little bell. Saint David said, “Servant, go to your master!” and it happened that, while the messenger was on his way back, behold, the next day the little bell was with the famous Aidan (an angel had carried it across the sea before his messenger could come).

§ 43. The previously mentioned Saint Modomnóc, who had been devoted to obedience and humility over a long course of years while the merits of his virtues increased, afterwards travelled to the island of Ireland. Boarding a ship, a large swarm of bees followed him and settled with him in the prow of the ship where he sat. For he, attending the bee hives in addition to the rest of the work of the community, gave attention to the bee hives in order to nourish the swarms of young bees, so that he might provide the pleasure of some more agreeable food for the needy. He could not, however, endure to be deprived of brotherly communion; he returned

<sup>79</sup> This reference to a miraculous image in Ireland is a surprise. What is it? Gerald of Wales, in his revision of the text, refers to a horse, cast in metal (*fusilem*), with a man sitting on it, decorated with gold and silver, but small in size and portable; he adds that it was kept in the church at Cork and continued to work miracles. The mention of Cork is inferred from the name of the saint, and there is nothing to suggest that Gerald has more precise information than Rhygyfarch. A reliquary of some sort is no doubt possible, but Irish hagiography took little interest in posthumous *miracula*.

<sup>80</sup> St Modomnóc’s name is given in Irish spelling in V and in Welsh, modern Myddyfnog, in ND. He is recorded in *Féilire Oengusa* (13 February); his principal church was *Tipra Fachtnai*, Tipperaghney (Co. Kilkenny), in the territory of Osraige. The name is found as MADOMNUAC in an inscription at Llanllyr, Cardiganshire, in which two men with Irish names dedicate land to the saint (Nash-Williams, *ECMW*, 26, 100 (no. 124); Sims-Williams, *The Celtic Inscriptions*, 69, 320). Gerald of Wales calls him ‘Dominicus Ossoriensis’, telling a story of his introducing bees from Wales to Ireland (*Topographia Hibernie* I 6, ed. Dimock, in Brewer *et al.*, *Opera* v. 29).

<sup>81</sup> *tintinnabulum*: a word found in Ex. 28.33–4; 39.24.

<sup>82</sup> The name of the bell is Irish, *Cruaidín* ‘little hard one’ or ‘little strict one’; the same name was given to the sword of Cú Chulainn.

autem fraterne communionis fraudem non tolerans, iterum sancti patris presentiam uisitans, repedauit, apum comitatus turba, queque ad sua uolitant. 'Cui benedixit Dauid pro humilitate sua.<sup>1</sup> Hinc patri fratribusque ualedicens salutatus abiit, sed iterum apes eum sequuntur<sup>h</sup>, sicque factum est ut, si quando ipse egrediebatur, et ipse sequerentur. <sup>1</sup>Tertio iterum ille nauigauit aliquandiu, et factum est sicut prius. Secutaque sunt eum examina, reuersusque est ad Dauid tribus uicibus. Tertia uice dimisit Dauid agius Modomnoc nauigare cum apibus, et benedixit eas, inquiens,<sup>1</sup> 'Terra, ad quam properatis, uestro sit abundans semine, nunquam ex ea uestrum deficiat germen. Nostra autem ciuitas a uobis erit in eternum deserta. Nunquam in ea fetus uester excrescat.' Quod nunc usque seruatum experimento didicimus, nam ad eiusdem patris ciuitatem examina comperimus deportata, sed ibi per aliquantum<sup>j</sup> temporis mansitantes deficiendo<sup>k</sup> deficiunt. Hibernia autem, in qua nunquam usque ad illud tempus apes uiuere poterant, nimia<sup>l</sup> mellis fertilitate ditatur. Itaque sancti patris benedictione Hibernia creuerunt in insula, cum constet<sup>m</sup> eas nequaquam ibi primo uiuere potuisse, nam si Hibernensem<sup>n</sup> humum aut lapidem mediis apibus immitteres, disperse atque fugaces nimium deuitarent.

44 CRESCENTIBUS autem meritis, crescunt et<sup>a</sup> honorum<sup>b</sup> dignitates. Nam quadam nocte ad eum angelus affuit, cui inquit, 'Crastina die precingens calcia<sup>d</sup> te, Ierusalem usque pergere<sup>e</sup> proficiscens, optatam carpe uiam. Sed et alios duos comites itineris uocabo, Eliud, scilicet,' qui nunc Teliau uulgo uocatur, qui quondam eius monasterio interfuit monachus, 'necnon et Paternum,' cuius conuersatio atque uirtutes in sua continentur hystoria. Sanctus autem pater, admirans imperii preceptum, dixit, 'Quomodo hoc fiet, nam quos promittis comites trium uel eo amplius dierum spatio a nobis uel a semetipsis distant? Nequaquam ergo pariter crastina conueniemus die.' Angelus ad eum nuntiat, 'Ego hac nocte ad quemquam illorum uadam, et ad condictum, quod nunc<sup>f</sup> ostendo, conuenient.' Sanctus autem 'Dauid<sup>1</sup>', nichil moratus, dispositis cellulę utilitatibus, accepta fratrum benedictione, primo mane iter incepit. Peruenit ad condictum, repperit ibi promissos fratres, pariter <sup>g</sup>uiam intrant. Equalis commeatus, nullus enim mente alio prior, quique eorum minister, quique dominus, sedula oratio, lacrimis uiam rigant. Quo amplius pes incederet, merces excresceret, una illis<sup>h</sup> anima, una leticia, unus dolor.

<sup>h</sup> sequuntur V ] secuntur ND

<sup>i</sup> ND *paraphrases*

<sup>j</sup> aliquantum V ] aliquantulum ND

<sup>k</sup> deficiendo V ] decrescendo ND, *presumably to avoid the repetition.*

<sup>l</sup> *om.* V

<sup>m</sup> constet V ] constat ND

<sup>n</sup> Hiberniensem V, *though V usually has the spelling Hibernensis.*

§ 44

<sup>a</sup> et VN ] *om.* D

<sup>b</sup> honorum VD<sup>347</sup> ] bonorum ND<sup>12</sup> *It would appear that ND shared the error bonorum but some of the D witnesses were able to correct it.*

<sup>d</sup> calcia VN ] et calcians D<sup>128</sup> et caligas D<sup>3</sup> et caligans D<sup>47</sup>

<sup>e</sup> pergere VN ] peragere D<sup>12</sup> peregre D<sup>478</sup>

<sup>f</sup> nunc V ] tantum N<sup>19</sup> tamen N<sup>2346</sup> tibi modo D

<sup>g</sup> uiam intrant V ] intrant uiam ND

<sup>h</sup> illis ND ] illius V

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again to visit the presence of the holy father, accompanied by the swarm of bees, and every one flew to its hive. David blessed him for his humility. Then he bade farewell to the father and the brethren and departed; but again the bees followed him, and so it came about that whenever he went out they would follow him. He sailed again a third time for a good while, and it happened as before. The swarms followed him, and he returned to David three times. The third time, holy David sent Modomnóc away to sail with the bees, and he blessed them, saying, "May the land to which you are hurrying be abundant with your offspring; may your progeny never be lacking in it. May our monastery always be deserted by you. May your young never increase in it." We have learned by experience that this has remained the case until the present, for we have found out that swarms of bees that have been brought to the father's monastery remained there for just a short time, and when they left, they disappeared. Ireland, however, where bees could never live until that time, is enriched with a great abundance of honey.<sup>83</sup> So, by the holy father's benediction, they have increased in the island of Ireland, since it is well known that there was no way they could live there before; for if you threw Irish earth or stone into the midst of the bees, they would very much avoid it, dispersing and flying away.

§ 44. As his merits increased, so also did his rank and respect. For one night, an angel came to him, and said, "Tomorrow, put your shoes on and set out to travel to Jerusalem and make the journey you have longed for.<sup>84</sup> I shall also call two others to be your companions on the way, namely Eliud" (who is now commonly called Teilo and was formerly a monk of this monastery), "and also Padarn" (whose life and miracles are contained in his own history).<sup>85</sup> The holy father, wondering at the authority of the command, said, "How shall this be done?"<sup>86</sup> For those whom you promise to be my companions live three days' distance or more away from us and from each other; therefore we cannot by any means meet tomorrow." The angel said to him, "Tonight, I shall go to each of them, and they will come to the appointed place, which I shall now reveal." Saint David made no delay, but having organized the useful things of his cell, he received the blessing of the brethren and began his journey early in the morning. He reached the appointed place, met the promised brethren there, and they went on their way together. They were equals as fellow-travellers, no one considered himself to be above the other, each one of them was a servant, each one master. Constant in prayers, they watered the road with tears. The further their feet took them, the greater was their gain. They had one mind, one joy, and one sorrow.

<sup>83</sup> Gerald of Wales, *Topographia Hiberniae* I 6 (ed. Dimock, 29), was aware that 'some tell that St Dominicus of Ossory introduced bees into Ireland', but his source may have been Rhygyfarch. The claim is first found in *Féilire Oengusa* (ca 830), ed. Stokes, 60: 'In a little boat Modomnóc, from the east over the bright-hued sea, brought – vigorous cry – the outstanding race of the bees of Ireland.'

<sup>84</sup> Cluniac influence having been instrumental in its popularity on the continent. In England around this time we know, for example, of a group of Canterbury pilgrims in 1090 (Haskins, 'A Canterbury monk'); and the Wadham gospels (Oxford, Wadham College, MS 2; first generation after 1066) have a well-informed depiction of the holy sepulchre, likely to be based on a model of the edicule brought back by a pilgrim.

<sup>85</sup> The reference is to the extant *Vita S. Paterni*, on which see Thomas and Howlett, *Vita Sancti Paterni*.

<sup>86</sup> cf. Lk. 1.34.

45 CUM autem trans mare Britannicum uecti Gallias adirent ac alienigenas diuersarum gentium linguas audirent, linguarum gratia ceu apostolicus ille cętus ditatus est 'pater Daud<sup>1</sup>', ut ne in extraneis degentes gentibus interprete egerent, et ut aliorum fidem ueritatis uerbo firmarent. 46 Tandem ad optate ciuitatis Ierusalem confinia peruenerunt. Nocte autem illa ante eorum aduentum patriarchę in sompnis apparuit angelus, dicens, 'Tres ab occidentis finibus catholici adueniunt uiri, quos cum gaudio et hospitalitatis gratia suscipies, et mihi in episcopatum benedicendo<sup>a</sup> consecrabis.' Patriarcha uero tres honoratissimas sedes parauit<sup>b</sup>. Aduenientibus autem sanctis ad ciuitatem, magno letatus est<sup>c</sup> gaudio, eos benigne suscipiens paratis sedibus. Spirituali colloquio freti, grates Deo referunt. Deinde diuina fultus electione, ad archiepiscopatum 'Daud agium<sup>1</sup>' prouehit. 47 His peractis, eos alloquens patriarcha, 'Obedite,' inquit, 'uoci meę, et que precipio attendite. Iudeorum,' inquit, 'potestas inualescit in christianos. Nos commouent, fidem repellunt. Parete<sup>a</sup> itaque et ad predicationem singulis procedite diebus ut eorum uiolentia, confutata, conquiescat, noscens christianam fidem occidentis finibus diuulgatam ac ultimis terre extremitatibus decantatam.' Obediunt imperio. Predicant singuli per singulos dies. Fit grata predicatio. Plures conuertunt<sup>b</sup> ad fidem. Alios roborant. 48 Perfectis omnibus, ad patriam conantur redire. Tunc patrem Daud<sup>a</sup> b'patriarcha quatuor<sup>b</sup> muneribus ditauit, altari scilicet consecrato, in quo dominicum sacrabat corpus, quod innumeris uirtutibus pollens, nunquam ab hominibus ab eius pontificis obitu uisum est, sed pelleis uelaminibus tectum, absconditum latet; insigni etiam nola, sed et ipsa uirtutibus claret; baculo; 'et auro texta tunica<sup>c</sup>. Qui baculus, gloriosis choruscus miraculis, totam insignis predicatur per patriam. 'Sed quia,' inquit patriarcha, 'laboriosa uobis sunt in itinere ad ferendum, ad patriam redeuntes, in pace reuertimini. Ego autem post uos transmittam.' Patri ualedicunt, patriam adueniunt. Quisque autem eorum patriarchę promissum expectantes, per angelos missa sua accipiunt munera, Daud<sup>d</sup> quidem in monasterio, cui nomen Langemelach<sup>e</sup>, Paternus, autem, et Eliud, quisque eorum in suo monasterio. Inde ea uulgus uocat e celo uenientia.

§ 46

<sup>a</sup> benedicendo ND ] *om.* V

<sup>b</sup> sedes parauit V ] parauit sedes ND

<sup>c</sup> est VN<sup>145</sup> ] *om.* N<sup>2369D</sup>

§ 47

<sup>a</sup> parete VN<sup>69D</sup> ] parate N<sup>1234</sup> *The agreement of VD over N is decisive, and it is possible that N<sup>69</sup> are scribal corrections.*

<sup>b</sup> conuertunt ND, *where a transitive verb is clearly correct* ] conueniunt V

§ 48

<sup>a</sup> Daud V ] Dewi ND

<sup>b</sup> patriarcha quatuor V ] quatuor patriarcha ND

<sup>c</sup> et auro texta tunica V ] et tunica ex auro texta ND *Perhaps one should read et ex auro texta tunica ?*

<sup>d</sup> Daud V ] Dewi ND

<sup>e</sup> Langemelach VN<sup>1234</sup> ] Langemelech N<sup>1D</sup>

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§ 45. When they had sailed across the British sea<sup>87</sup> and arrived in Gaul, they heard the strange languages of different nations, and father David was endowed with the gift of tongues, just as the apostolic company was, so that when they were staying among foreign peoples they should not lack an interpreter, and also that they should confirm the faith of others by the word of truth.<sup>88</sup> § 46. At length they approached the outskirts of the longed-for city of Jerusalem. On the night before their arrival, an angel appeared to the Patriarch in a dream, saying, "Three catholic men have come from western lands; receive them with joy and the grace of hospitality and consecrate them into the episcopate for me." And the Patriarch prepared three seats of the highest honour. When the saints entered the city, he rejoiced with great gladness,<sup>89</sup> and graciously placed them in the chairs he had prepared. Supported by spiritual conversation, they rendered thanks to God. Then, secured by divine election, he promoted holy David to the archiepiscopate. § 47. When this was done, the Patriarch spoke to them, and said, "Obey my voice, and give heed to what I shall order. The power of the Jews," he said, "is increasing against the Christians. They are disturbing us, and they reject the faith. Obey, therefore, and go out to preach every day, so that, being confuted, their violence may be subdued, knowing that the Christian faith is published in western lands and proclaimed in the farthest ends of the earth."<sup>90</sup> They obeyed the order; each of them preached every day; and their preaching met with success. They converted many to the faith, and they strengthened others.<sup>91</sup> § 48. When everything was done, they planned to return to their country. Then the Patriarch enriched father David with four gifts: namely, a consecrated altar on which he used to consecrate the Lord's Body, and which worked innumerable miracles (it has never been seen by men since the death of its bishop but is hidden with hide coverings); also a remarkable bell, which itself was also famed for its miracles; a staff; and a coat woven from gold. The staff, lustrous with glorious miracles, was famous throughout the country. "But," said the Patriarch, "because it will be laborious for you to carry them on your journey when you return to your country, make your way home in peace, and I shall send these gifts after you." They bade farewell to the father and returned to their country. Each one of them awaited what was promised by the Patriarch, and received his gifts, carried by angels. David, indeed, received his gift in the monastery named Llangyfelach; and Padarn and Eliud each received his gift in his own monastery. Hence the common people claim that the gifts came from heaven.

<sup>87</sup> i.e. the English Channel.

<sup>88</sup> cf. Acts 2.6, 8; and 1 Cor. 12.10, 28.

<sup>89</sup> A distinctively biblical usage: cf. 1 Kgs 1.40; 1 Chr. 29.9; Tob. 11.21; Mt. 2.10.

<sup>90</sup> cf. Acts 1.8.

<sup>91</sup> On the tensions between Christians and Jews at this time, see Cohen, *Under Crescent and Cross*, 140–43.

**49** QUIA uero post sancti Germani secundo auxilia Pelagiana heresis, suę obstinationis neruos, ueluti uenenosi serpentis uirus, intimis patrię compaginibus inserens, reuiuiscibat, uniuersalis cunctorum Britannię episcoporum synodus colligitur. Collectis itaque centum decem et octo episcopis, innumerosa affuit multitudo presbiterorum, abbatum, ceterorum ordinum, regum, principum, laicorum, uirorum, feminarum, ita ut cuncta circumquaque loca grandis nimis exercitus operiret. Episcopi autem inter se musitant, dicentes, ‘Nimia adest multitudo et non solum uox sed etiam tubę clangor in cunctorum auribus insonare nequibit. Totus itaque fere populus, a predicatione intactus<sup>a</sup> hereticam secum labem, domum repetens, reportabit<sup>b</sup>.’ Tali ergo sub conditione populo predicare disponitur, ut erecto uestimentorum cumulo in altum terrę unus desuper stando predicaret; at quicumque tali sermonis gratia ditaretur, ut in cunctorum auribus, qui ex longo distabant, eius insonaret loquela, metropolitanus archiepiscopus omnium fieret consensu. Deinde constituto loco, cui nomen Breui, erecta uestimentorum turre, predicare nituntur, sed quasi obstruso<sup>c</sup> gutture uix ad proximos quosque sermo progreditur. Populus expectat uerbum, sed maxima pars non audit. Alter post alterum disputare conatur, sed nichil ualent. Fit magna <sup>d</sup>angustia. Timent populum, indiscussa heresi, ‘ad sua remeare. ‘Predicauimus,’ inquit, ‘et nichil lucramur. Incassum ergo noster redigitur labor.’ Assurgens autem episcoporum quidam, Paulinus dictus, cum quo quondam sanctus Daud<sup>f</sup> pontifex legerat, ‘Est,’ inquit, ‘quidam, qui a patriarcha episcopus factus, nostrę adhuc non affuit synodo, uir facundus, gratia plenus, religione probabilis, cui angelus comes est, uir amabilis, uultu uenustus, forma preclarus, quatuor cubitorum statura erectus. Illum ergo meo inuitate consilio.’

**50** NUNTII protinus mittuntur, perueniunt ad sanctum episcopum, nunciant ad quod uenerant. Sanctus autem episcopus renuit, ‘Nemo,’ inquit, ‘temptet me. Quod ipsi nequeunt, qualis sum ut ego possim? Agnosco humilitatem meam. Ite in pace.’ Secundo et tertio legati mittuntur, sed neque sic adquiescit. Tandem sanctissimi uiri ac fidelissimi mittuntur fratres, Daniel et Dubricius. Sanctus autem Daud<sup>a</sup> episcopus, prophetię spiritu preuidens, inquit<sup>b</sup> ad fratres, ‘Hodie, fratres, sanctissimi uiri nos adeunt. Lęto animo eos excipite. Pisces cum pane et aqua adquirete.’ Adueniunt fratres, mutuo se salutant, spirituali utuntur colloquio. Prandium apponitur. Firmant nunquam se suo monasterio pransuros, nisi secum ad synodum recurrat. Sanctus autem ad hęc dixit, ‘Negare uobis non possum. Prandete. Pariter uisitabimus synodum, sed tunc predicare nequeo. Orationibus tamen quantulumcunque iuuamen feram.’

§ 49

<sup>a</sup> intactus VND ] uel extorris *above line* V

<sup>b</sup> reportabit VN<sup>5</sup>D<sup>67</sup> ] reportat N<sup>123469</sup>D<sup>12</sup> reportet D<sup>34</sup>

<sup>c</sup> obstruso V ] obruso ND ‘as if the throat had been swallowed’; cf. § 5 ‘*clauso gutture*’.

<sup>d</sup> <in episcopis> angustia D

<sup>e</sup> ad sua VN<sup>23</sup>D<sup>467</sup> ] sua *cett.* The omission of *ad* appears to have been a mistake often passed on but more than once corrected.

<sup>f</sup> Daud V ] Dewi ND

§ 50

<sup>a</sup> Daud V ] Dewi ND

<sup>b</sup> inquit V

*Rhygyfarch's 'Life' of St David*

§ 49. Since the Pelagian heresy was reviving – inserting its obstinate strength in the inmost parts of the country like the poison of a venomous snake, even after Saint Germanus had come to help a second time<sup>92</sup> – a universal synod of all the bishops of Wales was assembled. So one hundred and eighteen bishops were gathered, and an incalculable multitude of presbyters, abbots and other orders, kings, princes, laymen, and women, was present, so that a vast crowd covered the whole of the surrounding area. The bishops were muttering among themselves, saying, “There is such a mass of people here, no lone voice – not even the sound of a trumpet<sup>93</sup> – will be heard by all of them. Nearly all the people, therefore, will be untouched by the preaching, and they will take the heretical blemish away with them when they return home.” Hence, it was arranged that they should raise up a heap of clothes on the high ground and that one person should stand upon it to preach to the people; also, that if anyone were endowed with such a gift of speech that his words could be heard by everyone, even those who were far off, he should, by everyone’s consent, be made metropolitan archbishop. Then, at an appointed place called Brefi, having raised a tower of clothes, they each endeavoured to preach; but their words – as if swallowed in their throats – scarcely reached the people who were nearest. The people waited for the sermon, but most of them could not hear. One after another attempted to preach, but to no avail. A great dilemma arose: they feared that the people would return home without shaking off the heresy. “We have preached,” they said, “but with no profit; therefore our labour is rendered useless.” And standing up, one of the bishops, called Paulinus, with whom the holy pontiff, David, had once studied, said, “There is one who was made a bishop by the Patriarch, who has not yet been present at our synod. He is an eloquent man, full of grace, whose religion is proven; he is the companion of angels, an amiable man, good looking, with a splendid figure, and four cubits in height. I therefore advise you to invite him.”

§ 50. Messengers were immediately sent. They came to the holy bishop, and told him why they had come. But the holy bishop refused, saying, “Let no one tempt me. What sort of a man am I that I should be able to do what they cannot? I acknowledge my humility. Go in peace.” Messengers were sent a second and a third time, but not even then would he comply. At last, those very holy men, the most faithful brethren, Deiniol and Dyfrig, were sent. Saint David, however, foreseeing by the spirit of prophecy, said to his brethren, “Today, brothers, some most holy men are coming to us. Receive them in a joyful spirit. Procure fish in addition to bread and water.” The brethren arrived, they greeted each other, and talked about spiritual matters. Dinner was served, but they declared that they would never dine in his monastery unless he came back with them to the synod. To which David said, “I cannot refuse you. Eat your dinner. We shall visit the synod together; but I cannot preach then. I shall give you my help – small as it is – with my prayers.”

<sup>92</sup> A reference to the two visits to Britain of St Germanus of Auxerre as described in the *Vita S. Germani* by Constantius, §§ 12–15, 25–7 (ed. Levison, in *Passiones*, ed. Krusch and Levison, i. 247–83). His British legacy included, in the eyes of Rhygyfarch, a disciple Paulinus (§ 10 above).

<sup>93</sup> A biblical cliché: cf. 2 Chr. 15.14; Neh. 4.20; Job 39.24; Is. 18.3; Jer. 42.14; Am. 2.2; Zeph. 1.16.

**51** PROFICISCENTES<sup>a</sup> autem ad proximum synodi locum perueniunt, et ecce iuxta funestum audierunt luctum. Sanctus autem ad socios ait, ‘Ego ubi ingens habetur ululatus pergam.’ Responderunt autem socii et dixerunt, ‘Nos congregationem adibimus<sup>b</sup>, ne nostra tarditas expectantes molestat.’ Vir uero Dei egrediens, ‘perrexit ad locum<sup>c</sup>, ubi luctus aderat<sup>d</sup>, ‘iuxta amnem Theibi<sup>1</sup>. Et ecce orbata mater corpus extincti pueri<sup>e</sup> seruabat, <sup>e</sup>‘qui Magnus uocabatur<sup>1</sup>. ‘Beatus uero Dauid,<sup>1</sup> consolans matrem, monitis subleuauit eam<sup>f</sup> salutaribus. At illa<sup>g</sup>, audita eius<sup>h</sup> fama, ante pedes eius corruens, importunis deprecatur clamoribus, ut sui miseretur<sup>i</sup>. Compassus autem ‘uir Dei<sup>1</sup> infirmitati humanę, ad corpus extincti accedens, faciem lacrimis rigauit, ‘atque super defuncti funus corruit, orauitque ad Dominum et dixit, ‘Domine, Deus meus, qui in hunc mundum pro nobis peccatoribus de sinu Patris descendisti, ut nos redimeres de faucibus antiqui hostis, miserere istius uidue, et da uitam unico filio suo, atque inspira in eo spiraculum uite, ut magnificetur nomen tuum in uniuersa terra.’<sup>1</sup> Tandem ‘uero<sup>1</sup> calefactis membris, redeunte anima, corpus intremuit, tenensque pueri manum, ‘uiuum et<sup>1</sup> sanum matri restituit. Mater autem tristes fletus in letas uertit lacrimas, dicens, ‘Michi mortuus filius erat, tibi uero et Deo amodo uiuat.’ Accipiens autem sanctus uir puerum, euangelii textum, quod semper in pectore gerebat, eius humeris imposuit, atque secum ad synodum ire fecit, qui<sup>j</sup> postea, uita comite, ‘multis annis<sup>1</sup> sanctam duxit conuersationem. ‘Et omnes, qui uiderunt illud miraculum, laudauerunt Dominum et Dauid agium.<sup>1</sup>

**52** SYNODUM inde ingreditur. Gaudet episcoporum turba. Populus letatur. Omnis exultat exercitus. Predicare petitur. Concilii sententiam non respuit. Iubent constructum uestibus cumulum<sup>a</sup> conscendere, <sup>b</sup>‘at ille recusauit. Iussit itaque puerum nuper resuscitatum sudarium suum sub pedibus suis exponere. Ipse quidem, super illud stans, euangelium et legem quasi ex buccina exposuit. Coram<sup>1</sup> autem cunctis niuea celitus emissa columba in eius humeris resedit, que tamdiu permansit quamdiu ille predicauit. Cum autem clara uoce omnibus et qui in proximo et qui in longinquo erant equaliter predicaret, terra sub ipso accrescens attollitur in collem. Ab omnibus, in summo positus, cernitur, ut in montem excelsum stans quasi tuba exaltaret uocem

§ 51

<sup>a</sup> proficiscentes VN<sup>156</sup> ] proficiscentibus N<sup>2349</sup>D

<sup>b</sup> adibimus V ] adeamus ND

<sup>c</sup> perrexit ad locum V ] affuit ND

<sup>d</sup> aderat V ] adesset ND

<sup>e</sup> pueri V ] iuuenuli ND

<sup>e</sup> qui Magnus uocabatur V ] cui barbara imperitia magnum nomen dederat ND

<sup>f</sup> eam V ] om. ND

<sup>g</sup> illa <mater> D

<sup>h</sup> eius V ] illius ND

<sup>i</sup> misereretur V ] misereatur ND, *correcting the sequence of tenses.*

<sup>j</sup> qui ND ] quique V

§ 52

<sup>a</sup> cumulum V ‘heap’ ] tumulum ND ‘mound’ *The writing of t and c in V is sometimes misleading (e.g. in § 56 parciuntur for partiuntur), but the intended sense is ‘a heap of clothes’.*

<sup>b</sup> conscendere. Rogat autem solum sibi sudarium superponere. Videntibus autem cunctis N<sup>23</sup>D conscendere. Coram N<sup>14689</sup> *If the omission were made in the archetype of ND, we should need to conjecture contamination from V; it is possible that the archetypal reading of ND retained the sentence Rogat ..., omitted by most N witnesses, while D has replaced Coram with Videntibus.*

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§ 51. Going forth, they came to a place near the synod, and behold, they heard a woeful mourning near them. And the holy man said to his companions, "I shall go to the place where this great lamentation is." His companions answered and said, "We shall go to the assembly in case our delay annoys those who are waiting." The man of God went on and came to the place of lamentation, near the river Teifi. And behold, a bereaved mother was holding the body of her dead son, who was called Magnus.<sup>94</sup> And the blessed David, consoling the mother, comforted her with salutary advice. But having heard of his fame and throwing herself at his feet, she beseeched him with distressing cries that he should have pity on her. The man of God, sympathetic to human infirmity, approached the body of the dead child and watered its face with tears.<sup>95</sup> Then he fell upon the corpse of the deceased and prayed to the Lord, and said, "O Lord my God, who descended to this world from the bosom of the father for us sinners in order that you might redeem us from the jaws of the ancient enemy; have pity on this widow and give life to her only son,<sup>96</sup> and inspire in him the breath of life,<sup>97</sup> so that your name may be magnified in all the earth."<sup>98</sup> At length the boy's limbs became warm and the body trembled as his soul returned, and taking hold of the boy's hand,<sup>99</sup> he restored him, alive and well, to his mother.<sup>100</sup> And the mother turned her sorrowful weeping into tears of joy, and said, "My son was dead, but through you and through God he lives from now on." And the holy man took the boy, and placed on his shoulders the gospel book that he always carried in his bosom; and he made him go with him to the synod. Afterwards, for many years, he led a holy life for as long as he lived. Everyone who saw the miracle praised the Lord and the holy David.

§ 52. Then he made his way to the synod. The assembly of bishops rejoiced, the people were glad, and the whole gathering exulted. He was asked to preach, and he did not reject the decision of the council. They ordered him to ascend the built-up heap of clothes, but he refused. Instead, he ordered the boy recently raised from the dead to place a handkerchief under his feet. Standing on it, he explained the Gospel and the law as if from a trumpet. Before everyone's eyes a snow-white dove, sent from heaven, settled on his shoulders and remained there as long as he preached.<sup>101</sup> And while he preached, which was with so clear a voice that he was heard by everyone – equally by those who were nearest and those who were farthest off – the earth under him swelled and was raised to a hill. Lifted up in this way, he could be seen by all as though he were standing on a high mountain, and he

<sup>94</sup> This miracle is an allusion to the raising of the widow's son at Nain in Lk. 7.11–15.

<sup>95</sup> cf. Lk. 7.44.

<sup>96</sup> *unicus filius*: cf. Lk. 7.12, 8.42, 9.38.

<sup>97</sup> *spiraculum uitae*: Gen. 2.7 and 7.22.

<sup>98</sup> *magnificetur nomen tuum in uniuersa terra*: cf. Ps. 8.9, *quam grande est nomen tuum in uniuersa terra*, 'O Lord, our Lord, how great is thy name in all the earth!'; 2 Sam. 7.26, 1 Chr. 17.24, *magnificetur nomen tuum*.

<sup>99</sup> cf. Mk. 5.41.

<sup>100</sup> cf. Lk. 7.15.

<sup>101</sup> An allusion to approbation of Christ by the Spirit at his baptism (Mt. 3.16; Mk. 1.10; Lk. 3.22; Jn. 1.32); a dove had also instructed David in his youth, § 8.

suam; in cuius collis cacumine ecclesia sita est. Heresis expellitur. Sanis pectoribus fides roboratur. Omnes consentiunt. Grates Deo sanctoque <sup>c</sup>Dauid soluuntur. **53** Deinde omnium ore benedictus atque magnificatus, cunctorum consensu episcoporum, regum, principum, optimatum, et omnium ordinum totius Britannicę gentis archiepiscopus constituitur, nec non ciuitas eius totius patrię metropolis dedicatur, ita ut quicunque eam regeret, archiepiscopus haberetur. **54** Expulsa igitur heresi, catholicę et ecclesiasticę regulę decreta firmantur, quę crebra atque crudeli hostium irruptione exinanita ac pene obliuioni data, euanuerunt<sup>a</sup>. Ex quibus, quasi graui sompno expergefacti, bella Domini certatim quique peregere. Quę in uetustissimis patris scriptis sua sancta manu mandata ex parte inueniuntur. **55** Deinde succedente temporum serie alia colligitur synodus, cui nomen Victorię, in qua, collecta episcoporum, sacerdotum, abbatum turba, ea quę in priori firmauerant adiectis etiam de aliquantis utilitatibus firmo rigoris examine renouant. Ex his igitur duabus synodis omnes nostrę patrię ecclesię modum et regulam Romana auctoritate acceperunt, quarum decreta, quę ore firmauerat, solus ipse episcopus sua sancta manu litteris mandauit. **56** Per cuncta igitur totius patrię loca monasteria construxere fratres. Passim ecclesiarum signa audiuntur. Passim orationum uoces ad sidera eleuantur. Passim uirtutes ad ecclesię sinum indefessis humeris reportantur. Passim caritatis uota patenti manu egenis partiuntur. Sanctus autem Dauid<sup>a</sup>, episcopus, <sup>b</sup>cunctorum summus speculator<sup>b</sup>, summus protector, summus predicator, a quo omnes normam atque formam recto uiuendi itinere acceperunt, <sup>1</sup>'effectus est'. Ipse cunctis ordo, ipse dedicatio, ipse benedictio, ipse absolutio, correctio, legentibus doctrina, egentibus uita, orphanis nutrimentum<sup>c</sup>, uiduis fulcimen, patrię caput, monachis regula, secularibus uia, omnibus omnia. Quanta monachorum examina seminauit. Quanta cunctis utilitate profuit. Quanta uirtutum gloria claruit. **57** <sup>1</sup>'Dederuntque uniuersi episcopi manus et monarchiam atque bragminationem Dauid agio, et consenserunt omnes licitum esse refugium eius, ut daret illud omni stuproso et homicidę et peccatori omnique maligno, fugienti de loco ad locum, pre omni sancto ac regibus et hominibus totius Britannicę insulę in omni regno et in unaquaque regione, in qua sit ager consecratus Dauid agio. Et nulli reges nec seniores neque satrape sed neque episcopi principesue ac sancti audeant pre Dauid agio refugium dare. Ipse uero refu-

<sup>c</sup> <episcopo> Dauid D

§ 54

<sup>a</sup> euanuerunt V ] eneruauere ND euanuere N<sup>69</sup>, *presumably an attempt at correction. It is unclear whether eneruauere was a twelfth-century embellishment or an error; the word is usually transitive 'to make weak'.*

§ 56

<sup>a</sup> Dauid V ] Dewi ND

<sup>b</sup> cunctorum summus speculator V ] summus cunctis inspeculator ND

<sup>c</sup> nutrimentum V ] nutrimen ND

raised his voice like a trumpet. A church is situated on the top of that hill now. The heresy was expelled; the faith was confirmed in sound hearts; all were in agreement; thanks were rendered to God and Saint David. § 53. Then, blessed and extolled from everyone's mouth, he was appointed archbishop by the consent of all the bishops, kings, princes, nobles, and all ranks of people of the whole British nation. In the same way, his monastery was dedicated as the metropolitan church of the whole country, so that whoever might govern it should be accounted archbishop. § 54. The heresy therefore having been expelled, the decrees of a catholic and ecclesiastical rule were confirmed.<sup>102</sup> These decrees, made void and nearly consigned to oblivion by the frequent and cruel disruption of enemies, had died away. Through them, as if awakened from a deep sleep,<sup>103</sup> everyone earnestly fought the battles of the Lord. These decrees are found, in part, in very old documents of the father, written by his holy hand. § 55. Afterwards, in the subsequent course of years, another synod was convened, named the Synod of Victory.<sup>104</sup> Here, a large company of bishops, priests, and abbots assembled, and they reaffirmed what was settled in the former synod. They also added a number of useful measures, after close and rigorous scrutiny. As a result of these two synods, therefore, all the churches of our country received their pattern and rule by Roman authority; the decrees of these synods, which he had confirmed with his mouth, he – the bishop alone – committed to writing with his own holy hand. § 56. Throughout every part of the whole country, therefore, the brethren built monasteries. Everywhere, the sound of church bells was heard. Everywhere, the voices of prayers were raised to the heavens. Everywhere, virtues were borne back to the bosom of the church on unwearied shoulders. Everywhere, gifts of charity were freely distributed to the needy. And Saint David, the chief overseer, the principal protector, the consummate preacher, from whom everyone received the pattern and form of living in the right way, was made bishop. To everyone he represented holy orders, he was dedication, he was benediction, absolution, correction; he was learning to students, he was life to the poor, nourishment to orphans, support to widows, a head to the country, a rule to monks, a true way to the secular: he was all things to all men.<sup>105</sup> He planted such great multitudes of monks; he benefited everyone with such great service; he shone with so much glory of miracles. § 57. And the whole episcopate gave power, sovereignty, and princely authority<sup>106</sup> to the holy David; and they all agreed that he should be allowed his privilege of immunity, that he might grant sanctuary to every rapist, murderer, sinner, and every miscreant who was fleeing from place to place, above every holy man, and kings, and the men of the whole of the British island, in every kingdom and in every region in which there may be an estate consecrated to the holy David. And no kings, nor nobles, nor governors, and neither bishops, abbots, nor holy men dared to grant sanctuary above the holy David. Indeed, his privilege has precedence over that of

<sup>102</sup> This apparent reference to a Rule of St David is reinforced by the two mentions of ancient manuscript copies in §§ 54, 55.

<sup>103</sup> Gen. 45.26; Sir. 22.8.

<sup>104</sup> The Synod of the Grove of Victory, a set of canons with which the Penitential of David travelled, is undoubtedly British, with its reference to the wickedness of betraying Britons to the marauding Anglo-Saxons (ed. Bieler, *The Irish Penitentals*, 68: *Qui praebeant ducatum barbaris ... [barbaris in this context can refer to none other than the Anglo-Saxons]*).

<sup>105</sup> See note 32, above.

<sup>106</sup> The word *bragminatio* is found only in this text (§§ 5, 57), and the adjective *bragmaticus* a few lines below. In both contexts, V has an interlinear gloss, *bragminatio* 'principatus uel dignitas' (§ 5), and *bragmaticus* 'princeps' (here). If the words are derived from *bragmannus* 'brahmin', then etymologically they refer to a status of honour and respect.

gium ducit ante unumquemque hominem, et nemo ante ipsum, quia ipse est cephal  
vi. caput/ et preuius ac bragmaticus vi. princeps/ omnibus Brittonibus. Et statuerunt  
omnes sancti anathema esse et maledictum quisquis non seruauerit illud decretum,  
scilicet, refugium sancti Dauid.<sup>1</sup> **58** Sicque ad senium perductus omnis Brittannice  
gentis caput et patrię honor canebatur, quod senium centum quadraginta septem ad  
modum annis compleuit.

**59** CUM autem ad compensanda meritorum premia sacrata immineret dies, .viii.  
kalendarum Martii fratribus matutinas horas celebrantibus, angelus ad eum locutus  
clara profatus<sup>a</sup> uoce, ‘Desiderata,’ inquit, ‘dudum dies iam in proximo habetur.’  
Sanctus autem episcopus, amicam noscens uocem, exultanti animo ad eum dixit,  
‘Nunc dimitte seruum tuum, Domine, in pace.’ Fratres autem sonum tantum  
auribus capientes nec tamen uerborum discrimen intelligentes, audierant enim  
eos colloquentes pariter, exterriti ceciderunt in terram. Tunc angelorum concen-  
tibus odorisque saporiferi fragrantia tota impletur ciuitas. Sanctus autem episcopus  
clamans uoce magna erecta in celum mente, loquitur, ‘Domine Iesu Christe, accipe  
spiritum meum’. Angelus iterum conspicua uoce, fratribus intelligentibus, inquit,  
‘Prepara te et precinge. Kalendis Martii Dominus<sup>b</sup> Iesus Christus, multa constipatus  
angelorum militia, in obuam tibi<sup>c</sup> adueniet.’ **60** His auditis, fratres concussis singul-  
tibus nimium fecerunt<sup>a</sup> planctum. Ingens exoritur tristitia. Fletibus ciuitas redundat<sup>b</sup>,  
dicens, ‘Sancte ‘Dauid,<sup>1</sup> episcopo, aufer tristitiam nostram’. Ille autem demulcens  
eos blandisque consolationibus sustollens, aiebat, ‘Fratres, constantes estote. Iugum,  
quod accepistis ‘unanimis<sup>1</sup> ad finem perducite, ‘et quecunque mecum uidistis et  
audistis, custodite et implete<sup>1</sup>.’ Ab illa ergo hora usque ad diem obitus sui in ecclesia  
remanens, ‘omnibus<sup>1</sup> predicabat.

**61** FAMA itaque<sup>a</sup> illa per uniuersam<sup>b</sup> Britanniam <sup>c</sup>‘Hiberniamque uelocissime in  
una die portata est ab angelo, dicens,<sup>1</sup> ‘Scitis quia in sequenti ebdomada <sup>d</sup>‘dominus  
uester, Dauid agius, de hac luce migrabit ad Dominum<sup>1</sup>. **62** Tunc <sup>a</sup>concursum sanc-  
torum undique<sup>b</sup> ueluti apes procella imminente <sup>c</sup>alueario accedunt<sup>c</sup>, ad sanctum

§ 59

<sup>a</sup> profatus VND ] profatur N<sup>5</sup>D<sup>347</sup>; cf. § 5.

<sup>b</sup> Dominus noster ND, *more likely an accidental addition than an inadvertent omission in V.*

<sup>c</sup> tibi VN ] tui D

§ 60

<sup>a</sup> fecerunt VN ] egerunt D

<sup>b</sup> redundat V ] resultat ND

§ 61

<sup>a</sup> itaque V ] autem ND

<sup>b</sup> uniuersam V ] totam ND

<sup>c</sup> atque Hiberniam ab angelo portata discurrit. Sic enim aiebat ND

<sup>d</sup> sanctus episcopus Dewi migrabit in celum ND

§ 62

<sup>a</sup> concursus sanctorum V ] sanctorum concursus ND

<sup>b</sup> undique V ] utrimque ND

<sup>c</sup> alueario accedunt V ] alueario procedunt ND *The point is surely that the bees hasten home to the hive when storm threatens. The reading of ND appears to take alueario as ablative, ‘as bees proceed from the hive’, but that is the opposite of the sense. Perhaps the archetype read aluariū (accusative aluearium; cf. aluariis in § 43), and the ū was mistaken for o.*

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every man, and no one is above him, for he is head and leader and prince of all the Welsh.<sup>107</sup> And all the holy men established that everyone who did not observe that decree concerning the sanctuary of Saint David should be anathema and cursed. § 58. So it was that, having been brought to old age, he was extolled as the head of all the British nation, and the honour of that country, and he completed this old age to the measure of 147 years.<sup>108</sup>

§ 59. When the day was approaching on which he would be repaid with the sacred reward of his merits, 22 February, as the brethren were celebrating Matins, an angel spoke to him, talking with a clear voice: "The day that has long been desired," he said, "is now accounted near." The holy bishop, recognizing the friendly voice, said to him with a joyful spirit, "Lord, now let your servant depart in peace."<sup>109</sup> But the brethren, only catching the sound in their ears but not discerning the separation of the words – for they had also heard them talking – were terrified and fell to the ground. Then the whole monastery was filled with the music of angels and the sweet-smelling fragrance of perfume. And the holy bishop, calling out in a loud voice, his mind lifted to heaven, said, "Lord Jesus Christ, receive my spirit."<sup>110</sup> Again the angel said with an audible voice, the brethren understanding him, "Make ready and gird yourself. On 1 March the Lord Jesus Christ, accompanied by a great host of angels, will come to meet you." § 60. Having heard these things, the brethren, with distraught sobbing, raised a great lamentation. A remarkable sorrow arose. The monastery overflowed with weeping, saying, "O holy Bishop David! Take away our sorrow!" And calming them with kind words of comfort, and supporting them, he said, "Brethren, be steadfast. Bear to the end the yoke that you have unanimously accepted; and whatever you have seen and heard with me, keep it and fulfil it." From that hour, therefore, to the day of his death, he remained in the church, preaching to everyone.

§ 61. And so the news was carried very quickly, in one day, throughout the whole of Wales and Ireland, by an angel saying, "Know that next week, your lord, the holy David, will depart from this light to the Lord." § 62. Then crowds of holy men came from all sides – just as bees hasten home to the hive when a storm threatens – and quickly made haste to visit the holy father. The monastery overflowed with tears, wailing resounded to the stars; young men grieved for him as their father, and old men as their son; and on the intervening Sunday, a great multitude heard him preach a most excellent sermon; he consecrated the Lord's Body with untrembling hands,

<sup>107</sup> *i. princeps omnibus Brittonibus*, a gloss on the word *bragmaticus*, for which see previous note.

<sup>108</sup> Jacob's age: Gen. 47.28.

<sup>109</sup> Lk. 2.29.

<sup>110</sup> Acts 7.58.

patrem uisitandum uelociter festinant<sup>d</sup>. Lacrimis ciuitas exundat. Vlulatus ad sidera resonat. Iuuenes ut patrem, senes ut filium lugent. Die autem interueniente dominica, audiente maxima multitudine, nobilissimam faciens predicationem, intemeratis manibus dominicum sacrabat corpus. Participato autem corpore et sanguine Domini, mox dolore correptus infirmabatur. Finito officio benedictoque populo, alloquitur omnes dicens, 'Fratres mei, perseuerate in his que a me didicistis et mecum uidistis. Ego tertia feria in kalendis Martii patrum uiam ingrediar. Vos 'ualete in Domino. Ego autem proficiscar. 'In hac terra nunquam nos amplius uisuri sumus.' Tunc omnium fidelium uox erecta est in luctum et in lamentationes, dicens, 'O utinam absorberet nos terra, combureret nos ignis, cooperiret nos mare. O utinam subita irruptione mors corriperet nos. Vtinam montes irruerent super nos'. Omnes pene succumbebant morti.<sup>7</sup> A nocte uero dominica usque ad quartam post eius obitum feriam, flebiles, ieiuni, uigiles, omnes permansere aduenientes. **63** Veniente itaque tertia feria, ad pullorum cantus angelicis ciuitas impletur choris, celicis modulata cantibus, odore referta suauissimo. Matutina uero hora, clero psalmorum hymnos ad cantica reddente, Dominus Iesus sui presentiam ad patris consolationem impertiri<sup>a</sup>, ceu per angelum promiserat, dignatus est. Eo uiso, totus in spiritu exultans, 'Tolle me,' inquit, 'post te.' Cum his uerbis, Christo comite, uitam Deo reddidit<sup>b</sup>, atque angelica comitatus caterua, celestia petiit<sup>c</sup> limina.

**64** <sup>r</sup>O QUIS tunc posset ferre sanctorum fletus, egra suspiria anachoritarum, gemitum sacerdotum, rugitus discipulorum dicentium, 'A quo docebimur?', planctum peregrinorum dicentium, 'A quo adiuuabimur?', desperationem regum dicentium, 'A quo ordinabimur, corrigemur, instituemur? Quis clementissimus pater sicut Daudid? Quis interpellet pro nobis ad Dominum?', lamentationes populorum, ululatum pauperum, uociferationes infirmorum, clamorem monachorum, lacrimas uirginum, coniugatorum, penitentium, iuuenum, iuencularum, puerorum, puellarum, infantium sugentium mamillas? Quid moror? Omnium uox una plangentium erat, reges enim ut arbitrum lugebant, seniores ut fratrem plangebant, adolescentes ut patrem illum honorabant, immo quem omnes ut Deum uenerabantur.<sup>7</sup> **65** Corpus itaque eius, sanctorum fratrum ulnis apportatum, magno constipatum comitatu, honorifice terre mandatum, in sua sepelitur ciuitate. Anima uero eius sine ullo decidui qui termino per infinita coronatur secula seculorum. <sup>a</sup><Ipse<sup>b</sup> nos suis<sup>c</sup> intercessionibus coniungat angelorum ciuibus, cuius deuote celebramus sollempnitatem in terris, prestante <sup>d</sup>Deo et Domino nostro Iesu Christo, cui est honor et gloria per infinita seculorum secula.> Amen.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>d</sup> festinant VN<sup>123689</sup>D<sup>47</sup> ] festinat N<sup>45</sup>D<sup>128</sup> *The manuscript evidence suggests that the archetype read festinant, showing that concursus was intended as a plural; several scribes have chosen to take it as singular.*

<sup>e</sup> ualete in Domino V ] in Domino ualete ND

§ 63

<sup>a</sup> impertiri V ] impertire ND

<sup>b</sup> reddidit V ] reddit ND

<sup>c</sup> petiit V ] petit ND

§ 65

<sup>a</sup> *habet* VN<sup>123</sup> ] *om. cett.*

<sup>b</sup> ipse V ] ille N<sup>123</sup>

<sup>c</sup> suis <sanctis> N<sup>12</sup>

<sup>d</sup> Deo et V ] eodem N<sup>12</sup>

<sup>e</sup> *Several later manuscripts conclude, per infinita coronatur secula seculorum. Amen. Those that continue are* V N<sup>12345</sup>D<sup>12347</sup>.

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and having partaken of the Body and Blood of the Lord, he was seized with pain, and became weak. Having finished the office and blessed the people, he addressed them all, saying, "My brothers, persevere in those things that you have learned from me, and have seen with me; on Tuesday, 1 March, I shall enter the way of the fathers;<sup>111</sup> farewell in the Lord, for I shall go away; we shall not see each other any more in this world." Then the voice of all the faithful was raised in mourning and lamentation, saying, "O we wish that the earth would swallow us, that fire would consume us, that the sea would cover us. O we wish that death would seize us with an instant stroke; we wish that the mountains would rush violently upon us," and they were almost all giving themselves up to death. From the Sunday night to the Wednesday after his death, all who came remained weeping, fasting, and watching. § 63. And so, when the Tuesday arrived, the monastery was filled at the time of cock-crowing with angelic choirs singing heavenly songs, and was full of the sweetest fragrance. At the hour of Matins, when the clergy had sung their psalms and hymns, the Lord Jesus saw fit to bestow his presence for the consolation of the father, as he had promised by the angel. When he saw him, his whole being rejoiced in the spirit, and said, "Take me with you." Upon these words, with Christ as his companion, he gave back his life to God, and accompanied by an angelic escort, he sought the heavenly gates.

§ 64. O who could then endure the weeping of the holy men, the deep sighing of the hermits, the moaning of the priests, and the wailing of the disciples, saying, "By whom shall we be taught?"; the lamentation of pilgrims, saying, "By whom shall we be assisted?"; the desperation of kings, saying, "By whom shall we be ordained, corrected, appointed? Who is so merciful a father as David? Who will intercede for us to the Lord?" The lamentations of the people, the wailing of the poor, the crying of the sick, the clamour of the monks, the tears of the virgins, of married people, of penitents, of young men, of young women, of boys, of girls, and of infants sucking the breast? Need I go on? The voice of all the mourners was but one, for kings mourned him as a judge, the older people mourned him as a brother, the younger honoured him as a father, indeed all venerated him as they did God. § 65. And so his body, borne in the arms of the holy brethren, accompanied by a great retinue, and committed to the earth with honour, was laid to rest within his monastery. But his soul, released from the limits of this fleeting life, is crowned throughout the endless ages of eternity. May he whose festival we devoutly celebrate on earth unite us by his intercessions to the angelic citizens, with almighty God and our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be honour and glory throughout the endless ages of eternity. Amen

<sup>111</sup> The mention of the day of the week naturally invites attempts to work out the year in which Rhygyfarch would have placed David's death; A.D. 589 or 601 are the usual choices (Dumville, *Saint David*, 3).

**66** HEC et alia plura, dum corruptibile et aggrauans animam gerebat habitaculum, sanctus operatus est pater [Dauid]<sup>1</sup>. Sed ex pluribus pauca ad restringendam ardentium sitim uili sermonis uasculo ministrauimus. Veluti cum quisque <sup>a</sup>angusto castioris fiale gremio emanantem perpetuo fonte fluuium ad siccum haurire<sup>b</sup> nequit, ita cuncta miraculorum signa ac deuotissimam uirtutum operationem preceptorumque obseruantiam nullus, quamuis stilo ferreo, cartis mandare poterit. Sed hec, ut diximus, ex plurimis pauca omnibus ad exemplum et patris gloriam in unum collegimus<sup>c</sup>, que in uetustissimis patrie, maxime ipsius ciuitatis, sparsim inuenta scriptis, que assidua tinearum edacitate ac annosis que terebraminibus per oras<sup>d</sup> et cardines corrosa, ac ex antiquo seniorum stilo conscripta, nunc usque supersunt. In unum cumulata, ueluti ex florifero diuersarum herbarum horto, quasi subtilissime apud rostro sugens, ad tanti patris gloriam et aliorum utilitatem, ne pereant, collegi. Ea uero, que continuis temporum interuallis, deposita carnis sarcina, ac contemplata facie ad faciem deitate, tantum uerius agit et operatus est quantum Deo coniunctus inherescit, ex multorum relatione<sup>e</sup>, qui uoluerit, agnoscere poterit. **67** Michi autem, qui Ricemarchus nominor, quique ingenioli mei capacitatem his, quamuis temerarius, subdidi, quicumque hec deuota perlegerint mente, precibus deferant iuuamen, ut, quia patris, ueluti uerni, clementia ad pauxillum intelligentie florem estiuo carnis ardore prouexit, tandem me ante mei cursus terminum, exsiccatis concupiscenti uaporibus, ad frugem bone messis maturis perducatur operibus, ut cum messores, separata inimici zizania, horrea celestis patrie purgatissimis impleuerint manipulis, me, ueluti nouissime messis fasciculum, intra celestis porte atrium, conspecto sine fine Deo, collocent, qui est benedictus super omnia Deus in secula seculorum. Amen.

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**68** <sup>a</sup>DE GENEALOGIA SANCTI DAUID. INCIPIT genealogia sancti Dauid, archiepiscopi totius Britannie Dei gratia et predestinatione. Dauid fuit filius Sant, Sant filius Cheritic, Cheretic filius Cuneda, Cuneda filius Etern, Etern filius Patern, Patern filius Peisrud, Peisrud filius Doeil, Doeil filius Gurdeis, Gurdeil filius Dumn, Dumn

§ 66

<sup>a</sup> angusto castioris ND ] angustioris V

<sup>b</sup> haurire V ] exhaurire ND

<sup>c</sup> collegimus V ] conduximus ND

<sup>d</sup> oras ND ] horas V

<sup>e</sup> relatione V ] reuelatione ND

§ 68

<sup>a</sup> *The genealogical passage is peculiar to V and should not be considered a part of Rhygyfarch's work. After the explicit, V also adds the collect, secretum, and postcommunion from the mass for St David's feast.*

§ 66. The holy father David performed these and many other works while a perishable and troublesome habitation held his soul.<sup>112</sup> But out of his many works we have provided just a few examples in the feeble vessel of my narrative in order to quench the thirst of those who are eager. In the same way that no one with the shallow bowl of a frugal drinking cup<sup>113</sup> can drain dry a river that flows from a perpetual spring, so no one, however strong his pen, can commit to writing all his signs and miracles, his most devout practice of virtuous powers, and his observance of the commandments. But, as we have said, we have collected these few works out of the many into one place to be an example for everyone, and to the glory of the father. They have been found scattered in the most ancient writings of our country, and especially of his own monastery; and although the books were eaten away along the edges and the spines by the constant devouring of grubs and the ravages of the passing years, and written in the handwriting of our forefathers, they have survived until now. For fear that they should perish, I have collected and gathered them together – as the bee delicately sucks with its mouth in a flowery garden of diverse plants<sup>114</sup> – to the glory of so great a father and for the benefit of others. Anyone who wants will be able from the testimony of many people to acknowledge those things which David, over the passage of time since he laid down the burden of the flesh and has contemplated the Godhead face to face, does and performs all the more truly for being so much closer to God. § 67. And as for me, Rhygyfarch by name,<sup>115</sup> I have applied the ability of my modest intellect to each of these matters, however imprudent I may be, so that whoever may have read these things with a devout mind may assist me with their prayers; and that, since the Father's mercy, like that of a spring, has carried me through the summer heat of the flesh to the tiny flower of my understanding, it may finally, when the vapours of desire have dried up and before the end of my course, bring me the fruit of a good harvest through timely works. So when the tares of the enemy are separated and the reapers have filled heaven's garners with unsullied sheaves,<sup>116</sup> they may find a place for me within the entrance of the heavenly gates, as a little sheaf of the latest harvest, endlessly to behold God, who is blessed above all things, God for ever and ever.<sup>117</sup> Amen

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§ 68. CONCERNING THE GENEALOGY OF SAINT DAVID

Here begins the genealogy of Saint David, archbishop of the whole of Wales, by the grace and predestination of God. David was the son of Sant, Sant the son of Ceredig, Ceredig the son of Cunedda, Cunedda the son of Edern, Edern the son of Padern, Padern the son of Peisrudd, Peisrudd the son of Doeil, Doeil the son of

<sup>112</sup> Wis. 9.15: *Corpus enim quod corrumpitur aggrauat animam.*

<sup>113</sup> Strictly, *angusto castioris fiale gremio* 'from the narrow bosom of a rather chaste cup'; compare § 3, *castioris prandii parcitate* 'by the frugality of purer food'. *Angustus*, like *parcitas*, in conjunction with *castior* may suggest monastic frugality.

<sup>114</sup> cf. Ieuan ap Sulien, *Carmen Iohannis de uita et familia Sulgeni*, line 108: *iam subtilis apes degustat flore sapes* (ed. Lapidge, 'The Welsh-Latin poetry', 86).

<sup>115</sup> This spelling is confirmed by the author's brother, Ieuan ap Sulien, in *Carmen Iohannis de uita familia Sulgeni*, line 129, where he writes, *Rycymarch* (ed. Lapidge, 'The Welsh Latin Poetry', 86); also by the spelling of the name, *s.a.* 1099, in *Annales Cambriae* and *Brut y Tywysogion*, where <e> and <y> appear, which would be impossible if it was an /i/ sound (Jackson, *Language and History*, 668).

<sup>116</sup> cf. the parable of the tares, Mt. 13.24–30, 36–43.

<sup>117</sup> Rom. 9.5.

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filius Guordumn, Guordumn filius Amguoil, Amguoil filius Amguerit, Amguerit filius Omid, Omid filius Perum, Perum filius Dobun, Dobun filius Iouguen, Iouguen filius Abalach, Abalach filius Eugen, Eugen filius Eudolen, Eudolen filius Eugen, Eugen filius sororis Marie.

EXPLICIT VITA SANCTI DAUID EPISCOPI ET CONFESSORIS.

MISSA DE EODEM

DEUS, qui beatum confessorum tuum Dauid atque pontificem angelo nuntiante Patricio prophetante triginta annis antequam nasceretur predixisti, quesumus ut, cuius memoriam recolimus, eius intercessione ad eterna gaudia perueniamus, per <Dominum nostrum, Iesum Christum, Filium tuum, qui tecum uiuit et regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti, Deus per omnia secula seculorum>. <Amen>.

SECRETA

HOSTIAS laudis et preces deuotionis, quas tibi in honore beati confessoris tui Dauid atque pontificis, omnipotens Deus, deferimus, placatus intende; et quod nostrum non optinet meritum, tua clementia et illius pro nobis frequens intercessio efficiat per <Dominum nostrum, etc. Amen>.

POSTCOMMVNIO

REPLETI, Domine, participatione sacramenti, quesumus ut sancti Dauid confessoris tui atque pontificis meritis, cuius gloriosam celebramus festiuitatem, ineffabilis misericordie tue patrocina sentiamus, per <Dominum nostrum, etc. Amen>.

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Gwrddeil, Gwrddeil the son of Dwfn, Dwfn the son of Gworddwn, Gworddwn the son of Afwyl, Afwyl the son of Afweryd, Afweryd the son of Ofydd, Ofydd the son of Perwm, Perwm the son of Dobwn, Dobwn the son of Ywein, Ywein the son of Afalach, Afalach the son of Ieuan, Ieuan the son of Euddolen, Euddolen the son of Ieuan, Ieuan the son of the sister of Mary.

HERE ENDS THE LIFE OF SAINT DAVID BISHOP AND CONFESSOR.

THE MASS OF THE SAME

O God, who foretold your blessed confessor and bishop, David, by the message of an angel to Patrick, prophesying thirty years before he was born; we pray that by the intercession of him whose memory we celebrate, we may attain eternal joys, for ever and ever. Amen.

SECRET

Almighty God, being appeased, accept the sacrifices of praise and the prayers of devotion that we offer to you in honour of your blessed confessor and bishop; and what our merit may not obtain, may your mercy and his frequent intercession for us effect, through our Lord, etc. Amen.

POST-COMMUNION

O Lord, being satisfied by the partaking of the sacrament, we pray that by the merits of your confessor and bishop, Saint David, whose glorious festival we celebrate, we may be mindful of the patronage of your inexpressible mercy, through our Lord, etc. Amen.