

Od amheuyr bot pob un o'r llessoet a ducpuyt uhot eu bot ykeureyth Hewel, edrecher e lleureu Lladyn ac eno y keffyr (Llyfr Colan (ed. Jenkins (Cardiff, 1963), §565)
 'if there is any doubt that each one of the prohibitions mentioned above are in the law of Hywel, one should look in the Latin books and there it will be found'.

1. Medieval Welsh law texts

(a) Latin redactions (according to Emanuel, *Latin Texts*; Latin ABC also in Owen, *Ancient Laws*):

Latin A: NLW, Peniarth MS 28 (+7); Latin B: BL, Cotton MS Vespasian E.xi (+5); Latin C: BL, Harleian MS 1796 (+3); Latin D: Oxford, Bodley MS Rawlinson C 821 (+4); Latin E: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 454 (+13)

(b) the vernacular redactions:

Cyfnferth (Owen's 'Gwentian Code'); Blegywryd (Owen's 'Demetian Code'); Iorwerth (Owen's 'Venedotian Code')

Can we tell whether an archetype of a redaction or tractate was written in Latin or Welsh?

2. Relationship between these redactions?

(a) Latin: Latin B is composite; both Latin A and E are tidier derivatives from it at different stages; Blegywryd redaction is a translation of a text close to Latin D (Emanuel, 'Llyfr Blegywryd'); for Latin C, see below; the core of Latin B is potentially very interesting. But NB1 it does not follow that all the Latin versions are inter-related; NB2 the importance of treating these texts as a series of tractates each of which may have a different textual history.

So, if we are looking for indications of the original language of a tractate or text, what would be looking for? Three examples, moving back in time and increasing in complexity.

Example 1: a Latin textual error in Latin D and Blegywryd:

Refugium penkynyt est conducere hominem quo uox cornu eius auditur (Latin B 195.11–12 (Russell, 'Latin B', §1/6.6) = Latin E 439.9; cf. *llef* 'voice' in Cyfnferth 5/8, Iorwerth 15/23) : ... *uix* ... (Latin A 111.37–8, Latin C 278.25–6 (Russell, §1.10/6), Latin D 319.25 (→ *y breid* 'hardly' in Blegywryd 7.1–2))

Example 2: Latin C (BL, Harley 1796, Anglesey, ca 1240–50); Latin text with embedded Welsh legal terminology, but Latin glossed in Welsh and Welsh regularly glossed in Latin, but in a Latin of a French or Anglo-Norman origin (unlike the Latin of the main texts); important in that it allows a glimpse of a text from North Wales which is structurally predates the restructuring attributed to Iorwerth ap Madog; the section on *mechteyrn dylyet* (Latin C 277.19–26 (Russell, *Latin C*, §1.7)) is in the main text (not in a Test Book as in the Iorwerth redaction).

But its Latin shows possible Welsh features:

(a) use of *debet* = Middle Welsh *dyly* (Emanuel usually restored *habere*).

(b) use of 3rd sg. passive verbs in an impersonal sense:

§ 1.14/5 *quod corium datur ante quam diuidatur coria inter regem et uenatores*; the phrase *ante quam diuidatur coria* '... before there is a dividing of the hides' (but evidence of hesitation; cf. § 1.14/8 the plural appears, *antequam diuidantur coria*).

§ 1.18/2 *debet habere iiii^{am} partem diru eius, si eum tenetur* '... if there is an arrest of him' rephrased in the next sentence (§ 1.18/3) as *si eum tenuerit*.

§ 1.18/6 *ne disturbetur aule* 'so that there not be a disturbance for the hall' (cf. Cyf. *rac teruysgu y llys/yn y neuad*).

(c) use of Latin *in* (with both the accusative and ablative) = the Welsh predicative *yn*:

§ 1.16/11 *in cibos ancipitrum* 'as food for the hawks'

§ 2.1/3 *in mercede eius* ‘as her maiden-fee’.

NB there is a tendency even in the Latin redactions for such features to be edited out.

Is this an indication of translation from Welsh into Latin? Or the development of a style (cf. the style of Welsh developed in Brut y Brenhinedd)? While there is plenty of evidence for texts being translated into Welsh from Latin, what evidence do we have for texts being translated into Latin from Welsh?

Example 3: *Breint Teilo* ‘The Privilege of Teilo’

NLW 17110E (*Liber Landavensis*), fol. 63v, preceded on the same folio by a Latin version *Privilegium Teliaui* (NB fol. 63 is an insertion (Huws)).

(a) Wendy Davies: *BT* falls into two parts: Part I *ca* 1110 × 1129; Part II *ca* 950 × 1090; ‘It is quite clear that the Latin is a rendering of the Welsh version, and not vice versa’ (p. 125).

(b) the Old Welsh text is problematic: several layers of erasure and re-working between the 12th c. and 1410, not all of which have been satisfactorily identified and the implications thought through. Minor errors, e.g. *ny* for *in*, etc., indicate that the Welsh has been copied, and that the original(s) may have had far less *y* than the version in *Lib. Land.*

(c) WD’s reasons for thinking that the Latin was translated from the Welsh:

(i) 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;*

(ii) 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.

(iii) *ryd rac brennin a rac paup : libera pro rege et omnibus;* use of *pro* thought to be rendering *rhag*.

(iv) *W cymreith* : Latin *legibus, iustitia, rectum, lex*.

BUT all of this can be turned around the other way:

(i) tendency for the Welsh to be longer; throughout there is a tendency in the Welsh to generate rhetorical doublets: *tir ha dair, ay gur ay guas*, ‘inside X, outside X’ (= everywhere), ‘with X, without X’, etc.; there are some in the Latin but not many.

(ii) omissions could be additions; NB most are technical legal terms.

(iii) but MW *ryd* more often used with *o* in the sense of ‘free from’; the Latin seems better to mean ‘free in the face of kings and everyone, except for ...’.

(iv) translations tend to reduce, not increase, complex terminology.

(v) *amcytarnetic* ‘strengthened’ is a good rendering of *confirmatum*, and *-etic* participles are much more frequent in Latinate contexts.

(vi) *cum merceto et moneta* make more sense in a Latin text in the first instance.

(d) Another factor: there are two other privileges in *Lib. Land.*, those of Dyfrig and Euddogwy, and these are far thinner and less elaborate than the PT; Davies argues they are derived from PT (itself on her argument a translation of BT).

(e) If so, several possibilities:

(i) *Priuilegium Teliaui* is the base text which was expanded in the Welsh version (esp. in Part II where the references to Morgannwg are significantly expanded); the absence of the excommunication clause (which is in the Welsh) may be related to the following papal confirmation.

(ii) There was an earlier version of *PT*, closer to the wording of the privileges of Dyfrig and Euddogwy, on which the Welsh version is based; the current *PT* is an elaboration for Norman tastes (without too much Welsh legal terminology!) to which was added the papal confirmation.

(iii) the second part (more focused on Glamorgan) may have a different mode of composition to the first.

3. General conclusions

(a) there is evidence in *BT* for Latin and Welsh versions of legal texts sitting alongside each other perhaps as early as the late 10th c. or early 11th (and with the vernacular version dependent on a Latin version (though not the one which precedes it).

(b) there is no reason to suppose that the situation would have been different for Cyfraith Hywel.

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Priuilegium Teliaui/Breint Teilo

fol. 63ra1 (= TBLD, pp. 118.11–119.6)

Priuilegium *sancti* Teliaui est et *ecclesie* suę landauię datum sibi & omnibus successoribus suis in *perpetuo* a regibus 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. De fure *et* furto. De rapina, de homicidio, de arisione, de rixa, de sanguine, de refugio uiolato ubique in terra *sancti*, de assaltu uiarum *et* extra uias, de faciendo iudicio *et* patiundo de omni populo *sancti* teliaui in curia landauię. de *communione* aque *et* herbe campi *et* silue populo *ecclesie* *sancto* teliaui, cum mercato *et* moneta in landauiā, cum applicatione nauium ubique per terras *sancto* teliaui libera pro regibus *et* omnibus nisi *ecclesie* landauię *et* *episcopis* eius. De opprobrio & omni iniuria quod rex morcan huc *et* sui homines fecerint *et* *piscopo* *sancti* teliaui *et* suis hominibus idem rex morcan huc *et* sui homines rectum faciant *episcopo* *et* suis hominibus, & iudicium patiantur in curia landauię.

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fol. 63rb1

Omnis lex que fuerit regali omnis etiam *et* in curia plenarie episcopali landauiensi. Statutum est enim *apostolica* auctoritate istius *ecclesie* priuilegium ut cum sua dignitate ab omni secularis seruitii grauamine libera in posterum maneat & quieta. *Quecunque* uero concessione pontificum, liberalitate principum, oblatione fidelium, uel aliis iustis modis eidem pertinebunt, ei firma in posterum & integra conseruentur. *Quecunque* preterea in futurum largiente deo iuste atque canonice poterit adipisci. Quieta ei semper *et* illibata permaneat. 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. Si qua igitur in futurum *ecclesiastica* secularisue persona contra hanc temere uenire temptauerit, *secundo* tertio *commonita*, si non satisfactione congrua emendauerit, portestatis honorisque sui dignitate careat, reamque se diuino iudicio existere, de perpetrata iniquitate cognoscat, & asacratissimo corpore ac sanguine dei *et* domini redemptoris nostri ihesu christi aliena fiat. Atque IN

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Fol. 63va1

extremo examine districtę ulti
oni subiaceat. Cunctis autem eidem
ecclesię ita seruantibus, fiat pax domini
nostri ihesu christi, quatinus & hic fru
ctum bonę actionis percipiant, et
apud districtum iudice, pre
mia ęternę pacis inueniant.

Lymma ycmreith ha bryein
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 pop guasanaith
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. Odyn
nyorn ocynluyd hac o losc. Oa[m]
ryson canguayt ahebguyt. y
diruy hay camcul yndi didi yn
hollaul. odorri naud ynn lann
hac yndieithyr lann. orachot
ynn luhyn hac dieithyr luhyn.
ocyrch ypopmynnyc artir teli
au. hay guir. hay braut dy lytu
yrecluys ygundy teliau ynnlarn
taf. hac ny lys. dufyr a guell.
hac choyt ha mays yncyfrytin
dy lytu teliau. cyfnofut habath

fol. 63vb1

oriayth ynn lanntaf hac aperua
ardir teliau dyr loggou adiscyn
no nythir ypopmynnyc yt uoy.
ryd rac brennin aracpaup nam[yn]
y dy teliau a *yeccluys lantam.
ha dy escyp. harmefyl har sarhayt
har cam. 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
pop cyfreith auo dy brennin mor
cannhuc yn lys. oubot oll yn holl
aul dyescop teliau ny lys yntou.
haybot ynemelldicetic hac yn
yscymunetic yr neb aitorro hac
aydimanuo ybryeint hunn. hac
ef hay plant guety ef. Hynn ben
dicetic hac ef hay plant ay enry
dedocao ybreint hunn hac ay
cat[tvo]. A M E N.

*Nota quod Sancti Teliai magna excommunicationis
Sententia quam obtinuit in curia Romana
contra invasores 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^{em} persone de transgress
soribus huiusmodi. Instigacione diabolica vexate
in demencium furiositate ceciderunt et eorum
vita durate sic perseuerauerunt.*

APPENDIX ONE

BRAINT TEILO (LL, pp. 118 f., 120 f.)¹

PART ONE

(a) Lymma y cymreith ha bryein eccluyys Teliau o Lanntaf
Prituilegium sancti Teliau est et ecclesiae suae Landaniae,
a rodes breenhined hinn ha touyssocion Cymry yn trycyguidaul
datum sibi et omnibus successoribus suis in perpetuo

dy eccluyys Teliau hac dir escip oll gueti ef,
a regibus istis et principibus Britanniae,
amcynarnedic o audurdaut papou Rumein,
confirmatum apostolica auctoritate,

y holl cyfreith didi ac² dy thir hac di dair,
cum omnibus legibus suis in se plenariis sibi et terris suis,

ryd o pop guasanaith breennin bydaul,
libera ab omni regali seruitio,

heb mair, heb cyghellaur,
sine consule, sine proconsule,

heb cyhoith dadlma y meun gulat hac ny dieithyr,
sine conuentu intus nec extra,

heb luyd, heb gauyl, heb guylma.
sine expeditione, sine uiglanda regione.

(b) Y cyfreith idi yn hollaul, o leityr o latrat, o treis, o dynnyorn,

Et cum omni iustitia sua, de fure et furto, de rapina, de homicidio,

o cynluyn hac o losc, o amryson can guayt a heb guayt,
de arsione, de rixa, de sanguine,

y diruy hay camcul yndi didi yn hollaul,

o dorri naud ynn lann hac yn dieithyr lann,
de refugio uiolato ubique in terra sancti,

o rachot yn³ . . . dieithyr luhyn,

does not, of course, imply their acquiescence in my judgements.

¹ There is some considerable erasure and overwriting of the Welsh text in the manuscript, but most of these changes are noted by Evans (LL, pp. 349 f.), whose own text is difficult to fault. E. D. Jones published a text in *Nat. Lib. Wales Journal*, iv (1945/6), 132 f., which gives on the whole the emended read-

ings. I have attempted to supply the original, before emendation; it is occasionally impossible to read. I have modernized punctuation and expanded abbreviations in both Latin and Welsh versions.

² *ac* over erasure of three letters, presumably *hac*.

³ I find it impossible to read the erasure, but Evans's suggested *-n luhyn hac* would fit the available space.

o cyrch y pop mynnic ar tir Teliau,
de assaltu uiarum et extra uias,

hay guir hay braut dy lytu yr ecluyys y gundy Teliau ynn Lanntaf
de faciendis iudicio et patiendo de omni populo sancti Teliau

hac ny lys;
in curia Landaniae;

(c) dufyr ha guell hac choyt ha mays yn cyfrytin dy lytu Teliau,
de comunione aquae et herbae campi et siluae populo ecclesiae sancti Teliau,

cyfnofut ha bathoriayth ynn Lanntaf,
cum mercato et moneta in Landauia,

hac aperta ar dir Teliau dyr loggou a discynno ny thir y pop mynnic yt uoy.
cum applicatione nauium ubique per terras sancti Teliau.

PART TWO

Ryd rac breennin a rac paup namyn dy Teliau . . .¹ eccluyys Lanntaf
Libera pro regibus et omnibus nisi ecclesiae Landaniae

ha dy escyp,²
et episcopis eius,

har meryl har sarhayt har cam har ennuet
de opprobrio et omni iniuria

a gunech breennin Morcannhuc hay gur hay guas dy escop Teliau
quod rex Morcannhuc et sui homines fecerint episcopo sancti Teliau

hac dy gur hac dy guas,
et suis hominibus,

dyuot breennin Morcannhuc y gundy Teliau yn Lanntaf
idem rex Morcannhuc et sui homines

dy gunethur guir ha cyfreith ha diguadef braut di am y cam
rectum faciant episcopo et suis hominibus et iudicium patiantur

a diconher dy escop Teliau ha dy gur ha dy guas,
in curia Landaniae.

Y thir hay dayr dy luyd, dy uuner, di gauyl,

ha pop cyfreith a uo dy breennin Morcannhuc yn lys
Omnis lex quae fuerit regali

ou bot oll yn hollaul dy escop Teliau ny lys yntou.
omnis etiam et in curia plenarie episcopali Landauensi.

¹ *ac* y over erasure.

² This clause could arguably belong to Part One.

Hay bot yn *mellidictic' hac yn yscumunetic y*² neb ai torro
 hac ay dimanuo y bryent hunn, hac ef hay plant guety ef.
 Hynn bendidetic hac ef hay plant ay enrydedocao y breint hunn
 hac ay cat . . .³ AMEN.

TRANSLATION

I have attempted to render the Welsh into intelligible modern English for the benefit of those who are unfamiliar with the language. I have therefore expanded, in brackets, where the meaning may not be clear, and have commented in the notes on passages where the translation is uncertain.

Here is the law and privilege of the church of Teilo of Llandaff which these kings and princes of Wales gave to Teilo's church and to all the bishops after him for ever, confirmed by authority of the popes of Rome. All the law (shall be available) to it (the church) and to its lands (*tir a daear*), free from every service royal and secular, from *maer* and *canghellor*, from public courts within the *gwlad* and without, from military service, distraint, and keeping watch. Jurisdiction (shall be) to it completely, over thief and theft, violence,⁴ homicide, secret killing and arson, brawling with and without bloodshed—all the fines (*dirwy a chamgwel*) to it completely⁵—over breach of protection within the enclosure (*llan*) and without, over ambush in the woods and outside, and over public assault in every place on Teilo's land; right and judgement to the people of the church of Teilo's *Gundy*⁶ at Llandaff and in his court. Water and pasture and woods⁷ and meadow equally to Teilo's people; trade and mint at Llandaff, and harbourage on Teilo's land for the ships which may disembark on its land, wherever it may be. Free from king and everyone except Teilo and his church of Llandaff and its bishops. For any disgrace, insult (*searhad*), wrong, and injury which the king of Morgannwg and his men and servants might do to Teilo's bishop and his men and servants, the king of Morgannwg shall come to Teilo's *Gundy*⁶ at Llandaff to do right and justice and suffer judgement for the wrong that may be done to Teilo's bishop and his men and servants. Its lands (shall be) without military service, overlord,⁸ distraint. And every law which the king of Morgannwg may have in his court, Teilo's bishop shall have completely in his court likewise. He shall be cursed and excommunicate who shall break and diminish this privilege, both he and his children after him; (he shall be) blessed, both he and his children, who honours this privilege and keeps (it). Amen.

¹ The first letter is almost completely erased; Evans suggests 'e'.

² The second letter is completely erased; Evans suggests 'r'.

³ -two is added over an erasure.

⁴ i.e. abduction, robbery with violence.

⁵ Literally 'in it to it completely'.

⁶ I cannot suggest a satisfactory translation of this word; it may be an ancient corruption of *ty gwyn*,

'white house', but if so it lacked any significance for the Latin translator, who ignored it. I am most

⁷ Literally 'its woods'.

⁸ Possibly 'tax, tribute'; cf. Modern Welsh *muner*,

'lord', but n.b. Latin *munus*, *muneris*, 'burden'.

APPENDIX TWO

THE PRIVILEGES OF DYFRIG AND EUDDOGWY (LL, pp. 69 f., 132 f.)

Dyfrig:

Hac dignitate ei a Germano & Lupo data, constituerunt ei episcopalem sedem concessu Mourici regis, principum cleri & populi, apud podum Lanntam, in honore sancti Petri apostoli fundatam, & cum finibus istis a Henriu Gunua usque ad Riu Finion, & a Gungleis usque ad mare totum infra Taf & Eiei, 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 Britanniae, & omnium fidelium defunctorum, & cum isto privilegio, 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 & in pascuis, & cum tota curia in se plenaria libera & integra ut regia, & cum suo refugio non ad finitum tempus sed sine termino, id est quando uoluerit profugus maneat tutus sub eius asylo, & cum datis corporibus & commendatis regum totius parochiae Llandauiae in perpetuo. Parrochiam uero Britanniae, Llandauiae in perpetuo, & sicut Romana ecclesia excedit dignitatem omnium ecclesiarum catholicae fidei, ita ecclesia illa Llandauia excedat omnes ecclesias totius dextralis Britanniae in dignitate et in priuilegio et in excellentia, & cum tota communione peruia incolis et habitaturis in campo et in aquis, in silua et in pascuis, & cum finibus istis, a Gungleis infra Taf et Eiei, totum territorium usque ad mare, & per dies et tempora totam parrochiam a Mochros usque ad insulam Teithi in pace tenuit.

Euddogwy:

. . . ubi sacratu est ecclesiae Llandauiae in honore sancti Petri fundatae. Rex Mouricus cum duobus filiis suis & uxore sua Onbraus filia Gurcanti magni et tribus abbatibus trum cenobitarum, et cum omnibus principibus regni sui et tota familia sanctorum Dubricii et Teliaui ecclesiae Llandauensis suscepit eum cum gaudio, dans et confirmans idem priuilegium datum antea sancto Dubricio sanctoque Teliauo et suis succedentibus cum omni dignitate sua et libertate . . . & confirmando idem priuilegium datum antea sancto Dubricio, id est sine consule, sine proconsule, 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 ad tempus, sed sine termino, quando uoluerit profugus, maneat tutus sine protegente clipeo humano sub eius asylo, & cum datis corporibus et commendatis regum dextralis Britanniae, Llandauiae in perpetuo, & sicut Romana ecclesia excedit dignitatem omnium ecclesiarum catholicae fidei, ita ecclesia illa Llandauia excedat omnes ecclesias totius dextralis Britanniae in dignitate et in priuilegio et in excellentia, & cum tota communione peruia incolis et habitaturis in campo et in aquis, in silua et in pascuis, & cum finibus istis, a Gungleis infra Taf et Eiei, totum territorium usque ad mare, & per dies et tempora totam parrochiam a Mochros usque ad insulam Teithi in pace tenuit.

