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Wulfric of Baslebury

BY

JOHN, ABBOT OF FORD

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION

AND NOTES BY

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MONK OF DOWNSIDE ABBEY

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PREFACE

THE Life of Wulfric of Haselbury has been lying in manuscript for about seven hundred and thirty years. No excuse is needed for editing the biography of this celebrated Somerset anchorite, whose fame went forth into all England and whose memory was considered by our principal chroniclers to be worthy of a place in their annals. The history of Somerset would hardly be complete without some presentation of a man who was visited by kings and by cardinals, bishops and nobles, rich and poor, during the twenty-nine years of his seclusion at Haselbury Plucknett.

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INTRODUCTION

I. INTRODUCTORY

FROM the time of Bishop Leofric the city of Exeter was the home of considerable literary activity. Between the years 1155 and 1160 interesting names are to be found there: Master Bartholomew the archdeacon who became bishop in 1161, Master Joseph a poet of some renown, and Master Baldwin who was later to be raised to the primatial see of Canterbury.¹ Both Bartholomew and Baldwin were remarkable for their learning and dedicated their books to one another. Pope Alexander III called them the 'two candlesticks of the English church.'

Through the influence of Archbishop Theobald, Bartholomew was raised to the episcopal dignity in 1161, and played a prominent part in the stormy controversies over St. Thomas of Canterbury: by steering a middle course through an ocean of difficulties he succeeded remarkably well in offending no one. Baldwin, on the other hand, a native of Exeter (Bartholomew was a Breton), resigned his archdeaconry to become a Cistercian monk at Ford Abbey in the county of Devon.² It is not easy to say exactly when he became abbot of this community. Robert de Penynton, the second abbot, was still alive in 1168,³ and Baldwin had not been long in the habit before he became his successor: Giraldus Cambrensis will have it that he had

¹ See *Robert Pullen and Nicholas Breakspear*, by R. L. Poole; in *Essays presented to T. F. Tout*.

² Now, since 1842, in Dorset. See Hutchins, *Dorset*, ed. 1870, iv, 525.

³ Oliver, *Monasticon Exon.*, p. 338.

been only one year a monk, but Gervase says it was several :¹ in any case he ceased to hold office in 1181 upon his appointment to the see of Worcester. His old friend Bartholomew died in December 1184 and at the same time he was himself elected to the primatial see.

During the next ten years Ford Abbey was under the rule of one Robert.² In 1191 John, sometimes called Devonius, the writer of the Life of St. Wulfric, was appointed to take his place.³ It is clear enough from the long list of John's works that he aspired to literary celebrity, and this is one reason why two letters prefixed to the Life are dedicated the one to Bartholomew and the other to Baldwin.

2. JOHN OF FORD

Abbot John was born, it has been suggested, at La Ford in the parish of Musbury near Axminster.⁴ There was certainly a John de Forda living there at the time and, if this be the same person as the monk, he had travelled extensively, had probably attended the university of Paris and returned home full of learning and good manners.⁵ Beyond the coincidence of name there is another reason why the two should be identified : it is more likely that he should have taken his name from his birthplace, as was the custom among monks, than that he alone among the abbots should be known by the name of the monastery of his adoption.

Ford had been founded in 1136 by monks from Waverley in Surrey, itself the first Cistercian abbey in this country. In thirty-five years the community had become sufficiently large to make a new foundation, and in 1172 a colony went forth to found Bindon Abbey in Dorsetshire. John, who was then prior of Ford,⁶ was later appointed abbot of the daughter house,⁷ but he resigned in 1191 to become abbot of his own

¹ 'post paucos annos.' Gervase, Rolls Series, ii, p. 400.

² Oliver, *Monasticon Exon.*, loc. cit. ³ *ibid.*

⁴ Prince, *Worthies of Devon*, p. 295.

⁵ Fuller's *Worthies*, p. 263.

⁶ Harl. MS., 322.

⁷ Oliver, *Monasticon Exon.*, loc. cit.

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monastery, and this office he retained until his death in 1220.¹ There was already a literary tradition there : a monk named Roger had dedicated his work to Abbot Baldwin.² A little later, Maurice Somerset, probably under Abbot Robert (1180-1191), held the distinction of being the first Cistercian writer claimed by the university of Oxford, on the ground of a poem entitled *De schemate pontificali* which he dedicated to Bishop Reginald of Bath (1174-1191).³ Pitts also ascribes to him a book of epigrams ; but he is responsible for a mistake which has been frequently reiterated when he states that Maurice became abbot of Fountains.⁴ There was certainly an Abbot Maurice of Fountains appointed in 1147, but Maurice Somerset's poem was dedicated to Bishop Reginald and must therefore be later than 1174 : the discrepancy in dates exposes the error.⁵

When John arrived his work added further lustre to the monastery. Under him his community 'had more learning than three convents of the same bigness anywhere in England.'⁶ He himself was a theologian and he wrote a number of books of which only a few manuscripts are extant.⁷ He was the third continuator of the exposition of the Canticle of Canticles begun by St. Bernard of Clairvaux and continued by Gilbert of Hoyland : the work of these two is printed in Migne,⁸ but John of Ford's addition still awaits an editor. He succeeded in completing this great work which the death of Gilbert in 1172 had left unfinished. John also wrote a commentary on the Lamentations of Jeremiah, a hundred and twenty homilies, and two treatises entitled *De contemptu mundi* and *De triplici cruce*. There is also a collection of sermons, of which one for Palm

¹ Oliver, *Monasticon Exon.*, loc. cit.

² Leland, *De Scriptoribus*, p. 230.

³ Anthony à Wood, *Hist. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon.*, p. 57.

⁴ p. 260.

⁵ See Henriquez, *Fasc. Ord. Cist.*, ii, p. 295, and Walbran, *Memorials of Fountains Abbey*, i. (Surtees Society.)

⁶ Fuller's *Worthies*, p. 263.

⁷ Leland, *De Scriptoribus*, p. 231.

⁸ P.L., clxxxiv.

Sunday is extant ; the Acts of King John, now unfortunately lost ; and lastly the Life of St. Wulfric, certainly the most popular of them all.

The period of John's government at Ford was a difficult one, and it was one of his monks who played the most prominent part in the struggle between the Cistercian order in England and the Crown in the dark days of King John. This monk, Alexander, was appointed abbot of Meaux in 1197.¹ Three years later the king levied a scutage to pay the sum of thirty thousand marks due to the French king as a condition of the treaty made between them. The Cistercians, considering themselves to be exempt from such forms of taxation, sent a deputation in alarm to York, but the timid monks who composed it were unable to prevail against the obstinate firmness of the king. Since their order was highly centralized and directed from without the boundaries of the kingdom they considered themselves safe in bringing forward the plea that they could not accede to King John's request without the permission of General Chapter, which met annually at Cîteaux. The king refused to entertain the suggestion made by Archbishop Hubert Walter on their behalf to accept a thousand marks in return for a confirmation of the liberties of King Richard. When the archbishop came to Lincoln, Abbot Alexander, formerly a member of his household, confronted him with a letter from General Chapter asking his help in resisting the extortionate demands of the king on the ground that other rulers might follow suit. At the meeting of abbots which followed it was decided to refuse to pay.² Alexander, as leader of the opposition, was now a marked man ; but he was less cautious than his fellows. When the Cistercians were commanded to contribute towards the cost of the king's expedition to Ireland, Alexander found himself alone in his policy of resistance. His

¹ *Chron. de Melsa*, Rolls Series. The editor, Mr. E. A. Bond, wrongly states that Ford is in Lincolnshire ; but there is no other abbey of the name. Alexander was described as *vir utique bonus et bene litteratus*.

² Nov. 21, 1200.

offer to resign not being accepted, he appointed his cellarar to go to court and do what he could. Meanwhile he kept away from his abbey, which was seized by royal officers, and he had the mortification of seeing his monks dispersed by twos and threes throughout the granges of the house. He had now brought Meaux to the verge of ruin, while his former superior and the other abbots had bowed to the inevitable. There was only one thing to do : he insisted on resigning his office into the hands of the abbot of Fountains and delivered up his seal.¹ He then went back to Ford, a sad and disillusioned man, and Abbot John, at the request of Father Abbot of Fountains, had the painful duty of proclaiming Alexander's resignation in his Chapter house. The ex-abbot only lived two years more and was buried at Ford in 1212.

That Abbot John bowed to the royal will over the question of monastic taxation, and that he may have been prominent in the less intransigent party at Lincoln, may be presumed from the fact that he was at this time *persona grata* at court and, about the year 1210, became confessor to King John. His contact with the court was no doubt the reason why he took in hand to write the Acts of that king.

There are a few references to this abbot in contemporary documents. He was employed as judge delegate under a mandate of Archbishop Hubert Walter in a dispute between Master Michael and Gilbert his chaplain, the priest of Coteleg. This long process dragged on from 1193 to 1205.² He was witness to a gift by William de Moyun of the tithes of his mills at Cutcombe in perpetual almoin before 1194.³ We hear of him bringing an assize of novel disseisin against Alvred the goldsmith concerning his free tenement at Burkestok : Alvred was amerced half a mark and the first of the pledges is 'the Abbot of Ford, John,' himself : the date of this is probably July 3rd, 1201.⁴ Then at Ilchester in the Curia Regis the

¹ In 1210.

² *Exeter Records*, Hist. MSS. Comm., 1907, pp. 810, 812, 813.

³ *Bruton Cartulary*, Som. Rec. Soc., p. 55.

⁴ *Somerset Pleas*, Som. Rec. Soc., p. 4.

Thursday next after the feast of St. Barnabas 1202 'John Abbot of Forde' acknowledged the vill of Heathfield to be the right and inheritance of Elias Talbot.¹

This is possibly the sum of our information about Abbot John from external sources. It remains later to discover how he reveals himself in the Life which he is presumed to have written. The question of authorship must first be settled. He died in 1220 and was buried without great pomp or solemnity in his own monastic church.²

3. AUTHORSHIP

No one has ever attributed this Life of the anchorite of Haselbury to any other person than John of Ford. No one has been interested enough in it up to the present time to question its authenticity except the anonymous author of a note in Dr. Oliver's *Monasticon Exoniense*, whose words may be quoted as an example of ineffective criticism prompted by dislike.

'It contains two dedications, one to Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter and another to Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury; but as the former died about the same time as the latter was translated to Canterbury, viz. at the latter end of 1184, it is possible that the book may not be a genuine work. Anyone who is friendly to the memory of the abbot and has read the biography must be pleased to think that he was perhaps not the author of such a production.'³

The answer to this criticism will be found in the following pages. The attentive reader of the dedicatory letters will find that the second was added because of the death of him to whom the first had been inscribed. The implication that the life is unwholesome is best countered by reading it: there is nothing therein discreditable to the author, although one must allow sometimes that the taste of the twelfth century was different from that of the twentieth.

¹ *Somerset feet of Fines*, Som. Rec. Soc., p. 12.

² Leland, *De Scriptoribus*.

³ Oliver, *Monasticon Exon.*, p. 339.

No alternative author has ever been suggested. We have by good fortune a very early outside reference to the coupling of John's name with that of St. Wulfric. Before the first quarter of the thirteenth century had passed away the chronicler Alberic of Trois Fontaines wrote under the year 1154, 'there died Saint Wolvericus, hermit, and John, Abbot of Ford, writes his life.'¹ It is to be noted that he uses the words 'is writing'² as if the original entry was made at a time when Cistercians in general knew that the abbot was collecting evidence for the life of the anchorite of Haselbury: moreover Alberic is the only chronicler who gives us the name of the abbot. None of our English chroniclers does more than abridge or mutilate the original without acknowledgment. It was not until the sixteenth century that Leland saw the Life and copied out a number of extracts about persons and places.³

Such is the external evidence for coupling John's name with St. Wulfric; the internal testimony must now be examined. The Life was written by a Benedictine monk or by one who followed the rule of St. Benedict. A number of expressions such as the use of the words *Opus Dei* for the Divine Office makes this clear.⁴ We know also that John wrote an exposition of the latter part of the Canticle of Canticles. Now, allowing for the fact that the Liturgy frequently draws upon this book, especially for the feasts of Our Lady, that would not of itself account for the numerous and unusual quotations evidently made by a person well versed in the mystical commentaries upon it. In one place the writer goes out of his way to presume, by an extravagant use of Chapter II, v. 9, that St. Wulfric's visitor was none other than God himself.⁵ A careful reading will soon show that if the writer was not John, abbot of Ford, he was at least pretending to be so;

¹ *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, xxiii, p. 842.

² *scribit*.

³ *Collectanea*, vol. ii, p. 444.

⁴ *Vita*, ch. 33. See also note to ch. 7.

⁵ *ibid.*, ch. 20.

and the object of a forgery in this case would be hard to discover.

4. FIRST DEDICATION TO BISHOP BARTHOLOMEW

In all four manuscripts which have been collated¹ there are prefixed to the Life two letters of dedication. The first of these is to Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter. Abbot John writes to him to say that his advice and good pleasure that the life of St. Wulfric be written is surely an answer to prayer. The saint is to be recommended for his virtuous life, his wonderful cures, his teaching, his revelation of the mysteries of God and his sterling example of sanctity. His grave at Haselbury lacks a title and his memory is in jeopardy ; but now Bishop Bartholomew has ordered the matter to be referred to the bishops of Worcester and Bath, and these, with the bishop of Exeter, are to form a committee of three ; when the work is done John will send it to the last named, especially as this work was ‘undertaken . . . by you, adorned with your name and sealed with your authority.’ John invites him to receive it and judge it according to that standard of ‘liberty and equity which you have been wont to use in other causes.’ He is not to spare anything, but to be mindful of the day of judgment. Finally he commits his ‘trifling work’² to God.

Bartholomew, therefore, had authorized the writing of the saint’s life and told John that the bishops of Worcester and Bath would join him as judges of its fitness. There can be little doubt that the bishop of Worcester was Baldwin. What more suitable judge of this cause could he have chosen than an ex-abbot of Ford ? The bishop of Bath would be Reginald fitzJocelyn, bishop of the diocese in which Haselbury stood and successor of that Bishop Robert of Lewes to whom St. Wulfric had paid obedience and by whom he had been buried. If these presumptions be correct, this letter was written between 1180 and 1184 and the Life was begun at that time. A

¹ See § 29.

² *parvulum hoc depositum.*

complete discussion of the date of the Life must, however, be postponed.

5. SECOND DEDICATION TO ARCHBISHOP BALDWIN

The second dedicatory letter is addressed to Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury. John tells him that he has done his utmost to arrive at the truth as far as he could. For a long time he was moved by the thought that St. Wulfric was being forgotten, until authority stepped in and he persuaded his abbot to consult the bishop of the diocese. Bartholomew approved the design and promised to put the finishing touches to the biography himself. But before the Life was completed the holy bishop¹ was taken from this world, and John now feels it his duty to carry out the wishes of Bartholomew by sending it to Archbishop Baldwin. There is another reason which makes this dedication doubly suitable. St. Wulfric, like the martyr St. Thomas of Canterbury, St. William of York and St. Godric, forms part of the treasures of the Church in England. The archbishop will look after his own and who will dare thwart him? John will be pleased if what he has written meets with his approval. He has done his part and leaves the work in the hands of Baldwin to do God's will in the matter.

We may add, then, to the information given in the first letter that Bartholomew having died before the completion of the task, John of Ford hastened to send it to the next member of the committee of three originally appointed. This letter must have been written after the spring of 1185 when Baldwin was consecrated. The consecration took place on May 19th, and up to that time the archbishop-elect continued correctly to style himself 'B. Cantuar. electo, Wigorn. Episcopo.' for the general practice was that he should not be addressed as Archbishop until after consecration. At this time the writer of the Life appears to have been prior of Ford, and as he was later abbot of Bindon and resigned that office in 1191 one may date this letter as having been written some time between May 1185 and 1191.

¹ *vir ille victurus in saecula.*

In the face of the evidence of these letters, which always accompany the Life, it would be hard to doubt that John of Ford wrote the Life of St. Wulfric. Two of the manuscripts¹ were copies made during his lifetime and were written perhaps twenty years before his death.

6. DATE OF THE LIFE

The letters prefixed to the Life point to a date between 1180 and 1191. Does the internal evidence, if any, agree with this? There are two passages which throw light upon it. The first is the story of Leviva whose husband had been ill for fifteen years, ever since the death of the saint:² these words could not have been written before 1169 or 1170. Again, when speaking of the regular canons whom William fitzWalter brought to Haselbury, Abbot John says that he does not wish to pursue the memory of those who have been driven out.³ The canons were still there between 1174 and 1180, because 'William canon of Haselburg' is a witness to the first charter granted to the city of Wells.⁴ Taking the earliest possible date for this charter, the year 1174, the canons cannot have been expelled before that year nor after 1184, for John of Ford says they have already gone.

It is therefore possible to affirm that the Life of St. Wulfric was begun soon after 1180 and completed during the ten subsequent years. It is reasonable to suppose that it was finished in 1185 or 1186, because one must allow for the period when John was abbot of Bindon before 1191.

7. CHARACTER AND STYLE OF THE WRITER

The whole Life necessarily reveals the character of the writer. He was a humble man, as became a monk, but his self-depreciation seems at times a little forced: it was, however, a convention of the period. It is also, to a certain extent, a

¹ MSS. Eton and *Faustina*.

² *Vita*, ch. 105.

³ *expulsos*. *Vita*, ch. 80.

⁴ *Wells City Charters*, Som. Rec. Soc., p. 1.

consequence of the fact that he is addressing the bishop who permitted him to write the life of the saint. ‘I fear your gravity will take scandal at my foolish loquacity,’ he writes. He wishes to avoid becoming burdensome *in immensum exuberando*. ‘I pray you bear with me.’ ‘I do not blush to confess my imperfections, how weak I am at putting up with murmuring.’ He writes each book as if it were the tale of a day : at the end of the first, ‘what there remains to be told, and there is much, I have thought good to leave to the morrow’ : the second closes with the words : ‘it is toward evening and I fear exceedingly lest the sun set upon your listening, for my wish and my desire is to give you pleasure rather than tedium.’ He writes quite tolerable Latin and aims at producing a work of some pretensions. Jingles appeal to him : ‘ab aquis nivium transitur ad calorem nimium,’ for example, or ‘index simul et vindex.’ Quotations from Holy Scripture abound on every page and his knowledge of the Bible is profound. He displays a certain humour in suiting the text to the event. When the Hiribelli appropriate St. Wulfric’s packhorse, we are told that the ship went down in the Channel; and, quoting the Canticle of Moses (*Exod. 15, Cantemus Domino*), the abbot neatly adds that ‘if it were there the horse and its rider God cast into the sea.’ An example of his sense of humour will be found in one of the first recorded miracles where the joy of the Bampton man in regaining the use of his tongue is amusingly told. He is a little inclined to a pious form of snobbery in admitting that his opinion of St. Wulfric was increased by the notice St. Bernard took of him. On the other hand, he shows considerable charity and restraint in writing about the raid of the Cluniac monks of Montacute to steal the body of the saint and excuses them on the plea of religious zeal.¹ His desire is to be fair to all, to give a true picture of the saint as he had learned from others, portraying even his weaknesses, and to produce a document which would be of use to his ecclesiastical superiors in their examination of the cause of the anchorite.

¹ *Vita*, ch. 101.

8. SOURCES : GENERAL

John of Ford took infinite pains to examine a number of persons who had been eye-witnesses of the saint's life or who had in any way come into contact with him or his intimate friends. He was a careful, prudent and discriminating biographer, and, if he includes some anecdotes which are hard to credit, this must be set down to local gossip rather than to a malevolent desire to deceive. The late Professor H. W. C. Davis wrote of men of this kind :

'The hagiographers seem, if we may judge from these examples, to have followed the best available evidence without allowing much licence to their imagination or to their preconceived ideas of sanctity. They tell us with considerable fidelity what was asserted by the personal friends of the saints ; and where the flowers of rhetoric are strewn over the narrative it is not a rhetoric which suppresses or transforms the essential features of the story as it was known to the writer.'¹

9. SOURCES : WALTER OF GLASTONBURY

Chief among the sources used by John of Ford is Walter, a monk of Glastonbury and the son of William fitzWalter.² The knight had at least four sons and one daughter and it is likely enough that Walter was the eldest. This monk is given a chapter to himself.³

'Now since I have often cited Walter of Glastonbury in testimony of the truth, it is time that I should myself bear testimony to my witness and that you should satisfy yourself as to his worth. Two things made him intimate with the man of God : first the friendship of his father and mother and secondly the grace of God in him which the holy man both foresaw and foretold. That this was the more important cause will appear from that which follows. It happened that his father had left him behind in London as a surety in some money matter in the time of King Stephen, in the house of one of the citizens. Although he had freely entered upon this captivity it was an unhappy and an anxious one ; and when the monotony and distress of it afflicted him more and more in an increasing degree, he sent to blessed Wulfric and asked him to pray for him, because by his prayers he was expecting a certain and speedy departure.'

¹ *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, vol. xxii, p. 92.

² See § 20 and note to ch. i.

³ *Vita*, ch. 96.

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There follows the account of his release and homecoming. Then he continues :

' He had the charm of an inborn simplicity and was for this reason very agreeable to the man of God, and, from assiduous conversation with him, a sharer of his secrets of which he deserves to be a witness. Now it so happened that in the presence of the man of God some persons, as if divining the future, turned the conversation on to him and his brothers, asking which of them would turn out to be the greatest. The man of God decided for Walter : " He it is," he said, " for whom good provision will be made before all his brothers." But Walter, accepting the prophecy in a human sense as if he were already designated his father's heir—for it is the tendency of the pride in human nature to be always rising—because of these words began to hope exceedingly, to conceive new plans and schemes, to show arrogance in every way and to indulge himself in his daily life. When his mother realized this, she began to bewail her son as not otherwise than dead and to importune the holy man for his help. " Weep not," he said to her, " for your son will not long remain in this state." The reply reached the ears of the young man and, interpreting it as meaning that his death was imminent, like boys when the rain begins to fall he put an end to his playing. It even entered his mind to renounce the world, and he began to treat with the man of God with this intent : but the idea, slothfully conceived, was lazily discussed and, with more providence than befits the entering upon religious vows, he spun out his tardy undertaking over a long space of time. Now the holy man said to him : " That plan about which you have spoken is going to be fulfilled more speedily than you yourself have planned ; and it will be hastened beyond all your expectations." And indeed in a short time at the request of the Lord Henry, Bishop of Winchester,¹ by a series of causes which it would take too long to enumerate, he took the habit in the monastery of Glastonbury. There without complaint and in high estimation he has lived in religion up to this time and is now in a ripe old age : he is prepared to give an account of the life of Blessed Wulfric to all who request it of him, if they ask him at a suitable time, and both his religious profession and his age preclude any suspicion of untruth in the telling. Indeed a good simple man is ashamed to tell untruths ; it would be altogether unfitting to hear lies from a monk. Hence indeed it is impious, it is execrable for a witness and a testimony to the truth who is brought forward publicly to take his stand on the side of liars and to prop up a falsehood. Last of all it is not pleasant to that already white-headed man to jest and talk nonsense any more, and to spend the day of eternity at the

¹ Henry of Blois, Abbot of Glastonbury.

threshold of which he is already standing in relating fables is not only not a pleasure, but ought for this very reason to seem now actually harmful.'

Here then is the abbot's own apology for his principal source. Walter was an eye-witness of many events ; he lived at the manor house in close proximity to the saint and was his familiar friend. His opportunities were therefore altogether exceptional. With John of Ford we may easily acquit Dom Walter of being a liar ; but there is a subjective element which must be allowed for due to old age, lapse of memory and picturesque exaggeration, from which few persons are altogether exempt. In this case and in the cases of those others who follow one must also take into account minor misunderstandings on the part of the enquirer.

It was from his father that this monk heard the tale of the cutting of the iron habergeon with a pair of shears,¹ and the prophecy of the death of a monk at Winchester :² from his mother he must have heard of Queen Matilda's impolite behaviour at Corfe.³ From St. Wulfric himself he learned the details of the miraculous relighting of his lamp,⁴ of the arrival of heavenly food,⁵ and of the three penitent priests.⁶ From his own procurator, Dom Robert, once a canon of Cirencester, he must often have heard the tale of his attempt to belittle the saint.⁷ No doubt the lady who brought the material for covering one of St. Wulfric's books told her story at the manor house.⁸ It is in the highest degree likely that he told Abbot John himself the whole story of the saint's life and indicated those who would best be able to assist him.⁹

10. SOURCES: WILLIAM OF FORD

The source next in order of importance is another monk, a Cistercian, of John's own abbey. He was not in the strict sense a monk, that is to say a choir monk, for he was a lay-brother. The friendship which sprang up between Brother

¹ *Vita*, ch. 9.

² *ibid.*, ch. 78.

³ *ibid.*, ch. 81.

⁴ *ibid.*, ch. 33.

⁵ *ibid.*, ch. 40.

⁶ *ibid.*, ch. 87.

⁷ *ibid.*, ch. 88.

⁸ *ibid.*, ch. 27.

⁹ *ibid.*, ch. 87.

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William and the saint lasted for several years, perhaps as many as twenty, and the lay-brother was present at the deathbed of St. Wulfric. The nature of the post he held, that of junior guest-master, made it possible for him to go frequently through Haselbury.

' Among the friends of the man of God was one who was very intimate with him, Brother William, lay-brother guest-master¹ of Ford, a man with an altogether honourable reputation, but more illustrious, as we believe, in that he despised the pomp of the king's court in his very youth and reigns happily up to this day in the poverty of Christ. The man of God knitted this man very closely to him in the bonds of a great love and was loved by him with a like affection. There was nothing in all that he would do that he did not show him, clearly judging that he, whom he had introduced into his cell and to whom he familiarly opened the innermost secrets of his heart, was worthy of the privilege. He was used to confer with him, now about the mysteries of the kingdom of God and the blessed expectation of the saints, now about the mercy of God and with what complaisance it had reached him or how happily it had followed him, in fact comparing one spiritual experience with another.'²

This is a friendship of a spiritual order and it is altogether different from the more ordinary intimacy which existed between the saint and Dom Walter of Glastonbury. He is credited by John of Ford with a miracle, indeed his cure of a dumb man in the presence of Brichtric the parish priest was the cause of an incident in which the simplicity of the latter is amusingly told.³

The tale of the man who sold himself to the devil was related to him by the saint,⁴ likewise that of the relighting of his lamp on the third occasion.⁵ In the same way he learned of the miraculous loaf of bread with which Bence and her attendants were entertained,⁶ of the death of the cellarer of Montacute,⁷ of Drogo de Munci's blasphemy,⁸ and of the steward who was warned beforehand of the unexpected arrival of his master.⁹ The account of the cloak which came from Bristol makes it

¹ See note to ch. 14.

² *Vita*, ch. 14.

³ See § 11, and *Vita*, ch. 14.

⁴ *ibid.*, ch. 17.

⁵ *ibid.*, ch. 33.

⁶ *ibid.*, ch. 41.

⁷ *ibid.*, ch. 45.

⁸ *ibid.*, ch. 46.

⁹ *ibid.*, ch. 94.

clear that John of Ford heard the stories from William himself. ‘These things Brother William told me and the holy man told Brother William.’¹

On one of his journeys to Waverley in Surrey, the mother house of Ford, he travelled with another monk, Robert of St. Albans, and they went out of their way to call upon St. Wulfric. Robert reminded his companion that although he himself had often visited the holy man he had never been invited to partake of a meal. On this occasion they were both asked to break bread with the anchorite, who asked Dom Robert to excuse his former forgetfulness. After the meal they obtained his blessing and departed: Robert remained at Waverley and William received another monk as companion who was also desirous of visiting the man of God. At the interview which followed, the saint gave each of them a ring of his habergeon, detaching it with the greatest of ease. It is clear that the Cistercians of Ford and Waverley were accustomed to salute St. Wulfric in passing.²

At the end of the saint’s life, when the habergeon had fallen from his shoulders in decay, a council was summoned to the ancho-hold composed of three of the holy man’s most intimate friends, Brother William, Henry of Corscombe, and Osbern, parish priest of Haselbury. On their advice a deputation was sent to the bishop to ask whether the instrument of penance should be reassumed; the answer was in the negative and St. Wulfric laid it by. On his deathbed he remembered to summon his beloved William and gave him his last blessing.³

It would seem likely that this brother was the source of the most intimate knowledge of the saint’s inner life, that he repeated a great deal of what he heard and saw at Haselbury, not only to his superiors but also to his brother monks at Ford and Waverley. He is not, however, the only monk of Ford acquainted with the saint; a lad from the village named Richard was trained as a scribe by the anchorite and worked daily in his outer cell.⁴ When he was thoroughly trained he was able to

¹ *Vita*, ch. 26.

³ *ibid.*, ch. 100.

² *ibid.*, ch. 72.

⁴ *ibid.*, ch. 28.

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obtain the post of scribe at the abbey, afterwards becoming monk and cantor. This Richard was a married man, and after he entered religion, perhaps after the death of his wife or otherwise by arrangement, his son also became a monk in the same monastery : this boy was cured of insomnia by the prayers of the saint shortly after his entry upon the religious life. John of Ford adds that no one who has not had experience of the night office can fully understand how very exhausting is the inability to sleep. Richard lived long enough to tell the saint's biographer all he knew, and he is a by no means unimportant source.¹

It is interesting to note that Richard was himself the son of a priest named Segar,² who had no less than four sons. They showed a fine religious spirit in that they all became Cistercians and all together at Ford Abbey ; three were choir monks and one a lay-brother. Segar is twice mentioned in the Life, once to hear St. Wulfric's confession after a heavenly vision,³ and once as a source of the story of the saint's untrustworthy servant.⁴

The connection of Haselbury with Ford was very close. Very few miles separated the village from the monastery, and two or three hours' walking would suffice to go from the one to the other. No doubt the first arrival of monks from Waverley in 1133 had excited comment, and the dramatic story of their enforced departure, frustrated by the timely arrival of their benefactress, must have made them an object of more than friendly interest to the people of Haselbury. Abbot John could number quite a large proportion of monks from this village in a community which could never have been very numerous. We may presume that whenever the luxury of conversation was permitted the mortifications and penances of the anchorite were a subject commonly discussed.

Now Segar, though one gathers he lived in the village, was not the parish priest. There are two other priests constantly mentioned in the Life, Brichtric and Osbern. If Segar had ever

¹ *Vita*, ch. 29.

² *Ibid.*, ch. 77.

³ *Ibid.*, ch. 20.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ch. 83.

been placed in this position it must have been before Brichtric's time, because the latter was succeeded by Osbern and Osbern was his son.¹ There seems to be no doubt whatever as to the relationship, which was not merely a spiritual one. St. Wulfric calls Osbern, 'who was then only a boy,' and says: 'Go and tell your father (*patri tuo*) to commend the soul of Durand de Mohun to God.' In another passage Brichtric is blessing holy water and 'the *aspersionum* was missing, for his son Osbern (*filius ejus*) had by chance taken it home.'² We are told too of his wife's name, Godida or Godgyth, mother of the young Osbern, and how she was occupied in making an alb for the service of the altar.³

It will be noted that St. Wulfric does not give any suggestion that he is shocked or surprised at the families of Segar and Brichtric; but there is a clear distinction in the mind of his biographer between wedlock and concubinage. The woman of Totnes, of whose death, as in other cases, the saint was made conscious, had been converted by the anchorite from a life of concubinage with a priest 'to the friendship of God.'⁴ In spite of the canons against clerical marriage, its practice does not appear to have become extinct until the thirteenth century.

II. BRICHTRIC

Brichtric is introduced in a short and amusing story told by Brother William. The anchorite, having learned that the parish priest had been attempting to quarrel with Brother William all the day, asked the reason for this unwonted behaviour. The latter replied:

'A dumb man was brought to me, and I prayed to God and placed my hand upon him and behold he spoke plainly and without impediment, not only in English but also in French. When he saw this the priest (Brichtric) was troubled and, unable to restrain his indignation, upbraided me vehemently saying: "Behold I have served you for so many years and now to-day I have proved most clearly that I have

¹ *Vita*, ch. 74.

³ *ibid.*, ch. 82.

² *ibid.*, ch. 35.

⁴ *ibid.*, ch. 75.

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done it up to now in vain. For to a man who is a foreigner and whose tongue it was quite enough to have unloosed you have piously given the use of two languages, whilst to me, who am compelled to remain dumb in the presence of the bishop and the archdeacon, you have not even given the facility to speak French." " ¹

The naïve simplicity of both parties in this misunderstanding was a source of amusement to the saint and bound them to him in the bonds of a firmer affection. Now, having told this story, John of Ford knows that he must not leave a bad impression of the parish priest by reciting his imperfections, and he therefore gives a fair summary of Brichtric's character. Probably he had never seen him and the priest certainly died some time before the anchorite, though certainly not before 1135.²

' He was a man whose simplicity and humility were very like those of Blessed Wulfric, for he busied himself in the same way with psalms and prayers by day and by night and, so far as his ministry allowed him, gave himself up to perpetual watchings in his church. At last, in order that he might make the best of his time in solitude and prayer, when the hour for his dinner had arrived, he went back home on horseback: when the meal was finished, his horse was at hand to carry him back to the church without delay. In this close familiarity of blessed spirits there was a friendly and continual rivalry in mutual subjection and humility between these two young doves (*pillos columbarum*). Brichtric assisted him as if he were his Lord, humbly calling him "Sir" (*dominum*), whilst Wulfric everywhere humbled himself in comparison with him, saying that Brichtric was really the anchorite of that place and he himself, who was always accessible for conferences, was more truly to be called parish priest.' ³

It has been asserted that Brichtric joined himself to the anchorite as a disciple or attendant.⁴ The passage just quoted in translation shows that, although he may well be called a disciple, he lived away from the cell and was occupied with the cure of souls.

As might be expected of one who was the father of Osbern, the occasions on which reference is made to him occur mostly in St. Wulfric's early years of seclusion. A faithful attendant

¹ *Vita*, ch. 14.

² See § 13, and *Vita*, ch. 50.

³ *Vita*, ch. 16.

⁴ Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*, p. 74.

of the saint, whose constancy and fidelity may have been the reason for his name, 'brother Joseph,' heard from Brichtric about the dream of the twelve Apostles which was later interpreted by Cardinal Robert Pullen.¹ Brichtric plays a prominent part in the exorcising of the man from the north who had sold himself to the devil, going forth with cross and holy water to the ford from which the unfortunate man was unable to escape.² He 'was wont to tell' how St. Wulfric sent him wine which, he was later told, had been brought by a heavenly visitant.³ In the account of the conversion of the abbot of Waverley, it is Brichtric who is at hand in the church to lead the penitent to the saint, and here he is called 'priest of the same church'.⁴ The man from York, punished by authority with the loss of both his eyes, was at a loss how to overcome St. Wulfric's humility until Brichtric came in as a sort of judge and asked the saint whether the faith of a robber was to be accounted greater than his. The cure was effected when Brichtric seized the 'fugitive hand' and applied it to the mutilated eye-sockets.⁵ It is evident that he was often at hand in the church or in the cell, and that great friendship gave him the right to act the candid friend.

12. SOURCES : OSBERN

All this time the young Osbern was growing up to manhood. There are three references to him as a boy: in his capacity as the saint's regular altar server,⁶ as acolyte and as runner of messages.⁷ On one occasion it was only when the Sunday parish mass was about to begin that Brichtric missed the *aspersorium*, which his son had for some reason taken home. It occurred to the young Osbern that he might borrow one from the saint; but when he reached the door separating the cell from the chancel, he saw St. Wulfric standing before the predella of the altar gazing at what appeared to the boy as a great light. Now this vision deserves careful study, for it

¹ *Vita*, ch. 11.

² *ibid.*, ch. 17.

³ *ibid.*, ch. 40.

⁴ *ibid.*, ch. 50. See § 13.

⁵ *ibid.*, ch. 73.

⁶ *ibid.*, ch. 74.

⁷ *ibid.*, ch. 79.

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gives information about the interior arrangements of the cell which is altogether invaluable. It begins by recounting a characteristically boyish action : overcome by curiosity,

'the boy gave the *aspersorium* to someone else to hand to the priest. Then he returned to his vision and silently closed the door of the cell in such a way that he could see in with one eye. He saw that light decline gradually towards the left-hand side of the altar and from thence, crossing a chest which stood by it, go out through the northern window.'¹

The present vestry in the church at Haselbury stands on the site of the cell and is believed to rest upon the same foundations : it is still called St. Wulfric's aisle. This and the west tower are the sole surviving parts of the old church which was rebuilt in the later middle ages and again about 1820. It is now possible to enter the 'aisle' from both west and north, but in reconstructing the anchor-hold in imagination, the western opening must be imagined as closed ; that on the south or chancel side has been enlarged, for it was originally a door which was used by the anchorite when he said mass at the altar of St. Michael.² Once a year at the dedication festival at Michaelmas it was St. Wulfric's custom to say the parish mass :³ but it was not only for the purpose of saying mass that he used this door ; he sometimes spent the night in prayer in the chancel.⁴ On one occasion he entered the church on Easter morning and confessed in a loud voice before the villagers there assembled that he had fallen a victim to an impure illusion.⁵ Opposite the door was a window, 'the northern window' : after the saint's death when it was intended to make the cell his tomb, Osbern caused this opening to be blocked up, for we are told that the Montacute monks broke down the newly-placed stones in the attempt to pass the body through the aperture.⁶ On the right-hand side, that is against the eastern wall, was an altar, probably of simple design, and, between that and the window, a chest in which the anchorite kept his vestments and valuables. It

¹ *Vita*, ch. 35.

² *ibid.*, chs. 50 and 89.

³ *ibid.*, ch. 38.

⁴ *ibid.*, ch. 18.

⁵ *ibid.*, ch. 23.

⁶ *ibid.*, ch. 101.

may be objected that the saint was more likely to have said his mass regularly in here. One may reply that this would necessitate the entry of an altar server, that Bence and Agnes on one occasion¹ and Henry of Waverley on another² were certainly assisting at mass in the open church. One may note in passing that the anchorite said mass daily.

It is not so easy to picture the western side of the cell. There must have been some means of egress to a small outhouse or *cellula necessariorum*, which probably had no further exit.³ Although the Life is silent on this point, we infer that there was on this side an outer door, and a small vestibule, leading to the inner window through which St. Wulfric used to speak to his visitors. It appears reasonable to suppose that neither his scribe nor his servant would have been without some sheltered place in which to work. If this is correct, the outer door was the one normally kept locked : it was one of the duties of the servant to take away the key.⁴ If the normally locked door was that which led into the chancel there are difficulties which it would not be easy to explain away. In the vision we have quoted Osbern found it ajar : in the story which reminds one of the experiences of St. Guthlac of Croyland, the devils are intent on dragging the holy man out of the cell, and the route they chose lay through the church :⁵ as we have seen, St. Wulfric was able to go this way into the church at night. All these things lead one to suppose that there was only one way out of the cell, that this was through the church and that the door kept locked was the one giving access to the holy man's window. At this shuttered window the visitor would knock ;⁶ but the saint would only give him his attention so long as he attended strictly to business and the shutter would be closed if he wandered from the point.⁷

We may now return to Osbern. Other interesting details come out in the account of a further vision which he had when he was grown up and had succeeded his father as parish priest.

¹ *Vita*, ch. 89.

² *ibid.*, ch. 50.

³ *ibid.*, ch. 21.

⁴ *ibid.*, chs. 20 and 40.

⁵ *ibid.*, ch. 21. See note.

⁶ *ibid.*, ch. 20.

⁷ *ibid.*, ch. 8. See § 27.

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'Now it happened that the same Osbern . . . was going to the church in the twilight in order that, as was his custom, he might sleep therein.' (This inclines us to the belief that he was not married.) 'And when he came to the bounds of the cemetery he looked up and saw the church shining with an immense illumination from within, so that the whole cemetery was bright with the glow of the flames leaping forth from the windows. The man was afraid and began to ask a boy who was called Taillefer to look there. The boy, looking curiously enough, saw nothing unusual and thought he was being mocked by the priest. Then the latter, recognizing that something divine was taking place to which he was not to be admitted, stayed for very fear and, not presuming to meddle with heavenly things, lay down upon the cemetery wall and began to say certain psalms for the reverence he had on account of the divine vision.'¹

Osbern was on familiar terms with the saint and kept him supplied with such necessaries as candles.² One candle, whose embarrassing failure to be consumed made the saint say his office three times over, was described by him as a kind of divine joke.³ Osbern is, with Segar, a witness to the account of the rascally servant who enriched himself with the presents made to his master, St. Wulfric.⁴ At the end of the saint's life Osbern was one of the three close friends consulted about the habergeon : it was he who was sent to the bishop to enquire what should be done.⁵ A little later the saint speaks to Osbern alone and tells him that the day of his death is at hand ; he adds that he wishes to be buried at Haselbury and is warned that there will be strife over the body. After hearing the holy man's confession he gives him the last Sacraments and is present at his passing.⁶

When the monks of Montacute arrived and claimed the body Osbern became a man of action. They claimed it as of right, giving two reasons : first, that they had daily provided him with food ; and secondly, that he had left his body to them for burial. The armed force with which they had come was, however, the only argument upon which they will have relied to overcome the resistance of the people of Haselbury. Osbern was

¹ *Vita*, ch. 36.

² *ibid.*, ch. 34.

³ *ibid.*, ch. 34.

⁴ *ibid.*, ch. 83. See § 10.

⁵ *ibid.*, ch. 99.

⁶ *ibid.*, ch. 100.

able to agree with regard to the daily supply of food, since it was commonly known that St. Wulfric's servant had fetched the allowance daily from Montacute. Osbern must have thought it wiser not to remind the monks that there had been a time when they had shown themselves very unfriendly, chiefly because their cellarar had been hostile to the anchorite.¹ As to their claim that the dead man had expressed a wish to be buried at Montacute, he could assure them that the last wishes of the saint had been that his cell should be his last resting-place. The monks, who had not come with any intention of listening to reason, set about removing the body, which was exposed in the church according to custom. Osbern, with great presence of mind, departed from the church, in which this debate had been held, and locked the door on them. While he went off to seek assistance, those imprisoned within were not idle ; they set about pulling down the stones which filled up the window in the cell while the villagers did their utmost to obstruct the work from the outside. When the wall was at last breached the monks struggled to get away with the body and scenes of great violence ensued : there was even some bloodshed, but fortunately no one was killed. Then at last the parish priest arrived with a strong band of men collected from Crewkerne and other places and faced the party from Montacute with an argument considerably stronger than their own. Even now in the moment of triumph he did not misuse his victory, but spoke to them quietly and made them agree to follow his example and appeal to the bishop. Thereupon the monks departed sadly without the body. John of Ford's comment is that in his opinion their repulse was a judgment from God. There was certainly nothing unusual in their attempt to capture the body of an anchorite who had died in the odour of sanctity, for pious thefts of this kind were but lightly regarded and the wish of the monks was to enrich their church with the relics of one who might quite reasonably be canonized.²

In the end the bishop decided against them and carried out

¹ *Vita*, ch. 45.

² See note to ch. 101.

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St. Wulfric's wishes himself by himself burying him in his cell. After the obsequies had been performed he spoke to the villagers and calmed down their indignation, reminding them that St. Paul had once been the cause of an uproar.¹

Osbern was not satisfied with the safety of the saint's body and later on (we cannot doubt that he had episcopal authority) translated it to a grave on the north side of the altar, smoothing down the floor so that none should know what lay there. Some time after 1169 he heard some talk which disquieted him and he took the further step of translating the body for the second time. He 'buried his secret between God and himself in the western part of the church.' There is no reason to suppose that it is not there to this day : if so, the remains now lie under the floor somewhere forward of the tower. The date of St. Wulfric's death was Saturday, 20th February 1154.²

Osbern is mentioned twice after the saint's death. He told Dom Walter about a stranger's request for a relic and how he had, to his own regret, given him a spoon and platter.³ He was still alive fifteen years after St. Wulfric's death and received Leviva when she visited Haselbury. He was overjoyed to hear her speak of her vision, and was convinced of the truth of what she said from the way she went direct to the spot on the north side of the chancel where he had hidden the body.⁴ We may guess that the church of Haselbury was given as a prebend to Wells after his death, which must in any case have occurred before 1174, the year in which the gift is recorded.⁵

13. SOURCES : HENRY, ABBOT OF TINTERN AND OF WAVERLEY

This abbot told John of Ford personally about his own conversion and his relations with the anchorite. Some of this information was given in the course of a journey to Cîteaux for General Chapter.⁶ The remarks which he made were not

¹ *Vita*, ch. 101.

² *ibid.*, ch. 102.

³ *ibid.*, ch. 103.

⁴ *ibid.*, ch. 105.

⁵ See note to ch. 1. *Venerabili Willelmo.*

⁶ *Vita*, ch. 50.

accepted by Abbot John in one case without characteristic caution : it was when he was recounting the feeding of Bence and her attendants on half a loaf that he recalled his conversation with Abbot Henry. It seems that after Bence's departure a large number of persons was fed upon what remained. John of Ford adds that Abbot Henry had told him that forty persons were fed from one loaf, 'but whether these men were those of whom we have spoken above I do not rashly wish to decide.'¹

The story of the conversion of this abbot is interesting. In the early days of Stephen's reign he had been a member or adherent of one of the predatory bands which took advantage of the anarchy and made a lucrative profession of brigandage. He boasted that he was a successful robber, but his conscience was never altogether quiet. He explains that in the same way that we may feel temptations to which we do not consent, so he recognized what was right and yet failed to act upon it. At last he found himself for some reason in Wessex, and it came into his mind that he might as well go and obtain the blessing of the anchorite, about whom he had heard so much. A late arrival at Haselbury compelled him to defer his view of the saint until the following morning. While he was assisting at the holy man's mass he heard him adding a collect for one single friend after the collect of the day and envied the happy man who was thus honoured. He was altogether surprised to be summoned by the priest Brichtric to St. Wulfric's very presence and to be greeted as if he were an old and familiar friend. He was still more amazed to hear the anchorite say : 'I said a collect for you this morning at my mass.'

Overcome by emotion Henry began to weep and the saint too. 'How happy would that man be,' said St. Wulfric, 'to whom it were given to do what you are about to do.'

The other was overjoyed at the implied promise of a change of life, but protested that his sins made him unworthy of the honour. The saint was fully acquainted with his record. 'It is your duty to restore that church,' he ordered, 'which you seized with violence.'

¹ *Vita*, ch. 41.

At last Henry bade the saint farewell and went on his way, knowing that all would in the end be well. Returning on a second occasion he received a second blessing : but this visit was followed by a reaction and, descending from one depth of iniquity to another, he ‘fled from the face of God.’ At last the memory of the saint’s prophecy induced him to repent of his evil ways and, burning with the desire to atone for his former life, he took the habit as a Cistercian novice and, not long after his novitiate and profession, became abbot of Tintern. He still continued to pay visits to St. Wulfric for help and advice. John of Ford says of him :

‘All who know that man know that he was a man of exceeding great humility, most patient and almost insensible to injuries. His work bears testimony to his industry and solicitude even if he is silent, for when he found his monastery crippled and almost ruined . . . he put all in order again and, restoring it to a happy condition, left behind him a laudable memory.’

He goes on to say that Abbot Henry imitated the saint in reciting the whole psalter, once by day and once by night, and that he was conspicuous at the altar for the abundance of his tears.

Tintern Abbey had been founded like Waverley by monks from L’Aumône, near Blois, in 1132, and, according to the abbot’s account, was heavily in debt twenty years afterwards. The reason for this, says John of Ford quoting Abbot Henry, was that the income was small and the expenditure infinite. Henry conferred with St. Wulfric about the oppressive nature of his charge, the magnitude of his debts, the pressing requests of his creditors and his own personal anxiety with regard to the future. The saint reassured him and told him that what he had spent in God’s service would in a short time be repaid. It so fell out that when he came to Bristol to embark once more for Tintern, a man who desired to give his goods to the poor came to the abbot and asked for his assistance in making a fair division. For motives of modesty the latter refrained from making mention of the parlous state of his own house ; but the other noticed this and told him to take twenty-four

marks himself. In this way the anchorite's prediction was fulfilled.

It was Abbot Henry who brought St. Wulfric to the notice of the pope and conversed with the latter while 'there stood outside the door pillars of the Church, men of influence, wishing but unable to penetrate this sacred audience ; and meanwhile great matters of business and the affairs of every land round about calling for the ear of the Lord Pope were held in suspense.' After this interview Henry visited Clairvaux and told St. Bernard about the holy man. St. Bernard was so far impressed that he asked the abbot of Tintern to convey to him a request for his prayers, in that he feared he had fallen into the sin of presumption during the time he had been bringing about the healing of the schism of Anacletus.

The conversation which later took place at Haselbury was characteristic :

'Blessed Bernard sent me,' began Abbot Henry, 'to ask you to pray to the Lord for him because of a certain sin in the commission of which he is very much afraid for his soul.'

St. Wulfric did not permit him to continue.

'What did he mean by trying to usurp the knowledge of God ?' he said ; and added that God had already forgiven him.

The names of the early abbots of Tintern up to the time of the translation of Henry to Waverley are wrapped in obscurity. Briefly the facts are these : Janauschek can find no first abbot, but guesses that he may be the one whose name is recorded only by the initial letter E in the charters concerning the translation of Kingswood, one of Tintern's two daughter houses.¹ Others can add no more than this, that Abbot E was referred to in a letter written by the abbots of Quarr and Woburn to Cîteaux.² In fact Henry was probably the second abbot. Is it possible to assign a date to his period of rule ? If we turn to Waverley we find that Gilbert the second abbot was appointed in 1128 : John of Ford makes a passing reference to

¹ *Orig. Cisterc.*, p. 19.

² Brakspear and Evans, *Tintern Abbey*.

his death and to Henry's succession,¹ but gives no date. Since Henry was a lawless layman during the anarchy of Stephen's reign, perhaps the eventful years 1138 to 1148, it is scarcely probable that he should have become abbot of Tintern long before the death of St. Wulfric, even though he was appointed to that office soon after profession. His visit to the pope, who can hardly have been other than the Cistercian Eugenius III, and to St. Bernard, makes it necessary to suppose that he became abbot of Tintern before the death of both those persons in 1153. A charter in the Canterbury Cathedral Library dated July 17th, 1157, is witnessed by him as *Henricus de Tinturna* and also by *Robertus de Fordis*. He must therefore have been abbot of Waverley from some date after 1157 until his death in 1182.²

14. SOURCES : OTHER CLERICS ; ANCHORESSSES

Another abbot adds his testimony to that of the abbot of Tintern. This is the abbot of Malmesbury who set down in writing what he knew of the case of the robber from York, whom the saint cured of his blindness and stated that he had heard from the mouth of the holy man that God had given sight to sixteen blind men through his instrumentality. This abbot had a subject named Brother Laurence who when gravely ill was cured instantaneously through the saint. He added another story about a man who went blind after stealing a sword left outside the church at Haselbury.³

Richard the parish priest of Corscombe is the source of the tale of the demoniac from Gloucester told him by a servant of the saint.⁴ Nicholas, a canon of Christchurch, came forward to relate the case of a priest who was immediately cured upon his invocation of St. Wulfric.⁵ Ralph, parish priest of Wareham, bore witness to the sanctity of the anchoress Matilda.⁶ She is one of five whose names are recorded in this life, the others being Odolina of Crewkerne, Aldida of Stur-

¹ *Vita*, ch. 50.

² *Annals of Waverley*, Rolls Series.

³ *Vita*, ch. 73.

⁴ *ibid.*, ch. 61.

⁵ *ibid.*, ch. 64.

⁶ *ibid.*, ch. 56.

minster Newton, and Gertrude and Christina of Wareham. One anchorite is mentioned by name, John of Winterbourne ; he it was that often spoke of Matilda of Wareham and referred John of Ford to the surviving anchoress, Christina.¹ She 'faithfully entrusted this story to me when I asked her, and not once only.' The same woman related the cure of her mother Richeldis.² Odolina had a similar tale about her grandmother, who recovered from a seemingly fatal disease while on her way to Haselbury.³ Aldida furnished the curious tale of the stolen bread and wine which swarmed with worms and frogs.⁴

15. SOURCES : HASELBOURY VILLAGERS AND OTHERS

Another source used by John of Ford is the evidence he obtained from the village where the saint had lived. This must have been reported to him through Dom Walter, Brother William and others : for example, local tradition retailed the rebuke given by the saint to the party which had refused its help to others who had suffered a mischance by the roadside.⁵ A villager named Æthelweard was present at the anker-house when water was turned into wine one Friday.⁶ Some well-known stories were brought from the village by monks of Ford, as that of the water which the saint blessed in church on St. Michael's Day and tasted thereafter like wine.⁷ The stories of the woman who abused St. Wulfric,⁸ of the death of the woman of Hundestochia near Totnes⁹ and of the Chichester man who blasphemed¹⁰ were all brought by monks of Ford Abbey from places where they had lived.

16. SOURCES : WOMEN

Among the abbot's informants are several women. Muriel, wife of Robert Beauchamp,¹¹ tells the story of the death of the

¹ *Vita*, ch. 56.

² *ibid.*, ch. 65.

³ *ibid.*, ch. 60.

⁴ *ibid.*, ch. 84.

⁵ *ibid.*, ch. 70.

⁶ *ibid.*, ch. 37.

⁷ *ibid.*, ch. 38.

⁸ *ibid.*, ch. 71.

⁹ *ibid.*, ch. 75.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, ch. 95.

¹¹ See note to ch. 45.

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cellarer of Montacute,¹ of Drogo de Munci's blasphemy,² of the stealing of St. Wulfric's property by the Hiribelli,³ of the untrustworthy servant,⁴ and of the prophecy about the death of Stephen de Mandeville.⁵

Among other women whose names occur is Emelina, the mother of William of Chinnock :⁶ she was one of those who were accustomed to send food to the saint. There is another Muriel, it seems, who sent him cloth for a book cover and came from Kent to visit his tomb.⁷ Margaret, the wife of Alan of Falaise, was terrified by his sternness and remembered it as long as she lived. So great an impression did this particular incident make on her that she sent word to the abbot of Ford about it.⁸ Beatrix and William, wife and son of William fitzTerric of Mudford, were the source of a fishing story.⁹

Enough has been said to bring home the fact that John of Ford drew upon a large and varied number of informants. Some he visited personally, others by proxy ; but he took great care that his facts were correctly stated. In one case, for example, where he wishes to have one proved miracle after the saint's death in order to confound those who were saying that St. Wulfric no longer answered prayer, he says : 'Indeed I did not hear what I am about to say from her mouth ; but I sent to her three of our most trusted brethren, one by one, for she lives not far from us.'¹⁰ It will be admitted that the Life of St. Wulfric is no mere narration of wonders, an impression one would gain from reading Capgrave's abridgment of it, but, if one may be permitted to apply the term, a carefully 'documented' legal record for the use of his superiors, in which the biographer has taken great pains to establish his case by bringing forward witnesses by name, examining their veracity and giving his reasons very often for believing that what they say is true.

¹ *Vita*, ch. 45.

² *ibid.*, ch. 46.

³ *ibid.*, ch. 77.

⁴ *ibid.*, ch. 83.

⁵ *ibid.*, ch. 93.

⁶ *ibid.*, ch. 43.

⁷ *ibid.*, chs. 27, 104.

⁸ *ibid.*, ch. 59.

⁹ *ibid.*, ch. 85.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, ch. 105.

17. ST. WULFRIC'S SERVANTS

Among those persons who were constantly in the company of St. Wulfric his servants must not be forgotten. Anchorites were in evident need of such attendants because, confined for life to a narrow abode, there were many things they were unable to do for themselves. Hermits were more capable of living without a servant because they were not confined to their cells ; they nevertheless often had men living with them who served them for reverence. In the *Morte d'Arthur* :

' Than was fyrr Bedwere glad and thyder he wente & whan he came in to the chapel he sawe where laye an heremyte grouelyng on al foure there. . . . Than fyrr bedwere fwowned and whan he awoke he prayed the heremyte he myght abyde wyth hym stytte there | to lyue wyth fastyng and prayers | For from hens wyll I neuer goo sayd fyrr bedwere by my wylle but al the dayes of my lyf here to praye for my lord Arthur . . . and there fyrr bedwere put vpon hym poure clothes | and feruyd the hermyte ful lowly in fastyng and in prayers.'¹

It does not appear that the servants employed by St. Wulfric were of this sort : they seem to have been young boys from the village or the neighbourhood. It was the boy's duty to look after him during the day and to come to him, if he could hear the saint's hail, up till nightfall.² During the day he had to prepare his meal³ and in the morning there was a regular visit to be paid to Montacute Priory. To reach this even across the fields, obtain the saint's daily allowance of food and return, cannot have taken less than two or three hours.⁴ One of them was young enough to dawdle on his errands with unfortunate results for himself, for

' he was always complaining that nothing of those things he did by the way with any one escaped the knowledge of his master ; but that when he returned he was faced with all his pranks and boyish wanderings,⁵ as if the saint had been the companion and witness not only of his goings but even of his thoughts.'⁶

On one occasion the servant is summoned to go and tell Godida

¹ Malory, *Morte d'Arthur*, ed. Caxton, p. 850, Bk. xxi, ch. vi.

² *Vita*, ch. 32. ³ *ibid.*, ch. 3. ⁴ *ibid.*, chs. 45, 101.

⁵ *diverticula et pueriles divagationes.* ⁶ *Vita*, ch. 82.

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that she is not attending to her sewing and has made a careless mistake in the alb which she is making for the service of the altar.¹ At another time he is summoned to go and rescue a man who has fallen into one of the village duckponds ;² or once again to run down to the bridge and meet a stranger who is accurately described.³ The well-known story of Naaman and Gehazi was, however, to be paralleled in the case of one dishonest servant who used his position as receiver of all that came to the saint to set apart a proportion for himself. St. Wulfric appears to have been aware of what was going on and preferred to keep silence ; but the village people were not inclined to allow the abuse to continue and the whole neighbourhood was soon talking. The saint bowed to the wishes of those who represented the facts to him and allowed the young man to depart, complacently enough, together with the sheep and the oxen, the gold and silver and fine clothing which he had dishonestly appropriated. ‘Wait a while,’ said the saint to the scandalized villagers, ‘because what he has wrongfully obtained will turn to nothing.’ Sure enough before the year was out the thief was reduced to beggary.⁴

18. ST. WULFRIC’S BIRTHPLACE

St. Wulfric was born of an English family in moderate circumstances at Compton Martin in the county of Somerset probably about the end of the reign of the Conqueror or in the early years of that of William Rufus. ‘Contona’ is the name of his birthplace given by John of Ford, and this would reasonably apply to any Compton, a common enough name. He adds, however, that this place was a village eight miles from Bristol. By any direct route Compton Martin stands about nine miles from there ; and there is no other ‘Compton’ which could possibly be brought forward as a rival. It has, however, been constantly asserted that St. Wulfric was born at Litton (or Lenton), a village quite close to Compton and some eleven miles from Bristol. This statement cannot be

¹ *Vita*, ch. 82.

² *ibid.*

³ *ibid.*, ch. 59.

⁴ *ibid.*, ch. 83.

traced further back than Nicholas Harpsfield, whose sixteenth-century history of the Church in England gives Lenton as St. Wulfric's native village. After his time Litton is often called the saint's birthplace. The question must be decided on other grounds. It will be agreed that John of Ford's 'Contona' and 'eight miles' are a strong argument in favour of Compton Martin: and we know from the saint's life that the lord of 'Contona' was William fitzWalter, also lord of Haselbury. Litton, on the other hand, was, from early times, the joint estate of the canons of St. Andrew at Wells. Who was this fitzWalter? Have we any other reason than the Life of St. Wulfric for thinking that he really was lord of Compton Martin? His son, Dom Walter, has already been accorded a place among the sources used by John of Ford. It is now necessary to establish the identity of his father.

19. FITZWALTER, BURCI AND FITZMARTIN

Of the existence of a William fitzWalter at this time there can be no possible doubt, for a knight of that name held five knights fees under the abbot of Glastonbury¹ previously to Robert fitzMartin,² whose son is mentioned in the return of 1166. This Robert fitzMartin was the founder of St. Dogmael's Abbey of the order of Tiron in the cantred of Cemais in Pembrokeshire. His father Martin is an obscure personage, but his mother seems to have been Geva who, as a young widow, was married to William de Falaise.³

Now Geva was a daughter of Serlo de Burci, for he gave his second son-in-law the manor of Woodspring as her portion. This formed part of the land of William de Falaise at the time of the Domesday Survey, but while the commissioners were doing their work his father-in-law died without male issue, and he was left with all Serlo's estate in the right of his wife. Her only sister was a nun at Shaftesbury.

¹ *Feodary of Glastonbury Abbey*, pp. 25, 86, 87, 109, 113.

² *Red Book of Exchequer*, p. 223.

³ See *Som. Arch. Proc.*, LXV, ii, pp. 1-27. *Burci, Falaise and Martin*, by Sir Henry C. Maxwell Lyte.

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The estates of Serlo de Burci in Somerset were considerable. As tenant-in-chief, he was lord of Blagdon, Uphill, three small manors now in Chewstoke, Aldwick, Ridghill, Kilmington, Lovington, Wheathill, Compton, Morton, and Mudford. He also held land of the King at Kilmington and Congresbury. He was a tenant of the Abbot of Glastonbury at Pylle, East Pennard, West Monkton, and Hornblotton,¹ and of the Bishop of Bath at Banwell.² In Dorset he was tenant-in-chief of the manors of Piddle and Whitcliff in Swanage, and in Devonshire he had other lands of which it is not necessary to speak.

It seems clear that, in the time of St. Wulfric, Robert fitzMartin was heir to his grandfather, Serlo de Burci, at Compton. Nevertheless, William fitzWalter was in actual possession not only of this manor, but also of the five fees held under the abbot of Glastonbury, Piddle in Dorsetshire, and almost certainly Mudford (though not the manor of Stone which was in the hands of the Count of Mortain). That William fitzWalter held the five Glastonbury fees antecedently to Robert fitzMartin has been shown above: it remains to prove that Piddle and Mudford were in fitzWalter's hands at this time.³

The Life by John of Ford states⁴ that when William could not be found at Haselbury the messenger who was seeking for him went by night to another of his manors called Pidele. Among the lands of the wife of Hugh fitzGrip, Domesday Book gives Pidele and tells us that a certain Walter held six hides of the land there. On the other hand, Pidele may perhaps be a mistake for Pidere, which was one of Serlo de Burci's two Dorset manors. If, as has been shown, William fitzWalter was in possession of some of Serlo's manors in Somerset, it is not unreasonable to suppose that he had one in Dorset. It has already been suggested by Mr. Eyton that

¹ *Glastonbury Abbey Feodary.*

² *Domesday Book.*

³ See note to ch. 1, *venerabili Willelmo*, and note to ch. 85, *Willelmus filius Theodorici.*

⁴ *Vita*, ch. 79

it was 'Walter, father of William (each succeeding in turn to the estates of Serlo de Burci), who left with the Dorset manor of Pidere its distinctive name of Walterston.'¹ The evidence given by the Life of St. Wulfric lends some support to this hypothesis; but there is another ground on which it is possible to base a strong probability that his guess was right. Compton and Morton and the five Glastonbury fees passed in the end to the family of Martin. The case is the same with Pidere; for William fitzMartin, in 1212, held Pidela Walter's of the king in chief as part of his barony.² Now the name Walterton was even then used to denominate this moiety of the modern Puddletown. If the manor had passed directly through Serlo's daughter Geva and William de Falaise to Robert fitzMartin the name provides a genealogical puzzle to which our present records provide no solution; if, on the other hand, it passed intermediately through the family of fitzWalter we have the counterpart in *Walter's* tun of that other village in north Somerset which, though at one time Walter's, has yet come down to us as Compton *Martin*.

St. Wulfric must have left Compton in 1124 or 1125, and at that time we hear that it belonged to William fitzWalter.³ It is not possible to say when he lost it; but about the year 1155 Henry II declared it to be his will that all the lands of Serlo de Burci should be restored to Robert fitzMartin, his grandson.⁴ It is quite possible that he was already in effective possession of Compton, for he was a declared adherent of the Empress Matilda,⁵ while fitzWalter espoused the cause of Stephen, though only after considerable hesitation.⁶ It is possible to recognize in St. Wulfric's treatment by the future Henry II's Guirebec ruffians an act of hostility to one who had for lord an avowed supporter of the usurper Stephen.⁷

If then fitzMartin and fitzWalter were in opposing camps, it is reasonable to suppose that the former gained possession

¹ Eyton, *Domesday Studies—Somerset*, p. 66.

² *Book of Fees*, pp. 93, 379.

³ *Vita*, ch. 1.

⁴ *Som. Arch. Proc.*, vol. LXV, ii, pp. 11, 12.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 11.

⁶ *Vita*, ch. 81. See § 26.

⁷ See § 26.

of Serlo's possessions in north Somerset even if William succeeded in maintaining control of those which he possessed *de facto* in the south. The date of Henry II's act of restitution is probably 1155 : in 1166 William fitzWalter owned to three knights fees of the old feoffment of which Haselbury was one¹ and William fitzTerric held the other two. Of these two, Mudford was one and Preston probably the other.

We may ask now whether there is any evidence for the fact that William fitzWalter held Mudford, later called Mudford Terry. The clue seems to lie in the fishing story in Chapter 85. William son of Theodoric who is there mentioned seems to have been sub-tenant to fitzWalter. All the evidence is given in full in the note to Chapter 85, leaving little doubt that Mudford, like so many of Serlo de Burci's old estates, passed through the hands of William fitzWalter.

20. WILLIAM FITZWALTER

One may suppose that Wulfric and William fitzWalter were contemporaries, though their paths may not have crossed to any extent until the time of the former's ordination. When Wulfric was considered to be ready for the priesthood a dispensation was obtained to enable him to take orders in spite of his being below the canonical age. One gathers that he rather lightly esteemed what others believed to be his vocation ; for he was sent to Deverill, near Warminster, where he neglected the cure of souls for hunting and hawking. When the conversion described in Chapter 1 took place, he became a model priest and was by degrees regarded as a very saintly man. The news of his progress in sanctity caused William fitzWalter to send for him in order to become parish priest at Compton. He exercised this office for some years in his native village ; but he found life in his benefactor's house somewhat distracting and desired to exchange it for a place of solitude.

The Christian hermits had, for the most part, dwelt in the deserts of Nitria, Scete and Palestine : almost the only alternative in England was to live in the world as if one were not of

¹ *Red Book of Exchequer*, p. 229.

the world unless one lived in a fortunate district like ' Roger, a holie Ermitt, who lived in a desert not farr from Dunstable.'¹ St. Wulfric's lord knew the place for him because there was an anker-house at Haselbury over against the church lying empty at that moment. Thither he sent St. Wulfric, in or about the year 1125, to follow in the footsteps of St. Gildas and St. Decuman, St. Congar, St. Edwold and many others who had lived the eremitical life in the west country before him.

Here the anchorite applied himself to a life of extraordinary austerity, but it was not very long before he found that a hair shirt was an instrument of penance to which he too soon became accustomed. He therefore desired to afflict himself still further by joining the ranks of the *loricati*.² The Ancren Riwle³ does not speak with any enthusiasm of this practice, and the author says: ' I know a man who weareth at the same time both a heavy cuirass and a haircloth,' only to disparage this particular form of satisfaction for sin. Chaucer was familiar with the custom of ' werynge of heyres or of stamin, or of haubergeons on hir naked flesh . . . and swiche manere penances.'⁴ His reflections on the reason for this form of mortification are worth reading.⁵ William was nothing loth to assist his protégé and provided him with his own habergeon or shirt of mail: ' he reverently hastened to gratify the valiant desires of the blessed man, hoping that he would become a sharer in so splendid a warfare if he supplied the weapons for the fight.' Not long afterwards there came a message from the anchorite explaining that the habergeon was too long and hindered his genuflections. The story of the cutting of it is given in great detail.⁶ A brief outline of the part played by William fitzWalter is all that is necessary here.

The knight began by suggesting that it should be sent to London and properly trimmed to the right length: to this

¹ Roscarrock, S. Christina, *Nova Leg.*, II, 532.

² See note to ch. 5. ³ Early thirteenth century.

⁴ *Cant. Tales*, ed. Skeat, p. 641.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 640.

⁶ *Vita*, ch. 9.

the saint replied that it would cause too much fuss and delay. For the same reason Exeter was considered to be unsuitable. When he was commanded to take a pair of shears and cut the shirt as if it were cloth William had a moment's hesitation ; but already his faith in the saint is firm—‘ Wulfric cannot be wrong nor would he wish to deceive.’ The two agreed that while the knight cut through the iron rings of the habergeon the anchorite should pray for success : the faith of the pair of them was such as moves mountains, for William succeeded completely in his task, though momentarily impeded by a cessation from the prayer interrupted by St. Wulfric’s pardonable curiosity.

During the greater part of this Life there is no direct mention of William fitzWalter ; but he and his family are constantly referred to : the young daughter Beatrix comes to the cell with a ewer to fetch holy water for her sick mother ; the steward who comes to ask the saint’s prayers for the success of his journey is told to stay where he is because Sir William is already on his way to Haselbury ; a messenger comes to find the knight to acquaint him with the news of a dying relative and he has gone to another of his manors called Pidele. There are, however, two detailed stories which deserve notice.

William fitzWalter was proud of his anchorite and liked to obtain corroboration of prophecies made to him. One day he went to the churchyard and ‘ knocking as usual at the window, waited for him to open it, not without weariness, for he was a long time in coming. When the man of God appeared : “ I know,” he said, “ that you will have been sorely put out by my delay when you were expecting me. But I pray you pardon me for I was busy, and I could not have come more quickly even had I wished to do so.”’ When William asked him what had detained him he was told that a Winchester monk had just departed this life and that he was aiding his passing by his prayers. The knight obtained the name of the monk and the hour of his death and forthwith sent a messenger desiring to know if it were so. When the servant had gone, William was summoned again to the anker-house, and there

rebuked for his want of faith. “‘ Is it really true that you do not yet believe in me and have sent to Winchester to prove whether I have spoken the truth ? ’’ The messenger, arriving at his journey’s end, found that the monk was being carried out for burial : his name and the hour of his passing were as St. Wulfric had said. William fitzWalter, ‘ convinced by the double proof, learned that things happening far away and the very secrets of his heart were known to the man of God.’

William became by degrees a deeply religious man and the familiar example of the saint had taught him to desire to do some great work of piety. Although the foundation of monasteries is often ascribed to the desire to atone for a wicked life, there was, it seems, nothing of this in fitzWalter’s case. He introduced the Canons Regular of St. Augustine into Haselbury and enriched them with great possessions because ‘in those days’ (this is significant) ‘he was a very powerful personage.’ When he approached the saint to ask his blessing on a hastily-conceived though admirable project, the reply he obtained was a surprising one: ‘ You will begin, but you will not complete it ; for those whom you intend to introduce here will not prosper in this place. But, lest I seem to oppose either you or them, begin as you have ordained, that your good will at least may be evident to God and your alms fruitful.’ William, though cast down in spirit, persevered in his plan and endowed the new foundation, but it did not prosper, and we know that the Canons were driven out within twenty-five years of the death of the saint. The short narrative given by the monk Hamo at the end of the Cotton MS. has for its subject a visiting Canon and a relic of St. Augustine, under whose rule the canons lived.

21. ST. WULFRIC AS AN ANCHORITE

We have already seen that St. Wulfric on his return from Deverill decided to become an anchorite : his experience of the attractions of the world aroused in him the desire to deprive the flesh and the devil of their best ally by a life of voluntary seclusion.

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The anchorite is thus described in a poem which makes the distinction between the anachoretical and eremitical lives.

' Ffor sum fleen from the world,
and closen hem silf in wallis
and steken hem in stones,
and litil wole thei speken,
to fleen sich occasiouns
as foly wole fynden ;
and these we clepen ancreſ
in the comoun speche.
Also in contemplacion
there ben many other
that drawen hem to disert
and drye myche peyne ;
by eerbys, rootes, and fruyte lyven,
for her Godd is love ;
and this manere of folk
men callen heremytes.'¹

An anchorite (from ἀράχωρέω, I withdraw) is one who encloses himself completely in order to keep the world at arm's length and to have leisure for the pursuit of holiness. The life of the anchorite or hermit was the first known form of the religious life. From the time of St. John the Baptist and the legendary hermits of Mount Carmel there were Christian solitaries. St. Paul, called the first hermit, in the third century, is the first whose name is known ; but at the end of that century St. Antony met aged hermits who retired with him into the desert. Egypt soon became a refuge for multitudes of earnest men seeking God in solitude. In time these hermits grouped themselves together and formed a *coenobium* or monastery, and by the time of St. Benedict it was considered to be the best thing for an anchorite first to spend some time in a monastery before being allowed to face the temptations of desert life.² St. Benedict indeed makes only a verbal distinction between hermits and anchorites, who are strictly desert dwellers as opposed to more artificially secluded persons. This is not the place to pursue the eremitical life through the

¹ Wright, *Political Poems*. Rolls Series, ii, 64.

² *Reg. S. Benedicti*, ch. i.—Cassian., *Inst.*, v, 36.

ages : it must suffice that both hermits and anchorites were becoming common in England soon after the Conquest, though one finds many names of solitaries before that time. The meaning of the terms 'hermit' and 'anchorite' had now become fixed : the hermit was not enclosed ; he was able to go about and support himself ; he might even have no fixed dwelling-place. Hermits occupied themselves in doing many things which are now considered to be the duty of the Government or of the local authority, mending roads, repairing bridges, or acting as lighthouse-keepers ; others looked after churches or lazars houses ; a few passed lonely lives on rocky islands, far from the haunts of men. Anchorites, on the other hand, were secluded for life within four walls and derived their support from outside.

John Langland writes of the solitary life in these words, explaining the object of a life lived apart from creatures in the service of God :

'In praiers & in penaunces · putten hem Manye,
Al for þe loue of oure lorde · [lyueden] ful harde,
In hope to haue a gode ende · & heuene-ryche Blysse ;
As ancles and Eremytes · þat holden hem in hure cellys,
Couceytynge noþt in contrees · to carien a-boute
For no lykerouse lyfplode · hure lykame to plese.'¹

Prayer and penance, a life of mortification for the love of God in the hope of heaven ; such is the reason given by Langland. The anchorite who was a priest, however, was a person very useful to the community. A reading of the Life of St. Wulfric will show in what this usefulness consisted. He was above all a doctor of body and soul : crowds came to see him by day and he made it his business not to refuse them his help. Many came to consult him in their perplexities, some for advice about their vocation, others because of their ailments. To those at a distance he sent holy water or blessed bread : on those who came to his window he laid his hands or healed them with the sign of the Cross.

Such an exhausting work could never have been carried

¹ *Piers Plowman*, Text C, E.E.T.S., Pass. i, 27-32.

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out, says John of Ford, but for the hidden life within the cell. Few heard of the austerities Wulfric practised there ; but while he sought the salvation of others by day, he sought his own at night and, in the words of the Life, ‘ built for himself an interior solitude,¹ a mountain ’² to which he retired during the hours of darkness to pray. ‘ The hands and the mouth which people used by day, by night he employed for prayer.’³ All day long visitors came knocking at his window to gain from him comfort or advice. Quite often he entertained them with whatever food he had at hand,⁴ even the cellarer of Montacute who had so injured him.⁵ At one time it is a priest who shares his bread and water on a Friday,⁶ at another two monks from Ford.⁷ If there is only half a loaf in the chest, he tells his servant with magnificent faith to lay it before a large company of people.⁸

But when night came, in the early years at Haselbury, though his emaciated body suffered terribly from cold, he would immerse himself in a tub of water and say the Psalter from *Beatus vir* to *Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum*, that is from Psalm one to Psalm one hundred and fifty, with the most sustained attention. Sometimes, as we have said, he would spend the night in prayer before the altar of St. Michael in the church.⁹ He admitted to friends that he often used to pass whole nights without sleep and on the occasions when he did fall into a doze this was due to infirmity and not to desire. Sometimes, overcome by drowsiness, he would rest his head against the wall and fall into a brief slumber from which he would awake with a sense of having failed to keep a proper watch over himself. He had a bed in his cell, a sort of hurdle made by himself by intertwining rough branches, a place of torment for his tortured body : his pillow was made of woven grass rope.¹⁰ Often he would sleep with his head resting on the altar step, like the nineteenth-century hermit of the

¹ *Vita*, ch. 2.

² *ibid.*, ch. 31.

³ *ibid.*, ch. 34.

⁴ *ibid.*, ch. 41.

⁵ *ibid.*, ch. 45.

⁶ *ibid.*, ch. 37.

⁷ *ibid.*, ch. 72.

⁸ *ibid.*, ch. 41.

⁹ *ibid.*, ch. 18.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, ch. 4.

Sahara, Charles de Foucauld, of whom René Bazin writes : ' He stretches himself out fully dressed on the predella of the altar. He will sleep near the tabernacle like a dog at his master's feet.'¹ At the times when he was not in the church he would say his office by the light of a lamp or of a candle provided by the parish priest. Having thus spent the hours of darkness he was ready once more at daybreak to vest himself and go forth from his cell into the church, with some little boy like Osbern to serve him, and say his daily mass. We know very little about his personal appearance : all that we learn is that he had a very penetrating regard.²

The object of so severe a life was to tame the body and bring it into subjection. It is only natural that a man who lives very much alone should be attacked severely by temptations against the virtue of chastity. In order to be on his guard against moments of weakness St. Wulfric, as was the practice of the time, would scourge himself till the blood flowed freely, saying the *Miserere* and begging God to keep him from consent to the suggestions of the flesh. This was the reason for his fasts and his frequent genuflections, his deprivation of sleep, of food and of drink, his iron shirt and his taciturnity. So highly did he value perfect cleanliness and purity that he fell into a state of scrupulousness on that subject, due to ignorance or forgetfulness of the truth that there can never be sin without consent on the part of the human agent.³

Those persons who sought advice at his window bore witness that he kept strictly to the matter proposed and would allow no mere gossip to reach his ears. Only to ' religious ' did he at all expand. He was no acceptor of persons, for he was direct and plain-spoken with those whom the world called great. No title or honour ever led him to see in them anything but the man, and so for a brief while they saw themselves shorn of their dignities.⁴

That he could be stern and severe on occasion is evident from the story of the man whom he forbade, by the mouth

¹ René Bazin, Plon, 1921, p. 204, *Charles de Foucauld*.

² *Vita*, ch. 50.

³ *ibid.*, ch. 23.

⁴ *ibid.*, ch. 7.

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of his servant, to cross the bridge into Haselbury. The servant, moved by his piteous cries, ran back to his master and pleaded for the unfortunate penitent, but in vain. ‘I will not spare him,’ he said, ‘nor will I have pity on him. I will not and I cannot.’ This is a queer tale, and one must suppose that the man in question was a false penitent or one whose real intentions were masked by good acting.¹ Severe he was to a monk who had given way to thoughts and desires not suitable in a religious man,² and he would not pray for Agnes, sister of the Countess of Gloucester, until she had confessed her sins against the laws of the Church.³

St. Wulfric was above all very simple and direct. The simplicity of a man like this may easily be mistaken for pride or boasting ; and when he says of the young monk suffering from insomnia, ‘I alone can obtain his cure,’ he is saying what he believes to be a fact without any regard to the malice of misrepresentation of his hearers.⁴ When people spoke of his great deeds it was with a simple smile that he received such adulation,⁵ for he did not believe that he was the doer of the miracles credited to him. ‘It was not my virtue, my son,’ he says to the man from Bampton, ‘for I was not conscious of it ; but thy faith hath saved thee and therefore give the glory to God, not to me.’⁶ When Henry I, before setting out on his last journey to Normandy in 1133, heard that the saint had prophesied that he would not return, the reply given to the messenger was : ‘If I said it I am not sorry, for I did not say it of myself.’⁷ John of Ford is careful to speak of the works which God did through him.⁸

At first he would allow no one to talk of what he did, but learned that as he did nothing himself he must give God thanks by allowing people to speak.⁹ He disliked fuss or ostentation,¹⁰ and was not easily persuaded in every case to attempt a cure. When the man came from York to regain his sight Brichtric

¹ *Vita*, ch. 59.

² ibid., ch. 69.

³ ibid., ch. 89.

⁴ ibid., ch. 29.

⁵ ibid., ch. 13.

⁶ ibid., ch. 15.

⁷ ibid., ch. 90.

⁸ ibid., ch. 12.

⁹ ibid., ch. 12.

¹⁰ ibid., ch. 9.

had some difficulty in persuading him to act.¹ In the same way when the paralysed Drogo de Munci was brought to him, his humble words were: 'I am at hand to do whatever I should,' and one of the bystanders had to take his hand and apply it to the face of the sick man.² Whatever one may think of the scruples which led to his public confession of sin in the church at Haselbury on Easter Day, it was an act of great humility and courage.³ Patient he was too, for no one likes to be called a fool and a bumpkin to his face, and yet to say nothing.⁴ When a cleric tempted him with two pence, 'Put them there,' he said, pointing to the window-sill, 'someone will come and take them.' His contempt for money is similar to that of St. Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury, who used to bury his pupils' fees at Oxford on the window-sill under a handful of earth, with the words, 'Earth to earth and dust to dust.' St. Wulfric's mordant words to the tempter were matched by his salutary rebuke to Henry, Abbot of Tintern. Henry owed his vocation to the saint and came back to give him the opportunity of congratulating himself on his capture. The abbot used to tell the story against himself: 'Keep on, my son,' said St. Wulfric, 'in the way that you are going and you will be able to save your soul.'⁵

22. ST. WULFRIC AND THE CISTERCIAN ORDER

St. Wulfric set a high value upon obedience. 'You should not do even the smallest thing contrary to obedience,' he says, to one man.⁶ It was usual for an anchorite to owe obedience to an ecclesiastical superior, but we are expressly told that this saint settled at Haselbury without any episcopal introduction.⁷ There are two passages which show that he owed obedience direct to the bishop of the diocese. He gave up some of his mortifications with regard to sleep, towards the end of his life, at the command of Robert, Bishop of Bath,

¹ *Vita*, ch. 73.

² *Ibid.*, ch. 46.

³ *Ibid.*, ch. 23.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ch. 92.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ch. 50.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ch. 44.

⁷ *Ibid.*, ch. 1.

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who made him also employ a pillow by virtue of the obedience he owed him.¹ At the end when the rusty habergeon fell from his shoulders he was ready to take the advice of his bishop and did not replace it on his aged body. In the face of the evidence of this Life by John of Ford it is difficult to accept the following passage from William of Avalon :²

‘In order that he (St. Wulfric) should hold the more securely to the way of perfection, he embraced the institutes of the Cistercian monks and subjected himself to their orders and correction.’

Henriquez says of him in a note that the ancient monuments of the Cistercian order testify that he lived under the Cistercian rule and in obedience to it. The Bollandists do not think that he was a Cistercian, because the Cistercians first came to England in 1128, and we know that St. Wulfric had enclosed himself not later than 1125.³ They say that there is nothing in his whole life to give any warrant to the conjecture that he was a Cistercian.⁴ The Bollandists, however, did not then know of the Life by John, Abbot of Ford. There is nothing in the Life to give the statement of either Henriquez or William of Avalon, who is no longer known to us, the smallest support. Abbot John writes that ‘he poured the riches of his simplicity liberally upon the poor men of Ford, in that he embraced them specially in the love of God and revered them as angels.’⁵ He had a special welcome for all Cistercians and, if any man came to him for guidance about his vocation, he sent him to that form of religion.⁶ We have seen the close relations which existed between St. Wulfric and the abbot of Tintern⁷ and how St. Bernard sent a message by him to the anchorite.⁸ John of Ford devotes a whole chapter to the relations between the two holy men, but this contains nothing of interest.⁹ Nowhere in the Life does the biographer give the

¹ *Vita*, ch. 4.

² Chrysostom Henriquez, *Menolog. Cist.* (1630), sub die Feb. 20.

³ Henry of Huntingdon.

⁴ *Acta SS.*, Feb. 20.

⁵ *Vita*, ch. 47.

⁶ *ibid.*, ch. 48.

⁷ See § 13 and chs. 50–52.

⁸ *ibid.*, ch. 54.

⁹ *ibid.*, ch. 55.

smallest indication that St. Wulfric was under any obligations either to Ford or to any other Cistercian abbey or even to St. Bernard of Clairvaux. On the contrary, the Cluniac monks of Montacute had good reason to be suspicious of his Cistercian sympathies and kept him supplied with food.¹ It will be remembered that they claimed him as a confrater after his death and made an abortive raid on the church of Haselbury to obtain his body.² Osbern himself was ready to agree that 'in so far as they spoke of participation in spiritual goods, as in the case of other holy men and the provision of daily food, they were in no way able to deny it.' When the Bishop of Bath arrived on the scene he was able to settle the question and buried St. Wulfric in his cell, according to the expressed wishes of the dead man. Had there been any shadow of legal right to his body put forward either by the Cistercians or the Cluniac monks the matter would hardly have been allowed to rest there : it would have been carried on appeal to a higher court.

It is possible that those Cistercian authors who claim St. Wulfric as a Cistercian on the strength of their ancient records are really confusing him with another man. After the death of St. Edmund, king and martyr, in East Anglia a certain man gathered to himself seven companions and rebuilt the chapel of St. Benedict, lately destroyed by the Danes. These eight hermits lived in huts round the chapel until the time of Canute, and then this king gave them lands which were the modest beginnings of the endowment of the monastery of St. Benet's Hulme, in Norfolk. Now the name of the one who took the initiative and to whom is given all the credit is Wulfric. Furthermore, when Canute came to visit him he came *incognito*, and the hermit greeted him with the words, 'Salve rex Kanute.' This is almost a parallel with the story of St. Wulfric of Haselbury greeting Stephen of Blois with the words, 'Salve rex.' This Wulfric of Hulme lived according to the rule of St. Benedict : Wulfric of Haselbury did not.³ Is it not possible

¹ *Vita*, ch. 45.

² *ibid.*, ch. 101.

³ See Dugdale, *Monasticon Angl.*, i, 283.

that the Cistercians confused the two in later times? Benedict Dorganius in including St. Wulfric in the Kalendar of the Order of St. Benedict may quite reasonably have been misled.¹

23. PROVISION OF FOOD AND DRINK

As something has been said of a daily allowance of food it would be right to point out that if an anchorite were left to starve the bishop was held responsible. It was for this reason that legislation on the subject of the inclusion of anchorites appears after the twelfth century and forms for enclosing them are to be found in several early Pontificals.² St. Wulfric's ordinary food was oaten bread and porridge, and he was so temperate in his meals that his servant used to carry away the food almost untouched.³ Persons living in the neighbourhood sent him regular gifts. Emelina of Chinnock, for example, sent him two or three loaves from each batch.⁴ William fitzTerric of Mudford sent him three of the four fish he had caught,⁵ and Joanna de Mohun a present of bread, cakes and two flasks of wine.⁶ He did not touch wine or beer or strong drink of any kind save on holy days of some importance when he would accept some wine 'out of reverence for the feast.'⁷ His usual drink was what the Ford monks used to call *bersisa*.

24. THE INFIRMITIES OF ST. WULFRIC

Holy men have their weaknesses, and it is with genuine sincerity that John says he glories even in St. Wulfric's infirmities. One of these was a certain impetuosity or irritation which had serious consequences. We are told that, upon looking round his cell, he saw that his cape had been nibbled by a mouse. 'Perish that mouse,' he said, and straightway the mouse ran out of the wall and fell at his feet dead. Sending for a priest he confessed his fault and met with little material comfort, for his confessor expressed the wish that he would use a like anathema to get rid of all the mice of that country-

¹ See *Acta SS.*, Feb. 20. ² See Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*.

³ *Vita*, ch. 3. ⁴ *ibid.*, ch. 43. ⁵ *ibid.*, ch. 85.

⁶ *ibid.*, ch. 84. ⁷ *ibid.*, ch. 3.

side.¹ The other and more serious case is that of the cellarer of Montacute, who turned against him and interfered with the daily provision of food. The saint was very patient, but at last there escaped him the words : ‘ May God take away his victuals to-day, who has deprived me of mine.’ The cellarer was drowned before nightfall. Struck by remorse, the saint was upbraided even by his friends for speaking as he had. The incident made a great impression on him.² Later in life, says John of Ford, he learned to love his enemies and progressed very much in meekness.³

The story of the mouse indicates another fault, if fault it can be called in his case. He was troubled by scruples : the confession of a sin that was no sin to a church full of people,⁴ saying the night office three times over⁵ and doubting whether he had added water to the wine in his chalice at mass,⁶ are all examples of a tendency to scrupulosity.

25. EMPLOYMENT

It was necessary for an anchorite to have some employment during the hours of daylight, and the saint occupied himself in writing books either for his own use or for the church of St. Michael at Haselbury.⁷ He was certainly an educated man, for he employed a scribe and was able to tell him what to write and what to omit.⁸ Books were not the only presents he made to the parish : he used to give precious vestments for the service of the altar.⁹ When the writing of a book was completed St. Wulfric appears to have bound it : Muriel of Kent sent him a piece of valuable cloth to cover one.¹⁰ He received many presents, and most solitaries could show sacred vessels, rosaries and relics given to them by pious neighbours or visitors.¹¹ The monk Hamo’s addition to the

¹ *Vita*, ch. 30.

² *ibid.*, ch. 45.

³ *ibid.*, ch. 46.

⁴ *ibid.*, ch. 23.

⁵ *ibid.*, ch. 34.

⁶ *ibid.*, ch. 49.

⁷ *ibid.*, ch. 27.

⁸ *ibid.*, ch. 28.

⁹ *ibid.*, ch. 47.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, ch. 27.

¹¹ *Hermits and Anchorites*, p. 112, where a number of examples is given.

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Cotton MS. gives a glimpse of the anchorite's treasures. The occasion was the visit paid him by the prior of St. Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield. The saint showed him the ornaments of the church 'which he had himself prepared' and the relics which he kept by him. One, he tell us, had a title with the words, 'A bone of Saint Augustine, Bishop of Hippo,' and this bone was divided into two parts, of which one went to Smithfield while the other remained at Haselbury.

26. MIRACLES AND PROPHECIES

A great number of miracles is recorded in this Life, including two which were performed after the death of the saint. Into their nature or credibility it is not necessary to enter, for the expert hagiologist alone has the experience and the material for a critical judgment in matters of this kind.

Anchorites and hermits have played a part in the lives of the kings of England. St. Guthlac of Croyland was the counsellor of King Ethelbald and St. Neot of King Alfred.¹ St. Godric sent an enigmatic message to Henry II in 1170, which turned out to be an accurate prophecy, and Richard I consulted a hermit on the Crusade.² King John visited St. Robert of Knaresborough, who impressed him with a simple and homely parable.³

St. Wulfric was, above all, known as a prophet. Dom Mabillon was struck by this more than anything else upon reading the life of the saint, and a few words may be said on this subject because it brings us into contact with court and politics.

Henry I is referred to on three occasions. First there is the case of the new coinage of 1125,⁴ secondly the story of Drogo de Munci,⁵ and thirdly the prophecy of his death.⁶ Drogo de Munci was an important person at the court of Henry Beauclerk and a foreigner. Upon hearing of St. Wulfric he

¹ *Hermits and Anchorites*, p. 148.

² Matt. Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. ii, pp. 386-7.

³ *Hermits and Anchorites*, p. 153.

⁴ *Vita*, ch. i. ⁵ *ibid.*, ch. 46. ⁶ *ibid.*, ch. 90.

began to suggest that the anchorite would surely have a lot of money in his cell and that the king would do well to examine it. False moneymen were punished with terrible severity at that time and Drogo no doubt wished to see the saint caught exchanging coin.¹ He instantly fell into a fit, and his subsequent paralysis convinced those who stood by of the inexpediency of speaking against one who was reputed to be a saint. Word was carried to the queen, Adelicia of Louvain, and she took care to remind the king every day that St. Wulfric was a person to be visited. In the end, King Henry found himself in that part of England : one may suggest that it was early in 1130 when he was spending Christmas at Winchester.² Taking the opportunity presented, he hastened eagerly to Haselbury and visited the cell of the anchorite. St. Wulfric received him at his window and the two of them conversed for some time. When the king had humbly recommended himself to the saint's prayers the queen suggested to him that he should ask for Drogo's cure. This St. Wulfric quickly effected and the unfortunate knight had the joy of once more speaking plainly. The quotation from the Psalms put into his mouth by John of Ford upon recovering his speech is, however, possibly a pious addition. The king and his court were delighted and, after receiving a blessing, departed.

In the summer of 1133 a rumour reached Haselbury that the king was contemplating a journey to Normandy. 'He will go indeed, but he will not return : but if he does return it will not be sound and whole,' said the saint. The king heard of this prophecy and was annoyed : he sent for confirmation of it and obtained an enigmatic reply ; but this did not prevent him from setting forth on his journey and he left England on August 10th, never to return alive.³ That year passed away and the one that followed. Toward the close of 1135, on the 2nd of December, St. Wulfric sent for William fitzWalter. 'The king died yesterday,' he said ; 'do you take counsel what to do.' Sir William was amazed and, guided by

¹ See note to ch. 46.

² *Annals of Waverley*, p. 222.

³ *Annals of Margan*, p. 13.

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motives of prudence, begged the anchorite to keep silence. ‘For me,’ came the answer, ‘silence is easy; but on the morrow all will speak of it openly.’ He went on to say that the king would obtain mercy from God because he had sought peace and justice during his life and had built the monastery at Reading with truly royal munificence.

‘Do you take counsel what to do,’ the saint had said. It was by no means easy to know whether to follow Stephen or the Empress and William fitzWalter was unable to make up his mind. He must have known from the behaviour of the saint that Stephen would be king, for while Henry I was still alive

‘there came to the man of God Count Stephen who afterwards reigned over England, and who, for the reason that he was the king’s relative, was loaded with many considerable possessions in England. And there came also with him his brother Henry, Bishop of Winchester, a man altogether most magnificent. When the holy man saw the Count, he said: “Hail, O King.” His retinue with many inquiring looks wondered whether the holy man had not fallen to the uncertainty of human opinion.

“I say to you, Stephen,” he said, “hail, O King. For God has delivered the kingdom of England into your hand and do you be zealous for peace and equity and take care to cherish and honour the Church of God.”¹

Abbot John goes on to say that when Stephen did in fact become king the peace of the country was altogether disturbed by the attempt of others to take the kingdom from him. Henry of Tintern, who freely took advantage of the state of anarchy existing in the days of his youth, gives a gloomy picture of this period.² A little later Stephen visited Haselbury as king and the saint upbraided him for his failure to rule as he should.³ Meanwhile Sir William’s wife took occasion to go to Corfe Castle to pay her respects to Stephen’s queen, Matilda. The occasion was not a happy one: Lady fitzWalter was deliberately ignored in front of all the other women present, because her husband had not yet given his adhesion to the party of Stephen. St. Wulfric heard of this and his opportunity

¹ *Vita*, ch. 91.

² *ibid.*, ch. 50.

³ *ibid.*, ch. 7.

came when the queen herself came to Haselbury to visit the man of God :

' He did not pay much attention to her ; but showing himself in all the magnificence of a prophet. " It was you, was it not," he said, " who did disdain to greet a faithful and holy woman and did shame her and did refuse to receive her with a kiss ? Behold the days will come when you will be glad to kiss poor and ignoble persons nor will you repel any mouth that could be kissed by thine." Moreover those who remember what fell out can clearly recollect how, when Stephen was taken captive and the queen made herself pleasant to poor and ignoble people, in that she was anxious to set him free, (and by her help the king's freedom is believed to have been hastened,) this prophecy was fulfilled to the letter.'¹

St. Wulfric had foreknowledge of King Stephen's capture at the battle of Lincoln on February 2nd, 1141. On the first day of that month he sent for William fitzWalter and said : ' To-morrow King Stephen will be taken prisoner and delivered into the hands of his enemies.' He further prophesied that his captor would himself suffer the same fate. During Stephen's imprisonment at Bristol, the owner of the castle, Earl Robert of Gloucester, was indeed made prisoner and the king by this good fortune was released.

The last interview between Stephen and the anchorite took place some years after. The saint did not spare him, but after severely chiding him, consoled him, saying that he would be king as long as he lived. This must have been before the treaty of Wallingford (1153). He also told the king by name of a sin which he had committed and for which, as a punishment, he was not being allowed to bring peace upon England. Stephen, weeping copiously, made his confession and received absolution.²

Although St. Wulfric never personally met Henry II, he had some not altogether satisfactory relations with him before he came to the throne. Henry came over to England in 1142 as a boy of ten years old and spent four years at Bristol under the guardianship of his uncle, Robert of Gloucester. In February 1148 the Empress left England, and in the following

¹ *Vita*, ch. 81.

² *ibid.*, ch. 91.

year, 1149, young Henry of Anjou, now a lad of sixteen, made an attempt on England which did not succeed. He brought with him some soldiers who were called Guirebecs or Hiribelli. Orderic says that they were those who fought against the usurper Stephen and that those who were hurt by them called them derisively 'Hillibecci.'¹ John of Ford confirms this by referring to those

'whom the common people call Hiribelli, with whom duke Henry entered England in the time of King Stephen to win himself the kingdom, and this he afterwards obtained with the help of God. And when these sacrilegious ruffians penetrated into every place, despoiled the poor, profaned holy things and with unbridled licence gave themselves up to every sort of iniquity, they even set about snatching booty from the cell of this man of God. When the messenger came in and said that the horse on which his wood and victuals were wont to be laid and certain other things of his substance had been seized by them : "Leave them awhile," he said, "because they will not long enjoy them nor will they much rejoice in those things they have taken from me for they will not bring them into Normandy." To the duke (Henry) he sent messengers saying that he estimated the value of his stolen property at twelve shillings and announcing that he was not to reign while Stephen was yet alive.'²

It appears from the words used of their departure that they went after peace had been made,³ but they certainly carried much spoil out of the country. It is unlikely that the story should refer to any other expedition than that of 1149.

The Life of this saint does not make any other reference to the disturbed condition of England except in the story of the steward of Haselbury who came and commended himself to St. Wulfric's prayers 'lest perhaps he might fall into the hands of robbers, for peace was everywhere in jeopardy.'⁴ Yet the saint's life is not justly appraised without the realization of what was going on around him. William of Malmesbury's description of the horrors of civil war is well known and no district was more disturbed than Somerset in the years from 1136 to 1140. The troubles of the first year were only the precursors of the civil disturbances which began in 1138

¹ lib. xiii, p. 905.

² *Vita*, ch. 76.

³ *pace . . . composita.*

⁴ *Vita*, ch. 94.

with Robert of Gloucester's declaration of war in the middle of June. Bristol Castle was held by his son, Philip Gai, who had a reputation for inventing new tortures. He was a worthy partner for Robert fitzHubert of Devizes, whose boast was that he had been present when twenty-four monks were burned together with their church, declaring that he would often do the like in England and grieve God by the plunder of the church of Winchester and the destruction of Malmesbury, with the slaughter of all its monks.¹ Such a man would not be likely to spare the life of even such an one as St. Wulfric. There were other dangerous men living even nearer to him ; Ralph Lovel held Castle Cary for the Empress, while William fitzJohn fortified Harptree and 'defended' his neighbourhood by driving off cattle and sheep, in short anything valuable, from the neighbouring lands. From Bristol the lands of any who favoured Stephen's cause were systematically wasted. At the end of the year 1138 Stephen's position was made firmer by the capture of both Castle Cary and Harptree, but so long as hostilities lasted there was continual anxiety in south Somerset. The fitzMartins of Blagdon, as we have seen, were of the party of the Empress, and probably gained possession of the manor of Compton as soon as it was known that fitz-Walter was in the opposite camp. During all this turmoil St. Wulfric lived his solitary life at Haselbury, and a party of Cistercian monks passed not far from his cell, preceded by their cross bearer, to found the abbey at Brightley, which in later times was to furnish his biographer. The civil war was a most flourishing epoch of religious foundations, and there is little doubt that, though it was the cause of much misery here and there, it passed over England like a bad dream and left her much as she was before.

27. LATER LITERARY HISTORY

Roger of Wendover² took the text of the Life by John of Ford and abbreviated it after his own fashion. Under the year 1154 he writes these words :

¹ William of Malms., sub a° 1140.

² Rolls Series, p. 4.

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'Eodem anno sanctus anachorita et solitarius Wlfricus de Heselberga migravit ad Dominum postquam viginti et novem annis contra hostes humani generis confligens felici marte victoriam reportavit; de cuius vita et virtutibus ad historiae decorem, vel parvam utile duximus facere mentionem.'

He then compresses the first chapter into about half its original content: the similarity of wording leaves no doubt about his having John's Life before him. There is no attempt at paraphrase: he generally uses the same words. He makes a curious mistake which, on his authority, has often been repeated, namely that St. Wulfric was accustomed to speak to his visitors through a closed window: it does not seem an easy thing to do. The actual words used by Roger are:

'licet hominibus semper clausa fenestra loqueretur.'

The passage is one of those in which he summarizes the original, but doubtless he is referring to the following parallel passage of John of Ford:

'paucis expedito negotio pro quo fuerat interpellatus, dum ad alia delabi sentiret collocutorem suum fenestra clausa se in interiora cellulae sua recipiebat' (ch. 8).

The meaning is that he confined himself strictly to business, and when the conversation began to turn to other subjects he closed the window and retired. In those days the anker-houses were often the best place to go to if one wished to hear the news.

'Vrom mulne (mill) and vrom chepyng (market), vrom smid'de and from ancrehuse men tidinge bringeth.'¹

St. Wulfric did not wish to enter upon worldly discussions and firmly took steps to prevent the world from creeping into his cell.

In the story of the cutting of the habergeon Roger omits several details and adds a picturesque one: when the knight had finished cutting through the iron links

¹ MS. Cott., Nero, A. xiv, f. 21a. Fosbrooke, 1817.

Wulfric of Haselbury.

'rem feliciter consummavit, et quicquid inaequale erat sine difficultate aliqua coaequivit.'¹

The words in italics represent Wendover's addition; it looks rather like an enthusiastic footnote to the story, suggested by his own imagination. At the end he places a paragraph of which the substance comes from another source and that source is Henry of Huntingdon. The two passages are printed side by side, any expressions in italics being those of John of Ford.

Roger of Wendover.

Ex tunc vero vir Dei *absque forficibus* cum digitis suis debilibus non fide minori annulos loricae, *ad varia sanitatum remedia*, cunctis caritative potentibus dividens ministrabat; hanc autem miles virtutem videns admiratione ineffabili stupefactus corruit ad pedes viri Dei, quo facto Wlfricus confusus erectum militem adjuravit, ne dum viveret haec alicui revelaret; sed rei fama celebris celari non potuit cum plures viri religiosi ² de eadem lorica annulos se habere gaudeant et fama celebris viri Dei totius regni fines circumquaque perlustret.

Henry of Huntingdon.

quod videns dominus ejus, inaestimabili gaudio repletus ad pedes sancti corruit.

Vir Domini pudibundus erectum conjuravit ne alicui visa revelaret. Res tamen celari non potuit, nam plerique religiosi ejusdem loricae sanctissimae annulos habere se gaudent, et fama celebris regni totius partes circumquaque perlustravit.³

It is well known that monastic chroniclers were accustomed to copy from one another: plagiarism was a crime as yet unknown. Therefore it is not at all surprising to find the monk Gervase quoting Henry of Huntingdon's story verbatim.⁴

At this point Roger omits a great deal and then gives the story of the man who sold himself to the devil; but he inverts the order and heightens the dramatic effect. Up to this point the proportion of John of Ford's Life to the account by Wen-

¹ So also Huntingdon and Gervase.

² See ch. 72.

³ Henry of Hunt., Rolls Series, Prol.

⁴ Gervase of Cant., Rolls Series, sub ann. 1146.

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dover is about five to one. There is nothing more at all until the end, which is here quoted. Italics represent his addition.

'Obiit autem amicus Dei sanctus Wlfricus decimo kalendas Martii, et in oratorio suo sepultus est apud Heselbergam, quo in loco, ad laudem Dei et gloriam sancti, innumera fuit miracula usque in diem hodiernum.'

This account was used by Matthew Paris in both chronicles and appears in the pseudo-Matthew of Westminster: but, though this is the earlier abridgment of the Life by John of Ford, there is another and ampler one.

John of Tynemouth, in the early years of the fourteenth century, conceived the plan of writing a series of lives of the saints on a grand scale. Anticipating the work of Leland, he travelled all over England and Wales, and we learn from him that he visited Glastonbury and copied out extracts from the books there. Where Lives were not available he collected evidence from the Histories and Chronicles, but in every case he gave an outline without details in order to complete his *Sanctilogium* within his own lifetime.¹ It is quite possible that he visited Ford Abbey, but the Life of St. Wulfric was well known in his day and there must have been numerous manuscripts at his disposal. As in all other cases, he drastically abridged it, reducing it to less than one-tenth of its original content by the process of leaving out all but a bare narration of each paragraph, out of the few selected.

It is of interest to watch this compiler at work and to see him selecting or omitting lines or chapters for his short account. The life is printed in Carl Horstmann's edition of the *Nova Legenda Anglie*.² He begins by dismissing Chapter 1 about the saint's conversion in about nine lines, whereas Roger of Wendover had copied the greater part of it. A few lines are taken from Chapters 3 to 7 inclusive: 8 is omitted: the well-known story in Chapter 9 is briefly touched upon, 10 and 11 omitted; and the latter half of 12 quoted almost word for

¹ See Horstmann, *Nova Legenda*, Introduction.

² Vol. II, p. 511.

word : 13 to 16 and 18 to 20 are omitted, but the story about the man who had sold himself to the devil in Chapter 17 is given almost as fully as in Wendover, though he gives it out of its place, later on. The story about St. Wulfric being dragged by devils through the church so pleased John of Tynemouth that he quotes the first half of this Chapter 21 and all 22 with very few omissions. Extracts from Chapters 23, 24 and 30 complete his work so far as the first book is concerned.

In the second book he leaves out Chapter 31 and gives a few words of 32, borrows freely from the story of Osbern's vision in 36 and touches upon 37 and 38. Chapters 39 and 40 are left out : 41 to 46 are all used, 47 and 48 omitted, and only an outline of 49 retained. From Chapter 50 to the end of Book II no further extract is made.

In the third book John of Tynemouth saw nothing worthy of record until he came to the story of the man from York in Chapter 73 : this he would regard, of course, as a first-class miracle. He saw little else until, in Chapter 84, he reached the tale of the food which swarmed with maggots and in 87 the dream about the three wicked priests. He uses Chapters 90 and 91 almost in their entirety as examples of St. Wulfric's prophecies, and then takes a few words from 99 about the signs preceding his death, and from 100 he records the passing of the saint, supplemented by one line from 102 from which he takes the date of that event.

This brief outline of the method of compression used by John of Tynemouth will show that he has given us everything that the historian does not want, with the sole exception of the facts about the birth and death of the saint. He was entirely uncritical and injudicious in his selection, choosing only the marvellous tales and omitting all that is really of interest : the anchorite himself is not portrayed in his pages as any other than a wonder-worker : to make an interesting collection of startling anecdotes was this editor's only ambition and the method of paraphrase would surely be preferred to his frank adoption of the Life by John of Ford. This, however, was the practice of his day and it would be hard to condemn him, for

the greater number of the originals from which he made his compilations has disappeared and we owe him a great deal of gratitude for his magnificent, though unenlightened, attempt to hand down to posterity the records of the principal English saints.

The Life of St. Wulfric by John of Tynemouth was one of those taken by John Capgrave (d. 1454) when he rearranged the collection, and hence he has often been taken as the original compiler of the *Sanctilogium*. He copied 152 out of the 168 original lives and placed them in alphabetical order. In 1516 Wynkyn de Worde printed the whole collection, with additions, as the *Nova Legenda Anglie*. The Bollandists printed the Life by Capgrave (or rather John of Tynemouth) from a Belgian manuscript¹ as an offset to the other Life by Wendover which they attributed to Matthew Paris; but they were confident that there was somewhere a common source. This, as has been shown, was John of Ford's original account, here printed for the first time.

Henry of Huntingdon's contemporary account of St. Wulfric, with that of the monk Gervase, belongs to a separate tradition. In his Prologue² he complains that miracles are very rare in his day, but also very important when they do come to notice. For this reason he wishes to write something about a man who is still alive. 'In the county of Dorsete,' he says (and this is a mistake for Somerset³), 'there lives a servant of God named Wulfric, a priest and an anchorite.' He proceeds to relate the story of the cutting of the iron habergeon in the way that has already been described, and then ends his account, in a strain of apology, saying that he would not have added this story to a work so careful and the fruit of so much inquiry unless St. Gregory the Pope had not set the example in what he wrote about St. Benedict or other saints: for he says that he heard part from some brother in religion and the rest from many reliable persons. But that miracle of St.

¹ MS. Rubeae Vallis, Brussels, *Acta SS.*, Feb. 20.

² Rolls Series, §§ 22 and 23.

³ Made also by Hutchins, *Hist. Dorset.*

Wulfric was supported, he says, by the evidence of those who saw the sections of the habergeon, or who sought his conversation and his company, or who, though religious, seek the life for religious men and that readily; and it is spread abroad among all people as a common and notorious fact.

This cautious writer,¹ a contemporary of the saint, writing during his lifetime is, then, the first to record the name of St. Wulfric, and he tell us that the fame of the miracle of the habergeon had spread abroad over the whole countryside. We learn from the Life that men came to be healed of their diseases or were sent to the saint not only from places like Chichester, Bampton (Devon) and Gloucestershire, but even from Kent and York and the northern parts of England. Miss Clay is not wrong when she claims St. Wulfric as 'the most celebrated anchorite of mediaeval England.'²

Although Gervase³ was not a contemporary of the saint he was writing about the time of John of Ford. His information seems to come direct from Henry of Huntingdon, but the last sentence of his account is from some other source.

'This man predicted in the spirit to the boy Henry, when he was speaking with him, that he would be king of England.'

The Life has no reference to any meeting between the saint and the young Henry of Anjou. If what Gervase says is true, then it is likely that Henry was taken to see the anchorite during the time when he was living in Bristol Castle, between his tenth and his fourteenth year. It is possible that Gervase's information may be a misapplication of the story of Stephen of Blois' visit to Haselbury, when the saint hailed him as king. On the whole, considering the strained relations between the two and the prophecy sent to Henry at the time of the complaint about the Guirebecs, it would be wiser not to accept the story of Gervase that he was personally visited by the future Henry II.

¹ *severus alioque recentium miraculorum arbiter.* N. Harpsfield.

² *Hermits and Anchorites*, p. 24.

³ Gervase of Cant., Rolls Series, p. 130, sub anno 1146-7.

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After the death of the saint we have seen that his body was twice translated and rested finally in a tomb known to no one but the priest Osbern. John of Ford speaks of the oblivion into which the holy man was falling and devotes a chapter¹ to an optimistic prophecy of better times. Haselbury did after all become a place of pilgrimage up to the days of the Reformation, after which all his books and precious vestments and relics must have perished in the common destruction of church ornaments. Just before this time we hear of his name in the *Martyrology of Syon*. Richard Whytford's English version of the Sarum martyrology contains daily additions made to the calendar, and among these, on February 20th, we find :

' In englonge the feest of saynt wolryke a preest | born viij myles frō bristowe that in youth was very wylde & a grete hunter | & yet after he closed hymselfe as an ancre | & was of hygh perfeccyon & many miracles.'²

The saint's memory was kept alive in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the English exiles in the Low Countries and in France. Nicholas Harpsfield (d. 1575) wrote a history of the English Church which was published posthumously at Douai in 1622. In the course of his memorials of the diocese of Bath and Wells he finds space for a considerable life of St. Wulfric, the sources of which seem to be Henry of Huntingdon and the *Nova Legenda Anglie*.³

Next in order of composition, though not of publication, is the short account to be found in the Reverend John Wilson's *Martyrologe*, printed by the Jesuit press at St. Omer, established by Fr. Robert Persons.⁴ This was published in 1608. In 1622 the first English Life, longer even than the account in the

¹ *Vita*, ch. 98.

² 'The martiloge in englysshe after the use of the chirche of Salisbury | and as it is redde in Syon | with addicyons.' Henry Bradshaw Society. (Printed Wynkyn de Worde in 1526.) By Richard Whytford, a brother of Syon monastery.

³ N. Harpsfield, *Hist. Ecclesiastica Anglicana*, p. 369.

⁴ *The English Martyrologe conteyning a summary of the lives of the glorious and renowned saintes of the three kingdoms*. St. Omer, 1608. Second edn., 1640.

Nova Legenda, was included in a rare and little-known book entitled, *The Flowers of the lives of the most renowned Saincts of the three kingdoms*. It was printed at Douai in the year 1632, and should have been followed by a second volume containing the lives of the saints from July to December. The author was Dom Jerome Porter, 'priest and monk of the holy order of Saint Benedict, of the Congregation of England.' He was, in fact, a professed monk of St. Gregory's Monastery, Douai, now, since 1814, established at Downside. Dom Jerome's sudden death from continual fever on November 17th 1632, cut short a life full of literary promise.

About the same time the publication of the third February volume of the *Acta Sanctorum* by the Bollandists brought into convenient compass all that was known about St. Wulfric. In 1663 Fr. Michael Alford, S.J., devoted considerable space to St. Wulfric in his *Annals*.¹ Bishop Challoner mentions him in his *Britannia Sancta* published in 1745 : he was aware of the Life by John of Ford, for in a little martyrology published by him in 1761 a notice of 'St. Ulrick or Wulfrick. . . . His life was faithfully written by John, Prior of Ford,' appears under the date February 21st.² Dom Mabillon was interested enough in the MS. life to copy all three extracts concerning the saint's gift of prophecy.³

Baring Gould includes St. Wulfric in his Lives, but his information is inaccurate, and he cites John Fordun, author of the *Scotichronicon*, instead of John of Ford. It is only fair to say that a great many others have fallen into the same mistake. Alban Butler in his *Lives of the Saints* has no word about St. Wulfric.

At the present time there is no life in the English language of any merit except that by Dom Jerome Porter ; but the book in which it is printed is so rare as to be almost unobtainable. For this reason the pages relating to St. Wulfric have

¹ *Annales Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, t. iv. Liège, 1663.

² *A Memorial of Ancient British Piety or a British Martyrology*. London, 1761.

³ *Recueil des historiens des Gaules*, t. xiv, 1806, pp. 517-18.

been printed as an appendix to this volume. All the short accounts are inaccurate and the mediaeval abridgments unsatisfactory. It is therefore time that the original life by the abbot of Ford should be printed in full for the use of future scholars. It is our intention to print the life with an *apparatus criticus* and nothing else. At the end will be found a few explanatory notes for which the Editor alone takes the responsibility. The text will therefore be free and unencumbered.

28. CULT AND BEATIFICATION

We must now direct our attention to an important question. The title of ' saint ' has been accorded to Wulfric by a number of writers and has passed into common usage. But what is a saint in the strict sense ? Was St. Wulfric, as we call him, ever canonized by the Church ? In early times canonization, a term not used at all before the twelfth century, was generally effected by spontaneous popular demand made regular by official sanction. The modern distinction between canonization and beatification was unknown. By the time of which we write, however, the localization or universality of the cult of a man who died in the odour of sanctity constituted the main difference between the two. Any holy man might be honoured by the devotion of the faithful in having recourse to his tomb for the purpose of asking his intercession. When the bishop of the diocese became aware of such a cult he might proceed in one of two ways, either formally to declare its object to be ' Blessed ' and to permit local devotions, or to say nothing and allow them to continue, on the principle that silence means consent : in such a case he could intervene if he wished and his behaviour was considered to constitute what is called ' equipollent ' canonization. This formal or tacit permission to venerate the *beatus* might, and often did, spread to other dioceses and countries until at last, with express or tacit papal sanction, the universality of the cult constituted canonization, with the title of ' saint.'

If St. Wulfric has a right to his title we have therefore to

prove that his cult was practised throughout the Christian world and that it received formal or tacit sanction. The problem is complicated by a change of practice at Rome ; for from the eleventh century onwards, the Popes expressed a wish that canonizations should be withdrawn from the power of the bishops and reserved for General Councils. As this did not answer, in 1170 Alexander III reserved the right entirely to himself, and very few examples of episcopal canonization can be discovered after this date : most are due to a misunderstanding of his decree. It is therefore possible, but extremely unlikely, that St. Wulfric was formally canonized by his diocesan bishop. Of this we have no evidence. Again, it is possible that tacit permission was given to his cult : this brings us on to surer ground, for the dedicatory letters prefixed to the Life are proof of episcopal interest : but we know nothing at all of their outcome. Granted that we have a high degree of probability that his cult was episcopally approved, we return to the question, was it universal ? There is no reason for supposing that it spread further than France, and then only because of the international interests of the Cistercian order. We may, in the first place, rule out canonization altogether. It must be remembered that the word ' saint ' was then very loosely applied and often meant little more than ' holy man ' : thus the ' vir sanctus Wulfricus ' could be turned into a canonized saint by a stroke of the pen and a prejudice in his favour. Even as late as 1500 the *Miracles of King Henry VI* have prefixed to them a declaration

' Let no man, then, when he hears or reads of the glorious King Henry in this book under the title of a holy man or a " blessed," or sometimes " most blessed," " most happy," and " most holy"—all of which are but current terms—let no man think, I beg, that I am using this language as if with intent to pronounce upon the facts.'¹

Indeed one discerning critic² calls him ' Blessed ' and adds the words ' named saint by Matthew Paris.' The latter

¹ *Miracles of King Henry VI*, ed. Fr. Ronald Knox and Shane Leslie, Cambridge, 1923.

² Claude Chastelain, *Martyrologe Universel*, p. 943 (1709).

gained his information from Wendover (d. 1236). Another contemporary, the Cistercian Alberic, who has been already mentioned, explicitly calls him Saint.¹ In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries he was accepted as such by John of Tyne-mouth and Capgrave. It is significant that his name occurs in no local martyrology except the additions to Whytford's *Martyrology of Syon*. At first sight there seems to be something in the statement of Fr. Michael Alford, S.J.,² that 'our martyrology calls him Wulfric and places his name among the saints on the xiv Kal. March.' But *our* martyrology is in reality Fr. John Wilson's.³ 'Wilson's work is always cited by his contemporaries as *the English martyrology*.'⁴ From the sixteenth century Wulfric is generally accepted as a saint by popular and undiscerning tradition: but there are important exceptions.

In the first place the third February volume of the *Acta Sanctorum* denies him the title of 'Saint' and calls him 'Blessed.'⁵ Secondly we have the opinion of Chastelain already quoted. Yet Bishop Challoner in his 'Martyrology,' although he says, 'we have not given the title of saints to any but such as we found in possession of it,' came to the conclusion that he was a saint: but he denies it to St. Caradoc,⁶ almost a contemporary of St. Wulfric. We have the letters from Innocent III to certain abbots about St. Caradoc's process, 'but it was never brought to a conclusion.'⁷ The lack of records, we must repeat, is no certain proof: there are none, for example, in the case of St. Robert of Knaresborough, yet papal records of 1252 offer an indulgence to those who help in completing the monastery of St. Robert of Gnarebur, 'where that saint's body is buried.'⁸ In every case we must reaffirm our conclusion that the title of 'Blessed' is the most that the Church accorded to 'Saint' Wulfric.

¹ Alberic of Trois Fontaines.

² *Annales Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, vol. iv, anno 1154.

³ *The English Martyrologe*, 1608.

⁴ Information supplied by Fr. Paul Grosjean, S.J.

⁵ *Acta SS.*, Feb. 20.

⁶ d. 1124.

⁷ Stanton's *Menology*.

⁸ Clay, op. cit., p. 43.

It now remains to examine the evidence for his cult. Up to the year 1169 miracles did not occur at his tomb, for when Leviva came there, John of Ford thought it prudent to send 'three of our brethren to her . . . lest any may say in his heart about Blessed Wulfric that his hand has become weak and his virtue has languished with his death.'¹ Even up to the time when he wrote, between 1180 and 1190, the absence of any devotion to St. Wulfric caused the abbot some distress.

'To-day it is as if he was not, and the venerable name of so blessed a man is as if buried with his ashes ; and his grave as yet lacks a title.'²

'He has almost perished from the memory of man and that sacred fount of such great virtues, like a vessel without glory, exposed to the condition of the common people, has up to our own days slept in ignoble dust.'³

'And now that place (Haselbury) is destitute and a man of such glory, like one of the people, lies hitherto inglorious.'⁴

'There is no one who comes to the solemn feast.'⁵

The abbot of Ford proves conclusively that, apart from the case of Wudeman and Leviva, nothing had occurred at Haselbury in the thirty years after St. Wulfric's death to afford any ground for a spontaneous outburst of devotion to his memory.

Fifty years later it is very different. Wendover says that at Haselbury 'to the praise of God and the glory of the saint innumerable miracles are being done up to this day.' It is therefore possible to see the growth of a cult between those years c. 1185–1235 which called for the use of the word 'innumerable.' The fact that St. Wulfric is given a place in so many chronicles is enough to show that his life and miracles were of more than local interest. As is often the case, the pilgrimages came and went and there is not one word to tell of them. Only towards the end of the fifteenth century, about the year 1478, the traveller William Worcester recorded that 'saint Walfric the priest lies in a church between Yeville and Croke-horn.'⁶ Fifty years later Leland writes : ' Haselberge is about

¹ *Vita*, ch. 105.

² Letter to Bartholomew.

³ Letter to Baldwin.

⁴ *Vita*, ch. 97.

⁵ *ibid.*, ch. 98.

⁶ *Itin. Symeon Simeonis et Will. de Worcestr.*, ed. Nasmith, 1778, p. 91.

a mile from Crokehorn ; at this place lyvid the Holy Heremite and Prophete *Wulfric* yn King Henry the I dayes.¹ His pilgrimage aroused in him an interest in the saint which prompted him to read through the Life by John of Ford and write down a few facts from each book. This is the sum of our knowledge up to the Reformation, when all that was in the church at Haselbury to awaken in the pilgrim a veneration for its holy solitary was dispersed or destroyed. The body itself, having been buried in a place no one knew where, probably survived the orgy of destruction.

This completes the materials for establishing a cult, but we may perhaps conclude with the account of John Gerard, written in the first third of the seventeenth century :² ‘The elder lords had neere the church a mansion house now wholly ruined, in place of which a farme house is risen up ; that they will tell you many strange stories of St. Wolfricke whose cell remaines unto this daye on the Northside of the Chauncell which I had rather you should inquire of the inhabitants than looke for here.’ St. Wulfric was still a well-known though half-legendary figure : his cell was still standing.

We may sum up by saying that we believe Blessed Wulfric to have been beatified at least by tacit consent, that a cult grew up only very slowly between thirty and seventy years after his death, and that this cult never spread far beyond the bounds of south-western England, even if in a few cases his name was known elsewhere. Such is the justification of the title we have given to the life : after all, three of the MSS. of John of Ford set the example by exhibiting the heading : ‘The life of Blessed Wulfric.’

29. THE MANUSCRIPTS

Four manuscripts of the Life of St. Wulfric by John of Ford have been collated for this the first printed edition. The first is the Eton MS., 109,³ which is an imposing folio containing two sets of MSS. bound together at a later date. The first part

¹ *Itinerary*, ii, fol. 55.

² *Partic. descr. of Somerset*, 1633.

³ M. R. James’ *Cat.*, p. 45.

consists of the eleven books of Rufinus' *Ecclesiastical History*: on fol. 81 in a different hand begins the *vita B. Wulurici Anachoretae Haselbergiae per Ven. Joh. Priorem de Forda*, to which are prefixed the two introductory letters already mentioned. On fol. 103 there follows a treatise by Robert of Melun, Bishop of Hereford (who incidentally lectured to John of Salisbury), on the *Sacraments of the Old and New Testaments and the Incarnation*. This treatise comes to an end on fol. 186. The life of St. Wulfric is written in double columns on expensive parchments, which indicate that it came from some more important monastery. There is, however, no other clue to its origin. The whole is written clearly and correctly with initials in colours, and dates probably from about the year 1200.¹

The second manuscript is to be found in the Cambridge University Library among the Additional MSS., No. 3037. It consists, like the Eton MS., of two volumes bound into one. The first part is the Life of St. William of Norwich by Thomas of Monmouth (fol. 1 to 77a): this life has been edited by Dr. Jessop and Dr. M. R. James.² The folio is fully described in this work,³ and for details the inquirer may read what is there written. Briefly the contents of the remainder are: from fol. 77b to 80b a *letter on the Mass* by one Abbot Isaac; in the next part from fol. 1 to 39a *Vita S. Wulurici anachoretae* by John, Abbot of Ford. On fol. 39b there is an abbreviated life of *St. Godric of Finchale*; this ends on fol. 85. John of Ford's Life is written in double columns: the condition of the MSS. is good; but there is no indication of its origin. The date is rather before than after the year 1200.

The third manuscript forms part of the Cotton Collection in the British Museum and is catalogued as Faustina B IV. The first thirty-nine pages are taken up with the Passions of SS. Alban and Amphibalus, the miracles of the former and the

¹ So Dr. M. R. James.

² *The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich*, by Augustus Jessop, D.D., and Montague Rhodes James, Litt.D., Cambridge, 1896.
³ p. li.

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invention of the latter. On fol. 63a is the *Vita S. Wlfrici, anachoretae Haselbergiae*; *edita a Ven. Abbe Joh. de Forda, qui praefixit duas epistolae ad Bartholomaeum (Iscaenum) episcopum Exoniensem, et alterum ad Baldewinum Archiep. Cantuar.* The Life is finished on fol. 122 and the remainder of the pages up to 196 are filled up with a miscellaneous collection of thirteen MSS. which it would be wearisome and unnecessary to enumerate: they will be found in detail in the Cotton Catalogue. The Life of St. Wulfric is written in double columns in a very legible hand; in a few places a second hand has written an inconsiderable number of lines. The name of the scribe was Hamo, a monk of St. Mary's, Woburn, a Cistercian monastery. At the time of its confiscation it formed part of the library of the Cistercian monastery at Holm Cultram in Cumberland, founded by David I, King of Scotland, in 1151; but the last few pages from fol. 178 to fol. 196 belonged to the Cistercian abbey of Byland in Yorkshire and were written at a later date. Hardy¹ considers that it was copied in the latter part of the twelfth century, and examination of the MS. tends to confirm the view that the date is previous to the year 1200.

The fourth manuscript is also in the British Museum and is No. 322 of the Harleian Collection. It is a small quarto volume dating from the first part of the thirteenth century,² and in it there are fourteen items, of which numbers ten, eleven and twelve are:

10. *Epistola Dñi Johannis Prioris, postea Abbatis, de Forda, ad venerabilem Exoniensem Ep̄m Dñm Bartholomaeum de S. Wilfrico Anachoreta.* fol. 104b.

11. *Epistola ejusdem ad Baldewinum Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum de eodem Sancto.* 105b.

12. *Vita et miracula B. Wlfrici Anachoretae Haselbergiae, 3 libris edita a Venerabili Johanne Abbe de Forda.* 106b to 147b.

It may be noted that number 8 in this folio is the same life of St. Godric of Finchale as that which occurs in MS. Cambr.

¹ Catalogue (Rolls Series), ii, 267.

² ibid.

Addit. 3037. The other items will be found in detail in the Harleian Catalogue.¹ The Life by John of Ford is written in single columns. There is no evidence as to its origin.

The text of the Life which follows is that of the Eton MS., which has been chosen for two reasons. First, the Cambridge MS. omits several pages ; Faustina is at one or two points, notably in Chapter 25, altogether corrupt ; the Harleian MS. is inaccurate and agrees substantially with the unsatisfactory Faustina. Secondly, E. is in agreement with C. all through, particularly with regard to unusual expressions (e.g. *hominium* in Chapter 17 is *homagium* in Harleian and *dominium* in Faustina). If in one or two cases E. has been deserted in the text which follows, for a more correct reading the fact is noted in the apparatus.

The connection between E. and C. clearly shows a family resemblance, just as that between Faustina and Harleian postulates another. In E. and C., for example, Chapter 38 has a new paragraph or capital at the word *Verum*, while the other two MSS. make no break in the text. In the same way in Chapter 50 the word *Haec* begins a new paragraph in E. while there is a rubricoled initial in C. ; but there is no break in the other two.

The connection between F. and H. can be observed in the apparatus ; these two are nearly always in agreement against E. and C. Particularly is this noticeable where a synonym is employed in both. Two examples will put the case for a common source very strongly. Chapter 29 begins in E. and C. with the words : *Fuit scriptor idem . . .* ; in the others this becomes *Idem Ricardus scriptor . . .* : again, in Chapter 58 both F. and H. make the same natural and obvious mistake in reading *edendo* for *cedendo*.

Although, as we have said, C. generally supports E., there is a number of agreements with H. They are numerous enough to make it impossible to see more than a common family resemblance between E. and C.

The characteristics of F. are a general use of synonyms ;

¹ Vol. i, p. 198.

an enormous number of omissions, most of them unimportant ; a strange trick of omitting the words *Deus* or *homo* and a quantity of phrases which in this manuscript alone are completely without meaning. Hamo the scribe did not have a satisfactory original ; for example at the end of Chapter 22 where the others read : *dans metuentibus Domini significacionem*, he was unable to make out the last word and wrote *sanguinem*, above which the correction *yimaginem* has been written in.

The writer of Harleian 322 also had a poor original which would explain his *petere et* for *praeterea* : but he was careless, whole sentences are left out. In passing from original to parchment and back again his eye often catches a similar word further along the line, with the result that he telescopes words and sentences. In Chapter 49, for example, he makes *aedificavit fidem* into *aedifidem*. About this point a new writer took his place and the whole MS. is in two or three hands. The latter part is more accurate. There are constant omissions and small ungrammatical changes which incline one to regard the work of the first scribe as distinctly poor.

It will have been noticed that E. C. and F. were all written about the year 1200 within the lifetime of the writer. The great number of variations proves a considerable number of copies within a short period, and this attests the popularity of the work.

As this is a collation of four MSS. it was not considered advisable to reproduce the original spelling because of the number and variety of the word forms. The modern Latin standard spelling of Lewis and Short's Dictionary has everywhere been adopted. All variants have been given in the apparatus with the single exception of the name Wulfricus, since it would have been wearisome for the reader to be faced with a variety of spellings of the name of the subject of the biography : Wulricus, uulricus, Wulricus, Wilfricus and Wlfricus all occur indifferently.¹ The chapter headings have been inserted as in E. with the exception of that of Chapter 34

¹ See note to Letter 1 on this name.

which has been added from F. and H. The only MS. to number the chapters is H., where they are arranged in such a way that each of the three books begins with a Chapter 1. It was considered to be more convenient to number them consecutively with Arabic numerals as the division into three books is purely arbitrary.

It may be asked why there is no translation? Our aim has been to produce an *editio princeps* of the Latin text with an *apparatus criticus* which shall be of use to those who make a historical or hagiographical study of such works. To add a translation was considered to be unnecessary and imprudent. This text is primarily a record and has therefore been left in its original form for the convenience of scholars.

In the notes after the text will be found certain references to Holy Scripture: in nearly all cases these references are to explicit quotations in the Life. It would have been useless to attempt to insert all the references which occur implicitly, as the text is largely made up of scriptural expressions. The longer notes represent an attempt to explain places and persons or obscure passages, and for these the Editor takes the entire responsibility. All Biblical references are to the text of the Vulgate.

DE VITA BEATI WULFRICI
ANACHORETAE HASELBERGIAE
EDITA A VENERABILI ABBATE JOHANNE
DE FORDA

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APPARATUS CRITICUS

- E. Eton Codex, 109.
- C. Cambridge Additional MS. 3037.
- F. Cotton Faustina B iv. (British Museum.)
- H. Harleian, 322. (British Museum.)

INCIPIT¹ PROLOGUS VENERABILIS JOHANNIS
PRIORIS DE FORDA AD DOMNUM BARTHOLO-
MAEUM EXONIENSEM EPISCOPUM IN VITA BEATI
WULFRICI ANACHORETAE

Reverendo² patri et domino Bartholomaeo³ Dei gratia Exoniensi⁴ episcopo, frater Johannes,⁵ pauper Christi de Forda, ipsius autem ex adoptionis⁶ gratia filius, dierum bonorum consummationem beatam. Consilium vestrum et beneplacitum, venerande pater, in vitam beati Wulfrici ad Dei gloriam profectumque fidelium ascribendam,⁷ Dei profecto creditur esse responsum. Ex ea nimirum fidei regula qua dicenti credimus quoniam ipse est⁸ principium qui et loquitur nobis, omnium scilicet piarum voluntatum principia profectusque et exitus felices nobis in verbo gratiae suae dignanter infundens. Et quidem vir ille bene meruit de hoc mundo in operatione virtutum, in beneficio curationum, in verbo salutis, in revelatione mysteriorum Dei, et quod his excellentius est,⁹ in praecipuae sanctitatis exemplo ; et in his omnibus debitor ejus est mundus usque adhuc. Et tamen quod non sine gemitu piorum viscerum excipiendum est, cum heri fuerit nobiscum, sic fere est hodie quasi non fuerit ; et tam beati viri tam venerabile nomen

¹ Incipit] Domino Exoniensi Episcopo., C : Incipit epistola de vita sancti Wulfrici domino Exoniensi Episcopo., F : Epistola domini Johannis prioris postea abbatis de Forda ad venerabilem Exoniensem episcopum dominum Bartholomaeum., H.

² Reverendo] Venerando., H. ³ Bartholomaco] B., C F.

⁴ Dei gratia Exoniensi] om. F. ⁵ Johannes] J., F.

⁶ adoptionis] adoptionis., C H.

⁷ ascribendam] conscribendam., C : scribendam., F H.

⁸ est] om. F. ⁹ quod . . . est] q. est h. exc., H.

velut suis cineribus consepultum sepulcri titulo hactenus caret. Sed quid ad eum de his? Ipse et enim memoria contentus aeterna quam procul est a¹ miseria nostra, tam super hanc gloriam nostram est; quippe cui adhuc peregrinanti² apud nos mundus cum omni gloria subjectus erat sub pedibus ejus. Quanto magis³ quae tunc conculcavit non revertetur tollere; et quae tunc destruxit jam non aedificabit. Inebriatus torrente voluptatis aeternae bonorum mendicitatis nostrae hujus non eget, nec aquam nostram sitiet ultra ad mensam illam magnam nuptiarum agni recumbens; magis autem cum plenus sit spes est eum superabundare nobis et supereffluere in supplementum inopiae nostrae. Verumtamen vos benefeceritis absolventes ecclesiam et pro ea⁴ solventes pensionem quandam gloriae Deo pro sancto suo; quoniam omnino sic decet Deum glorificari in sanctis suis;⁵ et ecclesiae ne sit ingrata expedit Deum in sanctis suis glorificare. Ceterum quia res magna est et non licet juvenili levitate tantum tractari negotium; ad dominum Wigorniensem et dominum Bathoniensem⁶ rem referendam esse decrevistis. Prudenter omnino et sobrie id fuit dispensatum; sed gravitas haec vestra gravis est mihi et dispensatio haec veritati quidem militat; sed contra me. Quid enim? Nonne hi incliti in ecclesia et judices mei isti, judices sunt hujus orbis nostri? Nonne cum venero ad tribunal trinae hujus potestatis et intenderint ipsi et universa ecclesia quae cum ipsis est in os meum, ab immensitate luminis hujus lumen quod in me est tenebrae fient; ut non solum obmutescere sed et⁷ desipere⁸ necesse sit? Verumtamen et sic sum habens fiduciam in Deo loricati mei in Domino Deo meo⁹ exercituum; et in conspectu regum horum loquens de testimonii veritatis non confundar, sciens quis¹⁰ dixerit veritas liberabit vos. Potens est Deus cui servio in sancto suo judices hos in advocationes et testes commutare, ut in ore trium testium

¹ a] om. F.² peregrinanti] peregrinati., H.³ magis] om. H.⁴ ea] eo., H.⁵ suis] om. F.⁶ Bathoniensem] Add. episcopos., F.⁷ et] om. F.⁸ desipere] decipere., H.⁹ meo] om. C H.¹⁰ quis] qui., F.

horum stet omne verbum de Wulfrico meo ; immo non stet sed velociter currat etiam usque ad ultimum terrae. Quis mihi det ¹ audire quia portent hi pium nomen hoc coram regibus et gentibus et filiis Israel dentque illud in juramentum electis Dei ? Quam laetis oculis videbo si quando videre contigerit montem hunc modicum parvulum Jesu ² Christi praeparatum in vertice trium montium istorum ³ sublimium ut adoretur Dominus in monte sancto suo et exaudiat de eo. Interim autem uti mihi videor ⁴ prudentiori consilio si uni judicium istorum qui estis vos causam meam formandam tradidero ; maxime autem cum opus hoc vestrum sit, vestra voluntate susceptum, vestra castigatione consummatum, vestro titulo insignitum, vestra auctoritate signatum. Quis vestro nomini dubitat ⁵ applicare ; immo quis vobis audeat tollere quod tam multiplici jure vestrum est ? Accipite itaque non mea sed vestra, immo Christi et omnium qui sunt in Christo communia ; et secundum legem illam libertatis et aequitatis vestrae qua in causis ⁶ aliis uti consuevistis, etiam ista dijudicate. Judicem incorruptissimum de omni etiam otioso verbo volo vos exigere rationem. Ita ⁷ non parcat oculus ⁸ vester nunc neque misereatur, ut misericordiam consequatur in die judicii hujus quod imminet ; judicii videlicet filiorum hominum. Nam de gloria quidem quantulam mihi pro tantillo labore ⁹ sperare licebit nolo ut mecum agatur in die hac ; cum silentio magis praestolari eam in illum diem bonum est mihi. Denique ei in quo reposita est merces omnis piorum operum commendo parvulum hoc depositum meum ; ne forte spiritus vanitatis exsufflet illud et gloriam meam in pulverem deducat. Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi cum omnibus qui pie audierint haec. Valete. *Explicit prologus*:¹⁰

¹ det] om. H.² Jesu] hunc., F.³ istorum] horum., F H.⁴ mihi videor] v. m., F.⁵ dubitat] dubitet., F H.⁶ causis aliis] a. c., F.⁷ Ita] Itaque., F.⁸ oculus] Ita C : oculis., E F H, sed minus recte.⁹ labore] laboris., F.¹⁰ prologus] epistola., C F H.

INCIPIT¹ ALIUS AD DOMNUM BALDEWINUM
CANTUARIENSEM ARCHIEPISCOPUM

Reverendissimo domino et patri in Christo carissimo Baldewino² Dei gratia Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, totius Angliae primati, frater Johannes,³ pauper Christi de Forde,⁴ spiritum consilii et fortitudinis. Opusculum de vita beati viri Wulfrici, editum prout desuper datum est atque emendatum, nulli rectius vel probandum destinare vel probatum consecrare quam nomini vestro me putem. Nullus rectius de eo⁵ judicabit seu judicio rationis seu auctoritate judicii. In quo me falsitatis naevum fugisse scio et propemodum effugisse confido, quatenus in rebus hujusmodi quae de fidelium hominum testimonio magis quam de virtute rationis fundamentum sui praestabant⁶ veritas sese moderari potuit et expendere. De fructu proinde operis Deus arbiter pro beneplacito suo providebit. Nam primam intentionem de pietate ejus piam nimirum atque sinceram accepisse me credo, Deum⁷ videlicet glorificare, aedificare ecclesiam et sanctum suum qui ei fere exciderat tamquam mortuus a corde labiis et dentibus ejus ruminandum offerre. Quis sane nisi a pietate omnino desciscens⁸ sine admiratione et gemitu audiat virum tantum, qui in diebus suis ecclesiae Dei fuit in nomen et gloriam, in signum et in exemplum, ab hominum jam fere obsoleuisse⁹ memoria;

¹ Incipit] Domino Cantuariensi., C H : Item alia domino Cantuariensi episcopo., F.

² Baldewino] B., C.

³ Johannes] J., C.

⁴ Forde] Forda., C F H.

⁵ Nullus . . . eo] n. d. e. r., H.

⁶ sui praestabant] p. s., F: om. *sui*, H.

⁷ Deum] Domini., F.

⁸ desciscens] descendens., F.

⁹ obsoleuisse] Ita C F H : absoleuisse., E, sed minus recte.

et sacrum illud caput tantarum virtutum¹ vas inglorium usque ad haec tempora, et ad plebeiam conditionem expositum in ignobili obdormisse pulvere?² Quae res etsi me diu multumque moveret, et tam invidiosum silentium rumpere pietas cum gemitu submurmurans instigaret, continui tamen zelantes impetus istos donec voluntas imperio et auctoritate pietas firmaretur. Consultus ergo a domino abbatte, scilicet piae memoriae, Exoniae³ episcopus voluntatem non solum probavit sed et⁴ accedit et instruxit; seque emendando operi supremam manum impositurum repromisit; sicque postremo ad vestrum cuncta relaturum examen. Sed vir ille victurus in⁵ saecula, priusquam res juxta condictum consummari posset, humanis rebus exemptus est. Ceterum vos supervivitis cui debitum a pio patre impositum non solvere omnino non licet. Quamquam excellentiori et feliciori ratione res ipsa ultro nomen vestrum invocat; immo et nescio se vestro susternit honori, eo quod dispensante Domino ad thesauros vestros pertineat quicquid habet ecclesia Anglicana virtutis et gratiae. Omnis gloria ejus filiae regis, sive intus ardeat Deo, sive foris luceat⁶ mundo, gloria vestra est, dummodo in Domino gloriemini et vos. Sive beatissimus Thomas recens scilicet⁷ purpura et de ipsis canalibus nuper extracta; sive beatus Willelmus Eboracensis inclitus et ipse in finibus suis; sive beati Wulfricus et Godricus pia videlicet nomina et suae simplicitatis titulo pretiosa, omnia vestra sunt, vos autem Christi. Habet praesens aetas quo se non mediocriter consoletur; habet velamen quod nuditati suae praetendit,⁸ ne abundantius⁹ confundatur in facie generationis praeteritae, in oculis patrum antiquorum; quia benedicente Deo nec dies nostri vacui nec terra nostra infructuosa est. Parum dixi: habemus quo non modice gloriemur cum patribus nostris, quia et ecce apud nos germen Domini est in magnificentia et gloria, et fructus terrae sublimis. In

¹ virtutum] Add. *velut.*, F. ² i. i. o. p.] i. i. p. o., C F H.

³ Exoniae episcopus] ep. Ex., F. ⁴ ct] om. F.

⁵ in] om. H.

⁶ luceat Add. *in.*, H.

⁷ scilicet] saeculo., F.

⁸ praetendit] *praetendi(a)t.*, F.

⁹ abundantius] abundanti., F.

hac inquam sicut et in illa die stillant montes dulcedinem ; utinam sint et convalles ¹ quæ excipient, utinam ² inveniantur quos ad felicissimas stillas ³ in diebus nostris et in finibus nostris de montibus aeternis manantes os aperire non taedeat. Alioquin si cuius anima nauseat super verbo veritatis ; si quis fastuosus et fastidiosus manna fastidire, sancta profanare, margaritas et favos mellis impune conculcare se credit, etiam me tacente habet qui judicet eum. Adversum quod hominum molestissimum genus vestrae protectionis umbram interpellare, vel ut verbis meis pondus terroris addam appellare compellor, ne ⁴ sacra pignora quae vobis praesento et apud vos si placet depono, temerare, confundere et de honestare praesumant. Non solum autem sed et vos ipsi reverentia et honore quo ipsa ⁵ decet et vos non dedecet oblata suscipite, suscepta amplexamini ⁶ et quasi fasciculum aromaticum myrrhae in sinu vestro recondite. Postremo ⁷ siquid retractandum erit, libero et incorrupto castigetur examine. Bene mecum agi profitebor si judicium meum de vultu vestro prodire contigerit, si haec qualiacumque nostra vestrae correptionis et correctionis limam sentire meruerint. Quamquam ego superflue de cetero sata-gam de his, cum haec non mea ex hoc sed vestra, et creditae vobis ecclesiae causa sit. Ego plane quod meum erat feci vestra resignans vobis, vos amodo de vestris prout libuerit, immo prout data vobis a Deo sapientia dictaverit, ordinate. Valeat in Domino sancta paternitas vestra.

Explicit prologus.⁸

¹ convalles] canales., F.

² utinam] vanam., F.

³ stillas] stellas., H.

⁴ ne] nec., F.

⁵ quo ipsa] qua (om. ipsa)., H.

⁶ amplexamini] ampleximini., F.

⁷ Postremo] Porro., F.

⁸ prologus] epistola., F : om. C. : Explicant epistolae., H.

INCIPIT VITA BEATI ¹ WULFRICI ANACHORETAE
HASELBERGIAE ² EDITA A VENERABILI
JOHANNE PRIORE ³ DE FORDA

I. DE VOCATIONE EJUS ⁴ ET CONVERSIONE ⁵

Beatus Wulfricus de mediocri Anglorum gente originem ducens et in ⁶ Contona qui est viculus octo a Bristollo distans milibus natus ⁷ alitus et conversatus est, ubi et sacerdotis officium per annos aliquot administravit. Quam ordinationem adolescens adhuc et multum infra aetatem juvenili potius levitate quam spirituali desiderio creditur anticipasse, quippe qui necdum cognoscebat Dominum et carne magis quam spiritu agebatur.⁸ Nam canum et avium venationibus presbyter non abstinuit et inter mundanae vanitatis captivos tempus suaे vocationis ⁹ exspectavit. Sed haec captivitas in brevi aspirante Dei gratia soluta est. Quadam namque die, dum de hujus ¹⁰ generis exercitio quiddam haberet in manibus et huic insaniae cui manus dederat non segniter militaret, affuit vir ex insperato vultum et habitum perferens pauperis qui et ab eo novum ¹¹ nummum in eleemosynam suppplex expetiit. Habebat autem tunc temporis in ¹² Anglia nummum novum in diebus Henrici regis primi, sed rarum adhuc prae novitate numismatis. Cui cum ille ¹³ nescire se diceret si

¹ Beati] sancti., F.

² Haselbergiae] Haselberiae., C.

³ Johanne priore] abbate Johanne., F : Johanne Abbate., H.

⁴ ejus] beati Wulfrici., H. ⁵ conversione] conversatione., F.

⁶ in] om. F.

⁷ natus] om. H.

⁸ agebatur] agebat., H.

⁹ suaे vocationis] v. s., C.

¹⁰ hujus] ejus., F.

¹¹ novum] om. F.

¹² in] om. C H.

¹³ Cui cum ille] c. i. cum., F.

nummum novum p^raef manibus haberet : ‘ Respice,’ ait, ‘ in marsupium tuum et duos in eo et semis¹ invenies.’ Quo ille responso obstupescens inspexit loculum suum et ita ut dictum erat inveniens, quod petebatur devotus obtulit. Hoc initium gratiae Dei in dilectum suum Wulfricum p^raevenientis eum in benedictionibus dulcedinis suae, qui velut alter Nathanael sub ficu visus et agnitus est. Nec immerito is angelus domini fuisse credendus est,² novum hominem significans et expetens simul in nummo novo. Nam et ipse haec ipsa postea referens ita³ dicere solebat : ‘ Homo,’ inquit,⁴ ‘ videbatur sed homo non erat.’ Denique cum nummum quem petierat ille accepisset, quid ipse petiisset vel quid ille dedisset aperuit dicens : ‘ Retribuat tibi is pro cuius amore haec fecisti. Et ego in ejus nomine pronuntio⁵ tibi quia ex⁶ hoc loco in brevi ad alium locum migraturus es, et ex hoc ipso itidem ad alium post modicum transitum facies ; ubi et requiem tandem inventurus es et in artioris loci habitaculo Deo perseveraturus in finem ; et sic postremo ad sanctorum vocandus consortium.’ Haec autem facta sunt in villa quae Diverellis nuncupatur ; ubi et primum sacerdotii sui munus implevit sanctus Dei, usque nunc dumtaxat in praedestinationem,⁷ sed ex hoc jam etiam vocatus sanctus. Proinde qui vocavit eum Deus inspiravit in faciem ejus spiraculum vitae et modis atque profectibus quibus ipse novit novam creaturam formans ad odium iniquitatis, ad contemptum vanitatis, ad amorem veri et summi boni sensim inflammavit ; deinde post paululum ad locum nativitatis suae in opus sacerdotale accersitus domino villae ejusdem, viro videlicet venerabili Willelmo, familiariter adhaesit et in mensa ejus jugiter panem⁸ comedebat. Ubi etiam, ut hi qui de domo illa supersunt testantur usque nunc, multa fortitudine accinxit lumbos suos et, esu carnium prorsus abdicato quatenus

¹ in eo et semis] e. s. i. eo., F H. ² credendus est] om. H.

³ ita. d. s. H. q. videbatur] om. H.

⁴ inquit] quidem., F.

⁵ pronuntio] praenuntio., H.

⁶ ex] om. H.

⁷ praedestinationem] praedestinatione., C H.

⁸ jugiter panem] om. F.

conviventium reverentia non retardabat quibus in nonnullis¹ morem gerere cogebatur, abstinentiae² sanctimoniam totis viribus apprehendit. Adeo lux orta in tenebris, de tenebris ipsis scintillabat et de futura in Christo plenitudine, jam tunc florida sanctitatis auspicia prophetabant. Sic vir beatus toto jam corde solitudinem spirans et sanctimoniam, haec ipsa sibi in ipsa aula et inter solemnes epulas eo mirabilius quo difficultius vindicabat; et in brevi egressurus Aegyptum jam tunc accingebat renes, carnesque agni dico autem sanctitatem et innocentiam etiam in Aegypto comedebat. Inter haec velut in utero habens jugiter anxiabatur ut pareret id quod olim conceperat de Spiritu Sancto; et quod ad altiora conantibus molestissimas moras solet innectere, de genere professionis haesitavit ubi potissimum poneret pullos suos; sed in hoc quoque adjuvit et eruditivit eum Dominus³ consilioque et ministerio militis supradicti ad aliam villam ejus Haselbargiam⁴ nomine quae ab Exonia orientem versus triginta milibus distat, Spiritu Sancto docente et ducente demigravit. Ubi in cellula ecclesiae contigua quae aliquanto tempore vacaverat, nulla ut assolet episcopi introductione, nulla benedictionis solemnitate, sed familiari Spiritus Sancti auctoritate, Christo se⁵ consepelivit; ⁶ in quandam post modicum resurrectionis gloriam cum eo demutandus, in novitate vitae, in hilaritate spiritus, in virtute signorum, in gratia prophetali; sed ad haec multo labore sudatum est, multa carnis et spiritus afflictione, Dei gratia praeeunte, perventum.

2. DE GRATIA INTERIORIS HOMINIS⁷

Itaque vir Dei in petram ingressus a facie Domini et a gloria majestatis ejus coepit interiorem sibi solitudinem aedicare; et in absconditum faciei Domini velut in ulteriorem

¹ nonnullis] nullis non., C.

² abstinentiae] Add. *sanctitatem.*, H.

³ adjuvit e. er. e. Dominus] a. e. Dñs et er., F.

⁴ Haselbargiam] Heselbergiam., C F : Haselbergiam., H.

⁵ se] om. H.

⁷ *De g. i. hominis]* om. C.

⁶ consepelivit] Add. H et.

solitudinem¹ se extendens penetrare et Spiritum Sanctum toto ore attrahere, totis haurire medullis. Alioquin corpus tantum carceralibus angustiis damnasce anima foris remanente ut non nullis moris est miserabilis insania est, et Judaeorum haec solitudo est umbra et non veritas. Non sic beatus Wulfricus non sic, sed summam latitudinem se in his angustiis invenisse arbitratus coepit eo liberius quo secretius agere conceptiones suas, caelestia concupiscere, spiritualia aemulari et in lege Dei meditari die ac nocte. Nec defuit vero solitario verum manna de caelo quod parabat in dulcedine sua et in abundantia sua pluebat pauperi suo Deus; quia cum Dominum quaereret in veritate fidelem quoque meruit invenire sicut est veritas in Jesu et quae sit centupli reppromissio et aqua saliens in vitam eternam, Spiritu Sancto interpretante et testimonium perhibente veritati tam feliciter quam fideliter probavit. Dedit etiam Dominus sancto suo fidei donum electum in qua omnia tela² nequissimi ignea extingueret, pro eo quod creditus erat cum Deo spiritus ejus, fideliter respiciens ad eum et fiducialiter innitens super eum in quisbuslibet necessitatibus suis et speciali quodam et mutuo³ caritatis affectu, Dominum Deum vocabat patria lingua dominum suum. Quam fidei⁴ puritatem sancta quaedam et sincera simplicitas nobilitabat et velut inaurabat, quae quidem de utero matris egressa est cum eo, sed⁵ sanctificante Spiritu Sancto donum naturae factum est donum gratiae. Sic in fidei⁶ et lenitate ipsius sanctum fecit illum Dominus, ut fidei magnificentiam humilitas insitae simplicitatis temperaret et in donatione gratiarum una fulciretur ab altera, una absconderetur et conservaretur in⁷ altera. Haec de interioris hominis habitu quatenus velut per foramen⁸ introspicere licet in sancta sanctorum tetigerim potius quam absolverim, cetera illi laudatori reliquens quem non latet quicquid etiam intrinsecus latet et cui nec⁹ capillus de capite

¹ solitudinem se extendens] se ext. sol., F.

² tela] om. F.

³ mutuo] intim., C.

⁴ fidei] fidei., H.

⁵ sed] om. F H.

⁶ fidei] fidei., C F.

⁷ in] ab., F H.

⁸ per foramen] perforatum., H.

⁹ nec] non (ante perit)., F.

sponsae suae perit qui non debitam de ore ejus laudem percipiat. Nostri proinde obsequii haec portio est si tamen vel etiam ea ¹ dignus inveniar solvere corrigiam calceamentorum ejus, immo vero ut quam pulchri fuerint in calceamentis gressus filiae principis, hoc est in exterioris hominis formula quae fuerint primordia et qui progressus digne mirari, fideliter enarrare.

3. DE INITIIS CONVERSATIONIS EJUS ET ABSTINENTIAE RIGORE

Igitur beatus Wulfricus campum militiae liberioris ingressus fiducialiter agere coepit in Deo suo et eum qui felicibus studiis adversari ² quam promptum tam et exercitatum habet, intrepide exspectavit, immo et impigre suscitavit et viriliter ³ attemptavit ⁴ ad pugnam. Et primum quidem multo jejunio mortificabat membra sua quae erant super terram et ad expri mendam carnis munditiam sibique reconciliandum sanctimoniae decus omni abstinentiae et vigiliarum labore sudabat. Nam floridae aetatis honorem et non mediocrem, secundum hominem dico, carnis gloriam ita in brevi arefecit eo quod spiritus Domini sufflaret ⁵ in eo et haec omnia exsufflaret, ut pellis vix ossibus haerens non jam carnalem carne nimirum ⁶ absumpta, sed spiritualem etiam in ipso corpore virum exhiberet. Denique erat ei pro cibo delicatori panis avenaceus et pulmentum itidem de avena factum licet horum etiam temperantis simus gustabat magis quam comedebat, adeo ut puer ejus haec se ut apposuerat illibata plerumque reportare assereret. Vinum et siceram atque cervisiam sed et omne quod inebriare potest velut unus ex Nazareis Domini tangere non acquievit nisi in praecipuis dumtaxat solemnitatibus in quibus vinum si offeretur gustare solebat ad reverentiam scilicet solemnitatis magis quam ad refocillationem ⁷ carnis. Porro ne natura in his deficeret, immo ut in longa defectione velut in quadam cruce diu penderet, genus liquoris quod nostri bersisam vocant in potum sumebat,⁸

¹ etiam ea] in eam., C H.

² adversari] F add. solet.

³ et viriliter] v. e., C.

⁴ attemptavit] i.e. attentavit.

⁵ sufflaret] suffia (vit.), F.

⁶ nimirum] nimium., F.

⁷ refocillationem] focillationem., H.

⁸ sumebat] sumebant., C.

ne Wulfrici vel simplicatas vel aemulatio quarum utraque seductioni proxima est et ipse potentissimus in utraque eaque perfectorum est, solidus cibus discretione vacasse credatur.

4. DE VIGILIIS¹ ET LECTO

Vigiliarum vero tam pervigil et indefessa assiduitas erat, ut sicut curiosos exploratores non latuit et ipse familiariter requisitus quibusdam amicissimis suis simpliciter confessus est insomnes prorsus² duceret³ noctes nisi cum naturalis interdum infirmitas ad modicam dormitionem hominem perurgebat. Quem somni gustum non lecto quidem sed capite ad parietem reclinato vel cubito gradui altaris innitente non tam capiebat quam incipiebat vel delibabat; et continuo, velut ad injuriam factam evigilans, eo fortior quo recentior, ad consueta redibat. Alias autem in die pro⁴ refectionem naturae quod suum erat in hac parte solvebat modestissime quidem et ut in pensionibus fieri consuevit in pondere atque mensura. Quem somnum lecto videlicet excipiebat; sed lectus ille locus tormentorum magis quam quietis, baculis intertextus in modum craticulae erat, ipso nimirum artifice operis sui qui et carnifex erat corporis sui. Quam distinctionem ad mandatum Roberti piae memoriae Bathoniensis episcopi, castigatis jam sensibus et in senium vergens⁵ aliquatenus mitigavit; ut ne oboedientiae bonum spirituale⁶ vir aut ignorasse credatur aut non satis probasse quam⁷ melior sit ipsa quam victimae. Cervical quoque de faeni funibus intextum⁸ capiti supponere consuevit. Quam tamen indulgentiae remissionem idem episcopus non tam impetravit quam per oboedientiae virtutem extorsit.

5. DE ASPERITATE VESTIS⁹ ET BALNEARUM¹⁰

Proinde vestitu simplici cilicio interius inhaerere¹¹ contentus erat. Ad cuius usum cum ex consuetudine duruis-

¹ vigiliis] H add. *ejus.*² prorsus] om. F.³ duceret] produceret, H.⁴ pro] post., C H.⁵ vergens aliquatenus] a. v., F H.⁶ spirituale] spiritualis., F.⁷ quam] quod., H.⁸ intextum] contextum., F H.⁹ vestis] vestitus., H.¹⁰ balnearum] F H add. *usu.*¹¹ inhaerere] inhaerente., C H.

set¹ intra paucos dies loricam coepit affectare. Cujus desiderii praefatus² miles conscient effectus³ beati viri audacibus votis reverenter occurrit, sperans se tantae militiae futurum participantem qui militanti⁴ arma ministrasset. Suam igitur loricam velut potiori militi cessit et vas bellicum caelesti tirocinio consecravit. Procedit itaque miles loricatus ad spirituale certamen terribilis nimirum futurus⁵ hostibus suis qui arma carnalia convertisset in arma justitiae; et haec armatura militiae diurnae. At vero noctibus in frigore et nuditate in vas quoddam frigida aqua infusum⁶ descendebat in quo et Daviticos psalmos ex integro velut Christi puerulus Domino offerre consuevit, in tympano et psalterio psallens ei. Sic in quoddam innocentiae non ignobile decus sub novi baptismatis sacramento reflorescebat et quasi una tonsarum quae ascenderunt⁷ de lavacro lacte candidior emergebat de aquis. Resumebat continuo nobile illud⁸ cilicum suum sed nobiliorem omnino loricam illam⁹ suam, et in hymnis et orationibus cum crebris genuflexionibus quod reliquum erat vigilarum devotus et alacer expendebat. In hac disciplinae austeritate vehemens aemulator vigore et rigore infatigabili aliquanto tempore perseveravit, et incentiva carnis cuius acerrimos stimulos patiebatur, in aquis vehementibus¹⁰ mortificavit.

6. DE MORSU DIABOLI IN SERPENTE

In hunc modum dum dura ut inferus aemulatio fortiter magis quam prudenter pro castitate zelaret milvus in caelo cognovit tempus suum et virum Dei ut temptaret et expetiit et accepit. Quadam enim nocte dum ex more de aqua ascenderet, manu aquam excutiens, serpentem a femore dependentem invenit. Expavit ilico vir sanctus et nihil¹¹ moratus violenter arreptum in humum excussit, eumque diligentius ad lumen lucernae

¹ duruisset] induruisset., F H. ² praefatus] praedictus., H.

³ conscient effectus] e. c., F. ⁴ militanti] militandi., F.

⁵ futurus] F add. *in.* ⁶ aqua infusum] i. a., F H.

⁷ ascenderunt] ascendit., H. ⁸ nobile illud] i. n., F.

⁹ loricam illam] i. l., F.

¹⁰ vehementibus] vehementissimis., C. ¹¹ nihil] nil., F H.

intuitus capite detruncatum aspexit et se piae stupore rei¹ gestae mox in extasim solvit. A qua exsuscitatus venenum omne quod tabidus ille anguis infuderat multum eluctatus evomuit, et infecti vulneris curam agens sanitati post modicum restitutus est. Verum quoad vixit memoriale hujus eventus habuit in carne sua et cicatrices vulnerum quibus se venenati dentes impresserant, velut quaedam passionis Christi stigmata et suae militiae insignia familiaribus suis ostentabat.² Itaque et aemulatio nimia ad lineam discretionis³ castigata est, et eam quam affectabat vir sanctus carnis puritatem de fidei virtute et gratia Dei potius quam de immoderata corporis exercitatione didicit esse sperandam. Igitur tam exquisiti tormenti genere caelitus⁴ absolutus caetera spiritualis exercitii jam liberius prosequebatur et prioris damna militiae pietatis quae ad omnia utilis est multo faenore recompensabat.

7. DE GRATIA ET LIBERTATE EJUS IN COLLOQUENDO

Proinde ut de ea in qua hominibus apparebat forma non sileam, evocatus ad sermocinandum cum multa gratia se exhibebat quasi sponsus procedens de thalamo suo et velut de pleni cellarii copiis proferebat verba spiritualia plena auctoritatis et gratiae. Et quidem divinarum litterarum non multam habens experientiam de illo sanctuario Dei pectori suo⁵ vivas reddebat voces, quippe quem unctio ejus docebat de omnibus. Sermones ejus velut panes⁶ de furno recenter⁷ extracti cum sua essent gratia et virtute potentes, caelestem quandam puritatem et simplicitatem⁸ jocundissimam redolebant in odorem suavitatis audientibus eos.⁹ Porro in colloquendo personas potentium nullatenus accipiebat, sed unumquemque puro nomine appellare contentus, magnorum nominum et praenominum titulis vel judicio vel simplicitate abstinebat.

¹ rei] om. H.

² ostentabat] ostendebat., F.

³ discretionis] post est., F H.

⁴ caelitus] divinitus., F H.

⁵ pectori suo] pectoris sui., F : pectore suo., H.

⁶ panes] panis., F.

⁷ recenter] recens., C F H.

⁸ puritatem et simplicitatem] et simplicem puritatem., F.

⁹ audientibus eos] post redolebant., F H.

Adeo solius Dei cultor et simplicitatis atque veritatis amatör homines adorare aut nolebat aut nesciebat, sed potentissimos proceres et reges ipsos ad eum venientes mendacis¹ vocabuli gloria spoliants tacite eis praedicabat quoniam homines sunt. Nec mediocris haec erat ad eos aedificationis occasio qui mundi successibus et adulacionum suffragiis supra modum onerati a veritatis amatore saltem ad horam² exhonerabantur et velut in speculo lucidissimo reddeabantur sibi. Denique potestates quascumque liberius arguebat adeo ut regem Stephanum ad eum venientem severius objurgavit, quia sine causa gladium portare visus sit, pro eo quod mollior et lenior aequo non fecerit judicium et justitiam in terra.

8. DE AEMULATIONE TACITURNITATIS

Sermonis quoque parcissimus potens erat in loquendo cohibere spiritum suum, et ori manum imponere; adeo ut ne religiosis quidem³ viris in longum daret copiam sui, sed paucis expedito negotio de⁴ quo fuerat interpellatus dum ad alia delabi sentiret collocutorem suum, fenestra clausa se in interiora cellulae sua recipiebat. Sic dum⁵ teneri putabatur aemulator solitudinis subito elabebatur e manibus et, ut in angelica visione fit, subito apparebat, subito et⁶ disparebat. In quo si inhumanior forte carnalibus visus est, a spiritualibus omnino ignoscendum est ei⁷ quem revocabat internus odor et sua illa sacra et secreta⁸ voluptas tam feliciter quam violenter trahebat. Denique haec non mirantur qui in cellaria regis introduci meruerunt, et sponsum pro sponsae⁹ quiete zelantem, satagentem et adjurantem audierunt. Evigilent magis ad tantae caritatis affectum in verbo Dei, ad tantae virtutis effectum in viro Dei, hi qui spirituali negotio se devoverunt, et faciem quam tantopere Christus zelat¹⁰ sibi non facile¹¹ diu humanis credant

¹ mendacis] mendaces., H.

² ad horam] om. F.

³ quidem] post *viris.*, F.

⁴ de] pro., F.

⁵ dum] cum., F.

⁶ et] om. F.

⁷ est ei] ei est., C: om. *est.*, H.

⁸ sacra et secreta] secreta et sacra., F.

⁹ sponsae] sponso., H.

¹⁰ zelat] zelabat., C.

¹¹ facile] F add. *non.*

aspectibus. Haec propter nonnullos nostri¹ similes interposuisse non poenitet, pro eo ut rarius et sollemnius procedere, et cum processerint modestius et reverentius se exhibere meminerint.

9. DE LORICAE INCISIONE

Inter haec amabilis Dei Wulfricus coepit mundo clarescere in ostentatione spiritus et virtutis; et soli hactenus Deo² notus, in notitiam hominum atque salutem quasi mane novum erupit. Manifestatus est autem sic: lorica qua se armaverat ad militandum Deo,³ cum se genibus ejus durius illideret et genuflexionum instantiam praepediret, militem advocat hujus scilicet militiae conscientiam atque ministrum, et apud eum de nimia loricae longitudine⁴ causatur. Ad quem miles, 'Mittetur,' inquit, 'Londonias et ad modulum quem designaveris ipse rescidetur.'⁵ Respondit vir Dei, 'Nimum tumultum et moram habet res ista quam dicis, insuper et ostentationis⁶ non potest carere periculo.' Ad quem miles secundo, 'Ecce,' inquit, 'Exonia prope est; illuc deferetur si jubes.' 'Non est,' inquit, 'necesse. Ipse potius forfices⁷ apprehende, et manu propria hoc opus jam nunc coram Deo aggredere.' Cumque ille ad haec obstupesceret et velut delirantem respiceret hominem, suborta divinitus cogitatione sibi ipse respondit: Wulfricum nec falli posse nec fallere velle.⁸ At vir sanctus nutantis hominis fidem roborans in verbis fidei qua ipse plurimum abundabat, forfices de domo ipsius militis allatas dedit in manu ejus filoque in anulos loricae inducto, quo finem recisionis significavit, ipsam in fenestra sua coram ipso exposuit. Illo adhuc haerente et p[re] novitate gerendorum intra semetipsum mussitante; quippe qui ad fortia nimis sibique insolita cogebatur mittere manum suam: 'Constans,' ait, 'esto et vide ne trepides. Ecce ego vado pro hac re orare Dominum meum; tu interim operi huic in fide incumbe.' Instat ergo⁹

¹ nostri] mei., F:

² Deo] om. F: post *soli.*, H.

³ Deo] Deum., H.

⁴ loricae longitudine] longitudine loricae., F H.

⁵ rescidetur] recidetur., F H. ⁶ ostentationis] ostentatione., F.

⁷ forfices] forcipes., F. ⁸ fallere velle] v. f., C.

⁹ ergo] om. H.

miles uterque, hic orationi, ille incisioni, et prosperatum est opus in manibus eorum. Putabat se homo non ferrum sed vestem incidere, tanta facilitate in ferro jam non ferreo forfices¹ cucurrerunt. Denique altero ab oratione sua ante operis expletionem cessante, alter quoque cessare coactus est ab incisione sua. Senserunt illico forfices orationis terminum in cuius virtute eatenus profecerant,² et militi ultra conanti respondere noluerunt. Cumque ille fortius anniteretur, rupatum est in manu ejus ferrum, licet non omnino diruptum. Astitit illico³ vir sanctus ab oratione regressus; qualiter ei res cesserit interrogat. ‘Bene,’ inquit, ‘hactenus, sed ecce te veniente ruptae forfices substiterunt.’ Et ille: ‘Non te,’ inquit,⁴ ‘hoc moveat sed eisdem forficibus in virtute fidei prioris coeptum opus absolve.’ Miles ergo resumpta fidei suae constantia in verbo virtutis, rem priori facilitate feliciter consumavit. Hoc fecit initium signorum beatus Wulfricus, ipsumque ad majorem virtutis Dei et fidei suae commendationem in manu hominis alterius.

10. DE ANULORUM LORICAE ABSOLUTIONE

Proinde cum res tanti signi ubique digno honore celebraretur, loricam hanc quam mirabili Dei caritatis aemulatione suscepérat,⁵ mirabili fidei virtute inciderat, non minori fide et simplicitate aliis ad se venientibus jam absque forficibus ad varia sanitatum remedia dividebat. Anulos namque ex anulis tanta spiritus sancti arte explicabat, ut in neutris aliquod laesionis vestigium appareret. Porro et in explicando labor omnino nullus vel mora, sed sicut in anulis integritas perseverabat, ita et in absolvendo mira quaëdam erat et divina⁶ facilitas. Denique ludenti similis⁷ in re⁸ tam seria et aliquid praestigiorum⁹ simile praeferens apparebat dum divina qua-

¹ forfices] forcipes., H.² profecerant] processerant., F H.³ illico] continuo., C H.⁴ inquit] ait., C H.⁵ mirabili D. c. a. suscepérat] om. H.⁶ et divina] om. F.⁷ similis] om. F.⁸ in re] inde., H.⁹ praestigiorum] praestigiarum., C.

dam violentia et spirituali plane furto, hos illis innocenter surripiebat. Et revera in digitis pueri sui dignanter ludebat coram patre suo sapientia Dei et simplicitati fidelium suorum familiariter alludebat quae in mysteriis fidei fide sola et pura didicit esse contenta. Postremo hujus signi tam familiaris erat consuetudo viro Dei, ut non tam ad manum ut dici solet sed potius in manu¹ et ipsis adhaerens manibus videretur, ita ut² jam prae nimio usu ipsius miraculi propemodum tolleret admirationem. Nec erat quod livor aut incredulitas in hac parte posset ullatenus calumniari; cum manifesta exhibitio ipsis oculis ingereret fidem, et cotidiana repetitio instauraret veritatem et virtutem astrueret. Sunt³ usque nunc anuli hi⁴ in manibus piorum passim per regionem istam, magni scilicet instar muneris⁵ atque ad testimonium et memoriam sanctitatis, seu etiam ad sanitatum compendia, sacrum et fidele depositum. Hactenus frater Willelmus hospitalis de Forda et dominus Walterus monachus Glastoniensis, ut alios omittam quos commemorare longum est, quamquam in incisione loricae et in aliis forte non nullis quidam variare videantur narrationem, circa ea dumtaxat quae videntur circumstare negotium. Sed ego ex longo veritatis scrutinio et fideliori ut credo testimonio probatae fidei et longaevae aetatis apprehendisse me puto veritatem. Quae autem sequuntur frater Joseph vir nihilominus fidelis atque longaevus viroque Dei quoad vixit familiarissimus⁶ retulit, quae⁷ viro venerabili Brictrico referente cognovit.

II. DE SOMNIO SIGNORUM PRAENOSTICO

In diebus illis vidit vir Dei visionem hujusmodi. Videbatur sibi ipse in vestibulo cellulae suaे residere, et vas plenum oleo manu tenere. Et ecce Jesus affuit cum sacro illo XII apostolorum⁸ comitatu, quorum princeps Petrus coepit eum

¹ manu] manus., H.

² ut] sicut., C.

³ Sunt] Sed., F.

⁴ hi] om. H.

⁵ instar muneris] m. i., F.

⁶ familiarissimus] familiaris., C.

⁷ quae] C H add. et.

⁸ apostolorum] F H add. suorum.

urgere dicens, ‘Ecce dominus adest ; surge, accelera et veni post nos.’ Qui continuo surgens dum p^raem^e nimio amore sequendi moras explicaret, immo et rumperet, vase quod tenebat elapo, oleum in vestimenta ejus et in terram effusum est. Hoc igitur somnium diu et multum ¹ mente versans, cum multis aperuisset nec esset qui dissolveret, affuit tandem Robertus quidam cognomento Pullus, qui postea dupli^c merito, doctrinae videlicet et vitae, urbis Romae Cancellarius factus, tanti nominis virtutem cum laude implevit. Hic itaque visioni praedictae interpretationem competenter subnexuit dicens, ‘Disposuit Deus locum istum gratia sanitatum et operatione virtutum per manus tuas glorificare et hoc est oleum de manu tua in locum istum et in vestem tuam effusum.’ Et quidem verum est somnium et vera ² interpretatio ejus, nam ex tunc facta est manus Domini super virum dexteræ sua^e, in sanitatis donandis, in ejiciendis daemonibus, in annuntiandis et praenuntiandis mysteriis Dei, et apostolicum per omnia virum, sic ³ gratia et sanctitate, sic et gloria signorum exhibuit. Igitur juxta vaticinium interpretis sui Spiritu Sancto quo intus ⁴ ac si pleno vase abundabat foris ⁵ perfusus est ; ut esset ⁶ jam Deo vocante oleum effusum nomen ejus. Cooperunt exinde ad eum confluere diversi sexus et meriti homines, non solum de finitimis ⁷ sed etiam de remotissimis ⁸ partibus, quos varia intentione seu gratia sanitatis seu reverentia sanctitatis adduxit. Non nullos ⁹ etiam prophetalis gratiae odor attraxit ut viderent, ut alloquerentur, ut loquentem audirent propheticⁱ spiritus virum et os Domini per eum interrogare et de gerendorum suorum ambiguis consultare veniebant. Interque omnia vir Deo plenus tanta humilitate et simplicitate subnixus stetit ut quod ipsis signis insignius est veritati solidius inhaerens, signa pro nihilo reputaret. Sane evangelicae humilitatis studiosus aemulator manus suas excutiebat ab omni munere

¹ multum] plurimum., F H.

² vera] post ejus., F.

³ sic] C add. et.

⁴ intus] intentus., C.

⁵ foris] F H. add. quoque.

⁶ esset] om. F.

⁷ finitimis] finitissimis., F.

⁸ sed e. d. remotissimis] om. H.

⁹ nullos] multo., H.

laudis humanae, et gratiam¹ quam per eum operabatur Deus experientibus ne cui dicerent districtius inhibebat. Sic² huic³ humilitati hoc modo occurrit glorificator humilium Deus.

12. DE DAEMONIACO SANATO ET AUCTORITATE LOQUENDI
VIRTUTES PROPRIAS⁴

Inter primos qui gratia recipiendae sanitatis advenerunt,⁵ daemoniacus quidam adductus est quem vir Dei dum missam celebraret retro statui jussit ut a facie sacrorum et ab⁶ auditione verborum potentium immundus spiritus exsufflaretur. Sed assistenti statim somnum suscitavit pervasor iniquus et improbus possessor, obturans nimirum in similitudinem aspidis surdae aures suas, quae non exaudiet vocem incantantium. Itaque rudis adhuc et in hujusmodi non-dum excercitati incantatoris nostri simplicitati⁷ hac impostura aliquotiens illusit donec tandem per exorcismi virtutem in nomine⁸ Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti conclusus abscessit. Porro ei qui liberatus est atque his qui eum deducebant,⁹ vel jam potius comitabantur, remeantibus in sua iterum iterumque imperavit ut super hoc verbo prorsus tacerent. Factum est autem, ingressis illis viam suam vir Dei somno divinitus corripitur, videtque¹⁰ personam vultu venerabilem assistentem¹¹ sibi atque dicentem: ‘Quid hoc facere voluisti, ut prohiberes hominibus illis enarrare opera Domini? Cave ne id ultra¹² feceris; sed virtutes Domini quas facturus est in manu tua et ipse confidenter loquere, et aliis ut loquantur injunge.’ Evigilans¹³ vir Dei caelesti visioni et jussioni oboedire non distulit; sed post illos statim misit puerum qui diceret, ‘De quibus mandavi vobis ne sileatis, sed gloriam Dei quam vidistis et experti estis passim in omnes praedicate.’ Ex hoc et dein-

¹ gratiam] gloriam., F.

² Sic] Sed., C.

³ huic] om. H.

⁴ virtutes proprias] p. v., F H.

⁵ Inter p. q. g. r. s. advenerunt] haec verba ultima capituli praecedentes scripsit C.

⁶ ab] om. F.

⁷ simplicitati] simplicitas., F.

⁸ in nomine] om. H.

⁹ deducebant] ducebant., F.

¹⁰ videtque] viditque., F H.

¹¹ assistentem] assidentem., F.

¹² id ultra] u. i., F.

¹³ Evigilans] C H add. ergo.

ceps vir Dei¹ quasi a Spiritu Sancto missus annuntiavit et locutus est, et² opera quae per eum faciebat Dominus, religiosis dumtaxat auribus eo libere quo humiliter enarrabat.

13. DE RADICATA ALTIUS HUMILITATE IN EO

Inter haec altius advertendum est quanta fuerit³ in conspectu Domini⁴ humilitas, quam ad tantum gloriae pondus non solum portandum verum etiam ad exponendum oculis et auribus hominum idoneam judicavit. Magna plane virtus virtutibus honestari; sed virtus virtutum est de virtute non infirmari et suis laudibus non premi, vel saltem non opprimi. Fortem omnino dicas⁵ mulierem inventam⁶ in qua tantopere confidat cor viri sui, ut tanta tam fortia fidei ejus crediderit, dispensationi tradiderit. Fortem⁷ plane cui in omni hac gloria a Spiritu Sancto persuasum est,⁸ non in his, non in se sed in Domino gloriari.⁹ Haec pro eo quod plerique mirantur virum sanctum in operibus propriis non habuisse silentium, cum haec¹⁰ non liceat¹¹ aut vix liceat homini loqui quia profecto non expedit, magnique periculi res sit, suis non abstinere praeconii. Sed qui ejusmodi¹² sunt forte hactenus non adverterunt vel Spiritus Sancti familiare mandatum, vel eam quae singulariter in eo excellebat et ab omni eum superbiae et jactantiae labe vindicabat simplicitatis veritatisque puritatem. Scimus autem quoniam simplicitas parvolorum habet in hac parte libertatem suam ut sensa sua licenter loquantur, et artus nondum pudendos, absque ulla erubescencia suae nuditatis exponent. Sane et hic cum esset parvulus loquebatur ut parvulus,¹³ cogitavit¹⁴ ut parvulus,¹⁵ parvipendens omnia haec et

¹ vir Dei] post *hoc.*, F H.

² et] om. F.

³ fuerit] fuerat., F.

⁴ Domini] F H add. *ejus.*

⁵ omnino dicas] d. o., F H.

⁶ mulierem inventam] i. m., C F H.

⁷ Fortem] Ita C F H : Forte., E, sed minus recte.

⁸ a Spiritu Sancto persuasum est] p. e. a. S. S., F H.

¹⁰ hacc] om. F.

⁹ gloriari] post *in se.*, F.

¹² ejusmodi] *hujusmodi.*, F.

¹¹ liceat] luceat., H.

¹³ loquebatur ut parvulus] om. H.

¹⁴ cogitavit] cogitabat., F H.

¹⁵ parvulus] C add. *sapiebat ut parvulus.*

se¹ parvipendens in omnibus his et nesciens omnino extolli. Proinde haec non quasi gesta fortia sed velut nihil ponderis vel virtutis habentia sanctis auribus tradens risu simplicissimo excipiebat ea, ut omnem jactantiae suspicionem² tolleret veritas non subornata. Alias haec ipsa confessionis simplicitas rerum gestarum fidei non mediocriter suffragatur; quoniam si testimonium hominum accipimus nullus testis illo debet esse acceptior, quo nullus potuit esse fidelior. Scimus enim quia verum est et³ de semetipso testimonium ejus, quia solus non est, cui veritas ipsa de caelo dat testimonium majus Johanne. Proinde qui de ejus ore haec acceperunt et familiaritate ejus digni habitu sunt testes sunt horum ad nos probatissimi ut confidimus omnino⁴ de eis in Domino, quorum sermo finis omnis controversiae et veritatis fundamentum⁵ non temere videatur. A quibus commendatam nobis ea fide qua et tradita est fidelium usibus resignamus historiam; sic viri sancti vestigia adorantes, ut veritati per omnia et ante omnia conservare studeamus reverentiam suam. Alioquin siluisse nobis satius fuerat, quam ut ipsa saltem ad modicum teste conscientia in manibus nostris⁶ periclitaretur.

14. DE MUTO SANATO ET ALTERCATIONE BRICTRICI

Horum unus et inter ipsos beato⁷ viro familiarissimus fuit frater Willelmus conversus hospitalis de Forda, vir clarissimae omnino opinionis;⁸ sed clarior ut credimus opinione sua qui in ipso adolescentiae suae flore regalis curiae pompam aspernatus, in Christi paupertate felicius usque hodie regnat. Hunc cum vir Dei magna caritate sibi artius devinixisset et simili ab eo diligenter affectu, nihil erat in omni facultate sua quod non ostenderet ei, dignum plane aestimans quem introduceret in cellaria sua et arcana secretorum suorum familiariter edoceret.⁹ Cum hoc de mysteriis regni Dei et beata expectatione

¹ se] om. F H.

² jactantiae] lactentiae., H.

³ et] etiam., C H.

⁴ ut confidimus omnino] u. o. c., F H.

⁵ fundamentum] firmamentum., F H.

⁶ nostris] vestris., F.

⁷ beato] om. F.

⁸ omnino opinionis] op. om., C.

⁹ edoceret] edocere., C.

sanctorum, cum hoc Domini de misericordia¹ quam dignanter eum pervenisset, vel quam feliciter esset subsecuta conferre solebat, spirituali utique spiritualia comparans. Hic cum quadam die ad eum ex consueto veniret et de status sui qualitate interrogaret: ‘Bene,’ inquit, ‘sum, nisi quod presbyter noster Brichticus² contumeliis me hodie lacescivit, et diem hactenus litigando consumpsit.’ ‘Et quae est³ causa quae tam modestum virum ad irascendum impulit, maxime tibi?’ Respondit, ‘Mutus quidem⁴ ad me adductus est, oravique pro eo ad Dominum meum et imposui⁵ manum meam,⁶ et⁷ ecce loquitur homo recte atque expedite, non solum Anglice sed et Gallice. Quo viso conturbatus⁸ idem presbyter et se prae indignatione non capiens adiit me in spiritu vehementi, dicens: Ecce tot annis servio tibi sed quia frustra id hactenus fecerim hodie liquido probavi. Nam homini alienigenae cui satis erat linguam ad loquendum aperuisse, ad geminum linguae officium devotus ministrasti et mihi qui cum ad episcopum et archidiaconum⁹ venio quasi mutus silere compellor, Gallici usum sermonis non dedisti.’ Rem auditor exceptit¹⁰ risu et virtutis signum jocosa simplicitate temperatum jocundius ipse suis auditoribus facit.

15. ITEM. DE ALIO MUTO SANATO

Nec dissimile huic fuit quod in alio muto idem vir virtutum operatus esse probatur. Qui ad ipsum de castro quod Bantona¹¹ vocatur, non alieno ducatu sed ultroneus simul cum aliis veniens, cum alii a viro Dei benedictione percepta discessissent, ipse postremo ei benedicendum se obtulit. Factumque est consignante illo faciem ejus amplectus hiatu os suum muto operiente, contigit¹² vir Dei summitatem linguae ejus quam

¹ Domini de misericordia] de m. D., C H.

² Brichticus] Britricus., H. ³ est] C H add. ait.

⁴ quidem] quidam., F H. ⁵ imposui] ut posui., F.

⁶ meam] meum., H. ⁷ et] om. H.

⁸ conturbatus] conturbatur., F.

⁹ archidiaconum] archidiaconem., F H.

¹⁰ exceptit] recepit F: risu exceptit., H.

¹¹ Bantona] Bathona., H. ¹² contigit] tetigit., F.

ut poterat ille pretendebat, et eam nesciens solvit. Redit homo laetabundus ad socios¹ suos et tantae vel virtutis vel laetitiae non solum comites sed et testes accepit. Nec mora in iter urgente laetitia ad sua regreduntur, cantantes jam ex animo in viis Domini, quam magna est gloria Domini. Ingreditur ille ad suos, novo jam ore salutans eos novasque salutations cum gratia ubique dispergiens et rerum gestarum ordinem interrogatus, jam² linguae³ nuper solutae parcere omnino non sinitur. At ille aperiens os suum et eadem saepius replicans avidis auditoribus vix satisfacere poterat et lingua jam de seipsa testimonium perhibente diuturnum silentium multo⁴ sermone compensat. Deinde quaerentibus illis si pro tanta gratia⁵ gloriam dedisset Deo coram sancto suo, respondit se id p[re] laetitiae nimietate oblitum de gratiis agendis⁶ non cogitasse. At illi sapienti usi consilio remittunt hominem ad salvatorem suum acturum apud eum ingratitudinis suae paenitentiam et vota gratiarum licet sero redditum. Redit ergo in corde contrito et hostiis pacificis laudis⁷ et gratiarum actionis⁸ et secunda benedictione manus sanctae laetificatus, postremo ab eo⁹ meretur audire. ‘Non mea,’ inquit,¹⁰ ‘virtus, o fili, qui conscient horum non fui; sed fides tua te¹¹ salvum fecit, et ideo non mihi sed nomini Dei da gloriam.’

16. DE LAUDE BRICTRICI

Quoniam vero venerabilis viri Brictrici¹² mentio superius habita est, injuriam me¹³ homini¹⁴ tam bono fecisse vereor,¹⁵ si imperfecta denudans, de bonis ejus cum multa et magna fuerint omnino siluero. Fuit enim in¹⁶ simplicitate et humilitate¹⁷

¹ socios] comites., C H.² jam] om. C H.³ linguae] post solutae., F.⁴ multo] F add. *tempore*.⁵ tanta gratia] g. t., C.⁶ de gratis agendis] nec gratiis agendo., H.⁷ laudis] om. F H.⁸ actionis] actione., F.⁹ ab eo] om. F H.¹⁰ Non mea inquit] n. i. m., F.¹¹ te] post *salvum*., F.¹² Brictrici] Brichtrici., H.¹³ me] om. F H.¹⁴ homini] post *bono*., F.¹⁵ vereor] arbitror., H.¹⁶ in] om. F.¹⁷ simplicitate et humilitate] h. et s., F H.

beato Wulfrico simillimus, psalmis et orationibus sicut et ille die ac nocte inserviens et quantum ministerii sui ratio¹ sinebat, perpetuas in ecclesia sua excubias celebrabat. Denique ut solitudini et vacationi suae horas lucrificaret, dum hora prandii advenisset, equo domum suam advehebatur, qui finito eo nihilominus praesto erat ut eum ecclesiae continuo redderet. In hac² conjunctissima beatorum spirituum familiaritate³ erat inter duos hos pullos columbarum amica quaedam et assidua in subjectione mutua et humilitate contentio. Brictricus huic assistebat ut Domino suo, dominum eum humiliiter vocans, beatus quoque Wulfricus se in illius comparatione usquequaque humilians illum dicebat revera esse anachoretam⁴ loci illius, se vero colloquiis jugiter expositum⁵ presbyterum parochianum verius posse appellari. In hunc modum hi duo seraphin clamabant alter ad alterum invicem subservientes⁶ et praevenientes in Christo, qui profecto erat in medio eorum, vita eorum et exultatio eorum. Diceres hunc ad illius⁷ imaginem et similitudinem formatum, et beato Wulfrico solatium procuratum a Domino et adjutorium simile sibi; sed de his hactenus.

17. DE QUODAM QUI DIABOLO HOMINIUM⁸ FECERAT MIRABILITER REPARATO

Cum igitur vir beatus operis quippiam faceret una dierum in conspectu Domini, nova visione repente concussus, Brictricum advocat dicens⁹ ei. 'Accelera,' inquit, 'et assumpta cruce et aqua benedicta¹⁰ occurre homini quem diabolus in vado quod extra villam est captivum tenet. Asperges eum aqua benedicta et adduces ad me.' At ille se¹¹ cum omni celeritate ad imperata proripiens, invenit sicut ei praedictum

¹ sui ratio] r. min. sin. sui., F: r. min. sui sin., H.

² hac] om. H.

³ spirituum familiaritate] f. s., C.

⁴ esse anachoretam] a. e., H.

⁵ expositum] expositis., F.

⁶ subservientes] H add. *invicem subvenientes.*

⁷ illius] post *similitudinem.*, F H.

⁸ hominium] dominium., F: homagium., H.

⁹ dicens] (et) dicit., F.

¹⁰ benedicta] H add. et.

¹¹ se] Ita C: om. E, sed socorditer: post *imperata.*, F H.

fuerat hominem in vado illo equo sedentem, sed ita loco eodem quasi immobiliter fixum, ut in nullam omnino partem vel procedere vel reverti vel in latus declinare valeret. Avaricia quippe at ambitione dudum a diabolo seductus, secundum quod postea confessus est, sub jugum pestiferae captivitatis ultiro manus dederat, et ¹ ore ad os loquens cum eo pepigerat foedus cum morte et cum inferno fecerat pactum. Factumque ² est dum fortis armatus incubaret praedae suae et aliquanto tempore in pace multa regnaret, fortior supervenit, et domum ejus ipso nesciente in spiritu paenitentiae irrumpens timore valido captivae illius animae conturbavit abyssum. Expavescit homo profundum miseriae suae, et ignem aeternum quo absorbendus erat in brevi tota mente perhorrescens, circumspicit undique si sit alicubi terrarum qui redimat vel qui salvum faciat. Recogitat quia non nisi in manu forti id fieri possit, cum sint inimici ejus fortissimi et ipse in manibus eorum. Postremo in beatum Wulfricum cum ³ oculos levat, in cuius manu dicebatur requiescere ⁴ salus, et eum adire deliberans de profecione sua mox incipit ordinare. Verum cum id ipsum cuidam suorum incautius aperuisset, astitit subinde ⁵ ille familiaris ejus ⁶ inimicus in effigie nota, et ⁷ proditionis ejus arguens, idque castigatione crudeli ⁸ interminatus est siquid hujusmodi de reliquo attentaret. At ille silentium sibi deinceps doctus imponere ab eo qui dormiebat in sinu suo custodiebat claustra oris sui, quia ut saepe probaverat conceptiones cordis sui nisi cum eas verbo vel signo quocumque prodiisset, illum omnino latebant. Itaque gemens tacebat et tacens gemebat eo acrius in intimis saeviente miseria, quo non sinebatur erumpere. Dissimulato igitur aliquamdiu paenitentiae suae proposito ⁹ tandem periculo ¹⁰ se dedit et iter ad hominem Dei quasi ad Cornubiam profecturus arripuit. Deduxit autem paenitentem ¹¹

¹ et] om. H.

² Factumque] Factum., C.

³ cum] om. C H.

⁴ requiescere] quiescere., F H.

⁵ subinde] om. F.

⁶ ejus] post *inimicus.*, F.

⁷ et] om. H.

⁸ crudeli] H add. *multa.*

⁹ proposito] propositum., H.

¹⁰ periculo] om. F.

¹¹ paenitentem] C H add. *suum.*

misericordia Domini ab aquilonaribus partibus Angliae usque ad vadum supradictum ubi eum¹ ad modicum derelinquere visa est. Ut jam beatus Wulfricus defenderet ipse fines suos et partes suas in hoc certamine amodo exsequereretur, venit ergo diabolus cum ira magna, sciens quia modicum jam tempus haberet,² terribilibus oculis eum intuens, manus quoque ab eo non continens, vehementer infremuit dicens, ‘Quid est,’ inquit, ‘proditor, quod facere disposuisti ? Moliris quidem pactum nostrum dissolvere, sed id frustra, quia jam utriusque productionis, et qua olim Deo renuniasi et qua mihi nunc³ renuntiare cogitas, poenas exsolves.’⁴ Haerebat ille stupens, quid responderet vel quid ageret omnino non inveniens, et in quodam confinio mortis constitutus⁵ aeternae et libertatis optatae, velut parturiens torquebatur, cruciabatur,⁶ anxiabatur. At beatus vir filium ad se configlientem cum adhuc longe esset videns, misericordia motus est, et quia ei occurrere non licebat, misit misericordiam suam per angelum suum, venerabilem scilicet virum Brichticum, quem direxit in opus legationis hujus, ut properaret⁷ viam illius ad se. Direxit autem non simpliciter sed praecedente triumphali signo crucis Christi armatum velut in solemnitatem⁸ tanti sacramenti in quo captivus peccati transiturus erat⁹ in Corpus Christi ; in quo denuo sicut in diebus antiquis redimendus erat homo¹⁰ de manu diaboli et¹¹ redemptionis humanae mysterium in uno homine¹² visibiliter quodam modo¹³ celebrandum. Procedit ergo tanti operis minister in spiritu et virtute magistri sui, aspergensque hominem aqua aspersionis in nomine Jesu Christi, excussit praedam, praedonem¹⁴ fugavit ; sicque assumens captivum de aquis multis, non sine magnae triumpho laetitiae

¹ eum] illum post *derelinquere.*, F H.

² haberet] C H add. *et.*

³ mihi nunc] n. m., F H.

⁴ exsolves] exsolvas., F.

⁵ mortis constitutus] c. m., C : om. *constitutus.*, H.

⁶ cruciabatur] cruciebatur., F. ⁷ properaret] praepararet., C H.

⁸ solemnitatem] solemnitate., F.

⁹ erat] om. H.

¹⁰ homo] om. F.

¹¹ et] om. H.

¹² homine] om. F.

¹³ modo] om. C.

¹⁴ praedonem] praedonam., C.

captivam duxit captitatem, adductamque¹ exposuit coram viro Dei qui interim, velut alter Moyses proeliante suo Josue, manus habebat ad Dominum.² Interim a tergo sequebatur perdix quae foverat quae non peperit, et hominem quondam suum astantem videns³ homini Dei injecta manu apprehendit eum clamantem valide et dicentem, 'Ecce inimicus meus⁴ invadit me; succurre obsecro, vir Dei.' Quo statim apprehendente manum ejus et inimicus nihilominus alteram ejus manum tenens, cum virtute trahebat. Illis in hunc modum quasi contentiosum funem diu trahentibus, paenitens noster operiebatur manum fortiorum, donec vir Dei aquam quam ipse benedixerat una manuum suarum dum altera captivum teneret accipiens, aspersit contra faciem inimici et sic non sine magna confusione eum a domo penitus exturbavit. At novus homo noster pavitans et tremebundus adhuc, velut qui de ipsis fauibus mortis⁵ nuper est⁶ erutus, a beato viro in interiore dignanter⁷ cellula sua susceptus est, donec obducatur cicatrix ejus, virusque infusum plenius evomeret ad pedes viri sancti;⁸ sicque demum quasi cervus emissus resumptis jam cornibus hostem ultra non timeret. Verum quantum interim gaudium super hoc peccatore paenitentiam agente fuerit his⁹ angelis Dei, Wulfricum et Brictricum loquor, quis enarrabit quanta solemnitas et laetitia in tabernaculis justorum confitentium Domino, quam bonus, quam in saeculum misericordia ejus. Plane exultatio eorum sicut gratulan-
tur angeli in caelo, sicut gloriantur triumphatores et amici Dei, sicut denique exultant victores capta praeda quando dividunt spolia. Diviserunt enim spolia sua¹⁰ et hi¹¹ rectissime dantes primum gloriam Deo, quoniam id omnino dignissimum; deinde misericordiam vulnerato curamque aegroto, novissimum

¹ adductamque] adductumque., F.² Dominum] Deum., F.³ astantem videns] videns astanti., H.⁴ meus invadit me; s. o. v. D. Q. s. a. m. e. et inimicus] om. H.⁵ mortis] om. H.⁶ est] om. F.⁷ dignanter] post sua., F.⁸ viri sancti] s. v., C.⁹ his] om. H.¹⁰ sua] om. F.¹¹ et hi] post enim., F H.

sibi fructum justitiae thesaurizantes in vitam eternam. Qui audit advertat¹ quanta fuit² haec sanctitas et quam probata Deo, quam a finibus terrae tantae³ miseriae abyssus appetit,⁴ quanta denique virtus quae tam potenter subvenit. Sane in tanto negotio non defuit vel prophetae visio vel patri pietas vel virtus proeliatori; non defuit postremo aut matri sinus aut curatio medico, aut doctrina magistro. Denique cum a latere viri sancti ante perceptionem vivifici sacramenti nullatenus recedere acquiesceret, quo se Christo incorporatum jam dubitare non posset, accendens ad communionem sacram et interrogatus si crederet; ‘Vere credo,’⁵ inquit, ‘quia ecce Corpus Christi et Sanguinem in specie carnis et sanguinis peccator aspicio.’ Cui vir sanctus: ‘Deo,’ inquit, ‘gratias; sed jam simul oremus ut⁶ priori specie illud⁷ percipere merearis.’ Sicque communicatum et fide atque consolatione Spiritus Sancti repletum dimisit in pace. Haec frater Willelmus aliquie⁸ non nulli quibus vir sanctus ore proprio haec eadem⁹ enarravit.

18. DE EXCESSU MENTIS IN ORATIONE

Siquis vero¹⁰ quaesierit qua via paenitenti aditus patuerit in penetralia illa sancta viri sancti,¹¹ noverit quia ostium ei erat a cellula¹² sua in ecclesiam per quod¹³ et in eam ingredi consueverat, et coram altari sancti¹⁴ Michaelis cui ecclesia eadem dedicata erat vigilias celebrare. Cui cum quadam nocte¹⁵ orans assisteret, repente astitit ei angelus Domini et animam ejus a corpore ut ei videbatur eductam in caelestia rapuit, ubi et gloriam Dei et spem sanctorum ostendit. Quam post modicum reducens corpori suo quod ut derelictum fuerat

¹ advertat] advertit., F H. ² fuit] fuerit., C H.

³ tantae] tanta., H.

⁴ abyssus appetit] invocavit abyssus., C H.

⁵ credo] post *inquit.*, F H. ⁶ ut] H add. *in.*

⁷ illud] post *priori.*, F H. ⁸ aliquie] et alii., F.

⁹ ore proprio haec eadem] h. e. o. p., C.

¹⁰ vero] om. F.

¹¹ viri sancti] s. v., F.

¹² cellula] cella., C.

¹³ per quod] om. F.

¹⁴ sancti] beati., C.

¹⁵ nocte] om. H.

altari astans repperit, leniter resignavit deplorante illo brevem moram tantae felicitatis et celerem transitum, et annos aeternitatis¹ quos viderat in pignus vitae aeternae in mente jugiter custodiente. Quod nulli incredibile vel difficile videbitur qui beatum Ambrosium altare incumbentem beati Martini exsequiis legerit ministrasse, vel ut sublimioris exempli gratiam demus, beatum apostolum in caelum et² paradisum raptum, sive in corpore sive extra corpus interim fuerit se teste nesciisse.³

19. DE STABILITATE CORDIS IN PSALMIS

Verum nemo in viro bono et amico Dei⁴ unius horae miretur excessum, qui psalterium ex integro et indeclinabili intentione psallere consuevit. Ego plane tantam egregii spiritus stabilitatem et miror et veneror, cui ad unius psalmi vel dimidii inoffensam intentionem raro mentem fixisse⁵ contigerit. Pecatum enim peccavi Deo, ideo instabilis factus sum et dereliqui ego Deum meum; propterea et cor meum dereliquit me. Sane ex quo ejecit me a facie sua Deus nullus locus me diu tenet; sed nec aliquis libenter me⁶ suscipit, insuper⁷ factus sum mihi metipsi gravis. Quaero reconciliari Deo meo in psalmis et orationibus, ut reconcilientur mihi omnia: sed expellor,⁸ sed excludor, sed reicio, cum exprobratione quasi dicentis ad me et⁹ similes mei foris canes. Postremo habeo fateor de judicio Dei et de ipsa impossibilitate mea nonnullum solacium, dicens mihi in soliloquio meo, Quis continuit spiritum in manibus suis? Solus hoc pater spirituum potest qui imperat ventis et mari et oboediunt ei. Denique ex ira Dei exulo in terra aliena vagus et profugus super eam donec implentur dies paenitentiae et tempus¹⁰ exilii mei; sicque revertatur spiritus ad eum qui dedit illum in quo solo est¹¹ felix statio et requies tranquilla spirituum beatorum. Verum-

¹ aeternitatis] aeternos., C.² et] F add. *in.*³ nesciisse] nesciente., F.⁴ Dei] post *viro.*, F.⁵ fixisse] habere., F H.⁶ libenter me] m. l., F.⁷ insuper] C H. add. *et.*⁸ sed expellor] om. H.⁹ et] om. F.¹⁰ tempus] dies., F.¹¹ solo est] om. F H.

tamen et si hoc modo ¹ sim ego non idcirco quod super me est, de tanto viro decredere ² licebit. Mea enim vel communis infirmitas speciali sanctorum libertati quam unusquisque forte accepit de manu Christi in funiculo distributionis ejus, praedicare omnino ³ non potest. Alioquin si quis tardus corde fuerit ad credendum, scimus quia dolus non est inventus in ore ejus, qui cuidam ex nostris ad se venienti suamque infirmitatem coram eo deploranti: ‘Ego,’ ait ‘a “Beatus vir” usque ad “Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum” unanimi intentione perseverare me sentio.’ Novimus etiam aliquem, et in promptu est, qui cum haec asserentibus credere detrectaret, sed hominem simplicem minus se attendisse et pro eo quod vagabundo animo non esset nihil profunde satis in corde versasse et ideo haec de se pronuntiasse contenderet, post modicum divino judicio sed ipso clementissimo castigatus est. Nam quod nunquam antea nunquam postea expertus est ad vigilias nocturnas veniens, tanta Spiritus Sancti donatione se abundasse dicebat, ut in singulos versus cum summa facilitate et suavitate ⁴ intenderet, psallens spiritu, psallens et mente. Ex tunc mitior in hac parte et ipse inventus est, nec tutum sibi creditit proclaimanti resistere veritati. Sed inter haec vereor ne scandalum patiatur gravitas vestra in insipientia loquacitatis meae, et quibus nolui esse offensus ⁵ in immensum exuberando ⁶ onerosus efficiar. Verumtamen ut coepistis supportate me, et si non alias proficitis, ad exercitium saltem patientiae vestrae quem caritas beati ⁷ Wulfrici urget ⁸ audire non taedeat.

20. DE VISITATIONE QUADAM CAELESTI

Accidit ut ⁹ quadam die mitteret vir Dei puerum suum quem unicum ministrum ¹⁰ habebat ad fabricam, ut necessarium quiddam ad ostii obserationem quod vulgo stapellum dicimus ¹¹

¹ hoc modo] hujusmodi., F. ² decredere] post *est.*, F.

³ omnino] post *potest.*, F H.

⁴ facilitate et suavitate] s. e. f., F H.

⁵ offensus] officiosus., C H. ⁶ exuberando] exuberans., F H.

⁷ beati] om. C.

⁸ urget] F H add. *ad loquendum.*

⁹ ut] post *die.*, H. ¹⁰ ministrum unicum] u. m., F.

¹¹ dicimus] dicitur., F.

praepararet. Illo abeunte et exterius ostium clave quam secum deferebat obserante¹ remansit ipse solus, et his quae Dei sunt animum dedit.² Et ecce vir venerabili canitie reverendus pulsans ex more fenestram ejus accersivit eum, et praeveniens eum in benedictione dulcedinis et verbo salutis, familiariter³ et dignanter⁴ assedit. Dehinc cum⁵ interrogavit⁶ eum de statu suo, et ille bene secum agi in gratia Dei respondit, de divinis rebus aliquamdiu socialiter contulerunt. Inter caetera interrogatus vir Dei utrum omnia peccata sua confessus fuissest humiliter respondit, ‘Ita plane aestimo.’ At ille unum ei⁷ peccatorum suorum aperiens, ‘Hoc,’ ait, ‘non-dum in confessione dixisti, sed accelera quantocius illud confiteri.’⁸ Illo obstupescente ad haec et protestante quia ita est, adjecit qui ad eum loquebatur atque ait, ‘Scito quia domus tua praeparata est in caelis, nec deest quicquam plenae consummationi ejus praeter unum stapellum.’ At vir Dei plus magis intra se stupens in his quae audiebat, nec tamen quis esset qui haec nuntiabat, pree nimia reverentia ejus inquirens ad altare suum quasi gratias acturus vel gratiam postulaturus oculos reduxit. Deinde ad fenestram respiciens confabulatorem suum non invenit, intellexitque quod divina revelatio esset. Verumtamen ne in fide gestorum aliquatenus submurmuraret conscientia vel sua vel eorum qui haec audituri erant, puerum paulopost ingredientem sollicitius interrogat⁹ si cum exiret ostium obserasset. ‘Obseravi,’ ait, ‘exiens et rediens nihilominus obseratum inveni.’ Mittens ergo accersivit presbyterum, non illum cuius superius mentio facta est, sed alium Segarium nomine qui tres filios in monasterio de Forda monachos habuit et quartum in eadem domo fratrem conversum, huic peccatum suum juxta divinum praeceptum aperuit et absolutione percepta divinae visionis seriem enarravit. Qui in¹⁰ peccati quidem silentio fidem confessionis

¹ obserante] serante., H.² dedit] credit., C.³ familiariter] familialiter., F.⁴ et dignanter] om. H.⁵ cum] om. F.⁶ interrogavit] interrogaret., C H.⁷ unum ei] e. u., F H.⁸ illud confiteri] c. i., H.⁹ interrogat] interrogabat., H.¹⁰ in] om. F.

servans in gloria viri sancti fidelis proditor factus est, magnificans nimirum hominem qui non jam per visiones et aenigmata sed palam et in die caelestium spirituum consortium mereretur. Quamquam et usque hodie non satis elucet utrum unus¹ ille fuerit de caelestibus an majori dignatione ipse Rex Glorie Dominus Jesus Christus, maxime cum signa adventus ipsius videantur² palam annuntiare de eo. Nam ad hortum conclusum declinare et antequam introeat solitudinis captare secretum ne quis forte alienus intersit qui deliciis ejus obstrepat, clausis dehinc januis ingredi, stare post parietem, pulsare et suscitare quiescentem, respicere per fenestram, prospicere per cancellos sicque ostensa facie sua pacem et salutem nuntiare ; si sponsa non fallitur in observationibus suis signa sunt quia sponsus venit et ipsa credibilia nimis. Proinde cui magis quam scrutatori cordium dandum sit ut interrogaret et cognosceret semitas hominis et illuminaret tenebras ejus ipsi etiam vix³ cognitas ; dehinc ut confessionis consilium suggereret mittens eum ad sacerdotem, postremo ut poenitentem suum⁴ in⁵ repromotione vitae aeternae consolaretur ? Sed et⁶ antiquus dierum ipse est et cum simplicibus sermocinatio ejus ; et quoniam mortales oculos diu non sustinet, in ictu oculi ad modicum respicientis elabitur. Beatus ergo Wulfricus divinis consolationibus magnifice visitatus⁷ necesse habuit horrendis visionibus exerceri quatenus utrobique probato nihil vel in hac parte deesset.

21. DE VISIBILI IMPUGNATIONE DAEMONUM

Itaque medio noctis silentio convenient ad eum inimici spiritus in multitudine gravi et velut judicio rem acturi undique obsident innocentem. Conquirunt inter se quidnam fieri oporteat⁸ de homine qui ipsis ita totis⁹ viribus aduersetur, qui

¹ unus] om. F.

² videantur] Ita C H : videatur., E F sed minus recte.

³ etiam vix] v. e., F.

⁴ suum] om. C.

⁵ in] om. H.

⁶ et] om. H.

⁷ visitatus] consolatus., F H.

⁸ fieri oporteat] op. f., F : oportet fieri., H.

⁹ ita totis] t. i., F.

consilia¹ dissipet, qui diripiat spolia, qui destruat quae aedificant ipsi et quae ipsi destruunt² ipse aedificet. Haud mora, judicum³ iniquorum unanimi sententia definitum est quia hic homo reus est mortis et quia a domo sua et ecclesia projectus dignas pro meritis poenas debeat dare. Injectis itaque manibus funestorum satellitum capit, trahitur, pri-
mum in ecclesiam, deinde per ecclesiam et inhumane satis ac sine ulla reverentia vel miseratione tractatur. Cumque foras ecclesiam⁴ jam esset ejiciendus, adveniens virgo reverentissima omne illud concilium malignantium solvit subita illustratione adventus sui, et libere interrogans cur ita innocentem vexare praesumerent, manica explicata omnes pariter eventilavit. Fecerat autem die eodem beatae cujusdam virginis commemorationem in celebratione missae suae et ipsa erat quae judicavit causam ejus⁵ de manu inimicorum suorum.⁶ Alio quoque tempore, infirmando viro sancto, introivit inimicus et, terribili-
bus oculis intuens eum, baculum quem manu tenebat levavit in altum, eumque tertio valide percussit. Ad quae nihil motus vir sanctus respondit: ‘Jam nunc recede, maligne, quoniam ampliorem in me potestatem non habes. Sed nec hanc omnino haberet, nisi tibi⁷ desuper data fuisset.’ Ad luctam etiam vir sanctus ab inimico⁸ non semel expetitus est, et ut in concertandi⁹ discrimine evenire solet, aliquando inferior, non-nunquam superior etiam¹⁰ fuit. Sed sicut scriptum est, ‘Inimici defecerunt frameae in finem,’ Deo et sancto ejus cedebat semper suprema victoria. Postremo a viro sancto tentus¹¹ inimicus et diutius flagellatus est,¹² nec prius ut abire posset obtinuit quam se ultra non reversurum ad eum jure-
jurando¹³ promitteret. Ita vir beatus in utraque parte fidelis inventus est et quia ineptiori laetitia non fuerit resolutus in

¹ consilia] F add. *eorum*.² ipsi destruunt] d. i., F H.³ judicum] judiciorum., H.⁴ ecclesiam] ecclesiae., F.⁵ ejus] suam., H.⁶ suorum] ejus., F.⁷ tibi] post *desuper*, F.⁸ ab inimico] post *etiam*., F H.⁹ concertandi] certandi., H.¹⁰ superior etiam] e. s., F H.¹¹ tentus] territus., F.¹² et diutius flagellatus est] caesusque diutius., F H.¹³ jurejurando] jurando., F.

prosperis, constans et incolmis in graviori necessitate probavit. Sed his omnibus molestior fuit¹ illa inimici importunitas qua viro sancto ventre² purgante adesse consuevit, et manu blandissima membra genitalia contrectare.³ Hac enim temptatione, ut viro venerabili Henrico, abbatи de Waverleia, secreto confessus est, decem et octo annis vexatus supra modum gravatus est et supra virtutem; adeo ut cellulam necessariorum perhorrescens in olla saepius egereret. Tandem cum tantae servitutis absolvendus esset obprobrio, ad necessaria naturae secedenti⁴ adfuit ex more inimicus, cui vir sanctus in indignatione spiritus sui coepit exprobrare dicens: ‘ Numquid non recte accidit tibi, o miser, ut qui olim similis esse Altissimo concupisti, nunc clocales faeculentias foedus inhabites? ’ At ille verbum illati improperii non sustinens, ac si gravi vulnere sauciatus abscessit et ab hac deinceps vexatione quievit. Mirabuntur alii gesta fortia⁵ beati Wlrici, mirabor et ego; sed libentius gloriabor in infirmitatibus ejus ut in his quae circumdant me sub illarum umbra respirem.

22. DE MOLESTIIS QUIBUS EUM VEXAVIT⁶ HOSTIS IN CORPORE

Verum ut omnimodis probatus nobis exhiberet sanctum Dei, data est ei potestas in carnem ejus; qua⁷ ille illiberaliter satis usus percussit eum⁸ in brachiis ulcere pessimo, adeo ut caro humero tenus putrefacta scateret vermicibus et sanie ebulliente flueret.⁹ At ille¹⁰ judicium caeleste cum gratiarum actione amplexatus, arma temptatoris in arma patientiae convertit, laetusque est in his sicut qui invenit spolia multa. Porro salutis suae curam non negligens, lichinos candelarum in foveis saniei recurrentis sicut in aquaeductu quodam fecit immersi. Et post paululum ab his doloribus convalescens, ad majora certamina Leviathan suscitavit. Qui et acceptae

¹ molestior fuit] f. m., F.

² genitalia contrectare] c. g., F.

³ fortia] fortiora., C.

⁷ qua] quam., F: quia illo., H.

⁹ flueret] deflueret., C H.

² ventre] ventrem., F H.

⁴ secedenti] secedentem., F.

⁶ eum vexavit] v. e., F.

⁸ eum] om. F.

¹⁰ ille] illi., F.

potestatis horam non dissimulans igne quodam invisibili et infernali ut creditur carnem ejus inflammavit ; ut supra omnem humanum modum flammae insanientis incendio se concremari ¹ diceret ; et velut in favillas ² et ³ cinerem mox resolvendus sacerdotem vocaret, et animam Deo et ei ⁴ commendare satageret. Cumque sub hoc tormento validissimo per aliquot horas Christi athleta fortiter agonizaret ; invisibilis carnifex mutavit tormentum, sed et ⁵ martyr Christi non mutavit patientiam. Haec nempe flamma subito sicut et advenerat ablata est, et a quodam consequenter gelidissimo frigore comprehensus totus rigescere et congelascere ⁶ coepit, et hujus horae exitum cum patientia praestolari. In hac suppliciorum permutatione caro in manus impii data ⁷ a mane usque ad vesperam desudavit, quandam futuri judicij dans metuentibus Domini ⁸ significationem, ⁹ in quo ab aquis nivium transitur in calorem nimium.

23. DE CONFESSIONE PUBLICA ILLUSIONIS NOCTURNAE

Factum est autem ut ¹⁰ appropinquaret paschalis festivitas dies, quam vir beatus in exspectatione solemini et spirituali votorum anticipatione in semetipso ¹¹ ex more sanctificabat. Cumque illucesceret nox sacra quae sicut dies illuminatur, turbator solemnitatum et pacis invidiam habens inimicus ¹² viro Dei somnum incussit, et per somnum de carnis lubrico triumphavit. Igitur amator sanctimoniae non facilem habens laesae pudicitiae vel tantillam jacturam erubuit maximeque pro solemnitate diei tanti, et pudore sacrae verecundiae, pudorem castimoniae jam tunc coram Deo redimebat. Sed vehementi aemulatori non satis fuit sibi et Deo erubescere : quoniam et omni ecclesia congregata de cella sua processit ad publicum ¹³ aperiensque os suum dimisit adversum se

¹ concremari] cremari., H.

² favillas] favillam., F H.

³ et] H add. *in*.

⁴ et ei] om. H.

⁵ et] om. F H.

⁶ congelascere] congelare., H.

⁷ data] post *permutatione*., F.

⁸ Domini] Deum., H.

⁹ significationem] ymaginem., F (locus valde corruptus).

¹⁰ ut] cum., F.

¹¹ semetipso] scipso., F H.

¹² inimicus] post *pacis*., F H.

¹³ publicum] populum., F H.

eloquium suum. ‘Sic,’ ait, ‘misero huic Wulfrico, sic hac sacratissima nocte peccatis meis exigentibus accidit; sic inimicus meus mihi infelici illusit. Peccatum meum Deo et vobis confiteor, veniam a Deo vobis intervenientibus deposcor: ¹ deinde et de injuria hac coram Deo et vobis conqueror qua me inimicus in tam reverenda festivitate dehonestare non pepercit.’ Ita humilitatis sectator magnificus fortis factus est ad portandum improperium Christi, nec parcens aliquatenus pudori suo, non ² astantium verecundiae, non denique aestimationi sanctitatis quae de eo longe lateque spirabat. Itaque contione hac egregii oratoris non sine magno audientium favore finita, reversus est in illud sacrarium suum, rubicundior ebore plane ³ antiquo, dignus qui audiret, ‘Pulchrae sunt genae tuae sicut turturis.’ Postremo quia tanta humilitas non potuit non glorificari, in tanta pace caro ⁴ deinceps condelectata est homini interiori, ut omni contumelia hujusmodi longe peregrinante foedus pepigisse cum spiritu videretur.

24. DE PACE CARNIS AD SPIRITUM ⁵

Denique accidit ut quidam ex nostris ad eum ingrediens ipsum pectori nudo mulieris cujusdam quae in ea parte infirmabatur manum imponentem aspiceret, et postmodum conversus et se vidisse dissimulans subrideret. At vir Dei opitulationis obsequium nihilominus prosecutus est et oratione rite completa consignans eam dimisit in pace. Deinde ⁶ monachum sibi familiarissimum illo suo suavissimo modo salutans; ‘Cur,’ inquit, ‘modo risisti, o subdole?’ Illo erubescente et ignorantie quid ad haec responderet, ‘Non aliter se habet,’ inquit, ‘manus mea ad sinum mulieris, quam ad lignum hoc.’ Adeo illam quam affectaverat munditiam assecutus quandam carnis induerat incorruptelam, illud felici anticipatione in hac parte delibans quod exspectamus et nos, ‘Concidisti saccum meum et circumdedisti me laetitia, ut cantet tibi gloria mea et non compungar.’

¹ deposcor] deprecor., C H.² non] nec., F H.³ ebore plane] p. e., F H.⁴ caro] om. F.⁵ De pace carnis ad spiritum] om. F.⁶ Deinde] Demum., C.

25. DE SUBITA CALEFACTIONE AQUAE FRIGIDAE IN CELLULA
EJUS¹

Et quia virum sanctum balneo aquae frigidae in initio conversionis suae usum fuisse superius diximus, sciendum est quod cellula ipsius² tanta Dei virtute praedita fuit ut aquam³ quantumlibet frigidam statim ut introisset calidam redderet. Quia enim in frigida aqua carnales aestus ex maxima parte exuerat factus plane sicut uter in pruina⁴ Deo quandam hic reddente vicissitudinem servo suo ut frigidae aquae quodammodo dominaretur⁵ accepit.

26. DE⁶ OPERTORIO⁷ PER REVELATIONEM EI⁸ DELATO

Ceterum⁹ ipse frigore abundantiori plerumque rigescebat,¹⁰ adeo ut homo quidam de finibus Bristolli per visionem admonitus opertorium novum de vulpinis¹¹ pellibus quo se operuerat¹² transmitteret. Ait namque ad eum ut ipse postea confessus est in visione Dominus, ‘ Servus meus Wulfricus frigore cruciatur; tu vero calide hic confoveris. Exurge quantocius et opertorium hoc ei cum festinatione transmitte.’ At ille velociter surgens filium suum et unum e pueris suis advocat, et ut¹³ iter ipsa nocte ad hominem Dei cum hoc opertorio arripiant perurget. Nullus fuit desidiae locus, ipso statim oboediente¹⁴ jussioni divinae et ipsis voto simili oboedientibus jussioni suaee. Itaque pervenientes illi ad virum sanctum revelationem hanc ex ordine revelaverunt et delati muneris oblationem cum reverentia facientes, fructum benedictionis sibi et illi qui miserat eos reportaverunt. Haec frater Willelmus mihi et fratri Willelmo vir sanctus.

¹ *De subita c. a. f. i. c. ejus]* om. F: *cella pro cellula.*, C.

² *ipsius]* *ejus.*, C: *illius.*, H qui add. *praedita:* *praedicta.*, F.

³ *aquam]* *aqua.*, F.

⁴ *pruina]* *locus valde corruptus in F;* *pro Deo . . . accepit]* *de eis quodammodo donaretur accepit.*, F.

⁵ *dominaretur]* *donaretur.*, C H.

⁶ *De o. p. r. e. delato]* *De pace carnis ad spiritum.*, F (vide cap. 24).

⁷ *opertorio]* *cooperitorio.*, H. ⁸ *ei]* *Dei.*, H.

⁹ *Ceterum]* *Verum.*, F.

¹⁰ *rigescebat]* *rigesceret.*, H.

¹¹ *vulpinis]* *lupinis.*, F.

¹² *se operuerat]* *o. s.*, H.

¹³ *ut]* *post iter.*, F.

¹⁴ *oboediente]* *obedientiae.*, H.

27. DE OPERTORIO LIBRI PER REVELATIONEM ALLATO¹

Simili modo mulieri cuidam in orientalibus finibus Angliae aegrotanti nocte revelatum est ut viro Dei pannum pretiosum ad librum quendam operiendum deferret, de manu ejus salutem procul dubio consecutura: accidit² et sanata est. Scribendis siquidem libris³ vel usui suo vel ecclesiae cui adhaerebat vir Dei operam dabat; et cum libro operiendo pannus idoneus deesset, Dominus in hac parte sollicitus fuit pro servo suo. Haec Walterus Glastoniensis aliquie⁴ nonnulli.

28. DE NEGLIGENTIA SCRIPTORIS SUI PROPHETICE
CASTIGATA⁵

In qua scribendi opera neque illud silendum est, quia⁶ cum scriptori suo praecepisset ut quiddam de exemplari quod alias habebat praeteriret, ille jussionis immemor cum ad locum illum⁷ venisset prosequi molliebatur. Sed virtus mandati in via se opposuit, et calatum currentem subito stare coegit. At ille necdum⁸ advertens et totum⁹ calamo imputans, incidere et reincidere non destitit; donec minutatim decisum cum taedio et ira abjecit. Quae omnia vir Dei in spiritu agnoscens ab oratione cui interim vacabat reversus est; et scriptorem jocosa increpatione objurgans ait, ‘Sic, sic, Ricarde, quid ita voluisti inobediens esse his quae praecepta sunt tibi?’ Qui sero¹⁰ recogitans arridere coepit increpanti se, et non sine causa vel absque fructu illusum sibi fuisse gavisus est. Hic idem Ricardus.

29. DE MONACHI INSOMNIETATE CURATA

Fuit scriptor idem¹¹ in monasterio Fordensi; post haec monachus et postremo¹² cantor; habuitque ibidem¹³ filium religionis pariter et ministerii sui heredem usque in diem hanc.

¹ allato] oblato., F H.

² accidit] attulit., F.

³ libris] libero., H.

⁴ aliique] atque alii., C H.

⁵ propheticæ castigata] om. F.

⁶ quia] qui., C.

⁷ illum] suum., F.

⁸ necdum] nondum., H.

⁹ totum] H add. ea.

¹⁰ sero] sermo(nem)., F.

¹¹ scriptor idem] idem Ricardus scriptor., F H.

¹² postremo] postmodum., F H.

¹³ ibidem] idem., F H.

Qui adolescentulus insomnietatis molestia supra modum vexabatur, quod vexationis genus quam molestum sit sub hac professione viventibus norunt qui experti sunt. Patri ergo deprecanti pro filio suo respondit vir sanctus : ‘ Dicant,’ ait, ‘ singuli monachi ter Dominicam orationem pro eo et sanabitur.’ ‘ Quinimmo,’ inquit, ‘ tu domine non graveris orare pro eo.’ At ille verbum magnificum in spiritu simplicitatis pronuntiavit dicens. ‘ Ego solus obtinere¹ id potero a Domino meo ; nedum omnes vos ?’ Sanatusque est filius ejus ex illa hora et nihil sibi in hac gratia deesse hactenus gloriatur. Haec non tam propter virtutem operis quam ob responsi simplicitatem apposui quamquam et ipsum quidem opus non modicae virtutis laudem habeat ;² sed simplicitatis gratia sua puritate praelucet. Haec idem Ricardus.

30. DE MURE QUI LEVI QUADAM MALEDICTIONE INTERIIT

Dabo et aliud non mediocre³ fidei vel simplicitatis ejus exemplum. Sedebat quadam die⁴ vir beatus in cella sua vacans Deo⁵ et sibi, et convertens forte oculos suos⁶ ad vestem suam, cappam quam nuper ei prior quidam devotionis gratia transmiserat, a⁷ mure corrosam invenit. Quem casum duriuscule accipiens, ‘ Pereat,’ inquit, ‘ mus qui ita laesit cappam mean.’ Dicto citius mus de muro prosiliens, corruit ad pedes ejus et mortuus est. Tanta fuit violentia verbi et non ex animo sed transitorie et negligenter elapsi, ut etiam mus quasi praevericationis reus mortis subire judicium properaret, et morte sua daret gloriam Deo et pacem sancto ejus. Profecto in re minima non minimum videas caritatis Christi argumentum, qui verbum tam facile servi sui ne forte in terram caderet cum reverentia quadam⁸ excipere pervenit et⁹ velut decreti quadam virtute signavit. At vir simplicissimus de signo hoc humiliatus potius quam grande aliquid parturiens

¹ solus obtinere] o. s., C.² habeat] habebat., H.³ mediocre] mediocris., F H ; C add. vel.⁴ quadam die] aliquando., F : quodam die., H.⁵ Deo] om. C. ⁶ suos] om. C. ⁷ a] om. H.⁸ quadam e. p. et v. decreti] om. H. ⁹ et] om. C.

in semetipso de semetipso, presbyterum qui et horum testis fuit dum vixit vocavit et quia murem incaute maledictionis verbo interfecisset humiliter confessus est. Cui presbyter, ‘Utinam,’ ait, ‘simili anathemate omnes mures¹ regionis hujus perdere digneris.’ ‘Absit,’ ait² vir sanctus, ‘absit hoc a me; nimis hac una vice in hoc uno erratum³ est.’ Et adjecit: ‘Vere si non id displicere crederem Domino meo pro isto etiam orarem ad⁴ eum quatenus⁵ revivisceret.’ Sic magnificentia tanta et tanta simplicitas mirabili et omnino gratissima congruentia in homine hoc responderunt⁶ sibi et⁷ singillatim placentes multo magis conplacuerunt ab invicem. Sed inter haec timeo ego his quae mihi⁸ credita sunt pignoribus sacrис, ne forte irreverentius propalata vilescant. Sane in hujusmodi scio quia opus est mihi dispensatoria⁹ quadam avaricia et ambitione religiosa ut et ipsis conservetur honor suus et audientium taedio consulatur. Ergo quae supersunt, supersunt autem plurima, ipsaque egregia, in diem crastinum censui praeparanda, maxime cum delicatis sensibus esse vos noverim et si quid insipidius vobis appositum fuerit statim criminaturos. Porro ego non erubesco confiteri imperfectum meum, quam infirmus sum ad portandas murmurations.

Explicit liber primus.

Incipit¹⁰ secundus.

31. DE VIGILIIS EJUS

Igitur beatus Wulfricus quasi unus de vigilibus qui circumdeunt civitatem noctes ut supradictum est vigilantissima

¹ mures] post *hujus.*, F H.

² ait] inquit., C.

³ nimis h. u. v. i. h. u. erratum] nimis in hoc uno hoc una vice erratum., F H.

⁴ ad] om. F H.

⁵ quatenus] ut., F H.

⁶ responderunt] respondebant., F H.

⁸ mihi] post *sunt.*, F H.

⁷ et] om. C.

¹⁰ Incipit] F add. *liber.*

⁹ dispensatoria] discretionis., F.

profecto caritate ducebat insomnes et, dormiente Jerusalem in nocte infirmitatis sua, ipse pervagil stabat pro ea in custodia sua. Facto autem mane exibat ad opus suum et ad operationem suam usque ad vesperam et quae gratis acceperat gratis et sine invidia communicans, dicitur salutis liberaliter erogabat. Conveniebat ad eum undique velut ad signum elevatum in sublime et cornu salutis ¹ erectum in domo David, et ipse tanti depositi humilis minister, dispensator fidelis. In vespera autem dimissis turbis ascendebat in illum montem suum solus orare; et resumens pennas suas illo suo diluculo, quasi columba ad fenestram suam volabat et requiescebat. At vero nox veri luminis illustratione ² clarescens illuminatio ejus ³ erat in deliciis ejus, in qua suam ipsius operabatur ⁴ salutem, qui in die aliorum salutem operatus est ⁵ in medio terrae. Sed et aliis etiam tunc sollicitus hauriebat aquas in gaudio de fontibus salvatoris quas mane venientibus ad se refunderet qui non habebant in quo haurirent ipsi, nam et puteus altus est. Beatus ille servus quem Dominus ita vigilantem invenit quacumque vigilia noctis ⁶ immo quacumque hora noctis adveniens. Quid putatis? Numquid vacuus venire poterat ⁷ ad praestolantem se cum sit ipse plenus gratiae et veritatis, maxime cum revertetur a nuptiis? Nonne jam quiescente beato Wulfrico a curis hominum et Christo nihilominus feriante quodammodo a sollicitudine mundi eo quod dormirent omnes ⁸ et dormitarent, dicere erat beatae illi ⁹ animae in gaudio amoris sui, 'Dilectus meus mihi et ego illi.'

32. DE LUCERNAE EXSTINCTAE REACCENSIONE

Accidit autem nocte quadam ¹⁰ ut lucerna quae coram eo ardebat extingueretur. Cumque puerum suum ad eam reaccendentam saepius vocaret et ille non responderet ¹¹ ei verbum,

¹ salutis] om. F H.

² illustratione] om. F.

³ ejus] om. H.

⁴ operabatur] optabatur., F.

⁵ operatus est] operabatur., F H.

⁶ noctis] om. F H.

⁷ venire poterat] poterit venire., F.

⁸ omnes] homines., F H.

⁹ illi] ille., F.

¹⁰ nocte quadam] q. n., F.

¹¹ responderet] respondit., H.

eo quod graviori¹ somno premeretur et in domo remotioni jaceret, respiciens lucernam caelitus accensam invenit, laetatusque est vir beatus in Deo² suo qui de caelo illuxerat ei, psallens jam ex animo dicensque in toto corde suo : ‘ Dominus illuminatio mea et salus mea, quem timebo ? ’ Et quo magis mireris lichino non subserviente ignis pingui materiae molliter incubabat,³ pro se pariter et lichino satisfaciens. Quia enim⁴ de caelo missus est,⁵ caelitus operabatur et gratis, eoque gratius⁶ serviebat qui gratis advenerat.⁷ Ita ergo factum est ut desiderium pauperis sui exaudierit Dominus antequam vocem audierit servus ; et ad parvulam sollicitudinem servi sui confestim evigilans antequam clamaret astitit cum lumine. Ambulavit autem vir sanctus tota nocte illa in lumine Dei sui et mane facto ex more lucernam extinxit.⁸ Percussitque cor suum super temeritate, adeo ut hoc⁹ cuidam¹⁰ ex nostris referens paenitere se adhuc diceret eo quod caelesti muneri fecisse videatur¹¹ injuriam, non reservans illud neque communicans cohabitantibus sibi.

33. REPETITIO SIGNI EJUSDEM

Alio etiam tempore solemne vigiliarum munus celebranti ex more¹² lux vel inimici dolo vel nutu Dei¹³ intercepta est et ab explendo opere Dei virum sanctum subsistere fecit. Qui continuo puras manus cum fide ad Deum levavit prioris gratiae nimirum memor, qua et praeter spem et orandi laborem fuerat visitatus a Domino. Divina ergo institutione formatus, in ipsa votorum conceptione jam audenter dicebat : ‘ Quoniam tu illuminasti lucernam meam, Domine ; Deus meus illumina

¹ graviori] gravi., F : somno graviori., H.

² in Deo] in Domino Deo., C. ³ incubabat] incubat., F.

⁴ enim] om. F.

⁵ est] om. H.

⁶ et gratis eoque gratius] eoque gratius et gratis., H.

⁷ qui gratis advenerat] om. F.

⁸ lucernam extinxit] e. l., F : lumen extinxit., H.

⁹ hoc] post nostris., F : haec (post nostris)., H.

¹⁰ cuidam] quidam., H. ¹¹ videatur] videbatur., F.

¹² celebranti ex more] e. m. c., F H.

¹³ vel i. d. v. n. Dei] v. n. D. v. i. dolo., F.

etiam nunc¹ tenebras meas.' Nec permisit Dominus puerum suum diu in hac parte laborare; sed ad nutum ejus quasi in voce virtutis pronuntiasset, Fiat lux; statim facta est lux. Aucta est itaque² vigiliarum illarum celebritas in solemnitate lucis irradiantis³ de caelo quia ad interioris hominis illuminationem non modicum contulit exterioris quidem, sed tamen de caelo venientis exhibitio lucis. Sed⁴ hanc etiam a puero suo dum missam ipse celebraret extinctam cuidam ex familiaribus suis conquestus est. Haec frater Willelmus et Walterus⁵ Glastoniensis aliique quam plures qui de ore viri sancti haec ipsa acceperunt.

34. DE CANDELA QUAE ARDEBAT ET NON CONSUMEBATUR⁶

Paene brevitatis studio praeterieram quod ne vos defraudare videar dicere compellor ut et ego inter dispensatores fidelis inveniar, nihil subtrahens vobis, nihil mihi reservans ex omnibus. Cum nocturnae synaxis obsequium vir sanctus ad candelae lucem nocte quadam ex more persolvisset, respiciens ad candelam nihil eam damni passam miratus⁷ et num vere debitum officium obsolvisset⁸ haesitare coepit. Denique ne forte errasset per somnium quod ante peregerat repetiit, peractoque denuo servitutis suae penso candelam itidem indemnem repperit. Tum vero⁹ mirari et stupere intra semetipsum quidnam sibi velint haec et num seria¹⁰ res sit quam videat, an in somnis res agatur, fluctuans conquerire cepit. Quid plura? Tertio idem officium repetiit et ad finem usque complevit, completisque omnibus ex more immo vigilantius solito, candelam suae integritati¹¹ perseverantem invenit. Itaque divinam rem agi tunc demum intellexit¹² et Patri luminum gratias egit. Oculos ergo dirigens ad visionem hanc magnam, quomodo candela arderet et non combureretur,

¹ etiam nunc] om. F.² itaque] igitur., F.³ irradiantis] radiantis., F.⁴ Sed] Sic., F.⁵ Walterus] Gualterus., H.⁶ De c. q. a. e. n. consumebatur] Ita F H : om. E C.⁷ miratus] F H add. est.⁸ obsolvisset] persolvisset., F.⁹ vero] demum., F.¹⁰ seria] si ita., F.¹¹ integrat[i] -tis., F H.¹² intellexit] recognovit., C.

lucem matutinam sub ejus candelae lumine exspectavit. Dehinc accersito presbytero : ‘ Nonne haec est,’ ait,¹ ‘ Osberne, cedula quam vespere tradidisti ? ’ Cui ille : ‘ Haec plane.’ ‘ Nonne,’ ait, ‘ tanta est adhuc² quanta et tunc fuit ? ’ Cui presbyter : ‘ Tantam profecto esse adhuc et video et stupeo.’ Cui sanctus : ‘ Ter,’ ait, ‘ vigiliarum mearum officium in hac luce complevi et tu vides quid fecerit³ mihi Dominus meus.’ Respondit presbyter : ‘ Quid dicam, nisi quia quidam divinae dignationis hic jocus esse videtur ? ’ ‘ Gratias illi,’ ait vir sanctus, ‘ gratias illi ; Dominus meus est : faciat quid vult⁴ cum servo suo.’ Itaque cum de his fabularentur ad invicem, cedula sublata est⁵ repente et amplius non viderunt eam.

Verum quid mirum si tenebrae non obscurabantur ab eo cui nox, ut dictum est, sicut dies illuminari consuevit⁶ et continuatae magis quam anticipatae vigiliae noctem verterunt in diem ? Manus namque et os ejus quibus mundus utebatur in die nocte ad orationem recolligebat⁷ reddebatque se sibi,⁸ immo illi unico dilecto et dilectori suo velut de longinqua peregrinatione revertens refrigerandum se indulgebat. Sicque fiebat ut vespera quae eum ad jocundas ferias revocabat ei in quandam sabbati solemnitatem dilucesceret, et sole occidente sol potius oriri videretur, sol utique qui nescit occasum. Erat tunc egregio psalmistae dicere. ‘ Exsurge gloria mea, exsurge psalterium et cithara.’ Erat caritatis Christi devoto aemulatori sponsum voce amatoria invitare. ‘ Revertere dilekte mi.’ Itaque dormiente mundo iste, velut supra mundum constitutus, ad lucem aeternam vigilabat, opportunum illud tempus arbitrans quod consecraret deliciis suis, quibus jam se⁹ nemo clauso nimirum¹⁰ cubiculo posset ingerere. Quis referat quam negotiosum fuerit interim otium cellulae illius, quam luminosae noctes, quid vigiliae illae felicis in Christo obdormitionis

¹ ait] inquit., F.

² est adhuc] a. e., H.

³ fecerit] (fecerit),, F: fecit., H.

⁴ faciat quod vult] fiat quod (om. vult),, H.

⁵ cedula sublata est] s. e. c., C.

⁶ consuevit] solet., H.

⁷ ad orationem recolligebat] r. a. o., F H.

⁸ se sibi] sibi se,, F: om. se., H.

⁹ jam se] se jam., H.

¹⁰ nimirum] quippe., F.

habuerit, quantus fuerit in silentio ¹ clamor, quanto in clamore tranquillitas? Numquid non cella illa cella vinaria, quae et ipsam laetificaverit civitatem Dei? Verum haec a sensibus nostris abscondita sunt et mysteria thalami sui solus Christus agnovit, quorum vel odorem vobis ² obtulisse suffecerit. Igitur illucescente die de lectulo illo sanctorum feriarum suarum vir ³ sanctus surgere conabatur, ⁴ quasi dicente angelo ad eum: 'Dimitte me quia aurora est.' Ecce enim fratres ejus foris stantes quaerebant loqui ei; immo turba ad eum irruens vindicabat eum sibi et manus suaे saluti consecratas ⁵ certatim distrahebat.⁶ Nec licebat aemulatori pacis sua communibus anteponere, et fraternalm salutem in quam se missum ⁷ meminit studio suaे quietis dissimulare. Sic beatum Wulfricum dividebant sibi ⁸ dies et nox, immo sic ipsum partiebantur ipse et mundus vel potius sic totum Christus habebat non quaerentem quae sua sunt sed quae Jesu Christi. Haec de vigiliis viri sancti latius dixerim, ne illa videar neglexisse in quibus maxime placuit Deo et inventus est justus.

35. DE LUCIS CAELESTIS INTER ORANDUM APPARITIONE

Ceterum ne quis me ⁹ ex propriis loqui magis quam ex veritate causetur duo exempla proponam, quae qui vidit et audivit ipse testatur. Die quadam dominica cum dominus ¹⁰ Brictricus aquam in ecclesia benediceret et aspersorium deesset quod filius ejus Osbernus casu domum tulerat,¹¹ quid ageret puer anxius ignorabat; cum subito ex inspiratione divina, ut creditur, incidit in mentem ejus ut aspersorium viri Dei interim exhiberet. Qui cum ostium cellae ¹² fuisse ingressus lucem miri splendoris super medium altaris conspexit. Sanctus autem ante gradum altaris in illud lumen intentus stabat immobilis. Super quo puer vehementer admiratus asper-

¹ in silentio] om. F.² vobis] nobis., F H.³ vir] ubi., F.⁴ conabatur] cogebatur., F H.⁵ consecratas] consecranc., C.⁶ distrahebat] -bant., F.⁷ missum] om. F.⁸ beatum W. d. sibi] s. d. b. W., F.⁹ me] om. F H.¹⁰ dominus] sanctus., H.¹¹ tulerat] detulerat., F.¹² cellae] cellulæ., F H.

sorium alii cuidam tradidit sacerdoti exhibendum. Ipse vero ¹ ad visionem suam reversus, recluso silenter ostio cellulae, ita ut uno tantum oculo posset introspicere, vidi lucem illam paulatim ad cornu altaris sinistrum declinare, et abinde ² armarium quod propter astabat transiliendo, per fenestram aquilonarem ³ egredi. Requisitus deinde secretius vir sanctus ab Osberno quidnam fuisse splendidum illud ac speciosum quod super altare viderat, respondit : ‘Vidisti-ne illud, o fili ?’ At ille : ‘Vidi,’ inquit, ‘domine mi.’ Et sanctus : ‘O, si circa medium noctis adesses, quam frequenter tale aliquid ⁴ videre posses, et odorem praeterea ⁵ miri dulcoris sentire ut in ⁶ comparatione illius ⁷ omnes mundi delicias parvipenderes.’

36. DE SIMILI ITEM CONSOLATIONE ⁸

Accidit autem ut idem Osbernum ⁹ cum jam adultus et presbyter esset, ad ecclesiam in ipso noctis crepusculo iret ¹⁰ ut pro consuetudine dormiret in ea. Cumque appropinquaret ad limen cimiterii, suspiciens vidi ecclesiam deintus immenso lumine coruscantem, adeo ut a facie flammae per fenestras erumpentis cimiterium omne resplenderet. Expavit homo et puerum suum quem Tailiferum ¹¹ nominabat ut illuc respiceret subhortari coepit. At ille cum curiose satis aspiceret et nihil insolitum videret, derideri se a sacerdote putabat. Tum ¹² presbyter divinum quiddam ¹³ agi ad quod ille non esset admittendus agnoscens, prae timore haesit et substitit, et divinis sese ingerere non praesumens, muro cimiterium ambienti incubuit et psalmos quosdam ob divinae visionis reverentiam decantare exorsus est. Interim autem quid in hoc nostro Sinai Moyses noster locutus sit ad Dominum vel quid Dominus

¹ vero] autem., F.² abinde] ibidem., F.³ aquilonarem] aquilonalem., H.⁴ aliquid] ait., F.⁵ praeterea] petere et., H.⁶ in] om. F.⁷ illius] ejus., F H.⁸ De s. i. consolatione] I. d. s. c., F.⁹ idem Osbernum] O. i., C.¹⁰ crepusculo iret] i. c., F.¹¹ Tailiferum] Tailleferrum., F: Taileferum., H.¹² Tum] Tunc., F.¹³ quiddam] quoddam., F H.

responderet¹ ei, si essem amicus sponsi ego et stans audiissem, poteram audita vobis communicare; si tamen hujusmodi essent, quae liceret hominibus loqui. Itaque post paululum sollicite intuente presbytero angelus in flamma ignis per fenestram egressus est dans locum jam sacerdoti ut in ecclesiam introiret. Mane autem facto vocavit eum vir Dei et ait: ‘Quaenam illa visio fuit quam sero vidisti,² Osberne?’ Cui ille: ‘Flammam ignis,’ ait, ‘non modici intra ecclesiam.’ ‘Bene,’ inquit, ‘quia Dominus meus affuit et consolatus est servum suum,³ et consolationes hujusmodi frequenter subministrat. Proinde Dominum meum rogavi⁴ ut aperiret oculos tuos ad contemplandum hoc⁵ vixque id⁶ impetrare praevalui.⁷ At vero puer tuus nullatenus ad haec meruit admitti. Sed et hoc novi,⁸ quia hos et hos psalmos interim decantaveris, et extra fines cimiterii hujus visionis finem exspectaveris.’ Sic vir beatus caelestium consolationum deliciis et diebus et noctibus meruit exuberare, et ne nos tantae beatitudinis saltem conscientia fraudaremur, datus est ei unus testis gloriae qui eam nobis annuntiaret.

37. DE AQUA CONVERSA IN VINUM

Porro salutem hominum procurabat pigmentarius noster maxime in speciebus quattuor; in aqua videlicet benedicta, in⁹ pane itidem benedicto,¹⁰ in impositione manus, in signo crucis. Nam panem et aquam benedicens morbos quoscumque potenter abegit et absentibus mittens totas¹¹ plerumque familias sanavit a languoribus suis. Denique ad benedictionem sanctae manus aquam in vinum conversam certissime novimus, ejus assertioni fidem dantes qui his meruit interesse. Nam cum presbyterum quendam familiarem sibi ad mensae suaे

¹ responderet] responderit., H.² sero vidisti] v. s., C. ³ suum] om. F.⁴ Dominum meum rogavi] oravi D. m., C H.⁵ hoc] haec., C.⁶ id] post *impetrare.*, F H.⁷ praevalui] potui., F.⁸ hoc novi] haec cognovi., F: hoc cognovi., H.⁹ in] et., C. ¹⁰ benedicto] benedicta., H.¹¹ totas] totasque., F H.

participationem detineret et jejunii sui morem, eo quod sexta feria esset, in pane et aqua observaret; presbytero in eandem religionis formam consentiente, discubuerunt simul ad solemnes has nuptias; vocatusque Jesus et in verbo benedictionis invocatus venit etiam¹ ipse ad nuptias. Siquidem venisse eum constat et praesto fuisse qui transiens ministravit eis et non habentibus vinum protulit ipse de fontibus suis. Igitur presbyter cum de potu prior libaret saporemque miratus diligentius examinaret eum, propinavit et ex eo viro Dei. Qui cum vinum novum et ipse probasset biberunt ex eo vicissim coram² Domino in jocunditate. Haec vir fidelis Agelwardus de Haselbergia qui et ipse interfuit.³

38. ITEM SIGNUM IDEM, SED NON ALIQUATENUS IDEM

Sed⁴ de eodem genimine vitis alio tempore eo laetius propinavit quo solemnius et quo⁵ in die solemnii et in loco solemnii; neque uni id⁶ vel duobus sed toti ecclesiae simul. Quia enim ecclesia illa, ut superius dictum est, in honore sancti Michaelis consecrata est, sanctum archangulum devotione praecipua vir angelicus⁷ venerabatur et sub umbra alarum ejus satis fiducialiter sperabat. Haec ergo specialis dilectio morem sancto viro indixerat⁸ ut singulis annis in die sancti Michaelis ad altare ejus missam coram omni populo celebraturus accederet, peractisque ex more solemniiis, aquam benedictam in cipho stagneo gustandam ecclesiae ministraret. Factum est die quadam solemnitatis hujus ut aqua ex more populo⁹ oblata vini saporem indueret, colore videlicet pristino non mutato. Aspiciebant ergo conversi ad alterutum, aquam quidem videntes, vinum autem bibentes. Duplicato itaque miraculo aqua suam speciem retinens peregrinum mutuata¹⁰ est saporem, ita ut de genere potus quaestio suborta videretur,

¹ etiam] et., F.² coram] post biberunt., F. ³ ipse interfuit] int. ipse., F.⁴ Sed] H add. et.⁵ quo] om. F H.⁶ Neque uni id] Nec id uni., F: Neque id uni., H.⁷ devotione p. v. angelicus] v. a. p. d., F H.⁸ indixerat] invexerat., F H. ⁹ populo] om. H.¹⁰ mutuata] mutata., F H.

aliter dijudicante oculo atque aliter renuntiante palato. Sic ad signum potentis dexteræ aqua nunc salubritatis, nunc hilaritatis,¹ gratiam accepit, acceptamque² refudit accipientibus se. Hoc³ quidam ex⁴ senioribus nostris vir religiosus qui⁵ a pluribus se audiisse perhibet qui de eodem poculo gustaverunt.

39. ITEM TERTIO

Nec hoc⁶ silendum quod primis forte fuerat annumerandum, quod domina Haselbergiae⁷ graviter aegrotans⁸ misit ad dilectum suum Wulfricum, non se nimirum repellandam arbitrata quin cum caeteris hauriret sibi de communi fonte salutem. Nec Wulfricus continuit in hac necessitate virtutem suam. Statim enim misit ad hauriendam aquam in urceo, allatamque benedixit et benedictam destinavit. At vero Beatrix quae deferebat, hoc⁹ enim nomen filiae ejus, quae usque hodie¹⁰ superest in testimonium signi hujus, mirata colorem roseum et instar vini scintillantem in vase liquorem : ‘ Aquam,’ inquit, ‘ missa sum reportare non vinum.’ Cui vir sanctus : ‘ Defer,’ inquit, ‘ matri tuae quicquid illud est quod destinavit illi Deus in salutem.’ Denique mulier in poculo hilaritatis salutis hausit hilaritatem,¹¹ contestans omnibus quibus haec enarrabat quia nunquam de meliori vino gustaverit et quia vinum bonum servatum sit ei usque tunc. Proinde residuum vini illius vir beatus miscuit aqua, et venientibus ad se aegrotis in potum salutis temperabat.

40. DE PANE ET VINO CAELITUS EI DELATIS¹²

Accidit ut puer viri Dei ex mandato ipsius exiens ostia obseraret. Dumque vir sanctus sacris studiis animum ex more

¹ nunc hilaritatis] om. H.² acceptamque] et acceptam., F H.³ hoc] haec., C H.⁴ ex] de., H.⁵ vir . . . qui] om. F qui religiosus post quidam collocat.⁶ hoc] H add. solum.⁷ Haselbergiae] Heselbergiae., F H.⁸ aegrotans] aegrotavit., H. ⁹ hoc] sic., F.¹⁰ usque hodie] hodieque., F H.¹¹ hilaritatem] hilariter., C. ¹² delatis] delatus., H.

daret, ingressa mulier in habitu sanctimonialis, accersito viro Dei, salutationes et benedictiones et dedit et reaccepit. Proferens etiam quartam partem panis candidi et lagunculam vini quam justiciam dicimus, obtulit ei¹ dicens : 'Pro sancta caritate obsecro, accipe et gusta ex his.' Qui tam tremendam et tam reverendam obtestationem repellere nec tutum nec liberum sibi arbitratus, extendit manum suam et accepta sibi reposuit. Deinde convertens² oculos cum neminem inveniret timuit sibi a daemonio meridiano cogitans qualis esset haec salutatio, totaque mente conversus ad Dominum³ ne parvulo suo Christus⁴ illudi pateretur oravit. Accepta itaque post paululum fiducia et tranquillitate spiritus in responso⁵ divino,⁶ benedixit et fregit et manducavit. Similiter et⁷ de vino hausit sibi et gustavit. Brichto nihilominus misit ex his dicens : 'Gusta ex his in nomine Domini quae paulo ante transmissa sunt mihi.' Postremo reliquias horum vir sanctus in usum⁸ infirmorum reservavit. Brichticus autem qui haec narrare solebat vini vel speciem vel virtutem mirifice commendabat, asserens quia vere haec generatio vitis non de terra esset⁹ sed de caelo. Haec vir venerabilis Walterus¹⁰ Glastoniensis, qui vas idem saepenumero¹¹ vidisse se asserit et vas idem viro Dei usque ad finem vitae suaee perseverasse.

41. DE PANE MIRACULOSE MULTIPLICATO

Venit ad virum Dei illustris mulier quae Bence usque nunc dicitur et filius ejus Aluredus¹² de Lincolnia cum ea turbaque non modica, qualis quantaque feminam tam nobilem decebat. Et advocans vir Dei puerum suum : 'Ecce,' inquit,¹³ 'Bence adest et manducare habet apud nos ; est-ne tibi quid apponas ei ?' Cui ille : 'Non est,' ait, 'penes nos, domine mi, nisi

¹ ei] om. F.

² convertens] vertens., F H.

³ Dominum] Deum., F.

⁴ Christus] Christo., F.

⁵ responso] responsa., H.

⁶ divino] C add. et.

⁷ et] om. F.

⁸ usum] usus., F.

⁹ esset] esse solet., F.

¹⁰ Walterus] Gauterus., F : Galterus., H.

¹¹ saepenumero] saepe., F. ¹² Aluredus] Aelfredus., F.

¹³ inquit] om. H.

panis unus.' 'Sufficit,' inquit vir Dei, 'ipsum appone eis.' Discubuit ergo mulier cum omni comitatu suo et appositus est panis ille qui ipso visu irritaret potius famem quam refectionem promitteret, presertim lautioris et ditioris mensae consuetudinem habentibus. Sed quia fides tanta non potuit in hac temptatione suas non exponere divitias, in benedictione caelesti paupertas sancta adjuta est; adeo ut refectis illis dimidium panem in reliquis invenirent. Proinde recendentibus illis ecce turba hominum non paucorum ad ostium qui hominem Dei videre et alloqui et benedici ab eo quaerebant; quae res non parvi meriti negotium erat in diebus illis. Quos cum solita liberalitatis gratia vir Dei invitaret ad mensam, appositus est dimidius ille¹ panis qui superfuit his qui manducaverant. Sed quia, ut ait quidam sanctus, fides damna non patitur, post datam benedictionem incidentibus illis et comedentibus panis suis coepit damnis proficere et quasi minui nesciret in priori semper quantitate constabat sibi. Si cujus fides sub tanti signi pondere nutat, ipse vir sanctus fratri Willelmo hospitali, ut ipse hactenus asserit, haec enarravit venerabili quoque abbati de Waverleia Henrico primo, quadraginta homines de uno pane a se refectos fuisse retulit; sed utrum hi homines ex illis fuerint quos supra retulimus an forte alii non temere velim definire.

42. DE VIRGINE QUADAM IN SOMNIS AB EO² SANATA

Nec illud praetereundum³ quod in⁴ virgine quadam de Abbedesberia contigisse notissimum.⁵ Fuit autem⁶ haec soror viri religiosi nomine Gilleberti,⁷ ipsa nihilominus religiosa ac timens Dominum,⁸ et nomen virginis Emma. Quae dolore viscerum graviter laborans, cum matrem sibi sedulo assistentem haberet nocte quadam de somno evigilans exsuscitavit⁹ et ipsam. 'O mater,' inquit, 'ne timeas ulterius mihi ab infirmi-

¹ ille] post est., F.

² in somnis ab eo] a. e. i. s., F.

³ praetereundum] praetermittendum est., F H.

⁴ in] de., F.

⁵ notissimum] F add. est.

⁶ autem] om. F H.

⁷ Gilleberti] Gileberti., H.

⁸ Dominum] Deum., H.

⁹ exsuscitavit] excitavit., F H.

tate hac ; quia gratia Dei ¹ et hominis Dei de Haselbergia ecce sanata sum. Ut enim in somnis mihi visum est, veni ad eum susceptaque sum ab eo, et aquam benedictam in ² cipho stagneo eo offerente gustavi ; et facta est visceribus ³ salus et pax. Et quo facilius credas,⁴ talis et talis est vir,⁵ talis et talis est locus.' Haec quidam ex nostris vir probatis-simus ⁶ qui et tunc interfuit et in eadem domo diu ⁷ conversatus est. Denique ut fidei ⁸ legentium in hac parte satisficeret,⁹ misi ad eam cum hactenus ¹⁰ superstes sit, quae haec omnia ita se habere certissime asseverat. Sic non satis est beatum Wulfricum praesentes sanasse vel vigilantes ; sed munificam manum ¹¹ in absentes et dormientes extendere non pepercit. Quamquam et in virgine non nulla proportio gloriae signi hujus, quoniam ex antiquo privilegio virginitatis salus nunc ulti- venit ad virginem magis quam ipsa ierit ad salutem. Sic enim tam suaviter quam salubriter consultum est verecundiae pariter et saluti,¹² quatenus virgo in utero salutem accipiens prodeundi necessitate careret.

43. DE PANE FURTIVO IN LAPIDIS DURITIAM COMMUTATO

Fuit item non procul a cella viri Dei mulier quaedam, mater Willelmi de Chinnoc qui adhuc superest testis miraculi hujus, dicta et ipsa Emelina. Haec cum devotione multa abundaret erga hominem Dei, inter caetera munuscula sua duos ei panes aut tres plerumque de singulis, ut vulgo loquar, furnaturis mittere solebat. Cumque voluntarium munus quasi necessariam pensionem ¹³ solveret temporibus suis, die quadam ei per unum puerorum suorum tres panes destinavit. Qui unum panum illorum ¹⁴ sibi reservans et in loco abdito abscondens, cum duobus ad eum profectus est. Quibus oblatis et

¹ gratia Dei] D. g., F.

² in] om. H.

³ visceribus] H add. meis.

⁴ credas] credatis., F.

⁵ vir] C add. et.

⁶ probatissimus] beatissimus., H.

⁷ diu] om. F H.

⁸ fidei] fides., F.

⁹ satisficeret] satisfaceret., H.

¹⁰ hactenus] adhuc., F.

¹¹ manum] F H add. suam.

¹² salut] salute., H.

¹³ pensionem] possessionem., F.

¹⁴ panum illorum] i. p., C H.

a viro Dei reverenter susceptis, ipse ad furtivum panem reversus est. Producensque eum¹ de latibulo illo tenebrarum, cultello educto, incidere moliebatur. Porro cultello haerente valida manu coepit anniti. Sed neque sic quicquam proficiens panem omnino inviolabilem comprobavit, quia nimirum viro sancto consecratus, ei cui et missus est sese fideliter conservabat² et infidelitatis ejus quidam index simul et vindex prodibat. Sane a fure et sacrilego non se pollui vel laedi sustinuit, sed pro pane³ lapidem in manu praevaricatoris se⁴ exhibuit. Fur itaque cum⁵ furto et ab ipso furto suo deprehensus dominae suae cui primum peccaverat culpam poenamque aperiens veniam postulabat. A qua mox cum alio hujus rei teste ad virum Dei⁶ destinatus est et furtum ejus cum eo. Cui singula aperienti et misericordiam imploranti respondit vir sanctus : 'Ita, fili, non bene egisti ; quia inoboediens fuisti dominae tuae.' Accipiens deinde panem de manu illius, benedixit et fregit facilitate quidem⁷ summa et de pane calido et vaporante adhuc partem ei dans : 'Ecce,' ait, 'comede.' Sed et ipse cum illo gustavit⁸ de pane eodem et post haec aedificatum hominem cum benedictione remisit. Ecce qui ad beati Wulfrici mensam recumbimus juxta evangelicae refectionis plenitudinem tres panes habemus ; sed in his tribus panis absconditus suavior, habens in se omne delectamentum fidei, humilitatis et benignitatis. Haec enim tria sapit⁹ mihi et si subtiliter dijudicastis saporem, credo quia haec eadem sapitis et vos. Vinum quoque non deest nobis si aquam in vinum mutatam meminimus.¹⁰

44. DE PANE SANGUINEM¹¹ MANANTE

Verumtamen nec illum panem subtrahendum vobis arbitror cum de mensa hac et ipse sit quem beato viro missum his qui

¹ eum] illum., C F H.

² conservabat] reservabat., C.

³ pro pane] plane., F.

⁴ se] om. C.

⁵ cum] a., F.

⁶ Dei] om. F.

⁷ quidem] om. H.

⁸ cum illo gustavit] g. c. eo., F H.

⁹ sapit] sapiunt., F.

¹⁰ meminimus] invenimus., H.

¹¹ sanguinem] sanguine., F.

deferendum susceperebat in domum pauperis cuiusdam¹ hospitandi gratia divertens, cum parvulos foco circumsedentes aspiceret, peterentque panem et non esset qui frangeret eis, de sacculo productum incidere parabat. Et panis quidem incidi consensit sed, quia misericordiae opus citra oboedientiam immo et² contra oboedientiam praesumebatur, sanguine manare coepit; nec ut manducari posset incisus oboedivit. Quae quidem res antiquae virtutis signum quasi a latere respicere videtur cum converterentur in sanguinem flumina Aegypti et imbre eorum ne biberent. Itaque, non sine timore et tremore multo, repositus est panis in sacculo,³ et mane facto⁴ hospite suo comitante qui et miraculi testis et inoboedientiae vel auctor vel occasio fuit ad virum sanctum ab eo delatus est. Qui his ex ordine auditis: 'Ita,' inquit, 'fili, non debuisti etiam parvum opus contra mandatum praesumere.' Deinde acceptum panem in signo crucis sanctificans⁵ et emundans a sanguine suo: 'Ecce,' ait, 'nunc accipe eum et defer puerulis illis quibus praeparasti eum.' Ita vir fidelis et simplex quasi quidam panis azymus in mensa Domini et ipse erat absque omni scilicet fermento malitia et nequitiae.

45. DE MONACHO EI MOLESTO TERRIBILITER MORTUO

Sed haec mansuetudo aliquando scandalum passa est; vae autem homini illi⁶ per quem scandalum⁷ venit. Cum enim monachi de Monte acuto, quae domus ei finitima erat,⁸ ipsi ex conditione victimum praestarent,⁹ subinde tepescente erga eum devotione ipsorum per quendam cellararium suum prevaricati sunt pactum. Qui etiam puerum hominis Dei exigentem ea quae sunt domini sui injuriis dehonestavit et in eo simulque cum eo spernens eum qui miserat illum, cum dolo et murmure quae ipse volebat ministrabat, saepius etiam

¹ pauperis cuiusdam] c. p., H.

² et] om. F. ³ panis in sacculo] i. s. p., F.

⁴ mane facto] Deest C usque ad cap. 46.

⁵ in signo crucis sanctificans] insignans signo crucis., F.

⁶ illi] F H add. *fuit*, sed H om. *illi*.

⁷ scandalum] F add. hoc; hoc scandalum., H.

⁸ erat] fuit., F H. ⁹ praestarent] pararent., F.

remittebat inanem. Accidit autem ut quadam die pertransiens idem cellararius, nescio qua de causa inviseret hominem Dei. Qui eum quod in facie erat benigne suscipiens pro jure hospitalitatis etiam mensam fecit¹ apponi et quae ad manum erant liberaliter exhibuit. Cumque finito prandio profecturus ille esset in viam suam, vir Dei qui hactenus siluerat jam sicut parturiens loqui coepit. ‘Tu,’ inquit, ‘hactenus ambulasti mihi ex adverso et exacerbasti spiritum meum; et nunc judicet Deus inter me et te.’ At ille cum judicaretur exiit condemnatus portansque secum judicium suum, parvipendit vel temeritatem suam vel caelitus² dictatam³ sententiam. Sique factum est ut contumacia priori iniquitati apposita excresceret⁴ in immensum, et a superbia praevicationis fieret supra modum peccans peccatum per contemptum. Denique venientem ad se iterum famulum viri Dei contumeliis onerans vacuum remisit ad dominum suum, nihil secum nisi blasphemias et maledicta portantem.⁵ Ad quorum auditionem exardescens vir sanctus peremptorium verbum intentavit: ‘Auferat,’ inquit, ‘ei⁶ Deus⁷ hodie victimum suum qui meum abstulit mihi.’ Igitur cum vir ille mortis iter eadem die faceret, aquis interceptus est subito, et terribili exitu incidit in manus Dei. At tamen in lubrico hoc observo ego pedes meos, vosque in idipsum admonitos esse volo ne forte impingatis cum etiam nox adhuc⁸ sit, ut temere non audeatis ante tempus⁹ judicare an judicium hoc¹⁰ fuerit mortis aeternae in hominem hunc an in salutem spiritus quandoque si Deus decreverit proventuram, mortis hujus, quae nunc est in interitum carnis, maturata sententia. Alioquin temere velle¹¹ definire de his, quae jam extra humanum sunt diem et ad audientiam majoris curiae delata in divinum judicium inciderunt, nimis caeca praesumptio est, et plusquam humana

¹ fecit] jussit., F. ² caelitus] caelicus., E F sed minus recte.

³ dictatam] dictam., F. ⁴ excresceret] cresceret., F.

⁵ portantem] reportantem., H. ⁶ inquit ei] e. i., F H.

⁷ Deus] om. F. ⁸ etiam nox adhuc] a. e. n., F H.

⁹ ante tempus] om. F H. ¹⁰ hoc] om. F.

¹¹ velle] vel., H.

temptatio. At vir Dei hoc audiens multa amaritudine coepit intra se ¹ contabescere, eo quod spiritum labiorum suorum sibi eum interfecisse videretur et tam in auribus Dei quam familiarium suorum plangens se super illum quibusdam stimulis paenitentiae requirebat sanguinem illius de manu sua. Ceterum ab amicis suis de his familiariter et in aure correptus cur verbum tam asperum protulisset : ‘Sic,’ inquit, ‘debui facere et sic me loqui oportuit.’ Inter haec capiat qui potest, et qui non potest credat saltem evangelicae veritati ; quia sic expedierit homini huic properasse ad interitum suum et judicio gravi alligatum in mare mortis hujus demergi. Sic quippe homines animales similes ejus ² quibus non est intellectus nisi a vexatione gravi ad exaltationem judicis ³ sui velut ad professionem ⁴ molae asinariae deterruit, ne exemplo ejus scandalizarent unum de pusillis hujusmodi. Sed et animam viri sancti cui grave vulnus inflixerat non alias forte commodius sanare poterat, quam ut de lapsu suo paenitentem etiam de morte inimici jam ⁵ plangere doceret ; et in omnem deinceps ⁶ similem casum virtute caritatis armaret.⁷ Haec frater Willemus ⁸ et fratri Willelmo vir sanctus : sed et venerabilis atque religiosa mulier cui nomen Muriel de Bellocampo ⁹ aliquie non nulli horum certissimi testes sunt.

46. DE BLASPHEMI ALTERIUS JUDICIO ET PAENITENTIS CURATIONE

Verum etiam licet ipse mansuesceret post haec et ¹⁰ inimicorum caritate proficeret, sed ¹¹ Dominus non destitit aemulari pro eo, idque in curia regis et regis amicissimo. Nomen illi Dromo ¹² de Munci ; ¹³ de transmarinis partibus oriundus inclitus

¹ intra se] om. H.

² ejus] eis., F.

³ judicis] judicii., F H.

⁴ professionem] suspensionem., H.

⁵ jam] post *plangere.*, F.

⁶ deinceps] om. F H.

⁷ virtue . . . armaret] virtutem . . . amaret., F.

⁸ Willemus] H add. *mihi.*

⁹ Bellocampo] Bello Campo., F : Bello Capo., H.

¹⁰ et] H add. *in.*

¹¹ sed] om. H.

¹² Dromo] Droco., H.

¹³ Munci] H add. *qui.*

erat in domo Regis Henrici. Hic cum audiret nomen beati Wulfrici magnificari in domo regia et opera ejus pie a fidelibus¹ enarrari, coepit miser blasphemare et subsannans dicere: ‘Bene fecerit rex si miserit ad cellam illusoris hujus ad accipientes pecunias ejus, quia fieri non potest ut multa sibi non² thesaurizaverit ad quem tam multi convenientur.’ Adhuc verba blasphemiae erant in ore ipsius et a satana, cui traditus erat ut disceret³ non blasphemare, elisus in terram, ore ad aurem detorto volutabatur spumans. Et ecce concursus magnus et tumultus plangentium, ‘Vae, domine,’ et, ‘Vae, inclite,’ quia non quilibet is erat de familia, sed nomen insigne fecit solemne⁴ judicium. Et posuerunt omnes qui viderunt et audierunt in corde suo dicentes quia vere beatus Wulfricus sanctus Domini est et manus Domini super omnes qui tetigerint eum. Rem continuo astantes ad reginam deferunt et ipsa regina⁵ ad regem, deprecans eum et instantius⁶ in dies sollicitans⁷ ut tantum amicum Dei adire non gravaretur qui orationibus et meritis suis ipsi multum conferre posset et regno ejus.⁸ Emergentibus igitur causis quae eum in illas partes vocabant rex datam occasionem gratanter arripiens⁹ declinavit ad hominem Dei. Igitur regali magnificentia semota humiliter aliquamdiu confabulatus cum eo se studiose precibus ejus commendavit, et dehinc suggestente regina etiam pro milite praenominato¹⁰ supplicavit, enarrans ei per ordinem insipientiam ejus et insipientiae poenam. Quod¹¹ eum audisset vir sanctus humiliter respondens: ‘Ego,’ ait,¹² ‘non imputo ei peccatum hoc.’ Quibus instantibus ut imponeret militi manum, nam et ipsum secum adduxerat rex infirmum nimis et ipso terribilem aspectu: ‘Ego,’ ait vir Dei, ‘praesto sum quicquid debuero¹³ facere.’ Itaque unus assistentium apprehensam manum viri Dei appli-

¹ pie a fidelibus] a. f. p., F.² non] om. H.³ disceret] discat., F.⁴ fecit solemne] s. f., F.⁵ regina] om. F H.⁶ et instantius] i. e., H.⁷ in dies sollicitans] s. i., F H.⁸ ejus] om. H.⁹ gratanter arripiens] a. g., F.¹⁰ praenominato] Redit C.¹¹ Quod] Quae., C.¹² ait] inquit., F H.¹³ debuero] debo., H.

cuit faciei aegroti et reversum est os ejus ad locum suum et sana mente factus est homo et loquebatur jam recte magnificans Deum,¹ magnificans etiam salutes servi ejus, et ipsa exempli sui viva voce palam omnibus qui haec audierunt hactenus testatur² dicens. ‘Nolite tangere christos Dei³ et in prophetis ejus⁴ nolite malignari.’ Rex ergo et qui cum eo erant viso hoc signo mirati sunt firmatique ejus⁵ benedictione et aspectu⁶ plurimum delectati recesserunt. Haec frater Willemus et venerabilis mulier Muriel dicta quibus haec vir sanctus singillatim enarravit.

47. DE ELEEMOSYNIS EJUS ET HOSPITALITATE

Et quia pecuniarum⁷ suspicio militi supradicto occasio blasphemiae facta est, sciendum est quia multa viro Dei⁸ oblata sunt et ex his plurima suscepta.⁹ Neque enim divites plebis ad vultum ejus deprecandum vacuos venire decuit;¹⁰ sed sicut scriptum est, ‘Et filiae Tyri in muneribus,’ et ‘Seminanti spiritualia non magnum erat si carnalia meteret.’ Quae hospitalitatis sectator et pauperum Christi minister fideliter dispensabat et utraque manu serviens pietati in sua se simplicitate et paupertate¹¹ uniformiter continebat. Sed et ecclesiae eidem in phylacteriis et libris¹² et vestimentis pretiosis quae et Dominus¹³ mittebat plena manu effundebat, et quod ad ornamentorum gloriam et copiam spectabat filiae regis decorum implevit. In pauperes etiam Christi de Forda in divitiis simplicitatis suae liberaliter abundavit eo quod in caritate Dei specialiter eos amplexaretur et sicut angelos Dei veneraretur.

¹ magnificans Deum] om. H.

² testatur] contestatur, F H.

³ Dei] meos., F H.

⁴ ejus] meis., F H.

⁵ ejus] om. H: post *benedictione*., C.

⁶ aspectu] F H add. *ejus*.

⁷ pecuniarum] pecuniae., F H.

⁸ multa viro Dei] v. D. m., C.

⁹ suscepta] C add. *sunt.*

¹⁰ decuit] decuerit., F.

¹¹ et paupertate] om. C F H.

¹² phylacteriis et libris] l. et p., C.

¹³ ei Dominus] D. e., F H.

 48. DE LAUDE SIMUL ET VITUPERATIONE CISTERCIENSIMUM¹
 EX PARTE

Non solum autem sed etiam² omnes Cisterciensis religionis professores tanquam viscera sua immo tanquam viscera Jesu Christi sibi artius astringebat; et professionem hanc summis laudibus attollens, eos qui ipsum de vitae suae conversione consulere veniebant ad illam sine cunctatione mittebat. Unum tantum erat quod hujus ordinis fautor et preconator Deo in hac³ religione displicere causabatur, quod in datis videlicet possessionibus⁴ liberius suo jure uterentur, et magis attendentes quod licet quam quod expedit, in causa⁵ hominum qui eorum patrocinio commendati sunt non quod⁶ satis est pietatis⁷ recordari viderentur. In caeteris omnibus similes eos angelis Dei esse dicebat et in⁸ abjectione victus et habitus,⁹ in disciplina, in caritate, in omni denique sanctitate ei placere cui se probaverunt.¹⁰

49. DE SACRIFICIO ALTARIS SINE AQUA CONSECRATO

Veniam autem ad visiones et revelationes Dei in quibus aperuit Deus oculos servi sui ad speculandum procul, ut voluntatis divinae interpres quidam ad homines fieret, et arcana secretorum caelestium his ad quos missus est annuntiaret. In quarum revelationum numero illi primum et praecipuum locum dare non immerito¹¹ dignum duxi¹² quae ei in altari facta est, quoniam et fidei habet non modicam informationem¹³ et ecclesiae creditur esse negotium. Igitur dum sacris vir sanctus asisteret et consecrationis solemnitate rite celebrata atque Dominica oratione completa ad sacramentorum partici-

¹ Cisterciensium] Cistercium., F.² etiam] et., F H.³ hac] om. H.⁴ videlicet possessionibus] p. v., H.⁵ causa] causis., F H.⁶ quod] post *satis.*, F H.⁷ est pietatis] p. e., F H.⁸ in] om. H.⁹ habitus] F add. *et.*¹⁰ probaverunt] approbaverunt., F.¹¹ dare non immerito] n. i. d., H.¹² dignum duxi] duxi dignum., F: om. *dignum.*, H.¹³ habet n. m. informationem] n. m. h. i., C.

pationem se¹ praepararet; suborta est ei haesitatio si aquam calici infudisset. Conquirensque de his² diligentius apud se et interrogans ministrum suum qui ad hoc³ opus cotidie introire et assistere solebat, omnimodis persuasum habuit quia non esset aqua⁴ apposita. Tum vero irruente super eum timore valido captus et captivatus⁵ et prope modum absorptus est, quid⁶ ageret penitus ignorans sed et quem consuleret non inveniens. Sane de veritate sacramenti coepit quaestionem habere penes se, num aliquid⁷ scilicet⁸ actum sit eo quod aqua defuerit, et si aqua vel jam nunc infundi debeat, et consecrationis series a capite repentina. Denique⁹ secundum abundantiam fidei et reverentiae ipsius triumphabat de eo¹⁰ tempestas valida incumbentis angustiae. Itaque ad sancti sacrificii negligentiam redimendam jam tunc animam suam non sine acerbissimi doloris sanguine mactabat¹¹ Deo, et aquam purissimam paenitentiae de corde suo exprimere videbatur in calicem Domini. Dum hoc modo aliquamdiu in cruce quadam anxietatis et ambiguitatis cum Christo, quem prae manibus habebat, penderet, toto corde conversus ad Dominum utraque manu animam suam ad eum levavit¹² expertus jam nunc¹³ in tempore scilicet opportuno quid pura fides possit apud Deum. Omnino oratio justi tanquam sagitta de manu potentis cum virtute egressa omnem nubem¹⁴ pertransiens pervenit usque ad caelos, immo et caelos penetrans ad ipsum conspectum Dei cum fiducia accessum habet, quin et ibi non subsistens in ipsis aures Dei introeundi libertatem se confidit habere. Denique sagittarii hujus dextera non fecellit eum nec sagitta ejus rediit retrorsum, sed prosperata est in his ad quae misit illam.¹⁵ Oratione namque completa respexit in calicem

¹ se] post *sacramentorum.*, F H.

² de his] de hoc., C H : super hoc., F.

³ hoc] om. C.

⁴ aqua] om. F.

⁵ captivatus] captivus., F.

⁶ quid] quod., F.

⁷ aliquid] post *scilicet.*, H.

⁸ scilicet] om. C.

⁹ Denique] Deinde., F.

¹⁰ eo] ipso., F H.

¹¹ mactabat] macerabat., F H.

¹³ nunc] tunc., F.

¹² ad eum levavit] l. a. e., F H.

¹⁵ illam] illum., H.

¹⁴ nubem] (mundum)., F.

sanctum et ecce in eo sanguis roseus¹ velut Agni Immaculati Jesu Christi redundans usque ad labium calicis. Tum vero laetitia nimia totus affluere et in gratiarum actionem² se totum effundere coepit et sicut tenebrae ejus ita et lumen ejus. Perceptoque sacramento Corporis Domini, sanguinem inde³ bibit uve meracissimum. Duplici ergo institutione aedificavit fidem,⁴ et quomodo videlicet credere habeat⁵ pro veritate et quantum sperare possit pro virtute.

50. DE CONVERSIONE ABBATIS HENRICI WAVERLEIAE⁶ AB EO PROPHETATA

Secundo annexanda credidi ea quae de piae memoriae viro Henrico sunt, qui post dominum abbatem Gilebertum sanctorum de Waverleia humilis minister fuit. Et haec quidem mihi notissima sunt, adeo ut de ore ejus ipse auribus meis acceperim ea, velut in hoc ipsum preordinatus a Deo ut essem testis horum idoneus ad vos. Sed ecce ejus nomine prosequor historiam ut laetius et expeditius⁷ currat omnino,⁸ vos ad audiendum credendumque estote⁹ parati. ‘Tempore,’ ait,¹⁰ ‘Regis Stephani multiplicatis peccatis hominum pace caelitus data in Dei injuriam abutentium, missus est, ut nostis, gladius in regnum Angliae qui pacem tulit de terra, foedera rupit, coniurationes foedavit¹¹ et postremo cuncta turbavit. Proruperunt ergo de cavernis suis homines qui bella volunt et velut bestiae silvae nocte de cubilibus¹² suis egrediuntur, et hi diffusi sunt ad latrocinandum in omnem terram,¹³ et revelatae sunt ex multis cordibus cogitationes. Et prosperati sunt pacis inimici¹⁴ in viis suis, et quia¹⁵ tempus opportunum se accepisse credebat impietas; tota¹⁶ nocte illa in opera tene-

¹ ecce in eo sanguis roseus] e. r. i. eo s., F.

² actionem] actione., F H.

³ inde] om. H.

⁴ aedificavit fidem] edifidem., H. !

⁵ habeat] habet., F H.

⁶ Waverleiae] de Waverleia., C.

⁷ expeditius] expediens., F.

⁸ omnino] oratio., H.

⁹ estote] om. H.

¹⁰ ait] om. H.

¹¹ foedavit] federavit., F H.

¹² cubilibus] cubiculis., F.

¹³ ad l. i. o. terram] i. o. t. a. l., F H.

¹⁴ pacis inimici] i. p., F H.

¹⁵ quia] om. F H.

¹⁶ tota] totaque., H.

brarum vigilavit. Igitur in tempore illo ¹ quod ad commendationem gratiae Dei meminisse nunc ² juvat, ego unus eram de satellitio illo ³ eorum qui oderunt pacem, et professionem hanc militiae meae secundum tempus implere curabam et proficiebam in his supra multos de genere meo. Verumtamen et dum sic eram de longe tamen recordabar Domini et, instar temptationum quas nunc patimur, sentiebam bonum, sed non ⁴ diu consentiebam. Emersit autem causa quae ⁵ in partes West-saxónum ire me oportebat et subiit animum ut hominem Dei de Haselbergia de quo multa et mira dicebantur transiens salutarem, ut ⁶ mererer benedictionem ⁷ ejus. Aggressus itaque profectionem hanc veni ad Heselbergiam; sed quia sero veni nec ad contemplandum virum Dei jam licebat accedere usque in mane sustinui. Mane igitur facto missam celebranti ⁸ affui, audiensque eum collectam singulariter pro uno familiari dicentem, aio ad memetipsum. "O felicem hominem pro quo modo collectam ⁹ hanc dicere vir sanctus dignatur." Expletis igitur missarum solemniis, venit ad me Brichticus sacerdos ejusdem ecclesiae dicens: "Veni ad dominum meum quia vocat te." At ego exspectatione quadam grandi repletus in verbo hoc, Brichticum secutus sum venique ad hominem Dei. Qui me mox velut jam agnitus hilari vultu salutans, vicissim a me reverenter resalutatus est. Deinde residente me: "Ego," inquit, "hodie ¹⁰ collectam dixi pro te ad missam meam." At ego ad auditionem tam laetam gaudio gestiens, gratias ubertim agere coepi. Intuensque me ille multo aspectu, et aspectus ejus acutissimus et lucidissimus, in lacrimas erupit dicens: "Quam felix foret homo cui sic facere donaretur ut tu quandoque ¹¹ facturus es." Cui ego in subitatione repromissae salutis admirans et exsultans respondi: "Ego, domine, homo peccator sum, immo peccatis plenus, et in peccatis hactenus

¹ illo] om. H.

² nunc] om. H.

³ illo] om. H.

⁴ non] nec., F H.

⁵ quae] qua., C.

⁶ ut] et., H.

⁷ benedictionem] C add. oris.

⁸ celebranti] E C legunt *celebrante*: eo celebrante., F H.

⁹ modo collectam] c. m., F H.

¹⁰ hodie] om. C.

¹¹ quandoque] quandocumque., F.

conversatus." "Et ego," inquit, "hoc novi, sed et quis futurus sis non ignoro." Replicansque mihi anteactam vitam meam et futuram enarrans, quasi sub una serie legebat¹ mihi et intulit. "Ecclesiam," inquit, "illam quam violenter tulisti resignare te oportet." Sed et de prosperitate itineris mei de his quoque quae ante redditum meum eventura² erant, in partibus illis ad quas ibam, eodem ordine quo et evenisse³ probantur copiose et fideliter pronuntiavit.⁴ Et ne longum faciam, auditio eo et de verbis gratiae quae procedebant de ore ejus non modica spe et aedificatione percepta, demum ei valefeci. Et ibam per viam meam gaudens portansque responsum salutis meae in sinu meo. Deinde post modicum⁵ expeditis feliciter causis profectionis meae et his in via occurrentibus quae praenuntiata sunt mihi, ex condicto ad angelum pacis meae reversus sum. Ad cujus verba meliora utique vino illo quo me inebriatum invenit⁶ aliquamdiu pendere et lactari⁷ merui; et irrigante eo novellam plantationem suam, secundum⁸ benedictionis fructum reportare. Sed heu me miserum! quia praeopere nimis et antequam Christus formaretur in me sustinui avelli ab eo. O grave jugum iniquitatis et miseram conditionem servitutis hujus! Cito feci et⁹ oblitus sum horum, et instar captivi qui furtim regressus¹⁰ de carcere denuo captivatur et jam firmiori custodia artatus poenas egressionis suaے exsolvore cogitur, ita et ego profundioribus¹¹ tenebris a facie Domini fugiens¹² et sancti ejus exceptus sum. Denique sicut in diebus antiquis post introitum Moysi ad filios Israel aggravata est super eos manus Pharaonis, ita et ego contra Moysen meum in soliloquio meo submurmurare coepi et justae¹³ querelae vocibus ingemiscere. "Ubi est," inquam, "nunc sermo prophetae mei et repromissio quam mandavit mihi¹⁴ Dominus

¹ legebat] narrabat., F.² eventura] ventura., F H.³ evenisse] venisse., F H.⁴ pronuntiavit] praenuntiavit., C.⁵ post modicum] postmodum., C.⁷ lactari] lactare., F H.⁶ invenit] inveni., F.⁹ et] om. C H.⁸ secundum] secunda., F H.¹⁰ regressus] egressus., F H.¹¹ regressus] egressus., F H.¹¹ profundioribus] profundioris., F.¹² fugiens] om. F.¹² fugiens] om. F.¹³ mandavit mihi] mihi mand., F H.¹³ justae] justis., F.

per os ejus." Verumtamen¹ quia non potuit excidere verbum Domini, in plenitudine temporis ab ipso² praefiniti recordatus est misericordiae³ et veritatis suae mihi, et exsuscitans⁴ ad paenitentiam suscitavit verbum servi sui in me. Et quoniam multiplicatae sunt infirmitates meae, currens acceleravi in humilitatem professionis hujus ut sub umbra ejus a facie Dei⁵ et a gloria majestatis ejus absconderer. Deinceps jam novit ipse de profectibus⁶ meis et imperfectum⁷ meum viderunt oculi ejus; sed haec sunt vestigia pedum meorum et hic⁸ ordo miserationum Domini super servulum suum usque in diem hanc. Proinde nescio quo ordine judiciorum Dei cum ex novicio vix monachum induisse, in abbatis ministerium ad Tinterniam⁹ vocatus sum, nisi quia secundum formam quandam viarum mearum antiquarum Deo ordinante requiescere¹⁰ non sum permisus, sed circuire terram cogor et perambulare eam et sub servilibus oneribus ingemisco et parturio usque adhuc. At vero cum bene mihi jam¹¹ esset non sum oblitus¹² interpretis mei; sed conferens assidue verba ejus cum preventibus meis, aio ad memet ipsum.¹³ "Ibo et videbo hominem Dei ut congratuler ei eo quod¹⁴ fidelis inventus est in me et non cecidit ex omnibus verbis ejus in terram. Denique si tanta bona promisit¹⁵ mihi cum adhuc inimicus essem et proditus,¹⁶ quanta putas annuntiabit jam¹⁷ reconciliato? Profecto et de miraculis jam a me gerendis¹⁸ non silebit." Et concipiebam quoddam¹⁹ occultum superbiae venenum, cui me nesciente jam praeparabatur antidotum quoddam salutare a Deo. Itaque

¹ Verumtamen] Verum., C. ² ab ipso] ab eo., F.

³ misericordiae] H add. suae. ⁴ exsuscitans] H add. me.

⁵ Dei] ejus., H. ⁶ profectibus] fectibus., H.

⁷ imperfectum] in profectum., F.

⁸ hic] haec., H.

⁹ Tinterniam] Tinternam., H. ¹⁰ requiescere] quiescere., F H.

¹¹ mihi jam] j. m., F.

¹² oblitus] immemor., F post *mei*: *oblitus post mei.*, H.

¹³ memet ipsum] me ipsum., F H.

¹⁴ eo quod] quoniam., F H. ¹⁵ promisit] repromisit., C H.

¹⁶ proditus] proditor., F. ¹⁷ jam] om. C.

¹⁸ gerendis] faciendis., F H.

¹⁹ quoddam . . . praeparabatur] om. H.

de facili causa a latere sumpta assumpsi iter, veniensque ad hominem Dei salutavi eum et dixi. “Ego, domine, sum homo ille cui quondam pronuntiasti ea quae jam¹ per gratiam Dei² completa sunt in me; et ecce coram te fructus prophetiae tuae. Veni ergo ad te ut gratias agas Deo pro me, qui et mihi misertus est et te fidelem comprobavit.” At ille hoc audiens verbum medicinale respondit mihi. “Ita, fili,” ait, custodi ordinem tuum et salvare poteris animam tuam.” Statim detumui fateor; et residerunt turgidae conceptiones meae et alligata est plaga superbiae meae. Recessique³ in responso hoc salubriter humiliatus et inter caeteras misericordias Domini hujus etiam reminiscor dicens. “Bonum mihi quia humiliasti me, ut discam justificationes tuas.”

Haec vir venerabilis Henricus domno abbatii de Forda et mihi in via Cisterciensis capituli jocunde enarrans pro vehiculo interim fuit, et tam in laudem gratiae Dei qui quos praedestinavit⁴ et vocavit, quam in fide⁵ eorum quae de nostro Wulfrico sunt, de familiari exemplo animos audientium fecit assurgere.⁶ Porro norunt omnes qui hominem hunc norunt quoniam ipse vir fuerit virtutum in humilitate praecipuus, injuriarum patientissimus, et fere insensibilis ad eas. Industriae vero et sollicitudini ejus etiam ipso tacente opera ejus testimonium perhibent⁷ quoniam cum domum dissipatam et propemodum exterminatam invenerit,⁸ secundum mediocritatem quidem simplicitatis nostrae ruinas ejus reaedificavit, et in felicem statum⁹ promovens eam memoriam sui¹⁰ cum laudibus dereliquit. Deinde labores infiniti¹¹ quibus jugiter¹² pro domo sua vir animo invictus et corporis sui negligentissimus exercebatur et atterebatur,¹³ nunquam ei psalterium excutere poterant quin illud per diem et noctem ex integro psalleret.

¹ jam] post *Dei.*, C.

² gratiam *Dei*] D. g., F H.

³ Recessique] Recessi., H.

⁴ praedestinavit] F H add. *hos.*

⁵ fide] fidem., F H.

⁶ assurgere] exsurgere., F H.

⁷ perhibent] perhibet., F.

⁸ invenerit] invenit., F.

⁹ felicem statum] s. f., F H.

¹⁰ sui] suam., F.

¹¹ infiniti] om. H.

¹² jugiter] om. H.

¹³ et atterebatur] om. H.

Et in hoc quidem beati magistri et prophetae sui aemulator videbatur qui semel per diem et semel per noctem illud per cantare consuevit. Postremo in altaris officio tanta gratia lacrimarum abundabat ut quasi phiala altaris ineibriari vide-retur ; immo Dominum Jesum ipse potius inebriaret et paeberet delicias regibus, his nimirum qui assistere ibi creduntur ¹ Regi ² suo et Deo suo. At vero si quis curiosior fuerit ad scrutandas iniquitates, si quis insipientior ³ ad judicandas infirmitates servi alieni, servi Dei, excepto eo quod in sanctum Dei peccans in Deum peccat, peccat ⁴ non leviter in animam suam. Ut enim in eo quo judicat judicio ipse judicetur, nonne haec iniquitas est ⁵ et infirmitas maxima verecundiora ⁶ patris sui ⁷ discooperire, quae etiam non operire discooperta reputabitur ⁸ ad injustitiam? Non mihi contingat in ordine hoc judicantium sedem sortiri ; non mihi proveniat cum his introire qui quaerunt impietatem in domo justi ; postremo non sit portio mea cum his ⁹ qui carnes ad vescendum conferunt et impudentius tractant infirma sanctorum. Porro sors mea cum his qui pie Christum sapiunt et amplectuntur infirma eius ; qui honorant patres sanctos ¹⁰ ut bene sit eis, [qui didicerunt a Christo alter alterius onera portare,] ¹¹ qui didicerunt alter alterius lavare pedes. Exemplum enim dedit nobis ut nos similiter faciamus, quia vere languores nostros ipse tulit et ipse est cuius caritatis ministerium hactenus est abluerre sordes filiarum Sion et sanguinem Jerusalem lavare de medio ejus. Alioquin si quis ¹² in hac parte vehementior fuerit, unus tamen est cui dicimus : ‘Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.’ Unici filii Dei unica gloria est, ‘Hic est filius meus dilectus in quo mihi bene complacuit.’ Sed haec alias et aliis dicenda relinquimus ; nos de Wulfrico nostro quae coepimus absolvere decet.

¹ ibi creduntur] c. i., F.

² Regi] Regio., H.

³ insipientior] insipiens., F.

⁴ peccat] om. C.

⁵ est] post *infirmitas.*, F. H.

⁶ verecundiora] verecundia., H.

⁷ sui] sancti., C.

⁸ reputabitur] reputatur., H.

⁹ his] eis., F.

¹⁰ sanctos] om. F: suos., H.

¹¹ [qui . . . portare]] om. E.

¹² si quis] siquid., F.

 51. DE QUIBUSDAM DEBITIS QUORUM CAELESTEM¹
 SOLUTIONEM PRAEDIXIT²

Narrabat abbas idem memorabile quiddam quod memorare mihi quidem promptum est, nonnullis autem forte³ necessarium. Se autem dicebat quia cum Tinterniae abbatis praesesset officio accidit eum aere alieno supra modum quidem suum premi, eo quod in domo illa sicut⁴ in⁵ plerisque hujus ordinis domibus modulus reddituum infinitis expensarum necessitatibus non ex aequo respondeat. Igitur sub fasciculis deprimentibus anxie gemens non habuit requiem spiritui suo, donec manum suam quam apud creditoris defixerat liberaret. Humano denique destitutus auxilo recordatus est quia non sine causa prophetam sciret⁶ esse in Israel, sed ut eo ad carnalium etiam necessitatum absolutionem uteretur. Quid plura? Itur ad virum Dei, confertur cum eo de variis necessitatibus domus cui ministrabat, profertur rei familiaris angustia, pondus debitorum prementium, creditoris instantia, debitoris sollicitudo. Ad quae vir sanctus modestia vultus et vocis gravitate servata respondit: 'Confitere mihi in quibus rebus expenderis ea quae te tam sollicitum reddiderunt.' Respondit: 'Non memini me multa ex his in vacuum effusisse, sed in honorem tamen Dei, et utilitatem domus meae.' Iterum ergo eadem quaestione sollicitanti eum viro Dei, iterum abbas non dissimiliter respondebat. Perseveranti⁷ denique pro semetipso testimonium dicere respondit vir sanctus. 'Et ego,' inquit, 'in verbo Domini dico tibi quia in brevi quaecumque in Dei honorem⁸ expendisti praeparata occurrunt.' Credidit homo propheticæ⁹ quam probatam¹⁰ ex longo tempore habuit veritati et ibat. Cumque Bristolum transfretandi ad Tinterniam gratia venisset, ecce homo ex insperato, cuius tetigerat Deus cor ut sua pauperibus et domibus religiosorum erogaret, consilium abbatis in hoc ipsum expetiit, quatenus

¹ caelestem] celerem., C.² praedixit] dixit., F.³ forte] om. C.⁴ sicut] C add. et.⁵ in] om. H.⁶ sciret] om. H.⁷ Perseveranti] -te., F.⁸ Dei honorem] h. D., F H.⁹ propheticæ] prophetiae.. H.¹⁰ probatam] post tempore., F.

quae recte offerebat recte nihilominus ad abbatis directionem divideret. Porro abbas unicuique secundum mensuram prudentiae suae et pecuniae distribuendae ordinare satagebat, a commemoratione dumtaxat domus¹ propriae prae verecundia abstinens. Nec verecundia illa gratia caruit; nam cum id ille² qui pecuniam hanc erogabat subinde adverteret:³ ‘Quando,’⁴ inquit, ‘etiam domus tuae mentio fiet?’ ‘Tua,’ inquit abbas, ‘non mea hoc interest.’ Et ille: ‘Scribe,’ inquit, ‘domui tuae xxiiij marcas.’ Et annumeravit eas. Ceterum summa debiti summam istam excessisse scienda est ut liquido abbas advertere posset se residuam partem debiti aut in vanis aut in superfluis rebus, aut certe in rebus Dei, sed minus sincera intentione,⁵ expendisse. Audiant qui pusillo sunt corde in causa consimili, et in his quae pro Deo et secundum Deum expenderint, Deum quidem non se et debitorem et redditorem meminerint. Dominus prope est ad quem haec ratio debiti pertinet, nihil quasi pro se solliciti sint. Ut solvat pro semetipso fidelis est⁶ et dives est ne dubites velle, quem posse non dubites.⁷ Ponant item hoc super⁸ cor suum qui rebus Deo dicatis libere nimis ne dicam sacrilege negotiantur in acquisitionem vani et post modicum exsufflandi nominis, et subitam pauperum faciunt commercium vanitatis. Novissime vero quasi re bene gesta Deo imponunt debita sua, ut quae rapuerunt ipsi exsolvat ipse, immo quod a salutare⁹ longius est nec sic recordantur Domini ut ambitionis hujus sumptuose vel sero paenitentiam agant et revertantur ad percutientem se.

52. DE REVERENTIA ABBATIS HENRICI AD VIRUM DEI

Narravit item idem venerabilis pater quiddam de beato viro hoc memoria dignissimum, quod eo certius noverat, quo eo mediante et discurrente inter excellentis meriti viros, beatum scilicet Bernardum et beatum Wulfricum, res eadem gesta est.

¹ dumtaxat domus] dom. dumt., F H: om. *dumtaxat.*, C.

² id ille] ille id., F.

³ adverteret] averteret, C F.

⁴ Quando] Quin., F.

⁵ intentione] devotione., H.

⁶ est] om., F H.

⁷ dubites] dubitas., H.

⁸ hoc super] haec super hoc., H.

⁹ salutare] salute., C H.

Sane quoniam filiali reverentia et dilectione¹ amplectebatur sanctum Dei ex quo eum per prophetiae gratiam in Christo concepit; opera ejus devote audiebat et devotius enarrabat sanctis praecipue viris, quoniam his praecipue venerabile et reverendum est nomen sanctitatis. Quocumque ambulabat laude viri hujus² ibat infrenatus et circumferebat nomen hoc quasi citharoedus citharam suam in omnem locum, et de Wulfrico suo velut a³ pretio apprecciatu mercabatur virorum sanctorum familiaritates. Denique ad summum pontificem veniens cum nactus esset copiam ejus protulit Wulfricum suum et homini avidissime⁴ audiendi ipse avidissime nihilominus⁵ referens longo sermone satisfacere non poterat. Stabant autem foris⁶ viri potentes columnae ecclesiae volentes et non valentes in sacrum hoc auditorium penetrare, et pendebant interim causae ingentes⁷ et negotia terrarum omnium in circuitu aurem domini papae appellatum. At vero dominus papa et pater Henricus congregati erant intus in nomine beati Wulfrici et mysterium quoddam sanctitatis⁸ operantes comedebant favum cum melle suo, bibeantque vinum suum cum lacte suo. Et gloriabatur, ut ipse dicebat nobis, apud semetipsum eo quod hominem quem mundus praestolabatur ipse solus occuparet et tantae potestatis non solum aditum et copiam sed et familiaritatem quandam⁹ et societatem videretur adeptus. Deinde veniens ad beatum Bernardum Clarevallensem notissimam replicabat historiam et viro sanctissimo et sapientissimo¹⁰ angelicae simplicitatis fidem et magnificentiam evangelizabat. At ille vehementer gloriae Dei et sancti ejus congaudens, tandem eidem patri quandam excessum suum humiliter confessus est, et eum ad beatum Wulfricum quatenus hujus peccati veniam sibi a Deo impetraret¹¹ destinavit.

¹ dilectione] devotione., F.² hujus] Dei., F.³ a] de., F H.⁴ avidissime] avide., F.⁵ avidissime nihilominus] n. a., F.⁷ ingentes] om. C.⁶ foris] fores., F H.⁸ sanctitatis] om. F.⁹ quandam] post societatem., C F H.¹⁰ et sapientissimo] om. H.¹¹ impetraret] impetrat., F: impetravit., H.

Ut¹ autem hujus excessus ordo pandatur paulo altius rem audire non taedeat.

53. DE SCHISMATE IN DIEBUS INNOCENTII PAPAE CUI²
BEATUS BERNARDUS SUCCURRIT

In initio papatus domini Papae Innocentii ecclesia divisa est, Petro Leonis rugiente et devorante plurimos de ecclesia. Et quia domus a fundamento concussa est imminentem coepit formidare ruinam, et laesa in³ capite ecclesia vitae nimurum timuit totius corporis sui.⁴ Igitur filiorum suorum opem cum lacrimis et gemitu imploranti beatus Bernardus gratia et fortitudine plenus occurrit et labentem matrem tam reverenter quam fortiter accepit in ulnis suis. Seposuit interim beatas et dulces vacationes suas ut laboranti matri devotus filius⁵ assisteret et multorum pacem suis laboribus credidit⁶ redimendam, quippe cui datum est ex sententia dicere: ‘Introduxit me rex in cellaria sua, ordinavit in me caritatem.’ Itaque de regali illo accubitu suo beata illa anima sponsa Jesu Christi surgere sustinuit et a brachiis sponsi non sine quadam animae suae divisione ad tempus avulsa est. Processit ergo non sine solemnitate procedentium cum eo, non sine applausu benedicentium ei eo quod veniret in nomine Domini; nec sine admiratione dicentium: ‘Quae est ista quae ascendit⁷ de deserto, deliciis affluens.’ Prosequebatur enim gratia Domini dilectum suum et in labiis ejus ubertim diffusa se de labiis ejus dignanter diffundebat et abunde distillabat e manibus. Denique ubicunque erat vir ille lux erat, ubicunque ambulabat gratia spirabat, et odor vestimentorum ejus sicut odor thuris. Diceres eo loquente et exaltante in fortitudinem vocem suam tonitruum factum esse, diceres apparente eo et illustrante omnia adventu suo fulgor coruscasse de caelo. Adeo sagitta Domini electa cum virtute penetrabat corda inimicorum regis nec erat qui se absconderet a calore ejus omnia incendentis,

¹ Ut . . . taedeat] om. H.

² cui . . . succurrit] om. F.

³ in] om. F.

⁴ sui] suis., H.

⁵ devotus filius] f. d., F.

⁶ laboribus credidit] c. l., F.

⁷ ascendit] descendit., F.

omnia captivantis, omnia triumphantis in obsequium Christi. Et prosecutus est impios ex Israel et eos qui conturbabant populum Dei gladio illo ancipiti oris sui expugnavit; et ac si columba cessante jam diluvio fructum pacis in ecclesiam¹ reportavit. Deus enim erat in sancto suo, ecclesiam suam reconcilians sibi, et ipse praecessit ante illum disperdens et dissipans inimicos suos in circuitu. Ita omnino est, ita in filio² dilecto ecclesia complacet sibi quicquid garriant aemuli ejus, si qui tamen supersunt adhuc quos non disperdidit³ aut humiliavit propugnator ejus Deus. Mihi proinde sicut non licebat praeterire hominem hunc excellentissimum qui se mihi praeviam obtulit absque salutatione et osculo pedum ejus, ita me indignum et insufficientem in obsequium hoc corde credo, ore confiteor. Qui habet sponsam sponsus⁴ est et ipse solus idoneus ad hoc, quoniam et dum⁵ adhuc esset nobiscum in ipso laudabatur anima ejus tota die, et voces hae notissimae prorsus animae huic.⁶ Igitur et si laudent eam reginae et concubinae et beatissimam⁷ praedicent filii ejus qui sunt hodie stellae sicut caeli, ei tamen ad omnem plenitudinem laudationis sufficit vox dilecti sui.

54. DE⁸ QUODAM LAPSU BEATI BERNARDI QUEM VIR SANCTUS PRIUSQUAM EI REFERRETUR EXPOSUIT ET DIMISSUM ESSE NUNTIAVIT

Factum est autem, pendente adhuc sententia Dei cui parti videlicet victoria de caelo proveniret et populo Romano in duas adhuc⁹ partes claudicante, ut aperiret beatus Bernardus in medio ecclesiae os suum, et sermone copioso contionaretur ad populum. Et protrahente eo diutius verbum,¹⁰ egressus est sermo de labiis ejus quia haec erat voluntas in caelo ut ecclesia

¹ ecclesiam] F H add. *Dei.*

² filio] H add. *suo.*

³ disperdidit] disperdiderit., C.

⁴ sponsam sponsus] sponsus sponsam., F.

⁵ dum] cum., F H.

⁶ animae huic] h. a., F.

⁷ beatissimam] beatissime., F.

⁸ 54. *De quodam . . . nuntiavit*] om. C: in F H hoc titulum post verba *Innocentio intenderet* inseritur.

⁹ adhuc] post *populo.*, F.

¹⁰ verbum] lacuna in C.

Innocentio intenderet. Igitur vir beatissimus qui ut erat spiritualis omnia sua¹ dijudicabat ne quis saltem naevus faciem illam serenissimam in oculis coelestis sponsi² decoloraret, odoratus in sermone hoc praesumptionis odorem verbum insolentius retractavit, et scidit cor suum velut a sermone blasphemiae. Eadem nimirum libertate coepit agere in semetipsum aemulator fortis qua in reges et principes et gloriosos terrae uti consueverat utpote a Deo constitutus super gentes et super regna et qui, auctoritate quadam Spiritus Sancti singulariter in eo radiante, ipsis principibus reverendus et terribilis erat, ut castrorum acies ordinata. Itaque cum non esset in domo justi pondus et pondus, eadem censura castigavit semetipsum in spiritu judicii et spiritu ardoris nec ad repropitiandum³ sibi Deum se solum idoneum arbitratus misit legationem ad hunc Wulfricum nostrum ut offerret hostiam orationis pro peccato suo hoc. Venit ergo pater Henricus ad patrem suum et salutavit eum nomine beati Bernardi et causam ejus allegans ait : ‘ Beatus Bernardus misit me ad te ut ores⁴ Dominum pro peccato quodam a quo nimis timet animae suea.’ At vir sanctus statim rapuit verbum ex ore ejus nec eum procedere passus ait : ‘ Quid ita sibi⁵ voluit usurpare scientiam secretorum Dei ? ’ Et adjecit : ‘ Si dixisset quia hanc crederet fuisse⁶ voluntatem in caelo, recte omnino dixisset. Verum tamen suscepit Deus paenitentiam ejus ne ex hoc jam imputetur ei sermo iste ad peccatum.’ At ille ad sermonem hunc expavescens, satis se dixisse credidit sapienti.

55. DE CONGRUENTIA SAPIENTIAE SE HUMILIANTIS ET SIMPLICITATIS LIBERE⁷ CASTIGANTIS

De caetero siquid aedificationis causa de his mihi licet loqui ad vos non⁸ nos leviter pertranseat magnitudo tantae humilitatis in⁹ beato Bernardo vel magnificentia tantae simplicitatis

¹ omnia sua] s. o., F H.

² coelestis sponsi] s. c., C.

³ repropitiandum] propitiandum., F H.

⁴ ores] H add. ad.

⁵ ita sibi] s. i., F H.

⁶ fuisse] post caelo., F : esse., H.

⁷ libere] liber., H.

⁸ non] F add. sic.

⁹ in] om. H.

in beato Wulfrico. Revera enim sic decebat¹ disponente² Deo qui facit concordiam in sublimibus suis, ut sapientia illa et haec simplicitas in humilitate et caritate Christi obviarent sibi ut pennae animalium horum³ recte essent alterius ad alterum. Utique sic⁴ decebat concurrentes eos in idipsum in osculo pacis implere omnem justitiam, sic oportebat hunc de illo crescere, illum autem de hoc minui, sed proficere, sed abundare, sed superexcrescere. Quid enim? Numquid tam grande erat piaculum hoc ut in finibus illis non posset expiari, cum caritas quae in eo abundabat ad omnem ecclesiam cuius intuitu in copioso etiam sermone verbum hoc incautius prosiluit operiat multitudinem peccatorum et postremo cor contritum et humiliatum Deus non despiciat. 'Siccine resina non est in Galaad et medicus non est ibi?' Pensate,⁵ ponderate penes quos est pondus sanctuarii; qualiter columnae caeli contremiscunt ad nutum majestatis illius aeternae; quantus amor justitiae sit sincere amantibus Deum; et quantum denique odium iniquitatis esurientibus justitiam. O justitia, peregre quaesita a viro Dei amico tuo, quam longe peregrinaris a nobis qui non curamus vulnera nostra et ideo⁶ longe sumus a curatione! Pretiosa tu ei cui procul et de ultimis finibus pretium tuum,⁷ et magnificata es in oculis ejus et ideo obviasti ei quasi mater honorificata. O humilitas beati Bernardi pretiosior mihi a milibus signorum, locus plane tutissimus in quo steterunt pedes ejus, quomodo condigne⁸ adorabimus te quae humiliasti montem illum aromatum usque ad pedes hujus parvuli Dei! Sed et⁹ simplicitas nostri Wulfrici magnificata est hodie nimis, ad cujus vestigia se inclinat sedes illa¹⁰ sapientiae et caeli etiam civibus venerabilis¹¹ sanctitas. Crevisti mihi hodie,¹² domine mi, pro eo quod elevatus es in vertice¹³ montis excelsi hujus, et angelus quidam reconciliationis et pacis factus es

¹ decebat] dicebat., H.² disponente] disponere., F.³ horum] eorum., H.⁴ sic] sicut., C.⁵ Pensate] F add. et.⁶ ideo] iccirco., F H.⁷ tuum] tui., C.⁸ condigne] digne., F.⁹ et] om. F.¹⁰ illa] ipsa., F.¹¹ venerabilis] venerabis., F.¹² mihi hodie] h. m., F.¹³ vertice] verticem., C H.

tanto amico Dei in simplicitate tua. Quis enim dubitet carbone illo desolatorio correptionis tuae carbone, quem forcipe simplicitatis tuae tulisti de altari illo Dei caritate cordis tui, labia prophetae nostri fuisse purgata? Sed hujus excursus¹ veniam petens ab his qui mecum ambulant jam beato Bernardo valedicere compellor nec sine gemitu cordis mei quoniam adhaesit anima mea post patrem meum, currum Israel et aurigam ejus. O bonus odor Jesu Christi,² vale jam in³ illud Salomonis tui aeternum osculum, nosque trahe post te in odorem⁴ unguentorum tuorum. Sed et⁵ omni ecclesiae Dei fiat⁶ pax in virtute tua sicut et in diebus antiquis.

56. DE MATILDA⁷ INCLUSA⁸ CUJUS CONVERSIONEM ET CONVERSATIONEM ET VITAE FINEM ET GLORIAM PRAEPARATAM VIR DEI PROPHETAVIT

Vir venerabilis et sanctae ab adolescentia conversationis Johannes anachoreta de Winterburnia,⁹ quae est in pago Dorsetensi, rem quam dicturus sum narrare solet, et hujus rei testem invocat ipsam¹⁰ veritatem, quam ei in testimonium non credimus defuturam¹¹ cum sit ei familiarissimus. Sed et venerabilis inclusa de Waram,¹² Cristina¹³ nomiine, penes quam hujus veritatis tutissima est custodia,¹⁴ sollicite¹⁵ non semel tantum inquirenti mihi historiam hanc fideliter commendavit. Vocavit quadam die vir sanctus puerum suum et mandavit ei dicens: ‘Vade et voca¹⁶ sororem meam quoniam ecce venit et introduc eam ad me.’ Qui egrediens¹⁷ cum circum-

¹ excursus] excessus., F H.

² Jesu Christi] C. J., F H.

³ in] om. F.

⁴ odorem] odore., F H.

⁵ Sed et] Hic et in., F.

⁶ fiat] post Dei., F.

⁷ Matilda] Matilde., C F.

⁸ inclusa] C add. *de Warham*: *de Waram.*, H.

⁹ Winterburnia] Winterburna., F.

¹⁰ invocat ipsam] ipsum invoco., F.

¹¹ ei. i. t. n. c. defuturam] e. n. c. d. i. t., F H.

¹² Waram] Waram., F.

¹³ Cristina] Christiana., F.

¹⁴ tutissima est custodia] t. c. e., C H.

¹⁵ sollicite] H add. et.

¹⁶ Vade et voca] Voca vade., F.

¹⁷ egrediens] egressus., F H.

spiciens neminem vidisset, regressus¹ ad dominum suum neminem se invenisse² respondit. ‘Accelera,’ ait³ vir Dei, ‘occurre ei, quoniam⁴ occurrit tibi soror mea.’ At ille iterum egressus obviam habuit in cimiterio mulierem, salutansque eam deduxit et introduxit ad dominum suum. Qui salutatione data et redditâ cum interrogaret locum nativitatis⁵ et perfectionis causam, se de Westsaxonum finibus oriundam transmarinam peregrinationem arripuisse respondit. ‘Propius,’ inquit vir Dei, ‘habitabis, et citra mare est habitatio⁶ tua. In professione namque anachoretica quindecim annis apud Waram servies Deo,⁷ et sextus decimus demum⁸ annus ipse finis est⁹ vitae tuae. Dehinc ad Dominum tuum cum gaudio proficisceris, quoniam ecce¹⁰ mansio tua in caelis praeparata est. Sed ante omnia haec¹¹ in eadem villa duobus annis et dimidio arti culcitariae inservies¹² in quibus subministrante Deo domum tibi aedificabis ad habitandum,¹³ numero dierum peregrinationis tuae super terram. Proinde ubi habites donec aedificetur domus tua haec in hoc etiam providebit¹⁴ tibi Dominus et dabit tibi gratiam in oculis unius civium illorum. Ecce confortare et fac, quia Dominus adjutor tuus erit in omnibus operibus manuum tuarum.’ Haec vir sanctus beatæ illi mulieri in nomine Domini cum gratia multa et hilaritate spiritus annuntiavit, et deinde propriis¹⁵ exhortationibus verbum virtutis Dei adjuvit¹⁶ et mulieris fidem aedificavit. At illa divinae præventionis gratiam adorans gratias egit sancto Dei et abiit in viam quam ceperat exspectans divini munera completionem, et ordinem et modum et tempus vel locum non ignorans. Igitur in villam veniens cui nomen Waram obviam

¹ regressus] ingressus., F.² invenisse] vidsse., F.³ ait] inquit., C.⁴ quoniam] H add. *ecce.*⁵ locum nativitatis] n. l., F.⁹ est] om. H.⁶ habitatio] C add. (*vel mansio*).¹¹ omnia haec] h. o., C.⁷ apud W. s. Deo] s. D. a. W., H.⁸ demum] om. C.F.¹⁴ providebit] providit., C.¹⁰ ecce] om. H.¹⁶ adjuvit] audivit., H.¹² inservies] post *culcitariae*., F.¹³ habitandum] inhabitandum., C.¹⁵ propriis] pro his., C.

habuit per singula gratiam Dei sicut praeordinatum et praedictum est ei. Postremo cum domum sibi sub praetaxato numero dierum et supradictae artis quaestibus aedificasset, ad olim desideratam solitudinem introivit; ubi in tanta gratia conversata¹ est tam apud² Deum quam apud homines, ut merito eam beatus Wulfricus sororem suam vocaverit, immo merito concupierit rex speciem ejus cum adhuc soror nostra parvula esset et ubera necdum haberet. Denique vir religiosus et discretionis spirituum non modicam gratiam habens, immensis praeconiorum³ titulis benedit huic in mulieribus quas hactenus viderit, et⁴ cum multarum honestissimas⁵ familiaritates vir castissimus meruerit,⁶ huic palmam p[re]e omnibus dat quod⁷ ad aestimationem judicii sui. Alioquin spirituum ponderator est Dominus solus et ipse est qui⁸ librat in pondere montes et colles in statera.

57. DE PATIENTIA MATILDIS

Cujus⁹ virtutum ut aliquid memoriale proponam, accidit ancillam ejus nomine Jerertrudem¹⁰ prudentem omnino virginem et fortiter aemulantem ea quae sancta sunt,¹¹ dolore dentium infirmari. Qui dolor in doloribus tenere creditur principatum nec est dolor sicut dolor iste. Itaque a facie prementis angustiae mulier quo fugeret non inveniens, quae¹² desolatorum¹³ ultima fuga est, plangebat in auribus dominae suae dolorem suum sperans se ab ea saltem sermone aliquo solatii refrigerandam. At illa: 'O Gerertrudis,' ait, 'quo tibi tantopere et tam incessanter plangere? Porro bene sit homini illi qui cum adeo dentes doleret ut maxilla putrefacta solveretur a dolore¹⁴ vehementi et penitus decideret, nunquam tamen

¹ conversata] conversa., H. ² apud] om. H.

³ praeconiorum immensis] i. p., F.

⁴ et] om. F.

⁵ meruerit] meruit., F.

⁶ est qui] om. H.

⁷ quod] quo., C.

⁸ Cujus] Hujus., H.

¹⁰ Jerertrudem] Gerertrudam., F: Gerertrudem., H.

¹¹ ae. e. q. s. sunt] e. q. s. sunt ae., F H.

¹² quae] qui., F H.

¹³ desolatorum] desolatarum., F H.

¹⁴ a dolore] in doloris., F: a vi doloris., H.

voce¹ planctus aut gemitus edidit.' Haec Matildis, hoc enim nomen illi ad Gererudem dixit et non expressit, suppresso scilicet nomine mysterium tantae patientiae reverenter occultans. Nihilominus et sui pudoris curam praestitit qui color in facie serena gratissimus est caelesti maxime sponso, qui decoris sacri sicut amator vehementissimus sic observator zelantissimus est. Mulier scilicet magni silentii sicut in doloribus siluit² a murmure, immo et ab omnimoda mussitatione, sic ipsis fortiter subactis non minori virtute siluit ab ostentatione patientiae suae. Itaque cum ad quartum decimum annum hujus professionis suae venerabilis ancilla domini profecisset, apprehendit eam infirmitas, immo infirmitates variae, velut nuntii quidam militiae Dei crebro discurrentes, paucitatem dierum ejus nuntiabant ei. Gererudi ergo condolenti et compassionis officio prout licebat deforis assistenti respondit: 'Hoc anno commonitionem et significationem habeo³ a doloribus meis, sed sequenti commonefacent me magis, in tertio autem maxime.' Igitur sexto decimo anno conversionis ejus dimisit eam Dominus secundum verbum suum in pace, ut dilectae suae ostenderet gloriam regni sui et vultum gloriae suae. Cui cum Jererudi⁴ beatae⁵ aemulatione successisset, quadam die respiciens in foramen maceriae vidit in eo quoddam os reconditum. Quod extrahens et diligentius intuens recor data est verbi dominae suae et cognovit quod hoc est os patientiae ipsius, os plane fortissimum quod et si homines latuit hactenus, non est tamen occultatum ab eo qui fecit illud in occulto.⁶ Mulierem ergo fortem occultavit nobis Matildis, sed Deo praemonstrante Gererudis invenit et de thesauris dominae suae protulit lapidem pretiosum omnino⁷ et desiderabilem. 'Quod si delibatio sancta est, et massa.' Si vultis nosse qualis Matildis fuerit, ecce gustate et videte, talis tota fuit, tota suavis, tota pacifica, tota pacem et patientiam spirans. Quibus laudibus prosequamur⁸ purpuratam

¹ voce] vocem., C.² siluit] suluit., H.³ habeo] post commonitionem., F H.⁴ Jererudi] Gererudis., F.⁵ beatae] beata., F H.⁶ occulto] abscondito., F H.⁷ pretiosum omnino] o. p., F H.⁸ prosequamur] prosequemur., C.

et laureatam istam, quae de praelio magno tantae gloriae triumphum reportavit? Quae est ista quae ascendit in montem excelsum istum virtutis tantae, quae ascendit in palmam et apprehendit fructus patientiae sublimissimos et pacatissimos? Omnino clarissimi martyrii sanguine rubricata, digna est cui sponsus congaudeat et dicat¹: 'Dentes tui sicut gress² tonsarum.' Nam sicut ovis coram tondente se obmutescit et non aperit os suum, ita et stridor impatientiae et murmurationis³ non est⁴ in dentibus hujus cum dolore fortissimo interrogaretur, magis autem patientia et pax; fletus et stridor dentium his qui in inferno sunt et eorum similibus qui cruciantur⁵ et murmurant, qui adversus⁶ punientem se justitiam Dei stridunt dentibus suis et in miserrima conditione constituti gravius de impatientia quam de passionibus ipsis patiuntur. At vero gratia et pax electis Dei qui cum fideles sint in dilectione acquiescunt illi et sensibus pacatissimis et lege sanctae disciplinae compositis velut quibusdam ordinatissimis dentibus esuriunt justitiam et fructus ejus comedunt cum suavitate. Denique de eo qui fuit mansuetissimus super omnes homines⁷ qui morabantur in terra scriptum est quia non sunt moti dentes ejus eo quod in plagis quibus⁸ vel temptavit vel percussit Israel, sive etiam⁹ in murmurationibus populi quibus et Deum et ipsum jugiter irritabat, invictam utrobique mansuetudinem concustodierit.¹⁰

58. DE TEMPTATIONE FAMIS CUI MATILDIS FORTITER RESTITIT

Audi¹¹ aliud¹² novum quoddam¹³ super terram, quomodo mulier induerit virum idque in ipso¹⁴ religionis accinctu dum

¹ congaudeat et dicat] et dicat gaudeat., F.

² gress] Ita omnes: greges., Vulg.

³ et murmurationis] post hujus., C.

⁴ non est] C H add. *inventus.* ⁵ cruciantur] cruciant., F.

⁶ adversus] adversum., C. ⁷ homines] om. F H.

⁸ quibus] C add. Dominus. ⁹ etiam] om. C.

¹⁰ concustodierit] custodierit., F H.

¹¹ Audi] C H add. *et.* ¹² aliud] alium., F.

¹³ quoddam] quiddam., H. ¹⁴ in ipso] C H add. *adhuc.*

aedificaret sibi cellulam, antequam habitaret in ea.¹ Accidit eam in una dierum dum post missarum solemnia orationibus ex more instaret fame acerrima² in³ ecclesia infestari.⁴ Mirari illa ad temptationem insolitam, et quidnam sibi haec fames velit, hoc loco, hoc tempore et praeter morem. Itaque unde sit non ignorans resumit virtutem, redintegrat precem; levantur purae manus in caelum cum instantia et fide multa. Quid plura? Eliditur temptator, temptatione exsufflatur. Verumtamen elisus et confusus redire non confunditur: ⁵ denuo initur bellum, denuo sagittae famis pessime intentantur, sed denuo nihilominus Christus adest et iterato Christus vincit in femina. Nullatenus familiare hoc colloquium vel ad modicum solvi potest, adeo sitis in Deum famem carnis sentire non patitur. Inter has igitur pugnas consueta prandendi hora mulierem de ecclesia mitigatis jam affectibus domum evocavit. Ceterum ne quid minus a plena victoria femina plusquam femina habere se⁷ crederet, de cibo quem paratum invenit nil prorsus⁸ gustare consensit, sed totum pro Dei amore distribuens totam illam diem abstinentiae consecravit. Sic Matildi parum fuit ad victoriae titulum spiritualem nequitiam non cedendo⁹ viciisse; in ira zeli sui fugientem persecui ausa est ut stimulus ipsos temptationis expungeret. Quid denique de fragrantia illa miri odoris loquar quam aperto ejus tumulo cum beata discipula ejus Geretrudis, completo feliciter cursu certaminis sui, ei conseptienda esset astantium naribus nardus illa instillavit? Retulit mihi immo et constanter asseruit Radulfus¹⁰ sacerdos de Warram et sacerdos ille Deo et hominibus probatus¹¹ et munditiae ac sanctitatis honore in finibus illis inclitus, nisi me Cristina¹² mea fallit et fallitur ipsa, quia

¹ in ea] in eam., H.² acerrima] C H add. *molestissime*.³ in] et., H. ⁴ infestari] vexari., F H.⁵ confunditur] confundit., F.⁶ ad m. s. potest] s. p. a. m., F.⁷ habere se] s. h., C. ⁸ prorsus] penitus., H.⁹ cedendo] edendo., F H. ¹⁰ Radulfus] Radulfius., C.¹¹ et hominibus probatus] p. e. h., F H.¹² Cristina] Christina., C; Christiana., F H.

cum tumulum ipsum¹ aperuisset, nam Gerertrudae sepeliendae ipse ministrabat, erumpentis odoris suavitate mirifice refectus est. Quin et tabula quae supposito sacro illi corpori deser- vierat² ac si in lignum aromaticum caelitus³ conversa ita⁴ sancti sui depositi⁵ suavitatem penitus imbiberat, ut melle delibuta,⁶ ac in ipso melle decocta videretur. Sed ad Wulfri- cum nostrum revertamur, quamquam et haec non sint aliena existimanda⁷ a laudibus ejus. Omnes fructus hi Wulfrico consecrati⁸ sunt, omnia haec militant nomini ejus, gloriae superadiunt. Utquid enim ad eum vel beatam hanc⁹ mulierem vel venerabilem patrem Henricum sive alios etiam ejusdem meriti homines direxerit¹⁰ Deus, nisi ut quemadmodum ipsi¹¹ justificarentur ex ipso ita et ille¹² glorificaretur ex ipsis?¹³ Et omnino si diligenter advertimus hanc vicissitudinem debebat gratiae Dei¹⁴ vocatus ipsius,¹⁵ ut sicut angelica vocatione creditur fuisse praeventus, sic et ipse aliis simili praeventonis officio pacem et gloriam annuntiaret. Verumtamen in vasa misericordiae miserations istas effuderit, nam in vas ire sic sic¹⁶ sapiendum est de eo terribilem nimis faciem ostendit, immo nec eam ostendere passus est¹⁷ illi,¹⁸ sed magis de longe venientem a finibus suis propulsare curavit.¹⁹ Sed hujus narrationis veritas alteri si placet principio reservetur: dies nempe ut cernitis jam declinatur²⁰ in vesperam et timendum summopere ne sol occidat super²¹

¹ ipsum] illum., C.² corpori deservierat] d. c., F H.³ caelitus] om. H.⁴ ita] om. C H.⁵ depositi] deposita., H.⁶ delibuta] delibata., H.⁷ existimanda] aestimanda., F.¹⁰ direxerit] direxit., H.⁸ consecrati] consecratae., H.¹¹ ille] ipse., C H.⁹ hanc] aut., H.¹² Dei] om. F H.¹⁰ ipsis] illis., C H.¹³ illis] C H.¹¹ vocatus ipsius] i. v., F.¹⁴ sic sic] si sic., F H.¹² ostendere passus est] p. e. o., F H.¹⁵ illi] ei., C.¹⁶ a finibus suis propulsare curavit] p. c. a. f. s., F H.¹⁷ declinatur] declinavit., C H.¹⁸ super] om. H.

auditionem vestram, cui gaudium potius quam taedium dare studui et desiderii mei est.¹

Explicit² liber secundus.

Incipit liber³ tertius.

59. DE SEVERITATE BEATI WULFRICI IN CAUSA
QUADAM⁴

Venit ad hominem Dei mulier dives et viris sanctis pie honorificata, sedensque coram eo de salute⁵ animae suae cum ipso agebat. Interloquendum vero clamavit vir Dei fortiter accersiens puerum suum, ita ut illa a⁶ voce repentini clamoris concussa⁷ secretorum suorum manifestationi timeret.⁸ Venienti itaque puero ait vir Dei: ‘Accelera et curre ad pontem qui est extra villam et videbis hominem econtra nudis pedibus ambulantem et truncis caligis calciatum et sic et sic vestitum. Loqueris ergo ad eum et praecipies ei in nomine Domini ne pontem illum transeat neque accedat ad me, quoniam nihil omnino facturus sum ei. Festina in occursum ejus quia ecce jam pontem praeoccupabit.’ At ille se cum celeritate propriens vidit trans pontem hominem in habitu praemonstrato; et⁹ clamans vehementer manuque innuens ei ut exspectaret imperavit. Deinde accedens locutus est ad eum ea quae posuerat vir Dei in ore ejus. Tum vero ille vocem cum fletu elevans irruerat ululatu vehementi et corruens in terram sicut parturiens volutabatur. Et commota sunt viscera pueri qui annuntiaverat¹⁰ ei haec, rediensque ad dominum suum gemitus inenarrabiles hominis hujus non sine gemitu multo enarravit.

¹ est] om. H.

² *Explicit . . . tertius.]* om. C.

³ liber] om. F H.

⁴ causa quadam] q. c., H.

⁵ salute] salvatione., F.

⁶ a] om. C.

⁷ a voce r. c. concussa] post *manifestationi.*, F H.

⁸ timeret] post *illa.*, F H.

⁹ et] om. F.

¹⁰ annuntiaverat] annuntiavit., F.

Super quibus commota et conturbata¹ mulier quae assidebat supplicationibus² pueri preces suas junxit,³ ut tantis miseriis vir Dei dignaretur misereri. At ille obfirmans faciem suam et ut adamantem et silicem ponens eam : 'Non parcam,' ait, 'et non miserebor.' Ingeminansque irretractabilem sententiam : 'Nec volo,' inquit, 'nec possum misereri.' Mulier ergo consternata in his, pree timore nimio causam hominis hujus non requisivit ; sed velut a facie tonitru magni fugiens domum reversa est, et quoad vixit terribilis judicij hujus in corde suo⁴ versabat imaginem, et aliis idem annuntians in signum ipsa facta est et portentum omnibus audientibus haec. Et si vultis nosse, haec uxor Alani erat de Phaleisa⁵ viri potentis,⁶ vocata et ipsa Margareta, et ab ipsa verbum hoc ad me delatum est. In quo cum timore pensandum est si quis tamen possit pree timore iram Dei hanc⁷ dinumerare, quanto pondere res acta est ut accessus ipse misero huic homini preecluderetur, et pons misericordiae preeoccuparetur. Sed nec postea invenit paenitentiae locum, judicatus jam et pрадamnatus quamquam cum lacrimis inquisisset eam ; et vir Dei continuuit⁸ viscera sua⁹ in omnibus his, ut miser homo immo homo miseriarum nullatenus esset ei¹⁰ immiserabilis. Numquid non facies futuri judicij in his cum¹¹ sedebunt sedes in judicio incommutabili stabilitate subnixa, et sessori suo in zelo judicij firmiter cohaerentes¹² consurgent cum eo adversus operantes iniquitatem ? Tunc jam plane pons pertransiri¹³ non poterit, cum salutem sero requirentibus durus nuntius occurret sermo plenus indignationis, verbum asperum et importabile : 'Discidite a me quia non novi vos.' Et postremo flentibus et

¹ conturbata] turbata., H.

² supplicationibus] supplicationi., F.

³ preces suas junxit] j. p. s., C.

⁴ in corde suo] om. F. ⁵ Phaleisa] Falesia., F H.

⁶ uxor A. e. de P. v. potentis] e. A. v. p. de P., C.

⁷ Dei hanc] h. D., H. ⁸ continuuit] continuisset., F.

⁹ viscera sua] misericordiam suam., F.

¹⁰ esset ei] ei esset., F H. ¹¹ cum] cum repetitur., H.

¹² cohaerentes] choerentes., C.

¹³ pertransiri] pertransire., C; transire., F.

ululantibus de throno judicis inexorabilis¹ respondebitur :
‘Quod scripsi, scripsi.’

60. DE SIGNIS IN QUIBUS CURATIO ET PROPHETIA SIMUL FUIT

Caeterum beatus Wulfricus mitior ostensus est cum venientibus ad se signum clementiae praetendit antequam pervenirent ; et parcens eis a fatigione diuturniori, cum dupli munere prophetiae scilicet et curationis occurrit. Cujus rei aliqua exempla subnectam et id primum quod notum fecit mihi mulier Deo amabilis Odolina, professioni anachoreticae in villa quae dicitur Cruke, cum multa devotione et discretione deser- viens et magnis viris² pro sinceritate³ purissimae conscientiae in caritate Christi devinctissima. Accidit ut avia ejus dolore intestinorum diu et graviter contabescens faciem viri Dei spe firmissima obtinenda salutis desideranter expeteret, seque ad eum deferri a viro suo tandem obtineret. Igitur suscepto itinere ad villam supranominatam pervenitur⁴ non longe ab Haselbergia videlicet⁵ distantem et in ea nocte illa manserunt. Mane itaque⁶ facto cum mulier imponenda jumento in sedili levaretur, quoniam p[re] infirmitate aliter non erat ei⁷ ascendere, in ipsa infirmi oneris concussione crepuit ulcus intestinum, hujus scilicet infirmatis origo. Fons ergo saniei hujus diruptus largiter emanavit, depositaque in terram mulier omne illud letale virus abundanter evomuit. Verum nihilominus maturanti profectionem assumptam ut in manu viri Dei consummaretur salus, occurrit puer viri sancti dicens ei quia haec dicit⁸ dominus meus : ‘Noli vexari neque accesseris huc, quia ecce ad integrum sanata es.’ Rediit ergo mulier cum laetitia et laude, sciens profecto quoniam per illum praemissa est ei salus per quem subsequenter est annuntiata.

¹ inexorabilis] exorabilis., E F H, sed minus recte.

² virus] curis., C; et *viris* super lineam scribitur.

³ sinceritate] serenitate., F H.

⁴ pervenitur] pervenerunt., C; perveniunt., F H.

⁵ ab Haselbergia videlicet] v. a. H., F H.

⁶ itaque] autem., H. ⁷ non erat ei] ei non erat., F H.

⁸ dicit] mandat., F H.

61. DE DAEMONIACO QUODAM¹ IN VIA SANATO

Missus est item² ad hominem Dei daemoniacus quidam de finibus Glocestriae oriundus in manu valida, octo scilicet hominum, qui corpore medio funibus astricto per quattuor partes trahebant et distrahebant hominem, horrendo videlicet et miserando spectaculo. Factum est autem ambulantibus illis, dum per viam ex more dormirent ut et ipsum corriperet somnus Domini et in mentem saniorem evigilans homo vincula jumentorum quibus se ligatum invenit solveret atque abiceret. Quem solutum invenientes hi qui eum in³ fidem suam suscepérant apposuerunt denuo ligare hominem, ignorantes vide-licet compendia miserationis divinae et ejus quam quaerebant salutis occursum.⁴ Ad quos ille: 'Non est,' ait, 'necessè ut amodo ligatum trahatis, quoniam ecce jam⁵ ultroneus proficiscar ad dominum meum Wulfricum qui dormienti mihi apparuit et me ab oppressione maligni spiritus absolvit, et vincula manuum dirupit. Et quo facilius credatis, talis et talis est vir ille,⁶ talis facies, talis canities, talis habitus, talis denique totus.' Ceterum cum illi nec in tot argumentis acquiescerent supplicanti, funibus injectis trahere eum⁷ perseveraverunt. Itaque cum ad unius diei iter Haselbergiae appropinquassent occurrit⁸ puer viri Dei dicens: 'Haec dicit dominus meus Wulfricus. Quid facitis ligatum trahentes hominem quem Deus jam liberavit? Solvite eum et ad suos pacifice reducete.' Sic ipsa itineris susceptio ad virum sanctum ad justitiam promerendae salutis reputata est. Quia enim propheta pariter et medicus erat, per prophetiam praevenit quibus in opitulatione subvenit, et in compendio praescientiae negotia sanitatum expediens, simul et aegritudines⁹ et fatigations absolvit. Haec¹⁰ vir bonae opinionis Ricardus presbyter de Coriscumba,¹¹ viro sancto quoad vixit familiaris, a puero eodem se audisse¹² perhibet.

¹ quodam] om. F H.² item] om. F H.³ in] om. H.⁴ occursum] occasionem., F.⁵ jam] om. F; post ultroneus., H.⁶ ille] F add. et.⁷ eum] om. F.⁸ occurrit] C add. eis.⁹ aegritudines] C H add. solvit.¹⁰ Haec] Hic., F H.¹¹ Coriscumba] Coruscumba., C F H.¹² se audisse] a. s., C H.

62. DE QUODAM CONVERSO IN VIA SANATO

Quidam ex nostris cum in annis adhuc¹ puerilibus esset querelis quibusdam intestinorum diu multumque vexatus, deducentibus² suis ad hominem Dei profectus est. Cumque esset Haselbergiae proximus, velut caelesti quadam³ virtute potionatus vomere coepit et causas vexationis illius evomere. At cum nihilominus adductus viro Dei sisteretur: 'Cur,' inquit, 'vexasti puerum hunc cum jam sanatus sit?' Et respiciens in puerum: 'Ibi,' ait,⁴ 'o fili, sanatus es, ubi te in vomitum relaxasti.'

63. ITEM DE EODEM

Idem postea cum in fortiorum aetatem profecisset, quiddam negotii habuit ut⁵ adiret hominem Dei. Cumque ambulanti canes et latrando et persequendo molesti essent, lapidem prae-acutum qui itineranti se obtulit manu apprehendens dum canem vulnerare intendit digitum suum non modice sauciavit. Igitur perveniens ad hominem Dei, cum causam viae absolvisset, interrogatus est si manum doleret. Quo dissimulante et respondente quia nihil pateretur in ea: 'Non ita est,' ait, 'quia lapide quo canem prope Winesham laedere moliebaris temetipsum laesisti, sed da manum tuam et curaberis.'⁶ Protulit ergo ille manum cruentam et benedicente viro sancto in omni celeritate sanatus est.

64. DE PRESBYTERO QUODAM IN VIA AEGROTANTE⁷ ET AD EJUS INVOCATIONEM SANATO

Presbyter quidam de remotis finibus aquilonarium⁸ Anglorum peregrinationem suscepit ad hominem Dei. Cumque ad⁹ Glastoniam venisset quae est ab Heselbergia¹⁰ quasi dimidii

¹ in annis adhuc] adhuc in annis., F.

² deducentibus] adducentibus., F H.

³ caelesti quadam] q. c., F H. ⁴ ait] aio., F H.

⁵ ut] quo., F H.

⁶ sed da m. t. et curaberis] om. F. ⁷ aegrotante] aegrotanti., H.

⁸ aquilonarium] aquilonalium., F H. ⁹ ad] om. F.

¹⁰ Heselbergia] Haselbergia., H.

diei¹ iter, accidit ut ad egestionem secedens dum nimio impulsu naturalem absolutionem acceleraret, ipsa intestina violenter egerendo propelleret. At ille in fide non est infirmatus; sed sciens unde veniat et quo vadat hoc est quo studio devotionis et ad quantae virtutis virum viam inierit, secundum illud et venerabile nomen crebrius et devotius in clamavit: ‘Sancte,’ ait, ‘Wulfrice, adjuva me, si vera sunt ea² quae audio de te. Neque enim justum est ut ad te properanti vel infirmitas vel mors occurrat, ad quem accedentes alii passim salutem inveniunt.’ Dum itaque in hunc modum fides in necessitatibus argumentosa clamaret, ecce manus caelitus missa se dignanter supposuit,³ et⁴ intestina quae profluxerant leniter et in locum suum reposuit. Haec Nicholaus,⁵ canonicus de Cristeskirca⁶ a presbytero eodem accepisse se⁷ asserit.

65. DE MULIERE PER REVELATIONEM VENIENTE AD EUM CUI TANDEM⁸ REVELATIONEM DIXIT ET SALUTEM CONTULIT

Habuit venerabilis inclusa de Warram Cristina, ut ex ejus relatione percepit, matrem Richeldem nomine, religione magis quam sanguine matrem. Quae cum diutino languore viscerum laborasset, apparuit ei in somnis vir grandaevus et pulchra canitie venerandus⁹ dicens: ‘Vade ad hominem de Haselbergia et ipse te sanitati restituet et a Rufo pueru, qui collo tuo incubat, liberabit.’ At illa evigilans ordinavit profecitionem, sed infirmitatis gravedo moras¹⁰ innexuit etiam ad salutem festinanti. Itaque cum parvo itinere non paucis diebus elaborato tandem portam viri Dei pulsaret, advocans ille puerum suum: ‘Festina,’ inquit, ‘et occurre sorori meae.’ Qui cum introduxisset eam, in multa hilaritate vultus et spiritus suscepta est, adeo ut ipsa de tanta et tam insperata tanti viri aggratulatione admirans unde ipsam nosset¹¹ inqui-

¹ dieij F H add. *habens.*

² ea] om. F.

³ supposuit] dispositus., H.

⁴ et] om. C.

⁵ Nicholaus] Nicolaus., F.

⁶ Cristeskirca] Cristeskrecha., C.; Cristeskirka., F.

⁷ se] om. H.

⁸ tandem] eadem., F.

⁹ venerandus] reverendus., F H.

¹⁰ moras] om. H.

¹¹ nosset] om. F H.

reret. Cui ille: 'Quaeris,' ait, 'unde noverim Richeldem sororem meam?' At illa obstupescens se etiam ex nomine agnitam: 'Etiam,' ait, 'domine mi, per revelationem Dei veni ad te.' Qui rapiens verbum ex ore ejus: 'Et ego,' inquit, 'hoc novi et ad hoc venisse te ut a Rufo pueru qui collum tuum occupavit libereris.' Et rursum: 'Nosti,' ait, 'quis est iste Rufus puer?' Ipse est inimicus qui per hujus infirmitatis molestiam a religioso itinere quod ad sanctum Eadmundum¹ et ad alia sancta loca² disposueras te hactenus praepedivit. Sed nec illud ignoro quia haec dies nonus³ est ex quo tibi revelatio illa facta est. Verum nunc mane tecum et in brevi per gratiam Dei convalesces.' Sic beatus Wulfricus spiritu prophetiae excellenter abundans, velut alter Daniel potens fuit somnium enarrare et interpretationem ejus consequenter edicere.

66. DE SAMSONE DE⁴ LINCOLNIA QUEM SANAVIT

Samson de Lincolnia, vir non parvi nominis in vita sua, qui et hujus qui usque nunc superest Aluredi⁵ avunculus fuit, cum ad Haselbergiam ex more⁶ venisset et moram ibi faceret pro eo quod dominae de Haselbergia frater esset, accidit ut febricitaret. Mittensque ad virum Dei communis gratiae opem appellavit. Respondit vir Dei petitionis ministro: 'Semel,' ait, 'concutietur adhuc et sic quiescat.' Itaque juxta verbum viri Dei post unam concussionis febrilis molestiam liberatus homo sollicitos reddidit auditores suos cur non eadem facilitate continuo fuerit absolutus quam post vexationem meruit experiri.

67. DE BACULO A VIRO SANCTO BENEDICTO IN MARE LAPSO ET MIRABILITER RESTITUTO

Hic idem cum Jerosolomitanae peregrinationis votum haberet, super se baculum et peram viro sancto benedicenda

¹ Eadmundum] Edmundum., F.

² sancta loca] loca sancta., C: H add. ire.

³ haec dies nonus] hic dies dies nonus., C H. ⁴ de] a., F H.

⁵ Aluredi] Alfredi., F. ⁶ ex more] post cum., F H.

obtulit, sicque cum benedictione ejus viae se dedit. Factum est autem cum esset in mari baculus ejus de manu sua excussus in aquas¹ cecidit. Quem casum cum molestissime ferret, pro eo quod velut pro pignore eum sanctitatis² haberet, et contra omnia viae³ pericula se eo crederet muniendum, ecce fluctus maris baculum ex insperato⁴ advexit et manibus ejus cum omni facilitate resignavit. Quod vir fidelis beati viri virtuti non temere credidit ascribendum. Haec idem Samson cuidam ex nostris ore proprio enarravit.

68. DE MUTO PER SOMNUM MIRABILITER SANATO

Accidit ut Rogerus de Nunant, vir secundum saeculum potens, non longe a cella viri Dei hospitaretur, habens mutum quandam in comitatu suo,⁵ non tamen gratia recipiendae sanitatis adductum. Qui domino suo et sociis in domo manentibus⁶ egressus quasi ad incertam vagationem, somno divinitus surripiente⁷ pro foribus viri sancti obdormivit. Pauperes igitur qui ad januam divitis astabant, respicientes videbant⁸ columbam, quasi de domo viri Dei volantem, super dormientem hominem descendere; et nunc ori nunc auribus dormientis velut quodam blando osculo rostrum infigere. Mirati⁹ illi ad¹⁰ alterutrum innuere pro novitate spectaculi hujus, et puerili levitate¹¹ accurrentes columbam quasi absteruerunt.¹² Revera autem illa jam fecerat quod suum erat et sic reversa est ad eum qui misit illam. Igitur mutus consurgens de somno suavitatis hujus solutam invenit linguam suam et aures ante oppilatas jam eadem gratia apertas;¹³ rediensque ad socios suos dominae suae mutum requirenti: 'Ecce ego,' inquit. Qua cum caeteris qui aderant mirante et requirente de verbo hoc dormienti sibi astitisse beatum Wulfricum respondit et digito suo ori ejus imposito os ipsius aperuisse. Adeo in ipsis liminibus¹⁴ viri

¹ aquas] aquam., F H.

² eum sanctitatis] s. e., F H.

³ viae] viarum., C.

⁴ insperato] inspirato., H.

⁵ in comitatu suo] secum., F.

⁶ manentibus] remanentibus., F H.

⁷ surripiente] surrepente., F H.

⁸ videbant] viderunt., C.

⁹ mirati] mirari., F H.

¹⁰ adj] om. C; et., F H.

¹¹ levitate] levitati., H.

¹² absteruerunt] exterruerunt., F H.

¹³ apertas] opertas., F.

¹⁴ liminibus] luminibus., H.

sancti visa est excubare quaedam virtus Dei, ut occuparet salus muros ejus et portas ejus laudatio. Nec jam mirum si quaerentibus salutem ut supra memini salus occurrit in via, cum et non quaerentibus se ultiro obtulerit, immo et nescientibus se violenter intulerit. Haec Ricardus de Coriscumba¹ qui et supra, quique se² cum muto eodem in domo viri Dei locutum fuisse testatur aliique viri fideles non nulli. Proinde non dissimilis visio muti cui beatus Wulfricus per somnum³ visus est et pauperum illorum qui columbam super eum descendente viderunt. Vere enim beatus Wulfricus columba erat, non solum propter columbinæ simplicitatis et innocentiae formam quam plenissime et singulariter exprimebat; sed etiam quia oculi ejus columbarum, oculi plane spirituales, penetrantes cum virtute ad⁴ arcana mysteriorum Dei, et ad humani cordis secreta in luce quae Deus est valide pertingentes.

69. DE MONACHO QUEM CONVICIT DE QUIBUSDAM COGITATIONIBUS

Denique venit ad eum quidam ex nostris cuius nomen nobis non excidit, sed nec Dei memoriae, ut fiducialiter sperantes sumus⁵ pro eo in Domino. Qui cum mutuae salutationis officio praexhibitio assideret et post modicum⁶ a viro Dei interrogaretur quisnam ei occurisset in via, mulierem sibi obviam venisse⁷ respondit. Perseverante illo quaerere cuiusmodi cogitationes de ea versasset in corde suo, ille vultum hominis erubescens sed non satis prophetae oculos expavescens:⁸ ‘Non multa,’ ait,⁹ ‘cogitavi super eam.’ At custos murorum sorori nostrae pallium excusationis tollens et velamen oculorum suorum:¹⁰ ‘Immo,’ ait, ‘haec et haec cogitasti et plusquam decuit monachum obscenis affectionibus te indulisti.’ Ille igitur¹¹ convictus a Spiritu Sancto, consentire adversario suo,

¹ Coriscumba] Coruscumba., C.

² se] post *Dei.*, F H.

³ somnum] somnium., H.

⁴ ad] om. H.

⁵ sperantes sumus] sumus sperantes., F H.

⁶ post modicum] postmodum., F H.

⁷ obviam venisse] occurrisse., F H.

⁸ sed n. s. p. o. expavescens] om. F.

⁹ ait] inquit., F.

¹⁰ suorum] om. F.

¹¹ igitur] ergo., H.

immo testi et judici vel jam sero acquievit. Dehinc procedente tempore cum ab hac verecundia veritatis amor hominem exhonorasset, se ad Dei gloriam et sancti ejus nec-non ad disciplinam oculorum suorum et cogitationum castigatius in reliquum possidendam, semel captum fuisse coram nobis gloriatus est. Sic beatus Wulfricus factus est nobis in traductionem¹ cogitationum nostrarum et in angelis nostris repperit pravitatem.

70. DE QUIBUSDAM QUIBUS ASPECTUM SUUM NEGAVIT PRO QUADAM NEGLIGENTIA

Alio tempore quidam ad hominem Dei iter facientes obvios quosdam habuerunt qui bigam, quam corrupte quadrigam dici² usus obtinuit, luto altius immersam ut extraherent laboraverunt. Itaque hi qui transibant rogati ut subvenirent laborantibus, neglexerunt vel etiam contempserunt humanitatis obsequium et pertransierunt. Venientibus ergo ut salutarent hominem Dei misit in obviam puerum suum cum responso hujusmodi: ³ ‘Non prius,’ ait, ‘loquar vobis quam subveneritis his qui in⁴ quadriga liberanda occupati sunt, quibus inhumanius opem ante paululum negastis.’ At illi statim redeuntes ad opus ad quod et missi sunt a Deo, cognoverunt vere quia spiritus Dei requiescit super beatum Wulfricum et quia omnis homo proximus est ad opera pietatis etiam per viam oblata, de caetero paratores esse didicerunt. Haec quidam de Haselbergia ex viri Dei domesticis compertissima sibi esse testantur.

71. DE MULIERE CUI PROPHETAVIT QUIA CONCEPISSET

Iterum fuit mulier in Chalbergia, quae est villa non procul ab Haselbergia, ancilla hominis in ea quae filium parvulum⁵ patrisfamilias custodiendum et fovendum acceperat. Quem cum indulgentius in stratu suo mulier⁶ foveret et sibi lascivius

¹ in traductionem] introductionem., F.

² quadrigam dici] d. q., H. ³ responso hujusmodij] h. r., F.

⁴ in] om. F. ⁵ parvulum] om. F.

⁶ in stratu suo mulier] m. i. s. suo., F H.

adhiberet,¹ aetatis scilicet beneficio confidens celandum esse hujus lasciviae furtum, post modicum² de pueru novenni aut decenni, si forte vel eo usque profecit, concepit. At illa intumescente utero nullomodo tamen suspicari valens tumorem hunc conceptionis esse, coepit se super³ intestinis plangere suis⁴ et de herbis medicinalibus aegritudini sua⁵ remedia procurare. Porro uterus ibat et intumescebat indies, et aetati factam injuriam vindicare pergebat. Cumque frustra multiplicasset mulier medicinam, eo quod sanitas non esset ei quin et infirmaretur magis ac⁶ magis, ad medicum potentissimum in diebus illis beatum Wulfricum confugit et manibus ejus sanandam se obtulit. At ille genus infirmitatis hujus etiam praeter venae tactum non ignorans : ‘Concepisti,’ ait, ‘filia, vade et curam age uteri tui.’ Caeterum necdum illa vel de notissimi prophetae responso suspicionem habens rerum quae gerebantur intra ipsam, muliebri procacitate coepit insultare viro Dei et mendacem et subsannatorem appellare.⁷ At vir Dei patienter in his siluit exspectans impleri verba sua in tempore suo. Itaque mulier domum regressa et a⁸ suis requisita cuiusmodi responsum reportasset ab homine Dei, blasphemias et maledicta absque omni reverentia sanctitatis in sanctum Dei profundebat. Post modicum⁹ autem dies instare coepit qui inter prophetam Domini et mulierem dijudicare¹⁰ veniebat, et comprehendente eam angustia uteri sui,¹¹ in locum abditum secedens, partu sese absolvit. Quem mox ut effusus est, stimulo pudoris urgente, crudelis mater praefocare temptavit ; sed ut manifestaretur in oculis solis hujus vel quod ipsa feceret in occulto vel quod vir Dei locutus est in Spiritu Sancto,¹² procurante Deo per manum alterius mulieris haec eadem praesentientis, id quod pepererat reservatum est.

¹ adhiberet] adhaereret., F.

² post modicum] postmodum., F H.

³ se super] super se., F.

⁴ plangere suis] s. p., H.

⁵ sua] sui., H.

⁶ ac] et., F.

⁷ appellare] appellavit.

⁸ a] om. H.

⁹ Post modicum] Postmodum., H.

¹⁰ dijudicare] judicare., F.

¹¹ angustia uteri sui] u. s. a., C.

¹² in Spiritu Sancto] per Spiritum Sanctum., C.

Et palam factum est omnibus per circuitum quia parvuli hujus pater non alias quam parvulus esset. Quin et ordinante Deo inordinata¹ nostra ad quandam congruentiam res redacta est ut uteque Ricardus diceretur et pater et filius. Itaque post dies aliquot mulier sub hujus verecundiae onere humiliata, arguit se et statuit contra faciem suam. Convolvensque omnes iniquitates suas et imponens collo suo quas² in puerum³ primum, dehinc et in parentes ejus, postremo quas in⁴ hominem Dei⁵ commiserat, rediit ad medicum suum et exponens ei vulnera sua quid ille in his posset experta est. Sic beatus Wulfricus velut quidam aeterni judicis oculus et opera tenebrarum et consilia cordium proponit⁶ et exponit in lucem; et quam sit⁷ ab altitudine diei illius timendum in qua nullum est velamentum perditioni aperta, et plusquam propheticā voce commonefacit. Haec mihi unus e fratribus de Forda qui eo tempore contubernialis erat domui illi in qua haec gesta sunt enarravit, quae et a domina ejusdem mulieris singillatim edidicit.

72. DE MONACHO CUI QUAEDAM QUAE DIXERAT JOCOSE
REPLICAVIT

Accidit item ut frater Willelmus conversus hospitalis ad Waverleiam⁸ ire oboediret; missusque cum eo monachus unus⁹ quidam ex nostris, Robertus¹⁰ videlicet de Sancto Albano. Cumque ad hominem Dei diverteret immo dirigeret iter, eo quod non tutum sibi arbitraretur eum insalutatum praeterire, ait ad eum socius itineris sui: ‘Miror quod cum frequenter hominem Dei visitaverim nunquam me invitaverit ad manducandum cum eo.’ Cui frater Willelmus subridens respondit. ‘Et ego,’ inquit, ‘miror si non hodie nec quae modo locutus es replicentur in faciem tuam.’ Itaque venientes ambo ad hominem Dei cum multa hilaritate suscepti

¹ inordinata] inordinate., H.

² quas] om. H.

³ puerum] puero., F H.

⁴ quas in] om. C.

⁵ Dei] om. F H.

⁶ proponit] proposuit., H.

⁷ quam sit] post diei., F.

⁸ Waverleiam] Waverleam., C.

⁹ unus] om. F: quidam, C.

¹⁰ Robertus] om. H.

sunt ab eo. Deinde¹ cum post paululum abire disposerent et valedicerent ei : ' Sustinet,' ait, ' et manducabis² tecum.' Et risu gratissimo fratri Willelmo aggratulans : ' Hic monachus,' inquit, ' nunquam comedit tecum,³ et idcirco necesse est ut hodie suppleam quod in hac parte deest obsequio meo.' At monachus abundantiore rubore perfusus ac si in furto deprehensus, quid responderet non inventit. Igitur vir Dei miseratus hominem nubem pudoris hujus abstersit⁴ et vultu serenissimo loquens ad eum ait : ' Quod te⁵ hactenus non invitavi ad mensam non avaritiae aut superbiae vitium fuit, sed negligentiae magis et oblivionis excessus.' Illi itaque cum benedictione ejus coeptum iter repetentes, ad quod eos vel necessitas vel voluntas perurgebat, jocundis et longis collocutionibus de beato Wulfrico habitis⁶ viam explicuerunt. Cumque ad Waverleiam venissent expeditis his propter quae venerant praedictus monachus⁷ remansit illic; frater vero Willelmus reversus est habens secum monachum de Waverlea qui erat et ipse⁸ desiderans videre hominem Dei. Quem cum idem frater ad desiderandum⁹ et plane desiderabilem virum perduxisset, occurrit eis vir sanctus in¹⁰ omni devotione mentis¹¹ suae, et solemniter exceptos¹² non ore tamen sed et simul tota¹³ facie salutavit. Dehinc colloquentibus eis ad invicem coepit praedictus frater¹⁴ socium suum beati viri¹⁵ familiaritati commendare, et ut unum ei¹⁶ ex anulis loricae suae in pignus caritatis daret reverenter expetere. At ille manum ad loricam convertens in ea parte qua sinum vestiebat cum summa facilitate anulum unum absolvit, et in manum¹⁷ monachi admirantis et obstupescentis in his quae dudum audierat nunc

¹ Deinde] Demum., F; Itaque., H.

² manducabis] manducabis., F. ³ comedit tecum] m. c., C.

⁴ abstersit] obtersit., F. ⁵ te] om. F.

⁶ habitis] om. F H. ⁷ praedictus monachus] m. p., C.

⁸ erat et ipse] et ipse erat., F H.

⁹ desiderandum] desideratum., F H. ¹⁰ in] cum., F.

¹¹ mentis] animae., F. ¹² exceptos] susceptos., F H.

¹³ simul tota] t. s., F H.

¹⁴ praedictus frater] f. p., F.

¹⁵ viri] uulfrici., F H. ¹⁶ unum ei] e. u., C.

¹⁷ manum] manu., F.

autem et videbat¹ exhibuit. Porro frater Willelmus in repetitione signi hujus confirmare pergens² fidem hominis: 'Nunc,' ait, 'rogo ut et mihi alterum des.' Qui³ manum ad locum thesaurorum suorum reducens, idem opus sub eodem compendio expedivit et praedicto fratri anulum explicitum⁴ porrexit. Haec⁵ idem frater Willelmus.

73. DE⁶ QUODAM OCULIS EFFOSSIS SANATO

Quidam in finibus Eboraci publica manu addicente⁷ oculorum effossione punitus⁸ est. Non multo post tempore jubetur in somnis ad Wulfricum ire eique ad curandum se exhibere. Sed etiam⁹ modus curationis praeostenditur. 'Beato,' inquit, 'viro pollicem in orbes¹⁰ oculorum imponente sanaberis.' Proficiscitur ergo ille ad virum Dei et se ei cum causa sua exponens, medicinalis pollicis repromotionem exigit. At vir Dei hominem adversatus tamquam nescientem quid quaereret et a quo quaereret, 'Erras,' inquit, 'o homo, magnorum¹¹ insignia sunt haec.' At ille mittentis et promittentis Dei auctoritatem constanter obicare coepit, et quia quae promisit Deus potens est et facere. Huic certamini velut arbitrum quandam Bricticus se intulit et ad virum Dei conversus ait. 'Siccine fides latronis constantior erit quam fides tua?' Producente ergo Brictrico profertur fugitiva manus,¹² protenditur pollex et in orbes oculorum violenter infertur. Prorumpunt in ictu oculi oculorum pupillae etiam usque ad pollicis rejectionem; intrat ad oculos lux seu potius ad lucem oculi exeunt. Haec venerabilis abbas de Malmesburia¹³ viro Dei referente agnovisse se dicit et scripto annotata transmisit, qui etiam ex ore viri sancti audiisse se scribit quia sexdecim

¹ videbat] viderat., F.² confirmare pergens] p. c., C.³ Qui] F add. et.⁴ explicitum] explicatum., F H.⁵ Haec i. f. Willelmus] om. H.⁶ De quodam o. e. sanato] De quadam qui oculis effossis per virum Dei restitutus est sanitati., H.⁷ addicente] adducente., H.⁸ punitus] damnatus., F H.⁹ etiam] et., C.¹⁰ orbes] orbem., F.¹¹ magnorum] C add. virorum.¹² fugitiva manus] m. f., C.¹³ Malmesburia] Malmesberia., C; Malmesburnia., H.

caecos per manus ejus illuminaverit Deus. Alii etiam signo idem abbas testimonium perhibet quod et oculis suis vidisse se asserit; quia Laurentio fratri praedicti abbatis gravissime aegrotanti manus¹ imponens vir Dei sanitatem integrum in omni celeritate restituit, adeo ut ipsa die cum fratre suo iter ad propria susciperet. Scribit et hoc quia in frequentia populi ad virum Dei concurrente gladius a quadam in atrio ecclesiae depositus furto sublatus est. Refertur res ad virum Dei qui et rem silentio premi imperat. Procedente vero die cum frequentia illa hominum fere effluxisset, mittit vir Dei ministrum suum ad illum qui furtum fecerat, qui per cimiterium huc illucque discurrens portam invenire nullatenus potuit. Mandat ergo vir Dei ut gladium quem sustulerat restituat. Qui nihil moratus et gladium reddidit et visum recepit.

74. DE QUODAM QUEM EXSPECTAVIT AD MISSAM

Quod autem sequitur Osbernus presbyter de Haselbergia retulit, qui Osbernus viro piae memoriae Brictrico in ecclesiae ejusdem dispensatione successit. Ait ergo quia cum adolescens esset ingredi soleret ad virum Dei ut missas celebranti assisteret. Factum est autem quadam die cum ad altaris officium accessurus esset vir Dei et sacerdotalibus se ex more induisset, puer ignem allaturus candelam accepit, cui vir Dei ut sustineret imperavit. Sustinuitque puer paululum² licet cum murmure et taedio, eo quod pueribus deditus³ etiam ubi tunc erat totus erat in his. Causanti ergo quod hora consueta jam praeteriisset: ‘Exspecta,’ ait vir Dei, ‘quia is qui festinat ad hanc missam occurrere⁴ adhuc exspectandus est.’ Itaque⁵ exspectante illo modicum adhuc,⁶ licet non multum de propheticis satageret, post paululum ait ei vir sanctus: ‘Jam nunc accelera, quia ecce adest quem exspectavimus et occurret tibi.’ Igitur egressus ille obvium habuit in ipso egressu cimiterii virum religionis habitu indutum et ait illi: ‘Ecce hactenus

¹ manus] manum., H.

² paululum] paulatim., H.

³ deditus] intentus., H.

⁴ ad hanc missam occurrere] o. a. h. m., F H.

⁵ Itaque] Sed., F.

⁶ adhuc] om. F.

exspectavimus te, et nimis molesta mora quam fecisti nobis tu.' Sic beatus vir in Spiritu Sancto religionis votis reverenter occurrit ut non solum praevideret venturum sed etiam venientem comitaretur et euntis hominis quodammodo vestigia legeret et passus dinumeraret.

75. DE MULIERE CUJUS OBITUM MYSTICE SIGNIFICAVIT

Fuit item mulier in finibus castelli Totonensis, in villa quae dicitur Hurdestochia,¹ religiosa nimis et toti patriae illi² pietatis et sanctitatis exemplum. Et haec de³ praeda beati Wulfrici quam de concubina presbyteri cujusdam Sancti Spiritus,⁴ ut dicitur,⁵ vaticinio in amicam Jesu Christi permutavit; et⁶ finibus illis novam ipsamque magnam intulit lucem. Cumque mulier ferventissima in compendio gratia Dei consummata explesset tempora multa, vocavit eam Dominus in clangore buccinae, in languore gravi et diurno. Misitque illa ad unicum remedium suum super terram beatum Wulfricum, ut parceret ei⁷ ab aegritudine hac, et in aquae suae benedictae destinatione finem his malis imponeret. Venienti⁸ ergo nuntio in verbis postulationis hujus respondit vir Dei. 'Mane hic nocte hac et summo diluculo respondebo tibi.' Mane itaque facto, accersiens eum: ⁹ 'Vade,' ait, 'et accelera domum, quia domina tua ad integrum sanata est.' Qui cum instantius aquam benedictam exigeret propter quam¹⁰ missus est: 'Vade,' ait, 'quia¹¹ jam ultra¹² non indiget ea.' Qui non intelligens verbum hoc, eo quod in parabolis vir Dei loquereatur¹³ ad eum,¹⁴ festinavit¹⁵ reverti quasi laeta nuntiaturus,¹⁶ et revera laetiora ab spe sua. Itaque domum reversus audivit

¹ Hurdestochia] Hundestochia., F; Hirdestochia., H.

² toti patriae illi] totius patriae illius., F. ³ de] om. C H.

⁴ Sancti Spiritus] Spiritus Sancti., C. ⁵ dicitur] ducitur., H.

⁶ et] F add. in.

⁷ ei] om. C.

⁸ Venienti] Vinienti., F. ⁹ eum] eam., F.

¹⁰ exigeret propter quam] C add. et; expeteret pro qua., F; exigeret pro qua., H.

¹¹ quia] quoniam., C.

¹² ultra] om. F.

¹³ loqueretur] loquebatur., H.

¹⁴ ad eum] ei., F H.

¹⁵ festinavit] festinaret., H.

¹⁶ nuntiaturus] annuntiaturus., C.

quia migrasset domina sua ex hac luce; et tunc demum intellexit de verbo sanitatis et¹ quia haec verissima sanitas est quam nulla sequitur vel persequitur infirmitas. Haec mihi unus ex² nostris ex partibus hisdem oriundus bonae spei juvenis enarravit, et de constantia fidei suae fidem meam evicit. Sed ne quid fidei meae in hac parte³ deesset, misi ad fideles in partibus illis a quibus in ipsam introductus sum veritatem. Sic beatus Wulfricus jam metere meruit quod⁴ olim seminaverat et ut totum ei de hac muliere constaret, quam olim a morte salvavit aeterna nunc⁵ orationibus suis et a corpore mortis hujus absolvit et in vitam praemisit aeternam.

76. DE JUDICIO HIRIBELLORUM QUOD PRAEDIXIT

De illorum quoque judicio quos vulgus Hiribellos nominat beatus Wulfricus non siluit,⁶ licet sub aenigmate prophetavit,⁷ cum quibus dux Henricus tempore regis Stephani Angliam ingressus est ad regnum hereditandum, quod et postea⁸ Deo sibi collaborante⁹ obtinuit. Qui cum in manu sacrilega omnia pervaderent, pauperes exspoliarent, sacra profanarent et effreni libertate se in omnem iniquitatem relaxarent, apposuerunt etiam de hujus viri Dei domo diripere praedam. Cumque intrasset nuntius dicens quia et equus quo ligna ejus¹⁰ et victus afferri solebat et quaedam alia de substantia ejus direpta fuisserent ab eis: 'Sine modo,' ait, 'quia non diu¹¹ congaudebunt sibi nec supergaudebunt mihi¹² in his quae mihi abstulerunt, nec in Normanniam adducent ea.' Ad ducem etiam misit legationem significans pretium rerum ablatarum sub aestimatione solidorum duodecim, annuntians ei¹³ etiam hoc quia vivente rege Stephano ipse non esset regnaturus. Igitur cum flagellasset Deus Angliam in latrunculis his et consummasset

¹ et] om. H.

² ex] de., C.

³ fidei meae in hac parte] i. h. p. f. m., F.

⁵ nunc] F add. et.

⁴ quod] quae., C.

⁷ prophetavit] -averit., C.

⁶ siluit] tacuit., F H.

⁹ collaborante] cooperante postmodum., F H.

⁸ postea] om. F H.

¹¹ non diu] d. n., C.

¹⁰ ejus] post *victus.*, F H.

¹³ ei] post *hoc.*, F H.

¹² mihi] om. F.

opus suum quod praeordinaverat explere per ipsos,¹ conversus est demum etiam in ipsos furor Domini et virgam flagelli sui ipse comminuit. Denique cum pace Deo miserante composita dimitteretur profana illa multitudo cum fasciculis iniquitatum quos congregaverat ² in Anglia et mari se exposuisset, excussa est simul sicut locusta et velut quidam Pharaonis exercitus submersi sunt sicut ³ plumbum in aquis vehementibus. Erat ergo beato Wulfrico cantare Domino pro eo quod gloriose honorificatus est, et quia equum ut dixerat non adduxerunt in Normanniam, sed ipsum, si forte tunc adfuit, et ascensorem ejus deject ⁴ in mare. Haec mihi quidam ex senioribus nostris et mulier venerabilis et clarissimae aestimationis Muriel ⁵ dicta, uxor viri potentis Roberti de Bello Campo tradiderunt.

77. DE DEFUNCTO QUODAM ⁶ CUJUS REQUIEM DENUNTIAVIT

Venit ad hominem Dei Ricardus cantor, quem superius scriptorem ejus esse ⁷ dixi, de statu animae patris sui Segari, cuius mentionem nihilominus fecisse me recolo, virum Dei sollicite consulens. Ad quem ille : ‘ In paenis,’ inquit, ‘ gravissimis laboravit ; sed jam requievit a laboribus suis. Sane vidi hominem illum per visionem ⁸ in limo profundissimo infixum eluctari volentem nec aliquatenus valentem, usque dum ego in equo eo ⁹ veniens,¹⁰ jumento meo impositum cum laetitia adduxi. Scito ergo ¹¹ quia jam pax est viro huic.’ Laetus ille in his et gratias agens recessit. Verumtamen cum debita devotione paternae necessitatis memor, a pristina sollicitudine necdum se posset absolvere, reversus est ad hominem Dei cum consultatione priori. Cui ille velut indignans quod semel absolutam propositionem secundo apponeret interrogare : ‘ Numquid,’ ait, ‘ non dixi tibi quod ¹² imposui eum equo meo ? ’

¹ ipsos] illos., H.

² congregaverat] congregaverant., F; congregavit., H.

³ sicut] quasi., C H.

⁴ deject] project., F H.

⁵ Muriel] mulier., H.

⁶ defuncto quodam] q. d., F H.

⁷ esse] fuisse., C H.

⁸ per visionem] om. F H.

⁹ eo] om. C H.

¹⁰ veniens] adveniens., C H.

¹¹ ergo] igitur., C.

¹² quod] quia., F H.

78. DE MONACHO WINTONIENSI CUJUS OBITUM DENUNTIAVIT

Venit ad hominem Dei Willelmus filius Walteri, nam hoc domino villae illius nomen erat, pulsansque ex more fenestram, tardius occurrentem aliquamdiu non sine taedio exspectavit. Post haec apprens vir sanctus: 'Scio,' ait,¹ 'quia moleste tuleris moram meam et exspectationem tuam. Sed ignosce obsecro quoniam² occupatus fui ne ad votum tuum³ vel meum celerius occurrerem.' 'In quo,' ait, 'domine mi?' Respondit vir Dei: 'Quidam,' ait,⁴ 'ex fratribus nostris monachis Wintoniensibus paulo ante de hac vita migravit, suggestumque est mihi ut transitum ejus mea oratione juvarem. Quod et ipsum ex animo facere sollicitus fui, et haec causa occupationis meae.' At miles diligentius et nomen monachi et horam migrationis ejus sciscitatus, cum omni festinatione misit Wintoniam, scire volens si haec ita se⁵ haberent. Itaque qui missus est diem cum nocte continuans ad destinatum persecutus est et cum idem monachus ad tumulum cum debita⁶ solemnitate duderetur⁷ occurrit. Requisivit autem et nomen monachi et horam transitus ejus et quia ipse esset monachus et quia ipsa esset hora transitus ejus quam vir beatus⁸ viderat et denuntiaverat et ipse edidicit, et illi qui miserat eum renuntiavit. Dum haec agerentur accersivit vir sanctus militem eundem et ait: 'Siccine nondum credis mihi et Wintoniam misisti ut probes an in veritate locutus sim?' At ille dupli argumento convictus, edidicit quia et absentia viro Dei praesentia sunt et abscondita cordis ei non sunt abscondita. Haec filius ejus⁹ Willelmus monachus Glastoniae.

79. DE MILITIS OBITU QUEM DENUNTIAVIT

Nec illud dissimile fuit quod cum miles quidam Durandus¹⁰ dictus de Mohum¹¹ graviter infirmaretur, et mittens accersiret

¹ ait] inquit., F. ² quoniam] quia., H. ³ tuum] om. F.

⁴ ait] om. F H.

⁵ ita se] se ita., F H.

⁶ cum debita] d. c., F H.

⁷ duderetur] duceretur., F H.

⁸ beatus] C add. et.

⁹ ejus] H add. et.

¹⁰ Durandus] Durannus., H.

¹¹ Mohum] Mohun., F H.

Willelmum filium Walteri eo quod idem Durandus frater esset uxoris ipsius Willelmi, is qui missus fuerat, non invento Willelmo apud Haselbergiam, de nocte ad aliam villam ejus quae Pidele dicitur profectus est ut quaereret eum. At vir sanctus et nuntium et eum ad quem venerat praeveniens, cum debitor esset gentis illius, de salute magis animae tractandum putabat, et Osbernum qui adhuc in puerilibus annis erat vocans, 'Vade,' ait, 'et dic patri tuo ut animam Durandi de Mohun qui paulo ante obiit commendet Deo, et missam pro eo celebrare festinet.' Haec idem Osbernus.

80. DE CANONICIS REGULARIBUS¹ HASELBERGIAM INTRODUCTIS, QUOS² ITEM EXPELLENDOS PRAEDIXIT

Willelmus idem cum vir religiosus esset et timens Deum, ad quod de familiari exemplo et crebra sermocinatione viri Dei profecerat, canonicos quos regulares dicimus ad Haselbergiam introduxit et in possessionibus non paucis locupletans eos, in aedificiis etiam quae usque hodie³ supersunt cum vir in diebus illis potentissimus esset, magnifice et munifice ministrabat. Verumtamen quia prophetam Domini ad manum habebat, consulendum eum censuit⁴ super his ut benediceret vir sanctus operibus manuum suarum, et initia rerum gerendarum favore et consilio suo sanctificaret. Cui vir sanctus: 'Incipies,' inquit, 'et non consummabis. Neque enim hi quos introducere disponis prosperabuntur in loco isto.⁵ Verum ne vel tibi vel ipsis ex animo videar adversari, incipe sicut decrevisti ut voluntas saltem tua⁶ probata sit Deo, et vel in hac parte si non illis vel certe tibi sit haec eleemosyna fructuosa.' Ad haec miles quidem animo⁷ concidit, non tamen usque ad destitutionem⁸ propositi sui; sed adductis illis multisque redditibus assignatis,⁹ loco illi aedificando pervigil et devotus incubuit. Verum quia non potuit¹⁰ excidere verbum Dei,

¹ Regularibus] Regularium., F.

² quos] om. F.

³ usque hodie] hodieque., F H.

⁴ censuit] censebat., F H.

⁵ loco isto] hoc loco., H.

⁶ saltem tua] t. s., F.

⁷ quidem animo] a. q., C.

⁸ destitutionem] destinationem., H.

⁹ assignatis] signatis., H.

¹⁰ potuit] potest., C; posset., F.

cum plantati essent non miserunt radices altas. Quam quidem historiam ne expulsos persequi videar memoriae mandare supersedeo. Haec filius ejusdem Willelmi, Walterus Glas-toniensis.

81. QUOD REGINAE SUPERBIAM HUMILIATUM IRI PROPHETAVIT

In diebus regis Stephani accidit ut uxor ejus¹ in castellum si recte memini quod Corf dicitur veniret et occurrerent² ei³ ex more mulieres nobiles finium illorum et salutaverunt eam. Inter quas uxor Willelmi filii Walteri cum debita veneratione accessit, et in salutationis obsequio officiosa esse curavit. At regina pro eo quod vir ejus Willelmus regi Stephano necdum⁴ adhaereret noluit eam attendere, sed regali fastu aversata⁵ est eam. Porro illa confusa in oculis aliarum mulierum ad Haselbergiam declinavit et in auribus viri sancti, cui merito sanctitatis et suavitatis suae erat amicissima, deposita causam confusionis suae. Qui eam blande et leniter consolatus sustinuit interim quoisque non multo⁶ tempore intercedente ipsa regina hominem Dei expetiit. Recordatus itaque opprobrii cuius ipse judex⁷ fuerat interpellatus, non magnopere faciem ejus attendit; sed in magnificentia prophetali se exhibens ei: ‘Tu-ne es,’ inquit, ‘quae mulieri fideli et sanctae assurgere dignata es et vultum ejus confudisti nec in osculo eam suscipere acquivisti? Ecce dies veniunt et os illud pauperibus et ignobilibus personis indulgere consenties, nec repelles omne os quominus suscias⁸ et osculo oris tui deosculeris⁹ illud.’ Porro¹⁰ qui rerum gestarum meminerunt adhuc liquido adverte possunt quomodo cum captivatus esset Stephanus¹¹ rex et regina pro ejus liberatione sollicita pauperibus et ignobilibus se affabilem exhiberet, quorum etiam ope regis absolutio

¹ ejus] H add. *venerabilis Regina Matildis.*

² occurrerent] occurrerunt, C. ³ ei] om. H.

⁴ necdum] nedum., C.

⁵ aversata] adversata., C.

⁶ multo] F add. *post.*

⁷ ipse judex] j. i., H.

⁸ suscias] supias., H.

⁹ deosculeris] osculeris., F H.

¹⁰ Porro] Postremo., C.

¹¹ Stephanus rex] r. S., C H.

creditur maturata fuisse, verbum prophetiae hujus fuerit adim-
pletum. Haec filius ejusdem mulieris ¹ Willelmus Glastoniensis.

82. QUOD MULIEREM SUENTEM ERRARE IN SPIRITU VIDIT

Data est linea tela ² viro Dei ad albam faciendam. Cumque ex more ³ incisam Godida mater Osberti ⁴ presbyteri con-
sueret, accidit ut consuturam unam invertens per incuriam erraret. Accersito ergo vir Dei ministro suo : ‘Vade,’ ait, ‘et
dic Godidae quia non satis attendit ad opus manuum suarum.’
Alio quoque tempore misit puerum suum ut hominem qui in
lacum ceciderat extraheret de eo. Sed et hospitibus super-
venturis cum adhuc longe essent necessaria praeparabat per
manum pueri sui. Ipse nihilominus minister ejus assidue
conquerebatur quia nihil eorum, quae in via gerebat ⁵ cum
quolibet mitteretur, oculos domini sui latere posset ; sed omnia
diverticula et pueriles vagationes ipsius ⁶ ac si individuus comes
et testis non solum viarum sed et cogitationum in faciem
revertenti proponeret.

**83. QUOMODO IN PUERUM SUUM DOLOSE AGENDO ⁷
VINDICAVIT**

Nec id praetereundum quia Eliseus iste alterum Giezi
habuit, sed et iste Giezi ⁸ alterum Eliseum invenit. Puer
namque viri sancti ⁹ cum ob reverentiam domini sui amicos
comparasset ¹⁰ sibi, avertit cor suum in negotiationem avaritiae,
et ea quae a fidelibus destinabantur domino suo ¹¹ non timuit
reponere sibi. Insuper et pauperum Christi proditor, cum fur
esset et loculos haberet, ea quae eis a domino suo mittebantur
portabat. Quae ¹² vir sanctus in aemulatione mansuetudinis
Christi aliquanto tempore dissimulavit, donec tota clamante
vicinia ¹³ et gravissime ferente tantae sanctitatis ¹⁴ aestima-

¹ mulieris] militis., F.

² ex more] de more., C H.

³ gerebat] gerebantur., C.

⁴ agendo] agentem., H.

⁵ sancti] Dei., H.

⁶ suo] om. H.

⁷ vicinia] vicina., H.

⁸ linea tela] t. l., F H.

⁹ Osberti] Osberni., H.

¹⁰ ipsius] ejus., H.

¹¹ iste Giezi] Giezi iste., C F H.

¹² comparasset] operasset., F.

¹³ Quae] Quem., F.

¹⁴ tantae sanctitatis] s. t., C.

tionem decoloratam, praecidere eum et exturbare¹ compulsum est. At ille in multitudine divitiarum congregatarum confidens, eo quod oves plurimas et boves² habebat,³ insuper auro et argento et vestibus pretiosis esset locupletatus,⁴ sibi et ei cui adhaeserat⁵ fornicariae, a facie viri sancti projectus exsulavit. Subinde cum nuntiaretur viro Dei quaestus ille copiosus cum quo exierat: ‘Sustinet,’ ait, ‘modicum adhuc quia impie conquisita in nihilum revertentur.’ Itaque sicut hi qui supersunt adhuc testes sunt, viri plane fideles, cum nondum idem annus esset exactus, tantae judicium paupertatis incurrit ut non haberet ubi caput reclinaret, sed et publicae mendicitatis opprobrio expositus vix semicinctia quibus carnem turpitudinis suaे operiret invenerit. Haec venerabilis mulier Muriel dicta et Osbernum et Sigarus⁶ presbyteri.

84. QUOD QUAEDAM CIBARIA EI MISSA ET FURTUM RESERVATA⁷ VERMIBUS SCATURIRE⁸ COEPERUNT

Mulier religiosa Johanna dicta uxor viri potentis Durandi de Mohum⁹ et domini de Haselbergia soror pueros duos ad virum Dei destinavit¹⁰ triplici munera¹¹ benedictione onustos, pane, pastellis et duobus vasis vini. Qui cum domui viri sancti appropinquarent,¹² condixerunt¹³ sibi ex singulis his portiones singulas suis usibus reservare. Quod et fecerunt et apud pauperem quandam in via reposuerunt.¹⁴ Igitur januam viri Dei pulsantibus illis, advocans vir Dei puerum suum: ‘Vade,’ inquit, ‘et suscipe de manu hominum illorum ea quae detulerunt nec eos ad me introire permiseris. Sed et¹⁵ ne de

¹ exturbare] -ari., C.

² boves] C add. *plurimas*.

³ habebat] haberet., C H.

⁴ esset locupletatus] l. e., F.

⁵ adhaeserat] inhaeserat., H.

⁶ Sigarus] Segarus., C.

⁷ furtim reservata] celata., F.

⁸ scaturire] scatere., F; scaturisse., H.

⁹ Mohum] Mohun., F H.

¹⁰ ad virum Dei destinavit] d. a. v. D., F H.

¹¹ munera] numerum., C.

¹² appropinquarent] appropinquassent., F; appropinquaverunt., H.

¹³ condixerunt] conduxerunt., F. ¹⁴ reposuerunt] deposuerunt., C.

¹⁵ Sed et] om. et., H.

his gustent quae defraudaverunt¹ et reposuerunt sibi, sub mortis interminatione prohibe eos.' Profectusque² puer cum verbis his domini sui eos furti³ arguit, et ut providerent saluti suae praemonuit et praemunivit.⁴ Qui cum multa conscientiae suae confusione reversi vinum quod reposuerant plenum genimine ranarum venenatarum invenerunt. Similiter quod de pane et pastellis⁵ reservaverant plenum scaturigine vermium et ipso etiam abominabile⁶ visu. Percutientes ergo pectora sua haec ipsa qualia erant tabida atque letifera viro Dei celerius detulerunt. Quibus culpam suam confitentibus et veniam postulantibus vir sanctus facile ignovit; susceptaque de manibus illorum⁷ benedixit et benedictione sanavit, et ut pauperi illi apud quem ea deposuerant illibata reportarent etiam⁸ atque etiam imperavit. 'Alioquin,' ait, 'si tetigeritis⁹ quicquam ex his proprii sanguinis rei eritis.'¹⁰ His¹¹ venerabilis inclusa de Niwentona,¹² Aldida nomine, testimonium perhibet quae praeter publicae famae assertionem¹³ eadem Johanna saepius referente cognovit.

85. DE QUADAM PROPHETICA JOCATIONE

Miles quidam de villa quae dicitur Mudifordia,¹⁴ dictus et ipse Willelmus filius Theodorici, cum viro sancto familiaris esset, curavit et in muneribus fieri officiosus. Itaque in aquam praeterfluentem quam infructuosam in ea parte diu ante fuisse dicebat rete jaciens quattuor pisces praegrandes, quos vulgo lucios dicimus, conclusit. Quod viri¹⁵ sanctitati non temere ascribens uno sibi retento tres illi destinavit.

¹ defraudaverunt] fraudaverunt., F.² Profectusque] F add. est. ³ eos furti] f. e., F H.⁴ et praemunivit.] om. C. ⁵ pastellis] de pastellis., H.⁶ abominabile] abominabilem., F.⁷ illorum] eorum., F H.⁸ etiam] om. H. ⁹ tetigeritis] tetigeris., F H.¹⁰ rei eritis] e. r., C. ¹¹ His] Haec., F.¹² Niwentona] Neuentina., F; Newentona., H.¹³ assertionem] assionem., H.¹⁴ Mudifordia] Mundifordia., F H.¹⁵ viri] C H add. Dei; vir., H.

Quibus ille cum gratiarum actione susceptis subridens ait ad puerum: 'Non recte partitus est dominus tuus; sed unum ex his tribus portato ei, et erit jam tunc portio aequa.' Haec Willelmus filius hujus¹ et Beatrix uxor ejus hactenus testificantur.

86. DE² JEROSOLIMITANA PEREGRINATIONE CUJUS EXITUM SINISTRUM PRAEDIXIT

Sedebat coram viro Dei Aluredus de Lincolnia, vir quidem apud homines magnus sed, religione praedivitis animi multo felicius, magnus coram Domino. Et orta est confabulatio super famosa illa et luctuosa expeditione quae tempore Papae Eugenii suscepta est a multis populis contra Saracenos in Jerusalem, quae utinam non annuntietur in Geth³ nec annuntietur in compitis Ascalonis, vel in⁴ auribus nostris dumtaxat⁵ nostrorum quae liceat dare gloriam Deo super judiciis suis qui falsos peregrinos prodidit,⁶ qui decalvavit⁷ verticem superborum, et ad ignominiam deduxit⁸ inclitos terrae, eo quod non in veritate quaererent Dominum sed in idolis suis polluerent⁹ viam peregrinationis suae. Igitur cum coram viro sancto sermocinarentur de his dum adhuc res in procinctu¹⁰ esset et gloriarentur accincti et¹¹ discincti: 'Nolite,' ait vir sanctus, 'satagere de his, omnia enim haec in brevi ad nihilum devenient.' Sic beatus vir velut de sublimi specula filios Effrem¹² intendentes et mittentes arcum derisit et finem superbiae confusionem et praevidit et praenuntiavit. Haec idem Aluredus.

¹ hujus] F H add. *Willelmi.*

² *De . . . praedixit*] Ordo capitulorum 85 et 86 mutatur in F.

³ Geth] *Gath.*, F.

⁴ Ascalonis, vel in] Ascalonis. In., C H.

⁵ dumtaxat] post *auribus.*, F H.

⁶ qui falsos peregrinos prodidit] post *superborum.*, F qui etiam legit *filios pro falsos.*

⁷ decalvavit] decalcavit., H. ⁸ deduxit] dedit., H.

⁹ polluerent] polluerant., F H.

¹⁰ procinctu] praecinctu., F. ¹¹ et] quasi., C H.

¹² Effrem] Ephrem., Vulg.

87. DE TRIBUS PRESBYTERIS QUOS PER SOMNIUM VIDERAT SE
A SUSPENDIO LIBERARE ET MANE PER CONFSSIONEM A
MORTE ANIMAE LIBERAVIT

Accidit ut viro¹ Dei nocturnis vigiliis fatigato sompnus obreperet. Veditque in somnis quasi tres pueros² ultra altare suum suspensos et laqueis quibus astricti erant jam jamque suffocandos. Quorum unus ad beatum virum conversus ait. ‘O domine mi, Wulfrice, cur pigritaris surgere et eruere nos?’ Cui cum vir sanctus non invenire se diceret quonam modo³ id faceret respondit: ‘Ascende⁴ super altare hoc et stans mitte manum tuam et fer opem moriturus.’ Qui continuo acquiescere visus est deprecanti et manu extenta a morte eos et suspendio liberare. Factum est autem dum tractaret secum vir sanctus de visione hac, venerunt eadem die ad eum⁵ presbyteri tres pro peccatis suis gemebundi et paenitentes, et ab eo peccatorum veniam et formam consilii sanioris et vitae sanctioris expertentes et accipientes. Quomodo autem hi tres usque ad id tempus ultra altare pependerint dum sanctis non sancte assisterent adverti facile est. Haec Walterus Glas-toniensis mihi, Waltero autem⁶ vir sanctus; sed et ea que sequuntur ab eodem Waltero accepi.⁷

88. DE CLERICO QUODAM⁸ ILLUSORE

Prior Glocestriae iter suscepit ad hominem Dei devotionis gratia; assumpsitque comitem itineris Robertum quendam de Cirecestria⁹ tunc quidem non magni nominis clericum sed subinde et re et nomine auctum. Is religiosum comitem non eodem spiritu nec eisdem vestigiis secutus tractabat magis in via quomodo simplicitati viri Dei illuderet. Factum est autem cum pervenissent ad eum et prior familiari colloquio viri Dei quod olim sitierat ad plenum refectus recessisset, remansit tentator et quasdam tendiculas quaestionum proponere coepit,

¹ viro] vir., H.

² pueros] presbyteros., H.

³ quonam modo] quomodo., F H. ⁴ Ascende] Accede., H.

⁵ eadem die ad eum] ad eum eadem die., F. ⁶ autem] vero., H.

⁷ accepi] accepit., H. ⁸ clericu quodam] q. c., F.

⁹ Cirecestria] Cirencestria., C; Cicestria., H.

observans curiose os ejus ut caperet eum in sermone. Verum frustra jacitur rete ante oculos pennatorum. Ille nempe Spiritu Sancto praemonstrante quasi fila aranearum omnes illas argutias facile dissolvebat. At ille tandem cum tentasset os, apposuit etiam cor illius tentare de avaritia, et duos denarios proferens¹ obtulit ei. Cui vir sanctus : 'Pone,' inquit, 'eos illuc ;² jam advenient³ qui tollent eos.' Itaque confusus ille recessit, et discumbente eo in villa eadem cum priore supradicto advenerunt duae pauperculae mulieres eleemosynam petentes. Quas idem clericus⁴ tumide repellens : 'Ite,' ait, 'ad hominem Dei cui opera eleemosynarum incumbunt, maxime cum pecuniis abundet.' At illae duos denarios proferentes aiunt : 'Et nos⁵ cum eo⁶ fuimus et ecce hos de fenestra ejus sustulimus.' Quibus clericus idem⁷ inspectis⁸ et recognitis erubuit quidem sed non usque ad condignam paenitentiam. Proinde manducente eo irruit super eum anxietas cordis et viscerum dolor gravissimus ut manifeste jam sero adverteret et omnes⁹ qui videbant haec, quoniam haec manus Domini zelantis est¹⁰ pro servo suo. Igitur ad virum Dei ipso supplicante delatus, confessus est humiliter insipientiam suam et ab eo sanari meruit et absolvit. Admonitus etiam est ut Deum deinceps revereri disceret in servis suis¹¹ quoniam qui spernit eos spernit etiam illum qui inhabitat¹² in eis. Multa quoque¹³ de suo¹⁴ futuro edocitus est¹⁵ quia de tenuitate illa locupletioris¹⁶ meriti nomen esset acquisitus. Post haec clericus idem procurator Glastoniensis coenobii factus, et redditibus non paucis locupletatus, haec eadem saepius viro venerabili

¹ duos denarios proferens] p. d. den., F H.

² Pone inquit eos illuc] P. e. i. illic., F H.

³ advenient] venient., H. ⁴ idem clericus] c. i., F.

⁵ proferentes aiunt: Et nos] proferentes: Et nos, aiunt., C H.

⁶ eo] ipso., F H. ⁷ clericus idem] i. c., H.

⁸ inspectis] post Quibus., H. ⁹ omnes] om. H.

¹⁰ zelantis est] e. z., F H.

¹¹ in servis suis] in sanctis suis (post Deum), F; in sanctis suis., H.

¹² inhabitat] habitat., F. ¹³ quoque] multaque., F; om. H.

¹⁴ suo] statu., F; statu suo futuro., C H.

¹⁵ est] C add. et; F H add. ab eo.

¹⁶ locupletioris] locupletior., H.

Waltero monacho qui haec mihi retulit aliisque¹ nonnullis audientibus replicabat, adiens et hoc, quia cum omnia ei accidissent² quae vir sanctus praedixerat unum tantum superesse de quo non minimum timeret sibi. Requisitus secreto quidnam illud esset respondit. 'Praedixit vir Dei quia Beatam Virginem provocaturus sim ante mortem meam et propter hoc in ultimis diebus meis quinquenni caecitate multandus.' Denique norunt omnes qui hominem illum norunt quia caecitatis plaga sub eodem dierum spatio percussus est, qui et³ ante hos paucos dies vitae terminum fecit. Ita vir sanctus⁴ dolos delusoris in simplicitate sua elusit,⁵ et in caritate sua reddidit bona pro malis et in spiritu prophetiae de futuris praemonuit.

89. DE MULIERE CUI PECCATA SUA PRODENS PLURIMUM⁶ CONTULIT

Venerant ad virum Dei mulieres duae⁷ praedivites quarum una Bence usque nunc dicta Alfredi de Lincolnia mater est; altera Agnes comitissae de Glocestria⁸ soror fuit. Itaque cum Bence se⁹ orationibus ejus sedulo commendaret, annuit vir Dei et se id facturum quoad viveret repromisit. Proinde Agneta eadem instantia idem deprecante primum quidem siluit ille ad modicum. At illa instantius¹⁰ insidente: 'Orabo,' ait,¹¹ 'si licuerit mihi.' Cumque importunius illa velut repulsa pulsaret et ille perseveraret in verbo veritatis suae, accessit ex more ad altare missam celebraturus. Qua celebrata cum¹² rediret sciscitata est Agnes¹³ si pro ipsa orasset. 'Nequamquam,' ait, 'quoniam cum id inciperem¹⁴ prohibitus sum.' Perstante illa quaerere ab eo causas¹⁵ expulsionis¹⁶ hujus:

¹ aliisque] aliis., F.

² ei accidissent] post *praedixerat*, F H.

³ et] om. C.

⁴ sanctus] F H add. et.

⁵ elusit] delusit., F; illusit., H.

⁷ mulieres duae] d. m., F.

⁶ plurimum] multum ei., F H.

⁸ Glocestria] Glocestriæ, F; Glocestria., H.

⁹ se] post *ejus*., F.

¹⁰ instantius] eo instantius., F H.

¹¹ ait] inquit., F.

¹² cum] dum., F.

¹³ Agnes] Angnes., H.

¹⁴ cum id inciperem] id incipere., H.

¹⁵ ab eo causas] c. a. e., C.

¹⁶ expulsionis] repulsionis., F H.

'Dies,' inquit, 'festos non observasti in aedificiis tuis¹ sumptuosis, et sanctos Dei non digne glorificasti; sed et ipsa hactenus minus sancte coram Deo conversata es.' At illa se² coram Deo qui scrutator est renum et sancto ejus in lamenta prosterrens: 'Vere,' ait, 'haec ita se habent, sed ulterius jam juvante Deo castigatius vivam.' Deinde secretius loquens ad eum innovavit faciem suam in confessione et³ absolutione peccatorum suorum et sacramoris⁴ propositi fortitudinem induit. Quam vir sanctus velut jam dealbatam blande consolatus: 'Noli,' ait, 'timere; ex hoc fiducialiter orabo pro te⁵; tantum constans esto in proposito sancto, praenoscens etiam hoc quoniam breves sunt dies tui super terram.' Recessit itaque mulier et id modicum quod residuum erat vitae suaे satius⁶ expendere curavit et dispendia praeteritorum dierum dignis paenitentiae fructibus recompensare.

90. DE MORTE REGIS HENRICI QUAM PROPHETAVIT⁷

Ordinabat rex Anglorum Henricus primus profactionem in partes transmarinas, et res ad hominem Dei fama vulgante delata est. Respondit vir Dei: 'Ibit quidem sed non redibit: sed et si redierit non totus tamen nec integer.' Nuntiatumque est regi; et dure accepit rex sermonem hunc, misitque⁸ ad eum qui quaereret si⁹ verbi hujus auctor ipse fuisset. 'Si dixi,' ait vir sanctus, 'non me paenitet, quia ex me non sum locutus.' Itaque rex juxta quod disposuerat¹⁰ profectus est. Dehinc aliquanto tempore elapso vocavit vir Dei dominum villae ejusdem¹¹ et ait: 'Rex hesterna die mortuus est, tu vide quid agas.' Porro milite obstupescente et imperante silentium. 'Mihi,' ait, 'silere perfacile est, sed in proximo est ut¹² omnes loquantur.' Denique quia misericordiam rex consecuturus esset a Domino, eo quod paci et justitiae militasset

¹ tuis] om. H.² se] post *lamenta.*, F H.³ et] om. H.⁴ sacramoris] sanctioris., F.⁵ orabo pro te] p. t. o., F.⁶ satius] F. add. (*juste*).⁷ prophetavit] praedixit., F H.⁸ misitque] F H add. *rex*.⁹ si] om. H.¹⁰ disposuerat] disposit., F H.¹¹ villae ejusdem] e. v., F H.¹² ut] om. H.

in vita sua et domum de Radinges¹ regali munificentia² aedificasset, prophetavit.

91. DE REGNO ET CAPTIVATIONE REGIS STEPHANI QUAM³ PROPHETAVIT

Venit ad virum Dei comes Stephanus qui postea regnavit in Anglia,⁴ et jam tunc cum regis cognatus esset multis et magnis possessionibus in Anglia abundabat. Venit autem⁵ et frater ejus, vir omnino magnificus Henricus Wintoniensis episcopus, cum eo. Respiciens itaque⁶ in comitem vir sanctus ait : ‘ Salve rex ! ’ Illis ad alterutrum respicientibus et opinantibus ne forte vir sanctus humanae opinionis falleretur⁷ incerto : ‘ Tibi dico,’ ait, ‘ O Stephane, salve rex ! Tradidit enim Deus regnum Angliae in manu tua et⁸ tu paci et aequitati intendere stude, et ecclesiam Dei tueri et honorificare curato.’ Igitur cum juxta dispositionem Dei regnum Stephano provenisset, et aliis requirentibus illud de manu ejus, pax omnino de Anglia exturbata⁹ fuisse, quam quidem turbationem vir sanctus ante prophetaverat. Quadam dierum adveniens dominus villae ejusdem, sciscitus est a viro Dei quomodo se¹⁰ haberet. ‘ Bene,’ ait, ‘ sed ex parte, quoniam amico nostro compatrior.’ Ad quem¹¹ miles : ‘ Quisnam,’ inquit, ‘ est amicus ille ? ’ Respondit : ‘ Rex Stephanus crastina die dabitur in manibus inimicorum suorum et captivus ducetur.’ Ingemuit ille et ait : ‘ Quid deinde, domine mi, numquid non liberabitur ? ’ ‘ Vere,’ ait, ‘ liberabitur, et qui captivat¹² eum consequenter de eodem calice bibet.’ Postremo venienti ad eum regi Stephano post objurgationes plurimas et exhortationes salutiferas hoc inter caetera repromisit quod eum oporteret regnare quoad viveret. Nec id praetereundum quia regem cujusdam peccati sui quod etiam nomine tenus expressit, paenitentiam agere exhortatus

¹ Radinges] Redinges., F.

² munificentia] magnificentia., C.

³ quam] quae., C; om. F.

⁴ in Anglia] in Angliam., F.

⁵ autem] om. H.

⁶ itaque] om. H.

⁷ falleretur] post forte., F.

⁸ et] om. C.

⁹ exturbata] turbata., F H.

¹⁰ se] om. H.

¹¹ quem] quae., F.

¹² captivat] captivaverat., H.

est, adiciens quia quousque¹ paeniteret impossibile erat² firmari solium ejus et pacem rebus dari. Quibus auditis rex ubertim flere coepit et, peccati ejusdem confessionem³ faciens, percutienti et conspuenti prophetae maxillam dedit.

92. DE BLASPHEMI CUJUSDAM JUDICIO

Venerunt viri duo ad hominem Dei, sed alter ex occasione consortii et in angaria magis quam in veritate, ut consequenter innotuit. Sane cum socius ejus se propter quod venerat viri Dei orationibus studiose commendaret et sermones ejus velut area imbreui sitiens⁴ inhianter exciperet profectibus ejus ipse deficere coepit et taedio atque rancore quodam diabolico urgeri atque consumi. Cumque intra semetipsum aestuans ulterius jam dissimulare non posset illud quod conceperat venenum blasphemiae in verba tandem contumeliae erupit dicens : ‘ Usquequo tu loqueris cum fatuo illo, cum rustico illo ? Ex hoc jam non exspectabo te.’ Post haec verba se proripiens, immo a spiritu maligno cui⁵ traditus est subito et terribiliter corruptus, ingressus est viam perditionis suaे prosequente eum furore Domini qui et comprehendit eum. At vir Dei non magnopere attendens miseri hominis amentiam, alteri illi avidissime audienti se longiuscule indulxit. Qui cum desiderio suo, sicut in transitu res erat, satisfecisset, ait ad hominem Dei : ‘ Timeo ne socium meum jam elongatum comprehendere ultra non possim, ecce cum benedictione tua accelerabo subsequi eum.’ Cui vir Dei : ‘ Non longe est,’ ait, ‘ cito conserueris eum.’ At ille festinato subsecutus, cum occidentem versus quasi miliario dimidio a domo viri Dei elongatus fuisse, prospiciens eminus vidi comitem⁶ suum interfectum voluntari in sanguine suo. Nec mora, mente consternatus rediit ad hominem Dei, cum pavore et horrore⁷ multo versans in animo suo et blasphemiae judicium et prophetiae quam ante non

¹ quousque] quoadusque., H.² erat] esse., F; esset., H.³ confessionem] C add. *ex animo*.⁴ sitiens] sisciens., F.⁵ cui] C H add. *et.*⁶ comitem] socium., F.⁷ horrore] errore., H.

adverterat¹ sermonem. Ad quem vir Dei: 'Nonne,' ait, 'dixi tibi quia non longe est et cito consequeris eum?'

93. DE PROPHETATIONE MORTIS DIVITIS CUJUSDAM

Accidit item ut duo viri potentes de partibus Westsaxorum, comes videlicet Baldewinus et Stephanus de Mandevilla, pietatis causa peregre profecti moram facerent longiorem, eo quod in laboribus multis et insidiis periclitarentur in via. Cumque Stephanum Dei nutu mors intercepisset et comes non sine labore rediret, exiit sermo in Angliam quia comes decessisset et Stephanus rediret.² Sed amico veritatis et prophetae Dei fama mentiri non potuit. Ipse enim in contrarium asserebat Stephanum vero cum pietate in viis justitiae obdormientem dicebat optimam³ habere repositam gratiam, propter quod etiam solemnii humanitatis officio defuncto adesse⁴ curavit. Haec mulier quae⁵ et Muriel quam superius dixi.

94. DE PROPHETATIONE ADVENTUS DOMINI HASELBERGIAE

Venit ad virum Dei villicus de Haselbergia prefecturus ad dominum suum moram tunc alibi facientem, et ejus se orationibus attentius commendabat, ne forte pace ubique turbata ipse in latrones incidernet. Ad quem vir Dei: 'Non est,' ait, 'necessere ut eas tu ad eum pro eo quod mane ipse huc venturus est.'⁶ Cumque ille se⁷ de his haesitasse⁸ diceret, quia hujus adventus nullum praenuntium habuisset, respondit: 'Ego ait non haesito de his quia jam nunc equis suis praebendam distribui facit. Post haec vero cum parumper pausaverit, tota nocte perambulatus, huc mane diluculo adveniet. Proinde id sollicite procurato ut praeparentur ei cibi quos venienti possis apponere, quoniam oppido et lassum et famelicum hominem recipies.' At ille tam constanter loquente viro Dei,

¹ adverterat] advertit., C.

² comes d. e. S. rediret] S. r. e. c. d., C H.

³ dicebat optimam] o. d. habere., C; o. d., F H.

⁴ adesse] esse., H.

⁵ mulier quae] om. F.

⁶ est] om. H.

⁷ ille se] s. i., H.

⁸ haesitasse] haesitare., C.

Spiritui Sancto resistere non praesumens, promissum adventum et fideliter exspectavit et accurate suscepit. Ita vir beatus non in spiritualibus tantum sed etiam in carnalibus meruit prophetare, et illius qui sibi in temporalibus ministrabat quasi ad vicissitudinem obsequi temporalibus necessitatibus solatia procurare. Haec frater Willelmus hospitalis.

95. DE BLASPHEMO QUODAM

Erat languidus quidam¹ Cicestriae, qui audiens virtutes quas per sanctum suum Dominus faciebat, misit ad eum obsecrans ut ei aliquid mitteret quod ei ad salutem proveniret: misitque ei aquam bendictam. Quam cum gustasset, quia salsa erat et de vescione turbida, mox eam² exspuit, erumpens etiam in verba blasphemiae quia quod miserat vir Dei urina ejus fuerit. Sed aegritudo invalescens linguam quidem effrenem castigavit, sed non usque ad condignam cordis humiliationem, ut petitio super eadem re ad virum Dei³ missa sed sine effectu remissa probavit. Denique quid egerit,⁴ quid dixerit de sanctificatione priori⁵ non secus quam si aures ad verba eadem⁶ habuerit significavit ei, et quoniam benedictione iterum blasphemanda indignus esset pronuntiavit. Haec a quodam nostris de finibus illis oriundo accepimus.

96. DE WALTERO⁷ GLASTONIENSI

Quia vero Walterum Glastoniensem in testimonium veritatis saepius assumpsi, tempus est ut ipsi testi meo paucis⁸ testimonium dem, quatenus an sit idoneus testis vos probetis. Et ipsum quidem viro Dei familiarem fecerant⁹ tum gratia patris et matris, tum futura in eo quam vir Dei¹⁰ praevidebat et praedicebat¹¹ gratia Dei; et haec quidem causa potior ut

¹ languidus quidam] q. l., F.² eam] illam., C.³ super eadem re ad virum Dei] a. v. D. s. e. r., F H.⁴ egerit] C add. et. ⁵ priori] prima., C F H.⁶ eadem] om. F; ejus., H.⁷ Waltero] Ita F H; Gualtero., E qui alibi scribit Walt.⁸ paucis] C add. ipse. ⁹ fecerant] fecerat., F.¹⁰ vir Dei] C H add. jam tunc.¹¹ praevidebat et praedicebat] praed. et praev., F.

ex sequentibus patebit. Accidit autem ut ipsum Londoniis ob sidem reliquisset pater suus pro causa quadam pecuniaria apud unum civium illorum, regis Stephani tempore. Quem cum captivitatem¹ illius, etsi libere, misere tamen et anxie, taedium et prae² angustia magis ac magis angerent atque affligerent, mittens ad beatum Wulfricum rogavit ut pro ipso oraret quia de ejus precibus certum et celerem exitum praestolabatur. Cui vir sanctus hoc in responsis dedit, ut adhuc exspectaret modicum tempus; quia nondum³ venerat dies liberationis ipsius. ‘Cum autem venerit,’ inquit, ‘facile et continuo liberabitur.’ Quo ille responso fractus et contristatus,⁴ exspectare et reexspectare coepit juxta verbum propheticum; et plurimis jam annis captivitatis illius evolutis, modicum illud non modicum computare, dicens intra se. ‘Quid est hoc quod dicit modicum?’ Proinde cum jam dies votivus⁵ instaret, misit ad eum qui verba bona, verba consolatoria insusurraret ei et diceret. ‘Forti animo esto quia ecce liberatus es.’ Igitur juxta verbum viri Dei facillima quadam occasione erupit a⁶ vinculis, domumque regressus festivum parentibus et amicis suis diem intulit. Erat autem ingenita simplicitate suavis, propter quod et viro Dei gratus admodum et secretorum ejus ex assidua collocutione conscient et testis esse meruit. Porro accidit ut coram viro Dei sermo de ipso et fratribus ejus sereretur, velut auspicantibus quibusdam quisnam in fratribus illis potior futurus esset. Respondit ergo vir Dei pro Waltero. ‘Iste est,’ inquit, ‘cui primo omnium fratrum suorum⁷ bene providebitur.’ Quod verbum ille pro homine accipiens quasi jam patris sui heres designatus esset, ut est humani ingenii superbia ascendens semper, coepit in verbo illo supersperare, nova consilia et spes concipere, insolentius se exhibere et indulgentius usquequaque vicitare. Quibus agnitis mater non secus quam mortuum filium suum plangere coepit et opem viri sancti interpellare.

¹ captivitatem] captivitatis., F H. ² prae] om. C F H.

³ nondum] necdum., C H. ⁴ contristatus] consternatus., C.

⁵ dies votivus] v. d., F. ⁶ a] e., F H.

⁷ suorum] om. F.

Ad quam ille: 'Noli,' ait, 'flere, quia non diu versabitur in his filius tuus.' Exiit sermo responsi hujus ad aures adolescentis, et mortem sibi imminere interpretatus, ut pueris ingruente pluvia moris est, ludum incidit. Subiit etiam animum¹ ejus saeculo renuntiare et de hoc cum viro Dei tractare coepit. Sed segniter concepta, segniter loquebatur, et cum nimia providentia, quae religiosa vota non decet,² tarda molimina in longum tempus protrahebat. Ad quem vir sanctus: 'Hoc quod locutus es multo maturius implebitur quam disposueris ipse, et citra quam spores accelerabitur.' Itaque in brevi, ad instantiam domini Henrici Wintoniensis episcopi, quibusdam emergentibus causis quas enumerare³ longum est, in coenobio Glastoniensi habitum religionis assumpsit. Ubi sine querela immo et cum multa gratia hactenus conversatus,⁴ floret iam in senecta uberi, et de gestis beati Wulfrici omni petenti paratus est rationem reddere, tempore scilicet opportuno, quin eum professio simul et aetas a mendacii suspicione defendunt. Bonum quidem et simplicem hominem mentiri pudet, monachum autem omnino non decet. Dehinc vero testem veritatis et⁵ testimonium veritatis in palam productum pro parte mendacii stare et falsitatem⁶ suffulcire dolosum est, impium est, nefas est. Novissime canum jam caput jocari et nugari ultra non libet et diem aeternitatis suae jam jamque ingredientem⁷ pluribus⁸ fabulis occupari⁹ non solum non voluptuosum, sed ex hoc jam molestum videri¹⁰ debet.

97. QUOD INNUMERABILIA SUNT SIGNA VIRI DEI

Sed usquequo haec? Cum pondere horum et virtute pressus fuerim, sed numerositati jam cedere compellor. Res haec supra humeros meos est, nec¹¹ me posse ad eam jam vel sero concedendum est. Opera manuum beatissimi et Deo

¹ animum] animo., F.² decet] decent., H.³ enumerare] enarrare., H.⁴ conversatus] C add. est.⁵ et] C add. in.⁶ falsitatem] falsitate., H.⁷ ingredientem] egredientem., F.⁸ pluribus] puerilibus., F H.⁹ occupari] occupare., F.¹⁰ videri] F add. esse.¹¹ nec] om. C.

dilecti viri hujus non solum digne explicare promitto sed nec etiam sufficienter replicare pro numero. Ut enim in veritate probavi, plena est omnis terra gloria signorum ejus, si quis ad indagandum et eruendum ea de latibulis suis piae curiositatis laborem et posset et vellet assumere. Haec nempe exercitatio hominis hujus,¹ hoc opus fuit cunctis diebus quibus hic militavit² novum aut mirabile aliquid aut³ agere aut loqui. Si ad linguam attendas responsalis fuit Spiritus Sancti, si vero ad manus et ipsae tornatiles aureae, plenae hyacinthis. Porro quod nunc destitutus est locus iste et vir tanta gloriae quasi unus de plebe⁴ inglorius hactenus jacet, mirari possemus et multum per omnem modum si non haec ipsa etiam ipse praedixisset in Spiritu Sancto.

98. QUOD LOCI ILLIUS DESTITUTIONEM ET POSTEA EXALTATIONEM PROPHETAVIT

Verum qui sublimis olim et solemnis loci humiliationem praedixit, humiliati nihilominus sublimationem post modicum futuram prophetavit. Interim vero in spe felici constituta consolare tu, Heselbergia⁵ nostra, quia cito veniet salus tua; et si nimis desideranti visio haec videatur indies; sed post modicum visitaberis. Nunc quidem quod non sine sensu teneritudinis vel mihi dicere est vel⁶ audire tibi⁷ viae tuae lugent, et non est qui veniat ad solemnitatem. Sed sciens cui credideris et credere habeas, pro eo quod usque ad unum sermonem non fefellerit te, exspecta paulisper usque dum veniat dies visitationis tuae. Videbis post paululum quod exspectatio haec dispensatoria⁸ fuerit praeparatio Domini in diem crastinum, in diem solemnem quoniam ita est praeparatio ejus ut in quandam resurrectionis gloriam granum frumenti prae-moriatur: sed haec hactenus.

¹ militavit] humiliavit., H.

² hujus] om. F.

³ autj] om. F.

⁴ plebe] C add. *velut.*

⁵ Heselbergia] Haselbergia., H.

⁶ vel] aut., H.

⁷ audire tibi] t. a., F.

⁸ exspectatio haec dispensatoria] d. e. h., F H.

99. DE PRAESAGIIS PRAECEDEDENTIBUS OBITUM EJUS

Nunc de beati viri transitu¹ dicendum quem² quidem et ipse longe ante praescivit, sugerente eum ipsi³ Spiritu Sancto in vivis illis vocibus quibus in aurem ejus loqui consueverat, et per signa exteriora palam eum significante. Nam cum annus ei et eo⁴ amplius, ut creditur,⁵ superesset ad vitam, sedenti quadam die in cella sua lorica ab humeris divinitus⁶ dissuta ad genua subito concidit. Proinde non minus et ipse⁷ concidit animo, obviisque⁸ statim manibus cadentem accipiens puerum advocat, et eo subserviente loricam ad scapulas reducens corrigiis eam fortioribus recollegit. Et ecce corpus ejus omne vesicis turgescere coepit, et caro paulo ante ex Spiritu Dei ferrea jam ex seipsa caro inventa est. Sic lorica simul et caro simili prae sagio militiae suae tempus impletum iri prophetabant. Propter quod et caro cui jam dixerat spiritus ut requiesceret a laboribus suis, ad ablati oneris reimpositionem juste videtur indignata. Alias et humiliandus erat vir quamvis humillimus post tantae militiae triumphos, ut in humilitate consummaretur et conservaretur tantae gloriae thesaurus. Itaque vir Dei vocans illos in quorum familiaritate maxime requiescebat, fratrem videlicet Willelmum hospitale, et Henricum de Coriscumba, et Osbernum⁹ presbyterum et alios similis¹⁰ gratiae viros, enarratis his ex ordine quae acciderant¹¹ quid facto opus esset consuluit. Qui cum ad episcopum referendum esse¹² negotium censuissent, missus est Osbernus presbyter qui et episcopi mandatum reportavit, ut exuens se loricam denuo non apponaret se ea induere; sed panno involutam penes se custodiret. Tulit ergo vir Dei militiae suae ministram et coadjutricem ab humeris sacris et linteo repositam¹³ conservavit, exspectans jam ex tunc velut

¹ viri transitu] t. v., F.² quem] quod., F.³ eum ipsi] ei., F H.⁴ et eo] vel eo etiam., C H.⁵ creditur] C H add. adhuc.⁶ divinitus] post humeris., F.⁷ et ipse] post animo., F; etiam ipse., H.⁸ obviisque] obviis., F.⁹ Osbernum] Osbertum., F.¹⁰ similis] similes., H.¹¹ quae acciderant] om. C.¹² esse] esset., H.¹³ repositam] impositam., F H.

emeritus horam dissolutionis suae cum pace.¹ Post haec cum unus² ex nostris familiarius loquens ad eum desiderare se diceret ut si esset voluntas Dei ad transitum ejus mereretur occurrere : ‘ Hoc,’ inquit vir sanctus, ‘ perfacile erit tibi³ si vis. Praemittam enim ad te paululum ante diem hunc,⁴ et occurses tu et abbas etiam vester si⁵ ita decreverit.’ Deinde secretius sciscitanti qua esset morte⁶ consummandus, respondit se non aliquo vehementioris doloris impulsu ab hac vita exturbanum fore ; sed languente et dormitante natura placide absolutionis migraturum excessu. Ad Robertum piae quoque⁷ memoriae Bathoniensem episcopum de transitu suo loquens : ‘ Vide,’ ait, ‘ ut cum de hac vita migrasse me audieris, venire non differas et commendando⁸ animae meae corporique sepeliendo deservire.’ Nec hoc quasi supplicans dixit aut velut ambitiosa sollicitudine funeri suo jam tunc magnorum virorum obsequia⁹ procurans ; sed magis in libertate simplicitatis suae etiam episcopo imperabat, quod in spiritu Dei et fieri oportere et faciendum esse praevidebat. Interim autem quam votivis suspiriis illam post modicum videndam Jerusalem filius ejus et concivis¹⁰ advocaverit, quam validis clamoribus jam tunc salutaverit eam, epulaturus in brevi ab introitu gloriae ejus, nemo hominum idoneus cogitare, nedum¹¹ eloqui. Sed felici exspectatione suspensum quasi ad jam volandum alas plene expandisse et toto sinu laxato in obviam tanto gaudio jam tunc volitasse certissimum est, Christoque venienti a nuptiis et ad nuptias eum assumpturo non sine ineffabilis gaudii sacris praegustationibus occurrisse non dubitamus. Nam et si exterior ejus homo jam indies corrumperetur et sicut vestimentum veterascens festinaret morti reddere quod suum est ; sed interior plane renovabatur¹² de die in diem, festinans etiam ipse ad ea quae sua sunt, pro eo quod ex sanctae

¹ cum pace] in pace., H.² unus] om. F.³ erit tibi] t. e., F H.⁴ diem hunc] h. d., F.⁵ si] C add. *ipse*.⁶ esset morte] m. e., C.⁷ piae quoque] q. p., F H.⁸ et commendando] ad commendandae., F; et commendandae., H.⁹ obsequia] obsequiens., H. ¹⁰ concivis] conscivis., F.¹¹ nedum] necdum., H.¹² renovabatur] renovabitur., F H.

et longiturnae paupertatis merito ejus utique etiam tunc erat regnum caelorum. Itaque dies ejus novissimi cum se cotidie pergerent ad exitum suum, ipsis jam propemodum exactis, vocat vir beatus Osbernum presbyterum secretius locuturus cum eo.

100. QUOD ALTERCATIONEM FUTURAM PRO CORPORE SUO
PROPHETAVIT¹

' Hora,' inquit, ' Osberne, meae vocationis imminet ; et in diem quintum, hoc est diem sabbati, declinante in vesperam die, paratum me esse oportet.' Cumque ille ingemiseret et suspiraret² in his et commutaret coram eo faciem suam : ' Noli,' ait,³ ' turbari, nec dure acceperis verbum hoc. Ego enim ad Dominum meum vado cui servivi, et dies quae nunc instat illa dies⁴ est quam olim desideravi. Id potius sollicitus procuratō, ut cum transiero statim corpus meum in hoc loco⁵ sepelias. Alioquin turbationem tibi noveris superventuram ; et a calumniis hominum cum virtute et contentione exigentium corpus meum vexandum te fore jam nunc praedico tibi. Verumtamen spero in Domino meo quia non praevalebunt,⁶ neque hinc dabitur eis tollere illud. Hic est enim vocante Deo locus laborum meorum et hic est per voluntatem ejus locus requietionis⁷ meae.' Cumque haec verba complesset peccatorum suorum, sine quibus in hac vita non vivitur, confessionem puram et humilem faciens, absolutionem de sacerdotis ore percepit. Dehinc et aliis sacramentis ecclesiasticis⁸ rite communitus⁹ est. Post haec¹⁰ lectulo sese exceptit et artus languore et senio fatiscentes reclinare consensit. Et ecce sermo lugubris egressus est ad finitimos fideles quia infirmaretur pater ipsorum et quia medicus universae terrae lectulo accubuisset. Conveneruntque ad eum ut plangerent

¹ prophetavit] post *altercationem*., H. ² suspiraret] *suspiravit*., H.

³ ait] inquit, F H.

⁴ illa dies] d. i., F; om. *dies*., H.

⁵ corpus meum in hoc loco] i. h. l. c. m., F H.

⁶ praevalebunt] -bit., F H.

⁷ requietionis] *requiescio*., E (sed perperam) ; *requiestionis*., H.

⁸ sacramentis ecclesiasticis] e. s., C F H.

⁹ rite communitus] c. r., H.

¹⁰ haec] om. F.

se super eum, et ut benedictio morituri patris sui ¹ super ipsos veniret.² Recordatus quoque ³ veritatis suae fratri Willelmo et caritatis suae qua usque in finem dilexit suum sicut repromisera vocavit eum, ut Wulfricum suum de hac luce recedentem semel videret adhuc et ultimum vale in hac vita audiret et redderet. Qui continuo veniens ad eum benedictionem sacrae dexteræ hereditavit; immo et benedictionibus ejus in quarum copias se olim introductum esse gaudebat se in die illa cumulare et onerare curavit, sciens quia modicum et jam ⁴ non videbit eum quia vadit ad Patrem. Sic sol iste lucidissimus qui mundo huic in verbo et vita hactenus ministraverat, etiam suum et cognovit ipse et aliis cognitum fecit occasum. Et ne mors eum vel inopinato praeciparet vel horrendo conturbaret adventu, non quasi fur aut latro ad parvulum Christi venire permissa est; sed longe praevisa ante faciem ejus ivit, et licet non suavis sed certe minus aspera venit. Igitur parvulus et amabilis Christi ⁵ Wulfricus plenus dierum bonorum, die et hora qua praedixerat, junctis directisque in caelum manibus, ab hac luce ⁶ in lucem migravit eternam. Factum est autem Osbernus presbyter qui mandatum viri Dei de acceleranda sepultura ipsius acceperat, tantae gloriae virum absque solemní exsequiarum munere huic mundo furari Deo inhonorum ⁷ sibi autem non liberum ⁸ arbitratus est. Sustinuitque interim de verbo hoc non praeter Dei utique nutum ut impleretur sermo quem dixerat vir Dei de altercationis futurae disceptatione et quia ⁹ hic est locus quem praeparavit Dominus sancto suo ut habitaret in eo.

101. DE LITE MONACHORUM DE MONTE ACUTO PRO CORPORE BEATI VIRI ¹⁰ INANITER TAMEN ¹¹ SUSCEPTA

Et ecce monachi de Monte acuto veniunt illuc in manu valida militum aliorumque quos in idipsum procuraverant,

¹ morituri patris sui] p. s. m., F H.

² veniret] om. H.

³ quoque] ergo., F H.

⁴ jam] om. H.

⁵ Christi] Jesu Christi., F H.

⁶ luce] F add. *lucifuga*.

⁷ honorum] bonorum., H.

⁸ liberum] licitum., F.

⁹ quia] quod., F H.

¹⁰ viri] H add. *Dei*.

¹¹ tamen] om. H.

exigentes quasi de jure corpus viri sancti; eo quod frater ipsorum¹ erat et ei victus cotidianus ab ipsis provenerat et se eis consepecliendum donaverat, ut dicebant. At Osbernum et qui cum eo stabant dicebant econtra quia fratrem quidem eorum fuisse constabat virum Dei quod ad bonorum spiritualium participationem sicut et aliorum virorum sanctorum et de cotidiani victus proventione² nihilominus diffiteri³ non poterant. Porro quod sepulturae locum apud eos elegerit id se prorsus ignorare dicebant; quin potius absque omni ambiguitate se scire quia hunc locum sibi seque loco huic dedicaverit. In hunc modum his inter se altercantibus monachi non jam ratione sed vi magis rem agere moliebantur et in corpus sacrum de more expositum manus incere properabant.⁴ Osbernum igitur tam difficile coangustatus articulo consilii artioris viam divinitus adinvenit, egressusque ecclesiam ostium obseravit et, omnibus qui intraverant inclusis atque conclusis, ipse ad auxilia undique convocanda⁵ non segnem operam dabat. Hi vero qui intus erant interim non feriabantur;⁶ sed in ea parte qua fenestra fuerat⁷ viri Dei murum interrumpere festinabant ut et sibi et sacro cui⁸ frustra inhiabant thesauro viam praepararent. At hi qui adversabantur a foris se opposuerunt ad obstruendam viam hanc et molimina eorum⁹ evacuare tota virtute satagebant. Jamque muro interrupto sacram glebam irreverenter tractantes hi qui intus erant eicere parabant, aliis ad excipiendam ipsam¹⁰ egressis. Porro adversarii ipsorum¹¹ pro sua nihilominus parte solliciti propositum venerabile corpus repellere et reicere¹² tota virtute contendebant. Et quoniam tanta contentio non potuit absque pacis et innocentiae dispendio actitari, sanguis quidem¹³ effusus est et vulnera inficta sunt; sed militante Deo pro sancto suo non

¹ ipsorum] eorum., C.² proventione] om. F.³ diffiteri] differri., H.⁴ properabant] parabantur., C; parabant., H.⁵ convocanda] vocanda., F. ⁶ feriabantur] feriebantur., F.⁷ fenestra fuerat] fuerat fenestra., F.⁸ cui] om. H.⁹ eorum] illorum., C.¹⁰ ipsam] illam., F H.¹¹ ipsorum] eorum., H. ¹² reicere] eicere., H.¹³ quidem] om. H.

usque ad mortem. His ita tumultuantibus et viriliter conflictantibus ecce Osbernum in multa fortitudine, quam de Cruca et aliis locis mittens congregaverat, eo quod praesagus fuerit disceptationis¹ hujus et in hoc ipsum praeviderat² sibi, ecclesiam reserans ingreditur et in ostentatione³ virtutis acquisitae adversariae partis animos depositus, stravit impetus, confregit audaciam. Deinde monachos verbis pacificis allocutus ex ratione convictus ab utrisque episcopum super his consuli oportere, et de ejus⁴ definitione, hujus negotii finem prae-stolari. Itaque monachi infecto negotio cum pudore et dolore non modico regressi sunt. Quamquam et insultare delusis puerile et temerarium sit, cum et aemulatio eorum religiosa fuisse credatur, et piorum votorum repulsa divinum fuerit judicium, non humanae virtutis aut voluntatis ordinatio. Proinde episcopus de transitu viri sancti audiens, venit sicut ab ipso praedictum et inductum⁵ est ei et cum reverentia tantae sanctitati⁶ condigna assistens, in cellula tantarum virtutum conscientia sacrum et pretiosum thesaurum recondidit. Et ne infirmiores animos conturbationis antehabitiae memoria aliquatenus moveret, sermone habito ad populum omnia pacificavit, rememorans pristinos dies qualiter olim in beato Paulo universa civitas Jerosolimorum commota fuerit et conturbata.

102. QUOD CORPUS SANCTUM SECUNDO TRANSLATUM EST

Ceterum hujus solemnitatis officio officiose celebrato Osbernus presbyter, timens sibi pro thesauro suo ne forte fures⁷ effodianter et furentur eum, secreto accessit et in ecclesia translatum ad aquilonarem partem altaris defodit, omnemque faciem sepulturae ad reliquam superficiem complanavit ne quam videlicet materiam inaequalitas⁸ suspicionis induceret. Dehinc etiam procedente tempore cum nonnullis de hoc mus-sitantibus deprehensum se esse deprehenderet, secretioris et

¹ disceptationis] deceptionis., F. ² praeviderat] providerat., C.

³ ostentatione] ostentationis., F; coadunatione., H.

⁴ ejus] ipsius., F H.

⁵ inductum] indictum., H.

⁶ sanctitati] sanctitatis., H.

⁷ forte fures] fures forte., C.

⁸ materiam inaequalitas] i. m., C H.

securioris loci latebras quaesivit; et in occidentali parte ecclesiae Deo et sibi secretum suum abscondit, humilitate nimirum indignioris loci usus pro sigillo. Quievit autem beatus Wulfricus anno ab Incarnatione Domini millesimo centesimo quinquagesimo quarto, decimo kalendas martii, anno primo regis Henrici¹ secundi, regnante in perpetuum Domino Nostro Iesu Christo cui cum Patre² et Spiritu Sancto omnis honor et gloria in saecula saeculorum, Amen.

103. DE REVELATIONE QUADAM, UT CREDITUR, ANGELICA

Factum est autem post dormitionem beati Wulfrici sedente quadam die Osberno presbytero in ecclesia, adfuit repente quidam in habitu peregrini, vir omnino decora facie et reverenda canitie venerabilis. Qui cum voluntaria oris sui³ obtulisset coram domino,⁴ conversus ad presbyterum ait: ‘Obsecro per nomen Domini, o vir bone, ut siquid superest tibi de rebus beati et Deo dilecti Wulfrici, mihi in pignus sanctitatis illius dare non recuses.’ Qui cum se nihil habere diceret praeter ea quae sacris usibus consecrata nullo modo alienare licebat: ‘Non ita est,’ ait, ‘ecce enim in illa quae porro est arca tua scutellam habes et cocleare in quibus edere solebat.⁵ Surge et haec da mihi.’ At ille confestim surgens et quiddam⁶ plusquam humanae vocis sonum odoratus in verbo illo, non tam annuit supplicationi quam jussioni oboedire festinavit. Aperiensque arcam suam protulit scutellam et cocleare deditque astanti peregrino. Deinde claudens et obserans arcam suam continuo paenitere coepit et temeritatis⁷ semetipsum arguere, quia ignoto homini in re tanta tam facile, tam liberalis exstitisset. Currensque post eum non segniter, quae ipse gratis dederat redimere disponebat. At cum ille curiosissime quaqua versum⁸ et ab ipso et ab aliis quaesitus⁹ nullum sui vestigium

¹ regis Henrici] H. r., C H.² cum Patre] cum Deo patri., C.³ oris sui] om. H.⁴ coram Domino] D. c., F.⁵ solebat] H. add. *quiddam*.⁷ temeritatis] temeritati., C.⁶ quiddam] om. H.⁸ curiosissime quaqua versum] q. v. c., F.⁹ quaesitus] requisitus., H.

daret, ex insperato adventu, et insperatori recessu, seu etiam de angelici vultus reverentia quodque¹ his omnibus testimoniis credibilius est, de auctoritate sermonum et secretorum illustratione, plusquam terrenum hominem hunc fuisse persuasum habuit. Et is forte docere voluerit quanta devotione a filii hominum amplexandus sit beatus Wulfricus quandoquidem ea quae de ipso sunt et quae pro nihilo habentur non nihil habeantur,² immo et devote quaerantur et avide a caelestibus rapiantur.³ Haec Walterus Glastoniensis ab ipso⁴ Osberno accepisse se asserit.

104. DE REVELATIONE ALIA ET MULIERE SANATA

Muriel⁵ quae beato viro pannum sericum, ut in vita ejus praedictum est, ad psalterii cujusdam velamentum, quod usque hodie in ecclesia de Heselbergia⁶ conservatur, per revelationem detulit, consuetudinem piam sibi⁷ indixerat ut virum sanctum semel per annum visitaret. Quam pensionem annuam⁸ quoad vixit vir Dei sollicite illa solvebat temporibus suis. At cum jam obdormisset solutam se credidit ab hujus lege tributi. Contigit autem et infirmari illam: cui vir Dei in somnis astans: ‘Cur,’ inquit, ‘hoc anno amicum tuum adire neglexisti? Siccine putas quia mortuus sit⁹ qui vivit in gloria Dei? Surge quantocius et perge ad locum requietionis ipsius.¹⁰ Alioquin citra locum illum salus non occurret tibi.’ Quae consurgens de somno suo, prout potuit ambulavit viam non modicam, de finibus videlicet Cantiae usque ad¹¹ locum illum; et repromissam invenit salutem et suum illum dilectum venerata est salvatorem. Denique tenuit illum, nec dimisit quoad vixit, resuscitans jam in osculo sancto sepulcri

¹ quodque] quod., F.² non nihil habeantur] non nihili habentur., F; non nihili habeantur., H.³ a caelestibus rapiantur] r. a. c., C F H.⁴ ipso] episcopo., H.⁵ Muriel] mulier., C.⁶ Heselbergia] Haselbergia., H.⁷ piām sibi] s. p., F H.⁸ Quam pensionem annuam] compensationem annuam., C; compensionemque hanc annuam., F H.⁹ sit] est., F.¹⁰ ipsius] ejus., C F H.¹¹ ad] om. F.

ejus fidem caritatis pristinae et foedus pactionis antiquae et utraque custodiens usque in finem. Haec idem Walterus.

105. DE REVELATIONE ALIA ET HOMINE QUODAM SANATO

Est mulier in finibus his *in villa*¹ quae dicitur Hierdecote,² vidua omnino religiosa ; et ne quid veritati de laudibus ejus subtraham si fidelium testimonia fidelia sunt de ea, fide, pietate, devotione nulli in his partibus secunda. Et ego quidem quae dicturus sum non audivi ex ore ejus ; sed tres ex probatissimis fratribus nostris singillatim misi ad eam eo quod prope nos habitet, ne quis forte dicat in corde suo de beato Wulfrico quia manus ejus invalida facta est et virtus ejus in morte ipsius elanguit. Habuit haec virum Wdemannum nomine, virum omnino fidelem et timentem Deum, qui ante hos³ annos quindecim, et quindecim nihilominus a transitu viri sancti, infirmitate gravi quam medici lienteriam vocant totum fere annum laboravit. Cibos namque quales accipiebat tales statim languente stomacho crudos et indigestos cum sanguine eiciebat ;⁴ propter quod et in medicos multa in vacuum effuderat qui et desperaverant eum ; immo non in vacuum sed ut eminentia sit virtutis⁵ et beati Wulfrici, quatenus ubi abundavit infirmitas superabundaret gratia et gloria⁶ manifestetur. Itaque cum a diurno languore totus emarcuisset homo ille et finem aegritudinis non nisi de vitae suae fine⁷ trepidus exspectaret, vidit Leviva⁸ per somnum,⁹ hoc enim est¹⁰ nomen uxoris ejus, se quasi in ecclesia de Haselbergia stare ad orationem. Et ecce vir cana capite¹¹ caesarie decorus astitit ei dicens : ‘ Optas,’ ait,¹² ‘ sanari virum tuum ? ’ Cui

¹ *in villa*] Emendatio Editoris.

² Hierdecote] Hierdecode., C; Hirdecote., F.

³ ante hos] om. F; ante annos hos., H.

⁴ cum sanguine eiciebat] e. c. s., H.

⁵ virtutis] em. sit virtutis beati W., C; virtus Dei., F; virtutis Dei., H.

⁶ gloria] H add. *sanitatis*.
⁷ vitae suae fine] f. v. s., F H.

⁸ Leviva] Liviva., C F H.
⁹ somnum] somnium., H.

¹⁰ est] om. C H.
¹¹ capite] capitis., C H.

¹² ait] inquit., C.

illa : ‘ Opto,’ ait, ‘ domine, si sit voluntas Dei.’ Et ille : ‘ Vade,’ ait, ‘ ad aquilonarem partem altaris et de pulvere sepulcri viri Dei tolle et ¹ dabis de illo bibere viro tuo in aquam et sanabitur.’ Quae de somno consurgens retulit visionem viro suo.² At ille illusionem magis suspicatus,³ eo quod didicisset somniis non esse credendum, avertit cor mulieris ne satageret de his et suam interim retardavit ipse ⁴ salutem. Cum ecce mulier secundo ⁵ in eadem ecclesia constitutam se per somnum ⁶ vidi, et ad aquilonarem partem altaris sepulcrum sublime et pallio pretioso vestitum.⁷ Ad quod ipsa reverenter accedens quasi ad pedes adorare disponebat. At is qui in sepulcro jacebat pedes contra eam extendere visus est et quasi cum ira calcibus eam repellere et repercutere ⁸ moliebatur, ac si indig-nans quod ⁹ divinae jussioni hactenus inobediens fuisse. Cumque mulier staret stupefacta et tremefacta in his, ecce vir qualis ei olim ¹⁰ apparuerat, cum increpatione coepit inquirere cur eatenus neglexerit coeleste mandatum ¹¹ et viri sui salutem. Deinde diligentissime locum ei sepulturae ostendit de cuius pulvere erat acceptura : hoc somnum mulieris. Itaque cum ¹² evigilasset ne jam non neglectus in culpa, sed contemptus esse videretur ¹³ in crimen, sed et ne rea esset mortis viri sui, assumpto secum socio itineris sui Johanne quodam quem Ostricerium ¹⁴ cognominabant, consulto quoque ¹⁵ presbytero villae ejusdem,¹⁶ ad Haselbergiam vadit ubi ¹⁷ Osberno presbytero et dominae quae superstes erat adhuc visiones has ex ordine enarrans, multo eos gaudio laetificavit etiam usque ad lacrimarum plurimam effusionem. Post haec sine duce ad planam faciem sepulturae accedens de pulvere implevit manum,

¹ et] om. H.² visionem viro suo] viro s. visionem., F.³ suspicatus] supplicatus., H.⁴ ipse] om. C H.⁵ secundo] om. H.⁶ somnum] somnum., F.⁷ vestitum] vestimentum., H.⁸ repercutere] percutere., H.⁸ quod] quia., C.¹⁰ ei olim] o. e., F H.¹¹ coeleste mandatum] m. c., F.¹² cum] C add. jam.¹³ esse videretur] v. e., F.¹⁴ Ostricerium] Ostricerium., C; Ostruterium., F H.¹⁵ quoque] consultoque., F H. ¹⁶ villae ejusdem] e. v., F.¹⁷ ubi] ut., F.

rediensque domum miscuit de eo in aqua et dedit aegro¹ bibere. Cujus poculi tam viva et efficax virtus fuit ut homo semianimis, immo jam fere emortuus, die tertia quasi a mortuis² resurgeret et, ad ecclesiam non modice remotam proficiscens,³ hostiam vociferationis offerret Deo in tabernaculo suo et sancto ejus. Itaque cum viri in finibus illis notissimi tam desperata⁴ sanitas celari non posset et modus sanitatis subinde passim praedicaretur, venerunt hi qui male habebant ad mulierem quae et de residuo pulveris hujus nonnullos sanavit. Noverit itaque omnis ecclesia Dei quia beatus Wulfricus est in gloria Patris Dei,⁵ et praesto est si sit qui requirat eum; quippe cum antequam invocetur⁶ dicat: 'Ecce adsum.'

Explicit vita beati Wulfrici Anachoretae.⁷

Narravit⁸ aliquando mihi Hamoni monacho sanctae Mariae de Woburnia, cum fortuitu de sancto Wulfrico quiddam retulisset, prior de Dunstapel, Johannes⁹ qui secretarius fuerat ecclesiae sancti Bartholomaei apud Londonias audiisse se a priore domus ejusdem viro venerabili et religioso quod hic narro. 'Veni,' inquit, 'aliquando ad hominem Dei Wulfricum apud Haselbergiam videre illum et alloqui desiderans, orationibusque illius me commendans. Cumque benignissime suscepimus et familiarissime cum eo locutus essem adjecit vir sanctus me artius sibi in amorem copulare ornamenta ecclesiae illius, quae ipse preparaverat, ostendendo, sanctorum etiam reliquias quas penes se¹⁰ habebat quam plurimas exhibendo. Inter quae sanctorum pignora os unum erat superscriptionem habens hujusmodi: Os sancti Augustini Iponensis episcopi.

¹ aegro] aegroto., F H.

² mortuis] ¹morte., H.

³ proficiscens] proficiens., F.

⁴ desperata] insperata., F H.

⁵ Patris Dei] D. P., C; est Patris., H.

⁶ invocetur] om. F.

⁷ *Explicit . . . anachoretae*] Ita E C H.

⁸ Narravit] Quod sequitur in F. solummodo invenitur.

⁹ Johannes] Lectio dubia.

¹⁰ se] Emendatio Editoris.

Quod ego considerans et affectu praegrandi complexans, aio ad virum Dei. " Quaeso, bone pater, pro Christi caritate ut portiunculam de osse hoc mihi conferas. Nam nos regulam sancti Augustini professi sumus et ab eo nomen canonici et religionem hanc indempti ecclesiam nostram ejus reliquiis per gratiam vestram petimus ditari." Ad haec vir sanctus : " Libens," inquit, " quod petis tribuam, si Deo et sancto gratum fore cognoscam." Et adjecit in sancta simplicitate sua loquens : " Prosternamus," ait, " Domino in orationem, ut innotescat nobis placitum suum super hoc ; quia voluntatem timentium se faciet et deprecationem exaudiet eorum." Prostrati igitur ad orationem ac deinceps erecti, invenimus os illud in duas partes sic aequre divisum tanquam lima fuisse mediante desecatum. Gaudentesque utrique in Domino gratias egimus ipsis et sancto ejus sicque mihi obvenit portio ossis illius una, vir autem sanctus contentus est reliqua.'

Explicit vita sancti Wulfrici anachoretae Haselbergiae.

NOTES

LETTER TO BISHOP BARTHOLOMEW

Wulfricus. The name Wlfric or, more correctly, VVlflic, was a common name in Saxon times.¹ There was a king Wulfric at Ringmere c. 1010, and a highly esteemed abbot of St. Augustine's Canterbury of that name c. 1091.² A number of bishops, monks and thegns called Wulfric is to be found among the Saxon charters. The Latin form of Wulfric is *Wolvericus*³ or *Gulvericus*; this is by no means identical with *Udalricus* which gives us the name Ulric. This incorrect form has been adopted by most of the later biographers of St. Wulfric. The Bollandists of our own days call him *Vulfricus*,⁴ but this name would sound perhaps pedantic to English ears: we have therefore thought it preferable to use the better known and more pronounceable form of Wulfric.

Bartholomaeo. Bishop of Exeter, 1161 to 1184. See Introduction, § 1.

Dominum Wigorniensem. Baldwin, later Archbishop of Canterbury. See Introduction, § 1.

Dominum Bathoniensem. Reginald fitz Jocelyn, formerly archdeacon of Sarum, succeeded Bishop Robert of Lewes after the see had been vacant for eight years and eight months and was consecrated on June 23rd, 1174: he died in 1191.

¹ See Birch, *Index Saxonicus*, p. 131, and Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*.

² D'Achéry and Mabillon, *Annales O. S. B.*, t. ix, p. 752.

³ Alberic, *Monumenta German. Hist.*, t. xxiii.

⁴ *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*.

LETTER TO ARCHBISHOP BALDWIN

Domino Cantuariensi. Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1184 to 1190. Something has been said of his early years in the Introduction, § 1. At the end of 1184 there was a disputed election to the primatial see, the monks of Christchurch, as was their right, choosing the abbot of Battle and the bishops, Baldwin. The election of the latter was allowed to stand on condition that the bishops renounced their right to elect. Baldwin had a long struggle with these monks, which only ended in compromise just before he left for the crusade in 1190. Pope Urban III's epigrammatic opinion of him is well known : 'the most fervent monk, the zealous abbot (of Ford), the lukewarm bishop (of Worcester), the careless archbishop.' Whether he deserved this censure need not detain us here : let it be said, however, that Giraldus Cambrensis is more friendly to his memory, for he describes him as very learned and religious, gentle, guileless and slow to anger ; but gloomy and nervous. Baldwin left a number of literary works, including one *De commendatione fidei*, another *De sacramento altaris*, and some sixteen shorter ones.

Scilicet piae memoriae. He means that the bishop of Exeter, when consulted by the late abbot of pious memory, John's predecessor, gladly agreed that the life of St. Wulfric should be written.

Beatus Willelmus Eboracensis. St. William of York suffered from severe persecution during his lifetime. He had become Treasurer of York and was elected Archbishop after the death of Thurstan and consecrated at Winchester. The violent behaviour of archdeacon Osbert caused the election to be quashed by Pope Eugenius III and the pallium was withheld. When Henry Murdach had been set up in his place, St. William retired to one of the manors belonging to his uncle, Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, and there lived a solitary and edifying life ; but his reputation for sanctity was such that, upon the death of Henry Murdach and Eugenius III, his re-election was confirmed by Anastasius IV. Despite the insulting conduct of the dean, Robert Gaunt, and Archdeacon Osbert, who formally forbade him to enter the city, he was enthroned, but only lived a short while : he died on June 8th, 1154, and was canonized by Pope Nicholas III about the year 1280.

Godricus. In the early years of the twelfth century, as a consequence of a visit to the island of Farne, St. Godric made pilgrimages to St. James of Compostella, the hermitage of St. Giles in France and Rome : upon his return he became the disciple of a hermit at Wolsingham. After a second pilgrimage which led him to the Holy Land he ultimately settled down to a life of extraordinary asceticism in a cave at Finchale close to the river Wear, north of Durham. In this place he lived for sixty years and died on May 21st, 1170. His grave became famous as a centre of pilgrimage, and a priory grew up over the spot where he rested. His life by Reginald of Durham has been edited for the Surtees Society (1845).

CHAPTER I

Conversacione. *Conversatio* and *conversio* are often almost synonymous.¹ It would not be profitable to enter upon a discussion of their meaning in this place, but the word *conversatio* occurring here means a religious manner of life and is employed in this sense by St. Peter Damian, *in sancta conversatione permanere*,² and the Rule of St. Pachomius, *fratres probatae conversationis*. On the other hand, there is an interesting example of its employment in the opposite sense in Chapter 50 of the Life of St. Wulfric. Abbot Henry speaks of his early years as a robber and says that he was *in peccatis conversatus*. In Chapter 56 the anchorite John of Winterbourne is *sanctae conversationis*, and in the heading itself we are told of Matilda's *conversio et conversatio*. According to Henry of Huntingdon, St. Wulfric was *officio sacerdos, conversatione anachoretica*.³

Canum et avium venationibus. Not long after the death of St. Wulfric, Reginald, Bishop of Bath and Wells, obtained the right to keep dogs for the purposes of sport 'per totam Sumerset, sicut ipse vel aliquis antecessorum suorum eos umquam liberius habuit, videlicet ad capiendum bestias praeter cervum et cervam et damum et damam.'⁴ There was nothing contrary to current custom in

¹ cf. Butler, *Reg. S. Benedicti*, p. 151.

² *De vita S. Romualdi*, cap. 15.

³ Rolls Series. Prologue, §§ 22, 23.

⁴ Harl. MS. 83, cap. 10, teste Cassan, *Lives of the Bishops of Bath and Wells*.

the habit of hunting, and St. Wulfric, before his conversion, was following a worldly practice only harmful in so far as it tended to the neglect of spiritual duties.

Novum nummum. In the year 1108 King Henry I ordered that false moneymen should lose their eyes and, to prevent clipping, that all coins should in future be made round.¹ The only coin in circulation was the silver penny and for many years to come there was no other. There were mints at Gloucester, Salisbury, Winchester, Worcester, Bristol, Bath, Ilchester and Taunton at this time, and it would thus be useless to discover a significance in the word 'new' which it will not bear.²

Diverellis. It was at Deverill near Warminster that Wulfric began to undertake the cure of souls, and it was not until after his conversion that he returned to Compton Martin as parish priest. From the date of his death and the mention of his twenty-nine years as an anchorite³ we may place his departure from Compton at the end of 1124 or early in 1125. He was for some years parish priest there after his return from Deverill, but the expression *annos aliquot* only tells us that Compton Martin can claim him for the years preceding 1125. A glance at the map of Wiltshire will show five Deverills set along the course of the Dever-rill, a stream which plunges underground for some distance: of these five there are nine predecessors in Domesday book. Two belonged to Glastonbury, Longbridge Deverill and Monkton Deverill. It is true that half a hide in each place was formerly, in 1189, held by a certain William fitzWalter, but this man, though he bore a similar name to that of Wulfric's lord, was lord of Street, and neither his date nor posterity will permit the identification.⁴

Venerabili Wilhelmo. William fitzWalter died before 1166, for his son William, in the aid of that year, was responsible for three knights' fees.⁵ Between October 1174 and the end of 1175 this

¹ Capgrave, *Liber de illustribus Henricis*.

² See Rev. Roger Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage*, and Rev. T. F. Dymock, in *Somerset Nat. Hist. and Arch. Soc. Proceedings*, vol. i, ii, p. 18.

³ Henry of Huntingdon.

⁴ *A Feodary of Glastonbury Abbey*, pp. 20, 56, Som. Record Soc.

⁵ *Red Book of the Exchequer*, Rolls Series, p. 229.

Wulfric of Haselbury.

William, son of William fitzWalter, gave the church of Haselbury as a prebend to the church of St. Andrew at Wells quit of all service and secular demand ;¹ among the witnesses are his brothers, Henry and John. King Richard I² and Pope Alexander III³ confirmed this grant, and in June 1190 Pope Clement III took 'Aselberg under his protection.⁴ Richard of Haselbere succeeded his father in the barony, which he held of the king in chief. He was, however, imprudent enough to espouse the cause of revolt against King John and was hanged at Sherborne⁵ and his estates were confiscated. He left a widow named Isabella who was successful in her claim to one-third of a virgate in Haselbury and one-third of three in Preston Plucknett,⁶ where her husband had held two hides of the king in chief.⁷ Haselbury was held by him for the service of one knight.⁷ Mr. John Batten argues that Preston was held as part of the barony by William fitzWalter in the time of St. Wulfric, but he cites no other evidence than that of Leland,⁸ whose extracts, derived from John of Ford, have no bearing on the question. Richard was recorded as holding one knight's fee of the Earl of Warwick at Melcombe Horsey.⁹ His piety found scope for its exercise in the donation of a lamp to burn before the altar of St. Mary in the chapel of Haselbury day and night in honour of God and His Mother. The endowment was to come from five shillings of the land which Thomas his son was holding.¹⁰ After Richard's unfortunate end the barony of Haselbury escheated to the king and the lands passed into the hands of John Marshal, nephew to the Earl of Pembroke, constable of Sherborne. His son, William, was attainted for his part in the rebellion against Henry III, and in 1270 the crown granted Haselbury and Preston to Alan de Plugenet, this family being the cause of the addition *Pluckenett*, which has been used hitherto from motives of convenience.¹¹

¹ Hist. MSS. Comm., *Wells Charters*, p. 493.

² ibid., p. 308.

³ ibid., p. 435.

⁴ 'per pedes subtus.' Gerard, *Partic. descr. of Somerset*, Som. Rec. Soc.

⁵ John Batten, *Hist. Notes: South Somerset*, p. 95.

⁶ *Book of Fees*, p. 80; and *Somerset feet of Fines*, Som. Rec. Soc., pp. 38, 40, 41

⁷ *Book of Fees*.

⁸ *Collectanea*, II, 445.

⁹ *Red Book of the Exchequer*.

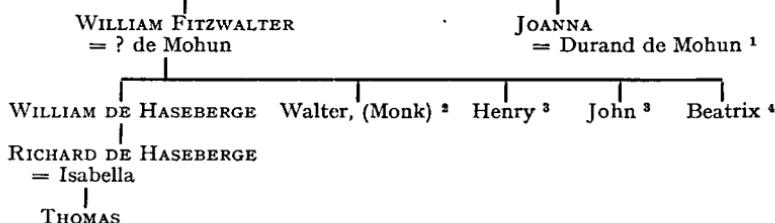
¹⁰ H.M.C., *Wells Charters*, vol. i, p. 68.

¹¹ Batten, op. cit.

Notes.

PEDIGREE OF FITZWALTER

WALTER



N.B.—The children of William fitzWalter have been set down here in a possible order, but there is little to indicate their respective ages or precedence.

Heselbergiam. Heselbergia, now Haselbury Plucknett, is a small village not far from Crewkerne and Yeovil in south Somerset and, as John of Ford remarks, almost exactly twenty miles from Exeter as the crow flies. In the time of King Edward it belonged to a Saxon thegn named Brismar and he secured a regrant of his lands from the Conqueror. The Domesday manor was smaller than the present parish, consisting of approximately 1093 acres, of which 960 were under the plough, 60 were woodland, 13½ meadow and 60 pasture. At that time Haselbury was more extensive than Yeovil. Not long after the Conquest the manor passed into the hands of the family which was to hold it as *caput baroniae* until the days of King John. The manor house appears to have stood close to the church, though it had become ruined before the seventeenth century and was replaced by a farmhouse.⁵ The geographical position of the village is roughly as follows: if a line be drawn through Haselbury in a north-easterly and south-westerly direction it will be found that Ford Abbey lies about eight miles to the south-west while Mudford is about the same distance on the opposite side. Montacute priory lies approximately four miles to the north-north-east and Corscombe five miles south-east. The close proximity of Ford and Montacute will readily explain the

¹ See note to ch. 79.

² *Vita*, ch. 96.

³ *Wells Charters*, p. 493.

⁴ *Vita*, ch. 39.

⁵ Gerard, op. cit.

intimate nature of the relations between the Cistercian and Cluniac monks of these two houses and the anchorite.

In cellula ecclesiae contigua. St. Wulfric's cell was built on to the north side of the chancel of the church of St. Michael. Such a cell can still be seen at Hartlip in Kent where the anker-hold is outside the west end of the north aisle.¹ There are foundations at Leatherhead of a chamber on the north side of the chancel, and likewise at Michaelstow in Cornwall.² It is interesting that their occupants chose the damp and sunless side of the church; the site was no doubt considered more from the point of view of mortification than of health. Prudence, however, counted for little; anchorites lived long. In the eleventh century there were three hermits at Evesham, one of whom had been enclosed for seventy-two and the others for seventy-five years.³ St. Godric, we have said, lived at Finchale for sixty years, and St. Wulfric died 'full of years.' There is no record of any previous occupant of the cell at Haselbury.

Nulla, ut assolet, episcopi introductione. It has been pointed out elsewhere⁴ that St. Wulfric paid obedience as anchorite to the bishop of Bath. John of Ford in saying 'as is customary' is, of course, writing fifty years after the event; but there is a twelfth century Pontifical in the British Museum with a form *Ad recludendum anachoritam*. St. Wulfric must have been one of the last to escape from the tightening net of episcopal control. In 1233 when St. Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury, enacted that the bishop's approval was necessary before an anchorite could be enclosed, he was commenting on the fact that the diocesan was the guardian of every enclosed solitary and that for his life and maintenance he was personally responsible.⁵ No bishop would undertake the unlimited responsibility of feeding a large number of destitute anchorites who had immured themselves by their own act.

CHAPTER 3

Puer ejus. For an account of St. Wulfric's servants, see the Introduction, § 17.

¹ Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*, p. 82.

² *ibid.*, p. 84.

³ *ibid.*, p. 126.

⁴ See Introduction, § 22.

⁵ Lyndwood, *Provinciale*.

Notes.

Siceram. This can be defined as any potentially intoxicating drink that is not wine. In Luke 1.¹⁵ the angel says that St. John the Baptist will not drink either wine or strong drink (*sicera*).

Cervisiam. This word meaning beer still survives in various forms in the Romance languages. Jonas, in the life of St. Columbanus, tells us that beer '*ex frumenti vel hordei succis decoquitur*' and that its consumption is confined to countries with an ocean seaboard like England, Ireland, France and Germany : he excepts Scotland.¹ Du Cange points out that rash attempts have been made to derive *cervisia* from Ceres.

Bersisa. It is possible that this unusual word may be derived from *bersa*, f., a wine cellar. '*Dedit ei de puro vino in bersa xij collaredos*.'² In this case *bersisa* might be equivalent to *vin ordinaire*, but as St. Wulfric drank no intoxicating beverage except on great feasts, it must have been something of the nature of barley-water.

CHAPTER 4

Robert. Robert of Lewes, third Bishop of Bath and first of Bath and Wells (1136 to 1166).

CHAPTER 5

Loricam coepit affectare. To wear a habergeon or shirt of mail either next the skin or over a hair-shirt was by no means unusual mortification. As early as the eighth century we may read in St. Autbert's life of SS. Paldo, Taso and Tato³ that the last named 'wore the burden of a habergeon next the skin' until old age forced him to remove it. At the end of the eleventh century St. Peter of Policastro, suffragan of Salerno, was doing the same ;⁴ and it was not long before that St. Peter Damian was telling the story of St. Dominic Loricatus, monk and hermit, 'who girded himself with an iron habergeon' for the reason that he was thus 'always pre-

¹ Chap. 16.

² See Du Cange.

³ *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. II.

⁴ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, t. vii, p. 547.

pared for battle, not only in his heart but also in his body.'¹ We have quoted this to show the prevalence of the idea that the sinner should assume the accoutrements of battle in order to remind himself at every moment of the reality of his war against the flesh and the devil. These *Loricati*, as they were called, appear to have taken their origin in Italy ; in the twelfth century they are to be found in England and France. The immediate predecessor of St. Wulfric in these islands seems to have been a certain William, one of the knights of Hugh de Lacy, who, when out hunting, discovered the old chapel of St. David in the valley of Llanthony. Here he adopted a penitential habit, including 'a habergeon with which he was wont to protect his body against the darts of the enemy,' for he feared lest any self-indulgence should expose him to a fall. He was later joined by one Ernisius, and these two began to live the eremitical life together in about the year 1103.² In this same century St. Stephen of Muret (d. 1124), the founder of Grandmont, 'put on an iron habergeon as protection against the snares of the flesh and the licentiousness of the mind.'³ St. Stephen of Obazine (d. 1159), a Cistercian abbot, began his religious life as a hermit ; his biographer tells us how he wore his clothes until washing became a necessity and replaced them wet : 'but as this was not enough Father Stephen put on a habergeon.'⁴ It was fortunate that immersion in cold water was also a part of strict penitential discipline : the eremitical rules, however, did not recommend squalor. Miss Clay quotes two of them : the first contains the permission : 'Wash yourselves as often as ye please,' and the second quotes St. Bernard as saying, 'I haue louyd pouerte but y neuer louyd fylth.'⁵ It would be wearisome to multiply examples ; we may be allowed to mention St. William Firmatus of Mortain (d. 1108),⁶ Volcmar, a lay-brother of Reynersbrunnen (c. 1231),⁷ and Blessed Rayner of Osnaburg (d. c. 1237), who had lived for twenty-two years in a cell near the door of the cathedral.⁸ St. Godric, of whom we have already spoken, wore out no less than three iron shirts in fifty years.⁹

¹ S. Peter Damian, *Opera*, t. ii, pp. 210 ff.

² Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglic.*, t. ii, pp. 58 ff.

³ *Acta SS.*, Feb. 8.

⁴ Baluze, *Miscell.*, t. iv, p. 78.

⁶ *Acta SS.*, April 24.

⁷ Lambeck, t. ii, p. 884.

⁵ Clay, op. cit., p. 108.

⁸ *Acta SS.*, April 11.

⁹ *Life*, Surtees Society, see ch. 28.

Notes.

CHAPTER 6

Milvus in caelo. Jerem. 8⁷.

Serpentem. Perhaps this ‘serpent’ was a leech, for the vessel in which the anchorite nightly immersed himself was no doubt filled from the nearest village pond.

CHAPTER 7

Puro nomine. There can be no doubt that the author of this Life followed the rule of St. Benedict. The almost technical expression *unumquemque puro nomine contentus appellare* is paralleled in the Rule by the words : *puro appellare nomine*.¹ In Chapter 4 of the Life Abbot John uses the words : *ut ne oboedientiae bonum spirituale vir aut ignorasse credatur* ;¹ St. Benedict : *obedientiae bonum non solum abbati exhibendum est*.² In Chapter 34 of the Life we find : *peractoque denuo servitutis suae penso*, and St. Benedict, referring to Lent, *his diebus augeamus nobis aliquid solito penso servitutis nostrae*.³ In Chapter 57 John of Ford uses a rare word : *siluit ab omnimoda mussitatione* ; in the Rule are the words : *ut nullus musitatio vel vox . . . audiatur*.⁴ All these expressions possessed a wealth of meaning to any monk who followed the rule of St. Benedict.

Regem Stephanum. See Introduction, § 26.

CHAPTER 9

De loricae incisione. Henry of Huntingdon gives a different version of this incident : he says that St. Wulfric asked his lord for a new habergeon because the one he was wearing was rusty and coming to pieces, *jam paene demollita et dissarcita*. According to his account, when he was given a new one he tried it on and at once complained that it was visible under his clothes. He then took some shears and cut it himself to the right length : William fitzWalter fell dramatically at his feet, and was adjured never to relate what he had seen. Gervase of Canterbury tells the same

¹ Cap. Ixiii.

² Cap. Ixxi.

³ Cap. xl ix.

⁴ Cap. xxxviii.

story in almost identical words. Which then is the correct account? Huntingdon's or John of Ford's? The latter distinctly calls this a beginning of miracles, *initium signorum*. The experience of St. Godric tells us that the life of a habergeon was from fifteen to twenty years: St. Wulfric began his life as an anchorite in 1124 or 1125: this would date the present story as being of 1140 or 1145. This does not appear to be reasonable. On the other hand, John of Ford's Life states that after a few days, *intra paucos dies*, the saint had hardened himself only too well to a hair-shirt and therefore asked for a habergeon. We are left with the impression that the cutting of this iron shirt took place only a short time after. At the close there is the following passage: 'Brother William the guest-master of Ford told me this and Dom Walter the monk of Glastonbury, to omit others whose names it would take too long to record, although in the cutting of the habergeon and in some other matters a few seem to vary the tale; but only with regard to the circumstances. However I think I have learned the truth after a long scrutiny and the more faithful testimony, as I believe, of proved faith and age.' It is probable that the *others* of whom he speaks were Huntingdon and Gervase, because their accounts were written during the lifetime of the saint. It would seem reasonable to reject their account in favour of that of one who was a careful and diligent investigator and was in personal relations with many who had known the saint.

Genuflexionum instantiam praepediret. The same difficulty occurred to St. Peter Damian in asking St. Dominic Loricatus whether the weight of his habergeon did not hinder his genuflections. 'Inquirenti mihi aliquando utrum posset cum ferreae vestis pondere aliquantis per genuum flexibus insudare, sub hac mihi dedit obscuritate responsum.'¹

CHAPTER 10

Willelmus, hospitalis de Forda. See Introduction, § 10.

Walterus, monachus Glastoniensis. See Introduction, § 9.

Brictrico. See Introduction, § 9.

¹ *Opera*, t. ii, pp. 210 ff.

CHAPTER II

Robertus . . . cognomento Pullus. Cardinal Robert Pullen, a native of Exeter, was a contemporary of St. Wulfric. He was born towards the end of the eleventh century and died probably in 1147. If it is true that he went to Oxford to read Scripture in 1133 he was the only lecturer whose name has come down to us for the first half of this century.¹ Mr. R. L. Poole thinks, with some reason, that it was not Oxon but Exon,² and Exeter, we know, was intellectually very much alive at that time. He was not an ambitious man, preferring a modest life to a bishopric. Not long after his teaching career began he became archdeacon of Rochester, but his continued non-residence while teaching logic and theology at the university of Paris aroused the ire of Ascelin his bishop. To the latter St. Bernard himself wrote a letter asking that he might be allowed to stay,³ but the case was taken to Rome. Before it was settled he was summoned there by Pope Lucius II and made Chancellor and Cardinal. This was in March 1144. John of Hexham speaks of him in 1146 as eminent in the Roman church, and Mr. R. L. Poole gives reasons for supposing that he was an important factor in bringing Nicholas Breakspear, afterwards the only English pope, before the eye of authority. There is another letter from St. Bernard commanding the Cistercian Pope Eugenius to Cardinal Pullen,⁴ but the latter was not in that pope's train when he went to France in 1147. The last reference to him is towards the end of 1146. Since he was an orthodox theologian of the school opposed to Abelardian influences he was in much favour, and it was his misfortune that the Sentences of Peter Lombard came so soon to supersede his own theological work in eight volumes. He wrote a number of other books, including a volume of sermons.

CHAPTER 12

Ab auditione verborum potentium. The demoniac was placed behind the altar facing the priest in order to hear the 'words of power,' which are the words of consecration effecting the change in the elements, and also that he might be compelled to look upon the Blessed Sacrament, *a facie sacrorum.*

¹ *Annals of Osney.* Rolls Series, p. 19.

² *Essays presented to T. F. Tout,* p. 61. ³ Ep. 205.

⁴ Ep. 362.

Exorcismi. The word *exorcism* is derived from the verb used by the high priest to Our Lord : ‘ I adjure thee by the living God ’ (Matt. 26⁸³). By it is meant the act of driving out evil spirits by means of the name of God. The Fathers desired that the words of exorcism should be drawn from the Holy Scriptures. The actions performed differed greatly, but in general consisted in breathing upon the sufferer, in the laying on of hands or simply in making the sign of the Cross. St. Wulfric made the mistake of leaving the demoniac in a state of passivity and allowed him to fall asleep. When this method failed he cured him ‘ by the virtue of exorcism in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.’

CHAPTER 14

Conversus hospitalis. ‘ All guests who arrive,’ says St. Benedict, ‘ are to be received as if they were Christ.’¹ It has always been an honoured privilege of Benedictines and Cistercians that they should take in the poor and the sick both in mind and body as well as the traveller. Though public relief has in some way taken the place of monastic hospitality, it must necessarily lack the spirit of Christian charity which sees in the unfortunate an opportunity of ministering to Christ himself. At the end of the chapter from which the above quotation has been taken St. Benedict continues : ‘ Let the guests’ quarters have a brother assigned to them whose soul is possessed by the fear of God.’ In Cistercian monasteries the monk guest-master was assisted by a lay-brother guest-master, *conversus hospitalis*.² For example, in 1239 a donation made to Clairvaux was received by the former, Dom Martin, in the presence of several religious of the abbey among whom is brother Hugh, *conversus hospitalis*.³

CHAPTER 15

Bantona. This is Bampton, Devon. *Castrum* is often used as a synonym for *villa*.

¹ Cap. liii.

² See Arbois de Jubainville, *Etat intérieur des abbayes cisterciennes*, p. 223.

³ Arbois de Jubainville, op. cit.

CHAPTER 17

Hominium. According to Du Cange this is a profession of clientship or dependence. He quotes the Miracles of St. Aigulf where a man of his own free will ‘sancto Martyri hominum fecit.’

Avaricia. Roger of Wendover sums up the sentence from the words *avaricia* to *pactum* in a sentence which gives an additional detail : ‘ homo . . . valde miserabilis, qui fortunam paupertatis non aequa ferens diabolo manus dedit et homagium ei fecit.’

Cornubiam. Cornwall.

Priori specie. The Bollandists remark :¹ ‘ If the appearance of bread had been altogether absent, it was not in that case the Sacrament of Holy Communion, because it was under such a form that it was instituted by Christ ; and therefore by consuming what appeared to be Flesh, he did not receive that grace which is the effect of the Sacrament. It is, however, tenable that those appearances were not lacking ; for neither the saint nor others present are stated to have seen the Flesh, save the one only for whose instruction it was so brought about.’

CHAPTER 18

Beatum Ambrosium . . . beati Martini exsequiis. The full story will be found in Gregory of Tours’ *Miracles of St. Martin*,² but for convenience we give an abstract. When St. Ambrose was standing one Sunday before the altar at Milan, the Reader came up, as the custom was, to ask permission to read the epistle. The saint appeared to be asleep and so continued for the space of two or three hours until someone awoke him saying : ‘ Will the lord Bishop order the Lector to read the lesson, for the congregation is very weary of waiting.’ St. Ambrose replied : ‘ Be not troubled, because it has been of great profit that I should sleep, to whom God has vouchsafed to reveal such a miracle. Be it known to you that my brother Martin the priest has gone forth from the body and that I have been doing my duty at his funeral ; but when I was completing the accustomed service you awakened me, but only before I had completed the little chapter.’ Then they were amazed and in admiration and, noting the day and the time,

¹ *Acta SS.*, Feb. 20th.

² Book i, ch. 5.

Wulfric of Baslebury.

anxiously enquired and found that St. Martin had indeed been buried at the day and time St. Ambrose had said he was assisting at his funeral.

This sixth century account was made popular in the tenth by Flodoard, a canon of Rheims.¹

'(Martini) ad exsequias divina potentia patrem
Transfert Ambrosium sed nec statione remotum
Hesperis astat Galliis et funera curat;
Mediolani aris praesit Turonique sepulcris,
Urnae munus agit nec diva litamina linquit,
Corpore adest populo, spiramine servit amico.'

Beatum apostolum. He refers to 2 Cor. 12².

CHAPTER 19

Foris canes. An allusion to Apoc. 22¹⁵.

'Ego,' ait, 'a "Beatus vir"' . . . He means that from the beginning of the first psalm, *Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum* etc. to the last words of the hundred and fiftieth, *Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum*, he is able to keep a sustained attention to every word.

CHAPTER 20

Fabricam. A forge. 'item concessit . . . fabricam seu forgiām.'²

Segarium. See Introduction, § 10.

Stare post parietem etc. See Cant. 2⁹.

CHAPTER 21

Virginis commemorationem. He had added the collect, secret and post-communion to those of the Mass he was saying. A story similar to this is told of St. Guthlac of Croyland.³

Inimici defecerunt frameae. Ps. 9⁷.

¹ Migne, P.L., cxxxv, p. 870.

² Du Cange, *Charter*, A.D. 1317. ³ *Acta SS.*, April 11.

CHAPTER 22

Ulcere pessimo. A medical man, upon reading this account, would perhaps describe St. Wulfric's illness as cellulitis of the arm. The cause of this disease is a breach of the skin, however small, followed by infection : the symptoms are spreading inflammation followed by ulceration and blood poisoning, causing alternations of fever and icy cold. In such cases a neglected wound would naturally swarm with maggots, *vermes*, and these would be agents in the purification of the sore. It was noticed during the war of 1914-1918 that neglected and even extensive wounds so infested were rarely fatal. At first sight the pouring in of hot candle grease seems barbaric ; yet in the circumstances it was a prudent act, and at that period worse remedies might have suggested themselves.

CHAPTER 23

Illusionis nocturnae. William of Llanthony had scruples of the same kind. 'Nam sicut aliquibus ipso revelante innotuit, cum jam senex et plenus dierum, maturaque aetate gravidus in majoribus sollempnitatibus missarum sollempnia tamquam omnium pater celebrare debuisset, saepius eum totius munditiae et continentiae adversarius nocturnae illusionis fantasia impedire decertavit.'¹ The Bollandists say that this, like many other things in the lives of the saints, is more to be wondered at than imitated.²

Nox sacra. As the night referred to is that which immediately precedes Easter morning, we have here an allusion to the liturgy of Holy Saturday. After the singing of the *Exsultet* the Preface for the blessing of the Paschal candle contains the words : 'Haec nox est de qua scriptum est : Et nox sicut dies illuminabitur : et nox illuminatio mea in deliciis meis.' This prayer from the Roman missal is identical with those of Leofric and Sarum.

Pulchrae sunt genae. . . . Cant. I⁹.

CHAPTER 24

Concidisti saccum meum. . . . Ps. 29^{12, 13}.

¹ Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglic.*, t. ii, pp. 58 ff.

² *Acta SS.*, Feb. 20.

CHAPTER 28

Ricarde. See Introduction, § 10.

CHAPTER 30

Cappam. A *cappa* or *capa* once called a *caracalla* was a species of overcoat worn by male persons and especially clerics. Matthew Paris mentions a priest who wore a green tunic and had a *capa* of the same colour, but not with approval.¹ An ingenious etymologist will have it that it is called *capa* because 'quasi totum capiat hominem.'²

CHAPTER 31

Dilectus meus mihi. . . . Cant. 1¹⁶.

CHAPTER 32

De lucernae extinctae reaccensione. A similar story is related of St. Edmund Rich.³

Dominus illuminatio mea. Ps. 26¹.

CHAPTER 33

Quoniam tu illuminasti. . . . See Ps. 17²⁹.

CHAPTER 34

Nocturnae synaxis obsequium. The Greek Fathers understood *synaxis* in the sense of participation in the Holy Eucharist. In the west it came to be synonymous with the Divine Office, a number of psalms and readings. 'De synaxi,' says St. Donatus, 'id est de cursu psalmorum':⁴ and St. Columbanus, 'id est de cursu psalmorum et orationum'.⁵ Thus St. Benedict in his Rule speaks of Vespers as the *vespertina synaxis*,⁶ and of Mattins as *vigiliae*.

¹ Sub anno 1192. ² Isidor, lib. 19. Orig. c. 31. Du Cange.

³ Life, by Dom Wilfrid Wallace, p. 131. ⁴ Cap. 75.

⁵ Rule, cap. 7.

⁶ Cap. xvii.

The latter term is used by St. Wulfric further on, *vigiliarum mearum officium*,¹ and this is only another name for the *nocturna synaxis* above. It should be noted that the *debitum officium* just after these words lays stress on a priest's canonical duty.

Osberne. See Introduction, § 12.

Exsurge gloria mea. . . . Ps. 56⁹.

Revertere, dilecte mi. See Cant. 2¹⁷.

Dimitte me quia aurora est. See Gen. 32²⁶.

CHAPTER 35

Aspersorium. The instrument used for sprinkling holy water over the congregation before the principal mass on Sundays. This ceremony is called the Asperges from the words 'Asperges me' with which it begins, and they are taken from the fiftieth psalm. The Asperges date at least from the tenth century, though the rite of blessing water for the faithful on Sundays is very much more ancient.

CHAPTER 37

Sexta feria. Friday.

Agelwardus. Agel- is another form of *Æthel-*. Agelwardus is, therefore, a Latinized form of the Saxon name *Æthelweard*.

CHAPTER 38

Cipho stagneo. *Ciphus* or *scyphus* means a cup or goblet, and may be found used in this sense in Exodus 37. vv. 17, 19.

Stagneus in late Latin means tin. In this context such a meaning could hardly stand, for the whole village could not drink out of one tin cup: it must have been a tin bucket of generous proportions.

¹ *Vita*, ch. 34.

CHAPTER 39

Domina Heselbergiae. Her name is not known: she was a woman of good family, a Mohun. See note to Chapter 79.

Beatrix. See note to Chapter 1, *Venerabili Willelmo.*

CHAPTER 40

Lagunculam vini quam justiciam dicimus. *Laguncula* means a flask: the word is to be found several times in the Vulgate,¹ but generally in the sense of a wine skin. Peter the Venerable of Cluny expressly mentions vessels of wine 'which they call *justitias*'.² The word was well known among Cistercians: in the early Customs the abbot is allowed to take two monks to eat with him when there are no guests, and it is the duty of his cook to take to them their *scyphos et justitias* and return them afterwards.³

CHAPTER 41

Bence . . . Aluredus de Lincolnia. Alan de Nichole (the French form of this name) was present at the great council at London in 15 William I,⁴ and Alvred de Lincolnia, grandfather of the Alvred (Alured or Alfred) who was Bence's son, was a contemporary if not a near relation. In Domesday book the latter is recorded as holding Wimentone in Bedfordshire and fifty-one lordships in Lincolnshire. His connection with Somerset is first mentioned in the Bath cartulary about the year 1090,⁵ and in the early years of Henry Beauclerc he and his son appear as benefactors of Montacute priory.⁶ This son Robert was still alive in 1137-1138 and was actively engaged in the cause of the Empress Matilda by holding the castle of Wareham on her behalf.⁷ He and his son are probably the sources of St. Wulfric's information about the later history of the anchoresses of that place.⁸ Robert must have died soon after 1138 because John of Ford writes of Bence, his wife or widow, and

¹ Job 32¹⁹; Jerem. 13¹² and 48¹².

² Lib. i, ep. 30.

³ *Monuments primitifs de la règle cistercienne.* Guignard, p. 228, etc.

⁴ See Hutchins' *Dorset*, 1st ed., vol. ii, pp. 403-4.

⁵ Som. Rec. Soc., i, 37.

⁶ *Montacute Cartulary*, Som. Rec. Soc., 9, 132, 134, 164.

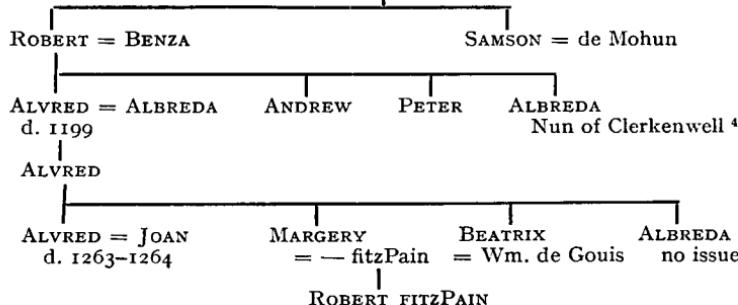
⁷ Hutchins, loc. cit. ⁸ *Vita*, chs. 56, 57, 58.

Notes.

his brother Samson and his son Alvred; but he says nothing of Robert. In the latter's charter to Montacute granting them land at Holne there is mention of 'my wife Benza and my son Alvred.' His knight, Bardolph Bussell, counts among the witnesses to his own charter not only Robert de Lincoln but also Samson his brother.¹ Another charter gives us the name of young Alvred's wife Albreda, his brothers Andrew and Peter and his uncle Samson.² Alvred had a son by Albreda, also called by the family name Alvred;³ but his son, the last Alvred and the last in the male line, died in 1263 or 1264, leaving the de Lincolnia estates to pass to his sisters and their heirs, Robert fitzPain and William de Gouis.

PEDIGREE OF DE LINCOLNIA

ALVRED DE LINCOLNIA



CHAPTER 42

Abbedesberia. Abbotsbury, a fishing village in south-west Dorset not far from Weymouth, once famous for its Benedictine abbey.

CHAPTER 43

Wilhelmi de Chinnoc. It is not easy to fix this person with any degree of certitude. There are numbers of *de Cinnoc*, and this was clearly the usual denomination.⁵ The place is Chinnock.

¹ *Mont. Cart.*, 124.

² *ibid.*, 119.

³ *ibid.*, 125, 131.

⁴ *Hutchins, loc. cit.*

⁵ *Mont. Cart.*, 49, 50.

Ex singulis furnaturis. From every batch. Compare this with early Christian practice in the Didache:¹ ‘But every genuine prophet who wishes to settle among you is worthy of his support. All the first-fruits, then . . . thou shalt take and give to the prophets; for they are your chief priests. If thou makest a batch of bread, take the first-fruit and give it according to the commandment.’

CHAPTER 45

Monte acuto. Montacute priory (Cluniac). Founded 1102.

Cellararium. St. Benedict devotes a chapter of his Rule to the cellarer and his duties.² He is warned not to make the brethren sad, to guard his own soul, to neglect nothing, to do everything in due proportion and to be humble before all things. The cellarer of Montacute offended most against the Patriarch’s closing words: ‘If there is nothing to give let him be kindly in his reply, as it is written: A good word is better than the best gift. . . . Let him offer the brethren their ordained allowance without either arrogance or delay that they may not be scandalized, mindful of the Divine words concerning the deserts of him who shall have scandalized one of the little ones.’ If he does this he will be able to fulfil the office entrusted to him, that ‘no one be perturbed or saddened in the house of God.’

Muriel de Bello campo. This woman is stated in Chapter 74 to have been the wife of Robert de Bello campo or Beauchamp. See the Introduction, § 16. When the honour of Moretain was forfeited to the crown, Robert fitzIvo became a tenant-in-chief, and it is probable that his son was a Robert Beauchamp; he died before 1122. He was succeeded by Robert Beauchamp II, Muriel’s husband, and the latter was holding seventeen knights’ fees in 1166.³ Mr. John Batten is of opinion that he left only a daughter and that she married Simon de Valletort.⁴ The son, another Robert, kept his mother’s name. Robert Beauchamp II died shortly before 1196, and in that year we hear of his daughter and heiress, Muriel

¹ Chapter xiii. . . .

² Cap. xxxi.

³ *Red Book of the Exchequer*, p. 233.

⁴ *The Barony of Beauchamp in Somerset*, Som. Arch. Proc.,

Beauchamp.¹ The coincidence of name lends a reasonable ground for presuming that the Muriel of this chapter was her mother. There is a possible line of enquiry in the fact that Simon de Valletort died before John I and the wardship of the young Robert III was assigned to Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent. Now Kent is mentioned in connection with the Muriel of Chapter 102, though we incline to the view that this was another person of the same name. See Introduction, § 16.

CHAPTER 46

Drogo de Munci. *Munci* may be a corruption of the name *Munchenci* (*Montecheinsil* or *Muncheinsil*).² This Norman family settled in Suffolk after the Conquest, though here Drogo is called a foreigner.

Ad accipendas pecunias. Was Drogo proposing a common theft? Bearing in mind the ferocious punishments inflicted upon false moneyers, it is easy to see that he might have hoped to indulge his spite by procuring the mutilation of the anchorite. In a writ to Sampson, Bishop of Worcester, moneyers are ordered to exchange money only within the borders of their own counties and on condition that two credible witnesses are present. Any person caught in the act of exchanging money in another county was to be treated as a false coiner; no one was to dare to exchange money unless he were a coiner.³ On this ground alone Drogo might have hoped to gratify his savage desires, and this hypothesis is strengthened by the first words of Chapter 47: ‘Et quia pecuniarum suspicio militi supradicto occasio blasphemiae facta est. . . .’

Reginam. The queen who carried the news to King Henry I was his second wife, Adelicia of Louvain. She married him in 1121 and was only in her thirty-second year when he died; she later married William de Albini.

Nolite tangere. . . . See Ps. 104¹⁵.

¹ Pipe Roll, 7 Rich. I.

² Dugdale, *Baronage*, vol. i, p. 561.

³ Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage*.

CHAPTER 47

Et filiae Tyri. . . . Ps. 44¹³.

Seminanti spiritualia. . . . 1 Cor. 9¹¹.

Phylacteriis. This implies any kind of *objet de piété*. Pope Gregory the Great sent two *phylacteria* to Queen Theodolinda of Lombardy, one of which contained a small piece of the Holy Cross and the other a few words from the Gospels. The meaning of the word in St. Wulfric's time appears to resemble that of the former rather than the latter. Any medal or wax *Agnus Dei* might be called a phylactery.¹

CHAPTER 49

Sine aqua. It is the duty of the priest at mass to pour one or two drops of water into the wine in the chalice at the Offertory. After the Consecration, the Canon being completed, St. Wulfric said the Lord's Prayer and was preparing to receive Holy Communion when he was attacked by a scruple: had he poured in the water? If not, should he begin the Canon over again?

CHAPTER 50

Abbatis Henrici Waverleiae. See Introduction, § 13.

Bonum mihi. . . . See Ps. 118⁷¹.

Hic est filius meus. . . . Matt. 3¹⁷.

CHAPTER 51

xxiiij marcas. The mark was worth 13s. 4d. at that time.²

CHAPTER 52

Summum pontificem. Probably Eugenius III. See Introduction, § 13.

¹ See F. Cabrol, *Dict. d'Archæologie*, art. 'Amulètes.'

² See Du Cange.

CHAPTER 53

De schismate in diebus Innocentii Papae. This chapter is a digression and the schism referred to is the schism of Anacletus. A certain Jew baptized by Pope Leo IX took the name of Leo in his honour : his son Petrus Leonis was the father of Cardinal Pierleone. When John of Ford uses the words 'Petro Leonis rugiente' he cannot be referring to the father who died in 1128, for it was in 1130 that, upon the death of Honorius III, the wiser cardinals wishing to save the Church from Pierleone, an aspirant to the papal throne, elected one Gregory as Innocent II. Within three hours his infuriated enemies declared for Pierleone, who took the title of Anacletus II ; from this moment there were two popes and the consequent schism was not healed for nine years. Innocent, deserted by his only Roman supporters, the Frangipani, was obliged to seek an asylum in France. Here, owing to the eloquent espousal of his cause by St. Bernard, the French clergy were led to declare for him at the synods of Etampes and of Rheims. St. Bernard, rightly withdrawing the question from the realm of disputed legality, guided his hearers to a consideration of the relative merits of the two pontiffs. 'The life and character of our Pope Innocent are above any attack even of his rival ; the character of Anacletus is not safe even from his friends.'¹ In January 1131 the saint in a personal interview won over Henry Beauclerc of England to Innocent's cause. At the same time Germany was conquered by the persuasive tongue of St. Norbert. From 1133 to 1137 the Pope was able to reside at Pisa and, with the aid of the emperor Lothair, made good his position in northern Italy. St. Bernard was given the task of winning over the Romans and, so successful was he, that on the death of the anti-pope in January 1138 his successor Victor IV was nowhere taken seriously and was even invested with a nickname. Three months later 'all the supporters of Peter Leonis came to prostrate themselves at the feet of the Pope and to him they swore an oath of fidelity, and became his liege men. The schismatic clergy also, together with the idol they had set up, knelt at the feet of the lord Pope to promise him obedience with all formalities, and there was great joy among the people.'² St. Bernard's influence was such that, in the words of Vacandard, 'One would have said that this humble monk possessed the sovereign

¹ Ep. 125.

² Ep. 317.

Wulfric of Baslebury.

authority and had the power of settling all ecclesiastical questions as he willed.¹ He had worked for seven years to heal the schism, and the submission of Victor on May 29th, 1138 saw the end of his labours.

Introduxit me rex. . . . A composite quotation. Cant. 1³ and 2⁴.

Quae est ista. . . . Cant. 8⁵.

CHAPTER 55

Siccine resina. . . . See Jerem. 8²².

CHAPTER 56

Johannes anachoreta de Winterburnia. Winterbourne is so common a place-name, particularly in the county of Dorset, that it is not possible to say which of the many places with that name is intended here.

*Warram.*² None of the parishes in Wareham can show the name of a parish priest before the years 1295 or 1297.

Culcitariae. A *culcitarria* or *culcitraria* was a female mattress maker. ‘. . . lectos, culciras, cussinos, coopertoria aut alia lectorum estoramenta.’³

CHAPTER 57

Dentes tui. . . . Cant. 4².

Quod si delibatio. . . . Rom. 11¹⁶.

¹ *Vie de S. Bernard*, p. 370.

² See Hutchins' *Dorset*, 1870 ed., i, 99.

³ Charter of Philip VI of France, A.D. 1340. See Du Cange.

Notes.

CHAPTER 59

Alani de Phaleisa (Falesia). There are two charters in the Montacute cartulary which contain his name.¹

Discedite. . . . See Matt. 7²³.

Quod scripsi. . . . Joann. 19²².

CHAPTER 60

Odolina, professionis anachoreticae, in . . . Cruke. At Crewkerne, 'in the churchyard at the west end, stands a little cell in which an Anchoresse was immured, and not farr from it another cell for an Hermite.' So John Gerard.²

CHAPTER 61

Demoniacus . . . in manu valida. William of Malmesbury bears witness to the cruel treatment of lunatics in his tale of a German, loaded with irons in the public interest, who was relieved both of his madness and of his chains after praying as bidden before the tomb of St. Edgar the king.³

Coriscumba. Corscombe in Dorset, a village some five miles to the south-east of Haselbury. In the time of Ethelred, Corscombe was known as Coruscumba, and in this form the name is to be found in two of the MSS. of St. Wulfric: in other cases the reading is Coriscumba. Domesday book has Corscumbe, Coriescumbe and Coriscumbe. There is no known record of the name of a parish priest before 1315.

CHAPTER 63

Winesham. Winsham, in Somerset, about four miles from Chard and almost between that place and Crewkerne.

¹ Som. Rec. Soc., 167, 168.

² *Particular Description of Somerset*, Som. Rec. Soc., p. 67.

³ *De antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiae*, ed. Hearne, pp. 90-91.

CHAPTER 64

Nicholaus, canonicus de Cristeskirca. When St. Wulfric went to Haselbury in 1125 the priory of Christchurch, Twynham, close to the modern town of Bournemouth, was occupied by about twenty secular canons under a superior who seems to have been called Dean. Some time before, under William Rufus, the new church had been begun by the famous Ralph Flambard, later Bishop of Durham. When he fell from favour under Henry I the monastery had been given to Richard de Redvers, and under his son Baldwin,¹ some time in the reign of Stephen, a number of regular canons was introduced by permission of the Pope, the former secular canons, who were few, being allowed to remain there until they died.² Nicholas may thus have been either a secular or a regular canon. The change took place about 1150, since Reginald, the first regular prior, is mentioned in that year. The charter of Richard de Redvers calls the priory *Cristeskircheja* and that of this son Baldwin *Cristecheche*: among the witnesses to the latter we find the name of his companion in arms, Stephen de Mandeville.³

CHAPTER 65

Collo tuo incubat. Our word *incubus* is most nearly related in etymology to the verb *incubare*, which is used in the sense of possessing something unjustly and by force. ‘Ut inhaerentem atque incubantem Italiae extorqueret Annibalem.’⁴ *Collum* is sometimes used symbolically for life, e.g. ‘Actum’st de collo meo,’⁵ and here by transference for existence. The phrase *collo tuo incubat* might reasonably be paraphrased in the words ‘is the plague of thy life.’

Ad Sanctum Edmundum. Saint Edmund, king and martyr, was translated from Hoxne to Bedericsworthe in A.D. 903 and the town changed its name to Bury St. Edmunds. By 925 a college of secular canons had been formed; in 1020 King Canute replaced them with Benedictine monks from Hulme St. Benet.

¹ See note to Chapter 93.

² See Dugdale, *Mon. Anglic.*; Tanner, *Notitia Monastica* etc.

³ See note to Chapter 93.

⁴ Flor., 2, 6.

⁵ Plautus, *Trin.*, 2, 4; 194.

Notes.

CHAPTER 66

De Samsone de Lincolnia. See note to Chapter 41. John of Ford calls him brother of the wife of William fitzWalter. We may assume that this term is loosely employed for brother-in-law.¹

CHAPTER 68

Rogerus de Nonant. William Rufus saw fit to expel the holder of the barony of Totnes, Judhael de Totneis, and to give his inheritance to a certain Roger de Novant or Nonant. A grant of land given by him to the canons regular at Plympton is recorded in a charter of Henry I.² Roger had a son named Hugh,³ and the latter a son Roger, the subject of this note. Roger de Nunant was with David, King of Scotland, Robert Earl of Gloucester and others who had espoused the cause of the Empress at the siege of Winchester in 1141 :⁴ the confederates were routed by Stephen's troops. In 1166 he was holding sixty-four and a half knights' fees in the honour of Totnes,⁵ and in the next year he paid lxxvj*l.* vs. to the king for the service of Wales ; and once more for the honour of Totenesse he paid two sums of xxxvij*l.* iiijs. xd. and xij*l.* xv*s.* jd. He was clearly an influential person. He died before 1176, because in 22 Henry II we find Henry, his son and heir, paying forty marks to the Exchequer for his own and his father's amercements by reason of their trespassing in the king's forests.⁶ We may conclude that the Roger of whom Abbot John speaks was the son of Hugh and baron of the honour of Totnes from after 1107 until the years 1166-1176.

CHAPTER 70

Bigam. A *biga* was a cart with two wheels and one horse, or sometimes with two in tandem,

CHAPTER 71

Chalbergia. This is probably to be identified with East and West Chelborough in the hundred of Tollerford, Dorset. This

¹ See note to Chapter 79. ² Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglic.*, ii, 8.

³ Orderic, Vit., 675*c.* 809*b.* 815*c.* 822*a.*

⁴ *Gesta Stephani*, p. 81. ⁵ *Red Book of the Exchequer*.

⁶ Rot. Pip., 22 Hen. II., Devon.

appears in Domesday book as *Celberge*. At first sight either *Chalbury* or *Charborough* might seem possible ; but the first formed part of the manor of *Dedilintone* while the second was known as *Cereberie*.

CHAPTER 73

Abbas de Malmesburia. The Benedictine abbey of Malmesbury was founded in the seventh century. The period of St. Wulfric's life as an anchorite is covered by the following abbots.¹ Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, was in possession of the abbey from 1118 to the end of 1139. When he was imprisoned by Stephen, John, appointed later to take the place of Bishop Roger, acted as superior. He was not long abbot, for he died in August 1140. John was succeeded by Peter, in whose favour William of Malmesbury himself declined the charge : this was in 1141 and his successor first appears in 1159. Since Bishop Roger was not strictly a 'venerable abbot' and John held that dignity for so short a time, it is likely that St. Wulfric's informant was Abbot Peter.

CHAPTER 75

Hurdestochia. There is no trace of a place which might go back to this name either in Devon or in any other county. Dr. Allen Mawer writes : 'Where we have mention of lands belonging to the castle of Totnes there is no place in the county of Devon to which reference could be made.'

CHAPTER 76

Hiribellorum. See Introduction, § 36.

Muriel. See the note on Muriel de Bello campo, Chapter 43.

CHAPTER 78

Ex fratribus nostris Wintoniensibus. There was no Cistercian abbey at Winchester ; St. Wulfric is speaking of Benedictines,

¹ See *Journal of the Brit. Arch. Assn.*, vol. xxvii, 1871, p. 314.

Notes.

living under the same rule, and of the two monasteries more probably to that of St. Swithun, for the body was being carried out for burial.

Willelmus, monachus Glastoniae. At the end of this chapter and of Chapter 81 all MSS. read William instead of the expected Walter. Whether this is another Glastonbury monk, or whether John of Ford has made a slip and attributed William fitzWalter's name to his son, it would be hard to determine.

CHAPTER 79

Durandus dictus de Mohum. Durand de Mohun was the husband of that Johanna whose name occurs in Chapter 84: there she is called the sister of William fitzWalter, here Durand is the brother of William's wife. This places William fitzWalter's marriage with a de Mohun beyond any doubt, and it seems that his sister married into the same family. In Chapter 66 Samson de Lincolnia is also called brother of William's wife, but in a note to that chapter we have suggested that this is another way of saying brother-in-law. The only way to reconcile the two statements is to presume that Samson married one of Durand's sisters. William fitzWalter was therefore connected by marriage with two powerful families, de Lincolnia¹ and de Mohun. It has been suggested that Durand was not a relative of William de Mohun I but a native of Moyon.² In any case he held office in the household of his namesake or relation: the Bath cartulary bears witness to Durand the Steward (dapifer), and Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte identifies him with that Durand who in 1086 was holding Brown, Stowey, Oaktrow and Allercot, lands which, with later additions, formed the largest estate of the honour of Dunster. He died before 1142, because a number of charters between that year and 1166 are attested by 'W. filio Durandi.' It may also be noted in confirmation that Osbern, later parish priest of Haselbury, was only a boy at the time of his death.

Pidele. This is probably Puddle Walterton in Dorset. See Introduction, § 19.

¹ See note to Chapter 41.

² Sir H. C. Maxwell Lyte, *Some Somerset Manors*, Som. Rec. Soc.

CHAPTER 80

De canonicis regularibus. This is the only evidence we have for such a foundation, and Dugdale is content to quote Leland's extracts from John of Ford's Life. They were brought there by William fitzWalter shortly before the anchorite's death in 1154 and were expelled in not much more than twenty-five years. See Introduction, § 20.

CHAPTER 81

Reginae. Stephen's Queen, Matilda of Boulogne, was abroad when her husband was captured at the battle of Lincoln, negotiating the marriage between her son Eustace, Count of Boulogne, and the French king's sister. Finding herself abandoned by all she threw herself on the mercy of the citizens of London, among whom she had spent many years as a popular and well-known figure at Tower-Royal. So successful was she in procuring their mediation, that at the synod of Winchester the burghers demanded the liberation of the king as a preliminary to any settlement of the crown ; she also did her utmost by a personal letter to the king's brother, Henry of Blois, to win him over to her side ; but it was of no avail. As time went on every appeal to the Empress Matilda was met with scorn and insults. At last she raised the standard of her husband in Kent and Surrey, aided by William of Ypres. The Empress fled from London owing to a movement in favour of Queen Matilda, caused by her own untimely demand for money ; and a change of policy on the part of the king's brother, who had met the queen secretly at Guildford, brought about a change in the fortunes of her party. When Earl Robert of Gloucester was captured at Ludgershall in September 1141 she held an important hostage, and though the Empress would not hear of his exchange for the king, private negotiations with the Countess of Gloucester led to the liberation of King Stephen on November 1st, 1141.¹

Corf. In 5 Stephen, Baldwin de Redvers, Earl of Devon, gained possession of Corfe Castle and the king made an unsuccessful attempt to recapture it.² John of Ford is perhaps referring to the village of that name.

¹ See Agnes Strickland, *Queens of England*, vol. i.

² Hutchins, *Dorset*, 1st ed., i, 178.

Notes.

CHAPTER 82

Tela linea. This seems to be a measure. 'Unum lectum . . . cum duobus linteaminibus duarum telarum.'¹

Godida. Another form of the Saxon name *Godgyth*.²

CHAPTER 84

Johanna. See note to Chapter 79.

Pastellis. A species of stuffed pastry.

Niwentona. Sturminster Newton³ in Dorset.

CHAPTER 85

Willelmus filius Theodorici. William fitzTheodoric was a witness to two charters of Robert de Mandeville⁴ and to one of Wandregil of Curcellis.⁵ A fourth of Abbot Benedict of Athelney calls him *Willelmus filius Theodric*.⁶ It is not a far cry from *Theodric* or *Teoderic* (Wandregil) to *Terric*, and in the aid of 1166 William fitz-William fitzWalter of Haselbury owned to three knights' fees 'de veteri feffamento,' of which *Willelmus filius Terrici* owed him two.⁷ This same knight, as *Willelmus filius Terri*, owed the service of one knight to Philip de Columbers for a fee in Otterhampton.⁸ The close relations between the subject of this note and St. Wulfric and the feudal relation between fitzTerric and fitzWalter afford ground for conjecture that they are one and the same person. The connection of Terric with Mudford can be proved from several sources. In 1201-1202 Terricus de Mudford was sued at Ilchester,⁹ and about the same time Therric de Mudiford was a *custos placitorum coronae* (later identified with the office of coroner) and for some reason was fined a hundred marks.¹⁰ Not long after this the manor he held was being known as Mudford Terry,¹¹ and it must be identical

¹ See Du Cange. ² *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*, p. 261.

³ Hutchins' *Dorset*, iv, 336, 1870 ed. ⁴ *Montacute Cart.*, 167, 168.

⁵ *ibid.*, 108.

⁶ Som. Rec. Soc., vol. xiv, p. 181.

⁷ *Red Book of the Exchequer*.

⁸ *ibid.*

⁹ *Somerset feet of Fines*, Som. Rec. Soc.

¹⁰ *Somerset Pleas*, Som. Rec. Soc., 84, 101.

¹¹ *Somerset feet of Fines*, 9 Ed. II, 2 Ed. III, 6 Ed. III.

with that which Collinson¹ calls Mudford Torry. ‘This,’ he says, ‘was held in the time of Edward II by the Plugenets of Haselborough.’ If, then, the William fitzTerric of 1166 was lord of Mudford Terry, this place formed part of the barony of Haselbury. If the case needed strengthening one might add that Serlo de Burci had held three hides in Mudford, that most of his lands passed through the hands of William fitzWalter, and that this alone would afford strong ground for the presumption that William fitzTerric was sub-tenant of the latter. It should be noted that ‘William son of this man’ at the end of this chapter was called Terric of Mudford in public life, while his father was it seems generally known as William son of Theodoric. It is the father who is the subject of this note.

Lucios. The luce is a pike, especially when fully grown.

CHAPTER 86

Aluredus de Lincolnia. See note to Chapter 41.

Super expeditione quae tempore Papae Eugenii suscepta est. This was the Second Crusade,² preached by St. Bernard. Its failure was due to the nondescript character of the crusading army. French and German knights set out accompanied by their wives and servants. Numbers of bad characters succeeded in joining the host. Only a small proportion at last straggled into Syria, and a few half-hearted engagements without decisive result were the issue of the campaign. ‘It seems,’ said St. Bernard, ‘that the Lord, provoked by our sins, has forgotten His mercy and has come to judge the world before the appointed time. He has not spared His people; He has not even spared His name, and the Gentiles cry out : “Where is the God of the Christians ? Ubi est Deus eorum ? ” ’³ The saint was blamed for the failure of this expedition; but the only fault that can be justly laid to his charge is that, regardless of the need for discipline, he generously exhorted rogues of all kinds to join the crusaders with a view to obtaining remission of their sins by the journey to Jerusalem. Those are the ‘false pilgrims’ of Chapter 86.

CHAPTER 88

Prior Glocestriae. Probably Humphrey, first prior of the Austin canons at Gloucester. They were placed there by Henry

¹ Vol. iii, p. 221.

² 1147.

³ *De consideratione*, t. ii, c. i.

Notes.

Murdach, Archbishop of York, in 1153, in the room of the secular canons who had previously occupied the monastery of St. Oswald. As it was about this time that the canons were established at Haselbury, it is more likely that the prior who visited St. Wulfric was an Augustinian than that he was the Benedictine prior of St. Peter's.

Robertum quendam de Cirecestria. Cirencester.¹

CHAPTER 89

Bence. See note to Chapter 41.

Agnes comitissae de Glocestriae soror. Two Earls of Gloucester cover the period of the life of St. Wulfric. The famous Robert married Mabel, daughter of Robert fitzHamon. Wykes asserts that she was his only daughter.² According to a charter in Dugdale's *Monasticon* she had three sisters: Cecily, later Abbess of Shaftesbury; Hawisia, a nun of Winchester, and Amice, wife of the Count of Brittany.³ Earl Robert had a son named William who married Hawise, daughter of Robert de Beaumont or *le bossu*, Earl of Leicester (1104-1168).⁴ The latter had a son, Robert, and another daughter, Isabel; she married twice, first Simon, Earl of Huntingdon, and later Gervase Paganel.⁵ If John of Ford is correct in his statement, Agnes must have been the sister of either Mabel or Hawise.

CHAPTER 90

Redinges. The Benedictine Abbey of the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist was founded at Reading by King Henry I in 1121, for reasons variously given. It was finished within four years and endowed by him.⁶

CHAPTER 91

Henricus Wintoniensis Episcopus. Henry, fourth son of Stephen, Count of Blois, and brother of King Stephen, was educated

¹ See Charter of Edw. III, Dugd., *Mon. Anglic.*, ii, 89.

² *Annales Monastici*, Rolls Series, iv, 22. ³ i, 154.

⁴ Dugd., *Baronage*, i, 553-6.

⁵ Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglic.*, ii, 907, 910. ⁶ *ibid.*, i, 417.

at Cluny, where he became a monk : he was invited to England by King Henry I in 1126. He was made Abbot of Glastonbury, and it was in this capacity that he was able to procure the entrance of Walter, son of William fitzWalter, into the monastery :¹ he was abbot for forty-five years. His rule there was satisfactory, even exemplary, for he was approved by such men as Peter the Venerable and St. Thomas of Canterbury. From the end of 1129 he held simultaneously the bishopric of Winchester and his abbacy and played a decisive part in English political history during the reign of his brother. He died in 1171. William of Malmesbury gives a very sympathetic account of him.²

Qui captivat eum. Earl Robert of Gloucester, in whose castle the king suffered imprisonment, not William de Kahaines, the knight who actually laid hands on him at the battle of Lincoln.³

CHAPTER 93

Comes Baldwinus. The eldest son of Richard Earl of Devon. He revolted against Stephen in 1138 and, his defence of the castle at Exeter becoming impossible, he fled to the Isle of Wight and thence to Normandy. There, with the assistance of Geoffrey of Anjou, he continued his resistance.⁴ In 1139 he was back in England and held Corfe castle against the king. He was present at the siege of Winchester in 1141 and died in 1155. He was the founder of a priory of Austin canons at Breamore in Hampshire and was instrumental in effecting the introduction of regular canons into Christchurch priory.⁵ His foundation of a Cistercian abbey at Quarr, I.O.W., is recalled by the present Quarr Abbey belonging to the Benedictine monks of Solesmes.

Stephanus de Mandevilla. Geoffrey de Magnaville came over with the Conqueror. William, his eldest son, was made Earl of Essex : Roger, the second son, obtained the family estates in Normandy and had a son, Roger, who was the father of Stephen.⁶ He was a great fighter and companion in arms of Baldwin de Redvers. Stephen was a cause of woe to the party of the Empress.

¹ *Vita*, ch. 96.

² *De antiqu. Glast. Eccl.*, p. 121.

³ Gervase of Canterbury, Rolls Series, i, 117.

⁴ See note on *Stephen de Mandeville*.

⁵ See note to Chapter 64.

⁶ Batten, *Hist. Notes* : *South Somerset*.

Notes.

The *Gesta Stephani* says of him : ' Stephanus . . . de Magnavilla vir illustris, militarisque industriae proclivis, qui et partes comitis Damnoniae vehementer attollebat, plurimam in regno discordiam excitare, in praeruptis locorum praecipiatis, ubi vetusta aetas, urgente necessitate, castella locarat, denuo reparare, latissimasque provincias sub tyrannidis suae jugo flectere, regis fautoribus, ubicumque vicinius occurrebant, molestissimus esse.'¹ After the siege of Exeter in 1136 he went to Normandy with Earl Baldwin, for Raymond de Dunstanville was joined there by ' Baldwin de Reviers and Stephen de Mandeville with other enemies of King Stephen.'² He died in a skirmish on the way to Jerusalem,³ perhaps during the Second Crusade,⁴ certainly before 1155.⁵

CHAPTER 95

Cicestriae. Chichester.

CHAPTER 96

Fratribus ejus. William, Henry and John. See note to Chapter 1.

CHAPTER 97

Tornatiles aureae. . . . See Cant. 5¹⁴.

CHAPTER 99

Henricus. See note to Chapter 61.

CHAPTER 100

Die Sabbati. The prediction and its narrator were both correct, because February 20th, 1154 did fall on a Saturday.⁶

CHAPTER 101

Exigentes quasi de jure corpus viri sancti. St. Wulfric had already warned Osbern that there might be a struggle for the posses-

¹ p. 106. ² Orderic, trans. Bohn, iv, 196. ³ *Mont. Cart.*, 167.

⁴ 1147. ⁵ Batten, op. cit. ⁶ *Acta SS.*, Feb. 20.

sion of his body ;¹ the monks of Montacute now come to claim it. A parallel case occurs in the life of St. Robert of Knaresborough (d. 1218). He prophesied before death that the monks of Fountains would attempt to seize his body and bury it with honour in their own church, while he wished to find a resting-place on the spot where he died.² They arrived as he had said, but a large crowd of people from Knaresborough intervened, and at last the monks and their armed forces departed, their design frustrated.³

De Cruca. Crewkerne.

Episcopus . . . in cellula . . . thesaurum recondidit. It was the normal thing for the anchorite to be buried in his cell. St. Bartholomew of Farne, Elgar the hermit of Bardsey, Guy of Warwick, St. Godric, St. Robert, to mention a few contemporaries, were all thus interred. As the anchorite had died to the world in being enclosed, so he did not wish to leave his 'tomb' after death.

Qualiter . . . in beato Paulo. He is referring to the tumult at Ephesus in Acts 19.

CHAPTER 104

Muriel . . . de finibus . . . Cantiae. This incident is closely connected with Chapter 25, q.v. See also the note on Chapter 43.

CHAPTER 105

Hierdecote. There are two places in Somerset which might lie behind this name, *Hurcott* in White Lackington and *Hurcott* in Somerton. The latter is found as *Herdecote* as early as 1210 and the latter as *Hurdecote* in 1245. The words 'in finibus his' leave a strong presumption in favour of *Hurcott* in White Lackington; it will be found under *Ilton* in Collinson. It lies only nine miles west-north-west of Haselbury in the direct line. For this information we are indebted to Dr. Allen Mawer.

Wdemannus. The name *Wudeman* was common enough in Saxon times.⁴ The name of his wife *Leviva* may be related to that of St. *Lewina*, virgin and martyr of Kent.⁵

Lienteria. Dysentery. Greek λειεντρεία.

¹ *Vita*, ch. 100. ² *Mem. of Fountains Abbey*, Surtees Soc., i, p. 166.

³ *Mem. of Fountains*, p. 171.

⁴ *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*, p. 505.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 337.

Notes.

MS. COTTON FAUSTINA ADDITION. (Date about 1200.)

Mihi Hamoni monacho . . . de Woburnia. Woburn was a Cistercian abbey, a daughter house of Fountains, founded in 1145.

Prior de Dunstapel. This may have been Prior Thomas, who is mentioned about 1196 and died in 1202. King Henry I built and endowed this priory of Austin canons between 1131 and 1135.

Johannes qui Secretarius fuerat ecclesiae Sancti Bartholomaei apud Londonias. The *Secretarius* of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, was the sacristan : it was his duty to look after all that was set apart for the service of God and to provide necessaries. There is a whole chapter in Lanfranc's Statutes for the Order of St. Benedict which enumerates his functions.¹ The term *secretarius* was in common use among Cistercians, as in all other orders. The reading *Johannes* is doubtful.

¹ Chap. 6.

APPENDIX

THE ENGLISH LIFE BY DOM JEROME PORTER

DOM JEROME PORTER (or Nelson) was probably the son of William Porter of Allerby, Cumberland. Nothing is known of his early years until he became a novice at St. Gregory's Monastery, Douai (now at Downside), in 1621. It is likely that he was at the school, of which mention is made as early as 1618, and became a monk immediately his education was completed. At the end of 1621 or early in 1622 he was sent to St. Edmund's Monastery at Paris (now at Woolhampton), but after two or three months, at the request of the Prior of St. Gregory's, he returned to Douai: this was in April or May 1622. After returning from a journey with Dom Michael Blakeston he succumbed to continual fever on November 17th, 1632. This is all we know about him apart from his books: these were two. First, there is a life of St. Edward, King and Confessor, of which two editions have been published in London, in 1710 and 1868. Secondly, there is the first volume of the *Flowers of the Saints*, comprising those whose feasts fall in the first six months of the year: it was published at Douai in 1632, the year in which he died, and the second part was later prepared for the press by Dom Francis Hull, but never printed. There are three good reasons for reprinting the life of St. Wulfric by Dom Jerome Porter here. In the first place, it is the only English life that has ever appeared and, though of little historical value, the account is carefully constructed from the best sources available to the writer. Secondly, the book in which it occurs is so rare that it is almost unobtainable; and thirdly, it has been a pleasure to another member of the same community to republish the work of his predecessor after a lapse of three hundred years. The following account is taken from pages 162 to 172 of:

THE FLOWER
OF THE LIVES
OF THE MOST RENOWNED
S A I N C T S
OF THE THREE KINGDOMS
ENGLAND
SCOTLAND, AND
IRELAND

Written and collected out of the best authours ai
manuscripts of our nation, and distributed
according to their feasts in the Calendar.

BY THE R. FATHER, HIEROME PORTER

*Priest and monke of the holy order of Sainct
Benedict, of the Congregation of England.*

THE FIRST TOME.

ted at Doway with licence, and approbation of the C
M. DC. XXXII.

The life of S. VLFRICK Confessor, and Hermite.

His manner
of life in his
youth.

A poore man
foretelleth him of
his future life.

THE worthie champion and braue follower of a monafticall, and
solitarie life *S. Ulfrick*, was borne in a village called *Lenton*,¹
or *Litton*, eight miles from *Bristol*, of a meane, yet an honest
parentage. In the same place he was bred, and brought vpp till
he came to fuch age, and learning, that he was made priest. Which
office he exercised for some yeaeres space, hauing (as it was thought)
recaued it in the feruour of his youth, more out of a youthfull
leuitie incident to that age, then anie way guided by the raynes
of true reason. For as yet being not well acquainted with the
true spirituall knowledge of almighty God, he was ruled more by
the impetuous motions of wordly pleasures, and delights, then by
the inward inspiration of the soule. Whēce it came to passe that
he stuck not to staine his priestly function, by dayly employing
of him self in the gentlemans flauerie of keeping hawkes, and Doggs,
and following the toilesome sports those dumb beasts could allow
him, when he had better, and more befitting his calling, been
quietly busied in studie, and contemplation. But being on a time
in hott pursuite of this kind of game, he mett by chance with a
man that bore the habitt, and countenance of a poore begger, who
verie humbly demaunded for an almes a piece of new money, which
as yet, by reasoun of the newnes of the coyne comming out of the
mint of *Henry the first*, was not verie common in *England*. There-
fore VLFRICK answeared him, that he knew not whether he had
anie of that Kind or noe. Looke in thy purfe (replied the other)
and there thou shalt find two pence halfpēnie. VLFRICK being
amazed at this answeare, opened his purfe and finding as the poore
man had sayd, he deuoutly gaue him what he asked. Who recea-
uing his pennie; let him reward thee (said he) for whose loue thou
giuest it. And I in his name declare vnto thee, that shortly thou
shalt depart from this place where now thou liuest, unto an other

¹ A mistake copied from Harpsfield : it should be Compton.

The English Life by Dom Jerome Porter.

dwelinge, & thēce againe to another, where thou shalt, find a quiet habitatiō, till after lōg perseuerāce in the seruice of god, thou art called to enjoy the ioyfull societie of the faintcs in heauen.

II. VLFRICK therefore after a while, liued like a poore Priest in the house of one *VVilliam* Lord of the village where he was borne, & had his diet dayly at his table, where he layd the first foundation of a new life, and entred into a perpetuall abstinenſe, from flesh. Till at length, his good purpoſes, and deuotion ſtill encreaſing, he was greatly taken with an earneſt deſire to embracē an eremiticall, and folitarie life, and to that end the foreſayd Lord, doubtleſſe not without the particular inspiratiō of the holy Ghoſt, ſent him to a village called *Hasleburrow* in *Dorſetshire*,¹ diſtant eaſtward from *Exceſter* about thirtie miles. There in a little cell neere adioyning vnto the Church, ſetting aside all thoughts fauouring of the world, with great auſteritie, and mortification of his bodie, he purchased the grace, and fauour of IESUS CHRIST to his foule. For with fuch an exact and ſeuere an obferuance of abſtinencie, faſting, and watching he mortified his bodie vpon earth, that the ſkinne only ſticking vnto the bones, he appeared vnto the behoulders as the true picture not of a carnall, but of a ſpirituall man, in a humaine ſhape. His daintieſt meate was oaten bread and a kind of gruell, or pottage made of oatmeale. He neuer dranke wine or anie other drinkes which cauſe dronkennes, but only on principall feaſtes, and then he would taſt a little, more for the ſolemnitie of the eaſt, then anie contentment of bodie. In watching he was ſoe diligent, and vnweareid, that he paſſed manie nights without anie ſleepe, nether would he euer giue himſelf to anie reſt but when extreme neceſſitie, and weaknes of nature cōpelled him: and then not in bed, but leaning his head to a wall, he tooke a ſhort allowance of ſleepe, out of which preſently rowfing him ſelf, he would much blame, & chaſtife his bodie, as yielding vnto ouermuch niceſſe. His pillow (yf that may be caſted fo) which he vſed to putt vnder his head was made of rowles, or ropes of hay wound vp together. He was content with poore ſimple cloathing, lined next to the ſkinne with a rude ſhirt of hayre-cloath. Till after a while, being growne from a freshman to be an old beaten ſouldier of *Christ*, inſtead of his hayre-cloath, he wore next vnto his ſkinne, an iron coate of maile, which his old lord, and master, vnderſtanding his deſire thereof, had ſent vnto him, confeſcating that warlick armour to the warre-

He abſtaynet
from fleſh.

His auſteritie
of life.

His poore die
and cloathing

¹ Haselbury in Somerſet.

His mortification of bodie.

farre of heauen. To these his dayly austorities, he added others by night, farre exceeding them in rigour, for in the sharpest cold of winter, he was wont, hauing first putt of his iron coate, to entier naked into a vessell of cold water,¹ where he would remayne reciting psalmes & himnes in prayse of almighty God, vntill he had throughly mortified and quēched thosse dishonest fiers, & impotune motions of the flesh, which verie furiously and often assayling his mind, fought the ruine of his chaftitie: but his breast was a firme rock of pure marble that vtterly denied entertainement to anie such vncleannes. And in all this rigour soe vnmercifully exercised vpon him self, both in discourse and behauour, he was euer humble, and pleafant vnto all others, and although he feldom or neuer spake to anie man, but vnfeene, and with his window shutt,² yet his sweete speeches yeelded the sound of a kind of heauenly harmonie to the eares of his hearers.

The fame of his
fanctifie
is discouered.

III. WHILEST thus the holie man exercised him self in the discipline of a rigid-deuout life, knowne only to the allfeeing deitie, he brake forth at length to the knowledge of the world, like a fayre morning of good health, and happines vnto his countrey. For his coate of maile hanging downe somwhat below his knees, with the rudenes thereof hindered him to kneele at such times and soe often as he desired: whereof hauing admonished the knight his old master, who was only priuie to this secret, he demaunded his counsell therein. The knight would haue perfuaded him to send it to *London* to be cutt according to his desire: But he being impatient of such delay, and fearing thereby to lay open a gate to vaine gloire gaue him a payre of sheares, and bad him in the name of God dispatch that worke with his owne hands. The knight staggering in his obedience, and iudging it to be dotage in the holy man that sett him on a task (as he thought) quite impossible, knew not what to say. Be constant (replied VLFRICK) and feare nothing, behold I goe to recommend this busines vnto God, in the meane time endeavour confidently to finishe this worke. The one falls to his prayers, the other endeauours with iron and steele to cutt iron and steele: when both their labours tooke prosperous effect, to the admiration of the one, & great ioy of the other. For the knight in his cutting worke seemed rather to diuide a peece of cloath, then a peece of irō, with soe great facilitie the sheares ranne

¹ 'mater' in the original.

² This is a mistake. He used to come to the window, but would shut it if his visitor wandered from strict business.

Note a strainge
miracle.

through that steelie garment. But the holy man rising from his prayers before the worke was finished, the knight was forced to hould his hands ; when VLFRICK coming to the window where he laboured, & asking how he had succeeded in his busines ; Well, and prosperoufly (fayd he) hitheruto, but now at thy cōming, the sheeres turne edge, & are at a stay. Be not mooued thereat (replied the faintc) but with the fame sheeres, finish thy work soe happily begun. Then refuming his former cōfidence, with the like facilitie he went through the rest. And from that time, the holy mā in the strength of his own fayth, without anie sheeres, pulled asunder the little rings of that part of his coate cutt off, & distributed th̄ charitably to all that desired, by vertue whereof manie diseases were cured, according as it is recorded of the chaines of the holie Apostles, PETER, and PAVL and manie other Martirs. But the Knight much amazed at soe great vertue, fell prostrate, at the holy mans feet, whereat greatly cōfounded he lifted him vp, coniuring him not to reueale that miracle as lōg as he liued.¹ But the fame thereof grew soe famous ; that it could not be hidden, when manie religious, & deuout perfsons were glad to enjoy a ring of his iron coate, whereby the glorie and sweete odour of his faintctie was blowne ouer all parts of the Kingdom.

IV. WHILST our worthie champion of CHRIST thus noblie fortified his mind with the armour of a generous vertue & shewed soe great confidence in allmighty God, and such incomparable rigour in chaftising and afflicting his owne bodie, and beating downe the dishonest rebellions thereof, the common plotter, and worker of all mischief to mankind, greatly enuieing such rare goodnes, assayled him on all fides with wonderfull troubles, rude vexations, and allmoft mortall tormentes, not inferiour to those raised against S. HILLARIAN S. ATHONIE, and other auncient Hermites, to batter, and beate downe the constancie of his vertuous mind and resolution. Once those infernall spirits appearing visibly in most horrid shapes, with violence dragged him into the Church, and round about the pauement thereof in great furie, till by the vnexpected comming of a most reverend Virgin, he was relieved out of the hands of those hell-hounds, whom she chased suddenly away. He vnderstood afterwards that this was a holy Virgin, of whom he had made a commemoration in his Masse the same day. An other time the holy man being sick, his ordinarie enemie entred into the roome

The parcels of
his coate cure
many diseases.

The devils
rayle warre
against him.

¹ This detail actually belongs to another incident in the Life.

where he lay, and casting a terrible looke vpon him, with a staffe he had in his hand gaue him three great blowes on the head, and departed. And further it pleased allmighty God to giue the Deuil soe great power ouer his bodie, that like an other *Job*, he infected his flesh with such horrid vlcers, that his armes, quite vpp to the shoulders, became a loathesom spectacle, rotten, and full of vgly wormes, and corruption. All which as visitations sent from God, he endured with infinite great pacience, and ioy, euer yielding humble thankes vnto his diuine goodnes, that gave him soe fayre an occasion of meritt in this world. He was noe sooner recovered of this strainge maladie, but the same engine of mischief cast his bodie into such an intolerable, but inuifible heate of fier, in soe much that he called for a Priest, and beganne to recommend his soule vnto his creatour, till after a while, that hellish tormenter chainged that intollerable heate, into a contrarie cold soe insufferable, that euerie minute he expected with patience, the disuniting of his soule from his bodie. But he triumphed ouer all these hellish afflictions, and diabolicall temptations, in the approued armour of an vndaunted patience of minde, and made all these occasions but stepps to clime the height of vertue, and perfection by.

V. ONE Easter eue at night, the hellish spiritt of vncleanes hauing cast the holy man into a deepe sleepe, by a filthie dreame, and illusion, albeit in a bodie drie, and half dead, triumphed ouer the frailtie of his flesh, and caused him to suffer some such vncleannes, as the weakenes of mans nature is subiect vnto in those occasions : where vpon he became soe ouerthrowne with grief, and sorrow of mind, that he pined away at his disastrous chaunce. And on the morrow morning being Easter day, he went into the Church, where publickly before all the poeple present at that holy solemitie, he made open confession of what had befallen him, and burst out into a miserable complaint of his mischaunce. And woe be vnto me wretched WLFREICK (sayd he) whom mine enemies, in revenge of my sinnes, haue this sacred night soe filthyly disgraced, soe vnhappily deluded, and so vilely euerthrowne. I confesse my offence vnto God, and to you all, desiring, and hoping to obtaine pardon from his diuine goodnes, by your good prayers, and intercession. Hauing in these and such like words proclaymed his misfortune, he returned sorrowfull to his cell. Which his wonderfull dejection, and humilitie of mind, wherein he nether spared his owne shamefastnes nor the diminishing of that renowned opinion of faintitie, which he had gotten in the world, nor despised others in respect of such vertue,

His wonderful patience.

He ouercometh
the vexations
of the deuil.

See a wonder-
full example
of humilitie.

feemeth by manie degrees to excell both the wonder of his coate of maile, and whatfoeuer else in him (as truely there are very manie things worthy greate prayse, and admiration) was most notable, and famous, And as allmighty God sent him these sharpe visitations to make triall of his constancie, foe on the other fide his diuine goodnes did foe highly confort him with heauenly benefitts, guifts, and graces of prophefieing, and doeing manie wonderfull cures, and ennobled his worthie patience with such renowned triumphes against his infernall enemies, that he might truely with the royall prophet say of him self : *According to the multitude of my griefs, thy consolations have reioyced my soule.*

Pfal. 93. 19.

VI. FOR HE chainged water into wine ; and by his holy benediction he encreased and multiplied one little loafe of bread to soe great a quātitie, that he satifid fortie poore poeple therewith. The water which he hallowed cured verie manie dangerous diseases. He restored light, and perfect sight vnto one whose eyes were digged out of his head. He saw manie things that were done in farre distant places, as distinctly as if they had passid within the comand of his corporall sight. And often times he foretould things to come, and namely to King *Henry* the first, setting forth in his last iourney to *Normandie*, that he shold neuer more retурne. And in the Kings absence he reuealed unto the Lord of the village the verie day of the kings death. And count *Stephen* coming vpon a time vnto the holy man, he saluted him as king, to the great admiration of all that heard it ; and ingenuously tould him that he shold be soueraigne Lord of *England*, giuing him pious admonitions carefully to maintaine peace, and iustice, and defend the rightes of Gods Church.

VII. WHAT now shall I say, that the holie Angels, yea and the king of Angels CHRIST IESVS haue appeared vnto him, and comforted his habitation in this world with the heauenly and vn-speakable splendour of their presence. And being on a time at the aualtar executing that dreadfull sacrifice of Masse, hauing past the *Pater noster*, being suddenly stricken with a doubt whether he had mingled (as the custom is) water with his wine, or not, & hauing desired allmighty God to free him from that scruple ; behould the chalice appeared vnto him full to the very brimme of fresh rosie bloud, which the vnspotted lambe, shed for our redemption : and returning straight againe to the forme of wine he deuoutly consummated, that heauenly draught. And albeit sometimes by the permission of allmighty God, to trie his seruant, he was (as we

His manie
miracles.

The wine in
his chalice
appeareth
in forme of
bloud.

haue sayd) cruelly deluded, vexed, and tormented by the mischieuous eniuie of hells inhabitans, yet manie times he triumphed most noblie ouer them and their diabolicall practisef: When by his holy prayers he not only banished them out of the bodies of possessed persons, but sometimes held them soe fast bound, that they could not depart but by his licence. But of all that euer he did in that kind, this which you now shall heare was the most notably famous.

VIII. IN THE North parts of *England* dwelt a miserably-wretched man, who not able to endure the pouertie of his owne fortune, had renounced the Christian Catholick fayth, and in a horrid couenant had wholly cōfected, and bequeathed him self to the Deuill: who hauing for a time fate abroode vppō that prey, to hatch his soule for hell fier, the wretched man coming a little to vnderstand his more then miserable estate, beganne to be ashamed, and repent him of this horrible act, deliberating, & debating with him self, to what Patron, or protection he shoulde committ the care of deliuering his engaged soule out of the iawes of eternall death. Till at length hauing heard the great fame of S. VLFRICKS holy life, he refolued to make vse of his counsell in this weightie affayre: and being verie follicitous of his good succeſſe herein, and hauing opened his mind to one of his neerest, and dearest friends, the deuill with whom he had made this hard bargaine, appeared to him in his knowne, and accustomed shape, and with a fiew of extreme vnkindnes, accused him of disloyaltie, and threatned him with most cruell punishment yf he dared but to attempt anie ſuch treason againe. The poore man, perceauing that this hellifh marchant had noe knowledge of the intentions of his heart, till by word of mouth he had reuealed them vnto his friend frō that time kept close his good purpoſes vnder the vayle of silence, and meaning (as the prouerb faies) to cozen the old courtier he diſſemblaſed for a while his intended penance; till at length, when he thought his enemie ſleped, he entred into his iourney towards S. VLFRICK, wherein he had prosperous ſucceſſe, till he came neere vnto the Village of *Haslebury*, where entring the foord of the riuver that ranne thereby, with great hope to receaue help from the holy man, his ancient enemie the deuill suddenly layd violent hands vpon him bellowing in his eares with a hellifh furie and anger, ſuch rude and rough ſpeeches, that ſtruck terrour into the poore man: O thou traytour, (ſayd he) what meaneft thou to doe? In vaine thou endeaouoref to breake off our former bargaine, for as well for they firſt treason in renouncing God, as now for ſeeking to renounce me, to whom thou

A poore mā
giueth his foule
to the deuill.

The deuill
knoweth not
the ſcrects of
mans heart.

belongest, thou shalt presently suffer a iust punishment in this water. And withall he held him foe fast in the midest of the riuier, that he could nether stirre forward nor backward. In the meane time S. VLFRICK, who had a reuelation of all this passage, called his Priest vnto him, and bad him presently take the croffe and holy water in his hands, and make great hast to succour a poore man whom the deuill held captiue in the riuier at the townes end. Who speedyly obeying his commaund, ranne thither and found, (as the holy man had foretould,) a man fitting on horseback in the middest of the riuier not able to mooue, on whom presently in the name of IESVS CHRIST, and in vertue of his master hauing cast some of his holy water, he redeemed the prey, and putt the theefe to flight. This done he returned with ioy to S. VLFRICK togeather with the poore man, whose cōpanie the deuill being verie vnwilling to loose, followed after his late prey, and seeing him stand before the holy man, he layd fast hould on him, who cried maynly out, to the feruāt of God for fuccour. Thē S. VLFRICK taking him by the right hād, the deuill was foe bold as to shake him by the left, ftriuing as much as he was able to drawe him away with him, till the Sanct throwing with his other hād some of the holy water, which him self had bleft against that vgly fiend, he drove him away from the house with great confusion. And then leading the poore man, newly redeemed out of the iawes of death, quaking, and trēbling with feare into his inner cell, he disposed his soule with good instructions for the better receauing of the sacrament of peanance. Which done, the poore man falling down on his knees before the holy Sanct, proclaimed him selfe guiltie at the sacred barre of confession, by which he clearly purged his conscience from all the infectious venō which the deuill had planted therein, and hauing receaued his absolution pronounced by the mouth of S. VLFRICK, he desired likewise, to communicate the blessed sacrament of the Aultar at his hands. Who houlding that dreadfull misterie before his face at the Altar, demanded yf he did truly, & sincerely beleue the bodie of CHRIST to be really vnder that forme of bread. I doe beleue, & confesse it (sayd he) for, (wretched sinner that I am) I fee the bodie of my lord IESVs in thy hands, in the true forme of flesh. God be for euer prayfed, (replied the holy man :) and presently at his prayers the sacred Eucharist returning to the vfuall forme of bread, he gaue it to the poore man, who from this time forwards was euer free, from the burthen of that diabolicall yoake and from all trouble, and vexation of those hellish monstres.

The vertue of
holy water.

He freeth one
giuen to the
deuill.

Auricular
confession.

Behould the
reall presence
in the
sacrament.

Wulfric of Baselbury.

Note a rare
miracle.

A Nobleman
punished by
God for
detracting
S. Vlfrik.

His guilt of
prophesie.

IX. A PIOVS woeman on a time sent three loaues of bread vnto S. VLFRICK, by a mesfenger, who hid one by the way, and deliuerner the other two only; but goeing back, he found his loafe to be chainged into a stome foē hard, that his iron and steele turned edge as he endeauoured to cutt it asunder. But that hardnes melted his heart with forrow, for returning in great haſt to S. VLFRICK, he diſcouered this ſtrainge accident, humbly diſiring pardon of his temerarious offence. Who not only forgaue him, but making the ſigne of the crosse vpon that ſtonnie bread, he brake it with great facilite, and giuing part thereof vnto the meſſenger, fent him away greatly edified to haue ſeen ſuch vertue.

X. A GREAT noble man of king *Henries* court hauing heard of the fame of S. VLFRICK, fayd that the King might doe well to ſend ſome officers to the Cell of that craftie feducer, to take away his money, whereof he could not but haue great ſtore ſuch a mightie concurſe of poeple dayly flocked vnto him. These words were noe ſooner ſpoken, but by his diuine power who is euer zealous in behalf of his faints, the mouth of that rafh man was writhen and ſtretcht to his eares, and he him ſelf dashed violently againſt the ground, where he lay for a time ſprawling, and foaming in miserie. The king vpon this occaſion, went to the holy mans poore habitation, and carefully recommending him ſelf vnto his deuout prayers, earneſtly petitioned withall for the noble man. I impute not this finne vnto him (replied the Saint) but doe heartily diſire that he may haue pardon at the hands of allmighty God, being my ſelf, in the meane time, moft readie to doe whatſoeuer is conuenient for me. And at the fame instant, one of the ſtanders by tooke the holy Saint by the hand, and applying it to the face of a ſick person there preſent, reſtored him to perfect health with the only touch of thofe holy fingers.

XI. THIS Bleffed Sainct (as you haue heard before) prophesied vnto count *Stephen*, then a priuate mā, that he ſhould be owner of the realme of *England*; during whose raigne, manie warlick comotions, & troubles moleſted the coſmon peace, all which likewife S. VLFRICK foretould, vnto the lord of his village, as allfoe of the captiuitie of the fame King, and of his deliuerie. At length, King *Stephen* coming to his cell on a time, the holy man after manie zealous rebukes, and profitable exhortations foretould him among other things, that he ſhould raigne during his life time, admoniſhing him by all meanes to doe worthie penance for the ſame, for otherwife he ſhould neuer enjoy ether furetie in his Kingdom, or peace from

those rude broiles, which to his cost, he had long experienced. Wherevpon the king, with teares trickling downe his cheeke, witnessed the inward sorrow of his mind, and making a sincere confession of that sinne, willingly performed the penance, which the propheticall Saint inioyned him. See the wonderfull force of Gods grace, that giueth power to a poore fillie creature, to make the stubborne hearts of kings to relent, and returne from the wild deserts of iniquitie to the direct high way of iustice. I can neuer too often repeate that saying of the prophet ; *God is wonderfull in his saincts.*

XII. ABOV^T a yeare before his death, fitting one day in his cell the ioints of his iron coate miraculoously dissoluued, and it fell downe to his knees, which he presently tooke vpp, and fastened againe about his shouolders with more strong stayes. And his whole bodie, which before seemed to imitate iron in hardnes, beganne to fwell with little blisters, and plainly to shew it was but flesh ; soe that his coate and his flesh with a like token foreshewed the time of his warrefare in this world to draw neere to an end. Therefore after a while he called his priest vnto him, and tould him that the hower of his departure was at hand, for the next saturday (sayd he) I must prouide my self for my last and happiest iourney, which soe long I haue desired. And in the verie hower which he foretould, ioyning and directing his hands and eyes towards heauen whither he was goeing, he deliuered vpp his blessed soule out of the thraldom of this world to the neuer dieing ioyes of heauen : the twentieth day of *February* in the yeare of our Lord 1154, shortly after the coronation of *Henry*, the seconde King of that name in *England*. *His life is written by Ioannes Anglicus or John Capgraue, Mathew Paris in Henrico 2. fol. 88. and Nicholas Harpsfield saec. 12. cap. 29. out of whom we haue gathered this present historie. Henrie Huntington, and other English Historiographers make honorable mention of him.*

King Stephen
confesseth to
S. Vierrick.

Psal. 67 v. 38.

He foretelleth
the time of his
death.

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Somerset Record Society.

Report for 1932.

A LARGE number of withdrawals has again occurred. Some of those who have resigned write hopefully of being able to resume membership when financial circumstances improve. Death has removed H. Linley-Howlden and Major Cely-Trevilian (E. B. Cely-Trevilian was one of the original members of the Society). G. Ham, Captain Firth, E. H. J. Leslie, E. Lister (a member of Council), Reading University Library, C. R. Wainwright (whose membership dates from 1907) and the Countess Waldegrave have resigned. This makes the heavy loss of 9 for the year 1932. New members enrolled have been the Henry Huntington Library and Art Gallery of San Marino, California and Michigan University Library. This reduces our membership to 138: it is a very serious position, but there have been times when the membership has been less. The more difficult years 1914 to 1918 were courageously faced by the Council at the time and the arrears into which the Society's publications fell have been made good. A little effort on the part of present subscribers to extend to their friends knowledge of the Society's work would enable the Council to plan its future programme with some hopefulness.

For the present volume, No. 47, for the year 1932 we are indebted to Dom Maurice Bell, who has given us a scholarly survey of all available sources for the Life of Wulfric of Haselbury which will enable Somerset to claim him as one of her worthies of the twelfth century.

For 1933, Vol. 48, the Council has arranged to edit a volume of Bridgwater Corporation deeds. The work upon them will be done by Mr. Bruce Dilks who for many years has made the

Report for 1932.

archives of that town a special study. The Bridgwater Corporation, following the precedent of the work the Council has done for the County Council, and the cities of Bath and Wells, is making a grant towards the cost of this volume.

A glance at the balance sheet for 1932 will show some small accumulation of funds. For several years past we have been trying to effect savings with a view to work upon Bishop Beckington's Register. The Council thinks the time has come when this may now be done, and so a certain portion of the money now on deposit has been earmarked for professional work upon the transcript and calendar of the MS. The Bishop has kindly given his consent to the transfer of the Register to the Public Record Office for this purpose.

In taking the bold step of incurring the considerable expenditure which this work will entail, the Council would make an earnest appeal to all subscribers to endeavour to enlist the interest of likely subscribers. Forms of application for membership will be supplied gladly by

THOS. F. PALMER,
Hon. Secretary.

CHEDDAR.

March, 1933.

SOMERSET RECORD SOCIETY.

BALANCE SHEET, 1932.

<i>Receipts.</i>	<i>f. s. d.</i>	<i>Payments.</i>	<i>f. s. d.</i>
Jan. 1, 1932, Balance in hand	89 12 4	Butler & Tanner, Vol. 46 and postages.	154 12 4
Subscriptions, 1933	2 2 0	Insurance of Stock	0 8 8
" 1932	120 4 6	Secretary, postages	1 16 0
" 1931	48 6 0	" fee, 1932	2 2 0
" 1930	6 6 0	Deposited	3 18 0
" 1929	2 2 0	Balance, Dec. 31, 1932	100 0 0
" Extra Series	3 0 0		44 7 1
Sales	28 19 0		
Donation (illustration vol. 46)	2 10 0		
Repayment	0 4 3		
	<hr/> <i>f303 6 1</i>		<hr/> <i>f303 6 1</i>
Jan. 1, 1932, On deposit.	99 13 1		
July 13, Deposited	100 0 0	Examined and found correct,	
Interest, 1932	3 3 1	H. F. HIBBERD,	
Dec. 31, 1932, On deposit	<hr/> <i>f202 16 2</i>	Lloyds BANK, CHEDDAR.	
		8 March, 1933.	