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THE MONKS OF REDON

Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium
and
Vita Conuuoionis

Edited and translated by
CAROLINE BRETT



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GENERAL EDITOR'S FOREWORD

The study of mediaeval Breton culture has in recent years begun to take major steps forward. Particular interest has been shown by British scholars: and they have themselves contributed substantially to this process, as has been generously recognised in Brittany. Among those in the van of this movement is Dr Caroline Brett whose contribution has encompassed both historical analysis and edition of texts. In the present volume she turns her attention principally to a literary text central to our understanding of the ninth century. Research into early mediaeval Breton history remains greatly hampered by the fact of inadequate or non-existent editions of important works, while teaching of the subject is considerably impeded by lack of modern-language translations. Here we are offered *Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium*, a house-history of the Benedictine monastery of Redon in the ninth century, in both edition and translation, a model for publication of Breton Latin texts. Dr Brett's view of her role in this respect is deliberately conservative – and rightly so, in my view. Such rapid advances may now be expected in Breton studies that all editorial comment must be viewed as even more than usually ephemeral. The circumstances of the text's genesis and transmissional history, together with consideration of its present contribution to our knowledge of ninth-century Brittany, provide the essentials of the introduction. Dr Brett is giving monographic treatment to a variety of further topics in other publications.

In *Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium* we are faced with a series of mysteries. The text itself is incomplete at either end. It is doubtful whether it circulated significantly outside Redon in the middle ages. Generically it has no known predecessor, Bede's *Historia Abbatum* being an arguably comparable work but an almost inconceivable model. No identifiable author can credibly be put forward. Some doubt also remains as to the precise date of the work's composition. Further study by a wide range of scholars will no doubt help to resolve some of the problems. By making readily available this fundamentally important text, Dr Brett has performed a signal service. To observe that these *Gesta* were last published in 1742 is to illustrate simply the critical inaccessibility of texts central to our knowledge of the period. It is greatly to be desired that other historians and latinists should take up the challenge of editing or reediting the (principally hagiographical) Latin literature of ninth-century and later Brittany. Mediaeval Redon will soon be well known to a wider public, thanks particularly to the work of Professor Wendy Davies and of Dr Brett. Although the sources relating to other areas and churches are less

concentrated and (until a much later period) rather less full, a great deal can still be learned by close study of them: there is work in Breton history for many hands.

David Dumville
Girton College, Cambridge
August 1987

PREFACE

If the study of ninth-century Brittany is possible other than as a facet of the military history of the Carolingian dynasty, this is largely thanks to the sources preserved at a single centre, the monastery of Redon, sited on Brittany's southeastern border. Redon produced a cartulary, copied in the late eleventh or early twelfth century, containing records of nearly three hundred transactions involving land in the surrounding region and dating from between 801 and 924, together with another series dating from 990 onwards. It also produced *Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium*, an account of the founding of the monastery and of the life of the first abbot and his monks, which is rare among saints' Lives and unique among Breton ones in being the work of an author who had personally known his subjects.

A combination of sources like this gives the historian an unusual opportunity to examine two mutually revealing sides of a monastery: the religious and the material, the place of devotion and the practical enterprise. If the richness of Redon's documentation makes it a potential *exemplum* of an early mediaeval monastery, many other circumstances give it more peculiar significance. On the border between Franks and Bretons, and patronised by the leaders of both, it not only reflected but actively promoted the mingling of two cultures, recorded their political clashes but emerged from them unscathed (or would have done but for the vikings). The Redon sources potentially show us this conflict and conciliation, the high-water mark reached by Carolingian institutions, and the backwash of local life and custom, in a way which may yield instructive comparisons with other outlying parts of the Carolingian empire.

Early mediaeval Breton history is currently receiving renewed attention in this country and in France; in particular, studies of various aspects of the evidence of the Redon cartulary, and of the archaeology and historical geography of the Redon area, have been undertaken by Professor Wendy Davies and Dr Noel-Yves Tonnerre, and a book containing a general study of Carolingian Brittany is being prepared by Dr Julia M. H. Smith. A study of Redon's home-grown hagiography seems an appropriate and necessary complement to this work. *Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium* and its later derivative *Vita Conuuoionis*, a life of Redon's founder, have been published twice in full: by Dom Jean Mabillon in *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti* in 1680, and by Dom Pierre-Hyacinthe Morice in the *Preuves* of his *Histoire de Bretagne* in 1742 – and excerpts from the *Gesta* appeared in Bouquet's *Recueil* and in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. However, the less inaccessible of the two editions, Morice's, has many

errors, while the various published excerpts are far from exhausting the historical interest of the text. Below, it is for the first time edited from all the surviving witnesses and translated into English. The evidence of the manuscripts is brought to bear on the mystery of the missing beginning and end of the *Gesta* and on the dating of *Vita Conuuoionis*. The translation keeps as close as possible to the literal sense of the Latin in order to help the reader to follow the text and the significance of the author's wording. The result, it is hoped, will be to make it easier for scholars to make use of the full range of Redon source-material concerning whatever aspect of the life of the monastery and region they may choose to investigate.

The nature of historical information to be derived from hagiography, and the methods to be applied, are undergoing re-evaluation at present. If this re-evaluation is to be extended to the Breton corpus of saints' lives, then *Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium*, the only contemporary work among them, must be a basic point of reference. For most of the corpus, including *Vita Conuuoionis*, the author's position and the date and place of composition are not so easily deduced from internal evidence. In pushing the history of such texts' genesis as far as it will go, detailed study of their language, their manuscript-traditions, and the surviving stages of their development will all play a vital part. For this reason, I have devoted space to a discussion of the latinity of the Redon hagiography and to a full description of their witnesses and the relations among them, including all the data offered by the first printed editions of the texts (those of Mabillon and Morice). An understanding of the methods of early editors such as these – on whom the student of Breton history often, as in this case, relies as primary witnesses to manuscripts and texts – may in the future help towards a clearer definition of the value of their testimony and to its fuller exploitation as source-material. The description of manuscripts and analysis of textual variants has limited results in this case, since we are dealing with a text which apparently never circulated significantly beyond Redon; but, often, such analysis may lead to important discoveries about the diffusion of a saint's cult and the evolution of his Life. Likewise, the scrutiny of grammar, syntax, and vocabulary, if applied to a wide range of texts, may bring to light otherwise unrecorded links between centres of learning and establish new grounds for dating and localising works of hagiography.

The editorial material in this volume is intended as data from which this kind of comparison may proceed. In a series of studies in progress, I aim to explore some aspects of the evidence of *Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium* for the politics, society, and religious life of the Frankish-Breton border and the influences which Redon exerted and received. All that is included in this book, however, is internal to the texts and will, I hope, be of relevance to scholars whatever the nature of their interest in them.

This book is an emended form of part of a doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of Cambridge in December 1985. Acknowledgments are due to many people who have helped me in its preparation: first and foremost to David Dumville, my research-supervisor and series-editor, without whose never-failing support and guidance it would hardly have been begun, let alone finished; to the French Government, for providing the means for my study of the manuscripts in Paris; to Professor Christopher

Brooke, Dr Michael Winterbottom, Dr Martin Brett, and Mr Neil Wright, who all lavished great care on reading the work at various stages and saved me from many errors; to Professor Wendy Davies and Dr Julia Smith for generous discussion and encouragement; to Père Roger Chopin, parish-priest of Redon, for a memorable tour of the haunts of St Conuuoion. My account of the latinity of my two texts has been thoroughly revised under the expert guidance of Giovanni Orlandi, Professor of Mediaeval Latin at the University of Milan, who generously devoted part of a relatively brief stay in Cambridge to helping me: I am most grateful to him. Finally, and sadly, Professor Léon Fleuriot, whose death occurred recently, should have received but cannot receive my thanks for his direction of my work in Paris; and Sally Dumville, who died while the book was in press, deserved more gratitude than I can give, not only for sub-editing an untidy manuscript but also for being a helping and enlivening presence from first to last. *Haec enim propterea dixi, ne quis spernat ex uobis meam insipientiam, cum praesertim illos uiros bene nouerim, qui me a pueritia nutrierunt atque in scientia Dei educauerunt.*

C.J.B.
Spring 1989

ABBREVIATIONS

- BHL* *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* and supplements (Société des Bollandistes, Bruxelles 1898/1901, 1911, 1986)
- CR* Cartulary of Redon, ed. Aurélien de Courson, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Redon en Bretagne* (Paris 1863), cited by document-number (for example, *CR* 42 or *CR* App 6)
- GSR* *Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium*, edited and translated in this volume
- VC* *Vita Conuuoionis*, edited and translated in this volume

INTRODUCTION

*GESTA SANCTORUM ROTONENSIIUM AND
VITA CONUVOIONIS: DATING AND AUTHORSHIP*

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

In 832, when the monastery of Redon was founded on the eastern edge of Brittany, efforts had been going on for some time to incorporate this forested, coastally settled, Celtic-speaking region into the Carolingian empire. The Carolingian dynasty, rulers of Francia since 751 with most of their landed wealth in the Low Countries, had pursued a continuous policy of military expansion, campaigning to extend their rule over outlying, culturally and linguistically distinct, regions. The official Carolingian sources, the Annals of Metz and the Royal Frankish Annals, succeeded from 830 by the so-called Annals of Saint-Bertin,¹ give notice of repeated victories over the Bretons in the later eighth and early ninth centuries, but the fact that repeated campaigns were necessary shows the difficulties in the military conquest of an area which the Franks did not settle and which was far from the Carolingian power-base. The foundation of Redon almost coincided with a shift in the policy of the Frankish emperor, Louis the Pious (814–40), towards Brittany. In 830 a campaign against the Bretons had been aborted when resistance to Louis among the nobles (focussed by his attempts to increase the standing of his youngest son, Charles the Bald, at the expense of his half-brothers) boiled over into an attempted coup. One of the ringleaders was Lambert, count of Nantes, a magnate who would have to take a leading role in any successful military action against the Bretons. When the revolt failed, Lambert was removed from office and so was his relative Wido, count of Vannes. Wido was replaced by a native Breton, Nominioi,² who a year later was appointed *missus* – a special representative of the Emperor himself – with governmental powers over the whole of Brittany. The shift from attempts at direct annexation to devolved government through a local ruler is well defined and it seems to

¹ *Annales Mettenses Priores*, ed. von Simson; *Annales Regni Francorum*, ed. Kurze, and transl. Scholz & Rogers, *Carolingian Chronicles*; *Annales Sancti Bertiniani*, edd. Grat *et al.*, *Les Annales*. For general accounts of the history of Brittany in the Carolingian age see Chédeville & Guillotel, *La Bretagne*; McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms*, pp. 241–8; Smith, 'Carolingian Brittany'. Classic, but in some respects outdated, works are De la Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*, II, and Planiol, *Histoire des institutions*, II.

² On the appointment of Nominioi see [Chédeville &] Guillotel, *La Bretagne*, pp. 223–9. For the name Nominioi, see Jackson, *A Historical Phonology*, pp. 210–11 (§ 291).

have worked to mutual advantage, for apart from one incident in 838 (mentioned in *Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium* and in the Annals of Saint-Bertin) no warfare is recorded in Brittany for the remainder of Louis's reign.

That Redon should have been founded a year or so later, in June 832,³ may have been a coincidence, but the monastery almost at once became involved in the tilting balance of Franco-Breton politics. The ambitions of the founding abbot, Conuuoion, are shown in his immediate appeals to Nominoi and Louis for assistance. The episodes in *GSR*, I.8–10, when Conuuoion repeatedly asks the Emperor's help and finally obtains it at the third attempt, gain significance in the context of the political events of 832–4, when a second revolt, brewing when Conuuoion made his first approach, resulted in Louis being deposed and imprisoned for the best part of a year by his son Lothar, with Lambert again playing a leading role. Amid the tensions of 832/3 the advice said to have been given to the Emperor by Ricowin, count of Nantes and Rainarius, bishop of Vannes, in *GSR*, I.8, that the site of Redon was too strategically important to be granted to a monastery, would have seemed sound. Redon was right on the River Vilaine which formed the linguistic boundary between Franks and Bretons: in 845 a battle between the Bretons and Charles the Bald's army would in fact be fought in Redon's own parish.⁴ But in 833 the Frankish counts of the Breton border revolted while the Bretons under Nominoi remained loyal to the Emperor. This may help to explain why Louis, after being reinstated, was ready to accede to Conuuoion's requests when they were strongly supported by Nominoi.

Redon – its abbatial church dedicated in the favourite Carolingian cult of the Holy Saviour⁵ – thus became a symbol of a new détente between the Carolingians and the rulers of Brittany, and what we learn of its religious life from *GSR* and the many ninth-century charters of the Cartulary of Redon⁶ testifies to more than symbolic activity. The monastery adopted the Benedictine Rule according to the standards of Louis's reforms⁷ and disseminated it to other Breton monasteries, as we learn in *GSR*, III.4. It cultivated contacts with churches in Francia and acquired relics from Angers and Rome.⁸ The author of the *Gesta* stressed the links of Redon with the Universal Church, and its fitness to rank with the holy places of Rome and the East as a centre of pilgrimage. The very production of *Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium* signals openness to the new learning of the Carolingian renaissance.

Nominoi and his successors, while willing to adapt to Frankish cultural influences and methods of government, were by no means always in smooth relations with the Carolingians, and some episodes of conflict are alluded

³ *Cartulaire*, ed. De Courson, nos 1 and App. 2.

⁴ On the battle of Ballon in the parish of Bains see [Chédeville &] Guillotel, *La Bretagne*, pp. 263–4.

⁵ The importance of this is stressed by Smith, 'Culte impérial', p. 132 and n. 20; see Le Maître, 'Image du Christ'.

⁶ *Cartulaire*, ed. De Courson.

⁷ See Brett, 'The monastic life'; cf. Smith, 'Celtic asceticism'.

⁸ *GSR*, I.2, III.1, III.5; II.9, II.10.

to in the *Gesta*. Nominoi was the first Breton ruler who is known to have attempted to control the whole region for a sustained period; Julia Smith has suggested that his economic resources were not equal to the task without the repeated raids which he launched on Frankish Neustria in the 840s, when Charles the Bald had succeeded Louis the Pious as ruler of the West Frankish kingdom.⁹ Some of the raids were carried out with the co-operation of Lambert II, count of Nantes (843–51, with interruptions).¹⁰ One of these, that of 850/1, in which the Bretons captured Rennes, is alluded to in *GSR*, III.5. Nominoi died during this campaign, but his son Erispoi held on to his territorial gains and increased them by defeating Charles in the campaign mentioned in *GSR*, I.7. Another action of Nominoi (perhaps directed at increasing his wealth and governmental powers against those of an increasingly independent and Frankish-oriented Church) was the arbitrary deposition of a number of Breton bishops at a 'synod' in 849, after a delegation to Rome – in which Conuuoion took part – had tried unsuccessfully to obtain the support of Pope Leo IV for the deposition on the pretext that the bishops were guilty of simony. This seems to be the truth behind the narrative of *GSR*, II.10, which, after magnifying Conuuoion and vilifying Susannus, bishop of Vannes, drops the political implications of the story in order to concentrate on how Redon obtained the relics of St Marcellinus from Rome.¹¹

The author of *GSR* has nothing further to say on Franco-Breton politics, despite the successes which enabled Erispoi and his successor Salomon (857–74) to adopt the title of 'king' and become generous donors of land to the monastery. Nor is there more than a veiled allusion to the ecclesiastical controversy caused by Salomon's attempt to create a separate archdiocese of Brittany with its metropolitan seat at Dol.¹² The statement in III.4 – that a monk who fell ill at Redon saw St Samson, 'archbishop' of Dol, in a vision – might be taken as a hint that Redon accepted Dol's claims rather than just tolerating them; but the fact that the saint was accompanied by two other archbishops, the founding saints of Poitiers and Tours (the see whose authority Dol was rejecting), may indicate that Redon had a desire (or even a plan) for reconciliation. The monastery had been able to retain the good will of both sides in the Franco-Breton conflict of 851 – Charles's confirmation of Redon's privileges¹³ was issued while he was actually marching on Brittany – and apparently it continued to do so, although the metropolitan controversy seems to have petered out rather than to have been brought to an agreed conclusion.

Redon was more at risk from the depredations of local magnates who saw its increasing wealth and power as a threat to their own, as is vividly related in *GSR* I.6 and 7, and confirmed by several charters.¹⁴ The

⁹ 'Carolingian Brittany', p. 105.

¹⁰ On Lambert's career see the references given in n. 1 above, and Lot & Halphen, *Annales*, pp. 77, 166; Dhondt, *Études*, pp. 91, 318–22; Giry, 'Étude', pp. 207–9.

¹¹ On the simony-dispute, see Guillotel, 'Les évêques d'Alet', and [Chédeville &] Guillotel, *La Bretagne*, pp. 270–5.

¹² See Smith, 'The "archbishopric" '.

¹³ *Cartulaire*, ed. De Courson, App. 28.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, nos 32, 105, 274.

disorder which followed the assassination of Erispoi, until Salomon was able to impose control, was a particularly bad time for the monastery. There do not seem to have been any large-scale landowning interests in the Vannes-Poutrocoet area before Redon built up its landed wealth. The area was populated by peasant-proprietors, tenants, and serfs. Highest in status were the *machtiern* (referred to as *tyranni* in the *Gesta*), hereditary local rulers who exercised some judicial functions and rights to taxation over up to four parishes (*plebes*) at a time – areas of no more than 24 km. radius.¹⁵ There might also be two, three, or four priests per *plebs*, members of collegiate churches or small monasteries.¹⁶ By 838, as stated in *GSR* I.10 and 11, Redon had been given five *plebes* to administer, probably as both ecclesiastical and secular units. Another, *Chaer* (now Locmariaker in Guérande), was granted by Erispoi, and still others by Salomon and his successors Uruuant (874–ca 878) and Alan ‘the Great’ (888–907).¹⁷ Add to this the great quantity of allodial land, the salt-workings on the Vannetais coast, the rights to rent and tolls which Redon accumulated, and the reason why the *machtiern* were suspicious becomes obvious. The monastery of Redon did indeed alter the social structure of the region by its success, drawing many former landowners into dependent relationships, accepting their land as donation or pledge and granting it back to them in benefices of a proto-feudal type.¹⁸

Redon was not immune to the attacks of the vikings, who were troublesome all over western Francia at this time. The raid recounted in *GSR*, III.9, probably took place in 853, in which year the Annals of Saint-Bertin report the viking-leader Sidroc to have been active on the Loire.¹⁹ For Redon, this was but a foretaste of a problem which would become much worse when strong government in Brittany fell into abeyance in the 870s and 880s, and again in the second decade of the tenth century, until soon before 924 Redon was temporarily abandoned by at least some of its monks – as were many Breton churches at about this time.²⁰ Even in Salomon’s reign the viking-threat was sufficiently serious for the monks of Redon to ask the ruler for a ‘place of refuge’ farther from the coast and waterways, which was granted to them in the form of a royal residence in *Plebe Lan*, Plélan, some 45 km. to the north of Redon.²¹ However, in spite of vicissitudes, and a complete hiatus in the records of the monastery between 924 and about 990, it appears from later mediaeval records that Redon was able to hold on to or recover nearly all the lands which it had obtained in the ninth century.²²

¹⁵ Davies, ‘On the distribution’ and ‘People’.

¹⁶ Davies, ‘Priests’.

¹⁷ *Cartulaire*, ed. De Courson, nos 70, 135, 138, 343, 276, App. 51, App. 52.

¹⁸ Smith, ‘Carolingian Brittany’, pp. 200–18; Davies, *Small Worlds*.

¹⁹ Vogel, *Die Normannen*, pp. 148–50, suggested the date 855, but this has been revised to 853 by Simon Coupland (St John’s College, Cambridge), to whom I am grateful for letting me see a preparatory text of his Ph.D. dissertation: Coupland, ‘The Defence’.

²⁰ *Cartulaire*, ed. De Courson, no. 273; Guillotel, ‘L’exode’.

²¹ *Cartulaire*, ed. De Courson, no. 241.

²² Smith, ‘Carolingian Brittany’, p. 311.

GESTA SANCTORUM ROTONENSIIUM (BHL 1945)

The foundation of Redon coincided with the beginning of Brittany’s development into a briefly united kingdom, and also ushered in the ‘golden age’ of Breton ecclesiastical learning. In the course of the ninth century several venerable Breton monasteries are known to have set down their house-traditions of their reputedly fifth- and sixth-century founders in the form of new *uitae*. It can be argued that the First Life of St Samson of Dol dates from as late as the mid-ninth century. Uurmonoc of Saint-Pol-de-Léon wrote his Life of Paul Aurelian in 888; its preface makes mention of Uurdisten, abbot of Landévennec, who was the author of a Life of St Guénolé (Uuinualoi) in prose and verse.²³ The author of *Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium* took part in the same trend, but was in a very different position in relation to his principal subject, Conuuoion (founder of Redon), who was not a figure of the remote past but a personal acquaintance. At a dramatic point in the narration of the first miracle in his second book, the author introduces himself into the action: ‘I declare to you, dearest brothers, that I was at the time a servant of that saint, and the saint said to me . . .’.

Although the earliest surviving manuscript of the *Gesta* dates from the late eleventh or early twelfth century, there is no reason to doubt the *prima facie* evidence that the author wrote within a generation of the death of Conuuoion. His references to himself, other than that just mentioned, are casual; his picture of the spiritual powers of Conuuoion and his companions is modest; the circumstantial details which he gives, often mundane, sometimes humorous, are unlike the literary inventions of hagiographers who lack authentic biographical information.

The text is carefully designed to tell the story of Redon from its foundation to the death of its first abbot, Conuuoion, in three books, each of which has a distinct theme and inner progression. In the first book the monastery is founded, its monks are instructed in the Rule, local support is gained, and enemies are overcome; the ruler of Brittany and then the Emperor become patrons. The second book describes the lives and miracles of individual monks and ends with the acquisition of the relics of two important saints, whose miracles – described in Book III – raise Redon to a level with Rome and the Holy Land as a place of pilgrimage.

This neat scheme is disrupted for us by the fact that some material is missing from the beginning and the end of the text as we possess it. In the preface to the last book, the author promises an account of the death of Conuuoion, but this is never given: the text ends with the penultimate anecdote mentioned in the preface, a narrative – which itself seems to be incomplete – of the monastery’s miraculous delivery from destruction in a viking-attack. It is possible that the author left the work unfinished; on the other hand its defective opening is almost certain to be the result of

²³ *Vita Prima Sancti Samsonis*, ed. Fawtier, *La Vie*; *Vita Sancti Pauli Aureliani*, ed. Plaine, ‘Vita S. Pauli’; *Vita Sancti Winwaloei*, ed. De Smedt, ‘Vita S. Winwaloei’. For invaluable reference-works on Breton hagiography see Duine, ‘Mémento’; Lapidge & Sharpe, *A Bibliography*.

damage to the archetypal manuscript. Books II and III both begin with prefaces. Book I has none and now begins its narrative with the words 'Per idem tempus, cum adhuc nouitii erant illi famuli Dei . . .', at a point in the story when the monastery has already, if only just, been founded. Probably the preface, with one succeeding chapter, is missing. Mabillon, the text's first editor, stated in his edition that, in the 'tenth-century manuscript' which he used, the third chapter, as it stood in the manuscript, had the figure 4 written beside the title: 'In veteri codice numerus capituli quarti in titulo apponitur, quod alioqui tertium esse deberet'.²⁴

In addition, there has been a loss of material between the first surviving chapter and the second. The first chapter tells how Louhemel, one of the monks, informed the *princeps* Noinoi about the new monastery. His narration, in Mabillon's text, breaks off in mid-sentence: 'Sunt etiam ibi alii duo presbyteri, unus qui nominatur . . .'. In the other witnesses to this section, MS. B and its relatives, 'unus qui nominatur' is omitted but the narrative is not brought to a logical conclusion. It is not certain how much material has been lost here, or whether it was lost by the same process as the loss of the beginning of the text; no palaeographical evidence of the damage survives. We are given a hint of what the missing sections might have contained in the words of Book II.8, which introduce a monk, Tethuuiu: 'We have made mention in the first book of this holy man and how he came to the holy life with the other holy monks'. There is no mention of Tethuuiu in Book I as it stands.

Another hint is provided indirectly by the fact that the author always introduces his characters with a brief explanation of who they are when he mentions them for the first time: 'a certain tenant who farmed his land well, called Iououret . . .'; ' . . . a certain priest and monk called Riuuen, a man of great simplicity . . .'. In I.3, however, Ratuuili, whom we know from the Redon charters to have been the monastery's first patron,²⁵ is mentioned for the first time simply as 'uenerabilis Ratuuili'. This implies that he had been referred to before, probably that the lost beginning of the *Gesta* had included some mention of his role in Redon's foundation.

There is a defect of the opposite kind in the introduction of the character Illoc. He makes an appearance in the first surviving chapter as 'the enemy of God and hater of monks, Illoc', but then is introduced over again in I.5 as 'a certain malicious man, Illoc by name', as if this were his first appearance. This might raise a suspicion that the first chapter was by a different author from the rest; more likely, however, it is due simply to a lapse of memory by the author. There may be a similar lapse in the case of the monk Fiduueten who is introduced twice, in II.4 and II.5, unless the two are different people.

The success with which the author carries through his literary scheme sets a difficulty in the way of determining the chronology of the events which he describes and the date of the text's composition. He is concerned with themes, not chronological sequence; he gives an illusion of the latter

²⁴ Mabillon, *Acta*, IV.2, p. 193, n.a. For further discussion of the manuscript used by Mabillon, see below, p. 22.

²⁵ *Cartulaire*, ed. De Courson, nos 1, 3, 4.

by scattering the work with phrases such as *per idem tempus* and *in illo quoque tempore*, but these are usually so vague as to be meaningless to us. The only dates given are the days and months of the deaths of various monks, clearly drawn from their commemoration in the monastery's liturgy; once, in III.1, a relative date between two events is given in years. This disregard for precise chronology marks out the *Gesta* as hagiographical work, as opposed to a house-chronicle such as *Gesta Abbatum Fontanellensium*, kept between 689 and 850 at Saint-Wandrille in Normandy, which is built round a chronological series of abbots and patrons.²⁶ However, *Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium* constitute a house-chronicle in the sense that *sanctus locus Rotonensis* provides the main theme of the text, although the life of the founding saint is another important connecting thread.

Many events mentioned in the *Gesta* are referred to in other historical sources and can be dated; the following table of these events shows how the author has woven them together to suit his literary purpose.

Date	Event	Source ²⁷	Chapter (GSR)
September 832	Louis the Pious in Limousin, where Conuuoion asks unsuccessfully for his support	<i>Vita Hlodouici Pii</i> , § 47	I.8
June 834	Noinoi's grants to Redon on behalf of Louis	<i>CR</i> , nos 2, 3, 4	I.10
Christmas 834– Easter 835	Louis in Thionville; Conuuoion wins his support	<i>Annals of Saint-Bertin</i>	I.10
August 836	Second donation of Louis	<i>CR</i> , Appendix, no. 11	I.11
June 842/3	Relics of St Hypotemius have been brought to Redon	<i>CR</i> , no. 214	II.9
May 849	Synod of Coetlough, deposition of Bishop Susannus of Vannes; probably followed Conuuoion's return from Rome	<i>CR</i> , nos 58, 251	II.10
Winter 850–851	Lambert invades Nantes; abbot of St Maur takes refuge at Redon	<i>Chronicon Fontanellense</i>	III.5
August 851	Reign of Erispoi; Frankish attack on Brittany	<i>Chronicon Aquitanicum</i>	III.1
851	Miracle of the Spoletan deacon, 'the second year of the coming of St Marcellinus'		III.1
853/4	Viking-fleet active on the Loire; reign of Erispoi	<i>Annals of Saint-Bertin</i>	III.9

²⁶ *Gesta*, edd. Lohier & Laporte.

²⁷ The sources cited may be found in the following editions. 'Astronomus', *Vita Hlodouici Pii*: ed. Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, II. 604–48. *Cartulary of Redon: Cartulaire*, ed. De Courson. *Annals of Saint-Bertin*: edd. Grat et al., *Les Annales. Chronicon Aquitanicum*: ed Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, II.252–3. *Chronicon Fontanellense*: ed. Pertz, *ibid.*, II.301–4.

Date	Event	Source	Chapter (GSR)
855–858	Benedict III pope; pilgrimage of Frotmund		III.8
29 September 866	Electramnus consecrated bishop of Rennes	Paris, B.N., MS. lat. 1458: episcopal documents from Tours ²⁸	III.8
January 868	Death of Conuuoion	CR, nos 68, 240	III.Pref: projected for missing chapter

The latest dated event is the death of Conuuoion – deduced to have taken place between the dates of the last charter in which he is referred to as abbot and the first in which he is qualified with the phrase *beatae memoriae* – and this must therefore be taken as the anterior dating limit for the writing of the *Gesta*. Fixing a posterior limit is much more difficult. Ferdinand Lot tried,²⁹ but his arguments are not altogether conclusive. They rest on the assumption that persons who figure in the *Gesta* without their deaths being mentioned must still have been alive at the time of writing; the dates of their deaths, roughly ascertainable from the periods during which they appear in the witness-lists of charters in the Cartulary of Redon, can thus be taken as a later limit for the writing of the *Gesta*. For instance, Liberius (son of the local lord, Ratuuili), whose entry into the monastery as a boy is related in *GSR*, I.3, became abbot in 878 and witnessed his last charter in 888. As he is mentioned no further in the *Gesta*, the inference is that it was written before his abbacy and death. In the same way, Louhemel, who appears in *GSR*, I.1, I.7, and II.9, and witnessed his last known charter between 874 and 877,³⁰ is not stated to have died and may therefore have been alive when the text was written. However, the flaw in this argument is that the *Gesta* take the life of Conuuoion as a framework, and in spite of the literary artificiality of this device we cannot be sure that events which took place after his death were of interest to the author. None of the monks stated in *GSR* to have died can clearly be shown from the charters to have outlived Conuuoion. Thus, it is possible that Louhemel and others had died by the time when the *Gesta* were written but that the author did not think it was within the scope of his work to record the fact. Another argument which Lot adduced for the dating is that in the *Gesta* Louis the Pious is always referred to as ‘emperor’ of the Franks, but his successor Charles the Bald as ‘king’, implying that the *Gesta* were written before the Imperial coronation of Charles in 875. This is more plausible but not altogether conclusive. Charles was emperor for only two years before his death, and the author

²⁸ Ed. Quentin, ‘Lettre’.

²⁹ Lot, *Mélanges*, pp. 5–13.

³⁰ *CR*, no. 261.

might naturally give him the title by which he had been known for most of his reign, and which he enjoyed at the time of the events being described, even if the author were writing retrospectively.

It does not seem to be possible to set a firm posterior limit for the dating of the *Gesta*; the only logical one is set by the lifespan of the author. He tells us that he was *iuuenculus in monasterio positus* and had been the servant of St Conuuoion; the founding saints had been his mentors (*qui me a pueritia nutruerunt*).³¹ He claims to have witnessed some of the miracles which he describes but to have learned of others from his elders:³²

Ex auctoritate enim aliorum uenerabilium uirorum hoc didici, qui me aetate praebant, et qui oculis suis haec omnia uiderunt et mihi postea retulerunt, quae usque modo uobis latuerant . . .

For I learned this by the authority of other venerable men who went before me in age, and who saw all these things with their own eyes and afterwards related them to me, things which have until now been hidden from you . . .

The only events at which he records his presence explicitly are those of II.1, II.5, and III.8. The miracle of III.8 cannot have taken place before September 866, when Electramnus became bishop of Rennes; there are no means of dating the others. II.5 mentions the monk Fiduueten, but he does not appear in the cartulary.³³ Logic suggests that the miracle of II.1, in which Conuuoion cures a blind man with the water in which the priests have washed their hands after Mass, must have taken place before the arrival of the relics of St Hypotemius before 842/3 and those of St Marcellinus in 848, for in this instance Conuuoion at first disclaims the ability to perform a miracle, whereas we are asked to believe that after the arrival of the relics miracles became common; but this is a dangerous argument, since the impression of a build-up from a few miracles performed by the monks themselves to the many by the ‘imported’ relics is a literary effect which the author is deliberately trying to create. There are no compelling reasons to make one think that the author witnessed the ‘founding’ period from 832 to 853/4 (the latter is the proposed date of the viking-raid recounted in III.9, during which the author does not appear to have been present, since he refers to the monks in the third person after having written of himself as one of them in III.8). If, then, he was a young oblate in the decade from the mid-850s to the mid-860s, it is theoretically possible that the *Gesta* were not written until 900 or even later, particularly as he writes as if instructing a new generation of monks who had not known the founding saints at all: ‘cum praesertim illos bene nouerim’; ‘haec omnia . . . quae . . . usque modo

³¹ *GSR*, II.5, II.1, II.Pref.

³² *GSR*, III.Pref.

³³ Lot assumed (*Mélanges*, pp. 5–13) that he was to be identified with the Finituueten who witnessed eight grants of land in *CR* from A.D. 838/9 to 867 (*CR*, nos 54, 148, 151, 160, 173, 220, 265); but this identification is probably mistaken, since this Finituueten was a local landholder, while Fiduueten was a monk and a newcomer to the area.

uobis latuerant'.³⁴ However, the description of the monastery in I.3 and the generally confident tone, not to mention the unqualified claim that Redon had been delivered from the vikings, make it obvious that the *Gesta* must have been completed before the serious viking-raids leading to the exile of the monks in 917–924.³⁵

The second-hand nature of much of the information in the *Gesta* and the long period of time which may have elapsed between the events and their recording tend to reduce the value placed on the text as an historical source. Indeed, as Léon Levillain pointed out,³⁶ some details can be shown to be inaccurate: in III.8 Pope Benedict III is said to have ruled for four years or more when in fact he held office only from 855 to 858; in II.10 the account of the judgment of the 'simoniac' Breton bishops at a synod in Rome is most unlikely to be true, since none of the surviving correspondence between popes and Breton rulers on the affair of the bishops' deposition refers to such a synod.³⁷ As well as factual mistakes, there are gaps in the narration of some episodes, for instance in I.7: the money extorted from Conuuoion by the *tyrannus* Risuueten comes back to him, after the latter's death, via a 'prudent and upright man' named Beatus; but we are not told how Beatus came by it or what was his connexion with Conuuoion – probably these details had slipped the author's memory by the time at which he came to write the story.

We may also suspect the Redon author of manufacturing or touching up some of the miracles which he describes. The format of illness (or crime) – vision – pilgrimage – cure is one which is used repeatedly in the influential *Dialogi* of Gregory the Great, which the author certainly knew,³⁸ and in many other saints' Lives; the motif of a miraculous cure accompanying the arrival of relics in a church (*GSR*, II.9) is found in many Carolingian accounts of translations of relics,³⁹ and the lack of detail in this case makes it look suspiciously like a literary embellishment. However, when circumstantial detail accompanies the miracle-stories, it is nearly always plausible and builds up a self-consistent picture of Redon's world. It is in these vivid incidentals that the text's historical value chiefly lies.

Who was the author? It seems unnecessary to try, as Lot did, to put a name to him when identification is not only impossible to prove but is of no real help in understanding the text. Lot pointed out⁴⁰ that a certain Ratuuili was offered as an oblate to Redon, as recorded in document no. 27 of the cartulary; a Ratuuili witnessed no. 78 as a monk and deacon in 863, and a Ratuuili was bishop of Alet from 866 to 872. These three may have been the same person. Thus the bishop of Alet may have been a former monk of Redon. He may also have been the Ratuuili to whom Bili's Life of

St Malo was dedicated,⁴¹ and, if so, he was involved in hagiographical work. For these reasons, Lot thought that he was the author of the *Gesta*. The identification is ingenious, but cannot be proved. If the preface to Book I survived it would doubtless tell us more: but without it all that we can say with certainty is that the author was – or had once been – a monk of Redon.

VITA CONUVOIONIS (BHL 1946)

Vita Conuuoionis is a very different text. Essentially its material is the same as that of *Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium* – in spite of its title, it keeps the same dual stress on the life of St Conuuoion and the monastery of Redon; but its factual content is heavily abbreviated while the style is elaborated rhetorically though sometimes asyntactically. The author seems to have aimed at a distancing effect, surrounding the events of Conuuoion's life with reverential obscurity. In one group of manuscripts – comprising MSS. B, C, and F – the beginning of the *Vita* is divided into eight sections of a few sentences each, headed *lectiones*. Readings like these were used in the monastic office on saints' feast-days. VC may have been written for this purpose, designed to be more suitable for liturgical use than the simple narrative of the *Gesta*.

The author was undoubtedly a monk of Redon: he ends his introduction with a reference to Conuuoion and his companions as 'the saints by whom our church has deserved to be graced'. Apart from this, his identity and date are obscure. The manuscripts give no clue, since only seventeenth-century copies survive. The text has never been discussed at length. Duine advanced some reasons for its belonging to the tenth century: 'Le caractère à la fois barbare et pédant de la langue, et l'idée d'une province en guerre ou en désordre... nous inclinent à croire que le rédacteur florissait plutôt vers la fin du x^e siècle'. Mabillon and Lot had both suggested an eleventh-century dating without giving reasons for their opinion.⁴²

It is necessary to begin with the broadest and most obvious of dating limits. The author refers to a *liber miraculorum* of St Conuuoion as his source (§4); examination confirms the obvious assumption that it was *Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium*. This relationship may be illustrated by the treatment in the two texts of Conuuoion's miraculous restoration of sight to a blind peasant (*GSR*, II.1; VC, §4). In both, the chapter opens with a quotation from the Gospel (Matthew V.15): 'No one lights a lantern and puts it under a bushel...'. The account in the *Gesta* is particularly vivid, since the author by his own statement actually took part in the cure. He graphically describes the vision experienced by the peasant telling him to journey to Redon, his arrival at the monastery and search for the abbot, Conuuoion's disclaimer – 'sile, frater, sile, non est hoc opus nostrum, non

³⁴ *GSR*, II.Pref., III.Pref.

³⁵ See below, p. 22.

³⁶ Levillain, 'Les réformes'.

³⁷ For references to the sources for this affair, see Smith, 'The "archbishopric"', p. 61, n. 8.

³⁸ See below, p. 65.

³⁹ Heinzelmänn, *Translationsberichte*, pp. 63–77, especially 63 and 71.

⁴⁰ Lot, *Mélanges*, p. 12; cf. Lapidge & Sharpe, *A Bibliography*, pp. 226–7 (no. 826).

⁴¹ Bili, *Vita Sancti Machutis*: ed. Lot, *Mélanges*, pp. 340–430; Le Duc, *Vie de Saint-Malo*; and partially by Yerkes, *The Old English Life of Machutus*. (Le Duc and Yerkes also give texts of the fragmentary Old English translation of Bili's work.) See further Dumville, 'The hagiography of Saint Malo'.

⁴² Duine, 'Memento', pp. 301–2.

possumus illuminare oculos caecorum' – and his eventual prescription of washing with the water in which all the priests of the monastery had washed their hands after Mass, which effected the cure. *VC* gives each stage of the story – the vision, the inquiries, the disclaimer, and the cure – but leaves out the blind man's name and the direct speech, and by small touches makes Conuuoion's role more conventionally saintly. In *GSR* the blind man 'was sitting by the gate of the monastery when the saint himself suddenly arrived to deal with the monastery's business'. *VC* changes this image of Conuuoion as administrator to a contemplative one: the peasant came to him 'as he sat in his cell'. In *GSR*, Conuuoion is clearly shaken by the blind man's demand to be cured; this could be taken to imply a lack of faith, and so *VC* stresses that his initial refusal was due to humility: '... declaring himself unworthy of performing such a service'. Finally, *VC*'s ellipsis enables the author to imply, in contradiction of *GSR*, that Conuuoion performed the miracle alone.

The pruning of the incidental detail makes *VC* far less historically interesting than *GSR*. However, it merits separate discussion, since it contains some details absent from *GSR* in that text's surviving form. Some at least of these must have been taken from the lost beginning of the text; some may have come from its end, if it was ever finished. The independent details are as follows.

1. § 2: Conuuoion became a deacon in Vannes under the patronage of the city's bishop, Rainarius.
2. § 3: Conuuoion decided to retire to the wilderness and found Redon with a few of the clergy of Vannes; the site of the future monastery's church was miraculously revealed to them.
3. § 6: The Emperor Louis visited Conuuoion at Redon and granted him land after defeating a 'certain tyrant, Marconus' whom the Bretons had chosen as king. When he had left the monastery Louis did some hunting at the neighbouring *uicus* of Bains and returned to Francia via Angers.
4. § 10: On his journey back from Rome with the relics of St Marcellinus, Conuuoion broke his leg, but recovered in three days.
5. §§ 11–12: Eventually Redon was destroyed by vikings and the monks fled to Plélan, a refuge given them by King Salomon. Conuuoion died and was buried there, with Riualinus of Alet officiating at his funeral.

These details, of varying historical value, all shed some light on the text-history and dating of *GSR* and *VC*. The first two points are the least problematical. We know that there has been loss of material at the beginning of *GSR*; these details were almost certainly present in the original opening. Conuuoion's career in Vannes is attested in *GSR*, I.2, in which someone inquiring about the monks is told, by 'a nobleman and priest' of Vannes, that Conuuoion 'was brought up and educated with us in this town'.

The presence of these details in *VC*, then, tells us that *VC* must have been composed before the opening of *GSR* was lost from the archetypal manuscript. Unfortunately it is doubtful when this took place, as the discussion of the text-history will show. The oldest surviving manuscript of *GSR*, MS. N, dates from 1070 x 1125, but since the seventeenth century it

has lost the folios which contained Book I (except a leaf containing part of I.7) and most of Book II, so one cannot tell whether it ever contained the original beginning of the text. If, as it seems, Mabillon took his edition from MS. N, then N certainly lacked the opening when he used it, but unfortunately it is not clear from his notes whether this was the result of physical damage to N or whether N had been copied from an exemplar which was already damaged.⁴³ The text in N's exemplar was unfinished, as is indicated by the fact that in N the text reaches its incomplete end half-way down a page; but the loss of the beginning of *GSR* and the loss of the end (if it was a loss and not simply failure by the author to finish it) need not inevitably have taken place at the same time; so this sheds no light on the present problem. The exemplar of MSS. B and C, which were written in the seventeenth century, lacked the same sections as Mabillon's manuscript and, as I shall show below, was probably a copy of it, but of what date (before the seventeenth century) is unknown. MS. L, a single leaf of a fifteenth-century manuscript, is of no help here. Individually, then, the witnesses to *GSR* do not tell us when the opening of the text was lost. However, simple logic suggests that it was lost before N was written. As stated, N – as shown by the numbering of its leaves in a seventeenth-century hand – was fuller, probably complete, until the seventeenth century or later. If it had contained the lost beginning of the text, this would almost certainly have been copied in the exemplar of B and C, since all the manuscripts remained in the possession of Redon. I should suggest that as a sequence of events, damage to the beginning and end of the archetype, the copying of N, and the loss of the archetype is more probable than the more complicated alternative: damage to the end of the archetype – copying of N – loss of archetype – damage to the beginning of N. If the former be accepted, then the opening of *GSR* must have been lost by 1070 x 1125, and *ca*[1125] may therefore be taken as a tentative and approximate posterior dating limit for the composition of *VC*.

The other details unique to *VC* may possibly enable us to narrow this dating – between the composition of *GSR*, after 868, and the writing of MS. N, before 1125 – a little. The detail of Conuuoion breaking his leg on his journey to Rome is unhelpful: it might seem like trustworthy information from an oral source near to the events in time; on the other hand it could be a late legend or an invention. The details from the end of Conuuoion's life are more interesting. The statement that Riualinus of Alet officiated at Conuuoion's funeral is the kind of liturgical detail which could be noted or remembered separately. There is no reason to doubt its accuracy, although the individual in question is obscure. Hubert Guillotel has identified 'Riualinus' with Ratuuli, bishop of Alet 866–872, which is possible, in view of the corruption of the text, but not certain.⁴⁴ There seems to be a blatant contradiction, however, between *GSR*'s optimistic ending, stating in III.Pref. and III.9 that Redon had, to the time of writing, been spared from destruction by vikings, and *VC*'s statement that Redon had been destroyed

⁴³ Mabillon, *Acta*, IV.2, p. 193. For evidence that Mabillon used N see below, pp. 55–61.

⁴⁴ [Chédeville &] Guillotel, *La Bretagne*, p. 331.

and abandoned before Plélan was granted to the monks. The Redon charters do not support *VC* in this: Redon continued to function until 917 at least, with Plélan as a flourishing sub-cell.⁴⁵ The gloomy picture of Plélan as a lonely hermitage does not tally with the richly endowed monastery described in Salomon's charters. Redon was probably abandoned – but not until considerably later, after 917. No charters can be dated firmly between 917 and 990 x 992, and in 924 some monks – perhaps the whole community – established themselves in Poitou with the relics of St Maxentius, which Salomon had installed at Plélan.⁴⁶ Their travels and their settlement in the abbey of Saint-Maixent, whence the relics had originally come, are narrated at length in a document preserved in the Redon cartulary.⁴⁷ This exodus fell within a period of viking-dominance in the whole of Brittany, which lasted, according to the chronicler Flodoard of Rheims, from 919 to 936.⁴⁸

To the author of *VC*, the whole viking-period seems to belong to past history: he states with a definite note of hindsight that the vikings ravaged Gaul 'during the span of nearly thirty years'.⁴⁹ This suggests that he wrote after the political recovery of 936, and late enough to make the mistake of telescoping the lifespan of Conuuoion with the wholesale viking-invasion of 919 and after.

To argue thus, raises a small difficulty over the statement in *VC*, § 12, that Conuuoion was buried at Plélan 'next to the blessed Abbot Maxentius from the land of Poitou...'. If, as has just been suggested, *VC* dates from after the exodus of the monks, when the relics were no longer there (there is no sign that they ever returned, although the monks did), there would have been no point in making this statement; this detail may suggest that *VC* depends on the lost ending of *GSR*. On the other hand, the statement which immediately follows, '[Maxentius] who had come there long before, fleeing from the harrassment of the false brothers of his monastery, and had there passed away to the Lord', has no foundation in the surviving Life of St Maxentius⁵⁰ and may be evidence that the mention of the relics originates with the author of *VC* as part of a resurgent or continuing dispute, with Saint-Maixent in Poitou, over their possession. This might have happened at any time.

If, then, *VC* dates from after the end of the viking-occupation of Brittany, its composition should very likely be associated with other signs of the recovery of Redon from 990 onwards: occasional charters reappear,

⁴⁵ *Cartulaire*, ed. De Courson, nos 222, 244, 253, 279, 281 (Plélan); 224, 239, 245, 260, 262, 266, 269, 277 (Redon). This is also the opinion of Professor Wendy Davies (personal communication, 21 July 1987).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 241. Salomon claimed to have been sent the relics from the saint's monastery in Poitou.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 273.

⁴⁸ *Les Annales de Flodoard*, ed. Lauer. 919: 'Nortmanni omnem Britanniam in Cornu Galliae... depopulantur... abductis, uenditis ceterisque cunctis eiectis Brittonibus'. 936: 'Brittones a transmarinis regionibus Alstani regis praesidio reuertentes, terram suam repetunt'.

⁴⁹ *VC* § 11.

⁵⁰ Bollandus *et al.* (edd.), *Acta Sanctorum*, June, V.169–76.

increasing to a copious series of grants and settlements in the abbacy of Catuallon from 1019 to 1050. One grant of 1021 restores to the monastery certain ecclesiastical rights in the diocese of Vannes which it had lost as a result of 'normannica feritas que totam depopulata est Britanniam'.⁵¹

One more detail of *VC*, not present in *GSR*, suggests a considerable lapse of time between the dates of composition of the two texts. The account in § 6 of the visit of the Emperor Louis the Pious to Redon is clearly unhistorical. The visit is said to have taken place in 833, in the course of a campaign against 'Marconus'. But no Breton rising or visit by Louis to Brittany at this date is recorded in any other source. 'Marconus' must be either Morman or Uuiomarch, whom Louis defeated in 818 and 825 respectively,⁵² before Redon had been founded or Nominoi appointed as Louis's *missus* in Brittany. (The detail of Louis having hunted at Bains, near Redon, and halted at Angers on his way back to Francia, gives the episode an air of immediacy not found elsewhere in the *Vita*, but this is deceptive.⁵³) The story ends with a description of a grant of land allegedly made by Louis to Redon on this occasion. Although most of the place-names are corrupt, it seems to correspond to document no. 2 of the Redon cartulary, Nominoi's grant on behalf of Louis, which was in reality confirmed by Louis at Thionville in 834/5, as *GSR* tell us.⁵⁴ After this story, *VC*'s author returns to dependence on *GSR* with an odd effect, recounting Louis's repeated refusals to grant Conuuoion land and protection, refusals which he can explain only by the Emperor's 'unaccustomed hardness of heart'! He then gives a resumé of Louis's later grants, which accurately lists their content and the places where they were issued, agreeing with the surviving charters against the looser account in *GSR*.⁵⁵ This proves that the author used the Redon charters, and thus that his distortion of the record of the earlier grant must have been deliberate: he intentionally exaggerated the role of the Frankish emperor in the foundation of Redon.

This reflects a political attitude, evident throughout the *Vita*, which contrasts with that of *GSR*. The *Gesta* were written from the political point of view of a Breton: they contain two disparaging references to 'the Franks'⁵⁶ and an assumption of the right of Nominoi and his successors to rule Brittany. The Frankish rulers Louis and Charles are mentioned factually without praise or abuse. *VC*, on the other hand, is written from a Frankish historical perspective. In it the events are rearranged in an attempt at chronological order, with the miracles – instead of forming the main body of the work – summarily dealt with at the beginning; the rest of the text is devoted to the patronage of Louis the Pious, the coming of St Marcellinus, and the viking-invasions, with the reigns of Louis and Charles forming a framework. An almost hagiographical reverence for

⁵¹ *Cartulaire*, ed. De Courson, no. 356.

⁵² *Annales Regni Francorum*, ed. Kurze.

⁵³ Angers was on the most frequently used route from Francia to Brittany; see Guillotel, 'L'action'.

⁵⁴ *GSR*, I.10.

⁵⁵ *Cartulaire*, ed. De Courson, App. 6 and App. 9; *GSR*, I.10, 11.

⁵⁶ *GSR*, I.11, II.9.

Louis is revealed in remarks such as ‘tandem imperator cordis sui insolitam redarguens duritiem’ and ‘Ludouico siquidem ad siderea regna translato’.⁵⁷ Charles’s wars with his brothers are deplored as *plusquam ciuilia*, but he himself is commended for ruling *strenuissime*.⁵⁸ He is entitled *augustus* (emperor), although he was in fact crowned Emperor only two years before his death, in 875, and the title is inaccurate when applied to his reign in general.

On the other hand the reference to the Bretons ‘growing insolent as is their wont’⁵⁹ seems a reflexive repetition of the ‘rebellious’, ‘perfidious’ stereotype of the Bretons presented by Frankish chronicles of the first half of the ninth century; no more complimentary is the reference to Brittany as ‘regio umbrae mortis, ubi nullus ordo’, and to its people as ‘paene barbaram nationem’.⁶⁰ The gist of the episode in which Louis defeats ‘Marconus’, *pseudo-dux* of the Bretons, and places their land (*patria*) under his laws, may be found in the account of the campaign against *Murman* (Morman) in Ermoldus Nigellus’s poem *In Honorem Hludouici*.⁶¹ The author seems nevertheless, by the fact that he uses the word *patria* of Brittany, to have thought of it as his homeland. It may be assumed that he was a monk of Redon, but he – and his audience – must either have been non-Breton in race or so steeped in historical conventions drawn from Frankish writings that they could accept or ignore the slurs on their homeland.

There are, however, passages which seem strikingly at variance with the anti-Breton tone. Nominoi, ‘judge of the province and appointed by the Emperor Louis’ is praised as ‘powerful in arms, flourishing in spirit’. His attachment to Louis is stressed,⁶² but his assertion of independence after Louis’s death and his attack on his ‘simoniac’ bishops are described with a lack of comment which contrasts oddly with the condemnation of ‘Marconus’. The author is aware of the irregularity of Nominoi’s action – ‘wishing, though a layman, to stamp out this pestilence’ – but he goes on implicitly to approve it. The ambivalence of his attitude is brought out most strongly in his reference to Salomon, whom he calls ‘the noble king’ – *inclitus rex* – only to demur in the next sentence: ‘Salomon is called king, not because he was so in reality, but because he made use of a gold circlet and purple clothing by concession of the Emperor Charles; for this reason he was known by that title’.⁶³

The simplest explanation of these contradictions is that the author was unconsciously divided between adherence to his main source, *Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium*, and a new political attitude which was current while he was writing. In the *Gesta*, Nominoi is praised as *fortissimus*

princeps Britanniae and his proceedings against his bishops are approved;⁶⁴ there may have been in the original complete *Gesta* a final section on Salomon and his gift of Plélan to Redon, which referred to him as *inclitus rex*. On the other hand there are signs in some historical sources of the mid-eleventh century and later from Brittany and its borders of a tendency to concentrate on the Carolingian past and belittle the Breton kings of the ninth century. The so-called ‘Annals of Redon’, a short annalistic compilation from a Mont-Saint-Michel manuscript, ending in 1056, attribute the responsibility for the founding of Redon to the Emperor Louis in 833 and state that it was built on royal lands.⁶⁵ A Redon charter from the year 1089 does likewise, asserting the monks’ right, to collect the Christmas-offerings at the church of the Saviour, against the chaplains of the visiting count of Cornouaille. The monks of Redon cite the privileges granted to them by ‘Louis the Pious, emperor of the Franks and Bretons, who built this place of the Holy Saviour from its foundations . . . , which his son Charles the Bald confirmed . . . and which also Salomon, king of all Brittany, corroborated . . .’.⁶⁶ In both these sources, Nominoi’s role is ignored; in this respect they go further than *VC*.

From a different point of view comes the Chronicle of Nantes, composed (in the view of its editor, René Merlet) between 1050 and 1059.⁶⁷ This work used the politics of the ninth century as a metaphor for an ecclesiastical controversy of the eleventh: it was composed in the context of the efforts of Airard, bishop of Nantes, an Italian appointed by the pope, to reform the diocese against the opposition of Hoel (count of Cornouaille, who inherited the county of Nantes through his mother in 1050) and many of the clergy. The chronicle concentrates on the attempts by the archbishops of Tours to exercise their rightful control over the Breton Church. Ferdinand Lot showed that the Chronicle drew on *GSR* for its content in its accounts of the ‘Breton schism’ (and of a battle among vikings at *Betia*)⁶⁸ although the former is transformed into a polemic against Nominoi. There must accordingly have been some communication between the monks of Redon and the author of the Chronicle of Nantes. This may be reflected in two significant verbal parallels between the Chronicle and *VC*. The term *pseudo-dux* is used to describe ‘Marconus’ in *VC* and Nominoi and Erispoi in the Chronicle; and the statement in the Chronicle (§ 11) that Pope Leo IV ‘conceded to Nominoi that he might be *dux* over the people of Brittany and wear a gold circlet on feast-days like other *duces*’, seems to be paralleled by the comment in *VC*, already discussed, that ‘Salomon is called king, not because he was so in reality, but because he made use of a gold circlet and

⁵⁷ *VC*, §§ 8, 9.

⁵⁸ *VC*, § 11.

⁵⁹ *VC*, § 5.

⁶⁰ *VC*, §§ 10, 9. For parallels in Frankish sources see Smith, ‘Celtic asceticism’, p. 53, n. 3. Cf. Dumville, ‘Ekiurid’s *Celtica lingua*’, pp. 92–3.

⁶¹ Lines 1254–1755 (ed. & transl. Faral, *Ermold*, pp. 98–132).

⁶² *VC*, §§ 4, 6.

⁶³ *VC*, § 11.

⁶⁴ *GSR*, I. 11, II. 10.

⁶⁵ Avranches, Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 213, fos 172v–173v (dated ca 1400); ed. Labbé, *Nova Bibliotheca*, I. 349–50. The annals contain a selection of entries relating to Normandy, Brittany, and Anjou; I should suggest that they were compiled at Mont-Saint-Michel; but for the view that they were begun at Redon see Miller, ‘Relative and absolute publication dates’.

⁶⁶ *Cartulaire*, ed. De Courson, no. 290.

⁶⁷ *La Chronique de Nantes*, ed. Merlet, pp. xxv–xl.

⁶⁸ Lot, *Mélanges*, pp. 59–69.

purple clothing by concession of the Emperor Charles'.⁶⁹ These remarks have in common the use of the words *circulum aureum* and the attempt to explain, belittlingly, how the Breton rulers came to think of themselves as kings. At the least, *VC* and the Chronicle seem here to be drawing on a common ideological background.

A process of loose association with the Chronicle of Nantes and the 'Annals of Redon' might lead one to bring the date of composition of *VC* down to the mid-eleventh century: however, the only fragment of positive evidence is the suggestion at two points in the text that the author was aware of the emerging ecclesiastical controversy concerning lay control of the Church, over which the chronicler of Nantes was exercised. In his account of Louis's grant to Redon the hagiographer specifies separately that Louis granted the churches of the parishes in question, 'which the same Emperor held as a gift from the Roman pontiff', and he stresses the presence of Rainarius, bishop of Vannes, at the transaction.⁷⁰ The unlikely assertion that the papacy could delegate authority over individual churches in Brittany in the ninth century shows concern for the ideology of a later period. The author's doubtful aside, 'quamuis laicus', in the account of Nominoi's action against the bishops⁷¹ is indicative of the same attitude.

Grounds for dating *VC* later still could perhaps be found – for instance, the *a priori* likelihood that a new Life would be written at a time of vigorous expansion and of known scriptorial activity would lead us to the 1060s and after, when the litigious abbots Almodus, Perenesius, and Herueus took cases as far as the Holy See;⁷² in this context the writing of the cartulary was undertaken between 1070 and 1125. However, the pessimistic ending of the *Vita* argues against its having been produced at a time of high prosperity; moreover, MS. N of *GSR* was written at about the same date as the cartulary, and by this time the beginning and end of the text, which were both used in *VC*, had been lost.

I should therefore be inclined to place the composition of *VC* tentatively in the first half of the eleventh century. Confirmation or denial of this might come from a thorough analysis of the text's latinity in comparison with that of other texts from the period. A brief discussion of the latinity will be found in chapter III, but the comparative work has yet to be done.

In conclusion, it may be said that in spite of the great differences between *GSR* and *VC*, the latter is clearly a descendant of the former, in ideology as well as in content. The *Gesta* were written at the height of the power of the kingdom of Brittany and of Breton ecclesiastical learning, at a monastery which the line of Nominoi singled out for patronage. Yet that text shows no concern with founding a historical tradition of Breton royalty and little with politics in general; instead, it dwells on Redon's attempt to play a part in the mainstream of the Church in Western Europe. Redon's decision to face east, culturally, in the ninth century may have helped to bring about the situation reflected in *VC*: by the eleventh century,

⁶⁹ *La Chronique de Nantes*, ed. Merlet, pp. 31–9; *VC*, § 11.

⁷⁰ *VC*, § 7.

⁷¹ *VC*, § 9.

⁷² *Cartulaire*, ed. De Courson, p. xlvi.

eastern Brittany, the region's economic and political centre of gravity, had adopted the customs and language of Francia and, although – or perhaps because – the Carolingian emperors were no more, its historical traditions as well.

II

THE MANUSCRIPT-TRADITION OF
GESTA SANCTORUM ROTONENSIIUM
 AND *VITA CONUVOIONIS*

These two texts were given their present titles by their first editor, Jean Mabillon; most subsequent commentators have retained the titles. *Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium* (BHL 1945) is divided into three books of eleven, ten, and nine chapters respectively. All the extant versions go back to a common source which had already lost some material at the beginning and the end. Mabillon, who gave the most complete text and drew on the oldest known manuscript, numbered his first chapter I.2, for the good reason that in his manuscript the number 4 appeared at the head of what was, as it stood, the third chapter. In this edition, however, to avoid confusion, I shall number the chapters as they stand, beginning with I.1 for the first surviving chapter. *Vita Conuuoionis* (BHL 1946) is variously divided – into twelve chapters by Mabillon; into eight short chapters followed by a long undivided section in MSS. B, C, and F; not at all in P. For it, Mabillon's numbering, perhaps his own, will be used as being the most convenient.

There follows a list of the manuscript and printed witnesses used in the present edition, and then a description of each, in chronological order.

- N Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouvelles acquisitions latines 662, fos 4, 6–23 (saec. xi/xii)
 L Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouvelles acquisitions latines 2208, fo 5 (saec. xv)
 B Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Collection Baluze 376, fos 7r–30r, 31r–32r (saec. xvii¹)
 C Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Mélanges de Colbert 46, fos 208r–229v (saec. xvii¹)
 F Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, français 22330, pp. 593–651 (an. 1660)
 D André Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, III (Paris 1636), pp. 324–5
 M Jean Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, IV.2 (Paris 1680), pp. 184–222
 P Pierre-Hyacinthe Morice, *Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire de Bretagne* (3 vols, Paris 1742–6), I, cols 239–63.

MANUSCRIPTS

N Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouvelles acquisitions latines 662, fos 4, 6–23 (saec. xi/xii)

This contains the following sections of *Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium*.

Fos	From	To
4	I.7 Hos accipe	I.7 nuntiatum est sanctissimo
6–17	II.10 sciscitatusque est eos	III.5 statimque euigilauit
18–23	III.7 talibus studiis	III.9 per misericordiam Dei tuebantur

The gap from III.5 to III.7 results from the loss of a folio between fos 17 and 18.

Little is known of the history of the manuscript. It seems likely that it was written at Redon and, if the reconstruction of the text-history below is correct, it remained there throughout the Middle Ages until it, or a copy, was sent to Mabillon shortly before 1680.

Annotations in various late mediaeval and early modern hands testify to the continued use of the manuscript, but only one – a copy in a sixteenth-century hand of a Redon charter, the donation of Marzac to the monastery in 880, on fo 24r/v, the last original leaf – is direct evidence for the manuscript's provenance. However, some additions in a pointed fifteenth-century hand, which tally with the readings of MSS. B, C, and F, support this. On fo 4, words which are missing due to damage to the lower corner of the leaf have been supplied in the margin: (*Karolus, quia, quia, per(didit)*). On fo 20v12, the word *Rothonensem* is added to *ad locum famosissimum* (III.8); on fo 22v11 the word *normanni* (III.9) is crossed out and *pagani* written above.

An approximately contemporary scribe may be responsible for marginal notes on fos 10r and 13r: 'corpus beati Marcellini in Britanniam transmittitur' (II.10); 'monasterium montis clari', 'monasterium sancti saluatoris de Rothono' (III.1). A third fifteenth-century scribe has written '2us liber' and '3us liber' in the margins of fos 16v and 11v respectively, opposite mentions of these books of the text. Most interesting of the annotations from this period is a series of running titles to II.10 on fos 7v–9v, in a faint, tachygraphic, heavily slanted, and almost illegible hand which is very similar to the hand of Pierre Le Baud, the late fifteenth-century historian who left notes on this section of *GSR* in his notebook, Rennes, Archives Départementales, MS. 1.F.1003.

The apparently sixteenth-century signature of a reader, 'Tristan de Montbourcher', appears on fo 12r and again on fo 23v. On fo 24r another name, 'Thomas de Bardy', is written several times, upside down, together with several partially legible phrases.¹ Thomas de Bardy seems from his hand to have been the seventeenth-century scribe who wrote new chapter-headings to III.4 and 5 (fos 16v21 and 17r18) over the worn-away remains of the old ones, and added 'hic explicit historia monasterii Sancti Saluatoris' at the end of the text on fo 23v. Nothing is known of either

¹ Reported by Vicaire, *Catalogue*, II.191, s.n. 5360.

of these two readers, or of another apparently seventeenth-century annotator who altered *uenitis* to *uenistis* (by inserting a letter) and *repente* to *repetens* (by a *signe de renvoi* to a marginal note) on fo 4r (I.7). In a third seventeenth-century hand we read 'Miraculum a sancto Ma.+ ' in the margin against fo 21v 16–17 (III.8).

Nothing is known of N's history between its presumed use by Mabillon in or before 1680 and its acquisition by the Bibliothèque nationale in 1898 from the sale of the library of Baron Jérôme Pichon (1812–96). Between these two dates, however, as will be seen, the manuscript had lost twenty-four folios to reach its present fragmentary state. Quite possibly it was returned to Redon after serving as the basis for Mabillon's edition; it may, however, have passed into private ownership, as there is no evidence that the Maurists who worked at Redon from 1687 to 1693 had access to it. It may have suffered damage during the French Revolution; one may compare the history of the Redon cartulary, which lost forty-one folios at about this time, and the documented destruction of a large part of the monastery's later mediaeval archives. But this can only be speculation, to which one may add that Pichon, a noted bibliophile who collected many rare books and manuscripts, may have acquired the manuscript in Brittany: he was resident in Paris all his life but his father had been born in Nantes and he himself was a member of the Société des bibliophiles bretons.²

The present binding of the manuscript is that of the Bibliothèque nationale and dates from 1898. There are two paper flyleaves at each end. The first three parchment-folios are occupied by a sermon on almsgiving attributed to Caesarius of Arles,³ and the fifth by a fragment of another sermon, one encouraging chastity: this is mistakenly bound in after the first surviving leaf of the *Gesta*. These texts are written in a larger, less tidy, more heavily abbreviated and apparently later hand than the *Gesta* and were probably not originally part of the same manuscript. The leaves on which they are written have the same dimensions as the rest – 21.7 × 14.5 cm. – and the number of lines is the same, 23; but the area of written space is deeper, 17.5 × 10.6 cm. as against 16–17 × 10.6 cm., and this is the more significant fact, since the original dimensions of the leaves have been altered by the cutting of the margins. On fos 1–3 and 5, although the prickings for horizontal ruling have been lost, the prickings for the bounding lines are still present in the outer margins at the foot of the pages; throughout the rest of the manuscript all prickings have disappeared, except on fos 4 and 23. Fo 4 has a complete line of prickings in the outer margin, fo 23 has prickings for vertical bounding lines at top and bottom.

My collation of the manuscript is as follows.

² For an account of his life and list of his published works see the obituary by Vicair, 'Le Baron'. On the French Revolution at Redon see Guillotel, 'Les cartulaires'.

³ Ed. Morin, *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis Sermones*, I.129–33 (no. XXX).

I⁴ [+ 1 after 3, 1 after 5] (fos 1–6)
 II⁶ (fos 7–12)
 III⁴ (fos 13–16)
 IV¹⁰ [wants 2; 5, 7, 8 canc.] (fos 17–22)
 V⁴ [wants 3, 4] (fos 23–4)

The collation is difficult to make out because of the tight binding and the lack of a clear distinction between the flesh- and hair-sides of the parchment. Mme Marie-Hélène Tesnière, keeper of manuscripts at the Bibliothèque nationale, has given instead the following collation.

I⁴ [+ 2 after 2; wants 4] (fos 1–5)
 2¹⁰ [+ 1 after 10] (fos 6–16)
 3¹⁰ [wants 2; 5, 7 canc.; + 1 after 10] (fos 17–24)

The position of fos 23 and 24 is unclear. Mme Tesnière considered that 23 is part of the preceding quire and 24 a single flyleaf, but the unique prickings on 23 are an added reason for thinking it to be separate from the preceding quire. It seems more likely that 23 and 24 were the first leaves of another quire now lost, as I have suggested in my collation, but a third opinion will be needed to assess this possibility. For the rest, the irregularity of the quires and the large proportion of single leaves may most easily be explained by the fact that this was a carelessly made, 'economy'-manuscript, a fact which its other features confirm. The parchment is stiff and discoloured, very wrinkled in parts, with many small holes. There is no decoration except that red ink, which has for the most part worn away, was used for the chapter-headings. The script is small and the ink brown and faded. Nor has the manuscript been carefully preserved: the lower corners of the leaves are worn and have crumbled, and many pages are patched with rust-coloured mildew.

The collation, though puzzling, does support the conclusion that the sermon-texts and the *Gesta* were originally two different units. Fo 4, the first leaf of the *Gesta*, was sewn into the first quire singly, and, whichever of the two collations is correct, it is clear that the quire has been dismantled to some extent to make room for it, for unknown reasons. The foliation indicates the same thing. The sermons are not included in the earlier of the two numberings of the folios, which seems to have been carried out in either the seventeenth or the eighteenth century. In it, the present fo 4 is numbered '8', fo 6 is '25', fo 7 is '26', and so on consecutively. Fos 17 and 18 are '36' and '38'. This seems to show that in the 'antiquarian' period the manuscript of the *Gesta* was less incomplete and was separate from the sermon-texts.

Since then, it has lost seven folios at the beginning, sixteen between the present fos 4 and 6, and one between fos 17 and 18. The loss at the beginning is perhaps a little small to account for I.1–7 and part of 8. This portion of the text fills just over five pages in Mabillon's edition; for the rest of the text the ratio is three of N's folios to two of Mabillon's pages. If the writing on N's lost fos 1–7 was a little smaller than elsewhere, it is possible that the manuscript contained the complete text when the pages were numbered. Otherwise it has to be assumed that it had already lost a folio or two – perhaps, but not necessarily, at the beginning. The number of folios missing between the present fos 4 and 6 suggests that the chapter on fo 4 was

positioned as I.8, as in Mabillon, and not as I.12, as in manuscripts B, C, and F: otherwise the sixteen folios missing would be too large a space for the intervening material.

The Bibliothèque nationale catalogue dates the script to the twelfth century. It is in a style which could be called incipient Gothic, by the definition of Bernhard Bischoff.⁴ Many of the downstrokes are finished with small upward-slanting serifs or bends to the left; but it retains many characteristics of Caroline minuscule – the letters are rounded, except on fo 7r10–16, where a ‘spikier’ hand momentarily takes over; shading is light and strokes are joined smoothly without deliberate angles. The most noticeable feature of the script is that the ascenders and descenders are very short and that the letters, though never fused, lie very close together, so that a line of writing forms an almost continuous band. The letter-forms are normal for late Caroline minuscule. The straight-backed *is* is occasionally varied with *ð* or *ð*; *m* with *m* or *m* at the end of the lines; *g* is sometimes finished with a ‘fish-tail’, *g*; *f* varies with *S*; Capital N is sometimes found within words, as are the ligatures *N* and *NS*, and the *rt*, *et*, and *or* ligatures appear. Rather less unusual is the variety of forms of *a*: as well as the usual *a* and the tall-backed *a*, one finds a pointed *a* (7v1), a flat-topped *a* (6v9, 12) and *u* in the combination *ue* (6r3, 7v6). All these forms may imply Insular models. *y* varies between *y*, *y*, *ÿ* (standing on the line), and *y* (without a dot). The display-script is a hybrid of Uncial and Rustic-Capital forms.

The punctuation-marks are *.* or *·* between clauses and at the end of sentences, *;* at the end of sentences only, *τ* between clauses only, and *?* as a question-mark. A possible second scribe beginning work at the head of fo 17r uses *.-* instead of *τ*, moving the horizontal stroke to the right. There are no exceptional abbreviations and the suspension-mark is a low wavy line, *~*, unlike the obvious upward-slanting hook *∩* found in many Norman manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. One peculiarity is that *ae* is often written out as two separate letters, *ae*, although various forms of *e-caudata* – *e*, *e*, *e* – are also found.

The word-division shows signs of an Insular or even Celtic orthographic tradition, in that the first scribe very often does not separate prepositions from the nouns which follow them, while the second, from 17r onwards, hypercorrects, often separating the prepositions from the roots of compound verbs; but from 22r there seems to be a change back to the earlier style. Another possibly Insular characteristic is the germination and simplification of consonants, but the three examples in the manuscript – *ocursum*, *aparuit*, *apperite* – do not provide sufficient basis for an argument. Most of the incorrect spellings are commonly found throughout mediaeval Europe, for instance those involving confusion between palatalised *c* and *t* – *peciūt*, *Frantiae*, *benefitia* – or between *ae* and *e* as in *aeclesia*, *aegressi*.

The closest parallel which I have found to the script of N is in the Redon cartulary (Archives de l’archevêché de Rennes, MS. *s.n*). The similarity is

⁴ Omont, *Bibliothèque nationale. Nouvelles acquisitions ... 1898–1899*, p. 00; Bischoff, ‘Les nomenclatures’.

especially close between the first eight folios of the cartulary and fos 4, 6, and 7 of N. The short, round, even aspect and the letter-forms are practically identical in the two manuscripts. The only differences appear to be that N uses *æ* and a long-tailed *x*, while the cartulary always gives *ae* and tucks the hook of *x* under the previous letter. In the following pages the two manuscripts diverge. The cartulary continues to be very painstakingly written, with features like a tall-backed *a* and *p*, *b*, *d* with very round bowls which appear ‘swollen’ compared with the length of the shafts; N’s scribe becomes careless at intervals, allowing his lines to waver, his letters to vary in size and occasionally to slant to the right; strokes sometimes cross instead of meeting, or fail to meet – *g* beside *g*, *q* for *q*, *τ* for *τ* – which makes the script look more ‘spiky’ and less ‘round’. Nevertheless, the resemblance is clear, as would be expected if both manuscripts were written at Redon. The possibility exists that N is actually a detached part of the cartulary, but the case is not very pressing: the sizes of the pages and the script are very much smaller in N.

De Courson, editor of the cartulary, thought that it belonged to the mid-eleventh century.⁵ The dates of the cartulary and N must be brought closer together than this. Comparative Breton material is short for the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but the script of Mont-Saint-Michel in Normandy provides one useful point of comparison. J. J. G. Alexander,⁶ starting from the well defined remnant of the Mont-Saint-Michel library kept in the Bibliothèque municipale of Avranches, has succeeded in tracing the development of the script of Mont-Saint-Michel during the eleventh century through two parallel styles – one rounded, the other tall, thin, and untidy – to one increasingly uniform style, rounded and with short ascenders and descenders. The latter bears a remarkable resemblance to the handwriting of the manuscript which we have been discussing: in general aspect and proportions, in letter-forms – showing for instance the open and flat-topped *u* and *a* for *a* – and in certain peculiarities, the tendency for strokes to cross where they should meet in letters like *a* and *τ*, and the suspension-mark *~*.

This script, according to Alexander,⁷ was developed at Mont-Saint-Michel in the third quarter of the eleventh century. An absolute date is provided by the name of a scribe, ‘Scollandus’, given in the colophon of one of the manuscripts, Avranches, Bibliothèque municipale, 103: this scribe is probably to be identified with the Scollandus who became abbot of St Augustine’s, Canterbury, in 1072, an identification supported by that abbey’s possession of manuscripts illuminated in the Mont-Saint-Michel style. Another manuscript in this script⁸ had the *acta* of the Council of Lillebonne (1080) copied into it at the end by a scribe whose hand has been identified in three other Mont-Saint-Michel manuscripts (Avranches, Bibliothèque municipale, 58 and London, British Library, Royal 13.A.xxii

⁵ *Cartulaire*, ed. De Courson, p. ii.

⁶ Alexander, *Norman Illumination*.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 24–30, 38–40.

⁸ East Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, MS. Phillipps 1854.

and 13.A.xxiii), of which two were sent to St Augustine's. Thus we know that this 'late' script was in use from about 1070 to 1085 at the narrowest limits.

It is known that Mont-Saint-Michel had contact with Brittany, and specifically with Redon: in the colophon of Avranches MS. 103 acknowledgements are given to three Breton scribes,⁹

... Hinc Ermenaldus, post Osbernus, Nicholaus,
Tres qui Brittones uixerunt mente fideles...

As the first two of these names are not Celtic but Germanic and are both found in England before the Norman Conquest,¹⁰ it could be argued that these are scribes of Insular British, viz English, provenance, not Bretons. But the more specific evidence is that monks of Redon figure forty-one times in the obituaries of Mont-Saint-Michel covering the period *ca* 1000–1225,¹¹ more often than monks from any other monastery except Fécamp. Two papal bulls in favour of Redon – one from Gregory VII, dated 1073 x 1075, the other of 1147 from Eugenius III – were both copied into two Mont-Saint-Michel manuscripts, Avranches 82 and Bordeaux, Bibliothèque municipale, 1. The latter manuscript, the 'Redon Bible', was sent to Redon: it may already have been there when the bulls were copied, but was certainly present by the second half of the twelfth century, when an obscure ninth-century local privilege of the abbey was also copied into it (fo 259v). We see thus a specific example of Mont-Saint-Michel providing a model for Redon's script, and the script of Bordeaux 1 is indeed a good example of similarity to that of N, given that one is a de-luxe manuscript and the other a very modest one.¹²

Influence was probably exerted in both directions, however. If Mont-Saint-Michel manuscripts came to Redon, there may also have been Breton scribes working at Mont-Saint-Michel.¹³ A far wider selection of manuscripts will have to be studied for the relationships to be worked out fully. For present purposes it may be concluded that, as there were personal links between Mont-Saint-Michel and Redon during the eleventh century, Redon would have been using the same script-styles from about the same dates. This gives a possible date of the last quarter of the eleventh century for our MS. N and the cartulary. The latest manuscripts (*ca* 1100) of the Mont-Saint-Michel 'late' group studied by Alexander are then developing a taller and more angular form of script. This development is mirrored in the Redon cartulary. The latest charters in the main hands using the 'rounded' type of script are dated 1062 x 1080 (nos 286 and 288, fos 137r and 138r). In charter no. 336 (fo 162r) a scribe using a typical twelfth-century charter-hand, tiny with long ascenders and descenders, took over; this charter is dated 1144. That it is much later than those which precede and immediately

⁹ Alexander, *Norman Illumination*, p. 222.

¹⁰ Forssner, *Continental-Germanic Personal Names*, p. 82; Von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, p. 339.

¹¹ Laporte, 'Les obituaires', p. 727.

¹² Alexander, *Norman Illumination*, plate 50a.

¹³ Cf. n. 9 above. Breton script may also have influenced Norman script indirectly through Anglo-Caroline minuscule, which was partly derived from Breton models. For an analysis of Anglo-Caroline see Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule*.

follow it may suggest that its recording was more or less contemporary with its issue and provided the impulse for the recording of a backlog of slightly older charters. If this were true, the mid-twelfth century would be the latest possible *terminus ante quem* for a manuscript written in the 'rounded' script. It is almost certain, however, that this script was abandoned considerably earlier, since the cartulary displays a more angular script from fo 138v onwards, long before the noticeable date-leap at fo 162r. The comparative evidence from Mont-Saint-Michel supports this.

Tentative limits of 1070 x 1125 may be suggested for the writing of MS. N, and of the Redon cartulary to fo 138v. The historical context suits a period of scriptorial activity. The monastery was at the height of its prosperity, receiving papal privileges in 1073 x 1075 and 1147; the Romanesque tower of the church and a reworking of the nave probably date from the early twelfth century.¹⁴ Further work on the palaeography of the cartulary and of other Breton manuscripts may eventually make it possible to date these manuscripts still more closely.

L Paris, *Bibliothèque nationale, nouvelles acquisitions latines 2208, fo 5*
(saec. xv)

This is a single folio containing part of *Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium*: from I.4, [*rusticus Vurbri nomine*, to I.5, *usquam malum contra*. The leaf was given to the Bibliothèque Nationale by Aurélien de Courson, the editor of the Redon cartulary,¹⁵ apparently in 1878, since it is mounted and bound together with two bifolia containing mid-twelfth-century copies of some Redon charters, which were acquired by the library in that year, one from De Courson and the other from the calligraphic collection of A.-C. Taupier.¹⁶ The codex consists of these five folios alone. The folios containing the charters – which are not textually consecutive – seem to be parts of a lost Redon cartulary, since most of the charters are duplicates of ones found in the main cartulary. They are De Courson's nos 316, 314, 313; App. nos 57, 59, 58, 68; no. 364; App. nos 64, 66; nos 306 and 307.

The folio of the *Gesta* has no apparent connexion with them. Its script is a cursive minuscule of the fifteenth century. Part of the upper corner of the leaf is missing so that the last few letters of the first five lines on the recto and the first few on the verso are lost.

Prickings are visible in the outer margin opposite lines 7–20, 29–32 and 34; the pricking was done from recto to verso with a knife-point. The ruling is in ink on the verso, with a line ruled above the first line of writing; the top and the bottom lines continue across the margin but the others are confined to the written space. The written space originally measured 24 x 15 cm.. There are 34 lines to a page, each line 0.7 cm. deep.

¹⁴ The papal documents are catalogued by Jaffé *et al.*, *Regesta*, as nos 5280 (I.647) and 9087 (II.45); each of these occurs in the two Mont-Saint-Michel manuscripts Avranches 82 and Bordeaux 1, and the former also in CR, as no. 343. For the church see De Laigue, *Redon*.

¹⁵ Delisle, *Mélanges*, p. 473.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

The ink is yellowish-grey and very faded, especially on the verso. The script, written with the pen held at a steep angle, is heavily shaded, almost upright but slanting very slightly to the right. Descenders and ascenders are short. The letter-forms are Gothic, but the letters are never fused together, though often joined with small upward ligatures; the script is easily legible, if rather compressed. The joins between the individual strokes of letters are angular but not exaggeratedly so. Most individual upright strokes are slightly curved, and many letters are finished with thin hooks or loops, giving the script a curved or 'claw-like' rather than an angular aspect overall.

a sometimes has a concave top, **u**; **b** varies with **β**; **d** has a flat top, sometimes finished with a hook. An understated **e** varies with **e**. **f**'s cross-stroke is on the line. **g** has an open top – **g** – and a very thin tail. **h** sometimes is finished with a hook, **h**. **i** sometimes has and sometimes lacks a dot. **l** is sometimes a plain shaft and sometimes hooked or looped, **l**. **m** and **n** have their minims close together. **s** is used in initial and internal, **ſ** in final position. **t** has a distinctly curved shaft. **v** is used for initial **u**; **x** trails a little below the line to the left, but not much. Capital forms vary considerably; they include **C**, **D**, **F** or **F** for **F**, **M**, **N**, **P** or **P**, **Q**, and **S** for **S**. **or** (or) and **pr** (pr) ligatures are used.

Abbreviations are **e**, *est*; **q3**, *-que*; **qd** *quod*; the *nomina sacra* have been written out in full; the suspension mark is **~** or **~**, and **—** is used at the end of lines to fill them when there is a small space left after the last word. The only punctuation-marks used are **.** and **~** which are used indifferently at the end of clauses and of sentences.

A later scribe, whose hand I cannot date, has very faintly written *miraculum de fure* in the right-hand margin on the recto, opposite lines 1–2. Another has pencilled *no. 9* in the left-hand margin opposite lines 9–11. A possibly seventeenth-century scribe wrote *paraliticus curatur*, followed by a few illegible letters, in a two-line gap between the text of chapters 4 and 5 of the *Gesta*.

The manuscript does not seem to have been particularly distinguished, but it may originally have enjoyed some decoration: the piece which has been cut out of the upper inner corner of the leaf may have carried a decorated initial on the recto, as I guess from the facts that a chapter begins here and that the first two lines of the page (on the outer corner which is still there) are blank.

B Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Collection Baluze 376, fos 7r–30r, 31r–32r (saec. xvii^l)

This manuscript contains the following parts of the *Vita* and the *Gesta*.

Fos

7r/v *Vita Conuuoionis*, §§ 2–4, divided into eight readings
 7v–30r *Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium*, omitting prefaces to books II and III, part of I.3 and most of the scriptural quotations throughout; no chapter-headings
 31r–32r *Vita Conuuoionis*, §§ 5–7, 10–12

The remaining contents of the manuscript are as follows.

Fos

2v A list of abbots of Redon
 3r Heading: 'Recherches de l'abbaye de Redon par le Marquis de Molac'
 3r–4v blank
 5r–6v Notes on the town and abbey of Redon and its buildings, furnishings, and relics, ending with a collect for St Conuuoion's feast-day, 5 January
 32r–34v A collect and short Life, in eight readings, of St Benedict of Masserac; a collect for the translation of St Marcellinus; a collect for the feast of SS. Hypotemius and Melorius
 35r/v blank
 36r–116v Notes and extracts from the cartulary of Redon, headed 'Livre second. Extraict du Carthulaire de l'abbaye de Sct. Sauueur de Redon communiqué par V.P.F. Michel Pirou Prieur Claustral de ladte [*sic*] Abbaye en estant Abbé Monseigneur le Cardinal duc de Richelieu 1633'
 117r–177v blank
 178r–184r (bound in backwards and upside down): more notes on the Redon cartulary

Of the seventeenth-century manuscripts of the *Gesta*, B contains the most information on its sources, but this information is enigmatic. It comes at the end of the note on the abbey and its antiquities on fos 5r–6v and reads as follows.

Il y a dans cette Abbaye un beau Chartrier, où leurs chartes ont esté fort bien conservés. Ils ont trois ou quatre Carthulaires manuscrits très anciens desquels vous apprendrez la vie de Saint Conuoyon, qui fonda l'abbaye par les bienfaits et approbation de Louis le Débonnaire Empereur et Roy de France, et de Nominœ Prince de Bretagne, et de plusieurs autres seigneurs. . . . Les leçons sont prises du Carthulaire suyant, dont le premier chapitre est divide en huit leçons; nous y ferons des notes, mais nous insererons le Carthulaire de suite.

'There are fine archives in this abbey, where their charters have been very well preserved. They have three or four very old manuscript-cartularies from which you will learn the life of St Conuoyon, who founded the abbey by the beneficence and approval of Louis the Pious, emperor and king of France, and of Nominoi, prince of Brittany . . . The lessons are taken from the following cartulary, of which the first chapter is divided into eight lessons; we will make notes of them, but we will insert the cartulary afterwards.'

The clear inference is that the copies of the *Vita* and *Gesta* in B were taken from a Redon cartulary. The word 'cartulary' seems to be used in two different senses, first of a manuscript, secondly of the charters themselves, which do indeed follow the *Vita* and *Gesta* in Baluze 376. This implies that B's exemplar was a cartulary which contained hagiographical and liturgical material (B, fos 32r–34v) as well as charters, rather like the eleventh-century cartulary of Landévenec (Quimper, Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 16), and the Book of Llandaff (Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS. 17110) from twelfth-century Wales.

The question arises whether this manuscript could have been the extant

cartulary of Redon. On the one hand, the charters which follow the *Vita* and *Gesta* in B, and the order in which they are arranged, correspond to those of the extant cartulary. On the other, the cartulary (as it is now) shows no signs of ever having contained copies of the *Vita* and *Gesta*. It has a number of missing folios including a series of forty-two between fos 8 and 51, but the Maurist copies in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS. français 22330 (see below, MS. F) show that these folios, still present in the late seventeenth century, contained charters. Apparently original quire-signatures on quires XV–XVII seem to show that no substantial number of leaves has been lost from the beginning of the manuscript, and late eleventh- and twelfth-century continuations overlap the quires at the end. Copies of the *Vita* and *Gesta* might have been inserted on extra quires at the beginning of the manuscript some time after the writing of the main part of the cartulary, but there is no good evidence for this. If the extant cartulary ever did contain copies of the two texts, they must have been removed from it by 1687 × 1693, when the Maurists worked on it; their copies of charters from the cartulary in B.N. fr. 22330 include no indication that the cartulary also contained the *Vita* and *Gesta*; there is a copy of these texts in fr. 22330 but it is derived from B's 'cartulary' indirectly via a copy by André Duchesne (see below, MSS. C and F). Since B's scribe informs us that Redon possessed three or four cartularies in the seventeenth century, one cannot afford the conclusion that B's exemplar was the surviving one, although it must have had very similar contents.

B's arrangement of material, with the *Gesta* inserted between two portions of the *Vita*, may reflect his exemplar; but I think it more likely that the scribe made the division of the *Vita* himself, out of respect for chronological order, trying to place in sequence those events which preceded those recorded in the *Gesta*, and those which followed afterwards, omitting the duplications. C's scribe went further and dovetailed the two texts, as will be seen. B's copy of the *Vita* is very much less neatly written than that of the *Gesta*. This may indicate a similar distinction in B's exemplar but more likely the scribe simply recognised the lesser historical value of the text.

C Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, *Mélanges de Colbert* 46, fos 208r–229v (saec. xvii¹)

This manuscript contains *Vita Conuuoionis*, §§2–7, running straight into *Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium*, which it gives with the same omissions as B. The heading of the whole is 'Rothonensis Monasterii Abbates ex codice MS. Chartularii eiusdem Monasterii'. The rest of the manuscript, which has 231 folios, contains copies of chronicles of Anjou, Vendôme, Auxerre, Burgundy, and other regions of France, mostly in the same hand.

C is roughly contemporaneous with B: it was copied by, or under the direction of, André Duchesne (1584–1640), a collector of mediaeval texts and compiler of genealogies.¹⁷ In 1676 it was acquired, with others of Duchesne's compilations, from the latter's son, by Colbert, who in turn

¹⁷ De la Roncière & Bondonis, *Catalogue*.

bequeathed his collections of manuscripts to the Bibliothèque impériale (now nationale) in 1732.¹⁸

The copyist acted as a compiler: not seeming to recognise the distinction between the *Vita* and the *Gesta* in historical value, he used the first few chapters of the former to supply the missing beginning of the latter.

F Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, français 22330, pp. 593–651 (an. 1660)

This book contains the same parts of the *Vita* and *Gesta* as C, with the heading 'Histoire de la fondation de Redon' and the colophon: 'Je soub-signe Conseiller du Roy en ses Conseils, Historiographe de France, certifie que les pieces cy desus sont conformes aux Originaux, la plus part escrits de la main de feu mon père, et qui sont en mon cabinet, en foy de quoy iay signe fait a Paris le premier septembre 1660. Duchesne.' The copyist must be François Duchesne, son of André Duchesne, who had the later volumes of his father's compilation of historical sources, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, published and who made some effort to continue his historical work. The implication is that F is a copy of C; and this is indeed borne out by the variant readings.

The manuscript as a whole is part of a collection of copies of historical documents made by the Benedictines of the Congregation of Saint-Maur,¹⁹ preparatory to a complete history of Brittany, which was eventually written by Dom Alexis Lobineau. It appeared in 1707.²⁰ Most of the copies of texts were made by the monks themselves, working from Redon between 1687 and 1693; but apparently they also collected earlier antiquarian copies, of which F is one. It is bound into the codex with other disparate parts, among them two sets of extracts from the Redon cartulary²¹ at pp. 383–527 and 575–592.

In 1728 the codex was sent with the other twenty-five volumes of the collection to Saint-Melaine of Rennes; it still bears the *ex-libris* of this monastery on p. 1. Ten years later the collection went to the Blancs-Manteaux priory of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris to be used by Dom P.-H. Morice in his new history of Brittany (see below, under 'P'). At the time of the French revolution the Saint-Germain manuscripts became the property of the State, but still occupy consecutive numbers in the Fonds français and the Fonds latin of the Bibliothèque nationale manuscript-catalogue under the subheading 'Ancien fonds de Saint-Germain'.²²

The history of F shows a certain lack of co-ordination in the Maurists' compilatory work: F, a second-hand copy of the *Gesta*, was apparently collected when Mabillon, one of the most illustrious Maurists, had already published a text of it straight from an allegedly tenth-century manuscript in his *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti* (see below, under 'M').

¹⁸ Lelong, *Bibliothèque*, III, suppl., p. xvii.

¹⁹ For an account and bibliography of the work of the Maurists see Knowles, *Great Historical Enterprises*.

²⁰ Lobineau, *Histoire*.

²¹ The extant cartulary, but some from folios since lost: see above, pp. 28–9.

²² Delisle, *Le Cabinet*, II.70.

However, it does show that they left no stone unturned in their search for new material!

PRINTED VERSIONS

D *André Duchesne*, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, II (Paris 1636), pp. 324–5

This contains two sections of *Vita Conuuoionis*: §2, ‘Conuuoionus ex Cambliciacu uico’ – §3, ‘ueneratur altare’; §5, ‘signis igitur multis’ – §7, ‘regressus est ad suos’. The heading is: ‘De expeditione Ludouici Pii in Britanniam et de fundatione monasterii Rothonensis. Fragmentum ex antiqua membrana MS. eiusdem Monasterii.’ Duchesne says no more of his source, but internal evidence makes it seem unlikely that it was the one which he copied in C (see above, p.000, and discussion to follow). It appears, in fact, to have been the one later used by Mabillon, since Mabillon heads his edition of the *Vita* thus: ‘Vita S. Conuuoionis ... ex ms. codice Rotonensi, cuius fragmentum edidit Chesnius’.²³

M *Jean Mabillon*, *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, IV.2 (Paris 1680), pp. 184–222

This is the most complete text to survive. It contains both the *Vita*, §§1–12 (the only primary witness to include the preface and §§8–10), and as much of the *Gesta* as survives, including all its quotations and prefaces. It also gives a heading to each chapter, in contrast to every other manuscript except N. Comparison with N indicates that Mabillon may sometimes have added to the chapter-headings which he found in his exemplar, but the fact that in his rubrics personal names are often spelt otherwise than elsewhere in the text suggests that most of them were not composed by Mabillon himself.

Mabillon’s remarks do not make it clear whether his editions of the *Vita* and *Gesta* were taken from the same exemplar or from different ones. He subtitles the *Vita*, ‘Ex ms. codice Rotonensi, cuius fragmentum edidit Chesnius’, and the *Gesta*, ‘ex ms. codice Rotonensi annorum 700’.²⁴ This difference in description, and the fact that he suggests an eleventh-century date for the composition of the *Vita*²⁵ while assigning the *Gesta*-manuscript to the tenth century,²⁶ implies that he used two different exemplars for the two texts. However, the difference in description might merely show that he considered the *Vita* a less important text, the manuscript of which was not worth describing. The dating discrepancy could be explained if the *Vita* were written in a later hand than the *Gesta*, say on the flyleaves or on inserted leaves of the same manuscript. Thus it is possible, if no more, that M’s *Vita* and *Gesta* come from a single exemplar.

²³ *Acta*, ed. Mabillon, IV.2, p. 184. See further below, pp. 35–42.

²⁴ Mabillon, *ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*

However, the only manuscript which is known to have contained both *Vita* and *Gesta* is the lost ‘cartulary’-exemplar of B and C, and, as will be seen, the textual evidence is against Mabillon’s having taken either text from it. There is no evidence that MS. N., which Mabillon (as I argue below) used for the *Gesta*, ever contained a text of the *Vita*. We may therefore postulate a separate manuscript of VC, used by Duchesne and Mabillon and later lost.

The manuscript of GSR was obtained by Mabillon from Redon: ‘Hos libros ... diu perquisiui, tandemque nostri Iacobi du Chemin amici mei opera impetraui ex Monasterio nostro Rotonensi’.²⁷ Mabillon also had access to a second manuscript to which he refers only in two footnotes.²⁸ These tell us that it was later than the first, had an opening chapter consisting of an adaptation of the Preface to Book II, and, like the first, had a hiatus at the end of I.1. His summary treatment of the manuscript makes it seem unlikely that he took any readings from it; its existence will therefore of necessity be ignored in my reconstruction of the text-history. It may have been one of the ‘three or four manuscript-cartularies’ mentioned by the copyist of B, perhaps even B’s exemplar, or MS. L, but it is impossible to be certain of this.

P *Pierre-Hyacinthe Morice*, *Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l’histoire de Bretagne* (3 vols, Paris 1742–6), I, cols 239–63

This contains the same text as Mabillon’s edition, omitting the chapter-division in the *Vita* and the chapter-headings in the *Gesta*.

Morice’s two-volume *Histoire de Bretagne*, supplemented by three volumes of ‘*preuves*’, was intended to replace the history by Lobineau (see above, p. 31), who had been forced into exile by allegations that one of the opinions expressed in his work was treasonable. Morice relied to a large extent on Lobineau’s work and on the manuscript-collections of his Maurist predecessors. His book is unhelpful to present-day historians as it contains no references to his sources, but internal evidence makes it clear that his texts of the *Vita* and *Gesta* were taken from Mabillon’s edition.

THE TEXT-HISTORY

The relationships of the various manuscripts will now be assessed and the results set out in the form of stemmata. The text-histories of the *Vita* and the *Gesta* may more clearly be discussed separately than together, since

²⁷ *Ibid.* On p. 215, n.c., Du Chemin is referred to as Sub-prior of Redon. Mabillon’s correspondence with him – Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS. français 19649, fos 42–43, 145–46 – shows him holding the office of Prior of Vitré in 1685, and of Prior of Saint-Serge of Angers in 1691.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 193, n.a: ‘In recentiori codice ms. habetur Praefatio, cui proxime subiicitur caput sequens, quod secundum appello. At Praefatio illa eadem est, pauculis immutatis, cum prologo libri secundi ...’ Page 194, n. b: ‘Hiatus est hoc loco in duobus mss. ...’

some witnesses testify to only one of the texts – D to the *Vita*, N and L to the *Gesta* – while M, the fullest witness, most probably took its versions of the two from different manuscripts. However, the two discussions will overlap: first, because MSS. B and C, according to their colophons, took their version of both texts from an exemplar which apparently gave the two consecutively; secondly, because – it is argued here – F as a whole was copied from C, and P from M. For this reason the sigla of F and P will be put in brackets below when readings which they share with their parent-manuscripts are cited. The relationship of B and C is doubtful. C must be copied either from B or from the same exemplar as B, but there are problems with either view. The evidence for all these relationships comes from both texts, but will have to be split in two to accommodate the plan.

VITA CONUUOIONIS (BHL 1946)

The following are the parts of the *Vita* contained in the various manuscripts, using Mabillon's chapter-numbers.

§1 MP; §2 BCDMP; §3 BCDMP; §4 BCMP; §§5–7 BCDMP; §§8–10 MP; §§11–12 BMP

M: §§1–12

P: §§1–12

D: §2 'Conuuoionus ex Cambliciaco uico' – §3 'ueneratur altare';

§5 'signis igitur multis' – §7 'per Andegauam Gallias petens, regressus est ad suos'

B: §§2–7, 11–12

C: §§2–7, immediately followed by the *Gesta*

F: §§2–7, immediately followed by the *Gesta*

In practice I have restricted my discussion of the manuscript-relationships to chapters 2–7, since only for these chapters are there three or more witnesses to compare. An opposition of one against one, as we have between B and M(P) in 11–12, does not necessarily tell us whether the two are derived from the same or from different sources.

That M(P) and C(F) each constitute only a single witness is the first thing to be shown.

P is a copy of M. Dom Pierre-Hyacinthe Morice's text of the *Vita* and *Gesta* was published in 1742, seventy-four years after Mabillon's. He did not acknowledge that M was the source of his text, but internal evidence, particularly in the *Gesta*, makes this seem almost certain.

In the *Vita*, P agrees with M wherever M differs from the other manuscripts: these differences are listed below in the discussion of the relationships between M, D, B, and C. P's differences from M are as follows.

P and others

P gives no chapter-numbers or headings.

§1 pastoris P
- P
§3 autem P
ubi P
splendens PD
§4 sanitatem PBCF
§5 Britannicis P
§7 omni ab homine P

§8 interpellat P
finibus suis P
§9 Gallia P
uidelicet P
inaestimabilis pretii P
petitione P
§10 legitur Thebaea legio P
transmittit P
in Britanniam P

§11 tribuit P
§12 uigiliis et ieiuniis P

mirabili fabrica P

M and others

pectoris M
indignum M
uero MBCD(F)
ut MBCD(F)
resplendens MBC(F)
sanitati M
Britannis MBC(F)
ab omni homine MBC(F)
ab omni onere D
interpellabat M
suis finibus M
Britannia M
scilicet M
inaestimabili pretio M
petitione M
Thebaea legitur legio M
transmisit M
Britanniam M
tradidit MB
ieiuniis atque uigiliis M
ieiuniis ac uigiliis B
fabrica mirabili MB

The unique variants are trivial, consisting of substitutions of synonyms and minor changes of word-order, with one or two corrections (*in Britanniam*, §10) and slips (*Gallia* for *Britannia* influenced by *Gallis* in the same sentence, §9). Of the two cases in which P agrees with other manuscripts against M, one (*sanitatem* for *sanitati* in §4) is a simple grammatical correction which could have been made independently by Morice, and the one remaining (*splendens* PD versus *resplendens* MBCF in §3) is insufficient evidence on which to propose that P used any source other than M. P's dependence on M will become clearer when we turn to the *Gesta*.

F is a copy of C. This is suggested by F's colophon, signed in 1660 by 'Duchesne, Historiographe de France', viz François Duchesne (1616–1693), son of the antiquary André Duchesne (1584–1640), which states that F was copied from an exemplar written by the latter (see p. 31). C was written by or under the direction of André Duchesne.²⁹ (It should be pointed out here that, although D also was edited by André Duchesne,³⁰ the connexion between its text and C's is not as close as this might imply; see p. 40). The information in F's colophon is borne out by the variants: F contains the same material as C and in the same order – the *Vita* incomplete and dovetailed with the *Gesta* – and C and F agree against the other manuscripts in the following cases.

²⁹ De la Ronciere & Bondonio, *Catalogue*, I, s.n. 46.

³⁰ *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, II.324–5.

C and F
 §4 lignum `lumini` C;
 lumini F
 §5 ac
 fouente `fauis` C;
 fames `fauis` F
 §6 eos affatur amplexu
 §7 et ductulo Vincenensi
 ac

Others
 homini BMP (D missing)
 et BDMP
 torrente BMP; torrentis instar
 profluente D
 eos amplexatur affectu BD;
 amplexatur eos affectu MP
 et dutulo Viuienensi ut B;
 Dutulo scilicet et Undoennensi
 et DMP

The only case in which F disagrees with C is in § 6, where C has the clause 'ut ad beatum uirum in eremo degente angelicam uitam ducenti diuerteret'; F has *degentem* and *ducentem* for *degente* and *ducenti*, agreeing with DMP, but it is clear that F's copyist could have made this correction independently. Of the agreements of F with C, the most significant are those in §§ 4, 5, and 7, in which the scribe of F follows C's attempts to make sense of obviously corrupt passages in C's source. In § 5 it appears that the scribe of F tried to improve on C's revised reading with *fames*, only to conclude that C was right after all and replace his own conjecture with *fauis*. In fact, neither *fauis* nor *fames* could have been the reading of C's source, as C's first guess and B's *torrente* show.

M, D, B and C

If, then, P and F are copies of extant witnesses, we are left with BCDM as primary witnesses to the text of the *Vita*. There is some external evidence on the relationships of the manuscripts: first, the colophons of B and C tracing them to the 'cartulary'; secondly, the heading of Mabillon's edition, 'Vita ... ex ms. codice Rotonensi, cuius fragmentum edidit Chesnius' (p. 184), meaning that, if Mabillon was correct, M comes from the same source as D.

The variants complement this evidence in a somewhat puzzling way. Most of them are agreements of B and C(F) against M(P) and D; M(P) and D not infrequently diverge one from the other in these instances, as follows.

BC(F)
 §§ 1-8
 No divisions in following text
 § 2 -

D begins
 Comblisiaco
 § 3 Rothon
 situm
 -
 § 3 enimuero

M(P) and D
 = §§ 2-4; no chapter-divisions
 DP
 = §§ 5-12 M
 igitur M(P); D missing

Cambliciaci DM(P)
 Rothonem D; Rothonum M(P)
 signum D; sinum M(P)
 milium D; nobilium M(P)
 ipseuero DM(P)

BC(F)

D missing
 uicinis

D resumes
 domus orationis in perpetuum
 fieret

D breaks off
 § 4 una
 decursum
 § 4 Dei
 in B; in `ne` C; ne F
 lucerna
 consistenti ei
 cum
 indignum proclamaret
 ministerio
 illic
 reuelatione
 angelica
 sanitatem BC(F)P
 § 5 Dominus BC(F)

D resumes
 huiuscemodi
 princeps
 imbutus
 annuens commendari

§ 6 ui adolescentibus

obmissis cunctis Augustus
 negotiis
 Letauiam properauit

ac
 consilium
 et
 -

degenti B; degenti `degente` C
 - BC(F)
 patris
 ducens B; ducenti C

§ 6 patriae
 ac

M(P) and D

uicinus M(P)

domus orationis fieret D;
 domus fieret orationis M(P)

- M(P)
 decursus M(P)
 Deum M(P)
 ne "
 lucerna ... tanta M(P)
 consistenti "
 - "
 proclamans indignum
 ministerio M(P)
 illic "
 a reuelatione "
 augurio misertus "
 sanitati M
 Deus M(P)

-, D; huiusmodi M(P)
 iudex DM(P)
 delectatus atque instructus DM(P)
 commendans ad propria remeauit
 M(P); committens ad propria
 remeauit D
 inardescitibus D
 insolescentibus M(P)
 negotiis cunctis augustis omissis
 D; negotiis cunctis omissis M(P)
 Britanniam properat D;
 Britanniam properat Imperator
 M(P)
 atque D; et M(P)
 concilium DM(P)
 cum "
 in "
 degentem DFM(P)
 et DM(P)
 pro "
 ducentem DFM(P)
 patris DM(P)
 et "

<u>BC(F)</u>	<i>M(P) and D</i>
<i>D missing</i>	
§ 6 animabus	animalibus M(P)
<i>D resumes</i>	
§ 7 et dutulo Viuienensi, ut B; et ductulo Vincenensi, ac C(F) fundo	Dutulo scilicet et Undoennensi, et M(P)D - M(P); fundum D
<i>D missing</i>	
ualedicensque	ualedicens M(P)

However, other variants cross this divide in a number of ways. There are agreements of DBC(F) versus M(P), of BM(P) versus DC(F), and of BD versus C(F)M(P).

<i>DBC(F)</i>	<i>M(P)</i>
§ 2 et castitatis praerogatiuam D; nec non castitatis praerogatiuam BC(F)	-
§ 3 praeferat ergo fere nostrae redemptionis	proferat uero paene redemptionis nostrae Neomenoius
§ 5 Nominoius	interea
§ 6 in terra eleuato negotiis cunctis augustis omissis D; obmissis cunctis Augustus negotiis BC(F)	electo negotiis cunctis omissis . . . imperator
Marcono armatorum agmine subdit in eius ueneraretur imagine Christum Deo	Marcono agmine subiecit in eo ueneraretur imaginem Christi
§ 7 uir Dei prece fundum D; fundo BC(F)	-
<i>BM(P)</i>	<i>DC(F)</i>
§ 3 iuxta	infra
§ 4 homini	D missing; lignum `lumini` C; lumini F
§ 5 et torrente	D missing; ac C(F) torrentis instar profluente D; fouente `fauis` C; fames `fauis` F

<i>BM(P)</i>	<i>DC(F)</i>
§ 7 suppliciter	supplici
<i>BD</i>	<i>C(F)M(P)</i>
§ 7 eos amplexatur affectu	eos affatur amplexu C(F) amplexatur eos affectu M(P)

As C(F) is the only witness which does not show substantial agreement with each of the others in turn, but only with B – except for two variants in which it agrees with D against B and M(P), to the implications of which I shall return (below, p. 41) –, the possibility has to be considered that C(F) was copied from B, leaving the others as three independent witnesses to the same source: hence the cross-agreements. (B cannot have been copied from C, since it contains material which C does not, viz §§ 11–12.) The evidence of the *Gesta* is ambiguous on the point, as will be seen. In that text, C shares some correct readings with other manuscripts against B, but they could have been corrections by a careful scribe copying B; although some of C(F)'s unique readings do not suggest that the scribe was particularly careful as a copyist, others suggest that he was concerned with correct Latin. However, two variants in the *Vita* seem to disprove that C could have been copied from B. In them, C diverges from B as if trying to make sense of a corrupt exemplar, producing nonsensical readings where B's are both clear and correct.

<i>BM(P)</i>	<i>C</i>
§ 4 homini	lignum `lumini`
§ 5 torrente	fouente `fauis`

It is just conceivable that C could have misread B's *homini* for *lumini* and *torrente* for *fouente*, but *lignum* is inexplicable except possibly by the forced argument that it was dittography influenced by *indignum* a few words earlier. It is especially odd in that C otherwise has no scribal (or other) corrections. If C were a second-hand copy of B there might be some lost explanation in the intermediate copy, but on the existing evidence the theory that C is a copy of B is not convincing.

If C is not a copy of B, then the two must have been copied from a common source other than that of D and M, witnesses which share many readings against BC. But D, too, presents particular problems, which must be looked at separately.

D contains only a small section of *Vita Conuuoiionis* and, within this section, comparison with the other witnesses shows that the editor, Duchesne, treated the text freely, making many 'corrections', additions, and cuts.

<i>D</i>	<i>Others</i>
§ 2 Couoionus	Conuuoiionus M(P); Conuuoyonus BC(F)
<i>om.</i>	quem genitores liberalibus studuerunt tradere artibus imbuendum. Qui cum ingenio uteretur docili, repente factus est scientia summus et

D	<i>om.</i> et <i>om.</i> Kermarico	<i>Others</i> meritorum excellentiam atque nec non ecclesiae Romario M(P); Rainario B; Romano C(F)
§ 3	<i>om.</i> <i>om.</i> Rothonem infra signum duorum milium situm petiit	Cum uero doctrinae insisteret et uices pontificis diligenter exsequeretur dare Rothonum M(P); Rothon BC(F) petiit iuxta sinum duorum nobilium fluminum situm M(P); petiit infra situm duorum fluminum situm C(F); iuxta situm duorum fluminum situm B
§ 3	<i>om.</i> domus orationis fieret a Deo destinatum castra figerent et oratorium construerent <i>om.</i> § 4 and § 5 to insertum	montibusque proceritate sua polo uicinus M(P) (uicinis BC[F]) quasi quibusdam moeniis ambiatur domus fieret orationis M(P); domus orationis in perpetuum fieret BC(F) a Deo praedestinatum M(P)BC(F) castra figere et oratorium construere deberent M(P)BC(F)
§ 5	signis multis <i>om.</i> armis et sensu potens Ludouico Pio et Imperatore Augusto Caroli Magni filio eloquio torrentis instar profluente committens ad propria remeauit	signis igitur M(P)BCF huiusmodi M(P); huiuscemodi BC(F) armis potens, sensu pollens M(P)BC(F) Ludouico Augusto M(P)BC(F) eloquiorum torrente M(P)B; eloquiorum fouente `fauis` C; eloquiorum fames `fauis` F commendans ad propria remeauit M(P); annuens commendari BC(F) <i>om.</i> M(P)BC(F)
§ 6	postea inardescitibus praedictum negotiis cunctis augustis obmissis ipse Ludouicus igitur Venetia atque	insolentibus M(P); ui adolescenti- bus BC(F) <i>om.</i> M(P)BC(F) negotiis cunctis omissis M(P); obmissis cunctis Augustus negotiis BC(F) <i>om.</i> M(P)BC(F) itaque „ Venetensi „ et M(P); ac BC(F)
§ 6	admonitus conuerteret Couoium <i>om.</i>	est admonitus M(P)BC(F) diuerteret M(P)BC(F) Conuoionem MB; Conuoionem PC(F) imperator M(P)BC(F)

D	consideratis . . . conuersatione <i>om.</i> § 7 illis a fluminibus cingitur fundum suorumque et aeterna remuneratione <i>om.</i> onere postea se commendans ora- tionibus Abbatis et Fratrum . . . <i>om.</i> regressus est ad suos	<i>Others</i> considerata . . . conuersatione M(P)BC(F) illud reuoluens quod de sanctis anima- bus (BC[F]; animalibus M[P]) dicitur: similitudo hominis in eis M(P)BC(F) illi M(P)BC(F) fluminibus cingitur M(P)BC(F) <i>om.</i> M(P); fundo BC(F) successorumque M(P)BC(F) <i>om.</i> M(P)BC(F) Saluatoris altari quemadmodum uir Dei petierat M(P)BC(F) homine M(P)BC(F) ualedicens (-que BC(F)) abbati et fratribus et eorum se commendans orationibus . . . M(P)BC(F) Balneo se contulit uico, uenationem ibi exercens, ac deinde . . . M(P) BC(F) <i>om.</i>
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Where the other witnesses diverge, D most often agrees with M, but in two cases it agrees with C(F) against the others. Since we know that C was copied by or for Duchesne it is justified to ask whether D could have been copied from C. Duchesne, it is true, headed his *Vita*-text 'Fragmentum ex antiqua membrana MS. eiusdem monasterii Rotonensis', - he might, I suppose, have meant only that a parchment-manuscript was the ultimate, not the immediate, source of his text. In fact it seems unlikely that Duchesne would have gone to Redon or had an original manuscript sent to him when he already had C (or, conversely, that he would have had C copied if he had already made an edition from a Redon manuscript). However, there are strong arguments too against D having been copied from C. Most of Duchesne's unique variants can be explained as editorial alterations or slips which give no evidence as to his exemplar, but two are distinctly bizarre: the forms of the personal names *Couoionus/Couoium* (for C's *Conuoyonus*) and *Kermarico* (for C's *Romano*) where C in both cases has forms which are closer to being historically accurate. Again, D on one occasion agrees with B against C (and M).

BD	§ 6 eos amplexatur affectu	C(F)M(P) eos affatur amplexu C(F); amplexatur eos affectu M(P)
----	----------------------------	--

in what could conceivably be an independent correction but in fact seems to show that Duchesne had a source closer to the archetype than C. The same is suggested by D's unique reading in § 5, *torrentis instar profluente*, which seems more like an elaboration of BM(P)'s *torrente* than a correction of C's reading.

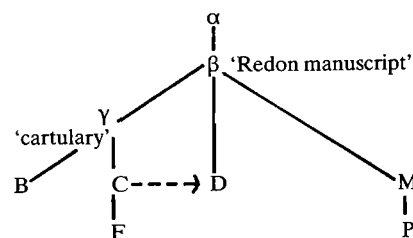
Most importantly, the agreements between D and M against BC(F)

seem to disprove $C > D$ – unless one argues that M actually took these readings from D, in other words, that Mabillon – who certainly used a Redon manuscript, as he gives the text more fully than any other witness – contaminated it with D. This is possible. We know that Mabillon had Duchesne's edition to hand, from a note which he gives to the name *Romario* in §2: 'Chesnius legit Kermario; legendum Rainario ...'.³¹ (Actually Duchesne reads *Kermarico*; *Kermario* in M is probably a misprint.) Of the readings which M and D share, the majority can be seen as improvements of the style or grammar.

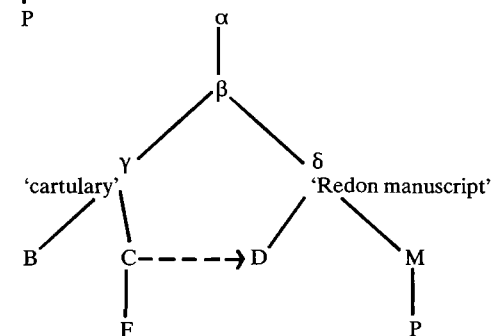
<i>BC(F)</i>	<i>DM(P)</i>
§2 Comblisiaco	Cambliciaco
§3 enimuero	ipseuero
§5 imbutus	delectatus atque instructus
§6 Letauiam properauit	Britanniam properat D; Britanniam properat Imperator M
degenti B; degenti `degente' C	degentem DFM(P)
patris	pro
patriae	patris

Others, however, can be seen only as mistakes, especially the omission of BC's *in perpetuum* in §3. Although Mabillon's own comments show that he thought the *Vita* an unimportant text,³² the argument that he contaminated his manuscript with D to such an extent is a little forced, and on it depends the idea that D could have been copied from C. On balance it seems likelier that D and M are independent witnesses, and that the two agreements between D and C against BM result from Duchesne's having contaminated a text from a Redon manuscript with C.

Accordingly we have at least four partially independent witnesses to the text, B, C, D, and M; if C is not a copy of B nor contaminated with D, then the preponderance of agreements between B and C on the one hand and D and M on the other has to be explained by BC and DM having different exemplars. Would it be possible to show that one of these sources was copied from the other? It seems unlikely that DM's source was copied from BC's, since BC's was probably without the Preface and possibly without the middle sections (§§8–10) which B and C both lack and which M gives. (The BC-version of the *Gesta* likewise omits all prefatory material.) On the other hand, it is impossible to show whether or not BC's source was copied from DM's; so two options remain – either that D and M were taken from the archetype of all the surviving copies and B and C from a copy of it, or that BC and DM were each taken from a copy of the archetype. These two possibilities are illustrated in the following stemmata.



1.



2.

GESTA SANCTORUM ROTONENSII (BHL 1945)

The following are the parts of the *Gesta* contained in the various manuscripts.

I.1–3 BCFMP	II.1–8 BCFMP
I.4–5 BCFLMP	II.9–10 BCFMNP
I.6 BCFMP	
I.7 BCFMNP	III.Pref. MNP
I.8–11 BCFMP	III.1–5 BCFMNP
	III.6 BCFMP
II.Pref. MP	III.7–9 BCFMNP

- M, P: I.1–11, II. Preface & 1–10, III. Preface & 1–9
 B, C: I.1–11, II.1–10, III.1–9 – excluding most scriptural quotations and I.4 from 'sicut in actibus apostolorum legitur' to the end of the chapter.
 F: As B and C, but restores the end of chapter 4 from *Nam et de nomine loci* onwards.
 N: I.7 *Hos accipe ... nuntiatum est sanctissimo*
 II.10 *sciscitatusque est eos ...* III.5 *statimque euigilauit*
 III.7 *talibus studiis ...* III.9 *miserecordiam tuebantur*
 L: I.5 *Mane uero facto ...* I.6 *usquam malum contra*

The first task, in illustrating the relationships among the manuscripts, is to complete the demonstration, begun in the discussion of the *Vita*, that P is copied from M and F from C.

P is a copy of M. The most direct evidence for this comes from the *Gesta*. In I.7 where M reads

³¹ Mabillon, *Acta*, IV.1, p. 189, n. b.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 184

Statim ille uir retulit nummos de sinu suo et reddidit reuerentissimo uiro, et impleta est propheta superius perfidi, ubi ait, quia non in adiutorium mihi, sed in opprobrium sunt isti solidi. . .

P omits part of the sentence, leaving only

Statim ille uir retulit nummos de sinu suo et ait, quia non in adiutorium mihi, sed in opprobrium sunt isti solidi. . . .

The missing words in P occupy exactly one line in Mabillon's edition³³ and the mistake is most easily explained if we imagine that Morice was copying from M and accidentally skipped the line.

Further evidence that P was copied from M is its silent reproduction of M's editorial changes. For instance, there is some material missing from the end of I.2 in all the versions of the *Gesta*. BCF end the chapter 'Sunt etiam ibi alii duo presbyteri'. M's source continued with the words 'unus qui nominatur' before breaking off. Mabillon, in a footnote, suggested a way to fill the gap: 'Hiatus est hoc loco in duobus mss., ita supplendus, *Conhoiarnus, et alter Thetuius* . . . Agitur de Conhoiarno lib. 2 cap. 4, de Thetuo cap. 8 . . .'.³⁴ Thus there seems to be no manuscript-authority for Mabillon's insertion: it is a guess based on the internal evidence of the text. Morice, however, gives 'unus qui nominatur Conhoiarnus, et alter Thetuius' in his text without any note. In the same chapter, Mabillon's exemplar and the extant manuscripts read that Conuuoion's family was 'ex posteritate sancti Melanii Redonensis'. Mabillon rejected this reading in favour of *ex potestate* . . . and his footnote³⁵ calls *ex posteritate* a substitution ('interpolator nescio quis temere substituit') but does not make it clear whether *ex potestate* was still legible in his exemplar: the grounds which he gives for his reading are confirmations from other sources that Conuuoion's parish, *Plebs Cambliciaca*, was a possession of the church of St Melanius. But, again, P follows M in reading *ex potestate*. Similarly, where M gives words – not present in BC(F) – in square brackets, indicating that they have been supplied editorially (*elegerunt* in I.1, *mansit* in I.2, *essent* in I.7), P reproduces them unmarked.

This evidence is supported by the almost invariable agreement of P with M when M differs from the other witnesses: these cases are listed on pp. 56–7 below, in complement to the common variants of BC(F) and NBC(F).

On the other hand, P differs from M in a number of details. P's unique variants are so many that it seems best to classify them as follows: into attempted corrections to sense, grammar, or syntax (P being the only witness which shows a well defined tendency to correct) on the one hand; and commonplace slips, substitutions, and transpositions on the other. The cases in which P agrees with other witnesses against M will be discussed at the end.

³³ *Ibid.*, IV.2, p. 199, line 44.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 194, n. b.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 194, n. a.

P'S CORRECTIONS (with altered words italicised)

<i>M</i>		<i>P</i>
I.2	<i>operit</i> multitudinem peccatorum	<i>operiet</i> multitudinem peccatorum
I.5	delatus monasterio	delatus ad monasterium
I.9	reuersusque ad hospitium ... <i>dixitque</i> confratri suo	reuersusque ad hospitium ... <i>dixit</i> confratri suo
I.10	Cum uenerabilis . . . Con- uuoion cum fratribus suis <i>manciparent</i> . . . <i>darent</i>	Cum uenerabilis . . . Conuuoion cum fratribus suis <i>manciparet</i> ... <i>daret</i>
I.10	locutus est benigne nemo sit eis molestus in <i>illa</i> re, <i>nec audeat</i> quisquam . . .	locutus est <i>ei</i> benigne nemo sit eis molestus in <i>ulla</i> re, <i>nec audeat</i> quisquam . . .
II.Pref.	tormenta quae <i>passa sunt</i> sancti	tormenta quae <i>passi sunt</i> sancti
II.3	praecipio uobis . . . <i>ut</i> hic amplius <i>ne remaneatis</i> nec multo post <i>tempore</i>	praecipio uobis . . . <i>ut</i> hic amplius <i>non remaneatis</i> nec multo post <i>temporis</i>
II.9	adproprietis	adproprietis
II.10	. . . unum ex sanctis corporibus martyrum qui Romanam ecclesiam . . . <i>rexerant</i>	unum ex sanctis corporibus martyrum qui Romanam ecclesiam . . . <i>rexerat</i>
III.1	omnia . . . quod <i>mandatum</i> fuerat sonitum catenarum . . . in <i>terra</i> cadentium	<i>omne</i> . . . quod <i>mandatum fuerat</i> sonitum catenarum . . . in <i>terram</i> cadentium
III.2	tam <i>corporum</i> quam animae	tam <i>corporis</i> quam animae
III.4	<i>ex</i> infirmitate	<i>ab</i> infirmitate
III.6	monachi moti misericordia super <i>eo</i>	monachi moti misericordia super <i>eum</i>
III.8	a Roma egressi <i>pertrans-</i> <i>ieruntque</i> cunctam Italiam	a Roma egressi <i>pertransierunt</i> cunctam Italiam
III.9	In tempore . . . Erispoe <i>principis</i> Britanniae misit nuntios in <i>uniuerso</i> <i>regno suo</i> Britones . . . irruerunt . . . perieruntque <i>ex eis</i> plurima multitudo	In tempore . . . Erispoe <i>regis</i> Britanniae misit nuntios in <i>uniuersum</i> <i>regnum suum</i> Britones . . . irruerunt . . . perieruntque <i>cum eis</i> plurima multitudo

Two of the variants in III.9 represent Morice's only attempt to alter the sense of M's text, and it is interesting that the purpose should be to magnify the Bretons. (One is the title of *rex* for Erispoi, the other is *cum eis* for *ex eis* to make it clear that the Bretons were slaughtering the other side!) The grammatical corrections are not systematic: in most of these cases P's version is little or no better than M's and many mistakes, even some of the same type as are corrected in the above cases, are elsewhere left uncorrected – for instance in III.1, 'mansit in eandem urbem romanam'.

The number of omissions among P's 'accidental' variants vitiates Morice's attempt to tidy the text.

P: 'ACCIDENTAL' VARIANTS

<i>P</i>	<i>Others</i>
I.1 totam paene desertum locum quotidie Deum pro salute totius Britanniae	paene totam BC(F)M locum desertum " Dominum quotidie BC(F); Deum quotidie M pro salute uestra et pro defensione totius Britanniae BC(F); pro salute uestra et pro salute totius Britanniae M aut BC(F)M
I.2 et esset a Deo iuuans	a Deo esset BFM; a Deo C BC(F) <i>missing</i> ; adiuuans M
I.3 et <i>om.</i>	BC(F) <i>missing</i> ; ut M
I.4 unum eis	uillam BC(F)M unum ex eis "
<i>L begins</i>	
I.5 abstulerat uocatus	detulerat BCLM; retulerat F uocitatus BC(F)LM
<i>L ends</i>	
I.6 diabolus semper inuidus est caput Hinganto Uldonem fluminis ulterius	diabolus semper inuidus est BCFM caput est BC(F)M Hincanto " Huldonem " ulterius fluminis "
I.7 loquitur discipulis suis iurgia multa et	alloquitur M (BC[F] <i>missing</i>) suis discipulis M (BC[F] <i>missing</i>) multa iurgia BC(F)M aut "
<i>N begins</i>	
hoc eis <i>om.</i> <i>om.</i> uniuersam Britones cuncti dictum quod	hos BC(F)MN <i>om.</i> BC(F)N; ei M abbas BC(F)MN sancti " totam " cuncti Britones " quod dictum "
<i>N ends</i>	
uiri sicut	supradicti BC(F)M BC(F) <i>missing</i> ; sicuti M

<i>P</i>	<i>Others</i>
I.8 mancipatis propriam	mancipantibus BC(F)M suam propriam BM; propriam suam C(F)
I.9 superuenerunt <i>om.</i>	superuenerant BC(F)M ante "
I.10 Deo gratias	gratias Deo "
I.11 illis	eis "
II.1 ille diu <i>om.</i> dicite impleui	diu ille miser " mihi " dicite " compleui "
II.2 autem eos	enim " eisdem "
II.3 erat namque Deo hostiam Salomon in prouerbio	namque erat " hostiam Deo " Salomon in prouerbiis "
II.4 Deum . . . imprecari se se illic Accidit . . . in quadam die . . . pergeret <i>om.</i>	Deum . . . deprecari " de sede BC(F); de se M illuc BC(F)M Accidit . . . ut quadam die . . . pergeret BC(F)M iuuenis "
II.5 <i>om.</i> <i>om.</i> <i>om.</i> Nomenoium (<i>the same recurs in III.5</i>) aeternam possidebit enim illis nunc eum iste ab eo orationem	istius " optime " Dei " Nominoium " possidebit aeternam " denique " eis " eum nunc " ille " orationem ab eo "
II.6 iustitiae non cognoscere reuersus quidam extitit <i>om.</i> ipsius	non cognoscere iustitiae M; BC(F) <i>missing</i> reuertitur M; BC(F) <i>missing</i> extitit quidam BC(F)M eodem " illius "
II.8 Rosuallon coxae plaustra idus Ianuarii	Ronuallon " coxae " plaustrum " idus Ianuarias "
II.9 Andegauensem ciuitatem habueruntque hospitium . . . in domum <i>om.</i>	Andegauam ciuitatem " habueruntque hospitium . . . in domo BC(F)M religiosi "

<i>P</i>	<i>Others</i>
<i>N begins</i>	
II.10 <i>om.</i> hanc	hic BC(F)MN
<i>om.</i> perrexerunt cum multo labore . . .	illam "
	est "
	perrexerunt igitur episcopi una cum beato (M; sancto BC[F]N) abbate Romam uiam ualde longam, perueneruntque cum multo labore BC(F)MN
	praesule "
<i>om.</i> id est, si episcopus, presbyter aut diaconus . . .	est "
	id est, si episcopus errauerit, a quo emendabitur? Sed et sancti canones hoc (BMN; haec C[F]) iudicant (BCMN; indicant F): si quis episcopus, presbyter aut diaconus . . . BC(F)MN
	ecclesiam "
<i>om.</i> Conuuoionum hymnis et laudibus	Conuuoionem "
III.Pref. <i>om.</i>	laudibus et hymnis "
<i>om.</i>	BC(F) <i>missing</i> ; episcoporum MN
<i>om.</i> ubique eos Dominus	BC(F) <i>missing</i> ; ubique MN
	BC(F) <i>missing</i> ; eos Dominus ubique MN
	BC(F) <i>missing</i> ; audientibus MN
	BC(F) <i>missing</i> ; omnia MN
III.1 <i>om.</i> flectu	BC(F) <i>missing</i> suo MN
	BC(F) <i>missing</i> ; idem MN
	fletu BC(F)MN
	cumque "
	monasterii "
	uero "
	designantes ei uiam "
	in monasterio "
	ex "
	dignatus est sanctum locum "
III.2 omnem Brito	uniuersam "
<i>om.</i>	Britoc "
<i>om.</i>	loci "
	sanctus "
III.4 pontificem Dei	Dei pontificem "
exire e corpore	e corpore exire "
III.5 Lantdebertus nomine Gauzlenus	Landebertus "
	Gauslinus nomine BMN; nomine Gauslinus

<i>P</i>	<i>Others</i>
III.5 eo uehementer	illo BC(F)MN
<i>N breaks off</i>	uehementius "
	Goslenus
III.6 ut adduxerunt fundere ad Dominum	Goislenus BC(F)M
	ita ut "
	adduxere "
	ad Deum fundere B; ad Dominum fundere C(F)M
	clementiam suam
III.7 libendum	suam clementiam BC(F)M
<i>N resumes</i>	bibendum uinum "
	uersaretur
III.8 nobili sanctam ciuitatem fere iuxta mare requiescit iterum Frotmundus cum . . . fratribus . . . iterum Romam reuersi sunt	uexaretur BC(F)MN
	nobilissimo "
	ciuitatem sanctam "
	fere "
	requiescit iuxta mare "
	iterum Frotmundus cum . . . fratribus . . . Romam reuersi sunt "
	peregrinauerunt
	peragrauerunt "
	aliisque
	illisque "
	hinc
	illinc "
	audierunt
	audierant "
	non
	nec "
	<i>om.</i> nomine
	illius "
III.9 Bestia	Betia "
<i>om.</i>	egredi uel "
<i>om.</i>	ut contererent "
	plurimum "
	Hinconanus BCM; Hynconanus F; Hynconanus N
	<i>om.</i> omnes BC(F)MN
	conuersi sunt
	sunt conuersi "
None of these variants implies that P need have had a source other than M. There are, however, a few cases in which P agrees with other witnesses against M.	
<i>P and others</i>	<i>M and others</i>
I.1 hi PC(F)	hii BM
I.3 filios suos PC	suos filios BFM
I.7 area PBC(F)N	arca M
I.9 et PF	ac BCM
I.10 eis se PF	se eis BCM
II.8 mitterentur PF	mittarentur BC; mitteretur M
II.9 adproprietis PF	adproprietis BCMN

P and others

II.10 Corisopitensem PBC(F)
 III.3 nocteque PBC(F)
 III.6 Nanneticae PC(F)
 III.8 A Roma egressi pertransierunt PC
 mirarentur PBC(F)

M and others

Corisopiti MN
 nocteque MN
 Namneticae BMN
 A Roma egressi pertransieruntque (BMN; pertransibant F)
 miraremur MN

There is no consistency of cross-agreement with any particular manuscript, and most of these cases can be explained as independent corrections by the copyists concerned: corrections of patent mistakes like *hii*, *arca*, and *pertransieruntque*, or changes to a more natural word-order in the case of *suos filios* and *se eis*. The substitution of *adpropietis*, 'appropriate', for *adpropietis* is a case of the seventeenth-century copyist not recognising the mediaeval Latin *appropriare*, 'approach'.

The cases in which P repeats an error made in other witnesses are rather harder, but still perhaps explicable. In II.8, M alone has the correct singular verb *mitteretur* where the others have the plural. Their mistake may have been independently caused by the fact that the subject of the previous sentence – *aliqui ex fratribus* – is plural: only the later context makes it clear that the subject has changed. A similar explanation may hold for *mirarentur* BC(F)P, *miraremur* MN in III.8, where all the other verbs in the passage which have the same subject, the monks of Redon, are in the third-person plural.

The agreement of P with BC(F) in *Corisopitensem* and *nocteque* remains problematic but is insufficient evidence on which to argue that P made use of any source other than M.

F is a copy of C. For the external evidence, see the section on the *Vita*. In the *Gesta*, F agrees with C against the other manuscripts in the following cases.

	<i>CF</i>	<i>Others</i>	
I.1	pax et	pars BM(P) sed "	
I.3	Ratuilus ibini eiusdem	Ratuili B; Ratuili M(P) inibi BM(P) cuiusdem "	

L begins

I.5	est effectus	effectus est	BLM(P)
-----	--------------	--------------	--------

L ends

	contumacia	cothurnica	BM(P)
I.6	erant	erat	"
I.7	om.	optimum	"

N begins

	Risuuethenus	Risuetenus	BM(P)N
	om.	per	"
	irruerunt subito	subito irruerunt	"

N ends

	<i>CF</i>	<i>Others</i>	
I.8	atque nullomodo a nobis propriam suam	ac B; et M(P) a nobis nullo pacto BM(P) suam propriam BM; propriam P	
I.9	sua	eius	BM(P)
I.11	uero	statim	"
II.1	cum esset sile frater recedam quod e naribus laudauit ubique	dum est sile frater, sile discedam quae ex naribus ubique laudauit	" " " " " "
II.2	transmearuntque posset	transmeaueruntque possit	" "
II.3	pollens accedit uermes cursu necnon gradum Nouembriis	polleret accidit cursu uermes necnon et gradum Nouembres B; Nouembris M(P)	" " " " "
II.4	eo imbecillus omni tempore ille iuuenis hoc saeculo	eos imbecillus ille iuuenis omni tempore saeculo hoc	BM(P) " " "
II.5	ergo	uero	"
II.6	eius	illius	"
II.8	et et	at atque	" "

N begins

II.9	Dei misericordia ibi strepitu uel sonitu factus	misericordia Domini illuc B; illic M(P); `illic` illuc N sonitu uel strepitu	BM(P)N " " "
II.10	Ioannes auulsa euellas panem magna indignatione conuocari duos haec allegit	Susannus euulsa euellas panem indignatione magna conuocare duo hoc BMN; P missing collegit	" " " " " " " "
III.1	sicut in monasterio Nannetica ei	sicuti in eodem monasterio Nannetica eis	BM(P)N " " "

	<i>CF</i>	<i>Others</i>	”
III.3	et uenitis	ac uenistis	”
III.4	ei ea	et eadem	”
III.5	eo tempore nomine Gauslinus	eo uero tempore Gauslinus nomine BMN; nomine Gauzlenus P	”
<hr/>			
<i>N breaks off</i>			
III.6	monachus ei largiri	clericus largiri ei	BM(P)
<hr/>			
<i>N resumes</i>			
III.8	uiro cuidam peccatorum suorum indulgentiam usquaque Domini facultatem unico sanguis et sanies tetigitque	cuidam uiri indulgentiam suorum peccatorum usquequo Dei potestatem uiuo sanies et sanguis et tetigit	” ” ” ” ” ” ”
III.9	crebraque inuadere auderet e captiuis	creberque auderet inuadere ex captiuis	” ” ”

The cases in which F agrees with C in what is clearly an error – for instance, I.1 *pax* where *pars* is the correct biblical quotation, I.3 *ibini* which is a corruption of *inibi*, I.6 *contumacia* instead of the ‘lectio difficilior’ *cothurnica* – seem to be conclusive evidence of its dependence. Some of its unique variants, listed below, point in the same direction.

	<i>F</i>	<i>Others</i>	
I.3	illo Moetran eo	ipso Moetcar BC; Moetchar eodem	BCM(P) M(P) BCM(P)

L begins

I.4	retulerat	detulerat BCLM; abstulerat P	
I.5	propriis oculis dei	oculis propriis BCM(P); oculis suis propriis L diei BCLM(P)	

L ends

I.6	responsum dedisse repetent	dedisse responsum repetunt	BCM(P) ”
I.7	pro causa monasterii et	pro causa monasteri	”

	<i>F</i>	<i>Others</i>	
I.7	utilitate cum dixerunt sancti uiri eos in manu	una cum sancta uiri C; sancti uiri dixerunt in manu eos	BCM(P) BM(P)
<hr/>			
<i>N begins</i>			
	uero Franci latitantes	Franci eos latitantes	BCM(P)N ”
<hr/>			
<i>N ends</i>			
I.10	uero illo die Nominoe cognouit ac magis et magis	ergo Nominoe illo die agnouit et magis ac magis	BCM(P) ” ”
II.2	illius oculis idem uir sanctus quidquid	oculis illius cumque idem uir sanctus quicquid	” ” ”
II.3	uitae tuae uoluisset ac	tui uouisset et	” ” ”
II.5	uoluisset ac	uouisset et	” ”
II.6	a sancto patre monasterii ad obedientiam hic	ad obedientiam a sancto patre monasterii sic	BCM(P) ”
<hr/>			
<i>N begins</i>			
II.9	uobiscum eat tumuli eius	ut uobiscum eat sepulchri illius	BCM(P)N ” ”
II.10	accipimus indicatum indicant	accepimus iudicatum iudicant	” ” ”
III.1	omnipotenti Deo	Deo omnipotenti	”
III.4	primitiis et	primitus atque	” ”
III.6	auderet ei	ei auderet BCM(P); N missing	”
III.8	pertransibant	pertransieruntque BNM; pertransierunt CP	”
III.9	properauerunt ei monasterii	praeparauerunt sancti monasterii	BCM(P)N ”

It is evidence for F’s dependence on C when a unique mistake in C receives an attempted correction in F: in II.3, where BM(P) have ‘Cumque idem uir sanctus uirtutibus polleret, data est ei ...’ and C has botched the clause by changing *polleret* to *pollens*, F tries to put matters right by omitting *cumque*, changing the clause into a participial phrase.

One interesting slip is F’s *Moetran* for *Moetcar* (I.3), in which, in an unfamiliar place-name, C’s *c* was apparently mistaken for a ‘backward-

facing' *r* (↖) and his *r*, dipping towards the line (↗), for an *n*. The fact that *ran* is a common Breton place-name element meaning a parcel of land lent colour to the mistake.

In the following cases F agrees with other witnesses against C and yet others.

	<i>F</i> and others	<i>C</i> and others
I.2	esset a Deo FM(P)	a Deo esset B; a Deo C
I.3	suos filios BFM	filios suos CP
I.9	et FP	ac BCM
I.10	et FM(P)	ac BC
	eis se FP	se eis BCM
II.2	pedibus suis BF	suis pedibus C; pedibus siccis M(P)
II.5	ibi BFM(P)	ibique C
II.8	Ioucon BF	Ioucon C; Ioucum M(P)

N begins

II.9	adpropietis FP est concursus FM(P)	adpropietis BCMN conkursus BCN
II.10	fuerit FN	fuerat BCM(P)

All of these are easily explained as independent corrections (*esset a Deo*; *adpropietis*) or unimportant coincidences.

After François Duchesne's copy (F) was completed, he gained access to another manuscript which enabled him to add, on a separate leaf, a part of I.3 omitted by BC, from 'Nam et de nomine loci' to 'pro desiderio paradisi gemunt' – a description of Redon –, and, in two other places, to provide alternative phrases in the margin: 'per idem tempus' for 'sub id tempus' in II.9, and 'alio quoque tempore' for 'in illo quoque tempore' in III.7. All this material is identical to the readings of M, and as Mabillon's edition had not yet appeared in 1660 Duchesne can only have been using Mabillon's exemplar or an unknown manuscript very like it. The contamination is not extensive, however.

F and P can thus be shown to be copies of extant witnesses and to have no independent value in reconstructing the archetypal text.

B and C(F) It has already been shown from the *Vita* that a doubt exists as to whether C is a copy of B or whether the two share a source. The *Vita* contains strong evidence against C's being a copy of B but the evidence of the *Gesta* provides little to reinforce it. In its variants C rarely agrees with any witness other than B. Where it does, it is nearly always in grammatically correct readings or spellings at which the scribe could have arrived independently, even if he were copying B.

	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i> and others
I.1	Louchemel stetique hii BM enarrare... uitae B	Louhemel C(F)M(P) stetique " hi C(F)P enarrare... uitam C(F)M(P)

	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i> and others
I.1	cuiusdem	cuiusdam C(F)M(P)
I.4	interrogatusque est BL Ieneglina BM(P)	interrogatusque C(F)M(P) Iencglina C(F)N
I.7	area BNP ad perquirendum nummos B	arca C(F)M ad perquirendos nummos C(F)M(P)
I.10	Lancun	Lancum C(F)M(P)
II.3, III.3	quicquid	quidquid "
III.6	ad Deum fundere	ad Dominum fundere C(F)M; fundere ad Dominum P
III.8	quicquid BN	quidquid C(F)M(P)
III.9	ascendere BN quicquam BN	accendere " quidquam "

The most significant agreements of C with other manuscripts are in I.7: the readings *arca* for *area* (an error which C shares with M) and *Iencglina* for *Ieneglina* (which C shares with N against BM). These two readings are sufficient to create a balance against the view that C was copied from B. That the two are derived from the same source is shown by their common readings against M(P)N.

BC(F)

General: omission of chapter-headings, prefaces and scriptural quotations

Chapter I.7 is transposed to the end of Book I

II.10	praetio Corisopitensem BC(F)P <i>om.</i>	sine praetio Corisopiti 'uel episcoporum' N; id est episcoporum M(P)
III.1	quae mandata fuerant proficiscere	quod mandatum fuerat M(P)N perge M(P)N
III.2	corporis et	tam corporum quam M; corporum quam N; tam corporis quam P
III.3	nocteque BC(F)P regularem cum... iaceret dominum	noctaque MN regulariter M(P)N dum... iaceret M(P)N domnum M(P)N
III.4	me	[](<i>erasure</i>) N; <i>om.</i> M(P)
III.5	Ypotemio	Ipotemio N; Hypotemio M; Hipothemio P
III.8	totam preces pro eo cum... pueris... lucernas ... portantibus mirarentur BC(F)P	cunctam M(P)N pro eo preces M(P)N cum... pueris... lucernas... portantes M(P)N miraremur MN

<i>BC(F)</i>		<i>Others</i>
III.9	plurimam multitudinem pagani	plurima multitudo M(P)N Normanni 'pagani' N (<i>later alteration</i>); Normanni M(P)
	fluuio Ligeri	fluuio Ligere MN; fluuio Ligeris P

The possibility thus exists that C is a copy of B but, for arguments against this, see the discussion of the *Vita*. For now, I shall proceed on the assumption that the two share a source, the 'cartulary' mentioned in B's scribal introduction, which also contained the *Vita*. This manuscript may be given the siglum γ in the discussion, as it was in the discussion of the *Vita*. If it is argued that C is a copy of B, then B, as the only direct witness to the cartulary, replaces γ in the following discussion.

γ , M and N Once it is established that B and C(F) together represent a single witness – the 'cartulary', γ – three major witnesses remain: γ , M and N, of which M is certainly the latest. We must now investigate how these three are related. γ cannot be identical with N, nor can either N or M have been copied from it, because M and N contain the prefaces and bible-quotations which had been edited out of γ . There is no *a priori* reason why either γ or M could not have been copied from N, which now contains less than half the text but which was probably complete in the seventeenth century.

The unique readings of γ against the other witnesses have been listed above on p. 54. The two tables below show the unique readings of M against the agreement of γ and N, and those of N against γ and M.

<i>M(P)</i>		γ and N
I.7	quos ei M; quos eis P sponderat M(P)	quos 'spo'ponderat N; sponponderat BC(F)
	recessit <i>om.</i> sectas	discessit enim sec[] N (<i>corner of leaf missing</i>); ... (<i>space</i>) BC(F)
	cum reperiunt eorum defensor	cumque reperierunt defensor eorum
II.9	gaudio repletus est et propius accedens fratres carissimi autem eis adesse sacrum deportatum est ... in monasterio	gaudio repletus est et propius accedens carissimi fratres uero adesse eis sanctum deportatum est ... monasterio
II.10	inuenit in templo Conuuoiionis dico tibi beato M; <i>line missing</i> P uenerabilis uir sacris papa Leo libenter ... et deuote	inuenit in templum Conuuoiioni tibi dico sancto uir uenerabiliis sanctis Leo papa libenter ... deuote
III.1	urbe Roma	Romana urbe

<i>M(P)</i>		γ and N
	Omin nomine tam corporis quam et animae	Omni nomine tam corporis quam animae
III.2	tantum	tamen
III.4	prior <i>om.</i>	propior [] (<i>two-letter erasure</i>) N; me BC(F)
III.5	diebus illis sanctum locum	illis diebus sanctum Dei locum
III.7	ex aqua uinum fecit locum famosissimum	de aqua uinum fecit locum famosissimum Rotonensem
	<i>normal spacing</i>	egressionis suae ... ex hoc mundo ... (<i>spaces left</i>)
III.9	celeriter Francorum rege Normanni	uelociter rege Francorum BCN; rege F pagani BC(F); Normanni 'pagani' (<i>later alteration</i>) N
	saluator <i>normal spacing</i>	sancte saluator caelum desuper ... et fulgura (2-3 words' space left)
	ararum misericordiam Dei	alarum Dei misericordiam
<i>N</i>		γ and M(P)
I.7	repente 'repetens'	repetere
II.10	haeresin	haeresim
III.1	profisciscere	proficiscere
III.9	principi uastas ... fluctus	principis BC(F)M; regis P uastos ... fluctus

These tables show that while γ and M each has a number of unique readings, both correct and in error, N has only one of any importance, the error *repente* for *repetere*. The others are small variants which could have been altered to the readings of M independently by copyists. This raises the possibility that both γ and M were copied from N, since, if they had been copied from another manuscript or manuscripts, one would expect them to share more correct readings against unique errors of N.

More specific evidence in favour of γ having been copied from N is the blank space left in both N and BC(F) in chapters III.8 and III.9 (where no material seems to be missing and there is no damage to the manuscripts) and the space left in BC(F) in I.7, where N has *sec* ... (*sectas* in M[P]), the rest of the word having been lost through physical damage to the page. It is astonishing enough that these features could have been preserved over more than one stage of copying; they would incline one to disbelieve in the existence of γ , and to suggest that B was copied directly from N and C from B, if there were not strong evidence against this in the texts of both VC and GSR. The reason for the space left in III.8 and 9 may perhaps have been damage or defects in the parchment of the exemplar of N. Further possible evidence that γ was copied from N is the fact that, in N, in chapters III.1, 3 and 9, the first words after the introductory Bible-quotations have been bracketed in apparently late-medieval ink, always at the point in the text where γ begins. To all appearances the scribe of γ , who edited out the introductory quotations, made these marks as a guide to himself; it follows that he was copying from N. An alternative explanation is that the brackets were drawn by a later reader collating N with γ , and

indeed there is, as will be seen, some evidence that such collating took place at some time – but the former explanation gives a better motive for the bracketing. All the differences between γ and N can be explained as slips or simple corrections by the scribe of γ .

If γ was copied from N, this was probably done in the fifteenth century or later. There are a number of corrections in N in an apparently fifteenth-century hand, which are reflected in BC(F).

N		BC(F)M(P)
I.7	[quia] Deus [per]didit (words in [] added in the inner margin, having been lost due to damage to the corner of the leaf)	present in BC(F)M(P)
III.3	qui estis et unde ueni[s]tis	uenistis B (and M[P]; corrected back to uenitis in C[F])
III.8	ad locum famosissimum Rothonensem	Rothonensem present in BC(F); not in M(P)
III.9	Normanni corrected to pagani	pagani BC(F); Normanni M(P)

However, if these could have been corrections made to N before γ was copied, they could equally well have been alterations made by the scribe of γ in his copy, added into N by a later collator retroactively, in which case γ could still have been copied before the fifteenth century. One more correction in N in a seventeenth-century hand may have been the result of another such collation but is perhaps more likely to have been a reader's independent effort:

N		BC(F)M(P)
I.7	sponderat corrected to sponponderat	sponponderat BC(F); sponderat M(P)

The correction of *repente* to *repetens* in I.7, which seems to have been done without reference to γ (which read *repetere*), is in the same hand.

If γ was copied from N, could M also have been? Mabillon's identification of his exemplar as a tenth-century manuscript would seem to argue against it, but he could have dated N to the tenth century with some excuse, since its script is essentially Caroline minuscule. Nothing in M's unique readings tells decisively against his having used N, except that if this was the case he (or an intermediate copyist) made rather more slips and also more attempts to correct the latinity than did the scribe of γ .³⁶ He also silently changed at least one chapter-heading and added another, and, for those which had become illegible, supplied substitutes different from those of a seventeenth-century corrector of N:

Chapter-headings of N	Chapter-headings of M
III.3 De Brithoc sancto monacho Leonensi	De Leonensis monasterii discidio, et de Brithoc sancto monacho Rotonni oriente
III.4 (Heading worn away and written over in hand of saec. xvii:) Iarnhitin mon- achus a febriliberatur	De Iarnhitin sacerdote et monacho a febriliberatur

³⁶ For evidence of similar treatment of other texts by Mabillon, see in particular *Alcuin: The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York*, ed. Godman, pp. cxxv-cxxvi.

III.5	(Heading similarly over- written:) Gauslinus abbas febricitans curatur a S. Hypothemio	De Goisleno abbate sanato
III.8	No heading	De Frotmundo penitente

The evidence of the witnesses in the sections for which N is extant is not conclusive proof that M was copied from N. There is some further evidence – though it is puzzling – in the sections covered only by BC(F)M(P). Clearly the copyists of both γ and M worked from a manuscript which was physically damaged or defective in places. At three points in Mabillon's text, words are enclosed in square brackets, showing that he was in some way departing from what he saw in his exemplar, although he does not explain exactly how. Two of these cases coincide with two of the gaps in the text of BC(F). However, there are also cases in which M silently includes words which were missing from the source of BC(F), and one in which the reverse takes place; these seem to argue against γ and M having had the same exemplar. The evidence is as follows.

BC(F)		M
I.1	(blank space left) (blank space left) (blank space left)	me direxit protegere [Elegerunt]
I.2	(blank space left) (blank space left) (blank space left)	quis esset et atque presbytero [mansit] (at a different point in the sentence)
I.7	ibique ... (blank space left) et	ibique [esset] et

The missing words in I.1 and I.2 are probably to be connected with the loss of material at the end of Chapter 1 discussed on p. 6 above, resulting from an accident to the archetypal manuscript, probably the same accident which deprived the text of its beginning and end. The question is, do the variants in BC(F) and M show them to have been derived from the same copy of that defective archetype? Do they not rather suggest that they are derived from two different copies, each of which had been partially, and independently, corrected? Unless Mabillon was inconsistent in his use of square brackets, his exemplar must have contained the words *me direxit*, *protegere*, *quis esset*, *et*, *atque presbytero*, while γ 's lacked all these but included *remansit*, which M's did not.

γ and M could both have been copied from N only if some such sequence of events as the following took place:

1. N was copied from a damaged archetype, with all the above words missing; N's scribe left blanks where the damage had occurred.
2. γ was copied from N, probably in the later Middle Ages; its scribe, or a later reader of γ , supplied *remansit* but left the other spaces blank.
3. A reader of N (perhaps the late-medieval corrector mentioned above) added *me direxit*, *protegere*, etc., in N. (That he could have supplied *atque presbytero* without reference to another manuscript is surprising; however, he may have been emboldened to do so from the context, in which the so-called priest states that St Conuuoion was 'educated with us' in Vannes. The inability to fill

the other gaps in γ argues strongly that there was no manuscript-authority derived from the archetype for any of these words).

4. B and C were copied from γ .
5. M was copied from N, silently incorporating the corrections which were necessary to make sense of the text, though, as has been seen, Mabillon ignored some of N's medieval corrections.

On this argument, *sectas* in I.7 has no manuscript-authority: in N it was reduced to *sec* . . . by the same damage that removed [quia] and [per]didit, and γ did not restore it. *Sectas* would be an emendation by Mabillon, the only conceivable one in the context, but an emendation none the less, which would reduce its interest as a feature of the text's latinity (see p. 85). The most awkward problem is that of *repetere/repente* in I.7. This is N's one significant unique error. If γ and M were both copied from N, then either their scribes must have succeeded in arriving at the same correction independently, or γ must have included the correction and Mabillon have seen γ 's reading or had it reported to him (we know that Mabillon saw a second, 'more recent' manuscript, which, as it included a preface, cannot have been γ but may have been a derivative of it, or MS. L, *vide infra*). But in this case it is remarkable, first, that the medieval correctors of γ and N worked in such a piecemeal fashion; second, that Mabillon took the *repetere*-correction from γ or a derivative but ignored γ 's various other grammatically and syntactically superior readings. Not enough is known about the habits of either late-medieval correctors or seventeenth-century editors to be certain of when an oddity becomes an improbability; yet the argument reduces itself to a balance of probabilities.

The alternative to N (in different stages of correction) being the source of both γ and M is that γ was copied from N, but M from either N's exemplar or another no longer extant copy of N's exemplar. In either case, the following unique readings of N would have to be seen as the only errors certainly introduced into the text by N's scribe, in comparison with his exemplar:

<i>N</i>	<i>Others</i>
I.7 <i>repente</i> `repetens`	<i>repetere</i> BC(F)M(P)
II.10 <i>haeresin</i>	<i>haeresim</i> BC(F)M(P)
III.2 <i>corporum quam</i>	<i>corporis et</i> BC(F); <i>tam corporum quam</i> M; <i>tam corporis quam</i> P
III.9 <i>peremeruntque ex eis plurima multitudo</i>	<i>peremeruntque ex eis plurimam multitudinem</i> BC(F); <i>perieruntque ex eis plurima multitudo</i> M; <i>perieruntque cum eis plurima multitudo</i> P

However, the fact that in the last two of these variants BC(F) and M(P) diverge, finding different solutions to the grammatical problems, suggests that the errors in N were in the exemplars of both γ and M, whatever they were; so they are not evidence that the exemplar of M was other than N. This leaves three errors certainly made by N's scribe, which would make him an unprecedentedly accurate copyist by medieval standards. Ultimately, only the *repetere/repente* variant stands against the view that M must have had a source other than N, and a single variant is poor evidence on which to base the existence of a lost manuscript. The more economical solution is that all the extant complete witnesses to *GSR* depend on the once-complete manuscript N.

If, then, all the extant witnesses were copied from N, and if N itself was copied from a damaged archetype – N's exemplar certainly lacked the end of the text, and most likely the loss of the end, the beginning and the material between and in

chapters I.1 and I.2 was all part of the same process – then the most likely reconstruction of events is that only one manuscript of *GSR* existed – the original, from which *VC* was also derived – until it was damaged by an accident sometime after the writing of *VC* and before the copying of N. N was then copied, without any attempt being made to replace the missing sections, and perhaps the tattered remains of N's exemplar were thrown away. They may have survived into the fifteenth century, when L was copied, but they are unlikely to have been available when γ was written (c.1125 x 1633), as it is a copy of N; they had almost certainly disappeared by the time when M was copied.

L It is impossible to place the fifteenth-century fragment L exactly in the stemma on textual evidence, since it covers a section of the text which N no longer contains. On the hypothesis offered above, L, like γ and M, should have been copied from N, but textually this is doubtful. What can be said is that none of the surviving witnesses can be derived from L, since it lacks part of two sentences in I.5, 'uestrum fuit et uestrum erit. Ego namque praeterita nocte furto', which are present in all the other witnesses. L cannot therefore be a surviving part of the lost γ .

In three variants, L gives additional words not found in any other witness, which may imply that L was not copied from either γ or N, but from N's parent-manuscript or another derivative of it.

<i>L</i>	<i>Others</i>
I.5 <i>oculis suis propriis</i>	<i>oculis propriis</i> BCM(P); <i>propriis oculis</i> F
<i>ille paraliticus</i>	<i>ille</i>
<i>liberauit eum et curauit</i>	<i>liberauit eum</i>

On the other hand, rather than being archetypal, the extra words may have been 'padding' inserted by L's own scribe, in which case L could have been copied from N. It is unlikely to have been copied from γ , since it agrees with M(P) against the γ -group in some readings.

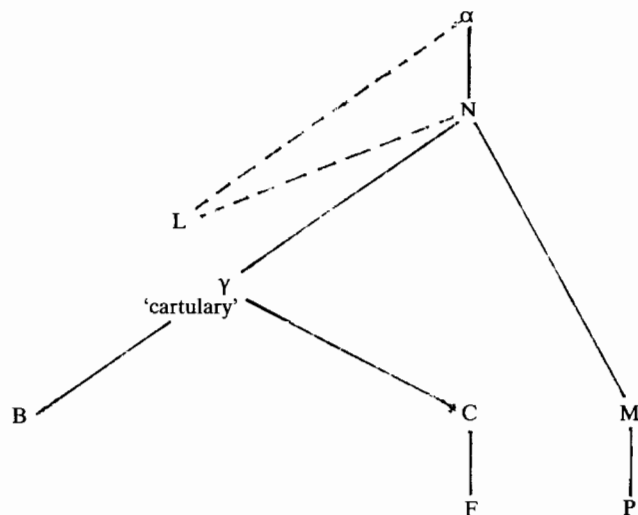
<i>LM(P)</i>	<i>BC(F)</i>
I.5 <i>om.</i>	<i>et</i>
<i>Deum, Deumque</i>	<i>Dominum, Dominumque</i>
<i>et</i>	<i>quia</i>
<i>Bible-quotations included</i>	<i>no Bible-quotations</i>

Where L agrees with either BC(F) or M(P), the shared reading must have been the archetype's. L's agreements with BC(F) against M(P) are as follows:

<i>BC(F)L</i>	<i>M(P)</i>
I.4 <i>est</i> BL	<i>om.</i> C(F)M(P)
I.5 <i>est</i>	<i>om.</i>
<i>suorum</i>	<i>om.</i>

L, then, was copied either from N, or from the archetype *via* another, otherwise unknown branch of the textual tradition.

This discussion results in the following stemma of the manuscripts of *GSR*:



The *Gesta* seem never to have been copied anywhere but at Redon, although some neighbouring chroniclers made use of them: the twelfth-century Chronicle of Saint-Maixent depended on III.9, the mid-eleventh-century compilation, the Chronicle of Nantes, on III.9 and II.10, and the fifteenth-century Chronicle of Saint-Brieuc on II.10. Unfortunately none of these offers any text-historical evidence. In II.10, however, MS. N has marginal annotations which, although they are all but illegible, are clearly running titles noting the salient points of the content of the chapter, and which look as if they could be in the hand of the fifteenth-century historian Pierre Le Baud.³⁸

After N was used by Mabillon for his edition, it may have been returned to Redon. As has been seen, it was read and annotated by scholars other than Mabillon in the seventeenth century. However, there is no direct evidence for what happened to it after 1680 – only that its coming to light in the Baron Pichon's collection in 1898 is not inconsistent with its having remained in Brittany in the interim. The loss of γ and most of L, together with the manuscript of *VC* used by Mabillon and Duchesne, may be attributable to the troubles of the French Revolution, but is quite obscure.

³⁸ *Annales de Saint-Maixent*, ed. Verdon; *La Chronique de Nantes*, ed. Merlet; *La Chronique de Saint-Brieuc*, edd. Sterckx & Le Duc.

III

THE LATINITY OF *GESTA SANCTORUM ROTONENSIIUM* AND *VITA CONUVOIONIS*

Some interesting results might be expected to issue from a study of the language and style of a localised and fairly closely dated mediaeval Latin text such as *Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium*. First, it can reveal the level of learning attained at a particular monastic centre at a given time, and the range of literary models available to one at least of its members. Secondly, it may serve as a point of comparison, enabling other texts – for whose date and place of origin there is less evidence – to be associated with it (or disassociated from it).

It must be stressed that no quick conclusions can be expected from this approach. Criteria for detecting literary influence and distinguishing styles are always treacherous; this is especially true with regard to hagiography, a genre in which originality was generally not sought after, and the influence of a few seminal models permeated almost all the work of the early middle ages. Even as hagiography goes, there is little which is individual about the style or language of *Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium*. On the level of language, the author was thoroughly grounded in ecclesiastical Latin and let slip none of the solecisms which sometimes help to identify writers of particular regions. On the stylistic level, he was not a literary artist of the sort to mould his various models and original materials into a homogeneous, personally identifiable, whole. The style of the *Gesta* fluctuates, and the text's linguistic usage is inconsistent in many particulars. This may indicate the influence of different sources, the actual words of which are submerged or only faintly echoed in the text. Unless and until they can all be identified, the concept of 'the author's latinity' will be a misleading one and the significance of any conclusions drawn from comparisons between it and other works of the period will be in doubt.

Nevertheless, the individual features of the style and language merit description. Once they have been set out, the sorting of those which reveal particular Classical, biblical, and Patristic influences, from those which constitute a ninth-century Redon contribution, may proceed more easily.

For *Vita Conuuoionis* the question of style is still more ambiguous, as the text's internal evidence does not permit a close dating as does that of *Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium*. Dating is one of the questions which stylistic analysis might be hoped to answer, instead of being a given point from which it can proceed. Another difficulty is the brevity of the text. However, the *Vita* has a more uniform and more deliberate style, as well as a

higher frequency of syntactical irregularities. All this gives hope of useful results from analysis.

SOURCES OF BORROWINGS IN *GESTA SANCTORUM ROTONENSIIUM*

(a) *The Vulgate Bible*

Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium contain few linguistic usages which fail to find support somewhere in the Vulgate. The Bible naturally dominated the author's thinking: he took pains to introduce and round off nearly every chapter of his work with relevant biblical citations, making each episode an illustration of a Scriptural truth.

The range of books quoted from directly is wide: the four gospels lead the way with 38 quotations, mostly from Matthew with a particular stress on the Sermon on the Mount; there are 12 from St Paul's letters, 7 from the other Epistles and 3 from the Acts of the Apostles. From the Old Testament the Psalms are naturally most used, with 19 quotations from the Septuagint version. There are 10 references to the books of Proverbs, Wisdom, Ecclesiastes, and Sirach taken all together, and a scattering from Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, II Chronicles, Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel. The accuracy of the quotations varies: sometimes single words are replaced by synonyms, and where necessary the quotations are slightly altered to fit their syntactical context, but occasionally verses from different places are run into one another, and other words added, suggesting that the author was quoting from memory.

Apart from the overt quotations, there are unattributed and perhaps unconscious references to, and echoes of, the Bible, of which the following will no doubt be only a small proportion.

	<i>GSR</i>	<i>Vulgate</i>
I.1	meus est enim ille locus quem illi seductores occupauerunt [of the monks of Redon]	Mt 27.63 ille seductor [of Christ]
I.1	quia nec Deum metuunt, nec homines reuerentur	Lk 18.2 et si Deum non timeo nec hominem reuereor
I.7	num hereditatem nostram illis seductoribus uendidisti?	Mt 27.63
I.9	cor regis in manu Dei est	Prv 21.1 sicut diuisiones aquarum ita cor regis in manu Domini
I.10	qui saluos facit sperantes in se	Ps G 16.7 mirifica misericordias tuas qui saluos facis sperantes in te
II.Pref.	mos enim antiquitus fuit	Rt 4.7 hic autem erat mos antiquitus in Israhel
II.10	zelum Dei habebat sed non secundum scientiam	Rm 10.2 quod aemulationem Dei habent sed non secundum scientiam
III.6	sed inuidia diaboli mors introiuit in orbem terrarum	Sap 2.24 inuidia autem diaboli mors introiuit in orbem terrarum
III.6	ne perderet suam facturam quam de limo terrae formauerat	Gn 2.7 formauit eum de limo terrae

(b) *The 'Dialogues' of Gregory the Great*

The *Dialogi*,¹ a collection of anecdotes about Italian saints, were one of the foundation-stones of Western mediaeval hagiography, and seem to have strongly influenced the Redon author's work. The *Gesta* contain one clear borrowing from the *Dialogi*:

<i>GSR</i>	<i>Dialogi</i>
II.2 Res mira et ualde stupenda et post Petrum apostolum inusitata. Qui mox ut terram tetigit, ad se reuersus post terga respexit et quia super aquas ambulasset agnouit.	II.7 Res mira post Petrum apostolum inusitata... Qui mox ut terram tetigit, ad se reuersus post terga respexit et quia super aquas cucurrisset agnouit.

The author was not deterred from using the words of Gregory to describe the miracle of walking on water, even though his source makes nonsense of his borrowed claim that it had not recurred since St Peter!

This evident use of the *Dialogi* betrays *GSR*'s more general similarity to Gregory's work in the vocabulary, style, and manner in which miracles are narrated. The pattern of the miraculous cures in Books II and III of *GSR* – in which victims of diseases seek cures unavailingly, in some cases go on pilgrimage, experience visions, and are finally cured – is instantly recognisable in the *Dialogi*. So too are the set phrases which punctuate the narrative – such as *alio quoque tempore* (*GSR*, III.7), *mane uero facto* (III.1), *sicque factum est ut* (I.11), *longe lateque* (I.5) – and traits of vocabulary, such as the epithets *uenerabilis* and *reuerendissimus*. The following may also be direct allusions.

<i>GSR</i>	<i>Dialogi</i>
II.10 Nunc autem reparamus uires per silentium et ad alia festinemus	II.38 ut si ad aliorum miracula enerranda tendimus, loquendi uires interim per silentium reparamus
III.Pref. Ex auctoritate enim aliorum uenerabilium uirorum hoc didici, qui me aetate praeibant	I.4 aliorumque etiam uirorum uenerabilium didici relatione
III.5 crescebatque in eo languor densissimus per momenta singula	III.18 qui me aetate praeibat
	II.37 cumque per dies singulos languor ingrauesceret

No other works pervade the style and structure of *GSR* to such an extent as the Bible and Gregory's *Dialogues*. However, there are other sources which are used in individual sections of *GSR*.

(c) *Liber Pontificalis*

The account of the life of St Marcellinus, whose relics Abbot Conuuoion acquired in Rome (as told in *GSR*, II.10), is derived almost verbatim from

¹ Edd. de Vogüé & Antin, *Grégoire*. See also Wright, 'Knowledge', p. 164; Kerlouégan, 'Les citations d'auteurs latins chrétiens', p. 224.

the official history of the popes, *Liber Pontificalis*.² The corresponding passages run as follows:

GSR

II.10 iussitque Diocletianus corpus eius in platea ciuitatis proici ad exemplum christianorum, sicque per dies triginta insepultum iacuit. Postea uero presbyter eius Marcellus nomine collegit sanctum corpus eius noctu et sepeliuit in cubiculo quod ipse fecerat cum hymnis et aromatibus sexto kalendas Maias, et cessauit episcopatus per annos septem, persequente Diocletiano christianos.

Liber Pontificalis

et post hoc factum iacuerunt corpora sancta in platea ad exemplum christianorum dies XXVI ex iusso Diocletiani. Et exinde Marcellus presbiter collegit noctu corpora cum presbiteris et diaconibus cum ymnis et sepeliuit in uia Salaria in cymeterio Priscillae in cubiculum qui patet usque in hodiernum diem ... Ab eodem die cessauit episcopatus annos VII m. VI d. XXV persequente Diocletiano christianos.

(d) *Ecclesiastical legislation*

The section of *GSR* dealing with the 'heresy' of simony, II.10, makes reference to various biblical authorities and ecclesiastical councils. The latter are the Council of Nicaea, the 'African Council' (one of the alleged rulings of which it quotes), and the Council of Chalcedon. The Council of Nicaea did not in fact legislate against simony, although the other details about it in *GSR* are correct. The author must have thought that to claim its support would add weight to his argument. The Council of Chalcedon, however, was the first oecumenical council to outlaw the selling of holy orders. The 'Council of Africa', from which the author quotes a ruling, cannot be identified, but the quotation may be from a version of the *Canones Apostolorum* in the collection of canons by Dionysius Exiguus, of the first half of the sixth century.³

GSR

II.10 Si quis episcopus, presbyter aut diaconus per pecunias fuerit ordinatus, irrita fiat ordinatio eius et a sacro ministerio deiciatur et ipse et ordinator eius, simili sententia damnentur, et ad gradum ecclesiasticum nullatenus ascendant.

Dionysius Exiguus: Canones Apostolorum

I.29 Si quis episcopus aut presbyter aut diaconus per pecunias hanc optinuerit dignitatem, deiciatur et ipse et ordinator eius a communionem; modis omnibus abscidatur, sicut Simon Magus a me Petro.

(e) *Gildas*

De Excidio Britanniae ('The Ruin of Britain') by Gildas, *fl. ca 540*, was an influential work in early mediaeval Brittany; it was quoted by Uurdisten in his *Life of St Guénolé*, and by the author of *Vita Conuuuionis* (see below).⁴

² *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, I.162-3.

³ For the *Canones Apostolorum* see *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima*, ed. Turner, I.1, p. 20.

⁴ *Gildas*, ed. & transl. Winterbottom. On Breton hagiographers' use of Gildas see Wright, 'Knowledge', pp. 175-81; on Breton manuscripts of Gildas, Dumville, 'Sub-Roman Britain', pp. 183-4.

In *GSR* the influence of Gildas is impossible to prove, but the structure of I.3, with its dense description of the natural beauties of Redon, seems to owe something to the description of Britain in *De Excidio*, I.3, although the hagiographer's syntax and style are much simpler. Specific parallels are shown below.

GSR

I.3 quia diuerso uernat more gemmarum decore

cuncta undique aquis irrigata, inclita coespis pastui pecorum congrua fundens frugem laetiferam ... compendia nauium apta

nihil paene indigens ex eo quidquid ministratur uehiculis pedestribus, plaustris equinis etiam et ratibus

De Excidio Britanniae

I.3 quorum diuersorum colorum flores humanis gressibus pulsati...

campis late pansis collibusque amoeno situ locatis, praepollenti culturae aptis, montibus alternandis animalium pastibus maxime conuenientibus

...ostiis...fluminum...per quas eidem olim transmarinas deliciae ratibus uehabantur

(f) *Bede*

The exegetical writings of Bede appear to be quoted at two points in *GSR*: his *In Lucae Euangelium Exposito* at II.4 and his *Homelia I in Quadragesima* at II.10 (as a source for yet another pronouncement on simony).⁵ The parallel passages are as follows.

GSR

II.4 hydropicus uero in quantum bibit plus sitit, ὠδῶρ enim graece, latine aqua dicitur, unde ipsa molestia graeca appellatione nuncupatur. Est enim humor subcutaneus de uitio uesicae cum anhelitu foetido.

In Lucae Euangelium Expositio

IV.14, 1-2 Hydropis morbus ab aquoso umore uocabulum trahit. Graece enim ὠδῶρ aqua uocatur. Est autem umor subcutaneus de uitio uesicae natus cum inflatione turgente et anhelitu foetido propriumque est hydropici quanto magis abundat amore inordinato tanto amplius sitire...

GSR

II.10 Vendunt enim columbas qui acceptam spiritus gratiam non gratis, ut praeceptum est a Domino, sed ad praemium dant; qui impositionem manus, qua Spiritus accipitur, ad quaestum pecuniae et ad uulgi fauorem tribuunt; qui sacros ordines non ad uitae meritum, sed ad gratiam largiuntur, sua quaerentes, non quae Iesu Christi.

Homelia I Quadragesima

Vendunt columbas qui acceptam spiritus gratiam non gratis, ut praeceptum est, sed ad praemium dant; qui manus impositionem, qua spiritus accipitur, etsi non ad quaestum pecuniae ad uulgi tamen fauorem tribuunt, qui sacros ordines non ad uitae meritum sed ad gratiam largiuntur...sua quaerentes non quae Iesu Christi.

⁵ *Bedae Venerabilis Opera*, ed. Hurst, II.3, pp. 274-5; III.4, p. 187. The first quotation is commented on by Kerlouégan, 'Les citations d'auteurs latins chrétiens', p. 236; he cites some other possible sources for this statement in *GSR*, but Bede's commentary is the only one which contains all the information given in *GSR*.

(g) Vergil

Vergil is the only Classical author quoted in *GSR*. A large section of the storm-scene from Book I of the *Aeneid* (lines 82–6 and 90) is quoted in the episode of the viking-attack in III.9, and the author is inspired to add a clause of his own in alliterative and poetic diction:

<i>GSR</i> , III.9	<i>Aeneid</i> , Book I
Talia uoce referente, uenti quasi agmine facto terras turbine perflant,/incubuer mari, totumque a sedibus imis/una Euris Nothusque ruunt, creberque procellis/Africus, et uastos uoluunt ad litora fluctus/ intonuere poli, et crebris micat ignibus aether. Tanta tonitrua et fulgara e caelo emi- cuerunt, ut praesens mors paganis ostenderetur. Interea cum magno murmure caelum desuper et fulgura et coruscationes uehementissime densarent . .	I.94 talia uoce refert I.82 ac uenti uelut agmine facto/qua data porta ruunt et terras turbine perflant/Incubuer mari totumque a sedibus imis/una Euris Nothusque ruunt creberque procellis/Africus et uastos uoluunt ad litora fluctus. I.90 Intonuere poli et crebris micat ignibus aether I.91 praesentemque uiris intentant omnia mortem I.55 illi indignantes magno cum mur- mure montis

Neil Wright⁶ has suggested that the following phrases in *GSR* may also be echoes of the *Aeneid*.

<i>GSR</i>	<i>Aeneid</i>
II.4 et iterum atque iterum te admonebo	III.436 et repetens iterum iterumque monebo
III.8 illi indignantes, accensi furore nimio	I.55 illi indignantes magno cum mur- mure montis

In containing quotations from Vergil, *GSR* is in the company of a number of other (certainly and possibly) ninth-century Breton saints' Lives: *Vita Guenaili*, *Vita Maglorii*, *Miracula/Translatio Maglorii*, *Vita Pauli Aureliani*, and Uurdisten's prose and metrical *Vitae Winwaloei*.⁷ In all of these, Vergil was by far the strongest influence among Classical authors; references to other Classical poets are infrequent, and those to prose authors impossible to prove.⁸ The works of Vergil, however, seem to have been central in the education of Breton Latin authors, as they were also in the British Isles. This impression is supported by the fact that the only surviving ninth-century manuscript of Classical texts with a certainly Breton origin contains the works of Vergil.⁹

⁶ Wright, 'Some further Vergilian borrowings', p. 168.
⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 167; Lapidge & Sharpe, *A Bibliography*, nos 919, 932, 828, 827.
⁸ Wright, 'Some further Vergilian borrowings', pp. 164–5.
⁹ Fleuriot, *Dictionnaire*, p. 4; Wright, 'Some further Vergilian borrowings', p. 175, n. 49.

(h) Tacitus (?)

Kerlouégan considered a passage of the Preface to Book II of *GSR* to be a borrowing from Tacitus's *Agricola* but, according to Wright, the resemblance is so distant that it could be fortuitous; above I have suggested an alternative, biblical, source for the first part of the passage.¹⁰

<i>GSR</i> , II.Pref.	Tacitus, <i>Agricola</i>
Mos enim antiquitus fuit, ut si quando imperatores uel milites eorum cum aduersariis confligerent, statim litteris atque annalibus traderent, ne obliuioni traderentur.	§ 1 Clarorum uirorum facta moresque posteris tradere, antiquitus usitatum § 46 nam multos ueterum uelut inglori- osos et ignobiles obliuio obruet

Although Tacitus is unlikely to be the direct source, it seems appropriate to look for a source for this passage, for it stands out stylistically from the rest of the text; yet, as Wright has pointed out,¹¹ the thoughts which it expresses 'are conventional commonplaces in the prefaces of both Classical and mediaeval historians and hagiographers, and, as such, are notoriously difficult to trace to a particular source with any accuracy'.

A brief survey of the literary sources of *GSR*, then, suggests that its author was familiar with the Bible and a small range of Classical and Patristic literature. The following analysis will show how these sources moulded his own writing. More comparative work will be needed, however, before one can say whether he was a 'typical' product of the Carolingian renaissance.¹²

STYLE AND LANGUAGE OF *GESTA SANCTORUM ROTONENSIIUM*

(a) Introduction

The recurrent insistence by the author of *GSR* that he is writing for an audience of friends, and that his work has no high literary pretensions, rings truer than such claims usually do in mediaeval literature. It is only necessary to set the work beside Uurdisten's Life of St Guénolé, composed at about the same time, to see the contrast between the simplicity of *GSR* and the elaborate, discursive style of the Landevennec Life. The Life of St Guénolé went into many versions – in Italy, the Low Countries, and England – during the middle ages;¹³ the *Gesta* seem never to have been copied outside Redon. Perhaps the text's intimacy and individuality of detail told against it, as well as its simplicity, in the same way as Wallace-Hadrill has suggested of Stephanus's Life of St Wilfrid, which 'brims over with biographical facts and is a vivid picture of the career of a controversial

¹⁰ Kerlouégan, 'Les citations d'auteurs latins profanes', p. 191; Wright, 'Some further Vergilian borrowings', pp. 164–5. See above, p. 63.
¹¹ Wright, 'Some further Vergilian borrowings', p. 165.
¹² See, however, Riché, 'Les hagiographes bretons'.
¹³ For a tentative list of versions see Brett, 'L'hagiographie de saint Guénolé', pp. 255–9.

bishop. But it achieved no sort of popularity that we know of. It was a bad saint's Life.¹⁴

Simplicity is evident in every feature of the style of *GSR*, from vocabulary to sentence-structure. Ornate vocabulary was kept to a minimum. Adjectives and synonyms are found used not for ornament, but repetitively, as clichés, to emphasise the mention of individuals and actions and to provide the reader (and possibly the author) with the security of recurrent, easily recognised phrases. Phrases such as *quomodo uel qualiter, qualis quantusue, longue lateque, huc illucque, sanus atque incolumis, flens et eiulans* (or *cum fletu et eiulatu*), *properate festinanter*, provide a unifying system of cross-references between the similarly structured life-stories and miracles, but are balanced by sufficient variety of detail to avoid tedium. No two visions are identical, and even an account of a holy death can be varied – for instance, from II.8, 'ad Christum laetus sine fine peruenit perfecte', to III.3 'perenniter cum Christo regnans sine fine feliciter'.

The only ornamentation regularly allowed in the word-order is the moderate hyperbaton which occurs in most chapters – as in I.1, *cum illo est sancto*, or I.3, *diuerso uernat more* – and the reversal of participle and auxiliary in such examples as 'ad suum cenobium est reuersus' (I.3). The purpose seems to have been to keep the word-order easy to follow. Clauses are short, verbs occur early in the clause, and the main verb on which a subordinate clause depends is often fitted in before it rather than being reserved for the end. This befits a content which is almost entirely narrative. Homiletic commentary or argument by the author never exceeds a sentence or two; he allows Scripture to speak for him in pointing out the morals of his stories.

The notable exceptions to this simplicity are the prefaces to Books II and III, and the descriptive passage at the end of I.3. Here, in justifying his work and praising his saints and their dwelling place, the author attempted to show his mettle, using a wider vocabulary, longer sentences, and some rhetorical figures: *gradatio* (II.Pref.: 'non enim Maroni, aut Ciceroni, aut sapientissimo Homero haec dicta sunt'), rhetorical questions (III.Pref.: 'quis ergo potest litteris explicare quomodo...?') and an extended simile (II.Pref.: *sicut enim bonus agricola*...). However, his attempts at a more complex sentence-structure lead to some obscurity of sense in the section beginning 'in sanctis omnibus cum Christo gaudentibus' in II.Pref., and an untidy inconsistency of moods and use of participles in the extended indirect question which closes III.Pref. In I.3 his attempt at a Gildasian picture of natural beauty abandons sentence-structure altogether and becomes a list to which the verbs have to be supplied by the reader. Elsewhere in the work, too, various tendencies suggest that his command of syntax was limited: the cases of anacolouthon, in which statements begin in accusative-and-infinitive construction or in the subjunctive mood but then revert to the indicative half-way through; the cases in which clauses are connected by means of *et* when their subjects are unstated and different; the use of redundant conjunctions and adverbs. These features will be discussed in detail below.

¹⁴ Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church*, p. 78.

Despite these shortcomings, the author must be credited with a thorough knowledge of Latin. Case-endings, conjugation, agreement are all in perfect order; the syntax follows Classical rules more often than not. Vernacular influence is confined to doubtful traces. The latinity of *GSR* thus presents something of a paradox. Was the author imbued with Latin culture but lacking in ingenuity, or was he a highly conscientious pioneer? As he surprisingly tells us nothing whatever about books or education at Redon when he was a *iuuenculus in monasterio positus* (II.4), it is very difficult to decide.

(b) Analysis

Nouns: gender, number, and case There are few irregularities in the declension of nouns in *GSR*. All the forms found are regular. General features involving number are the use of the plural of authorship, though not consistently, and the use of the second person plural as a formal mode of address in direct speech, for example, 'direxit me ad magnificam praesentiam uestram' (I.1).

The author rarely shows the Christian Latin habit of using the plural of abstract nouns, instead of the singular, for stress or rhetorical effect. Only in *per multa tempora* (II.1) and possibly in *tot uexationes eius* (III.6) can the tendency be seen.¹⁵

Dies is the only noun which shows noteworthy features in gender. Some Late Latin writers showed no consistency in the gender of *dies*, while others made it exclusively feminine,¹⁶ but the author of *GSR* seems to have a series of rules of his own: *dies* is consistently masculine with the demonstratives *ille* and *ipse* (with one exception, *ex illa die*, I.10) and with the adjectives *multus* and *paucus*; it is feminine with the adjectives *quidam* and *alter* and with ordinal numbers; with *dominicus* it is either masculine or feminine.

The use of cases is Classical for the most part, showing more reliance on inflexion alone, without prepositions, than was often shown in Late Latin. For instance, the accusative of direction towards is used with the names of towns and with *domus*: *Romam pergerent*, II.10 (III.1, III.8), and *domum reuertitur*, II.Pref. Only if an appositive noun or adjective is present is *ad* used – for example, *ad urbem Romam*, II.10; *ad domum pauperum* II.1. This perfectly reflects the Classical rule;¹⁷ however, the accusative of direction towards is used also with the name of a region in *perge Britanniam*, III.1. The locative case, expressing 'place at which' with the names of towns, *domus*, and a few other nouns, survives in *GSR* in I.9, *Turonis aderat*, but not with *domus*: *in domo* is used instead (III.4, III.6).¹⁸ Other specifically Classical uses of case in *GSR* are the ablative of quality and the ablative of respect, which tended to be supplanted by constructions with the genitive and with prepositions in Late Latin.¹⁹ Of the former, we find *columba*

¹⁵ Schrijnen & Mohrmann, *Studien*, II.60–3.

¹⁶ Hofmann & Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax*, p. 10 (§ 18); for an example of the latter, Löfstedt, *Philologischer Kommentar*, pp. 192–5.

¹⁷ Hofmann & Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax*, pp. 49–50 (§ 50.b).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 148–51 (§ 88).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 118 (§ 78).

niueo candore, III.2, and *senior uultu splendidissimo*, III.8; of the latter, *Conuuoion, uirtute uenerabilis* (I.2), *manibus adstrictus* (III.7), *senior uultu decorus* (III.8).

Irregularities in the use of cases include one example of the nominative absolute, which first appeared as a regular construction in Late Latin:²⁰ 'ille uero incaute fratri proiciens [scalpulum], statim ictu librato in corde uulnus accepit . . .' (III.1).

The accusative appears as the direct object of the verb *benedicere*, as is common in Christian Latin writings,²¹ but also with *intercedere* in the example *intercedere pro nobis Dominum*, II.2. There are no examples in the *Thesaurus* of the person, whose intercession is being asked, appearing as the direct objective of this verb; it is possible that *GSR*'s reading results from an accidental omission of the preposition *ad*.

Among uses of the genitive, the Late Latin expression *tunc temporis*, 'at that time',²² occurs (I.8), but only once against many examples of *in illo tempore, eo tempore*, etc. (see below, p. 77). The chorographic genitive which became a common means of expressing place-names in Late Latin²³ is used in a restrained manner in *GSR*: it is found with the names of rivers and regions (for example, *fluuium Visnoniae*, I.2, and examples in I.7, 8; II.2; III.1, 8, 9), but the Classical construction with the common noun and the name in apposition is used in *Huldonem fluuium* (I.6) and with the names of towns. A Late Latin extension of the genitive of definition, the genitive of identity, consisting of a substantive followed by a synonym in the genitive, occurs twice²⁴ (*cum magna caritate fraternitatis*, II.5; *omnia ligamenta catenarum*, III.1).

The ablative absolute is not common in *GSR*: it occurs a total of 38 times, 16 times with the passive past participle and 22 times with the active present, and the predominance of such stereotyped phrases as *mane facto* (II.8, and variations on this phrase in I.3; II.4, 5, 8; III.5, 7), reflects Late Latin usage; other than this its usage is Classical.²⁵

Adjectives The fairly small range of adjectives and adverbs used in *GSR* reflects the predominance of simple narrative in the text. One of the noticeable features of the author's style is his tendency to apply the same epithets repeatedly to particular characters or places: the monks of Redon are *uenerabiles/reuerendissimi/sancti*, the place itself *sanctus/famosissimus*, its enemies *perfidus/inuidus*. The desire to identify everyone clearly is also evident in the ubiquitous use of *praefatus* and *supradictus*.

As might be expected, various Late and Christian Latin adjectives, derived from nouns, are found used: *apostolicus* in II.10, III.3 (from Tertullian, *ob.* A.D. 220), *mundanus* in I.1 (from Auienus, *ob.* A.D. 370), *simoniacus* in II.10 (common from the time of Gregory the Great,

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 143–4 (§ 85.e).

²¹ *Thesaurus*, II.1867 (line 57) – 1870 (line 17).

²² Hofmann & Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax*, p. 57 (§ 52.E).

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 62–3 (§ 54).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 63–4 (§ 54.b).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 141 (§ 85.a.3).

ob. A.D. 604). Various adjectives are found employed non-classically as substantives. Those whose use as such is late include *paralyticus* in II.4 (fifth-century and later) and *sanctus* (substantive in all Christian Latin literature). Those which belong altogether to Christian vocabulary include *cunctipotens* in II.3 (Ambrose, *ob.* A.D. 397, and later), *daemoniacus* in III.7 (Tertullian and later), and the abstract plurals *magnalia*, II.2, 'great works' (Cyprian), and *mirabilia*, 'wonders', II.4, III.Pref., III.4 (used occasionally in Classical prose, but mainly Christian).²⁶

There is one case of the use of the collective adjective *plurimus* in the singular – 'periiitque de eis plurima multitudo', III.9 – which belongs to the late second century A.D. and after.²⁷ In II.1 there is confusion of meaning where the phrase *non impiger* is used when the opposite is clearly meant.²⁸

The usual position of adjectives is before the noun; hyperbaton occurs quite frequently and is the most common ornament of word-order in *GSR*.

Adverbs There are a few individual peculiarities in the use of adverbs. On one occasion an adverb has been used as a predicate with *esse*: 'ut eius brachia minutatim esse uiderentur', II.8. A similar confusion may account for the use of the comparative adverb in I.6, 'cumque ripam ulterius fluminis attingisset', although *ulterius* is found correctly employed at the end of I.9. A second example of the same kind, 'impleta est prophetia superius perfidi', I.7, is best explained by suggesting a scribal omission of *dicti* after *superius*, as this phrase has been employed correctly several times.

Comparative and superlative adverbs are correct for the most part, but in II.Pref. the following example occurs: 'maxime . . . sancta rusticitas quam docta calliditas profuit'. Irregular comparative and superlative forms such as those of *magnus* were liable to be transposed in Late Latin; so *maxime* may here have been used in place of *magis*. Alternatively, *maxime* may have been used in an absolute sense and *quam* used instead of *magis quam*, a construction which occurs in Classical Latin when the sense is 'and not' rather than 'more than' as it is here.²⁹

There is an occasional confusion in the use of adverbs of place. The author twice used the adverb *illuc*, 'thither', in place of *illic*, 'there', where no idea of motion is present: *cumque illuc . . . demorarentur*, I.2; *omnes qui illuc* (BC[F]M; *illic* P) *aderant*, II.4. In II.9 BC(F) give *manete illuc*, where M(P) and N more correctly have *manete illic*. M(P)N's reading has been selected for the text, as *illic* is often found correctly used (I.11, II.7, III.1, III.9) and the mistake does not therefore seem to be typical of the author. A similar mistake occurs in the use of adverbs in I.3, 'hinc frondium coma siluestris . . . illinc placet uberrima tellus, istinc uirentia prata graminibus', where the use of adverbs of motion seems to stem from an attempt to

²⁶ References from *Thesaurus*; Lewis & Short, *A Latin Dictionary*; Du Cange, *Glossarium*.

²⁷ Hofmann & Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax*, pp. 161–2 (§ 95.c).

²⁸ For examples of the same mistake in Silver Latin prose, and explanation, see *ibid.*, p. 806 (§ 43.III.B.b).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 169 (§ 100.c); Timpanaro, *Contributi*, pp. 39–43.

heighten the tone. The confusion is not uncommon in Late Latin;³⁰ in *GSR*, however, it is isolated.

Pleonasmus in the use of adjectives and adverbs is not uncommon. In II.1 the phrase *ceteri alii* occurs. *Talis*, *tantus*, *tam*, *sic*, and *ita* are used redundantly in the following examples:³¹

qualis esset, qualisue tantus uir ille fuerat, Dominus ... reuelare dignatus est, II.4;

haec talis cogitatio, II.6;

sic tam dulcis erat ut putares ..., II.8;

qualiter ad tolerandas iniurias tam fortissimus fuerit, III.Pref.;

coepitque eum tot motibus agitare, ita ut nullus ei auderet appropinquare, III.6

Ita is in one example found in a sense close to that of an object-pronoun: 'erat ... paralyticus qui nullo modo ualebat gressum mouere. Cumque ita sancti uiri cognouissent ...', II.4. This was a vulgar usage which could be found occasionally in the Classical language but whose popularity increased in Late Latin.³²

Pronouns *GSR* shows aspects of Late Latin usage with many pronouns, but not to excess. The reflexive pronoun and possessive adjective, *se* and *suus*, are occasionally found used with referents other than the subject of the clause, but the meaning is actually unclear in only two cases: 'cumque nimis inter se [sc. uiros] multa iurgia ille perfidus incitaret', I.7; 'Nominio ... praecepit ... abbati ut statim pergeret ad supradictum imperatorem una cum misso suo [viz Nominio's]', I.10. This is a fault which appears occasionally throughout the Classical period.³³ Of demonstrative pronouns, the nominative forms of *is* (except for one example of the nominative singular, *is autem clericus*, III.1) do not occur, *hic* and *ille* being favoured; *iste* seldom has its original association with the second person; *ipse*, '-self', is used as an alternative to *idem*, 'the same', and both are found used with little more force than *ille*; all these usages developed steadily from Silver to Late Latin³⁴ and there is nothing exceptional in their appearance in *GSR*. Similarly with other pronominal adjectives: *nullus* is occasionally used instead of *nemo* for a personal 'no-one' (*nullus poterat eos separare*, II.4; *nullum interrogantes*, II.9; *ut nullus auderet*, III.9), and *aliquis* once instead of *ullus*, 'any', in a negative sentence ('neque enim pro ... aliqua mundana necessitate illuc congregati sunt', I.1). *Unus* is found once as an indefinite article: 'reperit eum una apodix, id est meretrix', I.9. All these are common post-Classical traits:³⁵ the fact that they are for the most part

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 209–10 (§ 112.d), with Jordanes (*fl.* A.D. 552) and Gregory of Tours (538–94) as examples.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 525–6 (§ 287.e.Y); Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, II.221–2, and *Late Latin*, pp. 175–6, gave examples from Christian Latin writers, but of those found here only *sic tam* is directly paralleled.

³² Hofmann & Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax*, p. 57 (§ 298.d).

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 174–6 (§ 103.a).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 183–9 (§ 105.b–f).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 204–5 (§ 109.b); p. 195 (§ 107.a); p. 193 (§ 106.d).

avoided in *GSR* is more significant than the fact that they occur.

Perhaps more significant is the use of *alius*, 'the other'. It is twice used on occasions where *alter*, 'the other (of two)' is meant: 'duo ... fratres quorum unus uocabatur Conhoiarn et alius Fidueten', II.4; *unus scriptor et alius diaconus*, III.1. This usage is found throughout Latin literature and more commonly in Late Latin,³⁶ but rarer is the use of *alius* in the sense of *quidam*, an indefinite 'one', seen in III.2: 'alia uero die cum in pascuis ille puer demoraretur ...'. Commentators have hitherto noted this usage only in Hiberno-Latin writers – Patrick and Adomnán – where it is thought to translate the Old Irish *araile*, 'one' or 'another'.³⁷ Its presence in *GSR* may be a hint of Irish influence which, if it was present, is not evident in the author's usual style.

Prepositions The absence of *apud* and the rarity of *ob* in proportion to *propter* (it occurs only once, II.4) are typical of the more populist Late Latin writers.³⁸ The use of other prepositions is that of a literary Late Latin style.

Ad is found with some verbs in particularly Christian Latin phrases: 'neque attendas ad uniuersas sermones eius', I.2 (*attendere ad* occurs in the third century and later, chiefly in Christian writings); *appositus est ad patres suos*, I.3, which with similar phrases is especially common in the Vulgate; *manus ad tumulum inieciissent*, II.9 (*iniecere manus* usually takes the dative in Classical Latin; with *ad* + accusative it appears for the first time in Rufinus, *ob.* A.D. 410).³⁹

Ad with verbs of saying is found on a number of occasions, such as *dixit ad principem* (I.1), but the dative (as in *ait illi praefatus presbyter* I.2) is more common – interestingly, considering that *ad* + accusative was common in the spoken language at all times and was especially favoured in Christian Latin literature through its use in the Vulgate.⁴⁰

Usque is found as an adverb and, as a preposition, both alone and compounded with *ad*. As an adverb it appears with adverbs of time in the Late Latin expressions *usque hodie* (I.3), *usquequo*, (I.4), *usque dum* (II.9, III.Pref.) and *usque modo* (III.Pref.).⁴¹

Infra, 'beneath', is found with the meaning of *intra* 'within', in *GSR*, II.9, *habuerunt hospitium infra ciuitatem*, and II.10 'non solum infra Britanniam, sed etiam e longinquis regionibus'; these are its only two occurrences. This confusion was ubiquitous in the popular language from the third century A.D. and appears in literary writers from Palladius (*fl.* A.D. 350) onwards.⁴²

Prope, 'near', is found five times with its usual spatial meaning and once,

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 207–8 (§ 111).

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 208 (§ 111.δ); Löfstedt, *Coniectanea*, I.47–50.

³⁸ Hofmann & Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax*, pp. 225 (§ 118.b) and 246–7 (§ 134).

³⁹ References from *Thesaurus*, s. vv.: *accendere*, II.122 (lines 48–62); *apponere*, II.300 (line 36) – 302 (line 28); *iniecere*, IV.1613 (line 79) – 1614 (line 1).

⁴⁰ Schrijnen & Mohrmann, *Studien* I.105–7.

⁴¹ Hofmann & Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax*, p. 253 (§ 140); p. 655 (§ 357.α).

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 231 (§ 125).

in a rare sense, denoting proximity in time: *prope solis occasum*, II.4. The phrase is a stereotyped one, reducing the interest of the example.⁴³

Secus, an adverb meaning 'to the side' or 'otherwise', was used as a preposition with the accusative, meaning 'beside' in popular spoken Latin from the early third century A.D. and appears predominantly in Christian Latin texts from the fifth century onwards.⁴⁴ In *GSR* it is found once: 'uidit diabolum . . . secus pedes cuiusdam fratris', II.5.

Of prepositions with the ablative, *ab*, *ex*, and *de* overlap in usage, *ab* and *de* in their use with verbs of separation, *ex* and *de* in their use with verbs of departure, in their partitive use, and to denote the material from which a thing is made. That *ab* and *ex* should be used more frequently in most of these contexts is in accordance with Classical rather than Late Latin practice. Parallel examples are *liberare ab* (I.5 and III.Pref.), *liberare de* (I.9); *surgere ab* (I.7; II.1, 6, 8; III.1), *surgere de* (II.1); *profluere ex* (II.1 and 3), *profluere de* (II.4); *conualere ex* (II.4), *conualere de* (I.3); *unum ex primis fratribus* (I.1 and similar instances in I.3, 7; II.5, 6, 8, 10; III.Pref., 1, 8); *unum de famulis* (I.2, and similar instances in II.2, 9, 10); 'domum ex tabulis ligneis fabricatam' (II.8); *humor . . . de uitio uesicae* (II.4: from Bede), 'quam de limo terrae formauerat' (II.6; from Vulgate Gn II.7); *de aqua uinum fecit* (III.8, MSS. NBC[F]).

Certain Late Latin uses, of all three of these prepositions, occur. *Ab* in the phrase *ab inuicem*, 'from each other', is found only in the fourth century and later, particularly in Christian writers:⁴⁵ I.7, *ita ab inuicem discesserunt*. *De* in *bibere de*, 'to drink of' (a liquid) (III.8 and 9), is characteristic of the Vulgate and Christian writers.⁴⁶ The instrumental use of *ex* in III.1 'ligamenta . . . ex quibus erat ligatus', is post-Classical.⁴⁷

Cum in an instrumental sense – which was found occasionally in the Silver Age and more frequently in Late Latin⁴⁸ – occurs in II.2, 'transmeaueruntque amnem cum parua nauicula', and perhaps in II.8, 'domum . . . cum plaustris ac bobus ad monasterium deferret', although here the sense of accompaniment is also present. A more unusual use of *cum* appears on two occasions where *apud* might have been employed: I.8 'quomodo uitam posset propagare cum sanctis fratribus', and II.5, 'quale meritum ille sanctus uir habuerit cum Deo'. The amalgamation of *cum* and *apud* in a wide variety of meanings such as 'among' and 'in the sight of' seems to have been characteristic of late Antique and early mediaeval Latin writers of Gaulish provenance: Hofmann alluded to its occurrence in *Querolus* (ca A.D. 400) and Graur listed examples from Fredegar and Gregory of Tours, suggesting that its popularity is due to influence from

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 245 (§ 133).

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 248 (§ 136).

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 177 (§ 103.b.B).

⁴⁶ *Thesaurus*, II.1963–4.

⁴⁷ Hofmann & Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax*, p. 266 (§ 147).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 259–60 (§ 145).

the Gaulish language.⁴⁹ In *GSR* the influence might conceivably be Breton, as all the Celtic languages have prepositions which combine the necessary meanings, but the examples are not numerous or striking enough to prove it.

The most common irregularity involving prepositions in *GSR* is confusion between the cases used with prepositions which govern both the accusative and the ablative: *sub*, *super*, and especially *in*. *Sub* and *in*, as a rule, take the accusative when the idea of motion or aim is present, and the ablative when it is not; certain expressions broke this rule throughout the Classical period and in Late Latin confusion became much more common.⁵⁰ In *GSR* the use of the ablative instead of the accusative with *sub* and *in* predominates. *Sub* occurs only with the ablative, including one example where the idea of motion is present: *absconderunt se . . . sub paleis*, I.7. *In* is found in a range of senses, in most of which the accusative/ablative confusion is present. In its literal spatial sense, *in* occurs seventeen times with the ablative instead of the accusative (for example, *allatum est in monasterio*, I.3) and once with the accusative instead of the ablative (*mansitque in eandem urbem*, III.1). In a figurative spatial sense, the proportion is seven to three (for example, 'quinque nummos in mea ditione . . . nequeo obtinere', I.7; 'in hoc factum non defuit uirtus Domini', I.4). The prevalence of the confusions suggests that in II.10, where the manuscripts diverge, with BC(F)N reading 'inuenit in templum uidentes boues' where M(P) read *inuenit in templo* . . ., the grammatically incorrect reading of BC(F)N is more likely to be archetypal.

In is also found in a consecutive and in a final sense. Closely connected with the latter is the 'predicative *in*' introduced into Late Latin via the Bible, where *in* means roughly 'as'.⁵¹ All these categories normally take the accusative, but in the first and last of them *GSR* shows the ablative in single cases: with consecutive *in*, 'immutauerat Dominus cor imperatoris . . . in benefacto suo', I.10; with predicative *in*, 'tradidit sancto Saluatori . . . in elemosina sempiterna', I.10. Two other examples show a quasi-consecutive use of *in*: *aegrotauit in infirmitate graui*, I.3, and 'uultus eius in diuersis coloribus mutatus est', I.9. The *Thesaurus* gives no examples of the use of *aegrotare in* (the Vulgate has *aegrotare infirmitate*) but *mutare in* is Classical. The sense of change suggests that both should take the accusative, but in *GSR* they take the ablative. Similarly with *in* in the sense of 'against': of its three occurrences one shows the accusative, as is regular, while the other two have the ablative – 'talem rem facere in sanctos Dei', I.9; 'in sanctibus omnibus . . . solus diabolus ingemiscit', II.Pref.; 'ut in ipso reuocant tormenta quae passi sunt', II.Pref.

With *super* in its spatial sense, unlike *in* and *sub*, the accusative should be used in both the stationary and the mobile senses.⁵² This rule is observed in *GSR*. However, *super* in the meaning 'about', 'with respect to', should take the ablative, but in *GSR* it takes the accusative in two of its

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 260 (§ 145.d); Graur, 'Ab, ad, apud et cum', pp. 232–5.

⁵⁰ Hofmann & Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax*, pp. 276–7 (§ 156.3) and 279–80 (§ 157).

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 274–5 (§ 156.b and 156.b.γ).

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 281–2 (§ 158).

four occurrences: 'dolentes ... super id quod factum fuerat', III.1; 'ut omnes miraremur super altitudinem uocis eius', III.8.

The usage of *GSR* in expressions of time, which involve various cases and prepositions, deserves a short discussion to itself. In Classical Latin, the accusative alone designated a period of time during which a state or action continued uninterrupted (*multos dies* 'for many days'); through the Classical period and later, it was increasingly replaced by the ablative or preceded by *per*, so that in Late Latin the accusative alone was rarely found. The unaccompanied ablative indicated that an event had taken place at some point within the designated period of time (*illo die*, 'on that day'). *In* tended to be added where the noun had no attribute (*in iuuentute*, 'in [his] youth'); in literature in a popular style, and in all Late Latin literature, *in* came to be used generally in this sense, leaving the bare ablative to take over the functions of the erstwhile accusative of time.⁵³ In *GSR*, there are no examples of the accusative alone; *per* with the accusative is used to denote a period of time which an action or state occupies continuously, as described above, but it is also occasionally used in the proper place of the ablative, for a period of time within which an action takes place: 'unam ex eis ... per noctem furto arripuit', I.4; 'per idem tempus coepit uenerabilis Conuuoion ... cogitare', II.9 (in this second example, however, the sense is perhaps more that of a continuing, than of a single completed, action).⁵⁴ The ablative alone is still used in *GSR* for periods of time within which an action takes place when the noun is accompanied by *is*, *idem*, *ipse*, *quidam*, or other adjectives (for example, *quadam nocte, sequenti die*, I.3); the ablative with *in* is used when the noun stands alone or with relative *qui* or (in most cases) *ille* (for example, *in illo tempore*; I.2 *in quo tempore*, I.7). When *in* is used with *ille* the phrase tends to have a ceremonial introductory flavour and to underline the historicity of the action, although the time is rarely specified! The author was doubtless influenced by the Bible's 'At that time ...', especially in Mt XI.25, XII.1, and XIV.1.

The verb: nominal forms In its author's use of the infinitive, *GSR* displays various common Late Latin characteristics. The use of the infinitive after verbs of thinking appears occasionally in Classical Latin but becomes more common in Late Latin:⁵⁵ thus in *GSR* we have the infinitive after *cogitare* ('illi ... cogitauerunt trucidare sanctos Dei monachos', I.7) and *putare* (*nec euadere infirmitatem putabat*, III.5). Also, the verb *disponere* in its post-Classical sense ('to settle', 'to decide') governs an infinitive in *disposuit ... patriam ... contemnere*, II.5. The infinitive after verbs of motion, with a sense of purpose, which was ante- and post-Classical and commonest among ecclesiastical writers,⁵⁶ occurs six times (for example, *uenit repetere solidos*, I.7), but there is an equal number of final clauses with *ut* and the subjunctive after such verbs (for example, 'perrexerunt monachi ut hortum colerent', I.4).

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 41 (§ 46) and 147–8 (§ 87).

⁵⁴ For comparative examples of this usage see *ibid.*, p. 240 (§ 130).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 347 (§ 191.I.D.a).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 344–5 (§ 191.I.A).

The accusative-and-infinitive construction is not common in *GSR*: it occurs three times in indirect statements ('audiuimus eum ... perfecte uitam ducere', II.5, and II.Pref., III.8), three times after verbs of wishing or ordering (I.5, II.6, III.9), three times after *uerba sentiendi et declarandi* (I.10, II.Pref., II.4), and twice after impersonal verbs (I.6, III.8). In the example in I.6 there is anacolouthon, the impersonal construction being dropped and the object becoming the subject: 'accidit eum ad monasterium uenire et nuntios ad ... abbatem misit'. The author of *GSR* seems not to have been at home with the accusative-and-infinitive construction, and for the most part preferred to use clauses with finite verbs. In an example of a similar construction, 'sufficiunt pauca de pluribus dicere' II.10, where the phrase 'pauca ... dicere' should be the subject of an impersonal *sufficit* – so used since the first century A.D.⁵⁷ – *pauca* has attracted the verb into the plural.

There are no irregularities, by Classical standards, in the use of the gerund and gerundive in *GSR*, and few in the use of participles. Of the two syntactical occurrences of the present participle, one is in the instance of the nominative absolute (mentioned above, p. 71), 'petiit unus ab alio scalpellum ... ille uero incaute fratri proiciens, statim ... in corde uulnus accepit ...', III.1. The other is in the description of Redon in I.3, where the author affects an elliptical style. In the following passage the verb *esse* has to be understood probably four times: 'cuncta undique aquis irrigata [sunt]; inclita [est] coespis pastui pecorum congrua fundens frugem laetiferam; nunc ascendens mare eructat, nunc ad sinum rediens aquarum impetus manat; compendia nauuium apta [sunt], nihil paene indigens [est] ex eo quidquid ministratur ...'.

The use of the present participle to denote action previous to that of the main verb is a Late Latin development⁵⁸ which occurs clearly nine times in *GSR* ('a somno euigilans retulit haec omnia Fidueteno collegae suae', I.2, and examples in I.3, 5, 6, 9, 11; II.4, 10; III.8). The participle denotes action subsequent to the main verb in 'sanus effectus est, gratias Deo agens', I.5, and 'gratias Deo ... retulerunt, designantes ei uiam', III.1. Occasionally, the present participle is used in an instrumental sense, where the gerund might be expected: 'illum furem bene remunerati sunt, dantes illi cibum', I.4; 'ipsum ... inimicum ... proferentes, in ipso reuocant tormenta quae passi sunt', II.Pref.

The verb: voice It is a noticeable trait of the language of *GSR* that transitive verbs are used absolutely, often at the end of a clause or a sentence. Usually they can be understood to refer back to an object which has appeared as object of another verb earlier in the sentence, but occasionally no object is present at all. An example of the first category is 'cupiebant impedire sanctum opus quod inchoauerant, et non sinebant eos perficere', I.1; of the second, 'Conuuoion ... me direxit ad ... praesentiam uestram, ut digneris protegere et defendere pro Christi amore', I.1.

A special case is the use of *excutare* in II.4: 'statim paralyticus curatus est,

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 348–9 (§ 191.II.A).

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 387 (§ 207.a).

et de se [M; *de sede* BC(F); *se se* P] excutiens per totam domum coepit ... discurrere'. None of the readings (save P's, which has no manuscript-authority) makes sense: *excutare* ('to strike off', 'to shake off') requires a direct object, and perhaps it should be assumed that one has been accidentally omitted by the scribe of the archetype, for instance *infirmiorem* or *baculum*, or *se* if BC(F)'s *de sede* be accepted. However, it is not impossible that the author used *excutare* absolutely: it is not out of keeping with the use of *implere* in 'partem hereditatis suae ... delegavit, et facta carta solemniter implevit' (I.3), or *alloqui* in 'doctor gentium ... alloquitur dicens' (I.11). It is difficult to find parallels or explanations for this peculiarity.

There is one case of an intransitive verb being used in the passive as if it had transitive meaning: *nutare*, 'to grow weak', in 'ibique fratres inuenit moerentes, nutati enim erant de abscessu eius', I.8 (M[P]). I have found no other examples of the verb being used in this way; BC(F)'s reading *nudati* is possibly preferable.

In II.2 a passive verb, *remuneror*, takes a second direct object: 'expectans remunerari mercedem suam a Domino'. *Remuneror* was in Classical Latin a deponent verb, 'I reward'; in Late Latin it developed a collateral active form, *remunero*, which could be used in the passive, with the person rewarded as subject, and the object constituting the reward as an instrumental ablative: for example, 'philosophi status et salarii remunerantur', Tertullian.⁵⁹ The author of *GSR* clearly confused the two forms, but this would seem to be an isolated slip on his part: he uses *remuneror* correctly in 'illum furem bene remunerati sunt', I.4, and 'ut tanta patientia eius remunerari debuisset', II.5.

Use of tenses The most widespread irregularity in the tense-system in *GSR* is that the perfect and pluperfect tenses of passive and deponent verbs are often formed by means of the 'analytical conjugation' of these tenses, using the perfect and pluperfect of the auxiliary verb – *natus fuit* and *natus fuerat*, instead of *natus est* and *natus erat*. It occurs 21 times, while the normal formation occurs 153 times; there is no distinction of meaning apparent between the two. This construction was common in Late Latin.⁶⁰

Allied to this is the tendency in *GSR* to substitute the pluperfect for the perfect and imperfect tenses. This tendency is present throughout Latin literature, but is commoner in Late Latin when it spread from subordinate to independent clauses, in both of which it occurs in *GSR*. Examples are 'potestatem uero mundanam numquam habere uult. Legerat enim iste sanctus ...', I.1; 'audiuimus eum nunc ... uitam ducere ... peraeque deflens quicquid in uita sua deliquerat', II.5; 'qui tempore Nominoe principis praepotens et diues fuerat, exercuitque potestatem super multos nobiles', III.7. The pluperfect subjunctive is frequently used instead of the imperfect, a particularly common Late Latin construction:⁶¹ 'cum iam esset tempus ut tanta patientia eius remunerari debuisset', II.5; 'laniabat

⁵⁹ Cited by Lewis & Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, p. 1564, s.v. 'remuneror'.

⁶⁰ Hofmann & Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax*, pp. 321–2 (§ 179); Väänänen, *Introduction*, pp. 137–8 (§§ 297–8).

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 177–8 (§ 381); Hofmann & Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax*, p. 321 (§ 179.a).

enim dentibus omnes quotquot reperire potuisset', III.6; 'cumque ante imperatorem exstitisset, rogauit eum ...', I.8; 'cum uero sedisset prope ostium monasterii, ecce ille sanctus repente adfuit', II.1; 'uotum uouit celebrare festiuitatem ... quamdiu super terram uixisset', III.5; 'haec erat uoluntas nostra, si Deus permisisset', II.9. In one temporal clause the imperfect and pluperfect are reversed: 'cum .. Conuuoion abbas ... una cum ... Leuhemelo praeposito pergeret ad ecclesiam suam ... ibique et discussissent causas et iurgia uirorum inter seipsos et bene inter eos ordinassent, repente adfuit quidam tyrannus ...', I.7. This tense-reversal is used by Tertullian, Fulgentius, and other Late Latin writers.⁶²

There are also occasional, apparently motiveless, switches of tense in *GSR*: from perfect to present ('illi uero ... ad aream pergunt, ibique eos latitantes reperierunt', I.7, and 'cumque se iam morti proximum agnouit, fratres suos uocat', II.5); from present to perfect ('dehinc domum reuertitur, nec multo post ipsam terram coaequauit, deinde semina ex ordine iactat ...', II.Pref.); from imperfect to present ('coepit deambulare, putans quod cimbam reperire possit', II.2). (This last may be a scribal error; *possit* is corrected to *posset* in the secondary manuscripts C and F.) Such switches of tense can be paralleled in many Late Latin writers.⁶³

Co-ordination Co-ordinating particles are freely used in *GSR* to string clauses together, even where subordination might have been used, in cases such as the following: 'cum illo est ... uir ... nomine Uuincalon, natusque est ex nobilibus parentibus', I.1; 'in uilla quae dicitur Ampen, et haec uilla ditioni adiacet sancti Filiberti', II.1; there are further examples in II.1, II.10 and III.1. The use of connectives is sometimes pleonastic: 'cooperuitque eum clamyde ... tangensque caput eius et sic dixit ...', III.4; 'et nec iam ambulare poterat', III.8; 'peracta ... oratione ... pertransieruntque ... Italiam', III.8.⁶⁴ There are noticeable departures from this style in I.3 and in the prefaces to Books II and III, where a homiletic, rhetorical style, with asyndeton as one of its features, is adopted.

Et occurs about three times as often as *-que*; *-que*, when it appears, is nearly always enclitic to verbs or to *ibi*, *sic*, or temporal *cum*; it also appears in the phrases *huc illucque*, *die noctucque*, and *longe lateque*. *Ac* and *atque*, counted together, are found about half as often as *-que*, and *quoque* occurs only once in the whole text (III.7), in spite of its relative abundance in many Late Latin works.

Of adversative conjunctions, one may note the use of *sed* (once) as the equivalent of *nisi* in 'psalmodia uero ab eius ore nullo pacto recedebat, sed quando aut somnum aut cibum suo corpori indulsisset' (II.8).⁶⁵

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 321 (§ 179.a).

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 307 (§ 171).

⁶⁴ For parallels, see *ibid.*, pp. 523–6 (§ 287); for Late Latin use of *nec* to mean 'not' or 'not even', see Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, 1.338–9.

⁶⁵ Hofmann & Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax*, p. 498 (§ 268.B) for examples of the usage in the *Itala* and works of Tertullian.

Subordinate Clauses With regard to the use of the subjunctive in various kinds of subordinate clause, *GSR* shows the same kind of uncertainty as many Late Latin texts. Occasionally, the author wrote a consecutive clause or an indirect statement, question, or command in which the first verb is in the subjunctive but subsequent verbs lapse into the indicative: 'praegrauatus fui maximo dolore dentium, ita ut facies mea et totum caput intumescerent, nec somnum, nec cibum capere ualebam', II.5; 'cumque circumdasset eos nauibus in gyro, ita ut non possent egredi uel ingredi, erantque omnes obsessi...', III.9; 'factumque est ut seipsum desperaret, nec euadere infirmitatem putabat', III.5; 'praecipio uobis . . . ut hic amplius ne remaneatis, sed quantocius ab hinc recedite', II.3; 'quis ergo potest litteris explicare quomodo . . . sanctus uir . . . uitam duxerit . . . et usque ad finem uitae suae ita fortiter permansit ut nulli hominum cederet . . .?', III.Pref.

Other irregularities occur in individual types of clause. One consecutive clause exceptionally takes the indicative instead of the subjunctive: 'ita . . . erant coniuncti, ut paene ullo tempore nullus poterat eos separare', II.4.⁶⁶ Causal clauses are introduced by *quia*, 'because' and on rare occasions by *cum*; the exclusion of *quod* is typical of the most extreme tendency of Late Latin – such exclusion is typical, for instance, in the Rule of St Benedict.⁶⁷ Causal clauses with *quia* are construed with the indicative, and those with *cum* with the subjunctive, but there is an exception in a sentence in I.7 containing two clausal clauses: 'hoc autem a seipso non dixit, sed quia cum pontifex esset, coepit prophetare de Christo, quia Iesus pro saluatione totius mundi esset moriturus'. The first causal clause contains both conjunctions, *quia* and *cum*; this pleonasm was discussed with reference to several Christian Latin texts by Löfstedt,⁶⁸ but in his examples *quia cum* takes the subjunctive while here the indicative is used. The second *quia*-clause is perhaps felt to be an indirect statement, justifying the subjunctive, but the meaning is ambiguous. The peculiarities of these two clauses are the more significant for being absent from the biblical passage on which the sentence is closely modelled: 'hoc autem a semet ipso non dixit sed cum esset pontifex anni illius prophetauit quia Iesus moriturus erat pro gente' (Io.XI.51).

In temporal clauses there are a few exceptions to a generally Classical usage. Occasionally the pluperfect subjunctive is found, instead of the perfect or imperfect indicative, in clauses introduced by *quando*. This conjunction was avoided by Classical writers but grew more common in Late Latin; it was almost always used with the indicative mood.⁶⁹ The use of the pluperfect is to be connected with the other examples of pluperfect for perfect/imperfect (listed above, p. 79).

The subjunctive is also employed instead of the indicative, on two and five occasions respectively, with *ubi* and *dum* – a usage found at all times since Livy⁷⁰ – and once with *postquam*, an idiom which is commonly found

⁶⁶ For comparative examples in Late Latin see *ibid.*, p. 639 (§ 346.I.b).

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 585–6 (§ 316.a).

⁶⁸ *Vermischte Studien*, p. 62, and *Beiträge*, pp. 35–6.

⁶⁹ Hofmann & Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax*, p. 607 (§ 328.I.a).

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 652 (§ 354.a).

only in Late Latin:⁷¹ *postquam reuersus fuisset*, II.1. On the other hand, in a concessive clause with *licet*, the indicative is used instead of the subjunctive, again a Late Latin trait:⁷² *licet erat moerens corde*, I.8.

In indirect statements there is less uncertainty. Indirect statements are introduced by *quod* and *quia* in a ratio of about 1:2. The author follows a clear rule in his use of moods: the verbs are regularly in the subjunctive, except when the statement is in direct speech, indirect only because it is introduced by some reinforcing expression; in these cases the verb is in the indicative. The expressions so used include *denuntio uobis quia* (I.7), *testor uobis quia* (II.1), *in hoc cognoscatis quia* (II.3), *adnuntiem tibi quia* (II.4), *ut recte scias quia* (II.4), *confitebor quia* (II.6). One further case of the indicative is marked also by a shift from the past to the present tense in the narration. This too is a quotation from direct speech: 'ubi ait quia non in adiutorium mihi sed in opprobrium sunt isti solidi', I.7.

Indirect questions formally include all clauses introduced by interrogative particles. Those used in *GSR* are *quis*, *quisnam*, *qualis*, *quantus*, *quotquot*, *ubi*, *unde*, *ubinam*, *quare*, *quomodo*, and *qualiter*, the last two being particularly common. The great majority of these clauses is in the subjunctive, but in 14 cases out of 31 the indicative, avoided in literary prose in Classical Latin, is employed.⁷³

Finally, there are certain peculiarities in the use of relative clauses. They form one of the principal means whereby the author connects his narrative: a high proportion of them is introduced by *quod*, referring back to the previous statement as a whole: *quod cernens* and *quod audiens* are common formulae. For about one in every ten relative clauses the antecedent is not expressed for example, *repperunt . . . quod fur detulerat*, I.4, and *nihil inuenientes quod quaerebant*, I.9. This is done only when the relative and the antecedent would be in the same case, and was acceptable in Latin literature at all times.⁷⁴ There is a greater risk of ambiguity in cases where the relative clause is separated from its antecedent – which in Classical Latin was characteristic of spoken and informal language:⁷⁵ 'exstitit quidam inuidus, Illoc nomine, qui uolebat aduersari . . . locum habitationis eorum, qui consilium iniit cum propinquis . . .', I.5; 'sanctum Dei locum petiit [Fiduuetenus], inuenitque . . . Conuuoio . . . qui susceptus est ab eo cum magna caritate fraternitatis', II.5; 'perrexitque ad palatium Ludouici imperatoris, qui tunc temporis exercitum ducebat in prouincia Aquitaniae . . . qui tunc consistebat in palatio in Cadrio monte', I.8; 'statim . . . in corde uulnus accepit, qui statim corruens in terram spiritam exhalauit uitae', III.1.

In one case the relative clause does not agree in number with the antecedent: *omnia quod mandatum fuerat*, III.1. *Quod* was, however, frequently used in Late and mediaeval Latin as a correlative for neuter plurals such as *omnia*, *alia*, and *multa*.⁷⁶

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 598–9 (§ 322.a).

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 605 (§ 326.e).

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 537–9 (§ 294.a–b).

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 556 (§ 298.b.α).

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 556 (§ 298.b.δ).

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 431–2 (§ 232.C.b).

Vocabulary From this survey the grammar and syntax of *GSR* emerge as eminently respectable; but for his clumsiness in constructing longer sentences, and the merest hint of Celtic influence, the author writes nothing which he might not have found in his Patristic models. His vocabulary, too, is that of the Vulgate and the Fathers, but there are a few intriguing exceptions. Below are listed, first, words which occur in *GSR* but not in Classical Latin, and afterwards Classical words which are used in *GSR* with unusual shades of meaning.

(i) Unusual words

apodix, 'harlot': 'reperit eum una apodix, id est meretrix', I.9. The word *apodix* is a borrowing from Greek γνοεισις, meaning 'a conclusive proof', 'demonstration', in which sense it was used by a few Latin writers from the first century A.D. I have not found the source for its equation with *meretrix*. Possibly this was suggested by *podex*, 'anus', 'fundament'.

cognite, 'knowledgably': 'qualiter ... absentes et praesentes notitiam eorum bene et cognite audierint', III.Pref. An adverb formed from *cognitus*, past participle passive of *cognosco*: the *Thesaurus* gives a single example, from Facundus, *Defensio*, A.D. 547.

cothurnicus, 'bombastic': 'multum comminans et multa uerba cothurnica dicens', I.6; 'non enim cothurnico sermone ... uitam sanctorum uolo disserere', II.Pref. This seems to be a form of the Classical adjective *cothurnatus*, 'elevated', 'tragic'. Gregory of Tours has the form *coturnosus* (*iaciantia coturnosa*), but *cothurnicus* seems to be otherwise unknown.⁷⁷

disparere, 'to disappear': 'ab aspectu illius disparuit', III.4. The first known use of this verb is by Cassiodorus; it is also found in Bede, Jordanes, and Gregory of Tours.⁷⁸

febricitus, 'a man with fever': 'febricitici saepius ... sani atque incolumes recedunt', II.9. This may have been formed from the post-Augustan verb *febricitare*, 'to have a fever', which in its turn, according to the *Thesaurus*, is derived from an obsolete adjective **febricitus*. If so the *c* and *t* have become transposed. Du Cange⁷⁹ cited a noun *febreiticus*, with the same meaning as *febricitus* in *GSR*, from *Vita Sancti Apiani Monachi* (post saec. viii).⁸⁰

inpraiceps, 'headlong': *sicut equus indomitus totus fertur inpraiceps*, II.6. The meaning is the same as that of the Classical adjective *praiceps*. Du Cange⁸¹ gave one example of *inpraiceps*, 'festinus, properans', occurring in the late tenth-century metrical Life of St Romanus, archbishop of Rouen.⁸²

(ii) Words used anomalously

densus: 'crescebat ... languor densissimus per momenta singula', III.5. The primary meaning of *densus* ('thick', 'dense', 'frequent') is extended to be applied to *Aquilo* by Vergil, and *pericula* by Ovid, but the quoted

⁷⁷ Bonnet, *Le Latin*, pp. 282-3.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 254, n. 8.

⁷⁹ Du Cange, *Glossarium*, s.v.

⁸⁰ Bollandus et al. (edd.) *Acta Sanctorum*, March, I.321-4.

⁸¹ Du Cange, *Glossarium*, s.v.

⁸² *Thesaurus*, edd. Martène & Durand, III.1651-66.

application in *GSR* appears to stretch it further than any Classical or subsequent author does.

manere: 'cum ceteris uillulis qui in circuitu eius manent', I.3. *Manere* 'to remain', here simply means 'to be (situated)', a usage which occurs in scattered examples from the third and fourth centuries.⁸³

secta: 'totam Britanniam armis capere, et strages et sectas hominum facere', I.7. In Classical Latin (*uia*) *secta* 'a beaten track', came by extension to mean 'a sect', 'a group'; the noun is the past participle of the verb *secare* 'to cut', 'to injure', 'to divide'. Rather than using it in its established sense as a noun, the author here seems to have given it one of the other senses of the *verb*: 'injuries' or 'divisions'. I know of no other examples of this usage. Possibly it was suggested by the example of *caedes*, 'a slaughter', from *caedere*, 'to cut'.⁸⁴

SOURCES OF BORROWINGS IN *VITA CONUOIONIS*

VC depends for most of its content on *GSR*, and refers to it at one point as a source: 'sicut in libro miraculorum sancti uiri continetur insertum', § 4. In style and language, however, the *Vita* has been deliberately taken as far as possible from its source, and never quotes it verbatim.

Quotations from the Vulgate are used frequently, but not as systematically as in *GSR*, and are not always introduced. The unattributed quotations include the following.

	<i>VC</i>	Vulgate
§ 1	'sui pectoris ... sacrificium in odorem suauitatis immolare decreuerunt'	Eph V.2; Phil.IV.18; Ex.XXIX.41
§ 4	'in sudore uultus sui uesceretur pane suo'	Gn III.19, 'in sudore uultus tui uesceris pane'
§ 4	'ne lucerna sub modio tanto occultaretur'	Mt V.15, 'neque accendunt lucernam et ponunt eam sub modio' (cf. Mc IV.21)
§ 10	'in regionem umbrae mortis'	Jb X.22, 'terram ... ubi umbra mortis et nullus ordo'
§ 10	'non enim est hominis uia eius nec ut dirigat gressus suos'	Jr X.23, 'non est hominis uia eius nec uiri est ut ambulet et dirigat gressus suos'

The author of *VC* appears to have relied much less on Patristic works than the author of *GSR* had done. Instead, he endeavoured to strike a Classical tone. The only Christian Latin writer from whom he seems to have quoted is Gildas, and even this resemblance may be accidental.

⁸³ Hofmann & Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax*, p. 395 (§ 211.c); *Thesaurus*, VIII.290 (lines 13-70).

⁸⁴ I am indebted to Neil Wright and Giovanni Orlandi for advice on this point. For the significance of *sectas* to the text-history, see above, pp. 57-60.

	VC	Gildas, <i>De Excidio Britanniae</i>
§ 3	'iuxta sinum duorum nobilium fluminum situm'	I.3 'uallata duorum ostiis nobilium fluminum' ⁸⁵

In VC more effort is made in a short space than in GSR to show an acquaintance with secular Latin poetry, although any or all of the literary borrowings may have been made at second hand. There is one clear quotation from Vergil's 'Georgics', several echoes of the *Aeneid*, and one quotation and one echo from Lucan's *De Bello Ciuili*.⁸⁶

	VC	'Georgics'
§ 8	'poetae sententiam animo reuoluens: labor improbus omnia uincit'	I.145-6 'labor omnia uicit/improbus ...'
	VC	<i>Aeneid</i>
§ 1	<i>grates exsoluere</i>	I.600 <i>grates persoluere</i>
§ 3	<i>gratissima tellus</i>	III.73 <i>gratissima tellus</i>
§ 3	<i>corusco ... lumine</i>	VIII.391-2 <i>corusco ... lumine</i>
§ 5	<i>armis potens</i>	III.164 <i>armis potens</i>
	VC	Lucan, <i>De Bello Ciuili</i>
§*1	'magno enim, iuxta poetam, se iudice quisque tuetur'	I.127 'magno se iudice quisque tuetur'
§ 11	'post multa bella plusquam ciuilia'	I.1 'bella per Emathios plusquam ciuilia campos'

The use of Lucan is unparalleled in Breton hagiography of the Carolingian period, and may be supporting evidence for the view that *Vita Conuuoionis* was written at a considerably later date.⁸⁷

STYLE AND LANGUAGE OF VITA CONUVOIONIS

The style of VC is deliberately elaborate, the sentences complex in structure, and the word-order ornamental; various figures of speech are used. The latter include short and extended similes and metaphors: *uelut rutilantia firmamenti astra*, § 1; 'montisbusque ... quasi quibusdam moeniis ambiatur', § 3; *contagionis simoniace lepra infectos*, § 9; 'episcopos Simonis ... morbo pallentes ... cumque utroque testamento cornu uentilasset eos', § 9. In the formal opening section there seems to be some deliberate alliteration: 'attollere licet laudibus eorum .. quos Christus in caelo cumulauit gloria', § 1. Phrases are used in balanced pairs or in threes: *armis potens, sensu pollens*, § 5; 'ob meritum excellentiam atque facundiae affluentiam, nec non castitatis praerogatiuam', § 2.

⁸⁵ See Kerlouégan, 'Les citations d'auteurs latins chrétiens', p. 240.

⁸⁶ Kerlouégan, 'Les citations d'auteurs latins profanes', p. 182; Wright, 'Some further Vergilian borrowings', pp. 162-4. I am indebted to Neil Wright for drawing my attention to the last of these four echoes of the *Aeneid*.

⁸⁷ But, on the extensive circulation of Lucan in Carolingian Francia, see Gotoff, *The Transmission*.

The word-order shows constant splitting of noun-and-adjective pairs, with one of the pair being postponed to the end of the clause, after the verb: *suo studuerunt illustrare exemplo*, § 1; *liberalibus studuerunt tradere artibus*, § 2. Such effects become less common as the text progresses, however.

Throughout the text the sentence-structure aims at maximum connectedness and subordination, but this often results in clumsiness. Sentences may begin with more than one temporal clause or ablative absolute; clauses, ablative absolute phrases, or phrases governed by prepositions may nest one within another. Adjectival phrases depending on participles are sometimes extended to great length where relative clauses could have been used instead, as with 'iuxta Dei pro reatu priori inflictam sententiam' § 4; 'est admonitus ... ut ad beatum uirum in eremo degentem et angelicam uitam ducentem diuerteret', § 6; 'in eremi uastitatem redacto ... quondam gloria renitenti uenerabili Rothonensi monasterio a regibus et ceteris magnificis uiris fundato', § 12. All this tends to obstruct the flow of the sense, especially when added to the general lavishness with words. A great many adjectives are used, and circumlocutions are employed for simple ideas (*oculorum priuatus acie*, § 4; *supplici eum deprecatur prece*, § 7. The genitive of identity, in which two synonyms or near-synonyms linked by the genitive case are used in preference to one of them alone, is favoured: 'pro ... muneris et priuilegii beneficio', § 1; *annorum spatii*, § 3; *annorum spatium*, § 11; *deliciarum gratiam*, § 3; *contagionis ... lepra*, § 9. This dense structure – sometimes, perhaps, with the help of scribal errors, as some sections of the text have only one witness and all the witnesses contain some corruption – leads to a number of cases of confused syntax, some of which obscure the meaning. I give the problematic passages in order here.

§ 1: *insignis catholicae fidei patres*

The sense seems to demand that *insignis* apply to *patres* (acc.pl.) rather than to *catholicae fidei*, in which case it must be a scribal error or a misprint for *insignes* (the passage is extant in M[P] only).

§ 1: *attollere licet laudibus eorum in medium deducere gesta*

If both the infinitives depend on *licet*, as seems likely, *et* is required, probably after *laudibus*. The effect is not of deliberate asyndeton but rather of scribal omission. However, *deducere* could conceivably be an infinitive of purpose: 'it is right to extol them with praise in order to bring their deeds into the open'.

§ 9: *illi ... ad excusandas accusationes in peccatis refellere oppositis niterentur*

There are two difficulties in this clause, both to do with the relationship between verb and object. *Excusare* cannot have *accusationes* as a direct object in any of its Classical range of meanings: this would make as little sense as to say 'to excuse the accusations' in English. Neither can the accused party, *illi*, logically 'excuse' anything. It is necessary to stretch the meaning of *excusare* to 'to evade', or something similar, to give meaning to the phrase as a whole, but whether this is the meaning intended by the author we cannot be certain. With *refellere* the difficulty is that the verb,

'to rebut', normally needs a direct object and cannot be used with a preposition, as here. Two alternative ways of forcing sense from the phrase would be either to assume that an object for *refellere* – for instance *eum*, referring to *Conuuoion* – has been accidentally omitted, and to supply it, or to give *refellere* an absolute meaning such as 'to argue back'. In either case, *in* has to be translated loosely as 'concerning' or 'with regard to'. Again, however, the phrasing is too obscure for either of these solutions or any other to present itself as obvious.

§ 11 *in* [B; om. M[P]] *regnum Galliarum gladiis inebriatus est gentilium*

In this clause it is necessary to choose between emendations. The text cannot make sense as it stands. If *in* is omitted, as from M(P), *regnum* becomes the subject and *inebriatus* must be emended to *inebriatum*: 'this kingdom of the Gauls was saturated by the swords of the Gentiles'. If *in* is retained, then *gladiis* must be emended to *gladius* to make that the subject. This reading has the support of a biblical parallel in Is XXXIV.5, and has therefore been adopted in the translation.

Passing from the textual problems of *VC* to individual stylistic peculiarities, one may note the use of the accusative alone for place-names after verbs of motion: 'Letauiam properauit ... Gallias redire disponderet', § 6; *Gallias petens*, § 7. The dative of direction is used once: *Balneo se contulit uico*, § 7. These were poetical constructions in Classical Latin;⁸⁸ in prose a preposition was needed with the names of regions. The author seems intentionally to be showing his familiarity with poetical usage.

On one occasion, however, he lapses into employing cases to express relationships which are not inherent in any of their Classical uses: there are two ablatives of doubtful meaning, one apparently expressing agency and the other separation (for which *ab* is strictly needed) in 'locum ... termino Spilucensi diuiditur fundo', § 7, translated 'the place ... divided from the farm of Spiluc by its boundary'.

As regards the use of pronouns, the senses of the demonstrative and reflexive pronouns are kept well separated – another proof of the author's care – and the only slight peculiarity is a pleonastic use of *suus* in § 3: 'amoenitate sua ceteris Britanniae ... locis praestet, montibusque proceritate sua ... ambiatur'.

In the use of prepositions, the only irregularity is the employment of the accusative instead of the ablative after *in* where no sense of motion is present. One of the two cases of its occurrence has already been discussed: 'in regnum Galliarum gladiis [*read gladius*] inebriatus est gentilium', § 11. The other is 'sacrificium in odorem suauitatis immolare', § 1. Here, however, *in* could be understood in a final sense, in which case the accusative would be correct. The author uses *ob*, which grew rare in Late Latin (§ 2), and he shows a liking for *erga* in its Classical, 'friendly' sense, using it in §§ 7 and 8.⁸⁹

There are miscellaneous slight oddities in the use of verbs. One, like the

⁸⁸ Hofmann & Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax*, pp. 49–50 (§ 50.a–b) and 100.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 229–30 (§ 123).

problem in § 9 (discussed above, pp. 86–7) has to do with the absolute use of a verb: *spem apposuit*, § 8, lacks the indirect object which *apponere* normally needs,⁹⁰ and it is possible that some such word as *Deo* or *Domino* has been accidentally omitted hence.

Present participles are occasionally used with past meaning, although this usage is so common in Late Latin that it is hardly remarkable for its rare occurrence here: 'ualedicens abbati ... Balneo se contulit uico', § 7; 'episcopus audiens contagionis simoniaca lepra infectos, ... decreuit ...', § 9. There is one case of a participial phrase having a different subject from the verb on which it depends: 'a quo fauorabiliter exceptus ... tradidit rex inclitus abbati ...', § 11.

There is no irregularity in the use of the infinitive except in one case in which a present infinitive is employed with future meaning: 'sciens talia in futuro ... reuocari', § 8. In the author's use of the gerund, it may be noted that the gerundive in agreement with the object of the sentence occurs twice: 'quem genitores liberalibus studuerunt tradere artibus imbuendum', § 2; *locum ... elegit expetendum*, § 3. In Classical Latin this construction could be used only with certain verbs, of which *tradere* was one but *eligere* was not. Its use in consecutive chapters is a noticeable quirk.⁹¹

With regard to the use of tenses and moods, *VC* contrasts with *GSR* in its regularity. The analytical conjugation does not occur; the use of the present historic is deliberate; all that can be said is that the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive are sometimes used in temporal clauses with conjunctions which do not require them: 'dum preces ad Dominum fudissent', § 3; 'dum suum explicare contenderet iter', § 10; 'postquam ergo gratiarum actiones ... retulisset', § 9.

The vocabulary of the text shows a few rare words and a few words used in unusual senses. Of the former, *orabilis*, an adjective from *orare*, is found only in Priscian's *Institutiones Grammaticae* and the *Notae Tironianae* (§ 8).⁹² *Ornanter*, § 10, appears to be unique to this text and is apparently an adverb manufactured from the present participle of *ornare*, synonymous with *ornate* ('ornately', 'elegantly'); it may be a mistake for the latter. The words employed in unusual senses include *armatus* as a noun in 'cum insuperabili armatorum agmine Letauiam properauit', § 6, a usage paralleled in the *Historiae* of Gregory of Tours.⁹³ *Arx* is given a peculiar use in § 2, 'ecclesiae Venetensis diaconi arcem ... meruit conscendere'. The figurative use of *arx* is rare in itself and does not occur before the Silver Latin period;⁹⁴ a metaphor which used *arx* to signify a rank attained should contain the title of the rank itself rather than that of its holder.⁹⁵ *Conclusi*, from *concludere* ('enclose', 'conclude', or 'demonstrate'), is applied to the

⁹⁰ *Thesaurus*, II.300 (lines 5–30).

⁹¹ Hofmann & Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax*, pp. 371–2 (§ 202.B).

⁹² *Thesaurus*, IX.869 (lines 1–5).

⁹³ *Gregorii Episcopi Turonensis Historia*, edd. Krusch & Levison, p. 116 (III.7).

⁹⁴ *Thesaurus*, II.742 (lines 32–67).

⁹⁵ As in the example quoted in the *Thesaurus* (II.742, lines 50–1): Sidonius, *Epistolae*, VIII.6.1: 'arcem praefectoriam patriciam consularemque ... ascenderet'.

losers of an argument rather than, as might be expected, to the argument itself in §9 '[episcopi] prolatis scripturarum auctoritatibus conclusi ... se ignoranter egisse professi sunt'. It may be an error for *compulsi*. *Gliscere*, 'to blaze up' or 'to grow', is used in a rare figurative sense in 'uerae philosophiae dare operam gliscens', §3; however, there is a Classical parallel in Statius's *gliscis regnare superbus*.⁹⁶ Finally, *sinus* is used in §3 with uncertain meaning: 'locum ... iuxta sinum duorum nobilium fluminum'. The usual geographical sense of *sinus* as 'bay' or 'valley' is inappropriate, as Redon is in fact at the confluence of the two rivers mentioned. The author, knowing no better word, may have been trying to extend the basic meaning of *sinus*, 'curve' or 'hollow', to convey the idea of the land enclosed by the meeting of the rivers.

Duine's characterisation of the style of *Vita Conuuioionis*, 'à la fois barbare et pédant',⁹⁷ seems a trifle harsh. The language is certainly not barbarous by the standards of a remote province in the early Middle Ages, although the occasional outbreak of corruption such as that of the place-names of Louis's grant in §7, *Dutulo scilicet et Undoennensi*, and other examples in individual manuscripts, may put off the casual reader. Pedantic it certainly is, but to the monks of Redon, when it was written, it fulfilled a liturgical need for a stately, universalised saint's Life, as the action-packed *GSR* could not.

⁹⁶ *Thebaid*, III.73; see Lewis & Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, p.817, s.v. This reference is not given in the *Thesaurus*.

⁹⁷ Duine, 'Memento', p. 281.

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GESTA SANCTORUM ROTONENSIIUM

THE ACTS OF THE SAINTS OF REDON

GESTA SANCTORUM ROTONENSIIUM:
PRINCIPLES OF EDITING

Three witnesses are involved in the reconstruction of the text: BC(F), M(P), and N. It has been shown that N is probably the archetype of all the surviving witnesses, but it is impracticable to use N as a base-manuscript, since it now contains less than half the text. BC(F) and M also have disadvantages as base-manuscripts: BC(F) represent an abridged version, and both they and M have numerous small variations, deliberate and accidental, from their exemplars. The solution adopted here is to select the best readings from all three sources – ‘the best’ meaning the fullest, the most grammatically correct, and/or the most in keeping with the author’s style – with the proviso that where N is extant, its readings are preferred except where they are clearly faulty and other witnesses have obvious corrections; and that where N is not extant, and the readings of M and of BC(F) are equal in quality, those of M, the fullest witness, are preferred.

Where M(P) constitute the sole witness, a few emendations have been made to the text: these are in instances where M has a grammatical mistake (resulting from an error of a single letter which could be a misprint) and the mistake is not typical of the author. These emendations are indicated in footnotes. Otherwise, all irregularities of language are retained in the text. Where these result in obscurity of meaning, emendations are suggested in footnotes to the text; they are translated, and are then discussed in footnotes to the translation.

Each manuscript and printed text of *Vita Conuuoionis* and *Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium* has its own inconsistent ‘system’ of spelling. Some account of N’s is given in its manuscript-description (above, p. 21); B, and to a lesser extent C, F, and M, preserve a number of mediaeval spellings (*e* for *ae*, *ci* for *ti*); Morice in P tries to render his spelling more Classical, but frequently hypercorrects (*quotidie*, *caeteri*). The orthography does not seem to help in establishing the text-history, except that now and then B’s and C’s identical distribution of spelling variations – of *hereditas/haereditas* in *GSR*, I.3, and the various spellings of the name *Hypotemius* in II.9 – underlines the already known fact of their derivation from a common source.

In the text given here, spelling is regularised to a Classical standard, in default of any other logical procedure in this case. Where the printed texts give *j*, *v* and *w*, here *i*, *u* and *uu* are used. For proper names, variations in spelling between manuscripts are not noted in the case of the well known names *Carolus*, *Ludouicus*, and the often repeated names *Conuuoion*,

Roton. It may be recorded here that the spelling of these names in the various manuscripts is as follows.

N	–,	Karolus,	Conuuoion,	Roton
B	Lodouicus,	Karolus,	Conuoion/Conuuoion,	Rothon
C	”	”	”	”
F	Ludouicus,	Carolus,	”	”
M	Lodovicus,	Karolus,	Conwoion,	Roton
P	Ludovicus,	Carolus,	Convoion,	Roton/Rothon
D	Ludovicus,	–	Covoionus,	Rothon.

Conuuoion and *Roton* are occasionally declined, the former in either the second or the third declension: such variations are always noted in the apparatus. In the case of other names, all spelling variations are given in the apparatus.

The punctuation of MS. N has been discussed in the manuscript-description (above, pp. 22–7). In the text given here, punctuation has been modernised. Alterations in N alluded to in the apparatus are scribal unless otherwise indicated.

Caret-marks (‘...’) indicate that the matter between them is added above the line in the manuscript. All other signs are explained where they are used.

THE ACTS OF THE SAINTS OF REDON

BOOK ONE

I.1. *How the most blessed Conuuoion sent Louhemel, a suitable and faithful man, to Nominoi the ruler of Brittany*

The psalmist David, outstanding among the prophets, calls on God in his songs, saying: 'Give us help in our trials', and 'Vain is the health of man'. And the same prophet [says], again: 'We shall do valiantly in the Lord, and he himself will bring our enemies to naught'. Throughout this time, when these servants of God were still novices, many enemies threatened them from round about and wished to hinder the holy work which they had begun, and would not allow them to complete it. For the sons of light and the sons of darkness cannot be allied, as Paul the apostle attests: 'There is no meeting of Christ with Belial, nor does the believer have anything in common with the infidel'. And so the most reverend Conuuoion, with the advice of his brothers, chose a suitable, faithful man, Louhemel by name,

<GESTA SANCTORUM ROTONENSIIUM>¹

LIBER PRIMUS²

I.1.³ *Quomodo beatissimus Conuuoion misit Louhemel uirum idoneum atque fidelem ad Nominoe principem Britanniae*⁴

Psalmista⁵ Daud eximius prophetarum in canticis suis Deum postulat dicens: 'Da nobis auxilium de tribulatione, et uana salus hominis',^a et iterum idem propheta, 'In Domino faciemus uirtutem, et ipse ad nihilum deducet inimicos nostros'.^b Per⁶ idem tempus, cum adhuc nouitii erant illi famuli Dei, deterrebant eos per circuitum multi aduersarii, et cupiebant impedire sanctum opus quod inchoauerant, et non sinebant eos perficere. Filii namque lucis et filli tenebrarum non possunt foederari, attestante⁷ Paulo apostolo⁷: 'Non est conuentio Christi ad Belial, neque pars⁸ fideli cum infidele'.^c Elegit itaque reuerendissimus Conuuoion⁹ cum consilio fratrum suorum uirum^{9a} idoneum atque fidelem nomine Louhemel,¹⁰ quia

^a Ps LIX.13.

^b Ps LIX.14.

I.1.

¹ No title BC; *Histoire de la fondation de Redon* F; *De gestis sanctorum Rotonensium Conuuoionis et aliorum libri tres* M; *Actes des Saints de l'Abbaye de Redon* P.

² M; om. BC; *Lib. 1^o* F; *Livre I* P. M continues: *De constructione et dotatione coenobii Rotonensis*.

³ *II* BCM(P); 2 F.

⁴ Title in M only; om. BC(F)P.

⁵ M(P); BC(F) lack opening to *per*.

⁶ BC(F) begin with this word.

⁷...⁷ M(P); *apostolo Paulo* BC(F).

⁸ BM(P); *pax* C(F).

^c II Cor VI.15.

⁹ M; *Conuuoionus* BC(F)P.

^{9a} BC(F); om. M(P).

¹⁰ C(F)M(P); *Louchemel* B.

because he was one of the first brothers, and sent him on an embassy to the ruler Nominoi, who ruled almost all Brittany at that time, originally by the command of the Emperor Louis; afterwards, however, he had taken over the whole province on his own account. And so the venerable Louhemel arrived, and found him in the hall which is called *Botnumel*,¹ and he stood before him and said in front of all who were standing round: 'Abbot Conuuoion with his people has sent me into your magnificent presence, that you might deign to protect and defend them for the love of Christ and for the sake of your soul. For they have chosen a deserted place, and they wish to build and to pray daily to God for your well-being and for the defence of all Brittany, but the wicked *tyranni*² who live round about will not let them, for they neither fear God nor honour man. And they have not gathered there for any reasons of penury, or for any earthly need, but for love of their heavenly home. For Christ says in the Gospel: "If anyone abandons father or mother or children or fields for my name's sake, he will regain it a hundredfold and possess eternal life" '.

At these words, the enemy of God and hater of monks, Illoc, then stood forth and said to the ruler: 'O Lord Prince, do not listen to his words, or pay attention to all his speeches. That place which those frauds have taken over is mine, and is due to me by hereditary right.' Then Nominoi was incensed with exceeding anger, and, transported into a great rage, said to the perfidious man: 'Tell us, enemy of God, whether it is better for the ungodly and robbers to live in that place than priests and monks of God, righteous men who beseech God unceasingly every day for the well-being of the whole world'. And turning to the aforementioned messenger, he said: 'Say, servant of God, who are these priests who have come, as you claim, to that place, and who is this Conuuoion? – in what province, and from what parents, was he born? But tell us fully the names of those priests and their origins as well, so that we may know.' Then the most reverend Louhemel stood steadfastly and began, in front of the ruler and all the people who were standing round, to describe in due order their life and actions, beginning thus: 'Glorious prince, this Conuuoion of whom you ask

et ipse erat unus ex primis fratribus, et transmisit eum in legationem ad Nominoe principem, qui regebat illo tempore ¹¹paene totam ¹¹Britanniam, primitus ex iussione Ludouici imperatoris; postea uero suo arbitrio omnem prouinciam inuaserat. Peruenit itaque uenerabilis Louhemel et reperit eum in aula quae dicitur Botnumel, stetitque ¹²coram eo et dixit coram omnibus qui circumstabant: 'Conuuoion abbas cum suis ¹³me direxit ¹³ad magnificam praesentiam uestram ut digneris protegere ¹⁴et defendere pro Christi amore et pro anima uestra. Elegerunt ¹⁵enim ¹⁶locum desertum ¹⁶et uolunt aedificare, et ibi ¹⁷Deum cotidie ¹⁷postulare pro salute ¹⁸uestra et pro defensione ¹⁹totius Britanniae, sed non permittunt eos mali tyranni, qui in circuitu habitant, quia nec Deum ²⁰metuunt, nec homines ²¹reuerentur. Neque enim pro ulla penuria aut aliqua mundana necessitate illuc congregati sunt, sed propter amorem patriae caelestis. Christus namque in euangelio dicit: "Si quis dimiserit patrem aut matrem aut filios aut agros propter nomen meum, centuplum accipiet et uitam aeternam possidebit" ' .^d Ad haec uerba aduersarius Dei et inuidus monachorum Illoc tunc stetit in medio, et dixit ad principem: 'O domine princeps, ne audias uerba illius, neque attendas ad uniuersos sermones eius. Meus est enim ille locus quem illi seductores occupauerunt, et mihi debetur iure hereditario.' Tunc Nominoe indignatus est ²²furore nimio atque in ira magna conuersus ait ad supradictum perfidum: 'Dic nobis, inimice Dei, numquid melius est utrum in eo loco impii aut latrones habitent quam Dei sacerdotes et monachi, iusti uiri, qui cotidie pro salute totius mundi indesinenter Deum ²³postulant'. Et conuersus ad supradictum legatum ait: 'Dic, homo Dei, qui sunt hi ²⁴presbyteri qui ad illum locum, ut tu asseris, deuenerunt, aut quis est ille ²⁵Conuuoion, ex qua prouincia, aut ²⁶ex qua origine est natus? Sed et nomina illorum presbyterorum aut originem illorum per omnia nobis intimato, ut sciamus.' Tunc reuerendissimus Louhemel erexit se constanter, et coepit, coram principe et coram omni populo qui circumstabant, enarrare per ordinem uitam ²⁷et actus eorum, ita incipiens: 'O gloriose

¹¹ BC(F)M; *totam paene P.*

¹² C(F)M(P); *stetique B.*

¹³...¹³ M(P); om. BC(F).

¹⁴ M(P); om. BC(F).

¹⁵ M(P) – in M the word is placed in square brackets; om. BC(F).

¹⁶...¹⁶ BC(F)M; *desertum locum P.*

¹⁷...¹⁷ M; *Dominum cotidie BC(F); cotidie Deum P.*

¹⁸...¹⁸ BC(F)M; om. P.

¹⁹ BC(F); *salute M.*

²⁰ M(P); *Dominum BC(F).*

²¹ BC(F)M; *hominem P.*

^d Mt XIX.29.

²² M(P); *et BC(F).*

²³ M(P); *Dominum BC(F).*

²⁴ C(F)P; *hii BM.*

²⁵ BC(F); om. M(P).

²⁶ BC(F)M; *et P.*

²⁷ C(F)M(P); *uitae B.*

I.1.

¹ An identification with modern Botmel near Guingamp is suggested by [Chédeville &] Guillotel, *La Bretagne*, p. 232.

² In the Redon cartulary and in the title of I.4 below, the Latin word *tyrannus* is used to translate the Breton title *machtiern*; but here *tyrannus* seems also to have the sense of 'tyrant'; so I have left it untranslated to preserve the ambiguity.

is the son of a certain most noble man named Conon, of the descent of the holy Melanius, bishop of Rennes, from the parish of Comblèsac, of senatorial birth, and he has meditated daily on the holy Scriptures from his boyhood to the present time, and frequently devotes himself to vigils and fasts, or reads, or writes, or works with his hands, but also teaches and advises his brothers unceasingly. He never wishes to have earthly power, but is completely given up to the service of God night and day. For this holy man has read in the Psalms of David, where [the prophet] says: "But his will is in the law of the Lord and on his law he will ponder day and night". And with this saint is a man of venerable life named Uuincalon, and he is born of noble parents, is a well known and faithful friend and valued adviser to Count Rorgon, and was very rich in earthly goods; but he has despised all this for God and for the gain of his soul; also Condeloc, a priest of God, who used to be well loved by Count Wido, and he, too, is

princeps, ille Conuuoion quem quaeris filius cuiusdam²⁸ nobilissimi est uiri nomine Cononi, ex posteritate²⁹ sancti Melanii Redonensis episcopi, de plebe Cambliciaca,³⁰ ex genere senatorio, qui a pueritia usque ad istud tempus in diuinis scripturis cotidie meditatur, sed et uigiliis et ieiuniis frequenter inseruit, aut legit, aut scribit, aut manibus suis laborat, sed et fratres suos incessanter erudit et ammonet. Potestatem uero mundanam numquam habere uult, sed totum³¹ in seruitio Dei die noctuque uersatur. Legerat namque iste sanctus in canticis Dauid ubi ait: 'Sed in lege Domini uoluntas eius³² et in lege eius³² meditabitur die ac nocte'.^e Et cum illo est sancto uir uitae uenerabilis nomine Uuincalon, natusque est ex nobilibus parentibus, Rorgoni³³ comiti ualde notissimus et fidissimus amicus et utilis consiliarius, qui ualde abundabat in mundanis rebus, sed³⁴ haec omnia propter Deum³⁵ et propter lucrum animae suae contempsit, nec non et Condelogus³⁶ Dei sacerdos, qui ualde a Uuidone comite diligebatur, sed

²⁸ C(F)M(P); *cuiusdem* B.

²⁹ BC(F); *potestate* M(P). Mabillon noted, 'Interpolator nescio quis temere substituit *ex posteritate*, quasi Conuuoionis dignitari derogaret, quod natus sit ex loco qui erat *de potestate S. Melanii*, id est S. Melanio seu eius Monasterio subiectus', and went on to note in support of the reading *ex potestate* that the village of Comblèsac did in fact belong to the foundation of St Melanius of Rennes in the ninth century, according to *Vita I S. Melanii* (Plaine, 'Etude comparative'; see also *Cartulaire*, ed. De Courson, App. 1, a charter in which an abbot of St Melanius witnesses a sale of land at the church of Comblèsac in 830). In support of Mabillon's choice of reading is the point that if *potestate* was the original reading of his source, MS N, it is stemmatically the best reading. Against Mabillon's reading is that *ex potestate* is an unusual phrase which in the context must be elliptical, meaning 'from the area ruled by', or a straining of the preposition *ex* to mean 'under the rule of'. It may have been a scribal slip, and the 'interpolator' have been a corrector drawing on the archetype or emending according to Redon house tradition. The claim that Conuuoion was descended from St Melanius might appear contrary to the latter saint's ascetic reputation, but the word *posteritate* could have been intended in a spiritual sense or to refer to a wider relationship with the saint's family, which would have been a desirable claim to make on Conuuoion's behalf. Unfortunately Mabillon's note does not tell us the date or nature of the emendation, and so the choice of reading here must remain uncertain.

³⁰ BC(F)P; *Cambliciaca* M.

³¹ BC(F)M; *totus* P.

³² ... ³² BC(F)M; om. P.

^e Ps I.2.

³³ M(P); *et Rorgoni* BC(F).

³⁴ BM(P); *et* C(F).

³⁵ M(P); *Dominum* BC(F).

³⁶ M; om. BC(F); *Condelogus* P.

wise and learned in holy Scripture. In addition there are two other priests there, one of whom is called³ <Conhoiarn and the other Thetuii>.

I.2. *How the hermit Gerfred instructed the monks of Redon*

At that time there was a certain hermit named Gerfred together with a holy man named Fiduueten in a place called *Silua Uuenoc*¹ in the farthest part of Brittany, and there they gave their efforts to psalms and hymns, fasts and vigils. As they spent their time there in this exercise, one night there came to this holy hermit, Gerfred, a voice from God, saying: 'Rise as fast as you can from this place and go, visit my servants, new untaught monks who are staying in a deserted place and working strenuously with their hands, seeking help from no one else but from God alone. I do not send you to monks who have taverns and the delights of this world, but to my servants who have scorned the world, with its desires, for me and for my words. Go, then, and show them the way by which they may come to me and live according to the Rule.' The hermit, waking up from sleep, repeated all this to his companion Fiduueten, and afterwards came and began to ask where these new monks might be, and what might be this new place which God was to show to him, and he reached the town known as Vannes, and was received there as a guest by a certain nobleman and priest, Uuoretueu by name. And when the holy hermit asked in which region those aforementioned brothers, whom the Lord had deigned to show to him in a vision, were living, the same priest said: 'These brothers whom you seek, I shall tell you all about who they are and where they are. They live in a place called Redon on the River Vilaine, and their head is

³ The words which follow are a conjecture by Mabillon: *Acta Sanctorum*, IV.2, p. 194, n. b.

I.2.

¹ Identified as modern Coet-Wenoc in the *canton* of Loc-Keffred in Poher by De La Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*, II.37.

et ipse prudens et sapiens in scripturis diuinis. Sunt etiam ibi alii duo presbyteri,³⁷ unus qui nominatur...³⁸

I.2.¹ *Quomodo Gerfredus eremita Rotonenses monachos instruxit*²

In illo ergo tempore erat quidam eremita in extremis partibus Britanniae, Gerfredus nomine, in loco qui dicitur Silua Uuenoc,³ una cum sancto uiro nomine Fiduueteno,⁴ ibique psalmis et hymnis, ieiuniis et uigiliis operam dabant. Cumque illuc in tali exercitatione demorarentur, quadam nocte facta est uox ad eundem sanctum Gerfredum eremitam a Deo dicens: 'Surge quantocius ab hoc loco, et uade, uisita seruos meos, rudes monachos in quodam loco deserto commorantes et manibus suis certatim operantes, a nullo alio auxilium nisi a solo Deo postulantes; non ad monachos qui tabernas et delicias huius saeculi habent te transmitto,⁵ sed ad seruos meos, qui mundum cum suo desiderio propter me et propter sermones meos spreuerunt. Vade ergo et ostende eis uiam per quam possint ad me uenire et secundum regulam uiuere.' Ille uero a somno euigilans retulit haec omnia Fiduueteno⁶ collegae suo, atque exinde uenit et coepit quaerere⁷ ubinam essent illi monachi nouelli et⁸ quis esset⁸ ille locus nouitius qui sibi⁹ a Deo esset⁹ demonstratus, et¹⁰ peruenit ad ciuitatem quae uocatur Venetia, ibique receptus est hospitio a quodam clarissimo uiro¹¹ atque presbytero¹¹ nomine Uuoretueu.¹² Cumque requireret sanctus eremita in qua prouincia degerent illi supradicti fratres quos Dominus¹³ dignatus esset sibi per uisionem reuelare, ait illi^{13a} praefatus presbyter: 'Fratres quos quaeris, ego tibi per omnia intimabo¹⁴ qui sunt et ubi sunt.¹⁴ Ecce habitant in loco qui dicitur Roton super

³⁷ BC(F) end the chapter here.

³⁸ M ends the chapter here, and suggests the supplement *Conhoiarnus et alter Thetuius* in a footnote; P gives *Conhoiarnus et alter Thetuius* in the text.

I.2.

¹ III BCM(P); 3 F.

² Title in M only.

³ M(P); *Uuennoc* BC(F).

⁴ M(P); *Fiduuetheno* BC(F).

⁵ BC(F); *transmitte* M(P).

⁶ M(P); *Fiduuetheno* BC(F).

⁷ M(P); *inquirere* BC(F).

⁸ ...⁸ M(P); om. BC(F).

⁹ ...⁹ B(F)M; *esset a Deo* P; *a Deo* C.

¹⁰ M(P); om. BC(F).

¹¹ ...¹¹ M(P); om. BC(F).

¹² M(P); *Uuorethueu* BC(F).

¹³ M(P); *Christus* BC(F).

^{13a} BC(F)M; *ille* P.

¹⁴ ...¹⁴ BC(F); om. M(P).

called Conuuoion, admirable in virtue, who was brought up and educated with us in this town, and is excellently versed in holy Scripture. There are other illustrious men with him, too, who had great power and wealth and honours in this world; but they have despised it all for God's sake.' Hearing this, he was filled with great joy and asked the priest if he would provide him with one of his servants, who could guide him to the said place. Then the venerable man most generously fulfilled everything. Finally, next day, he arrived at the place shown to him by God. When all these things were told to the most reverend Conuuoion with his brothers, they went out to meet him and led him to the monastery, praising God, and there he stayed with them for nearly two years, leading the [regular] life and instructing them most fully. After that he returned to his monastery, to the house which is called Saint-Maur on the River Loire. Wisdom speaks through Solomon, saying: 'Brother helping brother is like a strong and well fortified city'. And the apostle James says: 'He who makes the sinner turn from the error of his ways will save his soul from death, and cover a multitude of sins'.

I.3. *The illness and cure of the machtiern¹ Ratuuili*

The apostle James counsels us in his letter, saying: 'If any of you becomes ill, let him bring priests of the Church to see him, and let them pray for him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord, and if he is in sin, it will be forgiven him'. Now at that time the venerable Ratuuili fell sick with a grave illness, so that the doctors gave up hope of his living any longer. When he realised this, he ordered his people to take him on a litter to the holy place of Redon with his son, Liberius by name. They, with great weeping and wailing, obeyed the command of their lord, and he was taken

I.3.

¹ See I.1, note 2 to translation.

fluuium Visnoniae, et primus eorum uocatur Conuuoion, uirtute uenerabilis, qui in hac ciuitate nobiscum fuit educatus et nutritus, et optime in scripturis sanctis est eruditus. Suntque alii uiri praeclari cum illo, qui in hoc saeculo potentiam magnam et diuitias et honores habuerunt, sed haec omnia propter Deum¹⁵ contempserunt'. Haec ille audiens magno gaudio est repletus, rogauitque eundem presbyterum ut accommodaret¹⁶ sibi unum¹⁶ de famulis suis qui eum usque ad locum supradictum deduceret. Tunc uenerabilis uir omnia libentissime impleuit. Sequenti denique die peruenit ad locum sibi a Deo reuelatum. At ubi reuerendissimo Conuuoion simul cum fratribus ista omnia nuntiata fuissent, obuiam ei perrexerunt, et cum Dei laude eum ad monasterium perduxerunt, ibique cum eis¹⁷ per duos ferme annos uitam ducens atque plenissime eos instruens remansit.¹⁸ Postea uero ad cenobium suum est reuersus, in monasterium quod dicitur sancti Mauri iuxta fluuium Ligeris.¹⁹ Sapientia per Salomonem loquitur dicens: 'Frater fratrem adiuuans²⁰ quasi ciuitas firma et munita ualde'.^a Et Iacobus apostolus dicit: 'Qui conuerti fecerit peccatorem ab errore uiae suae, saluabit animam eius a morte, et operiet²¹ multitudinem peccatorum'.^b

I.3.¹ *De infirmitate et curatione Ratuuili tyranni²*

³Iacobus apostolus in epistola sua nos admonet, dicens: 'Infirmitur aliquis uestrum, adducat presbyteros ecclesiae, ut⁴ orent pro eo, unguentes eum oleo in nomine Domini, et si in peccatis sit, dimittentur ei'.^a Illo⁵ igitur tempore aegrotauit uenerabilis Ratuuili⁶ in infirmitate graui, ita ut desperaretur a medicis ulterius uiuere. Quod ille cernens, iussit populo suo ut deducerent⁷ eum in lecto ad sanctum locum Rotonensem cum⁸ suo filio,⁸ nomine Liberio. Illi uero cum planctu et eiulatu magno compleuerunt

¹⁵ M(P); *Dominum* BC(F).

¹⁶ ...¹⁶ M(P); *unum sibi* BC(F).

¹⁷ BC(F); *eis [mansit]* M; *eis mansit* P.

¹⁸ BC(F); om. M(P).

¹⁹ BC(F) omit the rest of the chapter.

²⁰ M; *iuuans* P.

^b Iac V.20.

^a Iac V.14-15.

²¹ P, Vulgate; *operit* M.

I.3.

¹ IV BCM(P); 4 F.

² Title in M only.

³ BC(F) lack opening quotation.

⁴ M; *et* P.

⁵ M(P); *in illo* BC(F). BC(F) resume with these words.

⁶ M(P); *Ratuulus* BC(F).

⁷ BC(F); *ducerent* M(P).

⁸ ...⁸ M(P); *filio suo* BC(F).

to the monastery. Hearing this, the most reverend Abbot Conuuoion and his disciples ran to meet him, and brought him with them to the monastery, and he was put down in the church of the Holy Saviour; the brothers surrounded him in a circle, praying to God for him unceasingly. That same day, also, Ratuuli asked the holy Conuuoion to tonsure him and to shave his hair and beard. He fulfilled all this and tonsured him, and he was made a cleric. After he had been made a cleric, that same day, he offered his son Liberius, to serve Almighty God in the same place, with a donation; still more, he made over part of his inheritance to the same holy place and completed [the act] solemnly by making a charter, and gave to the Holy Saviour and his monks the estate called Binon with the other small habitations grouped around it. In another parish, called Sixt, too, he likewise handed over to the Holy Saviour and to his monks there serving the Lord, the estates called Arguignac² and *Moetchar*,³ with all their appendages as they adjoin them; and he stayed in the same monastery for a number of days, and recovered from the illness, and was made well by the prayers of the holy men. Then he returned to the world; and, going back to his home, making peace among his sons and dividing his inheritance among them, finally returning to the monastery, he gave instructions for his tomb to be prepared in it, and so he was laid with his fathers. On the sixth day before the Ides of January he rested in Christ. Amen.

Seeing this done, his son Catuoret also did as his father had done, giving his own son to God in the monastery, and also gave part of his inheritance, which was accounted to him by hereditary right, to the Holy Saviour and his monks, for himself and for his son as his own father had given his. Catuoret himself did not remain long in this life afterwards, but died, and his body was taken into the monastery and laid in his father's tomb. At his example many pious men and nobles gave their sons to God in the same place at this time. Also, high priests, who held great power in this world, came to the same holy place, spurning the world with its pomps and desires, wishing to be poor in this life, that they might be rich in the next life with Christ. Thus the servants of God were increased, so much so that their number grew every day, and a fair-sized company formed, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles: 'For the hearts and souls of the multitude

² This identification is uncertain: Planiol, *Histoire*, II.7. For these grants see *Cartulaire*, ed. De Courson, nos 3 and 4.

³ Unidentified.

praeceptum domini sui, deductusque est ad monasterium. Quod audiens reuerendissimus Conuuoion abbas, simul cum discipulis suis obuam ei cucurrit et ad monasterium secum adduxit, positusque est in ecclesia sancti Saluatoris, circumdederuntque eum fratres in circuitu, pro eo Dominum incessanter postulantes.⁹ In illo autem die rogauit supradictus Ratuuli¹⁰ sanctum Conuuoion uirum et eum tonderet, et comam eius et barbam raderet. At ille omnia impleuit, et eum totondit, factusque est clericus. Postquam autem clericus effectus est,¹¹ ipso¹² die obtulit filium suum Liberium ad seruendum Deo omnipotenti in eodem loco cum oblatione, sed et partem hereditatis suae ad eundem sanctum locum delegauit et facta carta sollemniter impleuit, tradiditque sancto Saluatori et suis monachis uillam quae dicitur Binnon cum ceteris uillulis quae in circuitu eius manent, sed et in alia plebe quae dicitur Siza ita tradidit sancto Saluatori et suis monachis ibi Deo seruientibus uillas quae appellantur Erchiniac et uillam¹³ *Moetchar*¹⁴ cum omnibus appendiciis earum, sicut adiacent; mansitque in eodem¹⁵ monasterio per plures dies, conualuitque de infirmitate, et sanus effectus est per orationes sanctorum uirorum. Deinde ad saeculum est reuersus, et ad suam domum rediens, pacem inter¹⁶ suos filios¹⁶ faciens et hereditatem suam¹⁷ inter illos¹⁷ diuidens, demum ad monasterium reuertens, mausoleum suum inibi¹⁸ praecepit praeparari, sicque appositus est ad patres suos: .vi. idus Ianuarias in Christo quieuit. Amen. Quod factum cernens filius eius Catuoret, sicut fecerat pater eius, sic et ipse fecit, tradens filium suum Deo in monasterio, nec non et partem hereditatis suae, quae ei computabatur iure hereditario, tam pro se quam pro filio suo tradidit sancto Saluatori et suis monachis, sicut tradiderat pater eius. Nam et ipse Catuoret non multo tempore postea¹⁹ in hac uita mansit, mortuusque est, et corpus illius allatum est in monasterio, positumque est in cimeterio patris sui. Ad cuiusdem²⁰ exemplum eodem tempore multi religiosi uiri atque nobiles tradiderunt filios suos Deo in eodem loco. Sed et sacerdotes magni, qui potestatem magnam in hoc mundo obtinebant, ad eundem sanctum locum uenerunt, mundum spernentes cum desideriiis et pompis suis, cupientes in hac uita esse pauperes ut in altera uita cum Christo forent diuites. Sicque aucti sunt serui Dei, ut cotidie cresceret numerus illorum, ita ut fieret congregatio non modica,²¹ sicut in actibus Apostolorum legitur: 'Multitudinis autem

⁹ M(P); *deprecantes* BC(F).

¹⁰ M(P); *Ratuili* B; *Ratuilus* C(F).

¹¹ M(P); *est, in* BC(F).

¹² BCM(P); *illo* F.

¹³ BC(F)M; om. P.

¹⁴ M(P); *Moetcar* BC; *Moetran* F.

¹⁵ BCM(P); *eo* F.

¹⁶ ...¹⁶ BFM; *filios suos* CP.

¹⁷ ...¹⁷ BC(F); om. M(P).

¹⁸ BM(P); *ibini* C(F).

¹⁹ M(P); *in monasterio* BC(F).

²⁰ BM(P); *eiusdem* C(F).

²¹ BC omit the rest of the chapter; F omits everything up to and including the words *ante omnia* (see note 22).

of believers were one'. And to this day they gather there who serve Christ worthily, possessing nothing of their own, wanting no one's gains, since those who hope in the Lord shall lack no good thing, so that what is written is truly fulfilled in them: 'There is great peace for those who love thy law, Lord, and there is no obstacle to them'. Wonderful charity, great austerity, the utmost humility shines forth there, chastity above all. And I think it as well to subjoin a little about the name of the place and about its ways. Truly it is called *Roton* by a fitting derivation of the name, since it blossoms with varied beauty in the manner of buds.⁴ Here the forest's roof of leaves, here the manifold fruits of the trees; there the richest possible ploughland gives pleasure, the meadows green with grass; elsewhere the sweet-smelling flowers of the gardens, the stems of vines abound; all is irrigated by waters everywhere; excellent is the grassland, providing its beneficent harvest, suitable for the pasture of flocks; now the sea, rising, belches forth, now the vigour of the waters flows returning to its bed. The routes for ships are convenient; scarcely anything is lacking⁵ which can be supplied by land-vehicles, horse-drawn wagons, and boats. There the soldiers of Christ stand in battle-order, where they groan and sigh in longing for Paradise, as the Lord says in the Gospel: 'Blessed are you who weep now, for you will laugh afterwards'; and elsewhere, 'Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven'. The same Lord promises to his faithful: 'Behold, I am with you every day until the end of the world'.

I.4. *The thief called Uurbri*

Now at the same time a certain peasant named Uurbri, seeing the beehives, of which there were only four in the monastery-garden, snatched one of them criminally by theft in the night, and, after that, walking around all night, driven out of his mind, he could not lift it off his shoulders. When morning came the monks came out to work in the garden, and there was the same thief: he came into the middle of them carrying the hive of bees

⁴ Possibly the author thought that *Roton* was derived from Greek *ροδον*, 'rose'.

⁵ For convenience I translate *indigens*, an active participle with an unexpressed subject (probably Redon itself is to be understood), as an impersonal verb.

credentium erat cor unum et anima una'.^b Sed et usque hodie ibi conueniunt, qui digne Christo deseruiunt, nihil habentes proprium, nullius egentes compendium, quia sperantes in Domino non deficient omni bono, ut uere in eis impleatur quod scriptum est: 'Pax multa diligentibus legem tuam, Domine, et non est illis scandalum'.^c Caritas ibidem fulget mira, abstinentia magna, humilitas summa, castitas ante omnia. Nam²² et de nomine loci et de actu eius, ut reor, melius est pauca perstringere. Vere digna etymologia nominis Roton nuncupatur, quia diuerso uernat more gemmarum decore: hinc frondium coma siluestris, hinc multiplices arborum fruges, illinc placet uberrima tellus, istinc uirentia prata graminibus, hinc hortorum odoriferi flores, hinc uinearum abundant butriones; cuncta undique aquis irrigata,²³ inclita coespis pastui pecorum congrua rediens frugem laetiferam; nunc ascendens mare eructat, nunc ad sinum rediens aquarum impetus manat; compendia nauium apta; nihil paene indigens ex eo quicquid²⁴ ministratur uehiculis pedestribus, plaustres equinis etiam atque ratibus. Ibi adstant in acie milites Christi, ubi suspirantes pro desiderio paradisi gemunt,²⁵ dicente Domino in Euangelio: 'Beati qui nunc fletis, quia postea ridebitis'.^d Sed et in alio loco: 'Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt iustitiam, quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum'.^e Nam et fidelibus suis idem Dominus promittit dicens: 'Ecce ego uobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem saeculi'.^f

I.4.¹ *De fure qui uocabatur Vorbri*²

Eodem namque tempore quidam uir rusticus³ Uurbri nomine, uidens uasa mellis, quae quatuor tantum erant in horto monasterii, unum ex⁴ eis uiolenter per noctem furto arripuit, et exinde gradiens per totam noctem demens effectus non potuit de collo excutere. Mane uero facto perrexerunt monachi ut hortum exercerent, et ecce idem fur uenit in medio eorum,

^b Act IV.32.

^c Ps CXVIII.165.

²² F resumes with this word.

²³ M(P); *inrigatur* F.

²⁴ MF; *quidquid* P.

²⁵ F omits the rest of the chapter.

^d Lc VI.21.

^e Mt V.6, V.3.

^f Mt XXVIII.20.

I.4.

¹ V BCM(P); 5 F.

² Title in M only.

³ L begins with this word: the letters and words italicised are missing from L through physical damage.

⁴ BC(F)M; om. P.

on his shoulder. Asked by them where he had come from and where he was going, he at once confessed the theft he had committed, and then said to them: 'This hive which I am carrying on my shoulder, yours it was and yours it will be. For I took it secretly last night and wanted to hide it in my home, but I could not get it off my shoulders. So I beg your holiness to take back what is yours and let me go away unharmed.' They, giving thanks to God, took back with great faith what the thief had taken away, but they repaid that thief well, giving him food and drink with their thanks. For the power of our Lord Jesus Christ did not fail in this happening – he who protects and guards his servants so well whether by day or by night, as the Psalmist says: 'The sun shall not burn you by day, nor the moon by night'. And the same prophet says in another place: 'Unless the Lord guards the city, they watch in vain who guard it'.

I.5. *The envious Illoc restrained and the dumb Iouuoret cured*

The Devil always bears malice towards those who serve our Lord Jesus Christ and keep his commandments. He himself said: 'If the world hates you, know that it has hated me before you'. When at last the fame of their holiness was spreading daily far and wide in the ears of the people, there arose a certain malicious man, Illoc by name, who wanted to oppose and destroy the place where they lived, and who entered into a plot with his kinsmen who lived around them, and told them to throw [the monks] out or to kill them. Meanwhile, as these things were being planned and prepared, it chanced that a certain tenant, who farmed his land well, called Iouuoret, went out to his field one day with his plough and oxen, and was suddenly paralysed and struck dumb, nor was he able to bring forth a single word with his own tongue or move his own feet one step. However, he made signs to his people as well as he could with nods and grunts that they should carry him on their shoulders to the aforementioned far-famed

ferens uas apum super humerum suum, interrogatusque⁵ ab eis unde ueniret⁶ aut quo pergeret, ille uero confessus statim furtum quod fecerat, tunc ait illis: 'Istud uas quod super collum fero, ⁷uestrum fuit et uestrum erit. Ego namque praeterita nocte furto⁷ abstuli et uolui in domo mea recondere, sed non potui de collo meo excutere. Propterea obsecro uestram sanctitatem ut recipiatis quod uestrum est et me sinatis illaesum abire.' Illi uero Deo gratias agentes receperunt cum magna fide quod fur detulerat;⁸ sed illum furem bene remunerati sunt, dantes illi cibum et potum cum gratiarum actione. ⁹Nam et in hoc factum non defuit uirtus domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui taliter famulos suos protegit atque custodit, siue in die, siue in nocte, dicente psalmista: 'Per diem sol non uret te, neque luna per noctem'.^a Et alio loco idem propheta ait: 'Nisi Dominus custodierit ciuitatem, frustra uigilant qui custodiunt eam'.^b

I.5.¹ *De Illoc inuido represso et Iouuoret muto sanato*²

Semper³ diabolus⁴ inuidus est colentibus atque facientibus mandata domini nostri Iesu Christi. *Ipse* namque ait: 'Si mundus uos odit, scitote quia *me* priorem uobis odio habuit'.^a Denique⁵ cum fama sanctitatis eorum longe lateque per aures populi cotidie spargeretur, exstitit quidam inuidus, *Illoc nomine*, qui uolebat aduersari atque destruere locum habitationis *eorum*, qui *consilium iniit cum propinquis*, qui in *circuitu eorum commanebant*, et *mandauit illis ut eiicerent eos foras, aut interficerent*. Interea dum haec cogitantur atque praeparantur, *accidit ut quidam uir colonus*, qui *terram suam bene colebat, nomine Iouuoret*, quadam die *ad campum pergeret cum aratro et bobus*; et statim *paralyticus atque mutus effectus est, nec ualuit ullum sermonem lingua propria elicere, nec propriis pedibus gressum mouere*. *Annuebat tamen quantum poterat suis nutibus atque mugitibus ut ad supradictum ⁶famosissimumque locum⁶ in humeris deferretur*,

⁵ C(F)M(P); *interrogatusque est* BL.

⁶ BC(F)M(P); *uenit* L.

^{7...7} BC(F)M(P); om. L.

⁸ BCLM; *retulerat* F; *abstulerat* P.

⁹ BC(F) omit the rest of the chapter.

^a Ps CXX.6.

^b Ps CXXVI.1.

I.5.

¹ VI BCM(P); 6 F; no number L.

² M; *paralyticus curatur* L; no title BC(F)P.

³ BC(F) lack the opening quotation, to *habuit*.

⁴ The italicised words and letters are missing from L due to physical damage.

^a Io XV.18.

⁵ BC(F) resume here.

^{6...6} BC(F)M(P); *locum famosissimum* L.

place, and he was put on a stretcher and taken to the monastery by his friends. When the monks heard this, they poured out prayers to the Lord for him without pausing. The same night, he was taken to the basilica of the Holy Saviour, the basilica in which many wonders have been shown by the Lord, as those who have seen them with their own eyes have told us. Then, when the dawn of the day was brightening, and the monks were singing matins and praising God with one voice, they had reached the psalm which is called 'God, my God, I watch for you from first light', and as soon as this psalm was begun by the monks, he was at once made well, giving thanks to God, blessing God with his own tongue and running to the sacred altar on his own feet, and praising God with a loud voice. Afterwards this man, putting aside his own name, asked to be called Libertinus, and so he was called Libertinus (Freedman) by many till the day he died, because the Lord freed him from his illness through the prayers of his servants. Then on the same day that he was cured, Libertinus went out with the brothers and with his own hands roofed a cell, in which the sacred offerings were kept. For from that day till the day of his calling he persevered in one accord with them. When the aforementioned malicious Illoc with his fellow-schemers heard of this miracle, they were struck with exceeding terror, and from that day they in no way dared to plot evil against the servants of God. As the Apostle says: 'There is no counsel, there is no prudence, or strength, or any wisdom against God'.

impositusque est⁷ grabato atque ab amicis delatus monasterio.⁸ Quod monachi audientes, incessanter ad Dominum fuderunt preces pro eo. Proxima uero nocte deductus est ad basilicam sancti Saluatoris, in qua basilica multae uirtutes a Domino sunt ostensae, sicut nobis intimauerunt qui⁹ oculis propriis⁹ uiderunt. Cum autem aurora diei¹⁰ claresceret et monachi matutinas psallerent et Dominum¹¹ una uoce laudarent, uentum est ad illum psalmum qui appellatur, 'Deus, Deus meus, ad te de luce uigilo'.^b Vt autem hic psalmus inchoatus est a monachis, ille¹² statim sanus¹³ effectus est,¹³ gratias¹⁴ Deo agens, propria lingua Deum¹⁵ benedicens, atque pedibus suis ad sanctum altare currens, Deumque¹⁶ magna uoce laudans. Postea uero ille uir proprium nomen amittens Libertinum se uocari praecepit, et sic a multis usque ad diem mortis suae Libertinus est uocitatus,¹⁷ quia¹⁸ Dominus per orationem¹⁹ seruorum suorum²⁰ liberauit eum²¹ ab infirmitate sua. Tunc Libertinus, ipso die quo sanatus est, cum fratribus perrexit, et cellulam, in qua sancta pignora tuebantur, manibus suis cooperuit. Nam ex illo die usque ad diem uocationis suae cum eis iugiter perseuerauit. Quod miraculum inuidus supradictus Illoc audiens cum consiliariis suis, nimio timore sunt perculsi, nec ausi sunt ab illo die usquam malum contra²² seruos Dei machinari. Apostolus namque ait: 'Non est consilium, non est prudentia, neque fortitudo, neque ulla sapientia contra Deum'^{23, c}

⁷ BC(F)L; om. M(P).

⁸ BC(F)LM; *ad monasterium* P.

⁹...⁹ BCM(P); *propriis oculis* F; *oculis suis propriis* L.

¹⁰ BLM(P); *Dei* C(F).

¹¹ BC(F)M(P); *Deum* L.

^b Ps LXII.2.

¹² BC(F)M(P); *ille paralyticus* L.

¹³...¹³ BLM(P); *est effectus* C(F).

¹⁴ LM(P); *et gratias* BC(F).

¹⁵ LM(P); *Dominum* BC(F).

¹⁶ LM(P); *Dominumque* BC(F).

¹⁷ BC(F)LM; *uocatus* P.

¹⁸ BC(F); *et LM*(P).

¹⁹ The letters and words in italics are missing from L through physical damage.

²⁰ BC(F)L; om. M(P).

²¹ L adds *et curauit*.

²² L breaks off after this word.

²³ M(P); *Dominum* BC(F).

^c Prv XXI.30.

I.6. *The demise of the tyrannus¹ Hincant*

But, as we said earlier, the devil is ever malicious. For he wishes us ill, and ill indeed, sometimes by himself, sometimes through his members, that is, through evil men, as the devil is the head of all the wicked. He placed himself, then, into the heart of a certain thoroughly bad and worthless man who was called Hincant. This Hincant was the nephew of the Illoc whom we mentioned before. It happened that at almost the same time as that malicious Illoc used to harass the saints of God, this man came to the monastery and sent messengers to the abbot, the holy man of God, saying to them: 'Tell your abbot that I have come for this reason: for the abbot to buy for me a sword worth five *solidi*, and if he does not do it, I shall go away and be as troublesome to him as it is in my power to be'. Conuuoion the servant of God is said to have given them this answer: 'Know, dearest brothers, that as God is my witness, not only can I certainly not give him five *solidi* for his sword today, I cannot even lay my hands on five farthings now'. The messengers, returning, told all this to the *tyrannus* Hincant. He, leaving the holy place at once with many threats and many arrogant words, crossed the river Oust. When he reached the farther bank of the river, by the will of God Almighty he was struck in the foot on the spot, so that he ended his life three days later in agony from the amazing blow, not remembering the words of our Lord Jesus Christ where he says: 'Fool, this night your soul is required of you, and who will have what you have prepared?'

I.6.

¹ See I.1, note 2 to the translation.

I.6.¹ *De interitu Hincanti tyranni²*

Igitur, sicut superius diximus, diabolus semper inuidus est.³ Inuidet namque et uere inuidet, aliquando per seipsum, aliquando per sua membra, id est per malos homines, quia diabolus ⁴caput est⁴ omnium iniquorum. Immisit namque se in cor cuiusdam hominis pessimi atque nequissimi qui dicebatur⁵ Hincant. Sed et ipse Hincant nepos erat illius Illoc quem superius memorauimus. Accidit namque paene eo tempore quo solitus fuerat ille inuidus Illoc sanctos Dei iniuriare, eum ad monasterium uenire et nuntios ad sanctum Dei uirum abbatem misit, dicens eis: 'Dicite abbati uestro: propterea⁶ ueni, ut emat mihi abbas gladium ualentem quinque solidos, quod si non fecerit, ego discedam, et quantum ualuerero illi perniciosus ero'. Conuuoio⁷ uero Dei seruus tale fertur illis ⁸dedisse responsum:⁸ 'Scitote, carissimi fratres, sicut et mihi Deus testis est, quia hodie penitus non solum quinque solidos non possum pro gladio ei tribuere, sed etiam uel⁹ quinque nummos in mea ditone modo nequeo obtinere'. Reuersi uero nuntii narrauerunt haec omnia Hincanto¹⁰ tyranno. Ille uero multum comminans, et multa uerba cothurnica¹¹ dicens, statim ex loco sancto exiens, Huldorem¹² fluium pertransiit. Cumque ripam ¹³ulterius fluminis¹³ attigisset, nutu Dei omnipotentis ilico in pede percussus tertia die incredibili plaga uitam cum tormentis finiuit, non recordans sermonis domini nostri Iesu Christi, ubi ait: 'Stulte, hac nocte animam tuam repetunt¹⁴ a te, quae autem parasti, cuius erunt?'^a

I.6.

¹ VII BCM(P); 7 F.

² Title in M only.

³ BC(F)M; om. P.

⁴...⁴ BC(F)M; est caput P.

⁵ M(P); dicebatur nomine BC(F).

⁶ M(P); propterea ad hoc BC(F).

⁷ M(P); Conuuoion BC(F).

⁸...⁸ BCM(P); responsum dedisse F.

⁹ M(P); et BC(F).

¹⁰ BC(F)M; Hinganto P.

¹¹ BM(P); contumacia C(F).

¹² BC(F)M; Uldorem P.

¹³...¹³ BC(F)M; fluminis ulterius P.

¹⁴ M(P); repetent BC(F).

^a Lc XII.20.

I.7. *The slaying of Risuueten and Tredoc*

The chosen vessel and teacher of the Gentiles, the apostle Paul, speaks to all the faithful, saying: 'All who wish to live piously in Christ suffer persecution for the sake of righteousness'. And our Lord Jesus Christ himself said to his disciples in the Gospel: 'If they have persecuted me, they will persecute you also; but have faith, for I have conquered the world'. So one day when the holy and venerable man Abbot Conuuoion had gone with the venerable man named Prior Louhemel to his church which is called Bains, on the monastery's business, and there had discussed the cases and quarrels of men among themselves and decided rightly between them, suddenly a certain malicious *tyrannus*¹ named Risuueten appeared. He was another of the evil-wishers who grudged the holy place its happiness. When this schemer stirred up the many quarrels among them even more, the holy men said: 'It is not convenient to decide among ourselves today; let us fix another time, in which time we can have either peace or a check'. The schemer answered them with abuse and arrogance: 'If it seems right to you, give me back my inheritance, which you are holding unjustly and without legal right; or if you do not want to give back my inheritance, at least make over to me the farm called *Losin*² and give me a good horse, suitable for me, and a breastplate. If you will not fulfil what I ask, I tell you that I will do as much harm to you and your men as I can.' To these words the holy and venerable Abbot Conuuoion replied: 'We cannot comply with what you have said, because we may not give to any man the land of the Holy Saviour, which is consecrated to him, for it was given by kings to the monks to feed and clothe them. And we cannot

I.7.

¹ See I.1, note 2 to translation.

² Perhaps modern Lézin, on the Vilaine, 10km. east of Redon.

I.7.¹ *De interfectione Risuueten et Tredoc*²

³Vas electionis et doctor gentium Paulus apostolus cunctis fidelibus alloquitur,⁴ dicens: 'Omnes qui pie uolunt uiuere in Christo persecutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam'.^a Nam et ipse dominus noster Iesus Christus in euangelio⁵ suis discipulis⁵ dixit: 'Si me persecuti sunt, et uos persequentur: tamen confidite, quia ego uici mundum'.^b Quadam⁶ itaque die cum sanctus et uenerabilis uir nomine⁷ Conuuoion abbas pro causa monasterii una⁸ cum uenerabili uiro nomine Leuhemelo⁹ praeposito pergeret¹⁰ ad ecclesiam suam quae nuncupatur Bain, ibique¹¹ et discussissent causas et iurgia uirorum inter seipsos¹² et bene inter eos ordinassent, repente adfuit quidam tyrannus atque inuidus nomine Risuueten.¹³ Nam et ipse ex inuidis erat,¹⁴ qui sancti loci felicitatem inuidebant. Cumque nimis inter se¹⁵ multa iurgia¹⁵ ille perfidus incitaret,¹⁶ sancti uiri dixerunt:¹⁶ 'Non est conueniens, ut hodie inter nos disceptemus, sed constituamus tempus, in quo tempore aut¹⁷ pacem habeamus aut scandalum'. Quibus ille perfidus respondit cum iurgio et superbia: 'Si uobis rectum uidetur, reddite mihi hereditatem meam, quam iniuste et sine lege possidetis; sin autem non uultis hereditatem meam mihi reddere, saltem uel uillam illam quae dicitur Losin mihi accommodate, et equum optimum¹⁸ mihi que aptum, sed et lorica date. Si haec quae dico non uultis implere, denuntio uobis quia quantum praeualuero et uobis et uestris hominibus nocebo.' Ad haec uerba sanctus et uenerabilis abbas Conuuoion respondit: 'Haec uerba quae tu loqueris non possumus implere, quia terram sancti Saluatoris, quae illi consecrata est, nulli homini debemus dare, quia ad uictum et ad uestimentum monachorum a regibus illis est data. Nam neque equum optimum possumus

I.7.

¹ XII BC; 12 F; VIII M(P).

² Title in M only.

³ BC(F) omit the opening quotations to *mundum*. See note 6.

⁴ M; loquitur P.

^a II Tm III.12.

^b Io XV.20, XVI.33.

⁵ ...⁵ M; *discipulis suis* P.

⁶ BC(F) resume with this word.

⁷ M(P); om. BC(F).

⁸ M(P); *et utilitate* BC(F).

⁹ BC(F)M; *Lehumelo* P.

¹⁰ M(P); *pergerent* BC(F).

¹¹ A gap follows this word in BC(F); [*essent*] M; *essent* P.

¹² M(P); *semetipsos* BC(F).

¹³ M(P); *Risuueten* BC(F).

¹⁴ BM(P); *erant* C(F).

¹⁵ ...¹⁵ BC(F)M; *iurgia multa* P.

¹⁶ BM(P); *sancti uiri* C; *dixerunt sancti uiri* F.

¹⁷ BC(F)M; *et* P.

¹⁸ BM(P); om. C(F).

find a good horse or a breastplate, because it is not our custom to use these weapons; but if it suits you we will find twenty *solidi* from others, since we have not got them ourselves. Take them and buy a war-horse with them.' And so it was done. Then the schemer returned to his property; at the same time, the monks returned to the monastery.

The next day, there, again, the *tyrannus* came to the monastery according to his claim to ask for the *solidi* which the venerable abbot had promised. Then the most pious Conuuoion gave him – in cash, indeed³ – twenty *solidi*. But when the schemer had them in his hand, he prophesied as follows, saying: 'What good is it to me if I take them away with me? They will be no use to me but only disgrace.' And at once he left the holy place. As he was setting out on his way, there came another schemer called Tredoc to meet him and said to him: 'Where are you coming from, you confirmed dog? Have you been selling our inheritance to those frauds? What kind of a price did you get for it? Tell me! It will not be so: when I find the right time I shall cut all those scoundrels' throats and throw their corpses into the sea.' The first said in reply: 'You speak falsely: I have not sold your inheritance and I have not accepted a price from them, but only taken an oath and a vow to them on the Gospels'. The miserable wretch thought of an oath on the Gospels as nothing, and so they parted from one another. A short time after this had happened, King Charles set his whole army in motion; for he thought that he could seize the whole of Brittany by arms and create battles and divisions of men and bring the whole province under his power. But when Erispoi, who then ruled Brittany, heard of all this, he too ordered his army to be got ready, and he commanded that everyone should be prepared and go before him across the River Vilaine. At once all the Bretons rose from their homes. Then also those two schemers Risuueten and Tredoc hurried out with them, for they thought that they would seize loot and capture weapons and armour, and they had quarters in a farm called *Iencglina*⁴ near the church of the holy apostle Peter. And when they had stayed there for three or four days, the Franks

³ Translating *per nummos*, emended from *per numeros*. The phrase *per numeros* could be translated as 'to the number of', but such an expression is nowhere attested, and *numeros* could be explained as the result of the scribe of the common source of the surviving versions mistaking an abbreviated *nummos* (*num̄os*) for an abbreviation for *numeros* (*num'os*).

⁴ Identified as Jengland-Beslé, 4km. north-west of Le Grand Fougeray and 5km. east of the Vilaine, by Lot, 'Vivien et Larchamp', pp. 263–6.

inuenire, neque loriam, quia non est noster usus his armis indui. Sed si tibi placet, uiginti solidos ab aliis inueniemus, quia nos non habemus: hos¹⁹ accipe et caballum de²⁰ eis eme.' Quod ita factum est. Tunc ille perfidus ad sua propria est reuersus, similiter et monachi ad monasterium sunt reuersi. Altera uero die ecce iterum ille tyrannus ad monasterium secundum suum placitum uenit repetere²¹ solidos, quos²² sponderat²³ uenerabilis abbas. Tunc piissimus Conuuoion abbas²⁴ reddidit ei etiam per numeros²⁵ uiginti solidos. Ille uero perfidus, cum²⁶ in manu eos²⁶ haberet, ita prophetauit dicens: 'Quid mihi prodest, si eos mecum abstulero? Non erunt mihi in adiutorium, sed in opprobrium.' Et statim a sancto loco discessit.²⁷ Cumque iter pergeret, ecce alius perfidus nomine Tredoc obuiam ei aduenit, cui et dixit: 'Unde uenis, inueterate canis? Num hereditatem nostram illis seductoribus uendidisti, aut quale pretium ab eis accepisti? Indica mihi. Non ita erit, sed quando tempus inuenero, omnes seductores illos iugulabo, et cadauera eorum in mare praecipitabo.' Ille uero respondens ait: 'Falsum tu loqueris: nec hereditatem tuam uendidi, nec pretium ab eis accepi, sed tantummodo sacramentum atque iuramentum euangelii illis feci'. Pro nihilo enim²⁸ ille miserrimus ducebat sacramentum sancti²⁹ euangelii, et ita ab inuicem discesserunt. His ita gestis, paruo interuallo facto, Carolus rex commouit uniuersum exercitum suum. Putabat enim quia posset totam³⁰ Britanniam armis capere, et strages et sectas³¹ hominum facere, et totam prouinciam in sua dominatione perducere. At ubi Erispoe, qui tunc Britanniam regebat, haec omnia audiuit, iussit et ipse exercitum suum praeparari, et mandauit ut omnes parati essent et praeirent eum ultra Visnoniae fluuium. Statim³² cuncti Britones³² a sedibus suis surrexerunt. Tunc et illi duo perfidi Risuuetenus³³ et Tredoc una cum eis properauerunt. Putabant enim quod spolia diriperent, et arma et uestes caperent, habueruntque hospitium in uilla quae uocatur Iencglina³⁴ prope ecclesiam sancti Petri apostoli. Cumque ibi

¹⁹ N begins with this word; *hos* BC(F)MN; *hoc* P.

²⁰ BC(F)MN; *ab* P.

²¹ BC(F)M(P); *repente* 'repetens' N.

²² BC(F)N; *quos ei* M; *quos eis* P.

²³ BC(F)N; *sponderat* N; *sponderat* M(P).

²⁴ BC(F)MN; om. P.

²⁵ BC(F)M(P)N; read *num*<*m*>*os*?

²⁶...²⁶ BCM(P)N; *eos in manu* F.

²⁷ BC(F)N; *recessit* M(P).

²⁸ BC(F)N; om. M(P).

²⁹ BC(F)MN; om. P.

³⁰ BC(F)MN; *uniuersam* P.

³¹ M(P); BC(F) leave a space; *sec[...]*N (rest of word missing through physical damage).

³²...³² BC(F)MN; *Britones cuncti* P.

³³ BM(P)N; *Risuuetenus* C(F).

³⁴ C(F)N; *Iencglina* BM(P).

suddenly attacked during the night and laid waste the whole estate. When they heard this the two hid themselves in the barn of some poor man, under the straw, and lurked there just as the five kings once hid in the cave, fleeing before the face of Joshua. And as the Franks surrounded the farm, one of the people said to them: 'If you are looking for the Bretons, there they are hiding in the straw'. So they went to the barn in a swift rush and found them hiding, and killed them at once with drawn swords and threw their bodies down in the farmyard and put their heads somewhere else. Then it was fulfilled what was spoken through the prophet, saying: 'He who digs a pit for his neighbour will be the first to fall into it'. For they had plotted to kill the holy monks of God, but could not, because God in heaven is their protector. Blessed in all things is God, who has sent the wicked to perdition. After this happening, the holy man (Conuuoion) was told that those schemers had been beheaded, and he sent messengers to seek out his money. There was a man called Beatus, a prudent and honest man of the parish which is called Peillac. When he heard that the venerable Conuuoion was looking for his *solidi*, he came to him and asked: 'What are you looking for? Have you found your money, which you gave to that criminal Risuueten?' The other answered, 'I have not found it'. At that the man brought the coins out of his pocket and gave them back to the most reverend man; and the prophecy of that aforementioned schemer was fulfilled, when he had said that 'these *solidi* are no use to me but only disgrace'. Thus Caiaphas the high priest of the Jews once said that it was expedient that one man should die for the people, so that the whole nation might not perish, and did not indeed say this of his own accord, but because, when he was high priest, he began to prophesy about Christ, since Jesus was to die for the salvation of all the world.

mansissent per³⁵ tres aut quatuor dies, ³⁶subito irruerunt³⁶ Franci per noctem et uastauerunt totam uillam. Quod illi audientes, absconderunt se in area³⁷ cuiusdam pauperis sub paleis, ibique latuerunt, sicuti quondam latuerunt quinque reges in spelunca a facie Iosue fugientes. Cumque³⁸ uero Franci uillam circumdarent, unus e populo ait illis: 'Si Britones quaeritis, ecce latitant in paleis'. Illi uero concito gressu ad aream pergunt, ibique eos⁴⁰ latitantes reperierunt,⁴¹ eductisque gladiis statim eos trucidauerunt et corpora eorum in plateis proiecerunt, et capita seorsum posuerunt. Tunc adimpletum est ⁴²quod dictum⁴² est per prophetam dicentem: 'Qui fodit foueam proximo suo, primus incidit in illam'.^c Illi namque cogitauerunt trucidare sanctos Dei monachos, sed non potuerunt, quia⁴³ Deus caeli ⁴⁴defensor eorum⁴⁴ est. Per omnia benedictus Deus, qui perdidit⁴⁵ impios. Post hoc factum nuntiatum est sanctissimo⁴⁶ uiro quod decollati essent illi supradicti⁴⁷ perfidi, misitque nuntios ad perquirendos⁴⁸ nummos suos. Et erat quidam uir nomine Beatus, uir prudens et iustus in plebe quae uocatur Poliac. Ut autem audiuit quia uenerabilis Conuuoion requireret solidos suos, uenit ad eum et dixit ei: 'Quid quaeris? Vtrum reperisti nummos tuos, quos dedisti iniquo Risuueteno?'⁴⁹ Ille autem respondens dixit: 'Non inueni'. Statim ille uir retulit nummos de sinu suo et ⁵⁰reddidit reuerendissimo uiro, et impleta est propheta superius perfidi, ubi⁵⁰ ait, quia 'non in adiutorium mihi, sed in opprobrium sunt isti solidi',⁵¹ sicuti⁵² quondam Caiphas pontifex Iudaeorum dixit, quia expediret unum hominem mori pro populo, ne tota gens periret. Hoc autem a seipso⁵³ non dixit, sed quia cum pontifex esset, coepit prophetare de Christo, quia Iesus pro saluatione totius mundi esset moriturus.

³⁵ BM(P)N; om. C(F).

³⁶...³⁶ BM(P)N; *irruerunt subito* C(F).

³⁷ BNP; *arca* C(F)M.

³⁸ BC(F)N; *cum* M(P).

⁴⁰ BCM(P)N; om. F.

⁴¹ BC(F)N; *reperiunt* M(P).

⁴²...⁴² BC(F)MN; *dictum quod* P.

^c Sir XXVII.29.

⁴³ Word missing from N through physical damage.

⁴⁴...⁴⁴ BC(F)N; *eorum defensor* M(P).

⁴⁵ The first three letters of this word are missing from N through physical damage.

⁴⁶ N ends here.

⁴⁷ BC(F)M; *uiri* P.

⁴⁸ C(F)M(P); *perquirendum* B.

⁴⁹ M(P); *Risuueteno* BC(F).

⁵⁰...⁵⁰ BC(F)M; om. P.

⁵¹ BC(F) omit the rest of the chapter, but add the words *Sed iste liber finiri desiderat, ne lectori fastidium sit.* (In BC[F] this chapter is placed at the end of Book I.)

⁵² M; *sicut* P; om. BC(F).

⁵³ M; *semetipso* P; om. BC(F).

I.8. *The first journey of the holy Abbot Conuuoion to the Emperor Louis*

The Saviour of the human race spoke to his disciples saying: 'Give to Caesar what is Caesar's, and to God what is God's'. Likewise the apostle Peter admonishes us in his epistle, saying: '... Whether it be to the king as supreme...', and St Paul teaches similarly, saying, 'Tribute to whom it is due, honour to whom it is due'. The venerable Conuuoion was prevailed upon by these words, and he set out for the palace of the Emperor Louis, who was at that time leading an army which was then stationed at the royal residence in *Cadrio monte*¹ in the province of Aquitaine, in the land of Limousin. And when he stood before the Emperor he begged him for the mercy of God to give him protection and the above-mentioned holy place, Redon by name; and [he told him] how he could encourage the religious life in the same place among the holy brothers there dedicated to God. To these words Count Ricowinus and Bishop Rainarius, who in those days were opponents and enemies of the holy monks who wished to offer up their souls stainless to God in that holy place, answered and said to the Emperor: 'We pray you, Lord Augustus, not to listen and not to heed their words, for the place for which they are asking, in it your kingdom can be strengthened and upheld'. When he (the Emperor) heard this he was greatly enraged and began saying: 'Throw them out of our presence, for they shall not by any means get what they ask from us today'. At once the saint of God, Conuuoion, was thrown with his people out of the Emperor's presence. Though he was sorrowful at heart, in spirit he still trusted in God. At last, with great difficulty, he reached his own little cell, and there found the brothers sorrowing, for they were weakened by his absence and in doubt, not knowing what had happened to him. But that holy man, kindly, and with a calm expression, brought them to recollection, saying,

I.8.

¹ Unidentified.

I.8.¹ *De prima profectioe sancti Conuuoionis abbatis ad Ludouicum imperatorem*²

Saluator humani generis discipulos suos³ alloquitur dicens, 'Reddite^{3a} quae sunt Caesaris Caesar et quae sunt Dei Deo';^a similiter et Petrus apostolus in epistola sua nos admonet dicens, 'Sive regi quasi praecellenti';^b nec non et Paulus similiter docet dicens, 'Cui tributum, tributum; cui honorem, honorem'.^c His sermonibus exhortatus est uenerabilis Conuuoion, perrexitque ad palatium Ludouici imperatoris, qui tunc temporis⁴ exercitum ducebat in prouincia Aquitaniae, in territorio Limodiae, qui tunc consistebat in palatio in Cadrio monte. Cumque ante imperatorem exstitisset, rogauit eum pro Dei misericordia, ut daret ei adiutorium et locum commemoratum sanctum nomine Rotonum, et quomodo in eodem loco uitam posset propagare cum sanctis fratribus ibidem Deo mancipientibus.⁵ Ad haec uerba respondit Ricouuinus comes, nec non et Rainarius pontifex, qui in illis diebus erant contrarii atque aduersarii sanctis monachis qui uolebant in sancto supradicto loco animas suas immaculatas Deo reddere, dixeruntque ad imperatorem: 'Quaesumus te, domine Auguste, ne attendas et ne audias sermonem eorum, quia locum quem quaerunt, in eo potest⁶ regnum uestrum⁶ confortari et⁷ roborari.' Cumque ille audisset, indignatus est uehementer, et coepit dicere: 'Eiicite eos a praesentia nostra, nam hodie quod petunt⁸ a nobis nullo pacto⁸ recipient'. Statim sanctus Dei Conuuoion cum suis eiectus est a conspectu imperatoris. Licet erat moerens corde, spiritu tamen in Deo confidebat semper. Tandem cum magna difficultate peruenit ad⁹ suam propriam⁹ cellulam, ibique fratres inuenit¹⁰ moerentes, nutati¹⁰ enim erant de abscessu eius et dubii nesciebant,¹¹ quid ei euenisset. Ille uero sanctus uir benigne et placido uultu^{11a} eos admonuit^{11a} dicens: 'Bonum est sperare in Domino quam

I.8.

¹ VIII BC; 8 F; IX M(P).

² Title in M only.

³ BC(F); om. M(P).

^{3a} BC(F)M; redde P.

^a Mt XXII.21.

^b I Pt II.13.

^c Rm XIII.7.

⁴ BC(F); om. M(P).

⁵ BC(F)M; mancipientis P.

⁶ M(P); uestrum regnum BC(F).

⁷ M(P); ac B; atque C(F).

^{8...8} BM(P); nullomodo a nobis C(F).

^{9...9} BM; propriam suam C(F); propriam P.

^{10...10} M(P); plorantes, nudati BC(F).

¹¹ M(P); uiuebant BC(F).

^{11a...11a} BC(F)M; admonuit eos P.

'It is better to trust in the Lord than to trust in princes'. In another place the Prophet also says: 'In God we shall do valiantly, and he will bring our enemies to nothing'.

I.9. *The second journey of the same abbot to the palace of Tours*

Our Lord and Saviour speaks in the Gospel, saying: 'Blessed are those who suffer persecution for the sake of right, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven'. And again, the Lord says: 'You will have oppression in the world, but have faith, for I have conquered the world'. And the Psalmist proclaims in his songs: 'Many are the tribulations of the just, and the Lord has delivered them from all these'. Likewise, the apostle Paul [says] in his letter: 'For I think that the sufferings of this time are not worth comparing to the future glory which will be revealed to us'. Again the holy and venerable Abbot Conuuoion sought out the palace of the Emperor Louis, who was in Tours at the time, and he arrived at the king's palace together with a venerable man named Cumdeluc. Apart from them, there had come other noblemen of Brittany for various causes and interests of their own. When he wished to speak to the Emperor and offer him a gift, he was immediately thrown out of his presence as he had been thrown out before, and he returned to his lodging and said to his brother Cumdeluc: 'The Lord has not yet opened the heart of the Emperor to grant us anything, for the heart of the king is in the hand of God. But you, dearest brother, go quickly to the market and sell the wax we brought for the Emperor.' And when he had set off to the market, suddenly, at the Devil's bidding, an *apodix*, that is, a harlot, came across him and gazed at the saint of God brazen-faced, saying to him, 'Where have you come from, dearest friend, where have you been hiding all these years? Tell me! Are you not that

sperare in principibus'.^{d 12} Et in alio loco propheta ait: 'In Deo faciemus uirtutem et ipse ad nihilum rediget inimicos nostros'.^e

I.9.¹ *De secunda profectioe eiusdem abbatis ad palatium Turonense²*

³Dominus et Saluator noster loquitur in euangelio, dicens: 'Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam, quoniam ipsorum est regnum coelorum'.^a Et iterum Dominus ait: 'In mundo pressuram habebitis, sed confidite, quia ego uici mundum'.^b Et psalmista in canticis suis ita pronuntiauit, dicens: 'Multae tribulationes iustorum, et de omnibus his liberauit eos Dominus'.^c Similiter et Paulus apostolus in epistola sua: 'Existimo enim quod non sunt condignae passionis huius temporis ad futuram gloriam quae reuelabitur in nobis'.^d Iterum⁴ sanctus ac⁵ uenerabilis Conuuoion abbas expetiit palatium Ludouici imperatoris, qui in illis diebus Turonis aderat, peruenitque supradictus uir una cum uenerabili uiro nomine Cumdeluc ad palatium regis. Superuenerant⁶ enim et alii nobiles uiri de Britannia pro diuersis causis atque utilitatibus suis. Cumque uellet loqui cum imperatore et munus ei offerre, ilico deiectus est a praesentia eius,⁷ sicut deiectus prius fuerat, reuersusque est⁸ ad hospitium suum dixitque⁹ confratri suo Cumdeluc: 'Nondum aperuit Dominus cor imperatoris ut daret aliquid nobis, quia cor regis in manu Dei est. Tu uero, carissime frater, festinanter perge ad nundinas et uende ceram quam attulimus imperatori.' Cumque abiisset ad mercatum, subito instigante diabolo reperit eum una apodix, id est, meretrix, et procaci uultu sanctum Dei adspexit, cui et dixit: 'Vnde uenis, amice carissime, ubi per tot annos latuisti? Indica mihi! Nonne tu es ille meus seruus, et ego tua domina?

¹² BC(F) omit the rest of the chapter.

^d Ps CXVII.9.

^e Ps LIX.14.

I.9.

¹ IX BC; 9 F; XM(P).

² Title in M only.

³ BC(F) omit the opening quotations.

^a Mt V.10.

^b Io XVI.33.

^c Ps XXXIII.20.

^d Rm VIII.18.

⁴ BC(F) resume here.

⁵ BCM; et FP.

⁶ BC(F)M; *superuenerunt* P.

⁷ BM(P); *sua* C(F).

⁸ BC(F); om. M(P).

⁹ BC(F)M; *dixit* P.

slave of mine and I your mistress? Remember how we were brought up in the same home and the same family. My mother often used to wash your head and we often used to lie in the same bed.' When the holy man heard these devilish words, he instantly blushed, and his face was turned a variety of colours. But when the harlot wished to drag him to her lodging by force, the Lord willing, some priests from the monastery of St Martin, who had known him well before, came upon them, and they saved him from her clutches; and they berated that harlot with great indignation, so that she would never dare to do such a thing to the saints of God again, and so the man of God was set free from the snare of the Devil. And so the saints of God returned sorrowfully to their monastery, having found nothing of what they had sought from the Emperor. As Wisdom says: 'The fire tests the potter's vessel and trials and temptations righteous men'. And Paul says: 'Only he who competes fairly gains the prize'.

I.10. *The coming of Noinoi to the monastery and the journey of the abbot to Thionville*

When the people of the Lord were oppressed with the heavy yoke of slavery by Pharaoh in Egypt, the Lord appeared in the bush to holy Moses and spoke to him, saying these words: 'I have beheld and seen the affliction of my people in Egypt, and have heard their cry, and now I have come down to set them free. Go therefore to Pharaoh and say to him: "Thus says the Lord: let my people go, that they may sacrifice to me in the wilderness".' Also the apostle Paul advises us thus, saying: 'There is no power but from God: the powers that be are ordained of God, and he who resists the powers, resists the ordinance of God'. In those days, then, when the venerable man of God Conuuoion with his brothers were giving themselves

Recordare ergo quomodo nutriti sumus in una domo et in una familia. Frequenter namque abluit genetrix mea caput tuum, et saepe in uno stratu iacimus.' Cumque ille sanctus haec uerba diabolica audisset, statim erubuit, et uultus eius in diuersis coloribus mutatus est. Cum uero uellet illa meretrix per uim trahere eum ad suum hospitium, annuente Domino superuenerunt quidam sacerdotes de monasterio sancti Martini, qui eum bene ante¹⁰ nouerant, et rapuerunt eum de manibus eius, et cum multa indignatione obiurgati sunt illam meretricem, ne ulterius auderet talem rem facere in sanctos Dei, et ita liberatus est uir Dei de laqueo diaboli. Et sic reuersi sunt sancti Dei afflicti ad suum monasterium, nihil inuenientes quod quaerebant ab imperatore.¹¹ Sapientia namque ait: 'Vas figuli probat fornax et homines iustos tentatio atque tribulatio'.^c Et Paulus ait: 'Non coronabitur nisi qui legitime certauerit'.^f

I.10.¹ *De aduentu Noinoe ad monasterium, et de profectioe abbatis ad Theodonem uillam²*

³Cum populus Domini grauissimo iugo seruitutis opprimebatur a Pharaone in Aegypto, apparuit Dominus sancto Moysi in rubo, affatusque est eum his uerbis dicens: 'Videns uidi afflictionem populi mei, qui est in Aegypto, et gemitum eorum audiui, et nunc descendi ut liberem eos. Vade ergo ad Pharaonem et loquere ei: 'Haec dicit Dominus: dimitte populum meum, ut sacrificet mihi in deserto'.^a Sed et Paulus apostolus ita nos admonet, dicens: 'Non est potestas, nisi a Deo: quae autem sunt, a Deo ordinatae sunt, et qui resistit potestati, ordinationi Dei resistit'.^b In⁴ diebus ergo⁵ illis, cum uenerabilis uir⁶ Conuuoion cum fratribus suis manciparet⁷

¹⁰ BC(F)M; om. P.

¹¹ BC(F) omit the rest of the chapter.

^c Sir XXVII.6.

^f II Tm II.5.

I.10.

¹ X BC; 10 F; XI M(P).

² Title in M only.

³ BC(F) omit the opening quotations.

^a Ex III.7, 10; V.1.

^b Rm XIII.1.

⁴ BC(F) resume here.

⁵ BCM(P); uero F.

⁶ BC(F)M; uir Dei P.

⁷ BC(F)M; manciparet P.

up to divine offices and devoting their labour to vigils and fasts, it was then that Nominoi the governor of Brittany came to visit the holy place as he had promised before, and he came with his nobles. When the venerable Conuuoion heard this, he went out to meet the governor with his brothers, and received him honourably escorting him with hymns and praise; and that day Nominoi was gladdened with great joy, and comforted the holy men of God, and promised them that he would be their benefactor all the days of his life, and commended himself to their prayers. That day the same Nominoi gave a quarter of the parish of Bains to the Holy Saviour and his monks for the soul of the Emperor Louis, and in order that he himself might gain a reward for the gift from the Lord; and he told the abbot to go at once to the same Emperor with his messenger, called Uuoruuoret. So the venerable Conuuoion set out again to the Emperor Louis, who was then staying at Thionville. And at that time Bishop Hermor and also Bishop Felix were in the king's palace. As soon as Hermor heard his (Conuuoion's) business and his needs, he was glad, and told the king all about him. Then the Lord changed the heart of the Emperor, and he spoke to him kindly, and what Nominoi had done pleased him, and he not only gave to the holy man that holy place, together with the whole parish of Bains, but he also gave another parish called Langon to the Holy Saviour and his monks in perpetual alms for his soul and for the wellbeing of his sons and for the peace of all christendom, as long as this present age should last. And he gave him orders concerning the holy place of Redon and the above-mentioned parishes, and ordered them to be sealed with his ring in the sight of all who were staying at the palace, and gave notice of the action to the governor Nominoi through his envoy Uuoruuoret, saying: 'No one is to cause them trouble in any matter, and let no one dare to disturb those who pray to God daily for the safety of the king and his sons and for the peace of the whole world'. So the venerable Conuuoion returned to his monastery, and related to the brothers all that he had done, and how the Lord had changed the Emperor's heart towards him in his benefaction. And they, thanking God, all together with one voice, blessed God who saves those who hope in Him, and from that day onwards, strengthened in faith, they flourished more and more in God, and grew daily in the love of Christ, despising the world, cleaving to the true God. For Christ speaks in the Gospels, saying:

diuinis officiis et⁸ uigiliis ac⁹ ieiuniis operam darent,¹⁰ eo tempore uenit Nominoe princeps Britanniae locum sanctum uisitare sicut prius¹¹ pollicitus fuerat, uenitque cum optimatibus suis. At ubi audiuit uenerabilis Conuuoion simul cum fratribus suis perrexerunt obuiam principi, susceperuntque eum honorifice deducentes cum laudibus et hymnis; gaususque est¹² Nominoe illo die¹² gaudio magno, consolatusque est sanctos Dei uiros, promisitque¹³ se eis¹³ benefacturum omnibus diebus uitae suae, et commendauit se orationibus eorum. In illo die tradidit supradictus Nominoe quartam partem plebis Bain sancto Saluatori et suis monachis pro anima Ludouici imperatoris, ita tamen ut ipse haberet mercedem donationis a Domino, praecepitque abbati ut statim pergeret ad supradictum imperatorem una cum misso suo nomine Uuoruuoret, profectusque est iterum uenerabilis Conuuoion ad Ludouicum imperatorem, qui tunc morabatur in Teotone¹⁴ uilla. Eo namque tempore erat Hermor episcopus simul et Felix episcopus in palatio regis. Statim autem ut audiuit Hermor causas et necessitates eius, gausus est, intimauitque regi omnia de eo. Tunc immutauit Dominus cor imperatoris, et locutus est¹⁵ benigne, et placuit ei quod Nominoe fecerat, et non solum illum tradidit sanctum locum sancto uiro, insuper etiam totam plebam Bain, sed et aliam plebem nomine Lancum¹⁶ tradidit sancto Saluatori et suis monachis in elemosina sempiterna pro anima sua et pro incolumitate filiorum suorum et pro pace totius christianitatis, quamdiu hoc praesens saeculum durauerit. Fecitque ei praeceptionem de sancto loco Rotonensi et de plebibus supradictis, atque annulo suo signare iussit, uidentibus cunctis qui in palatio commorabantur, et mandauit hoc factum Nominoe principi per Uuoruuoret legatum suum, ita dicens: 'Nemo sit eis molestus in ulla¹⁷ re, nec¹⁸ audeat quisquam eos inquietare, qui Deum cotidie postulant pro incolumitate regis et filiorum eius, et pro pace totius orbis'. Reuersus est ergo uenerabilis Conuuoion ad monasterium suum, retulitque fratribus cuncta quae gesserat, et quomodo immutauerat Dominus cor imperatoris super eo in benefacto suo. Illi uero¹⁹ gratias Deo¹⁹ agentes in commune Deum²⁰ una uoce benedixerunt qui saluos facit sperantes in se, atque ex illa die in fide confortati magis ac magis in Deum proficiebant, crescebantque cotidie in caritate Christi, mundum spernentes, Deo uero adhaerentes.²¹ Christus namque loquitur in

⁸ FM(P); ac BC.

⁹ BCM(P); et F.

¹⁰ BC(F)M; daret P.

¹¹ M(P); om. BC(F).

¹²...¹² BCM(P); illo die Nominoe F.

¹³...¹³ BCM; eis se FP.

¹⁴ M(P); Teodone BC(F).

¹⁵ BC(F)M; est ei P.

¹⁶ C(F)M(P); Lancun B.

¹⁷ BC(F)M; illa P.

¹⁸ BC(F)M; non P.

¹⁹...¹⁹ BC(F)M; Deo gratias P.

²⁰ M(P); Dominum BC(F).

²¹ BC(F) omit the rest of the chapter.

'Ask and it shall be granted to you, seek and you shall find, knock and it shall be opened to you. For all who ask, receive; all who seek, find, and those who knock are let in.' And in another place the Lord himself says: 'Do not be anxious saying, what shall we eat, or what shall we drink, or what shall we wear? For your Father in heaven knows what you need.'

I.11. *The fourth journey of the aforementioned abbot to the Emperor*

The teacher of the Gentiles in faith and truth, the apostle Paul, speaks thus: 'All who wish to live piously in Christ suffer persecution'; and again, 'We have to enter the kingdom of God through many trials'. In the time of the Emperor Louis a conflict arose between the Franks and the Bretons. For the Franks wanted to occupy the whole of Brittany by force, as they had been accustomed to do in the past; but the most valiant governor Nominoi opposed them as much as it was in his power to do. At this time the same Nominoi sent his messengers to the same Emperor, who would tell him whether this was so by his will. Hearing this, the venerable Abbot Conuuoion went with them to the palace called Aachen. For there was a certain count called Gonfred who hoped to take possession of the whole region of Vannes on the authority of the Emperor. He had heard that the Emperor had given the consecrated place of Redon to the holy man Conuuoion and his monks who served God in the same place; so he began to abuse them and threaten them, as he did not want these saints of God to live in the place. And the venerable Conuuoion stood before the Emperor and beseeched him, saying: 'Consent, consent to speak with your poor servant'. And the Emperor, by the consent of God, did indeed stand still, feeling remorse, and said: 'Speak brother, as much as you wish'. Conuuoion at once showed him the charter which he had given him, and

euangelio dicens: 'Petite et dabitur uobis, quaerite et inuenietis, pulsate et aperietur uobis.'²² Omnis enim qui petit, accipit; et qui quaerit, inuenit; et pulsanti aperietur.'^{22 c} Nam et in alio loco ipse²³ Dominus ait: 'Nolite solliciti esse, dicentes, quid manducabimus, aut quid bibemus, aut quo operiemur? Scit enim pater uester coelestis, quid uobis necesse sit.'^d

I.11.¹ *De quarta profectioe supradicti abbatis ad imperatorem²*

³Doctor gentium in fide et ueritate Paulus apostolus alloquitur dicens: 'Omnes qui pie uolunt uiuere in Christo persecutionem patiuntur';^a et iterum, 'Per multas tribulationes oportet nos intrare in regnum Dei'.^b In⁴ tempore igitur Ludouici imperatoris discordia facta est inter Francos et Britones, nam Franci uolebant per uim totam Britanniam occupare, sicut antea solebant facere, sed fortissimus princeps Nominoe, quantum facere⁵ ualebat, illis contradicebat. Tunc eodem tempore transmisit supradictus Nominoe legatos suos ad eundem imperatorem, qui ei dicerent utrum ex iussione illius haec ita essent. Quod audiens uenerabilis Conuuoion abbas,⁶ simul cum eis⁷ perrexit ad palatium uocabulo Aquis. Exstiterat enim quidam comes, nomine Gonfredus, qui sperabat totam prouinciam Venetiae ex iussione imperatoris possidere. Audierat enim quod imperator dedisset locum sacratum Rotonensem Conuuoiono sancto uiro et suis monachis in eodem loco Deo seruientibus. Qui coepit obiurgare eos et minas imponere eis, quia nolebat, ut illi sancti Dei locum habitarent. Stetitque uenerabilis Conuuoion ante imperatorem, deprecatusque est eum dicens: 'Concedite, concedite loqui cum seruulo uestro'. Imperator uero nutu Dei compunctus stetit, et sic⁸ ait: 'Loquere, frater, quantum uis'. Ille statim⁹ ostendit ei praeceptum quod ipse dederat, et subintulit: 'Non

²²...²² M; om. P.

^c Mt VII.7-8.

^d Mt VI.31-32.

²³ M; om. P.

I.11.

¹ XI BC; II F; XII M(P).

² Title in M only.

³ BC(F) omit opening quotations to *Dei*.

^a II Tm III.12.

^b Act XIV.21.

⁴ BC(F) resume with this word.

⁵ BC(F); om. M(P).

⁶ M(P); om. BC(F).

⁷ BC(F)M; *illis* P.

⁸ M(P); om. BC(F).

⁹ BM(P); *uero* C(F).

explained: 'We cannot live in peace, O Augustus, in the place which you have given to your servants; no, the whole company of the monks is unable to remain there, unless you help them further'. To this the Emperor replied: 'What is your request, or what do you want me to do for you?' The most reverend Conuuoion at once revealed his request. And so it came about that he received what he had asked for. For that very day the Emperor Louis gave Abbot Conuuoion the parish which is called Renac and another small parish named Brains, and another small parish which is named Arzon,¹ as they border on all their bounds, for the kingdom of God and for the prosperity of his rule to the end of this age. But now this book needs to be brought to a close, to avoid weariness to the reader.

I.11.

¹ On these grants see *Cartulaire*, ed. De Courson, App. 6 and 9; on the identifications, Planiol, *Histoire*, II.8.17, 18.

possumus, o Auguste, in loco quem dedisti famulis tuis quiete uiuere, sed multitudo monachorum non possunt illic habitare, nisi eos amplius adiuuaueris'. Imperator ad haec¹⁰ respondit: 'Quae est petitio uestra, aut quid desideratis ut faciam uobis?' Illico reuerentissimus Conuuoion ostendit petitionem suam, sicque factum est ut quod petierat obtineret. Illo uero die dedit Ludouicus imperator abbati Conuuoiono plebem quae dicitur Rannac, atque aliam plebiculam¹¹ quae uocatur Placia,¹¹ nec non et aliam plebiculam¹² quae nuncupatur Ardon,¹² sicut adiacent cunctis finibus suis, pro regno Dei et prosperitate imperii sui usque ad finem saeculi.¹³ Sed et iste liber finiri desiderat, ne lectori fastidium sit.

¹⁰ BM(P); hoc C(F).

¹¹...¹¹ M(P); quae nuncupatur Ardon BC(F).

¹²...¹² M(P); quae uocatur Placia BC(F).

¹³ BC(F) omit the final sentence (see I.7, note 51).

Preface

Thus far the first book, which we have briefly touched upon, about the site and building of the holy place; but now, with the help of our Lord Jesus Christ, I will move on to discuss and describe the life and ways of the holy monks who served God faithfully in the same most sacred place to the end of their lives. I do not wish to expound the life of the saints with high-flown prose or the sham of dialectic; to this passing world holy simplicity has been of more value than learned cunning. From the beginning God chose not eloquent philosophers, or fluent rhetoricians, but untaught fishermen, to save the world by their teaching, and instructed them, saying, 'Go into all the world and preach the Gospel to all creatures'. These words were said not to Virgil, or to Cicero, or to the most wise Homer, but to St Peter the fisherman. This, dear brothers, I have said for this reason, that none of you should despise my stupidity, particularly as I knew these holy men well, who brought me up from my boyhood and taught me in the knowledge of God. And to strengthen your faith and love in the Lord Jesus Christ, I must not hide what I saw and heard from them. For it was a custom of old for emperors or their soldiers, whenever they fought against an enemy, to consign it to writing and annals at once, so that they would not be consigned to oblivion. How much more ought we now to set down in writing the struggles of holy men who battled unceasingly night and day with the invisible enemy! And considering these things I am surprised that we are not ashamed to veil the victories of Christ's soldiers in silence, and not, for the glory of their commander, rather commit at once to humble parchment how they fought against invisible enemies and conquered them, and unfold it painstakingly for the encouragement of the souls of those who are in the battle. And when these things are read, the memory of the saints is evoked, edification of the mind is provided for the faithful, honour is shown to the monks. From this arises fear for the faithless, envy for unbelievers, distress for the undisciplined; only the devil wails at all the saints rejoicing with God, as he sees his battle being beaten down with celestial weapons to this point, that they (the saints) have fought strongly and unceasingly to the death against the same devil. Indeed only for this have they died, that they might give life to mortals, offer a remedy to the

*Praefatio*²

Hactenus liber primus, quem de situ et constructione sancti loci breuiter perstrinximus; nunc autem opitulante domino nostro Iesu Christo adgrediar disputare et scribere uitam et conuersationem sanctorum monachorum qui in eodem sacratissimo loco usque ad finem uitae suae fideliter Christo Domino mancipauerunt. Non enim cothurnico sermone aut fuco dialecticae uitam sanctorum uolo disserere; maxime namque saeculo pereunti sancta rusticitas quam docta calliditas profuit. Nec philosophos eloquentes, nec rhetores disertissimos, sed piscatores indoctos Deus ab initio elegit, qui mundum sua doctrina saluarent, quibus praecepit, dicens: 'Euntes in mundum uniuersum, praedicate Euangelium omni creaturae'.^a Non enim Maroni, aut Ciceroni, aut sapientissimo Homero haec dicta sunt, sed sancto Petro piscatori. Haec enim, fratres carissimi, propterea dixi, ne quis spernat ex uobis meam insipientiam, cum praesertim illos uiros sanctos bene nouerim, qui me a pueritia nutrierunt atque in scientia Dei educauerunt. Nec debeo reticere quae ab eis uidi uel audiui ad confirmandam uestram fidem atque caritatem in Domino Iesu Christo. Mos enim antiquitus fuit, ut si quando imperatores uel milites eorum cum aduersariis confligerent, statim litteris atque annalibus traderent, ne obliuioni traderentur. Quanto magis nunc debemus certamina sanctorum uirorum litteris tradere, qui incessanter die ac nocte dimicauerunt cum inuisibili hoste? Et ista attendentes miror quare non erubescimus militum Christi uictorias silentio tegere, et non ad laudem imperatoris eorum, qualiter pugnauerunt contra hostes inuisibiles et eos uicerunt, potius schedulis statim uilibus tradere, et ad incitandos animos bellatorum diligentius explicare. Et cum ista leguntur, memoria sanctorum colligitur, aedificatio mentium credentibus traditur, honor monachis exhibetur. Hinc infidelibus nascitur timor, incredulis liuor, indisciplinatis angustia; in sanctis omnibus cum Christo gaudentibus solus diabolus ingemiscit, qui uidet pugnam suam eo usque armis caelestibus debellari, ut usque ad mortem indesinenter cum ipso diabolo fortiter dimicauerunt. In tantum denique sunt mortui, ut morituris uitam donent, languentibus

II. Praef.

¹ No heading M; *Liber secundus* BC(F); *Livre II* P.

² BC(F) omit the preface; *Incipit praefatio libri secundi* M; no title P.

^a Mc XVI.15.

sick and, by casting that same enemy of the human body out of their besieged bodies, turn the torments they have suffered back on him. And, having borne a momentary struggle, they obtain eternal glory with God. So we read that the Lord our Saviour himself said to his Father: 'Father, I desire that wherever I am, these may also be with me'. Just as a good farmer works his land, first cuts down the trees, burns the logs, then prepares his plough well, opens the soil, traces the furrows, then returns home, and not long afterwards has smoothed out the same soil, and next sows seeds in their turn, so that they grow well and he may gather a plentiful harvest from them – as Paul says: 'I have planted, Apollos has watered, but God has given increase' – we, too, have done likewise figuratively in the book just completed: we have described the struggle of the wicked with the holy men, and the building of the holy place, and have concisely set out investigations of the properties belonging to it, according to the Apostle Paul, 'He who sows sparingly will reap sparingly also, and he who sows in blessings will reap in blessings also'. But now let us come to the story which we promised, and promptly and dutifully, God willing, unfold the deeds and actions of the most famous men.

II.1. *The blind man restored to sight by the lord abbot Conuuoiion named Goislenus*

The Lord says in the Gospel: 'No one lights a lamp and puts it under a bushel, but on a stand, so that those who come in may see the light.' And again the same Lord says: 'Your eye is the lantern of your body. If your eye is clear your whole body will be in the light, but if it is useless your whole body will be in the dark'. And the prophet proclaims, speaking miraculously: 'Sons of men, know that the Lord has worked marvels in his saints'. And again: 'God is wonderful in his saints'. Now as the holy and venerable Conuuoiion

praebeant medicinam, atque ipsum humani corporis inimicum de obsessis corporibus proferentes, in ipso reuocent³ tormenta quae passi⁴ sunt, et illi quidem momentaneum perpassi certamen, aeternam gloriam cum Deo obtinent. Sic enim ad patrem dixisse legimus ipsum Dominum Saluatorem: 'Pater, uolo ut ubi ego sum, et isti sint mecum'.^b Sicut enim bonus agricola terram suam exercet, primitus siluas excidit, truncos incendit, postea aratrum bene aptat, terram aperit, sulcos dirigit, dehinc domum reuertitur, nec multo post ipsam terram plane coaequauit, deinde semina ex ordine iactat, ut bene crescant, et fructum copiosum exinde capiat; sicut Paulus ait, 'Ego plantaui, Apollo rigauit, sed Deus incrementum dedit';^c ita et nos similiter in praeterito libro figuraliter fecimus: certamen malorum hominum cum sanctis uiris descripsimus, et aedificationem sancti loci, et inquisitiones rerum ad eum pertinentium succincte deprompsimus, testante Paulo Apostolo: 'Qui parce seminat, parce et metet, et qui seminat in benedictionibus, de benedictionibus et metet'.^d Nunc autem ueniamus ad narrationem quam promisimus, et gesta et facta uirorum clarissimorum prompte et deuote, Deo annuente, explicemus.⁵

II.I. *De caeco a domno Conuuoiione abbate illuminato nomine Goisleno*¹

²Dominus dicit in Euangelio: 'Nemo accendit lucernam et ponit eam sub modio, sed super candelabrum, ut qui ingrediuntur lumen uideant'.^a Et iterum ipse Dominus ait: 'Lucerna corporis tui est oculus tuus. Si oculus tuus fuerit simplex, totum corpus tuum lucidum erit; si autem nequam fuerit, totum corpus tuum tenebrosum erit'.^b Et propheta proclamat mirabiliter dicens: 'Filii hominum, scitote quia Dominus sanctos suos mirificauit'.^c Et iterum: 'Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis'.^d Cum³ ergo sanctus

³ Emended from *reuocant* M(P).

⁴ P; *passa* M.

^b Io XVII.24.

^c I Cor III.6.

^d II Cor IX.6.

⁵ M adds: *Incipit liber secundus de uita et conuersatione sanctorum monachorum Rotonensium.*

II.1.

¹ Title in M only.

² BC(F) omit opening quotations to *suis*.

^a Mt V.15; Lc VIII.16.

^b Mt VI.22–3.

^c Ps IV.3–4.

^d Ps LXVII.36.

³ BC(F) resume with this word.

the abbot flourished in divine powers, and the Lord wished to show his holiness to the people, it happened at that time that a certain peasant lost the sight of his eyes, named Goislenus, in the land of Poitou, in the estate called *Ampen*,¹ and this estate comes under the control of St Philibert the confessor of God. And as this poor man made the circuit of holy places for a long time and unceasingly implored Almighty God to grant him the light which he had lost, one night, when he was lying on his bed, someone appeared to him in a vision, saying: 'Rise from your bed, man, and set off as quickly as you can to the venerable man of God, Conuuoion by name, who lives in the holy monastery of Redon, and it is set near the river Vilaine, and there you will regain your sight'. As soon as he woke up from sleep he began to make his way there together with a little boy who guided his steps. In the end, with much labour, he reached the aforementioned holy place. Having gone into the monastery, he began to ask who might be that holy man whom the Lord had deigned to show to him in the vision, and to receive the sight of his eyes from him. But while he was sitting by the gate of the monastery, the saint himself suddenly arrived to deal with the monastery's business. Then the blind man rose from his seat at once and laid himself flat on the ground in front of his feet, saying: 'I beseech you, holy priest and friend of God, pity me and grant me, sinful as I am, the sight of my eyes, which I have lost for a long time'. At these words the saint of God kept silence for a long time, and answered the blind man: 'Be quiet, brother, be quiet, that is not our task, we cannot light the eyes of blind men'. But he cried out more insistently, saying: 'I will not leave this place until the Lord fulfils to me what he consented to show in the vision'. I declare to you, dearest brothers, that I was at the time a servant of that saint, and the saint said to me: 'Go as fast as you can and take him to the house for the poor, and let him be refreshed there today'. And after he had returned (when I had obeyed his bidding) to the church of the Holy Saviour, in which he often used to devote himself to prayer, he called together all the priests of the monastery and instructed them, saying: 'Come quickly and put on your sacred vestments, and offer the sacrifice to the eternal Lord God, and I will do the same'. They, obeying the father's instructions, did as he had ordered. When they had finished, the saint at once said to me: 'Quick, bring here the bronze bowl of water in which the holy priests wash their hands after offering the sacrifice'. Then first he

II.1.

¹ Identified as present-day Beauvoir on the coast opposite Noirmoutier; *Monuments*, ed. Poupardin, pp. xxii, n. 3; xxix, n. 4; xxxv, nn. 3, 26, 29, 63, 83.

ac^{3a} uenerabilis Conuuoion abbas⁴ uirtutibus polleret diuinis, et Dominus ostendere uellet sanctitatem ipsius in populis, accidit ea tempestate ut quidam rusticus perderet lumen oculorum suorum, nomine Goislenus, in territorio Pictauiensi in uilla quae dicitur Ampen, et haec uilla ^{4a} ditioni adiacet^{4a} sancti Filiberti⁵ ⁶confessoris Christi. Cumque diu ille miser⁶ loca sancta circuiret et Deum⁷ omnipotentem indesinenter imploraret, ut ei lumen quod amiserat largiretur, quadam nocte, dum⁸ in stratu suo iaceret, apparuit ei quidam per uisum, dicens: 'Surge, o homo, de stratu tuo, et quantocius perge ad uirum Dei uenerabilem Conuuoion nomine qui moratur in monasterio sancto Rotonensi, et est situm iuxta fluuium Visoniae, ibique recipies uisum'. Statim ille expergefactus a somno coepit uiam carpere⁹ una cum paruo puerulo qui gressus eius regebat. Tandem cum multo labore peruenit ad supradictum sanctum locum. Ille uero ingressus monasterium coepit inquirere quisnam esset ille sanctus uir quem ei Dominus dignatus est¹⁰ per uisionem reuelare et lumen oculorum suorum ab eo accipere. Cum uero sedisset prope ostium monasterii, ecce ille sanctus repente adfuit discutere causas monasterii. Tunc ille caecus statim a sede surrexit, et prostratus solo ante pedes eius iacuit, dicens: 'Obsecro, sancte sacerdos atque amice Dei, miserere mei et praesta mihi peccatori lumen oculorum meorum, quod per multa tempora perdiidi'. Ad haec uerba sanctus Dei diu silentium tenuit atque caeco ita respondit: 'Sile, frater, sile,¹¹ non est hoc opus nostrum, ¹²non possumus¹² illuminare oculos caecorum'. Ille uero attentius clamabat, dicens: 'Non discedam¹³ ab hoc loco donec impleat mihi¹⁴ Dominus quod per uisionem dignatus est¹⁵ demonstrare'. Testor uobis, fratres carissimi, quia ego eram illo tempore illius sancti minister, dixitque mihi ille sanctus: 'Vade quantocius et perduc eum ad domum pauperum, et ibi hodie reficiatur'. Postquam uero reuersus fuisset, peracta obedientia, ad ecclesiam sancti Saluatoris, in qua frequenter solebat orationi incumbere, conuocauit omnes sacerdotes monasterii, praecepitque illis dicens: 'Properate festinanter et induite uos sacris uestibus et offerite sacrificium Domino Deo aeterno, similiter et ego faciam'. Illi uero, praecepta patris implentes, perfecerunt quod iusserat. Cumque ita implessent, statim dixit mihi ille sanctus: 'Accelera huc concham aeneam cum aqua in qua lauant sancti sacerdotes manus suas post

^{3a} BC(F)M; et P.

⁴ BC(F)M; om. P.

^{4a}...^{4a} M(P); *adiacet ditioni* BC(F).

⁵ BC(F)M; *Philiberti* P.

⁶...⁶ BC(F)M; *Christi confessoris. Cumque ille diu* P.

⁷ M(P); *Dominum* BC(F).

⁸ BM(P); *cum* C(F).

⁹ BCM(P); *capere* F.

¹⁰ BM(P); *esset* C(F).

¹¹ BM(P); om. C(F).

¹²...¹² M(P); *ut possimus* BC(F).

¹³ BM(P); *recedam* C(F).

¹⁴ BC(F)M; om. P.

¹⁵ BC(F)M; *est mihi* P.

began to wash his hands and after him the others, and he commanded me: 'Take this water to the blind man who is in the forecourt of the monastery, and tell him to wash his eyes and face, and say to him: "Be it unto you according to your faith" '. And I, not idly, fulfilled his orders and took the water to the blind man. And when he had washed his eyes and face, blood suddenly burst out of his eyes, and at the same time blood flowed from his nostrils, so that his face appeared sprinkled with blood, and at once he regained his sight, and praised God everywhere; and he stayed in the monastery for three or four days. Then, having received the holy father's blessing, he went away happy and reached his homeland safely. For Christ has promised his disciples and also all the faithful: 'All the works which I do, they will do them also, and greater than these'.

II.2. *How Riouuen the holy monk and priest crossed the river Vilaine dry-shod*

The prophet wonderfully proclaims the mighty works and the power of God, saying: 'The Lord has done everything that pleased him in heaven and on earth, in the sea and in all the deeps'. And the Lord says to his disciples: 'You can do nothing without me'. At that time there was a certain priest and monk called Riouuen, a man of great simplicity, who was loved with exceeding devotion by all because of the simplicity and purity of his life. One day some of the brothers, with the venerable priest, went out as usual under obedience, to dry the hay on the other side of the river Vilaine, and they crossed the stream in a little boat, and were there until almost the middle of the day. When the sun rose on high and great heat

immolationem sacrificii'. Tunc ille primus manus suas coepit abluere, et ceteri alii post eum, imperauitque mihi dicens: 'Defer hanc aquam caeco qui stat in atrio monasterii et praecipe ei ut lauet oculos suos et faciem suam, et dicit¹⁶ illi: "secundum fidem tuam fiat tibi"'. Ego uero non impiger compleui,¹⁷ quae¹⁸ iusserat, et attuli aquam caeco. Cumque abluisset oculos suos et faciem, subito erupit sanguis ex eius oculis, similiter¹⁹ et ex²⁰ naribus sanguis profluxit, ita ut facies eius humectata uideretur cruore, et statim uisum recepit, et Deum²¹ ²²ubique laudauit.²² Mansitque in eodem monasterio per tres aut quatuor dies. Postea uero, accepta benedictione sancti patris, laetus abscessit, et ad suam patriam incolumis peruenit. Christus enim discipulis suis, nec non et cunctis fidelibus, promisit: 'Opera quae ego facio et ipsi facient, et maiora horum facient'.^c

II.2. *De Riouueno sancto monacho atque presbytero, qualiter fluiuum Visnoniae sicco pede pertransiit¹*

²Propheta mirabiliter pronuntiat magnalia Dei ac potentiam, dicens: 'Omnia quaecumque uoluit Dominus fecit in caelo et in terra, in mari et in omnibus abyssis'.^a Et Dominus discipulis ait: 'Sine me nihil potestis facere'.^b Per³ idem tempus erat quidam sacerdos atque monachus, Riuuenno⁴ nomine, uir nimiae simplicitatis, qui a cunctis nimio cultu diligebatur propter simplicitatem et puritatem uitae suae. Quadam uero die, secundum morem, exierunt quidam de fratribus una cum uenerabili presbytero ad oboedientiam foenum siccare ultra fluiuum Visnoniae, transmeaueruntque⁵ amnem cum parua nauicula, fueruntque ibi usque ad medium^{5a} fere diem. Cumque sol in altum conscenderet et feruor nimius eos

¹⁶ BC(F)M; *dicite* P.

¹⁷ BC(F)M; *impleui* P.

¹⁸ BM(P); *quod* C(F).

¹⁹ M(P); om. BC(F).

²⁰ BM(P); *e* C(F).

²¹ M(P); *Dominum* BC(F).

²² ...²² BM(P); *laudauit ubique* C(F).

^c Io XIV.12.

II.2.

¹ Title in M only.

² BC(F) omit the opening quotations.

^a Ps CXXXIV.6.

^b Io XV.5.

³ BC(F) resume with this word.

⁴ M(P); *Rihuuen* BC(F).

⁵ BM(P); *transmeaueruntque* C(F).

^{5a} BC(F)M; *mediam* P.

was roasting them, the aforementioned priest said to his fellow-workers: 'Brothers, if you will, give me your permission to return to the monastery, since I have not offered the sacrifice to God today, and after I have finished I will come back to you'. Then the holy brothers said: 'Go, the Lord be with you, and pray for us to the Lord our God'. Having received their permission, he wished to return to God's holy place. But when he tried to find the boat so that he could cross the river, he began to walk to and fro along the river bank, thinking that he would be able to find the boat again; but he was walking over the waves of the river with dry feet. For the holy man thought that he was passing over dry ground, and in this manner he crossed all the way to the other bank dry-shod, a wondrous thing, and greatly to be marvelled at, and unheard of since the Apostle Peter. Coming to himself as soon as he touched land, he looked behind him and realised that he had been walking on the water. See how much God gives to his faithful, and with what praises Christ the Lord, the examiner of the faithful, honours them! This holy priest afterwards led his life carefully, directed it well, and made more and more effort to serve God. After many years the venerable man was seized by a fever, and so at last he commended his soul to God the Creator, and died a confessor in peace on the nineteenth day before the kalends of September and was buried in the cemetery of his brothers in the hope of rising again, waiting to be given his reward by our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

II.3 *Condeluc, the monk and gardener*

The mediator between God and men, Christ Jesus, speaks to his disciples, saying: 'Truly I say to you, if anyone said to this mountain: be taken up and cast into the sea, and he did not doubt in his heart, but believed that what he said would happen, it would be granted him'. And in another place the same Lord said: 'If you ask the Father for anything in my name, he will give it to you'. Now at that time there was a certain monk, a gardener,

decoqueret, dixit praefatus presbyter⁶ ad collegas suos: 'Fratres, si uobis placet, date mihi licentiam ut reuertar ad monasterium, quia hodie non obtuli sacrificium Deo, et postquam compleuero iterum ueniam ad uos'. Tunc sancti fratres dixerunt: 'Vade, sit Dominus tecum, et intercede pro nobis Dominum⁷ Deum nostrum'.⁷ Accepta uero licentia uoluit remeare ad sanctum Dei locum; denique cum nauiculam inquireret, ut fluuium transire posset, huc illucque iuxta ripam fluminis coepit deambulare, putans quod cimbam reperire possit,⁸ sed super undas amnis⁹ pedibus siccis⁹ ambulauit. Estimabat enim¹⁰ uir sanctus quod per humum siccam graderetur, et ita usque ad alteram ripam sicco pede pertransiit: res mira et ualde stupenda, et post Petrum Apostolum inusitata. Qui mox ut terram tetigit, ad se reuersus post terga respexit et quia super aquas ambulasset agnouit.¹¹ Ecce quantum Deus praestat fidelibus suis; ecce qualibus eosdem¹² laudibus Christus Dominus fidelium inspector honorat. Nam et ipse sanctus presbyter postea sollicite uitam duxit, bene direxit,¹³ et magis ac magis¹³ Deo studuit seruire. Post multos uero annos uenerabilis uir corripitur a febre, et sic demum animam suam Deo creatori commendauit, et decimo nono¹⁴ kalendas Septembres¹⁵ confessor obiit in pace, sepultusque est in cimeterio fratrum suorum, sub spe resurrectionis, exspectans remunerari mercedem suam a domino nostro Iesu Christo. Amen.

II.3. *De Condeluc monacho atque hortulano*¹

²Mediator Dei et hominum Christus Iesus discipulos suos alloquitur, dicens: 'Amen dico uobis, quia si quis dixerit huic monti tollere et mittere in mare, et non hesitauerit in corde suo, sed crediderit quodcumque dixerit, fiat, fiet ei'.^a Et alio loco idem Dominus ait: 'Si quid petieritis Patrem in nomine meo, dabit uobis'.^b In³ tempore ergo illo erat quidam

⁶ M(P); *pater* BC(F).

^{7...7} M(P); *Iesum Christum* BC(F).

⁸ BM(P); *posset* C(F).

⁹ M(P); *pedibus suis* B; *suis pedibus* C(F).

¹⁰ BC(F)M; *autem* P.

¹¹ BCM(P); *cognouit* F.

¹² BC(F)M; *eos* P.

^{13...13} BCM(P); *ac magis et magis* F.

¹⁴ M(P); *XIII^o* BC; *XIII^o* F.

¹⁵ BC(F); *Septembr.* M; *Septembris* P.

II.3.

¹ Title in M only.

² BC(F) omit opening quotations.

^a Mc XI.23.

^b Io XVI.23.

³ BC(F) resume with this word.

named Condeluc, in the place, a simple, upright man, adorned with all good works. It was a habit of his to offer the holy sacrifice to God every day, for from early manhood to the end of his life he persevered in chastity; and rivers of tears often used to flow from his eyes, and anything that was told him, certain or uncertain, he would believe from everyone, as Solomon says in a proverb: 'The innocent man believes every word'. And as this holy man flourished in virtues, the care of the monastery garden was given to him by the holy father. Then he began to work vigorously with his own hands, and to care for his garden well, and he brought it to perfection, and whatever was lacking in the garden, he remedied every day. But it so happened that a kind of worm, commonly called caterpillars, attacked all the vegetables in the garden and reduced them almost to nothing. He, distressed, looked up to heaven with wailing and tears, and thus, blessing God, turned to the caterpillars and said: 'I cannot throw you out of the garden of the servants of God, since I have not the power, nor a great number of men, but I command you in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit not to stay here any longer, but to get away from here as fast as you can'. At these words the worms immediately, in a swift rush, vacated the whole garden. Seeing this, the man of God fell to the ground and praised the Almighty with heart and soul. For in this happening, too, the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ did not fail, he who mercifully cherishes his servants in everything they do. He lived for a number of years afterwards, persevering in the highest sanctity, and the day of his calling from this world was revealed to him by the Lord, and he said to his brothers: 'By this you will know that I am being led to the kingdom of heaven, if I journey from this world on the Lord's day, since on the Lord's day I was born into the world, on the Lord's day I was baptized, and also on the Lord's day took up the office of a priest'. And so it happened, as the saint had foretold: on Sunday, the week before the Ides of November, he rested in peace, where now he exults with the angels, rejoices with the archangels, and happily awaits the day of resurrection. Amen.

monachus hortulanus, Condeluc nomine, in eodem loco, uir simplex et rectus, atque omnibus bonis operibus adornatus. Consuetudo ⁴namque erat⁴ illi cotidie sanctam ⁵hostiam Deo⁵ offerre, nam ab ineunte aetate usque ad extremum uitae suae in castitate perdurauit; fluminaque lacrimarum ex ⁶oculis illius⁶ frequenter manare consueuerant, et quidquid⁷ illi dicebatur, siue certum, siue incertum, omnibus credebat, sicut Salomon in prouerbiis⁸ ait: 'Innocens omni uerbo credit'.^c Cumque⁹ idem uir sanctus uirtutibus polleret,¹⁰ data est ei a sancto patre monasterii cura horti. Tunc ille certatim coepit propriis manibus operari, et hortum suum bene excolere, perduxitque usque ad summum, et quicquid¹¹ in horto deerat, cotidie implebat. Accidit¹² uero ut quidam uermes, qui uulgo erucacae dicuntur, cuncta olera horti inuaderent et paene ad nihilum deducerent. Ille uero contristatus cum fletu et eiulatu respexit in caelum et sic Deum benedicens conuersus ad erucas ait: 'Ego non possum uos de horto seruorum Dei eiicere, quia nec uires habeo, nec multitudinem hominum; tamen praecipio uobis in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti ut hic amplius ne¹³ remaneatis, sed quantocius ab hinc recedite'. Ad hanc uocem statim ¹⁴cursu uermes¹⁴ uelocissimo totum hortum reliquerunt. Quod cernens uir Dei, in terram corruit, et cunctipotentem corde et animo laudauit. Nam et in hoc facto¹⁵ non defuit misericordia domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui famulos suos in cuncta quae agunt misericorditer fouet. Vixitque postea per¹⁶ plures annos in summa sanctitate perseuerans, reuelatusque est ei a Domino dies uocationis suae ex hoc saeculo, dixitque fratribus suis: 'In hoc cognoscatis quia ad caelorum regna ducor, si die dominico ex hoc mundo migrauero, quia in die dominico natus fui in mundo, et in¹⁷ die dominico baptizatus, nec non et¹⁸ gradum sacerdotii in die dominica¹⁹ suscepi'. Quod ita euenit sicut ille sanctus praedixerat: id est, in die dominica²⁰ octauo idus Nouembres²¹ in pace quieuit, ubi nunc exultat cum angelis, laetatur cum archangelis, laetus exspectat diem resurrectionis. Amen.

⁴...⁴ BC(F)M; *erat namque* P.

⁵...⁵ BC(F)M; *Deo hostiam* P.

⁶...⁶ BCM(P); *illius oculis* F.

⁷ C(F)M(P); *quicquid* B.

⁸ BC(F)M; *prouerbio* P.

^c Prv XIV.15.

⁹ BCM(P); om. F.

¹⁰ BM(P); *pollens* C(F).

¹¹ BCM; *quidquid* FP.

¹² BM(P); *accedit* C(F).

¹³ BC(F)M; *non* P.

¹⁴...¹⁴ BM(P); *uermes cursu* C(F).

¹⁵ M(P); *factum* BC(F).

¹⁶ M(P); om. BC(F).

¹⁷ BC(F); om. M(P).

¹⁸ BM(P); om. C(F).

¹⁹ BC(F)M; *dominico* P.

²⁰ BC(F)M; *dominico* P.

²¹ B; *Nouembriis* C(F); *Nouembr.* M; *Nouembris* P.

II.4. *The holy monk Conhoiarn, and Fiduueten, who cured the paralytic*

The Lord Jesus Christ exhorts his disciples, saying: 'This is my commandment, that you love one another as I have loved you'. Now in the same monastery there were two most holy brothers, one of whom was called Conhoiarn and the other Fiduueten, who were so bound together in brotherly love than hardly ever could anyone separate them from the divine office. It happened one day that these two holy brothers were going out to the pilgrims' house together to wash the poor people's feet, and there was one poor man among them who was paralysed, who could not in any way move one step. When the holy men realised this, they began to pray to Almighty God for his health. When they began washing his feet, the paralytic was at once cured, and, shaking . . .¹ from himself, began running here and there all over the house. All who were there were amazed, seeing the miracles of our Lord Jesus Christ coming about through his servants. Then the saints of God, seeing what had happened, gave thanks to God with hymns and praise, and returned to their own cell, making the paralytic swear not to reveal to anyone what had been performed upon him. The saint of God Conhoiarn was favoured with an angelic face, kind and good tempered, full of all the warmth of charity, and every time he turned to the devotion of prayer, rivers of tears would at once flow from his eyes. He always did this until a young man appeared to him in a vision at night, and said to him: 'God has sent me to bring you the news that by the persistence of your tears you have earned an eternal resting place, together with the remission of all your sins'. And not long afterwards this saint of God was seized by a fever, and was mortified in the body for many days, and thus sent his holy soul to God the Creator a week before the Kalends of February, and now, set there among the saints and chosen men, enjoys the delights of Paradise endlessly, he too, awaiting the resurrection of the body with the other saints. For after his death the Almighty Lord deigned to

II.4.

¹ A word may be missing here; see Introduction, pp. 79-80.

II.4. *De Conhoearno sancto monacho, et Fiduueteno, qui paralyticum sanauerunt*¹

²Dominus Iesus Christus discipulos suos^{2a} hortatur dicens: 'Hoc est praeceptum meum, ut diligatis inuicem sicut dilexi uos'.^a In³ eodem igitur monasterio erant duo sanctissimi fratres quorum unus uocabatur Conhoiarn et alius Fiduueten,⁴ qui ita in amore fraternitatis erant coniuncti, ut paene ullo tempore nullus poterat eos separare a diuino opere. Exstitit enim quadam die ut hi duo sancti⁵ fratres simul pergerent ad domum peregrinorum ut pedes pauperum abluerent. Eratque inter eos⁶ quidam pauper paralyticus qui nullo modo ualebat gressum mouere. Cumque ita sancti uiri cognouissent, coeperunt Deum omnipotentem pro incolumitate illius deprecari.⁷ Ubi uero coeperunt pedes eius abluere, statim paralyticus curatus est, et ⁸de se⁸ excutiens per totam domum coepit huc illucque discurrere. Mirati omnes qui illuc⁹ aderant, cernentes mirabilia domini nostri Iesu Christi fieri per famulos suos. Tunc intuentes sancti Dei quod factum fuerat, egerunt Deo gratias cum laudibus et hymnis, et reuersi sunt ad propriam cellam contestantes paralytico ne alicui hoc quod factum in eo fuerat diulgaret. Ipse uero sanctus Dei Conhoiarn erat angelico uultu decoratus, affabilis atque iocundus, plenus omni feruore caritatis, et quoties¹⁰ se ad orationis studium conuertisset, ilico flumina lacrimarum de obtutibus eius profluebant; et hoc tamdiu instanter fecit, usquequo apparuit ei quidam iuuenis in uisione noctis qui dixit ei: 'Propterea misit me Deus, ut adnuntiem tibi quia per assiduitatem¹¹ lacrimarum tuarum sedem perpetuam percepisti, similiter et remissionem omnium peccatorum'. Nec multo post tempore¹² ille¹³ sanctus Dei corripitur a febre, et per multos dies corporaliter maceratus est, et sic animam sanctam Deo Creatori octauo kalendas Februarias¹⁴ direxit, ibique nunc inter sanctos et electos uiros locatus deliciis Paradisi sine fine perfruitur, exspectans et ipse cum ceteris sanctis resurrectionem corporis.

II.4

¹ Title in M only.

² BC(F) omit the opening quotation.

^{2a} M; om. P.

^a Io XV.12.

³ BC(F) resume here.

⁴ M(P); *Fiduuethen*, BC(F).

⁵ M(P); om. BC(F).

⁶ BM(P); *eo* C(F).

⁷ BC(F)M; *imprecari* P.

⁸...⁸ M; *de sede* BC(F); *se se* P. One word or more was probably wanting in the archetype at this point.

⁹ BC(F)M; *illic* P.

¹⁰ M(P); *quotiens* BC(F).

¹¹ BC(F); *assiduitate* M(P).

¹² BC(F)M; *temporis* P.

¹³ M(P); *idem* BC(F).

¹⁴ BC(F); Kal. Februar. M; *Kalendas Februarii* P.

reveal in the world, of what kind and how great a man he was. There was in the same monastery a young man who was altogether infirm and incapacitated, named Anouoret, whom everyone called 'the monastery invalid' because of his weakness and helplessness. It happened that one day after vespers, that is, towards sunset, he went out to the well to take a drink from it, for the young man suffered the discomfort of thirst all the time since he was completely dropsical – *hydropicus*. The more a *hydropicus* drinks, the thirstier he becomes: *hydor* is in Greek what *aqua* is in Latin (water), from which this affliction is called in its Greek name. It is a humour under the skin with a foetid exhalation resulting from a weakness of the bladder. So as this young man was trying to drink water from the well, suddenly the saint appeared to him in white garments, bearing a golden vessel in his hand, and stood beside the well. As soon as the young man saw him he trembled, and the holy man said to him: 'Do you know who I am?' The youth said in reply: 'I do not know, my lord, but I think you are an angel of God sent from heaven'. To these words the man of God answered: 'I am the monk Conhoiarn, who lately left this world, and now I am happy for ever with the Lord and his saints in the heavenly realms; but so that you may truly know that it is I who speak to you, from this hour you will be well and sound your whole life long and will suffer no affliction in your body. But you must go and proclaim the power of our Lord Jesus Christ everywhere, and, I warn you again and again, be a faithful friend to this holy place all the days of your life.' And saying this he vanished from before the young man's eyes. At that the young man was made well; and he told everywhere what he had seen and heard, and how he had been cured. See, dearest brothers, by what ways and means the Lord makes his saints wonderful everywhere in heaven and on earth. For he is good and glorifies and cherishes and loves them after their earthly death, as the prophet David bears witness: 'As he has given his loved ones rest: this is the inheritance of the Lord'. For it was also said of old, to Moses out of the (burning) bush: 'I am the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob', and afterwards is added: 'He is not the God of the dead, but of the living', for they are all alive to him. And the Apostle Paul declares,

Nam qualis esset, qualisue tantus uir ille fuerit, Dominus omnipotens post obitum illius in hoc mundo reuelare dignatus est. Erat enim in eodem monasterio quidam iuuenis totus infirmus atque imbecillus¹⁵ Anouoret^{15a} nomine, qui ob infirmitatem atque imbecillitatem a cunctis infirmis monasterii uocitabatur. Accidit uero ut¹⁶ quadam die post uesperum, id est prope¹⁷ solis occasum, pergeret ad puteum ut ex eo caperet potum. Tolerabat enim¹⁸ ille iuuenis omni tempore¹⁸ molestiam sitis, quia totus hydropicus erat: hydropicus uero in quantum bibit, plus sitit, ωδρῆ enim graece, latine aqua dicitur,¹⁹ unde et¹⁹ ipsa molestia graeca appellatione nuncupatur. Est enim humor subcutaneus de uitio uesicae cum anhelitu foetido. Igitur cum ille iuuenis conaretur aquam e puteo haurire, repente ille sanctus ei in ueste candida apparuit, uasculumque aureum in manu gestans stetit prope puteum. Ille uero iuuenis continuo ut uidit intremuit, dixitque ei sanctus uir: 'Scis quis sim ego?' Ille uero respondens ait: 'Nescio, domine mi, sed, ut puto, angelus²⁰ Dei es²⁰ de caelo missus'. Ad haec uerba uir Dei respondens ait: 'Ego sum Conhoiarn monachus, qui nuper ex²¹ saeculo hoc²¹ migraui, et nunc cum Domino et sanctis eius perenniter in caelestibus regnis gaudeo. Sed ut recte scias quia ego sum qui loquor tecum, ecce ex hac hora sanus atque incolumis omni tempore uitae tuae eris, et nullam molestiam in corpore tuo senties. Tu uero uade et adnuntia ubique uirtutem domini nostri Iesu Christi, et iterum atque iterum te admoneo, ut fidelis et amicus sis omnibus diebus uitae tuae²² isti sancto loco.' Et haec dicens euauit ex oculis eius. Postea ille iuuenis²³ sanus factus est, et quod uiderat et audierat et quomodo sanatus fuerat ubique diulgauit.²⁴ Videte, fratres carissimi, quomodo uel qualiter Dominus sanctos suos in caelo²⁵ et in terra ubique mirificat. Nam post mortem terrenam pius eos²⁵ glorificat et fouet ac diligit, attestante propheta Dauid: 'Cum dederit dilectis suis somnum, ecce hereditas Domini'.^b Nam et Moysi olim de rubo dictum est: 'Ego sum Deus Abraham, et Deus Isaac, et Deus Iacob'.^c Et postea subinfertur: 'Non est Deus mortuorum, sed uiuorum';^d omnes enim uiuunt ei. Et Paulus

¹⁵ BM(P); *imbecillus* C(F).

^{15a} M(P); *Anauoret* BC(F).

¹⁶ BC(F)M; *in* P.

¹⁷ BC(F); *post* M(P).

¹⁸...¹⁸ BM(P); *omni tempore ille iuuenis* C(F).

¹⁹ M(P); *et inde* BC(F).

²⁰...²⁰ M(P); *es Dei* BC(F).

²¹...²¹ BM(P); *hoc saeculo* C(F).

²² C(F)M(P); *suae* B.

²³ BC(F)M; *om.* P.

²⁴ BC(F) omit the rest of the chapter.

²⁵...²⁵ M; *om.* P.

^b Ps CXXXVI.2.

^c Ex III.6.

^d Mt XXII.32.

as follows: 'Whether we live or die, we are the Lord's'. We belong to him whom we serve, who lives and reigns with the Father and the Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Amen.

II.5. *Fiduueten the monk and priest*

The Apostle John speaks in his letter, saying: 'Do not love the world, or things which are in the world. If anyone loves the world, the love of the Father is not in him.' In the first book we made mention of the holy Fiduueten, how and in what manner he led his life with the holy hermit Gerfred in the furthest parts of Brittany. Now let us return to the story, how this saint was joined together with the other brothers who were leading the monastic life to perfection in the same holy place. After the departure of the most blessed monk Gerfred from Brittany, this saint of God Fiduueten desired in his heart to despise his homeland, where he had been raised, for the love of God, and to lead a life of pilgrimage. And he went to Nominioi, the governor of Brittany, and asked him for permission to seek foreign lands. For he had heard Christ say in the Gospels: 'If anyone lets go his home or fields or family or friends for my sake, he will regain them a hundred fold and possess eternal life'. Hearing this, Nominioi was greatly saddened at the departure of such a great man, for Nominioi loved him for the purity of his life, and he said to him: 'If it pleases you, go to the venerable man named Conuuoion, who has also recently built a monastery in the place called Redon and lives there with other excellent men, and if it pleases you to live with them, do as you wish with my consent and God's blessing; but I adjure you only not to leave our homeland'. And he honoured him with fitting honours. So the holy man, sent by the governor, sought the holy place of God, and found the venerable man Conuuoion with his brothers, and was received by him with the great love of brotherhood. Then he stayed in the same holy place with the brothers for many days, living at the height of abstinence and devotion. Many of the monks, too, seeing his abstinence and charity, began to imitate his life with

apostolus ita affirmat: 'Siue uiuimus siue morimur, Domini sumus'.^c Ipsi enim sumus, cui et seruimus, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto uiuit et regnat per infinita saecula saeculorum. Amen.

II.5. *De Fituueteno monacho et presbytero*¹

²Ioannes apostolus in epistola sua loquitur dicens: 'Nolite diligere mundum, neque ea quae in mundo sunt. Si quis diligit mundum, non est caritas Patris in eo.'^a In superiori namque libello mentionem istius² sancti Fiduueteni³ fecimus, quomodo uel qualiter conuersatus sit cum sancto Gerfredo eremita in extremis partibus Britanniae. Nunc autem redeamus ad narrationem, qualiter ille sanctus coniunctus sit cum ceteris fratribus qui in eodem sancto loco monachicam uitam optime⁴ perduxere. Post excessum beatissimi Gerfredi monachi de Britannia, iste sanctus Dei⁵ Fiduueten³ disposuit in corde suo patriam in qua altus⁶ fuerat pro Dei amore contemnere et peregrinam uitam ducere. Aditque Nominioium⁷ Britanniae principem et postulauit ab eo licentiam ut peregrina peteret. Audierat namque ipse Christum in euangelio dicentem: 'Si quis dimiserit domum aut agros aut parentes aut amicos propter nomen meum, centuplum accipiet, et uitam⁸ possidebit aeternam⁸'.^b Quod audiens Nominioe ualde contristatus est de excessu tanti uiri; diligebat denique⁹ eum Nominioe propter honestatem uitae suae, dixitque ei: 'Si tibi placet, uade ad uenerabilem uirum nomine Conuuoion, qui et ipse aedificauit nuper monasterium in loco qui dicitur Roton, habitatque ibi cum ceteris optimis uiris, et si tibi placuerit ut cum eis habites, ex nostra licentia et cum Dei benedictione fac quod tibi placuerit. Tantum obsecro, ut de nostra patria non discedas.' Honorauitque eum honore congruo. Sic sanctus uir, a principe dimissus, sanctum Dei locum petiit, inuenitque uirum uenerabilem Conuuoion cum suis fratribus, qui susceptus est ab eo cum magna caritate fraternitatis. Tunc mansit in eodem loco cum fratribus per plurimos dies, in summa abstinentia et pietate degens. Sed et multi ex monachis, uidentes abstinentiam eius et caritatem, coeperunt uitam illius

^c Rm XIV.8.

II.5.

¹ Title in M only.

² BC(F)M; om. P.

^a I Io II.15.

^b Mt XIX.29; Lc XVIII.29-30.

³ M(P); *Fiduuetheni, Fiduuethen* BC(F).

⁴ BC(F)M; om. P.

⁵ BC(F)M; om. P.

⁶ M(P); *alitus* BC(F).

⁷ BC(F)M; *Nomenioium* P.

⁸...⁸ BC(F)M; *aeternam possidebit* P.

⁹ BC(F)M; *enim* P.

all their heart, and join themselves to him and take counsel and advice from him; and they all loved him from the least to the greatest, and he was held in great affection by the father of the monastery also. When this holy man wanted to leave the monastery and lead a life of pilgrimage, as he had earlier intended, all the monks with the abbot opposed him, saying, 'We ask you not to abandon us, but to stay with us all the days of your life, so that we may be encouraged to better things by imitating you and deserve to attain eternal life'. Hearing this, he began weeping for joy, and since he did not want to cause them unhappiness, he did stay with them all the days of his life, and from that day onward was joined to them body and soul. One day, when the brothers were sitting on their stools for the divine office, he saw the devil in the form of a boy sitting at the feet of a certain brother, named Osbert, a vision which events later confirmed. For not long afterwards this brother insanely left the monastery and, holding the angelic life cheap, thinking nothing of what he had vowed before God and his angels, he returned to the world, becoming the prey of demons, loving the world, as an untamed horse without a rider rushes anywhere headlong. But we have heard that he has now turned to God and is leading a perfect and religious life – with the holy monks who live in the city of Pavia in the monastery of St Peter which is called 'Golden Heaven' – and bitterly bewailing the wrong he has done in his life. For the good Lord said: 'I do not desire the death of the sinner, but that he should be converted and live', and again, 'On whichever day the impious turns from his impiety, he shall live. I shall remember no more of all his impieties, but he shall live.' What merit this holy man had with God I have experienced well in myself; for when I was a boy placed in the monastery I was troubled by a great pain in my teeth, so that my face and whole head swelled up and I could take neither sleep nor food. As I was in this state I set out to hurry to him and ask for a prayer from him, and as soon as his hands touched my jaws, all the pain vanished and with the Lord's help I no longer felt the pain which I had been suffering most severely beforehand. The holy man lived in the same place for many years. Then he was attacked by a cancerous ulcer in

ex toto corde imitari, et ei se adiungere, et consilium et monitionem ab eo percipere, omnesque eum a minimo usque ad maximum diligebant, nam et a patre monasterii nimio affectu diligebatur. Cumque ille sanctus uir uellet monasterium deserere et peregrinam uitam, sicut prius proposuerat, ducere, omnes monachi cum abbate obstiterunt ei, dicentes: 'Ne, quaesumus, dimittas nos, sed mane nobiscum omnibus diebus uitae tuae, ut per imitationem tui¹⁰ in melius confortati uitam aeternam adipisci mereamur'. His ille auditis prae gaudio coepit flere, et quia nolebat eos contristare, cum eis mansit omnibus diebus uitae suae, atque ex illo die et corpore et animo cum eis¹¹ coniunctus est. Quadam uero die cum ad opus diuinum in scamnis sederent fratres, uidit diabolus in specie puerili secus pedes cuiusdam fratris nomine Osberti,¹² quod postea probauit euentus: nam nec multo post tempore ipse insanus frater a monasterio est egressus, et uitam angelicam paruipendens, quod coram Deo et angelis eius uouerat pro nihilo ducens, ad saeculum est reuersus, praeda daemonum factus, et sicut equus indomitus sine gubernatore totus fertur inpraiceps saeculum diligens. Tamen audiuius¹³ eum nunc¹³ ad Deum¹⁴ conuersum et religiose ac perfecte uitam ducere cum sanctis monachis qui in ciuitate Papiae habitant, in monasterio sancti Petri quod uocatur Caelum Aureum, ibi¹⁵ peraege deflens quicquid¹⁶ in uita sua deliquerat. Nam pius Dominus dixit: 'Nolo mortem peccatoris, sed ut conuertatur et uiuat'.^c Et iterum: 'In quacumque die conuersus fuerit impius ab impietate sua, uita uiuet.¹⁷ Omnes impietates eius non recordabor amplius, sed uita uiuet.'^{17d} Quale uero¹⁸ meritum ille¹⁹ sanctus uir habuerit cum Deo,²⁰ in memetipso bene expertus sum: denique cum essem iuuenulus in monasterio positus, praegrauatus fui^{20a} maximo dolore dentium, ita ut facies mea et totum caput intumescerent, nec somnum, nec cibum capere ualebam. Cumque ita essem, coepi ad eum festinare et²¹ orationem ab eo²¹ petere, statimque ut manus eius maxillas meas tetigerunt, omnis dolor euanuit, nec ulterius, auxiliante Domino, malum sensi, quod prius grauissime patiebar. Vixit autem sanctus uir in eodem loco per plures annos. Postea uero tactus est ulcere cancri in

¹⁰ BCM(P); *uitae tuae* F.

¹¹ BC(F)M; *illis* P.

¹² BC(F); *Orberti* M(P).

¹³ ...¹³ BC(F)M; *nunc eum* P.

¹⁴ M(P); *Dominum* BC(F).

¹⁵ BFM(P); *ibique* C.

¹⁶ BM; *quidquid* C(F)P.

^c Ez XVIII.23.

^d Ez XXXIII.12, XVIII.22.

¹⁷ ...¹⁷ M; *om.* BC(F)P.

¹⁸ BM(P); *ergo* C(F).

¹⁹ BC(F)M; *iste* P.

²⁰ M(P); *Domino* BC(F).

^{20a} BC(F)M; *sum* P.

²¹ ...²¹ BC(F)M; *ab eo orationem* P.

his lower regions, and lay in bed for many days, giving thanks to God, who had seen fit to visit him, according to Solomon's words, 'The Lord chastises whom he loves, and beats every son whom he recognises'. In pain he always took care to give thanks in hymns to God and to be free for praise day and night. When it was time for such great patience on his part to be rewarded, the disease in his body reached his vital parts. When he realised that he was close to death, he called his brothers and, saying farewell to them, that holy soul was released from the flesh on the third day before the Ides of December, reigning eternally with Christ for ever and ever. Amen.

II.6. *The scribe Doethen*

We read in the holy Scriptures: 'Do not delay in rendering to God what has gone out from your lips, for it would be better not to make vows than not to fulfil them after making them'. And the holy apostle Peter gives this awesome warning: 'It is better for them not to know the way of righteousness than to turn back, after finding it, from what has been given to them by divine order'. And elsewhere: 'The dog turns back to his vomit and the washed sow to wallowing in the dirt'. I have set these things down, dearest, for this reason: there was once a scribe in the same holy place, named Doethgen, who lived outside like one of the canons; but he had already vowed continence and the conversion of his ways in that monastery. But the old enemy, who is always setting traps for the human race, sent him such thoughts as to leave the holy place, break his vows and seek the world with its desires. And as such a thought as this was revolving in his heart, he decided on a suitable day on which to carry out what the devil suggested. All these things were reported to the father of the monastery: hearing them, he at once poured out prayers for him to the Lord. When he had risen from his prayer, the scribe was instantly paralysed, and was unable to

partibus^{21a} inferioribus, et per multos dies iacuit in lecto, gratias agens Deo,²² qui dignatus est eum uisitare, Salomone attestante: 'Quem diligit Dominus, corripit; flagellat autem omnem filium quem recipit'.^e Studebat enim in dolore semper gratias agere hymnis Deo²³ et laudibus²⁴ diebus ac noctibus uacare. Sed cum iam esset tempus ut tanta patientia eius remunerari debuisset, membrorum dolor ad uitalia rediit. Cumque se iam morti proximum agnouit, fratres suos uocat, atque eis ualedicens sancta illa anima tertio idus Decembris carne soluta est, perenniter cum Christo regnans per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.

II.6. *De Doetheno scriptore*¹

²In diuinis scripturis legitur: 'Quod egressum est de labiis tuis, ne moram facias Deo reddere: melius est enim non uouere, quam post uotum non reddere'.^a Et sanctus Petrus apostolus ita terribiliter admonet, dicens: 'Melius erat illis uiam ³non cognoscere iustitiae³ quam post agnitionem retrorsum conuerti ab eo quod illis traditum est sancto mandato'.^b Et alibi: 'Canis reuertitur⁴ ad uomitum suum et sus lota in uolutabro luti'.^c Propterea,⁵ carissimi, haec exposui, quia aliquando⁶ in eodem sancto loco ⁷exstitit quidam⁷ scriptor, Doethgen nomine, qui ita uiuebat foris, sicut unus ex canonicis, sed tamen iam deuouerat stabilitatem suam et conuersionem morum suorum in eodem⁸ monasterio. Sed antiquus hostis, qui semper insidiatur humano generi, immisit ei tales cogitationes, ut locum sanctum desereret, et promissiones suas irritaret, et mundum cum suo desiderio quaereret. Cumque haec talis cogitatio in corde illius⁹ uersaretur, diem aptum constituit, ut impleret quod diabolus suadebat. Nuntiata sunt haec omnia sancto patri monasterii. Quod ille audiens, protinus^{9a} pro eo orationem ad Dominum fudit. Cumque ab oratione surrexisset, ilico ille scriptor paraliticus factus est, nec ualuit ullo modo per

^e Prv III.12; Hbr XII.6.

^a Dt XXIII.23, Ecl V.3-4.

^b II Pt II.21.

^c Prv XXVI.11; II Pt II.22.

^{21a} M(P); *locis* BC(F).

²² M(P); *Domino* BC(F).

²³ M; *Domino* BC(F)P.

²⁴ C(F)M(P); *laudibus Domino* B.

II.6

¹ Title in M only.

² BC(F) omit the opening quotations to *luti*.

^{3...3} M; *iustitiae non cognoscere* P.

⁴ M; *reuersus* P.

⁵ BC(F) resume with this word.

⁶ BC(F); om. M(P).

^{7...7} BC(F)M; *quidam exstitit* P.

⁸ BC(F)M; om. P.

⁹ BC(F)M; *ipsius* P.

^{9a} BC(F); om. M(P).

move at all of his own accord; his hands and feet were tied so that he could not leave even if he had wanted to. At that, coming to himself, he said: 'Carry me in your hands to the church of the Holy Saviour, and there I will declare before the Lord and his saints that never from this day to the end of my life will I turn away from this holy place'. When he had made this vow in the sight of all who were in the church, he was restored once again, by God's command, to his original state of health, so that he could go quickly to his lodgings on his own feet. Not long after this the venerable scribe became a monk, and led a good and perfect life with the other monks and persevered in their company to the end of his life, and died in peace, a confessor, the fifteenth day before the kalends of October.

II.7. *The dormitory of the brothers: how it fell on everyone and injured no one.*

One day when the holy brothers were building a dormitory and laying the roof-beams and planks on the top, and there was a large number of people occupied inside and out, suddenly all the joints of the beams and ceiling fell right on top of the people, and there was a great noise and no slight confusion, and great fear seized the monks who were there, for the holy men thought that a great many people had fallen and lost their present lives. But by the Lord's help none of them had suffered any harm, but all escaped safe and unhurt. For the prophet says: 'Wonderful are your works, O Lord, and my soul has known them indeed'. It is he, after all, who saves all men and does not wish anyone to perish.

II.8. *The holy monk Tethuuiu*

We have made mention in the first book of this holy man and how he came to the holy life with the other holy monks.¹ Now we wish to intimate something about how this saint lived, and how he passed from this world to the Lord, for we were there present at the time. The holy Tethuuiu, after he

II.8.

¹ This must be a reference to the opening section of the work, which is now lost.

seipsum mouere, sed manus et pedes illius¹⁰ ita erant ligati, ut non posset exire etiamsi uoluisset. Post haec ad se reuersus ait: 'Ducite me inter manus ad ecclesiam sancti Saluatoris, et ibi confitebor coram Domino et sanctis eius quia nunquam ab hodierna die usque ad terminum uitae meae ab isto sancto loco discedam'. Quod cum ita uouisset,¹¹ cernentibus cunctis qui in eadem ecclesia erant, ex iussione Dei¹² iterum restitutus est pristinae sanitati, ita ut per pedes suos ad hospitium properaret. Nec multo post idem¹³ uenerabilis scriptor monachus effectus est, et cum ceteris monachis bene et¹⁴ perfecte uitam duxit, et usque ad finem uitae suae cum eis perdurauit, obiitque quinto decimo kalendas Octobris confessor in pace.

II.7. *De dormitorio fratrum quomodo super omnes cecidit, et nulli nocuit¹*

Dum quadam die sancti fratres dormitorium aedificarent et trabes et laquearia desuper componerent, sed et multitudo populi intus et foris detinebantur, repente ceciderunt omnes ligaturae trabium et laquearium in medio populi, factusque est sonitus magnus et perturbatio non modica, et timor magnus irruit super monachos qui illic aderant; putabant enim sancti uiri quod multitudo populi corruisset et praesentem uitam finisset. Sed tamen, auxiliante Domino, nullus eorum periculum passus est, sed toti sani atque incolumes euaserunt.² Propheta namque ait: 'Mirabilia opera tua, Domine, et anima mea nouit ualde'.^a Ipse denique saluat omnes homines, et neminem uult perire.

II.8. *De Tethuuio sancto monacho¹*

²Huius sancti uiri³ in superiori libello mentionem fecimus, quomodo ad sanctam conuersationem uenerit cum ceteris sanctis monachis. Nunc autem intimare aliquid uolumus, quomodo ille sanctus conuersatus est, uel qualiter ex hoc mundo ad Dominum migrauerit, quia ibi tunc praesentes

¹⁰ BM(P); eius C(F).

¹¹ BCM(P); uoluisset F.

¹² M(P); Domini BC(F).

¹³ M(P); isdem BC(F).

¹⁴ BCM(P); ac F.

II.7.

¹ Title in M only.

² BC(F) omit the rest of the chapter.

^a Ps CXXXVIII.14.

II.8.

¹ Title in M only.

² BC(F) omit the opening of the chapter as far as *aderamus*.

³ P adds *Tethuuiu*.

came to the monastery, utterly rejected the world and its deceptions with all his mind and soul. The singing of psalms never left his mouth except when he was making allowance for his body with food or sleep. Demons often wanted to play tricks on him, but with the sign of the holy cross and with prayer the holy man reckoned nothing of their illusions. He was also gifted with the height of abstinence, so that some of the brothers, carried away by jealousy, marvelled at how sparing he was. It happened at that time that he was sent under obedience by the holy father of the monastery: a powerful man named Ronuallon had given his house, built of planks of wood, to the holy monks for the sake of his soul, and so the aforementioned monk had been sent to collect it and bring it to the monastery with carts and oxen. Having done this, he came towards the monastery with the materials and carts. But when they came down from the top of the hill which overlooks the monastery, one of the carts broke loose, careered away and crushed one of the servants, named Ioucum, so that his hips and arms seemed to be fragmented. When the man of God saw this he stood stunned, expecting nothing other than the death of his servant. He therefore began to pray hard to God for his recovery, and when he prayed to God in this way, the servant quickly rose safe and unharmed from the place where he had lain, went his way and brought the oxen and cart the rest of the way to the monastery. In this event too, the mercy of the Lord did not fail his servant, who used to pray to him always without ceasing day and night, as the prophet says: 'I will bless the Lord at all times, his praise ever in my mouth'. Afterwards this holy man remained a long time in this world, and so at last was scourged by the Lord, so that his meekness and patience might be tested, as Scripture says: 'What son does his father not reprove?' and 'He chastises every son whom he recognises'. He remained under the same scourge, dumb and paralysed, for almost five years. When the Lord

aderamus. Sanctus⁴ igitur Tethuiu, postquam ad monasterium uenit, mundum cum sua fallacia radicitus toto spiritu et tota anima respuit. Psalmodia uero ab eius ore nullo pacto recedebat,⁵ sed quando aut somnum aut cibum suo corpori indulsisset. Nam et daemones frequenter ei illudere cupiebant, sed ille sanctus uir signaculo sanctae crucis et oratione pro nihilo ducebat illusiones eorum. Erat quippe summae abstinentiae praeditus, ita ut aliqui ex fratribus zelo ducti mirarentur parsimoniam eius. Accidit namque eo tempore ut mitteretur^{6,7} ad oboedientiam a sancto patre monasterii.⁷ Dederat enim quidam potens uir nomine Ronuallon⁸ domum suam ex tabulis ligneis fabricatam pro anima sua sanctis monachis, et idcirco transmissus fuit supradictus monachus ut eam colligeret, et cum plaustris ac bobus ad monasterium deferret. Cum ita impleuisset, uenit cum aedificiis et plaustris prope monasterium; at⁹ ubi de cacumine montis descenderunt, qui monasterio eminet, unum e plaustris concito cursu¹⁰ pertransiit, et unum e famulis, nomine Ioucum,¹¹ contriuit, ita ut coxae¹² illius et brachia minutatim esse uiderentur. Cumque uir Dei haec uidisset, obstupuit, nihil aliud sperans nisi interitum sui famuli. Coepit ergo obnixè Deum obsecrare pro salute illius. Cumque^{12a} ita Deum^{12a} deprecaretur, ille famulus festinanter a loco¹³ in quo¹³ iacuerat sanus^{13a} atque¹⁴ incolumis surrexit, uiam carpens et boues et plaustrum¹⁵ usque ad monasterium rexit. Nam et in hoc facto¹⁶ misericordia Domini¹⁶ non defuit famulo suo, qui eum die ac nocte semper atque indesinenter deprecabatur, ut propheta ait: 'Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore, semper laus eius in ore meo'.^a Nam postea ille uir sanctus in hoc saeculo diutius mansit, et sic tandem a Domino flagellatus est, ut probaretur mansuetudo illius et longanimitas, dicente scriptura: 'Quis enim filius, quem non corripit pater?'^b ¹⁷et, 'Flagellat omnem filium quem recipit'.^c ¹⁷Perdurauitque in eodem flagello, mutus et paralyticus, per quinque ferme annos. Cumque uellet

⁴ BC(F) resume with this word.

⁵ M(P); *recedebant* BC(F).

⁶ M; *mitterentur* BC; *mitterentur* FP.

^{7...7} BCM(P); *a sancto patre monasterii ad oboedientiam* F.

⁸ BC(F)M; *Rosuallon* P.

⁹ BM(P); *et* C(F).

¹⁰ M(P); *gressu* BC(F).

¹¹ M(P); *Ioucum* BF; *Ioucon* C.

¹² BC(F)M; *coxa* P.

^{12a...12a} BC(F)M; *Deum ita* P.

^{13...13} M(P); *ubi* BC(F).

^{13a} BC(F)M; *saluus* P.

¹⁴ BM(P); *et* C(F).

¹⁵ BC(F)M; *plaustra* P.

^{16...16} BM(P); *Dei misericordia* C(F).

^a Ps XXXIII.2.

^b Hbr XII.7.

^c Hbr XII.6.

^{17...17} M(P); om. BC(F).

wished to cease chastising him he commanded him to pass from this world, that is, on the third day before the Ides of January he cast off the burden of the flesh and came to Christ perfected, endlessly happy. When his holy remains had been placed on the bier and we monks were lifting it and taking it to the church of the Holy Saviour, we were regaled there with such a smell as if we had been transported to the midst of Paradise, for it was so sweet and beautiful that you would have thought all the most honeyed perfumes had been scattered there in abundance. Then did the Lord show how great and good a man he had been in the present life, as such a worthy fragrance emanated from him after his death, as attested by the scripture which says 'the day of death, the day of birth'; and the Lord says in the Gospel: 'He who believes in me, though he has died, shall live, and anyone who lives and believes in me will never die'.

II.9. *The coming of the body of the holy Bishop Hypotemius to the monastery of Redon*

At this time the venerable Conuuoion began to reflect with his brothers on how they could find the body of some saint who could intercede for them with the Lord Jesus Christ and be their patron and defender in this world and the next. Now while they were reflecting on this, and assiduously petitioning God for this cause, it happened that the holy man himself set out for the city of Angers with two monks, Heldemar and Louhemel, and they got lodgings inside the city in the home of a certain pious man named Heldewald, and he asked them what they were looking for, and what they wished to do. They said in reply: 'This was our wish, if God had allowed it: to take away with us one of the holy bodies which rest in this city, and to bring it back to our recently built monastery'. Heldewald, hearing this, was filled with great joy and, coming closer, said to them secretly: 'Hear my

Dominus cessare¹⁸ a suo flagello, iussit eum transire ex hoc saeculo, id est, tertio idus Ianuarias¹⁹ sarcinam carnis eiecit et ad Christum laetus sine fine peruenit perfecte.²⁰ Cumque posita fuisset sancta gleba illius super feretrum, nos monachi eam leuantes atque deducentes ad ecclesiam sancti Saluatoris tanto odore ibi repleti sumus ac si in medio paradisi locati fuisset, quia sic²¹ tam dulcis erat et amoenissimus ut putares omnia mellea odorama ibi sparsa esse²² in congeriem.²³ Tunc enim demonstrabat Dominus, quantus qualisue uir ille fuerit in uita praesenti, quia post mortem illius tam digna de eo fragrantia emanabat, scriptura attestante quae ait: 'Dies mortis, dies natiuitatis'.^d Et Dominus in euangelio ait: 'Qui credit in me, etiamsi mortuus fuerit, uiuet, et omnis, qui uiuit et credit in me, non morietur in aeternum'.^e

II.9. *De aduentu corporis sancti Hypotemii episcopi ad Rotonense monasterium*¹

²Per idem² tempus coepit uenerabilis Conuuoion cum fratribus suis cogitare qualiter inuenire possent corpus alicuius sancti, qui intercederet pro eis ad dominum Iesum Christum, essetque eis patronus ac defensor tam in hoc saeculo quam in futuro. Itaque dum haec cogitarent et Dominum assidue postularent pro hac re, exstitit ut ipse sanctus uir pergeret ad Andegauam³ ciuitatem una cum duobus monachis, Heldemaro⁴ et Louhemelo, habueruntque hospitium infra ciuitatem in domo⁵ cuiusdam religiosi⁶ uiri nomine Heldeuualdi, sciscitatusque⁷ est eos quid quaerent, uel quid facere uellent. Illi uero respondentes dixerunt: 'Haec erat uoluntas nostra, si Deus permisisset, unum de sanctis corporibus, quae in hac ciuitate requiescunt, nobiscum auferre, et ad monasterium nostrum nuper aedificatum deducere'. Ille uero haec audiens magno gaudio

¹⁸ M(P); *cessare eum* BC(F).

¹⁹ BC(F)M; *Ianuarii* P.

²⁰ M(P), om. BC(F).

²¹ BCM(P); *hic* F.

²² M(P); *et* BC(F).

²³ BC(F) omit the rest of the chapter.

^d Ecl VII.2.

^e Io XI.25-6.

II.9

¹ Title in M only.

²...² M(P); *sub id* BC(F); *per idem* in the margin, F.

³ BC(F)M; *Andegauensem* P.

⁴ M(P); *id est Heldemaro* BC(F).

⁵ BC(F)M; *domum* P.

⁶ BC(F)M; om. P.

⁷ N begins with this word.

advice, dearest brothers, and do as I tell you. Here in this city rests the most holy bishop Hypotemius, a man beyond comparison, and the Lord works many great deeds and miracles through him. Indeed in bygone years some monks from Francia wished to take him away with them by theft at night, but they could not move him. But it is fitting for you, my friends, to approach him, and whether the saint himself is willing to go with you remains in the power of Almighty God. Now then, stay here today and tomorrow; after the third day, with God's help, go to the church of the saint and take lodgings there and stay there until black night has darkened the earth, and then get up and hurry quickly, making no delay, and open the tomb without any noise or commotion, so that the guards who look after the church do not hear. For there is a great concourse of people there, and frequent troopings of the faithful to the tomb of the holy bishop take place every day: therefore I warn you to do all this softly and silently.' The monks, hearing these words, gave thanks to Almighty God, and by God's will they did all that the pious man had said, and stayed with him for three days. On the fourth day they rose and approached the monument of the saint, and got ready tools with which they could open the tomb, for the stone beneath which the saint was lying was very large and unwieldy and could hardly be moved because of its size. Then the monks approached the monument of the saint with hymns and praise and began to pray silently to God to deign to stand by them with his aid. And when they had laid their hands on the monument, they took off the cover of the tomb with the greatest of ease, and thus, with the Lord's favour, they took the most holy body with them and crossed the city, questioning no one and being questioned by no one, and came back to their own land with success and rejoicing. They reported all this to their brothers who were in the monastery and ordered them to come and meet the saint of God, who was then in the church known as Langon. But the story had also spread through almost the whole province, and everyone, nobles and commoners, men and women, ran to meet him, and a great crowd of people formed, coming

repletus⁸ et propius accedens secrete eos alloquitur: 'Audite, ⁹carissimi fratres,⁹ meum consilium, et facite quae dico. Ecce in hac ciuitate requiescit sanctissimus Hypotemius¹⁰ episcopus, uir incomparabilis, et multas uirtutes et miracula per eum operatur Dominus. Nam in praeteritis annis uoluerunt quidam monachi de Francia deportare eum secum furto per noctem, sed non potuerunt eum mouere. Vobis enim, carissimi, decet ut ad eum adproprietis,¹¹ et si ipse sanctus uoluerit ut¹² uobiscum eat, in potestate Dei omnipotentis manet. Nunc ergo manete hic¹³ hodie et cras; post tertium uero diem cum Dei adiutorio accedite ad ecclesiam sancti, et ibi accipite hospitium et manete illic¹⁴ usque dum nox atra terram fuscauerit, et sic surgite et properate festinanter, nullam moram facientes, et aperite sepulchrum sine ¹⁵sonitu uel strepitu,¹⁵ ne custodes hoc sentiant qui ecclesiam custodiunt. Magnus enim ibi ¹⁶conkursus est¹⁶ populorum et frequens ambulatio fidelium fit cotidie ad sepulchrum sancti episcopi: propterea uos admoneo, ut quiete et silenter haec omnia agatis.' Illi autem haec audientes gratias Deo omnipotenti retulerunt, et quicquid¹⁷ ille religiosus dixerat, cum uoluntate Dei impleuerunt. Manseruntque cum eo per tres dies, quarto uero¹⁸ die surrexerunt et ad tumulum sancti accesserunt, praeparaueruntque machinas unde aperire¹⁹ possent ostium sepulchri,²⁰ quia lapis, in quo sanctus iacebat, magnus erat et immobilis, et uix moueri prae magnitudine poterat. Tunc accesserunt monachi ad tumulum sancti cum laudibus et hymnis, et coeperunt Deum cum silentio deprecari, ut dignaretur ²¹adesse eis²¹ in adiutorium. Cumque manus ad tumulum iniecissent, cum summa leuitate cooperulum sepulchri amouerunt, atque ita cum gratia Domini sanctissimum corpus secum adduxerunt, pertransieruntque ciuitatem, nullum interrogantes, neque ab ullo interrogati, et cum prosperitate et gaudio ad patriam suam sunt reuersi. Nuntiaueruntque haec omnia fratribus suis qui in monasterio erant, mandaueruntque ut uenirent obuiam sancto Dei, qui tunc erat in ecclesia quae dicitur Langon.²² Sed et haec fama paene per totam prouinciam cucurrit, et omnes occurrerunt tam nobiles quam ignobiles, uiri et feminae, obuiam ei, factusque²³ est magnus numerus populorum

⁸ BC(F)N; *repletus est* M(P).

⁹ ...⁹ BC(F)N; *fratres carissimi* M(P).

¹⁰ M(P); *Ypotemius* BC(F); *Ipotemius* N.

¹¹ BCMN; *adproprietis* FP.

¹² BCM(P)N; om. F.

¹³ BC(F)MN; om. P.

¹⁴ M(P)N; *illuc* B; *ibi* C(F).

¹⁵ BM(P)N; *strepitu uel sonitu* C(F).

¹⁶ ...¹⁶ BCN; *est concursus* M(P).

¹⁷ BN; *quidquid* C(F)M(P).

¹⁸ BC(F)N; *autem* M(P).

¹⁹ BFM(P)N; *aperirent* C.

²⁰ BCM(P)N; *tumuli* F.

²¹ ...²¹ BC(F)N; *eis adesse* M(P).

²² M(P)N; *Langon* BC(F) (but *Langon* is given in the margin).

²³ BM(P)N; *factus* C(F).

from everywhere; and so the sacred body was carried into the monastery with great singing of psalms. That very day it happened that a woman brought along her little son, who was so blind that he could see nothing, and when he touched the holy man's bier he received his sight at once, and reported this to everyone who was attending the procession of the saint. The holy body was placed in the church of the Holy Saviour at the east end, where it is now adored by the people, and displays itself in great works. For very often victims of fever coming to his tomb go away well and healthy, and any invalid who comes to his tomb full of faith returns happy and glad. All this our Lord Jesus Christ brings about through his servant: he who lives and reigns with the Father and the Holy Spirit for all ages of ages. Amen.

II.10. *The journey of the holy abbot Conuuoion to the city of Rome by order of the governor Nominioi, and the coming of the body of the holy Pope Marcellinus to Brittany*

In the time of Nominioi, ruler of Brittany, a certain heresy which is called simony arose all over Brittany and corrupted the whole church so that everyone from the least to the greatest was chasing after evil gain. Susannus, bishop of Vannes, stood out the most as a perpetrator of this heresy. No priest or deacon could obtain the laying on of hands from the bishops without payment, nor did the pontiffs consider how this heresy had been torn out by the roots by the holy apostle Peter in the early Church. We read in the Acts of the Apostles how righteous men received the gift of the Holy Spirit through the laying on of the hands of the apostles, so that they spoke in tongues and prophesied. Seeing this, Simon, skilled in magic and impious, came to the apostles and asked them to take a payment from him and in return to give him that grace as they had given it to others. Then Peter said to him in reply: 'May your money go with you to perdition: you have no share and no rights in this word'. At that he left in confusion, not

undique uenientium. Sicque deportatum est sanctum²⁴ corpus²⁵ monasterio cum magno psallentio. Ea uero die accidit ut quaedam femina deferret filium paruulum qui ita caecus erat ut nihil uideret. Cumque feretrum sancti uiri tetigisset, statim lumen recepit, et cunctis qui obsequio sancti deseruiebant hoc patefecit. Locatumque est sanctum corpus in ecclesia sancti Saluatoris ad orientalem plagam, ubi nunc adoratur a populo, magnisque se uirtutibus demonstrat. Nam febricitici saepius ad tumulum illius²⁶ uenientes sani atque incolumes recedunt, et quisquis infirmus fide plenus ad sepulchrum illius²⁷ uenerit gaudens et laetus ad propria remeat. Haec omnia Iesus Christus dominus noster per famulum suum operatur, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto uiuit et regnat per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.

II.10.¹ *De profectioe sancti Conuuoionis abbatis ex iussione Nominioe² principis ad urbem Romam et de aduentu corporis sancti Marcellini papae ad Britanniam*

In tempore autem Nominioe principis Britanniae surrexit quaedam haeresis quae appellatur simoniaca per totam Britanniam, foedauitque omnem ecclesiam, ita ut a minimo usque ad maximum omnes auaritiam sectarentur. Huius uero haeresis fautor maxime Susannus³ Venetensis episcopus exstitit. Nam nullus presbyter aut diaconus poterat manus impositionem ab episcopis sine⁴ pretio accipere, nec cogitabant pontifices, quomodo uel qualiter haec haeresis in primordio ecclesiae a sancto Petro apostolo radicitus fuerit⁵ euulsa.⁶ Legitur namque^{6a} in actibus apostolorum qualiter accipiebant homines iusti donum Spiritus Sancti per impositionem manus apostolorum, ita ut loquerentur linguis et prophetarent; quod cernens Simon magus atque impius uenit ad apostolos et rogauit eos ut acciperent ab eo pretium, et darent illi illam⁷ gratiam, sicuti aliis praestabant. Tunc respondens Petrus ait illi: 'Pecunia tua tecum sit in perditione: non est tibi pars neque hereditas in sermone isto'.^a Tunc ille confusus abscessit, non

²⁴ BC(F)N; *sacrum* M(P).

²⁵ BC(F)N; *corpus in* M(P).

²⁶ BCM(P)N; *illius* F.

²⁷ BC(F)MN; om. P.

II.10

¹ Title MN; om. BC(F)P.

² M; *Nominioi* N.

³ BM(P)N; *Ioannes* C(F).

⁴ M(P)N; om. BC(F).

⁵ BC(F)N; *fuerat* M(P).

⁶ BM(P)N; *auulsa* C(F).

^{6a} BC(F)MN; *enim* P.

⁷ BC(F)MN; *hanc* P.

^a Act VIII.20-1.

having found what he had dishonestly sought. And the Lord also says in the Gospel: 'Freely you have received, freely give'. And at another time, when the Lord came into the temple to pray, he found sellers of cattle and sheep and doves, and money-changers sitting there, and he drove away the unrighteous traders together with those who were dealing with them; and he said to those who were selling doves: 'Take all this away and do not make my Father's house a market-place'. For the sellers of doves are those who give the grace of the Spirit which they have received, not freely, as was laid down by the Lord, but for a price; who grant the laying on of hands, by which the Spirit is received, for the gain of money and the favour of the crowd; who make the gift of Holy Orders not according to merit of life but according to means, seeking their own ends and not those of Jesus Christ. The holy fathers, too, who were three hundred and eighteen at the Nicene Council, decided and judged this with the authority of the holy pope Sylvester. And those who were at the African council condemned this heresy with a similar judgment: 'If any bishop, priest or deacon has been ordained for money, let his ordination become invalid, and let him be expelled from the sacred ministry, and let him and whoever ordained him be condemned by the same judgment, and in no wise attain to ecclesiastical office'. Not only they, but other holy fathers who were at the council of Chalcedon, said the same. And in the Old Testament Moses was instructed by the Lord: 'If anyone has shed human blood, you shall tear him away from my altar, that he may not offer loaves to the Lord'. By such words is anyone who gives or receives a price for Holy Orders condemned by the holy fathers. Now while, as we said earlier, Brittany was erupting badly with this heresy, it came to the attention of the holy abbot Conuuoion how wickedly the bishops were acting, and so he began to read over the sacred canons more often, and, wishing to stamp out their error, he went to the court of the aforementioned governor (Nominoi) and spoke to him privately, saying: 'Are you unaware, and do you not realise, how your country is being undermined by the wicked bishops and heretics who sell Holy Orders and bestow them (for money)? And this I say to you, if this heresy is not quickly and thoroughly uprooted from Brittany, the anger of

inueniens quod inique quaerebat. Sed et Dominus in euangelio ait: 'Gratias accepistis, gratis date'.^b Et alio tempore, quando Dominus uenit in templo orare, 'inuenit in templum⁸ uendentes boues et oues et columbas, et nummularios sedentes',^c et depulit negotiatores iniustos et foras omnes simul cum his qui negotiabantur eiecit, et his qui uendebant columbas dixit: 'Auferte ista hinc et nolite facere domum patris mei domum negotiationis'.^d Vendunt enim columbas, qui acceptam Spiritus gratiam non gratis, ut praeceptum est a Domino, sed ad praemium, dant; qui impositionem manus, qua Spiritus accipitur, ad quaestum pecuniae et ad uulgi fauorem tribuunt; qui sacros ordines non ad uitae meritum, sed ad gratiam largiuntur, sua quaerentes, non quae Iesu Christi. Nam et sancti patres qui in Nicaeno concilio fuerunt^{8a} trecenti decem et octo^{8a} cum auctoritate sancti Siluestri papae hoc decreuerunt atque iudicauerunt, et qui in Africano concilio fuerunt simili sententia istam haeresim⁹ damnauerunt dicentes: 'Si quis episcopus, presbyter aut diaconus per pecunias fuerit ordinatus, irrita fiat ordinatio eius, et a sacro ministerio deiiciatur et ipse et ordinator eius, simili sententia damnentur, et ad gradum ecclesiasticum nullatenus ascendant'. Sed et ceteri sancti patres, qui in concilio Chalcedonensi fuerunt, ita dixerunt. Nam et in ueteri Testamento Moysi a Domino praecipitur: 'Si quis humanum sanguinem fuderit, ab altari meo euellatur'.¹⁰ Tali sententia a sanctis patribus condemnatus est, qui pretium dederit aut acceperit pro sacro ordine. Igitur, sicut superius^{11a} diximus, cum Britannia ista haeresi male pullularet, peruenit ad notitiam sancti Conuuoionis¹² abbatis qualiter episcopi nequiter agerent, coepitque proinde sacros canones saepius lectitare, et eorum errorem uolens destruere, peruenit ad aulam principis praedicti, locutusque est ad eum secrete, dicens: 'Ignoras, nec intelligis, quomodo patria tua subuersa est¹³ ab impiis episcopis et haereticis qui sacros ordines pretio^{13a} uendunt et tribuunt? Et hoc¹⁴ tibi dico,¹⁴ si non cito ista haeresis radicitus a Britannia euellatur,^{14a} ira Dei omnipotentis et omnium sanctorum eius

^b Mt X.8.

^c Io II.14.

^d Io II.16.

^e Gn IX.6, Ex XXI.14; Lv XXI.17.

⁸ BC(F)N; *templo* M(P).

^{8a} . . . ^{8a} N; CCC.XVIII BC(F)M; *trecenti et octodecim* P.

⁹ BC(F)M(P); *haeresin* N.

¹⁰ BM(P)N; *euellas* C(F).

¹¹ BM(P)N; *panem* C(F).

^{11a} BC(F)MN; *supra* P.

¹² BC(F)N; *Conuuoionis* M(P).

¹³ BC(F)MN; *om.* P.

^{13a} BC(F)MN; *om.* P.

¹⁴ . . . ¹⁴ BC(F)N; *dico tibi* M(P).

^{14a} BC(F)MN; *expellatur* P.

Almighty God and all his saints will come upon you and upon your people.' The other, hearing this, rose up in anger and great indignation, for the same Nominoi had the zeal of God, though it did not come from knowledge; so then he ordered all the bishops of the province and the teachers and those learned in the law to be called together to his council, and asked them to read and explain the canons of the apostles and all the canons of the holy fathers in the sight of all who were at that council. The bishops were questioned by the lawyers and the teachers of the governor Nominoi as to why they received gifts and payment for Holy Orders. Then those bishops answered: 'We have not taken gifts or payments from our priests, but have only accepted due and fitting honour from them and will continue to do so'. And, as we said before, Bishop Susannus flagrantly contradicted the holy canons at that synod. As they denied and argued against the charges, it was adjudged to them that two of them should go to the city of Rome, which is the head of all churches that are under the whole of heaven, and should there argue their causes and give an account of themselves before the vicar of St Peter, that is, the Pope of Rome, and if they had done wrong, they should be judged there by the holy pontiff of Rome. The bishops therefore chose two from among themselves to go to Rome: Susannus, bishop of Vannes, and another bishop named Felix of Quimper. Then the aforementioned Nominoi asked the venerable man Conuuoion to set out with them, to hear and dispute their causes and their accounts (that is, of the bishops). At the same time the governor Nominoi sent a gold crown with very precious jewels as a gift to the blessed apostle Peter, by the venerable man Conuuoion, and commanded him to ask the blessed pope Leo for one of the holy bodies of the martyrs who had governed the Roman church since the blessed apostle Peter. The bishops therefore set out, together with the blessed abbot, on the very long journey to Rome, and with great difficulty, weary, they arrived at the city, and were honourably received by the holy bishop of Rome. Then the venerable man Conuuoion presented the gold crown to the blessed pontiff Leo and told him the request of the governor Nominoi. The blessed pope Leo then assembled a synod of bishops in the city of Rome and there discussed the case of the bishops with the venerable man Conuuoion listening, and it was cast up to them by the bishops of the holy church of Rome how they had presumed to accept gifts and payments for Holy Orders. They answered

ueniet super te et super populum tuum.' Haec ille audiens in ira et ¹⁵in indignatione magna¹⁵ surrexit. Nam et ipse Nominoe zelum Dei habebat, sed non secundum scientiam; iussitque deinceps conuocare¹⁶ omnes episcopos prouinciae et doctores et legisperitos ad concilium suum, rogauitque eos ut legerent et exponerent canones apostolorum et omnes canones sanctorum patrum in conspectu omnium qui in illo concilio erant. Interrogatique sunt episcopi a legisperitis et a doctoribus Nominoe principis quare acciperent dona et munera pro sacris ordinibus. Tunc illi episcopi responderunt: 'Nos nec dona nec munera a presbyteris nostris accipimus, sed honorem congruum ac debitum ab eis accepimus¹⁷ et accipiemus'. Et, sicut superius diximus, Susannus episcopus in illa synodo atrociter contradicebat sanctis canonibus. His ita contradicentibus atque litigantibus, iudicatum¹⁸ est illis ut pergerent duo ex eis ad urbem Romam, quae caput est omnium ecclesiarum quae sub uniuerso caelo sunt, ibique ante uicarium sancti Petri, id est Romanum pontificem, causas et rationes eorum excuterent, et si nequiter fecissent, ibi a sancto Romano pontifice iudicarentur. Elegerunt itaque episcopi duo¹⁹ ex eis qui Romam pergerent, id est Susannum episcopum Venetensem et alium episcopum nomine Felicem Corisopiti.²⁰ Tunc rogauit praefatus Nominoe uenerabilem uirum Conuuoion ut proficisceretur cum illis ut audiret et discuteret causas et rationes eorum, ²¹id est episcoporum.²¹ Eodem tempore transmisit Nominoe princeps coronam auream cum gemmis pretiosissimis donum beato Petro Apostolo per uirum uenerabilem Conuuoion, imperauitque ei ut peteret a beato Leone papa unum ex sanctis corporibus martyrum qui Romanam ecclesiam post beatum Petrum Apostolum rexerant.²² Perrexerunt ²³igitur episcopi una cum sancto²⁴ abbate Romam uiam ualde longam, perueneruntque²³ cum multo labore fessi ad urbem, receptique sunt honorifice a sancto Romano praesule.²⁵ Tunc tradidit ²⁶uir uenerabilis²⁶ Conuuoion coronam auream beato Leoni pontifici, dixitque ei petitionem principis Nominoe. Congregauit igitur beatus papa Leo ²⁷synodum episcoporum in urbe Roma,²⁷ ibique discussit causas episcoporum audiente uiro uenerabili Conuuoione. Obiurgatique sunt ab episcopis sanctae Romanae ecclesiae, quomodo praesumpsissent dona et munera pro sanctis²⁸ ordinibus accipere. Illi e contra responderunt: 'Et si recepimus,

15...¹⁵ BN; in magna indignatione C(F); indignatione magna M(P).

¹⁶ BMN; conuocari C(F)P.

¹⁷ BCM(P)N; accipimus F.

¹⁸ BCM(P)N; indicatum F.

¹⁹ BM(P)N; duos C(F).

²⁰ MN; Corisopitensem BC(F)P.

²¹...²¹ M(P); om. BC(F); uel episcoporum N.

²² BC(F)MN; rexerat P.

²³...²³ BC(F)MN; om. P.

²⁴ BC(F)N; beato M.

²⁵ BC(F)MN; pontifice P.

²⁶...²⁶ BC(F)N; uenerabilis uir M(P).

²⁷...²⁷ BCM(P)N; in urbe Roma synodum episcoporum F.

²⁸ BC(F)N; sacris M(P).

against this: 'If we did accept them, we did it in ignorance'. Then Archbishop Arsenius said: 'No priest should be ignorant; that excuse does not make amends'. The holy Pope Leo replied: 'We should accept the authority of the holy Gospel, for the Lord himself says: "If salt loses its savour, by what should it be seasoned?" That is, if a bishop errs, by whom will he be corrected? The holy canons, too, give this judgment: if any bishop, priest or deacon shall have been ordained through money, he is to be deposed from his order, he and his ordainer together.' And thus it was decided in that synod that no bishop should dare to accept gifts or payments from any order of the Church, and if he does, he shall lose his own rank and someone else be appointed in his place. When the synod was closed the bishops asked leave to return to their own land. The venerable Conuuoion, too, was found worthy to receive the Apostle's leave, giving him [the pope] the small house which he had been using, honouring him with fitting honours. Then the most blessed pope Leo sent to Nominioi governor of Brittany the body of the most holy Marcellinus, pope and martyr, who ruled the holy church of Rome, thirtieth after St Peter the Apostle, for nine years, four months and twenty-five days, and was beheaded for Christ's faith with his deacons by the pagan emperor Diocletian; and he ordered his body to be thrown into the street of the city as an example to the Christians, and it lay like that unburied for thirty days. After that, however, his priest, called Marcellus, took up his holy body by night, and buried it – in a chamber which he had made himself – with hymn-singing and incense, on the sixth day before the kalends of May, and the bishopric lapsed for seven years while Diocletian was persecuting the Christians. This holy martyr, then, Pope Leo sent to Brittany by the venerable abbot Conuuoion. Then they arrived with joy and prosperity in their homeland, bringing their homeland a great gift, and he (St Marcellinus) was brought to the holy monastery of Redon. Hearing this, Nominioi hurried to meet the saint with the nobles of Brittany and the bishops; and they brought him in and placed him in the church of the Holy Saviour with hymns and praise and great happiness and the people were delighted with great joy that they had been found worthy to receive a vicar of the holy Apostle Peter, in their province; and in the same place the Lord Jesus Christ reveals the merits of his martyr everywhere. People come not only from within Brittany, but even from far-away lands, with faith and devotion to honour his holy grave, and thus return safe and sound to their

ignoranter fecimus'. Tunc Arsenius archiepiscopus dixit: 'Nullis sacerdos debet ignorans esse: haec excusatio non et satisfactio'. Sanctus ²⁹Leo papa ²⁹ respondit: 'Auctoritas sancti Euangelii excipienda est; ³⁰ ipse namque Dominus ait: "Si sal euauerit, in quo condietur?"^f id est, si episcopus ³¹errauerit, a quo emendabitur? Sed et sancti canones hoc³² iudicant: ³³ si quis episcopus, ³¹ presbyter aut diaconus per pecunias fuerit ordinatus, deiiciatur ab ordine suo et ipse et ordinator eius.' Et ita in illa synodo definitum est ut nullus episcopus audeat munera aut dona ab ullo ordine ecclesiastico accipere, quod si fecerit, gradum proprium amittat et alius in loco eius subrogetur. Expleta uero synodo, licentiam petierunt episcopi remeandi ad patriam suam. Sed et uenerabilis Conuuoion licentiam apostolicam meruit accipere, dansque illi casulam suam qua utebatur, honorans eum digno honore. Tunc transmisit beatissimus Leo papa ad Nominioium principem Britanniae corpus sanctissimi Marcellini papae et martyris, qui tricesimus post beatum Petrum apostolum sanctam Romanam ecclesiam³⁴ rexit per annos nouem et menses quatuor et dies uiginti quinque, decollatusque est pro fide Christi cum diaconibus suis a Diocletiano imperatore pagano, iussitque corpus eius in platea ciuitatis proiici ad exemplum christianorum, sicque per dies triginta insepultum iacuit. Postea uero presbyter eius Marcellus nomine collegit³⁵ sanctum corpus eius noctu et sepeliuit in cubiculo quod ipse fecerat cum hymnis et aromatibus sexto kalendas Maias,^{35a} et cessauit episcopatus per annos septem, persequente Diocletiano christianos. Hunc ergo sanctum Dei martyrem transmisit papa Leo ad Britanniam per uenerabilem abbatem Conuuoionem.³⁶ Tunc cum laetitia et prosperitate peruenerunt ad patriam, magnum donum patriae deferentes, deductusque est ad sanctum monasterium Rotonense. Quod audiens Nominioe, properauit in occursum sancti cum optimatibus Britanniae et episcopis, deportaueruntque eum et posuerunt in ecclesia sancti Saluatoris cum ³⁷laudibus et hymnis³⁷ et laetitia magna; gauisusque est populus gaudio magno, quia meruerant accipere uicarium sancti Petri apostoli in sua prouincia; atque in eodem loco Dominus Iesus Christus merita martyris sui ubique demonstrat; non solum infra Britanniam, sed etiam e longinquis regionibus ueniunt cum fide et deuotione uenerari sanctum sepulchrum eius, et sic sani atque incolumes

²⁹...²⁹ BC(F)N; *papa Leo* M(P).

³⁰ BC(F)MN; om. P.

^f Mt V.13.

³¹...³¹ BC(F)MN; om. P.

³² BMN; *haec* C(F).

³³ BCMN; *indicant* F.

³⁴ BC(F)MN; om. P.

³⁵ BM(P)N; *allegit* C(F).

^{35a} BC(F)MN; *Maii* P.

³⁶ BC(F)MN; *Conuuoionum* P.

³⁷...³⁷ BC(F)MN; *hymnis et laudibus* P.

own homes, praising our Lord Jesus Christ, who lives and reigns with the Father and the Holy Spirit now and for ever, throughout all ages. Amen.

So now, dearest brothers, with God's help, I have briefly and concisely set down the book I promised on the life and ways of the holy monks of Redon, though none of the mortal race can tell in full what these saints did. But it is sufficient to tell a few things out of many. Now, however, let us restore our strength by silence and hurry on to other matters.

Here ends the second book on the lives of the holy monks of Redon. Thanks be to God. Amen.

ad propria discedunt, laudantes dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto uiuit et regnat et nunc et semper per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.³⁸

Ecce quod promisi, fratres carissimi, Deo adiuuante, libellum de uita et conuersione sanctorum monachorum Rotonensium succincte et breuiter explicaui, quamuis nullus mortalium potest per omnia quae illi sancti gesserunt enarrare. Sed sufficiunt pauca de pluribus dicere. Nunc autem reparemus uires per silentium et ad alia festinemus.

³⁹Explicit liber secundus de uita sanctorum monachorum Rotonensium. Deo gratias. Amen.³⁹

³⁸ BC(F) omit the rest of Book II.

³⁹ ...³⁹ MN; om. P.

Preface

After the coming of the bodies of the holy bishops, that is, of the most blessed Marcellinus, bishop of the city of Rome, martyr of Christ, and of St Hypotemius bishop of Angers, to the holy place of Redon, the Lord saw fit to reveal many wonders and many great works through them far and wide, all of which have been passed over and almost consigned to oblivion owing to the neglect and carelessness of writers. To us, however, it seemed right, with the help of our Lord Jesus Christ, to relate to you, dearest brothers, a few of these same miracles, to the best of our abilities, for by myself I have not the power to unfold all these things before your charity. I learned this from the authority of other venerable men who went before me in age and who saw all these things with their own eyes and afterwards related them to me, things which have been hidden from you till now, to which God sees fit to add more every day in order to confirm the faith of believers, because it was most harmful that they should all be consigned to oblivion. Then I pray the same Almighty God to deign to open my lips, he who once said: 'Open your mouth and I will fill it'. And in another place the Lord himself says the same: 'It is I who give wisdom to the wise and supply foresight to the prudent'. The Apostle James, too, says in his letter: 'If any among you needs wisdom, let him ask for it from God, and it will be given to him abundantly'. Let this book now begin (with) an opening on the great works of the holy bishops, how the Lord revealed them every-

*Praefatio*²

Post aduentum corporum sanctorum episcoporum³ ad sanctum locum Rotonensem, id est beatissimi Marcellini urbis Romae episcopi, martyris Christi, et sancti Hypothemii⁴ Andegauensis episcopi, multa mirabilia et multas uirtutes per eos Dominus dignatus est longe lateque ubique⁵ demonstrare, quae omnia praetermissa sunt et paene obliuioni tradita propter negligentiam et incuriam scriptorum. Nobis autem uisum est, auxiliante domino nostro Iesu Christo, pauca ex eisdem uirtutibus uobis, fratres carissimi, ut uires praeualuerint, intimare. Nec enim sufficio per⁶ meipsum haec omnia disserere caritati uestrae. Ex auctoritate et enim^{6a} aliorum uenerabilium uirorum hoc didici, qui me aetate praeibant, et qui oculis suis haec omnia uiderunt et mihi postea retulerunt, quae usque modo uobis latuerant, quae Deus ad corroborandam fidelium fidem cotidie dignatur augere, quia ualde perniciosum erat, ut haec omnia traderentur obliuioni. Ipsum denique Deum omnipotentem obsecro, ut dignetur aperire labia mea, qui aliquando dixit: 'Aperi os tuum et ego adimplebo illud'.^a Et alio⁷ loco idem ipse Dominus ait: 'Ego sum qui do sapientiam sapientibus, et prudentiam prudentibus ministro'.^b Nam et Iacobus Apostolus in epistola sua ait: 'Si quis ex uobis indiget sapientia, postulet a Deo et dabitur ei affluenter'.^c Incipiat ergo nunc iste liber exordium de uirtutibus sanctorum episcoporum, qualiter^{7a} eos Dominus ubique^{7a}

III. Praef.¹ BC(F); no heading MN; *Livre III P*.² BC(F) omit the preface; *Incipit prologus libri tertii M*; no heading NP.³ MN; om. P.⁴ M(P); *Ypotemii N*.⁵ MN; om. P.⁶ M(P); om. N.^{6a} N; *enim M(P)*.^a Ps LXXX.11.^b Dn II.21.^c Iac I.5.⁷ N; *in alio M(P)*.^{7a...7a} MN; *ubique eos Dominus P*.

where, and how those who were present and those who were absent heard the news of them well and accurately. Who knows how many miracles and how many marvels were shown forth through them, if not the author of all mankind, Jesus Christ, our Lord, who everywhere rules and guards his saints and makes their merits known among their peoples? Nor must we leave out the matter of the liberation of the holy place from the barbarians, for it revealed a great and truly awesome miracle to all those who heard. For whichever way these pagans turned, they destroyed everything, plundering, laying waste and burning. But the Lord spared this holy place of his alone, and deigned to keep it safe, not because of our merits but for his own honour and glory. We must also speak about the passing of the holy abbot and confessor of Christ, Conuuoion, from this world, for this holy father was founder and builder of the holy place of Redon from the beginning and carried it through to perfection. Who, then, can relate in words how this holy man conducted his life in this passing age: how he was so strong in bearing injuries and remained so strong until the end of his life that he did not yield to any man – holding to his good purpose until he gave back his soul to his Creator, leaving his example for his followers?

Here begins the third book on the great works of the holy bishops Marcellinus bishop of the city of Rome and Hypotemius bishop of Angers, and also on the liberation of the holy place from barbarians by the prayers of the holy abbot Conuuoion.

diulgauerit et absentes et praesentes notitiam eorum bene et cognite audierint. Quis enim scit quantae uirtutes et quanta prodigia per eos ostensa sunt, nisi auctor omnium hominum,⁸ Iesus Christus dominus noster, qui ubique regit et custodit sanctos suos, et merita eorum per populos suos demonstrat? Nam et de liberatione sancti loci a barbaris non est nobis praetermittendum, quia magnum miraculum et uere tremendum ostensa sunt, nisi auctor omnium hominum,⁸ id est⁸ Iesus Christus dominus noster, qui ubique regit et custodit sanctos suos, et merita eorum per tamen Dominus huic sancto suo¹¹ loco pepercit, et non propter nostra merita, sed ad suum honorem et gloriam dignatus est reseruare. Sed et de transitu sancti Conuuoionis¹² abbatis et confessoris Christi ex hoc mundo sermo nobis dandus est, quia ipse sanctus pater fundator et constructor sancti Rotonensis loci ab initio exstitit, et usque ad summum perfecte perduxit. Quis ergo potest litteris explicare quomodo uel qualiter iste sanctus uir in hoc mortali saeculo uitam duxerit, qualiter ad tolerandas iniurias tam fortissimus fuerit, et usque ad finem uitae suae ita fortiter permansit ut nulli homini¹³ cederet, in bono proposito permanens, usque dum animam suo creatori reddidit, relinquens exempla suis discipulis?¹⁴

¹⁵Incipit liber tertius de uirtutibus sanctorum episcoporum Marcellini urbis Romae episcopi et Hypotemii¹⁶ Andegauensis episcopi, nec non et de liberatione sancti loci a barbaris [precibus]¹⁷ sancti Conuuoionis abbatis.

⁸...⁸ N; om. M(P).

⁹ MN; *credentibus* P.

¹⁰ MN; om. P.

¹¹ MN; om. P.

¹² M(P); *Conuuoioni* N.

¹³ N; *hominum* M(P).

¹⁴ N adds *Explicit praefatio amen*.

¹⁵ Heading in MN only.

¹⁶ M; *Hipotemii* N.

¹⁷ Instead of this word there is an illegible stretch of approximately two words' length in N.

III.1. *The Roman cleric*

The Lord says in the Gospel: 'Wherever there is a body, there too the eagles gather.' And again the same Lord asks his Father: 'Father, I desire that wherever I am, these may be with me also'. And he promised to the apostles: 'Behold, I am with you every day until the end of the world'. After the glorious coming of St Marcellinus to Brittany, in the second year after his coming, there were in the province of Spoleto two half-brothers, one a scribe and the other a deacon, who loved each other with such singlehearted love that they might have been born of the same mother. One day, at the prompting of the devil, who always bears a grudge against brotherly love, while these two brothers were sitting alone, one of them asked the other for a knife to sharpen his reed pen; the latter threw it to his brother carelessly; he at once received a wound in the heart from the powerful blow, and at once collapsing on the ground breathed out the spirit of life. Seeing this his brother likewise fell to the ground himself and, weeping and wailing, lamented over the lifeless body of his brother for a long time. Quickly all the brothers who were in the monastery came to him, sorrowing and grieving greatly at what had happened. At last they consoled that brother and advised him to go at once to the Pope of the city of Rome and accept penance from that highest of bishops. Then that brother, sad and mournful in mind, went to the bishop of Rome and, prostrating himself before him, explained to him how at the devil's instigation he had heedlessly killed his half-brother. Then the holy prelate, grieving greatly over what the devil had perpetrated, ordered the deacon to be bound with iron by the neck and arms, as is laid down in the law of parricides, and commanded him to make a circuit of the holy places and pray unceasingly to Almighty God for release from his guilt. The other willingly and devotedly carried out everything which had been commanded, and stayed in the city of Rome weeping and mourning for several days, and

III.1. *De clerico romano*¹

²Dominus in euangelio ait 'Ubicumque fuerit corpus, illuc congregabuntur et³ aquilae'.^a Et iterum idem⁴ Dominus Patrem postulat dicens: 'Pater, uolo ut ubi sum ego, et isti sint mecum'.^b Et apostolis promisit dicens: 'Ecce ego uobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem saeculi'.^c Post⁵ uero gloriosum aduentum sancti Marcellini ad Britanniam, in secundo anno aduentus eius, in Spolitana prouincia erant quidam duo germani fratres, unus scriptor et alius diaconus, qui ita se unico amore diligebant,^{5a} sicuti⁶ nati erant ex una genetrice. Quadam^{6a} uero die instigante diabolo, qui semper inuidet fraternam dilectionem, dum hi duo fratres soli sedebant, petiit unus ab alio scalpellum, ut calamum emendaret; ille uero incaute fratri proiciens, statim ictu librato in corde uulnus accepit, qui statim corruens in terram spiritum exhalauit uitae. Quod cernens germanus eius, et ipse similiter solo corruit, et flens et eiulans super exanimatum fratris corpus diutissime fleuit. Ilico cuncti fratres qui in eodem⁷ monasterio erant adfuerunt, dolentes et multum gementes super id quod factum fuerat. Tandem consolati sunt illum fratrem, admonueruntque eum ut statim pergeret ad papam urbis Romae, et a tanto pontifice susciperet penitentiam. Tunc^{7a} ille frater afflictus et mente lugubri profectus est ad Romanum pontificem, et prostratus coram eo indicauit ei quomodo instigante diabolo germanum fratrem incaute peremisset. Tunc sanctus praesul, multum dolens super id quod diabolus perpetrauerat, iussit illum diaconem ferro ligari per collum et brachia, sicut in lege parricidarum censetur, imperauitque ei ut loca sancta circuiret et indesinenter Deum omnipotentem pro reatu suo postularet. Ille uero⁸ omnia libenter quod mandatum fuerat⁸ et⁹ deuote impleuit, mansitque in eandem urbem Romanam per plures dies in luctu et fletu,¹⁰ et sanctos¹¹ apostolos, id est

III.1

¹ MN; om. BC(F)P (title).

² BC(F) omit the opening quotations to *saeculi*.

³ M(P); om. N.

^a Mt XXIV.28.

^b Io XVII.24.

^c Mt XXVIII.20.

⁴ MN; om. P.

⁵ BC(F) resume with this word.

^{5a} M(P)N; corrected in N from *diligebat*.

⁶ BM(P)N; *sicut* C(F).

^{6a} *II* added in margin opposite this word, N.

⁷ BM(P)N; om. C(F).

^{7a} *III* added in margin opposite this word, N.

^{8...8} MN; *omnia libenter quae mandata fuerant* BC(F); *omne libenter quod mandatum fuerat* P.

⁹ M(P); om. BC(F)N.

¹⁰ BC(F)MN; *flectu* P.

¹¹ C(F)M(P)N; *sancto* B.

prayed daily to the holy apostles, that is, St Peter and St Paul, that they might deign to intercede for him to our Lord Jesus Christ. As he was diligently doing this, a certain beautiful form appeared to him one night in a vision and admonished him in these words: 'What is this you are doing, servant of God, and troubling us so often? Go now at our command and set out from this city of Rome, and journey to Brittany, and seek out the place of the monastery where St Marcellinus, bishop of this city, is at rest, for as soon as you touch his tomb, all the links of the chains will there be loosened from you, and you will receive remission of your sins.' When day came the deacon rose from his bed and reported the vision he had seen to the Pope, who, hearing it gladly, blessing God and marvelling greatly, gave the aforementioned deacon permission to go to Brittany and visit the tomb of St Marcellinus. Then the deacon took up his journey, crossing Italy and the whole of Burgundy and the regions of Neustria, and reached the monastery called Clermont¹ in the province of Nantes on the river Loire, and there he asked of the holy monks of that monastery where that holy place might be, in which the most blessed bishop and martyr Marcellinus was at rest, and revealed to them the whole truth and the vision which he had seen, and the reason for his pilgrimage. When they had heard all this, they gave thanks to Almighty God, showing him the way along which he should go, and giving him refreshment for the road. And he went on from them, with a firmer tread, till at last he wearily reached the holy place of God, sought long and hard, and was received at the monastery on Holy Saturday, that is, the eve of Palm Sunday. So when the monks rose according to custom to celebrate the vigil, this pilgrim rose in the same way together with the people. When the responsories with the lessons were completed, the time came when the holy Gospel was to be read to the brothers. Then one of the brothers, a pious priest named Omnis, put on the holy vestments as usual and began to read the Gospel with everyone

III.1.

¹ The place-name *Clarus Mons* has survived as Clermont, but there is no mention of a monastery there in *Gallia Christiana* or by Cottineau, *Répertoire top-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés*; Mabillon, however, identified the monastery as 'Saint-Filibert du Cellier, a priory dependent on Tournus, three leagues above Nantes on the Loire' (*Acta Sanctorum*, IV.2, p., n.a.).

sanctum Petrum^{11a} et sanctum Paulum,^{11a} cotidie postulabat ut dignarentur¹² pro eo intercedere ad dominum nostrum Iesum Christum. Cumque^{12a} ita hoc assidue faceret, quadam nocte per uisionem apparuit ei quaedam pulchra species, admonuitque eum his uerbis, dicens: 'Quid est hoc quod agis, o homo Dei, et nos frequenter inquietas? Vade ergo ex nostro iussu, et proficiscere¹³ ab hac^{13a} romana urbe,^{13a} et perge¹⁴ Britanniam, et inquire locum monasterii¹⁵ ubi sanctus Marcellinus, huius urbis episcopus, requiescit. Statim enim ut sepulchrum eius attigeris, omnia ligamenta catenarum illic a te soluentur, et remissionem tuorum accipies facinorum.' Mane uero¹⁶ facto surrexit diaconus a stratu suo, et uisionem quam uiderat papae retulit. Ille uero libenter haec audiens et Deum benedicens multumque admirans, dedit licentiam supradicto diacono Britanniam petere et sepulchrum sancti Marcellini adire. Postea^{16a} diaconus iter arripuit, pertransiens Italiam et uniuersam Burgundiam et partes Neustriae, peruenitque ad monasterium quod uocatur¹⁷ Mons Clarus in prouincia Namnetica^{17a} super fluuium Ligeris, ibique requisit a sanctis monachis eiusdem monasterii ubi esset ille sanctus locus in quo beatissimus Marcellinus martyr atque episcopus requiesceret, aperuitque eis¹⁸ omnem ueritatem et uisionem quam uiderat et causam peregrinationis suae. Cumque haec omnia audissent, gratias¹⁹ Deo omnipotenti¹⁹ retulerunt, ²⁰designantes ei uiam²⁰ per quam debuisset pergere, dantes ei solatium in uia. Recessitque ab eis firmans gressum, usquequo ad sanctum locum Dei diu multumque quaesitum tandem fessus peruenit. Receptusque est²¹ in monasterio²¹ in sancto Sabbato, id est in ramis palmarum. Igitur^{21a} cum monachi surrexissent ex²² more uigilias celebrare, ille peregrinus cum populo similiter surrexit. Peractis uero responsoriis cum lectionibus, tempus adfuit quando sanctum euangelium recitari fratribus debuisset. Tunc unus ex fratribus, presbyter religiosus Omni²³ nomine, ex more se induit sanctis uestibus et coepit euangelium legere, cunctis stantibus et

11a... 11a BC(F)MN; om. P.

12 BC(F)MN; *dignaretur* P.

12a BC(F)MN; *cum* P. *IIII* added in margin opposite this word, N.

13 BC(F)M(P); *profisciscere* N.

13a... 13a BC(F)N; *urbe Roma* M(P).

14 M(P)N; *proficiscere* BC(F).

15 BC(F)MN; om. P.

16 BC(F)MN; om. P.

16a *V* added in margin opposite this word, N.

17 BC(F)MN; *uocatur* P.

17a BM(P)N; *Nannetica* C(F).

18 BM(P)N; *ei* C(F).

19... 19 BCM(P)N; *omnipotenti Deo* F.

20... 20 BC(F)MN; *uiam ei designantes* P.

21... 21 BC(F)MN; om. P.

21a *VI* in margin opposite this word, N.

22 BC(F)MN; *de* P.

23 BC(F)N; *Omin* M(P) (cf. the Cartulary of Redon, in which *Omnis* is a common name).

standing and listening intently in silence. And suddenly all the links of the chains with which the pilgrim was bound fell to pieces and scattered away from him in all directions, so that everyone standing in that holy church was astounded, hearing the noise of the chains springing apart and falling to the ground. In the morning the Roman deacon told all the brothers everything that had happened to him, and how he had been advised in a vision that he should look for St Marcellinus, and receive from him health of body and soul; and together they praised God, who had condescended to visit the holy place and show forth the miracles and powers of St Marcellinus his martyr, to strengthen the faith of his servants. The cleric stayed in the monastery for a few days after his absolution, and then set out for Rome, praising and blessing God all the days of his life. For in the book of Wisdom it is written of holy martyrs: 'Their bodies are buried in peace and their names live for ever. All the peoples will tell of their wisdom and all the community of the holy will declare their praise.'

III.2. *The little boy named Mutan*

Now as a multitude of people regularly gathered round the tomb of the most blessed martyr and pontiff Marcellinus and abundantly received health of body and soul from him, so that the news of his healings and signs spread far and wide, it happened at almost the same time that a certain little boy was placed in the monastery, whose name was Mutan, who had remained dumb from his mother's womb to the present time and could not bring out a single word; however, he flourished in mind, and he would try hard to do whatever he was told. When he saw a great multitude gathering round the holy martyr of God, since he could not pray with his own tongue, he prayed perseveringly with his mind and soul to the holy pontiff, that he would come to his aid with his power. One day, as the boy was in the

cum silentio attente audientibus. Et extemplo omnia ligamenta catenarum ex quibus ille peregrinus erat ligatus comminuta sunt, et ab eo huc illucque dispersa, ita ut omnes qui in eadem sancta ecclesia stabant^{23a} obstupescerent, audientes sonitum catenarum dissilentium atque in terra²⁴ cadentium. Mane^{24a} autem facto narravit diaconus Romanus cunctis fratribus omnia quae ei euenerant, et quomodo per uisionem admonitus fuerat ut sanctum Marcellinum quaereret, et ab eo reciperet tam corporis quam²⁵ animae sanitatem. Illi uero in commune Deum²⁶ benedixerunt, qui²⁷ dignatus est sanctum locum²⁷ uisitare, et ostendere miracula et uirtutes sancti Marcellini martyris sui ad corroborandam fidem seruorum suorum. Is autem clericus post absolutionem suam moratus est in eodem monasterio per paucos dies. Postea Romam perrexit, laudans et benedicens Deum omnibus diebus uitae suae. In libro namque Sapientiae de sanctis martyribus scriptum est: 'Corpora eorum in pace sepulta sunt, et nomina eorum uiuunt in saecula; sapientiam eorum narrabunt omnes populi, et laudem eorum pronuntiat²⁸ omnis ecclesia sanctorum'.^d

III.2. *De puerulo nomine Mutano*¹

Cum^{1a} igitur multitudo populi saepius frequentaret tumulum beatissimi Marcellini martyris atque pontificis, et sanitatem² tam corporum quam² animae affluenter ab eo perciperent, ita ut rumor sanitarum eius et signorum longe lateque crebresceret, exstitit paene eodem tempore ut quidam esset puerulus in monasterio positus, nomine Mutan, qui ab utero matris suae usque ad illud tempus mutus permanserat, et nullum³ sermonem poterat³ explicare. Sensu tamen⁴ uigebat, et quicquid⁵ ei praecipiebatur, strenue cupiebat implere. Cumque uideret copiosam multitudinem ad sanctum Dei martyrem conuenire, quod non ualebat lingua propria deprecari, animo ac spiritu sanctum pontificem assidue deprecabatur, ut sua uirtute ei subueniret. Alia uero die cum in pascuis ille puer demoraretur cum uitulis

^{23a} BC(F)M(P)N; altered in N from *erant*.

²⁴ BC(F)MN; *terram* P.

^{24a} VII in margin opposite this word, N.

²⁵ M(P) add *et*.

²⁶ C(F)M(P)N; *Deo* B.

²⁷ ...²⁷ BC(F)MN; *sanctum locum dignatus est* P.

²⁸ BC(F)MN; *pronuntiabit* P.

^d Sir XLIV.14.

III.2.

¹ Title in MN; om. BC(F)P.

^{1a} VIII in margin opposite this word, N.

² ...² M; *corporis et* BC(F); *corporum quam* N; *tam corporis quam* P.

³ ...³ BCM(P)N; *poterat sermonem* F.

⁴ BC(F)N; *tantum* M(P).

⁵ BN; *quidquid* C(F)M(P).

pasture with the monks' cows and calves, sleep overcame him, and all of a sudden a light of extreme brightness from the east shone around him, and in the centre of the light there appeared to him something like a snowy-white dove, which touched his mouth and covered his face, and said to him: 'I am the Bishop Marcellinus, on whom you have often called, and I have come so that your lips may be opened from this day until the end of your life'. Then the boy rose healed, and went to his master, a venerable man called Uuinetualdus, and told him with his own tongue what he had seen and heard, as he had never done before. He, shaken, got up in haste with quick steps and brought him back to the monastery, and told the abbot and the brothers everything in due order; and this miracle became known to the people through almost the whole province.

III.3. *The dissension of the monastery of Lehon and the death of the holy monk Brithoc at Redon*

The psalmist David, outstanding among the prophets, sang: 'I have said you are all gods and sons of the Most High', and again: 'Touch not my anointed and speak no evil against my prophets'. And John the Evangelist says: 'To as many as received him, to those who believed in his name, he gave the power to become sons of God'. Now at that time there was a monk named Britoc, born of noble parents, who, counting the world and its pomp as nothing, went to the monastery called Lehon,¹ in which, controlling himself firmly, he devoted his labour to fasts, vigils and prayers. Then a dissension arose among the monks about the headship of the monastery, since their head had of his own free will resigned the primacy of the place: unable to put up with the quarrels and murmurings of his monks, he sought a secret place, and there, untroubled, served God day and night with hymns and prayers. But as they were contending among themselves, the most reverend man whom we mentioned went to the holy place of Redon, since those brothers of Lehon wished to lead a regular life after the model of the holy monks of Redon. When this pious monk arrived

III.3.

¹ Near Dinan, 25km. south-west of Dol; identified by Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum*, IV.2, p. 216, n.a.

monachorum et uaccis, sopor irruit super eum, et ecce repente circumfulsit eum lux immensae claritatis ab oriente, et in medio luminis apparuit illi quasi columba niueo candore, tetigitque os eius et protexit faciem, dixitque ei: 'Ego sum Marcellinus episcopus, quem saepius inuocasti, ideoque ueni, ut labia tua aperiantur ex hodierna die usque ad finem uitae tuae'. Postea surrexit puer incolumis,^{5a} perrexitque ad magistrum suum, uenerabilem uirum nomine Uuinetualdum, retulitque ei propria lingua quae uiderat et audierat, quod numquam antea fecerat. Motus uero magister illius⁶ surrexit propere concito cursu, detulitque eum monasterio, et abbati et fratribus per ordinem cuncta reuoluit; diuulgatumque est hoc miraculum paene per uniuersam⁷ prouinciam.

III.3. *De Leonensis monasterii discidio, et de Brithoc sancto monacho Rotonni moriente*¹

²Psalmographus Dauid eximius prophetarum cecinit dicens: 'Ego dixi, dei estis et filii excelsi omnes'.^a Et iterum: 'Nolite tangere christos meos et in prophetis meis nolite malignari'.^b Et euangelista Ioannes ait: 'Quotquot autem receperunt eum, dedit eis potestatem filios Dei fieri, his qui credunt in nomine eius'.^c In³ illo igitur tempore fuit quidam monachus, nobilibus parentibus ortus, Britoc⁴ nomine, qui saeculum cum pompis suis pro nihilo ducens monasterium uocabulo Leonense adiit, in quo fortiter se constringens, ieiuniis ac⁵ uigiliis et orationibus operam dabat. Tunc orta est dissensio inter monachos de primatu monasterii, quia primus eorum sponte ac uoluntate propria principatum loci⁶ dimiserat et, non sustinens iurgia et murmuraciones suorum monachorum, locum secretum petiit, ibique uacans Deo hymnis et orationibus die noctuque⁷ deseruiebat. Illis uero inter se altercantibus supradictus uir reuerentissimus sanctum locum Rotonensem petiit, quia per exempla sanctorum monachorum Rotonensium illi fratres

^{5a} BC(F)M(P)N; altered in N from *incolomis*.

⁶ BC(F)MN; om. P.

⁷ BC(F)MN; *omnem* P.

III.3.

¹ M; no title BC(F)P; *De Brithoc sancto monacho Leonensi* N.

² BC(F) omit the opening quotations to *eius*. VIII in margin opposite the opening words, N.

^a Ps LXXXI.6.

^b Ps CIV.15.

^c Io I.12.

³ BC(F) resume with this word.

⁴ BC(F)MN; *Brito* P.

⁵ BMN; *et* C(F)P.

⁶ BC(F)MN; om. P.

⁷ MN; *noctequae* BC(F)P.

at the holy place, he was honourably welcomed by the father of the monastery, and by the brothers, in all charity. However, while he was making a long stay in the monastery, he was seized by a serious illness, and lay in bed for a few days. But the brothers freely lavished on him the charity which was their custom and duty. Then, one day, while he was lying alone in the house, some men in most splendid garments appeared to him and stood before him plain to see, and spoke to him, saying: 'Do you know, brother, who we are, and why we have come here?' He, answering quickly and overcome by fear, said: 'Pardon me, holy ones of God, for I do not know who you are and where you come from'. And one of them said in reply: 'We are holy archbishops: I am called Bishop Martin, and this is St Hilarius, and the third of us is named St Samson, and the reason for our coming here we will now make clear to you. For this we have come: that we may visit our apostolic master, the lord Marcellinus, supreme pontiff and martyr of Christ.' And, as he said this, they vanished from before his eyes. After the sixth hour, the brothers came to visit the sick man, and asked him how he was. He at once told them how the holy archbishops had come to him, and reported to the brothers what they had said in due order; and at the ninth hour of that same day he breathed out the spirit of life in the presence of the brothers, and thus the holy man left this world, reigning eternally, without end, in happiness with Christ.

III.4. *The priest and monk Iarnhitin set free from fevers*

Above we have discussed the miracles of St Marcellinus, pope and martyr; we wish also to turn our phrasing to the glorious and most excellent bishop of God and holy confessor, Hypotemius, and write something for you, dearest brothers. St Hypotemius was the first to bring to us the presence of his sacred body, since he was nearer to our province; we have already

Leonenses cupiebant regulariter⁸ uitam ducere. Cumque^{8a} ad locum sanctum ille monachus religiosus uenisset, susceptus est honorifice a patre monasterii et a fratribus cum summa caritate. Interea uero cum diu in monasterio moraretur, infirmitate graui detentus est, iacuitque in lectulo per paucos dies. Fratres uero consuetam et debitam caritatem ei libentissime impendebant. Quadam denique die dum⁹ solus in domo iaceret, apparuerunt ei quidam uiri in habitu splendidissimo, steteruntque coram eo uisibiliter, affatique sunt eum dicentes: 'Scis, frater, qui sumus nos et quare huc uenimus?' At ille cito respondens, timore perterritus, ait: 'Indulgete mihi, o sancti Dei: ignoro enim qui estis et unde uenistis'.¹⁰ Unus autem eorum respondens ait: 'Nos sumus sancti archiepiscopi: ego Martinus episcopus uocor, et iste sanctus Hilarius nuncupatur, sed et tertius noster sanctus¹¹ Samson uocatur. Causam uero aduentationis nostrae huc manifestamus tibi. Ad hoc quippe uenimus, ut uisitemus magistrum nostrum et apostolicum, id est domnum¹² Marcellinum summum pontificem et martyrem Christi.' Et haec dicens ab oculis eius euauerunt. Post sextam uero horam uenerunt fratres uisitare aegrotum, et interrogauerunt eum qualiter ageret. At ille confestim manifestauit eis quomodo sancti archiepiscopi uenissent ad eum, et quicquid¹³ dixerunt per ordinem fratribus retulit. Hora uero nona illius diei coram fratribus spiritum exhalauit uitae, et ita uir sanctus ex hoc mundo obiit, perenniter cum Christo regnans sine fine feliciter.

III.4. *De Iarnhitin sacerdote et monacho a febris liberato*¹

Superius^{1a} disputaui de mirabilibus sancti Marcellini papae et martyris; uolumus etiam articulum flectere ad gloriosum et summum² Dei pontificem² Hypotemium³ sanctum confessorem, et aliqua uobis, carissimi,^{3a} scribere. Primitus⁴ ipse sanctus Hypotemius^{4a} praesentiam sui sacri corporis nobis attulit, quia propior⁵ erat nostrae prouinciae. In

⁸ M(P)N; *regularem* BC(F).

^{8a} X in margin opposite this word, N.

⁹ M(P)N; *cum* BC(F).

¹⁰ BM(P)N, altered from *uenitis* in N; *uenitis* C(F).

¹¹ BC(F)MN; om. P.

¹² M(P)N; *dominum* BC(F).

¹³ BN; *quidquid* C(F)M(P).

III.4.

¹ M; no title BC(F)P; *Iarnhitin monachus a febre liberatur* (in seventeenth-century hand over faded original) N.

^{1a} XI in margin opposite the opening words, N.

^{2...2} BC(F)MN; *pontificem Dei* P.

³ M; *Ypotemium* BC(F)N; *Hipothemium* P.

^{3a} BC(F)MN; *fratres carissimi* P.

⁴ BCM(P)N; *primitis* F.

^{4a} M; *Ypotemius* BC(F)N; *Hipothemius* P.

⁵ BC(F)N; *prior* M(P).

informed you in the second book, by what ways and means this holy bishop was brought here and honourably installed by the holy abbot Conuuoion. Now, with the consent of our Lord Jesus Christ, I will pass on to you a few things out of the many for your edification, and for the strengthening of the holy place. At almost the same time as he came to us, there was a certain priest and monk named Iarnhitin, who was greatly oppressed by the malady of fever, and was troubled day and night without respite. When he sought a remedy from the doctors, there appeared to him the same night a certain old man in most splendid garments, who stood before him and said: 'Tell me, brother, where do these pains touch you?' and covered him with a scarlet cloak from the soles of his feet to the top of his head, and, touching his head, said: 'Here you will suffer no harm, nor in your shoulders, nor in your back, nor in your feet'. The other spoke, asking him: 'Who are you, holy priest, who have deigned to come here and visit me?' He said in reply: 'I am Bishop Hypotemius, whom you petition in prayer and frequently invoke; and I wished to show myself to you in order to set you free from this illness from now on, and not only for you shall I be a helper, but I shall hold out help most freely to all who call on my name'. And, saying this, he disappeared from his sight. And instantly the monk recovered from his illness, and remained well and healthy afterwards, praising Almighty God and the holy bishop Hypotemius; and the venerable man lived on for a long time, persevering at the height of sanctity. Towards the end of his life however, he was struck blind by God in order to test his long-suffering and patience, and he remained in that stricken state for five years, giving due thanks to God, and bearing the scourge of God patiently. At last the merciful Lord wished to reward his patience, and commanded him to leave his body; that is, on the kalends of January he passed away in peace.

secundo namque libro uobis intimauius quomodo uel qualiter iste sanctus episcopus a sancto Conuuoione abbate fuerit huc delatus et honorifice conditus. Nunc igitur, annuente domino nostro Iesu Christo, de multis pauca uobis referam, ad aedificationem uestram et ad firmamentum sancti loci. In eodem fere tempore aduentationis suae ad nos, erat quidam sacerdos atque⁶ monachus, Iarnhitin nomine, qui ualde oppressus erat ualitudine febris,^{6a} et uexabatur sine intermissione die noctuque. Cumque⁷ remedium a medicis quaereret, eadem nocte apparuit ei quidam senior in habitu splendidissimo, stetitque coram eo et ait: 'Dic, frater, ubi te tangunt istae angustiae?' – cooperuitque eum clamyde coccinea a planta pedis usque ad uerticem, tangensque caput eius, et^{7a} sic dixit: 'Hic non patieris detrimentum, neque in scapulis, neque in renibus, sed neque in pedibus'. Ille uero interrogans ait: 'Quisnam,' inquit, 'es, o sancte sacerdos, qui dignatus es huc uenire et me uisitare?' At ille respondens ait: 'Ego sum Hypotemius⁸ episcopus, quem uos exoratis, et frequenter⁹ inuocatis; et ideo uolui meipsum ostendere tibi, ut de hac infirmitate a modo libereris. Et non solum tibi adiutor existam, uerum etiam omnibus me inuocantibus libentissime adiutorium praestabo.' Et haec dicens ab aspectu illius disparuit. Et statim monachus ex¹⁰ infirmitate conualuit, et deinceps sanus et incolumis permansit, laudans Deum omnipotentem et sanctum Hypotemium¹¹ episcopum. Vixitque^{11a} uenerabilis uir^{11a} per multa tempora in summa sanctitate¹² perdurans. In extremis autem temporibus uitae suae caecitate est a Deo multatus, ut probaret longanimitatem et patientiam eius, permansitque in eadem¹³ plaga per unum lustrum, gratias Deo referens, et patienter flagellum Dei sustinens. Tandem misericors Dominus uoluit patientiam eius remunerari, nam iussit eum¹⁴ corpore exire,¹⁴ id est, die kalendarum Ianuariarum¹⁵ obiit in pace.

⁶ M(P)N; et BC(F).

^{6a} BC(F)M(P)N; corrected from *frebris* in N.

⁷ XII in margin opposite this word, N.

^{7a} BM(P)N; ei C(F).

⁸ BC(F)M; *Hipotemius* N; *Hipothemius* P.

⁹ M(P); N has an erasure of two letters' space before *inuocatis*; *me inuocatis* BC(F).

¹⁰ BC(F)MN; ab P.

¹¹ BC(F)M; *Hipotemium* N; *Hipothemium* P.

^{11a}...^{11a} BC(F)MN; *uir uenerabilis* P.

¹² BC(F)MN; *sanitate* P.

¹³ BM(P)N; *ea* C(F).

¹⁴...¹⁴ BC(F)MN; *exire e corpore* P.

¹⁵ BC(F)MN; *Ianuarii* P.

III.5. *The Abbot Gauslin cured*

Since we have begun to speak of St Hypotemius, it is pleasing that we should bring the subject to a proper conclusion, according to the word of the Lord, who says: 'Not he who begins, but he who perseveres, will be saved'. In those days a not inconsiderable disturbance arose between Charles, king of the Franks, and Nominoi the ruler of Brittany. And it came about thus, that Count Lambert sided with the governor Nominoi and left the lordship of King Charles, and he invaded the whole province of Nantes and Anjou as well, with the support of the ruler of Brittany. Soon all the king's supporters were scattered in all directions. At that time there was an abbot, one Gauslinus, from the monastery of St Maur in the land of Anjou. He came to the holy place of Redon, where St Hypotemius rests, and the venerable abbot received him with the greatest affection; and he stayed in the holy place for almost four months. At that time, however, he began to be troubled by high fevers without respite, and the chronic illness grew in him from one moment to the next, and afflicted him more and more violently. It came about that he despaired of his life, and did not expect to recover from the illness. However, he constantly called on the name of St Hypotemius, having faith in him. Finally, one night, the abbot asked the guard of the holy temple, a most venerable man named Riuelen, to grant him permission to spend the night beside the holy tomb of the bishop. And the sick man was carried in the hands of his people to the tomb of the saint of God, and lay alone in the same place. And when dark night brought silence to the world, and all had given themselves over to sleep, he began to doze a little, and all at once woke up and stood on his feet, and felt all illness cast far away from him. When the guard woke up as usual to tend the lamps, he found the abbot, whom he had left at death's

III.5. *De Goisleno abbate sanato*¹

Quia de sancto Hypotemio² coepimus loqui, libet ut ad perfectum ducamus sermonem, attestante Domino, qui ait: 'Non qui coeperit, sed qui perseuerauerit, saluus erit'.^a In³ illis diebus⁴ orta est turbatio non modica inter Carolum regem Francorum et Nominoium ducem Britanniae. Sicque actum est ut Landebertus⁵ comes adhaereret Nominoi⁶ principi, deserens dominatum regis Caroli, inuasitque totam prouinciam Namneticam⁷ simul et Andegauam ex obtentu ducis Britanniae. Porro omnes amici regis huc illucque dispersi sunt. Eo uero⁸ tempore erat quidam abbas, ⁹Gauslinus nomine, ⁹ex monasterio sancti Mauri in territorio Andegauensi. Hic uenit ad sanctum Dei¹⁰ locum Rotonensem, ubi sanctus Hypotemius¹¹ requiescit, suscepitque eum uenerabilis abbas cum summa diligentia; permansit autem in sancto loco per quatuor ferme menses. Coepit uero illo¹² tempore uexari immensis febribus sine cessatione, crescebatque in eo languor densissimus per momenta singula, affligebatque eum uehementius.¹³ Factumque est ut seipsum desperaret, nec euadere infirmitatem putabat. Tamen saepissime nomen sancti Hypotemii¹⁴ inuocabat, fiduciam habens in eo. Quadam denique nocte rogauit abbas custodem sancti templi, nomine Riuelenum, uirum reuerentissimum, ut concederet ei licentiam pernoctare iuxta sanctum sepulchrum episcopi. Delatusque est aeger in manibus suorum ad tumulum sancti Dei, iacuitque solus in eodem loco. At ubi nox atra silentium mundo attulit, et omnes se sopori dedissent, coepit ille modicum soporari, statimque euigilauit¹⁵ et super pedes suos stetit, omnemque aegritudinem procul a se eiectam sensit. Cum autem custos ex more euigilasset¹⁶ ut lampades recrearet, inuenit abbatem sanum quem

III.5

¹ M; no title BC(F)P; *Gauslinus abbas febricitans curatur a S. Hypothemio* N (in hand of saec. xvii over faded original).

² M; *Ypotemio* BC(F); *Ipotemio* N; *Hipothemio* P.

^a Mt X.22.

³...⁴ BC(F)N; *diebus illis* M(P).

⁵ BC(F)MN; *Lantdebertus* P.

⁶ BC(F)MN; *Nomenoio* P.

⁷ BMN; *Nanneticam* C(F)P.

⁸ BM(P)N; om. C(F).

⁹...⁹ BMN; *nomine Gauslinus* C(F); *nomine Gauzlenus* P.

¹⁰ BC(F)N; om. M(P).

¹¹ M; *Ypotemius* BC(F); *Ipotemius* N; *Hipothemius* P.

¹² BC(F)MN; *eo* P.

¹³ BC(F)MN; *uehementer* P.

¹⁴ BCM; *Ypotemii* F; *Ipotemii* N; *Hipothemi* P.

¹⁵ Here N breaks off due to the loss of a folio.

¹⁶ M(P); *uigilasset* BC(F).

door, cured. Then Abbot Gauslin made a vow to celebrate the feast of St Hypotemius every year as long as he lived on earth. And thus, safe and well, he set off happily back to his own land.

III.6. *The cleric freed from a demon*

Now in the land belonging to the city of Nantes, in the parish which is called *Candidus Mons* ('white hill'),¹ there was a certain cleric, born of noble parents, and well read in sacred scriptures, whom his parents loved with a singular love. But by the envy of the devil death has entered into the world. Thus when the parents wished to advance their son to the dignity of the priesthood, the devil suddenly entered him and began to shake him in such convulsions that no one dared go near him, for he would tear with his teeth at anyone he could catch. Nor did he stay at home; often, roaming around the villages, he would raise his voice in miserable cries day and night shouting and letting everyone see how he was being harried by the demon. And as he was in the grip of this affliction his parents took him to the most renowned place of God, Redon, and left him there, unable to bear seeing all his misery. So the cleric stayed in the monastery, yet still climbing the hills, roaming the woods, and often swimming in the current of the river; and he raised his voice giving out great cries, and did not allow people to rest in the quiet of the night. Then the monks, moved by pity for him, began to pour out prayers for him to the Lord all together, that he might be willing to grant him his mercy, and not to squander his handiwork, which he had made out of the clay of the earth. After this the cleric, coming to himself with the help of the Lord through the prayers of his saints, was made well and healthy not long afterwards, and returned to his homeland, magnifying the name of our Lord Jesus Christ and his holy place, wherever he went.

III.6.

¹ Present-day Guémené-Penfao, between Massérac and Conquereuil, Loire-Inférieure; it appears as *Uuinmonid* in the Redon cartulary. See Planiol, *Histoire*, II.21; *Cartulaire*, ed. De Courson, p. 367 (App. 33).

prius in limine mortis reliquerat. Tunc uero Goislenus¹⁷ abbas uotum uouit celebrare festiuitatem sancti Hypotemii¹⁸ omnibus annis quamdiu super terram uixisset, et ita sanus atque incolumis ad patriam laetus abscessit.

III.6. *De clerico a daemone liberato*¹

In territorio namque² Namneticae³ ciuitatis, in plebe quae dicitur Candidus Mons, erat quidam clericus nobilibus parentibus ortus, sed et litteris sacris bene eruditus, quem parentes unico amore diligebant. Sed inuidia diaboli mors introiuit in orbem terrarum. Igitur dum parentes filium uellent ad sacerdotii honorem promouere, extemplo diabolus inuasit eum, coepitque eum tot motibus agitare, ita⁴ ut nullus⁵ ei auderet⁵ appropinquare. Laniabat enim dentibus omnes quotquot reperire potuisset. Sed nec in domo morabatur, frequenter uicos circumiens,⁶ miserabili luctu die noctuque uociferabat, clamans et ostendens omnibus quibus modis a daemone uexaretur. Cumque in tali uexatione detineretur, adduxere⁷ eum sui parentes ad famosissimum Dei locum Rotonensem, ibique eum dimiserunt, non ferentes uidere tot uexationes eius. Mansit uero ille clericus⁸ in monasterio, similiter scandens montes, siluas circuiens, et alueum fluminis saepius natans; uociferabat⁹ emittens clamores magnos, nec sinebat homines per silentium noctis requiescere. Tunc monachi, moti misericordia super eo,¹⁰ coeperunt unanimiter preces pro eo¹¹ ad Dominum fundere,¹¹ ut dignaretur¹² largiri ei¹² ¹³suam clementiam,¹³ ne perderet suam facturam, quam de limo terrae formauerat. Postea clericus in se reuersus auxiliante Domino precibus suorum sanctorum non longe postea sanus et incolumis exstitit, et ad patriam suam reuersus est, ubicumque perrexit mirificans nomen domini nostri Iesu Christi et sanctum locum suum.

¹⁷ BC(F)M; *Goslenus* P.

¹⁸ M; *Hipotemii* BC(F); *Hipothemii* P.

III.6

¹ Title in M only.

² M(P); *quoque* BC(F).

³ BM; *Nanneticae* C(F)P.

⁴ BC(F)M, om. P.

⁵...⁵ BM(P); *auderet ei* C(F).

⁶ BC(F)M; *circuens* P.

⁷ BC(F)M; *adduxerunt* P.

⁸ BM(P); *monachus* C(F).

⁹ P adds *enim*.

¹⁰ BC(F)M; *eum* P.

¹¹...¹¹ MC(F); *ad Deum fundere* B; *fundere ad Dominum* P.

¹²...¹² BM(P); *ei largiri* C(F).

¹³...¹³ BC(F)M; *clementiam suam* P.

III.7. *The demoniac Haeluuocōn*

At another time there was a certain crippled man named Haeluuocōn, who had been very powerful and rich in the time of the governor Nominōi, and had exerted power over many noblemen, and from such activity was known by all as 'Largus' (the lavish), for he was abounding in luxuries; a drinker of wine beyond measure, with no fear of the pronouncement of the holy apostle Paul, 'Neither shall drunkards possess the kingdom of God'. And the prophet warns: 'Woe to you who are powerful at drinking wine and who are strong only in mixing strong drink'. In these and similar pursuits this wretch would sit idle every day, a slave to his belly, and would not take advice from any man, but would rather laugh at anyone who tried to reproach him, as Solomon confirms, saying: 'Argue with a fool and he will hate you'. And again: 'He who hates reproofs is foolish'. And as he persisted in this wickedness, suddenly divine vengeance struck him, and he was handed over into the power of demons: they began to harass him terribly with innumerable jerks and many convulsions and would not let him rest for so much as one moment. When he had been vexed for a long time, he came to himself and said to his men: 'Quick, take me to the holy monastery, so that I may be freed from these straits, for I am being shaken terribly'. Then he was taken to the monastery with his hands tied behind his back with the strongest possible straps, and was put in the church of the Holy Saviour with a guard of his men. All the monks began to beseech the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he might order the demons who had possessed him to cease tormenting him. Then the kind and merciful Lord heard the prayers of his servants, and gave the cripple his former health again; and from that day he took care to mend his ways and lead a sober life, and revere the holy place; and so he returned home healthy.

III.7. *De Haeluuocōn daemōniaco*¹

Alio² quoque tempore erat quidam uir claudus, Haeluuocōn³ nomine, qui tempore Nominōe principis praepotens et diues fuerat, exercuitque potestatem super multos nobiles, et a tali opere ab omnibus 'largus' appellabatur. Erat enim affluens in deliciis, potator uini ultra modum, non pertimescens sententiam sancti Pauli apostoli dicentis: 'Neque ebriosi regnum Dei possidebunt'.^a Et propheta comminatur dicens: 'Vae qui potentes estis ad bibendum unum⁴ et uiri fortes ad miscendam ebrietatem'.^b In his ergo et talibus⁵ studiis ille miserrimus cotidie^{5a} uacabat uentri suo deseruiens, nec ab ullo homine admonitionem recipiebat, sed magis deridebat quisquis eum uellet increpare, Salomone attestante qui ait: 'Argue stultum et odiet te'.^c Et iterum: 'Qui increpationes odit insipiens est'.^d Cumque in tali malignitate perseueraret, subito ultio diuina ei accidit, et in potestate daemonum traditus est; coeperuntque eum ualide uexare innumeris motibus et multis agitationibus, nec sinebant eum uel in uno puncto requiescere. Cum uero diu uexaretur,⁶ in se reuersus dixit suis: 'Festinanter ducite me ad sanctum monasterium, ut liberari queam de his angustiis, quia uehementer affligor'. Et exinde deductus est monasterio⁷ loribus fortissimis a tergo manibus adstrictus, positusque est in ecclesia sancti Saluatoris cum custodia suorum. Omnes uero monachi coeperunt deprecari potentiam domini nostri Iesu Christi, ut iuberet daemonibus qui eum inuaserant cessare a uexatione illius. Tunc pius et clemens Dominus exaudiuit preces seruorum suorum, reddiditque claudo pristinam sanitatem, atque ex illa die studuit mores suos emendare, et sobriam uitam ducere, et locum sanctum uenerari, sicque ad propria sanus est reuersus.

III.7.

¹ Title in M only.

² M(P); in illo BC(F) (F adds *alio* in margin).

³ BCM(P); *Haeluuocōn* F.

^a I Cor VI.10.

^b Is V.22.

^c Prv IX.8.

^d Prv XII.1.

⁴...⁴ BC(F)M; *libendum* P.

⁵ N resumes with this word.

^{5a} Interlined in N.

⁶ BC(F)MN; *uersaretur* P.

⁷ BC(F)N; in *monasterio* M(P).

III.8. *The penitent Frotmund*

The divine law teaches all men: 'You shall not kill; you shall not commit adultery; honour your father and your mother, that you may live long upon the earth'. And Christ in the Gospel exhorts: 'You have heard that it was said to men of old: you shall not kill, but anyone who kills must abide judgment'. This happened as follows to a certain nobleman named Frotmund. He was born of most noble Frankish ancestors, who were mayors and chiefs of the king's court. Now after his father's death he began to share the heritage of their parents with his brothers, but their father's brother, an honoured priest, very highly regarded in the king's household, disputed it with them. They, indignant and inflamed by exceeding anger, took to arms and, rising against their uncle in fury, killed him; but together with him they also heedlessly killed one of their own brothers, who was the youngest. Afterwards Frotmund, led by remorse, went with his brothers in great sorrow to the king's palace, seeking advice from the king and the bishops of Francia as to what they ought to do. Then the king, Lothar, summoned a full synod and made them stand in the middle. The bishops gave orders for iron chains to be made, and for them to be bound tightly by the arms and loins, and to journey round the holy places like that in sackcloth and ashes until the Lord accepted their penance. Then the men set off to Rome, to the doors of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and to the bodies of the holy martyrs without number who rest there. They stayed in the city of Rome for many days. Then, having been given a letter by the holy pope Benedict, they crossed the Tyrrhenian Sea and arrived at the holy city of Jerusalem. There, too, they stayed for a long time, praying daily with tears and lamentations at the holy grave of our Lord. After this the men went on to Egypt, touring the monasteries and hermitages and visiting the throngs of holy monks, and were there for almost two years; moving on from there, they turned their steps to Africa to visit the tomb of

III.8. *De Frotmundo penitente*¹

Lex diuina praecipit omnibus hominibus, dicens: 'Non occides, non moechaberis, honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam, ut sis longaeuus super terram'.^a Et Christus in euangelio hortatur, dicens: 'Audistis quia dictum est antiquis: non occides, qui autem occiderit, reus erit iudicio'.^b Quod ita euenit ²cuidam uiro² nobilissimo³ nomine Frotmundo. Natus quippe erat ex nobilissimis parentibus Francorum, qui maiores et proceres palatii regis erant. Denique post mortem patris sui, ipse cum fratribus suis coepit diuidere hereditatem suorum parentum, sed contradicebat eis eorum patruus, presbyter honorabilis et multum in palatio regis gloriosus. At illi indignantes accensi furore nimio arma corripuerunt, et super patruum suum in ira consurgentes interfecerunt eum. Nam et unum ex fratribus eorum, qui erat minimus, simul cum eo incaute peremerunt. Postea Frotmundus, penitentia ductus, una cum fratribus suis cum fletu magno perrexerunt palatium^{3a} regis, quaerentes consilium a rege et ab episcopis Franciae quidnam deberent facere. Tunc Lotharius rex conuocauit omnem synodum et statuit eos in medio eorum. Episcopi autem iusserunt fabricare catenas ferreas et ligare eos per brachia et per lumbos strictim, et sic loca sancta circuirent in cinere et cilicio, quousque Dominus reciperet penitentiam eorum. Exinde uiri coeperunt Romam pergere ad limina sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et ad sanctorum corpora martyrum qui ibi sine numero requiescunt. Moratique sunt in Romana urbe per multos dies. Deinde, accipientes epistolam a sancto Benedicto papa, transierunt Tyrrhenum⁴ mare, perueneruntque ad ⁵ciuitatem sanctam⁵ Ierusalem.⁶ Sed et ibi per multa tempora demorati sunt, orantes cotidie cum luctu et gemitu ad sanctum Domini sepulchrum. Postea^{6a} perrexere uiri ad Aegyptum,⁷ lustrantes monasteria et coenobia ac sanctorum agmina monachorum, fueruntque ibi ferme^{7a} per duos annos; ac exinde profecti direxerunt gressum ad Africam⁸ uisitare sepulchrum sancti Cypriani⁹ archi-

III.8.

¹ Title in M only.

^a Dt V.16–18.

^b Mt V.21.

²...² BM(P)N; *uiro cuidam* C(F).

³ BC(F)MN; *nobili* P.

^{3a} BC(F)MN; *ad palatium* P.

⁴ M(P); *Tyrrenum* BC(F); *tirrenum* N.

⁵...⁵ BC(F)MN; *sanctam ciuitatem* P.

⁶ BC(F)M(P); *Iherusalem* N.

^{6a} M(P)N; *Postea uero* BC(F).

⁷ M(P); *egyptum* BC(F); *egiptum* N.

^{7a} BC(F)MN; *fere* P.

⁸ M(P); *affricam* BC(F)N.

⁹ BC(F)M(P); *Cipriani* N.

St Cyprian, archbishop and martyr of Christ, who lies at rest near the sea, at the second milestone from the city of Carthage, where many great works and many miracles are very often revealed by the Lord. After four years Frotmund and his two brothers returned once again to Rome, sorrowful and mortified, asking pardon for their sins from St Peter with great prayers. The people of Rome offered them no small kindness, freely giving them whatever they needed. Then, with the advice and blessing of holy Pope Benedict, they went once more across the sea to visit the tomb of our Lord yet again, and wherever the Lord walked with human feet, they travelled. For they were even in Cana in Galilee where the Lord Jesus Christ made wine out of water, and even, as Frotmund himself told us later, drank of that same wine. They also went as far as the Red Sea, and to the mountains of Armenia, where Noah's Ark came to rest. In those parts they were held up by pagans and were robbed, and struck down by blows, so that their bones were exposed by the fierce beating, and they escaped barely half alive, wandering through all the land of the East. Turning back from there they came to Mount Sinai, where the law was once given to Moses, the servant of God; and they held out in those parts for three years, going around the holy places, praying and pleading for God's mercy. In the fourth year they returned to Rome again, and lay for a very long time in front of the tomb of the holy apostle Peter, pleading with him for his help, for they had heard in the Gospel that Christ had given to the holy apostle Peter the power and¹ the duty of loosing and binding, saying: 'Whatever you bind on earth will also be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth will also be loosed in heaven'. Having completed their prayer, they

episcopi et martyris Christi, qui secundo miliario ab urbe Carthaginiensi¹⁰ requiescit iuxta mare,¹⁰ ubi multae uirtutes et multa miracula a Domino saepius ostenduntur. Post autem quatuor annos iterum Frotmundus cum duobus fratribus suis¹¹ Romam reuersi sunt afflicti et macerati, magnis precibus petentes a sancto Petro apostolo¹² indulgentiam suorum peccatorum.¹² Populi uero Romani non modicam humanitatem praestabant eis, largientes quicquid¹³ illis deerat. Iterum autem cum consilio et benedictione sancti Benedicti papae repedauerunt ultra mare iterum uisitare sepulchrum Domini, et ubicumque Dominus pedibus humanis ambulauit peragrauerunt.¹⁴ Nam et in Cana^{14a} Galilaeae fuerunt, ubi Dominus Iesus Christus de¹⁵ aqua uinum fecit, sed et de ipso uino, ut ipse Frotmundus nobis postea retulit, biberunt. Ad rubrum quoque mare perrexerunt, et ad montes Armeniae, ubi arca Noe requieuit. In illisque¹⁶ regionibus tenti sunt a paganis et spoliati, et uerberibus afflicti, usquequo¹⁷ nudarentur ossa eorum acris uerberibus, et paene semiuiui euaserunt, lustrantes omnem regionem orientalem. Illinc¹⁸ deuertentes uenerunt ad montem Sinai, ubi lex quondam data¹⁹ est Moysi^{19a} famulo Dei,²⁰ perseueraueruntque in illis regionibus per tres annos, circumientes loca sancta, orantes et postulantes Dei misericordiam. Quarto anno iterum Romam reuersi sunt, iacueruntque diutissime ante sepulchrum sancti Petri apostoli, efflagitantes ab eo suum adiutorium. Audierant²¹ enim in euangelio Christum dedisse potestatem²² sancto Petro apostolo²³ ministerium soluendi ac ligandi ita dicentem: 'Quodcumque ligaueris super terram erit ligatum et in caelis, et quodcumque solueris super terram erit solutum et in caelis'.^c Peracta uero oratione a Roma egressi pertransieruntque²⁵

¹⁰ ... ¹⁰ BC(F)MN; *iuxta mare requiescit P.*

¹¹ BC(F)MN; *suis iterum P.*

¹² ... ¹² BM(P)N; *peccatorum suorum indulgentiam C(F).*

¹³ BN; *quidquid C(F)M(P).*

¹⁴ BC(F)MN; *peregrinauerunt P.*

^{14a} M(P); *Canaa BC(F)N.*

¹⁵ BC(F)N; *ex M(P).*

¹⁶ BC(F)MN; *aliisque P.*

¹⁷ BM(P)N; *usquaque C(F).*

¹⁸ BC(F)MN; *hinc P.*

¹⁹ BC(F)NP; *lata M.*

^{19a} BC(F)M(P); *Moisi N.*

²⁰ BM(P)N; *Domini C(F).*

²¹ BC(F)MN; *audierunt P.*

²² BM(P)N; *facultatem C(F).*

²³ BC(F)MN; *apostolo et P.*

^c Mt XVI.19.

²⁵ BMN; *pertransierunt CP; pertransibant F.*

III.8.

¹ Translating P's *et*, an addition which should probably be accepted.

left Rome and crossed the whole of Italy, all of Burgundy, the lands of Aquitaine and of Neustria; traversing all from east to west, persevering in pilgrimage, valiant athletes of Christ, fearing neither the roughness of roads nor the steepness of mountains nor the rushing of rivers, nor any danger, they came at last to Brittany, placing all their hope in God and asking help of no one but the living God alone. When they had drawn near to Brittany, they reached the city of Rennes and were received as guests by the venerable bishop Electramnus, and he made them gifts of whatever they lacked in their need. Then when they again wished to travel round the places of the saints of the province of Brittany, Frotmund's eldest brother died in the same town, receiving the reward of all his labours from God, and was honourably buried by the bishop and the clergy of St Melanias. After the death of his brother, Frotmund took up his journey to the holy place of Redon to visit the tomb of St Marcellinus, pope and martyr, and he was joyfully received by the monks, and rested there for seven days, and asked for the favour of the saints every day. After this, having obtained permission to leave the monastery, he began walking, wishing to go to Rome again. However, as he was setting out, there appeared to him that night an old man with a brightly shining face, who said to him: 'Man of God, I order you in the name of the Lord to return once more to the holy place of God in which you were before, and there you are to be released from these chains, and set free by God'. Then Frotmund, sure of the vision, gave thanks to Almighty God, and returned with swift steps back to the most renowned place, and the monks, hearing this, were greatly delighted by his coming, for he had related to them the whole of the vision he had seen. They therefore poured out prayers for him to the Lord, that he might be willing to grant him his mercy. For his chains had by now penetrated his vitals so that pus and blood flowed from his wounds, and he could no longer walk because of the excessive pain. The next night, when he had given himself up to sleep, there appeared to him a venerable old man with a beautiful face dressed in holy vestments, holding a book in his hand, with two most beautiful boys carrying lanterns before him, and they stopped in front of his (Frotmund's) bed. One of the boys said to the aged saint: 'Holy master, it is time for this pilgrim to be healed'. Then the old man answered: 'My son, he will not be healed now, but when the monks rise for the night vigil, he will be saved in their assembly'. And, opening

cunctam²⁶ Italiam et²⁷ uniuersam Burgundiam et Aquitaniae regionem et partes Neustriae, et tandem peruenerunt Britanniam, ab oriente usque ad occidentem cuncta lustrantes, in peregrinatione perseuerantes, fortissimi athletae Christi, non asperitates uiarum, nec²⁸ iuga montium, non meatus fluminum, nec ulla pericula formidantes, omnem spem in Deo ponentes, a nullo auxilium nisi a solo Deo²⁹ uiuo³⁰ postulantes. Cumque appropinquassent Britanniae, ad Redonam ciuitatem accesserunt, receptique sunt hospitio a uenerabili episcopo nomine³¹ Electramno,³² et largitus est eis quicquid³³ necessitate indigebant. Igitur cum uellent iterum loca sanctorum Britanniae prouinciae peragraré, frater Frotmundi senior in eadem ciuitate defunctus est, recipiens a Deo mercedem omnium laborum suorum, tumulatusque est honorifice ab episcopo et a clero sancti Melanii. Post mortem uero germani sui, Frotmundus iter arripuit ad sanctum locum Rotonensem uisitare sepulchrum sancti Marcellini papae et martyris, et receptus est cum gaudio a monachis, et ibi per septem dies requieuit, et cotidie postulabat beneficia sanctorum. Post haec autem licentia accepta migrandi a monasterio coepit ambulare, cupiens iterum Romam adire. Cum uero pergeret, in ipsa nocte apparuit ei quidam senior uultu splendidissimo, dixitque ei: 'O uir Dei, praecipio tibi in nomine Domini reuertere iterum ad sanctum Dei locum ubi prius fuisti, et ibi te oportet a uinculis istis solui, et a Deo liberari'. Tunc Frotmundus certus de uisione gratias Deo omnipotenti retulit, reuersusque est retro cito cursu ad locum famosissimum.³⁴ Monachi uero haec audientes ualde gauisi sunt de aduentu eius. Exposuerat enim illis omnem uisionem quam uiderat, et idcirco³⁵ pro eo preces³⁵ ad Dominum fuderunt, ut dignaretur largiri ei suam misericordiam. Iam enim catenae illius³⁶ penetrauerant uiscera eius, ita ut³⁷ sanies et sanguis³⁷ de uulneribus eius effluerent, et nec iam ambulare poterat prae nimio dolore. Proxima autem nocte cum se sopori dedisset, apparuit ei senior uenerabilis uultu decorus, indutus sanctis uestibus, librum in manu gerens, cum duobus pueris pulcherrimis, lucernas ante eum portantes;³⁸ steteruntque ante stratum eius. Unus enim e pueris ait sancto seni: 'Sancte magister, tempus est ut sanetur iste peregrinus'. Tunc senior respondens ait: 'O fili, non modo sanabitur, sed quando monachi ad uigilias surrexerint, in conuentu eorum saluabitur'. Et aperto

²⁶ M(P)N; *totam* BC(F).

²⁷ BC(F)MN; om. P.

²⁸ BC(F)MN; *non* P.

²⁹ BC(F)MN; *Domino* P.

³⁰ BMN; *unico* C(F); om. P.

³¹ BC(F)MN; om. P.

³² BC(F)N; *Electramno* C; *Electramno* F.

³³ BN; *quidquid* C(F)M(P).

³⁴ M(P); *famosissimum Rotonensem (Rotonensem in a fifteenth-century hand, N)* BC(F)N.

³⁵ M(P)N; *preces pro eo* BC(F).

³⁶ BC(F)MN; *eius* P.

³⁷ ...³⁷ BM(P)N; *sanguis et sanies* C(F).

³⁸ M(P)N; *portantibus* BC(F).

the book, he sent forth a prayer above his head, and so the vision passed away. On waking, the holy man asked what time it was, and whether the monks had yet risen for the vigil. As he said this, the guard of the church gave the signal as usual, and the pilgrim went up to the church together with the people, expecting the fulfilment of his promise, and sat down on a stool, and sleep came over him. But the monks began to speak praises to God and to sing hymns and psalms. When they had been singing for a long time, and he was sleeping, the same old man whom he had earlier seen with the two boys, appeared to him from the place of St Marcellinus's tomb, and touched him, and pulled the iron out of his loins with his finger and threw it far away onto the stone floor of the church, so that it gave out a clanging din. Instantly the pilgrim raised his voice in a high-pitched shout and fell to the ground, so that we were all astounded at the pitch of his voice. The monks, however, hearing and seeing all this, praised God and his saints with one voice; and they led the pilgrim away and bound his wounds with bandages and strips of cloth, and he lay in his bed for three days. When he then wished to leave the monastery and set out for Rome, as he had decided before, the monks wanted to keep him with them, but they could not. However, Frotmund promised that if he were still alive afterwards, he would visit the holy place and venerate St Marcellinus with due honour. Then he left the monastery; but on the same day on which he left, he departed from this world to the realms of heaven, where he now exults with the most holy angels, reigning with all the saints.

III.9. *The coming of the barbarians to the holy place, and the liberation of the same place from the pagans*

In the Book of Kings we read: 'In the time of Hezekiah king of Judah, Sennacherib king of the Assyrians came and wished to do battle against Jerusalem, and he sent messengers to the king of Judah, saying: "Do not trust in your God, in whom you have faith; let not your God deceive you. Have the gods of the other nations delivered their lands from out of my hands?" And the word of the Lord was given to the prophet Isaiah, saying: "Go and tell Hezekiah, thus says the Lord God of the king of the Assyrians: he will not go into this city, or send an arrow into it, or occupy it with his shields, or surround it with fortifications. He will return along the way by

codice fudit orationem super caput eius, et ita uisio pertransiit. Expergefactus uir sanctus, requisiiuit qualis hora esset, et si iam monachi ad uigilias surrexissent. Cumque ita diceret, custos ecclesiae ex more signum tetigit, surrexitque peregrinus simul cum populo ad ecclesiam, exspectans suam promissionem; seditque super scamnum, et sopor irruit super eum. Monachi uero coeperunt laudes Deo dicere et hymnos et psalmos psallere. Cum autem diu psallerent, et ille soporaretur, apparuit ei idem senior quem antea uiderat cum duobus pueris, a loco tumuli sancti Marcellini,^{38a} et tetigit³⁹ eum, extraxitque ferrum digito de lumbis eius, et proiecit longius in pauimento ecclesiae, ita ut tinnitum et sonum redderet. Statimque peregrinus uocem in sublime erexit, et in terram cecidit, ut omnes miraremur⁴⁰ super altitudinem uocis eius. Monachi uero audientes et uidentes haec omnia una uoce laudauerunt Deum et sanctos eius, deduxeruntque peregrinum et ligauerunt uulnera eius fasciis et ligamentis, iacuitque in stratu suo per tres dies. Cum autem uellet ire a monasterio et Romam proficisci, sicut antea disposuerat, monachi uoluerunt retinere eum secum, sed non potuerunt. Promisit denique Frotmundus si postea uiueret quod sanctum locum uisitaret, et sanctum Marcellinum congruis honoribus ueneraretur. Tunc praedictus a monasterio egressus est. Eodem uero die egressionis suae⁴¹ ex hoc mundo⁴¹ ad caelestia regna properauit, ubi nunc exsultat cum angelis sanctissimis, regnans cum omnibus sanctis.

III.9. *[De]¹ aduentu barbarorum ad sanctum locum et [de] li[be]ratione eiusdem loci a paganis²*

³In libris regum legitur: 'In tempore Ezechiae regis Iudae uenit Sennacherib rex Assyriorum^{3a} et uoluit pugnare contra Ierusalem,⁴ et transmisit nuntios ad regem Iuda dicens: "Ne confidas in Deo tuo, ubi fiduciam habes. Non te seducat Deus tuus. Numquid liberauerunt dei gentium regiones eorum de manibus meis?" Et factus est sermo Domini ad Isaiam prophetam dicens: "Vade et dic Ezechiae, haec dicit Dominus Deus de rege Assyriorum: non ingredietur urbem hanc, nec mittet in eam sagittam, nec occupabit eam^{4a} clipeis, nec circumdabit munitionibus. Per uiam qua uenit reuertetur, et

^{38a} M(P)N; *Marcelli* BC(F).

³⁹...³⁹ BM(P)N; *tetigitque* C(F).

⁴⁰ MN; *mirarentur* BC(F)P.

⁴¹ BC(F)N have blank spaces here, each the length of 2-3 words.

III.9.

¹ The letters in square brackets are uncertain in N.

² Title in MN; om. BC(F)P.

³ BC(F) omit the opening quotation.

^{3a} M(P); *assiriorum* N.

⁴ M(P); *iherusalem* N.

^{4a} N; *cum* M(P).

which he came, and will not enter this city, says the Lord; and I will protect this city and save it for my sake and for my servant David." ' And so, in the time of Erispoi, governor of Brittany, a certain Northman, Sidric, with a hundred and five ships, took control of the river Loire and besieged the camp of some other pagans who had plundered and burned the city of Nantes and all the lands near it and further away, giving it all to the fire, and set up camp on an island called *Betia*.¹ When he had surrounded them with ships in a circle, so that they could neither go out nor come in, and they were completely besieged, he at once sent messengers to Erispoe governor of Brittany, in order that he should come himself and with his army fall on his enemies who had destroyed his lands, and that they should be one in mind and will, in order to crush them and destroy them from the face of the earth. When Erispoi heard this, he instantly sent messengers to all parts of his kingdom, for them to come with their weapons and bring support to the leader of the Northmen, in order to fight off the enemies and pagans who had for so long been troubling the lands and provinces of the christians. Then the Bretons swiftly came up from their homes and fell on them together with Sidric and his army, and began to fight and to pull down their defences; and they killed a great many of them. In that battle Sidric, the captain of the Northmen, was wounded, and the battle was waged from early morning till evening. Night cut short the battle and all returned to their camps. When day came, however, the pagans who had been besieged made peace, and offered their hands to Sidric, the leader of the Northmen, and brought him much gold and silver, and they made a treaty that day, and he left them heading for the river Seine, where he was killed along with his people by Charles, king of the Franks. When the Bretons had set off for their camp, the Northmen who had been besieged loaded up their ships and prepared to come with anger and indignation to pay back the harm which the Bretons had done them in the battle of ships. At that time, then, the barbarians embarked on their ships, and, leaving

III.9.

¹ Identified as modern Biesse by Lot, *Mélanges*, p. 63.

ciuitatem hanc non ingredietur, dicit Dominus, protegamque urbem hanc et saluabo eam propter me et propter Dauid seruum meum." ^a In⁵ tempore igitur Erispoe principis⁶ Britanniae, quidam Normannus Sidric cum nauibus centum quinque occupauit fluuium Ligeris et circumdedit castra aliorum paganorum qui ciuitatem Namneticam⁷ depopulati fuerant et incenderant, et omnes regiones quae erant prope et longe, tradentes omnia incendio; posueruntque castra sua in insula quae dicitur Betia.⁸ Cumque circumdasset eos nauibus in gyro, ita ut non possent⁹ egredi uel⁹ ingredi, erantque omnes obsessi, statim misit Sidric nuntios ad Erispoe principem Britanniae ut ueniret et irrueret ipse cum exercitu suo super aduersarios suos qui deleuerant regiones suas, essentque uno animo et una uoluntate,¹⁰ ut contererent¹⁰ et delerent eos a superficie terrae. Quod cum audisset Erispoe, festim misit nuntios in¹¹ uniuerso regno suo,¹¹ ut uenirent cum armis suis ferrentque praesidium duci Normannorum, ut debellarent^{11a} hostes et paganos qui iam longo tempore irritauerant regiones et prouincias Christianorum. Tunc Britones uelociter¹² a sedibus suis surrexerunt et irruerunt super eos una cum Sidric et exercitu eius, coeperuntque proeliare et castellum contere, ¹³peremeruntque ex eis plurima multitudo.¹³ In illo proelio uulneratus est Sidric comes Normannorum, factumque proelium a mane usque ad uesperum. Nox proelium diremit, recesseruntque cuncti usque ad castra sua. Mane autem facto illi pagani qui erant obsessi pacem fecerunt et dextras dederunt Sidric duci Normannorum, et aurum et argentum plurimum¹⁴ ei obtulerunt, foederatique sunt illo die, et recessit ab eis Sequanam fluuium petens, ibique a Carolo¹⁵ Francorum rege¹⁵ cum populo suo interfectus est. Cumque Britones perrexissent ad tabernacula sua, Normanni¹⁶ qui fuerant obsessi extruxerunt naues suas et praeparauerunt¹⁷ ut uenirent cum ira et indignatione reddere Britonibus malum quod sibi intulerant nauali proelio. In illo ergo tempore barbari

^a IV Rg XVIII.13, 17, 19, 29–33; Is XXXVIII.4, XXXVII.33–35.

⁵ BC(F) resume with this word.

⁶ BC(F)M; *principi* N; *regis* P.

⁷ BMN; *Nanneticam* C(F)P.

⁸ BC(F)MN; *Bestia* P.

⁹...⁹ BC(F)MN; om. P.

¹⁰...¹⁰ BC(F)MN; om. P.

¹¹...¹¹ BC(F)MN; *uniuersum regnum suum* P.

^{11a} BC(F)M(P)N; altered in N from *debellaret*.

¹² BC(F)N; *celeriter* M(P).

¹³...¹³ N; *peremeruntque ex eis plurimam multitudinem* BC(F); *perieruntque ex eis plurima multitudo* M; *perieruntque cum eis plurima multitudo* P.

¹⁴ BC(F)MN; *multum* P.

¹⁵...¹⁵ M(P); *rege Francorum* BN; *rege* C(F).

¹⁶ M(P)N; *pagani* BC(F). In N *Normanni* is corrected to *pagani* in a fifteenth-century hand.

¹⁷ BM(P)N; *properauerunt* C(F).

the river Loire, they sailed over the great sea and entered the river Vilaine with a hundred and three ships, and occupied the bank of the river, and set up camp not quite two miles from the holy monastery of Redon. As soon as the monks of the holy monastery saw the fleets of ships they prayed to almighty God to deign to keep his holy place free from the desecrations of heathens, that it might be unharmed and not be destroyed by fire, and they flew from the holy place at once. One of the monks, a man of venerable life, a priest named Hincnan, said in the presence of the brothers: 'O Holy Saviour of the world, now we shall see how you rescue the place consecrated to you, so that it is not destroyed by the heathen. Show your power now and we shall be saved.' As he said this, 'the winds, as if they had got ready to march, blew across the land in a storm. They lowered over the sea and Eurus and Notus together attacked everywhere from the depths of their lairs, as did Africus with quick gusts, and they rolled great waves to the shores. The skies thundered and the air flickered with repeated flashes of lightning. Such noise and fire beat down from the sky that imminent death was made manifest' to the pagans. As the most violent bolts and flashes, with great rumbling, crowded the sky above, the heathen began to bind themselves with a vow that if they escaped death they would never desecrate the holy place of God, but would place gifts and offerings on the holy altar, and so it came about. The next day, indeed, they brought across gold and silver and candles beyond counting and ordered them to be lit in a circle round the holy altars, and thus the blow was withheld. That day they also set guards round about the holy place so that no one should dare to seize anything of all the things which were in the monastery. While this was being done, sixteen of the pagans entered the sacristy of the basilica and drank some of the wine which was kept there for Mass. As

ascenderunt naues suas; egressi de fluuio Ligere¹⁸ nauigauerunt¹⁹ mare magnum, intraueruntque Visnoniae fluuium cum centum tribus nauibus, occupaueruntque ripam fluminis, castraque metati sunt paene duobus milibus a sancto monasterio Rotonensi. Porro monachi sancti²⁰ monasterii ut phalangas nauium uiderunt, ilico Deum omnipotentem deprecati sunt ut dignaretur liberare sanctum locum suum a pollutionibus paganorum, essetque inlaesus, ne incendio cremaretur, et statim de loco sancto migrauerunt. Unus autem ex monachis, uir uitae uenerabilis, presbyter Hincnanus²¹ nomine, ait coram fratribus: 'Eia sancte²² Saluator mundi, modo apparebit quomodo erues locum consecrationis tuae, ne destruat a paganis. Nunc ostende potentiam tuam, et salui erimus.' Talia uoce referente, 'uenti quasi agmine facto terras turbine perflant, incubuere mari, totumque a sedibus imis una Eurus Notusque ruunt, creberque²³ procellis Africus, et uastos^{23a} uoluunt ad litora fluctus; intonuere poli, et crebris micat ignibus aether. Tanta²⁴ tonitrua et fulgura e caelo emicuerunt,^{24a} ut praesens mors' paganis 'ostenderetur.'^b Interea cum magno murmure caelum desuper²⁵ et fulgura et coruscationes uehementissime densarent, coeperunt pagani uoto se constringere, ut si mortem euasissent, nullatenus sanctum Dei locum uiolarent, sed dona et munera super sanctum altare ponerent, quod ita factum est. Altera uero die transmiserunt aurum et argentum et candelas innumerabiles, iusseruntque eas accendere²⁶ per circuitum sanctarum ararum,²⁷ et sic cessauit plaga ab eis. In illo quoque die posuerunt custodes per circuitum sancti loci ut nullus²⁸ auderet inuadere²⁸ quicquam²⁹ ex omnibus quae in monasterio erant. Et dum haec ita agerentur, sedecim³⁰ ex paganis intrauerunt in secretarium basilicae, biberuntque de uino quod illic positum erat ad missas. Mox ut gustauerunt,

¹⁸ MN; *Ligeri* BC(F); *Ligeris* P.

¹⁹ BCM(P)N; *nauigaueruntque* F.

²⁰ BCM(P)N; *ei* F.

²¹ BCM; *Hynconanus* F; *Hynconanus*, altered to *Hynconnanus* in a later hand, N; *Hincmarus* P.

²² BC(F)N; om. M(P).

²³ BM(P)N; *crebraque* C(F).

^{23a} BC(F)M(P); *uastas* N.

²⁴ BC(F)M(P)N; altered in N from *tanto*.

^{24a} BC(F)MN; *micuerunt* P.

^b Vergil, *Aeneid*, I.82–6, 90.

²⁵ BC(F)N have a blank space the length of 2–3 words here.

²⁶ C(F)M(P); *ascendere* BN.

²⁷ M(P); *alarum* BC(F)N.

²⁸...²⁸ BM(P)N; *inuadere auderet* C(F).

²⁹ BN; *quidquam* C(F)M(P).

³⁰ M(P)N; *sedecim* B; 16 C(F).

soon as they tasted it, they all flew into a frenzy and, having been taken back to their camp, died together that day, receiving the eternal punishment which they deserved. Then the pagans, going further into the province, took spoils, capturing men and women, gave houses to the flames and did not let anyone live. However, many of the prisoners escaped into the same holy place, fleeing by night; and by day they hid in the monastery-buildings, and in this way, by the mercy of God, they were saved.

in rabiem omnes^{31 32} sunt conuersi,³² et ad castra sua deducti illo die simul mortui sunt, recipientes perpetuam poenam qua merito digni erant. Exinde pagani progredientes intra prouinciam agebant praedas, captiuantes uiros et mulieres, domos tradebant incendio, nec sinebant neminem uiuere. Plurimi autem ex³³ captiuis in eodem sancto loco euaserunt, fugientes nocte; per diem enim latitabant in aedibus monasterii, et sic per³⁴ Dei misericordiam³⁴ tuebantur.³⁵

³¹ BC(F)MN; om. P.

³²...³² BC(F)MN; *conuersi sunt* P.

³³ BM(P)N; e C(F).

³⁴...³⁴ BC(F)N; *misericiordiam Dei* M(P).

³⁵ In N, the words *hic explicit historia monasterii sancti Saluatoris* have been added in the seventeenth-century hand of the chapter-headings of III.4 and 5.

VITA SANCTI CONVVOIONIS

THE LIFE OF SAINT CONUVOION

VITA SANCTI CONUVOIONIS:
PRINCIPLES OF EDITING

The selection of readings for the text of the *Vita* poses certain problems. The archetype of all the extant versions was corrupt and contained grammatical and syntactical mistakes; so we are without a straightforward standard for its reconstruction. There are strong reasons in favour of taking M(P) as a base-text: it alone contains the complete *Vita* and it has the smallest number of *crucis*. But the number of cases in which BC(F)D agree against it shows that that Mabillon heavily altered and 'corrected' his text. In such cases, and particularly where BC(F)D agree on what would seem to be a good alternative, that is, a *lectio difficilior* or an additional word or phrase – for instance, in § 2, *nec non castitatis praerogatiuam* BC(F), *et castitatis praerogatiuam* D, omitted by M(P) – it is stemmatically justified to select BC(F)D'S reading. However, this method cannot be other than inconsistent: in the cases where D (which is even more heavily altered than M) is missing or offers a third reading, and where M's reading is equal to or better than BC(F)'s in terms of sense, one falls back on M without knowing whether in these cases, too, its reading may be Mabillon's own work, while BC(F)'s, even if incorrect, reflects the archetype more truly.

One solution would be to keep to M rigidly, but this would commit us to allowing into the text several sentences in which the grammar is stretched – for instance, *secus decursus ... aquarum*, § 4; *locus ... montibus ... polo uicinus ambiatur* § 3 – while relegating some interesting additional phrases, the authenticity of which there is no reason to reject, to the apparatus.

I have decided on the compromise-solution of adhering to M except in the following cases:

- (a) where BC(F)D agree against M with a grammatically acceptable reading – BCFD will be followed;
- (b) where M's reading is grammatically incorrect – BC(F) will be followed;
- (c) where BC(F) provide additional material, it will be included. (D's unique additions are clearly editorial and will be disregarded.) For §§ 11–12, for which only B and M(P) are extant, M(P) will be adhered to except in case (b).

One exception has been allowed in § 6. The readings of the manuscript are as follows:

M: '...negotiis cunctis omissis cum insuperabili agmine Britanniam properat imperator ...'

D: '... negotiis cunctis augustis obmissis, ipse Ludouicus cum insuperabili armatorum agmine Britanniam properat ...'

BC(F): '...obmissis cunctis Augustus negotiis cum insuperabili armatorum agmine Letaiiam properavit ...'

The presence of the word *augustus* in BC(F) and D, representatives of the two branches, implies that it was in the archetype in some form, and BC(F)'s use of it seems preferable; so BC(F) have been followed and M(P)'s *imperator* has therefore been omitted from the end of the clause. According to the rules stated above, DM(P)'s *Britanniam* should be preferred to BC(F)'s *Letaiiam*; however, the latter is the *lectio difficilior*, using the early name for Brittany which is found in a number of Breton and Welsh saints' Lives, and which was going out of use in the eleventh and twelfth centuries;¹ it seems likely that Mabillon (M) and Duchesne (D) independently substituted the more easily recognised name. BC(F)'s reading has accordingly been placed in the text in this case.

This method will maximise the completeness and grammatical correctness of the text to be given rather than its accuracy as a reconstruction of the archetype. It is, however, impossible to reconstruct an archetype with certainty from a tradition with only two branches, especially when the archetype itself was corrupt, and in these circumstances it seems best to aim for a clear and readable text which makes full use of the alternatives. All rejected readings have been given in the apparatus.

The passage (§7) which is corrupt in all versions is marked by obeli, †...†. The signs `...` indicate that the material enclosed is added above the line in the manuscript.

¹ Fleuriot, *Les Origines*, pp. 53–4.

THE LIFE OF SAINT CONUVOION

§1. Prologue

The glorious fathers of the Catholic faith, whose communion is in the heavens and whose life is hidden with Christ in God, who, like shining stars of the firmament, have worked to shed the splendour of virtue on earth and to ennoble the Church, blossoming in the love of Christ, by their example – it is right to extol them with praise and to bring into the open the deeds of those whom Christ has crowned with glory in heaven. Inasmuch as they were aware of the dignity of their condition, made in the image of God, in which the blessed Job exulted when he said, ‘Your hands have made me and shaped me’, they resolved to render thanks to the Maker for the benefit of such a great gift and privilege, and to offer the eternal sacrifice of their hearts in the odour of sweetness, bringing them as victims for an offering in accordance with the law of the Lord. Now, as all exalt the founders of their churches to the skies with tremendous acclaim (for, as the poet says, each supports himself with high authority), we, too, think it not in the least improper to expound the excellent deeds of the saints by whom our church has deserved to be graced, and to bear witness on behalf of them, whose Witness in the heavens is aware of it.

VITA SANCTI CONUVOIONIS¹

§1.² Prologus Auctoris³

Insignis catholicae fidei patres, quorum conuersatio in caelis est, et uita abscondita cum Christo in Deo, qui uelut rutilantia firmamenti astra splendorem uirtutum mundo refundere et ecclesiam Christi amore uernantem suo studuerunt illustrare exemplo, attollere licet laudibus⁴ eorum in medium deducere gesta, quos Christus in caelo cumulauit gloria. Dignitatem quippe suae conditionis ad similitudinem Dei facti, unde beatus gloriatur Iob, cum dixit: ‘Manus tuae fecerunt me et plasmauerunt me’,^a attendentes, conditori pro tanti muneris et priuilegii beneficio grates exsoluere et sui pectoris⁵ iuge sacrificium in odorem suauitatis immolare decreuerunt, tamquam hostias iuxta legem Domini sacrificio offerentes. Cum autem quique suarum ecclesiarum auctores immensis usque ad sidera efferant praeconiis – magno enim, iuxta poetam, se iudice quisque tuetur^b – nos quoque eorum facta praeclara sanctorum pandere, per quos nostra meruit decorari ecclesia, minime arbitramur indignum,⁶ et eis testimonium perhibere, quorum testis est conscius in excelsis.

§ 1.

¹ M; no title B; *Rothonensis Monasterii Abbates ex codice MS Chartularii eiusdem Monasterii* C(F); *De expeditione Ludouici Pii in Britanniam et de fundatione monasterii Rothonensis* D; *La vie de saint Convoion, premier abbé de Redon* P.

² M; om. P.

³ M; om. BC(F)DP. The Prologue is found in M(P) but omitted from BC(F)D.

⁴ Supply *et* after *laudibus*?

^a Jb X.8.

^b Lucan, *Pharsalia* I.127.

⁵ M; *pastoris* P.

⁶ M; om. P.

§2. *Here begins the Life*

As first father of this monastery, then, stood the great Conuuoion, sprung from noble descent, of the village of Comblissac. His parents took pains to give him over to be instructed in the liberal arts. When he made use of his easily trained intelligence, he soon became foremost in learning, and, by the excellence of his merits and the abundance of his eloquence, not to mention the guarantee of his chastity, he deserved, with the encouragement of Rainarius, the bishop of the city, to attain the position of deacon of the church of Vannes.

§3. As he strove for the faith and diligently pursued his duties to the bishop, when the space of a few years had passed, fleeing from the dazzle of the world, and wishing to devote his labour to true wisdom, he sought a place of solitude in the region of Vannes called Redon, situated near the curve of two noble rivers. This same place is, in fact, reckoned so outstanding in its natural position that it surpasses the other settlements of Gaulish Britain in beauty, surrounded by mountains with their steep slopes close to the sky – as if by some kind of wall – and the most pleasant land

*Vita incipit*¹

§2.² Primus igitur³ huius coenobii exstitit pater insignis Conuuoionus,⁴ ex Cambliciaco⁵ uico origine clara editus,⁶ quem genitores liberalibus studuerunt tradere artibus imbuendum.⁷ Qui cum ingenio uteretur docili, repente factus est scientia summus, et⁸ ob⁸ meritorum excellentiam atque⁸ facundiae affluentiam,⁹ nec non¹⁰ castitatis praerogatiuam,⁹ ecclesiae¹¹ Venetensis diaconi arcem, exhortante Rainario¹² eiusdem urbis pontifice, meruit conscendere.

§3.¹ ²Cum uero doctrinae insisteret, et uices pontificis diligenter exsequeretur,² decursis aliquot annorum spatiis, mundi gloriam fugiens et uerae philosophiae dare³ operam gliscens, in Venetensi territorio solitudinis locum Rothonum⁴ nuncupatum petiit,⁵ iuxta⁶ sinum⁷ duorum nobilium⁸ fluminum⁹ situm.¹⁰ ¹¹Ipse uero¹¹ locus adeo naturali positione insignis habetur ut amoenitate sua ceteris Britanniae Gallicanae locis praestet,¹² montibusque proceritate sua polo uicinis¹² quasi quibusdam moeniis ambiatur,¹³ et omnium deliciarum gratiam proferat¹⁴ gratissima

§2.

¹ M; *Liber Primus I B*; no title C; *Lib. 1^o F.* BC(F) begin here.

² M; om. P; BC(F) begin § 1, thus: *1^a*.

³ M(P); om. BC(F).

⁴ M; *Conuoyonus* BC(F); *Couoionus* D; *Conuoionus* (consistently throughout) P; D begins with this word.

⁵ DM(P); *Comblisiaco* BC(F).

^{6...6} BC(F)M(P); om. D.

⁷ BC(F) begin § 2 here, thus: *2^a*.

^{8...8} BC(F)M(P); om. D.

^{9...9} BC(F)D; om. M(P).

^{10...10} BC(F); *et* D.

¹¹ BC(F)M(P); om. D.

¹² B; *Romano* C(F); *Kermarico* D; *Romario* M(P)

§3

¹ M; om. DP; *3^a* BC(F).

^{2...2} BC(F)M(P); om. D.

³ BC(F)M(P); om. D.

⁴ M(P); *Rothon* BC(F); *Rothonem* D.

⁵ BC(F)M(P); om. D.

⁶ BM(P); *infra* C(F)D.

⁷ M(P); *situm* BC(F); *signum* D.

⁸ M(P); om. BC(F); *miliium* D.

⁹ BC(F)M(P); om. D.

¹⁰ D adds *petiit*; BC(F) begin § 4 here, thus: *4^a*.

^{11...11} DM(P); *enimvero* BC(F).

^{12...12} BC(F)M(P); om. D.

¹³ BC(F); *uicinus* M(P).

¹⁴ M(P); *praeferat* BC(F)D.

provides gifts of all good things. This place, then, he chose to seek, taking with him a few of the clergy of Vannes, servants of God. Coming to the place predestined by God from eternity that it should forever be a house of prayer, they were hesitating as to where they should pitch camp and build an oratory. When, climbing the summit of Beaumont, they poured out prayers to the Lord for some indication of this, lights rose into the sky at about the third hour and the sign of our redemption, shining with glittering light, was seen to descend where now the altar of our Saviour is venerated.

§ 4. While the holy man, together with his brothers, meditated on the law of the Lord beside the course of the waters, and earned his bread in the sweat of his brow according to God's judgement inflicted for earlier sin, one day – in order that such a lantern might not be hidden under a bushel, but that it should be revealed of what worth he was as a luminary of the Church – someone from the land of Poitou, deprived of his eyesight, came to him as he sat in his cell, asking for the father of the monastery, that he might deign to give him back his sight. The former, for a long time declaring himself unworthy of performing such a service, at last, by invoking the name of Almighty God, restored to the man, who had come there, as he averred, by angelic revelation, his former health.

tellus.^{a 15} Hunc ergo¹⁶ locum, paucis ex¹⁷ Venetensi clero secum assumptis Dei famulis, elegit expetendum. Venientes uero¹⁸ ad locum ab aeterno ut¹⁹ domus orationis in perpetuum fieret²⁰ a Deo praedestinatum,²¹ cum haesitarent ubinam²² castra figere et oratorium construere deberent,²² consensu Bellimontis uertice dum preces ad Dominum fudissent pro huiusmodi ostensione, erectis in caelum luminibus circa tertiam fere²³ horam uisum est²⁴ nostrae redemptionis²⁴ signum corusco resplendens²⁵ lumine descendere ubi nunc Saluatoris ueneratur altare.

§ 4.¹ Cumque illic uir beatus una² cum fratribus in lege Domini secus decursum³ meditaretur aquarum, ac iuxta Dei⁴ pro reatu priori inflictam sententiam in sudore uultus sui uesceretur pane suo, ne⁵ lucerna sub modio tanta⁶ occultaretur, sed quanti esset lucifer ecclesiae meriti monstraretur, quadam die consistenti ei⁷ in cella adest ex Pictauesi pago quidam oculorum priuatus acie, monasterii patrem petens ut sibi lumen reddere dignaretur.⁸ Qui⁹ diutius se tanto proclamans indignum ministerio,⁹ tandem homini,¹⁰ qui illuc¹¹ reuelatione,¹² ut assererat, uenerat angelica,¹³ inuocato omnipotentis Dei nomine restituit sanitatem.¹⁴

^a Vergil, *Aeneid*, III.73.

¹⁵ BC(F) begin § 5 here, thus: 5^a.

¹⁶ BC(F)D; uero M(P).

¹⁷ BC(F)M(P); e D.

¹⁸ BC(F)DM; autem P.

¹⁹ BC(F)DM; ubi P.

²⁰...²⁰ BC(F); domus orationis fieret D; domus fieret orationis M(P).

²¹ BC(F)M(P); destinatum D; BC(F) begin § 6, thus: 6^a.

²²...²² BC(F)M(P); castra figerent et oratorium construerent D.

²³ BC(F)D; paene M(P).

²⁴...²⁴ BC(F)D; redemptionis nostrae M(P).

²⁵ BC(F)M; splendens DP.

§ 4.

¹ M; om. P; 7^a BC(F). D lacks this chapter.

² BC(F); om. M(P).

³ BC(F); decursus M(P).

⁴ BC(F); Deum M(P).

⁵ FM(P); in B; in 'ne' C.

⁶ M(P); om. BC(F).

⁷ BC(F); om. M(P).

⁸ BC(F) begin § 8 here, thus: 8^a.

⁹...⁹ M(P); cum diutius se tanto indignum proclamaret ministerio BC(F).

¹⁰ BM(P); lignum 'lumini' C; lumini F.

¹¹ M(P); illic BC(F).

¹² BC(F); a reuelatione M(P).

¹³ BC(F); augurio misertus M(P).

¹⁴ BC(F)P; sanitati M.

§5. In the other brothers, too, God worked marvels, so that they restored steps to the lame, hearing to the deaf, health to lepers, and also walked dry-shod over the very elements of the waters, as is contained in the book of the holy man's miracles. Therefore, having heard of signs and wonders of this kind, Nominio, powerful in arms, flourishing in discernment, having been appointed judge of the province by the emperor Louis, made his way to visit the holy man, and, after having been delighted and instructed by the torrent of his eloquence, and having ascertained the purity of his life, granted many gifts to the saints of God for the alleviation of the poverty of the monastery and, commending himself to their prayers, returned to his home.

§6. The Bretons meanwhile growing insolent as is their habit, and plotting against the emperor after having raised up a certain tyrant, Marconus, as king for themselves, the august emperor, leaving aside all his affairs, hastened to Brittany with an invincible force of armed men, and, having put the Bretons to flight and made an end of their false king, subjected our homeland to his laws. His triumph thus completed, he held a

§5.¹ In ceteris etiam fratribus magna Deo² operabatur, ut claudis gressum, surdis auditum, leprosis conferrent remedium, ipsa quoque aquarum elementa sicco transirent uestigio, sicut in libro miraculorum sancti uiri continetur insertum. Signis³ igitur⁴ et⁵ prodigiis huiusmodi⁶ compertis, Nominio⁷ armis⁸ potens, a sensu pollens,⁸ iudex⁹ provinciae a¹⁰ Ludouico Augusto¹⁰ declaratus, ad beatum tendit uirum, cuius eloquiorum¹¹ torrente¹² delectatus atque instructus,¹³ probata ipsius uitae puritate, multa munera ad releuandam monasterii indigentiam sanctis Dei tribuit, seque eorum orationibus¹⁴ commendans ad propria remeuit.¹⁴

§6.¹ Britannis² interea³ more suo insolescentibus,⁴ et aduersus imperatorem⁵ eleuato⁶ sibi in regem quodam Marcono⁷ tyranno conspirantibus,⁸ obmissis cunctis Augustus negotiis⁸ cum insuperabili armatorum⁹ agmine Letauiam¹⁰ properat,¹¹ et fugatis Britannis¹² atque perempto eorum pseudorege, patriam suis legibus subdit.¹³ Peracto itaque¹⁴

§5.

^a Vergil, *Aeneid*, III.164.

¹ M; om. BC(F)P. D lacks this chapter as far as *signis*.

² M(P); *Dominus* BC(F).

³ D resumes with this word.

⁴ BC(F)M(P); *multis* D.

⁵ BDM(P); *ac* C(F).

⁶ M(P); om. D; *huiuscemodi* BC(F).

⁷ BC(F)D; *Neomenoius* M(P).

^{8...8} BC(F)M(P); *armis et sensu potens* D.

⁹ DM(P); *princeps* BC(F).

^{10...10} BC(F)M(P); *Ludouico Pio et Imperatore Augusto Caroli Magni filio* D.

¹¹ BC(F)M(P); *eloquio* D.

¹² BM(P); *feunte fauis* C; *torrentis instar profluente* D; *fames fauis* F.

^{13...13} DM(P); *imbutus* BC(F).

^{14...14} M(P); *annuens commendari* BC(F); *committens ad propria remeuit* D.

§6.

¹ M; no new chapter BC(F)DP. D adds *postea*.

² BC(F)DM; *Britannicis* P.

³ M(P); *in terra* BC(F)D.

⁴ M(P); *ui adolescentibus* BC(F); *inardescitibus* D.

⁵ D adds *praedictum*.

⁶ BC(F)D; *electo* M(P).

⁷ BC(F)D; *Marcomo* M(P).

^{8...8} BC(F); *negotiis cunctis augustis obmissis ipse Ludouicus* D; *negotiis cunctis omissis* M(P).

⁹ BC(F)D; om. M(P).

¹⁰ BC(F); *Britanniam* DM(P).

¹¹ D; *properauit* BC(F); *properat imperator* M(P).

¹² BC(F)DM; *Britannicis* P.

¹³ BC(F)D; *subiecit* M(P).

¹⁴ BC(F)M(P); *igitur* D.

general council of nobles and bishops in the city of Vannes and there, after he had arranged the affairs of the realm and discussed ecclesiastical matters, when he was already disposed to return to Gaul, he was advised by a divine oracle that he should turn his path towards the saintly man abiding in solitude and leading the life of the angels, Conuuoion, and revere Christ in his image. The emperor, then, giving great thanks to God for the divine counsel, went to the place, and, on contemplating the ways of life of the father of the monastery and of the monks, which was pleasing to God, he took them to himself with benign affection, reflecting on what is said of the holy animals: 'the likeness of a man was in them'.

§7. Therefore, when the man of God saw that the ruler's mind was devoted to him, he begged him in humble prayer to grant him, in return for

triumpho, in Venetensi¹⁵ urbe generale principum et¹⁶ pontificum celebrat concilium,¹⁷ ubi ordinatis regni negotiis et causis discussis ecclesiasticis cum¹⁸ iam¹⁹ Gallias redire disponderet, oraculo est²⁰ admonitus diuino ut ad beatum uirum in eremo degentem²¹ et²² angelicam uitam²³ ducentem²⁴ diuerteret²⁵ Conuuoionem²⁶ atque in²⁷ eius ueneraretur imagine Christum.²⁷ Ingentes uero Deo²⁸ referens gratias imperator²⁹ pro³⁰ responso diuino, locum adiit, et considerata³¹ patris³² monasterii et³³ monachorum Deo placita conuersatione, benigno³⁴ eos amplexatur affectu,³⁴ ³⁵ illud reuoluens quod de sanctis animalibus³⁶ dicitur: 'similitudo hominis in eis',³⁵ ^a

§7.¹ Cernens denique² uir Dei² deuotum erga se principis animum,³ suppliciter eum deprecatur³ ut illi⁴ pro aeterna remuneratione locum

¹⁵ BC(F)M(P); *Venetia* D.

¹⁶ M(P); *ac* BC(F); *atque* D.

¹⁷ DM(P); *consilium* BC(F).

¹⁸ DM(P); *et* BC(F).

¹⁹ BC(F); *iam* in DM(P).

²⁰ BC(F)M(P); om. D.

²¹ DFM(P); *degenti* B; *degenti* altered to *degente* C.

²² DM(P); om. BC(F).

²³ C(F)DM(P); *uicam* B.

²⁴ DFM(P); *ducens* B; *ducenti* C.

²⁵ BC(F)M(P); *conuerteret* D.

²⁶ BM; *Conuuoionum* C(F)P; *Couoium* D.

²⁷ ...²⁷ BC(F)D; *in eo ueneraretur imaginem Christi* M(P).

²⁸ BC(F)D; om. M(P).

²⁹ BC(F)M(P); om. D.

³⁰ DM(P); *patris* BC(F).

³¹ BC(F)M(P); *consideratis* D.

³² DM(P); *patriae* BC(F).

³³ DM(P); *ac* BC(F).

³⁴ ...³⁴ BD; *eos affatur amplexu* C(F); *amplexatur eos affectu* M(P).

³⁵ ...³⁵ BC(F)M(P); om. D.

³⁶ M(P); *animabus* BC(F).

^a Ez I.5.

§7.

¹ M; no chapter-division BC(F)DP.

² ...² BC(F)D; om. M(P).

³ ...³ M(P); *suppliciter eum deprecatur prece* B; *supplici eum deprecatur prece* C(F)D.

⁴ BC(F)M(P); *illis* D.

an eternal reward, the place called Redon, as it is bordered by the two rivers, that is 'Dutulo' and 'Undoennensi', and divided from the farm of 'Spiluc' by its boundary.¹ And when Nominioi, who was deep in the royal secrets, urged with his own prayers that the man of God should be heard, the Emperor, yielding to the request, offered the place Redon to the altar of the Saviour for his and his successors' salvation, as much as the man of God had asked, free and immune from every man; confirming the gift with his own seal in the twenty-first year of his reign and the eight hundred and thirty-third of the Word Incarnate. Saying farewell to the abbot and the brothers, and commending himself to their prayers, he betook himself to the village of Bains, doing some hunting there, and then making for Gaul by way of Angers.

§8. After Augustus had thus returned happily to his own, a little time having elapsed, Abbot Conuuoion, trusting in the king's acquaintance with him, went to his court, beseeching him to remember the poor brothers whom he had visited in their hermitage, and to deign to grant something of his abundant possessions close to the place, to supply their needs with the kindness which he was accustomed to show in looking after their monastery, knowing that such a gift would return to him with interest in the future, as the Lord promises in the Gospel: 'You will gain a hundred-fold and possess eternal life'. But the emperor let all the words of the man of God pass him by and held out unmoved with deaf ears. The man of God, having suffered this rebuff, though treated with contempt, kept up his hopes; not once or a second time, but often, coming and going to and from his homeland with great difficulty, he persistently called upon the king with

§7.

¹ The first two of these names are corrupt, but for *Spiluc*, see *Cartulaire*, ed. De Courson, no. 2.

tribueret Rothonensem, sicut⁵ fluminibus cingitur duobus †⁶Dutulo scilicet et Undoennensi, et†⁶ termino Spilucensi⁷ diuiditur fundo.⁸ Cum autem Nominioius,⁹ qui intimus secretorum erat regalium, precibus instaret ut uir Dei exaudiretur, petitioni cedens imperator obtulit pro sua successorumque¹⁰ salute ¹¹Saluatoris altari quemadmodum uir Dei petierat¹¹ locum Rothonensem ¹²ab omni¹² homine¹³ liberum et immunem, proprio confirmans donationem annulo, anno imperii sui¹⁴ uigesimo primo, incarnati uero uerbi octingentesimo trigesimo tertio. ¹⁵Valedicensque¹⁶ abbati et fratribus, et eorum¹⁵ se commendans orationibus,¹⁷ ¹⁸Balneo se contulit uico, uenationem ibi exercens, ac deinde¹⁸ per Andegauum Gallias petens.¹⁹

§8. Regresso itaque in sua feliciter Augusto, abbas Conuuoionus, notitia regis fretus, pauco tempore euoluto tribunal ipsius adiit, supplicans ut pauperum, quos in eremo uisitauerat, recordaretur fratrum, atque ex copiosis possessionibus suis loco illi contiguus, ad supplendam inopiam illorum, solita quam erga monasteria eorum fouenda semper habuerat, benignitate aliquid largiri dignaretur, sciens talia in futuro cum foenore reuocari, promittente in euangelio Christo Domino: 'Centuplum accipies et uitam aeternam possidebis'.^a Cunctos autem uiri Dei sermones surda aure imperator pertransiens et inexorabilis existens, repulsam uir Dei sanctissimus passus, contemptus spem apposuit, nec semel uel secundo, sed saepe in patriam cum grandi difficultate iens et rediens, iterum regem

⁵ BC(F)M(P); *sicut a D.*

⁶...⁶ DM(P); *et dutulo Viuienensi ut B; et ductulo Vincenensi, ac C(F).*

⁷ BC(F)M(P); *Spicucensi D.*

⁸ BC(F); *fundum D; om. M(P).*

⁹ BC(F)D; *Neomenous M(P).*

¹⁰ BC(F)M(P); *suorumque D.*

¹¹...¹¹ BC(F)M(P); *et aeterna remuneratione D.*

¹²...¹² BC(F)DM; *omni ab P.*

¹³ BC(F)M(P); *onere D.*

¹⁴ C(F)DM(P); *suo B.*

¹⁵...¹⁵ BC(F)M(P); *postea D.*

¹⁶ BC(F); *valedicens M(P).*

¹⁷ D adds *abbatis et fratrum.*

¹⁸...¹⁸ BC(F)M(P); *om. D.*

¹⁹ D adds *regressus est ad suos*, C, D and F end here. B omits §§8–10 and substitutes the following note: 'Hic multa obmisi quia idem est quod in sequentibus libris uidebimus magis dant [sic], nonulle de repulsis quas idem Conuuoionus habuit ab eodem imperatore, item de symonia episcoporum britanniae, et de translatione corporis sancti Marcellini papae et martiris et sancti Ypothemii episcopi Andegauensis breuiter (an illegible line follows) sed postea; (leading into §§11–12).

§8.

^a Mt XIX.29.

his request, bearing in mind the phrase of the poet: 'Persistent effort conquers all'. At last the emperor, renouncing his unaccustomed hardness of heart and remembering these words of the Apostle, 'He who sows sparingly will reap sparingly, he who sows in blessings will reap in blessings', and 'God loves a cheerful giver', was henceforth rendered ready to listen to prayers and, by the intercession of Nominoi and the inspiration of the Lord, permanently granted to abbot Conuuoion and the monk practising the contemplative life in the monastery of Redon, with regal generosity, for the wellbeing of his kingdom and the prize of eternal life, first, at Attigny, the village of Bains and that of Langon with their lands, and afterwards, in the residence of Quierzy, Renac, Brains and Arzon with their bounds,¹ exchanging earthly things for heavenly in an advantageous bargain. The churches of these same parishes, too, which the emperor himself held as a gift from the Roman pontiff, he gave to the aforementioned abbot on the same terms, while Rainaldus, bishop of the church of Vannes, sat in the king's presence and confirmed the action with the seal of his authority.

§9. Once Louis had been transported to the heavenly realms, Nominoi, despising the Gauls, hearing (once Brittany had been brought under his rule) that the bishops of his land were infected with the sores of the disease of simony, wished, through a layman, to stamp out this pestilence. Sustained by the example of the Lord – who is said to have cast out the seats of those who sold doves – and calling to him the man of God Conuuoion, on whose advice he greatly relied, Nominoi decided to send the perpetrators of this crime to Rome to be examined: that is, Susannus of Vannes and Felix of Quimper. Conuuoion, upholder of the holy Faith, was directed by the prince to act as their accuser; he was to take to the sovereign pontiff Leo a golden crown of inestimable value from the governor Nominoi, with a humble letter containing the request that the

§8.

¹ See *Cartulaire*, ed. De Courson, App. nos 6 and 9.

importunus interpellabat¹ petitione sua, poetae sententiam animo reuoluens: 'Labor improbus omnia uincit'.^b Tandem imperator cordis sui insolitam redarguens duritiam, et illus apostoli recolligens: 'Qui parce seminat, parce et metet, et qui seminat in benedictionibus, de benedictionibus et metet',^c et 'hilarem datorem diligit Deus',^d de cetero orabilis efficitur, et, Neomenoio intercedente ac Domino inspirante, abbati Conuuoiono et monachis theoriam in Rothono monasterio exercentibus pro regni statu et perennis uitae brauiio regali munificentia primo quidam² Palatum-accumatum, Balneum uicum atque Languonum cum terminis suis, postmodum uero in Carisiaco palatio Ramiacum, Psacellum, Ardumque cum³ suis finibus³ perpetuo concessit, felici commercio pro terrenis aeterna commutans. Ecclesias⁴ etiam earumdem plebium, quas ipse imperator Romani pontificis munere obtinebat, simili iure praefato tribuit abbati, adsistente regis praesentiae Rainaldo Venetensis ecclesiae praesule, et idipsum sigillo suae munitiois corroborante.

§9.¹ Ludouico siquidem ad siderea regna translato, Neomenoios contemptis Gallis, redacta in suam ditionem Britannia,² regionis suae episcopus audiens contagionis simoniace lepra infectos, hanc cupiens, quamuis laicus, exstirpare pestem, Domini documento fultus, qui cathedras uudentium columbas eliminasse fertur, conuocato Dei uiro, cuius consiliis plurimum nitebatur, Conuuoiono, examinandos decreuit Romam mittere huius reatus fautores, Susannum scilicet³ Venetensem atque Felicem Corisopitensem. Dirigitur a principe ut in eos ageret sacrae fidei cultor Conuouionus, deferens summo pontifici Leoni auream⁴ inestimabili pretio⁴ coronam a duce Neomenoio⁵ missam cum deprecatoria epistola,

§8.

¹ M; *interpellat* P.

^b labor omnia uicit/improbus . . . : Vergil, *Georgics*, I.145–6.

^c II Cor IX.6.

^d II Cor IX.7.

² M; *quidam* P.

³ . . . ³ M; *finibus suis* P.

⁴ My emendation; *ecclesiis* M(P).

§9.

¹ M; no chapter-division P.

² M; *Gallia* P.

³ M; *uidelicet* P.

⁴ . . . ⁴ M; *inaestimabilis pretii* P.

⁵ M; *Nemenio* P.

Lord Pope might, for the sake of his goodness, deign to send him one of the saints who had completed the ordeal of his contest in the city of Rome and had held the seat of St Peter, to bring light to the almost barbarian people of the West. Thus, after the sovereign pontiff had returned thanks for the ruler's gift and his worthy request, Abbot Conuuoion, at a council sitting on a day fixed in advance in the chambers of the Lateran, needing no proxy or advocate, confronted with a brilliant and rhetorically ornamented speech those bishops wan with the disease of Simon or Gehazi. When he had tossed them with both horns of the Testaments, they, feeling their consciences seared, kept trying to rebuff him in the faults cast up in order to evade the allegations.¹ Hemmed in at last by the proffered authorities of the Scriptures, they declared that they had acted in ignorance, as if they were strangers to the Word. The council adducing 'The ignorant will not be recognised', and 'If salt loses its savour, with what shall it be seasoned?', the accused finally obtained pardon from the sovereign pontiff by the intercession of the holy man, having first been admonished and warned that what they had received freely, they should in future give freely.

§ 10. When the blessed Conuuoion had then received permission to return home, Pope Leo sent by the holy man to the ruler Nominioi (into the land of the shadow of death, where there is no order) the body of the blessed Marcellinus, pope and martyr – by whom we read the Theban legion was confirmed – so that our homeland might be made bright by the presence of the holy martyr. And since sorrows are liable to succeed joys – for man's way does not belong to him, nor may he direct his own footsteps, and, as the blessed Job maintains, 'the life of man on earth is a battle' – as Conuuoion the athlete and porter of God was trying to finish his journey, he was incapacitated by a broken leg; but, quickly recovering – in three days – he was restored to health by the Lord. Thus the illustrious martyr Marcellinus was brought into Brittany, and placed honourably by the ruler and the bishops with the abbots and all the clergy of the land in the monastery of Redon on the Lord's day, to represent the Bretons as their apostle.

§ 9.

¹ For the translation, see Introduction, pp. 86–7.

continente ut aliquem sanctorum, qui in urbe Romana cursus sui agonem consummauerit, sedemque beati Petri obtinuerit, ad illustrandam occidui climatis paene barbaram nationem, pro sua dignaretur dominus papa clementia ei transmittere. Postquam ergo gratiarum actiones summus pontifex pro collato principis munere nec non eius digna petitione⁶ retulisset, Conuuoionus abbas, die praefixo in Lateranensi consistorio consedente senatu, prolocutore uel aduocato non indigens, luculento sermone et rhetorico adornato colore praefatos episcopos Simonis uel Giesi morbo pallentes aggreditur. Cumque utroque testamentorum cornu uentilasset eos et illi cauterizatam habentes conscientiam ad excusandas accusationes in peccatis refellere oppositis niterentur, tandem prolatis scripturarum auctoritatibus conclusi, ut hospites testamentorum se ignoranter egisse professi sunt. Inserente uero curia, 'ignorans ignorabitur', et 'si sal euauerit, in quo condietur?'^a tandem obtentu beati uiri a summo pontifice ueniam consequuntur, moniti prius et comminati, ut quod gratis accepissent, gratis deinceps impenderent.

§ 10.¹ Licentia itaque remeandi beatus Conuuoionus accepta, beati Marcellini papae et martyris, a quo ²Thebaea legitur legio² confirmata, corpus principi Neomenio Leo papa per beatum in regionem umbrae mortis, ubi nullus ordo, transmisit³ uirum, ut beati martyris praesentia illustraretur patria. Et quoniam laetis solent maesta succedere – non enim est hominis uia eius, nec ut dirigat gressus suos, et adserente beatus Iob, 'militia est uita hominis super terram',^a dum suum explicare contenderet iter Conuuoionus athleta Dei baiulus, crure confracto debilis efficitur; sed mox in triduo reparatus a Domino redditur sospitati. Defertur itaque⁴ Britanniam inclitque martyr Marcellinus atque a principe et pontificibus seu abbatibus clerique regionis uniuerso in Rothonensi monasterio ornanter reponitur in diem Domini, Britannos tamquam eorum apostolus repraesentaturus.

⁶ M; *petione (sic)* P.

^a Mt V.13.

§ 10.

¹ M; no chapter-division P.

²...² M; *legitur Thebaea legio* P.

³ M; *transmittit* P.

^a Jb VII.1.

⁴ M; *itaque in* P.

§ 11. Afterwards, when several years had passed, and when Charles, son of Louis (his brothers having been removed from this life after internecine wars) was vigorously wielding the sceptre of the Gaulish lands, a certain people too numerous to count – coming seaborne from the islands of the North – burst into Gaul and brought deadly misfortune upon our country, destroying everything with fire and the sword. When they had wiped out almost everything as far as the crests of the Alps and the Pyrenees, they finally set upon the land of Brittany, bringing about the same kind of slaughter there. To crown their perversity, they even razed to the ground the monastery of Redon, of perfected devotion, only the lives of its inhabitants having been saved at their first coming. For during the span of nearly thirty years the sword¹ of the heathen drank its fill in the kingdom of the Gaulish lands. But the blessed Conuuoion, forestalling them, committed the relics of the saints and the other treasures of the church to his bosom and, retreating from violence, made his way to King Salomon – taught by the Lord, who orders us to flee from place to place when necessity compels. He was received with favour by the noble king, who granted to the abbot, as a perpetual gift for the support of the monks' lives, a royal residence which he had built for himself at Plélan (with its possessions as shown by the boundaries) so that they could pray unceasingly to the Lord of life for present and permanent peace. Salomon was called king, not because he was so in reality, but because he made use of the gold circlet and purple garments by concession of the Emperor Charles, for this reason he was recognised by that title.

§ 11.

¹ Translating *gladius*, a suggested emendation from the manuscripts' *gladiis*; see Introduction, p. 87.

§ 11.¹ Euolutis praeterea postmodum quibusdam annis, Carolus, Ludouici filius, post multa bella plus quam ciuilia^a fratribus uita exemptis cum sceptrum strenuissime gereret² Galliarum, ab insulis Aquilonis quidam innumerabiles³ populi prodeuntes nauigio uecti Galliam⁴ irruunt et igne ferroque cuncta delendo exitialem luctum patriae intulerunt. Cumque infra Alpium Pyrenaeorumque⁵ iuga fere omnia exterminassent, Britanniam⁶ demum aggrediuntur regionem similes inferendo neces. Sed et consummatae religionis Rothonense monasterium ad suae peruersitatis cumulum ad solum⁷ usque euerterunt,⁸ saluatis habitantium primo eorum aduentu animabus. Nam per triginta fere⁹ annorum spatium in¹⁰ regnum Galliarum gladiis¹¹ inebriatus est gentilius. Beatus autem eos praeueniens Conuuoionus, traditis sinui¹² sanctorum pignoribus seu ceteris ecclesiae thesauris, furori cedens, ad Salomonem se contulit regem, docente¹³ eum Domino, qui de loco ad locum fugere ingruente iubet necessitate. A quo fauorabiliter exceptus,¹⁴ ad subsidium uitae monachorum¹⁵ tradidit¹⁶ rex inclitus abbati in¹⁷ eleemosyna sempiterna¹⁷ regiam quam sibi in Plebelam construxerat cum designata terminis possessione quatenus indesinenter¹⁸ pro¹⁹ praesenti ac perpetua pace exorarent Dominum uitae. Salomon rex appellatur,²⁰ non quod re uera esset, sed quia circulo aureo²¹ et purpura concessione Caroli Augusti utebatur, idcirco hoc nomine censebatur.

§ 11.

¹ M; no chapter-division P. B resumes here.

^a Lucan, *Pharsalia* I.1.

² M(P); *regeret* B.

³ M(P); *innumerabilis* B.

⁴ M(P); *Gallias* B.

⁵ M; *Pirenaeorumque* BP.

⁶ M(P); *Britannicam* B.

⁷ M(P); *solium* B.

⁸ M(P); *deduxerunt* B.

⁹ M(P); *ferme* B.

¹⁰ B; om. M(P).

¹¹ BM(P); read *gladius?* (cf. Is XXXIV.5).

¹² M(P); *suae sinu* B.

¹³ M(P); *ducente* B.

¹⁴ BM; *acceptus* P.

¹⁵ B; *monachis* M(P).

¹⁶ BM; *tribuit* P.

¹⁷...¹⁷ M(P); *elemosinam sempiternam* B.

¹⁸ B; *indesignanter* M(P).

¹⁹ M(P); *per pro* B.

²⁰ M(P); *appellabatur* B.

²¹ M(P); *aurio* B.

§ 12. With the venerable monastery of Redon, once glittering with renown, founded by kings and other splendid lords, now reduced, at the behest of God's judgement, to the desolation of a hermitage, Conuuoion, seeking solitude, not the throng, lingered in Plélan with his brothers, disciplining his body with fasts and vigils, and ceaselessly bewailing the slaughter of Christian people and the downfall of his country with the continuous rain of his eyes, after the manner of Jeremiah in his lamentations for the Jewish kingdom. When he had spent some years in this sorrowful state, the Lord made his end known to him and he left his human body when he was about eighty years old, and was buried. Riualinus of Alet took charge of the rites of the funeral in the church of the Saviour, built with marvellous workmanship by Salomon, next to the blessed abbot Maxentius from the land of Poitou, who had come there long before, fleeing from the harassment of the false brothers of his monastery, and had there passed away to the Lord. May we, then, be made worthy by their intercession to obtain pardon from the Lord, while he grants it, who lives and reigns for ever. Amen.

§ 12.¹ In eremi uastitatem redacto, Dei exigente² iudicio, quondam gloria renitenti uenerabili Rothonensi³ monasterio a regibus et ceteris magnificis uiris fundato, Conuuoionus solitudinem appetens, non frequentiam, Plebelanio⁴ cum fratribus morabatur, corpus suum⁵ ieiuniis atque uigiliis⁵ macerans et indesinenter perenni⁶ oculorum imbre populi christiani⁷ stragem et patriae suae cladem Heremiae⁸ in lamentationibus Iudaici regni exemplo deplorans. Cumque in hac contritione aliquos⁹ peregisset annos, notum ei faciente Domino finem suum, hominem exiit, cum octoginta esset annorum, sepultusque est, exequias funeris eius¹⁰ procurante Riualino Aletensi¹⁰ in Saluatoris ecclesia a Salomone¹¹ fabrica mirabili¹¹ constructa, iuxta beatum ex Pictauesi territorio abbatem Maxentium, qui olim molestias falsorum sui monasterii fratrum fugiens illuc uenerat, ibique ad Dominum migrauerat. Horum ergo suffragiis ueniam a Domino impetrare mereamur, ipso praestante qui uiuit et regnat per saecula. Amen.

§ 12.

¹ M; no chapter-division BP.

² M(P); *exegente* B.

³ B; om. M(P).

⁴ M(P); *Plebelaris* B.

^{5...5} M; *ieiuniis ac uigiliis* B; *uigiliis et ieiuniis* P.

⁶ M(P); *per**era* B (* denotes illegible letters).

⁷ BP; *christianam* M.

⁸ B; *ut Heremias* M(P).

⁹ BM; *aliquot* P.

^{10...10} M(P); *Raiidio Aletensi procurante* B.

^{11...11} BM; *mirabili fabrica* P.

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