

*Priiilegium Sancti Telioui and Breint Teilo*

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An inserted leaf in the Book of Llandaff, *Liber Landavensis* (Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales 17110E, fol. 63), copied by the main scribe of the manuscript, contains the earliest surviving copies of the Latin *Priiilegium Sancti Telioui* (fol. 63ra1–b3) and the Old Welsh *Breint Teilo* (fol. 63va8–b26).<sup>1</sup> Between them in the manuscript is a papal privilege, *Statutum est ... pacis inueniant* (fol. 63rb4–63va7) which seems to act as an appendix to the *Priiilegium* (see Plates 1 and 2); the gap left after *Breint Teilo* was subsequently filled in the fifteenth century by a bull of excommunication. What follows is the text of fol. 63 as printed in Evans and Rhŷs (my translation is in Appendix 1 (pp. \*\*-\*-\*)):<sup>2</sup>

[63ra1; Evans and Rhŷs 1893: 118.11–121.6] *Priiilegium sancti Telioui est & ecclesie sue landauię . datum sibi & omnibus successoribus suis inperpetuo aregibus istis et principibus britannię confirmatum apostolica auctoritate cum omnibus legibus suis in se plenariis sibi & terris suis libera ab omni regali seruitio . sine consule . sine proconsule . sine conuentu intus nec extra . sine expeditione . sine uigilanda regione . & cum omni iustitia sua . Defure et furto. Derapina . dehomicidio . de arsione . derixa . desanguine . derefugio uiolato ubique in terra sancti . de assaltu uiarum et extra uias . de faciendo iudicio et patiendo . de omni populo sancti teliaui incuria landauię . de communione aque et herbe . campi et silue populo ecclesie sancti teliaui cum mercato et moneta in landauiā, cum applicatione nauium ubique per terras sancti teliaui libera pro regibus et omnibus nisi ecclesie landauię et episcopis eius . Deopprobrio & omni iniuria quod rex morcanhuc et sui homines fecerint episcopo sancti teliaui et suis hominibus idem rex morcanhuc . et sui homines rectum faciant episcopo et suis hominibus . & iudicium patiantur incuria landauię. [63rb1] Omnis lex que fuerit regali; omnis etiam et in curia plenarie episcopali landauiensi.*

*Statutum est enim apostolica auctoritate istius ecclesie priiilegium ut cum sua dignitate ab omni secularis seruitii grauamine libera inposterum maneat & quieta . Quecunque uero concessione pontificum . liberalitate principum . oblatione fidelium . uel aliis iustis modis eidem pertinebunt, ei firma in posterum & integra conseruentur . Quecunque preterea infuturum largiente deo iuste atque canonicè poterit adipisci . quieta ei semper et illibata*

<sup>1</sup> The texts are printed in Evans and Rhŷs (1893: 118–21, with very useful, but frequently neglected, notes on 349–50); an earlier edition, not based on NLW 17110E, but on later transcripts, is Rees (1840: 111–14 (text), 355–8 (translation)); for a full study of the manuscript, see Huws (2000). Versions of this paper have been presented in whole or in part to audiences at the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies in Dublin in June 2014, to Seminar Cyfraith Hywel in Aberystwyth in September 2014, and to the workshop on Datblygiad yr Iaith Gymraeg (funded by the British Academy) at the British Academy in May 2015. I am grateful to participants at all of these events for their helpful comments and suggestions. Thanks are also due to Wendy Davies, John Reuben Davies, Charlene Eska, John Koch, and Simon Rodway, and Myriah Williams for reading and commenting on drafts of this paper. This work has benefited from discussions with Maredudd ap Huw at the National Library of Wales and I am grateful to him and the Library for allowing me access to high-resolution images, and also then for granting permission to publish them in this work.

<sup>2</sup> Letters in **bold** are red in the manuscript. The dot over ys has not been reproduced.

*permaneant* . Decretum namque est ut nulli omnino hominum liceat predictam ecclesiam temere perturbare . aut eius possessiones auferre . uel ablatas retinere . minuere . uel temerariis uexationibus fatigare . & omnia ei cum parrochię finibus conseruentur . Siqua igitur infuturum ecclesiastica secularisue persona contra hanc temere uenire temptauerit . secundo tertioe commonita . si non satisfactione congrua emendauerit . potestatis honorisque sui dignitate careat . reamque se diuino iudicio existere . deperpetrata iniquitate cognoscat . & asacratissimo corpore ac sanguine dei *et domini* redemptoris *nostri ihesu christi* aliena fiat . atque in [63va1] extremo examine districtę ultioni subiaceat. Cunctis autem eidem ecclesię ita seruantibus . fiat pax *domini nostri ihesu christi* . quatinus & hic fructum bonę actionis percipiant, *et* apud districtum iudicem, premia ęternę pacis inueniant.

Lymma y cymreith ha bryein eccluyys Teliau o lanntaf arodes breenhined hinn hatouyssocion cymry yntrycyguidaul dy eccluyys teliau hac dir escip oll gueti ef amcytarnedic oaudurdaut papou rumein yholl cyfreith didi hac dy thir . hac di dair. ryd o pop guasanaith breennin bydaul . heb mair . heb cyghellaur . heb cyhoith . dadlma ymeun gulat hac nydieithyr . heb luyd . heb gauayl . heb guylma ycyfreith idi ynhollaul . o leityr o latrat . otreis. odyynyorn ocynluyn hac o losc . Oamryson canguayt ahebguayt . y diruy hay camcul yndi didi yn hollaul . odorri naud ynn lann hac yndieythyr lann . orachot ynn luhyn hac dieithyr luhyn . ocyrch ypopmynnic artir teliau . hay guir . hay braut dy lytu yrecluyys ygundy teliau ynnlantaf . hac ny lys. dufyr ha guell . hac choyt ha mays yncyfrytin dy lytu teliau . cyfnofut habath[63vb1]joriayth ynn lanntaf hac aperua ardir teliau dyr loggou adiscynno nythir ypopmynnic yt uoy . ryd rac breennin aracpaup nam yn dy teliau a\*yeccluyys lantam . ha dy escyp . harmefyl harsarhayt harcam . har ennuet agunech breennhin morcannhuc hay gur hay guas dy escop teliau hac dygur hac dy guas . dyuot breennhin morcannhuc ygundy teliau yn lann taf . dygunethur guir ha cyfreith . hadiguadef braut diam y cam adiconher dyescop teliau ha dy gur ha dyguas . ythir hay dayr dy luyd . dy uuner . Digauayl . ha pop cyfreith auo dy breennin morcannhuc yn lys . oubot oll yn hollaul dyescop teliau ny lys yntou . haybot ynemelldicetic hac yn yscumunetic yr neb aitorro hac aydimanuo ybryeint hunn . hac ef hay plant guety ef . Hynn bendicetic hac ef hay plant ay enrydedocao ybreint hunn hac ay cat\*\*\* AMEN

*Nota quod Sancti teliai magna excommunicationis Sententia quam obtinuit in curia Romana. contra inſasores libertatum et priuilegiorum ecclesie cathedralis landauensis. in die eiusdem more solito anno dominice incarnationis 1410 fuit lecta et promulgata. Et infra breue dierum spacium postea vii<sup>tem</sup> persone detransgressoribus huiusmodi. Instigatione diabolica vexate in demencium furiositate ceciderunt et eorum vita durate sic perseuerauerunt.*<sup>3</sup>

The most important and thorough-going study of these texts was carried out by Wendy Davies some forty or more years ago.<sup>4</sup> She argued that the Old Welsh text fell

<sup>3</sup> The bull of excommunication is printed in Evans and Rhŷs (1893: 350).

<sup>4</sup> W. Davies (1974–6; summarised in 1979: 18–20); this work was part of a series of ground-breaking studies on the Book of Llandaff and its historical context; cf. also W. Davies (1978, 1979 (with the important review by Sims-Williams (1982))). More recent studies include Sims-Williams (1991), John Reuben Davies (1998; 2003); an earlier discussion is Jones (1945–6). For a recent overview, see Charles-Edwards (2013: 245–67). Wendy Davies’s paper (1974–6) remains important and what

into two parts: Part I (63va8–vb3) dated *ca* 1110×1129 and an earlier Part II (63vb4–26) *ca* 950×1090. Furthermore, she claimed that ‘it is quite clear that the Latin is a rendering of the Welsh version, and not vice versa’ (W. Davies 1974–6: 125).

Subsequent discussion has generally focused on the relevance of these privileges to the broader consideration of the creation, development and organization of the Book of Llandaff and its significance for our understanding of the diocese of Llandaff and the history of South Wales in the eleventh and twelfth centuries;<sup>5</sup> for philologists the primary interest has resided in the extent to which the charters may, or may not, have preserved early forms of names and how these might help understanding of the early stages of the Brittonic languages.<sup>6</sup> The Old Welsh of *Breint Teilo* has generally been left to fend for itself as a valuable example of late Old Welsh of the late eleventh or early twelfth century.<sup>7</sup> Since Wendy Davies argued that the Latin was a translation of the Old Welsh version, the dates she proposed apply directly to the Old Welsh text itself. While some have occasionally queried the clear-cut split into two sections, no-one has yet to consider in detail the force of her arguments about the relationship between the Latin and Old Welsh versions of the privilege.<sup>8</sup>

The following discussion sets out in part to do that, but there are other features of this single folio of text which should also claim our attention, since they provide important but neglected evidence for how Old Welsh was read and understood in the later medieval period. The first part of what follows, then, considers the text of *Breint Teilo* both as it is preserved in the manuscript and also as it was copied originally. The second part goes on to examine the relationship between the Old Welsh and Latin versions of the Privilege of Teilo.

### *The super-imposed versions of Breint Teilo*

A comparison of the manuscript text of *Breint Teilo* with that printed in Evans and Rhŷs (1893: 120–1), or by Jones (1945–6: 132–3) or by Wendy Davies (1974–6: 134–6) or more recently by Alexander Falileyev (2008: 123–4) reveals some startling differences and divergences. The notes in Evans and Rhŷs (1893: 349–50) reveal the reasons for these differences: the text has been subject to several stages of erasure and re-working from the twelfth century onwards, though not all of these were noted by Evans and Rhŷs.<sup>9</sup> Since then scholars and students have generally been left to work quite hard to find out that that the text printed in the standard edition is not what is in the manuscript; the text, as most have come to know it, is a reconstruction with many (but not all) of the later changes removed (if not silently, then at least very quietly). To gain a clear sense of what has gone on, we need to start from the text as it is preserved in the manuscript. The following is an exact transcription of the text of

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follows should be regarded as a companion piece. In particular, this paper does not deal in detail with the historical context for which her paper remains indispensable.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, the discussion by J. R. Davies (1998, 2003)

<sup>6</sup> Koch (1985–6); Sims-Williams (1991).

<sup>7</sup> It has been printed recently in Falileyev (2008: 123–34); the text is also discussed briefly in Rodway (2013: 11).

<sup>8</sup> For a gentle query of the bipartite division, see J. R. Davies (2003: 70–1); cf. also Rodway (2013: 11) who is similarly inclined to treat it as a single text; see below pp. \*\*–\*.

<sup>9</sup> The text printed by Jones (1945–6: 132–3) is a curious mixture, accepting some of the later changes and ignoring others, but also incorporating other modernisations which are not in the manuscript.

*Breint Teilo* as it is on the page taking into account all the added diacritics and erasure marks (see Plates 3 and 4 for sample passages):<sup>10</sup>

Fol. 63va8

Lymma ycyvreith ha bryeint  
 eccluys Teliau o lann taf arod  
 es breenhined hinn hatouysso- 10  
 gion cymry yntrycyguidaul  
 y eccluys teliau ac dir escip [‘chwech agored’ symbol, requires  
 Times Cymraeg in system]

oll gŵedi ef amgydarnedic oau-  
 durdaŵt papeu ruuein yholl  
 cyfreith idi ac dy thir. hac 15  
 di dair. ryd o bop guasanaith  
 breennin bydaŵl. heb mair.

heb cyghellaur. heb cyhoith. da  
 dlma ymeŵn gŵlat ac ny die-  
 ithyr. heb luyd. heb gauayl. heb 20  
 gŵylua ycyfreith idi yholla-  
 ul. o leityr o latrat. otreis. o dyn

nyorn ocynluyn ac o losc. oam  
 ryson can uayt ahebguayt. y  
 diruy hay camcul yndi didi yn 25  
 hollaul. odorri naŵd ynn lann  
 ac yn dieythyrlann. o rachot  
 yndi hi hun ac ny dieithyr luhyn.

ocyrch ybop mynnic ar tir teli  
 au. hay gŵyr. hay braŵt dy lytu  
 yrecluys ygŵndy teliau ynnlann 30  
 taf. ac ny lys. dŵfyr a guellt.  
 hae choyt ha mays yn cyfretin  
 dy lytu teliau. cyfnofut habath

fol. 63vb1

or iayth ynn lanntaf hac aperua  
 ar dir teliau yr loggeu a discyn  
 no ny thir ypop mynnic yt vor.  
 ryd rac brennin arac paup namyn  
 y dy teliau a yeggluys lantaf. 5

ha escyp. har mefyl har sarhayt  
 har cam. har ennuet aguneel  
 brennhin morgannhuc hay gŵr  
 hay gŵas y escop teliau hac dygŵr  
 hac dy gŵas. dyuot brennhin mor- 10  
 kannhuc ygŵndy teliau yn lann  
 taf. y unethur guir a cyfre-

<sup>10</sup> Note that what I print here as ŵ was created by adding a short stroke to the top of the first minim of an original *u* ; for example, see Plate 3, l. 6 (*gŵedi*) and l. 6–7 (*audurdaŵt*).

ith. a diguadef braut diam y <i>cam</i>	
adiconher dyescop teliau ha dy	
gur ha dyguas. y thir hay dayr	15
dyluyd. dyuuner. digauayl. ha-	
pop cyfreith auo dy brennin mor-	
cannhuc yn lys. oubot oll yn holl	
laul dyescop teliau ny lys yntou.	
haybot yn melldicetic hac yn-	20
yscumunetic y neb aitorro hac	
aydiminuo y bryeint hōnn. hac	
ef hay plant guety ef. Hynn ben-	
difetic hac ef hay plant ay enry-	
dedocao y breint hōnn hac ay	25
cattŵo	AMEN

No attempt has been made to ‘read through’ deletions and over-writings or to restore erasures but what is printed above simply reproduces the final version of the text as it is preserved in the manuscript. As will be clear from the manuscript images (see Plate 3 and 4), this text is the product of a series of changes to an original text. Evans and Rhŷs (1893: 350) attributed these changes to the person who added the bull of excommunication to the foot of fol. 63vb which contains a date of 1410 – to the ‘bungler who has disfigured and partially destroyed one of the most interesting pages of early Welsh’ (cf. also Huws 2000: 152). Certainly the ink colour of the changes is very similar to, if not the same as, that of the bull. It is worth adding at this stage that the three later copies of the Book of Llandaff which contain *Breint Teilo* were all copied from a version containing these changes: London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C.x, pp. 45.35–46.29 (*ca* 1612; Francis Tate); NLW, Peniarth 275, pp. 76.12–77.8 (*ca* 1658–9; Robert Vaughan); and Oxford, Jesus College 112 (1693×1697), pp. 162.1–163.12 (not a direct transcript).<sup>11</sup> The earliest of these dates from 1612 and so does not help to narrow things down very much. However, the types of changes made and crucially what was not changed suggests a date closer to 1400 than to 1600. Two versions of the text follow: the left-hand column contains the text as printed above but marked up to indicate what has been changed (additions or changes are indicated in bold (for *hs* and *ts* marked in bold, see the discussion below)); words containing erasure are underlined; | marks where word-division is indicated; ¶ marks where a bigger section break is indicated); the right-hand column contains the underlying text with all the changes stripped out (see Plates 3 and 4 for sample passages). The text in the right-hand column is discussed in detail below (pp. \*\*) but is presented here for convenience (anything erased in the left hand column is underlined in the right-hand column).

fol. 63va8

Lymma y cymreith ha bryeint

Lymma y cymreith ha bryein

<sup>11</sup> Other manuscripts containing extracts of the Book of Llandaff but lacking *Breint Teilo* are the following: NLW, Peniarth 281, fol. 163r (1650s; copy of *PT* only); NLW, Peniarth 120, fol. 1–45 (*ca* 1696–7; Lhuyd); NLW, Brogyntyn II.8 (*s.* xvi<sup>2</sup>); NLW, Peniarth 267, pp. 321–31 (1635–41; John Jones); NLW 1982B (Panton 13), fol. 132–133r (copied from Peniarth 120) (*ca* 1758; Evan Evans); Glasgow, Hunter 318, part (v) (U 7. 12), fol. 13v–14v (*s.* xvii<sup>2</sup>; Thomas Price).

eccluys teliau o lann|taf arod  
 es breenhined hinn hatouysso-  
 gion cymry yntrycyguidaul  
 y eccluys teliau ac dir escip  
 oll gbedi ef amgydarnedic o|au-  
 durdaot papeu ruuein y|holl  
 cyfreith idi ac dy thir. hac  
 di dair. ryd o bop|guasanaith  
 breennin bydaol. heb mair.  
 heb cyghellaur. heb cyhoith. da  
 dlma ymeon glat ac ny|die-  
 ithyr. heb luyd. heb gauayl. heb  
gylua y cyfreith idi yholla-  
 ul. o leityr o latrat. otreis. o dyn  
 nyorn ocynlyn ac o losc. oam  
 ryson gan uayt ahebguyt. y  
 diruy hay camcul yndi didi yn  
 hollaul. o dorri naod ynn|llann  
ac yn|dieithyr llann. o|rachot  
 yndi hi hun ac ny dieithyr luhyn.  
 ocyrch ybop|mynnic ar|tir teli  
 au. hay|gyr.<sup>12</sup> hay|braot dy lytu  
 yrecluys yondy teliau ynnlann  
 taf. ac ny lys. dfyf a guellt.  
 hae choyt ha mays yn|cyfretin  
 dy lytu teliau. cyfnofut lhabath

fol. 63vb1

or|iaith ynn|lanntaf || hac aperua  
 ar|dir teliau yr loggeu a|discyn  
 no ny|thir ypop|mynnic yt vor.<sup>13</sup>  
 ryd rac brennin arac|paup namyn<sup>14</sup>  
 y dy teliau a yeggluys lantaf.  
ha escyp. har|mefyl har|sarhayt  
 har|cam. har|eniotiet aguneel  
 brennhin morgannhuc hay gor  
 hay gas y escop teliau hac dygor  
 hac dy gas. dyuot brennhin mor-  
 cannhuc yondy teliau yn lann  
 taf. ly unethur guir a cyfre-  
 ith. a|diguadef braut diam y cam  
 adiconher dyescop teliau ha dy  
 gur ha dyguas. y|thir hay dayr  
 dyluyd. dyuuner. digauayl. ha-

eccluys teliau o lanntaf arod  
 es breenhined hinn hatouysso-  
 cion cymry yntrycyguidaul  
dy eccluys teliau hac dir escip  
 oll gueti ef amcytarnedic oau-  
 durdaut papou rumein yholl  
 cyfreith didi hac dy thir. hac  
 di dair. ryd o popguasanaith  
 breennin bydaul. heb mair.  
 heb cyghellaur. heb cyhoith. da  
 dlma ymeun gulat hac nydie  
 ithyr. heb luyd. heb gauayl. heb  
 guylma ycyfreith idi yholla-  
 ul. o leityr o latrat. otreis. o dyn  
 nyorn ocynluyn hac o losc. Oam  
 ryson canguayt ahebguyt. y  
 diruy hay camcul yndi didi yn  
 hollaul. odorri naud ynn lann  
hac yndieithyr lann. orachot  
 ynn luhyn hac yndieithyr luhyn.  
 ocyrch ypopmynnic artir teli  
 au. hay guir. hay braut dy lytu  
 yrecluys ygundy teliau ynnlan  
 taf. hac ny lys. dufyr ha guell.  
 hae choyt ha mays yncyfrytin  
 dy lytu teliau. cyfnofut habath

fol. 63vb1

oriaith ynn lanntaf hac aperua  
 ardir teliau dyr loggou adiscyn  
 no nythir ypopmynnic yt uoy.  
 ryd rac brennin aracpaup nam  
 yn dy teliau a dyeccluys lantam.  
 ha dy escyp. harmefyl harsarhayt  
 harcam. har ennuet agunech  
 brennhin morcannhuc hay gur  
 hay guas dy escop teliau hac dygur  
 hac dy guas. dyuot brennhin mor-  
 cannhuc ygundy teliau yn lann  
 taf. dygunethur guir ha cyfre-  
 ith. hadiguadef braut diam y cam  
 adiconher dyescop teliau ha dy  
 gur ha dyguas. ythir hay dayr  
 dy luyd. dy uuner. digauayl. ha-

<sup>12</sup> The annotator has assumed that this is the plural of *gwr* ‘man’ rather than *gwir* ‘right’.

<sup>13</sup> The original has *ypopmynnic yt uoy* ‘wherever it may be’, but the context is about the right of extracting harbour-fees from ships landing in the diocese. I take it the annotator was thinking in those terms and has adjusted it to *(h)yt vor* ‘as far as the sea’.

<sup>14</sup> The text originally had *nam/yn*, but the annotator may have thought that *yn* at the beginning of next line was a preposition; he then added the final *-yn* of *namyn* at the end of the line.

pop cyfreith auo dy brennin mor-  
cannhuc yn lys. oubot oll yn holl<sup>15</sup>  
laul dyescop teliau ny lys yntou.  
haybot yn melldicetic hac yn-  
yscumunetic y neb aitorro<sup>16</sup> hac  
aydiminuo y|bryeint h6nn. hac  
ef hay plant guety ef. Hynn<sup>17</sup> ben-  
difetic hac ef hay plant ay|enry-  
dedocao y|breint h6nn hac ay  
catt6o AMEN

20

25

pop cyfreith auo dy brennin mor-  
cannhuc yn lys. oubot oll yn hol-  
laul dyescop teliau ny lys yntou.  
haybot ynemelldicetic hac yn-  
yscumunetic y neb atorro hac  
aydimanuo ybryeint hunn. hac  
ef hay plant guety ef. Hynn ben-  
dicetic hac ef hay plant ay enry-  
dedocao ybreint hunn hac ay-  
catvy AMEN

In most cases it is possible to see what was there originally either because the overwriting or additions were in a different coloured ink or because the letter-forms under erasure are still just visible. The changes can be classified as follows:

(a) changing letters (if there is any ambiguity in the examples, the relevant letter is underlined>):

- *i* → *y*: e.g. *gueti* → *guedy* (63va13), *guir* → *g6yr* (63va30)
- *u* → 6 (by the addition of a stroke to the top of the first minim to convert it into an ascender): e.g. *audurdaut* → *audurda6t* (63va13–14), *bydaul* → *byda6l* (63va17), *meun* → *me6n* (63va19), *guylma* → *g6ylfa* (63va21), *et passim*.
- *y* → *e*: e.g. *cyfrytin* → *cyfretin* (63va33).
- *p* → *b*: e.g. *pop* → *bop* (63va16, 29).
- *m* → *u* (by the deletion of a minim): e.g. *guylma* → *g6ylua* (63va21), *rumein* → *ruuein* (63va14).
- *m* → *f*: e.g. *lantam* → *lantaf* (63vb5).
- *t* → *d*: e.g. *gueti* → *guedy* (63va13), *amcytarnedic* → *amgydarnedic* (63va13).
- *c* → *g*: e.g. *touyssocion* → *touyssogion* (63va10–11), *amcytarnedic* → *amgydarnedic* (63va13), *can* → *gan* (63va24), *morcannhuc* → *morgannhuc* (63vb8).
- *l* → *ll*: e.g. *lann* → *llann* (63va27), *hol* → *holl* (even though the second *l* is on the next line).

(b) changing letter forms:

- *h* (a tail added to the bottom of the second stroke): 63va10 (*bis*), 15, 16, 17, 18 (*ter*), 28, 34 (*bis*).
- *t* (a short stroke added to the top of the descender to raise it above the cross-bar): 63va15 (*bis*), 16, 18, 20, 22 (*ter*), 24 (*bis*), 28, 30, 31, 33, 34 (*ter*), 63vb5, 6, 15, 21, 22, 24.

(c) erasure or addition of letters to modernize forms, e.g.

- *dy* → *y* ‘to’: e.g. *dy eccluys* → *y eccluys* (63va12), *dy gunethur* → *y unethur* (63vb12).
- *didi* → *idi* ‘to it (3sg. fem.)’ (63va15).

<sup>15</sup> The *ll* was split by the line-break and the annotator added another (third) *l* at the end of the line.

<sup>16</sup> The *i* is a superscript addition and, although it is difficult to tell, may be an earlier addition than the other changes as it is in a darker ink and is a well-formed minim.

<sup>17</sup> There is a faint line running through this word as if an attempt was made to delete it. The initial *H* looks as if it has been changed into *K*.

- *ha(c)* → *a(c)* ‘and’: 63va12, 15, 19, 23, 27, 32 (but not found in col. b where *hac* is retained).
- *gunethur* → *unethur* ‘do’ (63vb12).
- *guell* → *guellt* ‘grass, pasture’ (63va32).<sup>18</sup>
- *bryein* → *bryeint* ‘privilege’ (63va8).

(d) modernization of morphology:

- *gunech* → *gōneel* (which seems to be an attempt to change it to *gōnel* (Rodway (2013: 11, n. 31))).
- modernization of the Old Welsh plural ending from *-ou* to *-eu*: *papou* → *papeu* (63ba14), *loggou* → *loggeu* (63vb2).
- *catvy* → *cattŵo*; Evans and Rhŷs (1893) evidently had difficulties with this word and ended up printing *cat\*\*\**; it is clear that the ending was erased and another ending added in the erasure to create *cattŵo* at a later stage. The real question is what was erased. While the manuscript is not very revealing, merely hinting at what lies beneath, the application of image-enhancing techniques has proved very interesting.<sup>19</sup> Plate 5 (a) is what is visible in the manuscript, while Plate 5 (b) is the enhanced version in which the ascender of a *v* and the tail of a *y* are clearly visible. The original reading then was *catvy*. Simon Rodway (2013: 11) has discussed the chronological development of the endings of the 3sg. present subjunctive and shown that the *-(h)wy* ending was gradually replaced by the *-(h)o* ending. Apart from our form, *Breint Teilo* only shows forms in *-(h)o*, *discynno* (63vb), *torro* (63vb), *dimanuo* (63vb), *enrydedocao* (63vb) (none of which show any indication that they have been tampered with), and Rodway (2013: 83) regards it as ‘infuriating’ that this final example is unclear. It is no longer unclear (or infuriating) and provides important evidence for the change from *-(h)wy* to *-(h)o*, and shows that the period when *Breint Teilo* was being written was one of transition.

The cumulative effect of these changes seems to have been to change the language from Old Welsh to a form not incompatible with late Middle Welsh but not obviously to a later form of the language than that. Some forms have not been changed as much as might have been expected; for example, *unethur* as opposed to *wneithur* or *wneuthur*

<sup>18</sup> In addition to this example, cf. *buell* (Evans and Rhŷs 1893: 134.7); the place-name, *Buell* (rhyming with *guell* “better”) is also found in the poem entitled *Mawl Hywel ap Goronwy* “Praise Poem for Hywel ap Goronwy” (Williams and Lynch 1994: I.1.19). On variants with *-t*, cf. *bwyall/bwyallt* “axe,” *deall/deallt* “understand” (cf. especially *dealltwriaeth* “understanding”); they may well have arisen from hyper-correction from cases where the *-llt* is historical.

<sup>19</sup> I am grateful to Myriah Williams for providing me with these images and the following explanation of how they were reached. I am grateful to her for allowing me to reproduce her work here. ‘To obtain this image, the image-editing program GIMP (<http://www.gimp.org/>) was used to edit a high-resolution image of the page as provided by the National Library of Wales. After cropping the image down to the relevant word, the Levels dialogue was opened and the Red, Green and Blue channels were adjusted to maximize the range of colours across the image (the values assigned were: Red, 90/170; Green, 53/156; Blue, 39/133). Next, the Channel Mixer tool was employed to adjust the weights of Red, Green and Blue in the image. Making adjustments in the Red channel, the values were set at Red -117, Green 31.1 and Blue 200. By changing the values of the channels, it was possible to differentiate the underwriting from the background of the page, with the underwriting becoming a green colour while the background of the page took on a reddish hue; the overwriting retained a blacker shade. Finally, the Hue-Saturation Tool was used to decrease the luminosity of green pixels, thereby enhancing the contrast of the underwriting with the background of the page.’

still, despite representing the initial mutations, looks Old Welsh. On the other hand, the spelling of voiced stops with *b*, *d* and *g*, and the modernizing of morphology, especially the use of the later subjunctive forms, all point to later Middle Welsh, but there is no indication of later features. There is, for example, no indication that any attempt was made to spell fricative /ð/ in any other way than with *d*. In that respect we may contrast the changes made by Thomas Wiliems in the late sixteenth century to the text of the law manuscript, NLW, Peniarth 29 (Black Book of Chirk) where he systematically added bars to the *ds* in order to mark them as representing /ð/.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, no attempt was made systematically to change *u* /*v*/ or the like into *f* which might have been expected later in the fifteenth century. All in all, the modernizer seems to have been doing enough to make it comprehensible but no more. A few of the changes are less clear. An attempt seems to have been made to delete *Hynn* (63vb24) with a faint strike-through, but then someone also tried to change *Hynn* into something else, perhaps *Kynn*. None of this is very clear. Similarly, the first *c* of *bendicetic* (63vb24–5) has been changed into what looks like an *f*, but again it is thoroughly unclear what was intended.

In other words, the modified, indeed modernized, text of *Breint Teilo* may arguably reflect what needed to be done to an Old Welsh text in the fifteenth century in order to make it comprehensible: updating plural endings, updating the subjunctive of *gwneuthur*, updating the preposition *di/dy* to *i/y*, and the systematic modernizing of the orthography. There is one change, however, which is different from the rest in that it involves the replacement of a whole phrase: at 63va28 most of the first half of the line was erased (perhaps earlier than the fifteenth century) and over-written by *yndi hi hun ac ny* ‘(in) itself and in ...’; Evans and Rhys (1893: 350) thought that the original text had been *yyn luhyn hac* (on the model of the preceding line), but later overwritten by *yndi hi hun ac ny*. In fact the underlying text was probably *yyn luhyn hac ny*. The rationale for changing the text here seems to be different and has introduced an error (*di hi hun* for *n luhyn h*), while elsewhere the principle is one of modernizing but maintaining the text. It is likely therefore that something else happened to this section of text. One possibility is perhaps it was damaged and had already become partially illegible – hence the misreading. Another possibility is discussed below in the context of the relation between the Welsh and Latin versions of the text.<sup>21</sup>

What then was the purpose of this re-writing? Throughout the manuscript there are numerous passages of Old Welsh; all apart from this one are boundary-clauses and not one of those has been touched.<sup>22</sup> One possibility is that the changes were made in order to be able to read the text of *Breint Teilo* out loud.<sup>23</sup> A possible context is provided precisely by the text appended to it in 63vb27–36, the scribe of which, in the opinion of Evans and Rhys (1893) at least, may have been the annotator of our text. This is a bull of excommunication dated 1410 directed at certain *invasores* ‘usurpers’ of the rights of Teilo, and it states that ... *in die eiusdem more solito anno dominice incarnationis 1410 fuit lecta et promulgata* ‘... on his day in the customary manner in the year of our Lord’s incarnation 1410 it was read and promulgated’. The phrase *in die eiusdem* presumably refers to Teilo’s feast day which is 9 February. If so, it is possible that the annotation was made in order to make it easier for someone to read the text out loud as part of the promulgation of the bull. Both the occasion of

<sup>20</sup> Russell (1995–6: 174, n. 45); in his later manuscripts he also adopted the use of *dh* for /ð/. Wiliems also changed *is* to *ys* in this text.

<sup>21</sup> See p. \*\* below.

<sup>22</sup> For an important discussion of the Old Welsh of the boundary-clauses, see Coe (2004).

<sup>23</sup> I owe this suggestion to Dafydd Johnston.

Teilo's feast day and the promulgation of the bull would make this a plausible event for the privilege of Teilo to be read out loud. However, given that the bull is in the past tense, the date of 9 February 1410 only provides with a *terminus post quem* for the text added at the end of *Breint Teilo*, but a date in the first half of the fifteenth century seems plausible.

To return to our base text: with the subsequent changes to the text removed, we are thus left with the following:<sup>24</sup>

fol. 63va8	
Lymma ycymreith ha bryein <sup>25</sup>	
eccluys teliau o lanntaf arod	
es breenhined hinn hatouyssocion cymry yntrycyguidaul	10
dy eccluys teliau hac dir escip	
oll gueti ef amcytarnedic oaudurdaut papou rumein yholl	
cyfreith didi hac dy thir. hac	15
di dair. ryd o popguasanaith	
breennin bydaul. heb mair.	
heb cyghellaur. heb cyhoith. da	
dlma ymeun gulat hac nydie	
ithyr. <sup>26</sup> heb luyd. heb gauayl. heb	20
guylma ycyfreith idi yhollaul. o leityr o latrat. otreis. o dyn	
nyorn ocynluyn hac o losc. Oam	
ryson canguayt ahebguayt. <sup>27</sup> y	
diruy hay camcul <sup>28</sup> yndi didi yn	25
hollaul. odorri naud ynn lann	
hac yndieithyr lann. orachot	
ynn luhyn hac yndieithyr luhyn. <sup>29</sup>	
ocyrch ypopmynnyc artir teli	
au. hay guir. hay braut dy lytu	30
yrecluys ygundy <sup>30</sup> teliau ynnlan	

<sup>24</sup> For a translation, see below, p. \*\*. I have retained the hyphens where a word is broken across lines as some of them at least are clearly written in the same colour ink as the main text.

<sup>25</sup> The *t* at the end of this word is omitted as it looks like the work of the later annotator and the preceding *n* looks odd too; for discussion, see below, p. \*\*.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. also *ny* in *ny dieithyr* (63va28), *ny lys* (63va32), *ny thir* (63vb3), *ny lys yntou* (63vb19). All these examples, but especially *ny dieithyr* and *ny lys yntou*, make it clear that *ny* is for *yny* 'in his/its' (cf. Falileyev 2003: 126), the *y* being either 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. fem. or masc. It is possible that *ny thir* contains a fem. pronoun marked by the spirant mutation (cf. *hae choyt* (63va33)). The possessives referring to Llandaff can be feminine referring to the *eccluys* or to the *llan* or masculine referring to Teilo himself and/or his succeeding bishops. The strongest indication that *ny* is for *yny* is the fact that the conjunction *ha(c)* 'and', which is usually spelt *ha* before consonants (e.g. *ha bryein* 63va8, *ha touyssocion* 63va10–11) and *hac* before vowels, occurs three times as *hac* before *ny*, *hac ny dieithyr* (63va19–20, 28), *hac ny lys* (63va32) beside one instance of *hac yn dieithyr* (63va27).

<sup>27</sup> There is no indication of an erasure before the initial *a* 'and', and so we have to take this as one of the few examples of *a* (cf. also 63vb4, 5) against the majority in *ha*. Note that the relative particle is regularly spelt *a*.

<sup>28</sup> On *camcul*, see now Falileyev (2003).

<sup>29</sup> This line differs from that printed in Evans and Rhÿs (1893: 120.16) in reading *yn* before *dieithyr*; the later corrector changed *yn* to *ny*. For further discussion on this problematic phrase, see below, p. \*\*.

taf. hac ny lys. dufyr ha guell.  
 hae<sup>31</sup> choyt ha mays yncyfrytin  
 dy lytu teliau. cyfnofut habath

fol. 63vb1  
 oriaith<sup>32</sup> ynn lanntaf hac aperua  
 ardir teliau dyr loggou adiscyn  
 no nythir ypopmynnyc yt uoy.<sup>33</sup>  
 ryd rac brennin aracpaup nam  
 yn dy teliau adyeccluyt lantam. 5  
 ha dy escyp.<sup>34</sup> harmefyl harsarhayt  
 harcam. har ennuet agunech  
 brennhin morcannhuc hay gur  
 hay guas dy escop teliau hac dygur<sup>35</sup>  
 hac dy guas. dyuot brennhin mor 10  
 cannhuc ygundy<sup>36</sup> teliau yn lann  
 taf. dygunethur guir ha cyfre-  
 ith. hadiguadef braut diam y cam  
 adiconher dyescop teliau ha dy  
 gur ha dyguas. ythir hay dayr 15  
 dy luyd. dy uuner. digauayl. ha-  
 pop cyfreith auo dy brennin mor-  
 cannhuc yn lys. oubot oll yn hol-

<sup>30</sup> If we accept Wendy Davies' suggestion that this a compound of *gwyn* 'white' + *ty* 'house' and so referring to Teilo's church (1974–6: 136, n. 6; accepted by Falileyev 2008: 127; discussed by Rodway 2013: 131–2), unacknowledged difficulties remain over the preceding *y*. If it means 'of the church of Teilo's *gundy*' (W. Davies 1974–6: 136, the double use of the article *yr ... y...* is unexpected. One possibility would be to take *ygundy* to be in apposition to *yreccluyt*, thus '... of the church, the "white house", of Teilo'. For the second instance at 63vb11, see n. 35 below. Another possibility (perhaps less likely in that it assumes error) is that *ygundy* is an error for something like *yn hundy* lit. 'in the sleep-house', thus 'in the tomb'.

<sup>31</sup> All other editions read *hac* here, but the manuscript clearly reads *hae*, and was not changed by the annotator. Wendy Davies's suggestion (1975–6: 136, n. 7) that it be translated 'its woods' is strictly correct and reflects the actual reading of the manuscript. Only Falileyev (2008: 127–8) has realized that there is a problem, though he still prints *hac*. It may be an error for *ha*, the expected form before a consonant-initial word, but it is possible to read it as containing the possessive, thus 'and its forest' (i.e. that of the church of Teilo), though the possessive looks out of place here. I suspect that this is an old error but probably not a copying error as we would not expect *-c* with a following consonant; it is more likely that the scribe was misled by the examples of *hay* in the preceding lines (p. \*\* for further discussion).

<sup>32</sup> On these terms, see W. Davies (1974–6: 130)

<sup>33</sup> Cf. the discussion at n. 13. On harbour-dues, see the discussion by W. Davies (1974–6: 13); to the Welsh examples provided by her, we may add the case of Angharad, wife of Gruffudd ap Cynan, who was left *inter alia* the harbour-dues of Abermenai in Gruffudd's will (Russell 2005: § 35/3; Evans 1977: 32.20).

<sup>34</sup> From this point on, the implicit indirect statement of the whole text becomes explicit as the verbal syntax is constructed with verbal nouns, ... *dyuot ... oubot ... dyuot ... haybot*.

<sup>35</sup> Rendered by Wendy Davies (1974–6: 136; cf. 132, n. 3) here and below in the collocation with *guas* as 'men'; but, since *guas* clearly singular, there is no need to assume that *gur* shows an earlier orthographical convention for *guir* 'men' (Rodway 2013: 132, n. 377).

<sup>36</sup> On *gundy*, see n. 30 above; if we follow the usual interpretation, 'white house', the syntax here is problematic: if we suppose that *y* is the preposition, then it is the only example of *y* as opposed to *dy* in the text; if we think this is an example of a preposition-less noun of direction after *dyuot*, we have the same double article as above in 63va31.

laul dyescop teliau ny lys yntou.  
 haybot ynemelldicetic hac yn- 20  
 yscumunetic yr neb atorro hac  
 aydimanuo ybryeint hunn. hac  
 ef hay plant guety ef. Hynn<sup>37</sup> ben-  
 dicetic hac ef hay plant ay enry-  
 dedocao ybreint hunn hac ay- 25  
 catvy<sup>38</sup> AMEN

This is more or less, but not exactly, the text which is usually presented as *Breint Teilo*. Even so, more can be said. The use of *m*, *u* and *f* for /v/ seems to be somewhat haphazard: *cymreith* (63va8) : *cyfreith* (63va21), *lanntaf* (63va9, 31–2, 63vb1, 11–12) : *lantam* (63vb5), *rumein* (63va14), *guylma* (63va21), *aperua* (63vb1), *diguadef* (63vb13), *dy uuner* (63vb16), *dimanuo* (63vb22), *ef* (63vb23, 24). The distribution of the evidence suggests that there was a gradual replacement of *m* /μ, v/ by *f* implying that the version we have of *Breint Teilo* has been updated in this respect. Moreover, there are indications that the text contains several copying errors of a kind suggestive of minim confusion, a simple example being *ennued* (63vb7) for *enniued*. There are also several cases which represent the over-extension of *y* for *i* or *e* (that is, where we would never usually expect to find *y* and which is probably the result of a mechanical replacement of *i* and *e* with *y* in an attempt to modernize the text): *cyfrytin* (63va33) for *cyfretin* (to which it was corrected in the fifteenth century); *amcytarnedic* (63va13) for *amcatarnedic* (containing Old Welsh *catarn* ‘strong’ which is never found as *cytarn*) though this was perhaps aided by a scribe thinking it contained *cyt*- ‘joint-, together’; *gauayl* (63va20, 63vb16), *guayt* (63va24 (*bis*)), and *bathoriayth* (63va34–63vb1) are perhaps suggestive of the extension of *y* into the spelling of the *ae* diphthong.

The forms of *breint* used in this text are problematic: three different spellings are found: *bryein* (63va8), *bryeint* (63vb22), and *breint* (63vb25). The first of these is difficult: the word occurs at the end of the first line of text and the final *n*, to which a *t* seems to have been added, extends into the right margin. Both the second stroke of the *n* and the *t* look like additions perhaps over an erasure. I wonder whether the original had *bryent* or *breent* and the minims of the *n* were separated and another stroke added to create *in* with *t* added at the end. Whatever happened to its form is too uncertain for it to carry any evidential value and any view of these forms will have to rest upon the other two forms, *bryeint* and *breint*, one which seems to contain a conservative, if not archaic, hiatus *-yei-* and the other a simple diphthong. Both occur in the section of text defined by Wendy Davies as Part II. Rodway (2003: 11) rightly treats the forms with caution. It is possible that the original form was something like *breieint* or *brieint*, and the first vowel was modernized to *y*, but in the second the form was simply spelt with the diphthong. Rodway is anyway correct in thinking that forms showing apparent hiatus must be archaizing and the hiatus spelling purely orthographic. In the development of *breint* from *\*brigantī* the hiatus (caused the loss of the intervocalic *-/g/-*) must have collapsed into the diphthong before the *-/nt/-* at the

<sup>37</sup> Most translations (W. Davies 1974–6: 136, and mine below) by implication assume that this is a spelling of the predicative particle *yn* (cf. the examples of *yn* at 63vb20 (*bis*)); this is made explicit by Falileyev (2008: 126–7) who also suggests that, if it is a demonstrative (which seems less likely), it would mean ‘ceux/celui qui est béni, et lui, et ses enfants ...’.

<sup>38</sup> As noted above (p. \*\*), Evans and Rhÿs (1893: 121.6) printed *cat\*\*\**.

end of the second syllable reduced to *-n/* (*/nt/* being consistently preserved in monosyllables); otherwise we would never expect to find *breint* as the standard form.

The possibility that the text of *Breint Teilo* contains archaizing orthography in the form of hiatus forms of *breint* is suggestive. We have already noted the instances of *ny* for *yny* which are in part revealed by the use of the form *hac* ‘and’ before *ny*.<sup>39</sup> Another interesting case is *hac di(...)* and *hac dy(...)*. If *ha* and *hac* were being used as they are in the later language with *-c* before a vowel, the implication is that the preposition *di/dy* */ði/* was already being pronounced as */i/* without the initial dental fricative at least in some cases and thus generating the *hac* form.<sup>40</sup> Such cases provide interesting evidence for a tradition of spelling from which the actual pronunciation has already moved some distance.

In my discussion of the orthography of the Black Book of Carmarthen (NLW Peniarth 1) I made use of the orthography of *Breint Teilo* as a comparandum for the Black Book and took the view that ‘it shows a much fuller and more thorough-going use of *y* for */i/* and */ə/* with *i* being used for */i/*’ (Russell 2009: 171). At that point, I had not sufficiently appreciated the extent to which *Breint Teilo* might have been a product of several stages of copying only the last of which involved replacing *i* and *e* with *y*. If so, one of the main reasons for thinking that the text falls into two parts with different dates of composition begins to look much more fragile. At the very least earlier drafts of *Breint Teilo* may have had far less *y* than the version which has come down to us.

In conclusion, it looks as if the base version of *Breint Teilo* preserved in the Book of Llandaff has not only been subsequently reworked but also it is itself the product of at least one (and perhaps more) recopying and attempts at modernizing the orthography. Consequently the weight placed on the text of *Breint Teilo* as we have it as an example of late Old Welsh may need to be re-assessed.

### Breint Teilo and Priuilegium Sancti Teliaui

Wendy Davies was of the view that the *Priuilegium Sancti Teliaui* was a translation of *Breint Teilo*.<sup>41</sup> The paragraph in which she sets out her argument is worth quoting in full (W. Davies 1974–6: 125):

*Braint Teilo* has two versions in *Liber Landavensis*, one Latin and one Welsh. It is quite clear that the Latin version is a rendering of the Welsh version, and not *vice versa*. Thus, *dy thir hac di dair* is merely rendered by *et terris suis*; *heb cyhoith dadlma y meun gulat hac ny dieithyr* is merely *sine conuentu intus nec extra*; *heb gauayl* is omitted; *heb guylma* is rendered *sine uigilanda regione*; *o cynluyn* is omitted; *o amryson can guayt a heb guayt* is reduced to *de rixa de sanguine*; *y diruy hay camcul yndi didi yn hollaul* is omitted; *o dorri naud ynn lann hac ny dieithyr lann* is rendered *de refugio uiolato ubique in terra sancti*; *o rachot yn ... dieithyr luhyn* is omitted; *dy lytu yr ecluys y gundy Teliau ynn Lantaf hac ny lys* is rendered as *de omni populo sancti Teliaui in curia Landauiae*; *rac* meaning ‘from’ is translated as *pro*, ‘before, in front of’.

<sup>39</sup> See n. 25 above.

<sup>40</sup> I am grateful to Peter Schrijver for making both of these points to me. For the use of *di* and *i* in the boundary clauses, see Coe (2004: 11–13).

<sup>41</sup> What follows should be read alongside Wendy Davies’s work (especially 1974–6).

the second meaning of *rhag*; *har sarhayt har cam har ennuet* is reduced to *omni iniuria*; *hay gur hay guas* is rendered as *et sui homines*; and the Latin version omits most of the section beginning ... *di am y cam a diconher dy escop Teliau ...*, including the final sanction. One may also note the various translations of the word *cyfraith*, which occurs as *legibus*, *iustitia*, *rectum*, *lex*, words which express different concepts in Latin. The Welsh, then, is the source of the Latin translation.

Over the intervening forty years or so this aspect of her arguments about the Book of Llandaff has been mainly absorbed into the bloodstream of the thinking about the manuscript with little critical response. Notably the work of John Reuben Davies (1998 and 2003), which has done most to move the study of the Book of Llandaff on since Wendy Davies's work, accepts the argument that *Breint Teilo* is the starting point (e.g. 2003: 17, 68). Consequently, both accept that similarity in wording between the various privileges preserved in the Book of Llandaff, those of Teilo, Dyfrig and Euddogwy, and in some late charters, are to be explained as borrowing from *Priiilegium Sancto Teliaui*: 'the groups [sc. of charters] attached to the *Vitae*, 121–127b, 140–159b especially, contain a high proportion of very corrupt charters and formulae influenced by 'Braint Teilo' added at a later stage' (W. Davies 1979: 12); 'the privileges of *Braint Teilo* (a document appended to the Life of St Teilo) are incorporated in the Lives of SS. Dyfrig and Euddogwy as well as a number of privileges' (J. R. Davies 2003: 86 (cf. also p. 20)). On the other hand, John Reuben Davies was prepared to question the bipartite nature of *Breint Teilo* (2003: 68–70; cf. Rodway (2013: 11)). He also made the important and related point that *Priiilegium Sancti Teliaui* had been 'clumsily got up to look like a papal bull' (J. R. Davies 2003: 70) with wording deriving from the other papal bulls in the Book of Llandaff (cf. 2003: 160–5); if so, he argues, the folio on which the Latin and Old Welsh versions of the privileges of Teilo were written must post-date 1129. Since then, *Breint Teilo* has figured briefly in Simon Rodway's work on the medieval Welsh verbal system; in addition to detailed discussion of some particular words, his main methodological point is that with texts like *Breint Teilo* the dating of the text must proceed from the language to inferences about the historical and legal hints preserved in the text and not *vice versa* (Rodway 2013: 11). But, however the argument has been tweaked and adjusted, the principle that *Priiilegium Sancti Teliaui* was translated from *Breint Teilo* has gone unchallenged.

Essentially, in the passage quoted above, Wendy Davies gave four reasons of varying degrees of specificity for thinking that the Old Welsh text was the starting point: (a) there is a tendency for the Latin to be shorter: *dy thir a di dair : et terris suis*; *heb cyhoith dadlma y meun gulat hac ny dieithyr : sine conuentu intus nec extra*; (b) there are omissions in the Latin (in relation to the Welsh): *heb gauayl, o cynluyn, y diruy hay camcul yndi didi yn hollaul*; much of Section II and especially the end; (c) *ryd rac brennin a rac paup : libera pro regibus et omnibus*; the use of *pro* was thought by Idris Foster (noted at W. Davies 1974–76:125, n. 2)) to be rendering *rac*; (d) the use of multiple Latin terms, *legibus*, *iustitia*, *rectum*, *lex* to render Old Welsh *cyfreith*.

However, none of these arguments, either individually or cumulatively, is compelling partly because they could just as easily be turned around the other way. With regard to (a), while there is certainly a tendency for the Welsh phrasing to be longer, this may simply have to do with the fact that Welsh tends to operate with rhetorical doublets in an inclusive sense: *hac dy thir hac di dair* 'all the land' (63v15–

16), *ymewn ... hac ny dieithyr* ‘inside X, outside X, i.e. everywhere’ (63va19–20, etc.), *hay gur hay guas* ‘everyone’ (63vb8–9) (cf. the English phrase ‘man and boy’), *guir ha cyfreith* ‘all aspects of the law’ (63vb12–13), etc. A number of these can be found in the Latin as well, e.g. *intus et extra* (63ra11 (Evans and Rhÿs 1893: 118.17), and also in charters, e.g. *sine expeditione infra regionem nec extra* (Evans and Rhÿs 1893: 145.14–15, 146.14–15), where there is no reason to suppose that they are translated from Welsh.<sup>42</sup> We might also note Saunders Lewis’ point (1925: 288) that there was a tendency for Welsh texts translated from Latin to render Latin words with doublets. In relation to (b) it is by no means clear that omissions in the Latin are not additions in the Welsh; most, e.g. *gauayl* (63va20, 63vb16), *cynluyn* (63va23), *diruy* (63v25), *camcul* (63v25), etc., are technical terms in medieval Welsh law for which there are no obvious Latin correspondents. It is noteworthy too that in the later Latin versions of Welsh law (as in those edited by Emanuel 1967) it is very common for these same terms to remain in Welsh even when the matrix language of the texts is Latin. It is possible then, if we are to think that the text was translated from Latin into Welsh, that such terms were added in the Welsh. The more specific argument of (c) relating to the use of *rac* needs to be considered in a slightly broader context: the phrase *ryd rac brennin a rac paup* (63vb4) does not mean ‘free from a king and from everyone’ but rather ‘free before a king and everyone (i.e. except before only Teilo and the church of Llandaff; there are no obligations except to Llandaff)’. In this text, as regularly in Welsh, ‘free from’ is rendered by *ryd o* (as at 63va16 *ryd o pob guasanaith*). As such, if we are to think that *Breint Teilo* is a translation of the Latin, *rac* would be an acceptable rendering of *pro*, but the translation would also work the other way round. In other words, argument (c) has no weight in the discussion. On the other hand, argument (d) does have weight, but the balance is probably in the other direction: translation tends to flatten and reduce the variation in nuance of the original rather than multiply it, and so the fact that *cymreith* corresponds variously to *lex*, *iustitia*, and *rectum* suggests that the direction of translation is into Welsh from Latin, especially as Welsh does have other terms, such as *iawn*, *rhaith*, *teithi*, etc. which could have been deployed. It is far less easy to see why a Latin translator would subdivide the senses of *cymreith*.

So far, the argument has focused on the arguments used by Wendy Davies to argue that the direction of translation was from Welsh into Latin. But there are further arguments which might nudge us towards thinking that the Old Welsh version was a translation and, to put it the other way round, towards thinking that the privilege was originally composed in Latin. We might begin with two observations, one about Latin and one about Welsh. First, there are several phrases which make more sense in an Anglo-Norman Latin (con)text in the first instance: *sine consul sine proconsule* (63r10), *cum mercato et moneta* (63r23–4). Such phrases also occur in some of the charters which suggests that they were part and parcel of the Latinate terminology of such documents rather than being a product of translation of *Breint Teilo*.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, it is also worth noting that *proconsul* was the preferred title for Richard, Duke of Gloucester and Lord of Glamorgan from 1121–2 (J. R. Davies 2003: 69) and would therefore at that period be part of the currency of Latin documentation in south Wales.<sup>44</sup> Secondly, the Old Welsh phrase *breenhined hinn* (63va10) is striking in the

<sup>42</sup> As noted above, the tendency has been to assume that all these phrases are derived from *Breint Teilo*; see above, p. \*\*.

<sup>43</sup> See above, pp. \*\*–\*.

<sup>44</sup> The term *consul* also occurs in the confirmation charter for Clynnog Fawr (ed. Ellis 1838: 257.24–5, *sine sensu* [sic] *regali sine consule*; 258.11, *sine censu regali et sine consule* ‘without royal taxation

context: first, we would expect *\*\*yr breenhined hinn* with a preceding article, but we might well ask who *these* kings are meant to be as the demonstrative ‘these’ lacks a referent. It is therefore better to understand *breenhined hinn* simply as rendering *regibus istis* of the Latin, where *istis* will have less specific reference, something like ‘those kings (of yours)’. Thirdly, *rachot yn luhyn hac yn dieithyr luhyn* (63va27–8) is not a good match for *de assaultu uiarum et extra uias* (63ra17–18) to the extent that Wendy Davies thought it has been omitted in the Latin. However, the Latin is concerned with ambush/assault on the roads and away from the road (perhaps on narrower by-ways), but the Welsh is talking about ambush in the woods and outside of them. The point here is that it is easy to see how a Welsh translator of the Latin would have assumed that ambushes took place in wooded areas but then mistranslated the *extra uias* on the model of *ynn lann hac yndieithyr lann* ‘within the *llan* and outside the *llan*’ (63va26–7) in the preceding line. It is far less easy to see how one might get to the Latin from the Welsh. This explanation might also help to account for the fact that this particular phrase looks as if it was reworked at an earlier period than the other changes and that the changes made affected a whole phrase and not just single letters; the reason might be that it did not correspond very well to the Latin. The corrected text, *yndi hi hun ac ny dieithyr luhyn* ‘in it itself and outside the woods’ is still not much of an improvement but it arguably indicates that someone thought the text was problematic.<sup>45</sup> It is also worth noting as a corollary that, whenever that phrase might have been erased and rewritten, someone thought that it was important that the Welsh text corresponded to the Latin and not *vice versa*; otherwise, we might have expected to see the Latin text being edited. Another similar case involves *de rixa de sanguine* (63ra16) beside *o amryson canguayt ahebguayt* (63va23–4);<sup>46</sup> again, while it can be understood how the Welsh might be a rendering of the Latin, especially if it were understood as a single offence ‘concerning a quarrel involving bloodshed’ and not as two offences, ‘quarreling’ and ‘bloodshed’. The Welsh version may have extended its range to cover any kind of dispute whether blood was shed or not. Again it is far less clear how starting from the Welsh the Latin might be reached.

Two further points carry less weight but are worth a passing note: the number of past participles in *-etic* in the Welsh is noticeable, *amcytarnetic* (: *confirmatum*), *emelldicetic* (: an implied *maledictus*), *yscumunetic* (: an implied *excommunicatus*), *bendicetic* (: an implied *benedictus*), and elsewhere in Old and Middle Welsh *-etic* participles are frequent in glossing and translation contexts as ways of rendering Latin participles and adjectives in *-tus* or *-sus*.<sup>47</sup> Little weight, however, can be placed on this feature as it could work in either direction. A second point is worth noting but again not of significant weight. Pryce (2001) has documented the shift from ‘British’ (using *Britannia* to refer to Wales) to ‘Cambrian’ (using *Cambria*) nomenclature in the Latin of Wales and identified the early twelfth century as the point when the latter begins to take over. While it would make sense for a Latin text, parts of which may date to the eleventh century, to use *Britannia* and for this to be translated as *Cymry*, it is less clear that the converse makes sense. That said, it is not a strong argument as the

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and with a governor’; cf. Sims-Williams 1996). The Old Welsh uses the Welsh terms *maer* and *cyghellaur* which refer to local officials appointed by the king (Jenkins (1986: 363–4)).

<sup>45</sup> For example, *ny dieithyr* cannot be right if *luhyn* follows; the usual pattern in this text is *yn dieithyr* + noun ‘outside X’ beside *ny dieithyr* ... with a possessive pronoun ‘outside it’ (for *yny dieithyr*, see above, n. 25).

<sup>46</sup> On this clause, see W. Davies (1974–6: 129, n. 2).

<sup>47</sup> For a collection of examples, see Falileyev (2000: *passim*).

date of *Priuilegium Sancti Teliaui* and *Breint Teilo* is very much on the cusp of when this terminological change was happening.

Some of the arguments presented by Wendy Davies can work both ways and therefore do not constitute a strong case for translation from the Old Welsh version into Latin. Others, and also arguments not presented by her, do make a better case – but for translation from Latin into Old Welsh. If, then, the proposition that *Breint Teilo* was translated from Latin is at least thinkable, we need to think further about the Latin text from which the translation was made. One possible obstruction to thinking that *Breint Teilo* was translated from Latin has perhaps been the adjacency of *Priuilegium Sancti Teliaui*; that is, the thinking might go, if *Breint Teilo* were translated from Latin, it must be based on the neighbouring text. But other privileges were available in the Book of Llandaff, as was observed by Wendy Davies who printed them in the Appendix to her article (W. Davies 1974–6: 137). In addition to *Priuilegium Sancti Teliaui* there are privileges relating to Dyfrig (*Priuilegium Dubricii*; 48rb8–48va23 (Evans and Rhys 1893: 132–3)) and Euddogwy (*Priuilegium Oudocei*; 67ra26–67va10 (Evans and Rhys 1893: 69–70)); the texts with translations are printed below in Appendices 2 and 3 (pp. \*\*–\*\*). Both of these privileges are framed in the same kind of language and terminology as *Priuilegium Teliaui*, but they are noticeably less elaborate and complex. Furthermore, similar terminology can be found in some charters; we may compare, for example, e.g. *sine consule sine proconsule, sine expeditione infra regione nec extra nec ad uigilandum die nec nocte* (Evans and Rhys 1893: 145 (Lan Merguault), 146 (Lan Cors)). Looked at from the other direction, John Reuben Davies (2003: 70) has noted that *Priuilegium Sancti Teliaui* is exceptional and so may not be a reliable guide as it seems to have been reworked to look like a papal bull.<sup>48</sup> If that is right, then we might look to *Priuilegium Oudocei* and *Priuilegium Dubricii* as more reliable indicators of what an earlier *Priuilegium Sancti Teliaui* looked like before it was dressed up for a grander audience. A letter of 1119 (Evans and Rhys 1893: 87–8) mentions a *cyrographum*; this has been taken to be *Breint Teilo*, but it is at least as likely that this refers to an early version of the *Priuilegium Sancti Teliaui* perhaps more closely resembling the other *priuilegia*. In Appendices 2 and 3, the sections of text most closely corresponding to *Breint Teilo* have been underlined and much of these sections can also be found in *Priuilegium Sancti Teliaui*, though the latter has been significantly elaborated and re-worked. If we work this way round, certain things fall into place. Wendy Davies argued that much of the second part of *Breint Teilo* concerning disputes between Llandaff and the king of Morgannwg and including the sanction had not been rendered into Latin, and that this had much to do with the very local nature of the subject matter. John Reuben Davies suggested that the Welsh legal terminology might have been off-putting in a document for a wider audience (J. R. Davies 2003: 68–70). But it may simply be because the Welsh translator was not working with the *Priuilegium Sancti Teliaui* as we have it but with something closer to the other privileges. For example, the *Priuilegium Sancti Teliaui* lacks the sanction not because it omitted it when translating from the Welsh but because it was extracted from an earlier version of the Latin privilege and worked into the papal bull.

There is also one piece of textual evidence that might suggest that the Latin behind *Breint Teilo* was not *Priuilegium Teliaui*. The Latin version talks of the see of Llandaff as being *libera ab omni regali seruitio* (63ra8–9) rendered in the Old Welsh version as *ryd o pop guasanaith breenhin bydaul* (63va16–17). There is a discrepancy

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<sup>48</sup> See above, pp. \*\*.

here in that the Latin version contains no reference to a secular (*bydaul*) king. Now while it is possible that the Latin contains an error (perhaps the loss of *seculari* before *seruitio* by eye-skip), the equivalent phrase in *Priuilegium Dubricii* is *libera ab omni regali et seculari seruitio* (Evans and Rhys 1893: 69: 14–15; cf. also 70.10) and it is possible that a similar text lay behind the Old Welsh of *Breint Teilo*. At the very least, even if *Priuilegium Sancti Teliaui* lost *seculari* through a copying error, it is clear that *Breint Teilo* was not translated from the form of the *Priuilegium* next to it in the manuscript.

The proposal so far then is that *Breint Teilo* was translated from a Latin original but that the Latin original was not *Priuilegium Sancti Teliaui* as it is preserved in the Book of Llandaff but rather an earlier form of it much closer in context and form to the other privileges. If so, what are we to make of the argument advanced by Wendy Davies that *Breint Teilo* falls into two parts (a) 63va8–b3 being somewhat later than (b) 63vb4–26 (Davies 1974–6: 125–6, 131–3)? The second part certainly presents slightly different issues as there is far less Latin in relation to the Welsh, but it is also preoccupied with local concerns and the relationship of the church to the king of Morgannwg, and probably more so than the Latin privileges. If so, could the text have been elaborated in the Welsh version because of its more local concerns and because the Welsh version would have had a much more local circulation? Some have doubted the separation into two parts: John Reuben Davies was less sure that it was helpful to think of it as a bipartite entity (J. R. Davies 2003: 70–1). If it is right that the orthography of the *Breint* was updated, then the orthographical differences between the two parts are less significant, but it may be significant that the latter part seems to have been updated rather more; did its orthography perhaps seem more archaic and more in need of modernisation, though that would not mean that the text itself was older? However, there is at least one indication that the Welsh of the two parts (if that is what they are) was stylistically different: while the first part shows a preference for using *heb* ‘without’ to indicate the obligations from which they were exempt, e.g. *heb luyd*, *heb gauayl*, *heb guylma* (63va20–1), the latter part uses a privative prefix, e.g. *dy luyd*, *dy uuner*, *digauayl* (63vb16). It is difficult to know what to make of this; it may be that it was translated at a different time or place or by a different person, but it should give pause for thought for those who might argue that the text of *Breint Teilo* is all of a piece. As things stand, then, it remains possible in my view that *Breint Teilo* was the product of two phases of translation from Latin; but how chronologically distinct those two phases were is unclear.

### *Conclusions*

What emerges from this discussion are some specific and some general conclusions. Specifically, it has been proposed that there was an earlier version of *Priuilegium Sancti Teliaui*, more similar in some ways to the wording of the privileges of Dyfrig and Euddogwy, on which the Welsh version is based; the current *Priuilegium Sancti Teliaui* is an elaboration for Norman (and perhaps papal) tastes (without too much Welsh legal terminology) to which was added the papal confirmation. It is possible that the second part (more focused on Glamorgan) may have a different mode of composition and may be chronologically distinct, though some of the evidence for that has now disappeared and the case for that is rather weaker. Furthermore, the dating of the Old Welsh version is now less clear-cut, as the datings, as proposed by Wendy Davies, should now refer to the Latin version. The dates now provide a *terminus post quem* for the Old Welsh (and post 1121–2 if the usage of *consul* is

significant) and the mid-twelfth-century date of the manuscript a *terminus ante*. This has implications for the language of *Breint Teilo* which can now only be used to exemplify the language of a period of some twenty or thirty years in the second quarter of the twelfth century. It remains possible though that the translation into Old Welsh of the two parts was carried out at different times. But the Old Welsh was subsequently modernized perhaps several times over. More generally, *Breint Teilo* has been significant in the study of medieval Welsh law as one of the earliest continuous pieces of legal prose written in Welsh and arguably composed in Welsh. However, the latter, it is argued above, can no longer be considered to be the case. We know that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Latin and Welsh versions of the Welsh laws co-existed; Hywel Emanuel (1960–2) showed, for example, that the Blegywryd redaction was mainly translated from Latin. Elsewhere, Latin B and C testify to the use of Latin texts in north Wales in the mid-thirteenth century (Emanuel 1967: 172–275, 276–93; Russell 2011). *Priuilegium Sancti Teliaui* and *Breint Teilo* provide evidence for Latin and Welsh versions of legal texts sitting side by side certainly by the early twelfth century but maybe earlier. As long as *Breint Teilo* could be thought to contain the original form of the statement of Teilo's privileges, we had at least one twelfth-century example where Welsh was the primary language and Latin the secondary one. The import of the above discussion is that a Latin version of the privilege (but not *Priuilegium Sancti Teliaui* itself) may well have been the primary text.

Appendix 1: Translation of the texts of the privileges relating to Teilo; for the Latin and Old Welsh versions, see pp. \*\*\* above.

[63ra1] The privilege of St Teilo and of his church of Llandaff was given to him and all his successors for ever by the kings and princes of Britain and confirmed by apostolic authority with all its laws with full powers over itself for itself and its lands. It is free from any obligation for royal service, without a governor, without a deputy-governor, without the requirement to attend public assemblies either inside or outside its jurisdiction, without an obligation to provide military service, without an obligation for watch-keeping, and with its own system of justice concerning thief and theft, plundering, homicide, arson, brawling, bloodshed, violation of protection everywhere in the territory of the saint, ambush on and off the roads, giving and receiving judgement concerning all the people of Teilo in the court of Llandaff, with regard to the common use of water and pasture, meadow and woods for the people of the church of St Teilo, together with the right of trading and minting in Llandaff, and with the right to claim harbourage everywhere in the lands of St Teilo. It is free in the face of kings and everyone except for the church of Llandaff and its bishops. With regard to any reproach and every insult which the king of Morgannwg and his men should do to the bishop of St Teilo and his men, let the king of Morgannwg and his men render justice to the bishop and his men, and let justice be received in the court of Llandaff. [63rb1] Let every law which the royal court has be possessed by the episcopal court of Llandaff in full force.

For the privilege of that church has been established by apostolic authority so that together with its status it should remain free from every burden of secular service. Whatever shall pertain to it by grant of the popes, by the generosity of rulers, by the offerings of the faithful, or by other just means, let them be preserved for it firm and complete for ever. Whatever moreover it will be able to obtain in the future through

the dispensation of God justly and by canon law, let it remain with it always at rest and undisturbed. For it has been decreed that no person is permitted rashly to disturb the aforesaid church, or remove its possessions, or to retain the stolen goods, or to wear it down with vexatious disputes, and all things are to be preserve for it including the boundaries of the diocese. If therefore in the future any ecclesiastic or secular person should rashly attempt to act against it, and after two or three warnings does not make amends with satisfactory compensation, let him be deprived of the status of his power and rank, and let him know that he stands guilty by divine judgement of the crime he has perpetrated, and let him not partake of the most sacred body and blood of Christ and of our Lord Redeemer Jesus Christ, and at the last judgement let him submit to the most severe punishment. But for all those who keep that church safe, may they have the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ so that they may both gain the fruit of their good action and find the rewards of eternal peace at the hands of the austere judge.

[63va8] Here is the law and privilege of the church of Teilo of Llandaff which the kings and princes of Wales gave to the church of Teilo and all the bishops after him for ever, confirmed by the authority of the popes of Rome. The whole law [pertains] to it and to its lands free from every royal and secular demand for service, without a *maer*, without a *canghellor*, without the requirement to attend public courts within the territory and outside of it, without the obligation of military service, without being distrained, without the obligation of watch-keeping. The law [pertains] to it completely in respect of a thief, theft, violence, homicide, secret killing, and arson, brawling with and without bloodshed – the greater and lesser fines in respect of them [go] to it [i.e. the church] completely – in respect of the breaking of protection within the enclosure and outside of the enclosure, in respect of ambush in the woods and outside them, in respect of assault in every place in the land of Teilo. The right and judgement of it to the people of the church, the ‘white house’,<sup>49</sup> of Teilo in Llandaff and in his court. Water and pasturage, and its woods and meadow in common for the people of Teilo. Right of trading and minting [63vb1] in Llandaff, and the right to claim harbourage on the land of Teilo for any ships which disembark on its land wherever that might be. Free before a king and before all except for Teilo and the church of Llandaff and its bishops. For any disgrace and insult and wrong and injury which the kings of Morgannwg and any of his people might do to the bishop of Teilo and any of his people, the king of Morgannwg should come to the ‘white house’ of Teilo in Llandaff to do right and justice and to suffer judgement for whatever wrong might be done to the bishop of Teilo and to any of his people. Its land [are to be] free of the obligation of military service, free of taxation, and free from being distrained and every law which the king of Morgannwg should have in his court, the bishop of Teilo should have them all in his court as well and anyone who should break and reduce this privilege should be cursed and excommunicated, both he and his children after him. He who honours this privilege and maintains it should be blessed, he and his children after him. Amen

*Note that the great sentence of excommunication of St Teilo which he obtained in the courts of Rome against the usurpers of the liberties and privileges of the cathedral church of Llandaff on his day in the customary manner in the year of our Lord’s incarnation 1410 was read and promulgated. And within the short space of seven*

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<sup>49</sup> For this rendering, see n. 30 above.

*days afterwards the characters of the transgressors of this kind, tormented by the pricks of the devil, fell into raging madness and remained thus for the length of their lives.*

Appendix 2: Text and translation of *Priuilegium Dubricii*

48rb8–48va23 (Evans and Rhys 1893: 69.4–70.7)

... *Super omnes autem britannos dextralis partis britannię beatum Dubricium summum doctorem arege & ab omni parrochia electum . archiepiscopum consecrauerunt.* Hac dignitate ei a Germano & Lupo data . constituerunt ei episcopalem sedem concessu Mourici regis . principum cleri & populi . apud podum Lann tam . in honore *sancti Petri apostoli fundatam.* & cum finibus istis a Henriu gunua usque adriu finion . & agungleis usque ad mare totum infra taf & elei cum piscibus & coretibus suis omnibus . & cum omni sua dignitate & libere ab omni regali & seculari seruitio . nisi tantum oratione cotidiana & ecclesiastico seruitio *pro anima illius . & animabus parentum suorum regum & principum britannię . & omnium fidelium defunctorum . & cum isto priuilegio.* sine consule . sine proconsule . sine conuentu intus nec extra . sine expeditione . sine uigilanda regione intus nec extra . & cum libera communione totius episcopatus incolis . in campo & in siluis . in aqua [48va1] & in pascuis . & cum tota sua curia in se plenaria libera & integra ut regia. & cum suo refugio non ad finitum tempus sed sine termino . idest quandiu uoluerit profugus maneat tutus sub eius asylo . & cum datis corporibus & commendatis regum totius parrochię Landauię in perpetuo. Parrochiam uero quingentas tribus sinus sabrinę Ercic & Anercyc amochros super ripam Guy usque ad insulam Teithi . & propter *sanctitatem suam & predicationem preclaram beati pastoris & regalem parentelam suam plures ecclesię cum suis dotibus . decimis . oblationibus . sepulturis . territoriis & libera communione earum datę sunt sibi ecclesię Landauię & successoribus suis omnibus aregibus & principibus totius regni dextralis britannię & cum predicta dignitate.*

*Statutum est enim apostolica auctoritate istius ecclesię priuilegium ...*

... over all the Britons of the southern part of Britain the learned eminent Dubricius was elected and consecrated archbishop. He received this rank from Germanus and Lupus and they granted to him with the agreement of King Meurig, the princes, the clergy and the people the episcopal see at the monastery of Llandaff founded in honour of Peter the apostle and with the following boundaries: from Henriwgwnna to Rhiwfynnon and from Gwynlais to the sea within the Taf and Ely with all the fishing rights and weirs; and with all its status, and free from all obligations of royal and secular service, except only daily prayer and ecclesiastical service for his soul, and for the souls of his parents and of the kings and princes of Britain and all of the deceased faithful; and with the following privilege: to be without a governor, without a deputy-governor, without the requirement to attend public assemblies either inside or outside its jurisdiction, without any obligation to provide military service, without any obligation for watch-keeping either inside or outside its jurisdiction; and with free common use of the whole diocese for its inhabitants in meadows and in woods, in water and in pasture, and with its whole court with full powers over itself, free and complete like a royal court, and with its right of protection not for a fixed period of time but for ever, that is, that the fugitive might remain under its protection for as long

as he should wish, and with the bodies of kings of the whole diocese of Llandaff given and commended to its safe-keeping forever. The diocese then consists of five hundred districts, the estuary<sup>50</sup> of the Severn, Ergyng and Anergyng, and Mochros on the bank of the Wye as far as the island of Teithi. And on account of the saintliness and fine preaching of the blessed shepherd and his royal parentage, many churches with their endowments, tithes, offerings, burial-grounds, territories, and free common use of them were given to him, the church of Llandaff and all its successors by the kings and princes of the whole kingdom of southern Britain and with the aforesaid status.

### Appendix 3: Text and translation of *Priuilegium Oudocei*

67ra26–67va10 (Evans and Rhys 1893: 132.2–133.10)

Missus est *sanctus* Oudoceus cum clericis suis *predictis* merchui *et* Elguoret *et* gunnbiu cum legatis trium abbatum *et* regis *et* principum ad doroborensem ciuitatem ad beatum archiepiscopum ubi sacratus est *ecclēsię* landauię in honore *sancti* Petri fundatę. Rex mouricus cum duobus filiis suis & uxore sua Onbraus filia gurcanti magni *et* tribus abbatibus [67rb1] trium cenobitarum . *et* cum omnibus principibus regni sui *et* tota familia *sanctorum* Dubricii *et* teliaui *ecclēsię* landauensis suscepit eum cum gaudio . dans *et* confirmans idem priuilegium datum antea *sancto* dubricio *sanctoque* teliauo *et* suis succedentibus cum omni dignitate sua *et* libertate . & circuerunt omnes cum rege . quattuor euangelia in manu sua tenente . & *sanctę* *ecclēsię* quasi dotem confirmante . *sancta* cruce precedente . *et* *sancto* choro sequente cum summo pastore psallente. ‘Fiat pax in uirtute tua . *et* abundantia inturribus tuis. Gloria *et* diuitię in domo eius . *et* iustitia eius manet in *seculum seculi*’.<sup>51</sup> & cum aspersione aque benedictę *per* totum confinium. & confirmando idem priuilegium datum antea *sancto* dubricio . idest sine consule . sine proconsole . sine conuentu . intus nec extra . sine expeditione . sine uigilanda regione infra nec extra . & cum tota curia sua plenaria . & libera *et* integra ut regia . *et* cum suo refugio non adtempus . sed sine termino . quandiu uoluerit profugus . maneat tutus sine protegente clipeo humano sub eius asylo . & cum datis corporibus *et* commendatis regum dextralis britannię . landauię in perpetuo . & sicut romana ecclesia excedit dignitatem omnium ecclesiarum catholicę fidei ; ita ecclesia illa landauiensis excedat omnes *ecclēsiās* [67va1] totius dextralis britannię indignitate *et* inprivilegio *et* inexcellētia . & cum tota comunione per uia incolis . *et* habitaturis in campo *et* in aquis . in siluis *et* in pascuis . & cum finibus istis. a Gungleis infra taf *et* Elei . totum territorium usque ad mare . & per dies *et* tempora totam parrochiam amochros usque ad insulam Teithi in pace tenuit.

St Euddogwy was sent with his afore-mentioned clerics Merchwy and Elwored and Gwynfyw, and the messengers of the three abbots and of the king and the princes to Canterbury to the blessed archbishop where he was consecrated bishop of the church of Llandaff founded in hour of St Peter. King Meurig with his two sons and his wife, Onbraws, daughter of Gwrgan Fawr, and the three abbots of the three monasteries, and with all the princes of his kingdom and all the family of the holy men of Dyfrig and of Teilo of the church of Llandaff, received him with joy, granting and confirming the same privilege as had been given before to St Dyfrig and St Teilo and

<sup>50</sup> ‘bend’ (J. R. Davies 2003: 78).

<sup>51</sup> Psalms, 121.7, 111.3.

to their successors with all its status and freedom. And they all made a circuit with the king who was holding the four gospels in his hand and confirming the endowment of the holy church with the holy cross in front and the holy choir behind with the chief shepherd singing, 'Let there be peace in your virtue and abundance in your towers; Glory and riches in his house, and his justice remains forever.' And with the sprinkling of holy water on all the boundaries he confirmed the same privilege which had been given before to St Dyfrig, that is: to be without a governor, without a deputy-governor, without the requirement to attend public assemblies either inside or outside its jurisdiction, without any obligation to provide military service, without any obligation for watch-keeping either inside or outside its jurisdiction; and with its whole court with full powers free and complete like a royal court, and with its right of protection not for a fixed period of time but for ever, that is, that the fugitive might remain safe under its protection for as long as he should wish without anyone protecting him with a shield, and with the bodies of kings of southern Britain given and commended to the safe-keeping of Llandaff forever. And just as the church of Rome exceeds the status of all the churches of the catholic faith so does that of Llandaff exceed all the churches of southern Britain in status, in privilege, and in excellence. And with the complete common use of rights of way for the inhabitants and those who will live there in meadow and in water, in woods and in pastures, and with its boundaries as follows: from Gwynlais within the Taf and Ely, all the land to the sea; and for some time he held the whole diocese in peace from Mochros to the island of Teithi.

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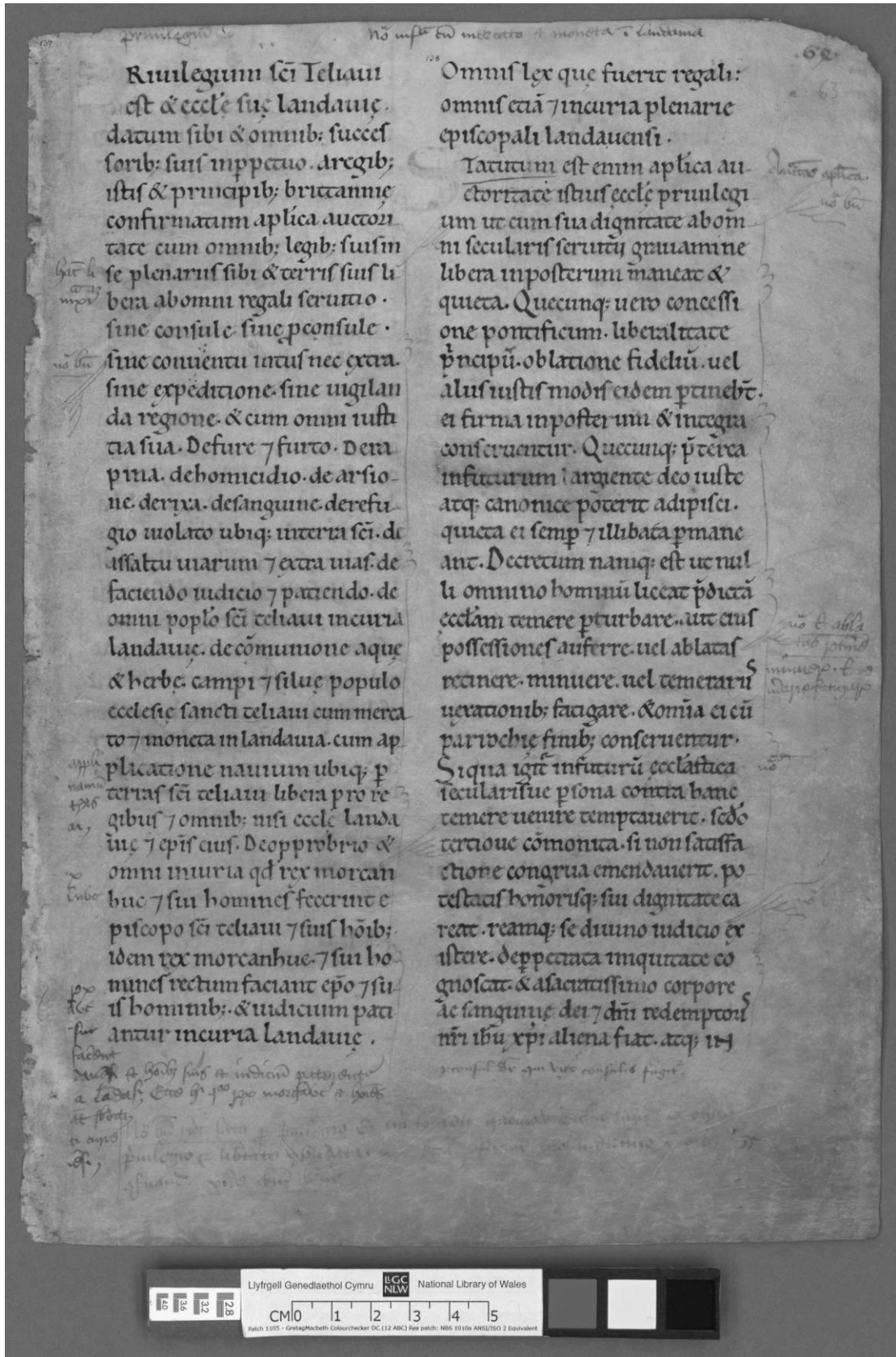


Plate 1: Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales 17110E, fol. 63r (by permission of Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru / National Library of Wales).

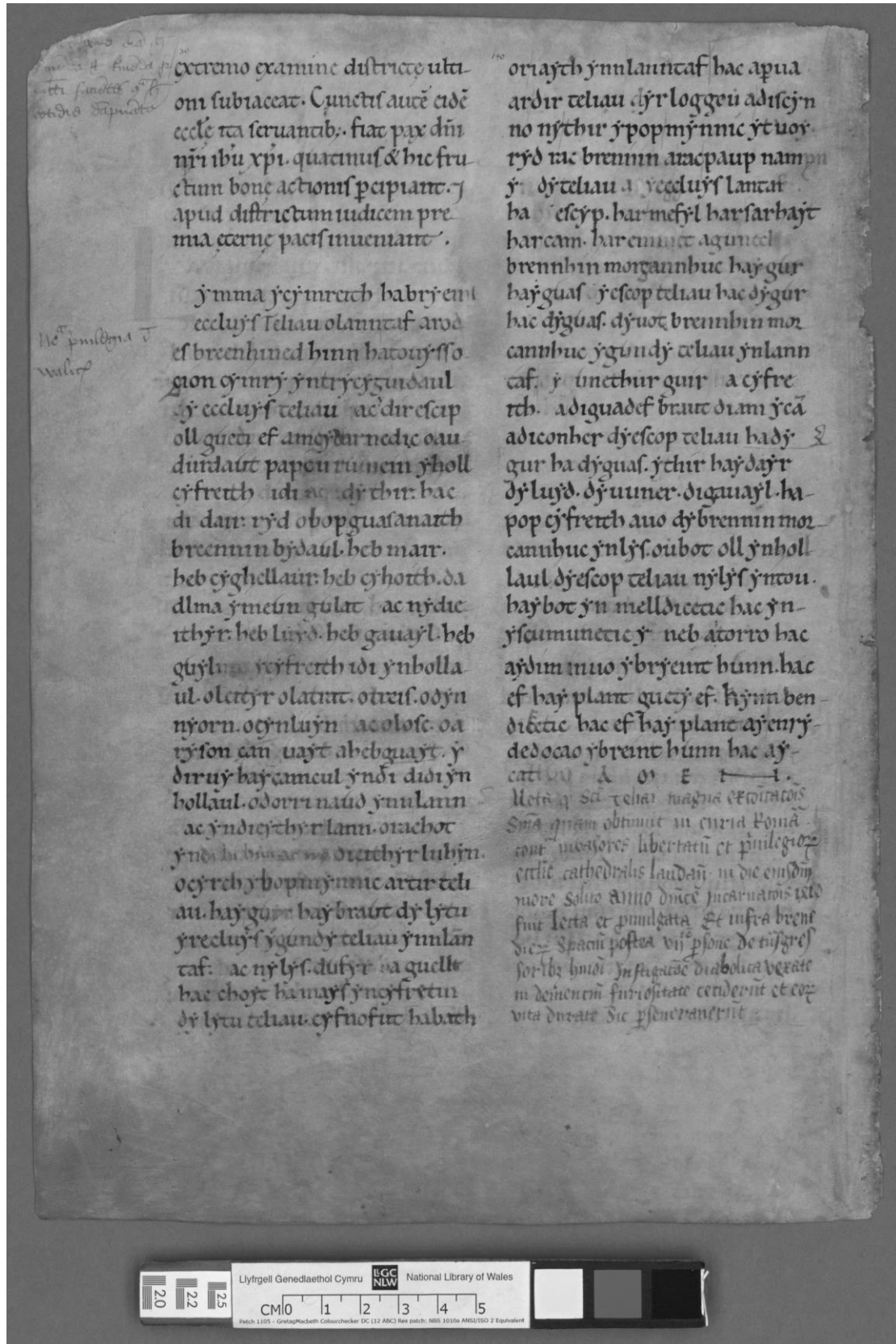


Plate 2: Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales 17110E, fol. 63v (by permission of Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru / National Library of Wales).

ymma ycyntrech habryent  
 eccluyf Teliau olanntaf arwa  
 ef breenhined hinn hatouyffo  
 gion cyntry yntrycygundaul  
 y eccluyf teliau ac dir escip  
 oll gueti ef amgydarnedic oau  
 diirdair papou rumein y holl  
 cyfretch idi ac dythir: hac  
 di dair: ryd obopguasanaich  
 breennin bydaul. heb mair.  
 heb cyghellair: heb cyhotch. da  
 dlma ymeun gulat ac nydie  
 ithyr: heb luyd. heb gauayl. heb  
 quylna cyfretch idi ynbolla  
 ul. olcyr olatrat. otreif. ody  
 nyorn. ocynluyn ac olofc. oa

Plate 3: Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales 17110E, fol. 63va (detail) (by permission of Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru / National Library of Wales).

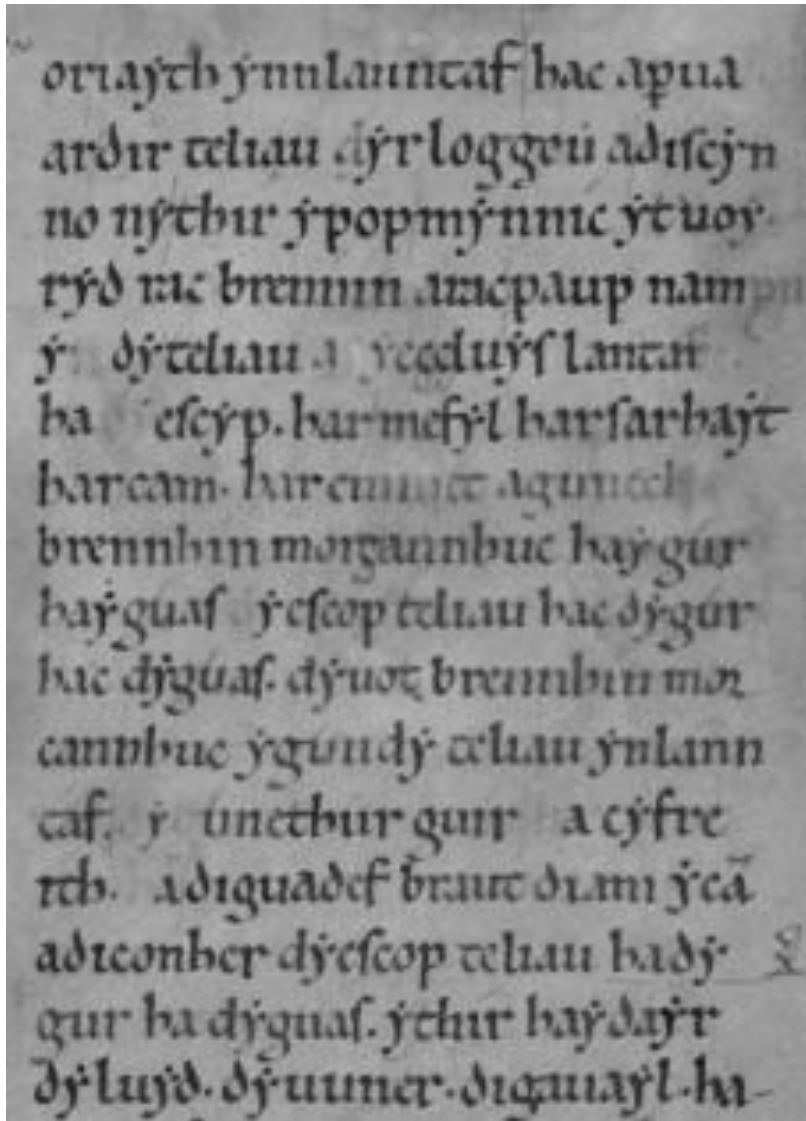


Plate 4: Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales 17110E, fol. 63vb (detail) (by permission of Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru / National Library of Wales).

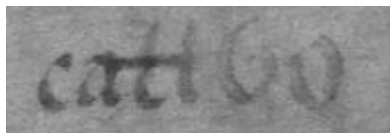


Plate 5 (a) fol. 63vb26 (detail)



Plate 3 (b) enhanced image

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