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GEOFFREY OF BURTON
LIFE AND MIRACLES OF
ST MODWENNA

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ST MODWENNA

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY
ROBERT BARTLETT

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AASS</i>	<i>Acta sanctorum</i> , ed. Society of Bollandists (68 vols. to date, Antwerp, etc., 1643–, 3rd edn.; Paris, 1863–75) (cited by month and vol.)
<i>Ann.</i>	<i>Annals of</i>
<i>Ann. Mon.</i>	<i>Annales monastici</i> , ed. H. R. Luard (5 vols.; RS, 1864–9)
<i>ASC</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i> (with letter-symbol indicating version), ed. Charles Plummer, <i>Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel</i> (2 vols.; Oxford, 1892–9)
<i>BHL</i>	<i>Bibliotheca hagiographica latina</i> , ed. Society of Bollandists (2 vols. and supplement; Brussels, 1898–1901, 1986) (cited by item number)
<i>CBMLC</i>	<i>Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues</i>
<i>CHS</i>	<i>Collections for a History of Staffordshire</i> , ed. The Staffordshire Record Society, formerly known as The William Salt Archaeological Society
<i>DB</i>	<i>Domesday Book</i>
<i>Dugdale</i>	William Dugdale (ed.), <i>Monasticon anglicanum</i> , ed. John Caley <i>et al.</i> (6 vols. in 8; London, 1846)
<i>Eng. Ben. Libr.</i>	<i>English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues</i> , ed. Richard Sharpe <i>et al.</i> (CBMLC iv; London, 1994)
<i>f.</i>	son of
<i>Golob, 'Ferrers'</i>	Peter E. Golob, 'The Ferrers Earls of Derby: A Study of the Honour of Tutbury 1066–1279', Ph.D. thesis (Cambridge, 1984)
<i>HBS</i>	Henry Bradshaw Society
<i>Jeayes</i>	I. H. Jeayes, <i>Descriptive Catalogue of the Charters and Muniments belonging to the Marquis of Anglesey</i> , CHS (1937) (cited by number).
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne (221 vols.; Paris, 1844–64)
<i>PR</i> ₃₁ <i>HI</i>	<i>Magnum rotulum Scaccarii . . . de anno tricesimo-primo regni Henrici primi</i> , ed. Joseph Hunter (Record Commission, 1833)
<i>RBE</i>	<i>Red Book of the Exchequer</i> , ed. Hubert Hall (3 vols.; RS, 1896)

RRAN

Regesta regum Anglo-normannorum, ed. H. W. C. Davis *et al.* (4 vols.; Oxford, 1913–69)

RS

Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores ('Rolls Series') (251 vols.; London, 1858–96)

Survey A/B

BL Loan 30, fos. 28–36^v, ed. Charles G. O. Bridgeman, 'The Burton Abbey Twelfth Century Surveys', *CHS* (1916), pp. 209–300, texts at 212–47 (parallel columns)

Wrottesley

G. Wrottesley, 'The Burton Cartulary', *CHS* v/1 (1884), 1–101

INTRODUCTION

Geoffrey of Burton's *Life and Miracles of St Modwenna* (BHL 2097) is among the most substantial pieces of twelfth-century English hagiographic writing not previously to have appeared in print. It was produced by the abbot of Burton, where Modwenna's bones supposedly lay, in the period 1118–50¹ and consists of two parts of unequal length: the *Vita*, or Life proper, and the collection of miracle stories. The first part, forming about four-fifths of the total text, was based on an earlier Life by the Irish author Conchubranus, which Geoffrey revised and modified in style and substance. His creative rewriting of the Life throws much light on the Latinity, religious attitudes, and historical consciousness of an early twelfth-century Benedictine author. The second and shorter part of the text is made up of accounts of the miraculous cures and punishments connected with Modwenna's shrine at Burton. Geoffrey composed these stories on the basis of oral traditions and his own experience and they constitute a valuable source for the social and religious history of this part of England in the Norman period.

THE AUTHOR

Geoffrey became abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Burton upon Trent in 1114.² Before moving there, he had served as prior at Winchester cathedral priory for four years (1107–11), until he was deposed by the bishop for unspecified reasons.³ As abbot of Burton he

¹ Outside limits for the composition of Geoffrey's Life are given by the dates of his abbacy, 1114–50. If the reference to Henry I's wife Matilda as 'queen at that time' (*tunc regina*) in ch. 48 (which occurs in A only) is authorial rather than scribal, these words must have been composed after her death in 1118. Three features increase the likelihood that the work was composed in Henry I's reign rather than Stephen's: (1) The reference to the 'lord of Tutbury' in ch. 49. Since the lord of Tutbury was Robert Ferrers, created earl in 1138 and succeeded by his son as earl in 1139, it may be that lack of reference to the comital title is significant for dating. (2) The absence of any reference to the troubles of Stephen's reign, which was something of a commonplace in other hagiographical writing of this period with a high proportion of vindictive miracles. (3) The reference in ch. 49 to 'King Ilenry' without any phrase indicating that the king was dead. Together these suggest the slightly narrower dating limits 1118 × 1135.

² His predecessor Nigel died on 3 May and he was appointed on 14 Sept., *ASC* (H), ed. Plummer, i. 245; *Ann. Burton*, in *Ann. Mon.*, i. 186; *RRAN*, ii, no. 1063.

³ *Ann. Winchester*, in *Ann. Mon.*, ii. 43; see also *RRAN*, ii, no. 948, a royal confirmation given in 1110 of a gift made by Geoffrey and the convent of Winchester.

was an active landlord, administrator, and judge, as well as father of his house and devotee of his saint. In these practical and political respects, Geoffrey was energetic and enterprising. The documents in the Burton Cartulary and elsewhere show him leasing out land for cash payments (on one occasion to his own nephew), litigating with the local magnates, securing royal confirmations of the abbey's judicial powers, and making offers of spiritual benefits in return for grants of property to his house.⁴ One of these charters specifies payment to be made on St Modwenna's day, a rare term pointing to Geoffrey's promotion of the cult of the local saint to whom he was to dedicate his literary talents.⁵ His most impressive achievement as landlord and administrator was the drawing up of the Burton surveys, extents of the abbey property very much in the spirit of Domesday Book, which list the amount of land in each of the abbey's manors, the livestock there, and the names and duties of the peasant tenants.⁶ One of these surveys ('Survey B') has been dated to the years 1114-18, with the strong likelihood that it was undertaken early in that period, while the other ('Survey A') is prior to 1133 and most likely prior to 1126.⁷ Abbot Geoffrey thus initiated a survey of the abbey's resources very early in his abbacy and had it revised within a decade or so.

Under the year 1114 the Annals of Burton record not only abbot Geoffrey's appointment, but also 'the beginning of the church of Burton' (*inchoatio Burtoniensis ecclesie*), and Geoffrey's abbacy was indeed to be marked by major building projects.⁸ Several of the charters issued by Geoffrey refer to the service of carrying timber for church building, while one mentions that the entry fine proffered by a tenant 'was, at the abbot's command, paid to the workmen building the church'.⁹ Modwenna's miracles include several (in ch. 50) which suggest that the abbey was a dangerous building-site during Geoffrey's abbacy: carpenters working on the roof are saved from harmful falls, a woman is almost killed by a falling beam, a bell being hauled aloft becomes a risk because of a faulty rope. Perhaps the climax of

⁴ See appendix of documents. The documentary material for the history of Burton abbey is analysed in detail by J. F. R. Walmsley, 'The estates of Burton Abbey from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries', Ph.D. thesis (Birmingham, 1972).

⁵ Appendix of documents below, no. 3.

⁶ BL. Loan 30, fos. 28-36^v, ed. Charles G. O. Bridgeman, 'The Burton abbey twelfth century surveys', *CHS* (1916), pp. 209-300, texts at 212-47 (parallel columns).

⁷ J. H. Round, 'The Burton abbey surveys', *English Historical Review* (*EHR*), xx (1905), 275-89 (repr. *CHS*, NS ix (1906), 269-89).

⁸ *Ann. Mon.*, i. 186.

⁹ Appendix of documents below, nos. 11, 13, 16.

this activity was the translation (ritual relocation) of Modwenna's relics undertaken by abbot Geoffrey himself. The sixteenth-century *Historia fundatoris et abbatum* of Burton also credits Geoffrey with the construction of 'a large bell-tower above the choir, covered in lead'.¹⁰ Virtually nothing remains of the church and monastery at Burton, and nothing at all from Geoffrey's time, but his rebuilding programme fits well with that enthusiastic wave of reconstruction undertaken by the prelates of Norman England.

THE WORK

On his first arrival at Burton, Geoffrey must have become aware of the presence in the abbey church of the shrine of a virgin saint, known as Modwenna. The new abbot had a natural curiosity about these relics but could apparently find out very little about the saint. This is what he himself says, in the preface to the Life:

For a long time I had felt a burning desire to find out something certain about the homeland, family, life and virtues of the most holy virgin Modwenna and I often prayed to her about this with an eager heart and in my quest I kept watch with great zeal; nor was my labour in vain, for at last, with her help and through God's grace, it happened that I found what I had sought more abundantly than I hoped.

On more than one occasion I sent messengers where I had been told information might be found; I sent letters to a bishop in Ireland; I myself, as far as I was able, carefully interrogated many people throughout England. By God's guidance and her aid I found out so much about her from one source and another that I could not write everything down nor could I have imagined beforehand or at any time that her miracles were so numerous.

Through God's help a book was brought to me from Ireland (*codex . . . de Hibernia*), in which I dug up a hidden treasure . . .

It is clear from these statements that, at first, Geoffrey knew very little about his adopted saint. However, he was not willing to live with this ignorance but undertook an active campaign of research, paralleling, in a way, his surveys of the abbey's estates, attaining his greatest coup through the acquisition of information from Ireland, which told him more than he could previously have dreamed of. In his preface he goes on to say that this information was in a displeasing style and badly organized and needed reworking and that he has

¹⁰ *Item construxit speciosum campanile super chorum coopertum plumbo*, SRO D. 603/Add, fo. 4 (Dugdale, iii. 48), adding *ut habetur in miraculis dictae virginis in fine*, although there is no such reference in the extant texts.

supplemented the material from Ireland with oral testimony and his own experiences. What we have, then, is the wholesale borrowing of a Hiberno-Latin Life for the otherwise unchronicled bones of an obscure West Midlands saint.

EARLIER LIVES

The prime source of Geoffrey's information, the text in the *codex de Hibernia*, can be identified. It was the Life of St Monenna (or Moninna or Darerca), an early Irish royal abbess, in the elaborated version attributed to Conchubranus, a writer about whom virtually nothing is known. A copy of Conchubranus' Life of St Monenna survives in BL Cotton Cleopatra A. ii, an early twelfth-century manuscript from Burton. The likelihood is that this manuscript was copied at Burton from an Irish exemplar, that is, from Geoffrey's *codex*.¹¹ The book listed in the twelfth-century Burton library catalogue as the 'most ancient life' (*vita antiquissima*) of Modwenna is presumably either the Irish *codex* or Cleopatra A. ii.¹²

In order fully to appreciate this Life by Conchubranus, Geoffrey's model, it is necessary, however, to go back one further step, for Conchubranus also had a model, the anonymous *Life* of Moninna or Darerca that was copied (perhaps in abbreviated form) into the *Codex Salmanticensis*, an important Irish hagiographic compendium (now in Brussels). Although the Brussels manuscript was put together, from very diverse sources, in the late fourteenth century, Mario Esposito, editor of Conchubranus' *Vita*, hypothesized that the anonymous Life of Moninna it contains may have been composed as early as the seventh century.¹³ In any event, it cannot be later than

¹¹ Conchubranus' *Life* (BHL 2096) has been edited three times: (1) AASS, Iulii, ii. 297–312; (2) Mario Esposito, 'Conchubrani Vita Sancti Monennae', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, xxviii C (1910), 202–51; (3) Ulster Society for Medieval Latin Studies, 'The Life of Saint Monenna by Conchubranus', *Seanchus Ardmhacha*, ix (1978–9), 250–73, x (1980–2), 117–41, 426–54. For discussion, see Esposito's introduction to his edition and his article 'The sources of Conchubranus' Life of St Monenna', *EHR*, xxxv (1920), 71–8. Esposito's edition and study are reprinted in *Irish Books and Learning in Medieval Europe*, ed. Michael Lapidge (London, 1990), items xv–xvi. Michelle Brown of the British Library was kind enough to offer the suggestion of a northern English origin for Cleopatra A. ii and the identification of features indicating 'that an Irish exemplar was being copied'.

¹² *Eng. Ben. Libr.*, p. 39, no. B11 34.

¹³ The Life from the *Codex Salmanticensis*, Brussels, Royal Library 3179 (olim 7672–4), fos. 79–82^v (s. xiv) (BHL 2095), has been edited three times: (1) AASS, Iulii, ii. 290–6; (2) Charles de Smedt and Joseph de Backer, *Acta sanctorum Hiberniae ex codice Salmanticensi* (Edinburgh and London, 1888), cols. 165–88; (3) W. W. Heist, *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae ex codice olim Salmanticensi nunc Bruxellensi* (*Subsidia hagiographica*,

the eleventh century, the probable date of Conchubranus, who used it as a source.

We have then a series of ever more elaborate Lives, the early anonymous one in the Brussels manuscript, that by Conchubranus, and that by Geoffrey. In the process of their development nothing is ever taken away but much is added. The starting point for the construction of St Modwenna appears to be an actual historical person who died in 517 and was revered as the founder of the nunnery of Killeavy in south Armagh.¹⁴ The anonymous Life in the Brussels manuscript, the earliest, gives the saint an entirely Irish setting, with many incidental mentions of local topography. It brings in famous Irish saints such as Patrick, Ibar, and Brigid as Moninna's mentors and models, and presents her primarily as the saint of a local northern Irish tribe, the *Conalle* (Conaille Muirtheimne), who preserve her relics, including her sheepskin-garment and her hoe, as victory talismans. The name and memory of this purely Irish Moninna were indeed commemorated at the nunnery at Killeavy, which survived until 1542.¹⁵

Conchubranus, in his reworking of the anonymous Life, makes a series of changes. First, in a paroxysm of conflation he brings in more Irish saints, including, in defiance of all chronology, Columba. Then he transforms Brigid from Moninna's model to one of her early followers, here presumably using statements about the relative status of the two saints to make claims about the relative status of their two churches, Killeavy and Kildare. Most significantly, Conchubranus extends the geographical scope of Moninna's activities. In addition to three trips to Rome, he endows the saint with a southern Scottish career and also brings her to Mercia, the West Midlands, where an association is made with the neighbourhood of Burton. Most modern commentators assume, with plausibility, that three separate saints have been conflated in this new career spanning the three kingdoms. The Scottish and English careers of Conchubranus' Monenna would xxviii; Brussels, 1965), pp. 83–95. Esposito's suggestion as to 7th-cent. dating is in 'Sources', pp. 74–6. The Life has been translated by Liam de Paor, 'The Life of St Darerca, or Moninna, the abbess', in *Saint Patrick's World* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1993), pp. 281–94. See Richard Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives* (Oxford, 1991), for further discussion of the Codex Salmanticensis.

¹⁴ *Ann. Ulster*, ed. Seán Mac Airt and Gearóid Mac Niocaill, i (Dublin, 1983), 64–5 (s.a. 516): 'The repose of Darerca of Killeavy on 5 July'. At this point the Annals are one year in error: see the editorial preface, p. xi.

¹⁵ Aubrey Gwynn and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland* (London, 1970), p. 321.

thus be the result of some process of syncretism, although when, where, and why this occurred are less clear.

Conchubranus' Life includes many more personal and place names than the Brussels Life. While the latter simply states that the saint's father was called *Mocteus* (Old Irish Mauchte, Mochte), Conchubranus elaborates upon Monenna's lineage: her father, *Maugtheus*, is described as ruler of 'Iveagh and all the land around Armagh, from Louth to Ulster' and his descent given as 'of the kindred of *Hilech*'.¹⁶ It is possible that this points to the northern Uí Néill dynasty of Ailech. Conchubranus also adds details about the saint's mother. She is named as 'Cumman, the most noble daughter of king Dallbrónach, who ruled all the land from Dublin to *Regunlech*'. Dallbrónach is the name of the father of St Brigid's mother, so the implication is that Monenna and Brigid were first cousins, perhaps here again evidencing an attempt to put Monenna on at least an equal footing with the famous saint of Kildare. *Regunlech* remains unidentified (although an etymology from Old/Middle Irish *lecc* or *lecht*, 'tomb, tombstone' and Latin *regum*, 'of the kings' has been suggested).¹⁷

The Scottish episode in Conchubranus' Life (followed by Geofrey) presents the saint founding churches at many named places in the central part of Scotland. Most of these can be identified and turn out to be hill-fort sites that were of importance in the early Middle Ages: Dundonald in Ayrshire, Dumbarton, Stirling, Edinburgh, Traprain Law (20 miles east of Edinburgh). *Chilnecase in Galuueie* has been identified both as Whithorn (*Candida Casa*) and Kilcais in Ayrshire. In addition, writes Conchubranus, she 'went to *Aleethe*, where there is now a fine church, that she founded at *Lonfortin*, along with a most holy fountain; she remained there some time and loved the place very much; this was where she gave up the spirit at the end of her life'.¹⁸ He later describes the saint's last days 'in the place that is called *Lonfortin* in Scotia' and also records the Scots' belief that her remains were carried 'to the church that is called *Aleeht*'.¹⁹ These place names point to two sites in Perthshire: Alyth, which was an important royal estate in the Middle Ages, and Luncarty, which, although it is 15 miles distant from Alyth, occurs in thirteenth-

¹⁶ For Irish genealogies of the saint, see *Corpus genealogiarum sanctorum Hiberniae*, ed. Pádraig Ó Riain (Dublin, 1985), pp. 17, 70, 104, 170, nos. 98, 523, 662, 207, 722. 7.

¹⁷ By Dorothy Africa in an unpublished paper and, at least concerning *regum*, by Kay Muhr in personal communication.

¹⁸ 3, 8, ed. Esposito, p. 234.

¹⁹ 3, 9, 11, ed. Esposito, pp. 234, 236.

century documents as *Lomfortyn*, *Lumfortyne*, and *Lumphortyn* and is the most likely identification.²⁰

One theory that has been advanced is that the Scottish activities of Monenna, as described by Conchubranus, are in fact a distorted record of the career of Ninian, whose name could be abbreviated Mo-Ninn.²¹ There is indeed the curious emphasis in Conchubranus' account that, before the bones of the saint reached their final destination, the English and Irish 'came with the whole bier and the whole body on it to the church called Eccles, next to the castle called Stirling'.²² Eccles by Stirling did have an early church dedicated to St Ninian and is now known as St Ninians. The churches of Alyth and Luncarty, however, were, dedicated to Sts Moluag and Fillan, respectively.²³ Apart from the Lives themselves, the only evidence for a cult of Modwenna in Scotland is a mention (*S. Moduenna*) in the mysterious Dunkeld Litany.²⁴

The English episode is clearly designed to give a rationale for the Irish abbess's ending her days in the West Midlands. The original link between the saint and England, in the story as told by Conchubranus and Geoffrey, was created by the visit of the English prince Alfred, seeking healing. Conchubranus simply calls him 'son of the (or a) king of the English' (*filius regis Anglicorum*),²⁵ but

²⁰ *Liber sancti Thome de Aberbrothoc*, ed. Cosmo Innes (2 vols.; Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1848-56), i. 238; *Registrum de Dunfermlyn*, ed. Cosmo Innes (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1842), p. 209; *Liber cartarum prioratus sancti Andree in Scotia*, ed. Thomas Thomson (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1841), p. 34. The common identification as Longforgan is not philologically possible.

²¹ A. Boyle, 'St Ninian and St Monenna', *Innes Review*, xviii (1967), 147-51; *idem*, 'St Ninian and the Life of St Monenna', *Analecta Bollandiana*, xc (1973), 21-30; P. A. Wilson, 'St Ninian: Irish evidence further examined', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, xli (1969), 140-59.

²² 3. 11, ed. Esposito, p. 236.

²³ James M. MacKinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland* (2 vols.; Edinburgh, 1910-14), ii. 160, 169.

²⁴ The litany survives only in an 18th-cent. transcript by Marianus Brockie, supposedly of a 16th-cent. transcript by Servanus Thomson, monk of Dunfermline, of 'a certain old manuscript book': Edinburgh, Scottish Catholic Archives, Brockie MSS, Transcript I, vol. 4, pp. 4685-700, with Modwenna on p. 4694. The litany has been printed three times, by J. F. S. Gordon, 'A processional litany of the monastery of Dunkeld, in Scotland', *Notes and Queries*, 3rd ser., ix (1866), 406-9; by Alexander Penrose Forbes, *Kalendars of Scottish Saints* (Edinburgh, 1872), pp. lvi-lxv; and by A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 1869-78), ii/1, 278-85. Brockie has been described as 'guilty of blatant forgery' in his transcripts: Henry Docherty, 'The Brockie forgeries', *Innes Review*, xvi (1965), 79-127, at 94. The form of the name, 'Moduenna', certainly points to early modern syncretism rather than genuine medieval Scottish tradition.

²⁵ 1. 14, ed. Esposito, p. 215.

Geoffrey explicitly describes him as the 'son of Æthelwulf, king of the Mercians and West Saxons', making his identification as king Alfred (871–99) quite clear (ch. 18).²⁶ This chronological impossibility may be one of the motives for the redactor of one version of Geoffrey's *Life* trying to shift its setting forward by several centuries (see below).

The account of Monenna's journey to England and reception by the king, Alfred's father, as recounted by Conchubranus, culminates with the king endowing her with an estate in the Forest of Arden and entrusting his sister to her to be brought up in the religious life. On one of her later journeys, Monenna is said to have founded a church on Andresey, the island in the Trent adjacent to Burton, where she lived for seven years. She makes an explicit prediction that her bones would rest on that spot.

Conchubranus' text thus already associates the saint with the Burton area. It is not easy to say when and how that association came to be made. Burton abbey was founded in 1004, as a famous Anglo-Saxon will and charter testify,²⁷ and the story in Geoffrey is that Modwenna's relics on the nearby island of Andresey in the Trent were translated into the abbey church in the course of the eleventh century. The eleventh-century list of saints' resting-places in England does not mention Modwenna, but she appears in the version of Hugh Candidus, writing in the 1170s: 'In Burton Saint Modwenna'.²⁸ Hence at some point Burton acquired the bones and at some point the link was made between those bones and the hagiographic record of the early Irish abbess. The exact mechanism remains uncertain.

One incident which Conchubranus relates has led to the suggestion that he had access to sources, either oral or written, about Anglo-Saxon saints other than Modwenna of Burton. A story, reworked in ch. 20 of Geoffrey's version, tells how 'Osid', the maidservant of the nun 'Ite', is miraculously resurrected after being drowned while bringing a book from Ite to Monenna. Although there is a well-known seventh-century

²⁶ The 14th-cent. historian Ranulph Higden also identified the Alfred whom Modwenna cured with Alfred the Great: *Polychronicon*, v. 30, ed. C. Babington and J. R. Lumby (9 vols.; RS, 1865–86), vi. 318–20.

²⁷ *Charters of Burton Abbey*, ed. P. H. Sawyer (*Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ii; London, 1979), nos. 28–9, pp. 48–56; *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, ed. W. B. Sanders (3 vols.; Southampton, 1878–84), iii, Anglesey 2.

²⁸ *Die Heiligen Englands*, ed. F. Liebermann (Hanover, 1889), pp. 9–19; *The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*, ed. William T. Mellows (London, 1949), p. 62. All the resting-place lists are discussed by John Blair, 'A saint for every minster? Local cults in Anglo-Saxon England', in Richard Sharpe and Alan Thacker (eds), *Local Saints and Local Churches* (Oxford, forthcoming).

Irish saint called Ita, it has been proposed that this tale originally concerned the Anglo-Saxon saints Eadgyth and Osgyth, while the miracle-worker was not Monenna but St Eadburg. The situation is rendered more confusing by the fact that there are several saints named Eadgyth, Osgyth, and Eadburg.²⁹

Geoffrey adds very little to the tale of Modwenna as he found it in Conchubranus but does introduce a few concrete details set in the West Midlands in the Anglo-Saxon period: not only does he identify Alfred's father as king Æthelwulf, he also names the king's sister as Eadgyth of Polesworth, a saint who does occur in the eleventh-century list of saints. He also adds the story of Modwenna's exchanges with the hermit of Breedon and the miracle that occurs at the place on the Trent called *Lega* (which would give a modern Leigh but has not been identified). Geoffrey thus had read or heard some local traditions in addition to those he borrowed wholesale from Conchubranus. Presumably 'Modwenna', the name of the saint enshrined in his abbey—which would represent a perfectly plausible, although not otherwise recorded, Old English *Modwynn*, 'heart's delight'—was also part of this local tradition.

As saints become embodied in layers of hagiography, they acquire multiple personalities. Darerca/Moninne/Monenna/Modwenna is an extreme example of this general phenomenon. A particularly telling incident in Conchubranus' account is the dispute over Monenna's body after her death, which culminates in the English and Irish marching off with her body in one direction, while the Scots also march off with her body—'*as it seemed to them*'—in another. While the Irish obtain the saint's sheepskin garments and tools, the English take the body to Andresey, and the Scots consider they have the body at Alyth. Such 'two bodies' stories, which seek to explain away the conflicting claims of different groups of ecclesiastics to possess the remains of a saint, are a natural hagiographic corollary to an earlier conflation of saints. This kind of situation complicates the task of hagiographic scholarship. As Delahaye's Edwardian translator, Mrs V. M. Crawford, put it, 'the custom of accumulating on a single head all the glories of preceding heroes affects very markedly the true proportions of the persons concerned'.³⁰ Fortunately, the editor of Geoffrey of Burton's Life need not pursue 'the true proportions' of Darerca/Moninne/Monenna/Modwenna, but only has to analyse

²⁹ See notes to ch. 20.

³⁰ Hippolyte Delahaye, *The Legends of the Saints* (Eng. tr.; London, 1907), p. 19.

her twelfth-century incarnation, an embodiment attained through the pen of an abbot of Burton.

GEOFFREY'S REWRITING

Geoffrey was not content simply to have his source material copied, though he did that, but sought also to revise and rework it. There are two aspects to his literary activity: the rewriting of the earlier *Vita* by Conchubranus and the addition of a section of miracle accounts. The rewriting was made necessary by the inadequacy in his eyes of the style and structure of the earlier material. He was not alone in his opinion of Irish hagiography. His contemporary Laurence of Durham bemoaned the materials he had to use in creating his *Life* of St Brigid, commenting tartly 'even if I cannot produce a highly Latinate *Life*, I can write a Latin one (*vitam . . . si non . . . latinissimam sane transmitto vel latinam*)'.³¹ Jocelin of Furness, rewriting the *Life* of St Patrick later in the century, was equally forthright: 'many saints' lives were written by unlearned people, ignorant of the art of composition', he complains, and hence their 'uncouth style and barbarous language' provoke nausea and loathing; Jocelin promises 'to give an orderly structure to this confusion' and—in a phrase identical to Laurence's—to provide 'the flavour, if not of the most Latin speech, at least of Latin speech'.³² Jocelin's procedures correspond exactly to the activity Geoffrey describes in his own preface: 'In the same way that metal is laboriously extracted from a mine with great care and effort, so the present work sets out to make clear the homeland, life, family, character, way of life, and wonders of the blessed virgin, as God's grace instructs us, drawing material with great toil from the barbarous language of the book and the treasure chests of the Irish, as if from hidden and obscure places.'

The recasting of earlier hagiography according to the stylistic and ideological canons of the writer's own time was, of course, a widespread practice. Because we possess Geoffrey's literary model for the *Vita* he composed and can compare the two works line by line, we have a very clear window into his particular concerns. A comparison of the earlier and later versions reveals unmistakably the additions, emphases, and omissions that the later writer wished to make. When we set the *Life* by Geoffrey of Burton alongside his source, the *Life*

³¹ A. Hoste, 'A survey of the unedited work of Laurence of Durham with an edition of his letter to Aelred of Rievaulx', *Sacris Erudiri*, xi (1960), 249–65, at pp. 263–5.

³² *AASS*, Martii, ii. 540 (3rd edn., 536).

by Conchubranus, what we see is a thoroughgoing stylistic and organizational revision, coupled with the impress of a historicizing Benedictine mentality characteristic of twelfth-century England.

Geoffrey's structure is certainly clearer and less intricate than that of Conchubranus. The changes he makes and their point have been well summarized by Jocelyn Price (now Wogan-Browne), who has studied in depth the French *Life of Modwenna* which is based upon Geoffrey's. 'He alters the order of some of the miracles and the journeys,' she writes, 'in a way which seems designed to clarify the legend's thematic ordering and to make more climactic and motivated Burton's eventual reception of Modwenna's relics.'³³ The extent of the restructuring can be shown by a concordance of Geoffrey's chapters and Conchubranus' (in the following table the chapters of the earliest (Brussels) *Life* have been added for completeness).

Geoffrey	Conchubranus	Brussels Life
1	1.1-2	1
2	1.2-3	1
3	1.3	2
4	—	—
5	1.5-6	3
6	1.3	2
7	1.13	—
8	1.4	—
9	1.6	18
10	1.6-7	18
11	1.8	—
12	1.8-9	—
13	1.10	—
14	1.11-12	—
15	2.11	23
16	2.10	22
17	2.12	24
18	1.14	—
19	1.14	—
20	1.15, 2.9	—

³³ 'La Vie de Sainte Modwenne: a neglected Anglo-Norman hagiographic text and some implications for English secular literature', *Medium Aevum*, xlvii (1988), 172-89, at p. 172; see also pp. 186-7 n. 8.

Geoffrey	Conchubranus	Brussels Life
21	1.15	—
22	2.1	14–15
23	2.2, 4	4, 8–9
24	2.5–6	10–11
25	2.3	7
26	2.7	13
27	2.15–16	15–16
28	2.16	17
29	3.2	21
30	3.1	19
31	3.5	27
32	3.6	28
33	3.4	—
34	2.8, 3.3, 3.8	—
35	3.7	—
36	2.13–14	26, 7
37	—	—
38	3.9	29–31
39	3.10	32
40	3.11	—
41	3.12	33
42	3.13	34
43	—	—
44	—	—
45	—	—
46	—	—
47	—	—
48	—	—
49	—	—
50	—	—

One of the effects of Geoffrey's reordering is to make the saint's journeyings less frenetic. The three trips to Rome, which Conchubranus describes in the course of his narrative, are summarized in a late chapter in Geoffrey. Because he relocates some of her activities, Geoffrey presents Modwenna as crossing the Irish Sea less frequently than Conchubranus. In the first 29 chapters of Geoffrey's work, the saint leaves Ireland only once, to visit Alfred's father in England. In

chs. 30 to 39 (which recounts her death), she is usually in Scotland, except during the (summarized) visits to Rome and the time spent as a solitary on Andresey. Geoffrey also associates some of her miracles with the Burton area. Indeed, one of his more sweeping revisions of Conchubranus' order is to transpose two miracles of resurrection from the saint's time in Ireland to her period on Andresey (ch. 36).

Geoffrey of Burton's style is also very different from that of his source. He writes in a far more elaborate and expansive way. Even without the appendix of miracle stories, his *Vita* is two to three times the length of the earlier version. This is partly a consequence of his love of rhetorical amplification, for he has a taste for that elaborate prose found in much early twelfth-century Benedictine writing. It is characterized by lengthy sentences (averaging more than 25 words), made up of sequences of carefully balanced and varied clauses. An extreme example is to be found in ch. 4, where the opening sentence consists of 178 words and has twenty-three infinitives dependent on the initial *Cepit*. The clauses containing these infinitives vary in length from four words (*intendere literis et sapientie*) to twelve (*ad brauium superne uocationis quod est in Christo Iesu totis nisibus anhelare*), will place the infinitive first, last, or intermediately (*compati miseris et dolentibus condolare, corpus tenerum attenuare ieiuniis*) and sometimes have internal dependent clauses (*obliuiscens ea que retro sunt, ad illa que ante sunt animo studioso extendi*) or link two infinitives by 'and' (*carnem iuuenilem affligere et macerare uigiliis*). The sub-units of the sentence frequently contain sequences of adverbial phrases (*toto corde, tota anima, tota uirtute Deum diligere*) or adjectival objects (*ludicra et scurrilia et secularia uelut inepta et uana contempnere*). This passage is a tour de force of elaborate, rhythmic prose, but Geoffrey's usual prose style shares these features. The end result is a text very different from that of Conchubranus. As Hardy pithily commented, Geoffrey's work is 'much amplified by declamation'.³⁴

As an illustration, two short passages can be cited, one from Conchubranus, one from Geoffrey, describing the same events: Modwenna is in England and wins the favour of the king, who entrusts his young sister to her.

Conchubranus: The king said to her, 'I will give you this village, along with my maiden sister, so that you may teach her divine learning [*disciplina diuina*].' St Monenna replied, 'Willingly.' And she stayed there three months

³⁴ Thomas D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland* (3 vols. in 4 parts; RS, 1862-71), i. 1, 98.

and the holy virgin ordered Athea [one of her companions] to teach the psalter to the maiden, the king's sister.³⁵

Geoffrey: The handmaid of the Lord found much grace in the eyes of the king, who commended to her his maiden sister, Eadgyth by name, to protect, raise up, instruct, consecrate, and betroth to Christ the Lord in service of the rule [*in militiam regularem*], so that she should be able under her tutelage to serve in a nun's habit with pious devotion for the prize of eternal reward. (ch. 20)

Setting these two passages side by side shows some characteristic features of *Geoffrey's Life*: the rhetorical amplification already discussed; biblical echoes, in the phrase 'found much grace in the eyes';³⁶ a touch of local Mercian lore (the naming of the king's sister as Eadgyth, who is later identified as St Eadgyth of Polesworth); and the much stronger emphasis on the regular monastic life—the *militia regularis* instead of the more general *disciplina divina*, the specific nun's habit instead of the learning of the psalter, and the invocation of betrothal to Christ and the eternal reward.

One of the ways that *Geoffrey* expands and elaborates *Conchubranus'* text is by giving his characters, especially Modwenna, the opportunity to make long and discursive speeches. For example, the devastation of the property of Killeavy at the advice of the wicked counsellor Chanuncinus is treated by *Conchubranus* in about 350 words. *Geoffrey* uses over 1,200, of which more than half are direct speech, of Chanuncinus or Modwenna (ch. 19). The counsellor advances plausible reasons why Modwenna's monastery should be plundered to provide royal bounty. Modwenna gives a lengthy address to her nuns, instructing them in the necessity of times of trial, the importance of disregard for earthly goods, the nature of Christian discipleship, and the need to praise God and forgive one's enemies. Her discourse is seasoned with ten biblical citations. It is easy to imagine one of Abbot *Geoffrey's* own sermons from this high-minded homily.

Indeed, a florilegium of Modwenna's speeches would read very much like a monastic sermon collection from Norman England. The emphasis on the religious life, natural enough in the *Life* of a saintly abbess, is deepened and elaborated in *Geoffrey's* text. An instance has already been cited, but there are many more. *Conchubranus* writes of the saint's foundation of a church at *Lonfortin* (Luncarty), *Geoffrey* of her foundation of a church there 'where she assembled a community

³⁵ I. 15, ed. Esposito, p. 217

³⁶ Cf. 1 Kgs. 1: 18, 16: 22, etc.

of virgins to follow God in the habit of nuns and serve Christ the Lord honourably under monastic discipline' (ch. 30). In the version of Conchubranus, the saint tells the virgin Brigna that 'the Lord has preserved you so that through you waste places may be built up and the lost mass may be found and, when it is found, Christ and His angels will rejoice greatly'.³⁷ Geoffrey expands this, having Modwenna say to Brigna:

you will build up waste places and you will be of great benefit to many and you will be a mother of many virgins and you will yourself provide an example to all of a holy way of life. You will go to your own land and found a monastery in a suitable isolated spot, where you will gather together many sisters in the service of the Lord, who, serving Christ the Lord under the discipline of the rule, will, with you as their leader and through the grace of God, journey to the joys of paradise above. (ch. 32)

Throughout Geoffrey's work the picture of the religious life is made more concrete and given greater intensity of feeling in this way.

There is also a stronger liturgical flavour to his prose, underscored by the frequency of direct apostrophe of God. 'O ruler of all things,' Modwenna prays, 'Lord God omnipotent, your will be done in heaven and on earth, look on us with mercy, be forgiving toward our iniquities and do not turn your face from us because of our sins but help us in our need according to the vastness of your freely given grace and assist us when we are in danger according to your manifold mercies' (ch. 14). There is nothing like this in Conchubranus' text. Examples could be multiplied. Geoffrey of Burton's prose was fundamentally shaped by the sonorous, biblically inspired prayer and chant of the Benedictine monasteries in which he spent his life.

Also visible is a critical, sometimes historical, turn of thinking. It is perhaps most charmingly displayed in the chapter where Geoffrey is pondering whether it might have been Modwenna who founded the *Scola Anglorum*, the hostel for English pilgrims in Rome (ch. 34). 'Many people' say this, reports Geoffrey, but he is more cautious: 'I do not dare to assert [this] boldly; nor, however, do I presume to contradict those who say so'. He promises the reader, however, that, if he obtains definite information on this issue, he 'will not be slow to record the demonstrated certainty in this work'. Such reflective thinking crops up elsewhere. When a calf that has been slaughtered by a hospitable host is restored to life, Geoffrey suspends judgement

³⁷ 3. 6, ed. Esposito, p. 233, reading *inveniatur* for Esposito's *inveniantur*; there is a correction mark in the MS: Cleopatra A. ii, fo. 46'.

about the exact mechanism. 'It is not important,' he writes, 'to determine whether it was the same one, which God miraculously brought back to life by His ineffable power, as He certainly could do if He wished, or whether, more likely, it was another one, either created from nothing or brought there from elsewhere, that was clothed in the same form and colour and fashioned along identical lines and of the same size' (ch. 27). Perhaps the English School had been founded by Modwenna; perhaps the calf was the same one, brought back to life; but it was wise to keep an open mind.

THE POSTHUMOUS MIRACLES³⁸

As he says in his preface, Geoffrey based his text not only on Conchubranus, the *codex de Hibernia*, but also on local tradition and his own knowledge. These were the sources for the miracle accounts he added to the Life. The break between the reworked *Vita* and the miracle accounts is clearly signalled in the text:

When the abbey had been founded at its present site by Wulfric Spot, a very wealthy man, the relics of the most holy virgin were reverently translated from Andresey into the great church of the blessed Mary, mother of God. After this many and frequent miracles occurred. A large number of these have been forgotten through negligence but I append an account of some few of them which happened more recently in our own times, as far as I have been able to find out or hear about them. What I am about to relate I was told by those who had either heard them from their elders or had seen them at first hand. I know that their truth has been attested by many witnesses. (ch. 43)

Geoffrey then proceeds to relate a series of miracle stories. In the fuller version of his work there are accounts of thirty miracles, twelve of them described at some length and eighteen others summarized in a final chapter.³⁹ Eleven of the thirty are punishment miracles, eight are healing miracles, four concern narrow escapes, three miraculous liberations, and four others are miscellaneous, such as the use of the relics to quell fire or invocation of the saint to keep off rain.

The healing miracles are of the type usually found in such collections, and concern blindness and crippling ailments in particular. Cures all take place at the saint's shrine. Some of the beneficiaries are characterized as poor and three of the eight are

³⁸ For further discussion, see the present writer's 'The Miracles of Saint Modwenna of Burton', *Staffordshire Studies*, viii (1996), 24-35.

³⁹ Excluding the additional miracle recounted by Prior Jordan.

women. The names or the individual circumstances of those cured are usually given, the process of supplication and healing described and the response of the monks—investigative and then celebratory—detailed. The punishment miracles, by contrast, all take place at a distance from the monastery and are aimed primarily at local aristocrats and officials who have infringed on the abbey's property rights—foresters who impound Burton's animals, local lords who threaten to poach Burton's peasantry, royal officials who bring suits against tenants of the abbey. All the victims are male and most suffer the extreme penalty, death, though a few are blinded or go mad. The victims of these vindictive miracles contrast with those who appear in the *Life* proper, based on the accounts of Conchubranus and the anonymous Irish author of the Brussels *Life*. Those are more often robbers or brigands and usually come to repentance. All vindictive miracles are, of course, ecclesiastical fantasies of revenge, but in some the repentance of lay offenders is more important, in others their destruction.

The narrow escapes, miraculous liberations, and miscellaneous miracles are all beneficent and are generally similar to the cures. The first category involves accidents in or around the church, while two of the three releases entail the loosing of penitential bonds before the shrine. (The additional miracle recounted by prior Jordan also involves this kind of miracle.)

Geoffrey gives approximate dates for most of the miracles he describes. The first is pre-Conquest, taking place while Leofric was abbot, and therefore dates to 1051–66. The others are also usually dated by abbacy. The group of eighteen summarized in ch. 50 is described as happening 'in our day', which presumably means during Geoffrey's own abbacy. The author advances the recentness of these miracles as his reason for giving no names in these accounts. Modwenna's miraculous range is geographically concentrated: half the miracles take place in or around the church and over a third are punishments that befall neighbours of the abbey. Details of the exact place of origin of those cured are rarely given, though pilgrims seeking healing were both local (one from Tutbury) and from further afield, like the woman 'who came from far away' mentioned in ch. 50. There are descriptions of the shrine's being moved from its usual place, once to be taken out of the church to put out a fire and twice to be placed on the ground in a ritual humiliation directed against enemies or natural dangers. In ch. 50 an otherwise unrecorded

translation is mentioned, when abbot Geoffrey himself is described 'with his own hands, removing the holy bones of the blessed virgin from the old shrine and transferring them into a new and more fitting one'.

The language used to describe the posthumous healing miracles is formulaic. There is a sequence of prayer, sudden recovery, wonder, and public recognition. Petitioners come 'to beseech the holy virgin Modwenna . . . to help', 'begging her with devotion that she should deign of her goodness to help', 'to seek the help of our virgin'; they are cured or released from their trouble 'suddenly' (*statim, subito, or ecce!*); it is the 'power of God' that has performed the miracle but through the 'merits' or 'intercession' of the saint. Finally they are tested and questioned by the abbot and monks, before the miracle is joyfully celebrated.

Two miracles deserve more extensive comment, one because it can be connected with a surviving document in a rather unusual way, the other because it is a truly astonishing story in itself.

Ch. 49 tells the tale of the quarrels between Burton and Osmund, who had charge of the woods of Robert de Ferrers, lord of Tutbury. According to the Burton account, Osmund maliciously impounded livestock belonging to the abbey and stirred up discord between his lord and the monks. Eventually he persuaded Robert that the abbey was unjustly in possession of a piece of woodland that was rightfully his. Ferrers then took possession of it. 'Afterwards, however,' the account continues, 'struck by the fear of God and swayed by King Henry's command and prayer, he returned it to the monastery with good will and pious devotion. The restoration of the property occurred, by God's inspiration, in the time of abbot Geoffrey, Nigel's successor as governor of the church of Burton.'

Remarkably, the original documents concerning the agreement between abbot Geoffrey and Robert de Ferrers survive.⁴⁰ They relate how 'great discord' arose between Robert and the monks over their woodlands, so that the case even came to the attention of king Henry I. Eventually a settlement was reached involving both financial and spiritual arrangements, Robert being received into the confraternity of Burton and promising to pay twenty shillings yearly. One version of the agreement does not specify the woods in question but the other gives locations for the disputed woodlands, at Branston

⁴⁰ See Appendix of documents below, no. 10.

and Abbot's Bromley.⁴¹ Since the agreement is witnessed by a Robert, bishop of Chester, it must date to 1114 × 1117 or 1121 × 1126. In either case, the convention would belong to the same period in which abbot Geoffrey was drawing up the Burton surveys and again reflects his activism as a great landlord. Especially worthy of note is the near identity of the phrases used to describe Robert de Ferrers's motives in the *Life and Miracles* and in the texts of the convention: *Dei timore compunctus et regis Henrici iussu (iustitia MS) et prece inductus; compunctus timore Dei idem Rodbertus et admonitus prece regis et iussu; compunctus timore Dei idem Rodbertus et iussu regis compulsus*. The abbot's hand is as visible in the drafting of the document as it is in the composition of the miracle account.

Ch. 47 contains a long and unusual story. Two peasant tenants of the abbey from Stapenhill, across the Trent from Burton, moved without permission to nearby Drakelow, placing themselves under the protection of the powerful baron, Roger the Poitevin. The abbot, Geoffrey Malaterra (1085–94), responded by confiscating the tenants' crops. They then incited Roger the Poitevin to take action against the abbey (wicked underlings stirring up their masters are a topos of Geoffrey's work). Dramatic events followed: a small pitched battle took place between Roger's men and the abbot's knights; the monks ritually humiliated the shrine of St Modwenna, placing it on the floor of the church in an effort to stir her up too; most astonishing of all, the two fugitive tenants were both struck dead and buried at Stapenhill, but, that very evening, they returned to wander the streets of the village with their coffins on their shoulders. As the two walking dead continued to wander and the villagers began to sicken and die, the bishop gave permission to exhume the two bodies. The winding sheets over their faces were found stained with blood. The villagers severed the heads of the two corpses and placed them between their legs, then cut out their hearts and burned them. This solved the problem.

Revenants are recorded in many periods and places, including Norman and Angevin England,⁴² and this story from abbot Geoffrey is a good, clear illustration of both the prevalence of the belief in revenants and the techniques for dealing with them. Some

⁴¹ Survey A records the first of the two disputed tracts of woodland as *partem luci pertinentis ad Brantistonam* (Branston); the phrase *pars luci* occurs both in the documents recording the agreement and in the account in Geoffrey's *Life and Miracles of Modwenna*.

⁴² See the discussion in the present writer's *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 612–15.

excavations of Anglo-Saxon graves have revealed skeletons with the head between the legs and a decapitated skeleton was actually found in the early Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Stapenhill itself. It has been suggested that decapitation of corpses 'was intended to prevent the ghost from walking and returning to haunt the living'⁴³ and this extraordinary tale from Geoffrey's work offers convincing support for that view.

THE CULT OF ST MODWENNA

Evidence for Modwenna's cult outside Burton (excluding that for Darerca/Moninna in Ireland) is not very extensive. She occurs in four medieval kalendars, one litany, and has a brief entry in a few late medieval martyrologies. The feast of *Sancte Modwenne uirginis* on 5 July is given a grading of twelve lessons in a late twelfth-century Chester kalendar (for much of the twelfth century Chester was the seat of the bishopric within which Burton was situated).⁴⁴ In the thirteenth century the feast of her translation on 9 September, though not explicitly noted as a translation (merely *et Sancte Modeuennae uirginis*), was added to an eleventh-century Winchester kalendar.⁴⁵ Links between Burton and Winchester were strong, Geoffrey of Burton himself having been prior of Winchester and another prior, Stephen de Lucy, being elected abbot of Burton in 1214 (although he did not take up the office, perhaps dying soon after election).⁴⁶

A thirteenth-century kalendar from Reading, like the Chester one, grades Modwenna's feast day on 5 July with twelve lessons.⁴⁷ William of Melbourne, abbot of Burton 1200–1213, had previously been a monk of Reading and this link may conceivably be relevant to the

⁴³ David Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Paganism* (London, 1992), pp. 92–3; there is a full discussion in Elizabeth O'Brien, *Post-Roman Britain to Anglo-Saxon England: Burial Practices Reviewed* (British Archaeological Reports, British Series 289; 1999), pp. 7–8, 54–5, 173–4.

⁴⁴ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 169*, p. 9; Francis Wormald (ed.), *English Benedictine Kalendars after A.D. 1100* (2 vols. published, HBS, lxxvii and lxxxi; 1939 for 1938 and 1946 for 1943–4) i. 106.

⁴⁵ BL Cotton Vitellius E. xviii, fo. 6; Francis Wormald (ed.), *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100* (1 vol. published, HBS, lxxii; 1934 for 1933), p. 164.

⁴⁶ The king consented to the election in late Jan.: *Rotuli litterarum patentium in turri Londinensi asservati (1201–1216)*, ed. T. D. Hardy (London, 1835), pp. 108–9; *Rotuli litterarum clausarum in turri Londinensi asservati (1204–27)*, ed. T. D. Hardy (2 vols.; London, 1833–44), i. 161; the abbey is recorded as vacant on 9 July 1214: *Rotuli litterarum patentium*, p. 118; the *Ann. Burton* record the arrival of Roger the Norman as abbot in the same year, 1214: *Ann. Mon.*, i. 224.

⁴⁷ BL Cotton Vespasian E. V, fo. 14^v.

appearance of the saint in a Reading liturgical book. In the case of the fourth kalendar there is no even apparent link with Burton. This is a psalter of c.1300 that was in the possession of the Benedictine nunnery of Wherwell (Hants.) by the fifteenth century.⁴⁸ The entry under 5 July for Modwenna is an addition to the original text and may thus indicate interest in the abbess-saint in this nunnery or conceivably influence from Winchester, only 9 miles distant, or from Romsey, 12 miles from Wherwell, whose nuns had an abbreviated copy of Modwenna's Life (see below). A fourteenth-century Missal of the Sarum Use, possibly from St Peter's, Northampton, has Modwenna in the litany⁴⁹ and she also appears in martyrologies from Canterbury and Syon, in the former on 5 July as *in Scotia sancte Moduenne uirginis*, in the latter under both her feast day and translation (again not noted as such).⁵⁰ These instances are the only currently known commemorations of Modwenna in medieval English liturgical books. Nor were her relics widespread. There was an unspecified relic of St Modwenna in the huge relic collection of Canterbury cathedral, mentioned in the inventory of 1316, and by the fifteenth century Salisbury cathedral also possessed 'A relik of Seint modwene', but these are the only two cases known of relics outside Burton.⁵¹

If one lists all religious communities that possessed a relic, a liturgical book mentioning her, or a version of her Life, the total is sixteen. Ten of these are Benedictine, four are female. Given the overall proportions of such houses, it is possible to say that Modwenna was a strongly Benedictine saint and one mildly popular among nuns. The northernmost houses certainly involved in her cult were Chester and Revesby in Lincolnshire.

Modwenna remained Burton's saint and here she was commemorated and venerated in numerous ways. The central site was, of course, her shrine in the abbey church. The first story in abbot Geoffrey's miracle accounts (ch. 43) mentions her precious shrine,

⁴⁸ BL Add. 27866, fo. 9.

⁴⁹ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. liturg. b 4 (32703), fo. 91^v; N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* (2nd edn., London, 1964), p. 222.

⁵⁰ BL Arundel 68, fo. 105; Add. 22285, fos. 134^v and 154^v; cf. *The Martiloge in Englysshe after the Use of the Church of Salisbury and as it is redde in Syon*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 1526, ed. F. Procter and E. S. Dewick (HBS 3; 1893), pp. 106, 143, 289.

⁵¹ *Inventories of Christchurch Canterbury*, ed. J. Wickham Legg and W. H. St John Hope (London, 1902), p. 87; *Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury*, ed. C. Wordsworth (Cambridge, 1901), p. 40.

skilfully made of gold and silver, that was despoiled for charitable purposes in the period 1051–66. This was obviously subsequently replaced. Geoffrey tells of miracles in the time of abbot Geoffrey Malaterra (1085–94) that involved ‘the altar of the most holy virgin’ located ‘behind the choir’ (*retro chorum ante altare sanctissime uirginis*) and mentions an occasion when her shrine was placed on the floor of the church (chs. 46–7). There are also subsequent mentions in Geoffrey’s narrative of this altar and of the portable shrine (chs. 48, 50). Abbot Geoffrey himself transferred the remains of the saint into a new shrine (ch. 50).

There are later references to an altar of St Modwenna. Three of them date to the late twelfth century: at some point in the years 1177–82 two agreements were sworn ‘on the altar of St Mary and St Modwenna’⁵² and in 1197 abbot Nicholas was buried ‘before the altar of St Modwenna the virgin, between two brethren’.⁵³ It seems clear from the first two references that the altar of Modwenna and the altar of St Mary were identical and could be referred to as dedicated to either or both (as in the case of the dedication of the church itself, discussed below). This would explain the absence of any reference to the altar of Modwenna in the taxation assessment of 1276, which does mention altars of Mary and Edmund.⁵⁴ Both shrine and altar continued to receive attention in the late Middle Ages. According to the sixteenth-century *Historia fundatoris et abbatum*, in the time of abbot John Sudbury (1400–24), the prior, John Babe, ‘made new stalls in the choir along with a new shrine for St Modwenna’.⁵⁵ Later in the fifteenth century the cardinal priest James of St Anastasius granted an indulgence of a hundred days to all who visited ‘the altar of St Modwenna in the monastery of the blessed virgin Mary of Burton’.⁵⁶

Apart from the shrine and altar within the abbey church, there was another important cult centre in the Burton area, on Andresey, the

⁵² *Super altare sancte Marie et sancte Moduene*: (1) SRO D. 603/A/Add/31; printed *CHS* iii/1, 227–8, calendared Jeayes 31; (2) BL Loans 30, fo. 53, calendared Wrottesley, pp. 48–9; also in SRO D. 603/A/Add/Burton Chartulary (Fragment), fo. 26^v (old 38^v).

⁵³ *Historia fundatoris et abbatum*, SRO D. 603/Add, fo. 4^v, Dugdale, iii. 48 (*ante altare sanctae Modwenae virginis inter duos fratres*).

⁵⁴ BL Loans 30, fo. 112^v; Stebbing Shaw, *The History and Antiquities of Staffordshire* (2 vols.; London, 1798–1801), i. 5.

⁵⁵ SRO D. 603/Add, fo. 8; Dugdale, iii. 49: *frater Johannes Babe, prior et sacrista, fecit novum opus lapideum campanilis ecclesiae superioris et nova stalla in choro cum feretro novo S. Modwenae*.

⁵⁶ Shaw, *Staffordshire*, i, app. to Burton-upon-Trent,

island in the Trent where Modwenna's bones had supposedly rested before they were translated into the abbey church. This site experienced a surge of interest at the very beginning of the thirteenth century. At some point between 1200 and 1208 'the church of St Andrew in the Isle' was dedicated by the bishop of Coventry and endowed by the abbot of Burton, William of Melbourne.⁵⁷ This was the church later described as 'the chapel of St Modwenna in Andresey' and its construction is probably to be connected with the statement in the Burton Annals for 1201 that 'in this year St Wulfstan of Worcester and St Modwenna of Burton shone with many great miracles' and the more cryptic report in the *Historia fundatoris et abbatum* that in the first year of abbot William of Melbourne (i.e. 1200-1) 'there was a revelation of the relics of the church of Burton, as appears in the book of that revelation'.⁵⁸

A sudden efflorescence or resurgence of miraculous activity was nothing unusual in the history of a cult (as the reference to Wulfstan, who had died in 1095, also shows), nor was the existence of multiple local cult centres, especially that of both shrine and tomb. That the chapel on Andresey contained Modwenna's (empty) tomb is made explicit by a reference in the *Historia fundatoris et abbatum* to a marble slab carved with a leafy cross that was moved from the abbey church to Andresey 'and lies on the tomb of St Modwenna the virgin'.⁵⁹ Abbot Thomas Feylde (1473-93) completely rebuilt the chapel.⁶⁰ Its dimensions can be estimated from the post-Reformation survey of the former lands of Burton abbey, which gives the measure of lead on 'Mudwen's Chappell' as 60 ft. x 27 ft.⁶¹ The chapel was obviously a valuable secondary cult centre, bringing in ten shillings a year in the late thirteenth century and £2 a year at the time of the Dissolution.⁶²

The clear, strong, and early tradition is that the feast day of the

⁵⁷ SRO D. 603/A/Add/705 (Jeayes 705) (1459).

⁵⁸ *Ann. Mon.*, i. 209 (*Eodem anno sanctus Wlstanus Wigorniensis et Sancta Modwenna Burthoniensis claruerunt multis et magnis miraculis*) (cf. *Ann. Waverley*, *ibid.*, ii. 253); SRO D. 603/Add, fo. 5; Dugdale, iii. 48 (*revelatio reliquiarum ecclesiae Burtonii, ut patet in libro de eadem revelatione*).

⁵⁹ SRO D.603/Add, fo. 6^v; Dugdale, iii. 48.

⁶⁰ SRO D. 603/Add, fo. 9^v; Dugdale, iii. 50 (*capellam S. Modwenae in Anderseya, deposita veteri a fundamentis, et magnam aulam in foro extruxit*).

⁶¹ SRO D (W) 1734/2/3/137, fo. 15^v (1545).

⁶² BL Loans 30, fo. 112^v; Shaw, *Staffordshire*, i. 5; *Valor ecclesiasticus* (6 vols.; Record Commission, London, 1810-34), iii. 144, 146; the Paget rental of 1550 mentions the rent of *insulam vocatam Andrewes Ile aliter dictam Mudewins Chappell*: SRO D (W) 1734/2/3/112b (unfoliated), first page.

Irish saint Darerca/Moninna was either 5 or 6 July.⁶³ Geoffrey of Burton follows Conchubranus in this, giving the obit of the saint as 5 July. Whether the saint venerated at Burton under the name Modwenna already had a feast day before Geoffrey wrote is unknown. She certainly had a feast of her translation on 9 September, for in Geoffrey's *Life and Miracles* a miracle account set in the years 1094 × 1114 begins: 'On 9 September [*quinto idus Septembris*] while, in the accustomed manner, the solemn anniversary of the holy translation was being celebrated in a joyful service by the monks, clergy, and people and a great crowd had assembled from all sides and was keeping vigil throughout the whole church with nocturns and psalms and chants and prayers' (ch. 48). This translation feast, also known as 'the second feast of St Modwenna' or 'the feast of St Modwenna in autumn', was an important date, occurring in the twelfth and subsequent centuries as a rent term, and, on one occasion, as the date of the installation of a new abbot of Burton (Lawrence, 1229).⁶⁴ Burton fair, however, was held around the July feast, king John granting 'a fair to be held at Burton for three days, namely on the eve of St Modwenna's day, on the day and on the morrow'.⁶⁵

Unusually, the original dedication of Burton abbey church at its foundation is known. It was to St Benedict.⁶⁶ By the end of the eleventh century this had been replaced by a dedication to St Mary and there is explicit evidence that this latter was regarded as the official dedication during the early years of Geoffrey's abbacy.⁶⁷ Modwenna begins to be mentioned as a patron of the abbey in documents from the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the

⁶³ 5 July: *Ann. Ulster*; Conchubranus' Life; 6 July: Brussels Life; *The Martyrology of Oengus*, ed. Whitley Stokes (HBS, xxix; 1905), p. 161; Drummond Kalendar, ed. Alexander Penrose Forbes, *Kalendars of Scottish Saints* (Edinburgh, 1872), p. 17.

⁶⁴ e.g. Jeayes 6 (*ad festum sancte Moduene in autumnno*); Jeayes 34-5 (1188-90). For abbot Lawrence, *Ann. Burton*, in *Ann. Mon.*, i. 245 (*in secunda festiuitate sanctae Moduennae*); SRO D. 603/Add, fo. 5^v; Dugdale, iii. 48 (*in festo translationis S. Moduennae*).

⁶⁵ *Rotuli chartarum in turri Londinensi asservati* (1199-1216), ed. T. D. Hardy (London, 1837), p. 49 (*unam feriam per tres dies duraturam, viz. in vigilia sancte Moduene et in die et in crastino apud Burton*). The abbreviated Life in Lambeth 99 (fo. 196) gives the date of Modwenna's translation as *quarto* (or *quinto*) *Idus Novembris*, i.e. 10 (or 9) Nov. (the abbreviation in the text is ambiguous), but there is no other evidence for this and it may be an error for *quinto idus Septembris*.

⁶⁶ P. H. Sawyer, *Charters of Burton Abbey* (*Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ii; London, 1979), p. xliv.

⁶⁷ *Domesday Book*, ed. Abraham Farley (2 vols.; London, 1783; supplementary vol. ed. H. Ellis, 1816), i. 247b (Staffs. 4); *Rouleaux des morts du IX^e au XV^e siècle*, ed. Léopold Delisle (Société de l'Histoire de France, cxxxv; Paris, 1866), pp. 191, 314 (obit rolls of Matilda of Caen, 1113, and Vitalis of Savigny, 1122).

period 1160–75 a grant was made to the monastery ‘for love of God and in honour of the holy virgin Modwenna’, while a few decades later a salt-pan was given to abbot Nicholas (1187–97) and ‘the monks of Burton who serve God, the blessed Mary and St Modwenna’.⁶⁸ Gervase of Canterbury, who drew up a list of the religious houses of England in the early years of the thirteenth century, gives the dedication of Burton as Mary and Modwenna,⁶⁹ a pairing also found in many later documentary sources.⁷⁰ Modwenna never ousted the Virgin Mary, but joined her on numerous occasions. Abbot Nicholas of Burton, the same who was buried before the altar of Modwenna, had a seal the obverse side of which shows a virgin seated in front of church, the reverse a smaller female figure with a border inscription *Sancta Modwenna*, and it was only during his abbacy that papal letters to Burton were addressed to the convent ‘of St Modwenna of Burton’, as opposed to the convent ‘of Burton’.⁷¹

The liturgical or devotional record of Modwenna’s cult is much less rich than the hagiographic record. The manuscript from Burton containing Conchubranus’ Life has two alphabetical hymns in her honour, each verse beginning with a successive letter of the alphabet. It also contains a short poem, the opening lines of which admirably sum up the geographical amplification that the saint had undergone:

Ireland gives Modwenna her birth, Scotland her end;
England gives her her tomb, God the highest heaven.⁷²

An isolated prayer for St Modwenna’s day also occurs in a late medieval source.⁷³

Overall, the evidence suggests a tenacious local cult, but one that had a very limited geographical scope. Pulses of activity can be discerned: under abbot Geoffrey, obviously, then again in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, under abbots Nicholas and William of Melbourne, culminating in the construction of the chapel

⁶⁸ SRO D. 603/A/Add/25 and 33*; Jeayes 25, 33*.

⁶⁹ *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. William Stubbs (2 vols.; RS, 1879–80), ii. 438.

⁷⁰ e.g. SRO D. 603/A/Add/1176 (c.1300).

⁷¹ SRO D.603/A/Add/38; see Shaw, *Staffordshire*, i, plate II, opposite p. 6; BL Loans 30, fos. 18–19, 25–7.

⁷² All this material is edited by Esposito in appendices to his edition of the Life by Conchubranus.

⁷³ It is in the prefatory material to the *Temporale* of the Sarum Breviary printed in 1531, even though the saint is not mentioned in the kalendar or *Sanctorale* and occurs nowhere else in the text: *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum*, ed. Francis Procter and Christopher Wordsworth (3 vols.; Cambridge, 1879–86), i, B2^v.

on Andresey, but also in the fifteenth century, with a new shrine in the first quarter of the century and the reconstruction of St Modwenna's chapel in the last. The centuries between abbot Geoffrey's time and the Reformation thus saw constant promotion of the cult at Burton, while simultaneously the hagiographic literature on Modwenna grew and diversified (see below).

The Reformation brought a sudden end to the cult of St Modwenna at Burton but also generated records that illuminate details of the cult at the point of death. Amongst the items removed from Modwenna's shrine in 1538 at the time of the Dissolution were the 'cruchys, schertes and schetes with wax offered', ex-votos that had been brought to the shrine in thanks.⁷⁴ It was obviously still an active centre of miraculous healing, as it had been for over 400 years. Also very enlightening is a letter of Thomas Thacker to Thomas Cromwell, the mastermind of the business:

One Basset, servant to my lord of Canterbury, hath, by your Lordship's commandment, as he saith, brought to your place by Friar Augustine's in London the image of St Anne of Bukston, and also the image of St Moodwyn of Burton-upon-Trent, with her red cow and her staff, which women labouring of child in those parts were very desirous to have with them to lean upon and to walk with it.

These images had been stored next to that of Our Lady of Ipswich.⁷⁵ There seems to be no other record of Modwenna's red cow. Her staff, however, is explicitly mentioned by Geoffrey of Burton as a miracle-working relic of the saint that she specifically destined to accompany her bones to England (ch. 40). Hence it must have been located in Burton at the time he was writing, even though its special power of giving aid in childbirth is mentioned only four centuries later. The long continuities of cult are shown by Modwenna's staff, with a thaumaturgic career of half a millennium, while simultaneously the huge gaps in our knowledge are revealed by its use as an aid in labour and the mention of the red cow, neither of which had previously been recorded in association with the saint's cult. Modwenna's aid was sought from the eleventh century to the sixteenth, but the surviving written record throws only a patchy and intermittent light on the long life of her cult.

⁷⁴ Thomas Wright, *Letters relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries* (Camden Society, 1843), p. 143.

⁷⁵ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, xiii/2 (London, 1893), p. 101, no. 256, 1 Sept. 1538.

MANUSCRIPTS

Geoffrey's work survives in two manuscripts, BL Add. 57533 (A) and Royal 15 B. iv (R). A fragment is also preserved in BL Add. 63642. In addition there are three independent abbreviated versions and an Anglo-Norman verse adaptation.

A

This is a library book, 11 inches × 7 inches, early thirteenth century, neatly written in two columns ruled for 43 lines throughout, with initials in blue, red, and green, some of them decorated, and with titles in red. The reference to Lotario dei Segni as Innocent III (fo. 65^v) precludes a date earlier than 1198.

Contents

1. Aelred of Rievaulx, *Vita sancti Edwardi regis et confessoris*, fos. 1–22 (BHL 2423; PL cxcv. 737–90; the text is not absolutely identical).
2. Aelred of Rievaulx, *De genealogia regum Anglorum*, fos. 22–35^v (PL cxcv. 711–38).
3. *Miracula sancte Marie virginis* in three books, fos. 36–60, book 1 being Dominic of Evesham's collection, book 2 the so-called 'HM' collection, and book 3 an abbreviated version of William of Malmesbury's collection.⁷⁶
4. Fulbert of Chartres, two *Sermones in nativitate sancte Marie*, fos. 60–65^v (ed. J. M. Canal, 'Texto crítico de algunos sermones marianos de San Fulberto de Chartres o a él atribuibles', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, xxx (1963), 55–87, at pp. 56–61 and 72–83, not using this MS).

⁷⁶ The history of the Marian miracle collections in the 12th cent. is extremely obscure. For general orientation, see R. W. Southern, 'The English origins of the Miracles of the Virgin', *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*, iv (1958), 176–216. He discusses Dominic's collection at pp. 178–83 and the 'HM' collection at pp. 183–200. The collection in A is identical to that in Oxford, Balliol College 240, which likewise contains the two sermons of Fulbert of Chartres (item 4 in A). The Balliol MS is described by R. A. B. Mynors, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College, Oxford* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 260–3, and its Marian miracles listed by A. Mussafia, 'Studien zu den mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden II', *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, cxv (1888), 5–92, at pp. 31–7. The relationship of the Balliol/A collection to other collections is analysed by P. N. Carter, 'An edition of William of Malmesbury's treatise on the Miracles of the Virgin Mary', D.Phil. thesis (Oxford, 1959), pp. 75–6, 79–80. William's collection is edited by J. M. Canal, *El libro 'De laudibus et miraculis sanctae Mariae' de Guillermo de Malmesbury, OSB (+ c. 1143): Estudio y texto* (2nd edn.; Rome, 1968).

5. Lotario dei Segni (Innocent III), *De miseria condicionis humane*, fos. 65^v–80^v (ed. Robert E. Lewis (Athens, Ga., 1978), collating this MS with siglum L42).

6. Geoffrey of Burton, *Vita sancte Moduennae uirginis*, fos. 81–113^v.

Ker originally ascribed this manuscript to Burton but then rejected the ascription on unstated grounds.⁷⁷ It does, however, contain three pieces relating to Mary and Modwenna, Burton's patron saints, and its earliest provenance, Leicester, is less than 25 miles from Burton. It was in the library of the Augustinian canons there and is described in the catalogue copied in the years 1477–94.⁷⁸ Very soon thereafter it moved to Ratcliffe-on-Soar (Notts.), about 15 miles from Burton, for it bears the ownership inscription of Hector Riding, vicar of Ratcliffe 1497–1509.⁷⁹ Subsequently it was owned by William Marshall, Fellow of Merton College and Principal of St Alban Hall, Oxford (d. 1583), and possibly by Thomas Allen of Oxford (d. 1632).⁸⁰ At some later point it was in the Gloddaeth Library, as is indicated by a bookplate, and then entered the Mostyn collection, where it was catalogued as no. 260 in 1874.⁸¹ It was sold at Sotheby's in the Mostyn Hall sale on 13 July 1920. The manuscript was the personal possession of Professor Francis Wormald from 1945 and came to the British Library after his death in 1972.

R

This is a heterogeneous collection including grammatical, literary, legal, logical, and mathematical material, already bound together by the late fifteenth century, when it was in the possession of Worcester Cathedral, whose pressmark it bears. It came into the Royal collection from Worcester between 1697 and 1734.⁸² Geoffrey's work occupies two complete gatherings (fos. 76–83^v, 84–87^v) which presumably

⁷⁷ Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 16.

⁷⁸ *The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, ed. T. Webber and A. G. Watson (CBMLC vi; 1998), pp. 239–40, no. 660.

⁷⁹ Ownership is recorded, with a threat to anyone alienating the book, on p. iv. The date of Riding's institution and death are established by York, Borthwick Institute, Register 23, fo. 182^v, and Register 26, fo. 11 (episcopal registers of archbishops Rotherham and Bainbridge).

⁸⁰ A. G. Watson, 'Thomas Allen of Oxford and his manuscripts' in M. B. Parkes and A. G. Watson (eds.), *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays presented to N. R. Ker* (London, 1978), pp. 279–314, at 291, 293 n. 63.

⁸¹ Historical MSS Commission, *Fourth Report, Appendix* (1874), p. 361.

⁸² *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Wigorniensis made in 1622–1623*, ed. Ivor Atkins and Neil R. Ker (Cambridge, 1944), pp. 21, 48, 66. Its provenance was not known to Warner and Gilson.

originated quite separately from the other pieces in the codex. These folios are slightly stained and damaged. They are closely written in two columns with a variable number of lines (from 43 to 52), in a cramped hand of the first half of the thirteenth century. The leaves are almost square, 7 inches \times 6½ inches, but are stepped to touch alternately the top and bottom margins when they were bound into this volume of somewhat larger format. The *capitula* are located in the body of the text but are underlined and initials mainly left blank. Format and style of writing might suggest that the text was copied for personal rather than library use.

Contents

Since this is a highly heterogeneous composite manuscript of twelfth- and thirteenth-century pieces and the contents have been described in detail in the 1921 catalogue of the Royal manuscripts,⁸³ only a summary account is given here:

1. Grammatical treatises, fos. 1^v–29, including part I of Alexander Nequam's *Corrogationes Promethei*; 2. Letters of Peter of Blois, fos. 29^v–64; 3. Legal formulary, fos. 65^v–69^v; 4. Logical treatises, fos. 70–75; 5. Geoffrey of Burton, *Vita sancte Moduene uirginis*, fos. 76–87^v; 6. Legal Tract, fos. 88–92 (fo. 92^v blank); 7. Boethius' paraphrase of the *Prior Analytics* (fragmentary), fos. 93–96 (fo. 96^v blank); 8. Sermons, fos. 97–102^v; 9. Commentaries on Roman Law (fragmentary), fos. 103–106^v; 10. *Differentie rerum*, fo. 107; 11. Decretal collection, fos. 107^v–118^v (the so-called 'Collectio regalis' or 'Royal Collection'; see Charles Duggan, *Twelfth-Century Decretal Collections and their Importance in English History* (London, 1963), pp. 81–4 and plate 2; *idem*, *Canon Law in Medieval England* (London, 1982), Index of Decretal Collections, s.v. 'Coll. Regalis').; 12. Robert of Melun's *Quaestiones* on Paul's *Epistle to the Romans* (incomplete), fos. 119–126^v (ed. R. M. Martin, *Œuvres de Robert de Melun* ii (*Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense* xviii, 1938), pp. 1–70; not identified by Warner and Gilson); 13. Theological *quaestiones* and excerpts, fos. 127–138 (fo. 138^v blank); 14. Astronomical treatise, with tables, fos. 139–141^v; 15. Excerpts regarding Civil Law procedure, fos. 142–145^v (fos. 142^v, 143^v, 144^v, and 145 blank); 16. Robert of Flamborough, *Penitential* (incomplete), fos. 146–153^v (ed. J. J. Francis Firth (Toronto, 1971), using this MS with siglum L); 17. Fragments of Euclid, fos. 154–167^v.

⁸³ George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections* (4 vols.; London, 1921), ii. 153–5.

BL Add. 63642

Part of the text of chs. 48 and 49 is found in two leaves (fos. 1^{r-v}, 34^{r-v}) used as wrappers around this copy of the Acts of Parliament of 3-4 Edward VI, printed in London in 1549. They are written in a large formal hand of the early thirteenth century and formed fos. 71-2 of the manuscript of which they were originally a part. There is no evidence of provenance.

Relation of A and R

The text in A is fuller than that in R, which lacks chs. 41-2, 45-6, 48-9, over half of ch. 50, and the added story by prior Jordan of the longer version as found in A. Apart from minor verbal variations, A includes two interpretative passages that are not found in R:

R, fo. 76: *Eo autem tempore contigit sanctum Patricium in Hyberniam aduenisse, missum a Celestino papa propter predicandum uerbum Dei gentibus Hybernensibus que quidem partim aut paganis adhuc erroribus inuolute erant aut partim iam fide Christi suscepta uiam Domini nondum pleniter intelligebant.*

A, fo. 81^v: *Eo tempore contigit sanctum Patricium a magno Patricio Hibernie apostolo decimum in Hibernia aduenisse, missum a Leone papa propter predicandum uerbum Dei gentibus Hibernensibus que quidem a Gurmundo principe debellate pagano partim aut paganis adhuc erroribus inuolute erant aut partim iam fide Christi suscepta uiam Domini nondum pleniter intelligebant.*

R, fo. 81: . . . Brigida, Dei conducta spiritu, Chelndara locum petens famosum ibi monasterium condidit . . .

A, fo. 94: . . . Brigida, Dei conducta spiritu, Cheldara locum petens famosum ibi monasterium condidit, *quondam a magna Brigida constructum tempore Patricii apostoli Hibernie sed regnante Gurmundo superius memorato cum aliis quam pluribus destructum, . . .*

Geoffrey's source, the Life by Conchubranus, has nothing like these passages from A. There were thus clearly two versions of Geoffrey's work, one with and one without the passages about Gurmund and the tenth successors and namesakes of Patrick and Brigid. Since A contains one passage that is certainly an addition to Geoffrey's text (the miracle account reported by prior Jordan), it may be that these other passages in A were also made after Geoffrey's death or after the work had left his hand. The text of A is farther from

Geoffrey's source, Conchubranus, having 'Augtheus' as the name of Modwenna's father in place of the 'Maugtheus' in **R** and Conchubranus. The proposition that the text in **A** represents a non-authorial revision might also be supported by the fact that there are two mentions of abbot Geoffrey in the third person in passages found in **A** but not in **R** (though medieval authors often did refer to themselves in this way). Alternatively, Geoffrey may well have revised the text himself, producing an earlier and a later version. There is no way to be sure. One possible motive for the additions could be the chronological problem of reconciling a saint who received the veil from St Patrick with one who healed king Alfred, as discussed above.

R is not simply shorter than **A**, it is defective. Like **A**, it concludes ch. 47, which has described a particularly savage vindictive miracle, with the words 'We have talked of these acts of vengeance after dealing with benefits, now, after dealing with vengeance, let us speak again of benefits.' **A** goes on, logically enough, to describe further healing miracles. **R**, however, continues immediately with ch. 50, 'Varied miracles of both anger and mercy and the writer's prayer to the virgin', which starts with several vindictive miracles. The presumption must be that **R** or its exemplar has omitted passages in an exemplar.

The most likely picture of the generation of the two extant manuscripts is that Geoffrey wrote his work, containing 50 chapters but without any mention of Gurmund or two Patricks or two Brigids, and that a copy or copies of this were then made. **R** would then be a defective copy of this version. Subsequently either Geoffrey or another writer revised his text to introduce the pseudo-historical passages about Gurmund, etc. If the impetus to this was the passage about Gurmund in Geoffrey of Monmouth, this revision must have taken place after the mid-1130s. At some point prior Jordan's story was added, possibly as part of the revision incorporating the references to Gurmund, if these are indeed non-authorial. In this way the **A** version came into existence. The date of the extant manuscript requires it to be a copy of any codex that was actually in Prior Jordan's hands.

LOST MANUSCRIPTS

The library catalogue of Burton abbey drawn up in the late twelfth century lists four copies of Lives of Modwenna.⁸⁴ One was bound with some homilies and a text by Bernard of Clairvaux, three others

⁸⁴ *Eng. Ben. Libr.*, pp. 35, 39, nos. B11.2, 32-4.

appear to have been free-standing texts. One of the latter is that described as the *vita antiquissima* (see above, p. xiv). The two other free-standing texts are described as having been written by Martin and Briennius, respectively. Briennius was sub-prior under abbot Geoffrey and his successor Robert (1150–9, 1176–6/7), while Martin, priest and monk, occurs frequently as a witness in charters of abbots Geoffrey, Robert, and Bernard (1160–74/5).⁸⁵ Either scribe may conceivably have been responsible for the revised text which is represented by A. None of these twelfth-century copies is extant.

A copy of the Life of Modwenna was owned by John, precentor of Ramsey abbey, who gave it to the monastic library; it is listed in the fourteenth-century catalogue.⁸⁶ At the time of the Reformation there were also copies at Glastonbury and Revesby, Lincs.⁸⁷ The Catalogue of the Clarendon manuscripts printed in 1697 lists two codices containing copies of a Life of Modwenna. One is an extant seventeenth-century transcript of Conchubranus' Life, the other has not been identified or traced.⁸⁸

ABBREVIATIONS AND ADAPTATIONS

There are three independent abbreviated versions:

Based on A:

- (i) BL Lansdowne 436, fos. 126^v–131^v (*BHL* 2098): a large-scale English legendary of the first half of the fourteenth century from Romsey nunnery. The contents have been listed by Paul Grosjean.⁸⁹
- (ii) Lambeth Palace 99, fos. 194^v–196: a historical compendium of the second half of the fifteenth century from St George's, Windsor. It is described in James' catalogue.⁹⁰

⁸⁵ Jeayes 7, 9, 17–20, 22–4, 26–7; Wrottesley, pp. 35–8.

⁸⁶ *Eng. Ben. Libr.*, p. 391, no. B68.374.

⁸⁷ *Eng. Ben. Libr.*, p. 242, no. B45.38a; *Libraries of the Cistercians, Gilbertines and Premonstratensians*, ed. David Bell (*CBMLC* iii; 1992), p. 85, no. Z17.1.

⁸⁸ Edward Bernard, *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae in unum collecti* (2 vols. in 1; Oxford, 1697), ii/2, pp. 7, 14, nos. 39, 76. No. 39 is now BL Add 4788 (the Life on fos. 6–34). The MS is fully described in Kathleen Hughes, 'A manuscript of Sir James Ware: British Museum Additional 4788', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, lv C (1953), 111–16. The items relating to Monenna were copied from Cleopatra A. ii. Ware's interest in Irish saints is discussed in Richard Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives* (Oxford, 1991), ch. 2. Clarendon 76 is not in the BL, the Bodleian, or in Ireland.

⁸⁹ *Analecta Bollandiana*, lvi (1938), 335–9, on the basis of a description by Francis Wormald.

⁹⁰ Montague Rhodes James and Claude Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace* (Cambridge, 1930–2), pp. 162–6.

Based on R:

(iii) John of Tynemouth's version in his *Sanctilogium* (BHL 2099); it survives in three manuscripts:

- (a) BL, Cotton Tiberius E. i, vol. 2, fos. 26^v–31^v (s. xiv) from St Albans.
- (b) Oxford, Bodleian, Tanner 15, fos. 423–33 (A. D. 1499) from Christ Church, Canterbury.
- (c) York Minster XVI. G. 23, fos. 170^v–172 (A. D. 1454) from York.⁹¹

This version was printed by Wynkyn de Worde in the *Nova legenda Anglie* of 1516 and edited from (a) and (b) by Horstman in 1901.⁹²

The Anglo-Norman *Vie de sainte Modwenne*, composed in the thirteenth century and surviving in two manuscripts, BL Add. 70513 (formerly MS I C I in the Duke of Portland's collection at Welbeck Abbey), fos. 156^v–222 (s. xiv), and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 34, fos. 1–76 (s. xiii), was based on a manuscript like R.⁹³ The former manuscript is a collection of French Lives for the nuns of Campsey in Suffolk to be read aloud during dinner (*de lire a mengier*, fo. 265^v) and has a miniature of Modwenna on fo. 156^v.

THE EDITION

Only two chapters of Geoffrey's work have previously appeared in print, the preface being published in 1971 by Denis Bethell and ch. 14 in 1932 by A. T. Baker, the co-editor of the Anglo-Norman Life who at one time intended to edit this work too.⁹⁴

The present edition gives the text of R, as modified by any better readings from A and some editorial emendations; A is the sole witness

⁹¹ Described in N. R. Ker and A. J. Piper, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, iv (Oxford, 1992), 705–6.

⁹² *Nova legenda Anglie*, ed. C. Horstman [alias Horstmann] (2 vols.; Oxford, 1901), ii, 198–213.

⁹³ *St Modwenna*, ed. A. T. Baker and Alexander Bell (*Anglo-Norman Texts*, vii; Oxford, 1947). The editors date the composition of the work to c.1230 on linguistic grounds. For further discussion, see Price, 'La Vie de Sainte Modwenne'; *eadem* [as Wogan-Browne], 'Queens, virgins and mothers: hagiographic representations of the abbess and her powers in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Britain', in Louise Fradenburg (ed.), *Women and Sovereignty* (Edinburgh, 1992), pp. 14–35, at 23–5.

⁹⁴ Denis Bethell, 'English monks and Irish reform in the eleventh and twelfth centuries', *Historical Studies*, viii (1971), 111–35, at p. 122 n. 76; A. T. Baker, 'An episode from the Anglo-French Life of St Modwenna', in Mary Williams and James A. de Rothschild (eds.), *A Miscellany of Studies in Romance Languages and Literatures presented to Leon E. Kastner* (Cambridge, 1932), pp. 9–21, text at foot of pp. 13–20.

for chs. 41–2, 45–6, 48–9, over half of ch. 50, and the added story by Prior Jordan. The apparatus gives all significant variant readings. Corrections made in the manuscripts, variation between double and single letters (e.g. *pellicia*, *pelicia*; *appellare*, *apellare*), between ‘i’ or ‘y’, between ‘c’ or ‘t’, and in aspiration, have not been noted. MS A consistently spells *cuncta* in all its forms as *cunta* and prefers *his* to *hiis*.

APPENDIX TO THE INTRODUCTION: DOCUMENTS ISSUED BY OR FOR GEOFFREY OF BURTON

All places are in Staffordshire, unless otherwise indicated. Persons are identified, if possible, at their first occurrence. Only three of the documents contain a date. The others are dated inferentially, the majority of them either to 1114×1126, because they record a situation that is reflected in Survey A, which is of 1126 at latest, or by mention of a prior: Sweyn was prior as late as 1130, Edwin was prior in 1133, Jordan later than that date.

The texts below are those of the originals if these exist and of BL Loans 30, the mid-thirteenth-century Burton Cartulary, if they do not. The versions in Wrottesley are usually drastically abbreviated. In addition to the documents below, the bishops of Chester issued two confirmations of its exemptions to the church of Burton during Geoffrey's abbacy: *English Episcopal Acta* xiv: *Coventry and Lichfield 1072–1159*, ed. M. J. Franklin (Oxford, 1997), nos. 5, 12 (pp. 6–7, 11–12).

1. Henry I to Robert, bishop of Chester, Richard, earl of Chester, Robert de Ferrers, all sheriffs and ministers in whose jurisdiction the abbey of Burton has lands and to all his faithful men, French and English, informing them that he has given the abbey of Burton to abbot Geoffrey to hold as well and honourably as any abbot before, with soke and sake, etc. *Witnesses*: (Ralph) archbishop of Canterbury, (Thurstan) archbishop of York, (William) bishop of Winchester, (Roger) bishop of Salisbury, Ranulf the chancellor, the count of Meulan. At Westbourne (Sussex).

Mid-September 1114 (*ASC* (E and H), ed. Plummer, i. 245).

MSS:

a. BL Loans 30, fo. 12^v

b. SRO, D. 603/A/Add/Burton Cartulary (Fragment), fo. 11 (old 23)

Pd: Stebbing Shaw, *The History and Antiquities of Staffordshire* (2 vols.; London, 1798–1801) i, app. to Burton-upon-Trent, 1; Dugdale, iii. 41; Wrottesley, p. 11; *RRAN*, ii, no. 1063 (all from a)

Henricus, rex Anglorum, Roberto, episcopo Cestrie, et Ricardo, comiti Cestrie, et Roberto de Ferrariis et omnibus uicecomitibus et ministris aliis in quorum uicecomitatibus et ministeriis abbacia de Burtona habet terras et omnibus fidelibus suis Francis et Anglis salutem. Sciatis me dedisse Gaufrido abbati abbaciam de Burtona sicut eam melius tenuit aliquis abbas, cum soco et saca et tol et them et infongentheof et omnibus consuetudinibus in burgo et extra burgum et in luco et in plano et in aquis et in uiis et extra uias et in omnibus rebus, et precipio ut tam bene at tam honorifice teneat eam sicut umquam illam melius tenuit aliquis de antecessoribus suis et uolo ut eum honoretis et manuteneatis pro amore meo. Testibus archiepiscopo Cant' et archiepiscopo Ebor' et episcopo Wint' et episcopo Salb' et aliis episcopis et Ranulfo cancellario et comite de Mell' et aliis comitibus et baronibus. Apud Burnam.

2. Henry I to all sheriffs in counties where the abbot of Burton has land and to their ministers, that the abbot should have his court fully.
Witnesses: Ranulf the chancellor. At Westminster.

1107 × 1123 (Ranulf's chancellorship; therefore possibly in favour not of Geoffrey but of his predecessor, but probably 1115)
MSS:

a. BL Loans 30, fo. 12^v

b. SRO, D. 603/A/Add/Burton Chartulary (Fragment), fo. 11 (old 23)

Pd: Shaw, *Staffs.* i, app. to Burton-upon-Trent, 2; Wrottesley, p. 11; *RRAN*, ii, no. 1073 (dated to 1114) (all from a)

Henricus rex Angl' omnibus uicecomitibus in quorum uicecomitatibus abbas de Burton' terras tenet et ministris eorum salutem. Sciatis quod ego uolo et concedo et firmiter precipio quod predictus abbas de Burton' habeat curiam suam plenarie de omnibus rebus et consuetudinibus. Hanc libertatem concessi ei pro anima mea et antecessorum et successorum meorum. Teste Ranulfo cancellario. Apud Westmon'

3. Grant to Ralph f. Urvoi¹ and his heir of Hampton [in Blithfield], which was Meriet the priest's, for court service in Staffordshire. Ralph grants Burton the tithes of his demesne in Newton, commuted to 7 shillings p.a. (to be paid on St Modwenna's day). At Burton.

¹ Tenant of Hampton on these terms in Surveys B (sub Bromley) and A; he witnessed a charter of Robert, bishop of Chester (1086–1117): *English Episcopal Acta*, xiv: *Coventry and Lichfield 1072–1159*, ed. M. J. Franklin (Oxford, 1997), no. 3, pp. 3–4.

c.1114 (Survey B)

MS: BL Loans 30, fo. 38

Pd: Wrottesley, p. 32

Hec est conuencio que facta est inter G. abbatem et Radulfum filium Uruoi et facta est in capitulo Burton' coram fratribus concedentibus omnibus. Concessit ei abbas et heredi eius tenere terram de ecclesia et de se illam que uocatur Hantona et que fuit Meriet presbiteri nostri pro seruicio corporis sui, ita scilicet ut sit ad placita ipsius abbatis in Staffordsiria quocienscumque fuerit aduenienter submonitus. Ipse autem Radulfus concessit eidem ecclesie decimam suam in Neutona de toto dominio suo siue in segete siue in pecore et pro ipsa decima debet dare .vii. solidos quoque anno et mittere super altare ad festiuitatem sancte Moduene uirginis. Huius conuencionis testes sunt primum ipsum capitulum, etc.

4. Grant to Robert de Ferrers and his heirs in fee of Ticknall (Derby.),² as his father held it, for 10 shillings p.a. Robert to be '*amicus et tutor*' of Burton.

c.1114 (Survey B)

MS: BL Loans 30, fo. 38

Pd: Wrottesley, p. 32; *CHS* (1916), p. 263

Ego Gaufridus abbas et monachi Burton' mecum concedimus in feudum et hereditatem domino Roberto de Ferrariis et heredibus eius tenere de nobis et de ecclesia illam terram de Tichenhal' quam tenuit pater suus per .x. solidos quoque anno ad festum sancti Martini. Et hoc est seruitium quod et ipse debet facere ecclesie et abbati et monachis. Debet reddere similiter ad festum Martini .x. solidos et debet diligere et manutenere nos et ecclesiam nostram et per se et per suos sicut amicus et tutor ipsius ecclesie. Similiter per omnia et heredes eius succedentes sibi. Huius conuentionis et concessionis testes sunt primum ipsum capitulum, deinde etc.

5. Grant to William de Sancto Albano³ and his heir in fee farm of the land of Gamel of Stretton,⁴ who has renounced the land and left the

² Robert de Ferrers, lord of Tutbury (earl of Derby 1138-9), held on these terms in Survey B.

³ Tenant of these lands in Survey A; also known as William of Stretton; he did eventually become a monk under abbot Robert (1150-9): Jeayes 17, 20.

⁴ 'William Gamel' is given as tenant of these lands in Survey B, but presumably 'William' is a correction.

abbey's estates discharged of all obligations, viz. 5 bovates of warland and 9 acres of inland, and, in addition, 4 bovates of warland, 2 bovates of inland, 3 acres of *terra*, one of meadow, a pear orchard and a corner of meadow called *Prevosteshalh* for 8 shillings p.a. and homage. Also of the allowance of one monk, to pass to his wife Albreda on his death or conversion, and land for a house in Burton, viz. that held by Hugh and Edric⁵ whose service is granted. The heir of the land but not of the allowance is William's son Rainald. At Burton.

1114 × 1126 (Survey A; earlier than 10)

MS: BL Loans 30, fos. 37-37^v

Pd: Wrotesley, p. 31; *CHS* (1916), pp. 262-3

Hec est conuentio que facta est inter Galfridum abbatem et Willelmum de Sancto Albano. Facta est autem in capitulo Burtonie coram fratribus. Concessit ei abbas in fedfirma, id est ipsi Willielmo et heredi eius, terram que fuit Gamel de Stretona quam tenuit et quam reliquit in manu abbatis, id est .v. bouatas de warlanda et .ix. acras terre de inlanda solutas et quietas a se at a suis ab omni calumpnia, et ipse Gamel per redemptionem sui et suorum exiuit et recessit ab abbate et a terra abbacie solutus et quietus ut iret quocumque uellet. Et cum istis .v. bouatis et .ix. acris predictis concessit ei abbas, id est ipsi Willelmo, alias .iiii. bouatas de warlanda et .ii. bouatas de inlanda et .iii. acras terre et unam prati solutas et quietas et liberas ab omnibus consuetudinibus. Et preter istam terram addidit ei quoddam uirgultum pirorum et unum angulum prati qui uocatur Preuosteshalh. Ipse autem Willelmus fecit hommagium abbati ligium et iurauit fidelitatem ecclesie et debet reddere pro hac terra prefata .viii. solidos quoque anno. Concessit etiam ei abbas procurationem unius monachi in uita sua et cum obierit uel cum monachus factus fuerit, concessit eandem procurationem uxori sue Albrede, quamdiu et ipsa uiuet et legaliter se continebit, tamen sine hereditate aliqua. Concessit quoque ei, id est ipsi Willelmo, ut habeat ubi faciat domum in Burthona, concessit ei inquam illam terram solutam et quietam in qua sedent duo homines, Hugo uidelicet et Edricus, quorum seruicium donauit ei. Horum omnium esse heredem concesserunt, et abbas et monachi, Rainaldum filium eius post ipsum, et non clamet hereditatem in procurationem monachi. Huius conuentionis et concessionis testes sunt primum ipsum capitulum in quo facta est, concedentibus monachis omnibus, deinde etc.

⁵ 'Hugo Magnus' held a house in Burton in Survey A; an Edric occurs among the *villani* of Burton in Survey B.

6. Grant in fee to Edda⁶ wife of Nicholas and her heir of the land of Dods Leigh that pertains to Leigh, viz. 20 bovates of warland and 2 *culturas* of inland and part of a wood for their homage and 20 shillings p.a. Boundaries described. Her demesne grain may be ground free of charge at the mill of Leigh. At Burton.

1114 × 1126 (Survey A)

MS: BL Loans 30, fo. 39

Pd: Wrotesley, p. 34

Hec est conuentio que facta est inter Gaufridum abbatem Burtonie et Eddam uxorem Nicholai. Facta est autem in capitulo concedentibus monachis. Concessit ei abbas, id est ipsi Edde et heredi eius, in feudum et hereditatem illam terram que uocatur Dadesleia et ad Legam pertinet. Id est .xx. bouatas de warlanda et duas culturas de inlanda et quandam partem luci cum omnibus consuetudinibus eiusdem terre per .xx. solidos quoque anno et per homagia eorum. Diuise uero huius terre quam Edda recepit ab abbate et a monachis sunt ab aqua que uocatur Blida⁷ sicut diuiditur terra Felde et terra Dadesleie, recte usque ad Bilestanes Legam et sicut eadem Bilestanes Lega tendit inter duos lucos usque ad Porteswei et per eandem uiam deorsum usque ad paruum riulum et per paruum riulum usque quo cadit in Blidam idem riulus et inde a riulo per eandem Blidam usque ad initium illarum diuisarum quas supra incipientes diximus, que sunt uidelicet diuise inter Feldam et Dadesleiam. Molturam quoque habebit ad molendinum de Lega quietam de sua dominica segete ad cibum suum cum manserit apud Dadesleiam. Huius concessionis et conuentionis testes sunt primum quidem ipsum capitulum in quo facta est ista conuentio ut predictum est etc.

7. Grant to Edwin of Pillatonhall⁸ of *Bedintona* and Pillatonhall which his father held at farm from the church, viz. a half-hide of 16 bovates, 8 of them of inland in *Bedintona* and 8 of them of warland in Pillatonhall, at a life-farm of 20 shillings p.a. and with specified honourable services and liege homage, excluding only his fealty to king Henry. *Witnesses*: Sweyn prior.⁹ At Burton.

1114 × 1126 (Survey A)

⁶ Tenant on these terms in Survey A.

⁷ River Blithe.

⁸ Farmer on these terms in Survey A; on different terms in Survey B.

⁹ Occurs frequently in these documents 1114 × 1133.

MS: BL Loans 30, fo. 39^v

Pd: Wrottesley, p. 35

Hec est conuentio que facta est inter Gaufridum abbatem Burton' et Edwinum de Pilatehala. Facta est autem in capitulo coram fratribus concedentibus ipsis monachis. Concessit ei abbas, id est, ipsi Edwino, Bedintonam et Pilatehala quas terras tenuerat pater suus ad firmam de ecclesia, id est, dimidiam hidam in qua sunt .xvi. bouate, in Bedintona uidelicet .viii. bouate de inlanda et in Pilatehala .viii. bouate de warlanda, concessit inquam ei hanc terram ad firmam tenere tota uita sua pro .xx. solidis quoque anno et accepit ab eo hominagium suum ligium contra omnes homines in saluam fidelitatem regis Henrici. Ipse autem Edwinus debet honorifice hospitari abbatem et optime procurare de suo quotienscumque abbas perrexerit in partes illas et uoluerit illuc diuertere et cum opus habuerit et rogauerit auxilium de terra sua et de ceteris hominibus suis, ipse quoque Edwinus debet eum iuuare de suo condecenter sicut dominum suum. Huius conuentionis et concessionis testes sunt primum Suegnus prior etc.

8. Grant to Orm of Darlaston¹⁰ and his son Robert, born of the daughter of Sheriff Nicholas,¹¹ of Darlaston for 60 shillings p.a. 'so firmly that thay should never lose it, neither on account of William f. Nigel,¹² nor on account of any Frenchman or Englishman'. They have done homage and must perform specified honourable services. They, and Orm's wife, are to be buried honourably in the monastery and the monks will then receive their portion of their chattels. *Witnesses*: Sweyn prior. At Burton.

1114 × 1126 (Survey A)

MS: BL Loans 30, fo. 40

Pd: Wrottesley, pp. 35–6

Hec est conuentio que facta est inter Gaufridum abbatem Burtonie et Ormum de Derlauestona. Facta est autem in capitulo coram fratribus concedentibus ipsis monachis. Concessit ei abbas, id est ipsi Ormo, et

¹⁰ Farmer on these terms in Survey A; for 40 shillings in Survey B; occurs PR 31 HI, p. 73.

¹¹ Of Staffs.; occurs 1101–23: Judith Green, *English Sheriffs to 1154* (London, 1990), p. 75.

¹² Son of Nigel of Stafford, Domesday tenant; held 4 knight's fees from the Ferrers and probably 1 from the bishop of Chester (*RBE*, i. 263, 336); held Caldwell (Derby.) from the abbey in Survey A; occurs as William of Gresley PR 31 HI, p. 11; ancestor of the Gresley family; cf. Golob, 'Ferrers', pp. 91–2.

filio eius Roberto nomine, nato de filia Nicholai uicecomitis, et accepit hominagia utriusque. Concessit inquam eis Derelauestonam pro .lx. solidis quoque anno ita firme ut nunquam eam perdant neque pro Willelmo filio Nigelli, neque pro Francigena neque pro Anglico neque pro presentibus neque pro futuris monachis uel aliis hominibus. Ipse autem Ormus uel idem filius eius debent hospitari abbatem quando uoluerit et debent eam iuuare de suo sicut dominum suum cum opus habuerit et debent ei inuenire uel se ipsos uel homines suos ad conducendum ipsum abbatem uel homines eius si necesse fuerit. Cum uero mortui fuerint deferentur eorum corpora sepelienda apud Burtonam et multum honorifice recipientur a monachis. Debet autem cum eis afferri et tota pars eorum pecunie quantacunque habuerint, et in omnibus rebus et in omnibus locis. Similiter et de uxore Ormi fiet quando morietur corpus eius recipietur cum tota parte sua et cum magno honore sepelietur Burtonie. Huius concessionis et conuentionis testes sunt primum ipsum capitulum, id est Suegnus prior etc.

9. Grant in fee to Ralph f. William of Anslow¹³ and his heir of the land his father held, viz. a portion of land pertaining to Wetmore, for homage, 6 shillings and 6 pence p.a. and court service in Staffordshire, unless excused because he is ill or on the service of his liege lord Robert de Ferrers. In return he is to be quit of all other services, including geld. *Witnesses:* Sweyn prior. At Burton.

(21 Dec.) 1114 × 1126 (Survey A)

MS: BL Loans 30, fos. 38^v–39

Pd: Wrottesley, pp. 33–4; *CHS* (1916), p. 264

Hec est conuencio que facta est inter Gaufridum abbatem et Radulfum filium Willelmi de Ansedel'. Facta est autem in capitulo concedentibus monachis. Concessit ei abbas id est ipsi Radulfo et heredi eius in feudum illam terram quam tenuerat pater suus de abbacia, id est, unam partem terre que ad Withmeram pertinet et hoc est seruicium quod debet ei facere pro illa terra. Fecit ei hommagium Radulfus, id est ipsi abbati et debet esse ad placita eius in Staffordsiriam ubicumque abbas uoluerit, si fuerit aduenienter submonitus, nisi forte habeat excusacionem necessariam que uere sit excusatio, siue de infirmitate siue de seruicio domini sui Roberti de Ferrariis, cuius

¹³ 'William of Rolleston' (Anslow was in Rolleston) held half a carucate for 6 shillings in Survey B; 'Ralph f. William' was tenant of half a carucate in Wetmore for 6 shillings and 6 pence in Survey A.

homo ligius est, et debet reddere ecclesie Burtoniensi quoque anno .vi. solidos et .vi. denarios ad festiuitatem sancti Thome apostoli in quo die et hoc conuencio facta est et per hoc denominatum seruicium et censum debet esse quietus et liber ab omnibus aliis seruiciis et eciam a geldo regis. Huius concessionis et conuencionis testes sunt primum Suegnus prior, etc.

10. Agreement between abbot Geoffrey and Robert de Ferrers about a wood (with location specified in one version of the documents); he is received into confraternity with the monks and is conceded the wood, for which he will pay 20 shillings p.a. *Witnesses*: Robert, bishop of Chester,¹⁴ William Peverel,¹⁵ the king's special commissioners, Geoffrey Halselinus,¹⁶ Robert de Heriz,¹⁷ Robert de Moretun,¹⁸ William f. Nigel, Henry Saswali, his brothers Fulcher and Hugh,¹⁹ Rainald clerk of Robert bishop of Chester, William f. Herbert,²⁰ Ralph f. William,²¹ Ralph de Montgomery,²² Sweyn prior, Durand monk,²³ John monk, William of Stretton,²⁴ Hugh of Horninglow, Orm of Okeover,²⁵ his son-in-law Andrew, William Cocus,²⁶ Lepsi,²⁷ Wardebois.²⁸ At Tutbury and Burton.

1114 × 1117 or 1121 × 1126 (Geoffrey's abbacy and the episcopates of either Robert de Limesey (1084–1117) or Robert Peche (1121–6); later than 5)

¹⁴ Either Robert de Limesey (1086–1117) or Robert Peche (1121–26).

¹⁵ Lord of the Peak (1114–55).

¹⁶ A Geoffrey *Halselin* fought at the Battle of the Standard, 1138, alongside Robert de Ferrers and William Peverel: John of Hexham, *Historia*, ed. Thomas Arnold, in *Symeonis monachi opera omnia* (2 vols.; RS, 1882–5), ii. 294.

¹⁷ Sheriff of Nottingham 1110 × 1122: Judith Green, *English Sheriffs 1011–1154* (London, 1990), p. 67.

¹⁸ A Eustace de Moretun was tenant of the Peverel honor in the late 12th cent.: *RBE*, i. 122, 180; ii. 584.

¹⁹ Henry and Fulcher, sons of Saswalo, a Domesday tenant, held a total of 9 knight's fees from the Ferrers (*RBE*, i. 336); Fulcher was the ancestor of the Shirley family; cf. Golob, 'Ferrers', pp. 88–9.

²⁰ Held 1 knight's fee of Robert de Ferrers: *RBE*, i. 338.

²¹ Perhaps the Ralph f. William of Anslow, recipient of charter 9 above.

²² The Montgomeries were important tenants of the Ferrers, holding 4 knight's fees in 1166 (*RBE*, i. 337; Golob, 'Ferrers', pp. 87–8).

²³ Occurs frequently in these documents; witnesses in 1133.

²⁴ i.e. William de Sancto Albano, recipient of document 5 above.

²⁵ Farmer of Okeover in Survey A; occurs PR 31 HI, p. 75; recipient of document 19 below.

²⁶ Tenant in Burton in Survey A.

²⁷ Tenant in Burton in Survey A.

²⁸ Tenant in Burton in Surveys B and A.

MSS:

- a. SRO D. 603/A/Add/10 (original); bottom half of chirograph; $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide by $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches high; seal tag
- b. BL Add. Ch. 27313 (original); $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide by 4-5 inches high
- c. BL Loans 30, fo. 54 (copy of b)
- d. SRO, D. 603/A/Add/Burton Chartulary (Fragment), fos. 13 (old 25) (copies of a and b)
- e. BL Loans 30, fo. 54 (in confirmation by William II de Ferrers (1190-1247) of b)
- f. SRO, D. 603/A/Add/Burton Chartulary (Fragment), fos. 13-13^v (old 25-25^v) (as e)
- g. BL Stowe 879 ('Liber Niger de Nedewood'), fos. 6^v-7 (as e)
- h. SRO, D. 603/A/Add/125 (original) (inspeximus by William III de Ferrers (1247-54) of the confirmation by William II de Ferrers (e-g))
- i. SRO, D. 603/A/Add/Burton Chartulary (Fragment), fo. 13^v (old 25^v) (copy of h)

Pd: Wrottesley, pp. 49-50 (from c), 50 (calendars e); G. F. Warner and H. J. Ellis, *Facsimiles of Royal and Other Charters in the British Museum*, i (London, 1903), plate VII, no. 9 (from b); Jeayes 10 (from a), 125 (from h); Golob, 'Ferrers', pp. 418-21, no. 4 (from a-d), p. 511, no. 150 (calendars e-g), pp. 541-2, no. 214 (calendars h-i)

The agreement survives in two originals, with slightly different wording.

(a)

CYROGRAPHUM

Hec est conuentio que facta est coram multis testibus et diuitibus hominibus inter Rodbertum de Ferr' et Gaufridum abbatem Burtonie. Erat magna discordia inter eos pro quadam parte luci quam calumpniabantur monachi Burtonienses in tantum ut ascenderet uerbum usque ad regem Henricum. Tandem compunctus timore Dei idem Rodbertus et admonitus prece regis et iussu, timens quoque peccata antecessorum suorum et cauens suum peccatum, fecit inde concordiam cum ecclesia Burtoniensi hoc modo. Receptus est benigne et plenarie in fraternitatem et societatem monachorum sicut amicus et tutor ecclesie ita ut diligant eum perfecte monachi et orent fideliter ad Deum semper pro eo et pro uxore et prole sua et pro animabus patris et matris eius et antecessorum defunctorum et concesserunt ei et

heredibus suis succedentibus sibi tenere illum lucum absque calumpnia et ipse propter hoc concessit eis et pollicitus est se et omnes successores et heredes suos dare ecclesie .xx. solidos quoque anno ad festiuitatem sancti Michaelis. Huius conuentionis et concessionis que prius facta est in castello Totesberie et post hoc confirmata est in capitulo Burtonie testes sunt Rodbertus episcopus Cestrensis et Willelmus Peuerellus quosque rex misit ad hanc concordiam componendam, deinde Gaufridus Halselinus et Rodbertus de Heriz et Rodbertus de Moretun et Willelmus filius Nigelli et Henricus Saswali et Fulcherius et Hugo fratres eius et Rainaldus clericus episcopi Cestrensis et Willelmus filius Herberti et Radulfus filius Willelmi et Radulfus de Montegomerico et Swegnus prior et Durandus monachus et Iohannes monachus et Willelmus de Stratona et Hugo de Horl' et Ormus de Acoura et Andreas gener eius et Willelmus Cocus et Lepsi et Wardebois et multi alii.

(b)

Hec est conuentio que facta est coram multis testibus et diuitibus hominibus inter Robertum de Fereres et Gaufridum abbatem Burton'. Erat magna discordia inter illos pro quadam parte luci que est inter Balca et Watsaches Broc et extenditur per Stanbruge et Hindfold et Merewei quam calumpniabantur monachi Burtonienses et pro quadam parte luci de Bromleia²⁹ quam calumniabatur Robertus de Fereres, in tantum ut ascenderet uerbum usque ad regem Henricum. Tandem compunctus timore Dei idem Rodbertus et iussu regis compulsus, fecit concordiam cum ecclesia Burtoniensi hoc modo. Constituit se tutorem et amicum ecclesie et concesserunt ei monachi de Burton' lucum illum inter Balca et Watsaches Broc pro .xx. solidos per annum. Et ipse concessit monachis duas bigas habere in nemore suo ad trahenda ligna ad ignem monachorum de bosco mortuo in Neidwode.³⁰ Debet siquidem predictus Robertus manutene et defendere monachos et res eorum ne per se nec per suos fiat detrimentum predictis monachis sive in terris eorum sive in nemoribus eorum. Huius concordie que prius facta est in castello de Stutesberi et postea confirmata in capitulo de Burton' testes sunt Robertus episcopus Cestrensis et Willelmus Peuerellus quos rex misit ad hanc concordiam componendam, deinde Gaufridus Halselinus et Robertus de Heriz et Robertus de Moretun et Willelmus filius Nigelli et Henricus filius Saswali et Fulcherius et Hugo fratres eius et

²⁹ Abbots Bromley.

³⁰ Needwood Forest.

Reginaldus clericus episcopi Cestrie et Willelmus filius Herberti et Radulfus filius Willelmi et Radulfus de Montegomerico et Sweinus prior et Durandus monachus et Iohannes monachus et Willelmus de Stratone et Hugo de Horl³¹ et Ormus de Ocoura et Andreas gener eius et Willelmus Cocus et Lepsi et Wardebois et multi alii.

11. Grant in fee farm to Geoffrey of Potlock³¹ and his heir of the land of Potlock (Derbys.) with its mill. He has done homage and sworn fealty as their liege man, will provide specified honourable services (including providing carts and men to bring timber for the building of the church) and will pay his tithes and those of his men and 40 shillings and 500 eels p.a. *Witnesses*: Sweyn prior, Edric monk.³² At Burton.

1114 × 1133 (Sweyn prior)

MS: BL Loans 30, fo. 39

Pd: Wrottesley, p. 34

Hec est conuentio que facta est inter Gaufridum abbatem etc. et Gaufridum de Potlac. Facta est autem in capitulo concedentibus monachis. Concessit ei abbas, id est ipsi Gaufrido et heredi eius, in fedfirmam terram de Potlac cum molendino excepta alterius rectitudine et hoc est seruitium quod debet inde facere abbati et ecclesie et monachis. Fecit eis hominagium et ligiacionem, id est abbati et ecclesie et monachis, et iurauit eis fidelitatem plenariam se seruaturum per omnia et in omnibus rebus et debet seruire eis seruicio proprii corporis et ire in seruicium eorum fideliter sicut ligius homo eorum ubicumque iusserit abbas uel secum uel sine se et debet ei competenter donare de suo sicut domino suo cum abbas opus habuerit et quando necessitas exigit debet prestare quadrigas suas et hominum suorum sicut ceteri homines de abbacia ad afferendam de luco materiem in fabricam monasterii et preter hoc debet dare decimam suam atque hominum suorum recte et fideliter et debet reddere ecclesie .xl. solidos quoque anno, id est .xx. solidos ad festiuitatem sancti Martini et .xx. solidos ad festiuitatem sancti Iohannis, et quingentas anguillas grossas et bonas de Trenta ad festiuitatem sancti Andree apostoli. De hac conuentione misit ipse Gaufridus in plegium ipsam terram de Pothlac et molendinum

³¹ Tenant in Survey A but without mill or eel-rent.

³² Occurs frequently in these documents; farmer of Branston in Survey A; witnesses in 1133.

predictum. Huius conuentionis et concessionis testes sunt primum ipsum capitulum, id est Suegnus prior, Edricus monachus etc.

12. Grant in fee farm to Andrew of the estate of Field,³³ as the monks' liegeman Ernewius held it, for 20 shillings p.a. Andrew must pay tithes to the monks. He is to be buried honorably in the monastery and the monks will then receive his portion of his chattels. *Witnesses*: William of Tatenhill.³⁴ 1116. At Burton.

1116

MSS:

a. BL Loans 30, fo. 39^v

b. SRO D. 603/A/Add/6 (a single-sheet of paper with copies of two deeds in a late medieval hand)

Pd: Wrottesley, pp. 34–5 (from a); Jeayes 6/i (from b)

Anno ab incarnatione Domini .mcxvi. facta est hec conuentio in capitulo Burtonie coram abbate Gaufrido et monachis. Data est Felda in feufirmam ipsis assentientibus Andreae, sicut eam tenuit Ernewius ligius homo eorum, id est pro .xx. solidis quoque anno et pro seruitio corporis sui. Debet etiam dare ecclesie et monachis rectam decimam pro anima sua siue in frugibus siue in pecoribus, siue in caseis, seu in quibuslibet ceteris rebus, et ipsi monachi debent eum cum obierit cum parte suarum rerum recipere et honorifice sepelire. Testes sunt conuentionis Willelmus de Tatenhulle, etc.

13. Grant in fee farm to Andrew and his heir of that part of Leigh previously held by Ebrardus the clerk and after him by Aisulf the priest, in exchange for Field, that Andrew held previously and now reverts to the abbot. This at the king's writ and command and by the advice of Robert de Ferrers. Dods Leigh, held by Edda wife of Nicholas, expressly excluded. Andrew has sworn fealty as their liege man, will provide specified honourable services (including providing carts and men to bring timber for the building of the church) and will render 60 shillings p.a. He is to be buried honorably in the monastery and the monks will then receive his portion of his chattels. *Witnesses*: Sweyn prior, Edric monk. At Burton.

³³ Andrew of Field was farmer of Field in Survey A; he exchanged Field for Leigh c.1130: see document 13 below.

³⁴ Tenant in Branston and Winshill in Surveys B and A.

1126 × 1133, almost certainly c.1130 (Survey A; Sweyn prior; PR 31 HI, p. 73³⁵)

MS: BL Loans 30, fos. 39–39^v

Pd: Wrottesley, p. 34

Hec est conuentio que facta est inter Gaufridum abbatem Burtonie et Andream hominem suum ligium. Facta est autem in capitulo concedentibus monachis. Concessit ei abbas, id est ipsi Andree et heredi suo, in fedfirmam illam partem Legue quam primus tenuerat Ebrardus clericus et post ipsum Aisulfus presbiter cum hominibus et cum pecunia quam illi acceperant. Et hoc fecit ei propter breuia regis et preceptum eius et per considerationem et consilium domini Roberti de Ferrariis/ in commutationem Felde, quam prius tenuerat idem Andreas, quam scilicet Feldam reddidit in manu abbatis quietam et solutam et liberam ab omni calumpnia contra omnibus monachis. Dadesleia quoque quam tenet Eda uxor Nicholai et omnia que ad illam pertinet sunt diuisa et separata omnino a conuentione ista. Hoc est autem seruitium quod debet facere idem Andreas abbati et ecclesie et monachis pro illa parte Legue que ei concessa est sicut predictum est. Iurauit eis fidelitatem plenariam sicut ligius homo eorum et debet seruire eis seruitio proprii corporis et ire in seruitium eorum sicut liber homo ubi iusserit abbas uel secum uel sine se et debet honorifice hospitari abbatem cum ad illas partes uenerit et debet ei competenter donare de suo sicut domino suo cum abbas opus habuerit et quando necessitas exigit debet prestare quadrigas suas et hominum suorum sicut ceteri homines de abbatia ad afferendam de luco materiem in fabricam monasterii et preter hec debet reddere ecclesie sexaginta solidos quoque anno. Cum uero obierit debet dare ecclesie et monachis totam partem suam de pecunia sua in omnibus rebus cum suo corpore sepeliendo honorifice ibi. Huius conuentionis et concessionis testes sunt primum ipsum capitulum, id est Suegnus prior, Edricus monachus, etc.

14. Grant to Robert of Darlaston and his heir of Darlaston in fee farm, as his father held it, for 30 shillings p.a. Robert has done homage and must perform specified honourable services (including giving safe-conduct to the monks or their servants when they go to market at Chester or Nantwich). He is to be buried honorably in the monastery and the monks will then receive half of his chattels. The

³⁵ Andrew of Field offers 40 shillings '*ut habeat terram quam abbas de Burtona ei dedit*'.

same applies to his wife if he has one. *Witnesses*: Sweyn prior, Edwin prior (*recte* sub-prior?). At Burton.

1130 × 1133 (Orm the father alive in 1130: PR 31 HI, p. 73; Sweyn prior)

MS: BL Loans 30, fo. 40

Pd: Wrottesley, p. 36

Hec est conuentio que facta est inter Gaufridum abbatem Burtonie et Robertum de Derelauestona. Facta est autem in capitulo coram fratribus concedentibus ipsis monachis. Concessit ei abbas id est ipsi Roberto et heredi eius et accepit hominagium ipsius. Concessit inquam ei Derlauestonam in fedfirmam per .xxx. solidos quoque anno et per seruitia et bonitates quas faciebat pater eius, uidelicet debet hospitari honorifice abbatem cum uenerit in partes illas, conducere et reducere saluo conductu monachos et clientes eorum quando ibunt siue ad Cestriam siue ad Wich pro aliquo mercato, dare de suo competenter abbati quando requisierit eum abbas. Debet etiam seruire ecclesie fideliter et defendere terram monachorum a malefactoribus secundum posse suum. Cum uero mortuus fuerit, deferetur eius corpus sepeliendum apud Burtonam et multum honorifice recipietur a monachis. Debet autem afferri cum illo dimidia pars tocius substancie eius in omnibus rebus quas habuerit in Derlauestona. Similiter fiet et de uxore eius si habuerit uxorem. Huius concessionis et conuentionis testes sunt primum ipsum capitulum, id est Suegnus prior, Edwinus prior.

15. Grant to Richard of Appleby³⁶ in fee of a piece of meadow called *Molinesholme* and 6 acres in *Bruerra* along with his patrimony (in Appleby, Leics., formerly Derbys.) of 4 virgates of warland for 5 shillings p.a. *Witnesses*: Edwin prior, Edric, Durand and Tedric, monks, Fromund of Horninglow,³⁷ Francus Carp', Elmer and Tochi of Appleby.³⁸

1130 × 1150 (Edwin prior)

MS: Stafford, William Salt Library, S. D. Cornford 1 (original); 10½ inches wide by 2 inches high; seal attached

Pd: CHS (1921), p. 1, no. 1, with photograph on facing page

³⁶ Tenant of 4 virgates in Appleby in Survey A.

³⁷ Tenant in Horninglow and Winhill in Surveys B and A; see document 23 below.

³⁸ An 'Almarus' and a 'Toki' occur among the *puri villani* of Appleby in Survey B.

Ego Gaufridus abbas et monachi Burt' mecum concedimus huic Ricardo de Apleb' in feudum et hereditatem parum prati quod uocatur Molinesholme et .vi. acras in Bruerra cum sua terra de patrimonio suo, id est cum .iiii. uirgatas terre warlande per .v. solidis quoque anno absque omni alio consuetudine. Huius conuentionis et concessionis testes sunt: primum ipsum capitulum, id est Edwinus prior, Edricus, Durandus, Tedricus et ceteri monachi, deinde Frodmundus de Horl', Francus Carp', Elmer et Tochi de Apleb' et plures alii.

16. Grant to Æilwin the priest, son of Æilwin, of 4 bovates in Stapenhill (formerly Derbys.) for 6 shillings p.a.³⁹ Æilwin swears fealty as a liegeman and pays 3 marks, which, at the abbot's command, go to pay the builders working on the church. Grant also of the chaplaincy of the church with the allowance of one monk and maintenance just as his father had. For this he pays an additional 2 shillings p.a. *Witnesses*: Edwin prior, Jordan sub-prior,⁴⁰ Hubert, William, Briennius,⁴¹ Herbert, another Herbert, Martin,⁴² and all the monks, Ralph,⁴³ Robert, Rainald and Athelard, priests, William f. Nigel, his sons Robert and Henry, William of Stretton, his son Rainald, Andrew the abbot's kinsman, Walter of Winshill, Godwin of Branston,⁴⁴ Fromund of Horninglow, Nicholas Cocus,⁴⁵ Engelram,⁴⁶ Richard Gin, Eilmer f. Lepsi,⁴⁷ Hugh of Stretton.

1130 × 1150 (Edwin prior)

MSS:

a. SRO D. 603/A/Add/7 (original); top half of chirograph, 4½ inches square

b. BL Loans 30, fo. 37^v

Pd: Wrottesley, p. 32 (from b); Jeayes 7 (from a)

Ego Galfridus abbas et monachi Burtonienses mecum concedimus huic Æilwino presbitero filio Æilwini .iiii. bouatas terre in Stapehilla, solutas et quietas ab omni consuetudine, per .vi. solidos quoque anno,

³⁹ An 'A(i)lwinus bissop' held 4 bovates in Stapenhill in Surveys B and A.

⁴⁰ Later prior; author of an additional miracle account in MS A of Geoffrey's *Life and Miracles of St Modwenna*.

⁴¹ Later sub-prior; scribe of a manuscript of the *Life of Modwenna*.

⁴² Scribe of a manuscript of the *Life of Modwenna*.

⁴³ Probably priest of Stapenhill; cf. document 19 below.

⁴⁴ Recipient of documents 17 and 18 below.

⁴⁵ Presumably the son of Ailric Cocus in document 17 below.

⁴⁶ An Engleram was tenant in Burton in Survey A.

⁴⁷ Perhaps son of the Lepsi in document 10 above.

qui computabuntur annuatim ipsi Æilwino in solidatis suis. Ipse autem Æilwinus factus ligius homo ecclesie iuravit fidelitatem, corroborans pactum tribus marchis que precepto abbatis inpanse sunt operariis edificiis ecclesie. Concedimus quoque ei capellariam ecclesie in elemosinam ad seruiendum parrochie quoad uixerit cum procuracione unius monachi et habebit de curia pabulum et prebendam ad unum equum et hospicium extra portam monasterii sicut habuit pater eius ut sollerti cura expleat officium suum. Dabit ei abbas etiam .ii. solidos cum .vi. solidis qui prescripti sunt, id est .viii. solidos annuatim in solidatis suis. Huius conuentionis et concessionis testes existunt in primis ipsum capitulum, id est Edwinus prior, Jordanus subprior, Hubertus, Willelmus, Briennius, Herbertus, alius Herbertus, Martinus et universi monachi, deinde Radulfus presbiter, Rodbertus presbiter, Reignaldus presbiter, Athelardus presbiter, Willelmus filius Nigelli, Rodbertus filius eius, Henricus filius eius, Willelmus de Stratona, Reignaldus filius eius, Andreas cognatus abbatis, Walterus de Winsehill, Godwinus de Brantestona, Fromundus de Hornigl', Nicholaus Cocus, Engelram, Ricardus Gin, Eilmerus filius Lepsi, Hugo de Strat' et plures alii.

CYROGRAPHUM

17. Grant to Godwin and his heir in fee farm of one bovat and one acre of inland and 4 bovates of warland in Branston for 5 shillings p.a., verso text and cartulary version adding grant of croft, 2 acres of inland and the homage and land of Wulfwine for 2 shillings p.a. *Witnesses:* Edwin prior, Edric, Durand, Tedric, William and the rest of the monks, William of Stretton, Herbert the abbot's nephew,⁴⁸ Fromund of Horninglow, Godric the reeve, Ailric Cocus,⁴⁹ his sons Ernald and Nicholas, Nicholas f. Tinte, Ailric f. Uviet of Branston,⁵⁰ Godric Calbras,⁵¹ Ailric Trachemusca.⁵²

1130 × 1150 (Edwin prior)

MSS:

- a. SRO D. 603/A/Add/8 (original); top half of chirograph, 4 inches square
- b. BL Loans 30, fo. 38^v

⁴⁸ Recipient of document 24 below.

⁴⁹ An 'Aluricus Cocus' occurs as a tenant in Burton in Survey B.

⁵⁰ Uviet f. Orm is listed as a tenant in Branston in an addition to Survey A.

⁵¹ Tenant in Wetmore and Branston in Survey B.

⁵² Trachemusca a tenant in Branston in Surveys B and A.

Pd: Wrottesley, p. 33 (from b); *CHS* (1916), p. 263 (from b); Jeayes 8 (from a)

Ego Galfridus abbas et monachi Burtonie mecum concedimus huic Godwino et heredi eius in feufirmam in Brandestona unam acram et unam bouatam de inlanda et .iiii. bouatas de warlanda, solutas et quietas et liberas ab omni consuetudine et hoc est seruutium quod debet facere pro eis, id est reddere ecclesie .v. solidos quoque anno. Huius concessionis testes sunt primum ipsum capitulum, id est Edwinus prior, Edricus monachus, Durandus, Theodricus, Willelmus et ceteri monachi, deinde Willelmus de Strattona, Herbertus nepos abbatis, Fromundus de Horl', Godricus prepositus, Alricus Cocus, Ernaldus filius eius, Nicolaus filius eius, Nicolaus filius Tinte, Ailricus filius Uviet de Brandest', Godricus Calbras, Ailricus Trachemuscha.

CYROGRAPHUM

Et super hec concedimus ei unam croftam et duas acras de inlanda et hominagium et terram Wlwini per .ii. solidos quoque anno.

18. Grant to Godwin and his heir in fee farm of 2 soldates (i.e. land at 2 shillings rent) which Droet⁵³ held in Burton and part of an assart, i.e. 6 'penny's worth' (i.e. land at 6 pence rent) in Shobnall and 6 bovates of warland and 2 bovates of inland for 8 shillings in Branston, totalling 10 shillings and 6 pence rent p.a. In addition 9 acres of inland in exchange for *Burecrofta* plus 4 more acres and some butts of meadow called *Torisbute*. *Witnesses*: Edwin prior, Hubert, Martin and Thomas, monks, William f. Nigel, Robert de Livet,⁵⁴ Ralph priest, Anschetill clerk, William de Sancto Albano, Walter of Winhill, Ralph of Caldwell,⁵⁵ Leisine of Branston.⁵⁶

1130 × 1150 (Edwin prior)

MSS:

- a. SRO D. 603/A/Add/9 (original); bottom half of cyrograph, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches square, with seal tag
- b. BL Loans 30, fo. 38^v

Pd: Wrottesley, p. 33 (from b); Jeayes 9 (from a)

⁵³ Tenant in Burton in Survey A.

⁵⁴ He held 2 knight's fees from the Ferrers; the name is from Livet-en-Ouche: *RBE*, i, 337; Lewis C. Loyd, *The Origins of Some Anglo-Norman Families*. ed. C. T. Clay and D. C. Douglas (Harleian Society Publications 103; 1951), p. 56; Golob, 'Ferrers', pp. 84-5.

⁵⁵ His service was granted to Robert of Gresley, along with Darlaston, by abbot Bernard (1160-74/5): Wrottesley, p. 40.

⁵⁶ Son of Orm, tenant in Survey B.

CYROGRAPHUM

Ego Gaufridus abbas et monachi Burtonie mecum concedimus huic Goduino et heredi eius in feufirmam partem terre, id est, .ii. solidatas de illa terra quam tenuit Droet in Burtona et partem exarti, id est, .vi. denariatas in Sobenala, et .vi. bouatas terre warlande et .ii. bouatas terre inlande per .viii. solidos in Brantestona, id est, hoc totum per .x. solidos et .vi. denarios quoque anno. Et super hec concedimus ei .xi. acras terre inlande in excangium pro Burecrofta et adhuc alios .iiii. acras, id est, .xiii. acras terre inlande, et adhuc unas butas prati que uocantur Torisbute. Ipse autem Goduinus teneuram⁵⁷ suam habeat liberam, solutam et quietam ab omni consuetudine et ab omni seruicio. Huius conuentionis et concessionis testes sunt primum ipsum capitulum, id est Eduinus prior, Hubertus, Martinus, Thomas et ceteri monachi. Deinde Willelmus filius Nigelli, Rodbertus de Livet, Radulfus presbiter, Anschetillus clericus, Willelmus de Sancto Albano, Walterus de Wineshilla, Radulfus de Caldewella, Leisine de Brantestona et plures alii.

19. Grant to Orm⁵⁸ and his heir of 6 bovates in Stretton in fee for 6 shillings p.a. as abbot Nigel granted it. *Witnesses*: Edwin prior, Edric and Durand, monks, William f. Herbert, William f. Nigel, Fulcher f. Saswallo, Robert f. Walkelin,⁵⁹ William of Stretton, Herbert the abbot's nephew, Andrew of Leigh, Ralph priest of Stapenhill.

1130 × 1150 (Edwin prior; earlier than 20)

MSS:

- a. BL Stowe Ch. 102 (original, damaged); top half of chirograph, 6½ inches wide by 3 inches high
 - b. BL Loans 30, fo. 37 (omitting all except the first witness)
- Pd: Wrottesley, p. 31 (from b); *CHS*, NS vii (1904), 127–8 (from a)

Ego G. abbas et monachi Burtonie mecum concedimus huic Ormo et heredi eius in feudum et hereditatem .vi. bouatas in Strattona per .vi. solidos quoque anno et per consuetudines pertinentes ad tantumdem terre in eadem uilla et ita concedimus ei sicut ei concesserat abbas Nigellus concedente capitulo in feudum et hereditatem antequam ego

⁵⁷ An uncommon but not unknown form.

⁵⁸ Orm of Okeover. Survey B records Steinketel, 'the man of Orm of Okeover', holding this land. In Survey A it is held by an Andrew, in all probability the son-in-law of Orm of Okeover mentioned in document 10 above. Presumably this document is a re-grant to Orm, perhaps on Andrew's death.

⁵⁹ He held 2 knight's fees from the Ferrers: *RBE*, i. 337; Golob, 'Ferrers', pp. 90–1.

G. uenissem ad abbatiam. Huius concessionis testes sunt: primum ipsum capitulum, id est, Edwinus prior, Edricus, Durandus, (Theo)dricus et ceteri monachi, deinde Willelmus filius Herberti, Willelmus filius Nigelli, Fulch' filius Saswali, Rodbertus filius Walchelini, Willelmus de Stratton, Herbertus nepos abbatis, Andreas de Lega et Radulfus prebyter de Stap' et plures alii.

CYROGRAPHUM

20. Grant to Ralph f. Orm and his heir of 6 bovates in Stretton in fee farm for 6 shillings p.a. as held by his father Orm, as his chirograph testifies. *Witnesses*: Edwin prior.

1130 × 1150 (Edwin prior; later than 19)

MS: BL Loans 30, fo. 37

Pd: Wrottesley, p. 31; *CHS*, NS vii (1904), 130

Ego Galfridus abbas et monachi Bertonie mecum concedimus huic Radulfo filio Ormi illam terram in Stratona scilicet .vi. bouatas in feufirmam per .vi. solidos quoque anno et per consuetudines pertinentes ad tantumdem terre in eadem uilla. Concedimus inquam ei et heredi ipsius in feudum et hereditatem illam terram in Stratona quam tenuit Ormus pater eius et sicut eam tenuit et eodem seruicio et eisdem consuetudinibus et sicut testatur cyrographum ipsius Ormi. Vnus terminus firme est ad festum sancti Iohannis, alius ad festum sancti Martini. Huius concessionis et conuentionis testes sunt primum ipsum capitulum, id est Edwinus prior etc. et plures alii.

21. Grant to Robert f. Uviet,⁶⁰ the monks' liegeman, of the manor of Leigh in fee farm, with all its appurtenances except Field, for £4 p.a. and honourable services (but excluding providing carts and men to bring timber for the building of the church as Leigh previously owed). Edda to hold Dods Leigh of him for her life as previously she held from the abbey. *Witnesses*: Edwin prior, Durand monk, William of Copeland.

1130 × 1150 (Edwin prior; later than 13)

MS: BL Loans 30, fo. 39^v

Pd: Wrottesley, p. 35

Ego Gaufridus abbas et monachi Burthonienses concedimus huic Roberto filio Vuieti homini nostro ligio manerium de Leia cum

⁶⁰ He was tenant of Leigh as late as the abbacy of Roger (1177–82): Jeayes 31.

omnibus appendiciis suis preter Feldam, concedimus inquam ei hanc terram in feufirmam pro .iiii. libris quoque anno. Ipse autem Robertus debet seruire nobis sicut dominis suis competenti seruitio, ita tamen ut sit quietus a quadrigando materiem ecclesie sicut prius Lega facere solebat. Terram uero Dadesleie tenebit Eda de eo quamdiu ipsa uixerit, ita honorifice sicut eam tenebat de nobis. Primus terminus firme est ad festiuitatem sancti Iohannis, secundus ad festum sancti Martini. Huius concessionis testes sunt in primis Edwinus prior, Durandus monachus, Willielmus de Copelanda etc.

22. Grant to Ralph of Darlaston of Darlaston, on the same terms as in the grant to Robert of Darlaston. *Witnesses*: Edwin prior, Jordan sub-prior. At Burton.

1130 × 1150 (Edwin prior; later than 14)

MS: BL Loans 30, fo. 40

Pd: Wrottesley, p. 36

Hec est conuentio que facta est inter Gaufridum abbatem Burthonie et Radulfum de Derlauestona. Facta est autem in capitulo coram fratribus concedentibus ipsis monachis. Concessit ei abbas, id est ipsi Radulfo etc, per eadem uerba sicut in proxima precedenti carta. Huius concessionis et concessionis testes sunt primum ipsum capitulum, id est Edwinus prior, Iordanus subprior.

23. Grant to Fromund, the monks' liegeman,⁶¹ and his heir of a plot of land to build a house in Burton and $4\frac{1}{2}$ bovates in Winshill (formerly Derbys.) and 2 bovates in Horninglow and 14 acres of inland as another bouate and two crofts as another, the total thus being $8\frac{1}{2}$ bovates; moreover, 4 acres and one rod of inland and the (non-heritable) allowance of one monk, all in return for 8 shillings p.a. and lending his plough once in winter and once in Lent. *Witnesses*: Edwin prior.

1130 × 1150 (Edwin prior)

MS: BL Loans 30, fo. 37^v

Pd: Wrottesley, pp. 31–2; *CHS* (1916), p. 263

Ego Galfridus abbas Berton' et monachi mecum concedimus huic

⁶¹ Fromund of Horninglow already held a house in Burton, 4 bovates in Horninglow, and 2 bovates in Winshill in Survey B; this grant is presumably partly a confirmation and partly an augmentation of his holding.

Fromundo ligio homini nostro parum terre in Burton' ad faciendam domum solutam et quietam ab omni consuetudine et .iiii. bouatas dimid' in Wineshill' et .ii. bouatas in Horniglawe et .xiii. acras terre de inlanda pro quinta bouata et .ii. croftas pro sexta bouata, id est simul .viii. bouatas et dimid' et preter has quatuor acras et .i. rodam de inland' et procuracionem unius monachi quamdiu uixerit pro seruicio corporis sui et sine hereditate. Hec omnia, excepta procuracione cibi, concedimus ei et heredi eius per .viii. solidos quoque anno soluta et quieta a consuetudinibus, nisi quod prestabit aratrum suum semel in hyeme et semel in quadragesima. Huius concessionis testes sunt: primum ipsum capitulum, id est, Edwinus prior, etc.

24. Grant to Herbert, nephew of abbot Geoffrey, the monks' liegeman, of the land that was Orm of Branstons on the same terms as Orm,⁶² plus an allowance for himself and another and fodder for two horses for his lifetime. *Witnesses*: Edwin prior.

1130 × 1150 (Edwin prior)

MS: BL Loans 30, fo. 38^v

Pd: Wrottesley, p. 33; *CHS* (1916), p. 264

Ego Gaufridus abbas Burtoniensis cenobii et mecum omnes monachi eiusdem ecclesie concessimus Herberto nepoti meo sicut nostro ligio homini terram quam fuit Ormi de Brantiston sicut eam tenebat quando fuit uiuus et mortuus et per idem seruitium per quod eam ipse Ormus tenuerat. Et preter hoc concessimus sibi et alteri procuracionem de abbacia et prebendam ad duos equos omnibus diebus uite sue. Huius conuentionis et concessionis testes sunt primum ipsum capitulum, id est Edwinus prior.

25. Roger de Freville and his wife Sibyl grant Wolston (War.) to Burton, in the nineteenth year of abbot Geoffrey, conveying it by placing a knife on the altar. The land had previously been given by Sybil's mother Adeliza in the time of abbot Nigel (1094–1114).⁶³ Roger and Sibyl are admitted to confraternity. *Witnesses at*

⁶² Orm is given as tenant in Surveys B and A but an addition to the latter notes that he had been succeeded by his three sons. The Herbert mentioned in the same note as having succeeded to the land of Tracemusca may be the abbot's nephew.

⁶³ Adeliza was the wife of Hubert Baldran, subtenant of Renaud de Bailleul, Domesday tenant of Wolston: *Calendar of Documents preserved in France Illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, i. A.D. 918–1206, ed. J. H. Round (London, 1899), nos. 578–9. The usurpation of Wolston by Geoffrey de Clinton, royal chamberlain and sheriff of Warwick, at abbot Nigel's death is mentioned in Survey B.

Kenilworth: Roger bishop of Chester,⁶⁴ (Bernard) prior of Kenilworth, Ralph, Baldwin and Geoffrey, canons of Kenilworth, William de Clinton,⁶⁵ William of Gresley,⁶⁶ Ralph dapifer, Walter f. Ingand, Ralph de Martinwast,⁶⁷ Robert of Burton, Richard de Turneres,⁶⁸ William of Stretton, Fromund of Horninglow. *Witnesses at Burton*: Peter priest, Bissop priest,⁶⁹ Wint', Franus,⁷⁰ Ascelinus, Frainus. 1132. At Kenilworth and Burton.

1132

MSS:

- a. SRO D. 603/A/Add/11 (original); top half of cyrograph, 6 inches wide by 10 inches high
- b. BL Loans 30, fo. 38

Pd: Wrottesley, pp. 32-3 (from b); Jeayes 11 (from a)

Anno ab incarnatione Domini .mcxxxii. qui est annus .xix. ex quo fuit Gaufridus abbas Burtonie, uenerunt Burtoniam Rogerius de Fredeuilla et uxor eius Sibilla et obtulerunt per unum cultellum super altare Deo et ecclesie et monachis Burtoniensibus in elemosinam inperpetuum pro salute sua et suorum illam terram in Vlurichestona solutam et quietam et liberam ab omni seruitio et ab omni calumnia quam prius obtulerat Adeliza mater Sibille tempore Nigelli abbatis et in prato et in terra et in hominibus et in omnibus rebus sicut ei concesserat et ecclesie ipsa domina Adeliza et concesserunt et confirmauerunt ecclesie ipse Rogerius et Sibilla uxor eius ita libere et quiete habere illam terram sicut eam tenuerat abbas Nigellus quando unquam melius tenuit. Ipsi uero Rogerus et Sibilla recepti sunt ab abbate et a monachis in plenariam societatem et in plenariam fraternitatem esse participes per omnia in omnibus bonis et beneficiis et elemosinis et orationibus quecumque fient in ecclesia Burtonie usque in finem seculi et usque in sempiternum. Hec concessio et hec oblatio prelocuta et preconfirmata est apud Cheneillorde coram domino Rogerio Cestrensi episcopo et ipse est testis huius concessio-

⁶⁴ Roger de Clinton (1129-48), nephew of Geoffrey de Clinton mentioned in the previous note.

⁶⁵ Brother, son or grandson of Geoffrey de Clinton.

⁶⁶ i.e. William f. Nigel.

⁶⁷ Tenant in Humberstone (Leics.) 1124 × 1129: J. H. Round, *Feudal England* (new impression; London, 1964), p. 162.

⁶⁸ A frequent witness for the Clintons; e.g. BL Harley 3650, fos. 2^v and 56^v (foundation charter of Kenilworth Priory).

⁶⁹ Cf. note on Aelwin in document 16 above.

⁷⁰ There is a rent-paying tenant of this name in Appleby in Surveys B and A.

nis et oblationis et cum eo prior de Cheneill' et Radulfus et Balduinus et Gaufridus canonici et Willelmus de Glintona et Willelmus de Gresleia et Radulfus dapifer et Walterus filius Ingandi et Radulfus de Martinwast et Rodbertus de Burt' et Ricardus de Turneres et Willelmus de Strat' et Fromund de Horl' et plures alii et iterum apud Burtonam testes sunt huius conuentionis et oblationis, primum ipsum capitulum monachorum, deinde Petrus et Bissop presbiteri et Wint' et Franus et Ascelinus et Frainus et multi alii et plures de predictis testibus.

CYROGRAPHUM

26. Grant to Engenulf in fee farm of the land in Wolston (War.), that Adeliza gave to the monks and that they redeemed from Roger de Freville for 6 marks and also of the land in Stretton on Dunsmore (War.) that Alan f. Flaald⁷¹ gave them, in return for homage and fealty and 10 shillings p.a. *Witnesses*: Edwin prior.

1132 × 1150 (later than 25)

MS: BL Loans 30, fo. 38

Pd: Wrottesley, p. 33

Ego Gaufridus abbas et monachi Burtonie mecum concedimus huic Engenulfo in feufirmam illam terram in Vlurichestona quam dedit nobis domina Adeliza et quam redemimus .vi. marcis argenti a Rogero de Fredeuila et concedimus ei similiter illam terram quam dedit nobis Alanus filius Fladaldi in Stratona. Ipse autem Engenulfus pro hac concessione nostra factus est homo ecclesie et iurauit fidelitatem nobis et debet seruire nobis sicut homo noster et debet reddere nobis quoque anno pro hac terra decem solidos ad festum sancti Michalis. Huius concessionis et conuentionis testes sunt primum ipsum capitulum, id est Edwinus prior etc.

27. Grant to Roger, brother of Gerald the monk, of the house and curtilage in Burton that Frawinus⁷² had; and, in fee farm, to Roger and his heir, the land in Stretton on Dunsmore (War.) that Alan f. Flaald gave to the monks; and the land in Wolston (War.), that Adeliza gave to the monks in the time of abbot Nigel and that abbot Geoffrey redeemed from Roger de Freville for 6 marks. Roger

⁷¹ Lord of Oswestry and ancestor of the Fitz Alans and the Stewarts; his donation is mentioned in Surveys B and A.

⁷² Tenant in Survey A.

becomes their liegeman and is to pay 12 pence p.a. for the house and, from the fourth year, 20 shillings p.a. for Stretton and Wolston, and before that must build a house in Wolston, with a good chamber and privy, to provide hospitality for the abbot. He is to be buried honourably in the monastery and the monks will then receive his portion of his chattels or, if he has no wife or heir, all his property. *Witnesses:* Edwin prior, Jordan sub-prior, the monks Edric, Durand, Godric, Tedric, Gerald, William and Briennius, Alwin priest, William of Stretton, Herbert the abbot's nephew, Fromund,⁷³ Ailric Cocus, Ragenald, Aluric Pistor,⁷⁴ Elmel Pistor, Ascelin Faber, Richard of Appleby,⁷⁵ Engelram Portarius,⁷⁶ Godwin of Branston, Robert f. Gode, Ralph, Ernaldus. 1133. At Burton.

1133

MSS:

- a. BL Stowe Ch. 103 (original); top half of chirograph, 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide by 7 inches high
- b. BL Loans 30, fos. 38–38^v (to 'dando ei vi marchas argenti' only)
Pd: Wrottesley, p. 33 (from b); G. F. Warner and H. J. Ellis, *Facsimiles of Royal and Other Charters in the British Museum*, i (London, 1903), plate IX, no. 13 (from a)

Anno ab incarnatione Domini .mcxxxiii. facta est hec conuentio inter G. abbatem Burt' et Rogerum fratrem Geraldi monachi. Facta est autem in capitulo, concedentibus monachis. Concessit ei abbas, id est, Rogero, primitus in Burt' illam domum et illud cortillagium quod habuerat ante Frauuinus et postea concessit ei et heredi eius in feofirmam illam terram in Stratona quam dedit ecclesie Alanus filius Fladadi et illam terram in Vulrichestona simul quam dedit ecclesie domina Adeliza tempore Nigelli abbatis et quam redemit a Rogerio de Fredeuilla ipse abbas Gaufridus dando ei .vi. marchas argenti et hoc est seruitium quod inde debet facere. Factus est idem Rogerus ligius homo ecclesie et abbatis et monachorum et debet eis seruire sicut ligius homo eorum et pro domo in Burt' debet reddere quoque anno .xii. denarios et pro terra in Stratona et in Vulrichestona in quarto anno et deinceps debet reddere .xx. solidos per unumquemque annum et in his tribus annis prioribus debet facere bonam

⁷³ Presumably of Horninglow.

⁷⁴ A tenant in Burton in Survey B and in Wetmore in Survey A.

⁷⁵ Recipient of document 15 above.

⁷⁶ Perhaps identical with the Engelram of document 16 above.

domum et bonam cameram et bonam priuatam in Vulrichestona et postea a quarto anno et deinceps debet hospitari abbatem honorifice et monachos aut homines missos pro negotio ecclesie et debet seruire abbati sicut domino suo et de suo competenter dare cum eum rogauerit et in fine uite sue si uxorem habuerit aut heredem debet recipi in ecclesia et honorifice sepeliri cum parte sua de pecunia sua et si mortuus fuerit absque herede uel uxore omnino cum tota substantia sua. Terminus firme est primus terminus ad festum sancti Martini, secundus ad festum sancti Iohannis. Huius conuentionis et concessionis testes sunt: primum ipsum capitulum, id est, Edwinus prior, Jordanus subprior, Edricus monachus, Durandus, Godricus, Teodricus, Geraldus, Willelmus, Briennius et ceteri monachi, deinde Alwinus presbiter, Willelmus de St', Herbertus nepos abbatis, Frodm', Alricus Cocus, Ragenaldus, Aluricus pistor, Elmel pistor, Ascelinus faber, Ricardus de Aplebeia, Elgelram portarius, Godwinus de Bront', Rodbertus filius Gode, Radulfus, Ernaldus et plures alii.

CYROGRAPHUM.

28. Grant to William in fee farm of the land of Pillatonhall for 10 shillings p.a. and specified honourable services (including providing sweet-gale (*galga*) for making mead). *Witnesses*: Jordan prior, Briennius sub-prior.

1133 × 1150 (Jordan prior)

MS: BL Loans 30, fos. 39^v-40

Pd: Wrottesley, p. 35

Ego Gaufridus abbas et monachi Burtoniensis cenobii concedimus huic Willelmo terram de Pilatehala in fedfirmam pro .x. solidis et per seruitium corporis sui et ipse Willelmus debet inuenire galgam cum opus fuerit ad faciendas medas et debet hospitari abbatem uel monachos cum illic perrexerint pro necessitate ecclesie et ipse debet esse fidelis ecclesie et monachis sicut ligius homo abbatis. Huius rei testes sunt: Iordanus prior et Briennius subprior etc.

29. King Stephen to the justice and sheriff of Warwickshire that the abbot of Burton may hold his lands as he best held them in the time of king Henry, and that he may be reseised of the land of Stretton on Dunsmore that Alan f. Flaald gave him and of which he has been unjustly disseised. *Witnesses*: William d'Aubigny pincerna. At Westminster.

1135 × 1139 (*RRAN*)

MS: SRO D. 603/A/Add/12 (original); 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide by 2 inches high, with tag

Pd: Jeayes 12; *RRAN*, iii, no. 135; facs. T. A. M. Bishop, *Scriptores regis* (Oxford, 1961), pl. xix (b)

Stephanus, rex Anglorum, iusticie de Warwicscira et uicecomiti et ministris salutem. Precipio quod abbas de Burtonia teneat omnes terras suas et omnes res suas ita bene et in pace et iuste et libere sicut melius tenuit tempore regis Henrici. Et de terra sua de Strattona quam Alanus filius Flaaldi ecclesie dedit in elemosinam, unde est iniuste et sine iudicio dissaisitus, resaisiatur, et in pace teneat. Et si quid inde captum est iniuste reddatur. Teste Willelmo de Albineo pincerna. Apud Westmonasterium.

30. King Stephen to Miles of Gloucester and the sheriff of Staffordshire. The abbot of Burton is to hold his lands as well as on the day that king Henry was alive and dead and is not to be impleaded by any Englishman, specifically concerning Leigh, nor about the new customs of Whiston or his other lands in Staffordshire. *Witnesses*: William de Albini pincerna. At Westminster.

1135 × 1139 (*RRAN*)

MSS:

a. BL Loans 30, fo. 13

b. SRO, D. 603/A/Add/Burton Chartulary (Fragment), fo. 11 (old 23)

Pd: Wrottesley, p. 11; *RRAN*, iii, no. 134; R. C. Van Caenegem, *Royal Writs In England from the Conquest to Glanvill* (Selden Soc. 77, 1959), no. 165, p. 499 (all from a)

Stephanus, rex Angl', Miloni Gloucestrie et uicecomiti Stafford' salutem. Precipio quod abbas de Burton' teneat omnes terras suas bene et in pace et iuste et libere sicut melius tenuit die qua rex Henricus fuit uiuus et mortuus et super hoc non ponatur in placitis uersus Anglicos de aliqua terra quam modo teneat et nominatim de terra sua de Leia et non ponatur in nouas consuetudines de terra sua de Witstan nec in alias quas facit de aliis terris suis in Staffordscira. T. Willelmo de Albini, pincerna. Apud Westm'.

31. King Stephen to the justices and sheriffs, etc., in whose jurisdiction the abbey of Burton has lands. The abbot should have

his court as well as king Henry commanded in his writ, nor should he be forced to plead in another court except for lack of right. *Witnesses:* Robert de Ferrers. At Nottingham.

1136 × 1138 (*RRAN*)

MSS:

a. BL Loans 30, fo. 13

b. SRO, D. 603/A/Add/Burton Chartulary (Fragment), fo. 11 (old 23)

Pd: Wrottesley, p. 11; *RRAN*, iii, no. 133 (both from a)

Stephanus, rex Angl', iusticiis et uicecomitibus et baronibus et omnibus in quorum ballia abbas Burthonie terram habet salutem. Precipio quod abbas Burthonie habeat curiam suam ita bene et in pace sicut rex Henricus precepit per breue suum, neque cogatur exire de curia ad placitandum in alia curia dum se ibi de recto non defecerit. Teste Roberto de Ferrariis. Apud Notingham.

32. King Stephen to all his justices, sheriffs, etc. The abbot of Burton to have Coton-in-the Elms (Derbys.) as well as king William I gave and confirmed it by charter and neither Stephen de Beauchamp nor any other is to do injury. *Witnesses:* Richard de Camville. At Whitchurch.

1136 × 1154 (*RRAN*)

MSS:

a. BL Loans 30, fo. 13

b. SRO, D. 603/A/Add/Burton Chartulary (Fragment), fo. 11 (old 23)

Pd: Wrottesley, p. 11; *RRAN*, iii, no. 136 (both from a)

Stephanus, rex Anglie, iusticiariis, uicecomitibus, baronibus, ministris et omnibus fidelibus suis Anglie salutem. Precipio quod ecclesia sancte Marie de Burthona et abbas et monachi eiusdem ecclesie teneant terram suam de Chotes ita bene et in pace et libere et quiete et pacifice sicut rex Willelmus auus meus illam predictae ecclesie dedit et concessit et carta sua confirmauit, ne super hoc Stephanus de Belcampo uel aliquis alius eis inde iniuriam uel contumeliam faciat. Teste Ricardo de Canuilla. Apud Witcherche.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

GEOFFREY OF BURTON, VITA SANCTE MODUENNE UIRGINIS.

A, f. 81^r

R, f. 76^r

*Incipit prefacio Gaufridi abbatis Burtonie in uitam sancte
Moduenne uirginis.*

Diu desideraueram estuans animo reperire aliquid certum de patria, de genere, de uita et uirtutibus sacratissime uirginis Moduenne et multis uicibus ad ipsam quoque super hac re corde intento deprecatus sum multoque studio uigilaui ut quererem; nec cecidit incassum labor meus¹ quia tandem contigit, eadem iuuante, ut quod quesieram abundantius quam speraui per Dei gratiam inuenirem.

Misi enim non una uice legatos ubi forte indicatum est michi, misi literas ad quendam episcopum in Hiberniam, sed et ipse ut potui curaui plurimos interrogare per Angliam et tanta, Deo administrante, inueni de illa per eius suffragium, partim hinc partim illinc, quanta nec ualui uniuersa conscribere, neque ut tot essent illius miracula potuerim antea uel aliquando cogitare.

Codex siquidem de Hibernia mihi, Deo auxiliante, allatus est in quo fodi thesaurum absconditum continentem diuicias inestimabiles et habentem in se preciosiores cunctis opibus absque ulla comparacione uirtutes. Sed quoniam displicebat stilus, et in locis aliquibus eiusdem libelli mixta erat quasi quedam inordinata confusio,^a materie autem ac ueritatis auctoritas certissima et fundatissima est, sicut de mina per uigilantiam multi studii laboriose metallum egeritur, ita etiam ex hoc codice et scriniis Hibernorum non sine laboris sudore quam plurimo, de lingua barbara uelut de obstruis et abditis, patria, uita, genus, habitus, conuersacio, signa quoque beate uirginis, docente nos diuina gracia, in sequenti opusculo proferentur.

Cetera uero que preter hunc codicem non inmerito superadicienda putauerim, ueracium ualde uirorum, qui uel didicerunt a maioribus uel ipsi uiderunt atque affuerunt presentes, fidelissima et probatissima narratione cognoui. Partem etiam nos ipsi uidimus unde et illa que uidere nequiuius maiori securitate narramus. Accipite itaque

^a om. A

¹ Cf. Lev. 26: 22.

GEOFFREY OF BURTON, *LIFE AND MIRACLES OF SAINT MODWENNA*

*Here begins the preface of Geoffrey, abbot of Burton, to the Life
of Saint Modwenna the Virgin*

For a long time I had felt a burning desire to find out something certain about the homeland, family, life, and virtues of the most holy virgin Modwenna, and I often prayed to her about this with an eager heart and in my quest I kept watch with great zeal; nor was my labour in vain,¹ for at last, with her help and through God's grace, it happened that I found what I had sought more abundantly than I hoped.

On more than one occasion I sent messengers where I had been told information might be found; I sent letters to a bishop in Ireland; I myself, as far as I was able, carefully interrogated many people throughout England. By God's guidance and her aid I found out so much about her from one source and another that I could not write everything down nor could I have imagined beforehand or at any time that her miracles were so numerous.

Through God's help a book was brought to me from Ireland, in which I dug up a hidden treasure containing priceless riches and having in it virtues incomparably more precious than any worldly wealth. However, although the credibility of the content was certain and firm, the style was displeasing and some parts of the book were, so to speak, a disorderly jumble. In the same way that metal is laboriously extracted from a mine with great care and effort, so the present work sets out to make clear the homeland, life, family, character, way of life, and wonders of the blessed virgin, as God's grace instructs us, drawing material with great toil from the barbarous language of the book and the treasure chests of the Irish, as if from hidden and obscure places.

The things that I have deemed worth adding, beyond those in the codex, I learned from the trustworthy and reliable report of truthful men, who had knowledge of them from their elders or witnessed them at first hand. I myself have seen some things and this gives me greater confidence in narrating the things I was not able to see. Accept me,

me quicumque legeritis uitam huius sacratissime uirginis sicut translatores ueritatis^a fundatissime, non tanquam mendaciorum commentatorem. Alioquin tacere mihi multo melius fuerat^b quam falsitatum commenticia fabricari.²

Explicit prefacio.

Incipiunt capitula libri sequentis.^c

Capitula:

1. De uoto uirginis et de parentela eius.
2. De aduentu Patricii in Hiberniam et de sacratione uirginis.
3. De commendacione Athee et quomodo ambe uirgines tradite sunt litteris.
4. De puritate uite eius et de profectu parentum per eam.
5. De profectione eius ad Hybar heremitam et de sua reuersione in patriam.
6. De octo uirginibus aggregatis ad eam et de Luger filio uidue.
7. De lupo et uacca et prefato Luger postea episcopo facto.
8. De uaccis furatis per miraculum redditis et de conuersione latronum.
9. De centum quinquaginta uirginibus congregatis ad uirginem et de conuersione illarum.
10. Quomodo miserit Ronan ad explorandas solitudines et quanto miraculo Orbilam fecerit abbatissam.
11. De constructione monasterii in Cellis Cliuio et de subulco persecutore prius et postea adiutore.
12. De inuentione pecorum et de porco necato et uiuificato.
13. De interfectione presbitorum et de Glunelath^d et Aphin conuersis ad Dominum et postea episcopis.
14. De Cheuin temptato a diabolo et balneo eius.
15. De constructione plurium ecclesiarum in Hibernia et de petra in salem conuersa.
16. De spiritu prophetie et de uitulo rapto a lupis et iterum reddito.
17. De cibo rapto a latronibus per prophetiam relato et de conuersione eorundem latronum.
18. De Alfredo ab infirmitate curato et de lingua muti per oracionem soluta.

^a om. R

^b om. R

^c om. R (and following capitula)

^d Clunclath MS

² Cf. Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini* i. 9, ed. Jacques Fontaine (3 vols., *Sources chrétiennes*, cxxxiii–cxxxv; Paris, 1967–9), i. 254: *alioquin tacere quam falsa dicere maluissem*.

you who read the life of this most holy virgin, as one who conveys the most certain truth, not as one who devises falsehoods. Otherwise it would have been much better for me to keep silent than to manufacture invented lies.²

Here ends the preface.

Chapter headings:

1. The virgin's vow and her parentage.
2. Patrick's arrival in Ireland and the virgin's consecration.
3. The commendation of Athea and how both virgins were set to learning letters.
4. The purity of her life and the profit her parents gained through her.
5. Her departure to the hermit Ibar and her return to her own country.
6. The eight virgins who gathered under her and of Luger the widow's son.
7. The wolf and the cow and how Luger later became a bishop.
8. The stolen cows miraculously restored and the conversion of the robbers.
9. The hundred and fifty virgins gathered under her and their way of life.
10. How she sent Ronan to search out deserted places and with what great a miracle she made Orbila an abbess.
11. The building of the monastery of Killevy and the swineherd who was first an enemy and then a friend.
12. The finding of the flocks and the pig that was killed and brought back to life.
13. The killing of the priests; Glunsalach and Aphin, who turned to the Lord and later became bishops.
14. Kevin's temptation by the devil and his bath.
15. The building of many churches in Ireland and the rock turned to salt.
16. The spirit of prophecy and the calf taken by wolves and returned again.
17. The prophecy about the food stolen by robbers and the conversion of those robbers.
18. Alfred cured from illness and the tongue of the mute freed by prayer.

19. De uastacione monasterii uirginum et de ultione uastatoris prophetice prenunciata.
20. Quanto miraculo mare transierit et qualiter Osid necatam in fluuio suscitauerit. |
- A, f. 81^v 21. De restauracione ecclesie sue redeuntes in patriam et de constructione monasterii Brigide.
22. De uisitacione ecclesiarum suarum et de aqua in uinum conuersa.
23. De aduentu Hybar in terram Lagenorum et de cisterna repleta aquis, Moduenna orante.
24. De puella commendata ab episcopo et de fluuio eleuato propter culpam inobedientie.
25. De aduentu Moduenne ad monasterium Brigide et de duodecim uestibus ipsa orante a Deo collatis.
26. Qualiter Moduenna uas argenteum recondiderit et quomodo Brigida idem repertum in flumen proiecerit.
27. De uitulo occiso et restaurato et de uasculo repleto ceruisia atque mirabiliter excrescente.
28. De hospicio Bar regis in domo Denech et de cibo reliquiarum uirginis potuque predicti uasculi mirabiliter superabundantibus.
29. De increpacione uiri Dei et de uasis positis uacuis et in crastino inuentis repletis.
30. De aduentu Moduenne in Scotiam et de rigore uite eius et dura abstinentia.
31. Qualiter Moduenna senserit absentiam angelorum et quomodo reuersos cognouerit facta per conuersam confessione peccatorum.
32. Quomodo Brigna uirgo angelos uiderit et qualiter Moduenna ei predixerit uentura.
33. De ampulla uitrea dimersa in flumine et de uino conseruato in aquis.
34. De trina profectione uirginis Romam et de hospitali quod ibi dicitur construxisse.
35. De aduentu Moduenne in Andreseiam et de puellis a naufragio mirabiliter liberatis.
36. De puella gentili liberata a morte dupplici et de blasphemo puero simili modo dupliciter suscitato.
37. Quam ob causam de Andreseia migrauerit et quod ossa sua illuc reditura prenunciauerit.
38. Quomodo rex Congal^a cum optimatibus suis postulauerit uirginem de differendo termino mortis eius et qualiter ipsa uirgo,

^a Congal *MS*

19. The harrying of the virgins' monastery and the prophetic pronouncement of vengeance on the ravager.
20. How she crossed the sea by a great miracle and how she revived Osgyth who had drowned in a river.
21. The restoration of her church after her return to her own country and the building of Brigid's monastery.
22. The visitation of her churches and the water turned into wine.
23. The arrival of Ibar in Leinster and the cistern that filled with water at Modwenna's prayer.
24. The girl commended by the bishop and the river that rose because of the crime of disobedience.
25. Modwenna's arrival at Brigid's monastery and the twelve garments bestowed by God at her prayer.
26. How Modwenna hid a silver vessel and how Brigid found it and cast it into the river.
27. The calf that was killed and restored to life and the miraculous increase of the beer in a little vessel.
28. The hospitality given to king Bar in the house of Denech and the miraculous abundance of the food that the virgin had left and of the drink in the little vessel.
29. The man of God's rebuke and the vessels left empty but found full the next day.
30. Modwenna's arrival in Scotland and the rigour of her life and strict abstinence.
31. How Modwenna sensed the absence of the angels and how she knew they had returned once a sister had made her confession.
32. How the virgin Brigna saw the angels and how Modwenna predicted future events to her.
33. The glass container sunk in the river and the wine preserved in the water.
34. The virgin's three journeys to Rome and the hostel she is said to have constructed there.
35. Modwenna's arrival in Andresey and the girls miraculously saved from shipwreck.
36. The pagan girl saved from a double death and the blasphemous boy similarly doubly revived.
37. Why she left Andresey and her prophecy that her bones would return there.
38. How king Conagal and his magnates asked the virgin to postpone the day of her death and how she excused any such

eandem dilacionem excusans, cum Petro et Paulo se inuitantibus ad Christum migrauerit.^a

39. Quomodo sancta post mortem apparuit Thamnati uirgini et qualiter Thamnatis ipsa iuxta predictum eius in die octaua^b ad Christum transierit.
40. Qualiter contenderint de corpore sancte Hibernienses et Scotti et Anglici et quanto miraculo in Andreseiam translata sit.
41. De renouatione ecclesie per Derlaisram et de spineta^c per aerem delata ab angelis.
42. De aduentu inprouiso Fimbar episcopi ad cenobium uirginum et de aqua fontanea in ceruisiam transmutata.
43. Breuiter memoratum quis abbatiam iuxta Andreseiam fundauerat et qualem uindictam sacri feretri^d uiolator incurrerit.
44. Quomodo predones ecclesiam uiolauerint et quam horrende conuersi in rabiem temporali et eterna morte perierint.
45. De claudo erecto et de ceco illuminato.
46. Ferro iunctus in brachio quomodo sit solutus et ferro ligatus in utero qualiter liberatus.
47. De homine malefactore quomodo sibimet eruit oculum et de profugis quale ipsis et propter ipsos mirande contigit ultionis exemplum.
48. De contracta erecta et de iuuenē mirabiliter liberato ab spilla.
49. De custode nemorum qualiter oculos perdidit et de milite malo uicino quomodo conuersus obierit.
50. Miracula mixta simul et ire et gracie, et oracio scriptoris ad uirginem.

‘Incipit uita sancte Moduenne uirginis.’^e

1. De uoto uirginis et de parentela eius.

Fuit in Hibernia^f quedam uirgo nomine Moduenna, decora facie, speciosior moribus, nobilis parentele sed, quod admodum preciosius est, multo nobilior atque formosior uirtute ac sanctitate. Hec a puellari etate, diuino afflata spiritu, sponso eterno se uouit, et uotum, quod in annis puerilibus, Dei gracia preueniente, non pueriliter promiserat, usque in senectutis ultimum, eadem gracia subsequente, feruenti desiderio ac^g perseuerantissima deuocione

^a Remaining capitula in A on fo. 105 ^b octauo MS ^c spinata MS
^d ferret MS ^e om. A ^f insula add. A ^g om. A

postponement and, summoned by Peter and Paul, went to be with Christ.

39. How the saint appeared after her death to the virgin Thamnatís and how, according to her prophecy, Thamnatís went to be with Christ on the eighth day following.
40. How the Irish, Scots, and English quarrelled over the saint's body and the great miracle that brought her to Andresey.
41. The rebuilding of the church by Derlaisra and the roof-tree brought through the air by angels.
42. The unexpected arrival of bishop Finbar at the monastery of virgins and the spring water transformed into beer.
43. A brief record of who founded the abbey next to Andresey and what vengeance befell the man who violated the sacred shrine.
44. How robbers violated the church and how, after being turned mad, they suffered a horrible death both temporal and eternal.
45. A lame person made straight and a blind man restored to sight.
46. The man freed from an iron bond around his arm and another from an iron bond around his belly.
47. The evildoer who put out his own eye and the runaways who suffered a wonderful example of vengeance which befell them on their own account.
48. A cripple made straight and a youth miraculously freed from a pin-brooch.
49. How a forester lost his eyes and how a knight who was a bad neighbour repented at death.
50. Varied miracles of both anger and favour, and the writer's prayer to the virgin.

Here begins the life of St Modwenna the virgin.

1. The virgin's vow and her parentage.

There was in the island of Ireland a virgin named Modwenna, beautiful of appearance but yet more attractive in her behaviour, noble in her parentage and, what is far more precious, much nobler and lovelier in virtue and holiness. From girlhood she was inspired with the divine spirit and had vowed herself to the eternal bridegroom and this vow, which she had through God's grace made as a child, though not childishly, she kept with fervent desire and the most enduring devotion, through that same grace, until the last days of her

compleuit. De Conalleorum autem populo procreata est et habuit patrem carnis regem nobilem Mautheum^a nomine, qui, de prosapia et cognacione Hylec^b ³ famosissimi regis exortus,^c eidem populo strenuissime prefuit et Oueahulud^d ⁴ regionem totamque terram in circuitu Harmacha^e a Luue usque Huluester nobilissime gubernauit. Mater uero eius Choman appellata est, que et ipsa fuit filia Dalbranaith^f regis potentis, qui super populos a ciuitate Duuelina usque ad Regunlech habitantes diues opibus et multa peditus potestate regnabat.^g

2. De aduentu Patricii in Hiberniam et de sacracione uirginis.

Eo nunc^h tempore contigit sanctum Patriciumⁱ in Hiberniam aduenisse, missum a Celestino^j papa⁵ propter predicandum uerbum Dei gentibus Hiberniensibus, que quidem^k partim aut paganis adhuc erroribus inuolute erant aut partim, iam fide Christi suscepta, uiam Domini nondum pleniter intelligebant.⁶ Peragratis itaque Hibernie insule citerioribus partibus multisque utriusque sexus retractis ab idolatria et baptizatis, plurimis eruditis ad fidem plenius et confirmatis in fide, peruenit episcopus usque ad Conalleorum interiorem prouinciam ibique | docebat populos de regno Dei, de penis inferni, dicens gentilibus^l non posse saluari nisi per Christum, Christianos erudiens rectam fidem et opera sancte fidei, asserens matrimonialem castimoniam esse bonam, uidualem pudicitiam meliorem, uirginalem pudorem optimum, dans unicuique ordini locum suum, confirmans esse plurimas mansiones in celo⁷ et predicans futura adeo diuersa premia diuersasque dignitates secundum diuersas electiones diuersorum et iuxta singula merita ac diuersa proposita singulorum.

Venit igitur Moduenna iuuenis corpore, sapiens animo, cum ceteris fidelibus auditura predicationem Patricii et audiuit eum de uirginitate loquentem, de meritorum qualitate disserentem, de premiis ac dignitatibus que in futuro erunt seculo rationabiliter distinguentem, dicentem uirginitatem esse uirtutem summam, pulcritudinem gloriosam, parentem uite, canticum singulare,⁸ coronam

^a Augtheum *A* ^b Hilech *A* ^c *om. R, leaving space* ^d Conucaulud *A*
^e Harmaca *R* ^f Dalbranaith *A*; *corr. from Dalbranaith R* ^g regnauit *A*
^h *om. A* ⁱ a magno Patricio Hibernie apostolo decimum *add. A* ^k Leone *A*
^l a Gurmundo principe debellate pagano *add. A* ^l gentibus *A*

³ For the personal and place names in this chapter, see the Introduction.

⁴ Southern Co. Down.

⁵ Celestine I, pope 422–32.

old age. She was born among the Conaille and her earthly father was the noble king Mochta, of the stock and kindred of the renowned king Hylec.³ Mochta ruled the Conaille with distinction and governed most nobly the region of Iveagh⁴ and the whole land around Armagh from Louth to Ulster. Her mother was called Cumman and she was the daughter of the mighty king Dallbrónach, who ruled over the peoples living between the city of Dublin and *Regunlech* and was possessed of great wealth and power.

2. *Patrick's arrival in Ireland and the virgin's consecration.*

At that time it happened that St Patrick came to Ireland, sent by Pope Celestine⁵ to preach the word of God to the Irish people, some of whom were still wrapped in the errors of paganism and some of whom, although they had received the faith of Christ, had not yet come to a full understanding of the way of the Lord.⁶ Travelling through the nearer parts of the island of Ireland, the bishop recalled many of both sexes from idolatry and baptized them and instructed many more fully in the faith and confirmed them in the faith. He came to the inland province of the Conaille and there taught the people about the kingdom of God and the punishments of Hell, saying to the pagans that it is not possible to be saved except through Christ, and instructing the Christians in the right faith and the works of the holy faith. He declared that chaste marriage was good, respectable widowhood better, and pure virginity best of all, so giving to each status its due. He asserted that there are many mansions in heaven⁷ and proclaimed that future rewards and honours would be suited to the various choices that individuals had made in accordance with their merits and intentions.

So, along with the other faithful, came Modwenna, young in body but mature in mind, to hear Patrick's preaching and she listened to him speaking of virginity, heard his discourse on the different kinds of merits, as he carefully distinguished the rewards and honours of the future life. She heard him say that virginity was the highest virtue, a glorious beauty, the source of life, a matchless song,⁸ the

⁶ On the Irish tradition of Patrick as not initiating but completing the conversion of the Irish, see Richard Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 115–16.

⁷ Cf. John 14: 2.

⁸ Cf. Paul the Deacon, *Homilia* xlv (*PL* xciv. 1492); Peter Damian, *Liber Gomorrhianus* xxiv (*PL* cxlv. 187) (both with reference to Rev. 14: 3–4).

fidei, adminiculum spei, uirtutum ornamentum, pudicie speculum, cognatam angelis, amicam sanitatis, nutrimentum atque subsidium perseuerantissime caritatis.⁹ Hec audiens, uirgo Christi uehementi igne succensa est et incanduit amore diuino uotumque suum, quod ante iam fecerat, differre ultra non sustinens, accedit ad episcopum et, prostrata uestigiis eius reuelansque archana conscientie, petit cum lacrimis ut sibi habitum sanctimoniale imponat, dicens se uelle uirginitatem eligere, in qua ualeat, Christo Domino comitante, gratia ipsius usque in diem sui obitus absque omni penitudine militare. At presul,^a intelligens esse in ea spiritum Dei et abundantiam gracie, ualde congauius est et, gratias agens Deo, prius eam manus impositione sanctique olei inunctione consignauit, deinde sanctum pallium (quod uelum dicitur) benedicens cum ea, super caput eius statim imposuit sacratamque Deo immaculatam ancillam sponsam sanctam castam uirginem sponso eterno Christo Domino, ut minister fidelissimus, desponsauit. Facta sunt hec iuxta piscinam^b que appellatur Briugis, quod in nostro sermone significat largitatem,¹⁰ in quo premonstratum est mystice, diuino quodam presagio, quia ibi Moduenna per episcopalem consecrationem atque predicationem recepit a Domino largiter abundantiam gratiarum, de qua omnes sitientes, contemplantes eam et imitantes exempla illius, quasi de piscina aque uiue¹¹ in posterum haurire abundanter ualerent sanitatum gratiam et fluentia aquarum uiuentium.

3. *De commendacione Athee et quomodo ambe uirgines tradite sunt literis.*

Commonuit autem eam pontifex de omnibus et commendauit ei nobilissimam uirginem Atheam nomine, cognatam ipsius, nutriendam secum in seruicium Domini,^c que et ipsa uouerat Deo uirginitatem suam et erat procreata de piis parentibus ac religiosis. Has ambas uirgines tradidit pontifex docendas psalmos cuidam suo ualde religioso presbitero, qui, mundo corde mandatis eius obediens, docuit eas fidelissime literas, prebens eis utrumque simul et salutare frequenter colloquium et magne religiositatis exemplum.

^a ille *A*

^b aque *add. A*

^c Christi *A*

⁹ Cf. *Vita sanctae Eugeniae* xxiv (PL xxi. 1119; PL lxxiii. 617) (included in many versions of the *Vitae patrum*).

crown of faith, the prop of hope, the ornament of the virtues, the mirror of purity, kindred of the angels, friend of health, the nourishment and support of most enduring love.⁹ As she listened to this, the virgin of Christ was inflamed with a fierce fire and glowed with divine love. She could no longer bear to delay her earlier vow and went to the bishop, prostrated herself at his feet and revealed the secrets of her inmost mind. Tearfully she asked him to bestow on her the nun's habit, saying that she wished to choose virginity, a state in which, with Christ the Lord as her companion, she could serve without any regret until the day of her death, through His grace. The bishop realized that the spirit of God and abounding grace were present in her and rejoiced greatly, giving thanks to God. First he consecrated her by the imposition of hands and by anointing her with holy oil, then he blessed along with her the holy cloth called the veil and placed it on her head and, as a faithful minister, betrothed the spotless handmaid dedicated to God, the holy bride, the chaste virgin, to her eternal bridegroom, Christ the Lord. This took place by the pool called Briugis, which in our tongue means 'abundance',¹⁰ thus mystically foreshadowing by a divine portent that here through episcopal consecration and preaching Modwenna received from the Lord great abundance of grace. Henceforth all who thirsted, considering her and following her example, might draw from this bounty, as from a pool of living water,¹¹ the grace of health and the streams of living waters.

3. *The commendation of Athea and how both virgins were set to learning letters.*

The bishop advised her about all things and commended to her, to bring up with her in the service of the Lord, a noble virgin called Athea, a relative of hers, who had also vowed her virginity to God and came from devout and religious parents. The bishop sent the two virgins to learn the psalms from a highly devout priest of his who obeyed his instructions with a pure heart and faithfully taught them letters, at the same time offering to them both frequent wholesome conversation and a model of great piety.

¹⁰ The Old/Middle Irish word *brugas* meant 'abundance'; see (*Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language* (Royal Irish Academy; Dublin, 1913-76), s.v. *Conchubranus* has in *Latina* for Geoffrey's in *nostro sermone*.

¹¹ Cf. John 4: 10.

4. *De puritate uite eius et de profectu parentum per eam.*

A, f. 82^v

Cepit ergo Moduenna intendere literis et sapientie, ludicra et scurrilia et secularia uelut inepta et uana contempnere, monita sancti Patricii assidua meditatione reuoluere, cor suum et actus suos omni custodia obseruare, orationi et compunctioni cum lacrimis atque suspiriis frequenter incumbere, corpus tenerum attenuare ieiuniis, carnem iuuenilem affligere et macerare uigiliis, de die in diem proficiens cotidie ad meliora conuerti, obliuiscens ea que retro sunt, ad illa que ante sunt animo studioso extendi;¹² toto corde, tota anima, tota uirtute Deum diligere,¹³ preceptis eius per omnia et in omnibus fideliter obedire; amoris Christi sponsi et domini nullam rem omnino preponere, in dilectione eius suum proximum tanquam se ipsam amare;¹⁴ quod sibi nollet ab alio fieri, nulli umquam alii facere; cunctis quibus posset uelle pro sua possibilitate proficere, piam se omnibus beniuolam atque affabilem exhibere, compati miseris et dolentibus | condolere; terrena omnia ut caduca et transitoria pura deuotione calcare; ad brauium superne uocationis quod est in Christo Iesu¹⁵ totis nisibus anhelare, penas inferni quas Deus minatur infidelibus horrore nimio expauescere; ad premia uite eterne que promissa sunt fidelibus infatigabili desiderio suspirare. In tantum uero in ea conualuit superna gratia ut frater eius Ronan nomine, imitatus exemplum sororis eius, seculum omne relinqueret et, sibi associatus in Christi militiam, postea in prouectu temporis religiosus episcopus fieret. Pater quoque exemplo filie a criminibus sese compescuit et mater, per annos quindecim summe religioni dedita, finem uite sue in sancta conuersatione consummauit.

5. *De profectione eius ad Hybar heremitam et de sua reuersione in patriam.*

Post hec uirgo Christi, orbata parentibus, iam transcendere ad altiora concupiscens, audiuit famam cuiusdam religiosi episcopi Hybar nomine¹⁶ qui, ductus desiderio eterne retributionis, deserta loca ac remotiora adierat et ultra Hiberniam positus in occidentali oceano in

¹² Cf. Phil. 3: 13.

¹³ Cf. Matt. 22: 37; Mark 12: 30; Luke 10: 27.

¹⁴ Cf. Matt. 19: 19; 22: 39; Mark 12: 31, 33.

¹⁵ Cf. Phil. 3: 14.

¹⁶ Associated with Bcggerin (Co. Wexford) and given a death date of 499, 500, and 503 in the annals: *Ann. Ulster*, ed. Seán Mac Airt and Gearóid Mac Niocaill, i (Dublin, 1983),

4. *The purity of her life and the profit her parents gained through her.*

So Modwenna turned her attention to letters and wisdom, scorning games and jests and worldly things as empty and fruitless. Continually turning over in her mind St Patrick's advice, she guarded her heart and her behaviour with great watchfulness, she often applied herself with tears and sighs to prayer and remorse, she weakened her tender body with fasting, afflicted and tormented her young flesh with night-watches, advancing day by day in her conversion to better things, forgetting the things behind her and embracing the things before her with a zealous spirit.¹² She sought to love God with all her heart and all her mind and all her power,¹³ to observe His commands faithfully through all and in all, to put absolutely nothing before her love of Christ, her bridegroom and lord, and through love of Him to love her neighbour as herself.¹⁴ She sought never to do to others what she would not wish others to do to her, to be as helpful to all as was within her power, to behave in a benevolent and kindly fashion to everybody, to show compassion to the wretched and sympathize with those who grieved. In the purity of her devotion she scorned all earthly things as perishable and transitory, aspired with all her effort for the prize of the heavenly summons that is in Christ Jesus,¹⁵ feared with great terror the punishments of hell that God threatens to inflict upon unbelievers and, with tireless desire, longed for the prize of eternal life that is promised to believers. The heavenly grace was so strong in her that her brother Ronan followed his sister's example and abandoned the world and joined her in Christ's service. Later, in the course of time he became a most devout bishop. Her father too ceased from his crimes, inspired by her example, and her mother, after fifteen years devoted to religious practices, ended her life in holiness.

5. *Her departure to the hermit Ibar and her return to her own country.*

After the death of her parents, the virgin of Christ, desiring to go on to higher things, heard of the reputation of a certain devout bishop called Ibar.¹⁶ He had been led by his desire for an eternal reward to go to remote and deserted places and as a steadfast hermit and proven

pp. 59, 61. See Paul Grosjean, 'Deux textes inédits sur S. Ibar', *Analecta Bollandiana*, lxxvii (1959), 426-50.

R, f. 76^v tribus paruis insulis, que uno nomine Hirne uocantur, fortis heremita et probatus athleta Dei uitamque degens districtissimam cum discipulis similem uitam ducentibus habitabat. Ad quem cum paucis ueniens et aliquanto tempore manens cum eo, diligenter contemplabatur uitam illius et, uelut apes prudentissima,¹⁷ hauriebat mores optimos et ponebat attentius^a in corde suo laborem manuum, abstinentie rigorem, |^b iocunditatem affabilitatis, pietatem beniuolentie, uite meritum, uirtutum miracula, que omnia uidebat in illo copiose fulgere, sciens et recogitans et inserens in suis intimis quod, sedentem ad mensam diuitis et considerandam apposita, quandoque eam oporteret semet ipsam ad talia preparare.

Euoluto itaque tempore, regreditur onusta floribus ad patriam suam et aliquandiu commorata inter parentes, remota tamen a secularibus habitauit seorsum cum Athea et Ronan fratre suo in secreto et apto loco in monte qui dicitur Focard,¹⁸ ubi et primo construxit monasterium et ueniebant^c compatriote sui, desiderantes aspicere conuersacionem illius, quos illa benigne susceptos instruebat uerbis doctrine et hortabatur ut abstinerent a malis, homicidia et latrocinia, ebrietates et depredaciones, que ibi abundauere, relinquerent, desererent artem magicam, qua ibi fuerant imbuti plurimi, recta fide in Deum crederent et opera pietatis totis conatibus exercerent. Ipsa autem, redeuntibus illis ad propria et salubri^d uerbo refectis, heremiticam cum suis strictam satis ac rigidam ducebat uitam, solis crudis multociens sustentata radicibus, perseuerans assidue in oracionibus, omnibus^e qui secum erant bonum exemplum ostendens, nemini onerosa existens, nullius elemosinam postulans, de opere manuum sibi suisque uestitum et uictum queritans gerensque uirilem animum in sexu femineo proscindebat terram ligone propria manu, semen iaciebat in sulcis, rastris illud operiens et purgans agrum sarculo et, cum segetes ipsa secuisset, quod supererat de usu mediocri de crastino nichil cogitans^f ad egenos dispertiebatur et pauperes; et super hec omnia cunctos ad se uenientes alacri suscipiebat hospitio, nec cessabat cum eis colloqui de^g ipsorum salute, nec lassescebat animo periclitantes animas postulantium eam siue consilium siue auxilium uerbis et precibus liberare a periculis et ad Dominum^g reuocare. Multa munera et plurima animalia deferebantur ei et

^a intencius A ^b rigorem abstinentie A ^c ad eam add. A
^d salutari A ^e om. R ^f sua add. MSS ^g Deum A

¹⁷ A common image for monastic training, found as early as John Cassian, *De institutis coenobiorum*, v. 4. 2, ed. Jean-Claude Guy (*Sources chrétiennes* cix; 1965), p. 194.

¹⁸ Co. Louth; the reputed birthplace of St Brigid.

athlete of God he lived a strict life, with his disciples who lived likewise, on three small islands lying in the western ocean beyond Ireland, that are called the Aran Isles. Modwenna went with a few companions to join him and stayed with him a little while, carefully observing his life and, like a prudent bee,¹⁷ sucking up good habits of behaviour. She stored up in her heart the manual labour, hard abstinence, cheerful kindness, dutiful benevolence, merit of life, and miraculous powers that she saw splendidly abundant in him. She knew and considered and planted in her inner self the idea that it would be proper for her, as she sat at this rich man's table and looked at what was set before her, to prepare herself for such things at some time.

After a little while she returned to her own country laden with flowers and stayed for some time among her own kindred, although she lived far from the everyday world, dwelling with Athea and her brother Ronan in a suitably remote spot up on Mount Faughart.¹⁸ This was where she built her first monastery. Her fellow countrymen came to her wishing to observe her way of life and she received them kindly and gave them instruction. She exhorted them to abstain from evil and give up the killings, robberies, drunkenness, and plundering that abounded there and to abandon the magic arts which many of them practised. She encouraged them to believe in God with an upright faith and put all their efforts into works of devotion. After they had returned home strengthened by her saving words, she lived a strict and austere solitary life with her companions, often living just on raw roots, praying continually, setting a good example to all those with her, being a trouble to no one, begging alms from none, and seeking food and clothing for herself and her companions from the labour of her own hands. Although of female sex, she showed a man's spirit, breaking up the ground with a mattock with her own hands, sowing the seed in the furrow, working it with a rake, and clearing the field with a hoe. When she had harvested the crop, she distributed to the poor and needy whatever was left over after her own meagre needs had been met, giving no thought to the morrow.¹⁹ Moreover, she gave ready hospitality to all who came to her, never ceasing to speak with them about their salvation, nor, when souls in peril sought advice or help from her, did her spirit tire of freeing them from danger by words and prayer and recalling them to the Lord. Those who came brought her many gifts and animals, but the handmaid of

¹⁹ Cf. Matt. 6: 34.

adducebantur ab aduenientibus, sed ancilla Christi,^a pauca retinens in usus proprios, cetera omnia larga uoluntate distribuebat egentibus.

6. *De octo uirginibus aggregatis ad eam et de Luger filio uidue.*

Creuit igitur fama eius usque in altum et ad ulteriora totius Hibernie relatione miranda circumquaque promulgata est, unde et confluebant
A, f. 83^r ad ipsam matrone nobi | les, regine quoque et uirgines, putantes esse maius quam diuitias si de illius sermonibus reficerentur et suis sanctis benedictionibus confoueri mererentur. Et primum quidem aggregate sunt illi^b octo uirgines militature Domino que, contempnentes exemplo illius matrimonialem copulam et omnem delectacionem carnalem, susceperunt 'sponte sub ipsa, spiritu^c inflammate diuino, suaue iugum Christi, habitum sanctimoniale, desiderantes sub 'doctrina discipline^d illius et obedientia usque ad mortem pia deuocione uiuere, ut post stadium uite huius sponso ualerent coniungi eterno et ab illo per gratiam eius brauium superne remunerationis accipere.²⁰

Dixerat namque ei sanctus Patricius priusquam eam sacrauerat, uidens propheticæ futuram in illa gratiam, quatinus alias quoque uirgines, que uellent cohabitare cum ea nutriendas secum in timore Dei, libenti animo sibi copularet, quarum suffulta solatio et exhilarata consortio secundum propositum quod inchoauerat facilius et fructuosius consummaret. Inter has octo quas diximus fuere preclare Brigida et Orbila, quarum Brigida qualis postea fuerit, descripta uita eius et Scocia tota Hiberniaque testatur; de Orbila uero dicemus in subsequentibus quanto miraculo et quam inaudito miraculo nobilissimam regis filiam Moduenna eam supra ceteras uirgines, Dei nutu, constituerit abbatissam. Cum hiis erat et una uidua habens infantulum, Luger nomine, quem, cernens puerum bone indolis et prophético spiritu uentura considerans, benigne suscepit pia uirgo et adoptauit in filium summoque studio illum enutrens fide et moribus ac uirtute sanctitatis plenissime reddidit eruditum.

7. *De lupo et uacca et prefato Luger postea episcopo facto.*

Iste Luger adhuc puerulus quadam die iuxta ecclesiam custodiebat uaccam cum uitulo, quem ueniens lupo subito rapuit et coram

^a Dei A
^{d-d} disciplina doctrine A

^b fere add. MSS

^{c-c} sub illa, spiritu sponte A

²⁰ Cf. Phil. 3: 14.

Christ kept only a few for her own use and distributed everything else to the needy with a willing generosity.

6. The eight virgins who gathered under her and of Luger the widow's son.

Thus her reputation grew to great heights and wonderful stories about her spread in all directions to the farthest parts of Ireland, so that noblewomen, queens, and maidens flocked to her, regarding it as better than riches if they could be refreshed by her words and were worthy to be cherished by her holy blessing. First of all eight virgins gathered under her to serve the Lord. Following her example, they spurned the bond of marriage and every pleasure of the flesh and, inflamed with the divine spirit, they willingly received that sweet yoke of Christ, the nun's habit, under her. Their desire was to live until death in obedience and in dutiful devotion under her discipline and guidance, so that after the course of this life they might be joined to the eternal bridegroom and receive the prize of the heavenly reward from Him through her grace.²⁰

For St Patrick, who had a prophetic insight into her future grace, had said to her before he consecrated her, that she should willingly assemble other virgins who desired to live with her to be brought up in fear of God and thus, supported by the comfort they provided and cheered by their company, she might more easily and fruitfully fulfil the undertaking she had begun. Among these eight whom we have mentioned, Brigid and Orbila were outstanding. The written account of Brigid's life declares her later qualities—as Scotland and the whole of Ireland also attest. Of Orbila we will tell later with what a great and unprecedented miracle Modwenna at God's command constituted this noble king's daughter abbess over the other virgins. With them was a widow and her child, Luger by name. The holy virgin saw that the boy was naturally talented and, foreseeing his future prophetically, received him kindly and adopted him as a son. She raised him with great care, so that he was fully instructed in faith, morals, and the power of holiness.

7. The wolf and the cow and how Luger later became a bishop.

One day, while this Luger was still a small boy, he was near the church looking after a cow with its calf when suddenly a wolf came

"oculis eius,^a uacca mugitu ^bdolorem prodente^b ut poterat, deuorare crudeliter cepit. Tunc puer concitus cucurrit ad dominam et cum lacrimis dixit ad eam, 'Perdidi uitulum meum, domina, perdi uitulum meum.' Illa autem, ut erat mitissima, respondit ei, 'Vbi perdidisti, fili mi?' At ille, 'Canis', inquit, 'ueniens rapuit eum et abstulit et adhuc super illum iacet.' At illa, "Accipe", ait, 'baculum meum,^c fili mi, et uade ad eum et dic ei ut ueniat ad me.' Quem ille capiens^d uenit ad lupum et inuenit eum adhuc super uitulum incubantem et, iam consumptis totis carnibus, etiam ossa illius rodentem. Et percutiens eum baculo leuiter^e ictu super dorsum, simpliciter dixit ad eum, 'Domina mea precepit^f ut uenias ad eam.' Qui statim consurgens in modum domestici canis, antecedeat puerum et peruenit usque ad abbatissam prostratusque ante pedes eius, omni ferocitate deposita, quasi culpe conscius expectabat quid illa preciperet et, uelut penitens ac satisfaciens sui criminis, ueniam postulabat. Ad quem illa ait, 'Quare deuorasti uitulum nostrum? Ecce precipio tibi in nomine Christi Iesu quatinus eas ad uaccam cuius uitulum abstulisti et custodias illam a bestiis, ducens in pascua et reducens, et sis ei solacio ut amet ^get habeat te^g sicut uitulum proprium; et tu uiue de uenatione et^h siluestribus feris, nunquam amplius comedens quicquam domesticum, nunquam amplius faciensⁱ cuiquam homini dampnum.' Lupus itaque, mandatis obediens et contra naturam ^jdomesticus repente^j factus, ex illo tempore de uenatione uiuebat, nulli hominum mali aliquid ingerebat, nichil domestici omnino attrectare presumebat, custodiebat uaccam^k cum diligentia sicut pastor; et illa lungebat eum et amabat quasi filium unigenitum; omnesque uidentes hec et agnoscentes^l laudabant Deum mirabilem in operibus suis²¹ et magnificabant uirtutem eius et meritum Moduene, considerantes in minimis maxima et admirantes in paruus rebus non parua miracula. In tantum uero, ut ferunt, quod multo mirabilius est, conualuere^m uerba et merita uirginis, ut etiam lupi propagati ex isto usque in presentem diem custodiant pecora ecclesie per tria miliaria in circuitu, dilecti ab omnibus, cunctis cognoscibiles utpote minores ceteris et albas | in frontibus notas habentes, nemini facientes malum, nulla prorsus ledentes domestica, sed de siluestribus sibi semper uictualia queritantes.

A, f. 83^v

^a ^a om. R ^b ^b prodente dolore A ^c ^c 'Accipe baculum meum', ait A
^d accipiens A ^e leui A ^f precipit A ^g ^g te et habeat A ^h add.
de A ⁱ facias R ^j ^j repente domesticus A ^k om. A
^l agnoscente A ^m conualere R

up, snatched the calf and began cruelly to devour it before his eyes, while the cow expressed her grief as best she could by mooing. The boy was upset and ran to his mistress, saying tearfully, 'I have lost my calf, mistress, I have lost my calf.' She responded with her usual gentleness, 'Where did you lose it, my son?' He said, 'A dog came up and grabbed it and took it away and is lying on it still.' She replied, 'Take my staff, my son, and go to him and tell him to come to me.' He took the staff, came to the wolf and found him still lying on top of the calf, having eaten all the flesh and now gnawing on its bones. Giving him a light blow on the back with the staff, he said to him directly, 'My mistress has commanded you to come to her.' The wolf immediately rose up and went before the boy like a tame dog. When he came to the abbess he lay down before her feet without any display of ferocity, as if awaiting her commands with a guilty conscience, like a penitent seeking to make amends and asking pardon for his crime. 'Why have you devoured our calf?' she said to him. 'Lo, I command you in the name of Jesus Christ to go to that cow whose calf you took away and to guard her from beasts, taking her out to graze and bringing her back, and be a comfort to her, so that she may love you and have you as her very own calf. And you, you should live by hunting wild animals, never again eating any farm animal, never again bringing loss to any man.' So the wolf obeyed her commands and, against the usual course of nature, suddenly became tame. From thenceforth it lived from hunting, did no harm to any man, never ventured to attack any farm animal, and guarded the cow with care like a herdsman. The cow licked him and loved him like a first-born son. Everyone who saw this or became acquainted with it praised God, wonderful in His works,²¹ and extolled His power and Modwenna's merit, contemplating great things in small ones, marveling at this not insignificant miracle manifested in an insignificant matter. The words and merits of the virgin were so powerful, as they report—and this is even more marvellous—that wolves descended from this one even to the present day guard the church's flocks in a radius of three miles around, universally loved and recognizable to all by the fact that they are smaller than usual and have a white mark on their foreheads. They harm no one, never injuring farm animals but getting their food from the wild.

²¹ A common 12th-cent. phrase, constructed from various excerpts from Psalms.

Hiis et multis aliis similibus Luger confortatus in fide, cum esset etatis adulte in magnam religiositatem excreuit et, uidens exempla uirginis doctrinamque eius^a intelligens, proficiebat cotidie et se ipso melior efficiebatur, adeo ut ipsa sibi hunc ordinari presbiterum faceret et ad usum altaris in suo monasterio, utpote uirum sanctissimum, non paucio tempore illum haberet. Denique ipse primus huius auxilio inter parentes Brigide in Colgi Campiolo Ruscanam fundauit ecclesiam,²² cui per merita et orationes Modu-
enne aliquantis diebus honorabiliter prefuit et post hoc, procedente tempore, ad episcopatum Conalle ciuitatis euocatus, ex cuius nomine Conalleorum populus nuncupatus est, pater et dominus ac preclarus presul effectus, exemplo et predicatione multos infidelium ab infidelitate reuocauit et multos fidelium in fide uera et in sanctis operibus confirmauit.^b Sed de hoc actenus, nunc ad anteriora redeamus.

8. De uaccis furatis per miraculum redditis et de conuersione latronum.

Quadam nocte contigit ut due uacce de Moduenne monasterio, uagantes in tenebris, latrones incurrerent, quas illi rapientes cupiebant furtim^c ad propria ducere et suam de eis uoluntatem explere. Cumque per deserta euntes uenissent ad fluuium qui Fertas^{d23} dicitur eumque transmeare uoluissent, inuenerunt aquas illius ita feruidas ut eorum uestigia calorem fluminis nullo modo tolerare potuissent. Stupefacti fures in tanto miraculo, qui sentirent undas naturaliter frigidas in feruorem bullientium contra naturam esse conuersas, agnouere quidem culpam conscientie et meritum uirginis admirabantur cuius uaccas furari conabantur; uerumptamen lucri ducti cupidine et latrocinandi consuetudine resipiscere adhuc nolentes,^e per totam noctem errantes per deuia, iter quo euaderent cum latrocinio querere studuerunt sed, tota nocte incassum laborantes, uiam penitus qua possent euadere nequaquam inuenire potuerunt. Elongari autem a cenobio uirginum se putabant sed econtra, diuina uirtute protracti, eidem monasterio magis^f appropinquabant.^g

Facto itaque primo diluculo, cum iam terris illuxisset dies, et

^a om. A
^f om. A

^b firmauit A
^g propinquabant A

^c om. R

^d Ferthas A

^e uolentes R

Luger was strengthened in his faith by this incident and many similar ones. When he grew up he became very devout and, seeing the virgin's example and understanding her teaching, he advanced daily and made himself so much better that she had him ordained priest and retained the most holy man for a long time for the service of the altar in her monastery. Eventually, with her help, he was first founder of the church of Roosky in Cooley (Cuailgne)²² among Brigid's kindred. Through Modwenna's merits and prayers he presided honourably over this church for some time and then later was called to the bishopric of the city of Conaille, from which the people of the Conaille take their name. Now become a father and lord and outstanding prelate, by his example and preaching he called back many unbelievers from their unbelief and strengthened many of the faithful in the true faith and holy works. But enough has been said of this, let us return to our prior subject.

8. *The stolen cows miraculously restored and the conversion of the robbers.*

One night it happened that two cows from Modwenna's monastery, wandering in the twilight, ran into some robbers, who seized them with the intention of leading them off stealthily to their own place and doing with them as they wished. When they had crossed wild country and come to the river *Fertas*,²³ which they wished to cross, they found its water so hot that they were unable to put their feet in it. The thieves were astounded at this great miracle, as they felt the waves that were cold by nature turned into boiling hot ones, against the usual course of nature. Their conscience acknowledged their guilt and they marvelled at the merit of the virgin, whose cows they were trying to steal, but, led by desire of gain and the custom of thieving, they were unwilling to come to their senses and they wandered the whole night through rough places, seeking a route by which they might escape with their plunder. They laboured all night in vain and could find no path at all by which they could escape. They thought they were getting further from the virgins' monastery but, quite to the contrary, they were drawn by God's power closer to the house.

At first light, when day illuminated the land, and they realized

²² Co. Louth.

²³ Unidentified; the etymology is probably *fertas*, 'sandbank'. See (*Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language* (Royal Irish Academy; Dublin, 1913-76), s.v..

"se esse" iuxta ecclesiam contra libitum atque propositum certo indice^b comperissent, reuersi tandem ad se et tacti intrinsecus^c penitencia, uehementer exterriti et^d Dei timore compuncti, uenientes ad monasterium petunt humiliter ut eis loqui liceat abbatisse, uolentes ei mirabilia Domini que in se ostensa uiderant pia deuotione enarrare. Ad quos cum illa uenisset, prostrati illius genibus confitentur culpam et deprecantur ueniam, narrant miracula que meritis eius sibi acciderant et, uaccis redditis, pollicentur sese nunquam amplius aliquid furaturos, pasciscentes insuper retributori omnium uitam suam ex hoc et deinceps, ipso iuuante, pio studio et summa diligentia emendaturos. In hiis omnibus pia uirgo, nichil sibi sed diuine gracie totum attribuens, perseuerabat humilior in sancto proposito castitatis, uigilabat et excubabat attentius in omni studio pietatis, grates Deo in omnibus pia deuotione exhibens, cotidie diligenter ad meliora proficiens, cotidie ad altiora uirtutum feruida caritate conscendens.

9. *De centum quinquaginta uirginibus congregatis ad uirginem et de conuersatione illarum.*

Interea fama uirginis de die in diem capiebat augmentum et lucerna posita prius in abscondito reuelabatur et accendebatur et eleuabatur super candelabrum,²⁴ et populus qui ambulabat in tenebris et habitabat in extremis "finibus terre" uidebat lucem micantibus radiis apparentem;²⁵ factusque est cetus magnus a Domino, centum uidelicet ac quinquaginta uirginum congregatarum ad uirginem, quasi ciuitas regis magni cum exultatione fundata in lateribus aquilonis,²⁶ cuius multitudinis "cor esset" unum et anima una "coagulata glutimine" karitatis, ubi nulla earum proprium sibi aliquid diceret, sed omnes uiuerent in commune²⁷ et omnes, opere | manuum uictum sibi et uestitum | querentes, ad exemplum abbatisse heremiticam uitam ducerent et ad formam uite illius sub disciplina regule perseuerantes in obedientia conuersarent.^h In hiis erat uidere spiritus sancti domicilium, templum Dei uiuentis ex lapidibus uiuis constructum, sacrarium uirginitatis, domos spirituales coedificatasⁱ in tabernaculum deitatis²⁸ in quibus archa per desertum gradientibus fabricaretur, ubi

A, f. 84^r

R, f. 77^r

^{a-a} sese *A* ^b indicio *A* ^c extrinsecus *R* ^d de *add. R*
^{e-e} terre finibus *A* ^{f-f} esset cor *A* ^{g-g} glutimine coagulata *A*
^h consequerent *R* ⁱ coedificatis, *emended to* coedificatos *R*

²⁴ Matt. 5: 15; Luke 8: 16, 11: 33.

²⁵ Isa. 9: 2.

from clear evidence that they were close to the monastery, against their wish and will, they returned to their senses and were touched within by repentance. Deeply afraid and pierced by the fear of God, they came to the monastery and humbly begged that they might speak with the abbess, wishing to recount to her with dutiful devotion the marvels of the Lord that they had seen manifest in themselves. When she came to them, they prostrated themselves at her knees, confessing their guilt and begging pardon, telling her of the miracles that had befallen them through her merits. When they had returned the cows, they agreed that they would never steal again, promising also to Him who repays all that, with His help, they would emend their lives henceforth with devout effort and the greatest diligence. In all these things the holy virgin never gave credit to herself but always to divine grace. She persevered humbly in her sacred vow of chastity, waked and watched attentively in the zeal of piety, tendering thanks to God in all things with dutiful devotion, each day advancing diligently to better things and climbing higher with the burning charity of virtue.

9. *The hundred and fifty virgins gathered under her and their way of life.*

Meanwhile the virgin's reputation grew day by day. The lamp that had previously been hidden was now uncovered and kindled and raised up on a candlestick.²⁴ The people who had walked in darkness and dwelt at the ends of the earth saw a light revealed with gleaming rays.²⁵ The Lord made a great company, one hundred and fifty virgins gathered together to the virgin, like a city of the great king founded with exaltation in the sides of the north,²⁶ and in this multitude was one heart and one soul, bound with the glue of charity. None of them called anything her own but they all lived in common²⁷ and earned their food and clothing by the work of their own hands. Following the example of their abbess, they lived an eremitical life, and, on the model of her life, they persevered in the discipline of the rule and lived in obedience. In them one could see the dwelling of the Holy Spirit, the temple of the living God built from living stones, the sacristy of virginity, spiritual houses constructed in the tabernacle of the godhead,²⁸ in which the ark was made by those journeying through the desert, where the manna that rained from heaven and the

²⁶ Ps. 47: 3 (48: 2).

²⁷ Acts 4: 32.

²⁸ Cf. 1 Pet. 2: 4-5.

manna de celo pluens et tabule testamenti reconderentur, in quibus diuina gracia sedem poneret et in sortem distribuende hereditatis meritorum priuilegia^a compararet.²⁹ Ipsa uero abbatissa qualem se circa omnes exhibuerit, quam sollicite unamquamque custodierit, quam humane unamquamque tractauerit, quanta discretione moribus omnium seruierit, quanta deuotione omnium utilitati prouiderit, quam humilia de semet ipsa senserit, quanta puritate coram Deo uitam suam interiorem conseruauerit, quam longum martirium se cruciando duxerit, quantis laboribus, uigiliis, abstinentiis, lectionibus, orationibus, proprium corpus affligerit, quam frequenter in fonte frigido usque ad mamillas existens totum psalterium^b decantauit, quot uicibus in asperis rupibus nudato corpore ad durum silicem^c prolixas orationes fecerit, quanto studio laudes humanas et fauores superfluos declinauerit, quanta certamina contra impium hostem et quanta prelia contra immundos spiritus exercuerit, quantas insidias et quantas persecutiones ab infidelibus equanimiter sustinuerit, quam frequenter^d uisitata ab angelis eorum colloquia et consolationes habere meruerit, quanta gratia sanitarum et quantis uirtutum miraculis choruscauerit, non est nostre facultatis euoluere, qui etiam externa queque et minora operum eius que cuncta quidem, quantum in ipsa erat, abscondere uoluit, sed omnia occultare nequiuuit, nequaquam possumus sicut dignum fuerat explicare. Verumptamen aliqua saltem pro nostro modulo que nos inuestigare de ea et nosse uel audire ueracissimorum attestacione ualuimus, auxiliante Deo et suffragantibus ipsius meritis, ueritati studentes per omnia et de libris hiberniensibus fundate certitudinis auctoritatem habentes, secundum posse nostrum enucleare conabimur.

10. *Quomodo miserit Ronan ad explorandas solitudines et quanto miraculo Orbilam fecerit abbatissam.*

Cum igitur ualde creuisset numerus uirginum in monte Focardi^e et adhuc plurime diebus singulis ad conuersionem uenirent et multa munera et animalia et oblationes secum deferrent, que omnia uirgo Christi, prout agendum nouerat, distribuebat egentibus, pauca tamen et neccessaria retinens ad usum illarum, cepit cogitare et estuare animo de multarum animarum utilitatibus et intento corde orationes^f fundebat ad Dominum, quatinus ei^g sua gracia largiretur ut loca

^a priuilegio A ^b salpterium R ^c scilicem R ^d frequentissime R
^e Phocardi A ^f oratione A ^g om. A

tablets of the testament were kept secure, in which divine grace placed His seat and appointed privileges of merits for each allotted inheritance.²⁹ Since I am unable to do justice even to her lesser and more external works (all of which she desired to conceal, as far as she could, although she was not able to hide everything), it is certainly beyond my powers to narrate how the abbess behaved towards all; with what care she watched over everyone; how kindly she dealt with everyone; with what discrimination she adapted herself to each one's ways; with what devotion she supplied everyone's needs; how humbly she thought of herself; with what purity she preserved her inner life before God; what a long martyrdom she endured by torturing herself; with what great toil, vigils, abstinence, reading, and prayer she afflicted her own body; how often she sang the whole psalter while immersed up to her breasts in a freezing pool; how many times she prayed for a long time among harsh rocks with her naked body against the hard stone; how determinedly she rejected human praise and unnecessary favours; what struggles she undertook against the evil enemy and what battles against unclean spirits; what attacks and persecutions from unbelievers she bore with an untroubled mind; how often she was visited by angels and merited their conversation and comfort; with what grace of healing and powerful miracles she was resplendent. Nevertheless, with God's aid and the help of her merits, we shall attempt, according to our ability and moved by desire for truth in all things and having a sure and authoritative foundation in the Irish books, to narrate in our own small way at least something that we have been able to find out about her or to know and hear from the testimony of most truthful men.

10. How she sent Roman to search out deserted places and with what great a miracle she made Orbila an abbess.

When the number of virgins at Mount Faughart had increased greatly and every day more were coming to join the religious life, bringing with them gifts, animals, and offerings, which the virgin of Christ distributed to the needy as she well knew how to do, keeping only a few necessary things for the sisters' use, she began to consider and yearn for the good of many souls and poured out her heart in prayer to the Lord, asking Him of His grace that He should permit her to find a more remote spot, further from human habitation, where she

²⁹ Cf. Acts 13: 19; Eccclus. 33: 24.

desertiora et remotiora ab hominibus ualeret talia inuenire^a in quibus posset ancillis Christi solitariam uitam desiderantibus monasteria et habitacula conuersationi earum idonea preparare. Misit itaque Ronan fratrem suum gracia explorandorum locorum, qui perlustrans heremi interiora et rediens nuntiauit se^b in secreto loca ad radices Colmi montis³⁰ reperisse fontem purissimum, sedem aptissimam, 'congruam uite anachoritice^c et ab hominum habitatione satis remotam.

Inter hec quiddam acciderat, quod preterire non debeo, quia quadam nocte, dum esset peruigil in orationibus Moduenna et cetera uirgines obdormissent, audiuit procul quasi cantus pronubentium, qui sponso et sponse matrimoniali copula iunctis seculariter^d congaudebant, et iocundantes^e in communis et potationibus cantabant, cantica leticie congratulantes eis et gaudium temporale, sicut est consuetudo secularium, deducebant. Tum illa suspicans^f intellectu^g quid hoc esset et ad Deum altius animum erigens, profunde cogitans et plurima secum ingemiscendo retractans, compatiebatur infirmis mentibus que gaudia cito uolantia preponunt eternis. Timebat etiam de suis quibusdam infirmioribus ne, si hec sepe audirent, retardarentur forte a sancto proposito et corde in Egyptum redirent;³¹ et pro hiis omnibus magis | magisque accendebatur^h ad penetranda ulteriora solitudinum,ⁱ ubi posset cum uirginibus suis uacare Deo secretius et exspectare^j securius ab sponso eterno uirginitatis premium sempiternum.

Sed quoniam locum quem primitus Deo fundauerat non modice neque inmerito diligebat, profusis deuotissime lacrimis, precabatur omnium habentem scientiam ut, spiritu suo docente, de omnibus ita illam benignus instrueret quatinus eidem monasterio custodiam placentem sibi et utilem cunctis ibidem remanentibus ordinaret. Deinde post dies aliquot cum sentiret orationes suas esse a Domino exauditas et amore flagranti in Deum ad illa que disposuerat pio desiderio urgeretur, conuocauit in capitulo omnem congregationem uirginum et dixit ad illas, 'Sorores mee ac filie karissime, uos scitis quale exemplum dilectioni uestre prebuerim et qualem doctrinam demonstrauerim uobis. Mementote omnium que uidistis in me et audistis ex me, et estote perseuerantes unanimiter in disciplina Domini. Ego enim, inspirante Deo, proposui alia loca petere et assumam ex uobis aliquas mecum, cum quibus ualeam in heremis

^a reperire A ^b om. R ^c congrue uitam anachoritice R
^d secularibus R ^e iocunditates R ^f suspirans A ^g intellectu MSS
^h accendebantur R ⁱ sollicitudinem R ^j Deo add. R

could prepare for Christ's handmaids, who desired a solitary life, monasteries and dwellings suitable for their way of life. So she sent her brother Ronan to scout out various sites. He went through the wilderness and returned, telling her that he had found in a lonely spot at the foot of Slieve Gullion³⁰ a pure fountain, a place good for settlement, suitable for the eremetical life and far from human habitation.

Meanwhile it happened—and I cannot omit to mention it—that one night while Modwenna was keeping vigil and the other sisters slept, she heard far away the songs of the wedding companions who were sharing in the worldly joy of a bride and groom united in matrimony. They were delighting in feasts and drinking, singing songs of happiness, congratulating the couple and indulging in earthly happiness, as lay people do. At this Modwenna, discerning in her understanding what this was and raising her mind higher to God, thought deeply, turning over many things internally and groaning in pity over those weak spirits who put fleeting happiness before eternal. She was also afraid for the weaker of her sisters, lest, if they heard such things often, they might be set back from their holy purpose and return in their hearts to Egypt.³¹ For all these reasons, she was impelled more and more to go into the further wilderness, where she and her virgins could devote themselves to God more privately and await with greater security the eternal reward of their virginity from the eternal spouse.

However, because she had a great and not unmerited affection for the place that she had first founded in God's name, she prayed to the divine omniscience with devout tears that He would kindly give her full instruction through His spirit how she might arrange for the administration of that monastery in a way satisfactory to her and profitable to those who remained there. A few days later she sensed that God had heard her prayers. Impelled by devout desire and her burning love of God to do what He had ordained, she summoned the whole body of virgins into chapter and said to them, 'My sisters, my dearest daughters, you know what kind of example I have provided for you, my beloved, and what kind of teaching I have offered you. Remember all the things that you have seen in me or heard from me and persevere with one heart in the way of the Lord. For I intend, at God's prompting, to seek another site, taking with me some of you to

³⁰ Co. Armagh.

³¹ Cf. Exod. 13: 17; Num. 14: 3-4; Acts 7: 39.

remotioribus habitare. Verumptamen non relinquam uos desolatas sed sepius uisitato uos, uadens et rediens et piam semper de uobis sollicitudinem gerens. Vnam uero de uobis uolo preficere ceteris que omnibus seruiat, que locum istum honeste et diligenter custodiat, cui obediat sicut mihi, ^a“quam diligatis sicut me,”^a que sit uobis auxilio et consolationi, que uos omnes hic remanentes et uerbo instruat et exemplo ad promerendam beatitudinem paradisi. Oremus itaque ^b“communitur omnes”^b ad Dominum, ut eligat que sibi placeat et talem nobis inspiret gratiam quatinus monstret in nobis uirtutem et compleat misericordiam suam.’

Cumque in terram prostratis genibus deuote omnes orassent cum lacrimis et facto signo ab oratione surrexissent, Moduenna, prophético repleta spiritu, coram omnibus dixit ad Orbilam (hec est illa quam supra diximus ‘filiam regis’^c fuisse et inter octo primas uirgines simul cum Brigida in societatem uirginis ad conuersionem uenisse)—ait ergo abbatisa ad Orbilam, ‘Precipio tibi, Orbila soror, in nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi, ut suscipias obedienter^d hanc curam et, complens diligenter officium, ut presis ceteris et assis^e omnibus, ut sis utilis ancillis Christi in hoc monasterio remanentibus uel ad hoc monasterium pro salute sua confugientibus, ut uita et doctrina cunctis proficias et te fidelem ministram exhibeas, ut custodias cum omni sollicitudine locum istum, ut uniuersis qui te uiderint et^f audierint prebeas odoris fragrantiam^g et totius religiositatis exemplum et sis uas in domo Domini,³² non in contumeliam sed in honorem³³ ad omne^h opus bonum^h deuotissime preparatum.’

Audiens hec, Orbila perfusa lacrimis stupefacta respondit, ‘Quomodo possum obtemperare ‘hiis iussis,’ⁱ domina, cum sim iuuenula corpore et imbecillis animo et timeam etati mee et pulcritudini ne, si forte absque te remansero, capiar a turbinibus procellarum et iuuenes seculares propter formositatem corporis et speciem capillorum contentur me furari Deo et abstrahere a proposito sanctitatis. Parce mihi, domina, propter pietatem tuam, parce mihi et ne derelinquas me.’ Ad quam illa ait, ‘Confortare, filia, et age uiriliter et habe fiduciam quoniam Dominus^j adiuuabit te. Et ut cognoscas plenius quod ipse te in hoc elegerit et iuxta preceptum eius fecerim omnia hec, exspecta paulisper et iam uidebis mirabilia eius in te.’ Tunc, assumens zonam propriam, circumcinxit de ea Orbilam et, signum crucis super eam

^a om. A ^b omnes communitur A ^c regis filiam A
^d obedienti A ^e seruias A ^f uel de te A ^g flagrantiam R
^h bonum opus A ⁱ om. R ^j Deus A

live with me in a more remote and secluded place. I am not abandoning you and will visit you often, going to and fro and always caring for you dutifully. I wish to set one of you over the others. She will serve you all, presiding over this place righteously and carefully, and you will obey her and love her as me. She will be a help and consolation to you, instructing all you who remain here by word and example how to obtain the blessings of paradise. So let us all pray together to the Lord that He choose whom He pleases and inspire us with such grace that He may show power in us and fulfil His mercy.'

After they had all prayed devoutly, on their knees and in tears, and had arisen from prayer when the sign was given, the abbess Modwenna, filled with prophetic spirit, said before them all to Orbila (she is the one who we said above was the daughter of a king and came to the religious life in the virgin's company among the first eight virgins along with Brigid), 'I command you, Orbila, sister, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to take up this duty obediently and to fulfil the office with care, so that you should be in charge of the others and be at hand for all, being helpful to the handmaids of Christ who stay in this monastery or who come here to seek their salvation, benefiting them all through your life and teaching, showing yourself a faithful minister, watching over this place with all diligence, manifesting to all who see you or hear you a sweet fragrance and a model of all piety, being a vessel in the house of the Lord,³² not in contumely but in honour³³ and devoutly ready for all good works.'

When Orbila heard this she burst into tears and answered in confusion, 'How can I obey these commands, mistress, since I am young in body and weak in mind? My youth and my beauty make me fearful that, if I stay here without you, I shall be snatched up by the whirlwind and, because of the beauty of my body and the loveliness of my hair, young men from the secular world will try to steal me from God and divert me from my holy purpose. Spare me, mistress, through your goodness, spare me and do not abandon me.' She replied, 'Be comforted, daughter, and act with vigour and have faith, for the Lord will help you. And so that you should know more fully that He has chosen you for this task and that I have done all this according to His command, wait a little and you will see His wonders at work in you.' Then, taking up her own belt, she put it around Orbila and, making the sign of the cross, she blessed her and breathed

³² Cf. Jer. 28: 6.

³³ Cf. Rom. 9: 21; 2 Tim. 2: 20.

A, f. 85^r

faciens, benedixit et insufflauit ei statimque est caput eius albefactum decora canitie et facies eius inmutata est in aliam effigiem, quasi esset seuerè etatis et uenerabilis senectutis. Et dixit ad illam, 'Ecce mutato corpore mutaberis etiam nomine et uocaberis pro Orbila Seruila, ut hoc quoque sit tibi commonitorium quia Dominus non te ad dominandum prefecerit sed ad seruiendum.' In hoc tanto miraculo stupefacte ultra modum "omnes ceteræ uirgines" admirabantur matris meritum, auctoritatem precepti, | spiritum prophetie, uirtutum potentiam, et prostrate genibus eius cum suffusione lacrimarum deprecabantur^b eam attentius, quatinus propter benignitatem suam sibi uniuersis consuleret, et quas uellet secum abduceret, siue quas uellet in monasterio remanere sicut sciret expedire singulis, ita secundum datam sibi a Deo scientiam de omnibus prouideret. Se autem uelle "in omnibus et per omnia"^c obedire cui illa preciperet et suscipere corde libentissimo abbatissam quam ipsa tam maxima ostensione miraculi decorasset. Orbila uero, quæ et Seruila, uidens circa se tanta miracula^d fieri, neque "amplius iam"^e hesitare in aliquo aut contradicere audens,^f imperata sibi a matre precepta, confidens de eius meritis, uoluntario corde fiducialiter custodienda suscepit et, Dei gratia subsequente, cunctis affabilis, cunctis amabilis, cunctis proficiens, cunctis in omnibus bona exempla ostendens, usque ad ultimam senectutem ornata uirtutibus iniunctam sibi obedientiam deuotissima perseueratione consummauit.

*11. De constructione monasterii in Cellis Cliuio et de subulco
persecutore prius et postea adiutore*

Hiis ita peractis, Moduenna, a sororibus suscepta licentia, cum quadraginta nouem uirginibus quas assumserat in heremi ulteriora^g progrediens, comitantibus angelibus, usque ad Colmi Montem peruenit ibique sedem idoneam et quasi a Deo preparatam inueniens, construere tabernacula et monasterium edificare inchoauit, quem locum propter solitudinem adamauit non modice et a cellis que construebantur in cliuo Cellis Cliuium appellauit. Sed dum ibi^h ancille Christi cepissent cohabitare^h et crudis herbis arborumque corticibus ac diuersis radicibus utcumque sustentarentur, diabolus, earumⁱ bonis actionibus inuidens, primo quidem in ipso statim initio aduentus illarum suscitauit eis aduersarium quendam subulcum, qui porcos regis Macloite³⁴ custodiebat in siluis, ducens et alens animalia

^a " ceteræ uirgines omnes A ^b deprecabanturque A ^c per omnia et in omnibus A ^d mirabilia A ^{e-e} iam amplius A ^f audiens R ^g ulteriore R ^{h-h} habitare cepissent ancille Christi A ⁱ eorum A

on her and straightaway the hair of her head became white and her face changed into that of a grave and venerable old woman. She said to her, 'Now your body has changed, so too shall your name. Instead of Orbila you shall be called Servila, as a reminder to you that the Lord has put you forward not to rule but to serve.' All the other virgins were astonished at this great miracle and marvelled at the merit of their mother, the force of her command, the spirit of prophecy, and the power of the miracle. They cast themselves down at her knees in floods of tears and begged her intently to take thought for them all according to her goodness, in all things providing according to the wisdom given her by God, taking away with her whoever she wished and choosing those whom she wished to remain in the monastery as she knew it would be best for each of them. They said they wished to give complete obedience to whoever she commanded and to receive with a willing heart the abbess whom she had honoured by the manifestation of such a miracle. Orbila—or rather Servila—seeing such a great miracle done in her case, did not dare hesitate or object any more, but undertook to keep with a willing heart the commands enjoined on her by the mother, trusting in her merits. By God's grace, she was friendly to all, loveable to all, helpful to all, setting a good example to all, and finally came to extreme old age, adorned with all the virtues and maintaining the obedience that had been enjoined on her with the most loyal perseverance.

11. The building of the monastery of Killevy and the swineherd who was first an enemy and then a friend.

After this Modwenna, with the consent of the sisters, went into the depths of the wilderness with forty-nine virgins she had selected and, accompanied by angels, came to Slieve Gullion, where she found a site that was suitable, as if prepared by God. She began to construct dwellings and to build a monastery. She loved the place very much because of its solitude and named it Killevy (*Cellis Cliuium*) after the cells that were built on the hill. But when the handmaids of Christ had begun to live there together and to nourish themselves somehow on raw vegetables, tree-bark, and roots of various kinds, the devil, who envied their good actions, stirred up an enemy for them as soon as they arrived. This was a swineherd who tended the pigs of king Macloite³⁴

³⁴ Probably to be identified as the 'Colgu Moo Cleuthi, king of Airthir' mentioned in the *Ann. Ulster*, s.a. 520, pp. 64–5. Airthir or Orior was located in Co. Armagh.

per deserta, perlustrans deuia queque et uniuersas solitudines, quia rex ille, cuius presidebat peculio, possidebat magnam multitudinem pecorum et habebat maximam multitudinem iumentorum. Iste pastor erat "crudelis homo" et impius et quicquid mali facere poterat nulli homini aliquando parcebat. Qui ad locum prefatum ueniens in quo sacre uirgines ^biam habitare^b ceperant et uidens illas in rigore nimie abstinentie incredibilem uitam ducentes et nichil panis, nichil carniū, nichil omnino omnium rerum preter crudas herbas in suis alimoniis retinentes, | cum feris habitans et ferinum animum gerens, nullam prorsus 'compassionem de eis' habuit, uerum insuper diaboli furiis exagitatus, ab omni eas usu siluarum ac^d fructu arborum, ab esu radicū, a prelibatu corticum, a tactu etiam foliorum, horrenda detestatione^e et ferali^f immanitate prohibuit atque, illis terribiliter comminans, iratus ualde ac tumidus ad dominum suum quo eas expelli preciperet bestiali ferocitate properauit.

Cum autem ille rigidus sic abisset indignans et proposuisset in animo suo^g de uirginibus regi dicere que possent regem contra uirgines ad iracundiam prouocare, Moduenna in temptatione confidentior, reminiscens quod dicitur 'si spiritus potestatem habens^h ascenderit contraⁱ te, locum tuum ne dimiseris'³⁵ et recordans quod item legitur 'accedens ad seruitutem Dei, sta in iusticia et prepara animam^j ad temptationes',³⁶ conuocauit sorores timidas et dixit ad illas, 'Sorores mee ac filie karissime, in fornace aurum probatur et cor fidele inter temptationes agnoscitur. Nolite desolari, nolite pusillanimes fieri, sed habentes fidem stemus uiriliter et pugnemus perseueranter, orando et ieiunando et a cunctis etiam a quibus iste nos prohibuit abstinendo, ut ille qui potest quecunque uult facere nos, elongantes a seculo et in solitudine commanentes, saluificet a tempestate hac et pusillanimitate et ipsum qui uos terruit respiscere faciat a diaboli laqueis, quibus captus^k tenetur,³⁷ et cum nobis conuertat in gratiam et ostendat illi^l | pietate gratuita potentiam et misericordiam suam.' Ad hec uerba consolationem receperunt^m uirgines et, confidentes de merito matris ac se ipsas per omnia preceptis illius corde obedientissimo subicientes, orabant, ieiunabant et, per integram fere ebdomadam nichil percipientes ciborum, auxilium Domini fiducialiter expectabant.

Hiis ita consistentibus, pastor interim, plenus iniqua cogitatione,³⁸

^{a-a} homo crudelis A ^{b-b} habitare iam A ^{c-c} de eis compassionem A
^d a A ^e de festatione A ^f fecali A ^g om. A ^h habentes A
ⁱ super A ^j tuam add. A ^k captius A ^l eidem add. A ^m ceperunt A

R, f. 77^v

A, f. 85^v

in the woods, leading the animals through the wilderness and feeding them, wandering through all the isolated and uninhabited places, for the king whose animals he guarded possessed a great multitude of flocks and a vast number of herds. This swineherd was a cruel and wicked man and would not spare anyone whatever evil he could inflict. When he came to the spot where the holy virgins had begun to live and he saw how they were leading a life of incredible harshness and asceticism, having for their food neither bread, nor meat, but only uncooked herbs, because he lived with beasts and had a beast-like mind, he had no compassion whatever for them, but, stirred by diabolical rage, he prohibited them, with fearful cursing and animal savagery, from making use of the woods or the fruits of the trees, from eating roots, tasting bark, or even touching the leaves. Uttering terrible threats and enraged and puffed up with bestial ferocity, he hurried off to his master, to induce him to order their expulsion.

When he had gone off in this way, cruel, indignant, and determined to say something to the king that would make him angry with the virgins, Modwenna, all the more confident in time of trial, remembering that it is said, 'if a spirit of power arises against thee, do not give up thy place',³⁵ and bearing in mind that it is likewise written, 'coming to the service of God, stand in justice and prepare thy soul for trials',³⁶ called together the fearful sisters and said to them, 'My dearest sisters and daughters, gold is proved in the furnace and a loyal heart is recognized in time of trial. Do not be sad, do not be faint-hearted, but have faith. Let us stand firmly and fight steadily, praying and fasting and abstaining from everything that this man has prohibited to us, so that He who has the power to do whatever He wishes may save us, as we dwell in solitude far from the world, from this storm and fearfulness and may make the man who has terrified you recover himself from the devil's snares, in which he is held,³⁷ and turn him, with us, to grace and show him His power and mercy with gracious love.' The virgins were comforted by these words and, trusting in their mother's merit and subjecting themselves in all things to her command with most obedient hearts, they prayed, fasted and, taking no food for almost an entire week, awaited in faith the Lord's help.

While things were in this state, the herdsman, full of wicked thoughts,³⁸ was journeying to his master, who lived far from these

³⁵ Eccles. 10: 4.

³⁷ 2 Tim. 2: 26.

³⁶ Eccles. 2: 1.

³⁸ Dan. 13: 28 (Sus. 28).

proficiscebatur ad dominum suum, qui procul a desertis regionibus habitabat, sed Deus obiter immutauit cor eius mirabiliter et immisit ei compunctionem penitentiae et per suam fortitudinem transuertit eum in aliam uoluntatem, ut qui male hanc uiam aduersum uirginem inchoauerat, bene ^auiam eandem^a perficiens, apud regem pro uirginibus legationem faceret atque illis a rege commanendi in siluis et habendi de nemoribus quaecumque ^bnecessaria sibi^b inuenirent largam licentiam ac^c beniuolentissimam impetraret. Post ^dsex autem^d dies, homo, mutatus excelsi dextera, reuersus est ad^c solitudinem et, ueniens ad abbatissam, inuenit eam et ceteras uirgines secum ieiunantes usque adhuc et orantes, macilentas nimium et laborantes propter continuationem abstinentiae et quasdam earum ultra modum confectas ieiunio et pene iam quasi extremum spiritum exalantes. Tunc ille, pallescens pre angustia et attonitus terrore immodico, tactus intrinsecus penitudine et grauissime ingemiscens, primo quidem perfusus lacrimis ante pedes abbatisse cum uehementi dolore prosternitur et peccatum suum grande in illam^f et in sorores ceteras flebili uoce proclamans, indulgentiam et miserationem humillima supplicatione deprecatur. Deinde agit gratias per merita et orationes illarum se esse uisitatum a Domino et narrat quanto miraculo eum coegerit ad auxiliandum, qui se ipsum iniquo consilio preparauerat ad nocendum. Denique nuntiat qualiter apud regem ^gdiuino miraculo,^g coartatus diuino spiritu, pro uirginibus legationem pertulerit, et quam beniuole ab eo de omnibus que poposcerat ad usum earum largitatem^h benignissime concessionis acceperit. Fatetur se transacto tempore male uixisse, nulli hominum cui unquam nocere potuisset aliquando parcere uoluisse, rogat ⁱsuppliciter pro se orari,ⁱ se credit^j ^kper preces illarum posse^k saluari, pollicetur de cetero emendaturum se uitam suam et sic legaliter uiuere amodo, comitante ^lgracia Dei,^l ut adiutus earum meritis inuenire ualeat apud eum^m misericordiam sempiternam. Audiens hec, Moduenna gratias egit omnipotenti Deo et blande consolata est hominem, emendatumque extunc et deinceps letum et hilarem remisit ad propria instructum plene de omnibus pertinentibus ad salutem.

^{a a} eandem uiam *A* ^{b b} sibi necessaria *A* ^c hac *A* ^{d d} autem sex *A*
^e in *A* ^f illa *A* ^{g g} om. *A* ^h largitate *A* ^{i i} pro se suppliciter
orare *R* ^j credere *A* ^{k k} om. *R* ^{l l} Dei gracia *A* ^m Deum *A*

uninhabited regions, but, on the way, God miraculously changed his heart and loosed in him the pangs of penitence and transformed his will through His great strength. He who had begun this journey in order to harm the virgins completed it in benevolence, serving as their envoy before the king and obtaining from him a wide and generous warrant for them to live in the forest and take what they needed from the woods. After six days, the man, transformed by the right hand of God on high, returned to the wilderness and, coming to the abbess, found her and the other virgins with her still fasting and praying, wasting away and vexed with continuous abstinence, so that some of them were excessively weakened by fasting and almost on the point of giving up their spirit. He went pale from distress and was struck by great fear. Touched within by penitence and groaning deeply, he prostrated himself in tears at the feet of the abbess in extreme sorrow, acknowledged in a tearful voice the great sin he had committed against her and the other sisters and begged pardon and mercy with humble entreaty. Then he gave thanks that through their merits and their prayers he had been visited by the Lord and he told by what great a miracle He had compelled him to help, although he himself had had the wicked intention of harming them. Next he told how, by a divine miracle and compelled by the divine spirit, he acted as envoy for the virgins before the king and how he received from him a generous and benevolent grant of all the things he requested for their use. He admitted that he had lived a wicked life in the past, unwilling to spare any man the harm he could do to him, he asked that they should pray for him, believed he could be saved by their prayers, promised to amend his life henceforth and live lawfully in the future, so that, with God's grace and the help of their merits, he might find eternal mercy in His sight. When she heard this, Modwenna thanked Almighty God and graciously comforted the man, sending him home to lead a reformed life henceforth, happy, joyful, and fully instructed in everything pertaining to salvation.

12. *De inuentione pecorum et de porco necato et uiuificato.*

Cum igitur abisset querere "gregem suum" et diu multumque deambulando per solitudinem, peragratis circumquaque regionibus heremi, nequaquam reperire potiusset, affectus tedio et de inuentione desperans, rediit ad dominam et, presumens de meritis illius,^b confidenter dixit ad illam, 'Domina mea, custodiebam pecora regis Macloite in desertis remotioribus, et ecce, uniuersa perlustrans et diutissime incassum laborans, nichil proficio et ignoro quid debeam agere,^c quo tendere, ubi querere, atque iccirco necesse habeo ut, adiutus uestris precibus, que perdidisti ualeam inuenire.' Cui illa, 'An nescis,' inquit, 'ubi reliquisti ea, fili mi?' At ille, 'Scio,' ait, 'domina mea,^d scio, sed ibidem ubique queritans oppido fatigatus sum, quam frustra circuiens^e undique repperire aliquid minime possum.' Ad quem illa, prophetico repleta spiritu, prouide ac benigne ita respondit: 'Vade,' inquit, 'benedicte Domini,^f etiam nunc semel et statim inueniens omnia que perdidisti, a feris intacta et, Deo seruante, tibi integerrime custodita.' Perrexit ille credens et cuncta inuenit sicut illa predixerat, et, admirans tante uirtutis potentiam, uehementer letatus extimuit et spiritum Dei sine dubio esse in illa manifesta demonstratione intellexit.

A, f. 86^v Tunc elegit sibi^g suum optimum et interfecit eum | et in frustra discerptum afferre uoluit quam citius potuit ad abbatissam, acturus gracias et, secundum quod proposuerat in corde suo, uirginibus infirmioribus ut inde comederent offerendum. Cumque oblatiunculam suam pia deuotione presentare uoluisset, Moduenna eam recipere noluit sed mandauit ei per nuncium non licere sororibus edere de huiusmodi^h cibo, quia uidelicet seculares consuetudines pro amore diuino deseruerant et alios mores habentes in cibis et potibus et in cunctis ceteris rebus festinare ad altiora cupiebant. Ille uero, effectus tristissimus, sua oblatione non suscepta, cepit desolari, dolere et conqueri, quia et porcum quem bona intentione occidissetⁱ perdiderat et gratiam quam se putabat habere apud uirgines intercedente suo aliquo crimine^j formidabat amisisse.^j Cum autem audisset beata uirgo a referentibus rusticum esse desolatum ac tristem et nullam ab aliis—nesciebant qua causa—uelle consolationem recipere, cogitans de lucro anime sicut semper et reuerita ne

^a " greges suos A ^b eius A ^c facere, *with* uel agere *interlined* A
^d om. A ^e circuiens A ^f Domine R ^g ex omnibus ceteris *add.* A
^h huiuscemodi A ⁱ occidisset A ^j amisisse formidabat A

12. *The finding of the flocks and the pig that was killed and brought back to life.*

When this man had gone out to look for his flocks and had not been able to find them, although he walked through the wilderness for a long time, travelling through all the area around the hermitage, he grew weary and began to despair of ever finding them. He returned to the lady and, relying upon her merits, said to her with confidence, 'My lady, I guarded the flocks of king Macloite in wild regions and, lo, wandering everywhere and labouring for long in vain, nothing has done me any good and I do not know what I should do or where I should go and look for them. Hence I need the assistance of your prayers to enable me to find what I have lost.' She said to him, 'Do you not know where you left them, my son?' He replied, 'I know, my lady, but I am completely worn out looking everywhere there. I go around and around fruitlessly and am unable to find anything.' Filled with the spirit of prophecy, she replied to him with consideration and kindness, 'Go, blessed of the Lord, now one final time and you will straightaway find what you have lost, safe from wild beasts and preserved unharmed for you by God.' Trusting in her, he set off and found everything just as she had predicted. Marvelling at the power of such a great miracle, he was filled with both joy and fear, understanding through such a clear demonstration that without a doubt the spirit of God was in her.

Then he selected his best pig and killed it and cut it into pieces, since he wished to bring it to the abbess as quickly as possible to give thanks and, as he had proposed in his heart, to offer it to the weaker sisters to eat. But when he wished to present his offering with dutiful devotion, Modwenna was unwilling to receive it and informed him through a messenger that the sisters were not permitted to eat food of this kind, for they had abandoned worldly ways out of love of God and adopted another mode of behaviour in food and drink and everything else, desiring to hasten to higher things. He was very sad that his offering had not been accepted and began to grieve, bewail, and lament that he had both lost the pig that he had killed with such a good intention and that he feared that he had forfeited the favour that he had with the virgins through some fault of his. When the blessed virgin heard from various informants that this peasant was miserable and sad and—they did not know why—would accept no consolation from anyone, she thought, as always, of the profit of the

nuper iactata semina uentus temptationis a facie terre proiceret et homo nondum plena caritate radicans a noue uite^a conuersione facilius resiliret, edocente eam spiritu sancto de omnibus, precepit ad se conuocari subulcum et secum deferre animal interfectum.

Quod cum ille libenti animo perfecisset, uidens^b suum membra-
tim^c disiunctum atque separatum, uolens hominem confirmare^d in fide, terre se prostrauit, paucis orauit, surgens inde et signum crucis faciens benedictionem imposuit, membra singula ^eper propria loca ordinatim^e composuit^f et, admirantibus cunctis qui aderant, uiro desolato miranda uirtute animal mortuum uiuum^g restituit. Et dixit illi, ^h‘Accipe porcum tuum, benedicte Dei, et esto fidelis usque ad mortem,³⁹ sperans in Domino et faciens bonitatem, et amodo famulare ei fiducialiter qui potest facere mirabilia magna solus.’⁴⁰ Ad quam rusticus respondit non rustice et dixit ad illam, ‘Domina mea, uideo mirabilia Dei in te, sed, si feceris unam rem quam postulauero, ab omni opere diabolico inperpetuum liberasti me. Suscipe pro caritate Dei de manu mea oblatiunculam saltem de siluestribus feris que cum difficultate capiuntur et precipe sacris uirginibus per obedientiam ut indeⁱ semel comedant et omnino letificasti cor meum.’ At illa, cupiens lucrificare animam fratris et intelligens scriptum esse in apostolo ‘omnia munda mundis’⁴¹ et nichil abiiciendum quod cum gracularum actione percipitur, benigna humilitate respondit, dicens ad eum, ‘Vade in siluam, fili mi, et affer nobis unum aliquid quodcumque primum demonstraerit tibi Deus.’

Abiit itaque letus effectus in siluam proximam et inuenit illico ceruum optimum, in densis fruticibus per cornua preeditum, quem sine difficultate statim assumens ad abbatissam detulit, oblationem preparatam a Domino pia deuotione presentauit, dicens esse uoluntatis Dei ut cito occurreret quod uoluisset et suppliciter^j deprecans dominam ut preciperet fieri quod ipse eam antea postulasset. Quod cum factum fuisset, homo exhilaratus rediit in propria et toto tempore uite sue seruiuit uirginibus et adiuuit eas in omnibus in quibus potuit et, semper uiuens legaliter usque ad obitum, dies suos plenus senectute in bono fine consummauit. Sorores autem, uidentes tot signa et tanta que per matrem earum Dominus operabatur, confortabantur, congratulabantur, uirtutum

^a uite uite R ^b illa add. A. ^c atque add. A ^d conformare R
^{e-e} ordinatim per propria loca A ^f imposuit R ^g om. R ^h ad illum A
ⁱ uel add. A ^j suspliciter A

soul, and feared the wind of temptation might cast the newly sown seed from the face of the earth and that the man who was not yet deeply rooted in the fullness of divine love might easily shrink back from his new life. Taught by the Holy Spirit in all things, she commanded that the swineherd be called before her, bringing the dead animal with him.

When he had done this with a willing spirit, she looked at the pig that had been cut into pieces and, wanting to strengthen the man in his faith, she prostrated herself on the ground, prayed briefly and then arose, giving a blessing with the sign of the cross. She placed each of the limbs in its proper place and, in a marvellous exercise of power and to the wonder of all who were there, restored the dead animal to the grieving man alive. She said to him, 'Receive your pig, blessed of God, and be faithful unto death,³⁹ putting your hope in the Lord and exercising goodness, and henceforth serve Him faithfully who alone can do great wonders.'⁴⁰ The peasant replied in a courtly way: 'My lady, I see God's wonders in you, but, if you will do one thing that I shall ask of you, you will have freed me forever from the devil's works. For the love of God accept from my hand at least an offering of the wild beasts that are caught with difficulty and command the holy virgins under obedience that they should eat once from them and you have delighted my heart.' She, desiring to profit the brother's soul and understanding that the apostle had written, 'To the pure all things are pure',⁴¹ and nothing is wasted that is received with the action of grace, answered with humble kindness, saying to him, 'Go into the forest, my son, and bring us whatever creature God first shows to you.'

So he went away happily into the nearby forest and straightaway found a fine stag entangled by its antlers in the dense thickets. He seized it at once without difficulty and brought it to the abbess. With dutiful devotion he presented this offering prepared by the Lord, saying that it was God's will that His wishes should be quickly fulfilled. He humbly entreated the lady that she should give orders that what he had previously requested from her should be done. After this the man returned home in delight and for the whole rest of his life served the virgins and helped them in every way he could and, living uprightly until his death, he ended his days full of years with a good end. For their part the sisters saw so many great miracles worked by the Lord through their mother that they were comforted

³⁹ Rev. 2: 10.

⁴⁰ Ps. 135 (136): 4.

⁴¹ Titus 1: 15.

potentiam et insolitam magnitudinem contemplabantur et admirabantur, Deum laudabant et magnificabant, spe gaudebant, karitate feruebant, tribulationes et inediae patientissime tolerabant, et, cotidie proficientes in melius, semper "tendere ad altiora" festinabant.

13. *De interfecione presbiterorum et de Glunelath et Aphin conuersis ad Dominum et postea episcopis.*

A, f. 86^v Euoluto ^aaliquantulo temporis spatio,^b audiuit Patricius Moduennam recessisse ad interiora solitudinum et ecclesiam construxisse in
R, f. 78^r Cellis | Cliuio et misit octo presbiteros uisitatuos illam,^c qui esse illius diligenter perquirerent et, reuersi ab ea, quid ageret, qualiter se haberet, rei cognita certitudine, | sibi renuntiarent. Qui cum^d deuia heremi plura^e circuissent et per uastas solitudines progredierentur, peruenerunt usque in campum Magdatheuene,⁴² qui erat non multum longe a monasterio, et, uolentes ultra procedere, peruasi sunt a latronibus impiis qui ibidem insidiabantur predas acturi, ubi innocenter idem presbiteri perpassi martirium, raptis omnibus qui secum portabant ab eisdem^f nefariis, crudeli morte perempti sunt. Erat autem Glunelath^g princeps eorum et habebat secum quadraginta nouem socios gentiles simul et nequissimos et ipse erat quinquagesimus nequam similiter atque sacrilegus, qui, per loca illa siluarum uagantes, latrocinia exercebant, multa scelera perpetrabant, nullam hominum miserationem habebant, sed quoscumque poterant reperire, depredatis eorum omnibus, ipsos insuper quasi sitientes sanguinem absque ulla retractione trucidabant.

Moduenna uero, cum audisset gestam esse rem detestabilem et didicisset per ueros nuncios, ambiguitate remota, tam nephandum scelus ita horribiliter perpetratum, animabus quidem martirum congaudebat, que mortis compendio ad gaudia eterna transierant,^h sed compatiebatur corporibus insepultis, que deuoranda a bestiis et uolatilibus intumulata iacebant, maiorem super omnia habens dolorem super impiis ac sceleratis hominibus qui tormenta infinita preparata sibi neque credebant neque metuebant. Orauit autem intenta prece ad Dominum quatinus ita doceret eam ut ualeret eius suffragio et a predonibus pacem acquirere et corpora martirum illesa a feris

^a "ad altiora tendere" A ^b aliquanto temporis A ^c eam A
^d dum A ^e plurima A ^f latronibus add. A ^g Guncloth R, here and subsequently (despite the chapter heading) ^h transierat A

and filled with joy, wondering at the power and unusual greatness of her virtues, praising and magnifying God, rejoicing with hope, fervent with divine love, bearing trouble and want with great patience and, daily advancing to better things, always hastening to strive towards the things above.

13. The killing of the priests; Glunsalach and Aphin, who turned to the Lord and later became bishops.

A short time later Patrick heard that Modwenna had withdrawn into the deep wilderness and had built a church at Killeevy and he sent eight priests to visit her, to inquire carefully into her way of life and bring him a reliable report on her activities and behaviour. As they wandered through the trackless wilderness and made their way through the empty wastes, they came to the field of *Magdathevene*,⁴² which was not far from the monastery, but, as they wished to go on, they encountered some wicked robbers lying in wait there to plunder travellers. In that place the innocent priests suffered martyrdom, being robbed of all they had with them by those wicked men and put to death. The robber chief was called Glunsalach and he had with him forty-nine most wicked pagan companions, with him as the fiftieth, wicked like them and sacrilegious. They wandered through the forest, committing robbery and perpetrating many crimes, having mercy on no man but despoiling whoever they could find of all their possessions and killing them in a bloodthirsty manner without second thoughts.

When Modwenna heard that this detestable deed had been committed and had learned through reliable messengers that, without a doubt, such an evil crime had been perpetrated in this horrible way, she rejoiced for the souls of the martyrs who had made their way to everlasting joy through the short path of death, but she pitied their unburied bodies that lay uninterred and could be devoured by animals or birds. Most of all she grieved for the wicked and impious men who neither believed in nor feared the infinite torments prepared for them. She prayed intently to the Lord that He would instruct her how she might, with His aid, both obtain peace from the robbers and find the bodies of the martyrs unharmed by wild beasts for burial. When she had finished her prayer, an angel of the Lord

⁴² Unidentified.

sepelienda inuenire. Cumque orationem complisset,^a astitit ei angelus Domini et dixit illi, 'Confortare, Moduenna, et age uiriliter; uade cum sororibus tuis sanctorum corpora querere, habens fiduciam et nichil hesitans⁴³ quia Dominus adiuuabit te.' Tunc illa exhilarata spiritu,^b conuocatis sororibus,^c dixit ad illas, 'Filie mee ac sorores karissime, eamus querere pacem et misericordiam et perquiramus donec inueniamus sanctorum corpora, ut exhibeamus eis uenerabilem sepulturam.' Que responderunt, 'Quomodo ibimus, domina,^d inter latrones ne illudant nobis et opprimant nos et simus in^f opprobrium gentium?'⁴⁴ Quibus illa respondit, 'Nolite timere, nolite hesitare, habete fiduciam, eamus querere corpora martirum, Dominus proteget nos.'

Post hec dicta, assumptis secum quadraginta nouem uirginibus, abiit usque in campum ^gqui uocatur^g Madatheuene ubi, cum quesissent sanctorum corpora et inuenissent, ecce Glunelath, princeps latronum et crudelis tyrannus in partibus illis, iam apparuerat et cum quadraginta nouem comitibus iniquitatis sue nequissimis ac flagitiosissimis, sicut et^h ipse, plenus furore et stipatus furentibus armatis et paratis ad omnem malitiam,ⁱ cursu precipiti appropinquabat. Qui, cum a longe uidisset et quadraginta nouem numero connumerasset puellas et accedendo propius comperisset quinquagesimam^j abbatisam, intuens socios simili modo quadraginta nouem se quinquagesimo, uesano repletus spiritu, exardescens concupiscentia et facibus exagitatus libidinis putansque se fore mali desiderii compotens, quasi subridens et iocabundus ait ad satellites suos, 'Eia, optimi commilitones, quam bene accidit ^khodie nobis^k capere talem predam, nunc sine obstaculo impleamus desiderium nostrum, et unusquisque uestrum quam sibi elegerit suam arripiat^l et ego mihi accipio^m Moduennam.' Quibus uerbis illi accensi et omnes communiter libentissime assentientes ad nequitiam, huiuscemodi uoluntatem habentes, armis accinti contra inermes uirgines gradu concito ad scelus nephandissimum properabant. Cumque Moduenna conspexisset eos ita raptim ac furibundos uenire, locuta est sororibus uidentibus eadem et contremiscentibus, consolans eas et nichil omnino de semetipsa hesitans sed magis in temptatione confidens, iubet illas fiducialiter simul consistere neque moueri de loco, dicens ad eas, 'Nolite expauescere, filie, orate intento corde ad Dominum, et iamiamque uidebitis | mirabilia eius.' Dum itaque illi maligni iam

A, f. 87^f

^a impleisset A ^b fortiter A ^c interlined R; uirginibus A ^d om. R
^e forte add. A ^f om. A ^g om. A ^h om. A ⁱ militiam R
^j quadesimam R ^k nobis hodie A ^l accipiat A ^m accipiam A

stood before her and said, 'Be comforted, Modwenna, and act bravely. Go with your sisters to seek the bodies of those saints, having faith and not hesitating,⁴³ for the Lord will help you.' She was exalted in spirit and called together the sisters, saying to them, 'My dearest daughters and sisters, let us go in pursuit of peace and mercy and let us seek the bodies of the saints until we find them, so that we may give them respectful burial.' They replied, 'How, mistress, shall we go among robbers, so that they do not make sport of us and oppress us, making us a mockery before the nations?'⁴⁴ She answered them, 'Do not be afraid, do not hold back, have faith, let us go to seek the martyrs' bodies, the Lord will protect us.'

When she had said this, she took forty-nine virgins with her and went into the field of *Magdathevene*, where they sought and found the bodies of the saints. Then suddenly there was Glunsalach, chief of the robbers and a cruel tyrant in those parts, and with him forty-nine companions of his wickedness, as evil and outrageous as himself. He approached swiftly, full of fury, accompanied by his armed men who were raging and ready for any evil. He saw from afar that there were forty-nine girls there and as he came nearer ascertained that the fiftieth was the abbess. Considering that his companions were likewise forty-nine in number and he himself the fiftieth, he was filled with an insane spirit, burned with desire and stirred up by the fires of lust. Thinking that he would be able to fulfil his evil desire, he said to his followers with a smiling jest, 'Well, my fine comrades, how fortunate we are today to have such a prey. Now we can fulfil our desire without any opposition. Each of you should seize the one he chooses for himself and I take Modwenna for myself.' They were stirred by these words and all agreed willingly to the wicked deed, having that kind of will. Girded with weapons, they hastened towards the unarmed virgins to perpetrate this most wicked crime. When Modwenna saw them advancing with such haste and fury, she spoke to the sisters, who had seen all this and were afraid. She consoled them and, not being at all irresolute in herself but having greater confidence in time of trial, ordered them to stand firm confidently and not move from the spot, saying to them, 'Do not be afraid, my daughters, pray to the Lord with all your heart and you will straightaway see His wonders.' So, as those wicked men came

⁴³ Jas. 1: 6.

⁴⁴ Cf. Jer. 29: 18, 44: 8; Ezek. 5: 14, etc.

propinquissimi aduenissent, et nichil restaret amplius nisi ut unusquisque^a protinus suam abriperet, ecce sopor Domini contremiscendo miraculo statim irruit super illos et corruentes proni in terram uniuersi firmiter obdormierunt, et a prima hora diei quinte ferie usque ad nonam septime ^bomnes ita^b pariter, unusquisque in loco proprio, nec se mouentes neque respirantes quasi penitus mortui iacuerunt.

Apparuit autem angelus Domini, magna cum^c claritate resplendens, et ait Moduene, 'Constans esto, Moduenna, et age fiducialiter et uenite mecum tu et Glunelath. Assumam enim uos spiritualiter et ostendam uobis archana Dei et horrenda et desideranda.' Ad hanc uocem rapti ambo confestim de corpore secuti sunt angelum et demonstraui eis in spiritali uisione primum quidem penas inferni et horribiles cruciatus, deinde quasi sedes amenas atque florigeras in paradiso, et secundum meritorum qualitatem mansiones diuersas, uniuersas speciosas ac delectabiles, uerumptamen diuersis modis diuersis generibus pro dignitatibus singulis dissimiliter coaptatas. Cumque demonstrasset eis unam earum speciosissimam et Glunelath intuenti eam inenarrabiliter placuisset, rogauit ille Moduennam ut ipsa^d interrogaret cuius 'illa mansio esset,^e que supra ceteras^f tante dignitatis eminenti priuilegio claruisset. Et ait illa ad angelum, 'Domine mi, cuius ^gmansio hec est?'^h Ait^h angelus, 'Ista mansio preparata est cuidam religioso pontifici, Cheuin nomine, qui septem annos uiuens satis districte iam transegit in heremo et tale habitaculum beatitudinis meruit ut eternaliter possideret in celo.' Reuelatis itaque plurimisⁱ in huiuscemodi uisionibus, nona hora sabati uterque regrediuntur ad corpora et Moduenna, suscitata ab extasi, suscitauit ceteros dormientes eatenus et iacentes tanquam mortuos, dicens ad eos, 'In nomine sancte et indiuidue trinitatis surgite, surgite, surgite, quia pene peracto iam toto triduo uniuersi uos communiter obdormistis.' Ad cuius uocem^j omnes expergefati sunt et sederunt super faciem terre^k unusquisque^l in loco suo, uelut a graui somno excitati et tanquam obliui ubi essent aut unde uenissent, admirabantur in semetipsis, et stupebant, nondum^m ualentes considerare se ipsos sed quasi adhuc somniantes, mirabilia que sibi acciderant et immenso pauore uniuersi attoniti.

Tunc abbatisa, consurgens in medio, prior ipsa ymnum imposuit et cepit psallereⁿ repleta gaudio cum uirginibus suis, que simul cum ea laudabant altissime Deum mirabilem et glorificabant, et claris

^a quisque A ^{b b} ita omnes A ^c om. A ^d om. A ^{e e} esset illa mansio A ^f om. R ^{g g} est mansio hec A ^h Et respondit A

near and it seemed that all that could happen would be that each one would snatch away his prey at once, suddenly by an awe-inspiring miracle a sleep sent by the Lord fell upon them and, falling outstretched on the ground, they all slept deeply and lay there as if utterly dead, neither moving nor breathing, each in his place, from the first hour on Thursday to the ninth hour on Saturday.

Then an angel of the Lord appeared, shining with great brightness, and said to Modwenna, 'Be steadfast, Modwenna, and act with faith and, you and Glunsalach, come with me. I will raise you up in the spirit and show you the secrets of God, both the things to be feared and those to be desired.' At his words both were suddenly rapt from the body and followed the angel. He showed them in spiritual vision images first of the pains and horrible tortures of hell, then of the pleasant and flowery abodes in heaven and the mansions that varied according to each one's merits. All were beautiful and delightful, but of different kinds and types according to each individual's worth. After he had shown them one very beautiful mansion that pleased Glunsalach unspeakably as he looked at it, he requested Modwenna to ask whose that mansion was that was resplendent with the high privilege of such great dignity above all the rest. She said to the angel, 'My lord, whose mansion is this?' The angel said, 'This mansion is prepared for a certain pious bishop, Kevin by name, who has passed seven years in the wilderness living an austere life and has deserved such a blessed dwelling to be his for ever in heaven.' Many things were revealed in visions of this kind and then, at the ninth hour on the Saturday both returned to the body. Modwenna, awaking from the trance, roused the other sleepers who were still lying as if dead, saying to them, 'In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity, arise, arise, arise, for you have all slept for almost three days.' They woke at the sound of her voice and each sat on the face of the earth in his place, as if stirred from a deep sleep, like people who had forgotten where they were or had come from, wondering at themselves, and stunned, not yet in full possession of themselves but as if still sleeping, astonished at the wonders that had befallen them and full of great fear.

Then the abbess stood up in their midst and first decreed a hymn and then began to sing a psalm, full of joy, along with her virgins, who with her gave praise and glory to the wondrous God with loud

ⁱ om. A
add. A

^j confestim add. A
" salpere R

^k om. R

^l et add. R

^m plene

uocibus uniuerse concinebant hilari animo atque dicebant, 'Assis nobis propitius in magnis mirabilibus qui condidisti omnia manens Deus per secula.' Cumque ^acompleuissent omnes pariter ^a'amen', Glunelath, reuersus ad se et compunctus per Dei gratiam, reminiscens que uiderat in spiritali regione translatus, surrexit de loco et accessit ad abbatissam, ante cuius pedes coram uniuersis qui ibi aderant cum summa humilitate prostratus corruit suumque auxilium et misericordiam supplicatione^b postulauit, 'Domina mea,' inquit, 'consule seruo tuo, auxiliare misero, fac me participem Dei tui ne incurram penas inferni quas uidi. Impetra mihi apud ipsum, si possibile est, quatinus talem merear possidere mansionem in celo qualis tibi monstrata est esse cuiusdam Cheuin pontificis in paradiso.' Ad quem illa benigne respondit, 'Si potes credere, omnia possible sunt credenti.' At ille, respondens cum lacrimis, aiebat, 'Credam, domina, omnibus^c quecumque docueris et faciam omnia quecumque preceperis.' Erat autem inter illos unus ex illis^d Aphin,^e filius cuiusdam sororis Glunelath, qui et ipse reuersus ad se et recolligens semetipsum, cum uideret auunculum tam subito tamque mirabiliter translatus,^f pietate commotus sanguinis et diuina respectus gratia, surrexit concitus de loco proprio et uenit prope ad abbatissam et, similiter pedibus eius prostratus,^g humiliter dicit ad illam, 'Domina mea, sicut uidero auunculum | meum iuxta consilium tuum agere, ita ego quoque paratus sum tibi per omnia et in omnibus absque ulla contradictione fideliter obedire.' Porro autem ceteri socii, redeuntes ^hipsi etiam^h ad se et tandem intelligentes seipsos, cum uiderent principem suum et nepotemⁱ eius remansisse cum Moduenna et esse penitus conuersos ad eam secundum uoluntatem suam,^j contemplantes uirtutum^k magnitudinem^l in illa et putantes arte magica fieri ut ita cuncta superare potuisset, stupefacti pro tantis miraculis, in longinquas regiones, pauore magno exteriti, discesserunt nec ulterius in illis partibus ^maliquid mali^m agere neque amplius uel Moduenna uel suis sororibus uel omninoⁿ cuiquam hominum nocere in aliqua re temptauerunt. Moduenna uero et sue uirgines, contuentes securitatem mirabiliter factam a Domino et pro tantis muneribus ab eo sibi collatis dignas gratias exhibentes, collegerunt^o cum diligentia corpora presbiterorum ac martirum et, redeuntes cum gaudio, sepelierunt ea^p in monasterio Cellis Cliuii,^q adducentes secum Glunelath et Aphin, quos edoctos fidem rectam et opera pietatis in Christo Iesu baptizari

A, f. 87^v^{a-a} omnes pariter compleuissent A^d eis A^e nomine add. A^b supplici deprecatione A^f transmutatum A^c omnia R^g prosternitur et A

voice. All with clear voices sang together in a cheerful spirit, saying, 'May the God who created all things and endures for ever be with us and favour us.' When they had all concluded, 'Amen', Glunsalach, returning to himself and pierced with God's grace, and remembering what he had seen in the spiritual region when he had been in the trance, rose from his place and went to the abbess, throwing himself prostrate before her feet with great humility in front of everyone who was there and begging her help and mercy. 'My lady,' he said, 'advise your servant, help this wretched man, make me a participant in your God, lest I incur the pains of hell that I saw. Obtain from Him, if it is possible, that I should deserve to possess such a mansion in heaven as was shown to you as being this bishop Kevin's portion in paradise.' She answered him kindly, 'If you can believe, all is possible to one who believes.' But he replied, in tears, 'I will believe, lady, everything you teach and I will do everything you command.' There was among them a man called Aphin, the son of one of Glunsalach's sisters, who also returned to himself and recollected himself. When he saw his uncle transformed so swiftly and marvellously, he was moved by family feeling and looked upon by divine grace, and arose quickly from his place and drew near to the abbess and, likewise throwing himself at her feet, said to her humbly, 'My lady, as I see my uncle following your counsel, so I too am ready to obey you faithfully in all things without dispute.' When the other companions returned to themselves and recollected themselves and saw their chief and his nephew remaining with Modwenna and completely turned to her will, they considered her great powers and thought that it was by magic that she was able to overcome everything. Astonished at such great miracles, they went off in great fear to far distant regions and never again tried to do any evil in those parts or to harm Modwenna or her sisters or any man at all in any way. Modwenna and her virgins, seeing the safety that the Lord had miraculously provided for them and thanking Him worthily for the great gifts He had given, carefully gathered together the bodies of the martyred priests and, returning with joy, buried them in the monastery of Killeavy. They took with them Glunsalach and Aphin and, when they had been instructed in the right faith and the works of piety, they had them baptized in the name of Jesus.

^{h-h} etiam ipsi *A* ⁱ cum nepote *A* ^j ipsius *A* ^k uirginum *R*
ⁱ tam abundantem *add. A* ^{m-m} mali aliquid *A* ⁿ om. *A*
^o colligerent *R* ^p honorabiliter *add. A* ^q Cellicliuii *A*

fecerunt, et tradentes litteris^a ita eos in timore Dei et in sancto proposito erudierunt et nutrierunt^b ut et postmodum episcopi religiosissimi fierent et dies suos in bono fine, in sancta conuersatione et^c senectute uenerabili consummarent.

14. *De Cheuin temptato a diabolo et balneo eius.*

Quibus ita se habentibus, diabolus antiquus hostis, qui mendax est et pater mendacii,⁴⁵ qui bonis omnibus ubique inuidet, qui semper^d circuit querens^d quem deuoret,⁴⁶ qui non cessat machinari dolos quibus ualeat inuadere ac decipere Christianos, accessit ad Cheuin in solitudine,⁴⁷ similitudinem assumens clerici et uelut ei compatiens atque pro illo querimoniam Dei^e faciens, uersucias dolose^f aduersus eum non insolitas cogitans, miserationem | se habere de illo ingeniose simulans, aures eius extrinsecus uerbis fictis deliniens, cor illius temptans intrinsecus et ueneno iniquitatis inficiendo corrumpens, ait illi, quasi dolens pro eo, 'Quid hic agis, Cheuin pontifex et fortissimus heremita? Cur perdis iuuentutem tuam in hac uastissima solitudine? Quid profecerunt tibi septem anni quos iam egisti^g districte uiuens in ista heremo, in quibus macerasti corpus tuum ieiuniis, animam tuam afflixisti uigiliis, cor tuum cruciasti inaniter gemitibus atque suspiriis? Quid ualuerunt tibi urtica et malue et olera que in cibum accepisti, crude herbe, fructus siluarum, arborum cortices et radices incontrectabiles? Vbi sunt lectiones tue in quibus frequentissime pernoctabas, compunctiones intime, orationes assidue? Vbi sunt labores manuum quibus frustra tam diutissime desudasti, ubi sunt desideria eternorum, ubi sunt effusiones lacrimarum frequentium? Ecce omnia abstulit tibi Moduenna^h que promisit Glunelath, latrone pessimo, pactumⁱ cum eo faciens se daturam ei locum tuum et mansionem que^j tua merita preparauerant tibi in celo. Aut si existimas me falsa dicere, mitte mecum quoscunque placuerit ad hoc proximum monasterium uirginum quod illa construxit, ibi enim eundem Glunelath et Aphin nepotem eius, discentes literas cum uirginibus et cohabitantes cum eis, legati tui (nisi mentior) poterunt absque dubio reperire. Vide ergo quam incassum laborasti, cum isti duo latrones nequissimi precedant te in regno celorum. Recogita ergo^k de te, miser, et tandem aliquando

^a litteras A

^b enutrierunt A

^c in add. A

^{d-d} circuens querit R

^e om. A

^f dolose A

^g transegiisti A

^h abbatissa add. A

ⁱ firmum add. A

^j quam A

^k itaque A

They taught them their letters and brought them up in the fear of God and with holy intentions, so that they later became most devout bishops and ended their days well, in a holy manner of life and at a venerable old age.

14. *Kevin's temptation by the devil and his bath.*

When things were in this state, the devil, the old enemy, who is a liar and the father of lies,⁴⁵ who envies all good things everywhere, who always goes about seeking whom he may devour,⁴⁶ who does not cease from devising traps to beset and deceive Christians, came to Kevin in the wilderness in the shape of a cleric and pretended to sympathize with him.⁴⁷ He raised a complaint to God on his behalf, intending to trick him in his usual cunning way, artfully simulating compassion for him, winning him over by the false words he poured into his ears, putting temptation into his heart and infecting him with the corrupting poison of wickedness. He said to him, as if grieving for him, 'What are you doing here, Kevin, bishop and steadfast hermit? Why are you wasting your youth in this desolate wilderness? What have you gained from the seven years that you have spent living austere in this solitary place, emaciating your body with fasts, afflicting your spirit with vigils, tormenting your heart in vain with groans and sighs? What value is there in feeding on nettles, mallows, herbs, raw plants, the fruit of the woods, tree-bark, and tough roots? What of the reading in which you often spent the night, your profound remorse, your constant prayers? What of your manual labour, in which you exerted yourself so much in vain, what of your desire for eternal life, your profuse and frequent tears? All of this has been taken from you by Modwenna, and has been promised to the wicked robber Glunsalach. She has made a pact with him to give him your place and the mansion that your merits had prepared for you in heaven. If you do not believe me, send me in the company of whoever you choose to the monastery of virgins that she has constructed nearby and there, if I do not lie, your envoys will certainly find this Glunsalach and Aphin his nephew, learning their letters and living with the virgins. See, therefore, how you have laboured in vain, when these two wicked robbers will take precedence

⁴⁵ John 8: 44.

⁴⁶ 1 Pet. 5: 8.

⁴⁷ For the association of Glunsalach and Kevin, see C. Plummer (ed.), *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae* (2 vols.; Oxford, 1910), i. liv–lv n. 5.

respice, miserans te ipsum, quia multo^a melius tibi fuerat saltem^b habere temporalem^b leticiam quam, semper in angustiis existentem, amittere utramque simul et transitoriam et eternam.^c

Hiis dictis, diabolus tacuit et confestim Cheuin, pontificem et hactenus heremitam sanctissimum, temptatio immoderata uiolenter inuasit. Verumtamen antequam se moueret de loco, misit exploratores ad monasterium uirginum sicut clericus falsus rogauerat, qui statim cum illo eunt et redeunt et renuntiant uera esse uniuersa que dixerat. Ad hec iratus Cheuin iracundia magna et se ipsum capere non ualens, credens uerbis fallacibus et diabolico exagitatus furore, obliuiscens A, f. 88^r episcopum et anchoritam reliquens, de pio crudelis, tyrannus | de presule, de defensore desertor efficitur et iam ulterius exspectare non sustinens, stimulatus inuidia surgit rabidus de loco suo, exiit agnum, leonem induit, sumit arma, socios iniquitatis quantos ualuit^c aggregat, uiam peruersam aggreditur, ultionem desiderans et totus extra se proponit^d animo Moduennam^d cum suis omnibus furtim incendere et monasterium eius cum habitaculis uirginum quam citius poterit^e radicitus exstirpare. Cumque hoc modo ulcisci^f cupiens, arripuisset iter nequitiæ et ad perpetrandum tantum nefas, ducente eum diabolo, cursu precipiti^g furiosus transuolaret, ecce angelus Domini astitit Moduenne oranti in cenobio suo et uultu placido dixit ad illam, 'Surge hinc, Moduenna, uelociter et festinans proficiscere ad locum qui Surde uocatur^h 48 et sta ibi in occursum Cheuin, quia diabolus temptat eum et uenit ad te cum iracundia magna, ductus inuidia pro Glunelath et Aphin pro quibus disposuitⁱ te disperdere et ecclesiam tuam delere. Sed uade illi in obuiam segura de auxilio Domini qui docebit te et auxiliabitur^j te qualiter et te ipsam ab illo custodias et ipsum eundem ab inimico qui eum fefellit eripias.'

Hiis auditis, protinus ab oratione consurgit,^k adorauit et benedixit et gracias egit omnipotenti Deo sororesque conuocatas ut intende funderent preces ad Dominum paucis commonuit et, assumptis 'secum non multis,^l ad locum qui appellatur Surde, quem angelus eam ante docuerat, sine dilatione properauit. Quo dum illa peruenisset, prospiciens a longe uidit Cheuin armatum uenientem precipitem, cum clericis et satellitibus^m plurimis similiter arma

^a om. A ^{b b} temporalem habere A ^c ualeat A ^{d d} Moduennam animo A ^e totum add. A ^f se add. A ^g prepeti A ^h dicitur A
ⁱ proposuit A ^j consiliabitur A ^k consurgens A ^{l l} non multis secum A ^m suis add. A

of you in the kingdom of heaven. Think about yourself, unhappy man, at long last give yourself some consideration and pity, for it were far better for you to have happiness at least in this world than to live in permanent deprivation and to lose both passing and eternal joy.'

When he had said this, the devil was silent and straightaway a huge and violent wave of temptation swept over Kevin, the bishop and, until now, most holy hermit. But before he took action, he sent scouts to the monastery of the virgins, as the false cleric has asked, and they went immediately with him and returned, reporting that everything he had said was true. At this Kevin was filled with great anger and was unable to contain himself, believing those lying words and stirred by diabolic fury, forgetting that he was a bishop, abandoning the way of the hermit, turning from a devout man to a cruel, from a prelate to a tyrant, from a defender to a deserter. Not being able to wait any longer, he arose from his place raging and pierced with envy, put off the lamb, put on the lion, took up arms, gathered as many companions of his evil as he could, set out on the path of unrighteousness in pursuit of vengeance, and, completely beside himself, formed the intention of burning Modwenna and those all with her by stealth and completely destroying the monastery and the virgins' dwellings as soon as he could. When, desiring to be revenged in this way, he had set out on the path of wickedness, and, led by the devil, was rushing along madly to do this evil deed, suddenly the angel of the Lord stood before Modwenna as she prayed in her monastery and said, with a serene countenance, 'Modwenna, arise quickly from here and hasten to the place called Swords⁴⁸ and stand there to meet Kevin, for the devil is tempting him and he is coming to you in great anger, driven by envy of Glunsalach and Aphin, and because of them he is intending to ruin you and destroy your church. But go to meet him on the way confident in the help of the Lord, who will teach you and assist you how you may both protect yourself from him and snatch him away from the enemy who has deceived him.'

When she heard this she rose up from her prayers at once, adored and blessed and gave thanks to Almighty God and, gathering the sisters together, instructed them briefly that they should pour out prayers to the Lord with zeal. Then, taking a few of them with her, she hurried without delay to the place called Swords that the angel had previously mentioned to her. When she had arrived there, she saw far off Kevin coming headlong towards her in arms, accompanied by many clerics

gerentibus, que tunc ingemuit et in alta suspexit et confestim, genibus incuruatis ad terram et eleuatis ad celum manibus, perfusa lacrimis, compuncta pietate, suorum salutem persecutorum desiderans, contrito corde clamauit ad Dominum ^aet intenta deprecatione atque humillima supplicatione, audientibus qui aderant, dixit ad eum, ^a ‘O dominator cunctorum, Domine Deus omnipotens, fiat uoluntas tua in celo et in terra⁴⁹ et clementer respice in nos, esto propitius iniquitatibus nostris et ne auertas a nobis faciem tuam propter scelera nostra sed succurrere in necessitatibus secundum immensitatem gratiarum gratuitarum et suffragare in periculis iuxta multitudinem misericordiarum tuarum.’ Hec et similia dum perorasset ad Dominum et completis postulationibus surrexisset a terra, apparuit ei manifesta uisione diabolus cum iam Cheuin accessisset propinquius et prospexisset^b uelut Ethiopem nigrum puerum^c ad sinistram pedem illius pendentem, susurrantem ad sinistram eius aurem mala et seminantem in corde eius iniqua consilia. Tunc illa constanter signum crucis in fronte faciens, perrexit obuiam illi et coram sociis impietatis sue cum ingentis auctoritate fiducie dixit ei, ‘In nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi, sta ibi Cheuin et exspecta paulisper, esto quietus et ne mouearis aduersum me donec loquar tecum et audias sermonem Domini de ore meo.’ Ad quam uocem ^dcontinuo Cheuin^d cum sodalibus, audito sancto nomine, stupefacti omnes uehementer exterriti sunt et, manifesta Dei uirtute presentialiter cognita, uniuersi pariter perturbati atque attoniti constiterunt.

Addidit autem Moduenna et locuta est ad Cheuin, ‘Eia, frater, quare tam subito permisisti Sathanan sine obstaculo introire in^e cor tuum ut tam cito te introduceret in cogitationes malignas et relinquere faceret sacram solitudinem heremi et habitaculum sanctum tuum? Cur tam improuidus emulatus es Glunelath et Aphin emulatione diabolica et putasti Deum esse aut inpotentem aut iniustum, quasi qui uel nolit uel nequeat compensare merita singulorum et retribuere unicuique secundum opera sua? Cur tam facillime sufflante uento excussus es a facie terre tanquam puluis leuissimus et nullam prorsus soliditatem constantie reperire in te potuit temptatoris fallacis repentina^f et inimica^f persuasio?^g Numquid non magis congaudere te oportuerat quia fratres tui mortui fuerant et reuixerunt, perierant atque inuenti sunt? Numquid non Christus pro impiis mortuus est,⁵⁰ qui morte sua iustificat impium⁵¹ et saluificat^h circumcisionem

^{a-a} om. R ^b conspexit A ^c puerulum A ^{d-d} Cheuin continuo A
^e ad A ^{f-f} om. A ^g persuasio A ^h saluificat A

and followers, also in arms. She gave a groan, looked up to the heavens and without delay bent her knees to the ground and raised her hands on high. Covered in tears, pierced with devotion and full of desire for the well-being of her persecutors, she cried to the Lord with a contrite heart, saying to Him, with eager prayer and humble supplication, in the hearing of those who were present, 'O ruler of all things, Lord God omnipotent, your will be done in heaven and on earth,⁴⁹ look on us with mercy, be forgiving toward our iniquities and do not turn your face from us because of our sins but help us in our need according to the vastness of your freely given grace and assist us when we are in danger according to your manifold mercies.' When she had uttered this prayer and others like it and, completing her petition, had risen from the ground, the devil appeared to her in plain vision, for, as Kevin drew near to her, she saw a figure like a black Ethiopian boy hanging on to his left foot, whispering wicked things into his left ear and sowing evil counsel in his heart. Then making the sign of the cross with steadfastness on her forehead, Modwenna went to meet him and, in the presence of the companions of his wickedness, said to him with confidence and great authority, 'In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, stand there, Kevin, and wait a while, be quiet and do not move against me until I have spoken with you and you have heard the word of the Lord from my mouth.' At her voice and the sound of the holy name Kevin and his companions were all astounded and terrified and, recognizing the presence of God's manifest power, they all stood still in astonished disarray.

Modwenna then went on to say to Kevin, 'O, brother, why have you let Satan enter your heart so swiftly and with no resistance, so that he has led you so quickly into wicked plans and made you leave your holy hermitage and sanctified dwelling? Why have you given yourself up so carelessly to diabolic envy of Glunsalach and Aphin? Do you think that God is either powerless or unjust, as if He were unwilling or unable to reward everyone according to their merits and repay them according to their works? Why has a breath of wind been able to blow you so easily from the face of the earth like light dust and why was the sudden wicked persuasion of the deceitful tempter unable to encounter in you any solid constancy? Surely it is more fitting that you should rejoice because your brothers were dead and now live again, that they had perished and have been found? Surely Christ died for the wicked,⁵⁰ justifying the wicked⁵¹ with His death

⁴⁹ Matt. 6: 10.

⁵⁰ Rom. 5: 6.

⁵¹ Rom. 4: 5.

A, f. 88^v ex fi | de et preputium per fidem?⁵² Quare ergo doluisti tam stolide ab errore gentilium impios conuersos ad fidem, qui baptizati in Christo Christum induere,⁵³ membra Christi⁵⁴ effecti, separati per Christi gratiam^a a massa perdita,⁵⁵ deleti a cirographo paterni delicti et a uinculo eterne dampnationis liberati? Numquid non karitas que sua sunt non querit sed potius que sunt alterius⁵⁶ et ob hoc etiam, si necesse fuisset recedere de loco proprio propter fratrem, dubitare debueras merita tua perdere, quasi Christus tibi non ualeret si uellet multo meliora preparare? Signa itaque cor tuum, frater, signa cor tuum et, agens penitentiam, respisce festinanter a malignis cogitationibus tuis et Deus omnium qui te adhuc seruauit ne opere perpetrare malum, Dominus omnipotens in cuius ditione sunt omnia, qui cuncta condidit et uniuersa gubernat ipse sua pietate iam nunc tibi aperiat oculos, ut uideas et caueas inimicum qui te decepit, qui te sua fallacia huc usque protraxit, qui te summo studio a sancto proposito conatur euellere quatinus—quod absit—postmodum ualeat de tua societate in sua dampnatione gaudere. Hec cum illa dixisset, reuelauit Dominus oculos et intellectum Cheuin et conspexit manifeste diabolium in speciem Ethiopis, qui prius erat ^blocutus cum eo^b in similitudinem^c clerici, uiditque eum quasi nigrum puerulum herentem tenaciter ad suum pedem sinistrum, quem attendens continuo uehementer exhorruit et confestim Moduennam, ut illum a se suis sanctis orationibus expellere procuraret, suppliciter atque lacrimabiliter postulauit. Quod dum illa uoluntarie annuente Domino peregisset, Cheuin cum sociis in ipsa hora, respecti a Deo et intrinsecus compulsi penitentia, protinus arma proiciunt, beluinum animum quem prius induerant uniuersi festinanter deponunt, compuncti corde ad terram prosternuntur, ueniam sceleris impetrari^d a Domino Moduennam cum lacrimis omnes pariter, percutientes pectora, ualde humili obsecratione deprecantur. Tunc illa gaudens et^e gratias agens, assumpsit eos secum et duxit uniuersos^f ad monasterium suum statimque conuocauit sorores unaque cum eis Glunelath et Aphin, quibus enarrauit ad edificationem omnium que de Cheuin et eius sociis mirabili prouidentia contigerunt, precipiens

^a gratias A ^{b b} cum eo locutus A ^c similitudine R ^d sibi add. A
^e om. R ^f eos A

⁵² Rom. 3: 30.

⁵³ Gal. 3: 27.

⁵⁴ 1 Cor. 6: 15, etc.

⁵⁵ A common phrase apparently Augustinian in origin; see Augustine, *Sermo* xxvi. 13 (*Corpus Christianorum, Series latina*, xlv. 357).

⁵⁶ 1 Cor. 13: 5, 10: 24.

and saving the circumcised in faith and the uncircumcised through faith?⁵² Why then do you grieve so foolishly that wicked men have been converted from the error of the pagans to the faith, that they have been baptized in Christ and put on Christ,⁵³ that they have become members of Christ⁵⁴ and been separated through Christ's grace from the mass of perdition,⁵⁵ that their names have been deleted from the warrant of our ancestral crime and they have been freed from the bond of eternal damnation. Surely charity seeks not those things that are our own but those that are another's,⁵⁶ and so, if it should be necessary to leave one's own place for the sake of a brother, you ought not fear that you will lose the reward for your merits, as if Christ could not prepare a much better place for you, if He wished. Seal your heart, therefore, brother, seal your heart, do penance, recover yourself quickly from your wicked thoughts and, in His grace may the God of all, who has preserved you so far from doing an evil act, the Lord omnipotent who has dominion over everything, who created everything and governs all things, open your eyes, so that you may see and beware the enemy who has deceived you and drawn you to this point through his trickery, who is trying with the utmost zeal to pluck you from your holy intentions so that—God forbid—he may later enjoy your company among the damned.' When she had said this, the Lord unveiled Kevin's eyes and understanding and he plainly saw the devil, who had previously spoken with him in the shape of a cleric, in the form of an Ethiopian; he perceived him as a little black boy clinging tenaciously to his left foot. As soon as he noticed him he was filled with great dread and at once begged Modwenna, with tears and entreaties, to secure his expulsion from him with her holy prayers. Modwenna did this willingly with the Lord's consent, and at that same time Kevin and his companions, whom God looked on with solicitude and who were driven within by repentance, immediately threw down their weapons, swiftly abandoned the savage spirit they had all formerly adopted, threw themselves to the ground with repentant hearts and, with tears and beating of their breasts, they all begged Modwenna with humble entreaty to secure from the Lord pardon for their crime. She rejoiced and gave thanks and took them with her and led them to her monastery, where she immediately called together the sisters and Glunsalach and Aphin, telling them for their edification of all that had happened to Kevin and his companions through such a wonderful providence. She instructed them to pray together for

omnibus ut intimo ^acorde et ^a affectu preces pro illis ad Dominum communiter funderent, quatinus Deus omnipotens non eis ulterius ^baduersarium dominari^b permetteret, magis autem deleteret per gratiam misericordie sue quecunque commissa siue mente siue opere in uita sua aliquotiens perpetrassent.

Qua oratione completa, uolens adhuc 'Moduenna confirmare' Cheuin pontificem ne unquam amplius demoniace temptationi cederet sed potius, rememorans mirabilia Domini que accidissent in eo, pugnans contra diabolum toto tempore uite sue usque ad obitum, firmior semper atque audacior et de supernis exspectans auxilium confidentior perseueraret, accipiens baculum quem gerere solebat in manu,^d duxit eum iterum ad radicem montis iuxta cenobium, ubi erat fons frigidissimus in quo etiam ipsa in hieme solita fuerat,^e dum dormirent cetere uirgines, dimersa usque ad scapulas, totum ex integro psalterium^f frequentius decantare. Quem baculo, signum crucis in eo imprimens, coram Cheuin tetigit et aquis | ex fonte fluentibus, quasi ratione utentibus, audientibus cunctis qui aderant, fiduciali auctoritate inperauit, 'In nomine,'^g inquit, 'Domini nostri Iesu Christi,'^g mutare^h uiam 'fontanee limphe'ⁱ et per potestatem ipsius sequimini post me, uenientes quo ego uos duxero, ut per uos quoque annuntietur laus Dei et 'in terra et in celo.'^j Et cum hec dixisset, traxit post semet baculum suum, iter aquis ostendens quo fluere super terram, ascendendo ipsa per cliuum et perueniendo usque ad montis supercilium. Aque uero, per uirtutem Dei contra^k naturam in superiora enitentes, baculum sequebantur. Multi autem ad hoc spectaculum presentes aderant qui, uidentes magnalia tanta fieri, uirginis meritum et Christi potentiam stupore maximo | uniuersi admirabantur. Miranda^l mirabilia sequuntur. Erat enim in collis cacumine rupes cauata, quasi preparata ab angelis, in quam aque preeunte baculo se infuderunt, que continuo postquam ^milluc introeunt^m ita moderate efficiunturⁿ calide, ueluti si fuissent ad balneum humano studio cum omni diligentia temperate. In hoc balneum fecit Moduenna, edocta per spiritum, intrare Cheuin, dicens ad eum, 'Sicut in hoc balneo lauaris extrinsecus a sordibus corporis, sic te Deus omnipotens emundet intrinsecus a maculis cordis.' Quibus ita peractis, redierunt omnes ad monasterium uirginum et Cheuin pontifex cum sodalibus suis, accepta licentia, gratias agentes, leti reuersi sunt in solitudinem, castigati, emendati, confirmati

^{a-a} cordis A ^{b b} aduersari A ^{c c} confirmare Moduenna A
^d manum A ^e noctibus add. A ^f spalterium R ^{g g} 'Domini nostri Iesu Christi,' inquit A ^h mutare A ^{i i} limphe fontanee A ^{j j} et in

them to the Lord with feeling and love, that Almighty God not permit them any longer to be ruled by the Enemy but rather that He wipe out through His mercy whatever sins they had committed in thought or deed in their lives.

When this prayer was over, Modwenna wished to strengthen bishop Kevin so that he would not succumb to demonic temptation again but would remember the marvellous things of the Lord that had taken place in him and fight against the devil his whole life until death, persevering more steadily and more boldly with more confident expectation of heavenly aid. She took up the staff she usually carried and led him again to the foot of the mountain next to the monastery, where there was a very cold spring in which she was accustomed, even in winter, to submerge herself up to the shoulders and chant the entire psalter, while the other virgins slept. As Kevin stood there, she touched this spring, making the sign of the cross upon it and then, in the hearing of all who were present, commanded the waters flowing from the spring, as if they were rational, saying with confident authority, 'In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, change the path of the water of this spring and through His power follow me, going where I lead you, so that through you also the praise of the Lord may be proclaimed on earth and in heaven.' After saying this, she dragged the staff behind her, showing to the waters the track they should flow along in the ground, going up the slope and coming to the top of the mountain. The waters followed the staff, forcing their way upwards against nature through God's power. There were many people present at this sight who, seeing such a wonder, marvelled with great astonishment at the virgin's merit and Christ's power. This wonder was followed by another yet more wonderful. At the summit of the hill there was, as if it had been prepared by angels, a hollow rock, into which the waters poured themselves as they followed the staff. As soon as they entered there, they became as warm as if they had been carefully made ready for a bath by human care. Guided by the spirit, Modwenna made Kevin enter this bath, saying to him, 'Just as you are washed clean in this bath from bodily dirt on the outside, so may Almighty God cleanse you of all stains of the heart within.' After this, they all returned to the monastery of the virgins and bishop Kevin with his companions, receiving permission to depart, gave thanks and went back happily to the wilderness,

mirabilibus magnis que uiderant et deinceps rememorantes exempla et merita Moduenne, contempnentes omnium temptationum obstacula toto tempore uite sue, religioni anachoritice^a et uniuersis sanctis operibus sine intermissione insudabant. Ipse autem episcopus, Moduennam sepe recogitans, semetipsum coram oculis suis despiciens, uitam suam preteritam quasi adhuc parum profecisset^b uilipendens, exempla uirginis et merita pietatis illius diebus singulis contemplabatur, mala sua que fecerat plangens assidue cum suspiriis maximis frequentissime lacrimabatur, cotidie ad meliora proficere et culmen uirtutum ascendere^c summo desiderio affectabat, ad premia^d retributionis perpetue que sunt preparata^e fidelibus gemitibus inenarrabilibus^f anhelabat, subiectis suis ostendens in omnibus totius religiositatis exemplum, per dies singulos capere cupiens uirtutis et gracie aliquod incrementum, quanto prestans ceteris ordine, tanto precellens uniuersis etiam sanctitate, et eo modo usque ad obitum uitam degens perfectissimam, Christo uero Deo incessanter placere studuit et, triumphans^g diabolo, dies suos in bono fine et in summa deuotione compleuit. Balneum uero in quo balneatus est, Moduenna iubente, sicut prediximus, appellatum est 'Balneum Cheuin', in quo perstiterunt latices calidi per multa^h tempora et multi,ⁱ uariis passi langoribus, multociens abluti in eo gauisi sunt, gracias referentes, per uirtutem Dei^j et utriusque meritum, fugatis infirmitatibus et sanitate recepta. Hoc quoque inuenitur descriptum in ^khiberniensibus libris^k quod illud balneum et aque calide in petra durissima indesinenter usque hodie perseuerant et plurimi confluentes ad locum balneantur ibi usque ^lad presentem diem^l et, inuocato Christi nomine, cum sanctorum suffragiis impetrant de necessitatibus suis auxilium et non tantummodo corporum uerum etiam, quod^m maius est, animarum recuperant sanitatem. Sed de hiis huc usque satis dictum, nunc ad narrationis ordinem reuertamur.

15. *De constructione plurium ecclesiarum in Hibernia et de petra in salem conuersa.*

Istis igitur et huiuscemodi mirabilibus maximis circumquaque per regiones diuulgatis, ueniebant undique ad abbatissam, uisitandi gracia, diuersorum persone generum, reges etⁿ principes, duces et optimates, diuites et pauperes, regine quoque matrone, uidue ac nobiles uirgines et plurima ei donaria deuotissime offerebant, ipsius

^a anachoritice R ^b profecisset R ^c accendere R ^d eterne add. R
^e ab angelis add. and del. R ^f enarrabilibus A ^g triumphato A

chastened, reformed, strengthened by the great wonders they had seen, mindful of Modwenna's merits and example, despising for the rest of their lives all the obstacles of temptation and devoting themselves without respite to the life of the hermit and all holy works. The bishop himself gave frequent thought to Modwenna, despising himself in his own eyes, holding his former life of little worth, as if he had achieved nothing, and contemplating every day the virgin's example and the merit of her devotion. He often lamented, with great and continual sighs, the evil he had done, striving daily with all his heart to come to better things and climb the peak of virtue, panting with inexpressible groans after the prize of eternal reward that is prepared for all believers, showing to his subordinates an example of complete piety in everything, wanting to win an increase in virtue and grace every day and to be as distinguished in sanctity as he was by his rank. Living a perfect life in this way until his death, he continually strove to please Christ our God and, triumphing over the devil, ended his days with a good end in the highest devotion. At Modwenna's command, the bath in which he bathed was called 'Kevin's Bath', as we have said, and the liquid in it continued to be warm for a long time. Through God's power and the merit of the two of them many who suffered from various diseases were cured of their infirmities and recovered their health when they washed in it, rejoicing and giving thanks. The books of the Irish describe how this bath and the warm waters in the hard rock persist continuously to this day and many people go to the spot to bathe at the present time and, invoking the name of Christ, seek the help of the saints in their need, and recover the health not only of the body but, what is greater, of the soul. But enough of this; let us return to the sequence of our narrative.

15. *The building of many churches in Ireland and the rock
turned to salt.*

When news of these great marvels and others like them had spread through the surrounding regions, many people came from all around to visit the abbess. They were of every rank, kings and princes, dukes and great lords, rich and poor, queens too, married women, widows, and noble virgins, devoutly offering her many gifts, commending

^h longa A ⁱ multis R ^j om. A ^{k-k} libris hiberniensibus A
^{l-l} hodie R ^m multo add. A ⁿ om. A

A, f. 89^v

se commendantes orationibus, desiderantes benedici ab ea et postulantes adiuuari apud Dominum sanctissimis intercessionibus eius. Quos illa benigne karitate ineffabili^a uniuersos alacriter suscipiebat hospicio et refectos^b salutaribus uerbis, confortatos, emendatos et edificatos in fide, admirantes pietatem illius et affabilitatem gaudentes et hilares, laudantes in ea Dominum ac benedicentes, cum magna exultatione ad propria remittebat.^c Cogitabat autem uirgo Christi et affectabat adhuc construere oratoria plurima in quibus poneret aliquas de sororibus suis sub disciplina tamen et custodia sua, quibus posset secunda committere partem oneris sui, que haberent industriam prodesse | pluribus in prioratu regiminis, que uidelicet essent idonee utilitati ceterarum ad conuersionem conuenientium, et scirent atque^d ualerent uigilare et excubias ponere in prelio Domini ad salutem et edificationem animarum multarum. De xeniis itaque et oblationibus que frequentissime apportabantur, partem quidem distribuebat egenis, partem uero dispertiebatur in usus peregrinorum et hospitum, et partem conseruabat ut multas animas lucrificeret ad edificaciones^e ecclesiarum. Plurimas igitur in pluribus locis, Deo iuuante, construxit ecclesias: unam scilicet condidit in loco qui dicitur Surde, et alteram fabricauit in campo qui appellatur Murthemene,⁵⁷ et aliam fecit in Airsconis,⁵⁸ et aliam fundauit in Mitha,^f atque aliam in Cheneglas,^g⁵⁹ et aliam composuit in ciuitate Armacha. Plures quoque edificauit alias per diuersas partes Hibernie in quibus omnibus posuit numerum uirginum et constituit super eas prioratum sororum, iuxta quod uidebat unicuique loco conuenire. Ipsa autem peruigili cura^h piam gerebat sollicitudinem super omnes et, frequenter circuiens, uisitabat omnes ecclesias suasⁱ et prouidebat uniuersis etiam necessaria^j corporum sed multo magis semper sollicitabatur de uictualibus animarum. Plurime uidue et multe uirgines, inflammante^k diuino spiritu, sepius ad conuersionem ueniebant, que, relinquentes sua omnia propter Christum, aut dispertiebantur cuncta pauperibus aut secum uniuersa in eadem monasteria ferebant.^l Persone etiam seculi plurime, cupientes benedici a sacris uirginibus et esse participes beneficiorum illarum, munera sua eis et in animalibus et in ceteris speciebus humili deuotione offerebant, rogari pro se ad Dominum supplici postulatione exorantes et se posse adiuuari apud eum in necessitatibus propriis per intercessionem earum sine ulla^m dubitatione confidentes.

^a infatigabili A^b refectis R^c remeabant A^d ac A^e fabricaciones A^f Mitha R^g Cheneglas R^h cura peruigili Aⁱ omnia monasteria sua A^j necessaria etiam A^k inflammate A^l deferebant A^m om. A

themselves to her prayers, desiring to be blessed by her and asking her for the help of her holy intervention before the Lord. With her kindness and ineffable charity, she willingly received them all as guests and refreshed them with the words of salvation before sending them back to their homes in great exultation, comforted, reformed, and edified in the faith, marvelling at her devotion, rejoicing in delight at her friendliness, praising and blessing the Lord in her. Christ's virgin now conceived the intention of building several oratories in which she could place some of her sisters under her authority and care, to whom she could confidently entrust some of her burden, who might be of active benefit to many ruling as prioresses, helpful to those who came to join the monastic life and with the knowledge and ability to watch and keep guard in the Lord's battle for the salvation and edification of many souls. So, from the gifts and offerings that were frequently brought to her, she gave a portion to the poor, another she expended on pilgrims and guests and a third she saved for the building of churches for the benefits of many souls. With God's help she constructed many churches in many places, founding one in the place called Swords, building another in the field of Muirthemene,⁵⁷ making another in Árd Conais,⁵⁸ founding another in Meath, another in *Cheneglas*,⁵⁹ and she constructed another in the city of Armagh. She built many others too in various parts of Ireland, placing in them a number of virgins and constituting prioresses as seemed most suitable to each place. She maintained a watchful care and devout consideration over all of them, frequently going on circuit to visit all her churches, providing for them all what was necessary for the body but always taking much greater care over food for the soul. Many widows and virgins were inflamed by the divine spirit to come to the monastic life and left everything for Christ, either giving all their property to the poor or bringing it with them to the monastery. Many lay people, who desired to receive a blessing from the holy virgins and to have a share in their rewards, offered gifts to them with humble devotion, giving them animals and other things, beseeching them submissively that they should pray to the Lord on their behalf, trusting without any doubt that through their intercession they would receive help from Him in their need.

⁵⁷ Co. Louth.

⁵⁸ E. Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum locorum* (Dublin, 1910), p. 39, gives this Irish form but suggests no precise location.

⁵⁹ Unidentified.

Sed hec diabolus pacienter ferre non sustinens, ductus inuidia sicut et semper (inuidia enim diaboli mors intrauit in orbem terrarum, imitantur autem eum qui sunt ex parte illius),⁶⁰ machinatus est dolum unde maius sibimet sed inuitus lucrifaceret detrimentum, quia quod male uoluit ad suggillationem ancille Christi fieri, hoc bene fecit omnipotens Deus, ad ipsius diaboli contumeliam et sue uirginis gloriam, sua prepotenti uirtute mirabiliter transmutari. Concitauit namque idem diabolus corda quorundam filiorum hominum, qui, audita religiositate uirginum et comperta fama fragrante^a abbatissae earum, emulabantur emulatione diabolica non (sicut debuerant) imitabantur, contristabantur inuidia non caritate congratulabantur, non credebant sed irridebant, tabescebant non proficiebant et quod erat ex gratia pie credentibus ad salutem, hoc proueniebat ex iudicio infidelibus ad condemnationem. Huiuscemodi homines impii, dum quadam die latrocinandi gratiam circueuntes solitudinem per deserta euagarentur, contigit^b ab eis inueniri^b mulierem pauperulam ad abbatissam euntem, apprehendi miseram, captam continuo extra uiam abduci, sarcinulam quam secum^c ferebat uiolenter arripere^d atque illud tantillum quod possidere uidebatur auferri. Cui illi dixerunt, 'Vnde uenis an quo uadis?' At illa, pauescens ne sibi peius mali aliquid facerent, confidens autem de merito uirginis ad quam properare intenderat, tremebunda tamen et dubia ita 'respondit eis,^e 'Non de longinquis uenio et pergere ad monasterium uirginum que in hac heremo commanent pro mea necessitate intendo.' 'Nosti,' inquit, 'Moduennam abbatissam?' 'Noui,' inquit, 'et sepe^f de eius miraculis plurimas enarrationes audiui.'^g 'Dimittemus,' inquit, '^hte abire^h liberamⁱ si iures nobis et pollicearis in fide ut feras ad eam ex parte nostra quod mittere uolumus, nulli alii nisi sibi tradens quod mittimus, sed ponens fideliter ante pedes illius^j presentis oblatiunculam nostram. Multe enim opes et plurima munera deferuntur ei a qua | tuor partibus et diuites diuitias conferunt, nos autem locupletes non sumus, uerumtamen ei^k pro possibilitate cordis nostri et iuxta commoditatem uirium destinauimus aliquid mittere, quatinus ualeamus nos quoque, sicut et ceteri, sanctis eius intercessionibus participare.'

Quod dum illa libenter amplectens uoluntario eis iurasset animo, quippe desiderans fugere^l captionem eorum^m et sperans esse deuotionis

^a fragrante R^c eis respondit Aⁱ tantummodo add. A^m illorum A^{b-b} inueniri ab eis A^f frequenter A^j ipsius A^e om. A^g amaui A^k om. A^d abripi A^h abire te A^l effugere A

But the devil was not willing to bear all this patiently and moved by envy as always (for through the devil's envy death entered the world and those who are of his party are like him in this)⁶⁰ he contrived a device by which in fact he unwittingly did himself greater damage, for what he wished to be done as an insult to Christ's handmaid, Almighty God caused to be turned to good by His great power, to the devil's confusion and the glory of His virgin. The devil stirred up the hearts of certain sons of men who had heard of the virgins' religious life and come to know the fragrant reputation of the abbess. They did not emulate it as they should but envied it with a diabolical envy, they grieved with resentment rather than rejoicing in love, they did not believe but mocked, they were afflicted by it rather than drawing profit from it, so that what was a gracious aid to salvation for pious believers became for these unbelievers a judgement and condemnation. One day wicked men of this type were wandering through the wilderness and roaming through desolate spots in order to rob, when they chanced to come across a poor little woman who was on her way to the abbess. They seized the unhappy woman and dragged her away from the road, violently snatching the little pack she carried and taking away from her the little she possessed. 'Where have you come from and where are you going?' they asked her. She feared that they might do her some worse evil but put her trust in the merit of the virgin to whom she was hastening. Shaking and uncertain, she answered them, 'I have not come far and I intend to go the monastery of the virgins that lies in this wilderness to seek help in my need.' 'Do you know the abbess Modwenna?' they said. 'I know her', she replied, 'and have often heard accounts of her many miracles.' 'We will let you go free,' they said, 'if you swear to us and promise faithfully that you will bring to her what we wish to send on our behalf, giving what we send to her only, faithfully placing our little offering before her own feet. For much wealth and many gifts are brought to her from all four corners of the world and rich men give her riches. We are not rich but nevertheless have determined to send something to her according to powers of our hearts and the resources we have, so that we too, like the others, may share in her holy intercession.'

She approved this freely and swore to them willingly, wishing to escape from her captivity and hoping that their promise had an

⁶⁰ Wisd. 2: 24-5.

R, f. 79^v

aliquid in pollicitatione eorum, decepti a diabolo statim cum irrisione et ludicro imposuerunt super^a eius scapulas saxum grande, quod tamen in collo suo sustinere potuisset, et obtestantes eam per sacramentum^b precipiunt ei,^c ludentes alternatim ad alterutrum, ut illum lapidem portans^d in humeris ad monasterium, sicut iurauerat, ex parte illorum coram pedibus Moduenne quasi suam oblationem deponeret et assereret profuturam sibi si longo eam tempore conseruare procuraret. Illa uero se esse derisam tunc demum comperiens, fidem autem irritam facere et iuris iurandi sacramentum uiolare pertimescens, petram durissimam collo sustinuit, gerens eam in humeris monasterium petiit, sorores aliquas forte cum abbatisa colloquentes inuenit, coram eius pedibus graue saxum cito deposuit et qualiter circumuenta fuisset | a latronibus impiis mirantibus cunctis qui aderant et finem rei exspectantibus enarrauit. Cumque hoc factum fuisset, mirum dictu, lapis durissimus confestim palam omnibus in^e massam salis commutatus^f est, ut quod fecerant impii homines, diabolo instigante, ad ioculare ludibrium,^g idem illud Deus omnipotens ad laudem nominis sui, ad gloriam uirginis sue, ad dedecus Sathane et satellitum eius, sua potentia inenarrabili conuerteret in miraculum gloriosum. Ecce quomodo Moduenna erat Christi bonus odor in omni loco, et in hiis scilicet^h qui, diligentes bona eius, per Dei gratiam salui fiebant et in hiis etiam qui, bonis eius inuidentes, per Dei iudicium in suis iniquitatibus pereuntes remanebant. Et aliis quidem erat odor uite in uitam ut meliorati per eam in eternum uiuerent, aliis odor mortis in mortem ut deteriorati per inuidentiam sua culpa 'perirent in eternum.'ⁱ⁶¹ Sicut enim sole calefaciente lutum et ceram simul, lutum quidem arefactum in frusta minuitur, cera uero mollescens in imaginem quam uolueris non incongruenter aptatur, ita etiam Deus omnipotens quod facit ex gratia ad meliorationem fidelium, hoc idem ex iudicio quandoque^j conuertitur ad deteriorationem impiorum. Et sicut Deum diligentibus^k omnia cooperantur^k in bonum,⁶² sic etiam Deum spernentibus et se ipsos obliuiscuntibus non inmerito prorsus uniuersa conuertuntur in malum. Ecce enim iterum quomodo petra ista facta est petra scandali et lapis offensionis⁶³ illis quidem qui eam uirgini ex duritia cordis sui per ridiculum obtulerunt, illis autem apud quos in salem conuersa est petra probata et lapis preciosus in domo Domini, condimentum stolide anime ut preparetur cibus Deo quatinus meminerimus uxoris Loth ne, retro

^a capud *add.* R ^b quod fecerat *add.* A ^c *om.* R ^d *om.* A
^e ut A ^f comitatus A ^g ludibridium A ^h *om.* A ⁱ in eternum
perirent A ^j profertur *add. and del.* A ^{k-k} cooperantur omnia A

element of devotion in it, but they, deceived by the devil, at once placed on her shoulders, with laughter and mockery, a huge stone—though not too big for her to carry—and, adjuring her by her oath and taking it in turns to mock, they commanded her to carry the stone on her shoulders to the monastery as she had sworn and to place it before Modwenna's feet as an offering from them and to declare that it would be hers for a long time if she took care to preserve it. She then realized that she had been mocked but feared to break faith or violate her oath and took the hard stone on her shoulders and carried it to the monastery. She happened to find some sisters talking with the abbess and, quickly putting down the heavy stone before her feet, she recounted how she had been ambushed by wicked robbers. Everyone listened in amazement, awaiting the outcome of the story. Then, marvellous to tell, the hard rock suddenly changed into a block of salt in front of them all. So what the wicked men had done at the devil's instigation as a derisive mockery was turned into a glorious miracle by Almighty God through His ineffable power, to the praise of His name, the glory of His virgin, and the confusion of Satan and his followers. Behold how Modwenna was 'a sweet savour of Christ in every place', both among those who loved God's good things and were saved by God's grace and among those who hated His good things and through God's judgement perished in their iniquities. For some she was 'the savour of life unto life', so that, made better by her, they should live eternally, for others 'the savour of death unto death', so that, made worse by envy they should perish eternally by their faults.⁶¹ For just as the sun heats both mud and wax, but the mud is desiccated into tiny particles while the wax is softened and can be shaped into any form one wishes, so also what Almighty God does through grace for the betterment of believers can, through His judgement, sometimes be turned into punishment for the wicked. Just as 'all things work for the good of them that love God',⁶² so not undeservedly everything turns out evil for those who despise Him and forget themselves. Behold again how this stone was made 'a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence'⁶³ to those who offered it to the virgin out of the hardness of their hearts as a mockery, but to those before whom it was turned into salt it was a serviceable stone and a precious stone in the house of the Lord, seasoning for the foolish soul so that food might be prepared for God, reminding us of Lot's

⁶¹ 2 Cor. 2: 14–16⁶² Rom. 8: 28.⁶³ Isa. 8: 14; Rom. 9: 33; 1 Pet. 2: 8.

aspicientes, quasi stulti regrediamur in Sodomam et conburamur igne et sulphure,⁶⁴ magis autem ut enitamur sapienter ascendere ad montem uirtutum et deuitemus omnimodis precipitari^a et mergi et inuolui in inferioribus uitiorum.

16. *De spiritu prophetie et de uitulo rapto a lupis et iterum reddito.*

Inter hec perseuerabat^b immobilis ancilla Christi et, armis munita spiritualibus ad dexteram et ad sinistram, neque extollebatur a^c fauoribus deuotorum, neque deprimebatur irrisionibus inuidorum, sed, utrumque discrimen equanimiter transiens, sciebat prudenter et humanis laudibus non succumbere et aduersa omnia patienter^d tolerare. Habebat autem precellenter prophetie spiritum ut multa uentura prediceret, que equidem et in sequentibus declarabitur et iam in superioribus ex parte demonstratum est, et preminebat in ea magna gratia sanitatum ut frequenter orationibus suis et ab obsessis corporibus demonia pelleret et plurimos, uariis oppressos langoribus, causa curationis uenientes ad eam, a contrariis ualitudinibus liberaret.

A, f. 90^v Denique accidit in uno dierum ut, dum animalia monasterii pascerentur in agello, | lupi de nemoribus exeuntes cum impetu uitulum raperent de armentis et abstractum portarent in siluas. Custodes pecorum egre ferentes dampnum illatum ad aures perferunt abbatisse. Quibus illa, uultu placido ac sereno, quasi iocabunda respondit, 'Potens est Deus noster etiam nunc uitulum nostrum eruere de dentibus luporum rapacium, qui quondam in lacu Danielelem eripuit de ore leonum.'⁶⁵ Expectate modo equanimiter usque ad crastinum et Deus eum nobis fortasse intactum restituet ut, cum uiderimus potentiam eius in minimis, maiorem^e habere fiduciam erudiamur de magnis. Ad hoc enim rapi eum diuina^f permisit prouidentia^f sine qua^g nec folium cadit arboris, nec passer ad terram⁶⁶ et cuius nutu reguntur uniuersa et disponuntur.' Admirantes autem admodum in hoc dicto, expectabant usque^h in crastinum sicut preceperat et ecce, iam die crastino illucescente, idem lupi qui uitulum abripuerant, redeuntes de siluis, ipsum

^a precipitare R
^c in illo add. A

^b perseuerat R
^{f-f} prouidentia permisit A

^e om. A
^g quo R

^d tolleranter R
^h om. R

wife,⁶⁴ so that we should not look behind us and foolishly return to Sodom to be burned by fire and sulphur but rather strive wisely to climb the mountain of virtues and altogether avoid being thrown, plunged, and entangled in the vices below.

16. The spirit of prophecy and the calf taken by wolves and returned again.

In the midst of all this the handmaid of Christ persevered steadfastly, protected by spiritual weapons on the right and on the left, neither elated by the acclaim of the devout nor cast down by the mockery of the envious but passing by these two hazards with equanimity, prudently knowing both how to avoid succumbing to human praise and how to bear every adversity with patience. She possessed, moreover, a remarkable spirit of prophecy and predicted many future events, as will be described and has in part already been shown in the preceding account. She was distinguished too by a great grace in healing so that by her prayers she often cast out demons from the bodies of the possessed and freed from their ill health those who came to her suffering from various illnesses and seeking a cure.

One day it happened that, as the animals of the monastery were grazing in the field, wolves emerged from the forest, attacked a calf, and, snatching it from the herd, carried it off into the woods. The herdsmen took this badly and brought news of the loss they had suffered to the ears of the abbess. She replied to them with a calm and untroubled expression, as if she were quite happy, 'Our God, who once delivered Daniel from the mouths of lions in the den,⁶⁵ has now too the power to snatch away our calf from the teeth of the wolves that have seized it. Just wait until tomorrow with an easy mind and God will perhaps restore it to us safe and sound, so that, when we see His power in little things, we may be instructed to have greater faith in large matters. It is for this purpose that the calf has been snatched away by the permission of divine providence, without which neither a leaf falls from the tree nor a sparrow to the ground⁶⁶ and at whose command all things are governed and disposed.' They marvelled at this saying and waited until the next day as she had commanded and behold!, as the morrow dawned, a wonderful miracle took place in the sight of all: the same wolves that had carried off the calf returned

⁶⁴ Gen. 19: 26.

⁶⁵ Dan. 6.

⁶⁶ Matt. 10: 29.

uitulum ad eundem agellum unde rapuerant stupendo miraculo cunctis uidentibus reduxerunt et uelut bene custoditum in pascuis illesum atque incolumem restituere sororibus, sicut propheticè "famula Dei" prenuntiauerat.^b

17. *De cibo rapto a latronibus per prophetiam relato et de conuersione eorundem latronum.*

Aliud quoque simile huic annecto miraculum. Erat quedam ancilla Christi, Suil nomine, non multum longe a monasterio habitans, sed paupertate ita coangustabatur ut se ipsam penitus sustentare non ualeret. Ad hanc igitur mittebat abbatissa per dies singulos alimoniam et, indefesse curam gerens illius, inueniebat ei etiam quecumque necessaria sibi fuissent. Quadam uero die dum per unam de sororibus suis, Vetlam^c nomine, ei uictualia ex more solito transmisisset, latrones pessimi forte irruentes per diuerticula sororem obiter^d inuenientes ceperunt, cibaria sibi uiolenter abriperunt et ab omnibus que ferebat ad Dei famulam uacuefactam eam in semita reliquerunt. Tristis itaque soror reuersa^e ad dominam cucurrit^f et exponit ei omnia que accidissent. Ad quam illa, prophetico impleta spiritu, respondit, dicens, 'Tu quidem itineris ac laboris non perdes mercedem^g a Domino, filia, et premium deuotionis tue manebit ab impiis semper intactum, latrones autem qui tibi abstulerunt cibos pauperis et ipsi inde^g nequaquam comedent et cuncta nobis post diem tertium, Deo propiciante, integre conseruata restituent.' Quod dictum eius rei^h ueritas consecuta probauit.

Nam predicti latrones, arrepta rapina de elemosina uirginis, Dei statim perculsi iudicio, tribus diebus ac totidem noctibus circuentes per deuia solitudinum oberrando, excecati sua impietate nesciebant omnino quo tenderent, ignorabant penitus ubi essent et, neque bibentes neque manducantes, toto illo continuato triduo, dum irent per loca bene sibi antea cognita, putabant se esse in confiniis hostium et metuebant iugiter capi atque transfodi gladiis neque ualere mortemⁱ euadare quasi sibi preparatis insidiis inimicorum suorum. Quarto autem die, cum iam deambulando erronei uehementer fatigati fuissent et nichil prorsus haberent consilii quid agere, quo tendere, in quo loco^j manere ulterius^j potuissent, tandem aliquando per Dei

^{a-a} Dei famula A ^b nuntiarat A; prenuntiarat R ^c Vecham A (both readings for Conchubranus' uetulam) ^d obitum A ^e recurrit A
^f om. A ^g om. R ^h om. R ⁱ neque R ^j ulterius manere A

from the woods and brought the calf back to the same field whence they had snatched it away, restoring it to the sisters safe and sound and well cared for in the pastures, just as the handmaid of God had prophetically foretold.

17. The prophecy about the food stolen by robbers and the conversion of those robbers.

I add another miracle, similar to this one. There was a handmaid of Christ called Suil, living not far from the monastery, so oppressed by poverty that she was scarcely able to obtain a living for herself. Each day the abbess sent her food and took care of her untiringly, finding for her whatever was necessary. One day as one of the sisters called Vetla was taking the food to her in the usual way, wicked robbers who happened to be rushing along these remote tracks came across the sister, seized her and took the food from her violently, leaving her on the path deprived of everything she had been taking to the handmaid of God. The sister ran back sadly to her mistress and explained all that had happened. Modwenna, filled with the spirit of prophecy, replied to her, 'Daughter, you shall not lose the Lord's reward⁶⁷ for your journey and your labour and the prize for your devotion will remain unspoiled by the wicked, but the robbers who took from you the poor woman's food will not eat of it and by the grace of God they will restore it to us after three days preserved untouched.' The sequel showed that what she said was true.

For the robbers who had plundered the virgin's alms were suddenly struck by God's judgement and for three days and three nights wandered around through the trackless wilderness, blinded by their wickedness and having no idea where they were going or where they were, neither eating nor drinking for the entire three days. When they came to a place they had previously known well, they thought that they were in the territory of their enemies and were afraid that they might be captured and pierced with the sword and be unable to escape death because of the ambush they thought their enemies had prepared for them. On the fourth day, when they were completely exhausted from their mistaken wanderings and had no idea what to do, where they were going, and where they would be able to stay further, at last by God's grace they came to, recovering themselves—

⁶⁷ Matt. 10: 42; Mark 9: 40.

gratiam ad se reducti, licet sero resipiscentes ab iniquitatibus, cogitantes secum et mutuo colloquentes, animaduertentes atque una^a <uoce> confitententes quod merito tantas paterentur angustias pro culpa iniurie quam celesti intulerant Moduenna,^b compuncti corde et compulsi ad penitentiam, nomen uirginis supplici 'inclamare uoce^c ceperunt et, genibus inclinatis ad terram et palmis eleuatis ad celum, recordantes mirabilia^d que de illa dici audierant, implorantes suffragia illius cum lacrimis humillima et fidelissima postulatione dixerunt, 'Moduenna, ancilla Christi, si uera sunt que de te A, f. 91^r audiuius, succurre | in periculo constitutis, adiuua in necessitatibus, redde nobis oculos quibus agnoscamus uiam discernere, quatinus ad te cum deuotione euntes ualeamus per preces tuas auxilium^e a Domino et misericordiam impetrare.'

Cum uero illi ita^f perorassent, eadem hora quasi Moduenna in presentia eorum^g astante et audiente et precem fundente pro eis reuelauit Dominus intellectu^h cordisⁱ eorum statimque ab oculis ablato uelamine et occecatione remota, cognouerunt regiones per quas diu errabundi deambulauerunt et compererunt cunctis indiciis quod, contra spem suam atque cogitatum, diuina^j ducente pietate, ad monasterium uirginum sicut concupierant appropinquabant. Itaque, ^kualde leti^k effecti et gratias agentes omnipotenti Deo, submissis uultibus ueniunt quantocius ad abbatisam prostratique illius genibus coram sororibus culpas^l scelerum et iniquitates rapinarum quas commiserant confitentur, rogari sibi a Christo ueniam lacrimabiliter deprecantur,^m exponuntⁿ que ^omire sibi^o acciderant, extollunt cum laude meritum uirginis cuius uirtutem in se ipsis experti fuerant, cibos prius raptos conseruatos integre atque illibatos restituunt, nichil se amplius aut rapturos aut furaturos promittunt, eatenus uixisse male et se pessimos ac criminosos extitisse conqueruntur, ex illo et deinceps usque ad obitum, diuina eos adiuuante misericordia, emendaturos uitam suam et Christo Domino seruituros secundum possibilitatem suam fideli pacto et pia deuotione pollicentur. Quos illa benigne audiens ac benigne suscipiens in orationibus suis atque sororum docensque prudenter ut uni Deo totum tribuerent, qui solus mirabilia operatur,⁶⁸ blande illos consolata est refectosque cibos carnali^p et spirituali cum benedictione remisit ad propria,

^a unam A ^b abbatisse add. A ^c uoce inclamare A ^d miracula A
^e om. R ^f ita illi A ^g presentiarum A ^h intellectus R ⁱ om. R
^j eas add. R ^{k-k} leti ualde A ^l culpam R ^m deprecabantur A
ⁿ singula add. A ^o sibi mire A ^p simul add. A

albeit late—from their wickedness, taking thought and speaking together, recognizing and confessing with one voice that they had suffered such troubles deservedly as a punishment for the wrong they had done to that heavenly being Modwenna. Driven to repentance by inner compunction, they invoked the name of the virgin with a suppliant voice. Kneeling on the ground and raising their hands to heaven, recollecting the marvels they had heard tell of her, tearfully imploring her help, they made this humble and trusting request: ‘Modwenna, handmaid of Christ, if the things are true that we have heard about you, help us in our danger, aid us in our need, give back to us eyes that can recognize the path, so that we may come to you with devotion to seek through your prayers help and mercy from the Lord.’

When they had uttered this prayer, in that same hour the Lord revealed to their inner sight the form of Modwenna present before them, listening to them and pouring our prayers for them. Immediately the veil was taken from their eyes, their blindness was removed, they recognized the region they had wandered in mistakenly for so long and they knew by the landmarks that, contrary to their hope and intention, the divine mercy had led them to the vicinity of the monastery of the virgins, just as they had wished. So, in great joy and giving thanks to Almighty God, they came to the abbess as soon as they could, and knelt on the ground before the sisters with downcast faces, confessing their crimes and wicked robberies. They begged them with tears to ask pardon for them from Christ, they explained the wonders that had befallen them, they gave high praise to the merit of the virgin whose power they had experienced, they restored the food they had stolen whole and untouched, promised they would rob and steal no more, lamented that they had lived so wickedly and been such evil wrongdoers, and promised that from thenceforth until their death they would, with the aid of God’s mercy, emend their lives and serve Christ the Lord as best they could with loyalty and pious devotion. Modwenna heard them kindly and graciously received them into her prayers and those of the sisters, carefully instructing them that everything should be attributed to the one God who alone works wonders.⁶⁸ She consoled them compassionately and sent them home with her blessing refreshed by both physical and spiritual food, praising and blessing God, rejoicing and

⁶⁸ Ps. 71 (72): 18, 135 (136): 4.

laudantes Deum ac benedicentes, gaudentes et exilaratos pietate et affabilitate ipsius, et habentes spem bonam de cetero per preces uirginum de donis Domini ac misericordia sempiterna.

18. *De Alfredo ab infirmitate curato et de lingua muti per Moduennam soluta.*

Fama igitur uirginis pro eximia conuersacione illius circumquaque progrediens, non iam tantummodo uniuersas regiones Hybernie illustrabat, uerum etiam maria transiens usque ad fines Anglie atque Albanie^a que nunc Scotia dicitur, ad aures multorum cum leni flatu et cum fragranti odore^b signis et prodigiis cum graciaram plenitudine resonans, per loca plurima testibus uera referentibus uolitabat. Denique Alfredus, nobilis filius Athulfi regis Merciorum et Westsaxonum,⁶⁹ qui maximam egritudinem a multis diebus contraxerat, de qua eum nullus medicus eruere preualebat, auditis a pluribus tantarum uirtutum preconiiis, persuasus est ab amicis ut sacram uirginem Moduennam cum humilitate | requireret, dicentibus sibi^c et asseuerantibus quia illa profecto, si ipse ueniret ad eam, suis eum sanctis orationibus sine dubio ab omni infirmitate liberaret. Credidit itaque homo et, confestim parato comitatu et assumptis que necessaria uidebantur in uia, transcursis prospere fluctibus inmensi maris, salutis cupidus et fide roboratus Hiberniam insulam adiens, Moduennam abbatissam, propter quam uenerat, festinato itinere cum summa deuotione quesui et inuenit, cui molestiam egritudinis quam patiebatur exposuit atque illam pro se orare ad^d Dominum supplicissima deprecatione postulauit. Illa uero, ut ^eerat mitissima,^e adolescentem miserans ex nimia ualitudinis necessitudine fatigatum consideransque illius fidem quippe qui, credens se posse sanari, ex tam longinquis transmarinas^f partes cum tanto labore petierat, dum pro illo pietate commota preces ad Dominum^g fudisset cum lacrimis, depulsa egritudine statim integre sanitati resti | tutus est, et gratias agens Christo famuleque eius reuerentissime cuius in se uirtutis tam continuo experimentum senserat, letus ualde effectus et ipsius benedictionibus auctus,^h accepta licentia cum alacritate abiit sanusque et incolumis diebus non paucis in Hybernia commanens, regi Chonaldo qui tunc inclitus regnabat Hybernie aliquanto tempore in magna hilaritate seruiuit.

R, f. 80^r

A, f. 91^r

^a Abbanie A

^b om. R

^c om. A

^d om. A

^{e-e} mitissima erat A

^f terras marinas, corr. to terris marinas R

^g Deum A

^h actus R

delighting in her mercy and kindness and with a good hope for the future that through the virgin's prayers they would obtain the gifts of the Lord and mercy everlasting.

18. Alfred cured from illness and the tongue of the mute freed by prayer.

Because of her outstanding life, the reputation of the virgin spread abroad, not only illuminating the whole of Ireland but also crossing the seas to England and Alba, that is now called Scotland. Through the accounts of truthful witnesses, it flew far and wide reaching the ears of many, its gentle breeze and sweet fragrance resonant of signs and wonders full of grace. Eventually Alfred, the noble son of Æthelwulf, king of the Mercians and West Saxons,⁶⁹ who had long suffered from a severe illness that no doctor could cure, after many people had heard the news of such great miracles, was persuaded by his friends humbly to seek out the holy virgin Modwenna. They asserted that, if he went to her, without a doubt she would at once by her holy prayers be able to free him from all illness. The man believed them and, immediately getting ready his retinue and everything necessary for the journey, crossed the waves of the great sea without difficulty and came to the island of Ireland eager for a cure and strong in faith. Swiftly and with great devotion, he sought out and found the abbess Modwenna, on whose account he had come, and explained to her the grievous illness he was suffering from and asked her with humble entreaty to pray for him to the Lord. Her compassion led her to take pity on the young man, who was worn away with ill-health, and she considered his faith, coming from such distant regions across the sea to seek her with such great effort, in the belief that he might be saved. Moved by benevolence, she tearfully poured out prayers to the Lord for him, and as she did so his illness immediately disappeared and he was restored to health. He gave reverent thanks to Christ and to His servant whose power he had so swiftly felt and, truly happy and enriched by her blessing, he received her leave to depart quickly and remained contentedly for many days in Ireland, whole and healthy, spending some time in the service of king Conall, a celebrated ruler of Ireland at that time.

⁶⁹ Presumably intended to refer to king Alfred (871–99), son of king Æthelwulf of Wessex (839–58).

Mutus quoque quidam ad uirginem Christi curandus^a adductus^b est, qui ab annis puerilibus nunquam aliquid locutus fuerat nec cuiquam hominum uoluntatem cordis sui nisi signis et nutibus demonstrare preualebat. Pro quo 'etiam dum^c illa precem fudisset ad Dominum, exorata a parentibus suis, linguam eius protinus, signum crucis in ea faciens, inuocato Christi nomine per uirtutem sue intercessionis absoluit cunctisque mirantibus qui antea illum cognouerant loqui hominem rationabiliter et uerba proferre intelligibiliter fecit.

19. *De uastacione monasterii uirginum et de ultione uastatoris prophetice prenuntiata.*

Post aliquantum temporis predictus Alfredus quesiiuit a rege Conaldo licentiam, dicens se reuiscere uelle parentes suos^d et iam tempus esse ut reuerti deberet in patriam suam. Quem cum rex cuperet decorare muneribus pro seruitio suo et a se cum honore remittere, sicut decebat filium regis, iniuit consilium quid posset ei retribuere,^e quatinus ille ualeret ad patrem suum regem honorabiliter remeare. Erat autem inter consiliarios regis unus de^f principibus, Chanuncinius^g nomine, qui, quanto ultra ceteros terris ac diuiciis ac^h possessionibus prepollebat, tanto apud regem supra uniuersos locum loquendi precellentiorum habebat. Iste homo consueuerat esse raptor ac homoⁱ impius, cognatus quidem sanctimonialis uirginis Moduene iuxta seculi dignitatem sed semper infestus omnibus bonis et omnimode^j totius^k sancte conuersacionis^k inimicus. Qui, cum de Alfredo ageretur consilium et tractaretur quid illi 'dare rex^l debuisset quod ad honorem et dantis et accipientis esse potuisset, carens Dei timore et spiritu repletus nequitie, ait ad regem, 'Dignum quidem est, domine rex, retribuere te seruientibus tibi et precipue filiis regum, uerumptamen nondum uideo^m 'necesse esse^m ut propter munerandum filium regis Anglie minuas quicquam de pecunia propria, neque adhuc ad hanc uicem haurias aliquid de plenitudine thesaurorum tuorum. Scio etenim locum opimum in hac eadem insula, in regno scilicet Macloite regis,⁷⁰ in quo est monasterium uirginum quod Moduenna abbatissa construxit, ad quod sepe deferuntur multe opes et donaria plurima illucque frequenter adducitur undique gregum multitudo et animalium et ibi non modica plerumque

^a curandum A ^b ductus A ^c ' etiam A ^d om. A
^e tribuere A ^f ex A ^g Claticunus R ^h atque A ⁱ ferox et A

A dumb person was also brought to the virgin of Christ to be cured. He had never said a word since childhood and had not been able to communicate his wishes to anyone except by gestures and nods. At his parents' request, she poured out prayers to the Lord for him, made the sign of the cross on his tongue and invoked the name of Christ. Immediately, through the power of her intercession and to the amazement of all those who had known him before, she loosed his tongue and made him able to speak rationally and utter words intelligibly.

19. The harrying of the virgins' monastery and the prophetic pronouncement of vengeance on the ravager.

After a little time Alfred, whom we mentioned earlier, sought licence to depart from king Conall, saying that he wished to see his family again and that it was time that he should return to his own country. As the king wished to show him respect by giving him gifts for his service and to send him away with honour, as befitted a king's son, he took advice as to what he might give him so that he could return to his father the king honourably. There was among the king's advisers a great lord called Chanuncinus, richer than the rest in land, wealth, and possessions and that much closer to the king's ear. He was a plunderer and a wicked man, a relative of the holy virgin Modwenna according to worldly reckoning but always troublesome to the good and an enemy of a holy way of life. When Alfred was being discussed and the subject aired of what the king might give to him that would redound to the honour of both giver and receiver, Chanuncinus, without fear of God and full of the spirit of wickedness, said to the king, 'It is a worthy thing, lord king, to repay those who serve you, especially the sons of kings, but I do not see that it is necessary to diminish your own resources in order to repay the son of the king of England, nor need you draw anything from your own treasury for this purpose. For I know a rich place in this island of ours, in the kingdom of king Macloite,⁷⁰ where the abbess Modwenna built a monastery of virgins. Many rich gifts are always being brought there and great herds of livestock are conveyed there from

¹ omnimodo *A*
necesse *A*

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offeruntur^a a populis, adeo equidem ut supersint et superabundent non mediocriter necessariis usibus sanctimonialium feminarum. Quid igitur tibi nocebit aut quamobrem non potius ^bgratum esse^b debebit, si ego inde predam faciens preparauero munera unde ualeas et Alfredo honorifice tribuere atque insuper tuis quoque donatiua militibus si placuerit erogare?’

Hec et hiis similia prelocutus, quid enim non cogit auri sacra fames,⁷¹ cum regem Chonaldum Chanunchinius^c impiissimus per sermones huiuscemodi ueneno cupiditatis funditus infecisset, accepta^d statim ab eo licentia et plurimis secum assumptis predonibus, in desertas regiones in quibus cenobium existebat clandestine abiit. Cuncta^e mobilia que potuit inuenire uiolenter abstraxit, greges et pecora, pecuniam et animalia, timorem Dei contempnens abripuit, abbatiam, permittente Deo ad probationem sacrarum uirginum,^f totam exspoliavit, munera ex eisdem rapinis sufficienter parata^g regi Chonaldo,^h sicut promiserat, attulit, que ille tribuens uniuersa Alfredo nescienti unde uenissent, ditatum eum donis et gratias sibi agentem, letantem uero super omnia hec pro plena incolumitate recepta per Moduennam uirginem, in patriam suam ad patrem suum regem cum magno honore et maxima exultacione remisit. Hiis ita gestis, nunciatum est

A, f. 92^r Mod | uenne sicut rei ueritasⁱ habebat, quod Chanunchinius^j cognatus eius hanc pessimam deuastacionem fecisset et quoniam Alfredus filius regis, quem ipsa, exaudiente Deo, ab infirmitate curauerat, de hac rapina se inscio susceptis muneribus a rege Chonaldo^k cui seruierat, in regionem terre anglice incolumis et cum prosperitate remeasset. Tunc surrexit famula Dei, ^lomnia pacienter^l tolerans, et dans se^m in orationibusⁿ flexis genibus adorauit, gratias agens et benedicens Dominum statimque oratione completa et conuocatis sororibus, diuino repleta spiritu et fiducialiter loquens, ait illis:

‘Filie mee ac sorores karissime, temptat nos Dominus Deus noster ut scire nos faciat utrum eum diligamus an non. Ipse quidem nos perfecte agnouit in sua eterna sciencia etiam ante mundi constitutionem,⁷² sed nos ipse^o a nobis cognosci non possumus nisi aliqua temptatione probemur. Mementote itaque patientie Iob qui cum omnia perdidisset, corde sursum erecto^a ad celum, “Dominus,” inquit, “dedit, Dominus abstulit, sicut Domino placuit ita factum

^a om. R^b ^b esse gratum A^c Canuncunus R^d accepto A^e Cum cuncta A^f om. A^g om. A^h Ionaldo Aⁱ sc add. A^j Canuncunus R^k Conaldo R^l ^l pacienter omnia A^m sese Aⁿ orationem A^o ipsi A

all around as offerings by the people, so that they are far beyond the needs of the nuns. What harm will it do you or rather will it not be a favour to you, if I raid the place to obtain gifts with which you can reward Alfred honourably and also, if you wish, offer largess to your soldiers?’

With these words and others like them the wicked Chanuncinus—for what cannot we be persuaded to by the accursed greed for gold?⁷¹—completely tainted king Conall with the poison of avarice, so that he received his permission straightaway, gathered several plunderers together, and went secretly to the wilderness where the monastery was located. He took away by force all the moveable property he could find, carried off flocks and herds, livestock and animals, with no fear of God, and completely despoiled the abbey, by God’s permission as a test of the holy virgins. As he had promised, he brought to king Conall gifts selected from this booty, which the king then gave to Alfred, who had no idea where they had come from, before sending him back with great honour and exultation to his father the king in his own country, enriched with the gifts, full of thanks and rejoicing especially over the health he had recovered through the virgin Modwenna. Afterwards the truth of the matter was announced to Modwenna, how her kinsman Chanuncinus had caused this terrible destruction and Alfred, the king’s son, whom she had cured from his illness after God had heeded her prayer, had unwittingly received gifts from the plunder from king Conall, whom he had served, and had returned in health and prosperity to England. Then the handmaid of God arose, bearing all patiently, and bent her knees in prayer, thanking and blessing the Lord, and, as soon as she had finished her prayer, she called the sisters together and, full of the divine spirit, said to them with faith:

‘My dearest daughters and sisters, the Lord our God tries us to make us know whether we love Him or not. He knows us perfectly in His eternal knowledge from before the founding of the world,⁷² but we ourselves cannot be known by ourselves unless we are tested by some trial. Be mindful of the patience of Job, who, when he had lost everything, raised his heart on high and said, “The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away, as it pleased the Lord, so it has been done,

⁷¹ Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 56.

⁷² Cf. John 17: 24; Eph. 1: 4; 1 Pet. 1: 20.

est, sit nomen Domini benedictum.”⁷³ Nichil intulimus in hunc mundum, ut ait apostolus, sed nec quicquam ^bauferre nobiscum hinc^b ualemus.⁷⁴ Qui uolunt diuites fieri incidunt in multas temptationes et in malignas cogitationes et in laqueos diaboli, a quibus captiui tenentur ad suam ipsius uoluntatem.⁷⁵ Quid ergo debemus nisi Deo omnipotenti gratias agere, cui placuit a nobis ancillis suis nostra superflua resecare? Nunquid non nude huc uenimus et ipse nos sua uoluntate uestiuit^c et modo nudatas nos, si sibi fuerit beneplacitum, rursum quoque uestire non poterit? Nunquid non nude in terram cecidimus et nude ad terram iterum regrediemur?⁷⁶ Nequaquam possumus ^dChristi esse^d discipule si noluerimus uniuersis que mundi sunt, sicut Christus precipit, corde perfecto abrenunciare. Sed esto nichil Christus amplius de hiis que amisimus reddere nobis fortasse uoluerit, nunquid non propter Christum uniuersa reliquimus, ut nude ab omnibus que sunt mundi, Christum semper, sicut decet uitam perfectam, desiderio infatigabili sequeremur?

‘Veruntamen licet ita loquamur, si fidem habentes consurgamus diluculo et primo mane, uidelicet ante omnem curam, corde perfecto quesierimus regnum Dei et iusticiam eius, perfecto eum timentibus ac diligentibus, nichil nobis omnino deficiet sed quecumque necessaria fuerint sine dubio, sicut ipse pollicitus est, adicientur.’⁷⁷ Quapropter, dilectissime, confortemur in Domino et in potentia uirtutis eius, resistamus diabolo et fugiet a nobis, induamus armaturam Dei ut possimus in die malo resistere et in omnibus perfecte^e stare, pugnemus audacter contra spirituales nequitias,⁷⁸ et, quicquid extra acciderit, conseruemus interius incessabiliter conscientias nostras, collaudantes ^fin cunctis Dominum^f et glorificantes atque illi corde humili et uoce supplici proclamantes,^g “Benedictus es, Domine Deus noster, in donis tuis, et sanctus in omnibus operibus tuis. Benedicere te possimus in omni tempore, ut neque extollamur prosperis neque opprimamur aduersis et laus tua de ore nostro nunquam deficiat, caritas tua de cordibus nostris nunquam recedat, sed iugiter integra perseueret et inuiolata permaneat.” Nolo autem uos ignorare, karissime, de iudicio ac misericordia Domini, misericordiam enim et iudicium cantat^h ecclesia eius, quia nos quidem,

^a erectum R ^{b-h} nobiscum hinc auferre A ^c restituit R ^{d d} esse Christi A
^e perfecti R ^{f-f} Dominum in cunctis A ^g conclamantes A
^h ei add. A

blessed be the name of the Lord.”⁷³ As the apostle says, we brought nothing into this world nor are we able to take anything with us.⁷⁴ Those who wish to be rich fall into many temptations and wicked thoughts and the devil’s snares, in which they are held captive at his will.⁷⁵ What ought we to do then except give thanks to Almighty God, who has been pleased to take away from us, His handmaids, things that are not necessary for us? Did we not come here naked and He clothed us at His pleasure and now that we are made naked can He not clothe us again, if that is His will? Did we not fall upon the earth naked and shall we not return to the earth naked?⁷⁶ We cannot be disciples of Christ if we are unwilling to renounce with our whole heart everything that is of the world, as Christ commanded. But even if Christ should not wish to restore to us any of the things we have lost, have we not left everything for Christ, so that, stripped of everything that is of the world, we might follow Christ always with a tireless desire, as befits the perfect life?

‘Nevertheless, although we say this, if we have faith and rise up at daybreak and at first light, that is, before any other concern, to seek the kingdom of God and His justice with a whole heart, fearing Him and loving Him perfectly, we shall lack nothing, but without a doubt everything we need will be added, as He has promised.⁷⁷ So, my beloved ones, let us be comforted in the Lord and in the power of His strength, let us resist the devil and he shall flee from us, let us put on the armour of God so that we can resist in the evil day and stand absolutely firm in all things, let us fight boldly against spiritual evil⁷⁸ and, whatever else may happen, let us preserve our consciences within us incessantly, praising and glorifying the Lord in all things and proclaiming to Him with a humble heart and prayerful voice, “Blessed art Thou, O lord our God, in Thy gifts and holy in all Thy works. Let us be able to bless Thee at all times, so that we may neither be raised up by prosperity nor cast down by adversity, and our mouths shall never lack Thy praise, Thy love shall never leave our hearts but shall remain and endure whole and unspoiled always.” I do not wish you, my dearest ones, to be ignorant of God’s judgement and mercy, for the Church sings His mercy and judgement, since we shall be restored by His mercy but Chanuncinus,

⁷³ Job 1: 21.

⁷⁵ 2 Tim. 2: 26.

⁷⁷ Matt. 6: 33; Luke 12: 31.

⁷⁴ 1 Tim. 6: 7.

⁷⁶ Job 1: 21.

⁷⁸ Eph. 6: 11–13.

ipso propiciante, restaurabimur sed Chanunchinius^a truculentus cognatus meus, qui hanc nobis depopulationem operatus est, etiam nolentibus nobis, iudicante scrutatore ^bcordium omnium,^{b 79} pro iniquitate sua^c punietur. Nam, sicut scriptum est, qui parat foueam incidet^d in illam et dolor eius conuertetur in capud eius et in uerticem ipsius descendet iniquitas eius.⁸⁰ Ab impio enim egressa est impietas et in ipsum contorquebitur.^e Conterentur^f in edia^g diuitie eius et possessiones diripientur ab hostibus. Terra eius in uastitate erit et ipse quamdiu uixerit absque recuperationis remedio | in egestate manebit. Verumptamen in hoc nolite gaudere, filie dilectissime. Letari enim de inimici malo grande peccatum est, sed orate semper pro persequentibus et calumpniantibus uos ut | sitis filie patris uestri qui in celis est, qui solem suum facit oriri super bonos et malos et dat pluuiam pariter super iustos et iniustos.⁸¹

R, f. 80^vA, f. 92^v

Sorores autem sanctimoniales, cum audissent sermones hos, confestim alacres ualde effecte, solatione^h suscepta statimque iam dolore dampnorum obliuioni penitus tradito, succense sunt uehementer et exarserunt omnes pariter in desiderium ⁱtotius perfectionis,ⁱ speque gaudentes atque in tribulatione patientes persistebant hilariter cum ^jstudio omni^j in sancto proposito pietatis, nullatenus sustinentes in aliquo a consilio matris secedere, parate firmiter quecunque donasset eis Deus—paupertatem, inediam, dura et aspera—sub magistratu illius pro amore diuino uniuersa equanimiter tollerare. Porro autem paucis admodum euolutis diebus, ecce Dei iusto iudicio secundum uirginis prophetiam insurrexerunt contra Chanunchinium^k inimicie graues et hostes dirissimi, peruadentes terras^l illius, uillas^m et oppida per uiolentiam combusserunt, quosdam hominum trucidauerunt et alios in captiuitatem duxerunt, greges et pecora, iumenta et animalia que repperire potueruntⁿ ceperunt,ⁿ loca in quibus habitatio gentium fuerat pene uniuersa depopulati sunt, qui, cuntes et redeuntes sepius, quod deterius erat, toto tempore uite sue neque eum patiebantur aliquando in securitate uiuere, neque permittebant ab insidiis^o ac depredationibus aliquotiens respirare, sed, bella iugiter exercentes cum eo, pecunias eius, diuicias et possessiones in multa fortitudine conterebant, bona omnia que ante possederat paulatim diripiendo consumeabant, usque adeo ut ipse ad ultimum inops et egenus, inpotens et euacuatus, sederet, et nec etiam necessaria uictui nisi cum miserabili difficultate haberet.^q

^a Canuncunus R ^{b-b} omnium cordium A ^c sua iniquitate A
^d incidat R ^e retorquebitur A ^f Conuertentur A ^g rare, for inedia

my cruel kinsman, who worked this depredation on us, shall be punished for his sin by the judge who knows the hearts of all,⁷⁹ even if we do not wish it. For it is written that he who digs a ditch shall fall in it and his sorrow shall be turned on his own head and his iniquity will fall on his own back.⁸⁰ The wickedness came from that wicked man and it will be turned against him. His wealth will be ground away in poverty and his possessions taken away by enemies. His land will be wasted and as long as he lives he will be destitute without hope of recovery. But do not rejoice at this, dearest daughters, for it is a great sin to rejoice at your enemy's misfortune. Pray always for those who persecute you and denounce you, so that you may be daughters of your father in heaven, who makes His sun rise on the good and the evil and sends His rain on the just and the unjust alike.⁸¹

When the nuns heard these words, they at once became cheerful, receiving consolation and immediately forgetting their grief over their losses. They were all fervently inflamed by desire for complete perfection and, rejoicing in hope and patient in trouble, they persisted happily and eagerly in the devout way of life they had undertaken, never deviating from the advice their mother had given them, firmly prepared to bear with equanimity whatever God gave to them—poverty, want, hard and bitter things—under her leadership for God's love. A few days later, behold by God's just judgement and in accordance with the virgin's prophecy, there arose against Chanuncinus grave feuds so that savage enemies invaded his lands, burned down his villages and towns, killed some of his men and led off others into captivity, seized all the flocks and herds, livestock and animals that could be found and made a wilderness of almost all the places that had been the site of human habitation. Even worse, they came back and forth repeatedly and did not allow him to live in security at any time for the whole of his life nor ever to be relieved from ambush and attack, but, engaging in continual war with him, they ground down his property, wealth, and possessions with great force, gradually plundered everything he had previously owned, so that eventually he sank into poverty and want, impotence and destitution, and could obtain even his food only with wretched difficulty.

^h consolatione *A* ' ' perfectionis totius *A* ' ' omni studio *A*
^k Canuncinum *R* ' terram *R* " om. *R* " poterant *A*
^o rapuerunt *A* ^p suis *add. A* ^q haberer *A*

⁷⁹ Cf. 1 Chr. 28: 9.

⁸⁰ Ps. 7: 16-17.

⁸¹ Matt. 5: 44-5

20. *Quanto miraculo mare transierit^a et qualiter Osid necatam
in fluuio suscitauerit.*

In tempore illo uenit in animum^b uirginis ut peregrinaretur in Angliam, credens se, auxiliante Deo, illic quoque alicui posse fortassis proficere et ibi etiam in nomine Domini aliquod oratorium fabricare. Visitatis itaque et consolatis uniuersis ecclesiis quas in Hibernia ipsa construxerat et dispositis ubique omnibus sicut rerum et locorum utilitas ac prouidentia exigebat, suscepit a^c cunctis ex pietate plorantibus benignam licentiam et elegit profecturas secum Luge uirginem et ^dAtheam et Brigidam.^d Que quatuor proficiscentes simul, cum uenissent ad litus maris quod prominet contra Britanniam et ibi naues paratas minime inuenissent, confidens ancilla Christi de Domino ac sponso suo, locuta est fiducialiter ad socias itineris sui, 'Oremus', inquit, 'sorores ad Dominum et fortiter postulemus ab eo quatinus nobis ancillis suis consilium atque auxilium adaperiat transfretandi.' Cumque prostrate flexis genibus sese pariter in orationem dedissent—miram ualde rem dicturus sum—, ecce angelus Domini descendens^e de celo cum magna luce apparuit deprecantibus et, coram eis manifesta uisione assistens, partem terre in circuitu illarum circumcinxit atque signauit et, quasi insulam paruam constituens eamque undique ^fstatim marinis aquis^f circumluens, circumquaque a terris ceteris uirtute admirabili separauit. Eandem insulam, quod magis mirum est, stupenda fortitudine leuauit angelus de loco proprio et in ea, uelut in naui, dilectas a^g Deo sacratas uirgines per immensos fluctus transfretantes, secure de Hibernia usque ^had Britanniam^h transportauit. Eandem insulam eductam de fluctibus firmauit angelus apud castrum Dagannoⁱ nomine⁸² iuxta litus inmensi maris, que ibi consistit usque in presentem diem et semper aquis circumdatur aut fluuiatibus aut marinis. Sicut fuit assumpta de Hibernia ita nunc

A, f. 93^r usque perse | uerat et in Britannia neque crescit neque minuitur, sed, simili modo iugiter permanens, in eadem quantitate conseruatur.

In hoc loco tam sancto construxit Moduenna ecclesiam et fecit ibi manere Brigidam et Luge socias suas quoadusque ipsa, sicut intenderat, comitante Athea uirgine secum profecta fuisset in Angliam et, Deo secundante iter illarum, postea exinde reuerteretur ad eas. Que, cum uenisset^j ad regem patrem Alfredi^k quem ipsa sanauerat, cum magno honore ab eo suscepta est, presertim narrante ad patrem filio

^a pertransierit A ^b sancte Moduenne add. A ^c ac R ^d Brigidam et Atheam A ^e descendit A ^f aquis marinis statim A ^g om. A ^h in Britantanniam A ⁱ Danganno R ^j peruenisset A ^k Aelfredi R

20. *How she crossed the sea by a great miracle and how she revived Osgyth who had drowned in a river.*

At that time the thought came to the virgin that she should travel to England, believing that, with God's help, she might be able to do some good there too and found an oratory there in the name of the Lord. First she visited all the churches that she had built in Ireland, bringing them consolation and making careful arrangements as the needs of the local situations required, receiving from everyone a gracious if tearful permission to depart and selecting as companions Luge, the virgin, Athea, and Brigid. The four of them set out but when they reached the shore opposite Britain, they found no ships ready there. The handmaid of Christ, trusting in her lord and spouse, spoke with confidence to the companions of her journey. 'Sisters,' she said, 'let us pray to the Lord and boldly ask Him to reveal to us, His handmaids, His advice and aid for the crossing.' When they had all knelt and prayed together, a remarkable thing occurred. An angel of the Lord, descending from heaven with a great light, appeared to them as they prayed and, standing plainly before them, went around and marked out the land in a circle about them, separating it from the adjoining land by His wonderful power and turning it into a small island by surrounding it with the waters of the sea on every side. What is even more amazing, the angel, with astonishing strength, raised that island up from its proper place and in it transported the consecrated virgins, so beloved by God, from Ireland to Britain, passing safely through the huge waves. The angel took the island out of the waves and secured it by the shore of the huge sea at a castle called Deganwy.⁸² It stands there to the present day, always surrounded by the waters of either the sea or the river, remaining now in Britain just as it was when it came from Ireland, neither growing nor diminishing but staying always the same and keeping the same dimensions.

In this holy place Modwenna built a church and arranged that her companions Brigid and Luge should remain there until, in accordance with her plans, she and Athea along with her had journeyed to England and then, with God favouring their journey, had returned to them. When she came to the king, the father of Alfred whom she had cured, she was received with great honour, for the son had told his father of the virgin's merit and the power

⁸² Caernarvonshire.

meritum uirginis et potentiam sanctitatis et quam cito exaudita est, super eum manus imponens et pro ipso "inuocans nomen" sancte et indiuidue trinitatis. Inuenit igitur Dei famula multam gratiam in conspectu regis,⁸³ qui commendauit ei sororem suam uirginem Editha nomine,⁸⁴ conseruandam, nutriendam, erudiendam, in militiam regularem consecrandam Christo Domino atque desponsandam, quatinus posset ei sub disciplinatu ipsius pro eterne retributionis premio in sanctimoniali habitu pia deuotione deservire. Tradidit quoque illi rex terram quantum ipsa uoluit et ubi ipsa elegit, nimirum iuxta siluam que ^bArderna uocatur^b⁸⁵ et intra ipsam Ardernam, ubi fabricata sunt duo monasteria congrua solitudini, unum in loco qui Polesworda^c dicitur,⁸⁶ alterum in eo qui Streneshale^d appellatur,⁸⁷ et fecit manere Atheam cum sorore regis in uno, ipsa uero uacans orationibus aliquantis diebus solitaria mansit in altero.

Quibus ibi consistentibus, euenit quiddam mirabile quod silentio pretereundum non arbitror. Hiemali namque tempore, dum intumisset fluctus aquarum, sicut solet sepe accidere in regionibus illis, Editha uirgo, Dei famula, soror regis, ex more solito desiderauit 'aliquid mittere' ad magistram suam uenerabilem Moduennam. Vocauit itaque puellam Osid⁸⁸ et dicit ei, 'Vade', inquit, 'ad dominam' (sic enim appellabatur a suis) 'et defer ei ex parte mea uolumen istud, in quo ualeat ipsa legere, et fortasse aliquid sancte contemplacionis inuenire.' Que, statim complens obedienter preceptum, peruenit ad pontem ligneum qui erat obiter^f per quem uia inter duo monasteria iacebat quemque illa, uadens ad cellam domine, nullatenus declinare preualebat.^g Super quem properanter ascendens et fluctuum commotionem ex obliquo et inprouise aspiciens, timore perterrita repente deorsum corruit et tribus diebus et totidem noctibus in profundo fluminis cum uolumine, ignorantibus omnibus quid de illa contigisset, limphis dimersa permansit. Cumque ita necata fluuio toto^h iam triduo perstitisset, tandem spiritus reuelauit Moduenne auriculam, dum in cella usu solito prostratis ad terram

^{a-a} nomen inuocans A ^{b-b} uocatur Arderna A ^c Polleswrda R
^d Streneshalen A ^{e-e} mittere aliquid A ^f obitum A ^g ualebat A
^h ibi add. A

⁸³ Cf. 1 Kgs. 1: 18, 16: 22, etc.

⁸⁴ St Eadgyth of Polesworth, mentioned in the 11th-cent. list of the resting places of the saints, ed. Felix Liehermann, *Die Heiligen Englands* (Hanover, 1889), pp. 9-19, section 18. For succinct discussion of the identities of various saints with this name, and further bibliography, John Blair, 'A hand-list of Anglo-Saxon saints', in Richard Sharpe and Alan Thacker (eds.), *Local Saints and Local Churches* (Oxford, forthcoming), s.n.

of her sanctity and how quickly she had been heeded when she placed her hand on him and invoked the name of the holy and undivided Trinity on his behalf. The handmaid of the Lord found much grace in the eyes of the king,⁸³ who commended to her his maiden sister, Eadgyth by name,⁸⁴ to protect, raise up, instruct, consecrate, and betroth to Christ the Lord in service of the rule, so that she should be able under her tutelage to serve in a nun's habit with pious devotion for the prize of eternal reward. The king also gave to her as much land as she desired at sites she chose, by the Forest of Arden⁸⁵ and within the Forest, where two monasteries were constructed suitable for the solitary life, one in a place called Polesworth,⁸⁶ the other in a place called *Streneshale*.⁸⁷ She had Athea and the king's sister reside in one while she herself remained alone in the other one for some days, giving herself up to prayer.

While they were there, a miracle occurred that I do not think I should pass over in silence. For during the winter, when the rivers were swollen, as often happens in those parts, Eadgyth the virgin, the handmaid of God and the king's sister, wished, as was her custom, to send something to her revered mistress Modwenna. So she summoned the girl Osgyth⁸⁸ and said to her, 'Go to the mistress' (for so she was called by her followers) 'and take to her from me this volume, in which she can read and perhaps find something about holy contemplation.' She obeyed her command at once and came to the wooden bridge that lay on the route between the two monasteries and that she could not avoid if she wished to reach the mistress' cell. She quickly went onto it but, unexpectedly catching sight of the rushing waves to the side, she was struck by sudden terror and fell off. For three day and three nights she lay submerged in the depths of the river with the volume, no one knowing what had happened to her. When she had lain dead in the river for three whole days, at last the spirit brought a revelation to Modwenna's ear as she lay on the ground in her cell on her knees intent on prayer in her usual way.

⁸³ War.

⁸⁶ War.

⁸⁷ Unidentified, but clearly not Whitby, despite its earlier name of *Streanaeshalch*; for other instances of the name, see Tania Styles, 'Whitby revisited: Bede's explanation of *Streanaeshalch*', *Nomina*, xxi (1998), 133-48, at 140.

⁸⁸ For the complex and contradictory legends about St Osgyth, see Christopher Hohler, 'St. Osyth and Aylesbury', *Records of Buckinghamshire*, xviii (1966-70), 61-72; Denis Bethell, 'The Lives of St Osith of Essex and St Osith of Aylesbury', *Analecta Bollandiana*, lxxviii (1970), 75-127; Blair, 'Hand-list', in *Local Saints*, s.n.

genibus orationi intenta procumberet, 'Vade,' inquit, 'Moduenna cum festinatione ad fluuium, aliquod ibi necessarium operatura.'^a

Tunc,^b uelociter ab oratione consurgens, perrexit ire sine dilatione ad alueum fluminis et ibi inuenit Editham uirginem^c sibi in obuiam, querentem^d puellam Osid et non mediocriter admirantem quambrem tam diutissime permorata^e nondum reuersa fuisset ad eam. Quam abbatissa uelut expauescentem considerans ait illi, 'Quid est, soror? Recte ne sunt omnia?'^f At illa respondit,^g 'Ecce tres', inquit, 'sunt dies,^h domina, ex quo transmisiⁱ puellam Osid^h ad te et ueniebam ut quererem quam ob causam tam diu moretur ut nequaquam regrediatur ad me. Numquid non apud te est?' At illa, 'Vere', inquit, 'non uidi eam neque ad me uenit et nescio quo deuenit.' Porro pastores secus alueum custodiebant pecora, qui, requisiti ab eis si uidissent puellam aliquam illac transire,^j respondentes dixerunt quod hanc quidem ascendisse supra^j pontem^k uiderant nudius tertius,^k sed postmodum, intenti ad alia, siue quo abisset siue utrum alicubi remansisset,^l | nimirum curam agentes de pecoribus, penitus ignorabant. Quo audito, cum iam pia mater uere cognosceret esse in aquis necatam filiam, statim fide roborata et in intimis cordis uehementi caritate succensa, confidentior sicut semper in necessitate de auxilio Domini, spem bonam habens nichilque in periculo hesitans, de potentia Christi credens omnia posse credentem,⁸⁹ cum magna fiducia dixit ad Editham,^m 'Deprecemur, soror karissima, tota intentione dominum nostrum' Iesum Christum quatinus, per nomen salutare et per intercessionem sanctissime genitricis ipsius Marie et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli atque Andree simulque omnium sanctorum suorum, reddat nobis in hac hora et restituat puellam^o perditam, ut uideamus et cognoscamus eius potentiam in uirtute miraculi et collaudemus in perpetuum omnipotentem misericordiam suam.' Cum igitur, inclinate ad terram, diu cum lacrimis ambe uirgines in orationibus perstitissent, Moduenna, Dei famula, prior se de oratione leuauit et clara uoce atque alto suspirio tribus uicibus Osid puellam ingeminans, ita dicendo lacrimabiliter proclamauit, 'Osid, Osid, Osid, in nomine sancte et indiuidue trinitatis ueni foras, ut eo te suscitante qui suscitauit |^p quadriduanum Lazarum⁹⁰ sana et incolumis loquaris nobis et de hoc flumine^q in quo submersa es, per uirtutem potestatis illius,^r uite restituta

A, f. 93^v

R, f. 81^r

^a cooperatura R ^b illa add. A ^c uenientem add. A ^d querentem R
^e demorata A ^{f-f} om. R ^{g-g} 'Ecce,' inquit, 'tres dies sunt' A ^{h-h} Osid
 puellam A ⁱ transisse A ^j om. A ^{k-k} nudius tertius uiderunt A

'Go quickly,' it said, 'Modwenna, to the river, where you have work to do.'

She arose quickly from prayer and made her way without delay to the river bank, where she encountered the virgin Eadgyth coming towards her, seeking the girl Osgyth and not a little surprised that she had delayed so long and not yet returned to her. The abbess saw her looking so pale and said, 'What is it, sister? Is something wrong?' She replied, 'It is three days, mistress, since I sent the girl Osgyth to you and I was coming to see why she is delaying so long and did not come back to me. Isn't she with you?' 'Truly,' replied Modwenna, 'I have not seen her, she did not come to me and I do not know where she is.' They asked some shepherds who were tending their flocks along the river bank if they had seen a girl cross there and they answered that they had indeed seen her go onto the bridge three days earlier but they had no idea where she had gone or if she had stayed anywhere, because they were intent on other things, paying attention to their animals. When she heard this, the pious virgin knew for sure that her daughter was drowned in the water, but with a strengthened faith and aflame with burning love in her innermost being, trusting in God's help in time of need, as she always did, with firm hope and not wavering in danger, believing that all things are possible to one who believes in the power of Christ,⁸⁹ she said to Eadgyth with great confidence, 'Dearest sister, let us pray to our Lord Jesus Christ with our whole heart that He should restore and return to us in this hour the girl who has been lost, through His saving name and through the intercession of His holy mother Mary and the blessed apostles Peter, Paul, and Andrew together with all His saints. Thus we may see and know His power in performing miracles and praise His all-powerful mercy for ever.' When both virgins had prayed for a long time prostrate on the ground and in tears, Modwenna, the handmaid of God, arose first from prayer and with a clear voice and a deep sigh repeated the name of Osgyth, proclaiming tearfully, 'Osgyth, Osgyth, Osgyth, in the name of the holy and undivided Trinity come forth, so that He who raised Lazarus after four days⁹⁰ may raise you too, and you may speak with us healthy and unharmed and, restored to life through His power, you may emerge from this river

ⁱ aut uspiam apparuisset *add. A*
["] nobis *add. A* ^p excitauit *A*

["] Edihtam *R*; Edithem *A* ["] *om. A*
["] ne *add. A* ["] ipsius *A*

⁸⁹ Mark 9: 22.

⁹⁰ John 11: 39.

emergas.' Necdum "uerba plene"^a finierat, cum ecce puella de fluuio cum uolumine illeso prodiit et magistre^b bona discipula, uiuens et hilaris et salua effecta, ita protinus trina uice sermone absoluto respondit, 'Ecce ego, ecce ego, ecce ego, domina.' Quam abbatissa libenter intuens atque cum maxima exultatione suscipiens, agens gratias summo Deo, Edithe uirgini uiuentem reddidit et ipsa, secum retento uolumine, ad cellam propriam absque dilatione remeauit. Diuulgatum est autem circumquaque istud tam grande miraculum, prius quidem per ora pastorum qui presentes fuerant^c ac deinde relacionibus quam plurimorum, et fluuius in quo uirgo submersa est Anchora dicitur et illa pars aque ubi ceciderat, quia fuerat sanctimonialis Osid, ad testimonium ueritatis ab incolis loci illius sermone publico usque hodie Nunnepol^d appellatur.⁹¹ Sed hoc quidem postmodum, nunc ad narrationem regredior.

21. *De restauracione ecclesie sue redeuntis in patriam et de construcionem monasterii Brigide.*

Fauor itaque populi Moduennam, Christi ancillam, immoderatus prosecutus est adeo ut uirgo, solitudinem semper desiderans, frequentiam conueniencium ad se et honorem deferentium sibi patienter tollerare non ualeret et ob hoc aliquorsum discedere ad loca alia ubi posset summopere uacare Deo sepiissime in cogitatione uersaret. Meditabatur^e quoque multociens et sollicitabatur assidue de abbazia Cellis Cliuii quam deuastatam aliquantisper^f reliquerat et iccirco propter eandem^g restituendam ad statum integrum diebus ac noctibus remeare in Hiberniam estuanti desiderio anhelabat. Huiuscemodi Dei famula coagitata^h causis, disposuit remanere Atheam in Anglia et Lugeⁱ in Britannia ut custodirent loca singula habitaculorum suorum ac preessent ceteris uirginibus, siue iam existentibus cum illis, siue que postea uenirent ad conuersionem in societatem earum. De Brigida uero cogitabat profundius, diuino quodam presagio quia fructum plurimum in Hibernia faceret, sicut et fecit. Ipsa quoque, ut predictum est, affectabat reuerti in patriam ut optato solatio sua monasteria uisitaret. Quesiuit ergo a rege et eius filio repatriandi licentiam, dicens suos se uelle reuisere, quia iam diu exspectauerant eam et cupiebant in suo reditu aliquam consolationem habere. Qui,

^a " plene uerba A

^b bone add. A

^c affuerant A

^d Nonnepol A

^e Metabatur R

^f alisquantisper R

^g om. R

^h cogitata A

ⁱ Lugu R

in which you were drowned.' She had not finished speaking when the girl came out of the river alive and happy and safe, with the book unharmed, and immediately answered her mistress like a good disciple, saying three times, 'Here I am, here I am, here I am, mistress'. The abbess was happy to see her and received her with great joy, giving thanks to the highest God, then restoring her alive to the virgin Eadgyth and, taking the volume with her, returning to her own cell without delay. Report of this great miracle spread far and wide, first from the mouths of the shepherds who were present and in the accounts of many others. The river in which the virgin drowned is called the Anker and, because Osgyth was a nun, that part of it where she fell is still called 'Nun's Pool'⁹¹ to this day by the inhabitants of the place as testimony to the truth. That was later, of course; let me return to my narrative.

21. *The restoration of her church after her return to her own country and the building of Brigid's monastery.*

The partiality of the people for Modwenna, the handmaid of Christ, was so extreme that the virgin, who always desired solitude, was unable to bear with patience the crowds of those who came to see her and do her honour. Because of this she often turned over in her mind the thought of going off somewhere, to a place where she could devote herself to God completely. She thought too, with continuous concern, about the monastery of Killeevy that for some time she had left in ruins. Day and night she burned with deep desire to return to Ireland in order to restore it to its original state. Agitated by matters of this kind, the handmaid of God determined that Athea should remain in England and Luge in Britain in order to act as custodians of their individual dwellings and to exercise authority over the other virgins, both those who were with them at present and those who might come afterwards to join them in the religious life. She gave especial thought to Brigid, moved by a presentiment from God that she would bring forth great fruit in Ireland, as happened. She herself, as previously mentioned, desired to return to her own country and visit her monasteries to bring them consolation. She therefore sought from the king and his son permission to return home, saying she wished to visit her own followers, who had awaited her for a long time in the desire to receive some comfort in her return. Although they

⁹¹ Unidentified.

licet inuiti et ^aualde tristes^a effecti pro elongatione eius,^b scientes tamen eius totum^c propositum esse in Domino et resistere in aliquo | A, f. 94^r nullatenus presumentes, dimiserunt eam pro suo libito, ipsius se commendantes sanctissimis orationibus et multas res preciosas^d offerentes ei plurimaque donaria animo uoluntario exhibentes. Ex quibus omnibus pia uirgo pauca retinuit illa dumtaxat 'que sibi^e suisque profutura fore secundum accidentiam temporum in usus necessarios iudicauit.

Per Daganno igitur ueniens et sanctam Brigidam quam in insula ibi dimiserat iterum secum assumens, transcursis prospere marinis fluctibus in Hiberniam concita rediit et, iuxta quod ante non paucos dies prophetali spiritu nuntiaret, monasterium Cellis Cliuii, quod Chanunchinius^f cognatus eius truculenta impietate uastauerat, de exeniis^g que a rege patre Alfredi acceperat in statum pristinum et in mensuram priorem integerrime restaurauit. Post hec uero assensu illius ipsa etiam Brigida, Dei conducta spiritu Cheldara locum petens, famosum ibi monasterium condidit,^h in quo aggregans plurimas uirgines militaturas sponso eterno, tocius bonitatis exempla eximia demonstrans omnibus, in magnarum opinionem uirtutum, in gratiose auctoritatis supereminetiam, in seueritatem religiositatis reuerentissime, prosperante diuina gracia, usque immensum excreuit.

22. *De uisitacione ecclesiarum suarum et de aqua in uinum conuersa.*

Temporibus illis Moduenna, famula omnipotentis Dei, perambulabat loca singula ecclesiarum suarum, circumspiciens subiectas suas uigilanti intentioneⁱ quid agerent et diligenter considerans undique qualiter sese uniuersa haberent. Earum quidem corporibus que uidebantur necessaria prouidebat, uerum multo magis que animabus illarum proficerent ante omnia uigilantissime et cum omni studio^j procurabat. Colloquebatur priuatim singulis et consulebat communiter uniuersis,^k ita omnes consolans sermone congruo et singillatim et publice ut cuncte eam dulcissima karitate diligerent et exortationes ipsius ad executionem tocius bonitatis corde obedientissimo conseruarent.

^{a-a} tristes ualde A ^b illius A ^c om. A ^d speciosas A ^{e e} sibi que A
^f Chanuncunus R ^g xeniis A ^h quondam a magna Brigida constructum tempore Patricii apostoli Hibernie sed regnante Gurmundo supercus (sic)

were unwilling and saddened by her departure, they knew that her every wish was governed by the Lord and did not presume to make any difficulties. They sent her away as she wished, commending themselves to her most holy prayers, offering her many precious things and presenting her very willingly with many gifts. The devout virgin kept a few of these things, those that she judged would be useful for herself and her followers in the needs that might arise from time to time.

As she passed through Deganwy she took with her Brigid, whom she had left there in that island, and, crossing the sea without difficulty, quickly returned to Ireland. Just as she had prophetically announced not long before, she restored the monastery of Killeevy, that her relative Chanuncinus had devastated with such wicked savagery, using the gifts that she had received from the king, Alfred's father, to bring it back completely to its former state and earlier extent. Then, with her permission, Brigid, guided by the spirit of God, came to Kildare and founded there the famous monastery, gathering together many virgins in the service of the eternal bridegroom. She gave to all a wonderful example of goodness and her renown for great virtues, her eminence in grace and authority and her pious asceticism all grew immensely, through God's favourable grace.

22. *The visitation of her churches and the water turned into wine.*

At that time Modwenna, the handmaid of Almighty God, travelled around to each of her churches, observing with watchful attention the behaviour of those placed under her and carefully considering how things were in all respects. She did indeed provide for their physical needs but much more and above all she attended with utmost vigilance and all zeal to what might be profitable to their souls. She spoke with each of them individually in private and also deliberated with them all communally, comforting every one of them with well chosen words both singly and together in such a way that they loved her with the sweetest affection and followed the exhortations she gave them to pursue virtue with an obedient heart.

Venit autem ad monasterium quod situm fuerat in campo Murthemene,^{a 92} in quo erant sorores sanctimoniales uirgines, apud quas fecit Deus omnipotens per meritum sancte matris tale miraculum euenire. Congratulabantur gaudio magno^b sancte filie super aduentu^c tantarum hospitem, sed contristabantur non modice quia non habebant quid eis dare^d ad potum nisi aquam puram, cum nimirum desiderarent et esset necesse addere sibi aliquid melius ultra solitum morem pro benedictione earum. Habentes itaque fidem non fictam⁹³ in Domino, nec uidentes quid agere congruentius possent, presumens de merito matris, consilium ineunt bonum ut uidelicet uascula plena laticibus apportari ante dominam facerent et postularent benedici^e ab ea quatinus inde aliquam iocunditatem haurirent. Vasa igitur allata^f sunt repleta^f aquis et ante ora discumbentium posita et petierunt humiliter abbatissam quatinus orationem faceret et cum signo crucis Christi benedictionem imponeret super illa. Que cum esset intuita et non inmerito admiraretur tantam fidem illarum, confidens et ipsa de domino suo, contristari^g eas noluit sed corde intento fudit precem ad Christum, qui in Chana Galilee ad nuptias sedit,⁹⁴ signum crucis faciens et omnia uasa consignans benedictionem imposuit et confestim^h omnipotens Deus, sua prepotenti^h uirtute, aquas fontaneas mirabiliter in uinum iocundissimum transmutauit. Iocundateⁱ ergo suntⁱ uehementer, conuiue bibentes et sentientes uinum optimum^j de aqua factum,^j cognoscentes Christi^k potentiam et^j meritum Moduene,^j inebriantes mentem spiritalibus gaudiis, collaudantes Deum ac benedicentes gloriosum et admirabilem in uniuersis operibus suis.

A, f. 94^v Factum est autem "signum hoc" in Conalleorumⁿ prouincia, de qua gente, | sicut prediximus, ipsa uirgo Christi secundum carnem procreata est; ubi adhuc multi erant magicis artibus dediti, multi quoque restabant in illis finibus qui nondum fuerant a paganis erroribus liberati. Quorum plurimi, dum audissent tantum miraculum circumquaque in hiis regionibus diuulgatum, uenientes de locis singulis magnopere cupiebant uidere beatam uirginem, cuius uerba intelligentes et uitam considerantes illi quidem per Dei gratiam arti magice renuntiauerunt, isti uero reiectis idolis et suscepto sacro baptismo, edocti per eam fidem rectam et opera sanctitatis ad ueram religionem conuersi sunt.

^a Murcemene R ^b maximo A ^c aduentum R ^d daret A
^e benidici A ^{f-f} plena sunt R ^g contristare A ^{h-h} Deus omnipotens,
 prepotenti sua A ⁱ⁻ⁱ sunt ergo A ^{j-j} factum de aqua A ^k om. R
^{l-l} Moduene meritum A ^{m-n} hoc signum A ⁿ Cenalleorum A

She came to the monastery situated in the field of Muirthemene,⁹² where there were holy virgin nuns. Here, through the merit of the holy mother, Almighty God caused the following miracle to come to pass. The holy daughters were overjoyed at the arrival of such guests but deeply saddened that they had nothing to give them but plain water, since they greatly desired, and indeed it was necessary, to add something better than usual to it in return for their blessing. Since they had an unfeigned faith⁹³ in the Lord and saw nothing to do that was more fitting, they presumed on the merits of their mother and undertook the good resolution of having vessels full of water brought before their mistress and asking her to bless them, so that they might draw a cheerful draught from them. So vessels were brought full of water and placed before the faces of the guests as they reclined and they humbly beseeched the abbess that she should pray and bless them with the sign of Christ's cross. When she had seen their faith and marvelled at it, not unjustly, having trust also in her Lord, she was not willing that they should be grieved, but, with an eager heart, she poured out a prayer to Christ, who sat at the wedding feast at Cana of Galilee,⁹⁴ and made the sign of the cross over all the vessels, blessing them. Immediately, Almighty God, through His great power, miraculously transformed the spring water into delightful wine. So they were all happy, drinking together convivially, tasting the fine wine that had been made from the water, acknowledging Christ's power and Modwenna's merits, making their spirit drunk with spiritual joys, together praising God and blessing Him, who is glorious and marvellous in all His works.

This miracle took place in the region of the Conaille, the people from whom, as we have said, the virgin was born according to the flesh. Here many were still given to magic arts and there were also many in those parts who were not yet released from the errors of paganism. When they had heard the fame of such a great miracle spread abroad on every side in the region, large numbers of them came from various places, full of great desire to see the blessed virgin. After they had understood her words and contemplated her life, those given to magical arts renounced them through God's grace, while the pagans spurned their idols, received holy baptism and, instructed by her in right faith and the works of holiness, were converted to true religion.

⁹² See above, ch. 15.

⁹³ 1 Tim. 1: 5; 2 Tim. 1: 5.

⁹⁴ John 2: 1-11.

23. *De aduentu Hybar in terram Lagenorum et de cisterna
repleta aquis Moduenna orante.*

Contigit quoque iisdem temporibus predictum⁹⁵ Hybar episcopum ac uenerabilem anachoritam de prefatis insulis Hirnis aduenire in meridianam partem Hibernie in terra Lagenorum ad quandam paruum insulam quam Hibernienses Modicam Hiberniam uocant,⁹⁶ in qua ipse sanctus diebus non paucis cum discipulis plurimis uitam heremiticam districtissime duxit, in qua etiam postmodum honorabili traditus sepulture post tantos agones, post immensos labores, post certamina fortia contra demoniacas potestates, post Christi militiam strenua fortitudine consummatam, dignus memoria, plenus miraculis, glorioso fine quieuit. Qui dum ibi maneret et se ipsum bonis omnibus imitabilem exhiberet, Moduenna, eius discipula, de aduentu illius audiens, uenit ad eum cupiens iterum informari exemplis illius,^a desiderans benedici ab eo et iuari apud Dominum sanctis intercessionibus eius. Aliquanto itaque tempore habitauit in Airsonis^b propter eum cum^c aliquibus quas elegerat secum de sororibus suis, quia ^dlocus hic^d erat proximus predictae insule et inde poterat uirgo Christi colloqui sepius cum episcopo et ab eo aliquam, sicut oportebat, consolationem et edificationem accipere.

Factum est autem dum esset ibi casu accidit in illis partibus siccitas non mediocris, usque adeo ut sorores tantam aquarum penuriam sustinerent quatinus neque de fonte neque de lacu neque de flumine possent habere necessaria usibus, ut inde scilicet uel haurirent potum uel cibaria coquerent seu uestimenta lauarent. Erat uero cisterna^e preparata in loco illo propter naturalem ariditatem deserti que frequenter ex more, antequam eadem siccitas euenisset, imbribus

R, f. 81^v

^a eius A ^b Airsonis R ^c om. A ^d hic locus A
^e scisterna A ^f exsiccata R ^g om. R ^h recurrunt A

23. *The arrival of Ibar in Leinster and the cistern that filled with water at Modwenna's prayer.*

It happened at this time that Ibar, the bishop and venerable hermit who has already been mentioned,⁹⁵ left the Aran Isles and came to Leinster in the south of Ireland, to a small island that the Irish call 'Little Ireland'.⁹⁶ Here for a long while the saint and his numerous disciples led a very austere life. Here too, after great struggles, vast labours, and mighty combats with the demonic powers, after service of Christ completed with brave fortitude, he came at last to his glorious rest, worthy to be remembered, full of miracles, and was buried honourably. While he was living there and setting an example to all good people, his disciple Modwenna heard of his arrival and came to him with the wish once again to be instructed by his example and desiring to be blessed by him and helped before the Lord through his holy intercession. For some time, therefore, she lived in Árd Conais, with some of the sisters she had chosen, on his account, for this place was near to that island and the virgin of Christ was able to speak often with the bishop and to receive from him fitting comfort and edification.

It happened while she was there that a severe drought chanced to occur in the region, so that the sisters suffered such a want of water that they could get neither from spring nor lake nor river what was necessary for their needs, for drinking, cooking food, or washing clothes. There was however a cistern that had been provided in that place on account of the natural dryness of the wilderness and that, prior to the drought, had usually been refilled with rain falling from the heavens. The virgins had been happy with this water and had found it quite adequate to be used for drinking and the other necessities. Now that it was completely dried up because of the lack of rain at this time so that not a single drop could be found in it, the daughters ran to the mother, driven by harsh necessity, and begged her to pour out prayers to the fount of living waters,⁹⁷ so that, out of his generosity, he might provide them with the support of temporal water. When the virgin of Christ saw their faith, she was moved, not without cause, by devout compassion for their need. She spent the whole night awake in prayer and, behold, as soon as morning arrived, she gathered the sisters and, in a wonderful

⁹⁵ Ch. 5.

⁹⁶ Beggery (Beggerin, Begerin) Island, Co. Wexford, meaning literally 'Little Ireland'.

⁹⁷ Cf. John 4: 10.

primo mane conuocatis sororibus miro modo in conspectu earum totam illam cisternam per sue intercessionis suffragium puris laticibus redundare impetrauit. Quodque non minus admirandum est, eedem aque ad laudem Domini quoadusque perseuerauit ariditas de cisterna deficere nequaquam potuerunt, cunctis usibus ancillarum Dei omnem omnimodis sufficientiam ministrantes, et sancte matris meritum uirtutemque altissimi manifesta demonstratione comprobantes. Diuulgatum est autem et hoc miraculum circumquaque in regionibus et plurima multitudo utriusque sexus homines ab omni parte confluebant ad uirginem, deferentes ei donaria et cupientes participare orationibus eius. |

A, f. 95^r

24. *De puella commendata ab episcopo et de fluuio eleuato
propter culpam inobediencie.*

Eodem tempore commendauit Hybar episcopus beate uirgini unam puellulam nutriendam in seruitium Domini et sub disciplinis monasterialibus erudiendam. Quam cum suscepisset ancilla Christi eamque ceteris sociandam uirginibus et docendam timorem Domini aggregasset, eadem die in qua suscepta est, diligentius puellam intuens, prophetice prenuntiauit de illa sororibus, quod postmodum probauit ueritas et rei uenientis^a in tempore demonstrauit effectus. Ait namque ^bper spiritum de illa^b abbatissa sororibus suis, 'Istam filiulam quam die hodierna suscepimus bene debemus nutrire, karissime, quia per illam 'scandala nobis^c peruenient et continget ex nobis aliquas propter hanc ex hoc loco ingruente necessitate migrare.' Quod ita patenter sicut predixerat non multo spatio interueniente prouenit.

Mox enim ut pueriles transegit annos puellula et iam iuuenilem attigisset etatem, cepit esse intolerabilis moribus, ardere inuidia, cenodoxia fatigari, spiritu exagitari superbie, detrahare occulte sororibus, ociosa loqui, inutilia docere et etiam aliquotiens uerba contumeliosa proferre. Habebat quoque illud maximum uitium quod anima sapientie pre sex odibilibus detestatur, quia uidelicet ubicunque poterat discordias inter quoslibet studiosissime seminabat.⁹⁸ Loquebatur autem aliquando parentibus suis, qui in uicinia commanebant quique, ut assolet, uisitationis gracia sepius ueniebant ad eam, quos priuatim hortabatur in silentio ut episcopo dicerent quod multum mali sibimet ipsi intulerat, qui Moduennam abbatissam

^a euenientis, *corr. to* euentus *A*
scandala *A*

^{b-b} de illa per spiritum *A*

^c nobis

manner, in the sight of all, procured through the help of her intercession that the whole cistern was flowing over with clear water. What is no less remarkable and to the praise of the Lord, these same waters of the cistern were never lacking as long as the drought persisted, providing a sufficiency for all the needs of the handmaids of God and giving a manifest demonstration of the merits of the holy mother and the power of the most high. News of this miracle spread through all the surrounding regions and great crowds of both sexes came to the virgin from every district, bringing her gifts and desiring to share in the benefits of her prayers.

24. *The girl commended by the bishop and the river that rose because of the crime of disobedience.*

At this same time bishop Ibar commended to the holy virgin a little girl, to be brought up in the service of the Lord and educated in monastic discipline. When the handmaid of Christ had received her and brought her together with the other sisters to be taught the fear of the Lord, on the very day of her reception she looked at her intently and made to the sisters a prophetic pronouncement concerning her, which subsequently proved to be true, as the future outcome demonstrated. For, inspired by the spirit, the abbess said this to the sisters concerning her: 'We must raise this little daughter well, dear ones, whom we have received today. For through her scandal will befall us and it will happen that some of us will be forced by necessity to leave this place.' Not long afterwards what she had openly predicted happened.

For, as soon as the little girl left childhood and became a young woman, she began to behave intolerably, burning with envy, tormented with vainglory, disturbed by the spirit of pride, disparaging the sisters in secret, given to empty talk, teaching unprofitable things, and even sometimes uttering insulting words. She had also that great vice that the soul of wisdom hates more than the six hateful things, namely that she eagerly sowed discord wherever she could.⁹⁸ She sometimes spoke to her relatives, who lived in the neighbourhood and who, as happens, often came to visit her, urging them privately and quietly to say to the bishop that he had brought many evils on himself by having the abbess Modwenna living so close by. Because of her, he had lost a great part of the favour of the people, the glory of his name

⁹⁸ Prov. 6: 16-19.

tam prope se faciebat commorari, per quam fauorem populi, gloriam nominis, opinionem sanctitatis, magna ex parte amittebat.^a Ad hanc enim munera et oblationes deferebantur, ipse uero pene iam quasi nullius momenti reputabatur. Hoc quoque ueneno temptabat susurrans precipue illos inficere quos sciebat collaterales esse pontificis et supra ceteros in eius familiaritate uigere. Verum uir sanctus, huiusmodi uerba omnino despiciens, sepiebat aures suas spinis nec talia cupiebat^b recipere, immo omnes prohibuit ne presumeret aliquis amplius tam inanes rumusculos ad ipsius auditum afferre.

Hec et similia cum diu 'et multum^c abbatisa tolerasset et illa soror increpata frequentius nullam omnimodis emendationem susciperet, tandem pia uirgo ferre ulterius inutile esse considerans, conuocauit uirgines simul et ait ad illas, 'Numquid non predixi uobis, dilectissime, quod per hanc filiam scandala pateremur et propter illam urgeret nos necessitas recedere ^dab isto loco?^d Ecce uidemus scandalum, ecce 'inaniter sustinemus^e periculum animarum nostrarum. Demus itaque locum ire, sicut ait^f apostolus,⁹⁹ et aliene inuidie, uere enim dico uobis in tali rancore animi non expedit nobis diutius hic manere. Verumptamen quoniam decens est ut retribuamus bona pro malis, decreui tradere locum istum male morigere sorori nostre quasdamque de nobis que melius sibi placuerunt secum habitaturas eligat, que uidelicet ualeant mores eius sustinere tolerabilius et in quarum ipsa solatiis mansuetius requiescere consuescat. Isti suisque secum manentibus relinquemus totam suppellectilem nostram, istis concedemus quecunque huic monasterio pertinent, uestes nostras communes que scilicet circa nos sunt solummodo hinc portabimus, cetera eis ^guniuersa in seruitio Domini^g dimitemus. Tu^h soror, uirgo Christi, sponsata Deo, refrena de cetero linguam tuam et temet ipsam iam aliquando respice, memorare quid sis, professa Domino, et premia beatitudinis que conuersatio sanctaⁱ meretur, | penas inferni quibus mores improbi terribiliter cruciabuntur, diuinum iudicium blandum^j iustis atque horrendum impiis assidua contemplacione meditare.'

A, f. 95^v

Ad hec uerba tremefacta puella et mota intrinsecus spiritu penitencie conpunctaque terrore diuino in uirtute sermonis, protinus coram sororibus corruit humilis ante pedes abbatisse, obsecrans ueniam lacrimabiliter de preteritis et paciscens pollicitatione deuo-

^a admittebat R ^b curabat A ^{c-c} multumque A ^{d-d} de loco isto A
^{e-e} sustinemus inaniter A ^f dicit A ^{g-g} in seruitium Domini uniuersa A
^h autem add. A ⁱ om. R ^j blande R

and his reputation for sanctity, for they brought gifts and offerings to her and he was deemed to be of no importance. With whispers of this kind she attempted to poison especially those whom she knew to be relatives of the bishop and to enjoy greater familiarity with him than the rest. But the holy man treated such words with disdain, hedging his ears about with thorns and desiring not to receive things of this kind, but rather forbidding anyone any further to dare to bring to his hearing such foolish gossip.

After the abbess had borne this and many other things like it for a long time and the sister had frequently been rebuked but had not at all mended her ways, the holy virgin at last decided it would be useless to bear any more and, calling the sisters together, said to them, 'Did I not foretell to you, dearest ones, that we would suffer scandal because of this daughter and that, because of her, the necessity would arise of us leaving this place? Behold, we are seeing scandal, behold, we are bearing this threat to our souls uselessly. Let us, therefore, give place unto wrath, as the apostle says,⁹⁹ and to another's envy, for truly I say to you that it is not profitable for us to stay here any longer in such rancour of mind. But since it is proper that we should repay good for evil, I have determined to hand over this place to our disobedient sister and she may choose some of us who are more pleasing to her to live with her, namely those who are able to bear her ways more easily and through whose support she may become accustomed to rest more quietly. To her and those staying with her we shall leave all our furnishings and utensils, to them we shall grant whatever belongs to this monastery, we shall carry hence only our common clothes that we are wearing, everything else we shall give up to them in the service of the Lord. You, sister, virgin of Christ and betrothed of God, rein in your tongue henceforth and reflect on yourself sometimes, remember what you are, professed to the Lord, and meditate in continual contemplation the prize of beatitude that a holy way of life earns, the pains of hell with which wicked ways are terribly tormented and the divine judgement, that is kind to the just and dreadful to the wicked.'

The girl was terrified at these words and, moved within by the spirit of penitence and pierced by the fear of God in the power of this speech, she at once fell humbly before the feet of the abbess, in front of all the sisters, begging tearfully for pardon for her past deeds and

⁹⁹ Rom. 12: 19.

tissima emendationem de futuris. Ad quam illa, gratias agens Domino, benigna ut erat uoluntate respondit, 'Absoluat te,' inquit, 'filia, Deus omnipotens et dirigat in uiam bonam, confirmet te pietate sua in proposito sanctitatis, ut pertingere ualeas, subsequente gracia eius, ad gaudia eterne retributionis.' Hiis ita dictis et sicut ante ipsa statuerat ordinatis ac dispositis uniuersis, dimittens in pace omnia et benedicens cunctas simul et ibi remanentes et inde secum abeuntes, letis effectis^a omnibus et abeuntibus^b et remanentibus, sumpta licentia et benedictione ab^c episcopo, cum exaltatione recessit.

Cumque uenissent ad quendam fluuiolum paruulum, qui nec quidem paruulos^d proficiscentes per uiam retardare antea ab itinere potuisset, reperiunt eum^e contra se intumescensem preter solitum et ita^f immodice super ripas sui^g alueoli excrescentem, ut etiam uiri equites transuadare illum minime preualuerunt.^h Stupefactis in tanto prodigio dixit abbatissa sororibus, 'Quid putamus, filie, quid est quod uoluit nobis Dominus in signo huiuscemodi demonstrare? Vere dico uobis proculdubio aliqua culpa in nobis est, propter quam Deus impedit iter nostrum. Inquiramus et perscrutemur conscientias nostras singule, si quid peccati agnoscimus in corde nostro celari absconditum.' Hoc cum dixisset, ecce una de uirginibus festinauit ad eam et, prostrata eius uestigiis, confessa est culpam inobedientie palam omnibus, dicens ad illam, 'Domina mea, confiteor tibi coram Domino peccatum meum. Dum egrederemur de monasterio, uidi cepe et allia que concupiui et inde sumens mihi aliqua mecum, neglecto precepto quod feceras, contra obedientiam exportauit. Ecce hi sunt.' Et ostendit coram omnibus et adiecit, 'Iube mihi quod tibi placuerit et iniunge qualem uolueris penitenciam, presto sum enim sufferre sicut merui quantamlibet afflictionem illatam.' Cui abbatissa uultu placido ac benigno respondit, 'Vade', inquiens, 'et pone eadem in loco unde cepisti et confestim ueniens regredieris ad nos.' Abiit illa et posuit statimque reuersaⁱ est et ecce riuiulus detumescens in alueum rediit^j uiamque liberam itinerantibus, uirtutem confessionis intuentibus, sub mira celeritate reparauit.

^a effectibus R ^b remanentibus R (interlined) ^c ipso add. A
^d pueros A ^e om. R ^f om. R ^g om. R ^h ualarent A
ⁱ regressa A ^j rediitque A

committing herself through most faithful promises to emendation in the future. The abbess gave thanks to the Lord and replied to her with good will, 'May Almighty God absolve you, daughter, direct you to the right path, confirm you, through His goodness, in your holy intention, so that you may attain, with the support of His grace, the joys of an eternal reward.' After these words had been said and everything arranged and ordered as she had previously determined, she left everything in peace and blessed them all, both those who were to stay and those departing with her, so that both those going and those staying were happy, and, after receiving the bishop's permission and blessing, she left in exaltation.

When they came to a tiny little stream, that previously would not have been able to delay even children from their journey, they found it unusually swollen in their path and overflowing its banks so much that even mounted men would not be able to cross it. While the sisters were astonished at such a wonder, the abbess said to them, 'What do you think, daughters, what is it that the Lord wishes to show us in a marvel of this kind? Truly I say to you that, without a doubt, there is some sin in us, on account of which God is impeding our journey. Let each of us enquire and scrutinize our conscience, to learn if we have some sin hidden in our heart.' When she had said this, suddenly one of the virgins hastened to her and, prostrate at her feet, confessed before them all her sin of disobedience, saying to her, 'Mistress, I confess my sin to you before the Lord. When we were leaving the monastery, I saw some onions and garlic that I desired and I took them and carried them off with me, disobediently disregarding the command you had given. Here they are.' She showed them to everyone and added, 'Command what you will and enjoin on me whatever penance you wish, for I am ready to suffer whatever burden you lay on me, as I have deserved.' The abbess replied to her with a calm and kindly look, 'Go and put them in the place you took them from and come back to us straightaway.' She went and placed them there and immediately came back and, behold, the stream ebbed and returned to its banks, restoring with marvellous speed free passage to them in their journey, as they witnessed the power of confession.

25. *De aduentu Moduenne ad monasterium Brigide et de duodecim uestibus ipsa orante a Deo collatis.*

Isdem temporibus resonabat iam per ora multorum fama^a Brigide et monasterium quod ipsa construxerat de die in diem, et uirginum numero et uirtutum meritis, glorioso prouectu per Dei misericordiam excrescebat. Ad hanc uisitandam iam pridem decreuerat Moduenna uenire, desiderans uidere quid ageret et profectui congratulata quem sibi diuina prouidentia condonasset. Dum igitur cum quibusdam Dei uirginibus suis profecta fuisset ^bad eam,^b gratulantes spiritualiter ac letebunde in Domino, aliquantis diebus simul manebant et de eterne uite contemplationibus cum dulci iubilo sese inuicem reficiebant. Transactis itaque perpaucis diebus, sensit esse Moduenna penuriam uestium in monasterio, set Christi uirgines omnia equanimiter tolerabant propter spem immortalis retributionis quam se confidebant recepturas in celo.

Erant autem sorores ferme duodecim quibus maxime Dei famula compatiebatur, que uidelicet frequentissime, dormientibus ceteris, peruigilabant in orationibus et, flante borea in longis noctibus hiemis, nimio frigore pro diuino amore patienti | perseuerantia cruciabantur. Quadam uero nocte, considerans pia uirgo misericorditer afflictionem | illarum, fudit pro eis ad Dominum orationem cum lacrimis, quatinus ille sua pietate concurreret et solatium aliquod in indumentis sibi congruentibus necessitati earum prouideret. Facto igitur mane, inuente sunt ^cduodecim uestes misse a Domino^c in stratis earundem duodecim uirginum, ita optime singule et conuenientes singulis quasi si fuissent mensurate humano studio secundum quantitatem earum. Quas dum ille admirantes recusarent recipere, nescientes cuius essent aut unde allate fuissent, Moduenna, necessitate compulsa, precepit eis per obedientiam quatinus easdem uestes, sicut a Deo collatas, uoluntate letabunda susciperent et sua inde corpora de largitione Domini cum gratiarum actione uestirent. Tota itaque congregatio Brigide, cum agnouissent Moduenne orationibus factum tale tantumque miraculum, magnas gratias omnipotenti Deo uniuerse agentes, de tante matris proficientes exemplis ac meritis edificate utiliter et in Christi dilectione uehementer corroborate sunt.

^a uirginis add. A

^b om. R

^c misse a Domino duodecim uestes A

25. *Modwenna's arrival at Brigid's monastery and the twelve garments bestowed by God at her prayer.*

At this time Brigid's name was resounding on many lips and the monastery she had built grew daily both in the number of virgins and in spiritual merits, yielding glorious increase through God's mercy. Modwenna had long before decided to come to visit her, desiring to see what she was doing and rejoicing in the increase that the divine providence had bestowed on her. So, when she had gone to her with a few of her virgins of God, they remained together for some days, rejoicing in the spirit and making cheer in the Lord, restoring each other with the sweet joy of thoughts about eternal life. Within a few days Modwenna noticed the scarcity of clothing in the monastery, although the virgins of Christ bore everything with equanimity, from the hope of the immortal reward that they trusted they would receive in heaven.

There were about twelve sisters whom the handmaiden of God pitied especially, for they often stayed awake while the others slept, praying while the north wind blew through the long winter nights and being tortured by extreme cold, that they bore patiently for the love of God. One night the holy virgin, thinking of their suffering with pity, poured out tearful prayers for them to the Lord, asking Him to come quickly, out of His goodness, and provide some relief in the form of clothing suitable for their needs. Next morning twelve garments, sent by the Lord, were found on the beds of those twelve virgins, each one excellent and fitting them as well as if they had been measured for size by human skill. They were amazed and, since they did not know whose they were or where they had been brought from, at first refused to take them, but Modwenna, forced by necessity, commanded them on their promise of obedience that they should accept those garments, as a gift from God, with cheerful goodwill and should clothe their bodies with them from the Lord's bounty with thanks. When Brigid's community learned that such a great miracle had been performed at Modwenna's prayers, they all gave thanks to Almighty God, benefiting from the example of such a mother, profitably edified by her merits and greatly strengthened in the love of Christ.

26. *Qualiter Moduenna uas argenteum recondiderit et quomodo
Brigida idem repertum in flumen proiecerit.*

Post dies aliquot remeare uoluit Moduenna ad monasterium Cellis Cliui et, assumens licentiam cum benedictione a Brigida, cum incepisset recedere in ipsa statim inchoatione itineris audiuit ab ea, 'Domina mea,' inquit Brigida, 'precor te pro karitate suscipe de manu mea munusculum quod tibi do, quatinus habeas aliquid memoriale mei et subueniat tibi aliquando de me in orationibus tuis.' Erat autem uas paruum argenteum quod offerebat ei, quod tunc temporis 'escr' apud Hiberniam uocabatur, in quo solebant principes hibernienses honorifice bibere quodque in diebus solempnibus coram se supra mensam fuerant consueti habere.¹⁰⁰ Sed quoniam Moduenna prorsus habebat contemptui omne quod terrenum est, dubitauit accipere, dubitauit et refutare, quia uidelicet et reiciendum uidebat propter despectum seculi et sumendum considerabat propter deuotam dilectionem offerentis. Vicit tamen karitas et accepit, perseuerauit quoque despectio secularium et reiecit. Immo karitas^a et fecit recipere^b et coegit abicere, quia sicut Brigida karitate optulit quod^c Moduenna retineret, sic^d Moduenna karitate reicere uoluit quod Brigida possideret. Quod ut apertius clareat manifestius explanare curabo.

Accepto namque prefato munere, cum iam Moduenna paulo longius a monasterio Brigide abcessisset, continuo repedauit ad eam, quasi adhuc aliquid locutura cum illa et, perscrutans domorum contubernia uelut oblita de aliquo, uas argenteum in saluo loco inueniendum recondidit et postmodum, salutatis rursum^e sororibus atque iterum benedictione suscepta, sine dilatione recessit. Paucissimis deinceps reuolutis^f diebus, idem argenteum uas casu repertum est a non querentibus, diligenter in loco absconditum, ob quam rem sorores que illud inuenerant, nescientes quis illic^g posuisset aut quomodo ibi relictum fuisset, stupefacto^h subito uehementer admirentur sunt. Cumque id de loco tollere penitus non auderent, rei euentum sicut contigerat indicare ilico abbatisse Brigide cum festinatione curauerunt. Quod illa audiens statimque de industria factum fuisse comperiens, nimirum percipiens quia quod ipsa Modwenne per caritatem tribuerat, Moduenna ei per caritatis calliditatem reddiderat, sciens quoque esse scriptum 'caritas non querit que sua sunt',¹⁰¹ hora

^{a-a} om. R
^f euolutis A

^b accipere A
^g illuc R

^c quo A
^h stupefacti R

^d sic add. A

^e rursim A

26. *How Modwenna hid a silver vessel and how Brigid found it and cast it into the river.*

After a few days Modwenna wished to return to the monastery of Killevy and, with Brigid's permission and blessing, had actually begun her journey, when she heard her say, 'My lady, I beg you for the sake of love to accept from my hands a small gift, so that you will have something to remind you of me and to bring me to mind in your prayers from time to time.' What she offered her was a small silver vessel, that was called an 'escre' in Ireland at that time, which the great men of Ireland used to drink from ceremonially and to have before them on the table on feast days.¹⁰⁰ However, since Modwenna had a deep contempt for all earthly things, she doubted whether she should accept it. She doubted also whether she should refuse it, for as it seemed to her proper to refuse it through contempt of the world, so she considered it should be accepted because of the devout affection of the one who offered it. Love conquered and she accepted, contempt for worldly things persisted and she spurned it. Or, rather, love both made her accept it and forced her to reject it, for, just as out of love Brigid offered to Modwenna something for her to keep, so out of love Modwenna wished to reject what Brigid had. I will take care to explain more openly, to make this clearer.

Modwenna accepted the gift, but when she had gone a little distance from Brigid's monastery, she suddenly returned to her, as if she had something to say to her, and, looking all through the living quarters, as if she had forgotten something, she hid the silver vessel in a safe place, where it could be found, and then, again saluting the sisters and receiving benediction, left without further delay. A very few days later, the silver vessel was found by chance, carefully hidden away, by some sisters, who were not purposely looking for it and did not know who had placed it there or how it had come to be left. They were amazed at this remarkable and unexpected occurrence and, not daring to remove it from its place, they took care to inform the abbess Brigid with all speed of what had happened. When she heard about this, she immediately understood that this had been done intentionally, realizing that what she had given to Modwenna out of love, Modwenna had returned to her by a trick of love. Knowing that it is written, 'love does not seek its own',¹⁰¹ at that very hour she ordered

¹⁰⁰ See (*Contributions to a*) *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (Royal Irish Academy; Dublin, 1913-76), s.v. *escre*.

¹⁰¹ 1 Cor. 13: 5.

A, f. 96^v eadem afferi uasculum ad se precepit et, quasi iocando | loquens, immo autem prophetando coram uirginibus sibi assistantibus dixit, 'Hoc munusculum, filiole, quod donaueram domine mee, Moduenne abbatisse, mecum quidem remanere nullatenus poterit. Modo uideat Dominus cui illud donare uoluerit. Vere enim ego confido in Domino, quia ipsa utique cui ante^a donatum est, proculdubio omnipotenti Deo sibi restituente cum miraculo possidebit.'

Hec cum dixisset, elegit unam de sororibus quam sciebat fidelissimam, cui iussit, adiurans eam in Christi nomine, ut in flumen quod Liphe^b dicitur, altum scilicet et contiguum monasterio, uas argenteum cito^c proiceret, presumens equidem de magnis meritis Moduenne, quod idem uasculum ^dusque ad ipsam^d sua uirtute inenarrabili diuina prouidentia gubernaret. Erat autem spatium itineris sex dierum per terram euntibus inter Brigide cenobium et 'monasterium Moduenne,^e per mare uero et aquas nauigantibus non modice meatus difficilis et longe amplior circuitio. Siquidem in Lippi campania, in partis septentrionalis planicie optima, constructum est famosum monasterium Brigide, iuxta uero^f Colmi Montem, sicut prediximus, collocatum est in Cellis Cliuio uenerabile cenobium Moduenne. Porro Liphe fluuius decurrit in mare Hibernicum ^gorientalem et stangnum Ribbe, quod erumpit de mare^e orientali^h Scottico, primo porrigitur inter Bairce et Colgi Campiolum, deinde usque ad confinia Colmi Montis contra populos orientales in longum extenditur, siluis magnis et altis montibus per deserta undique circumuallatum.

Per aquas igitur fluuiales atque marinas, per anfractus innumeros, per accessus difficiles, per cauernas ac diuerticula, uas argenteum usque in stangnum Ribbe,ⁱ diuina potestate ducente, stupendo modo deportatum est, in cuius littore, in capite eius iuxta Colmi Montis confinium, Ronan episcopus illuc delatum et applicitum repperit, quod, statim deferens ad sororem suam^j Moduennam, ubi uel qualiter illud inuenerat cum gaudio spiritus et cum ingenti admiratione enarrauit. Rei ergo ueritate diligentius inquisita, cum iam Moduenna nouisset uasculum in profundum Liphe fluminis a Brigida fuisse proiectum, sicque ad se manifesta uirtute Dei per maria^k mirabiliter apportatum, nichil suis nescientis sed meritis iacientis totum prorsus attribuens, gratias maximas omnipotenti Deo^l retulit et confestim per nuntium euentum de uase reperto, sicut contigisset, totum ex ordine

^a om. A ^b Limphe R, here and subsequently ^c scito A ^{d d} om. A
^{e e} Moduenne ^f monasterium A ^g om. R ^{h h} om. R ⁱ orientale R
^j Ripce R ^k reuerentissimam add. A ^l et circuitus tam add. A ^l Domino A

the vessel to be brought to her and, as if joking, or rather prophesying, she said to the virgins around her, 'This little gift, my daughters, that I gave to my lady, the abbess Modwenna, cannot stay in my possession. Now let the Lord see to whom He wishes to give it. Truly, I trust in the Lord, that she to whom it was previously given, will certainly possess it, restored to her miraculously by Almighty God.'

When she had said this, she chose one of the sisters, whom she knew to be trustworthy, and commanded her in the name of Christ to throw the silver vessel quickly into the Liffey, a deep river near to the monastery. Because of Modwenna's great merits, Brigid assumed that the divine providence would steer the vessel to her through its indescribable power. It was a six days' journey from Brigid's community to Modwenna's monastery for those going by land, but for those going by sea and navigable waterways the way was longer, harder, and more circuitous, for Brigid's famous monastery is constructed in the plain of the Liffey, on fine level ground in its northern part, while the venerable community of Modwenna is located, as we have already said, in Killeevy by Slieve Gullion. Now the river Liffey flows into the Irish Sea, while Carlingford Lough, that stretches out from the Irish Sea, first extends between the Mountains of Mourne and Cooley and then, facing the eastern peoples, reaches the area of Slieve Gullion, surrounded on all sides by a wilderness of huge woods and high mountains.

The silver vessel was carried through the waters of the river and the sea, through endless winding courses, through difficult approaches, caverns and backwaters, guided miraculously by the divine power, until it came to Carlingford Lough. Here it was washed ashore on the beach at the head of the lake, near Slieve Gullion, where Bishop Ronan found it. He immediately took it to his sister Modwenna and recounted with great joy of spirit and deep wonder where and how he had discovered it. Modwenna already knew that Brigid had thrown the vessel into the depths of the river Liffey and, when she had inquired carefully into the truth of the whole matter, and realized it had been brought to her through the sea miraculously by God's manifest power, she gave no credit to her own merit, for she had known nothing about it, but attributed it to the worth of the one who had thrown it in. She gave many thanks to Almighty God and immediately, through a messenger, gave a full account to the venerable abbess Brigid of what had happened about

abbatisse uenerabili Brigide cum spirituali exultatione mandauit. Que et ipsa hec audiens cum magnas gratias egisset Deo, nuntianti respondit ut domine sue diceret quod non auderet Brigida uel cogitare de uirtute miraculi, nisi quia, confidens in Domino, de Moduenne meritis presumpsisset. Vtreque itaque uirgines de karitate contenderunt, utreque uirgines de karitate uicerunt. Vtreque pariter humilitatem habuerunt, utreque communiter honore mutuo sese inuicem prouenerunt. Diffamatum est autem per totas terras illas istud etiam tam ingens miraculum, quod quidem utrisque uirginibus non inmerito reputandum est, quia quod Brigida et ex fide donauit et ex fide proiecit, hoc Deus omnipotens ne remaneret absconditum, utrasque honorans simul et utrisque satisfaciens pariter, Moduenne esse mirabile aperta sua ostensione declarauit.

*27. De uitulo occiso et restaurato et de uasculo repleto ceruisia
atque mirabiliter excrescente.*

A, f. 97^r Alio quoque tempore, dum Moduenna proficisceretur per loca, sicut habebat consuetudinem, ut uidelicet | boni aliquid operari more solito semper intenderet et aliquam humanitatem quacunque re indigentibus exhiberet, uerbi gracia pupillos et uiduas consolatura uisitans, tribulatos desolatosque consilio uel auxilio releuans, cap-
tiuatos ac uinculatos in carcere seu prece seu pretio redimens, quibuslibet oppressis angustiis quomodocunque poterat pia deuotione concurrans, die quadam uenit ad domum cuiusdam uiri non medio-
criter hospitalis, Denech nomine, qui, karitate repletus maxima, licet facultatem possidens minimam, solebat cunctis hospitibus siue diuitibus siue pauperibus et precipue religiosis uiris^b ad se uenientibus, iuxta modum congruentem singulis, ultra posse suum, mente humili ac benigno famulatu, propter 'amorem Christi' studiosissime deseruire. Qui nimirum, dum suscepisset ancillam Christi cum comitibus eius in hospitium suum, uelut ipsum in semetipso^d Dominum colligens, uehementer congratulatus^e est et uitulum /solum quem/ possidebat gaudiose festinans occidere, lauatis omnium cum magna humilitate uestigiis, "confestim in domo sua" quam decentius potuit conuiuium honorabile deuota eis exaltatione preparauit.

Parum autem habebat ceruise in paruulo uasculo, sed confidebat uir bonus de merito tante hospitis, quia, si Dei famula domui sue ac suppellectili benediceret, ad ea equidem que necessaria forent

the vessel that had been found. When she heard this, she too gave thanks to Almighty God and told the messenger that he should say to his mistress that Brigid would not have dared even to think about a miracle unless, trusting in the Lord, she had been able to presume on Modwenna's merits. Thus each of the two virgins strove in love, each conquered in love. Each had an equal humility, each prevailed in turn with shared and mutual honour. News of this great miracle spread through all those lands. It is a wonder that truly deserves to be credited to both virgins, for the object that Brigid gave in faith and threw into the water in faith, Almighty God, who did not wish it to remain hidden, declared by marvellous and evident demonstration to belong to Modwenna, thus honouring them both simultaneously and satisfying them both equally.

27. The calf that was killed and restored to life and the miraculous increase of the beer in a little vessel.

On another occasion, one day while Modwenna was travelling around, as was her custom, with the intention of doing some good work and showing some kindness to the needy, such as visiting and comforting orphans and widows, relieving with her advice and aid those who were troubled and dismayed, redeeming by prayer or payment those who were imprisoned and in chains and coming to the aid of anyone in trouble in whatever way she could with godly devotion, she came to the house of a most hospitable man called Denech. Although he had little property, he was full of charity and used to take great care of everyone who stayed with him, whether they were rich or poor, and especially monks and nuns, according to their requirements, serving them in a kindly and humble fashion to the utmost of his power. When he had received the handmaid of Christ and her companions in his house, he was as delighted as if he were welcoming the Lord himself. Swiftly and joyfully he slaughtered the only calf he had and, after washing all their feet with great humility, he quickly prepared a fine meal for them in his house, as best he could, in devout exaltation.

He had only a little beer in a small vessel, but the good man trusted that, because of the merit of such a great guest, if the servant of God blessed his house and property, he would lack nothing at all that

^a revelans R ^b personis A ' ' Christi amorem A ^d hospitio suo A
' cum gratulatus A ^f quem solum A * in domo sua confestim A

hospitibus, dante Deo gratie sue abundantiam, nichil penitus deesse in aliqua re potuisset. Accessit ergo ad dominam et, capite inclinato, dixit ad eam, 'Gratias ^atibi ago,^a domina mea, quod intrasti sub tectum meum, credo namque in Domino, quia bene mihi erit ad benedictionem | tuam. Da igitur, precor te, orationem et dabit Dominus^b omnipotens ad ingressum tuum benedictionem. Neque enim dignitatem tam magne hospitis in paupere meo hospitio collegisse amplius aliquotiens tempore aliquo me cognoui.' Hec illo dicente, Moduenna, fidem eius non fictam¹⁰² intelligens et futura super eum spiritu sancto illuminante prospiciens, fundens pro eo intra se deprecationem ad Dominum, dixit illi, 'Benedictus', ait, 'tu a Domino, fili mi, benedicta domus tua et benedictae uniuerse suppellectiles tue. Benedicta omnis tua qualiscunque possessio, quam modicam quidem usque nunc habuisti sed ammodo, Deo retribuente, multiplicabitur. Benedictionem eternam consequeris a Domino et progenies tua in principatus dominationem promouebitur. Beatus es et bene tibi erit, quia Christi hospitalitatem deuota mente sectatus es. Per hanc enim placuerit quidam Deo etiam angelis hospitio receptis.¹⁰³ Hiis itaque prenuntiatis per Dei famulam, appositis mense cibis et potibus, gratulantes spiritaliter bina^c refectioe coepulati sunt, quia uidelicet mensis eisdem et sustentatio corporalis sufficiens inerat et ab ore sancte uirginis animarum ^detiam edificatio^d non cessabat.

Contigit ^eibi quoque^e tale miraculum de paruulo uasculo, in quo supradiximus paxillum fuisse, ut inde plurimi, cum solum esset in domo, sufficienter haurirent neque decresceret sed quamdiu idem hospites illic manserunt, pro benedictione quam abbatisa dederat, cunctis ex eo quantum desiderabant bibentibus, mirabili modo usque ad omnem semper sufficientiam sine^f defectione abundaret. Mirandis mirabiliora succedunt. Vitulus namque in die crastino, qui fuerat occisus pridie, siue idem siue^g simillimus, admirando prodigio cum matre repertus est, quem secundum uoluntatem suam pro merito uirginis restituit ^homnipotens Deus^h bono hospiti et humano. Nichil autem in ea diffinire refert, utrum aut eundem, sicut potuit si uoluit, A, f. 97^v uirtute sua inenarrabili a mor | tuis mirabiliter suscitatum aut certe magis alium quemlibet, siue creatum deⁱ nichilo, siue allatum de loco aliquo, pari forma, eodem uestitum colore, sub eisdem forsitan liniamentis atque sub equali omnino magnitudine figuratum.

^a-^a ago tibi A^b Deus A^c bona A^d ^d edificatio etiam A^e-^e quoque ibi A^f omni add. A^g seu A^h ^h Deus omnipotens Aⁱ ex A

might be necessary for his guests, as God would give the abundance of His grace. So he went to the lady and, bowing his head, said to her, 'My lady, I thank you for entering under my roof, for I believe in the Lord that good will come to me from your benediction. Give yourself therefore to prayer, I beseech you, and Almighty God will give a blessing on your entry. For I know that I have never received a guest of such great importance in my poor house at any other time.' When he had said this, Modwenna, knowing that he had an unfeigned faith¹⁰² and seeing, through the illumination of the Holy Spirit, what the future held for him, poured out prayers within herself to the Lord for him. 'My son,' she said to him, 'you are blessed by the Lord, your house is blessed and all your property is blessed. Everything you own is blessed. Until now it has been small but henceforth it will be multiplied, by God's gift. You will attain eternal blessing from the Lord and your descendants will be raised to the rulership. You are blessed and all will be well with you, for you have faithfully followed the way of Christ's hospitality. For a man can please God through this, receiving even angels in his house.'¹⁰³ After God's handmaid had said these words, food and drink were brought to the table, and, rejoicing in the spirit, they enjoyed a double feast, for at the table there was enough food for the body, while the holy virgin did not cease from providing edification for the soul.

A miracle also happened there, concerning the little vessel, that, as we have said, contained a small amount. Many people drank their fill out of it, for it was the only one in the house, but the quantity did not diminish and, as long as the guests remained there, because of the blessing that the abbess had given, it provided an adequate and ample supply in a marvellous way, so that everyone could drink as much as they wished from it. An even more remarkable thing followed this wonder, for next day, in an amazing marvel, the calf that had been killed on the day before, or one exactly like it, was discovered with its mother. Almighty God restored it to that good and kindly host, according to His will and through the virgin's merit. It is not important to determine whether it was the same one, which God miraculously brought back to life by His ineffable power, as He certainly could do if He wished, or whether, more likely, it was another one, either created from nothing or brought there from elsewhere, that was clothed in the same form and colour and fashioned

¹⁰² 1 Tim. 1: 5; 2 Tim. 1: 5.

¹⁰³ Presumably a reference to Abraham (Gen. 18).

Denech itaque, uir hospitalis, cum uidisset in crastino uiuentem uitulum cum matre sua, quem antea occidisset, sciens quoque "uasculum paruum"^a neque plene repletum liquore ultra omnem spem tanta excreuisse^b sufficientia, terrore nimio uehementer expauefactus est et, iam amplius confidens de^c Domino, de hospitalitate nullatenus se desperaturus, Deo omnipotenti gratias maximas retulit et meritum ancille eius sanctitatisque potentiam in corde suo coram eo ineffabili admiratione collaudauit.

*28. De hospicio Bar regis in domo Denech et de cibo
reliquiarum uirginis potuque predicti uasculi mirabiliter super
abundantibus.*

Adhuc addam magni aliquid ad miraculum super escis que residue fuerunt post uirginem et de uasculo supradicto. Postquam enim ab hospitio uenerabilis uiri Denech famula Dei digressa est, forte contigit in die tercio Bar regem cum suo exercitu transire secus domunculam hominis, qui regi eidem^d notus antea fuerat, quia, licet tenuis in facultate, de prosapia eius consanguinitatem trahebat. Hic habebat adhuc predictum uasculum necdum potu euacuatum paucosque cibos, qui remanserant de mensa uirginis, fideli deuotione colligerat, quos, sub claustris diligenter repositos, uelut profuturos sibi pro benedictione conseruabat. In hiis bene confidens, homo Dei, propter mira que antea uiderat ac pro merito sancte matris nichil sibi in aliquo de futuro formidans, protinus fiducialiter accessit ad regem atque humili supplicatione deprecatus est, eum dicens, 'Aue, domine mi rex, precor te pro caritate, diuerse pransurus paululum in habitaculum serui tui. Ecce enim preparauit seruus tuus prandiolum tibi, domino meo.' Cui respondit rex, 'Parcat tibi omnipotens Deus, bone uir, habemus alibi paratum^e nostrum et ultra modum sumus quam plurimi ut tecum prandere debeamus uniuersi.' Ad quem ille, 'Obsecro', inquit, 'te, domine, ne confundas faciem meam¹⁰⁴ sed descende non hesitans sub tectum serui tui, pransurus uel paululum cum familia tua pro caritate Dei. Nam tuas regales epulas postmodum cum tibi placuerit multis uicibus sufficienter habebis.' Quid plura? Tam diu exorauit homo^f regem quoadusque apud ipsum quod deprecabatur optinuit, quia nimirum regalis dignitas, caritatis deuicta precibus, quod de pio pectore flagitabatur^g adquiescere non negauit.

^{a-a} paruulum uasculum *A*
^e apparatus *A* ^f om. *A*

^b superexcreuisse *A*
^g obnixè efflagitabatur *A*

^c in *A*

^d idem *R*

along identical lines and of the same size. When Denech, that hospitable man, saw the calf, that he had previously slaughtered, alive with its mother on the following day, knowing also that the little vessel not completely full of liquid had been enlarged to such great sufficiency beyond all hope, he was struck with great fear and, having yet greater trust in the Lord and maintaining his hospitable practices, gave thanks to Almighty God and extolled in his heart with unspeakable wonder the merit of God's handmaid and the power of sanctity.

28. The hospitality given to king Bar in the house of Denech and the miraculous abundance of the food that the virgin had left and of the drink in the little vessel.

In addition to this miracle, I should tell of another great thing concerning the food that the virgin had left and the little vessel. After the handmaid of God had departed from the house of the venerable Denech, it happened on the third day that king Bar, with his army, passed close by the man's little house. He was already known to this same king, for, although his possessions were small, he was related to him. He still had the little vessel, which had not yet been completely drained of drink, and, with faithful devotion, he had collected a little of the food that was left from the virgin's table and placed it carefully under lock and key, preserving it for himself as a future benefit and blessing. Placing his trust in these, the man of God had no fear for the future, because of the marvels he had already seen and the merit of the holy mother, and he went confidently to the king and begged him with humble entreaty, saying, 'Hail, my lord king, I pray you for charity's sake to turn aside and dine in your servant's little house. For your servant has prepared a little meal for you.' The king replied, 'Good man, may Almighty God spare you, we have our provisions elsewhere and we are far too numerous for all to eat with you.' Denech answered, 'I beg you, lord, do not abash me¹⁰⁴ but enter without hesitation under your servant's roof, to eat even a little with your household, for God's charity. For you will often have royal dishes in plenty to eat later, whenever you please.' What more is there to say? The man entreated the king until he obtained what he wished from him, since the royal dignity, conquered by the prayers of charity, did not refuse to agree to a demand that came from a devout heart.

¹⁰⁴ 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 2: 16, 20.

Descendit itaque rex, caritatis deuotione coactus, in domum, mensis appositis discubuerunt uniuersi ad prandium. Res mira et uehementer stupenda! Paucus cibus de reliquiis uirginis manducabatur sed augmentabatur, potus assumptus de uase prefato probatus et optimus bibebatur sed non consummebatur et, quanto magis hauriebatur, tanto amplius non solummodo neque decrescebat neque minuebatur, uerum etiam, tanquam si semper nasceretur in uasculo et redundabat iugiter ad omnem plenitudinem, cunctorum discumbentium sufficienter seruiens uoluntati, pincernis stupentibus, mirabiliter excrescebat et assidue ultra spem ministrantium augebatur. In hiis fuerunt et rex et eius familia binis diebus ac duabus noctibus; edebant, bibebant, letabantur et exultabant, cibus et potus, qui ante fuerant benedicti a uirgine, pro benedictione ipsius reficiebant uniuersos communiter neque deficiebant. Die uero tertia, cum uidisset omnis multitudo eorum tantam habundantiam inopinate plenitudinis atque comperissent | rex ipse et ceteri illa omnia ex Moduenne benedictione creuisse, leti et alacres tenuerunt uiam suam, laudantes Dominum ac benedicentes uirtutem^a hospitalitatis ac dignum meritum beate uirginis atque potestatem sue benedictionis cum ingenti admiratione glorificantes.

A, f. 98^r

Denech autem, uir bonus, quia fidem habuit et Moduenne benedictione promeruit, ex eo tempore^b melius iam se^c habere incepit et, secundum sancte matris prophetiam, multiplicatis possessione atque substantia, diues ualde effectus non mediocriter usque in altum excreuit ipsiusque posterorum deinceps generatio principatus dignitatem ac super multos dominationem non paucis diebus, per Dei gratiam, excellenter optinuit. Quod uero idem Denech benedictionem quoque^d a Domino eternam^d fuerat^e consecutus, hinc maxime absque dubietate colligendum est, quia, sicut uirgo Christi futuras ei predixit ipsiusque progeniei postere, quod et euenit, diuitias inopinatas in hoc seculo, ita etiam prenuntiauit fidei hospitalitatis illius, quod beatus fuisset et multum bene sibi esset.^f

^a uirtutemque *A* ^b melius semper ac *add. A* ^c *om. A* ^d *et* eternam
a Domino *A* ^e fuerit *A* ^f quoniam scilicet hanc deuote sectatus fuerat et per
hanc plurimis Deo placentibus, per hanc quoque et ipse postmodum nichilominus
perpetue beatitudinis possideret gloriam in futuro *add. A*

The king, impelled by his loving devotion, entered the house, a meal was laid out and everyone sat down to eat. Then a remarkable and astonishing thing occurred. The small quantity of food that the virgin had left was eaten but continued to increase in amount, while the drink that was taken from the vessel was drunk, and found to be choice and excellent, but was not used up. Not only did it not diminish or decrease, but, the greater the draughts that were taken, the more it grew miraculously and increased continually beyond the hope of those serving there, as if it continuously arose within the vessel and overflowed ceaselessly to satisfy them all, providing as much as any of the guests could wish and astonishing those who dispensed the drink. The king and his household stayed two days and two nights, eating, drinking, making merry and rejoicing. The food and drink that the virgin had blessed sustained them all and did not fail, because of her blessing. On the third day, when the crowd of them had seen such unexpected abundance and plenty and the king and the others had come to realize that it had all stemmed from Modwenna's blessing, they went on their way happy and cheerful, praising the Lord, blessing the power of hospitality and acclaiming with great wonder the worthy merit of the holy virgin and the might of her blessing.

Because Denech, that good man, had faith and had earned Modwenna's blessing, everything began to go better for him from that time and, in accordance with the prediction made by the holy mother, his possessions and wealth increased, he became very rich and he was raised on high. Shortly thereafter, through God's grace, his descendants obtained the distinguished title of ruler and exercised dominion over many. It may also be concluded without a doubt that Denech attained eternal blessing from the Lord, for, just as the virgin of Christ predicted for him and his descendants unexpected wealth in this world, and so it happened, she also foretold to him, in his faithfulness and his hospitality, that he would be blessed and all would be well with him.

29. *De increpatione uiri Dei et de uasis positis uacuis et in
crastino inuentis repletis.*

Quodam alio tempore incubuit egestas maxima in monasterio, que prouenit ex tali causa, quia uidelicet pia mater, omnimodam perfectionem desiderans unde debeant^a sorores uiuere, consueuerat aliquotiens peregrinis et indigentibus pene uniuersa erogare. Quadam uero ebdomada sanctimoniales uirgines alimoniarum inopia usque adeo coangustate sunt ut aliquante earum prope usque ad mortem, preualente inedia, iam deficere cogerentur, nec tamen uellent conqueri uel contra matrem murmurare in aliquo ne, si ei fortasse aliquatenus umquam resisterent, aut in ipsa perfectione uite proficerent minus aut certe, quod penitus abhorrebant, perseuerantie perdentes meritum, ab eterne remunerationis gloriosis stipendiis^b fraudarentur. Illis itaque in hoc consistentibus, ut et cibis carentes iam non ualerent diutius uiuere et perfectionem optantes nequaquam curarent^c alicui aliquid de suis incommoditatibus nuntiare, uir quidam sanctus in uicinia commanens de illarum peniuriis, per Dei prouidentiam, loqui audierat, quarum anxietati compatiens, qualiter eis posset succurrere in cogitatione uersabat.

In illa ergo eadem ebdomada uenit isdem ad abbatissam ausu familiaritatis et modesta increpatione priuatim inter inuicem allocutus est eam, uelut qui haberet fiduciam ratiocinandi cum illa ex presumptione quoque religiositatis. Dixit ergo ad eam, 'Domina, Dei famula, bonum ne uidetur tibi ut peregrini et pauperes, qui possunt escas querere ubicumque uoluerint, de alimentis perfectioribus debitis, fortasse habentes superflua satientur, ancille autem Christi que reliquerunt | omnia ipsum secute, recluse in claustris et sub disciplina posite, aut moriantur fame deformiter aut oppresse inedia et tacentes propter patientiam miserabiliter crucientur. Numquid non legimus^d in apostolo scriptum^d quod qui suorum curam negligit, et maxime domesticorum, fidem negauit et est infideli deterior?¹⁰⁵ Primo quippe prelati curandum est ut in pace ac sine murmure custodiantur domestici, secundario prouidendum est^e ut^f caritate suscipiantur iuxta possibilitatis commodum etiam alieni. Vade, inquam, bona domina, exora Dominum tuum et subueni prece tua celeriter in necessitatibus subiectarum tuarum. Iam enim cibis omnino deficientibus prope ad mortem usque redacte sunt.'

^a debebant *A* ^b stipendi *R* ^c curantes *R* ^{d-d} scriptum in apostolo *A* ^e om. *A* ^f in add. *A*

29. *The man of God's rebuke and the vessels left empty but found full the next day.*

On another occasion a great dearth beset the convent, from the following cause. The holy mother, desiring the sisters to live a life that was altogether perfect, sometimes used to give away almost everything to travellers and the poor. One week the shortage of food was so great that some of the nuns were driven almost to the point of death by hunger. They did not wish, however, to complain nor express any disapproval of the mother, lest, if they happened to oppose her in anything, they should fall away from the perfect life or indeed—a thought that horrified them—lose the merit of perseverance and be defrauded of the glorious prize of eternal reward. When things were in this state, with the sisters unable to survive because of lack of food and yet, because they had chosen the path of perfection, being unwilling to say anything to anyone about their difficulties, through God's providence a certain holy man living in the neighbourhood heard talk about their poverty. He was filled with pity for their troubles and he turned over in his mind how he might help them.

That very week he came to the abbess in the boldness of friendship and rebuked her mildly in private, addressing her as one whose religious life gave him confidence that he could reason with her. 'Lady,' he said, 'servant of God, do not think it good that travellers and paupers, who can seek their bread wherever they wish, should be fed and perhaps glutted with food that belongs to those living a more perfect life, while the handmaids of Christ, who have abandoned everything in order to follow Him and are enclosed in the cloister and placed under discipline, should either die a wretched death from hunger or should suffer miserably, oppressed by famine and yet keeping silent because of their patience. Do we not read in writings of the apostle that whoever neglects the care of his own, especially those of his own household, has denied the faith and is worse than an infidel?¹⁰⁵ It is the first duty of those in command to see that those of their own house are provided for peaceably and without cause for complaint and then secondly to provide charity for strangers, as far as is possible. Go, I say, good lady, pray to your Lord and quickly bring help through your prayers to your dependants who are in need. For lack of food has brought them almost to the point of death.'

¹⁰⁵ 1 Tim. 5: 8.

Hec et huiusmodi cum perorasset uir Dei et Moduenna eum^a rationabilia suadentem sustinuisset patientissime, leni animo cuncta peraudiens, paucis respondens et oratorium statim ingressa fudit A, f. 98^v intente deprecationem apud^b | Dominum et confestim post orationem egrediens, conuocatis sororibus, ait illis, 'Video uos macilentas nimis uehementerque debilitatas, karissime, sed estote fortes perseveranter in Domino, quia per multas passiones et per multas tribulationes oportet nos introire in regnum Dei. Arta enim et angusta est uia^c que ducit ad regnum, lata uero et spatiosa uia seculi que precipitat in infernum.¹⁰⁶ Non sunt autem ^dcondigne passiones^d huius temporis ad futuram gloriam que reuelabitur in nobis.¹⁰⁷ Hoc tamen leue ac momentaneum tribulationis nostre quod ad uitam castigationem tolerare uidemur in hoc seculo, supra modum in sublimitate eternum glorie pondus operabitur nobis in celo.^e Non interficiet Deus animam iusti fame, quoniam qui dat seruis suis penuriam cum uoluerit ad probationem, dabit quoque et habundantiam cum sibi placuerit ad consolationem. Ne igitur surrepat uobis, filirole, pusillanimitas aliqua quia hodie quidem minus habemus, Deo autem propitiante, crastino forsitan habundanter habebimus.'

Sic fata, iussit afferri ante se uasa omnia uacua, pusilla cum maioribus, quecumque possent in cunctis domibus monasterii repperiri et, cum fuissent apportata quam plurima, fecit ea in apto loco uniuersa per ordinem absque dilatione collocari. Quibus ita dispositis, dans benedictionem supra sorores, regreditur protinus in oratorium et, die illo totaque nocte sequenti peruigilans, corde intentissimo continuauit obsecrationes suas ad Dominum.^f Facto autem mane completis^g orationibus, conuocauit^h iterum sorores uirgines, cum quibus ab ecclesia exiens, dum uenisset ad locum uasorum—ecce mirum dictu sed mirabilius uisu—sicut antea fuerant uasa eadem posita uacua, ita modo inuenta sunt 'ordine eodemⁱ usque ad summum electo tritico uniuersa repleta. Quod uidentes, sorores non inmerito admirentur sunt uehementissime et, scientes tot mira fieri per uenerabilem matrem suam, agentes gratias summo Deo, didicerunt de abundantia iam iam ulterius nec in egestate dubitare.

^a ei R ^b ad A ^c Dei add. A ^{d-d} digne compassiones R
^e celum R ^f Deum A ^g completisque A ^h conuocat A
ⁱ⁻ⁱ eordine eodem R; eodem ordine A

When the man of God had pleaded in this way and Modwenna had listened patiently to his arguments, hearing him out with a composed mind, she answered briefly and, immediately entering the oratory, poured out prayers to the Lord with all her heart. When her prayers were finished, she came out at once and assembled the sisters. 'Dear ones,' she said to them, 'I see that you are completely famished and wasting away, but be strong and persevere in the Lord, for we must enter the kingdom of God through much suffering and many tribulations. Strait and narrow is the path that leads to the kingdom, wide and broad the path of this world that plunges into hell.¹⁰⁶ The sufferings of the present time are not worthy to be compared with the future glory that will be revealed in us.¹⁰⁷ The light and passing tribulation that we seem to bear in this world, for the correction of our lives, will become a surpassingly great and eternal mass of glory for us in heaven on high. God will not destroy the soul of the just by hunger, for He who inflicts poverty on His servants when He wishes to try them, will also give them abundance when He wishes, to console them. So, daughters, do not let faint-heartedness creep into your souls, because today we have little, for tomorrow, through God's care, we may have much.'

When she had said this, she commanded all the empty vessels, large and small, that could be found in any part of the monastery, to be brought before her and, when they had been fetched in great numbers, she had them placed in rows in an appropriate place without delay. When everything had been arranged in this way, she blessed the sisters and returned at once to the oratory, where she kept vigil that day and the whole following night, continuing to pray to the Lord with all her heart. Next morning, finishing her prayers, she called the virgin sisters together again and went out of the church with them until she came to the place where the vessels had been placed. Lo—marvellous to relate but even more marvellous to witness—just as the vessels had been placed there empty, so they were now all found, still in their rows, to be full to the brim with the finest wheat. When they saw this, the sisters were understandably filled with great wonder and, knowing that so many miracles had been performed by their venerable mother and giving thanks to God the highest, they learned from this abundance to have no doubts in future times of want.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Matt. 7: 13.

¹⁰⁷ Rom. 8: 18.

Considerare hic libet qualiter in Christo Iesu nec Hebreus nec barbarus, neque masculus neque femina¹⁰⁸ sed omnia et in omnibus et ubique et semper uerus Deus et unus, qui creauit et condidit^p locum et tempus et omne contentum, siue in tempore siue in loco, ipse nullo contentus aut loco aut tempore, qui quod antiquitus in oriente operatus est per Hebreum uirum Eliseum de uasis uacuis abundantibus oleo,¹⁰⁹ simile quid^q per Moduennam barbaram feminam modernioribus quoque declarauit temporibus, facto miraculo prope-modum non dissimiliter de uasculis positis uacuis et impletis frumento. Ecce quomodo in hoc quoque uidemus impleri et quam recte^r cantamus Domino: 'Laus eius ab extremis terre et a solis ortu usque ad occasum laudabile nomen Domini'.¹¹⁰

30. *De aduentu Moduenne in Scotiam et de rigore uite eius et dura abstinentia.*

Multis igitur signis et prodigiis atque uirtutibus mirabiliter in Hibernia declaratis, profecta est quoque Moduenna in Albaniam, que et Scotia nuncupatur, in qua et ipsa ipsiusque uicinia plures ecclesias condidit et fructum plurimum in hiis etiam regionibus, Deo secundante, perpetravit. Conagal quippe, rex Scotie, filius Conail regis,¹¹¹ erat cognatus eius, qui magno eam cum honore susceperat et, in quibus ipsa uoluisset, benignam ei humanitatem per omnia exhibebat. Construxit itaque ibi monasterium optimum in loco Alecthe, qui et Lonfortin appellatur,¹¹² in quo congregauit plurimas uirgines, consecuturas Deo in habitu sanctimoniali et sub disciplinis regularibus Christo Domino honorabiliter seruientes. Fabricata est quoque oratoria plurima per loca deserta in illis confiniis, unum scilicet in monte qui Stauuelin dicitur et alterum in monte qui

A, f. 99^r

Dunpeleder | nuncupatur,^a nec minus in cacumine celsi montis qui uocatur Dunedene, qui et Edeneburg, tertiam fundauit ecclesiam, quam nimirum pro altitudine rupis consecrari constituit in honorem sancti archangeli Michaelis. In Galweia etiam tria similiter in locis desertis edificauit oratoria, unum uidelicet condidit in monte qui nominatur Dunbrethen, et alterum fecit in summitate montis qui nuncupatur Dundeuene, tertium quoque fabricauit in colle cui est appellatio Chilnechase.

^p continet A

^q in occidente add. A

^r om. R

^a appellatur A

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Gal. 3: 28.

¹⁰⁹ 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 4: 1-7.

Here it is proper to consider how in Christ Jesus there is neither Jew nor barbarian, neither masculine nor feminine,¹⁰⁸ but one true God, who is all things and in all things and everywhere and always, who created and founded space and time and all that is contained in time and space, but is Himself contained neither in space nor time. Just as in ancient times in eastern regions He worked through the Hebrew Elisha the miracle of the empty vessels that were filled with oil,¹⁰⁹ so He revealed something similar in modern times through the barbarian Modwenna, performing a comparable miracle of vessels placed empty and filled with grain. Behold how we see the following verse fulfilled, that we sing rightly to the Lord: 'His praise arises from the ends of the earth and the name of the Lord is praised from the rising to the setting of the sun.'¹¹⁰

30. *Modwenna's arrival in Scotland and the rigour of her life and strict abstinence.*

After many miraculous signs, wonders, and marvels had been manifested in Ireland, Modwenna set out for Alba, also called Scotland, in which region she also founded many churches and, with God's help, produced a good harvest. Conagal, the king of Scotland, the son of king Conail,¹¹¹ was a relative of hers and received her with great honour, showing a benevolent kindness to her in all that she desired. She built a fine monastery there, in a place called Alyth, also known as Luncarty,¹¹² where she assembled a community of virgins to follow God in the habit of nuns and serve Christ the Lord honourably under monastic discipline. She also constructed many oratories in the wild places of that region, one on the hill called Stirling, another on the hill named Traprain Law and also she founded a third church on the summit of the high hill called Dunedin, also known as Edinburgh, and this she had dedicated to the archangel Michael, because of the height of the rock. Likewise in Galloway she built three oratories in uninhabited places, founding one on the hill called Dumbarton, another on the peak of the hill named Dundonald, and building a third on the hill of *Chilnecase*.

¹¹⁰ Isa. 42: 10; Ps. 112 (113): 3.

¹¹¹ Presumably, despite the chronological impossibility, Conall mac Comgaill, the king of Dalriada mentioned in Adomnan's *Life of Columba* (i. 7), whose death is recorded in 574: *Ann. Ulster*, ed. Séan Mac Airt and Gearóid Mac Niocaill, i (1983), 87, s.a. 573.

¹¹² On the identification of places in this chapter, see Introduction.

Hec loca tunc temporis satis congruentia solitudini uidebantur, in quibus uirgo Christi, uelut quedam Helie filia secreta,¹¹³ multociens ab hominibus libenter habitabat ibique, fructus contemplatiuos decerpens^a et angelorum delectata colloquiis, uocationi^b diuine et diutinis purisque orationibus uigilantissime insudabat. In istis locis, utens cilicio,^c sicut et semper, et asperrimis die noctuque induta uestibus, per speluncas montium, per cauernas petrarum, tamquam ^dBaptiste Iohannis^d ^ediscipula et^e imitatrix heremitarum fortium, uersari gratulabatur^f ac, femineae cogitationi masculinum animum inserens et quasi tunc demum uiuere districte incipiens, corpore nudo plerumque ad durissimos silices, frigore, siti, inedia, uigiliis et afflictionibus, pene ultra quam credi possit humanam tolerare posse naturam, creberrime cruciabatur. Quando tamen egrediebatur ad uirgines, quas in Christi militiam custodiendas susceperat, pie satis et humane intuebatur necessitates cunctarum, ita priuatim singulis prouidens et communiter uniuersis tam discrete concurrens, quatinus iuxta modum congruum et haberent ^gnecessaria sibi^g singule neque deesset in commune omnibus quod sciret earum et animabus et corporibus conuenienter expedire.

Erat autem apud Lonfortin propter monasterium fons frigidissimus ac profundus, in quo Dei famula tempore hiemis, dum sorores obdormissent, gratia uexandi corporis se aliquando balneabat ibique noctibus pro eterne remunerationis desiderio, diutina obsecratione peruigilans, dimersa in aquis usque ad pectus, totum etiam crebro Dauiticum sic ex integro decantare solebat. In hiis uero cruciatibus, quos amore confortata diuino ^hpatiebatur quam libentissime,^h habebat quoque a Deo consolationes se uisitancium angelorum, qui frequenter apparebant ei, sicut amicus cum amico colloquentes cum ea, instruentes illam et commonentes de omnibus, letificantes spiritalibus gaudiis, rememorantes de celestibus premiis, exortantes eamⁱ uiriliter atque fortiter agere, pro laboribus cito transeuntibus exspectare eternam requiem, ^jpro pressuris ad modicum nunc contristantibus gaudiosam coronam uite inmarcescibilis gloriosa¹¹⁴ exultatione sperare.^j Hoc denique ferunt de illa, sicut in libris quoque hiberniensibus reperitur, quia, ex eo tempore ex quo edificauit Lonfortin monasterium usque dum ibidem uictoriosissimam temporalem finiuit uitam, nulla nox preteriit, solummodo tribus exceptis, in qua non habuerit uisitacionem angelicam. Cui rei prope attestari uidetur, quod hic subnectendum^k arbitror, non indignum relatione^l miraculum.

^a decerpens R ^b uocationi A ^c cilicio R ^{d d} Iohannis Baptiste A
^{e e} et discipula R ^f gratulabatur R ^{g g} sibi necessaria A ^{h h} om. R
ⁱ om. R. ^{j j} inserted at foot of page in R ^k subnectendi R ^l relationem A

At that time these places were well suited to solitude and the virgin of Christ, like a secret daughter of Elijah,¹¹³ was happy to spend time there often, far from mankind, plucking the fruit of contemplation and delighting in the conversation of angels, watchfully devoting all her effort to this holy freedom and to long, pure prayers. She rejoiced to dwell in those places, wearing a hairshirt, as always, and dressed day and night in rough garments, going through the caves in the mountains and the rocky caverns like a disciple of John the Baptist and an imitator of the strictest hermits. Putting a masculine spirit into her female mind and as if she had only now begun to live an austere life, she experienced torments almost more than it is possible to believe that human nature can bear, from pressing her naked body against the hardest rocks, from cold, thirst, hunger, sleeplessness, and suffering. Yet when she went back to the virgins whose care in Christ's service she had undertaken, she saw to their needs conscientiously and humanely, providing for each of them individually and helping them all in common so prudently that each one of them had what was necessary and appropriate, while there was no deficiency in what she knew was proper for both the souls and bodies of the whole community.

Near the monastery of Luncarty there was a very cold, deep pool, in which the handmaid of God used to bathe sometimes in the winter, while the sisters slept, in order to ill-treat her body. From her desire for eternal reward, she used to keep watch there in long prayer, submerged in the water up to her breast and reciting the whole of the psalter. In these sufferings, that she bore very willingly, for she was comforted by divine love, she also received from God the consolation of visits from angels, who frequently appeared to her and spoke with her, as friend to friend, instructing her and reminding her, rejoicing with spiritual joys, mentioning the heavenly rewards, exhorting her to act bravely and courageously, to look for eternal rest after these brief and transitory labours, to hope, in return for these slight present sorrows and sufferings, for the joyous crown of life incorruptible¹¹⁴ in glorious exultation. It is also reported of her, as we find in the Irish books, that, from the time she built the monastery of Luncarty until she brought her earthly life to a victorious close, no night went by, with three exceptions, in which she was not visited by angels. A miracle worth the telling seems to attest to this fact and I have decided to add it here.

¹¹³ Cf. 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 19: 9.

¹¹⁴ Cf. 1 Pet. 5: 4.

31. *Quomodo Moduenna senserit absentiam angelorum et quomodo reuersos cognouerit, facta per conuersam confessione peccatorum.*

Nam dum^a nocte una contra solitum sensisset ancilla Dei non affuisse sibi ex more solito^b dulcem presentiam beatorum spirituum,^c contristata cogitare cepit aliquam sine dubio causam existere, propter quam idem sancti angeli noluissent^d in hac quoque, sicut in ceteris noctibus consueuerant,^e ad suam uisitacionem uenisse. Crastino itaque die sequenti, uenit in capitulum et, celare quod senserat non profuturum considerans, differre uero aut dissimulare in posterum fore nosciturum^f non dubitans, | locuta est sororibus, ita dicens ad eas, 'Conserue mee ac filie dilectissime,^g in nocte hac precedenti, quod nequaquam uilipendendum est, non habuimus sanctos hospites adiutores nostros qui antea soliti fuerant orationes nostras^h libenter ferre^h ad Dominum easque ante conspectum throni altissimi cum exultatione presentare. Videbam enim nocte ista, tanquam per extasim, preces nostras tempore uigiliarum nostrarum uix posse attingere uel adusqueⁱ culmina tectorum nostrorum, unde profecto comperi esse aliquid offense in nobis propter quod sancti angeli, quibus omne peccatum displicet, non sine culpa nostra aliqua uoluerunt se absentare a nobis. Interrogemus modo conscientias nostras ueraciter et, siquid mali latet absconditum, penitentia et confessione absque dilacione purgemus, ut possumus ad nos reducere beatos spiritus, ministros omnipotentis Dei, quos^j mittit sua^j maxima gratia in ministerium propter eos | qui capiunt hereditatem eterne salutis. Non negligamus, karissime, impediri orationes nostras, non patiamur cor nostrum reprehendere nos in uita nostra ante Dominum, quatinus ad eum ualeamus habere fiduciam et sperare indubitabiliter ab^k ipso percipere misericordiam sempiternam.'

Dum hec uenerabilis abbatissa dixisset, uniuerse sorores perterrite protinus corruerunt in facies suas prostrate in terram, unaquaque earum pertimescente sibi et dubitante quasi pro se dici hec omnia, cum tamen quare talia propter se debuissent proferri reperire^l non possunt penitus^l in consciencia sua. Erat autem inter illas una de penitentibus que pridie^m conuersa fuerat^m de seculo, queⁿ reminiscens intra seⁿ eadem nocte quid fecerit recordansque nichilominus aliud quippiam, quod scilicet ad conuersionem ueniens, si uel oblita uel negligens non fuisset, utique ante debuerat confiteri, surrexit statim de

^a de add. A

^b om. A

^c spirituum beatorum A

^d om. A

^e consueuerunt A

^f nociturum A

^g karissime A

^h ferre libenter A

A, f. 99^v

R, f. 83^v

31. *How Modwenna sensed the absence of the angels and how she knew they had returned once a sister had made her confession.*

For when, one night, the handmaid of God sensed that, unusually, the sweet presence of the blessed spirits was lacking, she grieved and began to ponder the reason why the holy angels were unwilling to visit her, as they were accustomed to do on other nights. Next day she came to the chapter and, considering that she could not conceal what she had sensed and that, if she delayed or dissimulated, it would anyway doubtless all become known, she spoke to the sisters as follows: 'My fellow servants and dearest daughters, last night—and it is not something we should regard lightly—we did not have those holy guests and helpers who previously used to carry our prayers willingly to the Lord and present them with exultation before the throne of the Most High. For last night at the time of our vigils, I saw, as if in a trance, our prayers scarcely reaching the level of the roof, and hence I knew at once that there was some fault in us on account of which the holy angels, who dislike every sin, wished to absent themselves from us, the blame being with us. Let us now investigate our consciences truthfully and, if there is any evil hidden there, let us immediately purge it through penance and confession, so that we can bring back the blessed spirits, the ministers of Almighty God, whom He sends through His great grace to be of service to those who attain the inheritance of eternal salvation. Let us not be heedless, my dearest, that our prayers are being obstructed, let us not allow our heart to blame us in this our life before the Lord, so that we may have trust in Him and hope without a doubt that we shall receive from Him everlasting mercy.'

While the reverend abbess was saying this, all the sisters were struck with dread and flung themselves prostrate upon the ground. Each feared and doubted that all this might be said on her account, although they could not find anything in their conscience that would explain why such things should be said because of them. However, there was among them a penitent who had turned from the world the day before. That night, while thinking over what she was going to do, she had recalled something, namely that someone coming to the religious life, if she were not forgetful or heedless, should first confess. She immediately arose from among them and, hastening to

ⁱ usque ad *A* ^{i-j} sua mittit *A* ^k eo add. *A* ^{i-j} penitus non posset *A*
^{m-m} fuerat conuersa *A* ⁿ⁻ⁿ intra se reminiscens *A*

medio ceterarum et, accedens sub celeritate^a ad dominam, genibus eius cum magna humilitate prosternitur et, palam omnibus copiosas effundens lacrimas, dicit illi, 'Coram Deo et sanctis eius confiteor tibi, domina mater, culpam meam propter quam uere sancti angeli non fuit mirum si hoc in tempore se elongauerunt a nobis. Peccatum namque quod ^bnunc fateri^b urgeor et multipliciter grande est neque uniformiter noxium. Cum 'enim ego,' peccatrix misera, de uita^d ueteri hesternae die, penitentiam promittendo, ad asilum nouae conuersationis fugissem—pudet dicere sed tamen dicam—sotulares^e meos, quos donauerat ^fmihi uir^f illicite copulatus in seculo, neque reddidi neque confessa sum, sicut debueram, sed male suada in proprietatem retinui, quos etiam nocte ista, dum frigus paterer, tempore uigiliarum nostrarum, ^gpeccatum peccato^g superadiciens, pro debilitatis meae intolerantia pedibus meis imponere non dubitavi. Ecce hic presto sunt, domina, iube et de me et de illis quodcumque tue fuerit placitum uoluntati. Ego^h enim sum que peccaui. Ego sum que mea culpa sanctos angelos a nostro contubernio sequestrauit.'

Cui abbatisa penitenti et confessionem lacrimabiliter facienti compatiens, sicut erat lenissima placabili animo ac misericordissimaⁱ pietate, respondit, 'Absoluat te,' inquit, 'et misereatur tui, filia, Dei filius, Deus omnipotens, qui, naturam humanam Spiritu Sancto conceptus assumens de uirgine, se ipsum fecit in cruce mundum sacrificium pro peccato, ut Deus homo facturam perditam uenundatam sub peccato dignissima satisfactione redimeret et, animam hominis peccatricem ab omni liberans contagione peccati, corpus quoque mortale et corruptibile, omnimodis ab infirmitate sanatum, in eternam immortalitatem^j et incorruptibilitatem miseratione incomprehensibili^k exaltaret.' Cumque hoc illa dixisset, uocauit Brignam uirginem cum^l duabus sororibus, quibus precepit ut protinus illos sotulares acciperent et in profundum fluminis, quod cenobio propinquius^m de |fluens adiacebat, in tali loco ubi nulli nocerent amplius sine ulla dilatione proicerent.

Quod dum expletum summa cum festinatione fuisset, reuersis puellis et "finito capitulo," perstiterunt omnes intente in orationibus et ecce, iam mane facto in crastino subsequenti,ⁿ gaudens plurimum Dei famula de reditu sanctorum hospitum, rursum quantotius conuocauit^p sanctimoniales sorores et ait illis, 'Benedicte ancille

^a sceleritate *A* ^{b-h} fateri nunc *A* ^{c-c} ego enim *R* ^d mea *A*
^e sotulares *A*, corrected by a sixteenth-century hand ^{f-f} uir mihi *A* ^{g-g} peccato
 peccatum *A* ^h Ecce add. *R* ⁱ misericordissa *R* ^j mortalitatem *R*

the lady, prostrated herself before her knees with great humility and poured out copious tears in front of them all, saying to her, 'Before God and His saints I confess my fault to you, my lady and mother. It is no wonder that on this account the holy angels have now removed themselves from us. The sin I am now driven to confess is both amply large and yet not wicked in every way. For yesterday when I, miserable sinner that I am, fled the old life and sought the refuge of this new way of life, promising repentance—it shames me to say it, but I will say it nevertheless—I did not surrender my slippers, that had been given to me by a man I had been wrongly joined with while in the world, nor confess that fact, as I ought, but I ill advisedly kept them as my own property. This very night, during our vigils, because I was suffering from the cold and unable to bear my weakness, I added sin to sin by daring to put them on my feet. Behold, here I am, mistress, command whatever you will concerning me and them. Behold, here am I, who has sinned. It is I whose fault has severed us from the company of the holy angels.'

The abbess, who was most mild, placable, and compassionate, had pity on her, as she repented and made her tearful confession, and replied to her, 'May the son of God, Almighty God, absolve you, daughter, and have mercy on you. He was conceived through the Holy Spirit, assumed human nature from a virgin and made Himself a pure sacrifice for sin on the cross, so that God-Man might redeem with a worthy ransom the creature that had been lost and sold through sin and that, freeing the sinful human soul from all taint of sin, He might also exalt the mortal and corruptible body, cured from every weakness, to eternal immortality and incorruptibility through His incomprehensible mercy.' When she had said this, she called the virgin Brigna and two sisters, whom she instructed to take the slippers straightaway and, without any delay, to throw them into the depths of a river that flowed near to the monastery, in such a spot where they could no longer harm anybody.

When this had been quickly done, the girls returned and the chapter concluded. All now continued intently in prayer and, behold, as the morning of the next day broke, the handmaid of God rejoiced greatly at the return of the holy guests and quickly summoned the sisters together again. 'Blessed servants of the lord Jesus Christ,' she said to them, 'we should give great thanks to Almighty God and

^k comprehensibili *R* ^l ceteris *add. A* ^m propinquus *R* ⁿ⁻ⁿ finitis
capitulis *R* ^o sequenti *A* ^p uocauit *A*

domini Christi Iesu, magnas grates debemus agere omnipotenti Deo eumque iugiter "toto ex corde" diligere, qui et nocte ista respexit nos misertus nostri et, reiecta offense materia, remisit nobis beatos spiritus, sanctos hospites nostram ut prius administraturos salutem, qui, sicut antea fuerant soliti, ferant sursum et presentent nostra opera et obsecrationes ad thronum altissimum, qui et ipsi suis sanctis intercessionibus suffragentur infirmitati nostre et impetrent ueniam nostrorum^b excessuum atque omnium delictorum. Estote itaque alacres in proposito sancto, dilectissime filie, resistentes indesinenter diabolo et deuittantes semper peccatum, confidentes de auxilio Domini et de presentia sanctorum angelorum ipsius.^c

Quibus auditis, uniuerse sorores uehementer congratulate sunt et, ualde proficientes de tanti uirtute miraculi, summo Deo ac uero, exhilaratis non mediocriter cordibus, immensas gratias communi exultatione retulerunt. Libet adhuc in hoc miraculo paululum immorari et ponere ante oculos cordis ex una parte matrem uere spiritalem et ex altera cetum filiarum absque totius simulationis nubilo satis humiliter innocentem. Inde eximium magistre meritum, inde dignissimam simplicitatem mundicie discipularum sanctarum. Sicut enim in conuentu apostolico non potuit Iude iniquitas Domino omnium et creatori cunctorum, creato propter creaturam, abscondi, ita magistre illuminate per creatoris spiritum peccatum qualecumque discipule nulla ualuit diabolica siue suasionem siue^e tergiuersationem celari. Et sicut Domino dicente discipulis 'unus uestrum me tradet',¹¹⁵ singuli timebant sibi ne de se^d singulo diceret, cum tamen singulus^e sibi conscius innocentie nichil in se tale sentiret, plus credens uerbis magistri de futuro scelere prenuntiantis quam confidens uirtuti conscientie, licet nichil de tali scelere cogitantis, ita matre loquente ad filias, 'non sine culpa nostra angeli se absentauerunt', singule hoc metuebant pro se singula magistram dicere, cum tamen singula bene conscia sibi nullam sciret peccati maculam cui se sciret consentaneam subiacere. Verum ista proportio similitudinis non parum dissimiliter assimilatur. In conuentu namque apostolico reus criminis, neque recte penitens neque recte confessus, iusto Dei iudicio in eternam dampnationem abiit; in cetu autem uirgineo rea peccati, et bene penitens et bene confessa, miserante diuina gratia, sempiternam saluationem inuenit. Considera quoque non negligenter in uirgine curam peruigilem et uere sollicitudinem pastorem. Non

^{a-u} ex toto corde *A*^b om. *A*^c om. *R*^d om. *A*^e singulis *A*

always love Him with a whole heart. Tonight He has been mindful of us and had mercy on us and, putting aside the cause of offence, has sent back to us the blessed spirits, the holy guests who will minister to our salvation, just as before. As they were accustomed to do, they can bear aloft our works and prayers and present them before the most high throne. They can aid our weakness through their holy intercession and win pardon for all our excesses and sins. So, dearest daughters, be brisk in pursuit of your holy purpose, resisting the devil tirelessly, always avoiding sin, trusting in the help of the Lord and the presence of His holy angels.'

On hearing this all the sisters were filled with joy and, deriving profit from such a great miracle, they gave heartfelt thanks to the highest and true God, their hearts delighting in shared exultation. It is worthwhile dwelling on this miracle a moment and placing before the mind's eye on the one hand the truly spiritual mother, on the other the flock of daughters, humble, innocent, and without a trace of dissimulation. Here the outstanding merit of the mother, there the noble simplicity of the purity of the holy daughters. For just as in the assembly of the apostles, the wickedness of Judas could not be hidden from the Lord and creator of all, who had been made for the sake of His creatures, so the sin of one of her disciples could not be concealed by any insinuation or subterfuge of the devil from a mistress who had been illuminated by the spirit of the creator. When the Lord said to His disciples 'one of you will betray me',¹¹⁵ each of them feared that this was said of him, even though each had a clean conscience and felt no such thing within himself. They rather believed that the master's words prophesied some future crime than relied upon the strength of their conscience, even though it contemplated no such crime. Just so, when the mother said to her daughters 'the angels have not absented themselves without some fault on our part', each of them feared that the mistress was saying this about her, even though each one had a clean conscience and knew no spot of sin into which she had knowingly fallen. However, this parallel does not mean the two incidents are exactly alike. In the assembly of the apostles the guilty one neither repented nor confessed but went to eternal damnation by the just judgment of God; in the flock of virgins the guilty one repented and confessed fully and, through God's merciful grace, found eternal salvation. Also, consider carefully the watchful care and pastoral solicitude that the virgin showed. For she

¹¹⁵ Cf. Matt. 26: 21; Mark 14: 18; John 13: 21.

enim libenter sineret in cetu suo crimina maiora succrescere que studebat de cetu suo et peccata minima ita radicitus amputare. Nam, sicut scriptura testatur, quia qui minima spreuit paulatim decedit,¹¹⁶ sic certa ratio econtrario probat quod qui caute se obseruat a minimis non facile decipietur in magnis. Sed de hiis satis dictum, nunc ad cetera transeamus.

32. *Quomodo Brigna uirgo angelos uiderit et qualiter Moduenna ei predixerit uentura.*

Sequenti nocte postquam illud euenerat quod proxime modo supra narratum est, Brigna uirgo quam superius nominauimus, dormientibus ceteris, forte in orationibus pernoctabat et de reditu sanctorum hospitum, de quibus pridie nunciauerat sancta^a mater, spiritali gaudio cum sua cogitatione exultabat. Hec Brigna uirgo erat orta de parentibus inclitis ac diuitiosis, que tamen, relictis pompis secularibus, sponso eterno suam uirginitatem deuouens sub discipu |latu
A, f. 100^v Moduenne fuerat conuersa ad Christum, amore impulsa diuino et inflammata desiderio sempiternae ac beatissime remunerationis. Habebat autem uenerabilis abbatissa quasi cubiculum paruam cellulam in monasterio seorsum a ceteris, in qua diligenter firmata excubare solebat noctibus et supra petram nudam et asperam peruigilare in obsecrationum obsequiis, dum dormire a coancillis estimaretur, ubi, prorsus intenta contemplationi diuinae, crebro uidebat angelos Dei ad se amicabiliter uenientes, mutuo colloquentes sibi, docentes eam de quibus esset necesse et in omnibus suis laboribus, quos libenter patiebatur pro Christo, familiarissime consolantes. Dum igitur prefata Brigna, in oratione pernoctans, de uerbis matris que de angelis dixerat mente tota in celestibus cogitaret et uersus tugurium Moduenne, uelut perscrutatura, quippiam ausu ducta diuinae confidentie iam propinquius accedere presumpsisset, foris assistens ante hostium audiuit intus quasi sonitum aliquem quorundam colloquentium ad aliquem^b et, audiendo facta audacior, considerauit lucem factam intrinsecus^c et adiecit etiam intro aspicere et uidit tanquam duos cignos pulcherrime uisionis de domuncula per tectum egredi et ad celum usque sullimius^d magna cum claritate euolare.^e Stupens itaque et pauefacta uehementer pro tante demonstrationis prodigio et intelligens^f uere remeasse beatos spiritus ad monasterium, sicut Dei

^a alma A ^b aliquam A ^c intrinsecus lucem factam A ^d usque
add. R ^e uolare A ^f intenligens A

who took care to uproot even minor sins from her flock so thoroughly, would not easily allow greater offences to grow up among them. For, as scripture witnesses, who despises little things gradually falls,¹¹⁶ so a fixed principle proves the opposite, that whoever shows care in little things, is not deceived in big. Enough has been said of this, let us turn to other things.

32. How the virgin Brigna saw the angels and how Modwenna predicted future events to her.

On the night after this event that I have just narrated took place, the virgin Brigna, mentioned above, happened to spend the night in prayer, while the others slept. She rejoiced with spiritual joy in her thoughts at the return of the holy guests, which the holy mother had announced on the previous day. This virgin Brigna was the child of rich and noble parents but had abandoned all the pomp of the world and vowed her virginity to the eternal spouse, converting to Christ under the guidance of Modwenna, driven by divine love and inflamed by desire for an eternal and blessed reward. The venerable abbess had in the monastery a small cell, a kind of cubicle, apart from the others, where, carefully enclosed, she would keep watch at night and maintain a vigil in dutiful prayer on a hard, bare rock, while her fellow handmaidens thought she slept. Here, completely involved in divine contemplation, she often saw the angels of God coming to her in a friendly way, conversing with her, teaching her what was needful, and encouraging her intimately in all the labours that she willingly endured for Christ. While Brigna was spending the night in prayer and, with her mind entirely fixed on heavenly things, pondering the words that the mother had spoken about the angels, she was led by a kind of divinely sustained daring to presume to approach Modwenna's chamber, as if to examine it. As she stood outside the door, she heard within a sound like people speaking with another, and, made bolder by hearing this and viewing a light inside, she went so far as to look in, where she saw two forms like the most beautiful swans leaving the apartment by the roof and flying to the highest heaven with great brightness. Amazed and terrified at this miraculous manifestation and understanding that the blessed spirits truly had returned to the monastery, as the handmaid of God had predicted,

¹¹⁶ Cf. Eccus. 19: 1.

famula predixisset, cadens statim in terram^a coram facie sua, benedixit et adorauit Dominum, gratias agens, deprecans eius clementiam fusis lacrimis ne sibi proueniret ad malum quod angelicam apparitionem, licet indignissima, conspexisset.

Nocte uero eadem transacta in timore magno atque in^b multis obsecrationibus et facto mane in crastino sequenti, mox ut tempus loquendi aduenerat, Brigna uirgo quam citius potuit uenit pauide ad abbatisam, priuatim cupiens loqui cum illa, que protinus cum tremore prostrata eius genibus,^c pene carens pre^d timore profandi fiducia, dixit illi, 'Ignosce mihi, domina mea, ignosce mihi, queso te, que in hac nocte—o me indignam—audiui et uidi nescio quid, quod quidem neque sufficio plene edicere neque tibi^e audeo omnino celare. Presumpsi enim temerario ausu, me ream confiteor, appropinquare ad domum cubiculi tui | et, foris assistens hostiolo, ^faudiui intus^f nescio quos loquentes tecum, addens etiam intro aspicere uidi magnum fulgorem interius et conspexi uelut duos olores speciosissimos egredientes per tegulas et cum claritate ingenti sub celeritate transuolantes in celum. Vnde, nimio timore perterrita, confugi ad^g te, obsecrans ut miserearis mei et ne mihi reputetur innoxam iniungas ancille tue quod tibi placuerit.'

Ad hec Moduenna, pia uirgo Christi, Brigne uirginis puram simplicitatem intuita statimque spiritu prophetie dato a supernis mirabili illuminatione inspirata, clementissime respondit ei, mente presaga futura denuntians, et placabili animo proloquens uniuersa que preuidebat uentura ex ordine super illam. ^hAit ergo ad eam,^h 'Noli timere, filia, noli timere, confortare in Domino et uiriliter age,¹¹⁷ neque enimⁱ Deus omnipotens priuabit bonis omnes qui ambulant in innocentia cordis sui.¹¹⁸ Et Dominus quidem Iesus, qui tibi ostendit secreta sua, preelegit te sicut uoluit et ad hoc dignam^j sua miseratione effecit, quatinus deserta edifices et proficias pluribus et sis mater multarum uirginum et prebeas te ipsam cunctis tocus sancte conuersacionis exemplum. Ibis autem ad terram tuam et constitues monasterium in apto loco deserti,^k ubi ad te congregabis sorores plurimas in militiam Domini que, Christo Domino sub disciplinis regularibus seruientes, proficiscentur te duce per Dei

^a terra R ^b om. A ^c uestigiis A ^d om. R ^e om. R
^{f-f} om. R ^g at A ^{h-h} Ait ergo ait R ⁱ om. R ^j digna R
^k iuxta proximos cognationis tue add. A

¹¹⁷ Cf. Deut. 31: 6; Josh. 1: 18; Ps. 30 (31): 25; 1 Cor. 16: 13.

¹¹⁸ Ps. 83 (84): 13.

she fell to the ground before her, blessed and adored the Lord and gave thanks, begging Him tearfully in His mercy that it would not turn out badly for her to have seen this angelic vision, although she was so unworthy.

She spent that night in great fear and in many prayers and, the following morning, as soon as the time for speaking arrived, the virgin Brigna came fearfully, as quickly as she could, to the abbess, desiring to speak with her privately. She at once cast herself at her knees, trembling and so afraid that she almost lacked the confidence to speak. 'Forgive me, my lady, forgive me, I beseech you,' she said. 'Tonight I, unworthy that I am, have heard and seen I know not what, something that I cannot fully express but that I do not dare to conceal from you. For I presumed with daring boldness—I confess my guilt—to approach your sleeping chamber and, standing outside the door, I heard someone (I could not tell who) speaking with you. Proceeding to look in, I saw a great glow within and beheld the forms of two beautiful swans going out through the roof tiles and flying off quickly with a great brilliance into the heavens. Terrified with fear on account of this, I have sought refuge with you, begging that you will have mercy on me and that, to avoid this being harmful to me, you will enjoin on your servant whatever you please.'

Modwenna, the devout virgin of Christ, perceived the pure innocence of the virgin Brigna and was straightaway inspired by the spirit of prophecy bringing wonderful enlightenment from above. She answered her most graciously, announcing to her what was to come, since her mind beheld the future, calmly spelling out in order everything that she foresaw concerning her. She said to her, 'Do not fear, daughter, do not fear, take strength from the Lord and act bravely.¹¹⁷ Almighty God will not take away good things from all those who walk with innocent hearts.¹¹⁸ The Lord Jesus, who shows you His secrets, has chosen you, according to His will, and through His mercy has made you worthy for this: you will build up waste places and you will be of great benefit to many and you will be a mother of many virgins and you will yourself provide an example to all of a holy way of life. You will go to your own land and found a monastery in a suitable isolated spot, where you will gather together many sisters in the service of the Lord, who, serving Christ the Lord under the discipline of the rule, will, with you as their leader and through the grace of God, journey to the joys of paradise above. Instructed by the Lord, you will yourself instruct many lay people,

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gratiam ad superna gaudia paradisi. Docta quoque a Domino docebis etiam multos seculares, quos conuerteres et diri | mes a massa perdita et erudies ad iusticiam, ut similis^a angelis quos uidisti et tu ipsa gaudeas atque eis leticiam facias de peccatoribus ad Deum conuersis et impleatur in te quoque illud^b Danielis oraculum quo dicitur qui docti fuerint fulgebunt quasi splendor firmamenti et qui ad iusticiam erudiunt plurimos uelut stelle in perpetuas claritates.¹¹⁹ Et quoniam uidisti archana Dei et inspexisti angelicas uisiones, manebis orbata lumine oculorum carnalium, lucem habens meliorem spiritalem in corde, conferentem tibi semper consolationem et spem bonam perseuerantem tecum iugiter et perducentem recto itinere ad gloriam sempiternam. Erit autem uia pacifica inter duo monasteria nostra et, siue quamdiu uixerimus, siue postquam mortue fuerimus, itinerantibus obiter, protegente Deo, nullum accedet^c malum, nullum appropinquabit flagellum, nullum^d unquam omnino poterit euenire periculum. Sed uide, filia, sicut cupis temet ipsam saluare, ne quam diu uixero in hac^e uita temporali, dicas alicui unquam mortalium siue que audisti, siue que aspexisti, siue illa que uolui, edocta per spiritum, tibi enuntiare.⁷

Cumque omnia hec Moduenna, Dei famula, prenuntiasset, uniuersa sicut predixerat Brigne uirgini ex ordine prouenerunt. Abiit namque in terram suam ad parentes suos et fabricata est non ignobile monasterium uirginum in locis desertis iuxta cognationem suam et edificauit solitudines, construens inibi oratoria plurima, et multos infidelium uocauit ad fidem multosque fidelium corroborauit in fide, manens quidem orbata corporalibus uisibus,^f sed possidens oculos multo meliores in mente, prebens semper uniuersis et sermone et opere tocius sancte religiositatis exemplum et post stadium sue uite temporalis uictoriosissime percipiens a Domino pro bonis meritis, per Dei gratiam, brauium sempiternum.¹²⁰ Inter Lonfortin uero, monasterium Moduenne, et illud cenobium quod Brigna uirgo fundauerat erat plene iter unius diei et, sicut ancilla Christi prophetizauerat, proficiscentibus de uno ad aliud, siue in uita, siue post^g mortem earum, licet antea fuerit periculosa itineratio, nichil mali accedere, nullum appropinquare flagellum, nichil unquam potuit euenire contrarium.

^a similes A
^f oculis A

^b om. A
^g in R

^c accidet A

^d nullam A

^e om. A

whom you will convert and save from the mass of perdition and educate in justice, so that, like those angels you saw, you yourself will rejoice and also make them happy for those sinners turned to God. The prophecy of Daniel will be fulfilled in you: those who are learned will glow like the splendour of the firmament, those who educate many in justice will be like the stars in their perpetual brilliance.¹¹⁹ And since you have seen the secrets of God and gazed upon these angelic visions, you will remain deprived of the light of the eyes of the flesh, but have a far better spiritual light in your heart, that will always bring you comfort and enduring good hope within you and that will lead you by the right path to eternal glory. The road between our two monasteries will be a peaceful one and, both while we live and after our deaths, through God's protection no evil will befall those who travel on that way, no scourge will approach them, no danger of any kind will ever befall them. But, daughter, as you desire to be saved, see that, while I am still living on this earth, you tell no mortal being of what you have heard or what you have seen or what I have been willing to announce to you through the instruction of the spirit.'

When God's servant, Modwenna, had proclaimed all these things, in due course everything turned out for the virgin Brigna as she had predicted. For she went to her kindred in her own land and built a noble monastery of virgins in a deserted place near to her own people. She built up the wilderness, constructing many oratories there, she summoned many unbelievers to the faith and strengthened many believers in the faith. Remaining without the sight of bodily eyes but having much better eyes in her mind, she offered always and to everyone an example of the complete and holy religious life both in word and deed. At the end of the course of her temporal life she received victoriously from the Lord, for her good merits and through God's grace, the eternal reward.¹²⁰ It was a full day's journey from Luncarty, Modwenna's monastery, to the religious house that the virgin Brigna founded and, just as the handmaid of Christ had prophesied, although that route had been dangerous, neither during their lifetime nor after their deaths, could anything bad befall those journeying from one place to the other, nor any scourge approach them, nor any kind of impediment ever arise.

¹¹⁹ Dan. 12: 3.

¹²⁰ Cf. 1 Cor. 8: 24.

33. *De ampulla uitrea dimersa in flumine et de uino conseruato in aquis.*

Vna dierum quidam poeta de Scottis, Brendenus uocabulo, uir literatus preclare et eruditus in liberalem scientiam sed orbatus oculis ab infantia, nauigabat per fluuium qui Berba^a dicitur et gerebat in manu sua uas uitreum pulcre facture plenum uino, quod uidelicet locutione uulgari^b ampullam usu solito nominare consueuimus. Cuius speciem dum socii eius, qui erant in naui cum eo, admirantes conspicerent, et loquentes mutuo colorem quoque laudantes intuerentur congruentissimum speciei, forte contigit preter spem ullam ut repente prolaberetur tenentis e manibus et penitus demergeretur^c in altam profunditatem fluminis, ita ut esset et quidem propter formam^d desiderabile ad querendum^d et propter inuisibilitatem abissi difficile ad inueniendum aut etiam impossibile. Cumque diu illud multumque^e quesissent et, temptantes diuersis artibus, nullo modo reperire potuissent, omni spe^f inueniendi funditus^f ablata, ceperunt enauigare quo intenderant et, tristes effecti pro uasculo perduto, a loco fluminis in quo ceciderat aliquantisper iam longinquius recedebant. Vniuersis itaque ceteris nequaquam ultra de inuentione uel cogitantibus, cepit ille prefatus clericus de Moduenne^g prodigiis atque uirtutibus^g reminisci et, confidens in Domino atque in potentia meritorum illius, locutus est adhuc ad consodales suos et suppliciter ait illis, 'Precor uos, socii, pro karitate diuina, ut queratis^h adhuc uasculum perditum quod tantum laudastis uelut excellens pre pulcritudine, quia, si Dominus | 'hoc nobis' reddere dignaretur, libenter illud transmitterem Moduenne beate uirgini ac reuerentissime abbatisse, quatinus poneretur ab illa in seruitium Domini. Satis enim decenter congrueret, sicut existimo, ad ministerium sacrosancti altaris.' Ad quod adiciens, orauit quoque ad Dominum, ita dicens, 'Domine Deus omnipotens, redde nobis uasculum perditum, ut agnoscamus gloriam potestatis tue et experiamus preclara merita beatissime uirginis Moduenne.'

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Hec cum dixisset, confestim socii, oculos deflectentes retrorsum, ampullam uitream uino plenam miro modo contra naturam super aquas natantem prospiciunt reuersique cum nauigio et assumentes illam de aquis sanam et integram repletam uino, sicut antea fuerat quando lapsa in profundum ceciderat, letanti clerico et admiranti cum exultacione et ipsi admirantes reddiderunt. Naturale siquidem est, si ampulla uitri plena liquore siue in aquas iacitur siue in aquas decidit

33. *The glass container sunk in the river and the wine preserved in the water.*

One day a Scottish poet called Brenden, a man who was outstanding in literary skill and well educated in the arts but had been blind since childhood, was sailing along the river Barrow. He had in his hand a glass vessel of beautiful construction full of wine, of the type that we usually call an ampulla in everyday language. His companions in the boat gazed on its beauty with admiration, discussing it and praising its colour and noting how well it suited its form. Quite unexpectedly it happened that the vessel suddenly fell from the hands of him holding it and was completely submerged in the depths of the river. Because of its beauty it was desirable to search for it, but because it was hidden in the depths it was difficult or impossible to find. When they had searched for it thoroughly for a long time in a variety of ways but had not been able to find it, they gave up all hope of recovering it and, saddened by the loss of the vessel, began to sail on to their destination, leaving behind the spot in the river where it had fallen. While the others gave up all thought of recovering it, the cleric mentioned above recalled the wonders and miracles of Modwenna and, trusting in the Lord and in the power of her merits, spoke to his fellows, entreating them, 'I pray you, companions, for God's love, to seek this lost vessel that you praised so much for its beauty, for, if the Lord deigns to return it to us, I shall willingly send it to the blessed virgin, the reverend abbess Modwenna, to be used in the Lord's service. For in my opinion it is very suitable for the service of the holy altar.' He continued, praying to the Lord as follows: 'Lord God Almighty, return to us the vessel that was lost, so that we may acknowledge the glory of your power and experience the outstanding merits of the blessed virgin Modwenna.'

When he had said this, his companions immediately looked back and saw the glass ampulla, full of wine, floating on the water in a marvellous fashion contrary to nature. They went back in the boat and took it up from the water whole and unharmed and full of wine, just as it was when it had fallen into the deep, and returned it, with wonder and exultation, to the joyful and wondering cleric. It is

^a Berda R ^b uerballi R ^c dimergeretur A ^{d d} ad querendum
desiderabile A ^e que multum R ^{f f} funditas (sic) inueniendi A
^{g g} uirtutibus atque prodigiis A ^h queramus A ^{i i} nobis hoc A

quasi lapis ad fundum uadit, neque penitus ualet aut per se ipsam surgere^a aut super aquas natere. Sin autem uacua uel cadit uel proicitur, tunc solummodo fluctuat super aquas quoniam nec eisdem aquis impletur. Ampulla uero ista, de qua loquimur, naturaliter quidem plena uino lapsa in aquas^b in fundum cecidit, sed, contra naturam plena uino de fundo emergens, per meritum uirginis cui uotiuue donata est non naturaliter sed mirabiliter super aquas natauit. Vasculum itaque susceptum in manibus plenum uino seruato egregie transmisit clericus, sicut deuouerat, cum festinatione ad uirginem, mandans ei per litteras non indecenter compositas totum ex ordine rei euentum, deprecans eam supplicatione humillima quatinus suum indignum munusculum ad seruiendum altari pro karitate susciperet, quod Deus omnipotens debere illam habere sua uirtute inenarrabili cum tanto prodigio demonstrasset. Videns igitur prudens uirgo pias preces composite ornatas in litteris et considerans uas idoneum in Domini seruitutem, agens gratias suscepit illud et uinum simul ea caritatis deuotione qua et oblata sunt, presertim sciens uoluntatis esse diuine ut illa reciperet, in quibus etiam suo nomine inuocato, sicut isdem poeta descripserat, Dei dignatio suam potentiam cum uirtute miraculi declarare uoluisset. Hoc quoque mirum in illis contingit, quia uinum in uase, licet cooperculum non habente, neque aque mixtum neque in aliquo deterioratum est, sed, sicut in uase antea fuerat positum optimum, ita etiam post dimersionem in aquis in uase repertum est optime conseruatum. Porro clericus, letus ualde effectus, emissio munere tante^c matri et ab illa benigne suscepto, diuulgauit miraculum per totam prouinciam et uerbo et carmine, consodalibus attestantibus et asseuerantibus rem, qui, presentes cum eo in nauicula, et audierant et conspexerant quam cito quam mirabiliter inuenissent uasculum perditum iam desperatum, memorato et inuocato nomine Moduene.

34. *De trina profectione uirginis Romam et de hospitali quod ibi dicitur construxisse*

Tempore illo disposuit ancilla Christi, nudis pedibus et in^d cilicio, peregre proficisci ad urbem romanam, quatinus scilicet limina apostolorum uiseret ut eorum suffragia tam labore itineris quam orationum supplicationibus flagitaret. Mouens itaque assumpsit

^a resurgere *A*

^b usque *add. A*

^c tanti *R*

^d om. *A*

natural if a glass vessel full of liquid is thrown or falls into water that it goes to the bottom like a stone, nor can it in any way rise again by itself or float on the water. But if it falls or is thrown when it is empty, it can only float while it is not filled with water. The vessel we are discussing, however, fell into the water full of wine and went down to the bottom naturally, but, contrary to nature, emerged from the bottom full of wine and floated on the water, not naturally but miraculously, through the merit of the virgin to whom it had been vowed. The cleric received the vessel in his hands, full of the remarkably preserved wine, and, as he had promised, sent it quickly to the virgin, explaining to her in a well phrased letter the whole course of events. He humbly begged her to receive his unworthy gift for the service of the altar for love, for Almighty God had shown by such a great miracle, performed by His indescribable power, that she ought to have it. The thoughtful virgin saw these devout prayers, elegantly expressed in the letter, and, deeming the vessel suitable for the Lord's service, she gave thanks and accepted it, along with the wine, in the same spirit of love with which they had been offered, especially since she knew that it was the divine will that she receive them, since God had deigned to declare His power through them in such a great miracle performed after her name had been invoked, as the poet had reported. This also was marvellous, that, although the vessel had no cover, the wine in it was not mixed with water or in any way spoiled, but was found to be just as good after the submergence in the water as it was when it had first been placed in the vessel. When the delighted cleric had sent the gift to such a mother and it had been kindly received, he broadcast news of the miracle throughout the region in word and song, while his companions attested and declared how, when they were present with him in the boat, they had heard and seen how quickly and miraculously they had recovered the vessel they had lost and despaired of, when the name of Modwenna had been recalled and invoked.

34. *The virgin's three journeys to Rome and the hostel she is said to have constructed there.*

At that time the handmaid of Christ decided to set off, barefoot and in sackcloth, to the city of Rome, to visit the threshold of the apostles and to solicit their help both through the labour of the journey and through beseeching prayers. She set off, taking with her on the

profecturam secum uirginem ^a“Lazaram nomine” et, ueniens per Sanctum Andream de Scotia et ultra progrediens usque in Siluam Ardernam in Anglia, uisitatis sororibus olim ibidem positis, accepit illic iterum et alias itineris sui socias, Atheam scilicet uirginem et cum ea nichilominus Osid pariter et Editham. Dum igitur, prospere transcurso mari comitante Deo, Romam usque pertigissent,^b continuo fama Moduenne per totam urbem non mediocriter fragrantia suaui redoluit, | et usque ad aures domini apostolici pape, quam plurimis de sanctitate eius narrantibus, delectabili admodum contestatione, peruenit. Hoc iter ad Romam fecit Dei famula uelut in peccatorum penitentiam per tres uices, quasi que uellet nullum de suis excessibus | in punitum relinquere, et que cuperet corpus suum diuersis generibus cruciatuum usquequaque castigare.

Ad unam uero de hiis tribus uicibus uenerunt quoque cum ea Romam multi Scottorum multique Anglicorum atque Hibernienses quam plurimi, qui uno in uico uniuersi ‘pariter hospitati sunt’^c in loco proximo Petri ecclesie, inter duas ^d“uidelicet magnas” ecclesias beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli. Ferunt aliqui quod in hoc uico dedit Moduenne domnus papa unam partem terre ab omni exactione quietam, honorare uolens etiam munere religiositatem illius; ubi pia uirgo, que semper prouidebat egenis, de oblatiis sodalium qui secum uenerant domum condidit hospitem, in qua pauperes Romam uenientes temporibus secuturis haberent hospicium et reperire ibi ualerent alicuius sustentationis paratum solatium. Vtrum autem ex eo fonte processerit illud maximum hospitale, quod usque hodie Rome^e permanet et uocatur Scola Anglorum, quod ideo ^f“appellatum sit sic”^f quia ibi scilicet Angli habitent et plurimum creuerit, sicut plurimi asserunt, de diuiciis regum Anglie et de elemosinis fidelium hominum Anglicorum, ego quidem temere affirmare non audeo; sed et hoc dicentibus contradicere nequaquam presumo; malo enim tacere interim ueritatem, si hoc ita ^g“esse conuincitur,”^g quam asseuerare mendacium, si hoc esse aliter postmodum comprobetur. Siquid tamen certitudinis potuerimus aliquando inde cognoscere, non pigri erimus probatam certitudinem, quantum ad hanc uirginem attinet, istis literis annotare. Interim de hiis dicta suffecerint, ad residua properemus.

^a “ nomine Lazaram A

^d d magnas uidelicet A

^g g conuincitur esse A

^b pergissent R

^e Romam R

^c c hospitati sunt pariter A

^f f sic appellatum sit A

journey a virgin named Lazara. Passing through St Andrews in Scotland, she came to the Forest of Arden in England and visited the sisters she had earlier placed there, taking as additional travelling companions the virgin Athea and likewise Osgyth and Eadgyth. When they reached Rome, after crossing the sea safely with God's aid, Modwenna's reputation at once diffused its sweet fragrance throughout the city and came to the ears of the apostolic lord pope, as many people told of her sanctity in cheerful testimony. The handmaid of God made this journey to Rome three times as a penance for her sins, being one who wished none of her faults to go unpunished and who desired to punish her body with continual torments of all kinds.

On one of these three occasions there came with her to Rome many Scots, many English, and very many Irish, who all stayed together in one street in a place near St Peter's, between the two great churches of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul. Some people say that the lord pope gave Modwenna a piece of land in this street, free from all obligations, since he wished to honour her devotion with a gift, and that here the godly virgin, ever caring for those in want, founded a hostel from the offerings of those who had accompanied her, to serve as accommodation for poor people coming to Rome in the future and a place where they could find support and sustenance. Whether this was the source of that great hostel that remains in Rome to this day, and is called the English School because the English live there and because it grew, as many people say, from the wealth of the kings of England and the alms of the English faithful, I do not dare to assert boldly; nor, however, do I presume to contradict those who say so; I prefer to keep quiet about the truth, if so it is demonstrated to be, rather than to assert a falsehood, if subsequently it is proved otherwise. But if we can get to know anything certain at some point, we will not be slow to record the demonstrated certainty in this work, in so far as it concerns this virgin. Enough has been said about this for now, let us hasten to the rest of our account.

35. *De aduentu Moduenne in Andreseiam et de puellis a naufragio mirabiliter liberatis.*

Factis igitur orationibus ad apostolos trina uice, cum multis lacrimis et cum feruenti desiderio eternorum, rediit famula Dei omnipotentis a Roma in Angliam et uenit ad locum qui appellatur Scaleclif¹²¹ uiditque ibi, iuxta montem eundem, modicam insulam in magno flumine qui Trenta^a uocatur, quam plurimum adamauit propter secessum ab hominibus et propter secretam anachoresim, in qua et mansit septem annis reclusa, constructo ibidem oratorio in honore sancti Andree apostoli, unde ex tunc et usque hodie Andreseia,^b id est Andree insula, nuncupatur.¹²² Nam hec loca tunc temporis erant circumquaque uniuersa deserta, plena siluis uacuaque populis, ferarum habitatio et uastissima solitudo. In loco autem qui nunc Bredunia^c dicitur¹²³ habitabat illo in tempore uir quidam uenerabilis ac religiosissimus heremita,¹²⁴ qui, audita fama uirginis^d dulci odore fragrante, succensus amore diuino, uisitationis gratia ueniebat ad eam frequentius et deferebat ei apices continentes uitas sanctorum, in quibus sese reficiebant pariter, loquentes mutuo et consolantes inuicem de celestibus premiis, edificantes alterutrum de signis et prodigiis, de uirtutibus et exemplis eorum.

Quadam uero die, dum uenisset uir sanctus ad uirginem et, oblitus secum tollere sicut prius consueuerat, nullum codicem attulisset, cepit illa mesta esse et conqueri, dicens illi,^e 'Quare librum ^fnon attulisti more solito,^f pater?' At ille, 'Sic modo, domina, contigit, mecum enim afferre oblitus sum.' Ad quem illa, 'Mittamus,' ait, 'pro illo, queso te pater, quia ualde me delectat in eo et edere uite pabulum et audire consolationem in spem animarum nostrarum.' Quo assentiente libenter et pro codice profecturas ubi reperiretur edocente, parauit statim Dei famula duas uirgines et fecit intrare nauiculam, quibus mandauit ut festinanter abirent atque, inuento propter quod ierant, sine dilacione remearent. Illis itaque iussa explere^g conantibus, forte uentus ualidus dum remigarent^h repentinusⁱ insiluit, qui continuo undas fluminis turbulente insurgere et timidis mentibus mergendi minas mortisque periculum intentare coegit. Cumque

^a Trecenta *A* ^b Andresia *A* ^c Brodonia *R* ^d om. *A* ^e om. *A*
^{f-f} more solito non attulisti *A* ^g implere, marked for correction, *A*
^h remearent, corrected to remegarent *A* ⁱ om. *A*

¹²¹ On the opposite bank of the Trent from Burton.

¹²² An island in the Trent at Burton.

¹²³ Breedon on the Hill (Leics.), site of an Anglo-Saxon monastery.

35. *Modwenna's arrival in Andresey and the girls miraculously saved from shipwreck.*

When the handmaid of the Almighty God had prayed at the shrine of the apostles on three occasions, with many tears and fervent desire for things eternal, she returned from Rome to England and came to the place called Scalpcliff¹²¹ and saw there, by that hill, a little island in the great river called the Trent. She loved it very much because it was secluded from men and had an isolated hermitage, where she stayed enclosed for seven years, building there an oratory dedicated to St Andrew, whence from that time until the present day it is called Andresey, that is, Andrew's island.¹²² For at that time all these places were a complete wilderness, full of woods but empty of people, the dwelling place of wild animals and a desolate solitude. At that time there lived in the place now called Breedon¹²³ a certain venerable man, a most devout hermit, who heard of the virgin's reputation, wafted along like a sweet smell, and, burning with divine love, often came to visit her.¹²⁴ He brought for her writings on the lives of the saints, from which they both drew nourishment, speaking together and cheering each other with thoughts of the heavenly prize, edifying each other from their signs and wonders, their miracles and their example.

One day, when the holy man came to the virgin, forgetting what he usually carried with him, he had not brought the book. She grieved and lamented, saying to him, 'Father, why have you not brought the book, as you usually do?' He replied, 'Lady, it just happened that I forgot to bring it with me.' 'Let us send for it,' she said, 'I beg you, father, for it truly delights me to eat the bread of life in it and to hear comforting things there for the hope of our souls.' He agreed willingly and instructed those who were to go for the book where it could be found. The handmaid of God immediately had two virgins get ready and enter a boat, commanding them to go quickly and return without delay as soon as they had found what they had gone for. They were rowing along, intending to fulfil these commands, when suddenly a strong wind happened to spring up, which stirred the waves of the river into great turbulence and threatened those

¹²⁴ The hermit, anonymous in Geoffrey's Life, is identified as Erdulf, a local Breedon saint, in the Anglo-Norman verse adaptation: *St Modwenna*, ed. A. T. Baker and Alexander Bell (*Anglo-Norman Texts*, vii; Oxford, 1947), p. 201, line 1461 (5835). For the association of Breedon and Erdulf, see *The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*, ed. William T. Mellows (London, 1949), p. 60.

A, f. 102^v

puelle cum nauigio ad locum qui Lega dicitur¹²⁵ appropinquassent, crescente uento et ambabus pre timore inclinatis post uentum et iacentibus manus in parte una super alterum latus nauicule, carina quoque tota protinus inclinata et inuersata est, usque adeo ut flatus uentorum cum onere uirginum in precipitium^a nauim impelleret, ita ut, penitus in profundum dimersa, uerso deorsum quod rursum^b fuerat, utrasque | uirgines subtus se clausas et^c utrasque simul dimersas in flumine inter se et fundum cooperta et cooperiens cohiberet.

Interea uiro Dei et sancta femina expectantibus cum desiderio redditum puellarum, transeunte iam termino in quo sperabantur uenture, iam iamque utrisque non modice admirantibus cur tam diutissime morarentur, cecidit in cogitatione ancille Christi quasi fuissent necate in fluuio et cepit iterum magis conqueri magisque desolata contristari, clamans sese ream que illas abire compulerat, dicens cum dolore ac plangens cum lacrimis et lamentationibus sese equidem perpetrasse homicidium et sese esse interfectricem illarum. 'Ve,' inquit, 'mihi misere, que puellas in fontes occidi et eas, quas non debueram, tam improuide in meam cum periculo legationem transmisi. Heu, heu,^d mihi misere, o quid feci, o quantum commisi, miserere mei Deus et respice me.' Ad quam, istis et huiuscemodi uerbis plangentem, reuerentissimus heremita respondit, 'Noli', inquit, 'desolari, domina mater, noli desolari sed magis exora confidenter Dominum Deum tuum et proculdubio exaudiet te, inclinemus nos ad studium orationis, pariter obsecrantes clementiam magnam piissimi quatinus nobis dignetur ostendere quid sit actum de istis puellis.' Cum ergo^e ambo simul prostrati ^fdiu ad terram^f cum lacrimis in postulatione fuissent, pulsato signo et oratione completa, surgentes^g ecce aspiciunt, miro modo, uiam patentem et siccam in medio fluminis, sicut, Moyse^h orante ad Dominum, patuit iter siccum filiis Israel per medium Rubri Maris. Accedente itaque spe miserationis et opitulationis diuine, confestim ingrediuntur per siccum fundum fluminis uiam mirabilem apertam et aridam. Erant enim aque, stupendo modo, diuise in duabus partibus et utrimque uelut quedam muri protegens maceries ad dexteram et ad sinistram.

Cumque uenissent ad locum in quo fuerat precipitata nauicula et, in giro ipsius aquis stantibus quasi pro muro circumquaque, euntes per siccum, in prora, in puppi, in carina sursum, in tabulis uersis

^a precipicipicium A ^b sursum A ^c om. A ^d Heheu R, corrected from Heheu, A ^e ergo simul R; igitur A ^f ad terram diu A ^g et add. A ^h Moyses A

timid minds with the threat of drowning and the danger of death. When the girls in the boat came near to the place called Leigh,¹²⁵ the wind increased and they both lent over in fear before it, pressing their hands on the same spot on the other side of the boat, so that the whole vessel pitched over and overturned. The blast of the wind and the weight of the virgins forced the boat into the depths, so that, as it upturned and sank into the deep, it trapped the two virgins between it and the bottom, covering them over as they sank into the river.

Meanwhile the man of God and the holy woman had been eagerly awaiting the girls' return and, as the point passed when they had hoped they would come back, they both greatly wondered why they were taking so long. The thought suddenly struck the handmaid of Christ that they had been killed in the river and she again began to grieve and sorrow in desolation, blaming herself for having sent them, saying sadly and lamenting with tears and mourning that she had certainly committed homicide and was responsible for their deaths. 'Woe to me, wretch that I am,' she said, 'who have killed the girls in the waters and sent them on a risky mission for me so thoughtlessly, as I ought not to have done. Alas, alas, wretch that I am, what have I done, what dreadful thing have I committed, have mercy on me, God, and be mindful of me.' As she lamented in such words, the venerable hermit replied, 'Do not be so sad, lady mother, do not be so sad, but rather pray confidently to the Lord your God and without a doubt He will hear you. Let us turn ourselves to prayer, together beseeching the clemency of the most holy one that He will deign to reveal to us what has happened to those girls.' When they had both lain for a long time prostrate on the ground in tearful entreaty and, as the bell rang, finished their prayer, behold, they stood up and saw that a dry path had been opened up in a wonderful way in the midst of the river, just like the dry passage that opened up for the children of Israel in the midst of the Red Sea when Moses prayed to the Lord. With their hopes of divine mercy and aid rising, they quickly entered the dry path that had been miraculously exposed on the drained river bed. The water was divided in an astonishing manner into two parts, extending on each side to the right and to the left like the surface of a wall.

When they had come dry-foot to the place where the boat sank, with the water standing around it on all sides like a wall, they marvelled at the prow and stern and keel raised up on high and the planks turned upside

¹²⁵ *Lega*, which would give a modern English 'Leigh', is a lost site.

deorsum stupentes, prodigium non mediocriter quam studiosissime in-
 spexissent, ecce cernunt in uno^a latere mediam partem digitorum
 uirginum apparentium foris et rati eidem coherentium^b fortiter inter
 eius tabulata et fundum fluuii totum funditus exsiccatum. Itaque in
 parte eadem ubi apparebant digiti dum uir sanctus apposuisset manus
 suas properanter, desiderans nauim eandem sursum erigere, sensit
 illam adeo grauidam uelut si palis confixa fuisset aut radices habuisset
 in terram et omnino eam non ualuit saltem parum de loco 'totis
 uiribus' positis remouere. Tunc ait ad uirginem, 'Appone ^dmanus
 tuas, domina,^d quoniam robustissime sunt.' Statim illa manus impo-
 suit et ita leuiter continuo eleuauit nauiculam ac si penitus omni
 pondere caruisset. Quam protinus introeuntes, puellas uiuas, quas
 perisse putauerant, letas et alacres, saluas et incolumes, sicut seruatas
 per Dei gratiam reppererunt atque Domino omnipotenti pro illarum
 uita, pro sue miserationis modo insolito manifestata potentia, pro
 tantis prodigiis, pro mirabilibus tam immensis, maximas gratias cum
 ingenti exultacione retulerunt.

Adhuc miranda mirabilia precedentia subsecuntur. Postquam enim
 ambo pariter^e nauem ingressi sunt, confestim undique recurrentes
 aque in alueum sustulerunt eam ilico super undas, ut patenter daretur
 intelligi quod uiam siccam per fluuium condiderat Deus omnipotens
 per orationes utrorumque sanctorum, qui ob hoc etiam commouit
 uentos, turbauit aerem, puellas precipitauit in flumine, quatinus in
 ipso earum naufragio et sue uirtutis magnificentiam gloriosius
 demonstraret et precellens ^fmeritum uirginis^f mirabilius declararet.
 Porro puelle, in nauigio domum gaudiose regredientes cum sanctis,
 adorabant et glorificabant et benedicebant omnipotentem Deum, qui
 per merita uenerabilis matris dignatus fuerat tam mirabiliter a
 periculo tanto eas eripere, suffragantibus quoque cum illa monitis
 sanctis et interuentionibus beatissimi uiri ac | reuerentissimi Dei
 famuli Bredonensis heremite.

A, f. 103^r

36. *De puella gentili liberata a morte dupplici et de blasphemo
 puero simili modo dupliciter suscitato.*

Multa quidem alia signa operatus est Dominus per Moduennam in
 Andreseia,^g sed quoniam uirgo Christi secretum iugiter et secessum a
 seculo, soli Deo placere desiderans, pia et humili intentione querebat,
 latere cupiens et laudes humanas fauoresque superuacuos populi

^a imo A ^b choerentium A, coorentium R ^c totis suis uiribus suis A
^d ^d domina, manus tuas A ^e om. A ^f uirginis meritum A

^g Andresciam R

down, examining this marvel with the greatest care. Suddenly they saw on one side half of the virgins' fingers visible outside and clinging strongly to the boat, between the planks and the completely dried-up river bed. When the holy man hastened to place his hands on the spot where the fingers were showing, desiring to lift up the boat, he found that it was as heavy as if it had been fixed down with stakes or had roots in the ground and was unable, with all his might, to move it even a little. Then he said to the virgin, 'Apply your hands, lady, for they are very strong.' She immediately placed her hands on the boat and lifted it as quickly and easily as if it had no weight at all. They immediately entered the boat and found the girls, whom they thought had perished, alive, happy and alert, safe and sound, preserved by the grace of God. With mighty rejoicing they gave deep thanks to Almighty God for their lives, for the power of His mercy manifested so remarkably, for such great wonders, for such tremendous marvels.

Yet more wonders followed the marvels that had gone before. For after they had both entered the boat, suddenly the waters rushed back on all sides into the river-course and bore them along in the waves, so that it should be clearly understood that Almighty God had established the dry path through the river because of the prayers of the two saints, and that He had stirred up the winds, disturbed the air, and cast the girls into the river in order to use their shipwreck to demonstrate His magnificent power more gloriously and declare the virgin's outstanding merit more marvellously. The girls joyfully returned home in the boat with the saints, adoring and glorifying and blessing Almighty God, who had deigned to snatch them from such great danger in such a marvellous way through the merits of the reverend mother, aided also by the holy advice and intercession of that most blessed man and holy servant of God, the hermit of Breedon.

36. *The pagan girl saved from a double death and the blasphemous boy similarly doubly revived.*

The Lord worked many other wonders through Modwenna in Andresey, but, since the virgin of Christ wished to please God alone and always sought, with devout and humble purpose, a place that was secluded and remote from the world, desiring to be in

R, f. 85^r studiose ac sapienter declinans, quantum erat in se | uniuersa satagebat abscondere, preter illa solummodo que propalanda^a hominibus alicuius cause utilis certa necessitas exigebat.^b Quoniam plurima itaque, cooperante Deo, ab illa perpetrata sunt, pauca uero de illis pluribus que saltem celare aut non ualuit aut non debuit, diuina opitulante clementia, pro informationis testimonio peruenire ad humanam noticiam potuerunt. Duo igitur adhuc referam mirabiliora de mirabilibus que ancilla Christi eodem tempore, libris quoque hibernicis attestantibus, affirmatur ad laudem Domini perpetrasse. Erat quedam gentilis puella in regionibus hiis que, audito nomine Moduene et fama comperta miraculorum illius, quadam die, diuino mota instinctu sed et aliquantulo curiositatis inducta, de illa cogitans affectauit uenire cum festinatione ad eam,^c partim cupiens edoceri ab illa fidem Domini nostri^d Iesu Christi et partim uidere desiderans aliqua signa^e et prodigia fieri, que multa Deus omnipotens, sicut a multis acceperat, mirabiliter operabatur per illam. Necdum enim tunc temporis tota Anglia usque ad unguem a paganis erroribus in uniuersis suis regionibus per Christi gratiam fuerat liberata, quia quidam, sed paucissimi, seruiebant usque^f adhuc cultibus idolorum, malignis artibus latenter dediti, studentes sortibus et intendentes sacrificiis demoniorum.

Dum igitur prefata puella uenisset ad uirginem fidemque rectam et sancta opera recte fidei adiacentia studiosissime didicisset, statim, Dei occulto iudicio, subita infirmitate oppressa in lectum decedit et, nondum suscepto sacrosancto baptismo, temporalem hanc uitam iuxta diuinam dispositionem finiuit. Quamobrem pia mater, contristata ineffabiliter pro dampno anime, que, quoniam non esset ei subuentum medicamine salutari, peritura miserabiliter fuerat in eternum, iuxta corpus defuncte sese cum lacrimis in longissimam orationem tradidit, tam diu fundens pro ea obsecrationes ad Dominum quoadusque illam, mirabiliter suscitata a morte, uite pristine atque integre sanitati, diuina clementia exaudiente, reparauit. Quam continuo baptizari precipiens et suam quoque filiam faciens, de sacri lauacri fonte leuauit, que et postmodum multo tempore uiuens sub ea et Christi militiam religiosissime peragens, liberata a morte duplici, dies suos in bono fine et in ^gsancta conuersatione^g assummauit.^h

Eratⁱ iterum quidam puerulus, qui fidem Christi a parentibus

^a populanda A ^b poscebat A ^c cum festinatione add. R ^d om. A
^e signa aliqua A ^f om. A ^g conuersatione sancta A
^h consummauit A ⁱ Ecce A

concealment and turning away human praise and the empty favour of the people, she strove as far as she could to hide everything, except when it was absolutely necessary that something be expounded to men for the sake of the benefit it would bring. Since she did many things with God's aid, a few of them, that she was not able to, or ought not, conceal, have come to human notice as testimony and instruction, through God's mercy. Therefore I will relate two of the more remarkable of the wonders that the handmaid of Christ is said to have performed at that time, to the praise of the Lord, as the Irish books also attest. There was a pagan girl in these parts, who hearing the name of Modwenna and learning of the fame of her miracles, was one day moved by a divine impulse, but also led by a little curiosity, to think about her and then to make the effort to come quickly to her. Partly she wished to be instructed by her in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, partly she desired to see some of the marvellous signs and wonders performed that, as she had heard from many people, Almighty God frequently worked through her. For at that time not every part of England was completely freed from pagan error through the grace of Christ, but some, although only a very few, still served the cult of idols, being given to practising the evils arts in secret, consulting lots, and offering sacrifices to demons.

When the girl had come to the virgin and had carefully learned about the true faith and the holy works that go along with the true faith, suddenly, by a secret judgement of God, she was struck by an illness, took to her bed and, before she had received the sacrament of baptism, finished this earthly life, according to God's will. The holy mother was unspeakably saddened by the loss of this soul, that, because it had not received the saving remedy, was going to perish miserably forever. She gave herself up to tearful prayer by the side of the dead woman, pouring out entreaties to the Lord until God in His mercy heard her and she restored her, miraculously revived from death, to her former life and complete health. She immediately ordered her to be baptized and made her her own daughter, lifting her from the water of that holy bath. Afterwards she lived for a long time under her, most devout in the service of Christ and freed from a double death, ending her days with a good end and in holiness.

There was also a little boy who had been well educated in the Christian faith by his Christian parents but did not maintain it well, for, as soon as he had left infancy, he used to blaspheme the name of

christianis bene suscepit sed, non bene eam custodiens, cum ab infantia fuisset egressus,^a nomen Domini cum despectu et irrisione miserabili impietate blasphemabat. Hunc itaque parentes eius, dum pro cecitate cordis sui frequenter durius increpassent eumque per se ad rectam uiam^b neque emendare neque corrigere aliquatinus ualuisent, necessitate coacti et ualde dolentes pro perduto filio, deducunt eum ad beatam uirginem, exorantes cum lacrimis ut ad Dominum exoraret pro misero, quatinus tantam miseriam a corde eius depelleret et ipsa quoque loquens cum misero uerbo eum cum sanctis precibus ab errore et blasphemia reuocaret. Quod dum illa, utrosque miserans, libenti animo et pia humilitate gessisset, locuta scilicet miserabili puero, monens ut tam graue peccare desineret, fuis quoque ad Dominum precibus ut ab eo auferret malignum spiritum et sua luce obcecationem illius fugaret, mansit tamen miser in contemptu suo, despecto etiam sermone uirginis, quoniam Dominus iccirco noluit primo quidem audire ancillam suam in modico, quia postmodum magis eam honorificare deliberans uolebat gloriosius^c exaudire in summo.

Postquam enim miserandus puer, contempta uirgine, despectis parentibus, furiosus euasit, iusto Dei iudicio improuisa morte confestim prereptus^d est, suffocante eum et exultante, quem sequebatur, diabolo, patre uero et matre qui talem genuerant dolentibus atque plorantibus, pertimescentibus ac dubitantibus exurendum eum esse in 'supplicio sempiterno.'^e Videntes itaque tam subitanee defunctum filium et intelligentes talem Dei uindictam ex contemptu etiam beate uirginis prouenisse, fidem habentes et de pia opinione^f sanctitatis illius presumentes, extemplo regrediuntur ad eam, deferentes secum extincti corpusculum, adhuc deprecantes cum multis lacrimis ut misereatur miserabilibus, adiuuet miseros et consoletur^g miserabilem orbitatem eorum. Quibus illa, intimo affectu compatiens fidemque illorum considerans et mesticiam corde piissimo miserata, de auxilio Christi non hesitans, fudit item pro puero lacrimabiles ac^h prolixas obsecrationes^h ad Dominum, tam diu orationiⁱ procumbens, tam diu intendens gemitibus, usque quo eum suscitatum a morte parentibus uiuentem reddidit, sanatum moribus, castigatum salubriter et ab spiritu maligno blasphemie ex tunc et deinceps per Dei gratiam integerrime liberatum. Qui etiam multis temporibus postea uixit et se esse ueraciter ab utraque morte saluatum sanctis operibus et pia conuersatione monstrauit.

^a ingressus A ^b uitam A ^c om. A ^d preceptus A
^e supplicium eternum R ^f oppone A ^g conseletur R
^{h-h} prolixissimas preces A ⁱ orationes R

the Lord with disrespect, mockery, and wretched impiety. His parents often reproved him most severely for the blindness of his heart but were not able to bring him to the right path by any form of correction. Driven by necessity and grieving deeply for the son they had lost, they brought him to the blessed virgin, tearfully beseeching her to pray to the Lord for that wretch, so that He would drive that misery from his heart, and that she might speak with the unhappy boy and recall him from error and blasphemy by her holy prayers. She took pity on the pair of them and undertook willingly and with devout humility what they asked, speaking to the wretched boy, warning him to give up such a serious sin and pouring out prayers to the Lord, that He should take away the evil spirit from him and chase away this blindness with His light. The boy continued in his contemptuous ways, however, despising the virgin's words, since the Lord was not willing at first to hearken to His handmaid in a little matter, because He planned to honour her more highly afterwards by hearkening to her more gloriously in a great matter.

For, after the wretched boy, showing contempt for the virgin and disrespect for his parents, had gone off in a fury, he was suddenly, by God's just judgement, snatched away by an unexpected death, being destroyed by the exultant devil whose follower he was. The father and mother who had given birth to such a child grieved and lamented, fearing and suspecting that he would burn in everlasting torment. When they saw the sudden death of their son, they understood that this punishment from God was a result of his contempt for the blessed virgin and, filled with faith and presuming on her holy reputation for sanctity, they returned to her at once, bearing with them the little body of the dead boy, begging her with many tears that she should have mercy on the wretched, help the miserable, and offer consolation for their unhappy loss. She had deep sympathy for them, she considered the faith they had shown and her devout heart had mercy on their sorrow, so that, having no doubt in Christ's aid, she poured out long and tearful prayers for the boy, lying prostrate in prayer and giving herself over to groans until she returned him alive to his parents, raised from the dead, cured in his ways, chastised for his own good, and from thenceforth, through God's grace, completely freed from the spirit of blasphemy. He lived for long afterwards and showed by his holy works and devout way of life that he had been truly saved from both kinds of death.

37. *Quam ob causam de Andreseia migrauerit et quod ossa sua illuc redditura prenunciauerit.*

Rursum igitur, propter hec mira et hiis similia, laus humana nequaquam defuit, fauor quoque populorum manentium in regionibus circumquaque immoderatus excreuit et undique confluebant ad uirginem utriusque sexus plurima multitudo, in necessitatibus suis opem illius atque consilium humiliter postulantes, in infirmitatibus suis curationum remedia ex multa gratia quam ei dederat Dominus satis largiter impetrantes. Quam ob causam ancilla Dei, affecta tedio propter frequentiam, quia uidelicet, solitudinem iugiter appetens, frequenter econtra negociis secularium fatigabatur quibus cobeatur plerumque reddere quod uidebatur etiam non debere, quadam die dum ^{a-a}depressa fuisset grauiter^a eorum tumultibus et ad amicum secretum quod semper desiderabat redisset, dixit Athee et Lazare que secum erant in Andreseia,^b nam Editha et Osid in predictis locis manebant que, sicut supra taxauimus, ipsa pridem construxerat in Arderna, dixit ergo eis, 'Conserue mee ac filie carissime, disposui, uolente Deo, uisitare sorores meas in Hibernia et inde iterum ad Lonfortin monasterium remeare, ut uisitem etiam filias meas in Scotia. Sciatis autem quod postmodum uisitabit me Dominus Iesus Christus, quoniam appropinquat exitus meus de hoc corruptibili corpore, ut reddat mihi per ^cgratiam suam^c pro laboribus minimis eternam requiem, coronam immarcescibilis uite, et secundum multitudinem miserationum suarum induet me uestimento salutis et circumdabit me indumento iocunditatis. Mementote itaque mei semper, filie^d dilectissime, et cogitate iugiter que audistis et uidistis in me, et in hoc loco sancto^e manentes concorditer perseuerate constanter in timore Domini, exspectantes cum bona fiducia misericordiam Dei summi. Et nunc commendo uos Deo et Spiritui Sancto, qui uos^f semper in ^grecta uia^g custodiat et mentes uestras atque actiones in beneplacito sue uoluntatis disponat.'

Hec cum illa dixisset, protinus ambe discipule prone in terram ceciderunt ante facies suas coram magistre uestigiis et, multum flentes lacrimasque copiosas^h fundentes, responderunt ad eam et dixerunt ei, 'Nequaquam, domina, non patimur esse hic absque te, tecum uiuemus, tecum moriemur, tecum nisi tibi displicuerit proficiscemur.' Quibus illa respondit, 'Non fiet ita, filiule, sed cum gratia Dei manete hic et ossa mea, cum ossibus uestris requietura in loco isto,

^{a-a} grauiter depressa fuisset *A* ^b Andreseia MSS ^{c-c} suam gratiam *A*
^d om. *A* ^e om. *A* ^f om. *A* ^{g-g} rectam uiam *R* ^h om. *A*

37. *Why she left Andresey and her prophecy that her bones
would return there.*

Because of these miracles and others like them, praise for her was never lacking, her standing among the people of the surrounding regions grew enormously and huge crowds of both sexes came flooding in to the virgin from all around, humbly begging her aid and counsel in their needs, seeking the remedy of a cure in their sickness, from the great grace with which God had so largely endowed her. The handmaid of God was very oppressed by these crowds, for, although she always desired solitude, she was often, on the contrary, worn down by worldly business, in which she was forced to be involved even though she did not consider it her duty. One day, when she had been heavily burdened by these disturbances and had returned to the beloved hermitage that she always held so dear, she said to Athea and Lazara, who were with her in Andresey, for Eadgyth and Osgyth, as has already been mentioned, remained in the places that she had constructed in Arden, 'Fellow servants and dearest daughters, I have decided, if God wills it, to visit my sisters in Ireland and then to go back again to the monastery of Luncarty, to visit my daughters in Scotland also. Know that afterwards, however, the Lord Jesus Christ will visit me, for the time of my departure from this corruptible body is approaching, and He will give me, in return for these trivial labours, eternal rest, the crown of imperishable life, and, according to the multitude of His mercies, will clothe me with the garment of salvation and put around me the apparel of joy. Remember me always, dearest daughters, and think continually of what you have heard and what you have seen in me, and, remaining in this holy place, persevere in fear of the Lord in concord and constancy, awaiting with complete confidence the mercy of God most high. And now I commend you to God and to the Holy Spirit, who may always guard you in the right path and dispose your minds and your deeds according to His good will.'

When she had said this, her two disciples at once fell prostrate to the ground, their faces before her feet, and, grieving greatly and pouring out floods of tears, they replied to her, saying, 'By no means, mistress, we could not bear to be here without you, we will live with you, we will die with you, and, unless it displeases you, we will go along with you.' She answered them, 'It will not be so, daughters, but remain here with God's grace and await with joy and cheerfulness my

A, f. 104^rR, f. 85^v

gaudentes et hilares exspectate. Nam, ubicumque finis uite mee temporalis acciderit, meum hic esse sepeliendum corpusculum mihi Dominus iuxta sue uoluntatis prouidentiam demonstrauit.' Mitigatis itaque aliquantulum fletibus in hoc uerbo, talique auspicio uaticinii cum ingenti admiratione suscepto, consolante utreque hilariter dixerunt ad eam, 'Dulcissima domina, si ita esse potuerit, magnum donum donasti^a nobis.' At illa, 'Vt et uos', inquit, 'sciatis quod remota dubietate sic erit, oremus ad Dominum | communiter quadraginta hiis diebus et quadraginta noctibus et quod sibi placitum fuerit uobis quoque adaperiat Dominus Iesus Christus.' Cum igitur hoc tanto spatio fuisset oratum, ecce angelus Domini post quadragesimum diem apparuit Athee et Lazare, dicens ad illas, 'Confortamini in Domino, manete in loco hoc, constantes estote in timore Domini quia profecto | ita eueniet quemadmodum Moduenna predixit.' Hiis ita gestis et prenuntiatis, confortatas ab angelo benedixit eas ancilla Christi et commendauit Domino comminansque eis ne cui dicerent quod audierant quamdiu ipsa uiueret in hac uita. Suscepit ab eis licentiam et absque prolongatione transfretata est in Hiberniam ubi, uisitatis et ordinatis diuineque gratie commendatis monasteriis omnibus que ibidem ante construxerat, post dies aliquot, sicut prius decreuerat, ut sua quoque cetera oratoria uistaret, Deo prosperante iter illius, retransnauigare accelerauit in Scotiam. Appropinquabat enim exitus eius de corpore, quem Dominus ei suo spiritu reuelaret,^b et iccirco properabat sua cuncta sapienter et caute disponere, quatinus post mortem suam dimitteret uniuersa in pace.

38. *Quomodo rex Conagal cum optimatibus suis postulauerit uirginem de differendo termino mortis eius et qualiter ipsa uirgo, eandem dilacionem excusans, cum Petro et Paulo se inuitantibus ad Christum migrauerit.*

Beatissima igitur ancilla Dei omnipotentis Moduenna, cum 'iam esset' bene prouecte etatis, centum circiter ac triginta trium annorum, apud Lonfortin commanens sororesque cenobii ad fastigia perfectionis erudiens, exspectabat cum gaudio longe ante prescitum diem ultimum mortalis uite, post tantos agones, post tam immensos labores perceptura diu desideratum promissum Domini, regales nuptias, iungi sponso incorruptibili, premium cursus in stadio, brauium remunerationis sempiternae. Decidit itaque Christi uirgo in egritudine

^a dedisti A^b reuelarat R^c esset iam A

bones, which will rest in this place alongside your bones. For, wherever the end of my earthly life should occur, the Lord has revealed to me, according to His providential will, that my body is to be hurried here.' Their grief was somewhat lessened by these words and they heard the prophecy with great wonder. 'Sweet mistress,' they both said to her, consoled and happy, 'if so it will be, you have given us a great gift.' She said, 'So that you may know that it is so without a doubt, let us pray together to the Lord for forty days and forty nights, and the Lord Jesus Christ will reveal to you too what will be His pleasure.' When they had prayed for that period of time, behold, after the fortieth day the angel of the Lord appeared to Athea and Lazara, saying to them, 'Be comforted in the Lord, remain in this place, be constant in fear of the Lord, for certainly it will happen as Modwenna predicted.' When all this had been done and foretold, they drew much comfort from the angel. Then the handmaid of Christ blessed them and commended them to the Lord, warning them, while she still lived on earth, not to say anything to anyone about what they had heard. With their agreement she crossed without further delay to Ireland and visited, ordered, and commended to the divine grace all the monasteries that she had previously built there. After a few days, as she had already decided, she hastened to sail back to Scotland to visit her other oratories, God blessing her journey. For the time of her departure from the body was approaching, as God had revealed to her by His spirit, and hence she hurried to order all her affairs wisely and prudently, so that she might leave everything in peace after her death.

38. How king Conagal and his magnates asked the virgin to postpone the day of her death and how she excused any such postponement and, summoned by Peter and Paul, went to be with Christ.

Modwenna, the blessed handmaid of God, was now of advanced age, being around 133 years old, and she remained at Luncarty, instructing the sisters of the monastery to the highest point of perfection and awaiting with joy the long foretold final day of her earthly life, ready to receive, after so many struggles and such immense efforts, the long desired promise of the Lord, union with an incorruptible spouse, the prize for running the race, the reward of eternal recompense. The virgin of Christ fell sick and her exterior person decayed and grew

et exterior homo eius morti approximans de die in diem magis magisque corrumpebatur et debilitabatur, sed iugiter homo interior per dies singulos in augmentum proficiens magis magisque renouabatur in Domino et^a confortabatur. Venerant autem ad uisitandam eam, audita infirmitate illius, multi de Anglia, multi de Hibernia, quam plurimi uero de Scotia, inter quos Athea quoque et Osid et Editha, qui omnes communiter, presentiam tante matris metuentes amittere, pietate ac desiderio dolebant et flebant, uerumptamen scientes illam ituram ad gaudia et cum Christo in eternum uicturam, de meritis atque suffragiis orature pro illis ad Dominum suscepto solatio fideli exultatione confidebant.

Igitur ^bappropinquante iam^b obitu et die nouissimo sancte, ^cuenit etiam uisitare eam,^c deposito suppliciter regali fastigio, cognatus ipsius rex Scotie Conagal, et uenerunt cum eo pariter nominatissimi optimates illius, Rotheri scilicet et Chobo et Bollan et Choili multique cum eis maiores nati in populo cum cetera multitudine, qui omnes, si posset fieri, cupiebant uidere illam aut certe, si hoc non posset, saltem uenientes ad monasterium desiderabant uniuersi ab illa^d benedictionem suscipere. Itaque cum ad cenobium peruenissent sed nequaquam potuissent loqui ad eam, iam quippe nimia et morti proxima debilitate pregrauatam, rex et barones locuti sunt Ronan episcopo, germano beate uirginis, ponentes hec uerba in ore illius,^e deprecantes supplicatione humillima, ut hanc eorum ad ipsam legationem faceret, et tales ad^f aures eius ex parte illorum obsecrationes deferret:

‘Ego rex Conagal, cognatus tuus ex parte matris mee, et optimates nobilissimi qui mecum sunt, obsecramus te, domina, propter consanguinitatem nostram et germanitatem quam habemus et in carne et in Deo, quatinus ^gsaltem hoc uno^g anno nobiscum maneat, neque nos, per istud tantilli temporis spatium quod rogamus, indigentes tue custodie uelut orphanos ac desolatos relinquant. Credimus namque et scimus quia quecumque dominum Deum tuum rogaueris, sine dubio ab illo per omnia impetrabis. Nos autem quanticumque hic sumus et nobiscum similiter populus Scotie uniuersus siue nobiles siue ignobiles, deprecamur te, domina et mater nostra, communi uoce omnium ut nobis filiis ac seruis tuis hanc petitionem condones. Et nos | quidem, quicumque de nobis sunt principes qualescunque principatum tenentes, pro amore Dei et uite tue, donamus singuli ancillam Domino ac libertati^h restituimus, et omnis uir de toto populo qui potest armatus incedere uoluntario animo tradet Deo et tibi uaccam optimam etatis integre, de qua pecunia collecta simul et in unum congregata possis multis egentibus secundum uelle tuum elemosinas erogare.’

ever weaker from day to day as death drew near, but her inner person, flourishing continually day by day, was ever renewed and comforted in the Lord. When they heard of her illness, many came to visit her from England, many from Ireland, a very large number from Scotland. Among them were Athea, Osgyth, and Eadgyth, who all sorrowed and wept from devotion and longing, fearing to lose the presence of such a great mother, but, knowing that she was going to joy and to live with Christ for ever, they trusted in pious exultation that they could draw solace from her merits and her intercession when she prayed for them to the Lord.

As the saint's death and last day drew near, there came to visit her her kinsman, Conagal, king of Scotland, humbly setting aside all his royal rank, and with him came also his most notable magnates, Rotheri, Chobo, Bollan, and Choili, and many of the chief men with them, with a great crowd of others, all wishing to see her, if they could, or, if they could not, at least to come to the monastery and receive a blessing from her. When they had come to the monastery but had not been able to speak with her, for she was oppressed with a great weakness and nigh to death, the king and the barons spoke to bishop Ronan, the brother of the blessed virgin, placing these words in his mouth and humbly begging him to act as their envoy to her and bring these prayers to her ears on their behalf:

'I, king Conagal, your relative on my mother's side, and the magnates with me, beg you, lady, on account of our kinship and the relationship we have both in the flesh and in God, that you will remain with us at least this one year and, during that short period of time we request, not leave us lacking your care like desolate orphans. For we believe and know that whatever you ask of the lord God, without a doubt you will obtain from Him in every respect. We, as many of us as are here, and the whole Scottish people with us, noble and commoner, implore you, our lady and mother, by the common voice of us all, to grant this petition to us, your children and servants. Each of us who is a great lord or holds a lordship will give a female servant to the Lord and restore her to liberty and every man of the whole people who has the right to bear arms will present you with a fine cow of full age, and when this property has been assembled and brought together, you will be able to bestow alms on many poor people just as you wish.'

^a om. R ^{b-b} iam appropinquante A ^{c-c} venit visitare eam etiam A
^d ea A ^e eius A ^f om. A ^{g-g} uno saltem hoc A ^h libertatem R

Cum igitur Ronan episcopus ex parte illorum^a hanc^b legationem peregrisset, per eundem pia uirgo remandauit hec uerba, ita eis uniuersis respondens: 'Fratres mei ac filii dilectissimi, benedicti uos a Domino sitis, qui, pompa seculari ac dignitate deposita, ad me infirmam et humilem uisitandam uenistis. Sed si pridie aut nudius tercius contigisset uenisse^c uos, forsitan Dominus sua pietate concessisset ut uestra hec postulatio preualere aliquatenus potuisset. Hodie autem non ualeo uestre petitioni adquiescere, quoniam iam preuenerunt uos uenire ad me uenerabiles ualde hospites Petrus et Paulus, beati et summi apostoli, qui missi sunt a Domino tollere animam meam et iuxta mandatum eius in paradisum portare. Hii modo audiunt sermones nostros et hos uideo, album lintheamen tenentes in manibus suis pulcrum nimis et ornatu mirabili auro intextum, cum quibus hinc me oportet exire qua hora preceperint ad eum qui misit illos, dominum scilicet meum ac saluatorem Iesum Christum. Donet autem Dominus uestro aduentui bonam mercedem et quod obtulistis donare Deo prompto animo pro uita mea unusquisque uestrum donet hoc Domino pro sua anima propria. Benedictionem uero meam, quam desiderare uos scio et propter quam adipiscendam^d ad mei uisitationem uenire^d uoluistis, proculdubio, Domino ac Deo nostro propiciante, habebitis. Benedicti itaque sitis a Domino, qui cuncta creauit, qui fecit celum^e et terram^e et mare et omnia que in eis sunt, cum uxoribus et liberis, cum filiabus et filiis, cum famulis et ancillis, cum uniuersis ad uos pertinentibus, sitis in omnibus et per omnia Dei benedictione ditati. Porro melotem et pelliciam meam, meliores nimirum uestibus sericis, pro thesauro uestris relinquo finibus, que, quamdiu uobiscum seruare poteritis, uictoria utique contra inimicos proueniet et cuncta prospera, uolente Deo, euenient uobis. Si gentes extere insurgere in uos conate fuerint et uastare uoluerint ac depopulari terminos uestros, tunc quidem, necessitate cogente, pugnare contra hos ac illis resistere uobis licebit et aduersus insidiantium machinas, Deo semper auxiliante, preualebitis. Alienas autem gentes, contenti uestris, extra terminos uestros nolite aliquando bellantes inuadere, ne forte ira Domini ueniat super uos, et cum iniuste^f usurpatis illicita, iusto Dei iudicio perdatis etiam que^g ante fuerant^g concessa. De mea uero absentia^h ne contristemini,^h magis autem gaudete,ⁱ quia uidelicet, cum exiero de hoc seculo, plus potero de hiis que uobis proficiant apud Dominum impetrare. Pectinem meum ligneum, ligonem quoque

^a omnium A ^b ac A ^c aduenisse A ^{d d} me uisitare A
^{e e} om. R ^f iuste A ^{g g} fuerant ante A ^{h h} nolite contristari A ⁱ gaudet A

When bishop Ronan had performed this mission on their behalf, the devout virgin sent a message back through him, in these words: 'My dearest brothers and sons, may you be blessed by the Lord, you who have put away all worldly pomp and dignity and come to visit me, sick and lowly as I am. If you had happened to come yesterday, however, or the day before, perhaps the Lord in His goodness would have granted that your petition could have prevailed. Today, however, I am not able to grant your petition, since those venerable hosts, St Peter and St Paul, the chiefs of the apostles, have anticipated you in coming to me, sent by the Lord to bear away my soul and, according to His command, carry it to heaven. They are now listening to our speech and I see them, holding in their hands a white cloth, very beautiful and marvellously decorated with woven gold, and, at the hour that they ordain, I must go hence with them to Him who sent them, my lord and saviour Jesus Christ. May the Lord give your coming a good reward and let each of you give to the Lord for his own soul that which you willingly offered to give to God for my life. Without a doubt, through the favour of our Lord and God, you will have my blessing, that I know you desire, and to obtain which you wanted to come to visit me. May you be blessed by the Lord, who created all things, who made the heaven and the earth and the sea and everything in them, may you be enriched by God's blessing in all things, you and your wives and your children, your daughters and your sons, your servants and handmaids and all that belongs to you. Furthermore, I bequeath to your region as a treasure my sheepskin and hide garments, far better than clothes of silk. As long as you keep them in your possession, victory against your enemies will always be yours and everything, by God's will, will turn out fortunately for you. If foreign peoples attempt to attack you and wish to devastate and ravage your land, then indeed, driven by necessity, you may fight against them and resist them and, always with God's help, you will overcome the plots of those who plan to waylay you. Be content with your own and do not undertake warlike invasions of other peoples beyond your borders, lest perhaps the wrath of God fall on you and, when you are unjustly usurping what is not rightfully yours, you should lose, by God's just judgement, also what was previously granted to you. Do not grieve at my absence but rather rejoice, for, when I leave this world, I will be able to obtain from the Lord more of those things that are of profit to you. My wooden rake, mattock, and hoe, and the other tools with which I

et sarculum ceteraque utensilia mea in quibus operata sum, concedo Hibernicis conseruanda in Cellis Cliuii monasterio, que quidem et ipsis nichilominus proficient et habebunt ea, ossibus cariora eburneis et preciosiora super aurum et topazion. Nam reliquie corporis mei cum baculo meo, disponente Deo, in terram aliam deportabuntur.⁷

Hec cum dixisset et illi audissent responsa matris atque mandata per renuniantem pontificem, continuo, armis proiectis pre dolore ac pietate, fletu maximo uniuersi planxerunt, tenentes tamen promissum quod fecerat, se posse ab illa melius adiuuari post mortem, consolatione suscepta et ab episcopo confortati, partim tristes, partim alacres, resumptis iterum armaturis, ad sedes proprias cum benedictione beate uirginis recesserunt. Dicta uero, que per prophetiam prenuntiauerat, omnino uniuersa sicut predixit temporibus seriatim subsequenter manifeste postea declarata sunt. Porro autem eadem die, conuocatis ad se uniuersis sororibus, paucis eas | commemorans, dixit ad illas: 'Vado ad Dominum, sorores mee ac filie | karissime,^a et commendo uos Spiritui Sancto, qui uos Christo Iesu in eternum coniungi faciat, cuius uos unctio docens intus^b de omnibus ad uitam indeficientem perducatur. Rememoramini sedulo precepta uite et ne obliuiscamini uerba et exempla que audistis ac didicistis in me; custodite libenter mandata et perseuerate constanter in disciplina timoris Domini, ut exspectetis fiducialiter gaudium inenarrabile et mercedem immarcessibilem Domini et saluatoris, incorruptibilis et incomparabilis sponsi uestri. Constituo autem uobis abbatissam in loco mei Biam filiam Aillelle, cui precipio ex parte Dei ut accipiat curam uestri, cui^c uos oportet, ut uelit, per omnia et in omnibus sicut mihi, in custodia timoris Domini et uigiliis excubiarum contra nocturnas insidias, fidei deuotione obedire. Ista suo functa officio, preerit uobis Dobindui filia Mothaii et post illam preficietur huic cenobio Derlaisra^d quoque filia Daisremi.¹²⁶ Has statuit pia mater et nominauit per spiritum, et iste postea,^e sicut ipsa predixerat, secutis temporibus in regimen monasterii sibi ordine successerunt.^f Cunctis itaque dolore ac pietate plorantibus, et dispositis uniuersis suo monasterio pertinentibus, et multis predictis propheticis, que postea suis temporibus sicut prenuntiauerat euenerunt, cum iam deportata^g in oratorium^h suum

^a dilectissime *A* ^b *om. A* ^c et *add. A* ^d Derlaisra *R* ^e post
eam *A* ^f suo cesserunt *A* ^g deporta *A* ^h oratarium *A*

¹²⁶ Bia, Indiu, and Derlasre are mentioned as successors of Darerca—as abbesses of Killeevy, of course—in the Brussels Life. The corruption of Indiu to Dognidiu (possibly a hypocoristic form) already occurs in Conchubranus.

worked, I grant to the Irish, to be preserved in the monastery of Killevy. They will be no less a profit to them and they will have them, dearer than ivory bones and more precious than gold or topaz. For the remains of my body, along with my staff, will, by God's will, be carried into another country.'

When she had said this and they had heard her replies and commands as reported back by the bishop, they at once all threw down their weapons, in sorrow and devotion, and grieved with great weeping. Nevertheless, they held onto the promise she had made, that they would be helped by her even more after death. Consoled and comforted by the bishop, partly sad and partly happy, they took up their weapons and returned to their own homes with the blessing of the blessed virgin. The predictions that she had made by the gift of prophecy were all later openly fulfilled in every detail in the course of time. Then, that same day, she summoned all the sisters together, recalling them in a few words and saying to them, 'I am going to the Lord, my dearest sisters and daughters, and I commend you to the Holy Spirit. May He cause you to be united with Christ Jesus forever and lead you to unfailing life, anointing you inwardly and instructing you in all things. Carefully remember the rules of life and do not forget the words you have heard and the example you have learned from me. Keep the commandments willingly and persevere with constancy in the discipline of the fear of the Lord, so that you may await with confidence the inexpressible joy and the undying reward of our Lord and saviour, our incorruptible and incomparable spouse. In my place as abbess over you I appoint Bia, daughter of Ailella, whom I command, on behalf of God, to accept charge of you. You must obey her willingly just like me, with loyal devotion, in all things, maintaining fear of the Lord and careful watch against the attacks of the night. After her office is finished, Dobindui, daughter of Mothaius, will have charge of you and after her Derlaisra, daughter of Daisremi, will govern this monastery.'¹²⁶ The holy mother ordained these and named them through the spirit and afterwards, just as she had predicted, they succeeded each other over the course of time in the government of the monastery. They all grieved from sorrow and devotion, while everything concerning the monastery was arranged and she made many prophetic announcements, that afterwards came to pass in due course as she had predicted. When she had been carried into her oratory, she strengthened herself for her departure by receiving the body and blood of the Lord, and then,

exitum dominici corporis et sanguinis perceptione munisset suasque ouiculas pastori omnium summa deuotione commendasset, comitantibus eisdem hospitibus qui in obuiam ei processerant, die tertio nonas iulii feliciter migravit ad Dominum, septimo scilicet a natali Petri et Pauli beatorum apostolorum, cum quibus exiit cum magno gaudio ad regna celestia, regnatura cum Christo domino in secula seculorum. Amen.^a

^bExplicit uita sancte Modwenne uirginis. Incipit tractatus de miraculis eius que contigerunt post obitum eius.^b

39. *Quomodo sancta post mortem apparuit Thamnati uirgini et qualiter ipsa Thamnatis iuxta predictum eius in die octaua^c ad Christum transierit.*

Et factum est, in die tertio postquam defuncta est beatissima uirgo Moduenna, quedam soror, Thamnatis nomine, fortuitu post completorium pro causa aliqua egressa est de dormitorio feminarum. Que, cum uenisset ad quendam locum ubi erat ^dsancta crux,^d ad quam dum uiueret solita fuerat ancilla Dei Moduenna orare, uidit eam ibi, quasi uiuentem corporali specie, astantem in obsecrationibus, uelut extendentem^e manus suas ad celum, et ante ymaginem saluatoris deprecantem suppliciter eundem Deum ac Dominum Iesum Christum. Quam dum tremefacta aspiceret^f ac diligenter intuita uere ipsam esse indubitanter agnosceret, sumens fiduciam, prona cecidit ad eius uestigia, dicens ad illam, 'Domina mater, quid me iubes facere?' Cui protinus illa respondit, 'Vade', inquires, 'et congrega sorores meas in crastino quando fuerit tempus loquendi et dices ad eas, "Hec | mandat uobis^g mater uestra: Nolite, filie, putare me mortuam, uiuo enim uere cum Domino Christo Iesu, et audiui ex uobis aliquas loquentes ad inuicem in^h incompetentibus horis, nec tenentes sanctum silentium sicut oportuit. An excidit uobis quod attestificatur propheta, cultus iusticie silentium est?¹²⁷ Adhuc corpus meum inter uos inhumatum iacet et uos tam citoⁱ obliuiscimini doctrine Dei ac regularis obseruantie, cuius terminos non uobis expedit aliquatenus transgrediendo preterire? Nolite, filiole, nolite contempnere minima, ne forte paulatim per minorum negligentiam offendentes, decidatis—quod absit—in

A, f. 105^v

^a capitula for chapters 39 and following at this point in A ^{b-b} om. A
^c octauo A ^{d-d} crux sancta A ^e extendentes R ^f conspiceret A
^g om. A ^h om. A ⁱ scito A

commending her sheep to the pastor of all with great devotion, in the company of those guests who had come to meet her, she went happily to the Lord on 5 July, the seventh day after the feast of St Peter and St Paul, the blessed apostles, with whom she went with great joy to the heavenly kingdom, to reign with Christ the Lord for ever and ever. Amen.

Here ends the Life of St Modwenna the virgin. Here begins the treatise about the miracles which happened after her death.

39. How the saint appeared after her death to the virgin Thamnatis and how, according to her prophecy, Thamnatis went to be with Christ on the eighth day following.

On the third day after the blessed virgin Modwenna died, one of the sisters, called Thamnatis, happened to go out of the women's dormitory for some reason after compline. When she reached a certain spot, where there was a holy cross, at which the handmaid of God, Modwenna, used to pray when she was alive, she saw her there, as if in her living bodily form, standing in prayer, stretching out her hands to heaven and humbly beseeching the God and Lord, Jesus Christ, before an image of that same saviour. When she had looked in trembling and, carefully regarding her, had ascertained without a doubt that it was truly she, she fell prostrate at her feet, saying to her, 'Mistress, mother, what do you command me to do?' She at once replied, 'Tomorrow, when the time allowed for speaking arrives, gather together my sisters and say to them, "This is what your mother commands to you: do not, my daughters, consider that I am dead, for I truly live with our Lord Jesus Christ, and I have heard some of you speaking together at times when it is not permitted, not maintaining holy silence as you should. Have you forgotten the testimony of the prophet, "The effect of righteousness shall be quietness"?¹²⁷ My body still lies unburied among you and have you forgotten so quickly the teachings of God and of monastic observance, whose boundaries it is not right for you to transgress in the least? Do not, my daughters, do not despise these small things, lest perhaps by offending in your neglect of small things you fall—God forbid—into greater.'" To Thamnatis she said, 'You, daughter,

¹²⁷ Isa. 32: 17.

maiora.””^a Ad ipsam Thamnatem ait, ‘Tu autem, filia, uade et prepara diligentissime iter tuum, quoniam, hiis septem diebus transactis, liberaberis a corpore et perceptura bonum premium in octauo uenies ad me. Hoc erit signum sororibus tuis ut non hesitant credere quia uere tibi locuta sum.’

Hiis dictis, cepit ire usque ad fontem cenobii in quo, sicut predictum est, noctibus hiemis se balneare solebat, sequente autem^b eam et deducente Thamnate, ibique cum stetisset paululum euauit ab oculis eius, quasi spiritus sursum uersus tendens et uelut a terra euolando in celum. Thamnatis uero in sponsione quam audierat ualde congaudens et uerba mandati quod a matre acceperat cum omni studio in cogitatione reminiscens, recurrit quam tocus in oratorium, totam ibi noctem studiosa in oratione peruigilans et, ut sibi iniunctam legationem perficeret, diem crastinum cum desiderio, qui tardare sibi uidebatur, exspectans. Tandem itaque, illucente^c iam^d crastino, cum tempus congruum locutionis aduenisset, congregauit, ut iussa fuerat, cunctas sorores simul, quibus exposuit uisionem quam uiderat et uerba enarrauit per ordinem uniuersa omnino sicut audierat. Signum etiam de transitu suo post diem septimum enuntiauit eis, quatinus postmodum, dum ita euenire uiderent, credere uniuersis que dixerat nullatenus dubitare potuissent. Que omnia cum audissent, sorores, uehementer exterite, omnes in terram prostrate sunt, implorantes suppliciter immensam clementiam Dei summi, ne umquam amitterent, propter peccata sua, filie prouidentiam, patrocinium, defensionem atque suffragium uiuentis cum Domino tam uenerabilis matris. Cumque signo pulsato, ut assolet, uniuerse communiter ab oratione surrexissent, ille que sese culpabiles sentiebant prosternuntur^e iterum coram uestigiis ceterarum, negligentiam fracti silentii per se ipsas lacrimabiliter^f confitentes, exorantes humiliter ab omnibus pro se orari et de cetero emendationem omnimodam fideli deuocione^g satisfaciendo pollicentes. Completis denique septem diebus quos^h Moduenna predixerat, Thamnatis uirgo, cum exitum suum sacra communione munisset, introiuit octaua die in cubiculum suum, ualedicens cunctis sororibus ibique lacrimantibus omnibus pro eius absentia, sed et magis congaudentibus pro itineris duce, super lectulum colligens pedes suos, erectis in celum manibus, inter uerba orationis ultimum efflauit spiritum, pergens ad magistram

^a etiam add. A ^b om. A ^c illucescente A ^d die A
^e sternuntur A ^f lacrimabiliter A ^g deuocionem A ^h quas A

however, go and prepare most carefully for your journey, for, after seven days, you will be freed from the body and will come to me on the eighth day to receive the good prize. This will be a sign to your sisters that they should not hesitate to believe that I have truly spoken to you.'

When she had said this, she went to the monastery's spring, where, as has been mentioned, she used to bathe on winter nights, with Thamnatis following and escorting her. After she had stood there a moment, she vanished from her view, like a spirit going aloft by flying from earth to heaven. Thamnatis was delighted at the promise she had heard and carefully went over in her mind the words of the command that she had received from the mother. Quickly she ran back to the oratory and spent the whole night there awake in watchful prayer, eagerly awaiting the next day, which seemed to her to be slow in coming, so that she could fulfil the mission enjoined on her. At last the next day dawned and, when the proper time for speaking had arrived, she gathered together all the sisters, as she had been commanded, and described the vision she had seen and recounted in order all the words that she had heard. She also told them about the sign of her departure after seven days, so that subsequently, when they saw that it had happened so, they would not be able to have any doubt in believing all she had said. When they heard all this the sisters were deeply afraid and all threw themselves prostrate on the ground, humbly begging the vast clemency of God that they, the daughters, should never lose, on account of their sins, the care, patronage, protection, and help of such a venerable mother, living with the Lord. When the signal was given, as usual, and they all arose together from prayer, those who felt themselves guilty prostrated themselves again at the feet of the others, tearfully confessing that they had carelessly broken silence, humbly begging that everyone would pray for them and promising that henceforth they would change their behaviour and make amends with faithful devotion. When the seven days that Modwenna had predicted had been completed, the virgin Thamnatis, after fortifying her departure with holy communion, entered her cell on the eighth day, bidding farewell to all the sisters there, who wept for her loss but rejoiced more over the leader on the journey. She placed her feet on the bed, lifted her hands up to heaven and breathed out her spirit amidst words of prayer, the disciple going to the mistress, as had

discipula, sicut "fuerat dictum" ei, qua preuia letantibus quoque angelis transiuit cum gaudio ad Dominum Iesum Christum.

40. *Qualiter contenderint de corpore sancte Hybernenses et Scoti et Anglici et quanto miraculo in Andreseiam translata sit.*

Post uenerabilem dormitionem beatissime ac gloriosissime ancille Domini Moduenne, Cholunchillus, episcopus Scotie, supreme auctoritatis homo, uenit ad exequias uirginis, qui uidelicet in eius transitu et missas sancte secundum consuetudinem faceret et cum Ronan, fratre ipsius, et ceteris episcopis^b simulque cum clero et populo, sicut tantam matrem decebat, celebratione solempni officium debitum iuxta morem ecclesiasticum exhiberet. Quod et fecerunt uniuersi pariter cum summo tripudio, quia nimirum et angeli sancti Dei multo solempnius eius^c animam commendabant in celo. Huius itaque preciosum corpusculum dum honorifice composuissent in feretro peractisque officiis, iam tempus | exigeret ut ad sepulturam ex more uenerabiliter^d duceretur, ecce turba multa, que conuenerat ad eius obitum de Hibernia, Scotia et Anglia congregata, uidelicet apud Lonfortin monasterium ubi defuncta est. Ceperunt fortiter altercando resistere, facta scilicet contentione non modica inter illos et pene manibus usque ad arma iniectis, dissidentes sese inuicem et uelut ratione probantes contra alterutros qui eorum deberent rectius thesaurum istum tam inestimabilem possidere. Qui dum per se ipsos pacificari sibi nullo modo ualuisent,^e effundere autem sanguinem suum mutuo reuocati timore Domini et sancte matris reuerentia metuissent, cognoscentes Cholunchillum pontificem maioris esse, supra ceteros coepiscopos, et auctoritatis^f iuris et meriti, diuino instinctu commoniti uenerunt ad eum uniuersi communiter postulantes ab eo, ut eis tribueret rectum consilium et inter eos iudicaret^g iustum iudicium.^g Dixerunt igitur Hibernenses coram eo, 'Domine,' inquirunt, 'hec domina contribulis nostra est atque de Hibernia nata et iccirco rectum putamus ut habeamus eam et uolumus reducere saltem glebam corporis ad propriam patriam.' Scottici uero e contrario responderunt, 'Nequaquam,' inquirunt, 'domine, quoniam scilicet^h de 'nostro genere' est et ad nos uenit ideoque iustius debetⁱ remanere nobiscum^j quia, quod est multo amplius, finem etiam | uite sue,^k Deo ita disponente, compleuit 'inter nos.'^l Porro autem econtra etiam Anglici partes suas tali ratione^m firmabant: 'Etiam apud nos fuit, etiam

A, f. 106^r

R, f. 86^v

^a " fuerat dictum fuerat A ^b coepiscopis A ^c om. A ^d mirabiliter A
^e potuissent A ^f auctoritate A ^g iudicium iustum A ^h et add. A

been foretold to her, and, with her going before and the angels too rejoicing, she went with joy to our Lord Jesus Christ.

40. How the Irish, Scots, and English quarrelled over the saint's body and the great miracle that brought her to Andreseý.

After the passing away of the most blessed and glorious handmaid of the Lord, Modwenna, Columbcille, bishop of Scotland, a man of the highest authority, came for the funeral of the virgin, and celebrated masses for the saint at her departure in the usual way and also, along with Ronan, her brother, and the other bishops, and all the clergy and people too, conducted the solemn ceremony of the proper office according to ecclesiastical custom, as befitted such a great mother. They performed this together with the greatest joy, since God's holy angels were commending her soul much more solemnly in heaven. When they had placed her precious little body reverently in the coffin and completed the service, the time now came when it was necessary for her to be buried with reverence in the customary way. Behold, a great crowd had gathered at her death, from Ireland, Scotland, and England, assembled at the monastery of Luncarty where she died. They began to oppose each other stridently, quarrelling fiercely among themselves, almost to the point of reaching for their weapons, disagreeing and trying to prove by argument against the others who of them ought more justly possess this priceless treasure. When they were unable in any way to make peace among themselves but feared to shed each other's blood, restrained by fear of the Lord and reverence for the holy mother, since they knew that Columbcille was of greater legal authority and of greater merit than his fellow bishops, they all came to him, inspired by God, begging him to give them right counsel and deliver a just judgement between them. The Irish said to him, 'Lord, this lady is a fellow countryman of ours and born in Ireland and hence we think it right that we should have her and we wish to bring back at least her corpse to her own country.' The Scots countered them, replying, 'No, lord, for she is of our stock and came to us and hence should more justly remain with us, since, what is much more, she finished her life, as God ordained, amongst us.' The English, on the other hand, advanced their claims with the following arguments:

¹ genere nostro A ² nobiscum manere A ³ inter nos add. A
⁴ om. A ⁵ ratiocinatione A

apud nos uixit, apud nos quoque oratoria fabricata est, loca nostra dilexit plurimum, in Arderna nobiscum habitauit in solitudine ac demum, relictis nobis, in loco apud nos quem nuncupauit Andreseiam septem annis reclusa remansit.^c Ad hec statim Athea uirgo, procedens in medium, Cholunchilli genibus inclinata, ipsa etiam coram iudice huiuscemodi assertionem subiunxit:

‘Queso te, domine, pro caritate Dei, ut pacienter audias ancillam tuam, spero enim uere in Domino quod, auditis sermonibus meis, iudicabis cum iustitia causam nostram. Ego mansi apud hanc uirginem ab infantia mea et uidi eam multa mirabilia facere et audiui eam quemadmodum eueniebant postea uentura innumerabilia prenuntiare. Dumque cum illa essemus, ego et Lazara soror mea, in loco quem Andreseiam^d appellauit et, causa uitandi fauorem atque frequentiam conuenientium propter miracula, iam inde recedere sententia irrefragabili decreuisset, commendauit nobis duabus custodire^e locum eundem, quem apprime dilexerat, et dixit nobis secretius Deum sibi monstrasse corpus suum ibi sepeliendum post mortem et promisit nobis ossa sua ibi^f requietura indubitabiliter cum ossibus nostris. Et, ut certas nos redderet de pollicitatione premissa, imperauit nobis secum pariter orare ad Dominum, quatinus ipse et nobis ostenderet euenturum quod pollicita fuerat absque ulla dubitatione promissum. Orauimus sicut preceperat et ab angelo apparente post tempus didicimus uere esse futurum quod dixerat. Denique cum ante obitum dispertiretur res proprias suorumque^g reliquias utensilium Hibernicis diuisisset ac Scottis, fratre eius Ronan episcopo presente, audiuius quia uidelicet Anglos significans de corpore dixerit et baculo suo quod in terram aliam deportarentur. Proinde quis poterit prohibere que dixit, nisi qui uoluerit destituere que prouidentia diuina statuerit?’

Quibus dictis, uirgo Athea conticuit et Cholunchillus pontifex, singulorum allegatione audita, singula que audierat secum recogitans et inter inuicem restituere pacem desiderans, satisfacere singulis cupiens, tali affamine uniuersis respondit: ‘Nolite, filii, nolite uobis^h inuicem ex aduerso contendere, neque uelitis quietem Domini Iesu Christi in seditionem diabolicam excitare. Docet nos apostolus nichil omnino per contentionem agendum,¹²⁸ si quis iniquus contenciosus esse rixando uol |uerit, nos talem consuetudinem non habemus neque ecclesia Dei. Deus noster est Deus pacis et dilectionis, qui nobis precipit, siue Anglis siue Scottigenis siue Hiberniensibus siue

^c permansit A
^g sanctorumque R

^d Andreseia A
^h om. A

^e om. A

^f ibidem A

'She was also amongst us, she lived with us, she also built oratories amongst us, she loved our land greatly, she lived in solitude in Arden amongst us and finally, leaving us, she lived for seven years as a recluse in a place in our country that she called Andresey.' At this Athea the virgin immediately went into their midst and, on her knees before Columbcille, she too added this claim before the judge:

'I beseech you, lord, to listen patiently to your handmaid, for I truly hope in the Lord that, when you have heard my words, you will judge our case with justice. I lived with this virgin from childhood and I saw her do many marvellous things and I heard her foretell innumerable things just as they subsequently occurred. While my sister Lazara and I were with her in the place she called Andresey and she had already made the irreversible decision to leave it, to avoid the attentions of the throng who came there for miracles, she charged us to watch over that place, which she greatly loved, and told us secretly that God had shown to her that her body would be buried there after her death and she promised us that, without a doubt, her bones would rest there along with ours. To make us certain of this promise, she commanded us to pray with her to the Lord to show us too that what she had promised would certainly come to pass. We prayed, as she had commanded, and in due course an angel appeared and informed us that what she had said would happen. Then, when, before her death, she divided up her possessions and shared her remaining tools amongst the Irish and the Scots, in the presence of her brother, bishop Ronan, we heard that she said her body and her staff would be carried into another country, meaning amongst the English. Who, therefore, can refuse what she said, unless he wishes to overthrow what divine providence has ordained?'

When she had said this, the virgin Athea was silent and Columbcille the bishop, having heard everyone's claims and turning over what he had heard in his mind, desiring to restore peace between them and wishing to satisfy each of them, answered them all in the following speech: 'Do not, my sons, do not struggle against each other, do not be willing to stir up the quiet of our Lord Jesus Christ into a devilish tumult. The apostle teaches us that nothing should be done contentiously,¹²⁸ if anyone wishes to speak contentiously and in a quarrelsome manner, that is not our custom, nor that of God's church. Our God is a God of peace and love, who commands us, whether we are English, Scots, Irish or anything else, to love one

¹²⁸ Phil. 2: 3.

ceteris, tanquam nosmetipsos alterutrum diligere, facere omnibus sicut nobis fieri uolumus et, sicut nolumus ledi ab aliis, ita prorsus nemini hominum in aliquo uelle umquam^a nocere. Quo circa uobis denuntio rectum consilium, ut uidelicet uniuersi concorditer, omni penitus emulatione deposita, ieiunemus pariter et oremus quatinus, precibus ipsius uirginis, demonstret Dominus uoluntatem suam et, quos dignos iudicauerit possidere hoc sanctum corpus, ostendat in eis misericordiam in uirtute miraculi manifestissime propalatam.’

Cumque ad hoc pontificis monitum omnes communiter unanimi uoluntate ac pari consilio adqueuissent, consummato a cunctis ieiunio et oratione uniuersali completa, facto mane diei crastini, locutus est ad omnem populum et dixit eis: ‘Eligite modo ex uobis octo robustos homines, qui portent feretrum cum baculo in humeris suis et ponite quatuor Scottigenas in parte una duosque Angligenas cum totidem Hiberniensibus in parte altera. Precedant^b autem, qui plures sunt, ante portantes Scottici, subsequantur uero ipsos^c pariter duo Hibernienses et duo Angli. Quibus ordinatis hoc modo, quocumque Dominus uoluerit eos deducere, sciamus uniuersi pro certo esse utique uoluntatem ipsius beatam uirginem secundum eius dispositum ibi potius sepeliri debere. Et quis poterit resistere uoluntati illius^d in cuius ditione cuncta sunt posita, qui, sicut omnia condidit, ita etiam uniuersa disponit?’

Hec cum dixisset episcopus, statim octo electi homines, sicut preceperat, assentientibus cunctis, letabundi^e assumunt feretrum et, miro modo, diuina uoluntate compulsi, uersi ad Angliam recto itinere sanctum corpus deferre ceperunt, Scottigenis existimantibus ueluti si remaneret in Scotia, ^fHiberniensibus putantibus^f quasi transferretur uersus Hiberniam, scientibus autem atque gaudentibus Athea cum Anglicis quoniam uere deportabantur in Andreseiam. Tunc uir Domini Cholunchillus, reuelato misterio et cognita uirtute prodigii, iussit Scottos redire ad propria, Hibernienses uero et Angli, parte cleri comitante, cum Ronan episcopo, in himnis et canticis deduxere sanctum corpusculum donec, singulis mansionibus perambulatis obiter, deuenerunt ad locum cum gaudio preelectum a uirgine et a Domino preparatum. Ibi eam sepelierunt quam honorificentius potuerunt in ecclesia sancti Andree apostoli, quam ipsa construxerat,^g ubi post hec, secutis temporibus, suffragante Deo, per eius merita multis quidem iniuriam^h patientibus per Dei iudicium ultiones,

^a nunquam *A*^b Procedant *A*^c retro ferentes cum eis *add. A*

another as ourselves, to do to others as we wish to be done to us, and, just as we do not wish to be hurt by others, so never to be willing to harm any other person in anything. So I proclaim to you as the right counsel, that we should all in harmony completely lay aside any rivalry and should all fast and pray that, through the prayers of that virgin, the Lord should indicate His will and should point out those whom He judges worthy to possess this holy body by revealing in them His mercy made known through the power of some manifest miracle.'

When all had agreed to the bishop's advice, with one will accepting his counsel, and the fasting and prayer had been completed by them all, on the morning of the following day he spoke to them, saying, 'Now choose eight strong men from among you, who can carry the bier, with the staff, on their shoulders, and place four Scots at one end and two Englishmen and two Irishmen at the other end. The Scots, who are more numerous, should go first, and should be followed by the two Irishmen and the two Englishmen. When everything has been arranged in this way, wherever the Lord wishes to lead them, there, we may all know without a doubt, is where He wishes the blessed virgin to be buried, as He has ordained. And who can resist His will, in whose power everything is placed, who, just as He created everything, so also orders everything?'

When the bishop had said this, at once the eight chosen men cheerfully took up the bier, just as he had commanded with the agreement of them all, and in a marvellous manner, driven by the divine will, they began to carry the holy body directly to England, although the Scots judged that it remained in Scotland and the Irish thought that it was taken to Ireland. Athea and the English, however, knew that it was truly being carried to Andresey, and rejoiced. The man of God, Columbcille, seeing this mystery revealed and recognizing the power of the miracle, ordered the Scots to return home, while the Irish and the English, accompanied by some of the clergy and by bishop Ronan, and singing hymns and canticles, escorted the holy body until, having passed through all the stops along the way, they came with joy to the place that the virgin had chosen and the Lord prepared. There they buried her as honourably as they could, in the church of St Andrew the apostle, that she had built, and where, in the course of time, through God's help and her merits, many who had suffered injustice were avenged through the judgement of God, many

^d ipsius *A*

^e construxerat *A*

^c om. *R*

^a iniuria *R*

^{ff} putantibus Hiberniensibus *A*

multis indigentibus consilio siue auxilio et multis claudis, cecis uel mutis seu alia egritudine laborantibus qui eam requisiere fideliter plurima sunt per Dei gratiam beneficia perpetrata.

Cur autem tanta mater, derelictis maioribus que ante fundauerat ecclesiis,^b talem locum 'preelegit potius^c sepulture, quem nimirum, ueluti credimus, pro causa aliqua postulauit a Deo, ego quidem, prout mihi uidetur, hoc estimandum non incongrue arbitror, quia uidelicet Christi ancilla, sicut semper in uita sua solitudinem et humilitatem^d amauit, ita etiam post excessum suum in loco humili et solitario corpus suum requiescere magis optauit. Scottos tamen ac^e Hibernicos destituere suo solatio nequaquam uoluit, immo magis, ut hiis quoque caritate patrocina-retur, utrisque suas reliquias in protectione^f eorum, illis pelliciam^g ac melotem apud Lonfortin sicut prediximus, illis pectinem, ligonem et sarculum ceteraque utensilia quibus operari solita fuerat apud Cellis Cliuium, conseruanda esse curauit.

41. *De renouatione ecclesie per Derlaisram et de spineta^h per aerem delata ab angelis.ⁱ*

Derlaisre quoque tempore, que apud Lonfortin prefuit monasterio uirginum quarta abbatissa post beatissimam Moduennam, contigit fieri tale miraculum quod per totam | Albaniam fuit circumquaque sub grandi admiratione diuulgatum. Erat necesse ut ecclesia renouaretur quam Moduenna fundauerat, iam enim incipiebat uetustate deficere, nec ualebant in illa sanctimoniales sorores ea honestate qua oportuerat omnipotenti Domino deseruire. Derlaisra igitur, pro incommoditatis ingruencia domum Dei reedificare atque meliorare accelerans, congregauit artifices et operadores conduxit ceptumque idem opus prompto animo pene usque ad perfeccionis integrum, secundante diuina gracia, studiosissime consummauit. Verum cum adhuc unum lignum deesset, quod reperiri difficillime in hiis regionibus potuisset, missum est per loca plurima sed minime inuentum est. Miserunt iterum atque iterum sed nullo modo inuenire potuerunt. Querebant enim grossissimam quercum atque longissimam, de qua facerent ad mensuram spinetam ecclesie, quam nophum populariter appellare solemus,¹²⁹ quod uidelicet ex more cauatum

^b om. R ^c potius preelegit A ^d humilitudinem R ^e atque A
^f protectionem A ^g pelliceam A ^h spinata MS ⁱ This chapter not in R

¹²⁹ Cf. *naufus*, meaning 'wooden coffin', found in a clause of the Salic Law and borrowed, with the form *noffus*, in the *Leges Henrici Primi*, which date to the early years of

who lacked counsel or help, or who were crippled, blind, dumb, or suffering from some other illness, and who appealed to her in faith, enjoyed many benefits through God's grace.

Why this great mother disregarded all the more important churches she had founded before and chose this place instead for her burial, which, as we believe, she had certainly requested from God for some reason, can be reasonably explained, in my opinion, by the fact that the handmaid of Christ always loved solitude and humility in her lifetime and so now, after her departure, chose to have her body laid to rest in a humble and solitary place. She did not wish the Scots and Irish to be deprived of her care, but rather, so that she could protect them too with her love, she made sure that her relics were kept by them for their protection, her sheepskin and hide garments at Luncarty, her rake, mattock, and hoe, and the other tools with which she worked, at Killevy.

41. *The rebuilding of the church by Derlaisra and the roof-tree brought through the air by angels.*

In the time of Derlaisra, who was the fourth abbess to rule over the monastery of virgins at Luncarty after the blessed Modwenna, there occurred a miracle that was reported throughout the whole of Scotland with great wonder. It was necessary to restore the church that Modwenna had founded, for it was now beginning to be dilapidated with age and the holy sisters were not able to serve Almighty God in it with the dignity that was proper. Derlaisra therefore, as the inconvenience grew worse, hastened to rebuild and improve the house of God, gathering together artisans and assembling workmen, until, through God's grace, she had, with great readiness, very nearly painstakingly completed the work that she had begun. There lacked, however, one piece of timber, that it was very difficult to find in that part of the world, and, although they sent to many places, they could not find it. They sent again and again but were unable to find it at all. For they were looking for a very thick and very tall oak, from which they might make a roof-tree for the church of a proper size. This is what we customarily call the *nophus* in popular speech,¹²⁹ that is usually hollowed out and then placed on the top of

Geoffrey of Burton's abbacy: *Lex Salica* 19. 2, ed. K. A. Eckhardt, *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, *Leges*, i. *Leges nationum Germanicarum*, iv. 2 (1969), p. 60; *Leges Henrici Primi* 83. 5, ed. L. J. Downer (Oxford, 1972), p. 260.

poneretur in tecti culmine, cuius partem utramque tegeret et duobus iunctum pinnaculis totam fabricam non incongrue in summitate uniret.

Dum itaque multum diuque quesissent, tandem inueniunt maximam arborem, aptam quidem ad causam huiusmodi, sed in tam arduo et inaccessibili loco rupibusque immodicis ita penitus utrobique circumuallato, ut, cum ibi uel cesa uel dolata fuisset, nulla arte, nulla machina, nulla ingenio, nullo iumentorum auxilio inde abstrahi per humanam industriam potuisset. Secant tamen et dolant, ueniunt ad abbatissam et aiunt, 'Arborem, domina, satis grandem inuenimus et aptissimam nostro operi, quam secuimus et dolauimus, sed in tali loco posita est unde nos illam extrahere, licet admodum sit laboratum, nullo modo, nullo ingenio, nulla hominum uel iumentorum fortitudine preualemus.' Quibus illa, confidens in Domino et de meritis Moduenne presumens, respondit et ait, 'Nolite diffidere, filii, nolite desperare. Sancta Moduenna uiuit in celo in cuius honore ac dilectione domus edificatur in terra. Ipsa poterit adiuuare nos.'

Illis itaque abeuntibus cum tristitia, nimirum uidentibus totum illum laborem suum in montibus superuacue procesisse, *Delaisra*^a sequenti nocte uigilauit ad Moduennam in orationibus et ecce, mane facto, lignum predictum, stupendo miraculo, inuentum est prope atrium monasterii, dolatum subtiliter quasi per industriam et cauatum atque ad hoc opus et mensuram prefati ministerii uelut humano studio cum omni diligentia preparatam. Quod uidentes artifices uehementer expauefacti sunt, cognoscentes uirtutem altissimi et predicantes omnibus cum magna admiratione immensam potentiam Dei excelsi. Reuersi autem ad rupes montium inter quas fuerant operati, eandem arborem curiose indagare ceperunt, si quod possent reperire uestigium per quod potuisset remoueri de loco, cum ecce nichil aliud nisi uident confractos ramusculos a tractu trabis, ueluti strata uia in suppremitate siluarum, quatinus scilicet luce clarius daretur intellegi fuisse ibi aperte officium potestatis angelice, qui tantam molem fortitudine sua de tali situ in altum sustulerant et per aerem patenti prodigio ad Christi gloriam, cui Moduenna seruierat, usque ad eius monasterium deportarant. Redeunt es itaque domum, narrant abbatisse atque sororibus cuncta que uiderant lignumque delatum ab angelis leuant statim quo proposuerant, laudantes Deum ac benedicentes et rem tam mirandam in totis illis regionibus cum exultatione diffamantes. Istud miraculum utrisque matribus

the roof, touching each side and joining the two gable-ends, thus neatly holding the whole fabric together at the summit.

When they had searched long and hard, at last they found a great tree, suitable for this purpose, but in such a rough and inaccessible place, completely surrounded on all sides by huge rocks, that, if they felled it and trimmed it there, human effort would not be able to drag it off, by any skill, by any machine, by any device, by the aid of any beasts of burden. They cut it down and trimmed it, nevertheless, and came to the abbess and said, 'Lady, we have found a tree that is large enough and very suited to our work, and we have felled it and trimmed it, but it is situated in such a place that we cannot pull it out by any means, by any device or strength of man or beasts, even though it has been already worked to some extent.' She answered them, trusting in the Lord and relying on the merits of Modwenna, 'Do not doubt, my sons, do not despair. Saint Modwenna lives in heaven and this building is constructed in honour and love of her. She will be able to help us.'

After they had gone sadly away, considering that all the work they had done in the mountains had been in vain, Derlaisra spent the following night awake in prayer to Modwenna and behold, in the morning, by a stupendous miracle, the timber was found near to the churchyard of the monastery, skilfully trimmed, as if by design, and hollowed out and carefully made ready for this work, as if by human craft, to the measure of the church. The workmen were struck with fear when they saw this, recognizing the might of the most high and telling everyone with great wonder the immense power of God on high. Returning to the rocks in the mountains where they had worked, they sought that tree with great curiosity, to see if they could find a trace showing how it could have been removed from that place. Behold, they saw nothing other than broken branches where the timber had been dragged along, like a highway among the tops of the trees, so that it might be made clearer than day that it was the task of an angelic power to raise up that great mass by his strength from such a site and to transport it to Modwenna's monastery through the air, through a manifest miracle and to the glory of Christ, whom she served. Returning home, they told the abbess and the sisters all they had seen, and at once raised up the timber that the angels had brought to the place they planned for it, praising and blessing God and spreading word of this remarkable occurrence in all those regions with great exultation. I judge that this miracle can be attributed to

reputandum esse non inconuenienter existimo, quia uidelicet quod Derlaisra, fidens in Domino, Moduennam rogauit, hoc Moduenna, uiuens cum Domino, Derlaisre suis precibus apud Dominum impetravit. Aliud quoque huic connectam quod simili modo utrisque simul non immerito applicandum est.

42. *De aduentu inprouiso Fimbar episcopi ad cenobium uirginum et de aqua fontanea in ceruisiam transmutata.^a*

A, f. 107^v | Quidam namque religiosus episcopus, Fimbar nomine, cognomento Vinnian,¹³⁰ die quadam, nullis nuntiis ante se missis, uenit improuisus ad monasterium uirginum, uisitaturus sanctimoniales feminas et cum abbatisa de aliqua re familiariter collocuturus. Quem cum subito aspexissent non longe descendentem de monticulo et uere agnouissent apparuisse quis esset, confestim ueniunt ad abbatisam, nuntiantes adesse pontificem uenientem cum frequentia comitum et iam monasterio appropinquantem. Tunc illa, gratias agens Deo, continuo surgens illi obuiam letabunda processit eumque in hospitium cum suis omnibus, sicut decebat uirum tam uenerabilem, benigno animo, largissima et deuotissima caritatis alacritate suscepit. Sed cum potus deesset cenobio qui tantis hospitibus dispensari debuisset, Derlaisra, fidens in Domino et sperans de auxilio Moduenne, oratione premissa, uocauit seorsum puellam fidam sibi, que erat in obsequio eius, cui est locuta secretius, dicens ad eam, 'Vide ut sileas. Vade', inquit, 'ad fontem sancte matris nostre Moduenne uirginis et, inde aquam hauriens, imple uasa uniuersa queque habentur in nostro conclaui. Cumque hoc feceris, sciente nemine, properanter regredieris ad me.'

Erat autem fons ille de quo in superioribus diximus, ubi Moduenna noctibus hiemis, dum dormirent uirgines cetere, dimersa in limphis usque ad scapulas uigilando in orationibus totum psalterium solita fuerat aliquotiens decantare. De hoc fonte dum famula limpidissimam aquam hausisset et uasa cellarii, ut iussa fuerat, omnia impleuisset, propere recurrit ad dominam et silentio dixit ad illam, 'Factum est ut imperasti, domina. Ecce uasa impleta sunt.' Surgens itaque et uadans cum famula, in cellarium introiuit claudensque hostium ac terre prostrata, consistente puella et inspiciente quid ageret, diutius orationi incubuit. Cum orasset et ab oratione surrexisset, super uasa uniuersa signo crucis edito, benedictionem imposuit et, sursum ad

^a This chapter not in R

both mothers without difficulty, for what Derlaisra, trusting in the Lord, asked of Modwenna, Modwenna, living with the Lord, obtained from the Lord for Derlaisra through her prayers. I will follow this miracle with another, that likewise can rightly be attributed to both mothers.

42. The unexpected arrival of bishop Finbar at the monastery of virgins and the spring water transformed into beer.

A devout bishop, called Finbar, surnamed Vinnian,¹³⁰ came unexpectedly to the monastery of virgins, without sending messengers ahead, intending to visit the holy women and talk with the abbess about some matter as a friend. When they suddenly saw him not far away, coming down from the hills, and recognized who it was, they went quickly to the abbess and announced that the bishop was about to arrive with his retinue and that they were almost at the monastery. She gave thanks to God and immediately arose and went happily to meet him and received him and all his followers in the guest house with kindness, prompt generosity, and devoted charity, as befitted such a venerable man. However, since there was not enough drink in the monastery to provide for so many guests, Derlaisra, trusting in the Lord and hoping for help from Modwenna, first prayed and then called to her a trustworthy girl who was in her service. 'See that you keep silent about this,' she said to her. 'Go to the spring of our holy mother Modwenna the virgin and, drawing water from it, fill all the vessels that we have in our closet. When you have done this, with no one knowing, quickly return to me.'

This was the spring we mentioned earlier, where Modwenna sometimes on winter nights used to chant the whole psalter, staying awake all night in prayer, immersed in the water up to her shoulders, while the other sisters slept. When the servant had drawn very clear water from this spring and filled all the vessels of the cellar, as she had been commanded, she quickly returned to her mistress and quietly said, 'It has been done as you commanded, mistress. The vessels are all filled.' Rising and going with the servant, she entered the cellar and, shutting the door and lying prostrate on the floor, while the girl stood by and saw what she did, she engaged in prayer for a long time. When she had prayed and then risen from prayer,

¹³⁰ Apparently a conflation of Finbar of Cork with Finnian of Clonard or Finnian of Moville.

celos erigens intentionem et oculos, dixit, 'In nomine Domini Iesu Christi, mutamini et capite colorem alium atque saporem, limphe fontane, ut per uos quoque Dominum laudemus et agnoscamus uirtutem meriti ancille eius, que in uobis orando sepius cruciata est, sancte matris et beatissime uirginis Moduene.' Quibus ita factis et dictis, imperauit puelle temptare et sapere quid esset in uasculis et ecce inuenta est, Dei uirtute, facta de aquis ceruisia optima, nunquam talis^a sapida in eisdem regionibus humano studio antea preparata. De qua dum gustassent conuiue et letum diem fecissent, mirati sunt ualde quod nunquam amplius tam bonam senserant, suspicantes quidem miraculum, nullo tamen sciente preter dominam ac puellam unde uenerat aut qualiter fuerat hoc tam prodigium perpetratum. Interdixerat enim domina famule et sub detestatione adiurauerat ne cui diceret, quamdiu uiueret in hac uita, quod non suo sed merito Moduene fecisset, se autem defuncta iam secunda denuntiaret omnibus quantam Dominus suam gratiam ei ostenderet, quia de uirtute sacratissime uirginis presumpsisset. Sed hec hactenus de antiquis dicta sufficiant, que per libros hibernicos indagare potuimus; amodo ad illa etiam que gesta sunt apud modernos, siqua scire poterimus, Domino propitiante, ueniemus.

*43. Breuiter memoratum quis abbatiam iuxta Andreseiam^b
fundauerit et qualem uindictam sacri feretri uiolator incurrerit.*

Postquam igitur, abbatia fundata ubi nunc est ab Wlfrico,^c prediuite uiro, Spoto cognomine,¹³¹ reliquie sacratissime uirginis^d de Andreseia^e in maiorem ecclesiam beate Dei genitricis Marie uenerabiliter translate sunt, nonnulla crebrius euenerunt miracula, de quibus plurima tradita sunt obliuioni per incuriam, tamen aliqua, que nostris quoque ac modernis contingere temporibus, sicut ea nosse potui uel audire saltem pauca subiungam. Que autem narraueram retulerunt mihi qui uel audierunt a maioribus uel uiderunt et affuerunt presentes, multisque eadem contestantibus ueraciter approbata cognoui.

A, f. 108^r

^a nunquam facit add. MS
^d uirgines A ^e Andresia MSS

^b Andresiam R ^c Wlfrico R

¹³¹ Wulfic Spot's will and the charter of king Æthelred confirming it survive in a single sheet of the early 11th cent. It has been edited most recently by P. H. Sawyer, *Charters of Burton Abbey (Anglo-Saxon Charters, ii; London, 1979)*, pp. 48–56, nos. 28–9. There is a facsimile in W. B. Sanders, *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts* (3 vols.; Southampton, 1878–84), iii. 'Anglesey' 2.

she made the sign of the cross over the vessels, blessing them, and, raising her thoughts and her eyes again to heaven, she said, 'In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, be changed and take another colour and flavour, spring water, so that through you too we may praise the Lord and recognize the power of the merit of His handmaid, who was often tormented while praying in you, our holy mother, the blessed virgin Modwenna.' When this had been said and done, she commanded the girl to try and taste what was in the vessels and, behold, it was found that, by God's power, the water had been changed into fine beer, with a flavour that had never been achieved in those parts by human efforts. When they had savoured it and had a joyful day, they marvelled that they had never tasted such good beer and suspected that it might indeed be a miracle, but no one except the mistress and the servant knew where it had come from or how this great marvel had been performed. For the mistress forbade the servant, adjuring her under pain of her curse, to say to anyone, as long as she lived on this earth, that it had been done not by her merit but by that of Modwenna. When she was dead, however, she could then safely announce to all what great grace the Lord had shown her since she had relied upon the power of the most holy virgin. But this is enough of these reports of ancient things, that we were able to learn about from the Irish books; now let us come to those things that have been done amongst the people of recent times, if, with the Lord's help, we can learn about them.

43. A brief record of who founded the abbey next to Andresey and the vengeance that befell the man who violated the sacred shrine.

When the abbey had been founded at its present site by Wulfric Spot, a very wealthy man,¹³¹ the relics of the most holy virgin were reverently translated from Andresey into the great church of the blessed Mary, mother of God. After this many and frequent miracles occurred. A large number of these have been forgotten through negligence but I append an account of some few of them which happened more recently in our own times, as far as I have been able to find out or hear about them. What I am about to relate I was told by those who had either heard them from their elders or had seen them at first hand. I know that their truth has been attested by many witnesses.

Longo tempore antequam Anglia subiceretur Normannis, dum adhuc gentes Anglorum multa gloria, multis diuitiis ac deliciis prepollerent, factum est^a uirgini ad recondenda ^bsacratissima ossa^b eius preciosissimum feretrum compositum satis decenter et auro non modico argentoque quam plurimo artificiosissime cum ingenti diligentia fabrefactum. Post multum temporis incubuit non mediocris fames in terra, usque adeo ut ciborum inedia multi coangustarentur, et plurimi, sustentatione carentes, deficientibus necessariis, non ualentes inuenire quid comederent, morerentur. Ea igitur tempestate uenit ^cquidam domesticus^c aurifaber, Godmorus^d nomine, ad abbatem Leufricum,^e qui tunc monasterio preerat,¹³² dans ei et monachis ^fquidem pium uelut foris uidebatur consilium,^f intus autem in intentione cordis prauum, ubi uidet in abscondito solus pater,¹³³ sicut post hec patenter apparuit, baratrum proculdubio auaricie et in posteros non inutile correctionis exemplum. Iste siquidem exortatus est abbatem et monachos ut sacrum feretrum argento expoliaret^g et auro, quasi pro necessitatibus egenorum, non quia aliquid ad eum pertinuisset de egenis sed quoniam, philargirie infectus ueneno, iam in corde fur erat et cum idem thesaurus per manus suas in hac operatione transiret,^h fraudem facere, implere oculos et partem sibi aliquam retinere, sicut et fecit ex eisdem opibus, cupiebat. Fracto itaque sacratissimo feretro consilio et manu ipsius, 'dum abbas' de parte pecunie comparare frumentum abisset et, facto mercato, in pratum^j quoddam, iam rediens de itinere cum sodalibus plurimis, descendisset, idem aurifaber, qui cum eo perrexerat, lanceam suam continuo terre affixit et pro causa necessaria aliqua seorsum, sicut assolet, in parte diuertit. Statim autem, R, f. 87^r Dei iudicio, miro casu lancea eadem | declinauit post ipsum, unde et, sociis turbatis timore et una uoce clamantibus^k quatinus ^lcustodiret se^l ab illa, repente conuersus in eam irruit et, stupentibus cunctis qui aderant, penetratus ab ea in utero, improuisa morte occubuit. Inuenta ^mest uero^m in sinu mortui pars pecunie furtim assumpta de feretro sicque datum est clare intelligi pro quali culpa ⁿpenam talemⁿ meruisset accipere^o qui presumpsisset contra uirginem de tali scelere^p cogitare.

^a om. A ^{b-b} ossa sacratissima A ^{c-c} domesticus quidam A
^d Codmerus A ^e Leuricum A ^{f-f} pium quidem consilium uelut foris
uidebatur A ^g expoliaretur A ^h transieret R ⁱ⁻ⁱ om. A
^j prato A ^k conclamantibus A ^{l-l} se custodiret A ^{m-m} uero est A
ⁿ⁻ⁿ talem penam A ^o percipere A ^p celere A

¹³² Ann. Burton, *Ann. Mon.* i. 185, give his dates as 1051–85, but ASC (E) records his death on 31 Oct. 1066 (ed. Plummer, i. 198). William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton (RS; 1870), p. 420, tells how William I compensated Brihtric, abbot

Long before England was conquered by the Normans, while the English peoples lived in remarkable glory, wealth, and pleasure, a most precious shrine was made for the virgin to house her most holy bones. It was well made and fashioned skilfully and carefully with no small amount of gold and a great quantity of silver. After some time a severe famine fell on the land so that many were burdened by lack of food and large numbers died because they did not have the necessary sustenance and were unable to find anything to eat. At this time a goldsmith in the abbey's service, Godmor by name, came to abbot Leofric¹³² who was then ruling the monastery and made a suggestion to him and to the monks. His advice appeared pious on the surface but within, in the hidden places where our Father alone sees,¹³³ as afterwards became clear, his scheming heart was without a doubt a maw of greed. His case provides a useful example of correction for posterity. He encouraged the abbot and monks to despoil the holy shrine of its gold and silver, supposedly for the needs of the poor, not because he had any concern with the poor but because he was already infected by the poison of covetousness and was a thief in his heart. When the treasure came into his hands for this work, he wished to fill his purse fraudulently and keep some of the wealth for himself, and this is what he did. When the holy shrine had been broken up by his advice and at his hands, the abbot went to buy corn with some of the money. Returning, with many companions, from making the purchase, he dismounted in a certain meadow. The goldsmith, who had accompanied him, stuck his spear into the ground forthwith and went aside to meet a call of nature, as one does. Suddenly, however, through the judgement of God, the spear, by a remarkable chance, tilted towards him. His comrades were alarmed and cried out with one voice that he should guard himself from it but he turned suddenly and fell on it. To the amazement of everyone there, it penetrated his belly and so he died an unexpected death. Some money stolen from the shrine was found among the dead man's clothes and thus it was given to be clearly understood for what crime he had deserved such a punishment, daring to contemplate such wickedness against the virgin.

of Malmesbury, for the loss of Malmesbury with the gift of the abbacy of Burton; David Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke, and Vera London, *The Heads of Religious Houses in England and Wales 940-1216* (Cambridge, 1972), p. 31, suggest that the obit of Leofric in *Ann. Burton* may be really his. Yet Brihtric is not mentioned in the *Ann. Burton* nor by Geoffrey of Burton, who tells a story (ch. 44 below) set during the abbacy of Leofric and the reign of William I.

¹³³ Cf. Matt. 6: 4, 18.

44. *Quomodo predones ecclesiam uiolauerunt et quam horrende conuersi in rabiem temporali et eterna morte perierint.*

Leuricus predictus abbas, dum adhuc preesset Burtuniensi cenobio et iam cepisset regnare Anglie Willelmus senior, uir fortissimus ac gloriosissimus dux Normannorum, etiam tunc merito uirginis tale quiddam ex "diuina ultione" peruenit. Erat quidam de Anglorum nobilibus, Suegnus nomine, Infans cognomine,¹³⁴ qui multos secum satellites socios sue impietatis habebat cum quibus, nullum habens timorem diuinum, multas^b strages nephanda manu, multas rapinas in terris, dampna quam plurima die noctuque sceleratissimus non paucis hominibus faciebat. Hic quodam tempore cum flagitiosis phalangibus res et terras ecclesie uiolentus inuasit et, non deferens reuerentiam uirgini cuius ibi recondita sacratissima ossa iacebant, ipsum quoque monasterium portas eius frangendo uiolans, abbatiam ausu insano magna ex parte 'depopulans, predam^c uidelicet maximam faciens, domos comburens, libros etiam et queque potuit reperire uniuersa diripiens, perpetrato tam 'immani sacrilegio^d cum impio agmine impiissimus atque | facinorosus abcessit. Sed dum adhuc in ipso essent itinere et loquentes adinuicem gaudio iniquitatis de malo opere gloriarentur, ecce repente apprehendit eos diuine indignationis uindicta statimque uniuersi cum duce suo uirtute horrenda in rabiem exterminati sunt, et, uexati diutius a^e demonibus ac furentes, morte corporis, morte anime, morte perpetua recto 'uidelicet Dei^f iudicio in eterna dampnatione omnes pariter perierunt. Diuulgata est autem tanti uirtus tamque contremiscendi miraculi nullusque raptorum ausus est ultra per longum tempus depredari fines ecclesie, ultionem timentes Domini et meritum predicantes sanctissime ac reuerentissime uirginis Moduenne.

45. *De claudio erecto et de ceco illuminato.*^g

Gaufridi tempore, qui Mala Terra cognominatus est,¹³⁵ fuit quidam homo pauperculus et contractus, prebendarius scilicet cuiusdam uiri illustris Willelmi nomine, qui ab etate puerili nec gressum regere nec rectus stare neque, nisi semper curuatus cum scabellis et super genua,

^a ultione ^d diuina ^A

^{d-d} immanu sacrilego ^R

^b multos ^A

^e ac ^R

^f Dei uidelicet ^A

^f Dei uidelicet ^A

^c predam depopulans ^A

^g This chapter not

in ^R

44. *How robbers violated the church and how, after being turned mad, they suffered a horrible death both temporal and eternal.*

While this abbot Leofric still governed the monastery of Burton and William the elder, the brave and magnificent duke of Normandy, had already begun to reign in England, another case of divine vengeance occurred through the virgin's merits. There was a noble Englishman called Swein Child,¹³⁴ who had a large retinue as wicked as himself. He had no fear of God. With his followers this evil man by his wicked hand inflicted slaughter, ravaged the land, and brought much damage to many men day and night. On one occasion he and his shameless band violently invaded the lands and properties of the church, showing no reverence to the virgin whose holy bones lay buried there. He violated the monastery itself, breaking down the doors, looting the house with mad daring, taking an enormous haul of booty, burning buildings and pillaging the books and whatever he could find. After committing this outrageous sacrilege, the impious and wicked man went off with his ungodly followers. While they were still on the road, however, talking together and boasting in evil joy about the wicked things they had done, suddenly the vengeance of divine anger seized them and at once all of them, including their leader, were driven insane by its fearsome power. After being vexed by demons and raving mad for a long period, they all died a bodily death, a spiritual death, a perpetual death, suffering eternal damnation by God's righteous judgement. News of such a great and fearsome miracle spread and for a long time afterwards no robbers dared plunder the church's estate since they feared the vengeance of the Lord and acknowledged the merit of the holy and venerable virgin Modwenna.

45. *A lame person made straight and a blind man restored to sight.*

In the time of Geoffrey named Malaterra¹³⁵ there was a poor crippled man, the pensioner of a noble called William, who from childhood had been unable to take proper steps or stand upright or walk except hunched over crutches and on his knees. He came to Burton, as best

¹³⁴ A DB *antecessor* of Walter d'Aincourt, possessed of land in Bulcote (Notts.), as well as the following Derbyshire estates: Morton, Ogston, and Wessington; Pilsley, Owlcotes, and Williamthorpe; Holmesfield; Elmtun; and Stony Houghton. Morton, Ogston, and Pilsley were among the estates granted to Burton by Wulfric Spot.

¹³⁵ Abbot 1085-94, *Ann. Burton, Ann. Mon.* i. 185.

poterat aliquotiens ambulare. Hic orandi gratia sicut potuit adiuit Burtuniam, deuote ueniens ad cenobium monachorum, precaturus intente sanctam uirginem Moduennam ut ei succurreret et tam diutine infirmitatis dispendia pia sua intercessione curaret. Cum igitur morbidus diebus iam quatuor studiosissime in orationibus perstitisset, ecce hora fere sexta quarti diei, dum missarum solempnia celebrarentur, affuit diuina gratia et preces eius per preces uirginis quam precabatur delate sunt coram maiestate altissimi statimque mira uirtute, neruis extensis, uenis prolongatis, utroque poplite separato a cruribus, stetit erectus super pedes suos et apparuit cunctis qui aderant ambulans et exiliens atque integre totus sanus effectus. Ductus itaque est ad patrem monasterii ante monachos qui, rei ueritate diligenter quesita et cognita, laudauerunt Deum et glorificauerunt gratesque maximas beate uirgini, que uirtutem suam ipsorum quoque demonstrabat temporibus, cum ingenti exultatione retulerunt. Scabella uero, quibus manibus superimpositis ante inceserat, sustulerunt in altum ad laudem Domini, que ibi coram altari longo tempore pependere pro testimonio ueritatis.

Erat iterum quidam uir pauper, Rauenus nomine, Totesberie habitans,¹³⁶ uictum suum queritans hostiatim, sustentatus de elemosinis oppidanorum, qui per accidentiam egritudinum oculorum lumen amiserat et, multo tempore iam transacto, cecitate ingruente, uidere aliquid omnimodo non ualebat. Hic quadam die dum transisset iuxta Burtoniam et audiret in ecclesia tintinnabulum grossum pulsari, dixit ad tractorem suum, sperans in Domino et de meritis Moduenne confidens recipere se posse auxilium: 'Duc me,' inquit, 'queso te, in ecclesiam hanc et precabimur sanctam uirginem Moduennam ut adiuuet nos.' Quod dum protinus ductor eius fecisset, prostratus ille in oratione se dedit, cum fide postulans et cum deuotione obsecrando implorans beatam uirginem quatinus pietate sua dignaretur ei succurrere ut miserando miserum apud Dominum impetraret suis benignis precibus cecitatem quam incurrerat effugare. Cum igitur diutissime in orationibus perseuerasset, raptus est subito tanquam in mentis excessum et ecce apparuit ei decora specie uelut quedam sanctimonialis femina, que manica uestis sue ambos oculos eius tetigit et confestim cecitatem que ante inerat cum ingentis potentie auctoritate deterisit. Quo facto, dum illa propere uersus |

he could, to pray, entering the monastery with reverence to beseech the holy virgin Modwenna with all his heart to help him and cure him by her pious intercession from the burden of such a long-endured disability. When the invalid had persisted in his prayers most intently for four days, suddenly, around the sixth hour of the fourth day, while the solemnities of the mass were being celebrated, divine grace was suddenly present. His prayers, through the prayers of the virgin to whom he prayed, were brought before the highest majesty. Immediately and miraculously his muscles stretched, his veins extended, he was able to flex his legs and he stood erect on his own feet, in the sight of all who were there, walking and jumping and completely and wholly healed. He was led to the father of the monastery in the presence of the monks and, when they had enquired into and found out the truth of the matter, they praised God and glorified Him, exulting mightily and giving great thanks to the holy virgin who had demonstrated her power in their time too. In praise of the Lord they hung up on high the crutches he had held in his hands and used to get around on; they hung there a long time before the altar as testimony of the truth.

Again, there was a poor man called Raven, who lived in Tutbury¹³⁶ and begged his food door to door, living from the charity of the inhabitants. He had lost his eyesight through an illness that had befallen him and as time passed his blindness increased until he could not see at all. One day while this man was passing by Burton, he heard the big bell ringing in the church and said to his guide, with trust in the Lord and having confidence that he could receive help through the merits of Modwenna, 'Lead me, I pray you, into this church and we shall pray to the holy virgin Modwenna to help us.' His guide did this at once and he prostrated himself in prayer, asking the blessed virgin with faith and begging her with devotion that she should deign of her goodness to help him, have pity on his misery and obtain from the Lord through her kind prayers the cure of the blindness from which he suffered. When he had persevered in prayer for a long time, he was suddenly seized by a kind of trance. The figure of a beautiful nun appeared to him and touched both his eyes with the sleeve of her garment, immediately wiping away his blindness by the authority of her great power. After this she moved quickly towards the altar and disappeared. The man, like one roused from sleep, began to cry loudly after her, saying over and again, 'Holy lady Modwenna, holy lady Modwenna, I give you thanks that I can see,

¹³⁶ Staffs.

tibi quoniam uideo, gratias misericordie tue quia cum cecus antea fuerim modo uideo.' Ad cuius uocem uniuersi qui aderant undique^a concurrentes, sciscitati sunt quid haberet uel quare ita clamaret, admirantes nimirum haud modice de paupere homine uilis habitus, quid ei rei aut quale tam mirum seu quid tam subitaneum accidisset. Quibus ille respondit, 'Clamo recte et clamabo non inmerito ad dominam meam Moduennam que mihi oranti cum cecus essem pulcherrima specie sicut sanctimonialis apparuit et mee paupertatis miserta tangensque mihi manica oculos, lumen uisus quod, peccatis exigentibus, tempore diutino perdideram sua pia interuentione, diuina exaudiente gratia, restaurauit.' Quibus auditis, statim cum duxerunt ad patrem cenobii et ante monachos narratur coram eis miraculum quale acciderat et quomodo, Dei uirtute per meritum uirginis, qui prius cecus intrasset ecclesiam, modo lumen amota caligine clarissime et perspicaciter oculis releuatis uidebat. Ad hec abbas, rei ueritate diligentius inquisita et probato pro certo, contestantibus plurimis, quoniam antea uere cecus fuisset, uolens adhuc certius uirtutem inuestigare miraculi, sumens uirgam in manu sua, ostendit ei et ait, 'Age, uir bone, quid teneo in manu mea?' At ille, 'Virgam', inquit, 'tenes et talis coloris est.' Cumque ille, remoto dubio, et hoc modo et pluribus aliis totam rei penitus certitudinem percepisset, ingenti gaudio et ipse et monachi laudauerunt cum plebe diuinam potentiam, scientes uirginem preclari meriti, admirantes sanctam matrem dignam honore, uenerantes totis medullis cordium gloriosam Christi famulam Moduennam. Thiam^b uero hominis suspenderunt ante altare pro testimonio, ut qui uiderent laudarent Dominum, qui per signum beatam uirginem secum uiuere demonstrabat in celo.

46. *Ferro iunctus in brachio quomodo sic solutus est et ferro ligatus in utero qualiter liberatus.*^{c 137}

Vnus penitens eodem tempore, ferro iunctus in brachio, aduenit Burtoniam, intrauit ecclesiam et orauit. Cumque orasset diutius retro chorum ante altare sanctissime uirginis et iam demum post lacrimosa suspiria ab oratione surrexisset, ecce ferrum de brachio exiliit et cum

^a conjecture; the text reads *incide'm* (cf. p. 200)
chapter not in R

^b Thianram MS

^c This

¹³⁷ A common form of penitential punishment: e. g. the miracle recounted by prior

I thank you for your mercy, for I was blind and now I can see.' Hearing his voice, everyone who was there ran up from every side and asked what had happened and why he was calling out in this way. They wondered what exceptional or unexpected event had befallen this poor man in his wretched clothes. He answered them, 'I am right to cry out and to continue to cry out to my lady Modwenna, who appeared to me in the form of a most beautiful nun while I was praying and was still blind. She had pity on my poverty and, touching my eyes with her sleeve, through her pious intervention and God's grace, restored my sight which I had lost for a long time on account of my sins.' When they heard this, they led him straightaway to the father of the monastery and the monks. He recounted before them the miracle that had taken place and how he who had entered the church blind could, through God's power and the virgin's merit, now see. The darkness was gone, clear and perfect vision restored to his eyes. When the abbot heard this, he made careful enquiry into the truth of the matter and established for certain by many witnesses that the man had indeed previously been blind. Wishing to make a yet more reliable investigation into the power of the miracle, he took a staff in his hand and showed it to the man, saying, 'Tell me, my good man, what I am holding in my hand?' The man replied, 'You are holding a staff and it is such a colour.' In this way and by other tests the abbot removed all doubt and realized the certain truth of the matter. With great joy the abbot and the monks, along with the lay people, praised God's power. They acknowledged the virgin's outstanding merit, marvelled at their holy mother, so worthy of honour, and showed deep and heart-felt reverence for Modwenna, the glorious handmaid of Christ. They hung the man's head-dress before the altar as witness, so that those who saw it might praise the Lord who showed through the miracle that the blessed virgin was dwelling with Him.

46. *The man freed from an iron bond around his arm and the other from an iron bond around his belly.*¹³⁷

In this same period a penitent with an iron bond around his arm came to Burton, entered the church and prayed for a long time in front of the altar of the holy virgin behind the choir. Finally, after tearful sighs, he arose from prayer, and suddenly the iron bond sprang off

Jordan, below; Thomas of Monmouth, *The Life and Miracles of St William of Norwich*, vi. 10, ed. Augustus Jessopp and Montague Rhodes James (Cambridge, 1896), pp. 236-9.

magno stridore in chorum coram pedibus monachorum psallentium, non sine multa admiratione, uolauit. Stupere omnes uehementer qui aderant et aliqui monachorum, continuo egredientes de choro, inueniunt ignotum hominem ante altare, sciscitantur quis, sic respondet se esse aduenam, orandi gratia^a intrasse ecclesiam, demonstrat brachium, fatetur se per suffragium uirginis ab illo ferri uinculo liberatus. Gaudere uniuersi ac Dominum glorificare ceperunt qui sic dignabatur nunc quoque ancillam suam per miracula honorare.

Venit iterum Burtoniam alius penitens alio tempore, qui pro suis peccatis ecclesias peragrauerat plurimas, suffragia sanctorum petens et simili modo in penitenciam ferro ligatus in uentre. Hic itaque dum introisset ecclesiam suffragium etiam huius uirginis petiturus^b et medullitus orationem intentam ante altare sanctissimum diutina perseueratione complesset, diuina gratia clementer affuit que subito per preces sancte quam fideliter precabatur illius uterum ab illa ferri ligatione, coram cunctis ibi astantibus, sua uirtute admiranda dissoluit. Factum est autem notum abbati, populo et monachis hoc quoque miraculum ferrumque utriusque soluti—illius a brachio, istius ab utero—suspenderunt coram altari pro memoria et testimonio, gaudentes et exultantes tantam se communiter habere patronam quam quidem et intuebantur et gratulabantur esse dignissimam ueneratione in terris quippe | que tam crebro per signa talia et hiis similia gloriose cum Deo uiuere se declarabat in celis.

A, f. 109^v

47. *De homine malefactor e quomodo sibimet eruit oculum et de profugis quale ipsis et propter ipsos mirande contigit ultionis exemplum.*

Erat quidam minister regis malefactor ecclesie, nominatus Alwinus,^c cognominatus de Hopewas,¹³⁸ qui dampna plurima monasterio Burtoniensi sepius fecerat et, iugiter maiora intentans ac machinans, absque ulla reuerentia uirginis, monachis quoque eius nocere toto conatu desiderans, in suis insuper prauis actibus insipienter exultabat. Quadam uero die, dum redisset de placitis, ubi iusserat iudicari homines sancte, et, sedens in domo sua, de prauitate malorum operum coram coniuge ac familia gloriaretur manuque innexa maxillis se monachis^d mala facturum, contempta uirgine cuius ossibus excubabant, adhuc ampliora gratulans minitaretur, ecce subito infixio^e

^a gratiam MS
^e infixa R

^b peniturus MS

^c Alwinus A

^d machinis R

and rolled with a great clang into the choir, much to the astonishment of the monks who were singing psalms there. Everyone there was amazed. Some of the monks went out of the choir at once and, finding this unknown man before the altar, asked him who he was. He replied that he was a stranger who had entered the church to pray, he showed them his arm and avowed that he had been freed from the iron bond by the virgin's aid. Everyone began to rejoice and praise the Lord who had deigned to honour His handmaid in our days too.

On a different occasion, another penitent came to Burton. For his sins he had gone from church to church, seeking the help of the saints, and, like the previous man, wore an iron bond as a penance around his belly. He entered the church to seek the help of our virgin and prayed sincerely and eagerly for a long time before the holy altar. Through the prayers of the saint to whom he had prayed divine grace showed its mercy and by its wonderful power freed his belly from that iron bond in the sight of all present. This miracle too was made known to the abbot, people, and monks and they hung the two bonds, one released from the arm, one from the belly, before the altar as a memorial and witness, rejoicing and exulting that they all had such a great patron. They gave thankful witness that she was indeed most worthy of veneration on earth as one who declared through these miracles and others like them that she was living in glory with God in heaven.

47. The evildoer who put out his own eye and the runaways who suffered a wonderful example of vengeance which befell them on their own account.

There was a royal official, an enemy of the church, called Ælfwine of Hopwas,¹³⁸ who had often done much harm to the monastery of Burton and continually threatened and plotted worse things. He had no reverence for the virgin, wished to injure her monks as much as he could, and took a foolish delight in his wicked acts. One day, when he had returned from the courts where he had ordered judgement to be given against the saint's men, he was sitting in his house and, resting his chin on his hand, boasted in front of his wife and family about his wicked deeds. He was gleefully threatening to do even worse things to the monks in contempt of the virgin whose bones they watched over,

¹³⁸ Near Tamworth, Staffs. (Hopwas was part of the royal Forest, *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III (1227-1272)* (14 vols.; London, 1902-38), iv. 46).

pollice sibimet ipsi oculum eruit atque ita super se diuinum iudicium pro culpa sua palam omnibus apparuisse monstrauit. Monoculus quippe tota uita sua postmodum exstitit et iam ulterius effectus mitior, cenobio seruorum Dei mala ingerere non esse bonum saltem demum tali modo castigatus agnouit.

Rursum facta est quedam contumelia aduersus ecclesiam unde sumpsit Dominus propter merita uirginis huiuscemodi horrendam uindictam. Duo namque uillani^a habitabant Stapenelle¹³⁹ sub iure abbatis Burtonie qui profugerunt ad uillam proximam que Drachelawa dicitur,¹⁴⁰ relinquentes inique dominos suos monachos et manere cupientes sub potestate Rogeri comitis qui Pictauensis cognominabatur.¹⁴¹ Misit itaque monasterii pater et fecit capi eorum segetes que nondum fuerant exportate ab horreis easque protinus uniuersas in suis propriis collocari, sperans uidelicet per hoc eos se posse reducere et ad sua ^bhabacula iterum^b reuocare. At illi, abeuntes ac fallaciter mentientes, clamorem querulum detulerunt ad comitem, ita eum exacerbantes et sic pessime loquentes ei quatinus comitis contra abbatem grauissima ira insurgeret usque adeo ut comes abbatem minaretur occidere sicubi eum 'aliquotiens reperire' potuisset. Denique, uehementer turbatus, collecta multitudine rusticorum ac militum cum quadrigis et armis, misit statim Stapenelle^d cum manu ingenti ad horrea monachorum et fecit rapi uiolenter omnes segetes que erant in eisdem horreis, et dominicas scilicet unde debuerant monachi uiuere et simul cum eis eas quoque que fuerant hominum, de quibus prediximus, iniquorum ac profugorum. Verum et hiis adhuc nequaquam contentus, transmisit iterum plurimos 'homines et' milites ad agros cenobii iuxta locum qui appellatur Blakepol,^{f142} iubens eis ut toto nisu segetes depopularentur ecclesie, hoc precipue exortans eos ut decem milites, quos abbas habebat secum de parentibus suis, temptarent si quo modo possent ad discrimen certaminis prouocare. Abbas uero, hiis cognitis, prohibuit^g milites suos ne ullatenus progredierentur foras, ipse autem et monachi, nudis pedibus et cum magnis gemitibus, introierunt^h ecclesiam

^a uilla *A* ^{b-h} iterum habitacula *A* ^{c-i} reperire aliquotiens *A*
^d Stapelnellam *A* ^{e-e} om. *A* ^f Blachepol *A* ^g quidem *add. A*
^h in *add. A*

¹³⁹ Derby., transferred to Staffs. 1889; DB lists a holding of the abbey there of four carucates and two bovates, with two demesne ploughs and twelve villagers with two ploughs. It was valued at sixty shillings. Nigel of Stafford (see below) also held six bovates there in DB.

when suddenly he put out his own eye with a thrust of his thumb. Thus he demonstrated before everyone that divine judgement had been visited upon him for his sin. He spent the rest of his life with one eye and was thereafter a milder man, learning from such a punishment, even though late, that it is not good to do evil to the monastery of the servants of God.

Again, an injury was committed against the church which the Lord, on account of the virgin's merits, avenged in a terrifying way. There were two villagers living in Stapenhill¹³⁹ under the jurisdiction of the abbot of Burton who ran away to the neighbouring village called Drakelow,¹⁴⁰ wrongfully leaving their lords, the monks, and wishing to live under the authority of count Roger the Poitevin.¹⁴¹ The father of the monastery ordered that their crops, which had not yet been taken out of the barns, should be seized and taken to his own barns, hoping in this way to induce them to return to their own dwellings. But these men went off to count Roger and brought a false charge before him, stirring him up and speaking wickedly. The count's anger was aroused against the abbot, so much that he threatened to kill him wherever he might find him. Violently angry, he gathered a great troop of knights and peasants with weapons and carts and sent them in a great company to the monks' barns at Stapenhill and had them seize by force all the crops stored there, those belonging to the abbey which should supply the monks' food as well as those of the wicked fugitives. Not content with this, count Roger sent many men and knights to the abbey's fields near Blackpool,¹⁴² commanding them to lay waste the church's crops with all their might and encouraging them especially to lure into battle the ten knights of the abbot's own family whom he had in his company. The abbot heard about this and forbade his knights from going out. He and his monks entered the church barefoot and groaning and, in tears,

¹⁴⁰ Derby., a township in the parish of Church Gresley. It was held by Nigel of Stafford as tenant-in-chief in 1086 but was part of the Honour of Lancaster by the later 12th cent. (PR 21 HII et ff.). Roger the Poitevin (see below) held that honour and his possession of Drakelow, as evidenced by this story, would explain that later association.

¹⁴¹ Of the house of Montgomery, younger son of Roger, earl of Shrewsbury; he was exiled with his brothers in 1102. See J. F. A. Mason, 'Roger de Montgomery and his sons (1067-1102)', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, xiii (1963), 1-28, esp. 14-15, 16-17; V. Chandler, 'The last of the Montgomeries: Roger the Poitevin and Arnulf', *Historical Research*, lxii (1989), 1-14.

¹⁴² Blackpool lay half a mile south-west of the abbey towards Drakelow. It is mentioned in a 13th-cent. charter: Jeayes 146. The 'Blackpool' itself was in an arm of the Trent. Nineteenth-cent. maps show 'The Blackpool Closes' adjoining Blackpool Street (built 1865-81) parallel to the Branston Road.

et feretrum beate^a uirginis, ubi iacebant sacratissima ossa eius, continuo in magnis fletibus deposuerunt ad terram.¹⁴³ Clamauerunt omnes pariter tota intentione ad Dominum, postulantes ac deprecantes cordis medullis immensam ^bpotentiam illius^b quatinus sibi famulantibus dignaretur, sicut uellet, pia bonitate succurere et in tali necessitate laborantibus procuraret suum auxilium manifesta uirtute declarare.

Interea, dum illi intus unanimi uoluntate uniuersi orarent, supradicti decem milites, prohibitione contempta, nescientibus abbate et monachis, pari animo sese^c armauerunt et, satis audacter A, f. 110^r coascendentes | in equis, pauci contra multos in campum foras preliaturi egressi sunt. Vnus itaque de abbatis militibus statim, equo citato in cursum,^d percussit^e ipsum dapiferum comitis et ita fortiter prostrauit eum ad terram ut unum crus eius ictus uehementia frangeret et socios aduersariorum in primis congressibus tanta sua uirtute terreret. At^f alter nichilominus de abbatis militia equum suum simili modo uelociter^g excitauit in cursum et, percutiens quendam militem de parentibus comitis, deposuit eum in fluctum aque que iuxta inerat et eum maxima fortitudine ab equo longius proiecit in cenum. Deinde ceteri de militibus monachorum ita strenue in hoc congressu quique singuli operati sunt ut decem uiri amplius quam sexaginta fugarent et, cum magno eorum dedecore, pauci quam plurimos merito uirginis et Dei uirtute de campo eicerent.

Hiis ita gestis, statim in crastino duo rustici profugi, per quos et propter quos exortum est malum, circa horam terciam dum ad mensam pransuri recumberent, subita morte ambo perculsi sunt et in mane diei alterius in archis ligneis sunt utrique reconditi et in atrio apud Stapenellam unde profugerant sunt utrique sepulti. Mirandum ualde et uehementer stupendum quod secutum est. Ipsa enim die in qua sepulti sunt apparuerunt ad uesperum, sole adhuc lucente, apud Drakalawam,^h archas ligneas in quibus sepulti fuerant quasi super colla portantes, et tota nocte sequenti uelut deambulantes per uille semitas et per agros et modo habebant tanquam speciem hominum archas ligneas super colla gestantium, modo quasi similitudinem gerebantⁱ ursorum, modo canum, modo quoque ueluti animalium ceterorum. Dicebant autem ad ceteros rusticos, percucientes ^jparietes domorum,^j et cunctis illic audientibus clamabant:^k 'Promouete, citius

^a beatissime A ^b ^b illius potentiam A ^c protinus add. A ^d cursu R
^e continuo add. A ^f uero add. A ^g uelociter R ^h Drachelawam A
ⁱ om. A ^j domorum parietes A ^k inclamabant A

set down on the ground the shrine of the blessed virgin containing her most holy bones.¹⁴³ In unison they addressed a desperate appeal to the Lord, beseeching His boundless power with all their hearts that He should deign to help His servants in His goodness, if that were His will, and that He should make known with a manifest miracle His aid to those who were struggling in such difficulty.

Meanwhile, as those inside were praying with one voice, the ten knights decided to ignore the prohibition and, arming themselves with one accord, without the knowledge of the abbot or the monks, mounted their horses boldly and set out to do battle in the field, few against many. One of the abbot's knights immediately spurred his horse into a gallop, struck the count's steward and hurled him to the ground so forcefully that the power of the blow broke his leg. Such a display of strength in the first attack terrified the enemy. Now another of the abbot's knights likewise spurred his horse to a gallop and struck a knight who was a relative of the count, knocking him into a nearby stream, hurling him with tremendous force into the mud far from his horse. The rest of the monks' knights each acted so bravely in this fight that ten men put more than sixty to flight and a few drove very many from the field, to their great shame, through the merit of the virgin and the power of God.

The very next day, at the third hour, the two runaway peasants who were the cause of this evil were sitting down to eat, when they were both suddenly struck down dead. Next morning they were placed in wooden coffins and buried in the churchyard at Stapenhill, the village from whence they had fled. What followed was amazing and truly remarkable. That very same day on which they were interred they appeared at evening, while the sun was still up, at Drakelow, carrying on their shoulders the wooden coffins in which they had been buried. The whole following night they walked through the paths and fields of the village, now in the shape of men carrying wooden coffins on their shoulders, now in the likeness of bears or dogs or other animals. They spoke to the other peasants, banging on the walls of their houses and shouting, 'Move, quickly,

¹⁴³ On this ritual humiliation of relics, see Patrick Geary, 'Humiliation of saints', in Stephen Wilson (ed.), *Saints and their Cults* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 123–40. Continental liturgies for the ritual are printed in Lester K. Little, *Benedictine Maledictions: Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France* (Ithaca, NY, 1993), pp. 262–3, 265–5.

promouet! Agite, agite et uenite! Cumque hoc ipsum singulis uesperis atque singulis noctibus aliquanto temporis spatio quam mirabiliter actitaretur, tanta incubuit eidem uille mortalitas ut omnes rustici de eodem uico repente in casum periculosum deciderunt atque infra paucos dies, solis tribus exceptis de quibus dicemus postea, miro modo morte festina uniuerſi perirent.

R, f. 87^v Comes igitur, cernens hec mira tam mire incipere fieri, stupore maximo | ac timore uehementi perterritus est statimque ductus penitentia cum militibus suis monasterium adiit, cum abbate et monachis humiliter ueniam petens, firmam concordiam statuit, quatinus pro se placarent Deum ac uirginem quos offenderat supplici postulatione orauit, dampna cuncta que intulerat ut duppliciter restaurarentur Drogoni, uille preposito, coram omnibus fidei deuotione imperauit et, ita letus exiens de monasterio, ad alias terras suas absque ulla dilatione properauit. Drogo autem postmodum citius rediens, sicut ei fuerat imperatum, dupplicia omnia cenobio reddidit atque iterum ueniam postulans ipse quoque, cupiens cladem illam mortis euadere, ad alias regiones cum omni festinatione discessit. Duo uero rustici qui adhuc in uilla remanserant—Drogo enim iste tercius fuerit—deciderunt in egritudinem et diutius languerunt. Porro aliqui pertimescentes prefatos mortuos, qui et ad uesperas et^a in noctibus quasi archas ligneas sicut predictum est phantastice super colla gestabant, accepta licentia ab episcopo, abierunt ad sepulcra eorum et diffoderunt eos et inuenerunt adhuc integros, pannis tamen lineis super ora deformissime cruentatis, et abscisa capita in ipsis tumulis posuerunt inter ipsorum crura¹⁴⁴ et, abruptis cordibus carneis de cadaueribus rursumque de terra coopertis corporibus, portauerunt corda carnea ad locum qui Dodefreseford^b nuncupatur ibique combusserunt ea a mane usque ad uesperam, que tandem cremata et ueluti^c multum coacta cum maximo sonitu uix ad ultimum crepuerunt et confestim malignum spiritum tanquam coruum uolantem de ignibus uniuerſi qui aderant uisibiliter | conspexerunt. Mox autem postquam hec facta sunt cessauerunt simul et mortalitas et phantasia, duo quoque predicti rustici qui in lectulis languendo iacebant, ut uiderunt fumum egredientem de igne ubi corda combusta fuerant, continuo sani effecti sunt statimque surgentes, assumptis secum filiis et coniugibus cum omni possessione sua, grates Deo agentes^d quia euaserant, ad uillam proximam, que Greseleia^e

A, f. 110^v

move! Get going! Come!’ When these astonishing events had taken place every evening and every night for some time, such a disease afflicted the village that all the peasants fell into desperate straits and within a few days all except three (whom we shall discuss later) perished by sudden death in a remarkable way.

The count, seeing these remarkable occurrences, was stunned and terrified. He repented and came with his knights to the monastery, where he begged humble pardon, made a firm concord with the abbot and monks, and entreated them with prayers that they should placate God and the virgin whom he had offended. Before them all, with faithful devotion, he gave a command to Drogo the reeve of the village that there should be double restitution for all the damages he had inflicted, and so, in peace of mind, he left the monastery and hastened without delay to his other lands. Drogo then quickly returned and restored double to the abbey as he had been ordered and, after seeking pardon yet again, left for other parts with all haste, desiring to escape that lethal scourge. The two peasants who still remained in the village (Drogo was the third) fell sick and languished for a long time. Men were living in terror of the phantom dead men who carried their wooden coffins on their shoulders every evening and night, as has been described, and they received permission from the bishop to go to their graves and dig them up. They found them intact, but the linen cloths over their faces were stained with blood. They cut off the men’s heads and placed them in the graves between their legs, tore out the hearts from their corpses, and covered the bodies with earth again.¹⁴⁴ They brought the hearts to the place called *Dodecrossefora/Dodefreseford* and there burned them from morning until evening. When they had at last been burned up, they cracked with a great sound and everyone there saw an evil spirit in the form of a crow fly from the flames. Soon after this was done both the disease and the phantoms ceased. The two peasants sick in their beds recovered their health as soon as they saw the smoke rising from the fire where the hearts were burned. They got up, gathered together their sons and wives and all their possessions, and, giving thanks to God and to the holy virgin that they had escaped, they departed to

^a atque R ^b Dodecrossefora A ^c in add. R ^d et sancte uirgini
add. A ^e Gresseleia A

¹⁴⁴ Decapitated corpses have been found in graves of the Anglo-Saxon period (see discussion in Introduction, pp. xxix–xxx), and one theory is that decapitation was intended to keep down the dead and prevent them returning.

dicitur,¹⁴⁵ ut ibi manerent properantissime abcesserunt. Vastata est itaque uilla que Drakalawa^a dicitur^b et longo post tempore nulli sunt ausi habitare in ea, metuentes uindictam Domini que tam mire ibi contigerat et prodigia reuerendo mirantes que omnipotens per sanctam uirginem operabatur.

Sed hec quidem dixerimus^c de ultionibus post beneficia, nunc etiam post ultiones iterum^d de beneficiis proloquemur.

48. *De contracta erecta et de iuvene mirabiliter liberato ab spilla.^e*

Nigelli abbatis diebus¹⁴⁶ erat quedam paupercula mulier que in cenobio sustentabatur de elemosina monachorum, ita uenas et neruos pedum et crurium omnimodis habens contracta ut, poplite flexo et pulpa herente ad suram, manibus scabellis inpositis, supra genua per terram serperet nullumque ab infantia aliud nisi tali modo iter carpere toto sue etatis tempore aliquotiens ualuisset. Ista frequentabat ecclesiam et crebro pernoctabat in orationibus postulando cum fide sanctam uirginem Moduennam, auxilium sperans in Domino, se posse opere intercessionis illius sanitatis adipisci diu desideratum remedium. Venit itaque tempus miserendi eius¹⁴⁷ et, per preces sanctissime uirginis quam misera deuotissime precabatur, audite sunt in conspectu troni altissimi deprecationes illius. Quinto namque idus Septembris, dum more solito a monachis et clero et populo annua sancte translationis solempnia officio exultationis celebrarentur maximaque multitudo conuenientium undique in nocturnis et psalmis et cantibus atque orationibus per totam basilicam excubarent, aderat quoque puella cum ceteris in quodam angulo monasterii uigilans, toto corde intenta ad Dominum et fideli deuotione implorans pie matris benignum suffragium. Cum ecce, subito in extasim facta, uelut paululum obdormiuit^f et post modicum temporis spatium tanquam expergiscens a sompno, miro modo ac stupendo prodigio poplites sentiens disiunctos a cruribus, neruos suos productos citissime, uenas suas extensas celeriter, redintegrando proprio

^a Drachelawa *A*
chapter not in *R*

^b nuncupatur *A*
^f obdormiunt *MS*

^c dixerim *A*

^d om. *A*

^e *This*

¹⁴⁵ Church Gresley, Derby. It is not mentioned in DB. The name Gresley first occurs in the Leicester Survey of 1124-9 (J. H. Round, *Feudal England* (new impression; London, 1964), p. 163) and it was later the parish in which Drakelow was situated. The story of a relocation of the village from Drakelow in this period may thus be true.

the next village, which was called Gresley,¹⁴⁵ and settled there. Drakelow was thus abandoned and for long thereafter no one dared to live there, fearing the vengeance of the Lord that had struck there and wondering at the prodigies that God omnipotent had worked through the holy virgin.

We have talked of these acts of vengeance after dealing with benefits, now, after dealing with vengeance, we shall speak again of benefits.

48. A cripple made straight and a youth miraculously freed from a pin-brooch.

In abbot Nigel's time¹⁴⁶ there was a poor little woman who was supported in the monastery from the monks' charity. The veins and muscles of her feet and legs were completely crippled. She was so twisted that the flesh of her buttocks pressed against her calf, and she had to crawl along the ground on her knees supporting herself with her hands on crutches. For her whole life since childhood she had been unable to get around in any other way. She spent a lot of time in the church and frequently prayed there overnight, beseeching the holy virgin Modwenna with faith, hoping for help in the Lord, that through her intercession she might be able to obtain the healing that she had so long desired. 'The time came when mercy was shown to her'¹⁴⁷ and, through the prayers of the holy virgin to whom the wretched woman had prayed most devoutly, her requests were heard before the most high throne. On 9 September while, in the accustomed manner, the solemn anniversary of the holy translation was being celebrated in a joyful service by the monks, clergy, and people and a great crowd had assembled from all sides and was keeping vigil throughout the whole church with nocturns and psalms and chants and prayers, the girl was there with the rest, watching in a corner of the monastery, her whole heart bent on the Lord, begging with pious devotion the kindly help of the holy mother. Suddenly she was snatched into a trance, seemed to sleep a little and after a short time, like one awaking from a dream, felt that, in a wonderful and miraculous way, her thighs were unstuck from her calves, her muscles quickly stretched out, her veins swiftly extended, her body speedily knit together, and the strength of all her limbs restored without delay.

¹⁴⁶ 1094–1114, *Ann. Burton, Ann. Mon.* i. 185–6. His death on 3 May 1114 is recorded in *ASC (H)*, s.a. (ed. Plummer, i. 245).

¹⁴⁷ Ps. 101: 14 (102: 13).

corpore festinanter, membrorum omnium uiribus uelocissime reparatis, sese omnimodis sanitatem accepisse reperiens, tota infirmitate fugata, supra pedes cum clamore nimio quasi stupens et expauefacta surrexit. Hanc ergo qui aderant dum audissent tam repente clamasse uehementi <uoce> uelut euentu subitaneo admirati sunt statimque undique^a confluentes ad eam, cernunt recte stantem quam eatenus contractam uiderant et, per totam ecclesiam tali confestim exeunte rumore, indagarunt et cognouerunt et publicauerunt tanti uirtutem miraculi, cum magno gaudio agentes gratias diuine gracie, laudantes Dominum et benedicentes, attollentes ingenti preconio uniuerſi preclarum meritum ac pium suffragium gloriosissime uirginis Modu-
enne. Deducta est autem in crastino ad abbatem Nigellum et coram monachis qui uidens et audiens ueritatem ab omnibus gratulatus est ualde et cepit flere pre gaudio, adorans Deum ac benedicens et uere sentiens beatam uirginem cum Domino regnare in celo. Monachi etiam gaudiose congratulati sunt et laudes Deo ac sancte uirgini in
A, f. 111^r ymnis et canticis atque iubilo cum ingenti leticia exsoluerunt. | Porro autem uestimenta contracte fuerant curta nimis dum antea per humum reperet et erat nudata pars interior corporis indecenti aspectu postquam illa Dei uirtute et suffragio uirginis^b erecta fuisset, unde statim iussit abbas uestes ei fieri ad mensuram propriam fecitque suspendi scabella eius coram altari pro testimonio, merita predicans Moduene et collaudans in ea cum multa exultatione diuinam potentiam.

Fuit iterum eodem tempore quidam iuuenis qui Godricus nominabatur, qui quadam die ad uesperum in uigilia beati Laurentii martiris¹⁴⁸ sedebat in domo inter duas iuenculas et tenebat in manu sua ornamentum quod poni solet ad colla feminarum, quod uidelicet 'spilla' consueute populari uocabulo nuncupatur.¹⁴⁹ Huius ipsius in quo hoc contigit didici relatione quod narro. Hic itaque, dum spillam eandem uolueret in ore suo et, sicut moris est, loquens luderet cum puellis, ecce repente quasi se nescio caput rotundum translutiuit cum tibia, que utraque simul in uitalibus habens, absque ulla ratione medicaminis iam funditus desperabat de uita. Fuit igitur quinque diebus et totidem noctibus neque comedens aliud neque bibens, nisi solummodo pomum quod pruna dicitur alioquotiens parum suggebat et iam nil aliud nisi mortem, nichil consilii, nichil auxilii nichilque penitus nisi affuturum proxime suum interitum^c

^a conjecture; the text reads incidem (cf. p. 188)
^c exitum Add. 63642

^b BL Add. 63642 begins here

She realized that she had been completely cured and the infirmity driven away. She stood on her own feet with a great shout like someone completely astonished and overwhelmed. When those who were present heard her call out so unexpectedly in a loud voice, they rushed to her from every side and saw that she, whom until then they had only seen crippled, was standing upright. Report of this spread quickly throughout the church. This great miracle was investigated, recognized, and proclaimed publicly and all joyfully gave thanks to the divine grace, praising and blessing the Lord, extolling with great praise the outstanding merit and kindly help of the glorious virgin Modwenna. Next day the woman was brought before abbot Nigel and the monks. When he saw and heard the truth from them all, he rejoiced greatly and began to cry for joy, worshipping and blessing God, truly knowing that the blessed virgin is reigning with God in heaven. The monks too rejoiced happily and gave their praises to God and the holy virgin in hymns and canticles and songs of joy with great happiness. However, the crippled woman's clothes were too short, since previously she had crept along the ground and, after she had been raised up by God's power and the virgin's aid, the inner part of her body was laid bare in an indecent way. So the abbot at once ordered clothes to be made that would fit her and he had her crutches hung before the altar as a testimony, while he preached the merits of Modwenna and joyfully praised the divine power in her.

Again, there was at this same time a young man called Godric, who one evening on the vigil of St Laurence¹⁴⁸ was sitting in his house between two girls and holding in his hand the ornament that women place at their necks, called a pin-brooch (*spilla*) in ordinary everyday speech.¹⁴⁹ What I am about to tell I learned from the man to whom it happened. While he was rolling the pin-brooch in his mouth and joking with the girls, as men do, suddenly, without meaning to, he swallowed both the round head and the shaft. Since both parts were inside his body he put no hope in medicine and completely despaired of life. For five days and nights he neither ate nor drank anything, merely sucking a little at the fruit called plum, and anticipating only death, expecting neither advice nor help but only the imminent approach of the end. He remained for a long time in this desperate

¹⁴⁸ 9 Aug.

¹⁴⁹ Latin *spinula*, 'little thorn', gives modern French *épingle* and modern Italian *spilla*, 'pin'; Low German *spile*, 'wooden peg', or Old High German *spilla*, 'spindle', are probably not relevant.

exspectabat. Cumque in tanta desperatione maneret diutius et, sicut homo qui uidebatur moriturus uelocissime, de suis reatibus quos commiserat cogitaret, repente uenit in mentem ei quasi bonum a Deo consilium ut uidelicet profunde penitens peccata sua confiteretur Domino et a cunctis hominibus quibus forisfecerat ueniam humili supplicatione deposceret, ac deinde abbati et monachis oblatione delata, suffragium atque clementiam beate uirginis mediantibus eorum interuentionibus imploraret. Quod totum gerere^a ut cogitauerat, dum absque ullius morose dilationis obstaculo, corde supplici et pia deuotione procurasset, sicut erat debilitatus et languidus, in ipsa die ascensionis beatissime Dei genitricis Marie¹⁵⁰ monasterium peciit, primo mane ante missam celebrem coram altari sancte Moduenne astitit prostratusque in terram diutina eam obsecratione postulauit quatinus misero dignaretur succurrere et suum sibi auxilium non differret^b in tanta necessitate prebere. Dum itaque anxius nimis cum gemitu atque suspirio diutissime in orationibus perstitisset, subito ei accidit animus ut sese in monachorum coquinam deduci faceret et ibi olera que repente desiderauerat cum festinatione sorberet. Statim igitur ab oratione consurgens, alienis adiutus manibus in coquinam citius abiit, olera ibi parata cum ingenti desiderio sorbuit et continuo ex uitalibus miro modo cum magno sanguinis radio et spillam et olera Dei uirtute et uirginis merito per gutturis medium retro uomuit et proiecit. Ipse autem et eandem spillam et eadem olera cruentata omnia confestim recepit in manibus propriis sensitque continuo se esse penitus totum sanum effectum, benedicens cordis medullis beatam uirginem et adorans omnipotentem Deum gloriosum atque mirabilem in uniuersis operibus suis. Deduxerunt ergo eum ad missam que iam tunc celebrabatur solempniter et obtulerunt abbati et monachis restitutum incolumen et spillam cum gaudio palam cunctis in manu tenentem, referentes coram astantibus quomodo ei acciderat et qualiter illum Dominus gratuita pietate, interuentu sancte uirginis, liberarat. Qui hec audientes immensas gratias egerunt Domino qui eorum quoque temporibus demonstrabat beatam uirginem secum uiuere in excelso. Post modicum temporis sumpsit eum abbas et duxit secum 'regine Mathildi,^{c 151} que tunc regnabat Anglie¹⁵² et plerumque de sanctorum

^a gereret *A*^b differt *A*^c ad reginam Matildim *A*

state, thinking, like a man who seems to be about to die, of the sins he had committed. Suddenly it came into his mind as good counsel from God that he should confess his sins to the Lord in deep penitence and humbly beg pardon of all those whom he had wronged, and then bring an offering to the abbot and monks and, with them as intercessors, appeal for the help and mercy of the blessed virgin. When he had endeavoured, with humble heart and pious devotion, to do all that he had planned without any delay, as he was weak and faint, he came to the monastery on the day of the ascension of the blessed Mary, mother of God,¹⁵⁰ very early before the festive mass. He placed himself before the altar of St Modwenna, prostrated himself on the ground and implored her at length that she should deign to help him in his misery and not delay in bringing him aid in his great need. When he had continued in prayer for a long time, in troubled mind with groans and sighs, suddenly the idea came to him that he should have himself led to the monks' kitchen and there quickly eat the vegetables for which he felt a sudden desire. So he arose straightaway from prayer and was, without delay, helped into the kitchen, ate the vegetables he found prepared there with great relish and immediately and wonderfully, with a great spurt of blood, vomited and threw up from his insides through his throat the pin-brooch and the vegetables. This happened through God's power and the virgin's merit. Without delay he caught the pin-brooch and the vegetables, all covered with blood, in his hands and immediately felt himself to be completely cured. He blessed the holy virgin from the bottom of his heart and worshipped God omnipotent, who is glorious and wonderful in all His works. They led him to mass, which was then being solemnly celebrated, and they brought him before the abbot and monks whole and recovered and joyfully holding the pin-brooch in his hand before them all. They told all of them there what had happened to him and how the Lord had freed him through His kindly grace and the intercession of the holy virgin. When they heard this they gave great thanks to the Lord, who had shown in their times too that the blessed virgin was dwelling with Him on high. A short time later the abbot took him and brought him before queen Matilda,¹⁵¹ who ruled England at that time¹⁵² and loved to hear

¹⁵¹ Henry I's first queen, also known as Eadgyth, daughter of Margaret of Scotland. She married the king in 1100 and since this miracle is ascribed to the time of abbot Nigel it must have taken place between 1100 and 1114.

¹⁵² An indication that this was written after 1118, the date of Matilda's death.

A, f. 111^v

uirtutibus delectabatur audire,¹⁵³ cui abbas ostendit eundem hominem et rem enarrauit de eo qualiter contigisset, de ceteris quoque adiciens quibus uirgo Moduenna se esse in celis cum Domino per crebra | miracula declarasset. Dilexit autem regina ecclesiam pro amore beate uirginis deditque abbati et tunc^a deinceps plurima munera et misit ^bsepe per eum^b legationem ad monachos, orans eos quatinus pro se orarent ad Dominum, deprecantes beatam uirginem ut eius suffragio mereretur et ipsa conscendere ad brauium sempiternum.

49. *De custode nemorum qualiter oculos perdidit et de milite malo uicino quomodo conuersus obierit.*^c

Alio tempore fuit quidam custos nemorum qui appellabatur Osmundus, qui scilicet custodiebat lucos domini Totesberie¹⁵⁴ nec cessabat quotiens poterat mala plurima monasterio irrogare. Distingebat enim atque prohibebat a pascuis porcos, peculium et animalia monachorum, ponens ea in captione et plerumque interficiens quando terminos transgrediebantur, malam uiciniam faciens, diuisas terrarum ultra modum studiose custodiens, uerba deferens de abbate ad dominum quibus discordiam inter eos per mendacia fabricabatur. Denique partem luci qui sub iure abbatis erat in calumpniam poni fecit, ita loquens et ita suadens ut dominus eundem locum, credens eius sermonibus, de potestate monasterii tolleret et eum iniuste aliquantulo temporis per uiolentiam possideret. Quem tunc postea, Dei timore compunctus et regis Henrici iussu^d et prece inductus, cum^e bona uoluntate et pia deuotione monasterio reddidit, que redditio facta est, Deo inspirante, Gaufridi abbatis temporibus, eius uidelicet qui post Nigellum secundus ad regimen in ecclesiam Burtuniensem successit.¹⁵⁵ Verum ad hunc reuertemur per quem malum exortum est et qui malum quidem per calumpniam facere potuit sed pondus mali quod euenit ex calumpnia emendare non ualuit.^f Iste itaque, dum quadam nocte dormireret in lectulo et ex diurnis laboribus requiem capere aliquantulam incepisset, ecce repente in sompno terribilis quedam species uelut comminans

^a om. A ^{b-b} per eum sepe A ^c This chapter not in R ^d iusticia MSS. The text of the chirograph between abbot Geoffrey and Robert de Ferrers (see introduction) reads compunctus timore Dei idem Rodbertus et admonitus prece regis et iussu ^e om. Add. 636.42 ^f nequiuat Add. 636.42

¹⁵³ For another story, datable to 1116-18, which reveals queen Matilda's enthusiastic response to miracles, see Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History* vi. 10, ed. Marjorie Chibnall (6 vols.; Oxford, 1968-80), iii. 354-6: *Regina uero gaudio repleta, erat enim bona Christiana,*

about the miracles of the saints.¹⁵³ He showed the man to her and told the story of what had happened to him, also recounting many other occasions on which the virgin Modwenna had declared through miracles that she was in heaven with the Lord. The queen held the church in high regard because of her love for the blessed virgin and repeatedly gave to the abbot many gifts and often sent a commission through him to the monks, with the request that they pray for her to the Lord and beseech the blessed virgin that by her help she should merit to climb to the eternal reward.

49. How a forester lost his eyes and how a knight who was a bad neighbour repented at death.

On another occasion there was a forester called Osmund who had care of the woods of the lord of Tutbury¹⁵⁴ and never failed whenever he could to do harm to the monastery. For he confiscated and barred from the pastures the monks' pigs, livestock, and animals, impounding them and killing many of them when they crossed the boundaries. This bad neighbour guarded the confines of the estate with excessive zeal and brought lying tales about the abbot to his lord to stir up discord between them. Finally he raised a claim concerning the part of the wood that was the abbot's property, making his case so persuasively that his lord believed him and took the place out of the monastery's hands and possessed it for some time unjustly through force. Afterwards, however, struck by the fear of God and swayed by king Henry's command and prayer, he returned it to the monastery with good will and pious devotion. The restoration of the property occurred, by God's inspiration, in the time of abbot Geoffrey, Nigel's successor as governor of the church of Burton.¹⁵⁵ Let us return however to the subject of the man who was the source of this evil, who was indeed to cause evil through the claim but was not able to make good the burden of evil that followed from the claim. One night while he was sleeping in his bed and taking rest from the labours of the day, a terrifying figure in the shape of a threatening nun suddenly appeared to him in a dream, placed her

pro tanti nouitate miraculi . . . (cf. Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum* ix. 33, ed. Diana Greenway (Oxford, 1996), p. 662).

¹⁵⁴ Staffs.; the 'lord of Tutbury' at this period was Robert de Ferrers, who succeeded his father by 1101, was created earl of Derby in 1138 and died in 1139.

¹⁵⁵ The author of this text, abbot 1114–50. For the agreement between Burton and Robert de Ferrers, see the Introduction and its Appendix, above, pp. xxviii–xxix, lii–lv.

sanctimonialis apparuit, que apposuit oculis eius^a utrosque digitos et uoce illi^b pertimescenda exprobrans allocutus est eum et ait, 'Tu ne es ille qui lucum meum tulisti, abbatem meum calumpnians et meos monachos inquietans? Ecce hos oculos tibi faciam erui et lucus meus uelis nolis ad iuris proprii possessionem redibit.' Quibus illatis, confestim euanuit et ille protinus expergiscens a sompno, dormire ulterius iam non sustinens, de stratu proprio tremefactus ac stupidus cum festinatione surrexit. Illucescente igitur crastino, uenit concitus ad abbatem Nigellum, uisionem exponit quam uiderat, ueniam suppliciter petit, et de cetero pro posse suo emendationem pollicetur ad horam in uniuersis malis operibus que stulte et impie contra monasterium perpetraret. Quamobrem abbas ualde gauisus,^c fecit eum die illa secum comedere, et inebriatum ac saturum cibo uidelicet potuque alacriter adimpletum, deducens illum et obsecrans ut bene ageret, dimisit cum gaudio ad propria remeare. Qui, dum reuerteretur, sues fere sedecim de monasterio forte in luco quem custodiebat inuenit statimque oblitus uel quid audierat uel quid promiserat, retribuens pro bono malum¹⁵⁶ et sompnum^d nichil reputans nisi sompnum, eosdem porcos ad castellum deducens, consueta malicia et inolita iniquitate, sicut prius de multis fecerat, fecit et hos homo nequissimus uniuersos occidi. In ipsa ergo ebdomada qua hec facta sunt, idem statim deprehensus in crimine, culpis suis exigentibus, oculos perdidit et, sicut ei Moduenna prenuntiauerat, condemnatus in iudicio penam quam debuerat sceleratus exsoluit.

Ante hoc fuerat etiam quidam 'Henricus nomine,^e dominus uici^f qui Swartingescota uocatur,¹⁵⁷ equali modo uiciniam malam faciens, diuisas terrarum ac terminos inter sua et monasterii nimium immoderate custodiens, armenta iugiter monachorum et pecora ultra modum a pascuis irrationabili^g prohibitione distringens. Hic itaque dum multa contraria fecisset cenobio et cepisset frequentius animalia monachorum et in captione diutissima detinens | contra ius et fas per plegium aut uadimonium, sicut est consuetudo, ea reddere multis uicibus restitisset, tandem est placitum constitutum inter eum et monachos^h ut uidelicet responderent aduersus eum de calumpniis et occasionibus quas calumpniabatur dolose et adinuenerat super illos. Igitur monachi, metuentes uersutias et ingenia placitationum illius, orabant Dominum cum suffragio beate uirginis quatinus ita et sibi et

^a om. A ^b illa A ^c est add. Add. 63642 ^d penitus add. Add. 63642
^e om. (erasure) Add. 63642 ^f mei A ^g irrationabi A ^h BL Add.
 63642 ends here

fingers on his eyes and said to him in a fearsome and accusing voice, 'Aren't you the man who has taken away my wood, bringing law-suits against my abbot and disturbing my monks? Behold, I will have your eyes torn out and my wood will return to its rightful owners whether you wish it or not.' With this message she abruptly disappeared. The man awoke immediately from the dream, unable to sleep any longer and hurriedly arose from his bed in fear and amazement. When next day dawned, he came to abbot Nigel as quickly as he could, described the vision he had seen, humbly begged forgiveness and promised from that moment forth to make amends promptly to the best of his ability for all those wicked deeds he had foolishly and impiously perpetrated against the monastery. The abbot was truly delighted at this and had him dine with him that day, then, after he was full of food and drink to the point of drunkenness and satiety, accompanied him out, begging him to be good, and sent him on his way home. On his way back he happened to find sixteen pigs belonging to the monastery in the wood that he cared for. He at once forgot what he had heard and what he had promised and, returning evil for good,¹⁵⁶ thinking his dream was no more than a dream, he drove the pigs to the castle with his usual malice. There the wicked man, who was innately evil, did as he had done on many previous occasions and had them all slaughtered. In the very week in which this happened this man was caught in a crime and, as his faults demanded, lost his eyes. Just as Modwenna had announced to him beforehand, the evil man was found guilty and suffered the penalty that was his due.

Before this there was another man, Henry, lord of the village of Swadlincote.¹⁵⁷ He too was a bad neighbour, who kept an excessively close watch over the boundaries and limits between his and the monastery's estates. Through an unlawful prohibition he unreasonably barred the herds and flocks of the monks from access to pasture. After he had made much trouble for the monastery, often seizing the monks' animals, impounding them for long periods against right and justice and repeatedly refusing to restore them through pledge and surety, as is the custom, at length a day was arranged between him and the monks for a hearing when they would answer him regarding the claims and pretexts he had fraudulently raised and devised against them. The monks feared his

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Ps. 34 (35): 12 ; 37: 21 (38: 20).

¹⁵⁷ Derby., a township in the parish of Church Gresley.

illi dignaretur sua pietate prospicere sicut sciret utrisque simul secundum suam clementiam expedire. Cumque hoc postularent a Domino et sanctam uirginem super hac re deprecarentur, infra terminum ipsius placiti miles predictus continuo decidit in egritudinem et, ad Deum conuersus, cepit cogitare de anime quoniam corporis, appropinquante obitu, iam desperabat salute.^a Itaque, penitentiam agens, confessus est peccata sua et disposuit domui sue et ordinauit res suas misitque ad monachos nuntium, precans corde contrito ut mala que fecerat aduersus eos miseratione benigna remitterent et pro eo apud Dominum et apud sanctam uirginem Moduennam deuota supplicatione orarent. Corpus suum monasterio sepeliendum optulit et monachis hoc concedentibus totam suam partem substantie^b humillima largitione donauit. Sicque factum est ut ipsa die qua fuerat statutum antea quod inter se placitum fieret, ipse defunctus in feretro portaretur ad monasterium et monachorum chorus celebrando eius exequias monasterio redditum, condonatis culpis omnibus, honorifice sepeliret. Quod ideo ita contigit, disponente Deo et subueniente beata uirgine, ut auditis orationibus fratrum et hic a peccatis liberaretur et isti ab inquietudinibus per misericordia eruentur.

50. *Miracula mixta simul et ire et gracie et oratio scriptoris ad uirginem.*

Vidimus etiam nostris diebus quedam miracula fieri, hec ad iram, illa ad gratiam, que quidem nobis non tam sunt explicanda enucleatius quam succinctius transeunda. Recentia enim acta sunt et ideo, si quid dicere de eis conabimur, personarum suppressis nominibus eloquemur.

Vidimus uirum prediuitem qui per potentiam oppressit ecclesiam et dampna ei plurima perpetravit, sed non longo post^c tempore inde gauisus, infra paucum terminum morte preuentus satis misere ac defunctus est. Ante hoc fuerat quidam alius diues homo qui, dum iret ad regem, transiens secus possessionem cenobii et comminatus fuisset se rusticos in suo redditu de uico eodem omnes penitus ablaturus, minis quidem cum ira editis, perrexit ad curiam sed, non uiuus inde rediens, frigidus in feretro satis proxime iuxta eandem uillam delatus

^a salutem MS

^b substantia MS

^c om. A

tricks and cleverness at pleading and hence prayed to the Lord with the help of the blessed virgin that in His goodness He should deign to look on both parties as He knew was fitting for His mercy. While they sought this from the Lord and prayed earnestly to the holy virgin on this matter, the knight suddenly fell ill before the time appointed for the hearing, turned to God and began to consider the salvation of his soul since, as death drew near, he despaired of that of his body. He performed penance, confessed his sins, made arrangements for his household and property, and then sent a messenger to the monks begging with a sorrowful heart that they should, with kind mercy, forgive the evils he had done them and pray in devout supplication for him to the Lord and the holy virgin Modwenna. He left his body to be buried in the monastery and, in return for the monks' granting this, gave them with humble generosity all his share of the property. Thus it happened that on the very day previously agreed for the hearing between them, he was carried dead on his bier to the monastery and the choir of monks celebrated his funeral and buried him honourably within the monastery, forgiving all his sins. So, through God's plan and the assistance of the blessed virgin, as the brethren sent up their prayers, this man was freed from his sins and the monks mercifully released from their troubles.

50. *Varied miracles of both anger and favour and the writer's prayer to the virgin.*

We have seen miracles happen in our day too, some of anger, some of favour, and we shall run through them briefly rather than give a full account of them. Because these things happened recently we shall, in our attempts to talk about them, suppress the names of the people involved.

We have seen a very rich man who used his power to oppress the church and did it much harm, but he did not rejoice about it long, for within a little time he was cut short by a miserable death and died. Before this there was another rich man who passed by one of the abbey's properties on his way to visit the king. He made angry threats that when he returned he would carry off all the peasants from that village. He arrived at court but did not come back alive and was borne past the village cold on his bier. We have also seen another man, a tenant of the church, who did harm to the church. He refused to

est. ^a Vidimus quoque et alium qui tenebat de ecclesia et malum faciebat ecclesie qui, nolens emendare quod male egerat, subita morte in fluctu fluuii necatus est. ^a Vidimus etiam alium qui habebat breuia regis ex pollicitatione pecunie et de terris cenobii calumpniabatur et coangustabat et implacitabat abbatem qui, termino placiti per regis uiolentiam constituto, infra terminum eiusdem placiti, dum sequeretur lepores, precipitatus ab equo, collo confracto diruptisque uisceribus^b improuisa morte prereptus est. Vidimus homines qui periurium incurrerunt ut partem terre auferrent de monasterio, qui postmodum infra paucos dies tenuerunt malam uiam, quia^c alii sunt conuersi in rabiem, alii facti pauperrimi atque alii ^diudicio Dei^d morte subitanea interempti.

Scio hominem qui multis uicibus, dum plurimos operarios conuocasset in operationem ecclesie et, imminente pluuiarum obstaculo, impediri promotionem sensisset, multotiens ad nomen Domini et ad nomen Moduenne clam omnibus intra in corde clamauit et continuo tempus operi congruum et aeris serenitatem per Dei gratiam impetravit. Scio hominem cui forte—ob quam causam nescio—uelut quedam uerruca surrexerit^e sub oculo, quam cum sensisset cotidie crescere et sepius ostendisset beate uirgini coram feretro eius et dixisset, quasi | loquens ad eam, 'Domina mea, potes si uis hoc uicium auferre a me', uerruca eadem miro modo confestim euanuit et, mirantibus cunctis^f qui ante uiderant, nullo prorsus remanente uestigio, tota simul absque ulla dilatione abcessit.^g

Vidimus ignem inuasisse uillam Burtonie per uiolentiam plurimam qui uidelicet, dum feretrum sacratissime uirginis aduersus eum extra ecclesiam deportaretur, statim cessans atque resiliens, ueluti res que ratione non careat, quasi coram astante uirgine satisfaciendo uerecundatus est. ^h Vidimus quadam uice apud Burtoniam tantam tempestatem uentorum quantam numquam antea uidimus, ita ut uitree confractionem fluctus, ad momentum eiectionem aque de alueo, monasterioⁱ casum uniuersa, uelut precipitium, minarenturⁱ moxque dum feretrum sanctissime uirginis fuisset deorsum depositum, quasi sancta se prosternente et humiliante coram Domino pro ecclesia sua, tota illa procellosa intemperies miro modo absque ullo^k dilationis obstaculo conqueuit protinus atque sedata est. Vidimus hominem operarium in monasterio improuise de loco altissimo super latus suum cum periculo maximo cecidisse, ita ut penitus et totus confringi et mori continuo ab omnibus ibi concurrentibus sine dubio crederetur,

^{a a} om. R ^b uisceribus A ^c uidelicet add. A ^{d d} Dei iudicio A
^e surrexit A ^f om. A ^g recessit A ^{h h} om. R ^{i i} a difficult and
possibly corrupt passage ^j monasterium MS ^k ulla MS

make amends for the evil he had done and suffered sudden death in a river flood. We have seen another man who obtained writs from the king by the promise of money, raised a plea concerning the monastery's lands and pressed and impleaded the abbot. A day for the hearing was set by the king's violence, but before the day came, this man, who was hunting hares, was thrown from his horse, broke his neck, shattered his insides, and was snatched off by an unexpected death. We have seen men who incurred perjury in order to take away some of its land from the monastery, but within a few days they found themselves on a bad path, since some went mad, some became impoverished, and some suffered sudden death by God's judgement.

I know a man who often, when he had called a crowd of workmen together to do the church's work and realized from the movement of the air that impending rain might hinder the task, called out secretly in his heart many times to the name of the Lord and the name of Modwenna and immediately through God's grace procured weather good for work and clear skies. I know a man who suffered from a wart that had grown for some reason under his eye. When he felt this daily increasing in size, he showed it to the blessed virgin before her shrine, saying 'My lady, if you so wish, you can take this disfigurement from me.' The wart immediately disappeared in a wonderful way and to the astonishment of all who had seen it before, since it went away immediately and completely without leaving a trace.

We have seen a fire raging violently in the town of Burton, which, when the shrine of the holy virgin was brought out of the church against it, immediately stopped and leaped back, like a creature not lacking in reason, shamefacedly making its apologies in the presence, as it were, of the virgin. We have seen on one occasion at Burton a gale greater than we have ever witnessed, with winds so strong that the waves threatened to shatter the glass and to throw the water from its course at any moment and everything threatened to cast down the monastery in ruin. As soon as the shrine of the holy virgin was placed on the ground, as if the saint were prostrating herself and humbling herself before the Lord on behalf of her church, all that wild storm abated immediately in a wonderful manner and grew calm without a moment's delay. We have seen one of the men working in the monastery suffer a dangerous and unexpected fall from a very high place on to his side, so that everyone who ran up believed without a doubt that he was completely smashed and would die straightaway. Yet he leapt up again at once with the axe he was holding in his hand,

qui, tam confestim sursum exiliens cum dolabro quod tenebat in manu, stupendo miraculo per meritum beate uirginis cuius opus operabatur contra spem cunctorum manifesta Dei uirtute saluatus est. Ante hunc fuerat etiam quidam alius, ligni faber sicut et iste, qui quadam die dum aliquid in cenobio ueteri super trabes operaretur,¹⁵⁸ subito cecidit de loco eodem in medio chori supra pedes proprios ibique recto statu, coram conspectibus monachorum psallentium, ferme pube tenus miro modo confossus in terra, cum a uidentibus ac stupescentibus diffossus fuisset, inaudito et prodigioso miraculo per meritum beate uirginis cui famulabatur totus sanus atque incolumis Deo miseratione inuentus est.

Vidimus una uice trahi sursum tintinnabulam monasterii, que dum tracta fuisset per funem maximum et a multis hominibus, posita omnia et collocata in suis locis, restis eadem quasi ex pondere fortitudinem accepisset, ad peragendum officium sanctissime uirginis; dimissa deorsum iam uacua, expletis omnibus, et se ipsam ferre non sustinens seruitute completa, tunc tandem cum caruit pondere, miro modo statim defecit atque tota dirupta est. Vidimus quoque mulierem que dum pergeret ad ecclesiam cum paruulo filio sanctissimam uirginem pro suis excessibus deprecatura, forte lignum ingens de sursum cecidit de cenobii opere nimirum prope illam interiacente uix minimo spatio, que tunc cum infantulo, dum ambo simul estimarentur prosterni ab illo tam periculoso euentu, per tutelam beate uirginis, protegente diuina gracia, stupentibus et admirantibus cunctis qui aderunt, euasit atque erepta est. Vidimus quoque et aliam feminam que ceca prorsus et egra uenit de longinquo suffragium beate uirginis petitura, que cum deuote orasset ad uirginem et post paululum obdormisset, astante sibi per uisionem eadem uirgine, et ipsa confestim excitata a somno statim omnino et ex infirmitate conualuit et, cecitate fugata, Dei gracia illuminata est. Vidimus quoque et aliam mulierculam que uentre tumido, inflatis pedibus, nichil uidens de uno oculo sed de altero parum, uenit cum ceteris ad solempnia uirginis ut illius auxilium flagitaret que tota nocte pregrauata molestiis dum studiose uigilasset in oratione ad uirginem, eius suffragio ac patrocinio et lumen oculi recepit in crastino et a tumore uentris ac pedum diuino munere liberata est. Vidimus etiam quendam clericum debilem corpore et multimoda infirmitate oppressum, qui dum isset ad sanctum Edmundum |¹⁵⁹ ut auxilium eius peteret et ibi

saved by an astounding miracle through the merit of the blessed virgin whose work he was doing, beyond the hope of all by God's manifest power. Before this there was another, a carpenter like the previous man, who was working one day on the roof-beams in the old monastery.¹⁵⁸ Suddenly he fell from that place into the middle of the choir on to his own feet and there, in sight of the monks who were singing psalms, was buried almost up to his groin upright in the ground in a remarkable way. When those who witnessed this in amazement dug him out, he was, by God's mercy, found healthy and unharmed by a remarkable and unprecedented miracle through the merit of the blessed virgin whom he served.

We have seen on one occasion the bell of the monastery being hauled aloft, and while it was pulled up on a big rope and everything positioned and put in place by many men, that rope seemed to gain strength from the weight to complete the office of the holy virgin. When everything was finished and it was let down unburdened, it could not even support its own weight after it had done its service, and, in a remarkable way, failed and broke completely. We have also seen a woman coming to the church with her little son to pray to the holy virgin for her sins when a huge timber happened to fall down from the monastery works within a very short space of her. Though both mother and child were presumed to have been struck to the ground, they escaped and were saved in that dangerous accident, through the guardianship of the blessed virgin and the protection of God's grace to the astonishment and amazement of all who were there. We have also seen another woman, blind and sick, who came from far away to seek the aid of the blessed virgin. When she had prayed devoutly to the virgin and then slept a little, she saw the virgin standing before her in a vision, and when she awoke from sleep she was completely cured from illness and restored to sight, since God's grace had banished her blindness. We have also seen another little woman with a swollen belly and inflamed feet, no sight in one eye and little in the other, who came with others to the feast of the virgin to ask her help. She kept vigil earnestly all night in prayer to the virgin, although burdened with pain, and in the morning, through her help and patronage, received sight in that eye and was freed by God's gift of the swelling in her belly and feet. We have also seen a cleric, infirm in body and worn down by many illnesses, who went to St Edmund¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁸ See the Introduction for the building work on the abbey under Abbot Geoffrey.

¹⁵⁹ The shrine of St Edmund at Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk.

fuisset in sompnis admonitus per quandam speciem in similitudinem mulieris quatinus Burtoniam cum oblatione deberet requirere illicque a Deo per Moduennam beatam uirginem sanitatis remedium absque dubio recuperare, letus effectus et certissime de uisione confidens, quam citius potuit Burtoniense cenobium nudis pedis humiliter ac fideliter adiit, suam illuc secum ut iussus fuerat uoluntarie oblationem detulit, cum summa deuotione orauit ad uirginem et continuo ab egritudine per Dei gratiam sanatus est integerrime.

Vidimus etiam quoddam mirum satis mirabile, quia uidelicet dum abbas Gaufridus propriis manibus sacra ossa beate uirginis quod et ipsum Deo propiciante peregit de feretro ueteri tollere et transferre decentius in nouum, stupendo modo pallia omnia quibus inuoluta fuerunt preterito iam multo tempore apparuerunt uelut recentia et tota penitus sutura filorum, quibus tanto ante consuta fuerant, robusta et fortis et omnino quasi hesterna ac noua inuenta est.^h Audiuimus uicecomitem aliquem fuisse aliquando in captione positum, qui dum fuisset reclusus in archa, superposito ingenti lapide et addictus compedibus, corde contrito interiusque gemitibus in medio angustiarum suspirasset ad uirginem, miro modo per duas noctes deiecta petra, diruptis uinculis confractoque ergastulo, liberatus repente quia fidem ^anon fictam¹⁶⁰ in Deo^a habuit et spem indubitata in^b uirgine, de eiusdem captionis creptus periculo, suis quoque possessionibus que sibi omnes ablatae fuerant a regio exactore propter debita, inuocato sepius nomine Moduenne, propitiantie diuina clementia, condonatis que debuerat uniuersis, quam plurimis talem euentum mirantibus, restauratus ac restitutus est.¹⁶¹

Multa quidem alia per sanctam uirginem operatus est Dominus et adhuc possem plura proferre si uellem sed quoniam tedio quoque lectorum debemus prospicere ne forte uel habeant scripta fastidio uel omnino non legant, pauca ista de plurioribus hactenus pertractata sufficiant.^c

Hanc ergo scripturam de uita et uirtutibus tuis offero tibi, o sacratissima uirgo et beatissima domina Moduenna, obsecrans corde supplici et implorans humiliter tue sancte miserationis auxilium, quatenus mihi apud illum qui te tam excellentissime preelegit impetres ueniam peccatorum ac delictorum meorum, ut tuo dulci suffragio et ualeam inferni penas euadere et merear per Dei gratiam paradisi eterna gaudia possidere. Si quid dixi in hoc scripto quod tibi

^a " fictam in Deo non R^b a R^c sufficient A

to seek his help and was there admonished in a dream by a figure in the form of a woman that he should seek out Burton with an offering and would there without a doubt recover his health from God through Modwenna the blessed virgin. He was overjoyed and, trusting completely in the vision, came barefoot to the monastery of Burton as fast as he could, humbly and faithfully, bringing with him a voluntary offering as he had been commanded. He prayed to the virgin with great devotion and was immediately completely cured from his illness through God's grace.

We have also seen a remarkable wonder, namely that when, by God's favour to him, abbot Geoffrey was, with his own hands, removing the holy bones of the blessed virgin from the old shrine and transferring them into a new and more fitting one, astonishingly all the cloths in which they had been wrapped such a long time before appeared as if new and all the threads with which they had been sewn so long ago were strong and firm, as if they had all been made just yesterday. We have heard that a sheriff was once placed in captivity, shut in a box with a huge stone on top and bound with fetters. With a contrite heart and internal groans he sighed out to the virgin in the midst of his troubles and after two nights the stone was cast down, the chains burst, and the prison broken. He was freed suddenly because he had an unfeigned faith¹⁶⁰ in God and an undoubting hope in the virgin and, once he had been snatched from the peril of captivity, he was also, through God's kindly mercy and frequent invocation of the name of Modwenna, restored to all his possessions. These had been taken away from him by the royal judge on account of his debts but now everything he owed was forgiven him. Very many people marvelled at this outcome.¹⁶¹

The Lord worked many other things through the holy virgin and I could tell much more if I wished but we must take care not to bore the reader so that he finds the work tiresome or does not even read it at all. Out of many things, these few I have discussed are enough.

I offer you this writing about your life and miracles, O most holy virgin and blessed lady Modwenna, begging with a submissive heart and humbly imploring the assistance of your holy mercy, that you should seek forgiveness of my sins and faults before Him who chose you for such distinction. By your sweet help let me escape the punishments of hell and deserve, through God's grace, to possess

¹⁶⁰ 1 Tim. 1: 5; 2 Tim. 1: 5.

¹⁶¹ An unusual and graphic picture of Henry I's dealings with his officials.

displiceat, condona mihi; si quid scripsi quod tibi placere debeat, in eterna beatitudine redde mihi. Subueni cunctis qui uitam tuam libenter legerint, ora pro omnibus qui de te loqui libenter audierint. Tuere, quesumus, ecclesiam tuam, monachos tuos adiua et uniuersos te memorantes conserua; da pacem, domina, in diebus nostris¹⁶² et consule omnibus requirentibus te et famulantibus tibi ut, uitam tranquillam et Deo placitam sub patrocinio tuo degentes, laudemus et magnificemus et glorificemus sponsum tuum, Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat et gloriatur equalis Deus. Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.^a

Gloriosus est Deus in sanctis suis,¹⁶³ quos in celis coronat eterne felicitatis gloria et in terris miraculorum nouitate uiuit eorum perpetua memoria. In terra morte sullati, mortis euasere dominium; in celo uita donati, uite comprehenderunt brauium. Quos igitur Deus in celis et in terris sic uoluit sullimari, quisque fidelium cum summa deuotione debet uenerari. Quapropter quod sub memoria beate uirginis Moduenne diuinitus est celebratum auribus posteritatis transmitti debet, literarum annotationi commendatum. Indecens enim ut fuligine deleatur obliuionis quod nobiscum fecit Deus ex beneficio sue reuelationis.

A, f. 113^v Ego utique Iordanus, monasterii Burtoniensis prior dictus,¹⁶⁴ ad eiusdem monasterii ualuas ueniens, inueni quendam | pre foribus excubantem habitu peregrinum et pauperem, loquela et cultu alienigenam, uoce lacrimabili et miserabili postulantem ut eum intromissum, intuitui pietatis diuine admittemus et, nocte iam instante, uigiliis et orationibus ibidem insistere permetteremus. Causam sue postulationis allegans, se dixit esse natione Francigenam, milicie dudum cingulo decoratum, pro sceleris immanitate nunc exilio destinatum et utroque brachio laminis ferreis uinculatum sub decreto publice penitencie multas regiones peragrasse et multorum pignora sanctorum et limina iam uisitasse demumque pro sanctorum meritis, diuina respiciente misericordia, se iam esse ab unius uinculi relaxatum angustia. Sed relictum quod restabat eum durius solito

^a *R ends here*

¹⁶² Cf. the prayer in the canon of the Mass, *Da propitius pacem in diebus nostris*, and Ecclus. 50: 25.

¹⁶³ Cf. Ps. 67: 36 (68: 35).

the eternal joys of paradise. If I have said anything in this work that displeases you, forgive me. If I have written anything that pleases you, bring me into eternal blessedness. Aid all those who willingly read your Life, pray for all who are happy to hear you spoken of. Protect, we beseech you, your church, help your monks, protect all those who preserve your memory; give peace in our time,¹⁶² lady, and regard kindly all those who follow you and serve you so that, living a quiet life, pleasing to God, under your protection, we may praise and magnify and glorify your spouse, our Lord Jesus Christ who lives and reigns and is glorified with the Father and the Holy Spirit, as one God. For ever and ever, Amen.

(Additional miracle recounted by prior Jordan).

God is glorious in His saints,¹⁶³ whom He crowns in heaven with the glory of eternal happiness and whose everlasting memory on earth lives on through renewed miracles. On earth, having endured death, they escape death's dominion; in heaven, granted life, they attain the prize of life. The faithful should reverence with the greatest devotion those whom God has thus chosen to exalt in heaven and on earth. Therefore what is divinely manifested in remembrance of the blessed virgin Modwenna ought to be transmitted to the ears of future generations by being committed to written record, for it would be wrong if what God has done amongst us through the goodness of His revelation should be destroyed by sooty oblivion.

I, Jordan, prior of the monastery of Burton,¹⁶⁴ came to the gates of the monastery and found a man lying on the ground outside. He was dressed like a poor pilgrim and his speech and appearance showed him to be a foreigner. In a tearful and wretched voice he begged us to let him in for God's mercy and, since night was drawing on, to allow him to remain inside in prayer and vigil. He explained the reason for his request, telling us that he was a Frenchman by birth and had once been honoured by the belt of knighthood but, on account of a horrific crime, had been sentenced, as a public penance, to be bound on each arm with iron bonds and sent into exile to wander many regions. After he had visited the relics and shrines of many saints at last, through the merits of the saints, God had looked mercifully upon him and he had been freed from the burden of one of the bonds. However,

¹⁶⁴ Jordan was prior under abbots Geoffrey (1114-50), Robert (1150-9, 1176-6/7), and Bernard (1160-74/5), and had also served as sub-prior under Geoffrey (Jeayes 17-20, 22-4, 27; Wrottesley, pp. 35-40).

coartabat quia iam letali frigore brachium exangue reddiderat et carnes hinc inde obesas usque ad ossis ariditatem inciderat et accedentibus saniem et fetorem ministrabat. Adiecitque per quamdam mulierem uultum habentem imperio plenam pre grauitate maturam sibi fuisse in sompno iam bis reuelatum quod cuiusdam sancte uirginis prope Tutesburiam adiret monasterium, cuius nomen in illis partibus erat celebre et indigenis dilectum et uenerabile et sui sic facinoris promereretur absolutionem et uinculi exterioris assequeretur dissolutionem. Hiis dictis, in faciem cecidit humi prostratus elegosque suos terminatus lacrimae singultus et gemitus. Macilenta siquidem facies et totius corporis inculta species, indumentorum exilis tenuitas et uinculorum horribilis asperitas, assertionis sue prebebant argumenta et publice penitentiae manifesta indicia. Nos igitur, hiis fidem habentes, ei clementer indulsimus ut ad beate uirginis capsam accederet ductus et in eodem monasterio nocte proxima incumberet uigiliis et orationibus. Sed sicut ipse uerbis et gemitibus fatebatur tota nocte uehementiori et asperiori dolore coartabatur. Mane uero facto ueniens ad altare in quo sacerdos parrochitanus missam celebrabat,¹⁶⁵ ipsum iam diu fatigatum in lacrimas et suspiria relaxabat. Celebrata iam consecratione corporis dominici, choro cantante agnus^a Dei, dum hostia salutaris Deo patri offerebatur, manica ferrea miro modo relaxatur angustiaque letalis in momento mitigatur. Illi siquidem qui presentes astiterunt uinculum dissiliens aspexerunt et ferri dissilientis strepitum sonorum audierunt. Hic igitur, sui uoti compos effectus, exclamat uoce iocunda, Deum magnificans in dilecta sua sponsa Moduenna cuius meritis interuenientibus culpa remittitur, pena culpe dissoluitur, dira terminantur exilia et interdicta restituitur patria, illi soli gloria qui solus facit mirabilia¹⁶⁶ per secula seculorum. Amen.

^a angus *MS*

¹⁶⁵ The abbey church also served as parish church.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Ps. 71 (72): 18; 135 (136): 4.

the remaining one was constricting him more tightly than ever so that the blood was cut off and the arm as cold as death, while it cut the flesh at either side through to the dry bone, so that those who approached him saw the pus and smelled the stench. He added that a woman with a face full of command, grave and seemly, had now twice appeared to him in his sleep and revealed that he should go to the monastery near Tutbury dedicated to a holy virgin whose name was famous in those parts and loved and revered by the inhabitants. There, she promised, he would receive both absolution for his crime and liberation from the bond on his body. When he had said this, the man fell prostrate on the ground and concluded his laments with tears, sobs, and groans. His emaciated face, the uncared-for look of his whole body, his worn clothes, and the horrible harshness of the bond all proved the truth of what he said, being clear signs that he was a public penitent. Since these things gave us confidence in him, we kindly permitted him to be led to the shrine of the blessed virgin and to spend the following night in vigil and prayer in the monastery. As he himself said through words and groans, he was oppressed the whole night long with a deep and piercing pain. In the morning he came to the altar where the parish priest was celebrating mass¹⁶⁵ and, exhausted, abandoned himself to weeping and moaning. When the consecration of the Lord's body had been celebrated and the choir was singing the *Agnus Dei*, just as the saving sacrifice was being offered to God the Father, the iron bond was marvellously released and the mortal pain assuaged. Those who were there saw the bond break apart and heard the sound of the iron bursting. The man, having thus fulfilled his vow, cried out joyfully, glorifying God in His beloved spouse Modwenna, whose merits had interceded to remit the fault, relax the penalty for the fault, end his painful exile, and return him to the homeland from which he had been banished. To Him alone is the glory, who alone performs His wonders,¹⁶⁶ for ever and ever. Amen.

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