

ore numquam ab illius inuocatione cessare uolebant. Vnde custodibus ordinatis assiduum et indefessam eis custodiam militum sollicitudo prouiderat, ut si eos uincula retinere non possent, saltem uel custodum et uigilum sagacitas a fuga prohiberet. Cum ergo nocte quadam egentes, angustiat, afflicti, miseri, gementes sederent, ex omni parte cum luminaribus custodes habentes, reserato subito hostio, quod seris artabatur, ingressa est²⁵ persona pulcherrima, que unum illorum talibus est²⁶ affata sermonibus. 'Quid', inquit, 'clamas ad me? Surge uelociter²⁰⁵ et ecclesie quam cicius pete refugium.' At ille cum lacrimis, 'O domine', inquit, 'quomodo possem fugere, qui tot uinculorum concatenatione prostratus immobilis effectus sum? Et si uinculis absolueret exire non possem custodum istorum presentia predamptatus.' Et persona, 'Nunc', inquit, 'uidebis quid facturus | sum.' Surgere ne differas, satagensque complere quod moneo, ad munimen te transfer ecclesie.' Tunc ille pedes satagens ad se retrahere nullum impediens sensit obstaculum. Similiter ceteris uinculis absolutis liberatum se comperit, et sensit expeditum. 'Mox ergo sociis aggressus referre miraculum, uix absolutionis sue sortem edixerat, cum se omnes similiter inuenerunt absolutos. Continuoque surgentes obstante nemine, nullo retinente, preunte persona ad ecclesiam peruenierunt. Hec omnia custodes uidentes et intelligentes taliter sunt diuina uirtute percussi ut et motum perderent et uocem, donec ad uille medium fugitiua turba uenisset.

XVI

Cum ergo se taliter milites a confessoris potentia conspexissent illudi, plus de pudoris immanitate quam de dampni magnitudine sunt confusi. Vnde presulis clementie quasi rebellare nitentes consilium contra eum inierunt, ut uel unum ex captiuis ab illius ereptione seruando, uiderentur illius potentie suis uiribus restitisse. Et in hoc cecorum² omnium captiuorum ammissum bene se uindicasse crederent et tenerent, si uel unum ex ipsis quasi fortiores a beati Germani liberatione retinere ualerent. Igitur ut hec fierent certatum singuli sua

XV ² om. *Labbe*² om. *Labbe*² sim *Labbe*² om. *Labbe*XVI ² ceterorum *Labbe*

²⁰⁵ 'Surge uelociter': perhaps an allusion to Acts 12: 7. The episode here may be intended to recall the release of Peter as recorded in Acts 12. The phrase also occurs in the tale of a prisoner freed from captivity by St Oswine of Tynemouth: *Vita Oswini*, pp. 33-5. For the 'life' of Oswine, see above, pp. lxxxvii, xcii.

to cease invoking him with their lips. So guards were appointed and the concern of the knights had made sure that there was a continual and tireless watch over them, so that, if the chains could not hold them, at least the shrewdness of the guards and watchmen would stop them running away. And so one night, while they sat destitute, bound, distressed, wretched, and groaning, with jailors with lamps on all sides of them, suddenly the door, which was made fast with locks, opened, and a very fair person entered and spoke to one of them with these words. 'Why are you calling on me?', he asked. 'Arise quickly²⁰⁵ and seek the safety of the church as quickly as you can.' But he said, in tears, 'O lord, how can I flee when I am lying here, unable to move because of the great weight of chains? And even if I should be freed from my bonds I still cannot escape because I have been condemned already by the presence of these jailors.' The person said, 'Now you will see what I am going to do. Do not delay in getting up; hurry up and do as I tell you and get yourself to the safety of the church.' Then that man hurried to get to his feet and he felt no obstacle hindering him. In the same way, he realized that he had been freed because the other fetters had been loosened, and he felt unencumbered. Accordingly, he immediately set out to relate the miracle to his companions and, scarcely had he told of his fortune in being freed, when all of them suddenly found themselves liberated in the same way. Immediately they arose and, with no one holding them back, no one restraining them, and with that person going before them, they reached the church. The jailors saw and understood all these things, and they were struck by divine power in such a way that they lost movement and speech until the fleeing band had come to the centre of the vill.

Chapter 16

When the knights saw that they had been mocked in this way by the power of the confessor they were disconcerted more by the enormity of their shame than by the great size of the loss. Therefore, as if striving to resist the mercy of the confessor, they took counsel against him so that they might be seen to withstand his power by their strength by keeping one of the captives from his grasp. In this way they believed and maintained that they would exact a fine punishment for the loss of the other captives if they could prevent one of them from being freed by the blessed Germanus, as if they were more powerful than him. So each one eagerly vied to contribute their

consilia contulerunt, unum ergo Willelmum nomine capientes infra domum quandam in castelli summite recluserunt. De longinqua regione specialiter pro hac causa | cathenam mire magnitudinis et horroris attrulerant, hanc a domus tecto ubi eam cuidam asseri clavis affixerant dependentem collo circumdederunt¹ captivi. Alligabantur preterea pedes eius in compedibus, et manus eius in manicis ferreis. Tali custodia predampnatus doloris et anxietatis uulnere miser tabescebat. Spem tamen suam in beato Germano collocauerat, cuius auxilium continua deuotione postulabat, nec incassum eius adiutorium tam instanter petierat, quem sine dilatione temporis habere meruit adiutorem. Iam namque decursa ebdomade² dominica dies illuxerat, qua milites omnes et famuli ad missarum audienda sollempnia de castello descenderant, ianitor etiam ipse qui captivi custos extiterat, obserato hostio domus tanquam cicius reuersurus exiuit. Tunc intuens se captiuus sine custode relictum, clementem Germanum obnixius inuocabat. Nec mora manuum et pedum solutionem meruit deuotio fideliter postulantis. Qui protinus manus extendens ad forta, tectum cellule dissipauit, asseremque cathene sue adherentem in humeris accipiens, per foramen euasit. Sicque sepium et erciorum³ hirsuta transcendens acumina, fossarum profunditates et abissos⁴ quomodo uel qualiter nesciuit transsilens, populorum denique ab ecclesia redeuntium occursum preteriens, ad capelle munimen nemine perturbante peruenit.²⁰⁶

XVII

fo. 37^r Rusticum alium cum cepissent nec se uellent eius custodie milites diutius inquietare molestia, ut cicius ab eo redemptionis precium extorquerent, plurimis eum tormentis affecerunt. Sed cum piissimi nomen inuocasset Germani, tale tantumque presulis erga se cognouit beneficium, ut quasi munimine regio septus nullius passionis incommodum, nullius cruciatus sentire sciret supplicium. Vnde cum tortoribus tormenta deridens, omnes quas ei hostes irrogare poterant desepit iniurias. Mole namque loricearum aggrauatum cum illum

¹ circumdare with de interlined ² ebdomada ³ erciorum with h interlined but the interlineation may be made by a later hand ⁴ abissos Labbe

²⁰⁶ For a similar miracle of a captive bound and tortured, who is freed through prayer to a saint, escapes from a tower, and flees to the church, see *The Book of Sainte Foy*, trans. Sheingorn, pp. 189-91.

advice in order to bring this about and, taking captive one by the name of William, they shut him inside a certain chamber at the top of the castle. They had brought a shackle of amazing size and dread from a far-off region especially for this purpose and this they wrapped around the neck of the captive, hanging it from the roof of the house where they had fastened it with nails to a rafter. Moreover, they bound his feet in fetters and his hands in iron manacles. Condemned to such an imprisonment the wretch wasted away with the hurt of his grief and anguish. However, he had placed his hope in the blessed Germanus, whose help he begged with continual prayer. It was not in vain that he so earnestly sought the saint's help, but he succeeded in finding a helper without long delay. For now a week had gone by and Sunday had dawned, on which day all the knights and servants had gone down from the castle to hear the celebration of mass. The doorkeeper who had been made the captive's jailor went out as well, after barring the door of the chamber, as if with the intention of returning quickly. The captive, seeing that he had been left without a guard, called most eagerly on the merciful Germanus, and at once the devotion of the man who was faithfully praying succeeded in freeing his hands and feet. Immediately he stretched out his hands powerfully, pulled down the roof of the cell, and, taking the beam still attached to the chain onto his shoulders, he escaped through the hole. And so, passing over the sharp needles of the hedges and hurdles, and leaping over the depths of the ditches and the pits—he did not know how or in what way—he finally passed by the crowds coming back from church and, with no one bothering him, he reached the safety of the chapel.²⁰⁶

Chapter 17

When the knights had taken another peasant prisoner and did not want to trouble themselves with the nuisance of keeping him captive for a long time, they afflicted him with a great many torments so that they could extract the price of his ransom from him by force. But, when he called on the name of the most holy Germanus, he experienced such great favour from the bishop that, as if surrounded by a royal fortification, he could feel no distress from his suffering, no pain from his torture. Therefore, mocking his torments along with his torturers, he despised all the injuries that his enemies could inflict on him. For, although the cruel tyrants hung him weighed down by a huge

nunc per manus nunc per pedes tyranni suspendent fumum de fimo subtus ponentes, nichil ingerere ualere supplicii. Hiernalibus item mensibus cum eum mergerent, et nunc hac nunc illac traherent cordis sub glacie, nichil passus iniurie, locum quietis et refrigerii adeptum se fuisse gaudebat afflictus. Sicque confessoris adiutorio protectus a penis, ab hostium mancipatione etiam confestim meruit liberari.

XVIII

Marcas quindecim duobus militibus nocturno silentio predo furtiuus abstulerat, cuius criminis reatum cuidam ex armigeris suis cui Martinus fuit uocabulum imponentes illum furti faci uel auctorem uel complicem esse dixerunt. Quod cum ille uua uoce negaret, quatinus ab eo rei confessionem extorquerent, multimodis et multis eum cruciatibus affecerunt. Qui in arto positus ut imminentes cru³⁸ciatus uel euaderet uel differret quia ueram nescit confessionem mendacem aduersus semet ipse composuit. Dixit namque se furatum fuisse pecuniam et cuidam ex hominibus sancti Germani Roberto nomine totam commisisse. Ad monachos hac causa sit⁴ militum subinde concursus, unanimiter se de facto sibi dampno conquerentium. Cum eis etiam miser ille famulus eorum aduenerat, hominem sancti Germani de furti participatione uel exceptione calumpniaturus, quem iniqua plenum cogitatione quidam ex monachis, Willelmus scilicet Grandis, intelligens, ex parte, 'Te', inquit Dei et sancti Germani, 'prohibeo te, ne falsum super hunc hominem clamorem emittas'. Adhesit misero lingua mox faucibus et interdicto sermonis officio, uis uocis in gutture dampnata defecit. Instant milites ut loquatur, ut modum rei uel reatus edicat, omnes hortantur. Sed non prius a dampnationis uinculis solui meruit, quam ab iniqua cogitatione qua uirum innocentem calumpniari proposuerat, mentem omnino purgasset. Mutans ergo animum omnemque mentendi uoluntatem abiciens, usu recepto loquendi tales prorupit inuoces, 'oportet obedire Deo magis quam hominibus,²⁰⁷ ueritatem oportet dicere cui mentendi est omnis ablata facultas. Vnde in ueritate profiteor quod nunquam iste me sciente de uestro censu uel paruum uel magnum habuit aut cognouit.'

XVIII * *fit Labbe*

²⁰⁷ Acts 5: 29: 'Obedire oportet Deo magis quam hominibus.'

mass of chain mail, now by the hands and now by the feet, placing smoke from dung beneath him, they could not impose any suffering on him. When in the winter months they plunged him into water and dragged him with ropes, now this way and now that beneath the ice, he rejoiced that, after this suffering, he had found a place of rest and coolness. Thus protected from suffering by the aid of the confessor, he succeeded in being freed straightaway from the bondage of his enemies.

Chapter 18

A furtive thief had stolen 15 marks from two knights in the silence of the night, and, placing the guilt of this crime on one of their esquires called Martin, they said that he was either the instigator of this theft, or an accomplice. After he denied this with a loud voice, so that they might force a confession from him, they afflicted him with torments of many sorts. When he had been put in a confined space, because he could not make a true confession, he made up a false accusation against himself in order either to avoid the threats of torture or to delay them. So, he said that he had stolen the money and given all of it to one of the men of St Germanus called Robert. This resulted in the knights immediately charging up to the monks, complaining as one about the loss which had been inflicted on them. When that wretched servant of the knights approached the monks to bring a false accusation, that a man of St Germanus was either an accomplice to theft or had received the stolen goods, one of the monks, William 'the Tall', realizing that he was full of wicked intention, said on the part of God and St Germanus: 'You! I forbid you to bear false witness against this man.' Immediately the wretch's tongue cleaved to his jaws, and he was unable to speak; the power of his voice failed him, doomed to stick in his throat. The knights urged him to speak, and all encouraged him to make known the method of the deed or crime. But he did not deserve to be freed from the chains of his damnation before he purged his mind completely from the evil intention by which he had planned to accuse an innocent man. So, as he changed his mind and put aside all intention of lying, his power of speech was restored and he broke out into words, as follows. 'It is right to obey God rather than man.²⁰⁷ It is right to tell the truth when all power of lying has been taken away. Therefore in truth I confess openly that never to my knowledge did this man have or know of any part of your money, either small or large.'

XIX

fo. 38^r Quod ut milites audierunt uerecundo rubore suffusi pariter ad hospitia redierunt. Penis item acerrimis miser addicitur, suppliciis afficitur, cruciatibus anxiatur, qui tante passionis instantiam sicut antea fecerat aliquo cogitans intervallo dirumpere, 'Iam', inquit militibus, 'quia nullum michi est de elusione spei solatium, bonum et uerum uobis dabo de pecunie uestre recuperatione consilium. Ad unarium pergit, ibique quam cicius inuenturi sacellum querit, quia inibi me fateor pecuniam abscondisse demergendo sub flumine.' Nec distulere milites huiusmodi si uerum esset probare consilium. Rastris et uncis tota die gurgitis imum discerpunt, sed nichil exoptato reperire ualentes, dispendioso labore defecere delusi, unde uehementi furore repleti ad illusionis tante uindictam omnes assurgunt. Vno animo concordique consilio famulum illum sumentes in crastino, in secreto memoris recessu suspensione dampnauerunt. Ad hospicium subinde reuersi, cum iam furore sedato rationis lumen mentis tranquillitas admisisset, sic unus eorum ceteros affatus est. 'Stultam', inquit, 'rem et inconsultam fecimus, qui hunc hominem sine iudicialis diffinitione sententiae, sine criminis alicuius approbatione dampnare presumpsimus. Siquidem erga Dominum et erga homines iustam dampnationem promeruimus quia istum iniuste dampnauimus. Festinemus igitur ut illum deponentes de stipite alicuius artis industria temeritatem nostrum | palliemus.' Ad locum itaque quo illum dampnauerant concite uenientes, quem iam mortuum se reperturos putabant, saluum et incolumem inueniunt. Et cum illos ad se uenire uidisset, 'Recedite', inquit, 'pro Dei amore recedite, nec me ulterius inquietare uelit. Sanctus Germanus, quem inuocaui sepiissime, ab omni me periculi saluauit discrimine. Ipse me suis manibus in cruce sustinuit nec ullam laquei molestiam sentire permisit.'

XX

Solutus tamen et ad hospicium reductus nouis suppliciis iterato subicitur, quem hostium uesana crudelitas tam uehementer afflixit, ut habundantiori absorptus tristitia, eligeret potius uitam finiendo

XIX om. Labbe

Chapter 19

When the knights heard this, their faces were equally red with embarrassment and they returned to their quarters. The miserable wretch was led back to his most bitter torments, he was tortured with pain, he was afflicted by agonies. As he had done before, intending to put off the onset of such great sufferings by some respite, he said to the knights: 'Now because I do not have the comfort of any hope of escape I will give you good and true advice for the recovery of your money. Go to the fishpond and look there as quickly as you can and you will find a little bag because I swear that I hid the money there by submerging it beneath the water.' The knights did not delay in finding out if this advice would prove to be true. For a whole day they tore away at the bottom of the pool with rakes and hooks, but they were able to find nothing of what they desired. Having been tricked into wasting so much time in this lengthy task, they were full of violent anger and they all strove to take revenge for being led so much astray. With one mind and in total agreement they took that servant in the morning and condemned him to hang in a secluded hiding place in a wood. They then came back to the lodgings and, when their anger had died down and calmness of mind had granted admittance to the light of reason, one of them spoke thus to the rest. 'We have done a foolish and ill considered thing, we who have presumed to condemn this man without the decree of a judicial sentence and without proof of any crime. We have indeed deserved just condemnation in the eyes of God and men because we have condemned this man unjustly. Let us hurry, therefore, and take him down from the tree so that we may disguise our rashness with the diligence of our handiwork.' And so they came quickly to the place where they had condemned that man, and, having thought that they would find him dead, they discovered him safe and well. When he saw them coming he said, 'Go away! For the love of God go away, and do not try to bother me further. St Germanus, on whom I have called very often, has saved me from every risk of danger. He himself sustained me in his hands on the cross and did not permit me to feel any pain from the noose.'

Chapter 20

Freed and led back to the lodgings, he was subjected again to further punishments, he whom the insane cruelty of his enemies had afflicted so greatly that, engulfed by growing misery, he chose to end his

terminare supplicium, quam diutius subsistendo tanti discriminis tardius inuenire remedium. Casu uestes iuxta eum mulier consuebat,²⁰⁸ cuius ille forcipes audacter arripens, et ab inuicem in frustra detorquens, semetipsum in corde percussit, et quanta ualuit uirtute perfodit. Ruit illico miser exanimis,⁴ et manante iugiter madefactus sanguine, mortuo similis iacebat immobilis. Clamor mox populi repentinus assurgit, uolat fama per uillam, se ipsum occidisse Martinum ferebatur per ora cunctorum. Quod audiens monachus ille quem prenominauit, Willelmus,²⁰⁸ cum ceteris et ille festinus accurrit, qui milites increpatione contumeliosa redarguens. 'Vos', inquit, 'huius reatu criminis astricti tenemini, quia ad hanc rem perpetranda non tam fuit occasio | quam uiolentia compulsio uestra crudelitas, uel iam nunc illum cum plus punire nequeat, cesset punire uelle uestra uesania. Michi nunc illum ad honorem beati Germani donate, ut si uerum est quod illum in ligno sanctus Germanus a morte saluauit, nunc illum saluti pristinae suae uirtute restituat.' Quod cum milites libenter annuissent, uulneratum illum et uix uitalem altum in corpore habentem, ad monasterii cimiterium monachus fecit afferri. Proinusque faciens illi cum aque benedictae qua reliquias lauerat admixtione de uirentis herbe gramine potionem, infra diem tertium piissimi presulis auxilio pristinae restituit sospitati.²⁰⁹

(XXI)^a

His igitur miraculis que ad noticiam nostram multorum relatione peruenerunt breuiter annotatis, ad prosecutionis historice seriem redeamus. Sed hoc tua prudentia, lector, agnoscat, plurima nos adbreuiationis gratia preterisse, ne si circa singula que audiuius et uera probauimus moremur generaret legentibus lectionis prolixitas congesta fastidium.

XX ^a consuebat Labbe

⁴ Elannus Labbe

²⁰⁸ quoniam Labbe

XXI ^a The text of this chapter is written as part of chapter 20 but it is clear from the table of contents at the beginning of Part II that this was intended to form a separate chapter

Labbe

⁴ Si

²⁰⁸ Possibly William 'Grandis', who occurs in II. 2 and 18, and who was probably elected abbot in II. 22.

suffering by putting an end to his life rather than to find a slower remedy for such a great trial by surviving longer. By chance a woman near him was sewing clothes and he, boldly snatching her scissors and twisting them into pieces, one blade from the other, struck himself in the heart and pierced it through with all the strength he could muster. On that very spot the wretch fell down lifeless, and, instantly drenched with the flowing blood, he lay motionless, as if he were dead. The shout of the people rose up immediately, the runour flew through the town, and it was on everyone's lips that Martin had killed himself. When he heard this, a monk called William, whom I have mentioned before,²⁰⁸ ran with others in haste and confronted the knights with reproachful rebukes. 'We hold you bound as accused of this crime', he said, 'because there is no other reason this has happened other than violence, force, and your cruelty. But, now your madness is no longer able to punish him, may it cease to wish to punish him. Now give me that man, for the honour of the blessed Germanus, so that, if it is true that holy Germanus saved him from death on the tree, he may now through his power restore him to his former state of health.' The knights freely agreed to this and the monk caused the wounded man, who scarcely had the breath of life in his body, to be carried to the cemetery of the monastery. He quickly made him a potion with water that had been blessed and in which he had washed the relics, with a plant, a green herb, mixed in, and, before the third day had passed he restored him, with the help of the most holy bishop, to his former health.²⁰⁹

Chapter 21

With these miracles, which have come to our notice by the report of many and which we have set down briefly, we should return to the sequence of historical events. But in your wisdom, reader, please recognize that we have passed over very many things for the sake of brevity, lest in delaying over individual details which we have heard and have proved to be true, the excessive length of our reading bring weariness to our readers.

²⁰⁸ This is the second instance where recovery takes place on the third day, recalling the resurrection of Christ from the dead and his rising on the third day: Matt. 16: 21; 17: 23; 20: 31; Luke 9: 22; 13: 32.

XXI(1)^e

Cum igitur nouem annis²¹⁰ Abbas Helias prefuisset ecclesie de iure regiminis Henricus cum archiepiscopus callida machinatione deiecit, cuius facta fuit occasio quod eiusdem electioni cum quibusdam aliis Abbas Helias obstitit.²¹¹ Vnde presul uehementer offensus, nulla se uoluit uirtute restringere, quin²¹² iniurie sue persecutor et ultor inclemens existeret. Sed cum nichil reprehensionis in abbatem reperisset,²¹² artis | callide fretus astucia fraudulenter intercepti inprovidum, siquidem blandimentis eum tot et tantis in tantum subiuit, ut ab eo iusiurandum extorqueret, quod eius se consilio abbas omnino committeret. Quo facto sic eum allocutus est archiepiscopus. 'Quia te frater, meo consilio commisisti, hoc meum noueris esse consultum, ut te de prelationis demittas fastigio. Nichil uiro laico,²¹³ cum pastoris officio, cecus si ceco ducatum presterit,²¹⁴ utriusque casus repentinus exiterit. Non bene poterit aliorum animabus consulere, qui inter uirtutes et uicia subtili nescit discretionem discernere.²¹⁵ Vnde te scieris discrimen dampnationis incurere,

XXII • Numbered XXI here but XXII in the table of contents

• cum Labbe

²¹⁰ From 1143 to 1152.

²¹¹ The archbishop is Henry Murdac, a native of Yorkshire and master of the schools, at which time he was in correspondence with Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux (see *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux*, trans. James [London, 1953], repr. with an introduction by Kienzle, no. 107). Henry entered the monastic life at Clairvaux, rising to be founding abbot of its daughter house of Vaucclair in 1131. In 1143 he was sent by Bernard to supervise the election of a new abbot of Fountains Abbey, which was founded in 1132 as a result of schism from St Mary's Abbey, York, and which became a daughter house of Clairvaux, probably the following year. As anticipated by Bernard, Henry was himself elected as abbot of Fountains (see *Letters of St Bernard*, nos. 173–4). Henry's election came at a politically sensitive time of which Bernard was well aware. Following the resignation and death of Archbishop Thurstan early in 1140 the York chapter had deliberated over several candidates as his replacement before electing, under the eye of William of Aunale, earl of York, the treasurer of York, William Fitz Herbert. Their choice was challenged by the abbots of Fountains and Rievaulx and the priors of Guisborough and Kirkham, as well as a number of canons of York, and appeals were made to Rome against William's election. Henry Murdac as abbot of Fountains was identified by supporters of William as one of his opponents—'quasi saue deiectionis auctorem'—to such an extent that Fountains Abbey was attacked (*Memorials of the Abbey of St Mary of Fountains*, i, 97–102; John of Hexham, *Historia regum, in Symeonis monachi opera omnia*, ii, 318–19). On 21 Mar. 1147 William was deposed by the Cistercian pope, Eugenius III, who ordered a fresh election. In July 1147 Henry Murdac himself was elected archbishop at Richmond, though not unanimously. After his election he set out to see Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux but en route was consecrated by Pope Eugenius at Trier on 7 Dec. Abbot Elias is said to have been forced by Murdac to resign after ruling nine years, suggesting his removal in 1152. This means that a full five years had elapsed since the archbishop's election, which raises the question of why—if the author was correct in ascribing Elias's deposition to his opposition to Murdac's own election—Murdac waited so long to act against him. An analogous case, though different in

Chapter 22

When Abbot Elias had presided over the church for nine years²¹⁰ by the authority of his office, Archbishop Henry brought him down by a crafty plot, and the reason was this, that Abbot Elias with certain others had opposed his election.²¹¹ Therefore, the archbishop, being violently embittered about this, did not want to restrain himself by any finer feelings from being the merciless avenger of the injury done to him. But when he found no fault in the abbot,²¹² relying on the cunning slyness of a trick, he took him unawares. Accordingly, he stole upon him with so many and such great flatteries that he extracted from him an oath that the abbot would entrust himself completely to his counsel. Having done this, the archbishop spoke to him as follows. 'Brother, since you have committed yourself to my counsel you should know that it is my considered opinion that you should relinquish the high office of your abacy. A layman²¹³ should have no business with the office of pastor, just as, if a blind man should offer to lead another blind man,²¹⁴ the result would be that both had a speedy fall. He who does not know how to discern with fine judgement between virtues and vices²¹⁵ cannot well take care of detail, comes from another Yorkshire Benedictine abbey, Whithy. A narrative surviving in the Whithy cartulary, provenance unknown, states that in 1148 Abbot Benedict, unable to sustain any longer the plots of his enemies, went to Beverley and resigned in the presence of the archbishop. The monks asked Henry Murdac's advice on the election of a successor to Benedict, and he replied that he would only accept Benedict's resignation if they elected as his replacement a nominee of his own. He then gave them a choice of three men: his nephew, Thomas 'Grammaticus', a monk of St Albans, Richard, prior of Peterborough, and German, prior of St Oswine, 'qui postea abbas de Selesbi effectus est' (see below, II, 22 and n. 217). Richard, prior of Peterborough, was duly elected (*Cartularium Abbatiae de Whithy*, i, 8–10). In 1148, therefore, Henry Murdac felt able to intervene in the affairs of Whithy, though his intervention did not amount to the removal of the abbot, whereas he took no action at Selby. His lack of action there may have been due to the limitations of his authority. His election in 1147 was not accepted by the people of York nor, indeed, by King Stephen, and it was not until Jan. 1151, after his reconciliation with the king, that he was able to enter his cathedral city. It would seem that he was unable to exercise his authority in the Selby area until after that date. The St Albans chronicler notes that Elias was 'pastor nescius et remissus' but his remark was made in the context of Elias's replacement by a monk of his own house of St Albans; see *Gesta abbatum Sancti Albani*, i, 120.

²¹² Luke 23: 4: 'Nihil inuenio causae in hoc homine' (see also Luke 23: 14; John 18: 38, 19: 4 and 6). See also Judith 8: 28: 'Omnia, quae locuta es, vera sunt, et non est in sermonibus tuis ulla reprehensio.'

²¹³ 'uir laicus' here should perhaps be understood as 'non-priest'.

²¹⁴ Matt. 15: 14: 'Sinite illos: caeci sunt, et dices caecorum; caecus autem si caeco ducatum praestet, ambo in foveam cadunt.' See also Luke 6: 39.

²¹⁵ There is here perhaps an echo of 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 3: 9: 'Dabis ergo seruo tuo cor docile, ut iudicare possit populum tuum et discernere inter malum et bonum.'

si sarcinam differas huius cure deponere.' Quod audiens Helias, sero sui penitens, callida se uidit circumuentione deceptum. Nec tamen reniti uolens aut resistere, continuo se de pastoralis cura transiit. Quo facto, post dies aliquot electus est a monachis Willelmus ille cuius sepe memoriam feci,²¹⁶ sed eius promotioni non adquiescens archiepiscopus, Germanum priorem de Thinemu monachum sancti Albani²¹⁷ promouere totis uiribus satagebat. Cuius uoluntati ferme per annum et dimidium monachi resistentes, nunquam illius dispositioni consentire uolebant. Dicebant enim se nec Germanum nec alium suscepturos donec Heliam, qui canonicus electus et benedictus fuerat, ecclesie iudicium canonica discrezione abbatis uel redderet uel auferret. Nec eos ualuit ab hac obiectione presul deflectere, donec eos quasi rebelles et religionis inimicos anathematis ultione dampnaret. Sicque demum eos ad consensum emolliens publica reclamazione cessante Germanum coegit excipere.

XXIII

Post cuius exceptionem uix trium mensium spatium preterit, cum Archiepiscopus Henricus hominem exuens diem clausit extremum.²¹⁸ Tunc Helias capituli sancti Petri corroboratus consilio, tocus cleri iudicio, per Archidiaconem Osbertum, quia iniuste et contra canonum instituta fuerat deiectus, abbate restitutus est.²¹⁹ Cuius aduentum

¹ saepius *Labbe*

²¹⁶ William, 'ille cuius sepe memoriam feci', was probably William 'Grandis' ('the Tall'), who occurs in II. 2 and 18.

²¹⁷ German, monk of St Albans and prior of Tynemouth, was one of the three candidates offered by Henry Murdac to the monks of Whithy in 1148 (see above, n. 211). German occurs as prior of Tynemouth possibly as early as 1135 and 1143 (see *Heads*, i. 96, citing *Vita Oswaldi* for occurrences between 1135 and 1152). The monks of Selby resisted his appointment for a year and a half but they were compelled to accept him under threat of anathema. The chronicle of St Albans noted the election of German, and added that he was appointed to reform affairs at Selby which had deteriorated: 'bonae recordationis Dominus Germanus, monachus huius ecclesiae, et Prior de Thinemu, electus et creatus est in Abbatem de Selby, ad reformationem ordinis, qui ibidem deperierat, Elyia Abbatē cedente, per Archiepiscopum Eboracensem, Henricum Murdac, in cuius Dioecesi dicta ecclesia de Selby esse dinoscitur' ('Lord German of good remembrance, a monk of this church and prior of Tynemouth, was elected and appointed to be abbot of Selby by the archbishop of York, Henry Murdac (in whose diocese the said church of Selby is known to be) on the resignation of Elias, to reform the order that had there deteriorated'). *Gesta abbatum Sancti Albani*, i. 120.

²¹⁸ Henry Murdac died on 14 Oct. 1153 at Beverley (John of Hexham, *Historia Regum*, in *Symonis monachi opera omnia*, ii. 331-2). This would place German's appointment around July 1153. This is consistent with the *Historia*'s remark that Elias ruled for nine years (to 1152) but that the monks refused to accept German for nearly eighteen months.

the souls of others. Therefore you should understand that you will run the risk of damnation if you do not lay down the burden of this office of yours.' When Elias heard this he repented too late and saw that he had been taken in by a sly trick. However, he did not want to resist or withstand and he therefore immediately removed himself from his pastoral duty. Once he had done this, after a few days had passed, William, of whom I have often made mention,²¹⁶ was elected by the monks. But the archbishop did not give his assent to his promotion and bustled about with all his might to promote German, prior of Tynemouth, and monk of St Albans.²¹⁷ The monks resisted his wish for almost a year and a half, never being willing to consent to what he wanted. For they said that they would never accept either German or anyone else until Elias, who had been canonically elected and blessed, either resigned or withdrew from the jurisdiction of his abbey by canonical separation. The archbishop could not deter them from this resistance until at length he censured them as rebels and enemies of religion by the penalty of anathema. Only then, weakening them so that they consented, did he compel them to accept German, and all open opposition was ended.

Chapter 23

After German's appointment three months had scarcely passed before Archbishop Henry gave up his earthly life and completed his final day.²¹⁸ Then Elias, fortified by the advice of the chapter of St Peter and by the judgement of all the clergy, was restored to the abbey by Archdeacon Osbert because he had been thrown out unjustly and against the precepts of canon law.²¹⁹ German, having been warned in

²¹⁹ Archdeacon Osbert is Osbert of Bayeux, nephew of Archbishop Thurstan, and, as argued by Clay, very probably archdeacon of Richmond ('Notes on the early archdeacons in the church of York', 277-9; *York Minster Facit*, ed. Clay, i. 46; *EEA*, v. 126-7). In 1141 he opposed the election of William Fitz Herbert as archbishop of York (see *Chronica pontificum ecclesiae Eboracensis*, in *HCY*, ii. 312-445, at pp. 389-91). He attested acts of Henry Murdac (*EEA*, v. 84, 87-8, 96, 104, nos 108, 114, 123, 133), always as the first witness. Osbert's support for the restoration of Elias might, therefore, be somewhat surprising, since Archbishop Henry had clearly striven hard to secure it, but he seems to have been acting according to the wishes of the chapter of St Peter, and by 1153 was probably senior archdeacon. Following Murdac's death, William Fitz Herbert was restored to the see (Dec. 1153) and returned to York (June 1154). His old opponents, Osbert of Bayeux and the dean of York, Robert de Gant, tried but failed to prevent him entering the city. William died less than a month later. Osbert was accused of the archbishop's murder by one of William's clerics, Symphorian, and the case went to the papal curia. In 1157 Osbert was removed from office, was degraded, and lived the remainder of his life as a lay baron. The *Historia* states

Germanus recognoscens equos suos festinanter ascendit, et sanctum Albanum adiuit. Cumque ibi dimidium fere annum moraretur, Theobaldi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi qui tunc legationis dignitate fungebatur auctoritate digniati proprie restitutus est,²²⁰ et Helias eiectus. Supradictus namque Archidiaconus Osbertus et ceteri quamplures quorum consilio et adiutorio in abbatiam intrauerat, ab eo se deflexerant et ad aliam partem declinauerant, unde apud Lincolniam^a a legato degradatus ad sanctum Trinitatem Eborac^c reuersus est.

XXIII

Rediens itaque Germanus Selebeiam cum honore et reuerentia tali uiro digna susceptus est et prelatu ecclesie fuit siquidem isdem Germanus monachus probatissimus et ut breui clausula multa concludam, omni uirtute que monachum decet decenter effulgens. Nec facile reperiri ualuit suo tempore uel persona religiosior uel monachus ordinatio, cui tanta fuisset copia uirtutis ad meritum uel morum integritas ad subditorum^{fo. 41^r} exemplum. Quidquid namque dicebat uel agebat, nichil fuit aliud quam honestatis et honoris indicium, uirtutis et religionis exercitium, maturitatis et perfectionis exemplum. Qua uero benignitate et humanitate subditos tractauit, qua caritate et amore dilexit, qua sollicitudine et pietate necessaria prouidit et ministravit, non est nostre possibilitatis exponere, maxime cum ad huius opusculi finem quanta possumus breuitate festinemus. Sed cum

XXIII ^a om. Labbe^b synodum Labbe

that it was about six months after Henry's death (that is, around Apr. 1154) that Elias was deposed a second time. Osbert had a hand in this, which would have occurred before Archbishop William's return to York. For an assessment of Osbert's career see Norton, *St William of York*, pp. 102-4.

²²⁰ The *Historia* has stated that German ruled for three months before Henry's death, that is, from about July to Oct. 1153, before his removal, and that he spent six months at St Albans before his restoration, which puts his reinstatement at Selby round about Apr. 1154. Theobald, who deposed Elias, was archbishop of Canterbury from 1138 to 1161. It is explicitly stated that Theobald was papal legate—an office to which he was appointed by Pope Eugenius III in 1150—and it may have been in this capacity that he removed Elias from office. The *Gesta albanum Sancti Albani*, presumably relying on traditions preserved at the abbey, states that the deposition was made following an appeal by the abbot of St Albans to the pope: 'Sed Archiepiscopo defuncto, Henrico, memoratus Elyas, expulso Germano, irreuerenter se intravit in Abbatiam de Selby, se faciens Abbatem exclamari. Germanus uero ad domum suam, scilicet Sancti Albani, rediens, honorifice ab Abbate Roberto [Robert de Gorron, 1151-66] et a toto Conventu, ut decuit, susceptus est. Misit igitur Abbas Robertus unum monachum de nostris Roman festinanter, super tali injuria querentem ad Dominum Papae repositurum. Qui, audita tali presumptione, commotus est valde, talem

advance about his return, quickly leapt on his horses and went back to St Albans. When he had been there for almost half a year, he was restored to his original position by the authority of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, who then discharged the office of papal legate,²²⁰ and Elias was deposed. Indeed, Archdeacon Osbert, whom I mentioned above, and very many others on whose advice and with whose help Elias had entered the abbey, turned their backs on him and changed to the other side, and so, having been removed from office by the legate at Lincoln, he returned to Holy Trinity, York.

Chapter 24

When German returned to Selby he was received with the honour and reverence worthy of such a man, and indeed this German was a prelate of the church and an excellent monk, and, to sum up many things in a few words, conspicuous, in a seemly manner, for every virtue that becomes a monk. It was not easy to find in his days a more religious person or a more well-ordered monk in whom there was such an abundance of virtue to his merit, or such an integrity of character as an example to his subjects. For whatever he said or did was no other than a sign of integrity and honour, an exercise in virtue and religion, an example of wisdom and perfection. It is not possible for us to articulate with what kindness and humanity he treated his subjects, with what charity and love he held them dear, with what care and piety he provided them with what they needed and ministered to them—chiefly because we must hurry to the end of this little work with as much conciseness as we can. But, when he had

tanquam abusionem terribiliter compescuit et puniuit, similiter Osbertum Archidiaconum, huius rei inuentorem. Et sic honorifice restitutus est Germanus in domum suam de Selby, Elyas cum confusione repulso. Respiravit igitur domus illa feliciter in spiritualibus et temporalibus, ipso Abbate Germano diligenter desudante. (When the aforesaid archbishop, Henry, was dead and German had been expelled, the aforementioned Elias without reverence intruded himself in the abbey of Selby and caused himself to be proclaimed abbot. German, however, returning to his own house, that is, St Albans, was honourably received, as was fitting, by Abbot Robert and the entire convent. Therefore, Abbot Robert quickly sent one of our monks to Rome, to lay a complaint about this injury before the lord pope. When he heard of such great presumption the pope was greatly troubled, and suppressed and punished such and so great an insult, as similarly, he did Archdeacon Osbert, the man who had inflamed this whole affair. And thus German was honourably restored to his house of Selby, while Elias was driven out in confusion. Therefore that house revived fortunately in both spiritual and temporal matters, with Abbot German exerting himself with great care.) *Gesta albanum Sancti Albani*, i. 120. The deposition of Elias by Theobald is not mentioned in Salmon, *Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury*.

septem annis monasterio prefuisset carnis tactus molestia ingrauescente ualitudine uehementer cepi urgeri. Suum ergo prenoscentis imminere discessum, quadam die fratrum manibus sustentatus in capitulum se fecit adduci, humiliterque coram priore ceterisque fratribus considentibus humo prostratus, se in pluribus deliquisse fatebatur, non talem se fratribus exhibuisse qualem oportuerat, nec sic res monasterii tractasse sicut decebat, cum lacrimis proponebat. Suscipiensque corporalem inibi coram fratribus disciplinam ad lectum suum flentibus et dolentibus omnibus est adductus. Nec multo post cum cotidie uis doloris excresceret, nono uidelicet kal. decembris ergastulo carnis eductus appositus est^a ad patres suos, et in capitulo monasterii, sicut talem ac tantum decebat uitrum reuenter tumulatus. Cui etiam sicut ceteris qui inibi requiescunt epithaphium hoc modo uersibus exametris adaptauimus.

(XXV)^a

Tristis (ades)^b 221 uicio uiciis corruptitur orbis^c
Qui ruit exicio lapsu discrimine morbis.
Mundus abit nec habet quod non abeundo moretur.

fo. 41^r

Quod tenet aut quod habet nec stat nec stare meretur.
Sic uiget ut pereat sic est ut desinat esse,
Sic stat ut intereat subit hoc caro queque necesse.
Sic hominum generi constat generale perire,
^dSic nostro cineri cinerem commune subire.
Omnia pretereunt celeri mortalia fine
Et subito pereunt misera data sorte ruine.
Hec sors letalis sors aspera conditionis,
Sors mala plena malis decus aufert religionis.
Occidit et perit decus et decor orbis^e ornus^f honoris

10

XXIII * om. Labbe

XXV * There is no chapter number in the text but it is clear from the table of contents that the verse epiphany was intended to form chapter 25. ^b ades^c Labbe ^e The rhyming syllables in the middle and at the end of the couplets are written once only, between the two lines, and joined to the previous syllable by wavy lines to indicate the rhyme. In line 1 the o of orbis is repeated as is the e of esse in line 5. ^d om. Labbe ^f interined ^f om. Labbe

221 The emendation of 'ades' to 'ades' seems necessary in context.

ruled the monastery for seven years, his flesh was afflicted by a worsening problem and his health began to be grievously threatened. Foreseeing, therefore, that his own death was near, one day he had himself led, supported by the hands of his brethren, into the chapter house and, humbly prostrating himself on the ground before the prior and the other brothers who were sitting around, he said that he had failed them in many ways; he declared with tears that he had not shown himself to the brethren to be the kind of man he should have been, had not administered the affairs of the monastery in an appropriate manner. Undergoing bodily scourging there in the presence of the brethren he was led to his bed, with them all weeping and lamenting. Not long afterwards, for the power of his sickness was growing daily, on the twenty-third of November, having left the prison-house of his body, he was returned to his fathers and was reverently buried in the chapter house of the monastery, as befitted such and so great a man. For him as for the others who rest there we have composed an epitaph in this way, in hexameter verses.

Chapter 25

The sad temple²²¹ is corrupted by vice, the earth is corrupted by vices
And it goes down in ruin with destruction, downfall, danger, and diseases.
The world departs and does not have what it may not retain in its departing.
What it does keep or possess does not last nor deserve to last.
Thus it flourishes so that it may perish, it exists so that it may cease to exist,
So it stands that it may pass away, of necessity all flesh submits to this.
So it is natural for the race of men to perish,
So it is common for ash to lie under our ash.
All mortal things pass away in a swift ending
And suddenly perish, given over to ruin by a wretched fate. 10
This is the deadly destiny, the bitter destiny of our condition,
The evil destiny, full of evil things, carries away the glory of religion.
The glory died and perished, as did the beauty of the honour of all the world

Cum pius interit Germanus gemma decoris.
 Vir uite speculum pietatis formula morum,
 Exemplar tumulum sortitur sorte reorum.
 Laude uirum cupiens attollere tam specialem
 Deficio nequens hominem describere talem
 Quem scio quem uideo maiorem laudis honore.
 Quam uolo quam ualeo perstringere mente uel ore.
 Hoc precor ergo sibi pro laudis honore dicetur
 Quod nequit ascribi sua quod pia uita meretur.
 Dicere me liceat quod non reticere licebit.
 Sic licet intereat caro spiritus astra tenebit.
 Vermibus esca datur hec hic collega supernis
 Iure coaptatur hic celis ista cauernis.

20

XXVI

Nec inserere lectioni tedeat miracula que circa feretrum²²² suum in
 60. 42^f predicationis | peregrinatione beatus Germanus est⁴ dignatus osten-
 dere. Nam cum in supradicti abbatis Germani temporibus aliquantu-
 lum in predicationis gratia fratres cum feretro laborarent se de suis
 curam habere quam maximam, signis multis plurimisque prodigiis
 confessor eximius frequenter ostendit. Ex quibus multa omittentes
 hec paucula dignum duximus mandare memorie, ne opera diuina que
 ad sanctorum laudem et gloriam contigerunt,⁴ omnino uideremur
 silentio preterisse. Cum namque tempore quodam iter agerent flumen
 quoddam eos oportebat transire per pontem, cumque pertransirent
 equum onerarium, qui cistellas ferebat, in fluminis medio lapso pede
 contigit cecidisse. Clamor omnium in celum sustollitur, beati Ger-
 mani presidium uox uniuersorum una petebat. Monachus cui nomen
 Benedictus humo prostratus, lacrimisque perfusus de sanctorum
 maderatione, quam de caballi periculo uerebatur. Coniunctis tamen
 uiribus, collatisque consiliis, cum magno labore caballum cum onere
 tandem ad terram petraxerunt. Ad aquarum eliciendam iniuriam

XXVI ⁴ om. *Labbe* ⁴ contingerunt with n¹ dotted for deletion

²²² A feretory could be an area of a church where relics were housed. In this context it refers to a receptacle or container in which relics were kept. The miracles that follow were performed by the relic of Germanus during preaching tours.

When holy German perished, the gem of beauty.
 A man who is the mirror of life, the pattern of pious ways,
 This exemplary man receives a tomb as his lot, sharing the lot
 of guilty men.
 Wishing to exalt such an exceptional man with praise
 I fail, being unable to describe such a man
 As I know, as I see—who is greater than the glory of the praise
 Which I want or which I am able to relate briefly with mind
 and voice.
 20
 May this be said, I pray, in place of the glory of praise;
 That what his devout life deserves cannot be set down in writing.
 May I be allowed to say what I shall not be allowed to keep silent.
 Thus, although his flesh may have perished, his spirit will possess
 the stars.
 The flesh is given as food for worms but the spirit will be the
 companion of the gods
 Rightly, one is joined with the heavens, the other with the depths.

Chapter 26

May it not weary anyone if I include in this reading the miracles that the
 blessed Germanus deemed worthy to perform around his feretory²²² in
 the preaching pilgrimage. For when, in the time of Abbot German of
 whom I spoke above, the brothers took pains to travel for a bit with the
 feretory in order to preach, the wonderful confessor often showed by
 many signs and very many wonders that he took the greatest care of his
 own people. Omitting many of these, we think it worthy to commit to
 memory these very few, lest we seem to pass over in complete silence
 the divine works which relate to the praise and glory of the saints.
 Indeed, one time when they were on a journey they had to pass over a
 river across a bridge, and, as they were crossing, it happened—so it is
 said—that a packhorse, which carried the chests, lost its footing
 halfway across the river and fell. The uproar of all of them rose to
 heaven and with a single voice each and every one sought the help of the
 blessed Germanus. A monk whose name was Benedict fell to the
 ground and was drenched in tears, for he was more fearful about the
 shrine getting wet than about the danger to the horse. Joining their
 strength together and pooling their ideas, at last, with great effort, they
 drew the horse and its burden to land. They opened the chests quickly
 to find out what damage might have been done by the waters. One of

cicius cistellas aperunt, quarum altera uestimenta cum reliquiis, altera ceras, mappulas, et cetera iter agentibus necessaria continebat. 'Sed cum illam que ceras continebat' aqua plenam reperissent, illam que reliquiis conservandis serviebat, ita siccam et intactam inuenerunt, ac si nunquam illam laticis ullus contigisset excursus.

XXVII

fo. 42^v Pagum quendam alio tempore pretereuntes | carrum sua suppellectili oneratum ante se duci fecerunt.²²³ Infans bimus stans casu in tugurii cuiusdam hostiolo, cum cicius metu carri voluisset aufugere, repente cecidit, et usque ad uie medium 'cepit uolutari.' Equi ductor id nesciens cum incunctanter eum carro progrediret una rota uehniculi per uentrem iacentis transiuit infantis. Quod cum uidissent qui sequebantur, eleuatis uocibus ut caueret, ut staret carri ductor hortantur. Quorum ille uocibus attonitus subito restitit, equumque paululum cum habena recullans, rotam² iterum per infantis pectus transire coegit. Mater pueri de tugurio repente prosiuens celum genuit aere clamore repleuit. Puerum de solo sustulit extantum, examinem, nichil indicii uitalis habentem. Comitabatur tunc feretrum domnus nunc prior,²²⁴ quo nunquam aliquis in sanctum Germanum deuocior. Qui uidens quod factum fuerat, timensque ne aliqua illis inde tribulatio nasceretur, dolore plenus, ad pium patronum conuersus ueluti familiari uel pariti taliter loquebatur. 'Quid, sancte Germane, fecisti? Nos te predicamus suscitasse defunctos, et tu econtrario uiuentes interficis. Num nos² ut homicidas ad pretorium uis duci facere, iudicis subicendos sentencie? Iam facio quod uolueris, quia non antea feretrum isto de loco mouebitur, quam ab hac offensa nos liberos et immunes reddideris.' Sic fatus mox cum ceteris omnibus equo desiliens, orationem pro puero faciebat. Interim sub feretro mater tenebat infantem, qui oratione con|pleta, cum inter matris manus non conualuisset, ad terram sub sanctuariis est monacho iubente depositus. Et mox ut terram tetigit quasi indignans quod

²²³ om. *Labbe*, probably as a result of *cyclops* from *continebat* to *continebat*
XXVII ²²⁴ uolutatus est *Labbe* totum *Labbe* Nunius *Labbe*

²²³ This story bears a strong resemblance to one in *De miraculis et translationibus*, in *Symeonis monachi opera omnia*, II, 357-9. See above, p. lxxxvi.

²²⁴ It was the prior of Selby who held office at the time of writing in 1174 whose aid the unnamed patron of the *Historia* invoked to persuade the Selby monk to write. See above, prologue to Part I.

these contained the vestments and the relics, and the other candles, napkins, and other things they needed on their journey. But, while they discovered the one that contained the candles full of water, they found the other, which accommodated the relics, to be conserved dry and unharmed, as if the rushing water had never touched it.

Chapter 27

Another time, when they were travelling through the countryside, they had a cart led in front of them burdened with their paraphernalia.²²³ It chanced that a two-year-old child was standing in the little door of a hut because he wanted to escape quickly, from fear of the cart, but he suddenly fell and began to tumble into the middle of the road. The man leading the horse did not realize this and as, without pausing, he advanced on him with the cart, he ran over the belly of the recumbent child with one of the vehicle's wheels. When those who were following behind saw this, they raised their voices and urged the driver of the carriage to take care and stop. He was thunderstruck at these voices and came to a sudden halt, and, pulling his horses back a little with the rein, he forced the wheel to go over the belly of the child a second time. The mother of the boy suddenly burst from the hut and filled the heaven with her lament and the air with her cry. She lifted up the boy from the ground, stretched out as if in death, not breathing, and showing no sign of life. The man who is now the lord prior²²⁴ was accompanying the shrine and no one was ever more devoted to St Germanus than he was. When he saw what had happened he was afraid lest further trouble should arise for them from this, and turning to his holy patron, he spoke to him in this way, like a friend or an equal. 'St Germanus, what have you done? We are preaching that you have raised the dead, and on the contrary you are killing the living. Are you going to have us led like killers to the hall of judgement to undergo judicial sentence? Now do what you want, because the shrine will not be moved from this place until you deliver us, free and exempt from this offence.' Having spoken thus, he then dismounted from his horse with the others and said a prayer for the child. Meanwhile the child's mother was holding him beneath the reliquary. When the prayer was finished, the child, who had not recovered while he was being held in his mother's arms, was placed below the relics on the instruction of the monk. And as soon as he touched the ground—as if he were indignant about being placed on

super nudam humum poneretur, modo mirabili rediuius exurgit, et ueluti si nichil passus fuisset incommodi, sancti Germani uirtute saluatus aufugit exiliens.

XXVIII

Inde progredientes in ecclesia quadam pernocauerunt, cuius pariet cellulam habebat quedam reclusa contiguum. Que cum ad fenestram suam eadem nocte sedens orando forsitan obdormisset, sanctus ei confessor Germanus apparuit, eam^a huicemodi ratione conueniens, 'Quid', inquit, 'sopore deprimeris?'²²⁵ cum te magis conueniat uigilare? An ignoras quam sancta, quam preciosa, sunt ista sanctuaria que coram te cernis presentia? Domum etiam^b meam unde hec sunt iam tibi demonstrabo.' Moxque eam per uisum Selebiam adducens, uniuersique loci situm, ecclesiam, monachos etiam in choro psallentes, cimiterium quoque^c arboribus nuceis constum, aperte demonstrans, 'Hec', inquit, 'domus mea, hii monachi, horum fraternitatem post finem tibi ualde necessariam die crasina ne obliuiscaris expetere. Clerico etiam qui pro reliquiis ad populum loquitur ex mea parte hoc dico, quod nisi se a dissolutione sua leuitateque compescat, infra annum pudendam inobediente sue perferet ultionem.' Mane igitur facto se fidelis femina monachorum precibus benefactisque committens, uniuersa que per uisum uiderat, seriatim exposuit. Clerico autem Radulfo nomine que confessor iusserat cuncta narrauit. Que cum ille^d non attendisset, eodem anno sicut confessor comminatus fuerat magnum et pudore plenum incurrit infortunium.

XXIX

Nec^e huic uisioni fuit illud dissimile, quod cum quedam femina que eos hospitio suscepserat minus illis deuote ministrasset, nocte sequenti sanctus ei Germanus apparuit, et cur famulos suos et sanctuaria non attentius honorasset, aspera obiurgatione quesuit. Precepitque ut in crasino ubicunque essent in prouincia eos accensiret, et deuotis eos obsequiis preueniendo digna satisfactione pristinam neglegentiam emendaret. Quoddam etiam fidei commissum eadem mulier cum

XXVIII ^a interlined ^b interlined ^c quod Labbe

XXIX ^d There is a small guide letter n in the far left of the left margin to indicate the initial to be entered as a rubricated initial

²²⁵ Jonah 1: 6: 'quid tu sopore deprimeris?'

the bare earth—he got up, revived, in a wondrous manner and, as if he had suffered no ill, he leapt away in flight, saved by the power of St Germanus.

Chapter 28

They went on from there and spent the night in a certain church, attached to the walls of which a recluse had a cell. That same night, sitting by her window in prayer, she happened to fall asleep. The holy confessor Germanus appeared to her, greeting her in this way: 'Why are you overwhelmed with sleep?'²²⁵ he said, 'when it would be more fitting for you to stay awake?' Do you not know how holy, how precious, are these relics which you see here in front of you? I will even show you my house, from which they come.' Then, he brought her through a vision to Selby and showed her clearly the whole site, the church, even the monks chanting the psalms in the choir, and also the cemetery densely covered with nut trees. 'This is my house', he said, 'these are my monks whose brotherhood you must not forget to seek out tomorrow because it will be most useful to you after you die. Tell the cleric who speaks to the people about the relics this on my behalf, that unless he curbs his licentiousness and frivolity, within a year he will suffer shameful retribution for his disobedience.' So, when morning came, this faithful woman, entrusting herself to the prayers and kindnesses of the monks, revealed one by one all the things that she had seen in her vision. Moreover, she recounted all the confessor's orders to a cleric named Ralph. But, since he paid no attention, within a year he met with a great and most shameful misfortune, as the confessor had threatened.

Chapter 29

There was also another vision, not dissimilar to this one. When a woman who had received them in her house had attended to them less devoutly than she should have done, St Germanus appeared to her the following night, and asked, with a sharp reproach, why she was not treating his servants and his relics with greater honour. And he ordered that on the next day she should go to them, wherever they might be in that region, and, anticipating their needs with devout acts of service, make up for her former neglect by rendering appropriate amends. That same woman, when she was a young girl, had stoutly

esset iuencula strolide fecerat, quod obliuioni tradens omnimodo negligenter uiolauerat. Quod ei beatus Germanus ad memoriam reducens, cui, quando, et ubi, hoc fecerat, manifeste decla(tr)auit,⁴ et ut tanti reatus excessum humili satageret confessione corrigere diligenter ammonuit. Que omnia complens illa cum summa diligentia precibus et orationibus in crastino se monachorum humiliter et deuote commisit.

XXX

Febrium adeo canonicus quidam quartano²²⁶ uexabatur incommodo, ut nullius adiutorio medicine ualens liberari, sub mortis discrimine plus desperatione quam morbo tabesceret. Hic ante feretrum cum summe deuotionis reuerentia ueniens et auxilium piissimi Germani cum magna contritione cordis implorans, hausta qua relique Iote fuerant aqua benedicta, omni ualetudinis calamitate depulsa, | pristinæ restitutus est sospitati.²²⁷

XXXI

Apud Donwicum²²⁸ muliercula quedam fuerat que quindecim annis ut aiebat ualetudine tanta laborauerat, ut nunquam progredi sine duorum baculorum sustentatione ualeret. Hec cum eo feretrum adueniret, cum ceteris et ipsa sicut ualebat occurrit, et in ecclesiam sancti Iohannis ubi stationem acceperat est²⁹ deuotissime prosecuta, cumque piissimi presulis Germani clementiam diutius implorasset, turba plebium discedente, domicilium et ipsa repetiit. Mane facto tantum sibi uirtutis accessisse pensauit, ut unus ei baculi sustentatio bene sufficeret. Venit ad ecclesiam, fecit quod potuit, dedit quod habuit, fragmen panis ad feretrum optulit matrona fideiis. Monachus

⁴ declauit; declarauit *Labbe*

XXXI 'om. *Labbe*

²²⁶ A fever or ague occurring every fourth day.

²²⁷ This chapter may be based on Heiric, *Miracula*, i, 5 (Dura, ii, 142; *PL*, cxxiv, 1234; 'Beatus ipsius basilicæ clericus, quotidiana iniquitudine acriter fatigans, diuinas per beatum Germanum medicinas expecti; seque repente irrequieta molestia exemplum sensit.' There are also resemblances to Simon of Dunham, *Capitula de miraculis . . . sancti Cuthberti*, in *Symonis monachi opera omnia*, ii, 347-8.

²²⁸ The identification of this place name poses some difficulty. The form suggests Dunwich in Suffolk. Occurring as 'Donewic' in Domesday Book, Dunwich was a prosperous place in the 11th c., with a possible population of around 1000 in 1066. There were a

made a firm confession of faith but she had consigned it completely to oblivion and had carelessly dishonoured it. Blessed Germanus brought it back into her memory. He explained quite clearly to whom, when, and where, she had made it, and warned her to exert herself diligently to set right the aberration of such a great offence by humble confession. She, fulfilling all these things with the greatest care, the following day entrusted herself humbly and devoutly to the prayers and intercessions of the monks.

Chapter 30

A certain canon was suffering the malady of quartan fever²²⁶ to such an extent that, being unable to be freed from it by the help of any medicine, he was wasting away under the threat of death, more from despair than from the disease itself. This man approached the feretory with very great reverence and devotion and implored the help of the most holy Germanus with great grief in his heart. Then, after he had drained down the blessed water in which the relics had been washed, all the harm caused by illness was utterly driven out and he was restored to his former health.²²⁷

Chapter 31

There was a poor little woman at Dunwich²²⁸ who, as they said, had for fifteen years suffered with such great ill health that she could never walk without the support of two crutches. When the feretory arrived in that place, she went along with other people to meet it, as best she could, and she followed it most devoutly to the church of St John, where it had been allocated a resting place. After she had implored the mercy of the most holy bishop Germanus for a long time, the throng of people dispersed and she also went home. When morning came, she sensed that so much strength had been granted to her that the support of one crutch was easily enough for her. The faithful woman came to the church, she did what she could, she gave what she had, and she offered a piece of bread at the feretory.

number of churches in Dunwich, all given by Robert Malet to Eye Priory. The church of St John was the leading church until the foundation of St Nicholas in the early 12th c. The few details that are given here are consistent with Dunwich. Against this interpretation is the distance from Selby to Dunwich, and the absence of any other recorded connection with the Suffolk town. On Dunwich see Comfort, *The Last City of Dunwich*.

cum rem gestam cognouisset, 'Spem', inquit, 'habeto bonam in sancti Germani clementia. Cras presens aderis, tibi que salutiferam de aqua benedicta conferam potionem.' Annuit mulier, in crastino uenit sine baculo, tantam se uirtutem et incolunitatem habere protestans, quanta se nunquam a nativitate meminit habuisse, sicque poculum salutare degustans, Germani piissimi meritis perfectum sue ualitudinis meruit retinere remedium.

XXXII

Affuit ante feretrum die crastina non inferioris fidei femina, filiarum quattuor adherentium sibi circumcincta processu.²²⁹ Aderat quintus puer masculus 'quasi quinquennis' a nativitate lacrimabili contractionis dampnatus | incomodo. Contractis siquidem et conflexis nervis in poplite, pedis unius et gressum et motum perdidit. Pro illius supplicature salute candelas habentes in manibus mater et sorores aduenerant. Cumque pro paruuli sanitate diutius exorassent, accessit mater ad monachum, et ut cum reliquiis genu pueri languidum tangeret, cum lacrimis postulauit. Quod frater annuens atreptis reliquiis super infantis genu posuit, psalmum quinquagesimum²³⁰ cum precibus et collecta decantans. Puer protinus in lacrimis et clamore prorumpens angustari cepit, ac si totius curvis incisionem pateretur, extendentes se nervi ceperunt crepere, ueluti si corrigias quasdam aliquis ibi fregisset. Sicque sanctorum meritis quorum ibi reliquie ferebantur, mater tristitie, puer infirmitatis miseria liberati, domum cum summo gaudio redierunt.

XXXIII

Ecclesiam quandam ut ibi cum feretro pernoctarent intrare uolentes hostium inuenerunt seris artatum. Clauem monachus allaturus domum sacerdotis expetiit. Quo cum peruenisset sororem presbiteri tanta reperit infirmitate grauari, ut mori² proxima deberet ad munimen exitus crismatis unctione liniti. Occupauerat adeo totam familiam fletus et gemitus, ut uix de negotio uel breue responsum ab eis monachus

XXXII ~~~~~ quinque annis *Labbe*

XXXIII * nocte *Labbe*

²²⁹ The source for this appears to be Bede, *HE*, i. 21: see above, pp. lxxxv-vi.

²³⁰ Ps. 50 (51), beginning 'Misereere mei, Deus, secundum magnum misericordiam tuam', is one of the Penitential Psalms.

A monk, when he realized what had been done, said, 'Have good hope of the mercy of St Germanus. Come here tomorrow and I will give you a health-restoring drink from the blessed water.' The woman agreed, and came the next day without a crutch, declaring that she was in such a good state of strength and health as she never remembered having enjoyed since the day of her birth, and so, drinking the cup of health, she succeeded in maintaining a complete cure through the merits of the most holy Germanus.

Chapter 32

The following day there was before the feretory a woman of no less faith, who had come surrounded in procession by her four daughters. Her fifth child, a son of about 5 years old, was there and he had suffered from his birth the lamentable affliction of lameness.²²⁹ With his sinews of his knee shrunk and twisted, he had lost the power of walking and movement in one foot. His mother and sisters had come holding candles in their hands to pray for his recovery. When they had interceded for a long time for the health of the little boy the mother came up to a monk and asked him with tears if he would touch the boy's weak knee with the relics. The brother agreed and, taking the relics, placed them on the child's knee, singing Psalm 50,²³⁰ with prayers and with the collect. The boy, at once breaking into tears and cries, began to be afflicted as if he were suffering his whole leg being cut, and his sinews stretched and began to crack as if someone were breaking straps there. And so, by the merits of the saints whose relics were borne there, the mother was freed from her sadness, and the boy from the misery of his illness, and they went home with great joy.

Chapter 33

Wishing to enter a certain church where they might spend the night with the feretory they found the door made fast with locks. A monk sought the house of the priest to fetch a key. When he arrived he found the sister of the priest suffering from such a sickness that, her death being near, she needed to be anointed with the unction of christm to fortify her for the end. Weeping and groaning so possessed the entire family that the monk was scarcely able to extract even a brief response from them about the matter. Then,

extorquere ualeret. Tunc salutare consilium illis impertiens, 'Quid', inquit, 'uos ipsos lacrimis infirmam clamore confunditis? Candelam illi²³¹ facite, que hac nocte reliquiarum nostrarum | honori deseruiat. Et credo quia si fides uestra non obuiat, cito circa eam diuine uidebitis operationis indicium.' Et factum est. Mater pro filia nocte cum candela sanctuariis uigilias deuotas exsoluit. Mane facto, tanto se lenamine perfusam sensit egrota, ut e lecto prosiliens amicorum manibus sustentata ueniret ad ecclesiam, ubi cum missas audiens, et orationibus insistens, ad horam usque nonam feretro ministrasset excubias, diuina copiosius meliorata uirtute, domum repedaui nullius indigens sustentationis auxilio. Hinc ad ea que hoc nostro tempore fieri uidimus enucleanda procedat oratio.²³²

XXXIII

Anno ut arbitror ab incarnatione Domini millesimo centesimo sexagesimo^o septimo, qui est^d annus septimus Abbatis Gileberti, languidus quidam, Ketellus nomine, ab amicis in carro Selebiam deductus de^e uillula que Gaiteford²³³ dicitur ad sancti presulis Germani sollemnitatem descendit.²³⁴ Nocte festiuitatis in ecclesiam delatus a suis inter chororum et altare cum luminari deponitur. Tunc sicut mos est^d languidis ante curationem uehementius cepit urgeri, tantoque durius languore uexari, quanto saluationis illius uelocius imminabat et tempus et hora. Instituit sane tam miserabilibus uocibus tam lacrimosis gemitibus tam planctuosus suspiriis, ut nos omnes, qui in choro fuimus, sui doloris compassione plurimum permoueretur. Circa secundum nocturnum²³⁵ membra sua uiscerique tanta sensit commotione | turbati, ac si omnia eius interiora quadam reuolutione uersarentur. Nausea subinde diu multumque laborans, sanitatis sibi tandem appropinquante remedio, quod pectus suum infecerat ualetudinis uirtus euomuit. Sicque paulisper sumpto sopore

XXXXIII^a seagesimo with x interlined and position indicated
 Labbe^a om. Labbe^a om. Labbe^a in

²³¹ 'illu' is a form of 'illuc': 'over there', that is, in the church.

²³² In his prologue the monk-author gives his age as 22 at the time of writing (1174), so his date of birth would have been 1152. The next miracle is dated to 1167, when he would have been 15.

²³³ Gateforth lies in the parish of Brayton, which formed part of the estates of the archbishop of York in the early 11th c. (see above, pp. xxiv, 42 n. 64). It lies about four miles west south-west of Selby.

imparting salutary advice to them, he said, 'Why are you upsetting yourselves with tears and the sick woman with uproar? Put a candle over there,²³¹ which for this night will serve to the honour of our relics. And I believe that, if your faith does not hinder it, soon you will see around it a sign of divine power.' And this was done. The mother kept devout vigil for her daughter that night beside the shrine. In the morning the sick woman felt herself flooded with such great solace that, getting up from her bed and supported by the hands of her friends, she came to the church. After she had kept vigil herself there before the feretory until the ninth hour, hearing masses and devoting herself to prayers, she walked home without relying on any assistance or support, fully cured by divine power. Henceforth, the narrative proceeds to lay bare those matters which we have seen performed in our own time.²³²

Chapter 34

In the year of Our Lord's incarnation—as I think—1167, which is the seventh year of Abbot Gilbert, a certain sick man, Ketil by name, carried by his friends in a cart to Selby from the village called Gateforth,²³³ had come down for the feast of St Germanus.²³⁴ On the night of the feast day he was carried into the church by his friends and laid between the choir and the altar with a lamp. Then, as usually happens to sick people before they are cured, he began to be even more grievously afflicted, and to be the more greatly troubled by weakness the more quickly the time and the hour of his deliverance was drawing near. Indeed, the man started up with such wretched cries, and such dolorous groans, and such grievous sighs, that he moved all of us who were in the choir very much to compassion for his suffering. Around the second nocturn²³⁵ he felt his limbs and his entrails shaken by such great agitation as if all his insides were being stirred about by some sort of churning. Then he suffered long and severe bouts of sickness, as at last the healing of his ailment approached, and he spewed forth the thing which had infected his breast, the poison of his illness. When he awoke from the sleep he had

²³⁴ The feasts of St Germanus were celebrated on 31 July and 1 Oct. See above, p. xxii.

²³⁵ Nocturns consisted of two or, on Sundays and greater feasts, three divisions: see RB, chs. 8–11, and *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, ed. Knowles and Brooke, pp. xxi, 16, 42–3, 58–9, etc.

cum euigilasset, infirmitatis exclusa molestia perfecte salutis sibi diuina uirtute sensit^f accessisse subsidium. Surgens ergo protinus et oblationem suam faciens, nemini quicquam de sue recuperatione salutis ostendens, domum pedetentim reuersus est.^f Nec tamen celari res potuit, que celari non debuit. ⁴Ad nostrum omnium noticiam sine dilatione peruenit.^f Mittitur ergo locius consultu capituli fidelis frater, qui rei mirabilis euentum approbet, modum exquirat, ueritatem exploret, qui ad predictum pagum ueniens loci seniores in ecclesiam conuocauit. Statuitur in medio qui sanatus fuerat, de salutis sue recuperatione conuenitur. Tunc ille, 'Ego', inquit, 'domine, per hos quinque annos sicut presentes omnes nouerunt, tanto languore grauatus sum, ut nunquam ad opus aliquod manus ualere extendere, nunquam quem non cicius euomerem cibum aliquem sumere, nunquam uel ad ecclesiam progredi sine aliorum adiutorio preuolarem'. Cumque cum uxore sua omnes qui presentes fuerunt unius acclamationis sententia hoc se uidisse, sic se rem habere testarentur. Adiecit ille, 'Huiuscemodi ergo, domine, dampnatus incommode plurima sanctorum loca uisitauit, sed semper deterioratus ex labore itineris infirmior | redi quam exiui. Infortunio tanto tabescens, non exire, non progredi, ultra disposui. Cumque propositum istud bene tenerem, apparuit michi nocte quadam uir pulcherrimus, dicens se esse sanctum Germanum. Et cum obnixius illum pro salute mea deprecarer: "Ad ecclesiam", inquit, "meam in festiuitatis mee sollempnio uenies, si ab hac qua laboras molestia cupis liberari." Veni sicut iusserat, et ab infirmitate, Dei gratia, sicut cernitis, liberatus sum.' Reductus ergo a monacho, et in foro uenialium die dominica populo demonstratus, ecclesie sancte representatur incolumis. Solempni eum processione suscepimus, et 'Te Deum'⁴ laudamus,²³⁶ quanta ualimus deuotione cantantes, nomen Domini benediximus, cui est honor et gloria in secula seculorum. Amen.

XXXV

In crastino festiuitatis nostri pontificis beati Petri apostolorum principis sollempnitatem que ad uincula²³⁷ nominatur, per orbem

^f sensit with ^r dotted for deletion
⁴ Dominum *Labbe*

^f om. *Labbe*

^f om. *Labbe*

²³⁶ The 'Te Deum', which is associated with St Ambrose, is traditionally a song or hymn of thanksgiving. See, for instance, RB, ch. 11, for its occurrence in the Benedictine liturgy.

snatched for a short while, he felt that the scourge of his sickness had been expelled and the relief of perfect health had come to him by divine power. And so getting up straight away and making his offering, showing no one any sign of his restoration to health, he went home cautiously. However, the matter could not be kept quiet, and indeed should not have been. It came to the attention of all of us without delay so, on the advice of the whole chapter, a faithful brother was sent forth to confirm the incident, enquire into how it had happened, and investigate the truth. When he came to the region I mentioned he summoned the elders of the place into church. The one who was cured was ordered into their midst and examined about the recovery of his health. Then he replied: 'I, lord, for these five years—as all those who are here now know—have been troubled by such a weakness that I have never been able to put my hand to any work, never been able to eat any food that I did not quickly vomit up, nor ever been able to go to church without the help of others.' All those who were there, along with his wife, bore witness, with the judgement of one shout of approval, that they had seen this, that this was true. The man added: 'In this way, lord, being damned by this illness, I have visited many shrines of saints, but always, weakened by this illness, I came back more sick than when I set out. Wasting away with such an affliction, I further decided not to go out, not to set forth. I would have held fast to this decision, but there appeared to me one night a very handsome man, who told me that he was St Germanus. And when I, being infirm, entreated him to heal me, he said: "Come to my church on the solemn day of my feast if you wish to be freed from that affliction under which you suffer." I came as ordered and—thanks be to God!—I was, as you see, freed from my illness.' So he was led away by the monk and shown to the people in the marketplace on Sunday, and he was presented safe and sound before the holy church. We took him in a solemn procession singing 'Te Deum laudamus'²³⁶ with as much devout feeling as we could; we blessed the name of the Lord, to whom be honour and glory, world without end, Amen.

Chapter 35

On the morrow of the feast of our pontiff, blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, which is called 'ad uincula',²³⁷ the whole church celebrates

²³⁷ The feast of St Peter ad Vincula was celebrated on 1 Aug.

celebrat universalis ecclesia. Qua die ioculatores qui ad festiuitatem nostram conueniunt, cereum festiuium ad uesperas solent offerre. Quod cum in anno prenotato cum histriionum et saltatricum²³⁸ lasciuia iactantia universo eos uulgo prosequente fecissent, monachi cuiusdam famulum, qui ad festiuitatem uenerat, infra ecclesiam demonium arripuit, et in terram proiecit. Tanta protinus miser est uexatus insania tanto furore repletus, ut si sineretur semetipsum suis dentibus mordicus dicerisset. Verum asanum | populiurum ui et uirtute cohibitus, cum manibus diutius teneri bene non posset, quodam est extensus et ligatus in asserem. Coram altari deponitur, beati Germani clemente commendatur. Fimbriis usquequaque ligatus cum sic coartaretur, ut nullum in eo membrum moueri potuisset, rotantibus et toruis²³⁹ aspectibus furbundis et indefessis uocibus, barbaris et inauditis sermonibus suam insaniam propalabat. Cum igitur eum fratres tam uehementer sine cessatione uexari conspicerent, eius miserie condolentes in aliquo misericordie opere subuenire satagebant. Orationem siquidem pro eo facientes sudarium²⁴⁰ sancti presulis nostri Germani super caput eius, super pectus autem phylacterium, carnem sancte uirginis Agathe cum ceteris reliquiis continens posuerunt. Inter tam sancta sanctuaria perfidus inuasor malignus hostis artatus quo fugeret quo se uerteret non habebat. Hoc unum sibi possibile repperit ut inuasum hominem delinquentis sanctuariorum presentiam repentino deuitaret elapsu. Fedas igitur et fetore plenas post se semitas delinquentis, per os iacentis uomitu electus exiit. Sicque sanctorum meritis homo liberatus, omnem in momento uultus et animi ferocitatem abiecit, et uelut agnus mansuetissimus caput declinans, oculorum palpebras in soporem deflexit. In sequenti die post misse maioris²³⁹ euangelium sanum illum et incolorem cum signorum pulsatione, et festiui 'Te Deum' laudamus²⁴⁰ suscepimus, Dominum, in donis suis, et Germanum | sanctissimum in omnibus operibus suis benedictentes, qui de ecclesia sua curam se habere maximam tot uirtutum et miraculorum signis tam frequenter ostendit.

XXXXV * salutarium *Labbe* * totis *Labbe* * Dominus *Labbe*

²³⁸ The primary meaning of 'sudarium' was a cloth or handkerchief for wiping off perspiration. It was particularly applied to the cloth offered by Veronica to Christ on the road to Calvary, or to any cloth associated with a relic.

throughout the world. On that day, minstrels who come to our festivities are accustomed to offer a festive candle at Vespers. They were doing this in the year noted above, and a whole crowd of pantomime performers was following them with lewd chatter, when a demon seized the servant of a certain monk, who had come for the festival, and threw him to the ground. The wretch was immediately tormented by such madness, filled with such fury, that if he had been allowed he would have torn himself apart by biting himself with his own teeth. Indeed, he was restrained by the strength and force of the people standing around but, when he could no longer be effectively held back by their hands, someone laid him out and bound him on a beam. He was placed in front of the altar and entrusted to the mercy of the blessed Germanus. When he had thus been restrained with ropes on all sides, so that not one of his limbs could be moved, he displayed his madness in rolling and wild looks, furious and tireless cries, and uncouth and unheard of words. Therefore, when the brethren saw that he was so violently troubled without any respite, pitying his wretched state they exerted themselves to help through some act of mercy. So, saying a prayer for him, they placed over his head the sudary²³⁸ of our holy bishop, Germanus, and on his breast a phylactery containing the flesh of the holy virgin Agatha, with other relics. Among these holy relics the wicked invader, shut up within the doors, did not know whither he might flee or turn. He discovered only this one possible way out—that he should leave the man he had possessed and get away from the presence of the holy relics by swift escape. And so, leaving behind him trails which were foul and full of noisome stench, he leapt forth from the mouth of the man who was lying there, spewed forth in vomit. Then the man, freed by the merits of the saints, cast away in a moment all the savagery of his countenance and spirit, and, bowing his head like the most gentle of lambs, he lowered his eyelids in sleep. The following day after the gospel of High Mass²³⁹ we took up that man, healthy and whole, with the ringing of bells and a festive 'Te Deum Laudamus',²⁴⁰ praising God in his gifts and the most holy Germanus in all his works, who so often and with such signs of power and miracles shows that he has the greatest care for his church.

²³⁹ On 'missa maioris', the High Mass, see Mantello and Rigg, eds., *Medieval Latin*, p. 165.

²⁴⁰ See above, II. 236.

XXXVI

Rusticus quidam in provincia que Elmete²⁴¹ dicitur anno subsequenti²⁴² fuerat, qui reuerentia^a sancti confessoris oblita^b ipsa festiuitatis sue die ortum operaturus intrauerat. Verum tante tamque reuerende sollempnitatis die non diutius operando uiolare permisus, reatum quem ex tali presumptione contraxerat, mox indice repente cognouit. Cum namque tota uirtute terram effoderet, adhesit repente tam firmiter manibus suis uanga quam tenuit, ut nullo modo illis excuti posset uel auferri. Nec antea meruit ab huiusmodi dampnationis uinculo liberari, quam sacerdoti reatum confessus, noti se etiam promissione constringeret, quod ecclesiam sancti Germani cum oblatione sua requireret, et semper de reliquo, quamdiu uiueret, diem illam sollempniter celebraret. Tunc demum clementissimi Germani clementia liberatus, Selebiam cum oblatione sua perueniens, et satisfactionem ex offensa faciens, discrimen quod temere incurerat, et feliciter euaserat, nobis exposuit.

XXXVII

Nec pretereundum quod non solum apud nos uerum etiam omnibus in locis ubicunque presulem nostrum tribulatus aliquis innocauerit et ecclesiam suam expetere se fidei mente promiserit, uotorum suorum optatum consequi meretur effectum. Hoc nautarum et naufragorum ereptione sepe didicimus, hoc infirmantium et male habentium saluacione frequenter experti sumus. Et hoc quidem multo sepius solet accidere quam ut exemplis indigeat approbari. Homo quidam antequam liber calce claudatur, referatur exemplum. Homo quidam ex pago qui Dunigton²⁴³ dicitur, in nemore die quadam infra octauas sancti Germani laboraturus exierat. Cumque cibum quem secum attulerat sine potu sumpsisset tantam pre ardore solis nimio et laboris instantia sitim incurrit, ut nisi citius aliquid potus sedaretur exhaustu, animam exalare putaret.^a Aquam igitur diu multumque querens nec usui aptam inueniens, pluuialem et putentem^b tandem

XXXVI ^a reuerentiam *Labbe* ^b obliuiscens *Labbe*
XXXVII ^a putares *Labbe* ^b putentem *Labbe*

²⁴¹ Elmet was the name of the ancient British kingdom annexed by King Edwin of Northumbria in 617. The name survives in the place names of Barwick in Elmet and Sherburn in Elmet, though in the Middle Ages it was affixed to several other place names. Faull notes that the kingdom would have fallen within the boundaries of the post-1974

Chapter 36

There was a certain countryman in the province called Elmet²⁴¹ who, in the following year,²⁴² forgetting the reverence due to the holy confessor, on the very day of his feast entered a garden to work. But soon, no longer allowed to commit an outrage by working on the day of so great and so venerable a feast, he recognized the offence which he had committed by such great presumption, by the punishment which marked it out. For, as he was digging the ground with all his might, suddenly the spade which he was holding stuck so firmly to his hands that it could in no way be shaken off or taken away from them. Nor did he succeed in being freed from the bond of this condemnation until he confessed his crime to a priest, and furthermore bound himself with a pledge and a vow that he would seek out the church of St Germanus with his offering, and that thenceforth, as long as he lived, he would celebrate that day reverently. Then at last, freed by the mercy of the most merciful Germanus, reaching Selby with his offering and making amends for his offence, he told us of the danger into which he had rashly run and from which he had luckily escaped.

Chapter 37

I must not pass over how, not only here among us but also in other places, wherever anyone in trouble calls on our bishop and promises with a faithful mind to seek out his church, he obtains the fulfilment of his prayers that he longs for. We have learnt this often from the rescue of sailors and shipwrecks. We have experienced it frequently in the salvation of sick people and those suffering harm. And this is accustomed to happen much more often than needs to be demonstrated by examples. But this one further story must be told before the book is firmly closed. A man from the district called Dunnington²⁴³ went out to work in the woods on a certain day within the octaves of St Germanus. Since he had eaten the food which he had brought with him without a drink, he experienced such a great thirst because of the excessive heat of the sun and his constant work that he thought that unless he was quickly soothed by a draught of some

counties of West and South Yorkshire. See Faull and Moorhouse, *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500*, i, 171.

²⁴³ Dunnington lies approximately four miles east of York and twelve miles north-east of Selby.

reperit et assumpsit. Quam incredibili audiatore absorbens potius quam ebibens, cum infelici poculo infeliciorem deglutit et pestem. Mox siquidem ut potauerat tanta cepit inflatione grossescere, ut antequam domum pervenire valeret, per omnes eius artus se tumor letalis effudisset. Itaque collocatus in lectulo, cum per momenta singula tumor cum languore succresceret, spe omni salutis exclusa in moribundi sensibus future tamen mortis regnabat imago. In tanta tribulatione laborantem consolantes vicini frequenter accurrunt. Cum ceteris ad infirmum intravit quedam matrona fidelis, que uidens infirmum ualitudine tanta tabescere, 'O', inquit, 'fili karissime, si aliquam in sanctum Germanum fidem concipiens, illum te requisitum cum tua oblatione fidei mente promittens, credo quod illius merito cito reciperes sanitatem. Ad illius festiuitatem descenderam, | et tot ibi languidos sue salutis uidi recuperare medelam, ut difficile crediderim aliquem in eum spem bonam habentem, sui uoti non citius effectum promereri.' Hiis languidus in deuotionis arce leuatus, uotum uouens se sancti Germani menia si conualeret, expetiturum cum oblatione promisit. Lichino demum se metiens, antequam hora preterit, diuino quodam melioratus antidoto, uomitu totum quod eum intecerat uirus eiecit. Sicque peste ualitudinis tocus elicta infra diem tercium pristine restitutus est⁴ sospitatus. Votum suum deinde persoluens, ad ecclesiam nostram usque peruenit, et que circa se facta fuerant nobis seriatim exposuit. Actum est autem hoc anno incarnati Verbi Dei millesimo centesimo septuagesimo quarto, foundationis ecclesie nostre centesimo sexto, Abbatibus Gileberti²⁴ decimo quarto, quo etiam anno hec scribere aggressi sumus, preueniente et prosequente studium nostrum, gratia Dei, qui uiuit et regnat trinus et unus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

⁴ concurrentunt *Labbe*⁴ om. *Labbe*

drink he would give up the ghost. And so for a long time he sought water but could not find any suitable to drink. At last he found and drank some fetid rain water. Gulping it with great greed rather than drinking it, he swallowed down with that wretched drink an even more wretched plague. As soon as he had drunk it he began to puff up with such great distension that before he could reach home, a deadly swelling spread through all his joints. Placed on his bed, as, moment by moment both the swelling and the sickness grew, all hope of recovery was abandoned and the likeness of death that was to come prevailed in all the senses of the dying man. His neighbours hurried often to offer comfort to him as he lay suffering such great tribulation. A certain faithful lady came in to the sick man with the rest, and when she saw him growing weak, sick with such a serious illness, she said: 'Oh most dear son, if you have any trust in St Germanus, and promise him with a faithful mind that you will seek him out with your offering, I believe that, by the merit of that man, you will quickly recover your health. I had gone down for his feast day, and there I saw so many sick people receive healing and recover their health that I find it difficult to believe that anyone who has good hope in him will not quickly obtain the granting of his wish.' At these words, the sick man raised up on the pinnacle of piety, made a vow and promised that if he recovered he would seek out the walls of St Germanus with an offering. Before the hour had passed, recovering by some divine antidote, he vomited out all the poison that had infected him. And thus, within three days, with the plague of his illness entirely expelled, he was restored to his former health. Then, fulfilling his vow, he came to our church and recounted, one after the other, all the things that had happened to him. This happened in the year of the Word of God made Incarnate eleven hundred and seventy four, one hundred and six years after the foundation of our church, and in the fourteenth year of Abbot Gilbert,²⁴ in which year we set out to write down these things, with our endeavour being preceded and accompanied by the grace of God, who lives and reigns three and one, world without end. Amen.

²⁴ Abbot Gilbert de Vere (c.1161-83), on whom see above, pp. 161-vii.