

## Vita Sancti Oudocei (Liber Landavensis)

edited by Ben Guy

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### Introduction

St Euddogwy is the patron saint of Llaneuddogwy in Monmouthshire, now better known as Llandogo. Almost nothing is known of St Euddogwy. He does not appear to have been a saint of major importance prior to his reinvention as the third bishop of Llandaff in the Liber Landavensis. The idea of a ‘bishop Euddogwy’ may be based on early charters such as the one that now survives appended to Liffrid’s Life of St Cadog, which names a certain Bishop Euddogwy as the first witness to the transaction described (VS Cadoci (Vesp), §65). The witness list to this charter (or a similar charter) was certainly employed in the Liber Landavensis, for it formed the basis for the list of Euddogwy’s electors in his Life (§3) and perhaps also for the witness list to the charter in §16 (LWS 213–16, 225; Davies 2003: 91–3). On the basis of the witness list, Wendy Davies dated the latter charter to c. 650, though this may be a little too early (Davies 1979: 97; Charles-Edwards 2013: 273); this might be taken as an approximate date for the St Cadog charter too, and thus for an historical ‘Bishop Euddogwy’. However, even if the St Cadog charter does attest to an historical seventh-century bishop called Euddogwy, it remains uncertain whether this bishop can be equated with the eponym of Llandogo, as the Liber Landavensis claims.

Unlike the Lives of Samson, Teilo and probably Dyfrig (cf. Guy 2018), it is unlikely that the Life of St Euddogwy had any existence prior to the literary effort in Llandaff in the early twelfth century that led to the creation of the Liber Landavensis. There is no evidence for any lost ‘Llandogo’ Life of St Euddogwy. Rather, the Life of St Euddogwy draws heavily on the other Lives in the Liber Landavensis. The description of Euddogwy’s retirement (§10) seems to be based on the similar description in the Life of St Dyfrig (VS Dubricii (LL / Vesp), §18; Davies 2003: 137–8), while the excuse given for the evident lack of written sources, though based

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ultimately on Gildas, replicates the Life of St Dyfrig word for word (VS Dubricii (LL / Vesp), §19; Davies 2003: 118–19). Even more has been taken from the Life of St Teilo. The latter's description of the Yellow Pestilence is quoted at length (§2), and the lengthy privilege of Llandaff inserted into Euddogwy's Life (§4) is probably based on the similar privilege appended to the Life of St Teilo. Interestingly, there are signs that the author of the Life of Euddogwy did not use exactly the same version of the Life of St Teilo that was copied into the Liber Landavensis. In §3 it is said that Teilo, following the Yellow Pestilence, *redit ad natale solum* (returned to his native land); this statement is found in the appropriate place in the Vespasian Life of St Teilo, but not in the Liber Landavensis Life of St Teilo (VS Teliaui (Vesp), §10; VS Teliaui (LL), §15; LWS 209, n. 5; Davies 2003: 120, n. 83). More intriguingly, the episode concerning the women washing the butter is found otherwise only in the Middle English Life of St Teilo, and not in either of the two Latin Lives (Kooper and Callander 2016: 46, 64). Since the holy well at Llandaff is called Ffynnon Deilo, it is most likely that the story originated in a Life of St Teilo, and that it has been borrowed by the Life of St Euddogwy, with Euddogwy recast as its subject (LWS 220). Assuming that the Liber Landavensis Life of St Teilo is an expansion of the Vespasian Life of St Teilo, as seems most likely, the author of the Life of St Euddogwy may have used a version of Teilo's Life that was textually midway between the two.

What little original material one can find in the Life of St Euddogwy appears somewhat disjointed and contrived. There is some pseudo-history, including the account of King Cadwgon of Dyfed's expulsion of Euddogwy's clergy from the western side of the Towy (§5), designed to explain how the original 'archdiocese' of Llandaff had been unjustly diminished following the wider supremacy exercised by SS. Dyfrig and Teilo. There is also the account of the Saxon invasion of the diocese (§6), designed to explain the separation of Anergyng from Ergyng. Otherwise, there is only the story about the robbers of Penallt (§7), the explanation for the founding of Llaneinion/Llandogo by the eponymous King Einion (§9), and the curious account of Gildas stealing Euddogwy's wood (§11), seemingly a topographic tale created to explain the existence of some oddly shaped rocks on the bank of the River Wye. It is difficult to know whether these stories existed in any form prior to the writing of the Life of St Euddogwy.

Following the Life of St Euddogwy are twenty-one charters recording grants of land to the saint. This is the largest number of charters appended to any of the saints' Lives in the Liber Landavensis. Kathleen Hughes has noted that the grants in these charters unusually relate to four distinct areas: the area north of the Usk, the area near Monmouth, Glamorgan, and Gower

(Hughes 1981: 9; Davies 2003: 91). Normally, the grants to any one ‘bishop of Llandaff’ in the Liber Landavensis are concentrated in a single region. As a result of the charters, the implied chronology of St Euddogwy is stretched beyond all credibility. According to the Life, Euddogwy returned to Britain with his uncle Teilo, following the Yellow Pestilence; this would suggest that Euddogwy was a young man in the middle of the sixth century. However, many of the grants to Euddogwy have been dated by Wendy Davies to the decades either side of c. 700, on the basis of the witness lists (Davies 1979: 98–103). E.D. Jones noted that Euddogwy manages to span the lifetimes of six generations of the dynasty of Glywysing, from King Tewdrig the martyr (§14) to Ithel ap Morgan’s sons Ffernfael (d. 775!) and Meurig (§31) (Jones 1946: 135). The discrepancy is important, because it suggests that Euddogwy was deliberately used by the compilers of the Liber Landavensis as a device to bridge the gap between the supposed lifetimes of Llandaff’s early founders in the fifth and sixth centuries, and what may in reality have been the earliest charters available to the compilers, dating perhaps from the seventh century (Sims-Williams 1982: 126–7; Guy 2018: 28–30).

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### Summary

St Euddogwy is the patron saint of Llandogo (Llaneuddogwy) in Monmouthshire. According to the Life, he was a nephew of St Teilo and succeeded Teilo as archbishop of Llandaff. His Life survives only in Liber Landavensis and in an abbreviated version by John of Tynemouth.

**Incipit uita beati Ovdocei, Landauensis archiepiscopi.**

### §1

Fvit uir, Budic filius Cybrdan, natus de Cornugallia, qui in Demeticam regionem tempore Aircol Lauhir, regis eiusdem regni, uenit cum sua classe, expulsus patria sua. Qui cum moraretur in patria, accepit sibi uxorem Anauued nomine, filiam Ensic; mater autem illius Guenhaf, filiam Liuonui. De qua Anaumed, nati sunt sibi Ismael et Tyfei, martir iacens in Pennalun. Qui cum moraretur in patria, missis legatis ad eum de nativa sua regione Cornugallia ut sine mora cum tota sua familia et auxilio Brittannorum ad recipiendum regnum Armorice gentis ueniret; defuncto rege eorum, illum uolebant recipere, natum de regali progenie. Facto ab illis consilio uno ore, audita legatione et accepta, affectuose accepit uxorem suam pregnantem cum tota familia sua et classe applicuit in patria. Et regnauit per totam Armorican terram, et in tempore suo tandi durantem usque ad Alpes. Et uxor eius peperit filium nomine Oudoceum. Quem, post tempus maturitatis, misit ad studium litterarum, sicut promiserat sancto Teliauo antea in Britannia; quod si filium haberet, illum Deo commendaret, sicut commendauerat ambos fratres suos, quos prediximus. Et sanctus Oudoceus ab infantia cepit ditari scientia et eloquentia in tantum quod suos contemporaneos et simul consocios excellebat moribus et sanctitate.

## §2

Et post immensum tempus, uenit flaua pestis per maiorem Brittanniam. 'Flaua' quidem uocabatur eo quod flauos et exsangues efficiebat uniuersos quos persequebatur. Quę in columpna aquosę nubis apparebat hominibus, unum caput uerrens per terram, aliud sursum trahens per aerem, et discurrens per totam regionem ad modum ymbris discurrētis per ima conuallium. Quecunque autem animantia suo pestifero afflatu attingeret aut ilico moriebantur aut egrotabant in mortem. Siquis uero medelam conaretur adhibere egrotanti,<sup>1</sup> non tantum medicamina non habebant suum effectum, sed etiam medicantem cum egroto atra lues trahebat ad interitum. Et post immensum tempus, sedata est oratione sancti Teliaui et sanctorum Brittannię. Et antequam omnino extirparetur, uenit diuina uox ad sanctum Teliaum ut cum suis clericis et populo iret Cornugalliam (quę postea uocata Cerniu Budic). Et ibi inuenit nepotem suum Oudoceum, uirum preclarum et mansuetum, et utriusque legis peritum, ut candelam super candelabrum.

## §3

Et post tempus suę conuersationis, sanctus Teliaus, archiepiscopus Landauię ecclesię sancti Petri apostoli, rediit ad natale solum, cum suo nepote illum committante. Qui tantum creuit in bonitate et scientia quod sibi electione cleri et populi succedit in episcopatu Landauensis ecclesię: electione cleri, Mercuini et Elgoreti et Gunnuni magistri; et trium abbatum, Catgen abbatis Ilduti, Concenn abbatis Catmaili, Cetnig abbatis Docguinni; laicorum, regis Mourici et filiorum Athruis et Idnerth, Guidgen et Cetiau, Brocmail, Gendoc, Louhonerd, Catgualatyr, et omnium principum totius parrochię.

## §4

Missus est sanctus Oudoceus cum clericis suis predictis Merchui[n] et Elguoret et Gunnbiu, cum legatis trium abbatum et regis et principum, ad Doroborensem ciuitatem ad beatum archiepiscopum, ubi sacratus est ecclesię Landauię, in honore sancti Petri fundatę. Rex Mouricus, cum duobus filiis suis et uxore sua Onbraus, filia Gurcanti magni, et tribus abbatibus trium cenobitarum, et cum omnibus principibus regni sui et tota familia sanctorum Dubricii et Teliaui ecclesię Landauensis, suscepit eum cum gaudio, dans et confirmans idem priuilegium datum antea sancto Dubrio sanctoque Teliauo et suis succedentibus, cum omni dignitate sua et libertate. Et

<sup>1</sup> **egrotanti** eorgtanti L (corrected by a later hand).

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circuerunt omnes cum rege, quattuor euangelia in manu sua tenente et sanctę ecclesię quasi dotem confirmante, sancta cruce precedente et sancto choro sequente, cum summo pastore psallente, ‘Fiat pax in uirtute tua, et abundantia in turribus tuis’; ‘Gloria et diuinitę in domo eius, et iustitia eius manet in seculum seculi’, et cum aspersione aquę benedictę per totum confinium et 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; et cum tota curia sua plenaria et libera et integra ut regia; et cum suo refugio non ad tempus, sed sine termino: quandiu uoluerit, profugus maneat tutus sine protegente clipeo humano sub eius asylo; et cum datis corporibus et commendatis<sup>2</sup> regum dextralis Brittannię Landauię in perpetuo; et sicut Romana ecclesia excedit dignitatem omnium ecclesiarum catholicę fidei, ita ecclesia illa Landauia excedit omnes ecclesias totius dextralis Brittannię in dignitate et in priuilegio et in excellentia; et cum tota communione peruia incolis et habitaturis in campo et in aquis, in silua et in pascuis, et cum finibus istis: a Gungleis infra Taf et Elei, totum territorium usque ad mare.

### §5

Et per dies et tempora totam parrochiam a Mochros usque ad<sup>3</sup> insulam Teithi in pace tenuit, donec rex Catguocaun quadam uice, suadente Diabolo, uulnerauit unum de clericis Oudocei episcopi. Et ita, surgente fauilla iniquitatis, motus est ira rex, uolens sanctum uirum cum sua familia expellere de patria sua ultra Tyui. Et sanctus Oudoceus reliquit patriam illius sub maledictione, et ab illo tempore remansit parrochia diuidente Tyui duos episcopatus, sicut diuidebat duo regna: Mourici ex ista parte, Catgucauni ex alia. Post interuallum, rex Catgucaun, ueniam requirens, penituit se fecisse quod fecerat erga sanctum Oudoceum et familiam suam. Misit propter illum et reddidit ei terras ecclesię Landauię, Pennalun uidelicet et Lannteiliau Maur et Landyfuyrguyr, quę prius fuerant archiepiscopi Dubricii et a tempore regis Nouy filii Arthur, et omnes ecclesias cum terris suis, quę antea fuerant sancti Teiliaui, et ita cum omni sua dignitate et priuilegio et perpetua libertate.

### §6

Et in tempore suo uenerunt tribulationes et uastationes Saxonum in dextralem Britanniam, et maxime in confinium episcopatus sui, in tantum quod, ui superuenientis gentis Saxonice,

<sup>2</sup> **commendatis** commmdatis L.

<sup>3</sup> **ad** ud L (possibly corrected to *ad*).

parrochiam suam a Mochros supra ripam Guy, ex illa parte, usque ad riuulum Dor, ex ista parte, et usque ad Gurmuy, et ad hostium Taratyr in Guy flumine; et factis his uastationibus ex utraque parte super parrochiam episcopatus, hec est diuisio. *O aper Tyui ny hyt hyt aper Pyscotvc yn Tyui.* *O Pyscotuc hyt Teir Guernen Buell.* *O Teir Guernen Buell y uynyd ny hyt dy Castell Teir Tut,* id est *Cantref Bychan ha Cantref Selif ha Buell.* *O Castell Teir Tut i uynyd ny hyt dy Douluyn Helyc.* *O Douluyn Helyc y blayn Uysc,* hyt y Mynyd Du. *Y Mynyd Du ny hyt hyt blain Turch.* *Turch ny hyt y guairet hyt Tauuy.* *Tauuy ny hyt hyt Cingleis.* *Cigleis ny hyt bet y blayn.* *O blayn Cygleis y All Un Guernenn.* *O All Un Guernnenn hyt blayn Peurdin.* *O Peurdin hyt pan discynn yn Ned.* *Ned i uinyd hyt Melltou.* *Melltou ny hyt y uynyd hyt Hepstur.* *Hepstur y uynyd dy Guyragon.* *Guyragon hyt y blayn.* *O'y blain hyt Gauanhauc.* *O Gauanauc bet Deri Emreis.* *O Deri Emreis y Cecin Clysty.* *Cecycin Clysti ny hyt bet blain Frut y Guidon.* *Ar y hyt bet Taf Maur.* *Taf Maur y guayret hyt cymer.* *O cymer i uynyd ar hyt Taf Bechan.* *Taf Bechan ny hyt bet Ryt y Cambrenn.* *O Ryt y Camprenn hyt Hal Du.* *O'r Hal Du dy'r Hir Cemyn,* dy nant Crafnant, hyt Crafnell bet pan discynn yn Uysc. *Truy Uysc dy Cil Ydris,* dy'r All Luyt, dy Lech Bychlyt, dy cecyn ypenn y pynmarch, di Guornoyd, dy Rytnant, dy banher Din Marchlythan, dy Ol y Gabr, dy bron Cateir Neueni, dy licat<sup>4</sup> Guerinou, dy guarthaf Buch, dy'r Uyncul, dy'r Brydell, dy Hal Ruma, dy Main y Bard yn lycat Nant y Bard.<sup>5</sup> *Nant y Bard nibyt y'r guayret hyt pan dyscin yn Dour.* *Dour ny hyt y guairet hyt pan dyscynn yGuormuy.* *Guormuy ny hyt i uynyd hyt y blayn.* *O blayn Guormuy di Cayr Rein.* *O Cayr Rein dy blayn Taratyr.* *Taratyr ny hyt y ouayret hyt pan discynn yGuy.* *Guy ny hyt hyt pan discynn ynn Hafren.* *Hafren ny hyt can Ynys Echni bet aper Tyui.*

## §7

Sanctus Oudoceus, post tempus suę maturitatis, uisitatis ab eo liminibus<sup>6</sup> sancti Petri, cum accepto sibi priuilegio sanctorum Dubricii et Teiliaui apostolica dignitate, et confirmato in perpetuo posteris suis, loca sanctorum desiderans uisitare cum summa<sup>7</sup> deuotione, requisiuit locum sancti Dauid, ob uenerationem illius et memoriam cotidianam in orationibus. Et quod sibi placuit de sacris reliquiis sumpsit cum magna reuelatione, et secum attulit. Et de loco suo proprio Lan Teliaumaur, sumpsit secum de reliquiis discipulorum sancti Teliaui, matuelis sui, et simul

<sup>4</sup> **licat** lat L. Emendation suggested in LL 368.

<sup>5</sup> **Nant y Bard** nat y bard L (corrected by a later hand).

<sup>6</sup> **uisitatis ab eo liminibus** uisitatiꝝ ab eo liminiꝝ L. Restoration suggested by LL 350.

<sup>7</sup> **summa** sua L (corrected by a later hand).

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posuit in arcam ad hoc conuenientem. Et ita, cum transibat per episcopatum suum uersus ecclesiam suam Landauiam per uiam Pennalt in Cetgueli, familia sua ferente reliquias honorifice, preuia sancta cruce et psallente psalmos cum laudibus, aduenerunt quidam de rupibus Pennalt, malum animum habentes erga sanctum uirum, et dicentes, ‘Nunquid clerici isti, honerati auro et argento et ut, sic dicamus, thesauro sanctorum Deui et Teliaui, de manibus nostris euadant? Immo capientur, et ablatis illis omnibus rebus suis ditemur multo pondere metalli auri et argenti.’ Et liuore inuidie preoccupati et nimia cupiditate repleti, adheserunt cum nimio furore portantibus arcam portabilem. Et ita extensis manibus, et tenentibus lanceas uersus sanctum uirum et familiam, oculi eorum qui in sanctum uirum et familiam peccauerunt uisum amiserunt, et brachia ad sanguinem iustorum effundendum prompta riguerunt, quod ad se reflectere non ualebant, neque inantea ullo modo extendere poterant. Videns sanctus Oudoceus mortem et orbitatem peccantium cepit orare Deum flexis genibus pro peccantibus, implens diuinum mandatum et dicens, ‘nolo mortem peccatoris, sed uitam.’ Et ex alia parte, orbatis illis requirentibus ueniam et recognoscentibus culpam, et audita oratione sancti, uisum recuperauerunt et sensum restauratum sensibus resumpserunt. Et obedientiam perpetuam beato uiro et successoribus eius et ecclesię Landauię et uitam suam melioratam cum accepta penitentia et iuncta sibi ad modum culpe in ieunio et oratione et elemosina promiserunt.

### §8

Beatus Oudoceus, post laborem suum sitiens magis solitus aquam bibere quam alium liquorem, peruenit ad fontem in ualle Landauię, non multum ab ecclesia remotum, ut biberet. Inuenit feminas lauantes butirum ad morem patrię. Et missis legatis suis et discipulis ut sibi uas accommodassent ut inde eorum pastor potaret, que hironice, ut filię iniquitatis, dixerunt, ‘Nullum aliud uas preter hoc quod manibus tenemus, butirum uidelicet, habemus.’ Et accepto sibi et formato ad modum tintinabuli, uir beatę memorię leuauit manum ut inde biberet, et potauit. Et in tali forma remansit, aureum uidelicet, in tantum quod uidentibus apparet esse funditus ex auro purissimo. Quę uirtute Dei ab illo die in ecclesia Landauię ob memoriam beati uiri honorifice reseruatur, et languentibus tactum ut dicitur tribuitur salus.

### §9

Enniaun rex Gleuissic cum in rupibus et in saltibus Guy fluminis ut solitus uenebatur ceruum, miratus est nimium quomodo et qualiter faciebat cursum, illum sequentibus canibus cum clamore

tubarum et uenatorum strepitu per ima conuallium. Diuino nutu preuidente et custodiente, illum per totum donec saltum perduxit ad pallium sancti Oudocei, et ibi iacens requieuit anhelans et tutus. At si post naufragium qui peruererit ad portum, aut post tristitiam qui uenit ad gaudium, remotis uenatoribus a longe et residentibus, simul et canibus mutis et stupefactis, et quoniam prius sequebantur inimicum, nunc stupefacti, genibus flexis ad Dominum, respexerunt illum ut proximum et amicum. Pallium quidem beati Oudocei, uiri perfecte etatis et moderate maturitatis, seruientis Deo prope flumen Guy supra riuulum Caletan. Remoto a se interim pallio, super quem cubabat ceruus refugium sibi et firmamentum;<sup>8</sup> solus respexit bestiam mitem quam domauerat diuina uirtus, et regem Enniaun et uenatores cum stupore nimio et flexis genibus et ad celum sursum leuatis manibus ueniam requirentes cum magna deuotione, ac ueluti quoddam peregissent facinus apud Deum et sanctum Oudoceum. In primis sibi clamauit rex ceruum, quietum et pacificum; postea totum territorium quod per diem integrum circuerat, sequens uestigium, largitus est Deo et sanctis Dubricio, Teliau et Oudoceo episcopo, et omnibus episcopis Landauie in perpetuo. Predicto uestigio diuidente per montes et riuulos et rupes, territoriis ecclesiis in eternum, beatus ille sanctus, post datam sibi tellurem cum finibus suis, et sumpto sibi nomine Lannenniaun, creuit in uirtutibus. Et ibi fundauit locum simul et oraculum oportunum, locum piscosum et mellifluum et solitarium.

## §10

Et laborans simul cum familia sua, relicto a se honore pastoralis curae Landauie, non quia non sufficiebat populo, sed quia non satagebat sibi ipsi populo, immo postposita pastorali cura solitarie uiuere desiderabat Deo. Et aduocatis ad se fratribus, duxit uitam communem annis pluribus: uitam sanctam, uitam claram, uitam de die in diem melioratam. Et quotquot ad se ueniebant ob consilium, tot renouabantur per paternum subsidium. Nec ullatenus parcebant labori; immo undique concurrebant plebei, ut, summa sibi leni atque graui sententia, ad sufficientiam et tollerantiam patienter ut solitam recuperaretur sanius presidium apud pium doctorem; tam uiduis quam orbatis, tam magnis quam pusillis desiderabilem. Qui clarebat in specie, clarebat in uirtute; coruscabat doctrina, eminebat nobilitate.

<sup>8</sup> **firmamentum** firma L. Cf. Psalms 17:3: *Dominus firmamentum meum et refugium meum* ('The Lord is my firmament, my refuge').

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### §11

Qui cum uacabat orationi intermixtę fletibus et singultui, aduenit quidam de fratribus, dicens: ‘O pater pie, egredere ut uideas lignea quę tuis edificiis parata sunt.’ Quęque ut uidit, ecce uir bonus et iustus, et totius Brittanię historiographus Gildas sapiens, ut in historiis nominatur, qui eo tempore conuersabatur in insula Echni, ducens anchoritalem uitam, transibat per medium flumen nauicula cum predictis lignis, ac uelut sua portabat, quę etiam in media silua sine aliquo possessore inuenerat, et multum a conuersatione hominum sequestrata. Cum beatus Oudoceus expertus fuerat, aduocauit fratrem ut sibi lignea edifica sua terrę proiceret, aut, fraterno more, condonationem de illicita fraude apud Deum et hominem supplex impetrasset. Oblita sua admonitione et euacuata prece, nauicula transiuit. Et uelud quadam indignatione, frater Oudoceus accepit securim, non quia feriret, sed ut uirtus Dei per illum usque in perpetuum in creatura Dei appareret. Securis descendit in lapidem integrum, et per medium diuisus est in duobus, ac si artificio manufacto diuideretur funditus. Nec ulli hominum per uiam illam euitandi lapides sunt, quin semper prope ripam fluminis Guy miro ictu uideantur incisi et immobiles.

### §12

Pauca quidem miracula illius sancti uiri et beatę memorię de multis scripto commendata sunt, quippe cum fuerint aut ignibus exusta aut exilii ciuium classe longius deportata. Quod uero postmodum inuestigatum est et adquisitum munimentis seniorum et antiquissimis scriptis litterarum memorię, et scripto commendatum est. Et peracta uita illius sancta et gloriosa, cum adquisitis sibi et ecclesię suę Landauię multis terris, in Domino requieuit .vi. nonas iulii.

### §13

#### **Cilciuhinn et .vi. modios terrę Conuoi et Lanngemei.**

Notandum est nobis quod Mouric rex Morcanhuc filius Teudiric et uxor eius Onbraust filia Gurcanti magni dederunt tres modios terrę Cilcyuhynn et .vi. modios terrę Conuoy, id est Lanngemei simul et Lanteliau TalyPont; quę antea illius fuerat reddiderunt Deo et Oudoceo episcopo sanctisque antecessoribus suis Teliauo Dubrio omnibusque succendentibus sibi in ecclesia Landauię, pro animabus suis et parentum suorum, libere ab omni regali seruitio, cum omni sua dignitate et libertate, refugio et libera communione incolis habitantibus et habitaturis in campo et in siluis, in aqua et in pascuis, in perpetua consecratione. De laicis, testes sunt Muricus rex, uxor eius Onbraust, filii sui Athruis et Idnerth, Condaf, Louheithi, Catgual, Catleu,

Riacat, Conbrinun, Merthyr, Gurcon. De clericis: Oudoceus summus episcopus, Iacob abbas sancti Catoci cum suis senioribus, Catgen abbas sancti Ilduti cum sua familia, Eutigirn abbas Docguinni, Conbran, Conueon, Conguare, Maiuc doctor, Gunbiu magister, et cum finibus istis. Finis Lanngemei: a dorso montis diuidente siluam et campum in mare, et usque ad oculum *Diugurach mal y duc di'r guairet bet y mor.* Finis Lanteliav TalyPont: *o aper Morcleis dy guailaut Lannerch Onnuiu. Trus Cum Onnuiu dy'r Guyth Lunguyd dy Camguili. Truy Camguili dy'r hitir melin. O'r hytir melin hyn biaun di Luchur ex alia parte. Arbit Luchuc dy uinyd bet Camfrut. Arbit Camfrut in parte ecclesię bet i blain. Dy Alt Minchei, arhyt ir alt di Dubleis. Truy Dubleissou bet Dinas Cynlyuan. Arbit yr ochyr bet ar cyueyr blain Cynbran. Arbit Cinbran eithaf bet Lychur.*

#### §14

Rex Teudiric cum esset in regno suo tenens pacem cum populo et iustitiam, postposuit temporalem potestatem per eterna, ita quod regnum suum commendauit filio suo Mourico. Et uitam heremitalem in rupibus Dindyrn cepit ducere. Qui cum esset in uita illa, ceperunt Saxones terram suam inuadere super filium suum Mouricum, et ita nisi ipse solus adhuc eis succurreret quod omnino filius suus ab extraneis exhereditaretur. De quo Teudiric, dicebant cum regnum suum teneret quod nunquam uictus ab hostibus fuerat, sed semper uictor. Et ita, uisa facie sua in acie bellorum, statim hostes uertebantur in fugam. Et angelus Domini ei dixit nocte<sup>9</sup> precedente, ‘Uade in crastino in auxilium populo Dei contra inimicos ecclesię Christi, et hostes uertent faciem in fugam usque Pull Brochuail. Et tu armatus in acie belli sta, et uisa facie tua ut solita et cognita, inibunt in fugam. Et postea usque ad .xxx. annos non audebunt in tempore filii tui adire patriam, et erunt indigenę et hereditarii in quieta pace. Et tu tamen uulneraberis una plaga in *ryt Tindyrn*, et morieris in pace post triduum.’ Et ita, mane surgens, cum adueniente exercitu filii sui Murici equum suum ascendit, et iuit cum illis, letus angelico iussu. Et armatus stetit in acie belli supra ripam Guy, prope uadum Tindirn. Et uisa facie sua, statim dorsum uerterunt et inierunt fugam. Et tamen unus ex illis proiecit lanceam, et illum uulnerauit lancea sicut predictum ei fuerat. Et inde gausus est, acsi hoste uicto capta preda. Postquam Mouricus filius suus reuersus est cum uictoria, capta preda, dixit patri ut cum eo ueniret. Et dixit ita: ‘Nolo<sup>10</sup> hinc recedere donec Dominus meus Jesus Christus hinc me ferat ad locum meum desiderabilem,

<sup>9</sup> nocte \*octe L (*n* written over an erasure).

<sup>10</sup> Nolo \*olo L (corrected by a later hand).

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ubi disposui iacere post mortem, in insula uidelicet Echni.' Et mane diluculo assunt duo cerui, subiugati et cum plaustro suo parati ante hospitium. Et uir<sup>11</sup> Dei, cognoscens quod ex parte Dei essent missi, ascendit feretrum. Et ubicunque requiescebant, ibi fontes emanabant, donec ad locum unum uenerunt iuxta pratum unum uersus Sauernam. Et postquam ad locum illum uenerunt, ibi fons emanauit lucidissimus, et feretrum suum totum dirupit. Et statim spiritum Deo commendauit, et precepit ceruis ut discederent. Et ibi solus remansit, et post spatum emisit spiritum. Audita morte patris a filio Mourico, fecit ibi oraculum et cimiterium, a sancto Oudoceo episcopo benedictum. Et totum territorium pro anima patris dedit episcopo Oudoceo et ecclesię Landauię et pastoribus eius in sempiterna consecratione, sine ullo censu ullo homini terreno nisi sancto Oudoceo et ecclesię Landauię. Finis:<sup>12</sup> *o aper Pull Muric sursum y'r pull. O'r pull y'r lech (yr Lech Lybiau)<sup>13</sup> bet blain, dy'r ardir. Yr ardir ny hyt bet Fynnaun Elichguid.* Sursum ar bit yr nant dy Finnaun Cruc Leubyn. *O Finnaun Cruc Leubyn eminus dy genou Nant Byuguan. Nant Biuguan yn y bit bet Pullou Rinion dy'r dou pull. O'r dou pull hyn yaun dy'r guayret dy'r carn. O'r carn di'r guairet di'r foss in dorso montis. O'r foss uersus orientem yn traus trus blain pant Nant Ruisc. Ar hyt y claud. Ar y bit bet Otyn Lunbiu. O'r otyn dy'r guairet hyt y claud bet Carn Perth yr Onn, dy'r guayret dy'r macyrou, dy'r pull. Ar hyt y pull dy aper Pull Neuynn yGuy. Ar hyt Guy ha Hafrenn (can y choretov ha'i discynua y loggou) bet aper Muric.* Quicunque custodierit hanc elemosinam, custodiat illum Deus. Qui autem ab ecclesia Landauię separauerit, anathema sit. Amen.

§15

### Ecclesia Gvrid.

Post interuallum,<sup>14</sup> rex idem Mouricus, uerbo et consensu heredis Lilau simul cum dono illius, dedit ecclesiam Guruid cum sua tellure Deo et sanctis Dubrio et Teliauo et ecclesię Landauię et presenti Oudoceo et suis successoribus in perpetuo, cum omni dignitate sua et libertate, et tota communione in campo et in siluis, in aquis et in pascuis, sine ullo censu ulli homini terreno nisi Deo et sancto Petro et ecclesię Landauię et suis pastoribus. Sub perpetuo anathemate quicunque

<sup>11</sup> *uir* ur L (corrected by a later hand).

<sup>12</sup> **Finis** Fnis L.

<sup>13</sup> *y'r pull. O'r pull y'r lech (yr Lech Lybiau)* yrpull. yrlech lybiau. orpull yrlech L. *yrlech lybiau* appears to be a misplaced copy of a gloss on *yr lech*.

<sup>14</sup> **interuallum** intelluallum L.

eam ab ecclesia Landauie separauerit. De laicis testis est Mouricus, Conuelin, Tutir, Loubran, Abrgen, Anuin, Unhu, Conbroin, Catleu, Briauail, Guinoc, Mathus, Conuonoc. De clericis: Oudoceus episcopus, Iacob abbas Catoci, Catgen abbas Ilduti, Eutigirn abbas Docunni. Finis autem huius agri est: a palude nigro usque ad sedem Cetiau, et a Hescenn Iudie usque ad arbores Foton.

### §16

#### **Lanncingualan et Lannarthbodu, Lannconuur et Lannpencreic.**

Sciendum est sane quod Oudoceus episcopus suum proprium adquisiuit agrum, id est podium Cyngualan: agrum quidem sancti Dubricii in patria Guhyr, quem sanctus Oudoceus a tempore mortalitatis (id est *y dylyt melen*) perdiderat usque ad tempus<sup>15</sup> Athruis filii Mourici, post uero contentionem magnam inter Oudoceum episcopum et abbatem Ilduti Biuon, qui dicebat suum esse agrum. In fine uero iudicio iudicatus est ager predictus Oudoceo episcopo et altari Landauie in perpetua hereditate: cella quidem Cyngualan cum sua tota tellure et cella Arthuodu Congurique et Penncreic. Et sanctus Oudoceus accepit de manu Athruis Gurcanti magni nepotis tres cellulas predictas in perpetua consecratione, et cum omni dignitate et tota communione in campo et in siluis, in aqua et in pascuis. Et sub perpetuo anathemate quicunque illas predictas ecclesias a monasterio Landauie separauerit. Qui autem custodierit, custodiet illum Deus. Amen. De clericis testes sunt Oudoceus episcopus, Catgen, Biuan cum sua familia, Iacob abbas altaris sancti Catoci, Eutigirn abbas Docunni cum suis clericis. De laicis: rex Mouricus super filium suum Athruis, Conuonuc, Guallonir, Morcenou, Eithin, Conuetu, Gueithgen Brochmaili filius, Gindoc, Matuc, Arthcumanu o Guhyr,<sup>16</sup> Gurdilic, Gurguistil, Arguiret, Abel, cum presbiteris Conhail, Conhibrit, Gueithgno. Finis Lanncyngualan: infra duas fossas ad mare. *Mal y duc ir diu foss dy'r mynyd, ar hyt yr cecyn. Fin Lanngemei.*

### §17

#### **Lannmerguall.**

Morcant rex Morcannhuc filius Athruis clamauit quietam in die natalis Domini, et pro oblatione sua ecclesiam Cyngur Tros Gardi, que fuerat antea sancti Teliaui, simul et reddidit summo

<sup>15</sup> ad tempus ad tempus ad tempus L.

<sup>16</sup> Arthcumanu o Guhyr, Arthcumanu. Oguhyr. L.

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pontifici Oudoceo sanctisque Teliauo Dubricio omnibus pastoribus Landauie in perpetuo, et cum omni territorio suo et finibus suis, simul cum Mergualdo illius ecclesię principe sub episcopo. Et totam libertatem dedit ecclesię et territorio illius et dominantibus et inhabitaturis incolis in perpetuo, et sine consule et proconsule, et cum refugio, et sine expeditione infra regionem nec extra, nec ad uigilandam die nec nocte, et cum omni communione incolis in campo et in siluis, in aqua et in pascuis. De clericis testes sunt Oudoceus episcopus, Sulgen abbas Nant Carban, Saturn abbas Dochou, Gurhaual abbas Lannildut, Guencat princeps Lanncynuur. De laicis: Morcant rex, Guedguen, Briauail, Iunet, Guidnerth filius Gullonar. Qui custodierit, custodiat illum Deus. Qui autem non seruauerit, anathema sit. Amen. Finis illius: *o aper Finnaun Canbed yn y mor, ar hyt ir pant dy uynyd dy'r pyllou, dy Carn Cymlyr, dy Main Dyastur, dy cecin yr mynyd. Trus yr mynid dy Guoun Brechmil, dy blain yr hytyr. O'r hytyr dy'r nant. Ar hyt yr nant bet Dubleis. Dubleis bet Ryt i Deueit. O'r ryt<sup>17</sup> dy nant bychan. Ar hyt y nant ad sinistram di penn Lubin Latron. O'r lubinn di nant. Ar y hit bet y Mor Hafren.*

§18

### Lanncors.

Sciant omnes Christiani quod Agustus, rex Brecheinniauc, et filii sui Eliud et Riualaun, propter Deum et amicitiam carnalem, dederunt Oudoceo Lanncors episcopo et suis omnibus successoribus in ecclesia Petri apostoli et sanctorum Dubricii et Teliaui de Landauia, et cum corporibus suis ad sepulturam suam in elemosina, et cum suis piscibus et coretibus anguillarum, et cum toto territorio suo, et in modum dotis in perpetuo, et cum sua tota libertate in campo et in siluis, in aqua et in pascuis, et cum suo refugio et etiam priuilegio, sine consule, sine proconsule, sine expeditione infra regionem nec extra simili modo. De clericis testes sunt Oudoceus episcopus, Sedoc testis, Conbran, Conocan, Conueon, Conlec filius Conluip, Bran, Conbau, Conlouern, Gellan, Atgar, Guengarth. De laicis: Agust rex cum filiis suis Elguid et Rigualaun cum aliis. Quicunque custodierit, custodiat illum Deus. Qui autem ab ecclesia Landauie separauerit, separetur a consortio angelorum. Amen. Finis illius est: *o aper Finnaun Doudecseint yn Linn Syuadon ar hyt yr guuer dy uinyd bet lycat yr finnaun, dy penn Claud Lyuarch Hen. Ar hyt ir claud bet pan dyscynn yn Lyfni. Ar y hit di'r guairet bet y pen Brynn Eital.* Ad sinistram

<sup>17</sup> O'r ryt oryt L.

*trus di pen y bryn, di blain Nant Tael. Ar hyt yr nant bet Lyfni. Lyfni yn y bit bet y lynn. Ar hyt yr lynn bet oper Finnaun y Doudeceint ubi incepit.*

§19

**Riu Graenau. Nant Auan. Villa Guerberth.**

Mouricvs rex et Cynuetu conuenerunt insimul Landauię, et presente Oudoceo episcopo iurauerunt antepositis reliquiis sanctorum ut firmam pacem inter se tenerent. Facta iuratione, post interuallum occidit rex Mouricus dolo Cynuetu. Et postea episcopus Oudoceus conuocauit omnes clericos suos ab hostio Taratyr *yn Guy* usque ad Tyui cum tribus abbatibus suis, Concen abbate Carbani uallis, Catgen abbate Ilduti, Sulgen abbate Docguinni, et plena sinodo excommunicauit regem Mouricum propter homicidium ab eo perpetratum et propter pactum factum presentia sui et super altare Petri apostoli et sanctorum Dubricii et Teliaui transgressum. Et ita, inclinando cruces ad terram, simul et patriam dimisit sine baptismo et communione christiana. Maledixit regem cum progenie, confirmante sinodo et dicente, ‘Fiant dies eius pauci, et fiant filii eius orphani et uxor eius uidua.’ Et remansit rex, cum tota regione sua, spatio duorum annorum et eo amplius sub eadem excommunicatione. Post hęc, rex non potuit tandiu durantem excommunicationem tantam amplius sustinere. Uidens perditionem animę suę et dampnationem regni, ueniam requisuit apud sanctum Oudoceum Landauię. Et effusis lacrimis cum inclinato capite, et coram tribus abbatibus Oudoceus episcopus imposuit ei iugvm penitentię ad modum qualitatis et quantitatis, commendans ei ut tribus modis emendaret apud Deum et ecclesiam Landauię: uidelicet iejunio et oratione et elemosinis. Rex Mouricus, accepto iugo penitentię, dedit quattuor uillas pro redemptione animę suę et pro anima Cynetu ecclesię Landauię, et in manu Oudocei episcopi et omnibus suis successoribus, cum tota sua libertate, et ob omni seruitio liberas in perpetuo, et cum tota communione per patriam suam manentibus in his terris in campo et in silua, in pascuis et in aqua: .i.<sup>a</sup> Riu Graenau, .ii.<sup>a</sup> Nant Auan, .iii.<sup>a</sup> est in qua occisus est Cynetu ultra Nadauan, .iv.<sup>a</sup> trans Nadauan ubi filius regis mechatus est, a palude Elleti usque Nadauan, id est uilla Gurberdh. De illis quattuor, .xxiiii.<sup>or</sup> modii terrarum. De clericis testes sunt Oudoceus episcopus, Concen abbas Carbani uallis, Catgen abbas Ilduti, Sulgen abbas Docunni, Conbran, Sedoc, Cynuur, Cetcu, Lyggessauc, Gunguare. De laicis: Mouric rex cum filio suo Frioc et nepote Morcant filio Athruiis, Cunblus, Briauail, Gendic, Guedgen, Guengarth. Qui custodierit, custodiat illum Deus. Qui autem separauerit ab ecclesia Landauię, anathema sit. Finis

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Riu Graenauc: a Nadauan, ducente fossa per longitudinem sursum ad rufum lacum in triuio montis.

§20

### **Villa Gvilbiv.**

Morcant rex filius Athruis dedit uillam Guilbiu, cum hereditario suo Gurhytyr, pro anima sua et anima Mourici cui sui filii Teudiric Oudoceo episcopo et ecclesię Landauię et suis pastoribus in perpetuo, sine ullo censu homini terreno, et cum sua libertate et tota communione. De clericis testes sunt Oudoceus episcopus, Concen abbas Carbani uallis, Colbrit abbas Ilduti, Confur, Trycan, Berthguin, Catguare. De<sup>18</sup> laicis: Morcant rex, Guinan filius Ilud, Iudic filius Cetuur, Iunet filius Letric, Gindoc, Guaidnerth filius Guallonir, Brocuail, Rihoithil, Guengarth. Finem eiusdem agri supradiximus. A fine illius uille in qua occidit Mouric Cynuetu usque ad cumulum lapidum, et usque ad cumulum alium, et postea usque in Naudauan. Qui custodierit, custodiat illum Deus. Qui autem separauerit ab ecclesia Landauię, anathema sit. Amen.

§21

### **Podum Liuheſſ in Eluail.**

Morcant rex dedit Oudoceo episcopo in elemosina podum Liuheſſ et Landauię et suis omnibus successoribus in perpetuo, sine ullo censu ulli homini terreno, et cum sua tota libertate in campo et in siluis, in aqua et in pascuis, et super sepulchrum Mourici regis iacentis Landauię cui sui, coram idoneis testibus. De clericis: Oudoceus episcopus testis est, Concen abbas Carbani uallis, Colbrit abbas Ilduti, Iudhurb abbas Docunni, Guencat princeps Aluni capititis, Sedoc, Guorceniu, Conoc, Conbran, Clemens, Conueon, Cetiu, Saturn princeps Taui urbis. De laicis: Morcant rex, Briauail filius Lumarch, Gindoc filius Is[m]ael, Iunet filius Letric, Guaidnerth filius Guallonir, Guidgen filius Brochuail. Qui custodierit, benedicetur. Qui autem separauerit ab ecclesia Landauię, anathema sit. Amen.

<sup>18</sup> **D**e Da L.

## §22

**Porth Cassecc.**

Movricus rex simul et Iudic filius Nud dederunt agrum Porthcassec Deo et ecclesię Landauie et sanctis Dubrio et Teliauo, et in manu episcopi Oudocei et suis omnibus successoribus in perpetuo, cum sua tota libertate, et cum duobus coretibus suis, et communione in campo et in siluis, in aqua et in pascuis. De clericis testes sunt Oudoceus episcopus, Bertguin, Gurbiu, Iaco. De laicis: Morcant rex, Iudic hereditarius filius Nud, Eluoid, Morclas, Dallon filius Guoidgar, Eliud filius Guerith. Qui custodierit, custodiat illum Deus. Qui autem ab ecclesia Landauię et a pastoribus illius separauerit, anathema sit. Amen.

## §23

**Tir Hiernin et Tir Retoc.**

Sciant katholici uiri quod Iudic rex filius Nud et Cinan filius Cinuedu, ambo reges, dederunt duos agros, agrum Redoc et agrum Hiernin, pro salute animarum suarum summo episcopo Oudoceo<sup>19</sup> et sanctis Dubrio et Teliauo et omnibus pastoribus ecclesię Landauię in perpetua consecratione, cum omni sua libertate in campo et in siluis, in aqua et in pascuis, sine ullo censu ulli homini terreno nisi ecclesię Landauię. De clericis testes sunt primus Oudoceus episcopus, Cunbran, Cunueon, Cunuaret presbiter, Gurceniu presbiter. De laicis: Iudic et Cinan reges, Elgued, Atoc, Milgen, Haiuen, Hirel, Conuoet, Cinuoc, Protec, Aerthirn, Loudoce. Quicunque custodierit, custodiat illum Deus. Qui autem non seruauerit, fiat sub perpetuo anathemate donec ad emendationem uenerit. Amen.

## §24

**Coupalua, Penn i Porth, villa Gregurii, id est uilla filiorum .v. Ourdeuint super ripam Tam.**

Factvm est quod Oudoceus episcopus accepit uillam Greguri, quę dicitur Coupalua super ripam Taf, id est Penn y Porth, a Guedgueno Brochmaili filio cum suo toto agro, id est cum tribus modiis terrarum, pro anima sua et commercio regni cęlestis, cum omni sua libertate et tota communione, sine ullo censu homini terreno nisi ecclesię Landauię. De clericis testes sunt episcopus Oudoceus, Concen abbas Carbani uallis, Colbrit abbas Ilduti, Iudhubr abbas Docunni.

<sup>19</sup> **Oudoceo** Missing in the manuscript, supplied by a later hand.

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De laicis: rex solus Guidgen cum suis. Qui custodierit, custodiat illum Deus. Qui autem seruauerit, benedictus sit. Amen.

§25

### **Villa Lath.**

Sciendvm est omnibus in dextrali Britannia habitantibus quod Morcant rex Athruis filius, pro commertio regni c̄lestis, dedit uillam Lath Landauiq̄ ecclesię sancti Petri et sanctorum Dubricii et Teliaui beato episcopo Oudoceo et suis successoribus omnibus, cum sua tota libertate, sine ullo censu homini terreno nisi ecclesię Landauiq̄. De clericis testes sunt beatus episcopus Oudoceus, Concen abbas Carbani uallis, Colbrit abbas Ilduti, Sulgen abbas Docguinni, cum familia eorum. De laicis uero: Morcant rex, Guonocatui princeps Aluni capitis, Sadoc presbiter, Gurceneu faber, Briauail filius Luuarch, Gendoc filius Ismael, Iunet, Rioidyl. Qui separauerit hanc elemosinam ab ecclesia Landauiq̄, destruat illum Deus. Qui autem seruauerit, benedictus sit. Amen.

§26

Insinuandum est quod sanctus Oudoceus, cum sua congregatione, et Concen abbas sancti Catoci et Sulgen abbas Docunni et Congen abbas Ilduti, cum omni sua congregatione, et Morcant rex et Frioc patruus suus uenerunt omnes ad podium sancti Ilduti, et ambo Morcant rex et Frioc, presentibus illis omnibus, super altare sancti Ilduti antepositis sanctis reliquiis iurauerunt ita ut simul firmam pacem inter se sine dolo tenerent, et ita tali conuentione ut, si unus alterum occideret, aut ei dolum inferret, nullo se alio modo redimeret, agro nec argento, sed regnum suum quietum clamaret et uitam suam totam duceret in peregrinationem. Post multum uero temporis, suadente Diabolo, occidit rex Morcant Frioc patruum suum dolo. Et eo occiso, uenit rex Morcant ad Oudoceum episcopum ueniam requirens de periurio facto simul cum homicidio perpetrato ad ecclesiam Landauiam. Et audita eius petitione, mandauit episcopus Oudoceus propterea<sup>20</sup> abbates trium congregationum suarum, Concen abbatem Catoci, Sulgen abbatem Docunni, Congen abbatem Ilduti, cum suis clericis congregatis in unum in sancta sinodo omnibus ab hostio Taratyr yg Guy usque ad hostium Tyui. Et uenit rex cum senioribus Morcannuc obuiam illis ad podium Carbani uallis et ad recipiendum iudicium de malefacto suo cum summa satisfactione. Et plena sinodus, presentia Oudocei episcopi, iudicauit, propter orbitatem regni, ne

<sup>20</sup> propterea propter L.

fieret sine protegente clipeo domini naturalis, peregrinationem illius ieuniis et orationibus et elemosinis redimere simul cum homicidio perjurium expurgare. Et rex Morcant, assensu seniorum Morcanhuc, posuit manum suam super quattuor euangelia et reliquias sanctorum, tenente illa sancto Oudoceo, et promittit in primis se emendaturum de predicto facinore sicut predictum est, ieunio et oratione et elemosina. Et insuper promittit se nunquam tale quid amplius facturum, et se in omnibus regalem iustitiam misericorditer acturum. Iuncta ei penitentia ad modum facinorum et ad illius qualitatem et quantitatem potentiam, et data sibi communione christiana (ablata prius sibi ab episcopo Oudoceo), clamauit tres congregations Catoci, Ilduti, Docunni liberas ab omni regali seruitio Deo et sanctis Teliauo, Dubricio, Oudoceo et omnibus successoribus suis, et ita cum omni sua dignitate et priuilegio sanctorum Dubricii Teliaui in perpetua consecratione ecclesię Landauie. Et utrem mellis et lebetem ferream quę ecclesia sancti Ilduti regi debebat reddere, quietam rex Morcan clamauit sine fine. Et uouit Deo et Oudoceo in presenti sinodo nunquam inantea in aliquo dominari in tribus congregationibus, nec in earum possessionibus nec in refugiis uiolandis, neque glebam unam sciens unquam ablaturus ui aut aliquo malo ingenio de suis territoriis. Et ita liberas, sine ullo censu ulli homini terreno, magno uel modico, data maledictione uiolaturis benedictione autem conseruaturis in pace. De clericis testes sunt Oudoceus episcopus, Concen abbas Carbani uallis, Sulgen abbas Docunni, Congen abbas Ilduti, cum suis clericis Conuoge, Gurcenou, Coilbrit, Conoc, Sulgen, Conbran. De laicis: Morcan rex, Guidgen, Gindoc, Iuthel, Iunet, Iurthir, Iudic, Iudguallon, cum magna copia clericorum et laicorum, tam sinodo quam extra sinodum.

## §27

### Lannguruaet.

Avgust, rex Brecheiniauc,<sup>21</sup> et filii eius Eliud et Riuallaun reddiderunt Deo et sanctis Teliauo et Dubricio et in manu Oudocei summi episcopi et omnibus episcopis Landauie in perpetua consecratione Lannguruaet, quę antea fuerat in primo tempore sanctorum Dubricii et Teliaui, cum omni suo territorio, et ita sine ullo censu ulli homini terreno, magno uel modico, nisi ecclesię Landauie, et cum refugio suo et omni dignitate sanctorum Dubricii et Teliaui et priuilegio, et tota communione incolis in perpetuo in campo et in siluis, in aqua et in pascuis, et cum finibus suis, data maledictione uiolaturis, benedictione autem seruaturis. De clericis testes sunt Oudoceus

<sup>21</sup> Brecheiniauc Becheiniaun L.

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episcopus, Sedoc, Conbran, Conocan, Conueon, Conlec, Bran, Conlouern, Gellan, Atgar, Guengarth. De laicis uero: August rex, filii eius Eliud et Riwallaun, cum multis aliis. Finis illius est: *blain Ethrim, ar hit ir cecin i uinid, ni hit di Carn Erchan. O'r Carn Erchan di'r hen ford. I ford ni hit bet Porth i Dorcluit, bit cecin. Ni hit bet blain Nant Dincat. I nant ni hit bet pan discinn in Nant Cilieni. Cilieni ni hit di'r guairet bet in aper Nant ir Hen. Ni hit bet iCruc Hisbernn. O Cruc Hisbernn, cecin i minid ni hit bet imon Crois Guerion, di'r guairet bet iGuoun Teir Fin, di Nant Cenou. Nant Cenov ni hit bet ar Cilieni. Cilieni ni hit bet in aper i Post Du. Post Du ni hit bet ar Cloutac. Cloutac ni hit bet i blain, di'r guern traus i minid. Ni hit bet Brinn Bucelid. Ir brinn ni hit bet iblain Mauan. O blain Mauan, i minid ni hit bet iblain Ethrim*, ubi incepit.

§28

### Lanncyncyrrill.

Morcant rex Athruis filius, pro anima Frioc filio Mourici, quem ipse occidit, et pro redemptione anime suę, accepto iugo penitentię in ieunio et elemosina et oratione, dedit summo Oudoceo episcopo Lanncincirill et agrum Cynfall et ecclesię Landauię et sanctis Dubrio et Teliauo, cum sua tota libertate et tota communione in campo et in siluis, in aqua et in pascuis, omnibus habitantibus in perpetuo. De clericis testes sunt Oudoceus episcopus, Concen abbas Carbani uallis, Congen abbas Ilduti, Sulgen abbas Docguinni, Maioc, Sulgen, Colbrit. De laicis: Morcant rex, Grucinan, Guedgen, Elcu, Petyr, Rihedl, Samuel, Titgual, Bleidcu, Citoc, Guelbiu. Qui custodierit, custodiat illum Deus. Qui autem ab ecclesia Landauię separauerit, anathema sit. Amen. Finis istius agri: Cepetic Trican, hoc est, a uado rufo super Rudlan Elei, de hinc sursum e regione, per siluam, super cliuim siluę usque ad Cruc Cynfall Scoti. Exin fossa diuidente sursum supra montem, per longitudinem fosse usque ad fontem. De fonte deorsvm per spatium usque ad capud Claud Trycan in ualle. Fossa ducente usque ad montem, descendente deorsum, per fossam per longitudinem ad Talpon Brinan, ad uiam latam. Per longitudinem uię. Fossa ducente ad Elei.

§29

### Lann Oudocui.

Morcant, rex Gleuissic, pro commertio regni cęlestis, cum magna deuotione humili et contrito corde, reddidit Oudoceo episcopo et sanctis Dubrio et Teliauo et ecclesię Landauię, in honore

sancti Petri fundatę, Lannenniaun, cum sua tota dignitate<sup>22</sup> et cum tota libertate et tota communione in silua et in campis, in aqua et in pascuis, et cum quattuor suis gurgitibus, et cum coretibus et siluis, et sine aliquo censu ulli homini terreno nisi Deo et ecclesię Landauię in perpetuo, et cum refugio suo, et uelut insulam undique liberam positam in salo. De clericis testes sunt Oudoceus episcopus, Sulgen abbas Carbani uallis, Gurthauar abbas Ilduti, Saturn abbas Docguinni, Conbran, Berthguin. De<sup>23</sup> laicis: Morcant rex, Eifest, Conuiu, Ihuc, Iudic, Guengarth, Biuan, Iunet, Ceriau, Rihedl. Finis istius podi est: *o'r Ciuilchi di Lech Oudoucui, di crib ir alt, i'r tu guartha. Ni hit di'r rit, hit Caletan. Cemn ni hit het guailaut i guoun, di hannher ir minid, di'r rud pull*, usque ad Ylui. Et deinde a Guenfrut usque ad Trylec Bechan. Qui custodierit, custodiat illum Deus. Qui autem ab ecclesia Landauię et a pastoribus illius separauerit, anathema sit. Amen.

### §30

#### Ecclesia Elidon et Gucof.

Ivdhail rex Athruis filius, equitans quadam die per tellurem Guocob, titubante equo suo cecidit ad terram. Et resurgens sanus, gratias egit Deo. Et respexit uersus ecclesiam Elidon. Dixit, eleuatis manibus, ad Deum, 'Istam ecclesiam quam uideo cum sua tota tellure, et uillam Guocof in qua sto, commendo Deo omnipotenti, qui me sanum fecit de periculo.' Et aduocato ad eum Oudoceo episcopo cum tribus abbatibus, Concen abbate Carbani uallis, Colbrit abbate Ilduti, Iudhubr abbate Docunni. De clericis testes sunt Trychan, Satuc, Cinbran, Cinuchan, Conguean, Conlec, Oran, Conuan. Et Oudoceo episcopo et omnibus successoribus suis in perpetuo ecclesia Landauię sanctorum Petri et Dubricii et Teliaui, et cum sua tota libertate et omni communione habitantibus et habitaturis perenniter in terris istis, in campo et in siluis, in aqua et in pascuis, ubique per totam regionem Gleuissic. De laicis testes sunt Ithail rex, Brochmail, Gellan, Adgar, Guncar. Finis illarum uillarum est: *o'r pant neshaf di licat Gurrimi. O Gurrimi binn iaun [di] genou Pant Ciu. I uinid ni hid bit guartham ir alt, di'r claud. Claud ni hit in traus trus i ford. I claud ni hit trui i coit i guaret i'r pant. Ar hit i claud di'r carn. Claud ni hit i'r finnaun. O'r finnaun di'r claud. Claud ni hit di'r finnaun arall. O'r finnaun ar hit i foss i uinid trui i coit, di'r minid. Ar ir all, ar hit foss. Foss ni hit i'r pant. Pant ni hit i uinid, trus i ford maur. Ar hit i claud trus i minid, in iaun i*

<sup>22</sup> dignitate digitate L.

<sup>23</sup> De Da L.

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*blain Pant Gulich, di Hen Lotre Elidon iblain i pant. I pant i guairet per medium uallis di'r finnaun licat Gulich. Gulich i'r guairet. Ar i bit hi i ciueir Pouisua Deuui, i penn i carn. Ynis teir eru i part h arall ir nant. Nant i guairet. Ar i bit hit ni aper iGuorrimi. Guorrimi ni hit sursum hit penn guocieir i pant ubi incepit finis. Quicunque custodierit, custodiat illum Deus. Qui autem ab ecclesia Landauię separauerit, anathema sit.*

§31

### **Emricorua in Guent Is Coit super ripam Guy.**

Ivdhail rex Morcanti filius et filii eius Fernuail atque Mouric dederunt tres uncias agri pleni nauigationis Guy fluminis, id est Emricorua, et Gurdocius hereditarius filius Catdem simul cum eis, Deo et sanctis Dubrio et Teliauo et Oudoceo et omnibus suis successoribus ecclesię Landauię in perpetuo, cum omni libertate sua et coretibus suis omnibus, et cum tota communione in campo et in siluis, in aqua et in pascuis. De clericis testes sunt episcopus Oudoceus, Daganus abbas Carbani uallis, Eluoid abbas Ilduti, Saturn abbas Docunni. De laicis: Ithail rex et filii eius Fernuail et Mouric, Gabran, Elfin, Guinan, Mabsu, Guallonor, Guruodu, Nud, Arcon, Tutnerth, Etelic, Datlon, Conocan. Quicunque custodierit, custodiat illum Deus. Qui autem ab ecclesia Landauię separauerit,<sup>24</sup> anathema sit. Finis illius est: vallis Annuc super ripam Guy, finis Lanncinuarch ex alia parte. *Pant Annuc di uinid bet penn foss in hi pant, di uinid di'r pant arall ar i scuid uersus orientem, di guairet bet ir allt, di'r finnaun, ar hit i guuer bet Guy. Ar hit Guy di uinid* (cum coretibus suis) *bet Pant Annuc super ripam Guy, ubi incepit.*

§32

### **Lann Emrdil.**

Ithail rex immolauit Deo et sanctis Dubrio et Teliauo, et in manu Oudocei summi episcopi et omnibus successoribus suis in ecclesia Landauię, Lannefrdl in Brehes, cum omni territorio suo et omni libertate sua, et tota communione incolis in campo et in siluis, in aqua et in pascuis, et cum finibus suis, et attestantibus bonis hominibus, data maledictione uiolaturis, benedictione autem conseruaturis in pace in ecclesia Landauię. Finis illius est: *O Rit i Main ar Ilgui ar hit ir nant mal i duc di uinid bet i blain, bet Allt ir Cicbran, di blain Nant ir Hebauc. Ar i hit bet pan*

<sup>24</sup> separauerit sepauerit L.

*discinn hi Guefrduur. Mal i duc di'r guairet bet Ilgui. Mal i duc Ilgui di'r guairet bet Rit ir Main ar Ylgui*, ubi incepit.

§33

**Lannmenechi.**

Brochmail filius Guidgentiuai uillam Meneich cum .vi. modiis agri immolauit Deo et sanctis Dubricio et Teliauo et in manu Oudocei episcopi et suis omnibus successoribus in ecclesia Landauię pro anima sua et in elemosina, et cum sua tota libertate et omni communione in campo et in siluis, in aqua et in pascuis. Finis illius uille est: uilla Giurgii ex altero latere, quam dederat Brochmail idem antea simili modo Oudoceo episcopo. Finis istius uille est (id est Meneich), hoc est ad aquilonem, Tref ir Gillicg (id est Tref ir Cil antiquo nomine). Et idem Brochuail iterum dedit Oudoceo episcopo in uno die tres modios agri [...]nuc Bacan Deo et Oudoceo episcopo cum suo territorio. Finis: a uia magna quę dicit<sup>25</sup> a Porta Halan usque ad Riu Finion, extendente per marginem monticuli usque ad Riu Tinuiu (id est Henriu). Iterum per circuitum usque ad uiam magnam, quę dicit ad Riu Finion. De clericis testes sunt episcopus Oudoceus, Concen abbas Carbani uallis, Colbrit abbas Ilduti, Iudhubr abbas Docguinni. De laicis: Brochmail cum suis. Qui custodierit, custodiat illum Deus. Qui autem ab ecclesia Landauię separauerit, anathema sit.

<sup>25</sup> **quę dicit** quę dicit quę dicit L.

# Vita Sancti Oudocei (Liber Landavensis)

edited by Ben Guy

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## Translation

Here begins the life of blessed Euddogwy, archbishop of Llandaff.

### §1

There was man, Buddig son of Cyfrdan,<sup>1</sup> a native of Cornouaille,<sup>2</sup> who came to Dyfed with his fleet in the time of Aergol Llawhir,<sup>3</sup> the king of that kingdom, because he had been expelled from his own country. While he was staying in that country, he took a wife by the name of Anawfedd, daughter of Ensynch; and her mother was Gwennaf, daughter of Llyfonwy. From this

<sup>1</sup> **Cybrdan (Cyfrdan)** Cf. GPC s.v. *cyfrdan*, *cyfrddan* (big fire, conversation, dissension, cry of grief). Doble (LWS 210) suggested that this name is an ‘imperfect reminiscence’ of *Diles Heirguor Chebre*, who appears in the lists of the counts of Cornouaille immediately before the third count called *Budic*. See note 6 below.

<sup>2</sup> **Cornugallia (Cornouaille)** In Liber Landavensis, *Cornugallia* appears to have been equated with all of Brittany, rather than just the south-west of the peninsula (LWS 210; Davies 2003: 120).

<sup>3</sup> **Aircol Lauhir (Aergol Llawhir)** This king of Dyfed appears in a list of the kings who were contemporary with St Teilo, which follows the Life of St Teilo in Liber Landavensis (VS Teliaui (LL), §19). He appears in early genealogies of the kings of Dyfed as the father (or sometimes grandfather) of Gwrthebyr, who can be equated with the *Vortiporius* of the Demetae denounced by Gildas in *De excidio Britanniae* (EWGT 4, 10 (§2), 45 (§§12–13), 106 (§18a); DEB §31.1). The name *Aircol* derives from Latin *Agricola*. Liber Landavensis is the earliest source for the epithet *Llawhir* (Longhand); the earlier Harleian genealogies simply call him *Aircol* (EWGT 10 (§2)). Aergol is also connected to Dyfed in two early Welsh poems: *Trawsgau Kynan Garwyn*, ll. 25–6 (Isaac 1999: 181) and *Englynion y Beddau*, stanza 71 (Jones 1967: 132–3).

Anawfedd, there were born to him Ishmael and Tyfai,<sup>4</sup> the martyr lying in Penally.<sup>5</sup> While Buddig was staying in that country, messengers were sent to him from his native region of Cornouaille to tell him to come without delay with his whole warband and with the help of the Britons to regain the kingdom of the people of Armorica; following the death of their king, they wanted to get him back, as he was born of the royal line. As they gave their unanimous advice, he heard and accepted their message, and earnestly he took his pregnant wife with his whole warband and landed with his fleet in his country. And he ruled over the entire land of Armorica, which in his time extended as far as the Alps.<sup>6</sup> And his wife bore a son called Euddogwy. After Euddogwy had grown up,<sup>7</sup> Buddig sent him away for the study of letters, as he had promised holy Teilo beforehand in Britain; that if he had a son, he would commend him to God, just as he had commended both of Euddogwy's brothers, whom we mentioned before. And from infancy holy Euddogwy began to be enriched with knowledge and eloquence to such a degree that he surpassed his contemporaries and even his companions in his habits and sanctity.

<sup>4</sup> **Ismael et Tyfei (Ishmael and Tyfai)** According to the calendar in Vespasian A. xiv, Ishmael was a bishop and confessor whose feast day was celebrated on 16 June. In the Liber Landavensis Life of St Teilo, he is specifically said to have been a bishop of St Davids, consecrated by Teilo (VS Teliaui (LL), §16). Ishmael appears alongside Áedán (alias Maedóc) and Eliud (alias Teilo) as a disciple of David in Rhygyfarch's Life of St David (VS Dauid (Vesp), §15). He is the patron saint of several churches in Carmathenshire and Pembrokeshire, including St Ishmael's (Llanismel) in Rhos. The latter has been identified as the *Llan Ismael* in the early medieval tract on the seven bishop-houses of Dyfed (Charles-Edwards 1971: 248, 251; cf. LWS 189–90), and it is most probably the *Lannissan* listed in the Liber Landavensis as a church granted to Teilo (VS Teliaui (LL), §25). St Tyfai is the patron of Lamphey (Llandyfái), between Tenby and Pembroke, Llandyfeisant, west of Llandeilo Fawr, and Llanffá in Glamorgan (*Lan Tiuei* in the charter at LL 212; cf. Coe 2002: 469) (LWS 189–90; Charles 1992: ii, 694–5; Davies 2003: 88). See too the note to Fidelis in VS Teliaui (LL), §16.

<sup>5</sup> The martyrdom of St Tyfai of Penally, nephew of St Teilo, is described in a charter of St Teilo in VS Teliaui (LL), §28.

<sup>6</sup> It has been argued that the story of Buddig's return to Armorica is related to a brief account in two of the lists of the counts of Cornouaille. The version in the Cartulary of Quimperlé (1120s/30s) states that the first of the three counts called Budic, 'returning from *Alamannia*, slew Marchell and recovered his paternal dominion' (LWS 210; Davies 2003: 120). However, in the other version, preserved in the Cartulary of Landévennec (s. xi), the relevant note appears only as an interlinear addition of the thirteenth century, written above the name of Budic's successor, Iahan Reith (Merdrignac 2012: 120–4). For an account of the lists, and a translation of the text of the Landévennec version into French, see Chédeville and Guillotel 1984: 77–82. For the Landévennec and Quimperlé lists in parallel, see Marquand 2012: 52.

<sup>7</sup> **post tempus maturitatis (After Euddogwy had grown up)** John Reuben Davies notes that the phrase *post tempus* (*sue*) *maturitatis* recurs below (§7) and in the Life of St Samson (VS Samsonis (LL), §6; Davies 2003: 137).

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### §2

And after a very long time, the Yellow Pestilence came through greater Britain. Indeed, it was called ‘yellow’<sup>8</sup> because it turned all those whom it struck down yellow and pale. It would appear to people as a column of watery mist, sweeping one end over the earth, and dragging the other above through the air, and it roamed throughout the whole region like a shower of rain roaming through the bottoms of the valleys. And whatever living things it touched with its pestilential breath would either die on the spot or become mortally sick.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, if anyone tried to apply a cure to the sick person, not only would the medicine have no effect, but the dire infection would even drag down the healer along with the sick person to death.<sup>10</sup> And after a very long time, it was quelled through the prayers of holy Teilo and the saints of Britain. But before it was eradicated entirely, a divine voice came to holy Teilo to tell him to go with his clerics and people to Cornouaille (which was afterwards called Cernyw Buddig). And there he found his nephew Euddogwy, a brilliant and gentle man, learned in both laws, like a candle on a candlestick.<sup>11</sup>

### §3

And after dwelling there for a while, holy Teilo, archbishop of Llandaff, of the church of St Peter the Apostle, returned to his native land,<sup>12</sup> accompanied by his nephew.<sup>13</sup> His nephew grew so much in goodness and knowledge that the clergy and the people elected him to succeed in the bishopric of the church of Llandaff: by the election of the clergy, Merchwyn, Elward and master

<sup>8</sup> ‘Flaua’ quidem uocabatur (Indeed, it was called ‘yellow’) Both versions of the Life of St Teilo have *Pestis autem illa flaua*, ‘But this plague was called “yellow”’ (VS Teliaui (Vesp), §9; VS Teliaui (LL), §9).

<sup>9</sup> **egrotabantur in mortem** (become mortally sick) Both versions of the Life of St Teilo have the active form of the verb, *egrotabant* (VS Teliaui (Vesp), §9; VS Teliaui (LL), §9). According to DMLBS s.v. *aegrotare*, the verb can be deponent or non-deponent in form.

<sup>10</sup> **Flaua quidem uocabatur [...] ad interitum** (Indeed, it was called yellow [...] to death) This passage also appears in both versions of the Life of St Teilo (VS Teliaui (Vesp), §9; VS Teliaui (LL), §9; see LWS 208, n. 2; Davies 2003: 120).

<sup>11</sup> **ut candelam super candelabrum** (like a candle on a candlestick) Cf. Matthew 5.15; Mark 4.21; Luke 8.16, 11.33; VS Dubricii (LL / Vesp), §15.

<sup>12</sup> **rediit ad natale solum** (returned to his native land) This phrase appears in the Vespasian version of the Life of St Teilo but not in the Liber Landavensis version (VS Teliaui (Vesp), §10; VS Teliaui (LL), §15; LWS 209, n. 5; Davies 2003: 120, n. 83).

<sup>13</sup> In the Liber Landavensis version of the Life of St Teilo, Euddogwy and his brothers are said to have been disciples of St Dyfrig before they were disciples of St Teilo (VS Teliaui (LL), §16).

Gwynfyw;<sup>14</sup> of the three abbots, Cadien abbot of Llanilltud, Cyngen abbot of Llancarfan and Cedni<sup>15</sup> abbot of Llandochar;<sup>16</sup> and of the laity, King Meurig and his sons Athrwys and Idnerth, Gwyddien and Ceidio, Brochfael, Gynddog, Llywonerdd, Cadwaladr, and all the principal men of the whole diocese.<sup>17</sup>

#### §4

Holy Euddogwy was sent with his aforesaid clerics Merchwyn, Elward and Gwynfyw, together with the messengers of the three abbots and of the king and the principal men, to the see of Canterbury to the blessed archbishop, where he was consecrated to the church of Llandaff, founded in honour of St Peter. King Meurig, with his two sons and his wife Onbraws,<sup>18</sup> daughter of Gwrgan the Great,<sup>19</sup> and the three abbots of the three monasteries, and with all the principal men of his kingdom and the whole community of Saints Dyfrig and Teilo of the church of Llandaff, received him with joy, granting and confirming the same privilege that had been given formerly to St Dyfrig and St Teilo and their successors, with its entire status and freedom. And

<sup>14</sup> **Mercguini et Elgoreti et Gunnuini magistri** (**Merchwyn, Elward and master Gwynfyw**) *Merchguinus, Elguoredus* and *Gunnuinus* appear in the same order as disciples of St Dyfrig in the Liber Landavensis/Vespasian A. xiv version of the Life of St Dyfrig (VS Dubricii (LL / Vesp), §15; cf. LWS 69, 211). All three appear as witnesses to other documents in the Liber Landavensis (Davies 2003: 81–2). *Gunnuinus* is an attempt to spell ModW ‘Gwynfyw’, with a certain amount of minim confusion; cf. his reappearance as *Gunnbiu* in the following section.

<sup>15</sup> **Cetnig (Cedni)** Cf. EANC 131; Sims-Williams 1991: 33, n. 3.

<sup>16</sup> **Catgen abbatis Ilduti, Concenn abbatis Catmaili, Cetnig abbatis Docguinni** (**Cadien abbot of Llanilltud, Cyngen abbot of Llancarfan and Cedni abbot of Llandochar**) The three great monasteries of Glamorgan are identified here, as elsewhere, by the names of their patron saints (Illtud, Cadfael *alias* Cadog, and Dochwyn *alias* Dochau), though in the translation the sense is better conveyed by the place-names, especially since Llanilltud and Llandochar contain the names of the saints. It is for this reason that the Welsh forms of the latter two names have been used, rather than Llantwit (Major) and Llandough (Fach). Dochwyn’s monastery was located at Llandough Fach near Cardiff, but there is also another Llandochar/Llandough near Cowbridge.

<sup>17</sup> John Reuben Davies notes that seven of the names of Euddogwy’s electors, in addition to Euddogwy’s own name, may be found in one of the charters appended to the Vespasian Life of St Cadoc (VS Cadoci (Vesp), §65; cf. Davies 2003: 91–2; LWS 213). These eight names, as spelt in the latter text, are *Eudoce, Catgen, Cethig, Mouricus et filii eius, Andrus* (i.e. Athrwys), *Guedgen, Bramail* (probably *Brocmail*) and *Geintoc*. Furthermore, seven of these eight names (*Cetnig/Cethig* being the exception) appear again in the Euddogwy charter in §16, which shares three further names (*Biaun, Iacob* and *Guallonir*) with the Vespasian charter.

<sup>18</sup> **Onbraus (Onbraws)** Possibly an error for *Onbraust*, the spelling found in the charter of Euddogwy in §14.

<sup>19</sup> **Gurcanti magni (Gwrgan the Great)** *Gurcant Maur* (*maur* being the Welsh equivalent of Latin *magnus*) appears in a list of the kings who were contemporary with St Teilo which follows the Liber Landavensis version of the Life of St Teilo (VS Teliaui (LL), §19).

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everyone 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 going in front and the holy choir coming behind, with the chief bishop singing the psalms, ‘Let peace be in your strength, and abundance in your towers’,<sup>20</sup> ‘Glory and wealth shall be in his house, and his justice remains for ever and ever’,<sup>21</sup> while holy water was sprinkled over the whole boundary and the same privilege<sup>22</sup> was confirmed which had been given formerly to St Dyfrig: namely, that Llandaff would be without an earl, without a sheriff;<sup>23</sup> without the requirement to attend public assemblies inside or outside its jurisdiction; without the obligation to provide military service; without the obligation to keep watch over the region either inside or outside its jurisdiction; and with its entire court with full powers, free and unimpaired, like a royal court; and with its right of sanctuary not just for a fixed period, but without limit: for however long he should wish, a fugitive may remain unharmed under its asylum without someone protecting him with a shield; and with the bodies of the kings of southern Britain<sup>24</sup> given and commended to Llandaff in perpetuity; and just as the Roman church exceeds the status of all the churches of the catholic faith, so this church of Llandaff exceeds all the churches of the whole of southern Britain in status and in privilege and in excellence; and with complete common use of rights of way for the inhabitants and for those who will live there in the future in field and in waters, in wood and in pastures, and with these bounds: from Gwynlais within the Taf and the Ely, all the land up to the sea.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Psalms 121.7 (Vulgate; modern 122.7).

<sup>21</sup> Psalms 111.3 (Vulgate; modern 112.3).

<sup>22</sup> The following privilege shares features with the privileges found in *De primo statu Landauensis ecclesie* and the *Priuilegium sancti Teliaui* (VS Dubricii (LL / Vesp), §1; VS Teliaui (LL), §20). See Russell 2016; Davies 2003: 68–70; and Davies 1974–6.

<sup>23</sup> **sine consule, sine proconsule (without an earl, without a sheriff)** This may be a reference to Robert, earl of Gloucester (d. 1147), who was lord of Glamorgan while the Liber Landavensis was being compiled (Davies 1974–6: 126 and 131; Davies 2003: 69). Unusually, Robert was titled *consul* in Latin documents.

<sup>24</sup> **dextralis Brittannię (southern Britain)** This probably refers specifically to south Wales, rather than to southern Britain more broadly. Other, more ambiguous uses of *Britannia* in the present text may also refer to Wales rather than Britain. For the practice of using the word *Britannia* for Wales in this period, see Pryce 2001: 777–8.

<sup>25</sup> Almost the same words are used to describe the boundaries of the diocese in *De primo statu Landavensis ecclesie* (VS Dubricii (LL / Vesp), §1).

## §5

And for some time he held the whole diocese from Moccas to Teithi Island<sup>26</sup> in peace, until on a certain occasion King Cadwgon,<sup>27</sup> at the urging of the Devil, wounded one of Bishop Euddogwy's clerics. And in this way, with the spark of wickedness arising, the king was moved by anger, and decided to expel the holy man and his community from his country beyond the Towy.<sup>28</sup> And holy Euddogwy departed from the king's country under a curse, and from that time the diocese remained as two bishoprics divided by the Towy, just as the Towy used to divide two kingdoms: that of Meurig on one side, and that of Cadwgon on the other. After a while, King Cadwgon, seeking forgiveness, regretted that he had done what he had done to holy Euddogwy and his community. He sent for him and handed over to him the lands of the church of Llandaff, namely Penally, Llandeilo Fawr and Llanddowror, which had previously been Archbishop Dyfrig's from the time of King Nowy son of Arthur,<sup>29</sup> and all the churches with their lands, which beforehand had been St Teilo's, and so with their entire status and privilege and perpetual freedom.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>26</sup> **insulam Teithi (Teithi Island)** Probably the legendary island between St Davids and Ireland said to have submerged by the sea (Jones 1947: 82).

<sup>27</sup> **rex Catguocaun (King Cadwgon)** *Catguocaun* appears in a list of the kings who were contemporary with St Teilo, which follows the Liber Landavensis version of the Life of St Teilo (VS Teliaui (LL), §19). In that list he is given the epithet *Tredicil*, which seems to identify him with the Cadwgon who appears in the genealogy of the kings of Dyfed, who is called *Cadugawn Trydelic* in the early thirteenth-century Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies (Guy 2016: ii, 369 (§38.1); EWGT 106 (§18a); WCD 84). The reference below to *patria sua ultra Tyui* (his country beyond the Towy) similarly implies that this Cadwgon should be understood as a king of Dyfed.

<sup>28</sup> **patria sua ultra Tyui (his country beyond the Towy)** This is intended to imply that, prior to this event, the 'archdiocese' of Llandaff had extended across all of south Wales, subsuming St Davids as a suffragan see. The same is implied in *De primo statu Landavensis ecclesie*, where Dyfrig is consecrated as archbishop of all southern Britain (meaning south Wales) (VS Dubricii (LL / Vesp), §1). This is why, according to the Liber Landavensis, Teilo was able to consecrate Ishmael as David's successor (VS Teliaui (LL), §16).

<sup>29</sup> **Nouy filii Arthur (Nowy son of Arthur)** A charter appearing earlier in Liber Landavensis (VS Dubricii (LL / Vesp), §13) purports to record Nowy son of Arthur's grant of Penally, Llandeilo Fawr and Llanddowror to St Dyfrig and Llandaff. Wendy Davies has observed that this charter has 'nothing to suggest the framework of any early charter' (Davies 1979: 95). If the King Cadwgon of the present story has been correctly identified as the Cadwgon in the pedigree of the kings of Dyfed (see above, n. 26), then Nowy son of Arthur was Cadwgon's great-grandfather (Guy 2016: ii, 369 (§38.1); EWGT 106 (§18a)).

<sup>30</sup> According to the Liber Landavensis, Dyfrig and Teilo had exercised archiepiscopal authority throughout south Wales. This story was therefore concocted to explain how the diocese of St Davids became 'independent' of

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§6

And in his time the afflictions and devastations of the Saxons came into southern Britain,<sup>31</sup> and especially into the territory of his bishopric, to such an extent that, by the force of the invading Saxon people, [they devastated]<sup>32</sup> his diocese from Moccas on the bank of the River Wye, on the one side, as far as the stream of the Dore, on the other side, and as far as the Worm, and to the mouth of Tar's Brook<sup>33</sup> on the River Wye;<sup>34</sup> and once those devastations had been committed in both parts of the bishopric's diocese, this was its boundary.<sup>35</sup> *From the estuary of the Towy along its length<sup>36</sup> to the mouth of the Pysgotwr<sup>37</sup> in the Towy. From the Pysgotwr to Tair Gwernen Buellt [the Three Alder-Trees of Buellt]. From Tair Gwernen Buellt upwards along to Castell Tair Tud [Castle of the Three Districts],<sup>38</sup> that is Cantref Bychan and Cantref Selyf and Buellt. From Castell Tair Tud upwards along to Deulwyn Helyg [the Two Willow Groves].<sup>39</sup> From Deulwyn Helyg to the source of the Usk, as far as the Black Mountain.<sup>40</sup> Along the Black Mountain to the source of the Twrch. Along the Twrch downwards to the Tawe. Along the Tawe to the Cynlais. Along the Cynlais as far as its*

Llandaff. It also attempts to account for Llandaff's claim to three of the chief centres of Teilo's cult (Penally, Llandeilo Fawr and Llanddowror) despite their location within the diocese of St Davids.

<sup>31</sup> **dextralem Britanniam (southern Britain)** As above, *Britannia* here refers specifically to Wales.

<sup>32</sup> **[they devastated]** The clause following *in tantum quod* has no main verb.

<sup>33</sup> **Taratyr (Tar's Brook)** For the possible identification of *Taratyr* with Tar's Brook, see Coe 2002: 799–801.

<sup>34</sup> Coe notes that the boundaries of the area purportedly overrun by Saxons in this passage denote the district known as Anergyng (Coe 2004: 41; cf. LWS 217). Bartrum (WCD 516) compares the Saxon incursion described here with the *Guentis strages* (devastation of Gwent), recorded in the B-text of *Annales Cambriae* in an annal equivalent to c. 647 (Gough-Cooper 2012: §231).

<sup>35</sup> According to Coe 2004, this boundary clause is one of the latest boundary clauses in the Liber Landavensis, meaning that it was probably redacted not long before it was copied into the manuscript.

<sup>36</sup> **ny hyt (along its length)** Throughout this boundary clause *ny* is used for what in modern Welsh would be spelt *yn ei* (in its). In Middle Welsh this is commonly spelt *jny*.

<sup>37</sup> **Pyscotuc (Pysgotwr)** If the identification between the *Pyscotuc* and the *Pysgotwr* is correct, then the final *c* of *Pyscotuc* most probably arose to due a misreading of an *r* (Coe 2002: 729). Perhaps the misreading was encouraged by the existence of the adjective spelt in modern Welsh as *pysgodog* (fishy) (though this is not attested in GPC s.v. *pysgodog, pysgotog* before 1632).

<sup>38</sup> **Castell Teir Tut (Castell Tair Tud [Castle of the Three Districts])** Identified with Trecastle (LL 367; WATU 37), or more probably the Roman camp on Mynydd Bach Trecastle, situated above the town (Coe 2002: 144–5).

<sup>39</sup> **Douluyn Helyc (Deulwyn Helyg)** For a few other examples of *deulwyn* as a compound, see GPC s.v. *deulwyn*<sup>1</sup>. Coe points out that it is impossible to establish whether the scribe of Liber Landavensis intended to write this as a compound (*deulwyn*) or as two separate words (*dau lwyn*) (Coe 2002: 229).

<sup>40</sup> **Y Mynyd Du (the Black Mountain)** This has been securely identified as Fan Brycheiniog, the highest peak in the Black Mountain range (Coe 2002: 615–16).

source. From the source of the *Cynlais* to *Allt Un Gwernen* [Hill of the Sole Alder-Tree].<sup>41</sup> From *Allt Un Gwernen* to the source of the *Pyrddin*. From the *Pyrddin* until it flows into the *Neath*. The *Neath* upwards<sup>42</sup> to the *Mellte*. Along the *Mellte* upwards to the *Hepste*.<sup>43</sup> The *Hepste* upwards to the *Gwrangon*. The *Gwrangon* to its source. From its source to *Gafannog*.<sup>44</sup> From *Gafannog* as far as *Deri Emrys* [the Oaks of Emrys]. From *Deri Emrys* to *Cegin Clysty*.<sup>45</sup> Along *Cecycin*<sup>46</sup> *Clysti* as far as the source of *Ffrwd y Wyddon* [The Witch's Flood].<sup>47</sup> Along its length as far as the *Taf Fawr*. The *Taf Fawr* downwards to the confluence. From the confluence upwards along the *Taf Fechan*. Along the *Taf Fechan* as far as *Rhyd y Cambren* [Ford of the Crooked Tree].<sup>48</sup> From *Rhyd y Cambren* to *Hâl Du* [the Black Moorland].<sup>49</sup> From *Yr Hâl Du* to *Y Hir Cefn* [The Long Ridge],<sup>50</sup> to *Crawnion* stream, to the *Caerfanell*<sup>51</sup> as far as where it flows into the *Usk*. Over the *Usk* to *Cil Idris* [Idris's Nook],<sup>52</sup> to *Yr Allt Lwyd* [The Grey Hill],<sup>53</sup> to the Stone of Buckland Hill,<sup>54</sup> to the ridge at the head

<sup>41</sup> **All Un Guernenn** (*Allt Un Gwernen* [Hill of the Sole Alder Tree]) Evans identified this place as *Mynydd y Drum* (LL 367; cf. Coe 2002: 356).

<sup>42</sup> **i uinyd** (upwards) An error for downwards (LL 367; Coe 2002: 971).

<sup>43</sup> **Hepstur** (*Hepste*) Evans doubted the identification of the *Hepstur* and the *Hepste*, but it is affirmed by Coe (LL 367, n. 7; Coe 2002: 367–8).

<sup>44</sup> **Gauanhauc** (*Gafannog*) Coe suggests that the first element is *gof* (smith), with the vowel having been assimilated to the [a] in the following syllable (Coe 2002: 301–2). According to GPC, the singular form *gof* might derive from the old plural form \**gofan(n)* (GPC s.v. *gof*). Compare the personal name *Gofannon*.

<sup>45</sup> **Cecin Clysty** (*Cegin Clysty*) In this context, *cegin* means 'ridge' (GPC s.v. *cegin*<sup>3</sup>). Coe suggests that this is the modern *Cefn Nantygeugarn* (Coe 2002: 148). Evans's identification of *Cegin Clysty* with 'Mynydd y Glôg in Penderyn' is less likely to be correct (LL 367).

<sup>46</sup> **Cecycin** Seemingly an error for *Cegin* (ridge).

<sup>47</sup> **Frut y Guidon** (*Ffrwd y Wyddon* [The Witch's Flood]) Coe suggests that this is the modern *Nant y Geugarn* (Coe 2002: 293).

<sup>48</sup> **Ryt y Cambrenn** (*Rhyd y Cambren* [Ford of the Crooked Tree]) Evans compared 'Rhiw Gambren, near Pont Sticcill' (LL 367; cf. Coe 2002: 738).

<sup>49</sup> **Hal Du** (*Hâl Du* [the Black Moorland]) Coe doubts Evans's identification of this place with a location 'near the head of the Rumney river' (Coe 2002: 354; LL 367).

<sup>50</sup> **dy'r Hir Cemyn** (to *Y Hir Cefn* [The Long Ridge]) Coe suggests that this is the ridge now called *Cefn yr Ystrad* (Coe 2002: 372).

<sup>51</sup> **Crafnell** (*Caerfanell*) Probably an error for *Crafnant* (Coe 2002: 115, 191; LL 368, n. 8).

<sup>52</sup> **Cil Ydris** (*Cil Idris* [Idris's Nook]) Probably the modern *Cil-wich-fawr* (Coe 2002: 167; LL 368).

<sup>53</sup> **dy'r All Luyt** (to *Yr Allt Lwyd* [The Grey Hill]) Possibly a reference to Craig-lwyd-fawr farm on the south-eastern slope of Buckland Hill, or to Buckland Hill itself (Coe 2002: 69; LL 368).

<sup>54</sup> **Lech Bychlyt** (the Stone of Buckland Hill) See Coe 2002: 473; LL 368.

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*of the millstream, to Guornoyd,<sup>55</sup> to Rhydnant, to the middle of Din Marchlythan,<sup>56</sup> to Ol y Gafn [The Goat's Track], to the hill-side of Cadair Nefeni [Nefeni's Seat],<sup>57</sup> to the spring of the Grwyne Fawr, to the head of the Bwch, to the Myngul,<sup>58</sup> to the Priddell,<sup>59</sup> to Hâl Rhufa,<sup>60</sup> to Maen y Bardd [The Bard's Stone] at the spring of Nant y Bardd [The Bard's Stream].<sup>61</sup> Along Nant y Bardd downwards until it flows into the Dore. Along the Dore downwards until it flows into the Worm. Along the Worm upwards to its source. From the source of the Worm to Aconbury hill-fort. From Aconbury hill-fort to the source of Tar's Brook. Along Tar's Brook downwards until it flows into the Wye. Along the Wye until it flows into the Severn. Along the Severn beside Flat Holm as far as the estuary of the Towy.*

### §7

After holy Euddogwy had reached maturity<sup>62</sup> and visited the shrines of St Peter, where he received the privilege of Saints Dyfrig and Teilo by apostolic authority, confirmed in perpetuity for his successors, he desired to visit the monasteries of the saints with the utmost devotion, and he sought out the monastery of St David, for the sake of venerating him and remembering him every day in his prayers. And he took from the holy relics as much as he pleased with great revelation, and brought them with him. And from his own monastery of Llanfeilo Fawr, he took with him some relics of the disciples of St Teilo, his maternal uncle, and at the same time he put them

<sup>55</sup> **Guornoyd (Gornoed)** Evans guessed that this place may be linked with Mynydd Troed, but this is uncertain (LL 368; Coe 2002: 330–1).

<sup>56</sup> **Din Marchlythan** Evans suggested that this is Castell Dinas, but Coe lacks confidence in the identification (LL 368; Coe 2002: 221). The meaning of the final element, *lythan*, is uncertain. It is possible that the abbreviation mark for the *b* was added in error, and that the reading should therefore be *din marchlytan*, for Din Marchlydan, 'Fort of the Sturdy Horse'. The name appears to be only otherwise attested in LL 42, which has *dinmarchtan*, omitting the *ly* and using *t* rather than *th*.

<sup>57</sup> **Cateir Neueni (Cadair Nefeni [Nefeni's Seat])** *Nefeni* might be an error for the female personal name *Nefein* (Coe 2002: 146), which in modern Welsh would be spelt *Nyfain*; cf. EWGT 15, 18; TYP 195–6, 463; CLIH 141.

<sup>58</sup> **dy'r Uyncul (to the Myngul)** Tentatively identified as Bwlch yr Efengyl (Gospel Pass) (Coe 2002: 600–1).

<sup>59</sup> **Brydell (Priddell)** Cf. GPC s.v. *priddell* (clod, dust, soil).

<sup>60</sup> **Hal Ruma (Hâl Rhufa)** Possibly either Cusop Hill or Cefn Hill (Coe 2002: 355; LL 368). In this context, *hâl* means 'moor(land)' (GPC s.v. *hâl*<sup>3</sup>).

<sup>61</sup> **Nant y Bard (Nant y Bardd)** Identified as Nant-y-Bar (Coe 2002: 651–2).

<sup>62</sup> **Sanctus Oudoceus, post tempus suę maturitatis (After holy Euddogwy had reached maturity)** John Reuben Davies notes that the phrase *post tempus (sue) maturitatis* recurs above (§1) and in the Life of St Samson (VS Samsonis (LL), §6; Davies 2003: 137).

into a reliquary suited to the purpose. And because of that, while he was passing through his bishopric towards his church of Llandaff by means of the road through Penallt in Cydweli, with his household solemnly bearing the relics, preceded by the holy cross and chanting psalms with hymns of praise, certain people came down from the rocks of Penallt, holding malice in their hearts against the holy man, and saying to themselves, ‘Surely these clerics, weighed down with gold and silver and, as we say, with the treasure of Saints Dewi and Teilo, should not escape from our hands? Rather, they will be captured, and once all their things have been taken away we will be enriched with a great weight of gold and silver metal.’ Seized with black envy and filled with excessive greed, they attacked with great ferocity those who were carrying the portable shrine. But just as their hands were reaching outwards, pointing spears at the holy man and his household, the eyes of those who had transgressed against the holy man and his household lost their vision, and the limbs that were, in plain view, about to spill the blood of the righteous became rigid, with the result that they could not bend them back towards themselves, nor were they able to extend them forwards in any way. Holy Euddogwy, seeing the death and blindness of the sinners, began to pray to God on bended knees on behalf of the sinners, satisfying the divine command and saying, ‘I desire not the death of the sinner, but rather life.’<sup>63</sup> And since also those who had been so blinded were seeking forgiveness and acknowledging their guilt, and since the saint’s prayer had been heard, they recovered their vision and regained sensation, their senses being restored. And they promised perpetual obedience to the blessed man and his successors and the church of Llandaff, and to better their lives by accepting the penitence enjoined upon them to the degree of their guilt, through fasting, prayer and alms.

## §8

Blessed Euddogwy, thirsting after his labours and being more accustomed to drinking water than any alcohol, went over to the spring in the valley of Llandaff, not very far from the church, so that he could drink.<sup>64</sup> He came across women washing butter in the manner of that country.

<sup>63</sup> **nolo mortem peccatoris, sed uitam** (I desire not the death of a sinner, but rather life) Cf. Ezekiel 33.11 (Vulgate): *nolo mortem impii sed ut revertatur impius a via sua et vivat* (I desire not the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way, and live); cf. VS Cadoci (Vesp), §7; VS Tathei (Vesp), §8; VS Teliaui (Vesp), §9; VS Teliaui (LL), §9 (Gray 1952: 393).

<sup>64</sup> This story appears in the Middle English metrical Life of St Teilo (ll. 193–208), where it is told of St Teilo rather than St Euddogwy (Kooper and Callander 2016: 46, 64). Doble noted that one holy well at Llandaff is indeed called Ffynnon Deilo, implying that Teilo may have been the original subject of the story (LWS 220).

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When he sent his messengers and disciples to ask if they would lend them a vessel to allow their pastor to drink from the spring, the women, like the daughters of iniquity, mischievously said, ‘We have no other vessel except for that which we hold in our hands, namely butter.’ But the man of blessed memory, taking the butter and forming it into the shape of a bell, raised his hand so that he might drink from the spring, and he drank. And it remained in the same form, that is, golden, such that it appears to those looking at it to be cast from the purest gold. By the power of God, from that day it has been preserved reverently in the church of Llandaff for the sake of the memory of the blessed man, and health is given to the sick who touch it, as it is said.

### §9

While Einion, king of Glywysing, was hunting a stag among the cliffs and forests of the River Wye, as he was accustomed, he marvelled greatly at how and in what manner the stag made its way, as dogs pursued it with the clamour of trumpets and the din of hunters through the depths of the valleys. The stag, watched over and protected by divine will, led him through the whole wooded area to the pallium of holy Euddogwy, and, lying there panting, it rested safe from harm. And just like when someone has come into port after a ship-wreck,<sup>65</sup> or like when someone has turned from sadness to joy,<sup>66</sup> the hunters moved further away and sat down, and at the same time the dogs became mute and stunned, and though they had previously pursued the stag as an enemy, now they, stunned, bending their knees to the Lord, looked upon it as a neighbour and a friend. It was indeed the pallium of holy Euddogwy, a man of perfect age and moderate maturity, who was serving God near the River Wye on the bank of the Cleddon Brook.<sup>67</sup> He had earlier taken off his pallium, upon which the stag lay as a refuge and fortress; he alone looked back upon

However, there is another well in the grounds of Llandaff Court known as the ‘Dairy Well’, which may be relevant to the story. Perhaps the story was omitted deliberately from the Liber Landavensis version of the Life of St Teilo so that it could be appropriated by Euddogwy. No version of the story appears in the Vespasian version of the Life of St Teilo.

<sup>65</sup> **At si post naufragium qui peruenerit ad portum** (**And just like when someone has come into port after a ship-wreck**) Compare the simile used in the Life of St Dyfrig when King Peibio rejoices after being cured by the infant Dyfrig: *gauisus est nimium, ut aliquis positus in naufragio cum peruenerit ad portum* (he rejoiced excessively, like someone who has been in a ship-wreck when he comes into port) (VS Dubricii (LL / Vesp), §14).

<sup>66</sup> **aut post tristitiam qui uenit ad gaudium** (**or like when someone has turned from sadness to joy**) Cf. John 16:20.

<sup>67</sup> **riuulum Caletan** (**Cleddon Brook**) This forms part of the boundary of Llaneinion (established later in this story by Euddogwy) in the charter of Euddogwy in §29.

the gentle beast that divine power had tamed, and upon King Einion and the hunters, who, with great amazement and bended knees and hands raised up to the sky, were asking for forgiveness with great devotion, just as if they had committed some crime towards God and holy Euddogwy. At first the king called over the stag, now quiet and peaceful; then all the territory that he had traversed during the day, following its course, was bestowed upon God and Saints Dyfrig, Teilo and Bishop Euddogwy, and to all the bishops of Llandaff in perpetuity. The aforesaid course cut across mountains and streams and cliffs, all now to be forever within the lands of the church, and that blessed saint, after receiving the land gifted to him with its bounds, which took on the name Llaneinion,<sup>68</sup> grew in virtues. And there he founded a monastery along with a convenient oratory, a place abounding with fish, honey and solitude.

#### §10

And working together with his community, having relinquished the burden of the pastoral care of Llandaff, not because he was not fulfilling the needs of the people, but because it was not sufficient for himself to minister to those same people, he desired instead after he had set aside the pastoral care to live alone with God. And summoning the brothers to him, he led a common life for many years: a holy life, a pure life, a life sweeter with each passing day.<sup>69</sup> And however many came to him for advice, they were all revitalised by his fatherly guidance. Nor would they in any way spare him from work; rather, people flocked to him from everywhere, so that, with the utmost thought for them in both slight and weighty matters, better protection might be patiently restored by the holy teacher<sup>70</sup> for a state of sufficiency and toleration, as was customary; he was desired by the widowed as much as the destitute, the great as much as the humble. Just as he was pure in appearance, he was pure in virtue; he was conspicuous in learning and preeminent in honour.

<sup>68</sup> **Lannenniaun (Llaneinion)** Later Llandogo; cf. the charters at LL 156 (§29 below) and LL 223, in both of which *lannenniaun* is glossed *lannoudocui*. Note that in the charter in §29 it is Morgan, king of Glywysing, who restores *lannoudocui* to Euddogwy, Dyfrig, Teilo and Llandaff (cf. LWS 227; Davies 1979: 101–2).

<sup>69</sup> John Reuben Davies notes that the preceding description of Euddogwy's resignation of episcopal office is similar to the description of Dyfrig's resignation of episcopal office in his Life (VS Dubricii (LL / Vesp), §18; Davies 2003: 137–8).

<sup>70</sup> **apud piūm doctorem (by the holy teacher)** This is an example of the Cambro-Latin use of *apud* to denote the agent of a passive verb. Other examples occur in the Welsh Latin annals (Dumville 1975: i, 84–5; Dumville 2007: ii, 26–7). Similar usage is found in the Annals of Ulster, especially in the section covering the late seventh and early eighth centuries (Müller 1999: 133, n. 94, 161–2).

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### §11

While Euddogwy was giving himself over to prayer mixed with tears and sobbing, one of the brothers approached him, saying, ‘Oh holy father, come and see the wood that has been prepared for your buildings.’ And just as he looked at it, behold! a good and just man, Gildas the Wise, the historian of all Britain, as he is called in the histories,<sup>71</sup> who at that time was dwelling on the island of Flat Holm,<sup>72</sup> leading the anchoritic life, was crossing through the middle of the river in a boat with the aforesaid wood, just as if he was carrying his own wood, which he had found in the middle of the forest without any owner, far removed from the habitation of men. When blessed Euddogwy discovered this, he called out to brother Gildas so that he might throw Euddogwy’s building-wood back to him on the land, or, according to fraternal custom, that he, as a supplicant, might ask pardon for the unlawful theft from God and man. With his warning ignored and his request made void, the little boat passed by. And as if with a degree of anger, brother Euddogwy took up an axe, not because he would strike a blow, but so that, through him, God’s strength might be forever made manifest in one of God’s creations. The axe fell upon a whole rock, and it was cleft in two through the middle, just as if it had been completely split apart using some hand-made device. And along that route the rocks cannot be avoided by any men without the rocks near the bank of the River Wye always seeming like they have been severed by a miraculous blow, even though they are immovable.

### §12

Indeed, few of the many miracles of this holy man of blessed memory have been committed to writing, as is to be expected when they have either been burnt up in fires or else carried off far away by a band of exiled citizens. However, it was later investigated and acquired from the documents of the elders and from ancient writings recorded in letters, and it was committed to

<sup>71</sup> **totius britannię historiographus Gildas sapiens, ut in historiis nominatur** (Gildas the Wise, the historian of all Britain, as he is called in the histories) Perhaps a reference to Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History*, in which Gildas is called *historicus eorum Gildas* (Gildas their own historian), in reference to the Britons (HE i.22).

<sup>72</sup> **insula Echni (island of Flat Holm)** The idea that Gildas lived as a hermit on Flat Holm is borrowed from Liffris’s Life of St Cadoc (VS Cadoci (Vesp), §34). See LWS 215, n. 27, 223.

writing.<sup>73</sup> And when his holy and glorious life had been completed, and many lands had been acquired for himself and for his church of Llandaff, he rested in the Lord on 2 July.

### §13

*Cilciubinn<sup>74</sup> and six modii<sup>75</sup> of Cynfwy's land and Lanngemei.<sup>76</sup>*

It should be recorded by us that Meurig son of Tewdrig, king of Morgannwg,<sup>77</sup> and his wife Onbrawst, daughter of Gwrgan the Great, gave three *modii* of the land of *Cilcyuhynn* and six *modii* of Cynfwy's land, that is *Lanngemei* as well as Llandeilo Tal-y-Bont; that which previously had been God's they gave back to God and Bishop Euddogwy and his holy predecessors Teilo and Dyfrig and all his successors in the church of Llandaff, for their souls and for those of their relatives, to be free from all royal service, with its every privilege and freedom, its right of protection and its free common use for the inhabitants who are living there and for those who will be living there in the future in field and in woods, in water and in pastures, consecrated in perpetuity. From the laity, the witnesses are King Meurig, his wife Onbrawst, his sons Athrwys and Idnerth, Cynddaf, *Loubeithi*, Cadwal, Cadlew, Rhiagad, *Conbrinun*,<sup>78</sup> Merthyr, Gwrgon. From the clergy: Euddogwy the chief bishop, Iago abbot of Llancarfan with his elders, Cadien abbot of Llanilltud with his community, Eudeyrn abbot of Llandocharau, Cynfran, *Conueon*, Cynwarwy, Maiwg<sup>79</sup> the teacher, Gwynfyw the master, and with these bounds. The boundary of

<sup>73</sup> *Pauca quidem miracula [...] scripto commendatum est* (Indeed, few of the many miracles [...] it was committed to writing) Most of this section is closely paralleled in the Life of St Dyfrig (VS Dubricii (LL / Vesp), §19), and a similar passage is found in the Liber Landavensis Life of St Teilo (VS Teliaui (LL), §17). All three passages are based ultimately on Gildas's *De excidio Britanniae* (DEB 4.4). See Davies 2003: 118–19.

<sup>74</sup> *Cilciubinn* Probably on or near the Gower peninsula (Coe 2002: 164)

<sup>75</sup> .vi. *modii* (six *modii*) The use of the *modius* as a unit of land derives from the Roman use of the *modius* as a measure of grain, and thus as a measure of the ale that could be produced from grain. Originally, one *modius* of land was the amount of land which, under local conditions, could be expected to produce one *modius* of ale for a food render to a lord. *Modii* were usually counted in units of three, as here (six *modii*), seemingly because a standard vat of ale contained three *modii*. Cf. Davies 1973; Charles-Edwards 2013: 274–82.

<sup>76</sup> *Lanngemei* Probably on the Gower peninsula (Coe 2002: 422–3).

<sup>77</sup> *Morcanhuc* (*Morgannwg*) Note that the use of 'Morgannwg' here and below in §17 and §26 is anachronistic, because the name 'Morgannwg' probably derives from the tenth-century King Morgan ab Owain (Davies 1978: 92).

<sup>78</sup> *Conbrinun* Wendy Davies has suggested that *Conbrinun* is the same person as the *Conbroin* in §15 below (Davies 1979: 41, 156).

<sup>79</sup> *Maiuc* (*Maiwg*) Compare *Maioc* in the charter in §28. There are other examples from south-east Wales of *-wg* being used as an alternative form of the nominal suffix *-og* (e.g. Cadog, Cadwg). See Russell 1990: 25–8.

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*Lanngelei*: from the ridge of the mountain dividing the wood and the field to the sea, and as far as the source of the *Dywrach*<sup>80</sup> as it leads downwards as far as the sea. The boundary of Llandeilo Tal-y-Bont: from the mouth of the Morlais to the bottom of Llannerch Onnuiu.<sup>81</sup> Across Cwm Onnuiu<sup>82</sup> to Y Gŵyth Lunguyd<sup>83</sup> to the *Gwili*.<sup>84</sup> Through the *Gwili* to the yellow cornland.<sup>85</sup> From this yellow cornland straight to the *Loughor* on the other side. Along the *Loughor*<sup>86</sup> upwards as far as the Camffrwd. Along the Camffrwd on the side of the church as far as its source. To Allt Minchei,<sup>87</sup> along the hill to the Dulais. Through the Dulais streams<sup>88</sup> as far as Dinas Cynllifan.<sup>89</sup> Along the side as far as opposite the source of the *Cynfran*.<sup>90</sup> Along the furthest *Cynfran* as far as the *Loughor*.

## §14

While King Tewdrig was in his kingdom maintaining peace and justice with his people,<sup>91</sup> he set aside his earthly power forever, with the result that he commended his kingdom to his son

<sup>80</sup> **Diugurach (Dywrach)** Somewhere on the Gower peninsula, probably in the south west (EANC 13–14; Coe 2002: 225).

<sup>81</sup> **Lannerch Onnuiu (Llanerch Onnuiu)** Llannerch means ‘clearing, glade’. *Onnuiu* is uncertain. The first element is probably *onn* (ash (tree)), but the second element could perhaps be either *byw* (alive, lively) or *gwiw* (apt, useful, fine, handsome). See Coe 2002: 420–1.

<sup>82</sup> **Cum Onnuiu (Cwm Onnuiu)** *Cwm* means ‘deep narrow valley, glen, dale’. The second word is uncertain; see previous note.

<sup>83</sup> **dy'r Guyth Lunguyd (to Y Gŵyth Lunguyd)** The first word is *gŵyth* (stream, brook, ditch, channel, estuary) (GPC s.v. *gŵythr*). Coe suggests that the second word is a personal name in a genitive formation, comparing *Lunguid* at LL 209 (Coe 2002: 336), but if this is the case then *Guyth* should not be preceded by the definite article.

<sup>84</sup> **Camguili (Gwili)** See EANC 147–8; Coe 2002: 125–6.

<sup>85</sup> **hitir melin (yellow cornland)** *Hitir* is probably ModW *ŷd-tir*, literally ‘corn-land’. The same word appears in §17 below as *hytyr*.

<sup>86</sup> **Luchuc (Loughor)** A copying error has been made, whereby an *r* has been misinterpreted as a *c*.

<sup>87</sup> **Alt Minchei (Allt Minchei)** Probably the modern Cefn Drum (LL 368; Coe 2002: 69). *Allt* means ‘hill’. The meaning of *Minchei* is uncertain. Evans (LL 413) suggested that it might equate to *minechi* or *meneich* (the latter being one of the plural forms of *mynach*, ‘monk’). According to Thomas (EANC 127), *minechi* means ‘land of the monk(s)’. See Coe 2002: 69–70.

<sup>88</sup> **Dubleissou (Dulais streams)** This is expressed in the Welsh by the plural form of Dulais.

<sup>89</sup> **Dinas Cynlyuan (Dinas Cynllifan)** *Dinas* means ‘fortress’. Coe interprets the second word as *Cynllifan* (leash, slip, strap) (Coe 2002: 217), but it is not clear how this might describe the fortress.

<sup>90</sup> **Cynbran (Cynfran)** Coe identifies this stream as the modern Nant y Garreg (Coe 2002: 173).

<sup>91</sup> **Rex Teudiric cum esset in regno suo tenens pacem cum populo et iustitiam (While King Tewdrig was in his kingdom maintaining peace and justice with his people)** This echoes the opening of the Life of St Clydog, found elsewhere in the Liber Landavensis: *Rex Clitauc filius Clitquin cum esset in regno suo tenens pacem et rigorem iustitię*

Meurig.<sup>92</sup> And he started to lead an eremitical life among the rocks of Tintern. While he was leading that life, the Saxons started to attack his land in opposition to his son Meurig, in such a way that his son would have been completely disinherited by the foreigners if Tewdrig alone had not still provided relief for them. Concerning this Tewdrig, they used to say that when he held his kingdom he was never conquered by his enemies, but rather was always the victor. And for that reason, as soon as his face was seen in the battle-lines, his enemies would turn immediately in flight. And an angel of the Lord said to him the night before, ‘Go tomorrow to support God’s people against the foes of Christ’s church, and your enemies will turn their face in flight as far as Brockweir.<sup>93</sup> And stand armed in the battle-line, and with your face visible and recognisable as usual, they will enter into flight. And afterwards for thirty years they will not dare to come into the country during the time of your son, and the local people and their heirs will exist in a calm peace. But you, however, will be wounded by a single blow in *the ford of Tintern*, and you will die in peace after three days.’ And so, rising in the morning, he mounted his horse as the army of his son Meurig was approaching, and he went with them, joyful at the angelic command. And he stood armed in the battle-line on the bank of the River Wye, near the ford of Tintern. And with his face visible, straightaway they turned back and entered into flight. However, one of them threw a javelin, and the javelin wounded him just as had been foretold to him. And for this he rejoiced, as if he had captured booty from a vanquished enemy. After his son Meurig returned victorious, having captured booty, he asked his father to come with him. And his father spoke thus: ‘I refuse to leave here until my Lord Jesus Christ carries me away to my desired location, where I intend to lie after death, namely on the island of Flat Holm.’ And at dawn two stags appeared before his lodgings, yoked together and prepared with his cart. And the man of God, knowing that they had been sent by God, ascended onto the bier. And wherever they rested, springs poured out there, until they came to a particular place next to a particular meadow adjoining the Severn. And after they came to that place, the clearest spring poured out there, and

(While King Clydog son of Clydwyn was in his kingdom maintaining peace and the rigour of justice) (VS Clitauci (LL / Vesp), §1; cf. Davies 2003: 137).

<sup>92</sup> According to Wendy Davies, this document ‘contains no suggestion of any original charter’ (Davies 1979: 97).

<sup>93</sup> **Pull Brochuail (Brockweir)** The identification between *Pull Brochuail* (ModW *Pwll Brochfael*, ‘Brochfael’s Pool’) and Brockweir is noted by a fourteenth-century annotator of the Liber Landavensis. The identification is supported by Coe (2002: 718).

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his whole bier broke apart.<sup>94</sup> And straightaway he commended his spirit to God, and ordered the stags to depart. And he alone remained there, and after a short time he gave up his spirit. After his son Meurig had heard of his father's death, he built in that place an oratory and cemetery, which were blessed by the holy bishop Euddogwy. And on behalf of his father's soul he gave the whole territory to Bishop Euddogwy and the church of Llandaff and its bishops in perpetual consecration, without the requirement to render any payment to any earthly man unless for St Euddogwy and the church of Llandaff. The boundary:<sup>95</sup> *from the mouth of Pwll Meurig*<sup>96</sup> upwards to the pool. From the pool to the stone (the *Llech Llybio* [Llybio's Stone]) as far as the summit, to the arable land. Along the arable land as far as *Ffynnon Eligwydd* [Eligwydd's Spring]. Upwards along the stream to *Ffynnon Crug Llewyrn* [Spring of the Hillock of the Foxes]. From *Ffynnon Crug Llewyrn* off to the mouth of *Nant Bywan* [Bywan's Stream]. Along *Nant Bywan* as far as *Pwllau Rinion*<sup>97</sup> to the two pools. From these two pools straight downwards to the cairn. From the cairn downwards to the ditch on the ridge of the mountain. From the ditch facing eastwards crossing over the top of the valley of *Nant Rhwysg*.<sup>98</sup> Along the dyke. Along its length as far as *Odyn Llynfyw* [Llynfyw's Kiln]. From the kiln downwards to the dyke as far as *Carn Perth yr Onn* [Cairn of the Ash Thicket], downwards to the ruins, to the pool. Along the pool to the mouth of *Hunger Pill*<sup>99</sup> in the Wye. Along the Wye and the Severn (with its weirs and its landing-place for ships) as far as the mouth of *Pwll Meurig*. Whosoever would protect this alms, may God protect him. But he who would separate it from the church of Llandaff, may he be anathema. Amen.

<sup>94</sup> *Et postquam ad locum illum uenerunt, ibi fons emanauit lucidissimus, et fererum suum totum dirupit* (And after they came to that place, the clearest spring poured out there, and his whole bier broke apart) The role of the stags in this story is reminiscent of the role of the oxen in the story of the martyrdom of King Clydog in VS Clitauci (LL / Vesp), §1. There, Clydog's body is transported on a bier by two yoked oxen, but once they arrive at the place appointed for Clydog's burial, the yokes break apart: *Et in alia parte fluminis, ceperunt iuga boum dirumpi* (And at another part of the river, the yokes of the oxen started to break apart).

<sup>95</sup> Wendy Davies notes that, although the territory is not named, the bounds are those of Matheron (Davies 1979: 97; Parsons 2013: 94–5).

<sup>96</sup> **Pull Muric (Pwll Meurig)** Identified as the Mounton Brook, which flows through the village still bearing the name Pwllmeurig (EANC 193–4; Coe 2002: 722–3).

<sup>97</sup> **Pullo Rinion (Pwllau Rinion)** *Pwll* means 'pool'. For the possible meanings of *Rinion*, see Coe 2002: 724–5.

<sup>98</sup> **Nant Ruisc (Nant Rhwysg)** The usual meanings of *rhwysg* include 'rush, attack, force, power, freedom, protection' (GPC s.v. *rhwysg*). Coe, however, notes that the Irish cognate *ríasc* means 'a fen or piece of marshy ground' (Coe 2002: 648–9). Perhaps a similar meaning is implied here.

<sup>99</sup> **Pull Neuynn (Hunger Pill)** For the identification between *Pull Newynn* (ModW *Pwll Newyn*) and Hunger Pill, see LL 369 and Coe 2002: 723. In Welsh, *newyn* means 'hunger'.

## §15

*Gvrvid's Church.*<sup>100</sup>

After a while, the same King Meurig, with the word and consent of the heir *Liliau* alongside *Liliau*'s own donation,<sup>101</sup> gave *Guruid's Church* with its territory to God and Saints Dyfrig and Teilo and the church of Llandaff and the incumbent Euddogwy and his successors in perpetuity, with its entire status and freedom, and with complete common use in field and in woods, in waters and in pastures, without the requirement to render any payment to any earthly man unless for God and St Peter and the church of Llandaff and its bishops. Whosoever would separate it from the church of Llandaff is under perpetual anathema. From the laity the witnesses are Meurig, Cynfelyn, Tudyr, Llywfran, Afrien, Anwyn, *Unhu*, Cynfrwyn,<sup>102</sup> Cadlew, Brifael,<sup>103</sup> Gwynog, *Mathus*, Cynfonog. From the clergy: Bishop Euddogwy, Iago abbot of Llancarfan, Cadien abbot of Llanilltud, Eudeyrn abbot of Llandocharau. And the boundary of that land<sup>104</sup> is:

<sup>100</sup> **Ecclesia Gvrvid (Gvrvid's Church)** Evans (LL 403) tentatively identified *Ecclesia Gvrvid* with Howick in Gwent. Another name for Howick is St Wormet's, and Evans noted the similarity between the forms *Gvrvid* and *Wormet*. However, Coe is sceptical of the identification (Coe 2002: 244).

<sup>101</sup> **simul cum dono illius (alongside *Liliau*'s own donation)** Presumably it was necessary for the current holder of the land to donate the land formally alongside his lord.

<sup>102</sup> **Conbroin (Cynfrwyn)** For *oi* as a spelling for /ui/, see Sims-Williams 1991: 51 (with reference to this example). Wendy Davies has suggested that *Conbroin* is the same person as the *Conbrinun* in §13 above (Davies 1979: 41, 156).

<sup>103</sup> **Briauail (Brifael)** The same witness also appears in the charters in §17, §19, §21 and §25. In the latter two attestations, he is specified to be the son of Llywarch. It has been plausibly suggested that this Brifael ap Llywarch is the person of that name who appears in the genealogies as the great-grandson or great-great-grandson of Peibio, king of Ergyng (EWGT 139–40; WCD 57; Davies 1978: 114, 119; Guy 2018: 31, n. 89; genealogies at EWGT 45 (JC 10); Guy 2016: ii, 337 (GM 5)). However, it is much less credible that Brifael's daughter Cenedlon was the mother of either Arthfael or his son Rhys, Glywysing dynasts of the ninth century, as the genealogies claim.

<sup>104</sup> **ager (land)** *ager* is used throughout the charters either in the general sense of 'land' or in the more specific sense of 'estate', rather than as 'field' (cf. Davies 1978: 40; Charles-Edwards 2013: 284–9). This usage is recognised in the First Life of St Carannog in Vespasian A. xiv, where the main hand has glossed *agri* with *id est locus* (f. 93v, l. 16). In §23 below, *ager* is used interchangeably with Welsh *tir* (land).

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from the black swamp as far as Ceidio's seat,<sup>105</sup> and from *Hescenn Iudie*<sup>106</sup> as far as the trees of *Foton*.

§16

## Llangynwalan with Llanarthfoddw, Llangynwr<sup>107</sup> and Llanbencraig.

It should be known truly that Bishop Euddogwy acquired his own land, that is the church of Cynwalan:<sup>108</sup> namely, St Dyfrig's land in the country of Gower,<sup>109</sup> which holy Euddogwy had lost between the time of the plague<sup>110</sup> (that is, *the yellow dylyt*)<sup>111</sup> and the time of Athrwys son of Meurig, following, indeed, a great dispute between Bishop Euddogwy and Bywan, abbot of Llanilltud, who said that the land was his. However, in the end the aforesaid land was adjudged to belong to Bishop Euddogwy and the altar of Llandaff in perpetual inheritance: namely, the cell of Cynwalan with all its territory, the cell of Arthfoddw and Cynwr, and that of Pencraig. And holy Euddogwy took the three aforesaid little cells<sup>112</sup> from the hand of Athrwys grandson

<sup>105</sup> **sedem Cetiau (Ceidio's Seat)** Note that a Ceidio is listed in §3 of the Life above as one of those who elected Euddogwy to the bishopric of Llandaff.

<sup>106</sup> **Hescenn Iudie** The first word is thought to be *hesg* (sedges, rushes) + *en* (a name-forming suffix), meaning 'place of the sedges' (GPC s.v. *hesg*; CPNE 130–1; Coe 2002: 370). *Iudie* is uncertain, but Coe plausibly suggests that it is a mis-transcription of the personal name *Iudic*, ModW *Iddig*.

<sup>107</sup> **Lannconuur (Llangynwr)** Coe suggests that this is the same place as the *Lanncynuur* in §17, which is there identified with *Lannmerguall*, modern Llandeilo Ferwallt or Bishopston on the Gower (Coe 2002: 413). The personal name appears to be *Cynwr* rather than *Cynfwr* or *Cynfur*, since it is spelt later in this section (with a Latin genitive singular ending) as *Conguri*, and once in §17 as *Cyngur*.

<sup>108</sup> **podum Cyngualan (church of Cynwalan)** This Cynwalan is probably the same person as the Cynwal listed as a disciple of St Dyfrig in his Life (VS Dubricii (LL / Vesp), §15). The identification is supported by the fact that Cynwal, Arthfoddw and Cynwr are all listed as disciples of Dyfrig in the same order in which their respective churches are listed in the present charter (LWS 69–70; Davies 2003: 82). Llangynwalan is probably the *monasterium sancti Cinguali* (monastery of St Cynwal) violated by King Gruffudd in the charter at LL 239 (Davies 1979: 124).

<sup>109</sup> Possibly near Rhosili, on the western coast of Gower (Coe 2002: 411).

<sup>110</sup> Note that, according to the Liber Landavensis Lives of Teilo and Euddogwy, it was Teilo, not Euddogwy, who was bishop of Llandaff at the time of the Yellow Pestilence.

<sup>111</sup> **y dylyt melen (the yellow dylyt)** The usual Welsh name for this plague is *y fall felen* (the yellow plague), as a glossator of this passage in the Liber Landavensis notes (f. 70vb, l. 4n). The meaning of *dylyt* is uncertain. It might be an error for *dilyw* (flood, deluge, destruction, ruin).

<sup>112</sup> **tres cellulas predictas (the three aforesaid little cells)** There are three cells, but four places appear to have been named. This is probably because the *cella Arthuodu Congurique* (cell of Arthfoddw and Cynwr) was a single place with two dedications, which have both misleadingly prompted individual *llan* names in the rubric (Coe 2002: 402).

of Gwrgan the Great in perpetual consecration, and with entire status and complete common use in field and in woods, in water and in pastures. And whosoever would separate those aforesaid churches from the monastery of Llandaff is under perpetual anathema. But he who would protect it, may God protect him. Amen.<sup>113</sup> From the clergy the witnesses are Bishop Euddogwy, Cadien, Bywan with his community, Iago abbot of the altar of St Cadog, Eudeyrn abbot of Llandochochau with his clerics. From the laity: King Meurig above his son Athrwys, Cynfonwg,<sup>114</sup> Gwallonyr, Morgenau, Eithin, Cynfedw, Gweithien son of Brochfael, Gynddog, Madwg,<sup>115</sup> Arthcumanu<sup>116</sup> of Gower, Gwrddilig, Gwrwystl, Arwired, Abel, with the priests<sup>117</sup> Cynhael, Cynhyfryd, Gweithno.<sup>118</sup> The boundary of Llangynwalan: below the two ditches to the sea. *As the two ditches lead to the mountain, along the ridge. The boundary of Lanngemei.*<sup>119</sup>

<sup>113</sup> Note that a high proportion of the following witnesses are found among the names of Euddogwy's electors in §3 above (see note to that section) and in one of the charters appended to the Vespasian Life of St Cadog (VS Cadoci (Vesp), §65). See Davies 2003: 91–2 for a detailed comparison.

<sup>114</sup> **Conuonuc (Cynfonwg)** Presumably the same as the Cynfonog in §15. This is probably another example of the use of the nominal suffix *-wg* for *-og* in proper nouns in south-east Wales (cf. Russell 1990: 25–8).

<sup>115</sup> **Matuc (Madwg)** Presumably the name Madog, with the characteristic *-wg* ending used in south-east Wales. See the previous note.

<sup>116</sup> **Arthcumanu** The first element is certainly *arth* (bear), but the *-cumanu* is uncertain. Compare *Cuncuman* at LL 176, which has been plausibly interpreted as *\*kuno* (hound) + *\*koimo* (dear) + hypocoristic suffix *-an*; such a name would be spelt 'Cyngufan' in modern Welsh (cf. Sims-Williams 1991: 38–9, drawing on Elwyn Evans's unpublished M.A. thesis).

<sup>117</sup> **cum presbyteris (with the priests)** These three priests might originally have belonged in the list of clergy (Davies 1979: 97).

<sup>118</sup> **Gueithgno (Gweithno)** Compare *Gueinorth* in §18 of the Harleian genealogies (where the *th* has been misplaced) and *Gweithno/Gwethyno* in §42 of the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies (EWGT 11, 108 (§23); Guy 2016: ii, 321, 371). All the forms in these two genealogical collections are attempts to spell the name of the same individual, who apparently shared his name with the present witness. It would seem that modern scholars have confused this name with at least one other similar name, subsuming them all under the name 'Gwyddno'. The name of the present witness, *Gueithgno*, was probably formed from *gwaith* (work, toil, battle) + *gno* (< *\*gnāyos*, 'knowing'), thus probably 'battle-knowing'. The other, similar name is associated particularly with the legendary character usually called Gwyddno Garanhir (cf. WCD 346–8; TYP 391–2). In the earliest sources, the name of this character is spelt *Gwydneu* (e.g. CA 13, l. 326; LiDC 34.21 and 39.3; CO<sup>2</sup> 23, l. 618). As Bromwich notes (TYP 391), MW *Gwydneu* is cognate with OB *Goueznou*. The later Welsh form 'Gwyddno', spelt *Gwydno*, first appears in manuscripts of the second half of the thirteenth century (EWGT 58 (§24), 60 (§40), 73 (§10)). Compare OW *Iudnou*, MW *Idno* (Sims-Williams 1991: 51; cf. Hamp 1969: 12).

<sup>119</sup> **Fin Lanngemei (The boundary of Lanngemei)** The implication may be that Llangynwalan shared a boundary with *Lanngemei*, which also appears in §13 (Coe 2002: 411).

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§17

## Llanferwallt.<sup>120</sup>

Morgan, king of Morgannwg, son of Athrwys, on Christmas Day entirely gave up and, as his act of offering, at the same time also gave back the church of Cynwr *Tros Gardi*<sup>121</sup> — which had formerly been St Teilo's — to the chief bishop Euddogwy and Saints Teilo and Dyfrig and all the bishops of Llandaff in perpetuity, and with all its territory and its bounds, together with Merwallt the head of that church under the bishop. And he gave entire freedom to the church and to its territory and rulers and future inhabitants in perpetuity, and without an earl or a sheriff, and with the right of sanctuary, and without the obligation to provide military service either inside or outside the region, nor to keep watch by day or night, and with complete common use for the inhabitants in field and in woods, in water and in pastures. From the clergy the witnesses are Bishop Euddogwy, Sulien abbot of Llancarfan, Sadwrn abbot of Llandochochau, Gwrhafal abbot of Llanilltud, Gwengad head of Llangynwr.<sup>122</sup> From the laity: King Morgan, *Guedguen*,<sup>123</sup> Brifael, *Iunet*, Gwaeddnerth<sup>124</sup> son of Gwyllonar. He who would protect it, may God protect him. But he who would not preserve it, may he be anathema. Amen. Its boundary: *from the mouth of Ffynnon Canthed*<sup>125</sup> *in the sea, along the length of the valley upwards to the pools, to Carn Cymlyr*,<sup>126</sup>

<sup>120</sup> **Lannmerguall (Llanferwallt)** Modern Llandeilo Ferwallt or Bishopston (south-west of Swansea, on the south coast of the Gower) (Coe 2002: 497–8).

<sup>121</sup> **ecclesiam Cyngur Tros Gardi (the church of Cynwr Tros Gardi)** The meanings of the final two words in this name are uncertain. *Tros* is plausibly ModW *tros* (over, across, above). *Gardi* could possibly be a plural form of ModW *gardd* (garden), since one of the possible plural forms of the latter is *gerddi*. If so, then the form *Gardi* does not show i-affection (Coe 2002: 242–3).

<sup>122</sup> **Guencat princeps Lanncynuur (Gwengad head of Llangynwr)** This person appears to have been produced through a conflation of *Guencat princeps Aluni capititis* and *Merguallit princeps Lanncynuur* (Davies 1978: 125, n. 3; cf. LWS 225, esp. n. 51). The former appears in the charter in §21 below, in which the lay witnesses of the present charter reappear, though the other clerical witnesses are different.

<sup>123</sup> **Guedguen** Probably an error for *Guedgen*, seemingly ‘Gwyddien’. See note to *Guedgueno* in §24.

<sup>124</sup> **Guidnerth (Gwaeddnerth)** Elsewhere the son of Gwyllonar is called *Guaidnerth*. For *Guid-* as a spelling for ModW *Gwaedd-*, see Sims-Williams 1991: 52, 60.

<sup>125</sup> **Finnaun Canthed (Ffynnon Canthed)** *Ffynnon* refers to a place where water gushes out, such as a ‘spring’. The meaning of *Canthed* is uncertain. For discussion, see Coe 2002: 276–7.

<sup>126</sup> **Carn Cymlyr** *Carn* means ‘cairn’. The meaning of *Cymlyr* is uncertain (Coe 2002: 134).

*to Maen Dyastur,<sup>127</sup> to the ridge of the mountain. Across the mountain to Gwaun Brechmil,<sup>128</sup> to the top end of the cornland.<sup>129</sup> From the cornland to the stream. Along the stream as far as the Dulais.<sup>130</sup> The Dulais as far as Rhyd y Defaid [The Sheep's Ford]. From the ford to a little stream. From the stream leftwards to the end of Llwyn Lladron [Thieves' Grove].<sup>131</sup> From the grove to a stream. Along it as far as the Severn Sea.*

## §18

### Llangorse.<sup>132</sup>

Let all Christians know that, for the sake of God and worldly friendship, Awst, king of Brycheiniog, and his sons Eludd and Rhiwallon gave in alms Llangorse to Bishop Euddogwy and all his successors in the church of the Apostle Peter and Saints Dyfrig and Teilo of Llandaff, along with their bodies for burial, and with its fish and its eel weirs,<sup>133</sup> and with all its territory, and in the manner of an endowment in perpetuity, and with its every freedom in field and in woods, in water and in pastures, and with its right of sanctuary and also its privilege, without an earl, without a sheriff, without the obligation to provide military service either inside or outside the region in similar manner. From the clergy the witnesses are Bishop Euddogwy, *Sedoc*<sup>134</sup> as

<sup>127</sup> Main Dyastur (*Maen Dyastur*) *Maen* means ‘stone’. The meaning of *Dyastur* is unknown. It could possibly be two separate words, *dy astur* (to *astur*), but *astur* is similarly opaque (Coe 2002: 568–9).

<sup>128</sup> Guoun Brechmil (*Gwaun Brechmil*) *Gwaun* means ‘moor’. The meaning of *Brechmil* is uncertain. Coe suggests that ‘it could be a hapax compound of *brech* “spot” and *mil* “animal”, denoting a speckled animal’ (Coe 2002: 332).

<sup>129</sup> hytyr (cornland) See the note to *bitir melin* in §13 above.

<sup>130</sup> Dubleis (Dulais) Evans (LL 369) identified this Dulais as the Black Pill, but Coe is sceptical (Coe 2002: 232).

<sup>131</sup> Luhin Latron (Llwyn Lladron [Thieves' Grove]) Evans (LL 415) identified this as Clyne Wood, but Coe is sceptical (Coe 2002: 552–3).

<sup>132</sup> Wendy Davies notes that this charter contains many anachronistic features indicating that it is not, as it stands, a genuine early medieval document, but rather a concoction of the twelfth century, devised using the witness lists of other charters (Davies 1979: 98).

<sup>133</sup> coretibus anguillarum (eel weirs) *coretibus* is a word of Celtic origin (ModW *cored*, ModI *cora*, ‘weir’), which the Liber Landavensis uniquely Latinizes using the third declension. The same word is Latinized in different ways in the early eighth-century *Collectio canonum hibernensis* from Ireland and in the tenth-century Lanlawren charter from Cornwall (Flechner 2008: 16–17).

<sup>134</sup> Sedoc It is uncertain whether the *e* in this spelling is long or short; the former would produce ModW *Swyddog* and the latter ModW *Seddog* (Koch 1985/6: 47). The spellings *Sadoc* (§25) and *Satuc* (§30) attested below might suggest that the vowel was short (Sim-Williams 1991: 51). It is also possible that this name (or at least the spellings *Sadoc* and *Satuc*) was either influenced by or indeed based on the biblical name Zadok, usually spelt *Sadoc*

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witness, Cynfran, Cynogan,<sup>135</sup> *Conueon*, Cynlleg son of Cynllwyb, Bran, Cynfaw, Cynllywern, *Gellan*,<sup>136</sup> Edgar, Gweniarth. From the laity: King Awst with his sons Elwydd<sup>137</sup> and Rhiwallon with others. Whosoever would protect it, may God protect him. But he who would separate it from the church of Llandaff, may he be separated from the fellowship of the angels. Amen. Its boundary is: *from the mouth of Ffynnon Deuddegaint [Twelve Saints' Spring]<sup>138</sup> in Llangorse Lake along the stream upwards as far as the source of the spring, to the end of Clawdd Llywarch Hen [Llywarch Hen Dyke]. Along the dyke as far as where it descends into the Llynfi.*<sup>139</sup> *Along its length downwards as far as the end<sup>140</sup> of Bryn Eidal [Eidal Hill].*<sup>141</sup> *Leftwards<sup>142</sup> across to the top of the hill, to the source of Nant Tawel [Quiet Stream].*<sup>143</sup> *Along the stream as far as the Llynfi. All the way along the Llynfi as far as the lake. Along the lake as far as the mouth of Ffynnon y Deuddegaint where it began.*

in the Latin Vulgate (cf. Sims-Williams 1991: 64). Perhaps tellingly, *Sadoc* in §25 is named as *Sadoc presbiter*, (*Sadoc* the priest); the epithet may have encouraged a scribe to equate *Sedoc* with the biblical priest *Sadoc*.

<sup>135</sup> **Conocan (Cynogan)** Probably the name *Cynog* with the diminutive suffix *-an*. Cf. EANC 62–3.

<sup>136</sup> **Gellan** This might represent the Old Irish name *Gelán* or *Gellán* (cf. Sims-Williams 2003: 36, n. 84). In the twelfth-century *Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan*, Gruffudd's *pencerdd* also has the name *Gellan*: VGC 76–7 (§23.16); HGK 21.13–14. See the note at HGK 87.

<sup>137</sup> **Elgwid (Elwydd)** Earlier in the document the first son of Awst has the more usual name *Eliud* (ModW *Eludd*). It appears that a scribe read the second element of the name as *uid* rather than *iud*, assumed that the *u* represented /w/, and incorrectly ‘restored’ the Old Welsh spelling *gu* for /w/. This may have been part of a deliberate attempt to make the document look more archaic than it really was (cf. Davies 1979: 98).

<sup>138</sup> **Finnaun Doudecseint (Ffynnon Deuddegaint [Twelve Saints' Spring])** Since Llangorse church was dedicated to St Paulinus, it is almost certain that the twelve saints commemorated in the name of this spring are to be equated with the twelve disciples mentioned in Wrmonoc’s Life of St Paul Aurelian (written 884), whose exploits in Wales, as Doble shows, derive from traditions concerning St Paulinus (LWS 152–3).

<sup>139</sup> **Lyfni (Llynfi)** Note the subsequent metathesis of the *f* and *n*, which appears to have taken place in the seventeenth century (EANC 160–2; Coe 2002: 544–5).

<sup>140</sup> **y pen (the end)** One would not expect the definite article to proceed a noun that is followed by a genitive.

<sup>141</sup> **Brynn Eital (Bryn Eidal [Eidal Hill])** Coe locates this hill at SO116289 (Coe 2002: 110). Coe interprets *Eital* as an unidentified personal name, but it is possible that it refers to Italy, as in modern Welsh (*yr Eidal*). Perhaps then the name means ‘Italy Hill’.

<sup>142</sup> **Ad sinistram (Leftwards)** In this instance, the ‘left-hand’ side cannot be north, as it is in other Welsh contexts, because of the relative positions of the Llynfi and the Tawel. The bounds imply that ‘leftwards’ might here be a more south-westerly direction.

<sup>143</sup> **Nant Tawel (Nant Tawel [Quiet Stream])** Coe identifies this stream as a stream that still bears the name Tawel (Coe 2002: 649).

§19

**Rhiw Graenog [Gravelly Slope]. Nant Awan.<sup>144</sup> Guerberth's Settlement.**

King Meurig and Cynfedw met together in Llandaff, and in the presence of Bishop Euddogwy they swore on the saints' relics set before them that they would maintain a strong peace between themselves. Having made the oath, after a while King Meurig killed Cynfedw by trickery. And afterwards Bishop Euddogwy called together all his clerics from the confluence of Tar's Brook *in the Wye* as far as the Towy together with his three abbots, Cyngen abbot of Llancarfan, Cadien abbot of Llanilltud, Sulien abbot of Llandochar, and with a full synod he excommunicated King Meurig on account of the homicide committed by him and on account of the transgression of the agreement, which had been made in his presence and above the altar of the Apostle Peter and Saints Dyfrig and Teilo. And so, by lowering the crosses to the earth, he also left the country without baptism or Christian communion.<sup>145</sup> He cursed the king along with his family, which the synod confirmed, saying, 'May his days be few, and may his sons be orphans and his wife a widow.'<sup>146</sup> And the king, together with his whole kingdom, remained under that excommunication for the space of two years and more. After that, the king could not bear such a long-lasting excommunication any more. Seeing the destruction of his soul and the damnation of the kingdom, he asked for forgiveness from holy Euddogwy of Llandaff. And while he poured out tears with his head bowed, Bishop Euddogwy, before the three abbots, imposed the yoke of penance upon him in a manner that was appropriate and proportional, enjoining him to make amends before God and the church of Llandaff in three ways: namely, by fasting and praying and giving alms. King Meurig, having accepted the yoke of penance, gave four settlements to the church of Llandaff for the redemption of his soul and for the soul of Cynfedw, to be held by Bishop Euddogwy and all his successors, with their entire freedom, free from every service in perpetuity, and with complete common use throughout his country for those remaining in those

<sup>144</sup> **Nant Auan (Nant Awan)** This charter may be related to a charter appended to the Vespasian Life of St Cadog (VS Cadoci (Vesp), §62), in which *Nadhaon* is granted to Gweniarth, foster-son of King Morgan (Davies 2003: 92). A certain Gweniarth appears as a witness to the present charter, and a Gweniarth also appears as a witness alongside King Morgan in the charters at LL 156 (§29 below) and LL 180b.

<sup>145</sup> That is, Euddogwy ordered an interdict prohibiting the inhabitants of Meurig's kingdom from participating in Christian rites, on account of their king's excommunication. An interdict usually involved churches being stripped of their crosses.

<sup>146</sup> **Fiant dies eius pauci, et fiant filii eius orphani et uxor eius uidua** (May his days be few, and may his sons be orphans and his wife a widow) Psalms 108.8–9 (Vulgate; modern 109.8–9). Cf. VS Dubricii (LL), §13.

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lands in field and in wood, in pastures and in water: first Rhiw Graenog, second Nant Awan, third is where Cynfedw was killed beyond the Thaw,<sup>147</sup> fourth across the Thaw where the king's son committed adultery, from the marsh of *Elleti*<sup>148</sup> up to the Thaw, that is *Gurberdh's* Settlement. From these four, 24 *modii* of land. From the clergy the witnesses are Bishop Euddogwy, Cyngen abbot of Llancarfan, Cadien abbot of Llanilltud, Sulien abbot of Llandochau, Cynfran, *Sedoc*, *Cynuur*,<sup>149</sup> Ceidgu, Llyngessog, Gwynwarwy. From the laity: King Meurig with his son Ffriog and grandson Morgan son of Athrwys, *Cynblas*, Briafael, Gynddig, Gwyddien, Gweniarth. He who would protect it, may God protect him. But he who would separate it from the church of Llandaff, may he be anathema. The boundary of Rhiw Graenog: from the Thaw, with the ditch leading along upwards to the red lake where the three roads of the mountain meet.

§20

### Gwylfyw's Settlement.

King Morgan son of Athrwys gave Gwylfyw's Settlement, together with its hereditary,<sup>150</sup> Gwrhydr,<sup>151</sup> on behalf of his soul and the soul of his grandfather, Meurig son of Tewdrig, to Bishop Euddogwy and the church of Llandaff and its bishops in perpetuity, without the requirement to render any payment to any earthly man, and with its freedom and complete common use. From the clergy the witnesses are Bishop Euddogwy, Cyngen abbot of Llancarfan,

<sup>147</sup> **Nadauan (Thaw)** The Welsh name for the Thaw is *Ddawan*. For discussion of the identification with *Nadauan*, see EANC 64–6; Coe 2002: 210–12.

<sup>148</sup> **palude Elleti (the march of *Elleti*)** The meaning of *Elleti* is unknown. It may be the same place where Vortigern finds the boy Ambrosius in the ninth-century *Historia Brittonum*, which is described as *campum Elleti, qui est in regione quae vocatur Gleguissing* (the meadow of *Elleti*, which is in the region called Glywysing) (HB §41).

<sup>149</sup> **Cynuur** It seems impossible to decide whether such a form should be modernised as Cynwr (as with *Congur* in §16), Cynfwr, Cynfur, or even Cynfor (see Sims-Williams 1991: 64, and esp. n. 4).

<sup>150</sup> **hereditario (hereditary)** For the term *hereditarius*, see Davies 1978: 45; Charles-Edwards 2013: 308–13. The precise meaning of the term is unclear. Unlike the *heres*, the *hereditarius* was not the hereditary occupier of the land, but it is unclear what aspect of his position was hereditary.

<sup>151</sup> **cum hereditario suo Gurhytyr (together with its hereditary, Gwrhydr)** The use of the reflexive pronoun *suo* would imply that Gwrhydr was the heir of Morgan, as Wendy Davies thought (Davies 1979: 99). However, considering that the syntax makes this interpretation somewhat awkward, and that Gwrhydr is nowhere else attested as a member of Morgan's family (and nor is the name *Gwrhydr* used as a name by this family at all: cf. Charles-Edwards 2013: 253), it is better to interpret Gwrhydr as the *hereditarius* of *Villa Guilbiu*. Cf. §22 below.

Colfryd abbot of Llanilltud, *Confur*, Trychan,<sup>152</sup> Berthwyn, Cadwarwy. From the laity: King Morgan, Gwynan son of Iludd, Iddig son of *Cetuur*, *Iunet* son of Lledrig, Gynddog, Gwaeddnerth son of Gwallonyr, Brochfael, Rhioedl, Gweniarth. We mentioned the boundary of the same land above. From the boundary of that settlement where Meurig killed Cynfedw<sup>153</sup> as far as the mound of stones, and as far as the other mound, and after that into the Thaw. He who would protect it, may God protect him. But he who would separate it from the church of Llandaff, may he be anathema. Amen.

## §21

### Llowes church in Elfael.

King Morgan gave the church of Llowes<sup>154</sup> as alms to Bishop Euddogwy and Llandaff and all his successors in perpetuity, without the requirement to render any payment to any earthly man, and with its every freedom in field and in woods, in water and in pastures, above the grave of his grandfather King Meurig, who lies in Llandaff, before suitable witnesses. From the clergy: Bishop Euddogwy is witness, Cyngen abbot of Llancarfan, Colfryd abbot of Llanilltud, *Iudhurb* abbot of Llandochar, Gwengad head of Penally, *Sedoc*, *Guorceniu*, Cynog, Cynfran, Clemens, *Conueon*, *Cetiu*, Sadwrn head of the city of the Taf.<sup>155</sup> From the laity: King Morgan, Brifael son of Llywarch, Gynddog son of Ishmael,<sup>156</sup> *Iunet* son of Lledrig, Gwaeddnerth son of Gwallonyr, Gwyddien son of Brochfael. He who would protect it will be blessed. But he who would separate it from the church of Llandaff, may he be anathema. Amen.

<sup>152</sup> **Confur, Trycan** (*Confur, Trychan*) For the name Trychan, see EANC 90. Wendy Davies notes that the presence of these two names in the witness list is suspicious, because, although both *Confur* and *Trycan* witness many charters, neither of them otherwise appears until late in Morgan's reign, except for here (Davies 1979: 99). Furthermore, Davies observes that the clerical witness list contains three names (*Confur, Trycan, Berthguin*) that are known otherwise as the names of bishops, and which might have been taken from some episcopal list.

<sup>153</sup> **occidit Mouric Cynuetu** (Meurig killed Cynfedw) In this instance the Latin follows standard Welsh word order (verb-subject-object).

<sup>154</sup> **podum Liuhesi** (church of Llowes) The eleventh-century Rhys Life of St Gildas (§2) describes this church as a *monasterium in Lyubes in pago Elmail* (Llowes in the country of Elfael) founded by *Mailocus* son of *Caunus* (i.e. Caw, father of Gildas). *Mailocus* is said to have died in the church (Williams 1899: 16–17).

<sup>155</sup> **Saturn princeps Taui urbis** (Sadwrn head of the city of the Taf) Evans (LL 419) identified *Taui urbs* with Llandaff. Alternative possibilities are Llanddowror and Cardiff (Davies 1978: 136; 1979: 99; Coe 2002: 802–3).

<sup>156</sup> **Is[m]ael** (Ishmael) In §25, Gynddog's father has the more likely name *Ismael* (Ishmael). An *m* appears to have been omitted here.

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§22

### Porthcasseg.

King Meurig and also Iddig son of Nudd gave the land of Porthcasseg to God and the church of Llandaff and Saints Dyfrig and Teilo, to be held by Bishop Euddogwy and all his successors in perpetuity, with its entire freedom, and with its two weirs,<sup>157</sup> and with common use in field and in woods, in water and in pastures. From the clergy the witnesses are Bishop Euddogwy, Berthwyn, Gwrfyw, Iago. From the laity: King Morgan,<sup>158</sup> Iddig the hereditary, son of Nudd, Elwaedd, Morglas, *Dallon* son of *Guoidgar*,<sup>159</sup> Eludd son of Gwerith. He who would protect it, may God protect him. But he who would separate it from the church of Llandaff and from its bishops, may he be anathema. Amen.

§23

### Tir *Hiernin*<sup>160</sup> and Tir *Retoc*.

May all catholic men know that King Iddig son of Nudd and Cynan son of Cynfedw, both kings, gave two portions of land, the land of *Redoc* and the land of *Hiernin*, for the welfare of their souls to the chief bishop Euddogwy and Saints Dyfrig and Teilo and all the bishops of the church of Llandaff in perpetual consecration, with all their freedoms in field and in woods, in water and in pastures, without the requirement to render any payment to any earthly man unless for the church of Llandaff. From the clergy the witnesses are, first, Bishop Euddogwy, Cynfran, *Cunueon*, Cynwared the priest, *Gurceniu* the priest. From the laity: Kings Iddig and Cynan, Elwedd, Adog, Milien, Haefoen, Hirell, Cynwaed, Cynfog, *Protec*,<sup>161</sup> Aertheyrn, Llywddogwy. Whosoever would protect it, may God protect him. But he who would not preserve it, may he be under perpetual anathema until he should make amends. Amen.

<sup>157</sup> **coretibus (weirs)** For this word, see the note to §18.

<sup>158</sup> **Morcant rex (King Morgan)** Note that the grant is made by King Meurig, but that King Morgan heads the lay witness list. Wendy Davies noted that the witnesses in this list are otherwise associated with Meurig, suggesting that the witness list's Morgan was mistakenly written for Meurig, rather than vice-versa (Davies 1979: 99).

<sup>159</sup> **Guoidgar** It is uncertain whether this should be modernised as *Gwaeddgar* or *Gwyddgar* (cf. Sims-Williams 1991: 52).

<sup>160</sup> **Tir Hiernin** Melville Richards suggested identifying this place with the *Hiernin* in the parish of Llanegwad in Carmarthenshire, seemingly on the basis of the farm there named Cefn-hernin (WATU 91; Coe 2002: 811).

<sup>161</sup> **Protec** Compare *Protec map Protector* in the Harleian genealogies (EWGT 10 (§2)).

## §24

**Gabalfa,<sup>162</sup> Pen y Porth [The Port's Mouth], Gregorius's Settlement, that is the settlement of the five sons of Ourdeuint on the bank of the river Taff<sup>163</sup>**

It came about that Bishop Euddogwy received Gregorius' Settlement, which is called Gabalfa on the bank of the river Taff, that is Pen y Porth, from Gwyddien<sup>164</sup> son of Brochfael with all its land, that is with three *modii* of land, for his soul and in exchange for the heavenly kingdom, with its entire freedom and complete common use, without the requirement to render any payment to an earthly man unless for the church of Llandaff. From the clergy the witnesses are Bishop Euddogwy, Cyngen abbot of Llancarfan, Colfryd abbot of Llanilltud, *Iudhubr* abbot of Llandochochau. From the laity: only King Gwyddien with his own people. He who would protect it, may God protect him. And he who would preserve it, may he be blessed.<sup>165</sup> Amen.

<sup>162</sup> **Coupalua (Gabalfa)** *Coupalua* is ModW *ceubalfa* (ferry, ferry terminal) (GPC s.v. *ceubalfa*). The Old Welsh word *\*coupal* (boat, ferry-boat) implied in *Coupalua* is related to Latin *caupulus* and Old English *cuouple*, but the nature of the three-way relationship is uncertain (Thier 2011: 194–6). It is very likely that this *Coupalua* refers to the district of Gabalfa in Cardiff (Coe 2002: 296).

<sup>163</sup> This charter is referenced in the charter at §33 below, but there the name of the donor is given as *Brochmail* son of *Guidgentiuai* rather than *Guedguen* or *Guidgen* son of *Brochmail*, as here. Wendy Davies suggested that this charter's *Guidgen* son of *Brochmail* was the father of §33's *Brochmail* son of *Guidgentiuai*, and that both may have been involved in the granting of Gabalfa (Davies 1979: 100). A certain *Guedgen/Guodgen* son of *Brocmail* also appears as a witness to one of the charters appended to the Vespasian A. xiv Life of St Cadog (VS Cadoci (Vesp), §68; cf. Davies 2003: 92). This latter charter shares at least nine of its witnesses with another Cadog charter (VS Cadoci (Vesp), §65) that includes among its witnesses Bishop Euddogwy (cf. LWS 228) as well as two people listed consecutively as '*Guedgen, Bramail*', quite possibly a corruption for *Guedgen filius Brochmail*.

<sup>164</sup> **Guedgueno (Gwyddien)** Here the donor is called *Guedguen*, but he is seemingly the same person as appears in the lay witness list as *Guidgen* (ModW Gwyddien). One would expect a name in *-guen* (probably ModW *gwen*, 'white, bright, fair') to apply to a woman (cf. female names like Gwen, Branwen etc), but the donor is clearly a male *filius* and *rex*. It is likely that *Guidgen* was the name of the original donor, and that a *u* has been added to the second element of *Guedguen* because the *g* was thought at some stage to represent Old Welsh *gu* for /w/, rather than *g* for /y/ or /j/. This is supported by Wendy Davies's argument that the *Brochmail filius Guidgentiuai* in §33, a document closely related to the present document, is the son of the donor of the present document (Davies 1979: 100). Note too that in sections 3, 21 and 26 King Morgan is accompanied by an individual named *Guidgen* (Gwyddien), who in §21 is called the son of Brochfael; in sections 19 and 28, on the other hand, Morgan is accompanied by a witness called *Guedgen*, and in §17 he is accompanied by a certain *Guedguen*. One suspects that all of these references are to the same individual. If that is correct, then *Guedguen* in §17 might be another example of the incorrect 'restoration' of *-gen* to *-guen*.

<sup>165</sup> Unusually, the sanction in this document contains two blessings but no curse.

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

§25

### **Lath's Settlement.**

It should be known to all dwelling in southern Britain<sup>166</sup> that King Morgan son of Athrwys, in exchange for the heavenly kingdom, gave *Lath's Settlement* to Llandaff's church of St Peter and of Saints Dyfrig and Teilo and to the blessed Bishop Euddogwy and all his successors, with its entire freedom, without the requirement to render any payment to an earthly man unless for the church of Llandaff. From the clergy the witnesses are blessed Bishop Euddogwy, Cyngen abbot of Llancarfan, Colfryd abbot of Llanilltud, Sulien abbot of Llandochochau, with their communities. From the laity, moreover: King Morgan, Gwangadwy head of Penally, *Sadoc* the priest, Gwrgenau the smith, Brifael son of Llywarch, Gynddog son of Ishmael, *Iunet*, Rhioedl. He who would separate this alms from the church of Llandaff, may God destroy him. But he who would preserve it, may he be blessed. Amen.

§26

It should be made known that holy Euddogwy, with all his community, and Cyngen abbot of Llancarfan, Sulien abbot of Llandochochau and Cynien abbot of Llanilltud, with all their communities, and King Morgan and Ffriog his paternal uncle all came to the church of St Illtud, and both King Morgan and Ffriog, in the presence of all those people, swore on the altar of St Illtud with holy relics set before them that together they would keep a strong peace between themselves without trickery, and with such an agreement that, if one should kill the other, or bring trickery upon him, he would not redeem himself in any other way, with neither land nor silver, than by quit-claiming his kingdom and leading his whole life in exile.<sup>167</sup> But after a long time, at the instigation of the Devil, King Morgan killed his uncle Ffriog by trickery. And following that killing, King Morgan came to Bishop Euddogwy seeking forgiveness for the perjury that he had committed as well as the homicide that he had perpetrated near the church of Llandaff. Once he had heard his request, Bishop Euddogwy accordingly summoned the abbots of his three communities, Cyngen abbot of Llancarfan, Sulien abbot of Llandochochau and Cynien abbot of Llanilltud, along with all his clerics from the confluence of Tar's Brook in the Wye as

<sup>166</sup> **Britannia (Britain)** In this instance, *Britannia* probably means Wales.

<sup>167</sup> Wendy Davies notes that the narration at the beginning of this document is unlikely to be of seventh-century origin (Davies 1979: 101). However, other elements of the document probably date to earlier than the twelfth century, and the witness list may date from the time from which it purports to date.

far as the mouth of the Towy gathered together in a holy synod. And the king came with the elders of Morgannwg to meet them at the church of Llancarfan and to receive judgement for his wrongdoing along with the highest penance. And the full synod, in the presence of Bishop Euddogwy, decided to exchange his exile for fasts and prayers and alms and to absolve him of perjury for his homicide, lest the kingdom, on account of its bereavement, should be without the shield of its natural lord protecting it. And King Morgan, with the agreement of the elders of Morgannwg, placed his hand over the four gospels and the relics of the saints, which holy Euddogwy was holding, and promised first of all that he would make amends for the aforesaid deed just as has been said, by fasting and praying and alms. And in addition he promised that he would never do such a thing ever again, and that he would enact royal justice mercifully in all matters. And once penance had been enjoined to him according to the severity of his deeds and the magnitude and extent of his power, and once Christian communion had been given to him (which had previously been withheld from him by Bishop Euddogwy), he proclaimed the three communities of Cadog, Illtud and Dochwyn to be free from all royal service on behalf of God and Saints Teilo, Dyfrig and Euddogwy and all their successors, and thus with their entire status and the privilege of Saints Dyfrig and Teilo in the perpetual consecration of the church of Llandaff. And the vessel of honey and the iron cauldron which the church of St Illtud was required to render to the king, King Morgan proclaimed that to be nullified forever. And he vowed to God and Euddogwy in the presence of the synod never henceforth to bear dominion in any way over the three communities, neither over their possessions nor over their violable rights of sanctuary, and nor would he ever knowingly carry off a single benefice from their territories by force or by any other evil ruse. And in that way they were free, without the requirement to render any payment to any earthly man, great or small, with a curse given to those who would in future violate it and a blessing given to those who would in future preserve it in peace. From the clergy the witnesses are Bishop Euddogwy, Cyngen abbot of Llancarfan, Sulien abbot of Llandocharau, Cynien abbot of Llanilltud, with their clerics Cynfogwy,<sup>168</sup> Gwrgenau, Coelfryd, Cynog, Sulien, Cynfran. From the laity: King Morgan, Gwyddien, Gynddog, Ithel, *Iunet*, *Iurthir*, Iddig, Idwallon, with a great multitude of clerics and layman, as many being in the synod as outside the synod.

<sup>168</sup> **Conuoge (Cynfogwy)** For this spelling in *-e*, see Sims-Williams 1991: 52, n. 1.

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§27

## Llanwrfaeth<sup>169</sup>

Awst, king of Brycheiniog, and his sons Eludd and Rhiwallon gave back to God and Saints Teilo and Dyfrig and to be held by Euddogwy the chief bishop and all the bishops of Llandaff in perpetual consecration Llanwrfaeth, which had formerly been St Dyfrig's and St Teilo's in the first place, with all its territory, and thus without the requirement to render any payment to any earthly man, great or small, unless for the church of Llandaff, and with its right of sanctuary and the entire status and privilege of Saints Dyfrig and Teilo, and with complete common use for the inhabitants in perpetuity in field and in woods, in water and in pastures, and with its bounds, with a curse given to those who would in future violate it, and a blessing given to those who would in future preserve it. From the clergy the witnesses are Bishop Euddogwy, *Sedoc*, Cynfran, Cynogan, *Conueon*, Cynleg, Bran, Cynllywern, *Gellan*, Edgar, Gweniarth. From the laity, moreover: King Awst, his sons Eludd and Rhiwallon, with many others. Its boundary is: *the source of the Eithrim*,<sup>170</sup> *along the ridge upwards, along its length to Carn Erchan* [Erchan's Cairn].<sup>171</sup> *From Carn Erchan to the old road. Along the road as far as Porth y Dorglwyd* [Pass of the Refuge],<sup>172</sup> *to a ridge. Along it as far as the source of Nant Dingad* [Dingad's Stream].<sup>173</sup> *Along the stream as far as where it falls into Nant Cilieni* [Cilieni Stream]. *Along the Cilieni downwards as far as its confluence with Nant-yr-Hen. Along it as far as Crug Hisbernn.*<sup>174</sup> *From Crug Hisbernn, along the ridge of the*

<sup>169</sup> **Lannguruaet (Llanwrfaeth)** This place was identified with Llandeilo'r-fân by Evans (LL 370), who has been followed by Doble, Richards, Davies and Coe (LWS 188; WATU 107; Davies 1979: 101; Coe 2002: 429).

According to Wendy Davies, this charter is unlikely to be based on any original record, because it 'has a very high proportion of editorial formulae and a witness list appropriated from some other record' (Davies 1979: 101).

<sup>170</sup> **Ethrim (Eithrim)** Understand Mawan. Evans deduced that this boundary clause consistently confuses the two streams called Eithrim and Mawan (LL 370, n. 1).

<sup>171</sup> **Carn Erchan** Coe notes that *Erchan* is attested as both a river name a personal name, but that a personal name is far more likely here (Coe 2002: 135).

<sup>172</sup> **Porth i Dorcluit (Porth y Dorglwyd)** Cf. GPC s.v. *dorglwyd*. Possible meanings of *dorglwyd* include 'door hurdle, wattle-gate, defence, refuge, defender, protector'.

<sup>173</sup> **Nant Dincat (Nant Dingad [Dingad's Stream])** For possible identifications, see Coe 2002: 633–4.

<sup>174</sup> **Hisbernn** Padel (CPNE 210) suggested that the second element of this name is cognate with Cornish *sfern* (thorn, thorn-trees). According to Coe, the initial *hi* might then represent a prosthetic vowel (Coe 2002: 197). However, there are orthographical issues with both of these interpretations. One would expect a cognate of Cornish *sfern* to be spelt *sfern(n)* rather than *sbern(n)* in the Liber Landavensis. Furthermore, one would expect the schwa of a prosthetic vowel to be spelt *e-* or *i-* rather than *hi-* (cf. *isciplan*, *estrat*, *istrat*). Perhaps a more likely

*mountain as far as the base of Croes Guerion,<sup>175</sup> downwards as far as Gwaun Tair Ffin [Marsh of the Three Borders],<sup>176</sup> to Nant Cenau [Whelp's Stream].<sup>177</sup> Along Nant Cenau as far as the Cilieni. Along the Cilieni as far as its confluence with the Post Du [the Black Column].<sup>178</sup> Along the Post Du as far as the Clydach. Along the Clydach as far as its source, to the alder-marsh across the mountain. Along it as far as Bryn Bugeiliaid [Shepherds' Hill].<sup>179</sup> Along the hill as far as the source of the Mawan.<sup>180</sup> From the source of the Mawan,<sup>181</sup> along the mountain as far as the source of the Eithrim,<sup>182</sup> where it began.*

## §28

### *Lannccyncyrill.*

King Morgan son of Athrwys, for the soul of Ffriog son of Meurig, whom he had killed, and for the redemption of his own soul, he having already taken the yoke of penitence through fasting and alms and prayer, gave *Lannccincirill* and Cynfall's land to the chief Bishop Euddogwy and the church of Llandaff and Saints Dyfrig and Teilo, with their entire freedom and complete common use in field and in woods, in water and in pastures, for all the inhabitants in perpetuity. From the clergy the witnesses are Bishop Euddogwy, Cyngen abbot of Llancarfan, Cynien abbot of Llanilltud, Sulien abbot of Llandochar, Maiog, Sulien, Colfryd. From the laity: King Morgan, Grugynan, Gwyddien, Elgu, Pedr, Rhioedl, Sawyl, Tudwal, Bleiddgu, Cydog, Gwelfyw. He who

interpretation of *Hisbernn* would be (*b*)is (under, beneath, below) + *bern* (?heap or (mountain) pass, ?stream) (cf. GPC s.vv. *is* and *bern*).

<sup>175</sup> **Crois Guerion (Croes Guerion)** *Croes* means 'cross', but the second word is uncertain. For discussion, see Coe 2002: 193–4.

<sup>176</sup> **Guoun Teir Fin (Gwaun Tair Ffin [Marsh of the Three Borders])** Coe confidently identifies this marsh as the large marsh located around SN924344 (Coe 2002: 333–4).

<sup>177</sup> **Nant Cenou (Nant Cenau [Whelp's Stream])** It is possible that *Cenau* is a personal name rather than the common noun *cenau* (cub, whelp; son, descendant). Cf. EWGT 177.

<sup>178</sup> **Post Du ([Black Column])** For possible identifications of this strangely named stream, see Coe 2002: 715–16.

<sup>179</sup> **Brinn Bucelid (Bryn Bugeiliaid)** Coe confidently identifies this *Brinn Bucelid* with the modern Mynydd Bwlch-y-Groes, despite the presence of the correctly named hill Bryn Bugeiliaid nearby (Coe 2002: 96–7). The identification relies on Evans' observation (LL 370, n. 1) that the reference to the Mawan in the following sentence is an error for the Eithrim.

<sup>180</sup> **Mauan (Mawan)** Understand Eithrim. Evans deduced that this boundary clause consistently confuses the two streams called Eithrim and Mawan (LL 370, n. 1).

<sup>181</sup> **Mauan (Mawan)** Understand Eithrim.

<sup>182</sup> **Ethrim (Eithrim)** Understand Mawan.

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would protect it, may God protect him. But he who would separate it from the church of Llandaff, may he be anathema. Amen. The boundary of this land: *Cepetic Trychan*, that is, from the red shallow<sup>183</sup> on the bank of Rhuddlan Ely, from here upwards out of the area, through the wood, over the rise of the wood as far as Crug Cynfall Scoti [the Ridge of Cynfall the Irishman]. Thence through the ditch cutting upwards on the mountain, along<sup>184</sup> the ditch as far as the spring. From the spring downwards for a while as far as the end of Clawdd Trychan [Trychan's Dyke] in the valley. Through the ditch leading as far as the mountain and descending downwards, along through the ditch to *Talpon Brinan*,<sup>185</sup> to the wide road. Along the road. Through the ditch leading to the Ely.

§29

### Llandogo.

Morgan, king of Glywysing, in exchange for a heavenly kingdom, with great piety and a humble and contrite heart, gave again<sup>186</sup> to Bishop Euddogwy and Saints Dyfrig and Teilo and the church of Llandaff, founded in honour of St Peter, Llaneinion, with its entire status and with entire freedom and complete common use in wood and in fields, in water and in pastures, and with its four fish-traps, and with weirs<sup>187</sup> and woods, and without the requirement to render any payment to any earthly man unless for God and the church of Llandaff in perpetuity, and with its right of sanctuary, free on all sides just like an island lying in the sea. From the clergy the witnesses are Bishop Euddogwy, Sulien abbot of Llancarfan, Gwrthafar abbot of Llanilltud, Sadwrn abbot of Llandochar, Cynfran, Berthwyn. From the laity: King Morgan, *Eifest*, Cynfyw, *Ihuc*, Iddig, Gweniarth, Bywan, *Iunet*, Ceirio, Rhoedl. The boundary of this church is: *from the Cyfylchi* [Circular Fortress]<sup>188</sup> *to Llech Euddogwy* [Euddogwy's Stone], *to the crest of the hill, to the summit*.

<sup>183</sup> **hoc est, a uado rufo** (that is, from the red shallow) It is possible that this phrase was originally a gloss on *Rudlan Elei*, since *Rudlan* is probably *rhudd* (red) + *glan* (river-bank, shore, hillside), thus 'red river-bank'. A fifteenth-century hand later glossed *uado rufo* with *modo Redyng* (now *Redyng*).

<sup>184</sup> **per longitudinem** (along) In this boundary clause, as elsewhere in the Llandaff charters, the Latin *per longitudinem* seems to have been used in the way that Welsh *yn ei hyd* is usually used in the vernacular boundary clauses.

<sup>185</sup> **Talpon Brinan** *Talpon* is possibly two words, *tâl* (end) and *pont* (bridge) (Coe 2002: 796–7).

<sup>186</sup> **reddidit** (gave again) This charter records the renewal of the gift of Llaneinion *alias* Llandogo, which was originally given to Euddogwy by the eponymous Einion, alleged king of Glywysing, in §9 of the Life above.

<sup>187</sup> **coretibus** (weirs) For this word, see the note to §18.

<sup>188</sup> **Ciwlchi** (Cyfylchi [Circular Fortress]) Cf. GPC s.v. *cyfylchi*.

*Along it to the ford, to the Cleddon. Along the ridge to the bottom of the marsh,<sup>189</sup> to the middle of the mountain,<sup>190</sup> to the red pool, as far as the Olway. And thence from the White Brook as far as Trylec Bechan.<sup>191</sup> He who would protect it, may God protect him. But he who would separate it from the church of Llandaff and from its bishops, may he be anathema. Amen.*

## §30

### St Lythans and Gogof<sup>192</sup>

One day, while King Ithel son of Athrwys was riding through the territory of Gogof, his horse stumbled and he fell to the ground. But rising up healthy, he gave thanks to God. And he looked back towards St Lythans. He said to God, with hands raised, ‘This church which I see with all its territory, and the settlement of Gogof in which I stand, I commend to almighty God, who saved me from danger.’<sup>193</sup> And he called to him Bishop Euddogwy with the three abbots, Cyngen abbot of Llancarfan, Colfryd abbot of Llanilltud, *Iudhubr* abbot of Llandochochau. From the clergy the witnesses are Trychan, *Satuc*,<sup>194</sup> Cynfran, *Cinuchan*,<sup>195</sup> *Conguean*,<sup>196</sup> Cynlleg, *Oran*,<sup>197</sup>

<sup>189</sup> **gwoun (marsh)** Coe identifies this marsh as the Cleddon Bog (Coe 2002: 755).

<sup>190</sup> **hannher ir minid (middle of the mountain)** Coe identifies this feature as Broad Meend (Coe 2002: 755).

<sup>191</sup> **Et deinde a Guenfrut usque ad Trylec Bechan (And thence from the White Brook as far as Tryleg Bechan)** Evans (LL 370, n. 13) suggested that the bounds only make sense if the White Brook and the *Trylec* Bechan are substituted for one another, and Coe agrees (Coe 2002: 321, 845–6). *Trylec* Bechan might refer to the modern Trellech (Coe 2002: 845).

<sup>192</sup> **Gucof (Gogof)** Gogof means ‘cave’. See GPC s.v. *ogof, gogof*. According to Wendy Davies, ‘no original charter is apparent behind this text’ (Davies 1979: 102).

<sup>193</sup> There are textual problems in this charter from this point onwards (cf. Davies 1979: 102). The following sentence, where Ithel calls Euddogwy and the three abbots to him, does not have a main verb. The clerical witness list then intrudes before the dispositive clause, which itself lacks any dispositive verb (supplied in square brackets in the translation). Davies also noted that the witness lists contain corrupt spellings and are closely related to the appropriated witness lists in the dubious charters found in the present §§18 and 27.

<sup>194</sup> **Satuc** This name probably represents the witness who appears elsewhere as *Sedoc* or *Sadoc*. It is uncertain whether the *-uc* ending appearing here is a genuine attempt to spell the south-eastern nominal suffix *-wg* or whether the spelling is corrupt. See the note to *Sedoc* in §18.

<sup>195</sup> **Cinuchan** Probably the witness who appears elsewhere as *Conocan* (Cynogan).

<sup>196</sup> **Conguean** Probably the witness who appears elsewhere as *Conueon* or *Cunueon*. The etymology of *Conueon* is uncertain. It is not clear whether the *u* is for /v/ or, as the form *Conguean* suggests, for /w/, nor is it clear whether *-ueon* contains an old spelling for a long *e*. For discussion, see Sims-Williams 1991: 60.

<sup>197</sup> **Oran** Probably an error for the witness who appears elsewhere as *Bran*.

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*Conuan.*<sup>198</sup> And [he gave St Lythans and Gogof] to Bishop Euddogwy and all his successors in perpetuity in the church of Llandaff of Saints Peter and Dyfrig and Teilo, and with their entire freedom and complete common use in those lands for the inhabitants and for those who will live there in the future without interruption, in field and in woods, in water and in pastures, everywhere throughout the whole region of Glywysing. From the laity the witnesses are King Ithel, Brochfael, *Gellan*, Edgar, *Guncar*.<sup>199</sup> The boundary of these settlements is: *from the hollow nearest to Gurrimi's source.*<sup>200</sup> *From Gurrimi straight [to] the entrance of Pant Cyw* [Chick's Hollow]. *Upwards along it to the summit of the hill, to the dyke. Along the dyke crossing over the road. Along the dyke through the forest downwards to the hollow. Along the dyke to the cairn. Along the dyke to the spring. From the spring to the dyke. Along the dyke to the other spring. From the spring along the ditch upwards through the*<sup>201</sup> *forest, to the mountain. Upon the hillside, along a ditch. Along the ditch to the hollow. Along the hollow upwards, across the great road. Along the dyke across the mountain, straight to the top of Pant Golych,*<sup>202</sup> *to Hen Llodre Eliddon* [Eliddon's Old Site]<sup>203</sup> *at the top of the hollow. The hollow downwards through the middle of the valley to the spring at the source of the Golych.*<sup>204</sup> *The Golych downwards. Along it towards Powysfa Dewi* [Dewi's Resting-Place],<sup>205</sup> *to the end of the cairn. The three-acre land on the other side of the stream. The stream downwards. Along it as far as its confluence in the Guorrimi. Along the Guorrimi upwards to the end opposite the hollow where the boundary started. Whosoever would protect it, may God protect him. But he who should separate it from the church of Llandaff, may he be anathema.*

<sup>198</sup> **Conuan** Probably the witness who appears elsewhere as *Conbau*.

<sup>199</sup> **Guncar** Possibly an error for the witness who appears elsewhere as *Guengarth* (Gweniarth).

<sup>200</sup> **licat Gurrimi (Gurrimi's Source)** This stream has been identified with Goldsland Brook (Pierce 1968: 309–10; Coe 2002: 331–2).

<sup>201</sup> **trui i (through the)** One would expect *trui'r*.

<sup>202</sup> **Pant Gulich (Pant Golych)** Identified as the valley now known as Nant Brân (Coe 2002: 675). *Pant* means 'hollow, valley'.

<sup>203</sup> **Hen Lotre Elidon (Hen Llodre Eliddon [Eliddon's Old Site])** For the meaning of *llodre*, see EANC 82; Williams 1944; Pierce 1984: 486b–87a.

<sup>204</sup> **Gulich (Golych)** Identified as the stream running through Dyffryn Golych. This stream is now called the River Waycock. This stream has two sources: one in the north-west, which the Ordnance Survey has determined to be the primary source, and one in the north-east, now called Nant Brân. The present bounds seem to envisage the source as being in the north-east (Coe 2002: 326–7).

<sup>205</sup> **Pouisia Deuui (Powysfa Dewi [Dewi's Resting-Place])** Cf. GPC s.v. *powysfa*.

## §31

**Emrygorfa<sup>206</sup> in Gwent Is Coed on the bank of the River Wye.**

King Ithel son of Morgan and his sons Ffernfael and Meurig, along with Gwrddog the hereditary, son of *Catdem*, gave three *unciae*<sup>207</sup> of the fully navigable land of the River Wye, that is Emrygorfa, to God and Saints Dyfrig and Teilo and Euddogwy and all their successors in the church of Llandaff in perpetuity, with its entire freedom and all its weirs,<sup>208</sup> and with complete common use in field and in woods, in water and in pastures. From the clergy the witnesses are Bishop Euddogwy,<sup>209</sup> Daian abbot of Llancarfan, Elwaedd abbot of Llanilltud, Sadwrn abbot of Llandochar. From the laity: King Ithel and his sons Ffernfael and Meurig, Gafran,<sup>210</sup> Elffin, Gwynan, *Mabsu*, Gwallonyr, Gwrfoddw, Nudd, Argon, Tudnerth, Edelig, Dadlon, Cynogan. Whosoever would protect it, may God protect him. But he who would separate it from the church of Llandaff, may he be cursed. Its boundary is: Annwg Valley above the River Wye, and the boundary of St Kingsmark on the other side. *Pant Annwg* [Annwg Hollow] *upwards as far as the end of the ditch in the hollow, upwards to the other hollow on the shoulder facing the east, downwards as far as the hill, to the spring, along the brook as far as the Wye. Along the Wye upwards* (with its weirs) *as far as Pant Annwg* on the bank of the Wye, where it began.

## §32

**Llanerthill.**

King Ithel<sup>211</sup> offered up as a gift to God and Saints Dyfrig and Teilo, and to be held by Euddogwy the chief bishop and all his successors in the church of Llandaff, Llanerthill in *Brehes*, with all its

<sup>206</sup> **Emricorua (Emrygorfa)** Securely identified with Chepstow (Welsh Cas-gwent) (LL 371; Coe 2002: 264–5). For *Emricorua*, cf. GPC s.v. *amrygyr*.

<sup>207</sup> **unciae** At two points in the Liber Landavensis (LL 200 and 216), the *uncia* is defined as 12 *modii*. Wendy Davies argues that an *uncia* was equivalent to about 500 acres, and that the unit originated in the Romano-British period, when it meant the inheritance of one man (Davies 1973; cf. Charles-Edwards 2013: 274–82).

<sup>208</sup> **coretibus (weirs)** For this word, see the note to §18.

<sup>209</sup> **episcopus Oudoceus (Bishop Euddogwy)** Wendy Davies notes that the inclusion of Euddogwy in this list is anachronistic, since he is very unlikely to have survived into the reign of Ithel ap Morgan, and the other witnesses are known contemporaries of Ithel rather than Euddogwy (Davies 1979: 102).

<sup>210</sup> **Gabran (Gafran)** This is a borrowing from the Irish name *Gabráin*.

<sup>211</sup> **Ithail (Ithel)** Wendy Davies notes that, if this document derives from a genuine charter, King Ithel must be Ithel ab Athrwys, who was a contemporary of Euddogwy (Davies 1979: 102).

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territory and its entire freedom, and complete common use for the inhabitants in field and in woods, in water and in pastures, and with its bounds, and with good men attesting, with a curse given to those who would in future violate it, and a blessing given to those who would in future preserve it in peace for the church of Llandaff. Its boundary is: *From Ryd y Maen [Ford of the Stone] on the Olway along the stream as it leads upwards as far as its source, as far as Allt y Cigfran [Hill of the Raven],<sup>212</sup> to the source of Nant yr Hebog [Stream of the Hawk]. Along it as far as where it falls into the Gwefrddwr.<sup>213</sup> As it leads downwards as far as the Olway. As the Olway leads downwards as far as Rhyd y Maen on the Olway*, where it began.

§33

### Mynachdy.<sup>214</sup>

Brochfael son of *Guidgentiuai*<sup>215</sup> offered up Mynachdy with six *modii* of land to God and Saints Dyfrig and Teilo and to be held by Bishop Euddogwy and all his successors in the church of Llandaff for his soul and as alms, and with its entire freedom and complete common use in field and in woods, in water and in pastures. The boundary of this settlement is: Georgius's Settlement<sup>216</sup> on the one side, which the same Brochfael had previously given in a similar manner to Bishop Euddogwy.<sup>217</sup> The boundary of this settlement (that is, Mynachdy) is, that is to the north, Tref y *Gillicg*<sup>218</sup> (that is Tref y Cil [Town of the Nook] by an ancient name). And the same Brochfael also gave to Bishop Euddogwy on the same day three *modii* of the land of [...]nuc

<sup>212</sup> **Allt ir Cicbran (Allt y Cigfran)** Cf. GPC s.v. *cigfran*. Coe suggests that this could be Cyncoed Hill (Coe 2002: 67–8).

<sup>213</sup> **Guefrduur (Gwefrddwr)** Identified as Pontyryhydan Brook (Coe 2002: 320–1).

<sup>214</sup> **Lannmenechi (Mynachdy)** The identification was suggested by Evans, and Coe agrees (LL 408; Coe 2002: 436–7). *Menechi* itself probably means ‘land of the monk(s)’, from *mynach* (monk) + *-i* (EANC 127). Wendy Davies judged that ‘a very high proportion of this record appears to be original, and to be copied from an unclear exemplar’ (Davies 1979: 103).

<sup>215</sup> **Brochmail filius Guidgentiuai (Brochfael son of Guidgentiuai)** The latter name may either be an error for *Guidgenti*, a Latinization of *Guidgen* (Gwyddien), or *Guidgen* plus an unknown epithet *tiuai*. This may be the same Gwyddien who is the donor of the charter in §24; see the notes to that section. Curiously, the name form *Guidgentiuai* is also used in the Life of St Dyfrig (VS Dubricii (LL / Vesp), §17).

<sup>216</sup> **uilla Giurgii (Georgius's Settlement)** *Giurgii* is probably a corruption of the *Greguri* in §24. There, *villa Greguri* is equated with *Couplaua* (Ceubalfa), which can probably be identified with the modern district of Gabalfa in Cardiff (Coe 2002: 872).

<sup>217</sup> A reference to §24, though the donor there is one Gwyddien son of Brochfael. See the notes to §24.

<sup>218</sup> **Tref ir Gillicg (Tref y Gillicg)** For discussion of *Gillicg*, see Coe 2002: 823–4.

*Bacan*<sup>219</sup> to God and Bishop Euddogwy with its territory. The boundary: from the great road that leads from *Porta Halan*<sup>220</sup> as far as Rhiw Ffinion [Slope of the Boundaries],<sup>221</sup> extending across the outskirts of the little mountain as far as Rhiw *Tinuiu* (that is, Henriw [Old-Slope]).<sup>222</sup> Again going around as far as the great road, which leads to Rhiw Ffinion. From the clergy the witnesses are Bishop Euddogwy, Cyngen abbot of Llancarfan, Colfryd abbot of Llanilltud, *Iudhubr* abbot of Llandocharau. From the laity: Brochfael with his own people. He who would protect it, may God protect him. But he who would separate it from the church of Llandaff, may he be anathema.

<sup>219</sup> [...]nuc **Bacan** The scribe left a gap for the first half of the first word, presumably because the exemplar was illegible.

<sup>220</sup> **Porta Halan** For possible meanings of this name, see Coe 2002: 708–9.

<sup>221</sup> **Riu Finion (Rhiw Ffinion)** This place is also named in the bounds of the church of Llandaff (VS Dubricii (LL / Vesp), §1).

<sup>222</sup> **Henriu (Henriw [Old Slope])** Coe suggests that this is the same place as *Henriu Gunma*, the subject of the charter at LL 267, since *Henriu Gunma* is named alongside *Riu Finion* (which appears in the present document) in the bounds of the church of Llandaff (VS Dubricii (LL / Vesp), §1; Coe 2002: 365–7).

# Vita Sancti Oudocei (Liber Landavensis)

edited by Ben Guy

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## Manuscript

The Liber Landavensis contains the only full copy of the Life of St Euddogwy. The only other version of the Life is the version abbreviated by John of Tynemouth, which has been edited separately (VS Oudocei (JT)). The text edited here as the Vita Sancti Oudocei consists of the Life and the saint in addition to the appended charters, many of which feature further stories concerning St Euddogwy. All the text was written by scribe A on quires 9 and 10 (MWM 129, 135, 154). These quires are part of the continuous sequence formed by quires 7 to 14, which were all copied by scribe A uninterrupted. They contain the Lives of SS. Dyfrig, Teilo, Euddogwy and Clydog, and the main sequence of charters from Dyfrig to Herewald.

### LIBER LANDAVENSIS, 66VA–75RB

Note on transcription. The following abbreviations are used for the Life in the manuscript:

Ampersand (x63); Tironian *et* (x107); the homothetic sign [ꝑ] (x2).

The following abbreviations are used for the appended charters in the manuscript:

Ampersand (x170); Tironian *et* (x128); the homothetic sign [ꝑ] (x1); Insular *autem* abbreviation (x2).

{66va}

13      Incipit uita beati OVDOcei. *Landauensis archiepiscopi*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Incipit uita beati OVDOcei. Landauensis archiepiscopi* (bottom, below both columns) {*Incipit Vita sancti Odothei Landauensis Archiepiscopi, vt supra patet in Rubrica Iste sanctus Odotheus Landauensis quondam <sup>tercarius</sup> Archiepiscopus, fuit filius Regis armoricorum cornugallie siue parue britannie, et fuit nepos sancti Teliae quondam landauensis secundi archiepiscopi, natus ex sorore sancti teliae nomine Anauued seu anaumed, et rex pater suus vocabatur Budic. vt supra patet*}.

14      **F** VIT<sup>2</sup> uir Budic filius Cybr=<sup>3</sup>  
 15      dan natus de Cornugallia {in parua britannia}.  
 16      qui indemeticam regionem tem  
 17      pore Aircolla~~t~~<sup>{6}</sup>hir regis eiusdem  
 18      regni uenit cum sua classe expul  
 19      sus patria sua. Qui cum moraretur  
 20      in *patria*. accepit sibi uxorem Anau=  
 21      ued nomine filiam Ensic<sup>4</sup>. mater autem  
 22      illius Guenhaf filiam Liuonui. de  
 23      qua anaumed nati sunt sibi Ismael  
 24      et Tyfei martir iacens in *pennalun*.  
 25      Qui cum moraretur in *patria*. missis  
 26      legatis adeum denatiua sua regio=  
 27      ne cornugallia ut sine mora cum  
 28      tota sua familia et auxilio brittan=  
 29      norum ad recipiendum regnum armori=  
 30      ce gentis ueniret defuncto rege eorum  
 31      illum uolebant recipere natum de  
 32      regali progenie. Facto abillis consilio  
 33      uno ore. audita legatione et accep=

<sup>2</sup> **F** VIT The *F* is a six-line rubricated initial.

<sup>3</sup> (margin) {nota bene hanc vitam} {{in rubricam}}.

<sup>4</sup> **filiam Ensic** (margin) {nota filiam ensic} {{, Iste Ensic fuit pater sancti teliae quondam Landauensis Archiepiscopi}}.

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAIE

34 ta. affectuose accepit uxorem suam

35 pregnantem cum tota familia sua

{66vb}

1 et classe applicuit in patria. et regna=<sup>5</sup>

2 uit pertotam armoricam terram. Et in

3 tempore suo tandiu durantem usque

4 ad alpes<sup>6</sup>. Et uxor eius peperit filium

5 nomine Oudoceum. quem post tem=

6 pus maturitatis misit ad studium

7 litterarum sicut promiserat sancto Teliauo

8 antea in britannia quod si filium ha=

9 beret. illum deo commendaret. sicut

10 commendauerat ambos frates suos quos

11 prediximus. Et sanctus Oudoceus ab infan=

12 tia cepit ditari scientia et eloquen=

13 tia intantum quod suos contempora

14 neos et simul consocios excellebat

15 moribus et sanctitate. Et post immen=

16 sum tempus uenit flaua pestis<sup>7</sup> per

17 maiorem britanniam. Flaua<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> (top) {nota} {nota hic quomodo odotheus fuit filius regis armoricorum cornugallie siue parue britannie}.

<sup>6</sup> usque ad alpes (margin) {nota Usque ad alpes}.

<sup>7</sup> flaua pestis (margin, keyed with a *signe de renvoi* [:]) {Walice y gall velen}.

<sup>8</sup> britanniam. flaua There is a space between these words because of a hole in the parchment.

18 quidem uocabatur. eo *quod* flauos *et*  
 19 exsangues efficiebat uniuersos *quos*  
 20 persequebatur. quę incolumpna  
 21 aquosę nubis apparebat hominibus.  
 22 unum caput uerrens *per terram.*  
 23 aliud sursum trahens *per aerem. et*  
 24 discurrens *per totam regionem ad mo=*  
 25 dum ymbris discurrantis *per ima con=*  
 26 uallium Quecunque autem animan= *uallium*  
 27 tia suo pestifero afflatu attingeret.  
 28 aut ilico moriebantur. aut egrota= *bantur in mortem. Siquis uero medelam*  
 29 conaretur adhibere *eθ<sup>[g]</sup>rg<sup>[o]</sup>tanti*<sup>9</sup>. non  
 30 tantum medicamina non habebant  
 32 suum effectum; sed etiam medican= *tem cum egroto atra lues trahebat*  
 33 ad interitum. Et post immensum  
 35 tempus sedata est oratione sancti

{67ra}

1 Teliaui *et sanctorum brittannię. Et ante*<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *eθ<sup>[g]</sup>rg<sup>[o]</sup>tanti* (margin) {egrotanti}. A later hand has added a tail to the first *o*, turning it into a *g*, and has erased the tail of the original *g*, giving it the appearance of an *o*. A different hand has repeated the emended word in the margin.

<sup>10</sup> (top) {Nota cornugalliam}.

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAIE

2 quam omnino extirparetur. uenit  
3 diuina uox adsanctum Teliaum ut cum  
4 suis clericis *et* populo iret cornug  
5 alliam quę postea uocata e<sup>{k}</sup>erniu  
6 budic<sup>11</sup>. *et* ibi inuenit nepotem suum  
7 Oudoceum uirum preclarum *et* man=

8 suetum *et* utriusque legis peritum. ut  
9 candelam super candelabrum. Et post  
10 tempus sue conuersationis. *sanctus* Teli  
11 aus archiepiscopus landauię<sup>12</sup> ecclesię sancti Pe=

12 tri apostoli rediit adnatale solum cum  
13 suo nepote illum committante. qui  
14 tantum creuit inbonitate *et* scien=

15 tia quod sibi electione<sup>13</sup> cleri *et* populi  
16 ~~et populi~~ succedit inepiscopatu lan=

17 dauensis ecclesię electione cleri Merc  
18 guini *et* Elgoreti *et* Gunnuni magi=

19 stri *et* trium abbatum. Catgen ab=

20 batis ilduti. Concenn abbatis Cat=

21 maili. Cetnig abbatis Docguinni.

22 Laicorum regis Mourici *et* filiorum

<sup>11</sup> e<sup>{k}</sup>erniu budic (margin) {kerniv buddic}.

<sup>12</sup> *sanctus* Teliaus archiepiscopus landauię (margin) {ecce qualiter theliaus *sanctus* fuit archiepiscopus Landauie}.

<sup>13</sup> electione (margin, keyed with a *signe de renvoi* [:]) {Nota electionem Episcopi quondam}.

23 Athruiſ et idnerth. Guidgen et cetiau  
 24 brocmail. Gendoc. Louhonerd. cat=  
 25 gualatyr. et omnium principum to=  
 26 tius parrochię. Missus est sanctus Oudo=  
 27 ceus cum clericis suis predictis merc=  
 28 hui<sup>14</sup> et elguoret et gunnbiu cum le  
 29 gatis trium abbatum et regis et prin=  
 30 cipum ad doroborensem ciuitatem<sup>15</sup>  
 31 ad beatum archiepiscopum ubi sacratus  
 32 est ecclesię landauię in honore sancti pe=<sup>16</sup>  
 33 tri fundatę. Rex mouricus cum du=  
 34 obus filiis suis et uxore sua Onbraus  
 35 filia gurcanti magni et tribus abbatibus<sup>17</sup>

{67rb}

1 trium cenobitarum. et cum omnibus  
 2 principibus regni sui et tota familia  
 3 sanctorum Dubricii et teliaui ecclesię landa=  
 4 uensis suscepit eum cum gaudio.  
 5 dans et confirmans idem priuilegium<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> merc=hui Sic.

<sup>15</sup> doroborensem ciuitatem (margin) {nota doroboruensem ciuitatem}.

<sup>16</sup> (bottom) {Sanctus Teliaus Archiepiscopus Landauie Ecclesie sancti petri Apostoli etc}. Both the main text and the note are highlighted by pointing hands.

<sup>17</sup> tribus abbatibus (bottom) {Nota tres abbates quondam in electionem episcopi landauensis et de Episcopatu landauensi}.

<sup>18</sup> priuilegium (margin) {priuilegium}.

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

6 datum antea *sancto* dubrio *sanctoque te=*  
7 liauo *et suis succendentibus cum omni*  
8 dignitate sua<sup>19</sup> *et libertate. et circue=*  
9 runt omnes cum rege. quattuor euan= *gelia inmanu sua tenente. et sancte ec=*  
10 clesię quasi dotem confirmante. *sancta*  
11 cruce precedente. *et sancto choro sequente*  
12 cum summo pastore<sup>20</sup> psallente. Fiat  
13 pax inuirtute tua. *et abundantia*  
14 inturribus tuis. *Gloria et diuinitę indomo*<sup>21</sup>  
15 eius. *et iustitia eius manet in seculum seculi.*  
16 *et cum aspersione aquę benedictę per*  
17 totum confinium. *et confirmando*  
18 idem priuilegium datum antea *sancto*  
19 dubrio. idest sine consule. sine  
20 proconsule. *sine conuentu*<sup>22</sup>. intus nec  
21 extra. *sine expediti one*<sup>23</sup>. *sine ui=*  
22 gilanda regione infra nec extra.  
23 *et cum tota curia sua plenaria. et*

<sup>19</sup> **cum omni dignitate sua** (margin) {Nota cum omni dignitate sua. *et nota bene*}.

<sup>20</sup> **summo pastore** (margin) {Nota summum pastorem odotheo}.

<sup>21</sup> (margin) {Pastor erat *summus*, Landauensis — Teliaus Odotheus}.

<sup>22</sup> **conuentu** Blurred and possibly retraced.

<sup>23</sup> **sine expediti one** (margin) {nota sine expedizione}. There is a gap in the second word due to a hole in the parchment.

25 libera *et* integra ut regia. *et* cum  
 26 suo refugio<sup>24</sup> non adtempus. sed si=  
 27 ne termino. quandiu uoluerit pro=  
 28 fugus. maneat tutus sine protegen=  
 29 te clipeo humano sub eius asylo.  
 30 *et* cum datis corporibus *et* commmen=  
 31 datis<sup>25</sup> regum dextralis brittanię.  
 32 landauię inperpetuo. *et* sicut romana=  
 33 na ecclesia excedit dignitatem<sup>26</sup> omnium  
 34 ecclesiarum catholicę fidei. ita ecclesia<sup>27</sup>  
 35 illa landauia excedat<sup>28</sup> omnes ecclesias

{67va}

1 totius dextralis brittanię indig  
 2 nitate *et* in priuilegio *et* in excellen  
 3 tia. *et* cum tota communione per=  
 4 uia incolis. *et* habitaturis incam=  
 5 po *et* in aquis. insilua *et* in pascuis.  
 6 *et* cum finibus istis. a Gungleis infra

<sup>24</sup> **refugio** (margin) {refugium sine termino}.

<sup>25</sup> **commmen=datis** *Sic.*

<sup>26</sup> **dignitatem** (margin) {Nota de dignitate et excellentia ecclesie}.

<sup>27</sup> (bottom) {ffo. 53. hoc prius habetur *et plus*. scilicet quod Ecclesiam Landauensis. aliarum omnium Ecclesiarum Wallie semper magistra extitit in dignitate et in omni priuilegio donec tandem per sediciones etc nota Nota bene}. The *signe de renvoi* [.] above *landauia* in line 35 may also relate to this note.

<sup>28</sup> **excedat** The loop of the *a* has been erased to change it into an *i*. This might be a contemporary correction, or it might be later.

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

7        taf *et elei*<sup>29</sup>. totum territorium usque ad  
8        mare. *et per dies et tempora totam par-*  
9        rochiam amochros usque **u**<sup>[a]</sup>**d**<sup>30</sup> insulam  
10      Teithi in pace tenuit. donec rex<sup>31</sup>  
11      Catguocaun quadam uice suaden=

12      te diabolo uulnerauit unum de  
13      clericis Oudocei *episcopi. et ita surgen=*  
14      te fauilla iniuitatis motus est  
15      ira rex. uolens *sanctum* uirum cum sua  
16      familia expellere depatria sua ultra  
17      Tyui. *et sanctus* Oudoceus reliquit patriam  
18      illius sub maledictione. *et ab illo*  
19      tempore remansit parrochia di=

20      uidente Tyui duos episcopatus<sup>32</sup>  
21      sicut diuidebat duo regna. Mouri=

22      ci ex ista parte. Catgucauni ex=

23      alia. Post<sup>33</sup> interuallum rex

24      Catgucaun ueniam requirens.

25      penituit se fecisse *quod* fecerat erga

26      *sanctum* Oudoceum *et* familiam suam.

<sup>29</sup> **taf et elei** (margin) {taf et eley vsque ad mare}.

<sup>30</sup> **u**<sup>[a]</sup>**d** It looks like the *u* was corrected to *a* by a later hand, but it is difficult to be certain.

<sup>31</sup> (margin) {Antiqui limites dyocesis}.

<sup>32</sup> (margin) {posterioribus limites}.

<sup>33</sup> **Post** The loop of the *P* has been filled in with red.

27 misit propter illum *et reddidit ei ter-*  
 28 ras ecclesię Landauię. Pennalun ui=<sup>34</sup>  
 29 delicet *et Lannteiliau maur*<sup>35</sup>. *et lan*  
 30 dyfuyrguyr quę prius fuerant  
 31 archiepiscopi Dubricii. *et atempore re-*  
 32 gis Nouy filii Arthur. *et omnes eccle-*  
 33 sias cum *terris suis quę antea fue-*  
 34 rant sancti Teiliaui. *et ita cum omni*  
 35 sua dignitate *et priuilegio et perpetua*

{67vb}

1 libertate.<sup>36</sup> *et intempore suo uene-*  
 2 runt tribulationeꝝ. ✕<sup>et</sup> ✕<sup>u</sup>astationes<sup>37</sup>  
 3 saxonum indextralem britanniam.  
 4 *et maxime inconfinium episcopatus sui.*  
 5 intantum quod ui superuenientis gen=  
 6 tis saxonice parrochiam suam amoch  
 7 ros supra ripam Guy exilla parte usque  
 8 ad riuulum Dor. ex ista parte *et usque*  
 9 ad Gurmu. *et ad hostium Taratyr*

<sup>34</sup> (margin) {Recuperacio villarum quar[....]} {{nota bene}}.

<sup>35</sup> **ter=ras ecclesię Landauię. Pennalun ui=delicet et Lannteiliau maur** (bottom) {nota bene terras Ecclesie Landauensis, pennalun videlicet et lannteiliau maur etc}.

<sup>36</sup> **libertate.** A later hand has drawn a vertical line through the punctus.

<sup>37</sup> **tribulationeꝝ. ✕<sup>et</sup> ✕<sup>u</sup>astationes** (margin) {Nota has tribulationes et Gavstationes}. A vertical line descending from this note in the right margin, encompassing lines 5–11, seems to designate the main text to which this note refers.

# VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

- 10      in Guy flumine. *et factis his uastati=*  
 11      *onibus exutraque parte super parrochiam*  
 12      *episcopatus.* Hęc est diuisio.<sup>38</sup>  
 13      O<sup>39</sup> aper Tyui<sup>40</sup> nyhyt. hyt aper pyscotvc.  
 14      yntyui. O pyscotuc hyt teirguernen  
 15      buell. O teirguernen buell y uynyd  
 16      nyhyt dy castell teirtut. idest cantref  
 17      bychan. ha cantref selfif. ha buell. O cas=  
 18      tell teirtut iuynyd nyhyt dy də<sup>{e}</sup>uluyn  
 19      helyc. O douluyn helyc yblayn uysc<sup>41</sup>.  
 20      hyt y mynyd du. Y mynyd du nyhyt  
 21      hyt blain turch. Turch nyhyt yguairet  
 22      hyt Tauuy. Tauuy nyhyt hyt cingleis.  
 23      Ci<sup>{n}</sup>gleis<sup>42</sup> nyhyt bet yblayn. O blayn cyg  
 24      leis y all unguernenn<sup>43</sup>. O all unguern  
 25      nenn hyt blayn peurdin. O peurdin  
 26      hyt pandiscynn yn ned<sup>44</sup>. Ned iuinyd  
 27      hyt melltou. Melltou nyhyt yuynyd  
 28      hyt hepstur. hepstur yuynyd dyguyra=

<sup>38</sup> (margin) {limites dyocesis posteriores specificat[.]}.

<sup>39</sup> O Filled in with red.

<sup>40</sup> Tyui (margin) {Tuy}.

<sup>41</sup> uysc (margin) {vsc}.

<sup>42</sup> Ci<sup>{n}</sup>gleis The contraction mark over the *i* seems to have been added by a later hand.

<sup>43</sup> all unguernenn A later hand has drawn a hyphen between these two words.

<sup>44</sup> Ned (margin) {neth}.

- 29 gon. Guyragon hyt y blayn. O y blain  
 30 hyt gauanhauc. O gauanauc bet de=  
 31 ri emreis. O deri emreis y cecin clysty.  
 32 Cecycin clysti nyhyt bet blain frut  
 33 yguidon. aryhyt bet taf maur<sup>45</sup>. Taf  
 34 maur yguayret hyt cymer. O cymer<sup>46</sup>  
 35 iuynyd arhyt taf bechan<sup>47</sup>. Taf bechan<sup>48</sup>

{68ra}

- 1 nyhyt bet ryt ycambrenn. Oryt y=<sup>49</sup>  
 2 camprenn hyt hal du. Or hal du dyr  
 3 hir cemyn. dy nant crafnant hyt  
 4 crafnell betpandiscynn ynuysc<sup>50</sup>. Tr=  
 5 uy uysc dycilydris. dyr all luyt. dy  
 6 lech bychlyt dy cecyn ypennypyn  
 7 march diguornoyd dyrytnant. dy  
 8 hanher din marchlythan. dyol ygabr  
 9 dybron cateir neueni. dylatgueri=  
 10 nou. dyguarthafbuch. dyr uyncul.  
 11 dyr brydell. dy hal ruma. dy main

<sup>45</sup> **taf maur** (margin) {Taf maur}.

<sup>46</sup> **O cymer** There appear to be some later marks over the top of this word and the word *bechan* on the line below.

<sup>47</sup> **taf bechan** (bottom) {Taf vaghan}. See previous note.

<sup>48</sup> (bottom) {[nota]} {Nota prius limites priores diocesis Landauensis; ex causa et hic posteriores limites episcopatus Landauensis exprimuntur in walicis}.

<sup>49</sup> (top, above both columns) {[nota]} {Legenda de vita sancti Odothei} {[quondam Landauensis Archiepiscopi]}.

<sup>50</sup> **ynuysc** (margin) {vsk.}.

# VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAIE

- 12 ybard ynlycat na<sup>{n}</sup>t<sup>51</sup> ybard. nant yba=
- 13 rd nihyt yrguayret hyt pandyscin
- 14 yndour<sup>52</sup>. dour nyhyt yguairet hyt
- 15 pandyscynn yguormuy. guormuy<sup>53</sup>
- 16 nyhyt iuynyd hyt yblayn. O blayn
- 17 guormuy dicayr rein. O cayr rein
- 18 dyblayn taratyr<sup>54</sup>. taratyr nyhyt
- 19 youayret hyt pandiscynn yguy<sup>55</sup>.
- 20 Guy nyhyt. hyt pandiscynn ynn
- 21 hafren. hafren nyhyt can ynys
- 22 echni betaper Tyui. \*\*\*\*\* \*\*\*\*\*<sup>56</sup>
- 23 S *anctus* Oudoceus<sup>57</sup> post tempus suę ma=
- 24 turitatis uisitatiꝝ abeo liminiꝝ<sup>58</sup>
- 25 sancti Petri cum accepto sibi priuilegio<sup>59</sup>
- 26 sanctorum Dubricii et Teiliaui apostolica digni=
- 27 tate. et confirmato inperpetuo post=
- 28 eris suis. loca sanctorum desiderans uisita=

<sup>51</sup> na<sup>{n}</sup>t The contraction mark looks late.

<sup>52</sup> yndour (margin) {dowr}.

<sup>53</sup> guormuy The final *u* and *y* overlap slightly.

<sup>54</sup> taratyr (margin) {taratir}.

<sup>55</sup> yguy (margin) {Wy}.

<sup>56</sup> Tyui. \*\*\*\*\* Following Tyui, the rest of this line bears signs of erasure. It appears that two words, seemingly written by a later hand, were subsequently erased. Evans (LL 350) read the first word as *Vita*.

<sup>57</sup> S *anctus* Oudoceus (margin) {Odotheus landauensis Archiepiscopus}. The *S* is a two-line rubricated initial.

<sup>58</sup> uisitatiꝝ abeo liminiꝝ There are erasures following *uisitati* and *limini*. Evans (LL 350) suggested that the words were originally written as *uisitatis* and *liminibus*.

<sup>59</sup> (margin) {Ecce hic quomodo Rome fuit}.

29      re cum sua<sup>{summa}</sup><sup>60</sup> deuotione requisiuit lo=

30      cum sancti Dauid ob uenerationem illius

31      et memoriam cotidianam inorationibus

32      et quod sibi placuit de sacris reliquiis

33      sumpsit cum magna reuelatione. et

34      secum attulit. et de loco suo proprio Lan

35      Teliaumaur<sup>61</sup> sumpsit secum dereliqiis

{68rb}

1      discipulorum sancti teliaui matruelis sui.

2      et simul posuit inarcam ad hoc con=

3      uenientem. Et<sup>62</sup> ita cum transibat

4      per episcopatum suum uersus ecclesiam suam

5      Landauiam per uiam pennalt in Cet

6      gueli<sup>63</sup>. familia sua ferente reliquias

7      honorifice preuia sancta cruce et psal=

8      lente psalmos cum laudibus. aduene=

9      runt quidam derupibus pennalt. malum

10     animum habentes erga sanctum uirum.

11     et dicentes. Nunquid clerici isti honerati

<sup>60</sup> sua<sup>{summa}</sup> A later hand has corrected *sua* to *summa* by writing *summa* in the left margin and keying it to *sua* with a *signe de renvoi* [.:—].

<sup>61</sup> de loco suo proprio Lan Teliaumaur (bottom, below both columns, keyed with a *signe de renvoi* [.:—] above *suo proprio*) {Nota de loco suo proprio Lan Teliau maur, et locucio fit de sancto Odocheo [...]chiEpiscopo Landauensi/ Quomodo ergo iam alienatur. Lan teliau maur; Ab episcopatu Landauensi vellem cognoscere. / libenter.}.

<sup>62</sup> Et (margin) {ii.a}.

<sup>63</sup> in Cetgueli (margin) {nota hic in ketweli}.

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAIE

12 auro *et* argento *et* ut sic dicamus  
13 thesauro sanctorum De<sup>t</sup>ri<sup>{6}</sup>i *et* Teliaui dema=  
14 nibus nostris euadant<sup>r</sup> immo capientur.  
15 *et* ablatis illis omnibus rebus suis ditemur  
16 multo pondere metalli auri *et* ar=

17 genti. *et* liuore inuidiq<sup>r</sup> preoccupati.  
18 *et* nimia cupiditate repleti adhese=

19 runt cum nimio furore portantibus.  
20 arcam portabilem. *et* ita extensis mani<sup>=</sup><sup>64</sup>  
21 bus *et* tenentibus lanceas uersus sanctum  
22 uirum *et* familiam oculi eorum qui insan=

23 ctum uirum *et* familiam peccauerunt  
24 uisum amiserunt<sup>65</sup>. *et* brachia adsangui  
25 nem iustorum effundendum prompta.  
26 riguerunt quod adse reflectere non  
27 ualebant. neque inantea ullo modo  
28 extendere poterant. Videns<sup>66</sup> sanctus Oudo=

29 ceus mortem *et* orbitatem peccantium  
30 cepit xxorare<sup>67</sup> deum flexis genibus pro  
31 peccantibus. implens diuinum manda=

<sup>64</sup> (margin) {nota bene haec miracula}.

<sup>65</sup> uisum amiserunt (margin, keyed with a *signe de renvoi* [:]) {Nota Visum amiserunt}.

<sup>66</sup> Videns (margin) {.iii<sup>a</sup>}.

<sup>67</sup> xxorare One or two letters have been erased before *orare*. Evans (LL 350) suggested that the word originally read *implorare*, but there does not seem to have been enough space for this, nor is the erasure of any descender visible.

32 tum. *et dicens.* nolo mortem pecca=  
 33 toris. sed uitam<sup>68</sup>. *et exalia parte.* or=  
 34 batis illis requirentibus ueniam *et re=*  
 35 cognoscentibus culpam. *et audita*

{68va}

1 oratione sancti. uisum recuperauerunt.  
 2 *et sensum restauratum sensibus re=*  
 3 sumpserunt. *et obedientiam perpe=*  
 4 tuam beato uiro *et successoribus*  
 5 eius *et ecclesię landauię*<sup>69</sup> *et uitam suam*  
 6 melioratam cum accepta penite=  
 7 ntia *et iuncta sibi admodum cul=*  
 8 pe inieunio *et oratione et elemo=*  
 9 sina promiserunt. Beatus<sup>70</sup> Ou=  
 10 doceus post laborem suum sitie=  
 11 ns magis solitus aquam bibere<sup>71</sup>  
 12 quam alium liquorem. peruenit  
 13 ad fontem<sup>72</sup> inualle landauię. non  
 14 multum ab ecclesia remotum. ut bi=

<sup>68</sup> nolo mortem pecca=toris. sed uitam (margin) {nolo [.....] p[....]tor[.] s[..] vitam}.<sup>69</sup> obedientiam perpe=tuam beato uiro *et successoribus eius et ecclesię landauię* (margin) {nota obedientiam perpetuam beato uiro *et successoribus eius et ecclesie Landaue*}.<sup>70</sup> Beatus (margin) {.iii.i<sup>a</sup>}.<sup>71</sup> magis solitus aquam bibere (margin) {nota magis solitus aquam bibere quam alium liquorem}.<sup>72</sup> fontem (margin) {nota fontem}.

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

- 15 beret. inuenit feminas lauantes  
16 butirum admorem patrię. et missis  
17 legatis suis et discipulis ut sibi uas  
18 accommodassent. ut inde eorum pa=
- 19 stor potaret. Que hironice ut fi=
- 20 lię iniquitatis dixerunt. Nullum  
21 aliud uas preter hoc quod manibus  
22 tenemus. butirum uidelicet ha=
- 23 bemus. et accepto sibi. et formato  
24 admodum tintinabuli. uir bea=
- 25 tę memorię leuauit manum ut in<sup>73</sup>
- 26 de biberet. et potauit. et intali for=
- 27 ma remansit aureum<sup>74</sup> uidelicet. In
- 28 tantum quod uidentibus appareret  
29 esse funditus exauro purissimo.
- 30 que uirtute dei abillo die in ec=
- 31 clesia landauię obmemoriam beati
- 32 uiri honorifice reseruatur. et
- 33 languentibus {R} tactum ut dicitur
- 34 tribuitur salus. Enniaun<sup>75</sup> rex
- 35 gleuissic cum inrupibus et insaltibus

<sup>73</sup> (margin) {Nota hic de campana facta de butiro}.

<sup>74</sup> **aureum** The second *u* may have been inserted by the main hand at a slightly later stage.

<sup>75</sup> **Enniaun** (margin) {.v.<sup>a</sup>}.

{68vb}

- 1 Guy fluminis ut solitus uenebatur  
 2 ceruum. miratus est nimium *quomodo*  
 3 *et qualiter* faciebat cursum illum se=  
 4 quentibus canibus cum clamore tuba=  
 5 rum *et uenatorum* strepitu perima con=  
 6 uallium. diuino nutu preuidente  
 7 *et custodiente* illum pertotum donec sal=  
 8 tum perduxit ad pallium *sancti* Oudocei.  
 9 *et ibi iacens requieuit* anhelans *et tutus.*  
 10 at si post naufragium qui peruererit  
 11 ad portum. aut post tristitiam qui  
 12 uenit ad gaudium. remotis uenato=  
 13 ribus alonge *et residentibus* simul *et ca=*  
 14 nibus mutis *et stupefactis. et quoniam* prius  
 15 sequebantur inimicum. nunc stupe=  
 16 facti genibus flexis ad dominum respexerunt  
 17 illum ut proximum. *et amicum.* Pallium<sup>76</sup>  
 18 quidem beati Oudocei uiri perfecte etatis  
 19 *et moderate* maturitatis seruientis  
 20 deo prope flumen Guy supra riuulum  
 21 caletan. remoto ase interim pallio

<sup>76</sup> Pallium (margin) {.vi.a}.

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAIE

22 super quem cubabat. ceruus refugium  
23 sibi *et* firma solus respexit bestiam  
24 mitem quam dom<sup>e</sup><sup>a</sup>uerat diuina uirtus.  
25 *et* regem enniaun *et* uenatores cum  
26 stupore nimio *et* flexis genibus *et* ad celum  
27 sursum leuatis manibus ueniam requi=  
28 rentes cum magna deuotione ac uel=  
29 uti quoddam peregissent facinus apud deum  
30 *et* sanctum Oudoceum. In primis sibi clamauit  
31 rex ceruum quietum *et* pacificum. postea totum  
32 territorium quod perdiem integrum circuerat se=  
33 quens uestigium. largitus est deo *et* sanctis Dubrio.  
34 Teliauo *et* oudoceo episcopo. *et* omnibus episcopis lan=  
35 dauię in perpetuo. predicto uestigio

{69ra}

1 diuidente *per* montes *et* riuulos *et*  
2 rupes territorii ecclesię in ęternum<sup>77</sup>.  
3 Beatus<sup>78</sup> ille sanctus post datam sibi  
4 tellurem cum finibus suis. *et* sump=  
5 to sibi nomine Lann Enniaun cre=  
6 uit inuirtutibus. *et* ibi fundauit lo=  
7 cum simul *et* oraculum oportunum

<sup>77</sup> ęternum (top, keyed with a *signe de renvoi* [:—]) {nota territoria ecclesie Landauensis in ęternum}.

<sup>78</sup> Beatus (margin) {.vii. <sup>a</sup>}.

8        locum piscosum *et* mellifluum *et*  
 9        solitarium. *et* laborans simul cum  
 10      familia sua relicto ase honere<sup>79</sup> pas  
 11      toralis curę Landauię non quia  
 12      non sufficiebat populo. sed quia  
 13      non satagebat sibiipsi populo. im  
 14      mo postposita pastorali cura solita=  
 15      rie uiuere desiderabat deo. Et aduo=  
 16      catis ad se *fratribus* duxit uitam com=  
 17      munem annis pluribus uitam *sanc*tam  
 18      uitam claram uitam dedie indiem  
 19      melioratam. *et* quotquot adse ueni=  
 20      ebant ob consilium. tot renouaba=  
 21      ntur *per* paternum subsidium. Nec ul=  
 22      latenus parcebant labori. immo  
 23      undique concurrebant plebei. ut sum=  
 24      ma sibi leni atque graui sententia  
 25      ad sufficientiam *et* tollerantiam patienter  
 26      ut solitam recuperaretur sanius pre=  
 27      sidium apud pium doctorem tam  
 28      uiduę<sup>80</sup> quam orbatis. tam magnis  
 29      quam pusillis desiderabilem. qui cla=

<sup>79</sup> **honere** Most of the *h* has been erased.

<sup>80</sup> **uiduę<sup>i</sup>** The first minim of the second *u* has been erased so that the remaining minim resembles an *i*.

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAIE

30 rebat inspecie clarebat inuirtute.  
31 coruscabat doctrina. eminebat nobi=  
32 litate. Qui<sup>81</sup> cum uacabat orationi in=  
33 termixtę fletibus et singultui. aduenit  
34 quidam defratribus dicens. O pater pie  
35 egredere ut uideas lignea quę tuis

{69rb}

1 edificiis parata sunt. Quęque ut ui=  
2 dit ecce uir bonus et iustus et totius<sup>82</sup>  
3 britannię historiographus Gildas  
4 sapiens ut inhistoriis nominatur.  
5 qui eo tempore conuersabatur in in=  
6 sula Echni ducens anchoritalem uitam.  
7 transibat per medium flumen naui=  
8 cula cum predictis lignis. ac uelut  
9 sua portabat. quę etiam inmedia  
10 silua sine aliquo possessore inuene=  
11 rat. et multum aconuersatione ho=  
12 minum sequestrata. Cum beatus Oudo=  
13 ceus expertus fuerat. aduocauit fratrem  
14 ut sibi lignea edifica sua terrę proi  
15 ceret. aut fraterno more condona=

<sup>81</sup> **Qui** (margin) {.viii.ª}.

<sup>82</sup> (margin) {Sanctus, Gildas historiographus tocius britannię et anachorita}.

16      tionem deillicita fraude apud *deum*  
 17      *et hominem supplex impetrasset.*  
 18      Oblita sua admonitione *et euacua=*  
 19      ta prece nauiuncula<sup>83</sup> transiuit. *et*  
 20      uelud quadam indignatione frater  
 21      Oudoceus accepit securim. non quia  
 22      feriret. sed ut uirtus dei *perillum usque*  
 23      *in perpetuum increatura dei appa=*  
 24      *reret. securis descendit in lapidem*  
 25      *integrum. et per medium diuisus est*  
 26      *induobus. Ac si artificio manufacto*  
 27      *diuideretur funditus. Nec ulli hominum*  
 28      *peruiam illam euitandi lapides sunt.*  
 29      *quin semper prope ripam fluminis*  
 30      Guy miro ictu uideantur incisi *et im=*  
 31      *mobiles. Pauca<sup>84</sup> quidem miracula*  
 32      *illius sancti uiri et beatę memorię de*  
 33      *multis scripto commendata sunt.*  
 34      *quippe cum fuerint aut ignibus*  
 35      *exusta. aut exilii ciuium classe*

<sup>83</sup> **nauiuncula** (margin) {Navivncula}.

<sup>84</sup> **Pauca** (margin) {.ix.<sup>a</sup>}.

# VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

{69va}

1 longius deportata. *Quod uero post*<sup>85</sup>  
 2 modum inuestigatum est. *et adquisi*=  
 3 tum **mun**<sup>{o}</sup>imentis<sup>86</sup> seniorum. *et anti*  
 4 quissimis scriptis litterarum memo=  
 5 rię *et scripto commendatum est. et perac*=  
 6 ta uita illius *sancta et gloriosa cum adqui*=  
 7 sitis sibi *et ecclesię suę Landauię mul*=  
 8 tis terris. *indomino requieuit. VI.*  
 9 **N**onas iulii. Cil ciuhinn *et .VI.*  
 10 modios *terre conuoi et lanngemei.*  
 11 **N** OTAndum<sup>87</sup> est nobis *quod mouric*  
 12 rex morcanhuc filius Teudiric<sup>88</sup>  
 13 *et uxor eius Onbraust filia Gurcan=*  
 14 *ti magni dederunt tres modios terre*  
 15 Cilcyuhynn<sup>89</sup>. *et .VI. modios terre Con=*  
 16 *uoy. idest LannGemei simul et lan*  
 17 Teliau talypond que antea illius

<sup>85</sup> (top, above both columns) {Notate bene Rubricam} **O V D O C E V S A R C H I E P I S C O P V S.** {Oudoceus Archiepiscopus.}.

<sup>86</sup> **mun**<sup>{o}</sup>imentis

A later hand has altered the *u* to an *o*.

<sup>87</sup> **N** OTAndum

The *N* is a five-line rubricated initial.

<sup>88</sup> **mouric rex morcanhuc filius Teudiric** (margin) {Meuric filius teudric}; (bottom, below both columns) {Iste mauricius Rex morganhuc, filius sancti <sup>Teudrici</sup> Regis ac martiris, fuit unus fundator Ecclesie cathedralis Archimonasterialis seu metropolitane Landauensis super Ripam Taf / vt in <sup>hoc</sup> Sacro sancti Teliai graffo sparsim intuentibus patebit}.

<sup>89</sup> **Cilcyuhynn** (margin) {videtur quod est prope llvchwr}.

- 18 fuerat reddiderunt deo *et* Oudoceo  
 19 *episcopo sanctisque antecessoribus*<sup>90</sup> suis Teliauo  
 20 Dubrio. omnibusque succendentibus  
 21 sibi in ecclesia Landauie proanimabus  
 22 suis *et* parentum suorum libere ab omni  
 23 regali seruitio cum omni sua dig-  
 24 nitate *et* libertate refugio *et* libera  
 25 communione incolis habitantibus  
 26 *et* habitaturis. incampo *et* insiluis.  
 27 in aqua *et* in pascuis. in perpetua con-  
 28 secratione. Delaicis testes sunt.  
 29 Muricus rex. uxor eius Onbraust  
 30 filii sui Athruis *et* Idnerth. Condaf.  
 31 Louheithi. catgual. catleu. riacat.  
 32 conbrinun. merthyr. gurcon.  
 33 Declericis. Oudoceus summus *episcopus*<sup>91</sup>  
 34 Iacob abbas *sancti* Catoci cum suis se-  
 35 nioribus. Catgen abbas *sancti* Ilduti.

{69vb}

- 1 cum sua familia. Eutigirn abbas Doc-  
 2 guinni. Conbran. conueon. conguare.  
 3 Maiuc doctor. gunbiu magister. *et* cum

<sup>90</sup> **antecessoribus** A short ascender has been placed above the *c*, making it resemble a *t*.

<sup>91</sup> **Oudoceus summus episcopus** (margin) {Ecce hic Oudoceus summus Episcopus fuit}.

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAIE

- 4 finibus istis. Finis lannGemei adorso  
5 montis diuidente siluam et campum inma=  
6 re et usque adoculum diugurach malyduc  
7 dirguairet betymor. Finis lanteliav  
8 talyPont. Oaper morcleis dyguailaut  
9 lannerch onnuiu. trus cum onnuiu  
10 dyr guyth lunguyd dy camguili. truy  
11 camguili dyr hitir melin. Or hytir  
12 melin hyn hiaun di Luchur exalia  
13 parte. Arhit luchuc dyuinyd bet  
14 camfrut. arhit camfrut inparte  
15 ecclesię bet iblain. dyalt minchei arhyt  
16 iralt di doubleis. truy doubleissou bet  
17 dinas cynlyuan. arhit yrochyr bet  
18 arcyueyr blain Cynbran. arhit cinbran  
19 eithaf bet lychur {Martherne.}<sup>92</sup>  
20 R EX<sup>93</sup> Teudiric cum esset inregno  
21 suo tenens pacem cum populo et iusti=  
22 tiam. postposuit temporalem potesta=  
23 tem pereterna. ita quod regnum suum commenda=  
24 uit filio suo Mourico. et uitam heremita=

<sup>92</sup> This addition by a later hand is functioning as a heading for the following section.

<sup>93</sup> R EX (margin) {i}. In the main text, the R is a two-line rubricated initial.

25      lem *inrupibus* Dindyrn<sup>94</sup> cepit ducere.  
 26      Qui cum esset inuita illa. ceperunt saxo=  
 27      nes *terram suam* inuadere *super filium* suum  
 28      Mouricum. *et ita nisi ipse solus adhuc*  
 29      eis succurreret. *quod omnino filius suus*  
 30      abextraneis exhereditaretur. Dequo<sup>95</sup> teudi=  
 31      ric dicebant cum *regnum suum* teneret. *quod*  
 32      nunquam uictus abhostibus fuerat. sed *semper*  
 33      uictor. *et ita uisa facie sua inacie bel=*  
 34      lorū. statim hostes uertebantur infugam.  
 35      *et angelus domini ei ✕dixit*<sup>96</sup> ✕<sup>{n}</sup>octe<sup>97</sup> precedente.

{70ra}

1      uade incastino inauxilium populo<sup>98</sup>  
 2      dei contra inimicos ecclesię Christi. *et hos=*  
 3      tes uertent faciem infugam usque pull  
 4      brochuail<sup>99</sup>. *et tu armatus inacie bel=*  
 5      li sta. *et uisa facie tua ut solita et cog*

<sup>94</sup> **inrupibus Dindyrn** (margin) {rupes dindyrn} {{Tintarn iam appellatur & videtur}}.

<sup>95</sup> **Dequo** (margin) {ii}.

<sup>96</sup> **✖dixit** There is an erasure before *dixit* of about one letter in width. Evans (LL 351) suggested that it might have been an abbreviation for *con.*

<sup>97</sup> **nocte** The *n* has been written over an erasure, probably by a later hand.

<sup>98</sup> (top left margin) {notate bene hanc rubricam,}; (top, above both columns) **O V D O C E V S A R C H I E P I S C O P V S;** (top) {{Oudoceus Archiepiscopus,}}; (top right margin) {nota bene hanc rubricam}. The first and final notes are accompanied by pointing hands.

<sup>99</sup> **brochuail** (margin) {Brockewere}.

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAIE

6 nita inibunt infugam. Et<sup>100</sup> postea  
7 usque ad .xxx. annos non audebunt  
8 intempsore filii tui adire patriam. et  
9 erunt indigenę et hereditarii inquie=

10 ta pace. et tu tamen uulneraberis  
11 una plaga inryt tindyrn<sup>101</sup>. et morie=

12 ris inpace post triduum. et<sup>102</sup> ita mane  
13 surgens cum adueniente exercitu filii  
14 sui Murici equum suum ascendit. et iuit  
15 cum illis letus angelico iussu. et ar=

16 matus stetit inacie belli supra ripam  
17 Guy prope uadum tindirn<sup>103</sup>. et uisa fa=

18 cie sua statim dorsum uerterunt. et  
19 inierunt fugam. et tamen unus ex  
20 illis proiecit lanceam. et illum uulne=

21 rauit lancea sicut predictum ei fuerat.  
22 et inde gausus est. acsi hoste uicto  
23 capta preda. Postquam<sup>104</sup> mouricus fi  
24 lius suus reuersus est cum uictoria cap=

25 ta preda. dixit patri ut cum eo ueniret.

<sup>100</sup> Et (inside margin) {iii}.

<sup>101</sup> **tindyrn** (margin) {iam tintarn}.

<sup>102</sup> et (inside margin) {iiii}.

<sup>103</sup> **ripam Guy prope uadum tindirn** (margin) {ripa Wy iuxta tindirn}.

<sup>104</sup> **Postquam** (inside margin) {v}.

26      Et *dixit* ita. ~~solo~~<sup>{Nolo}</sup><sup>105</sup> hinc recedere donec  
 27      *dominus meus iesus christus* hinc me ferat ad lo=  
 28      cum meum desiderabilem ubi disposui  
 29      iacere post mortem. ininsula uideli=  
 30      cet echni. et mane diluculo assunt  
 31      duo cerui subiugati. et cum plaustro  
 32      suo parati ante hospitium<sup>106</sup>. Et ~~u~~<sup>{ui}</sup><sup>107</sup> r dei  
 33      cognoscens *quod* ex parte dei essent mis=  
 34      si ascendit feretrum. et ubicunque re=  
 35      quiescebant ibi fontes emanabant

{70rb}

1      donec adlocum unum uenerunt iu=  
 2      xta pratum unum uersus Sauernam<sup>108</sup>.  
 3      Et<sup>109</sup> postquam ad locum illum uenerunt. ibi  
 4      fons emanauit lucidissimus. et fere=  
 5      trum suum totum dirupit. et statim  
 6      spiritum deo commendauit. et precepit ceruis  
 7      ut discederent. et ibi solus remansit.  
 8      et post spatium emisit spiritum. Audita

<sup>105</sup> ~~solo~~<sup>{Nolo}</sup> The first letter of the word in the main text has been erased. The correction, written by a later hand, appears in the margin and is linked to the main text with a *signe de renvoi* [.:].

<sup>106</sup> **hospitium** The *s* looks like it has been redrawn.

<sup>107</sup> ~~u~~<sup>{ui}</sup>r A minim has been added before the original *u* and the second minim of the original *u* has been ticked, converting the *u* into *ui*.

<sup>108</sup> **Sauernam** (margin) {Anglice seuarne}.

<sup>109</sup> **Et** (margin) {vi.}.

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

- 9 morte *patris* afilio mourico. fecit ibi  
 10 oraculum *et* cimiterium asancto Oudoceo  
 11 *episcopo* benedictum<sup>110</sup>. *et* totum territorium<sup>111</sup>  
 12 proanima *patris* dedit *episcopo* Oudoceo *et* ec  
 13 clesie landauie *et* pastoribus eius inse  
 14 piterna consecratione sine ullo cen=  
 15 su ullo homini terreno. nisi *sancto* Ou=<sup>112</sup>  
 16 doceo *et* ecclesi landauie. Fnis<sup>113</sup> Oaper<sup>114</sup>  
 17 pull Muric<sup>115</sup> sursum yrpull. yrlech  
 18 lybiau. orpull yrlech bet blain dyr  
 19 ardir yr ardir nyhyt bet<sup>116</sup> fynnaun  
 20 Elichguid sursum arhit yrnant dy  
 21 finnaun cruc leubyn. O finnaun  
 22 cruc leubyn eminus dygenou nant  
 23 byuguan. nant biuguan yny hit  
 24 bet<sup>117</sup> pullou rinion dyr dou pull. Or  
 25 dou pull hynyaun dyrguayret dyr  
 26 carn. orcarn dirguairet dirfoss in=

<sup>110</sup> *sancto* Oudoceo *episcopo* benedictum (margin) {sancto o[....]o *episcopo* benedictum}.

<sup>111</sup> *territorium* (margin) {hoc est *territorium* de matharne}.

<sup>112</sup> (margin) {emisit gelium nisi granum}.

<sup>113</sup> Fnis Sic; (margin) {vii}.

<sup>114</sup> Fnis Oaper (margin) {Nota hunc finem o aber}.

<sup>115</sup> pull Muric (margin) {pul muryc.}.

<sup>116</sup> bet (margin, keyed with a *signe de renvoi* [.:]) {vet}.

<sup>117</sup> bet (margin, keyed with a *signe de renvoi* [.:]) {vet}.

- 27 dorso montis. orfoss uersus orientem
- 28 yntraus trus blain pant nant ru=
- 29 isc arhyt yclaud aryhit bet<sup>118</sup> otyn
- 30 Lunbiu. Or otyn dyrguairet hyt
- 31 yclaud bet carn perth yronn dyr
- 32 guayret dyr macyrou dyrpull. ar=
- 33 hyt ypull dyaper pull neuynn yGuy<sup>119</sup>
- 34 Arhyt Guy bahafrenn canychoretov
- 35 haidiscynua y loggou betaper muric<sup>120</sup>.

{70va}

- 1 Quicunque<sup>121</sup> custodierit hanc elemo= <sup>122</sup>
- 2 sinam. custodiat illum deus. Qui autem
- 3 abecclesia landauiq separauerit ana=
- 4 thema sit. AMEN.
- 5 **ECCLESIA GVRVID.**
- 6 P OST<sup>123</sup> intelluallum<sup>124</sup> rex idem Mo=
- 7 uricus uerbo et consensu here=
- 8 dis Liliau simul cum dono illius

<sup>118</sup> bet (margin, keyed with a *signe de renvoi* [.:]) {vet}.

<sup>119</sup> yGuy (margin) {Wy}.

<sup>120</sup> haidiscynua yloggou betaper muric (bottom) {nota bene cum applicatione nauium vsque ad portum mauricii}; betaper muric (margin) {vet aber meuric}. The first note is accompanied by a pointing hand pointing at the final line of the column.

<sup>121</sup> (margin) {nota bene has benedictionem et maledictionem}.

<sup>122</sup> (top, above both columns) **O V D O C E V S E P I S C O P V S.**

<sup>123</sup> P OST The P is a four-and-a-half-line rubricated initial.

<sup>124</sup> intelluallum *Sic.*

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAIE

9 dedit ecclesiam Guruid cum sua tel=  
10 lure deo *et sanctis* Dubrio *et* Teliau  
11 *et ecclesię landauię. et presenti Oudoceo*<sup>125</sup>  
12 *et suis successoribus in perpetuo cum*  
13 *omni dignitate sua et libertate. et*  
14 *tota communione incampo et insil=*  
15 *uis. inaquis et inpascuis. sine ullo*  
16 *censu ulli homini terreno nisi*  
17 *deo et sancto Petro et ecclesię landauię et*  
18 *suis pastoribus. subperpetuo anathe=*  
19 *mate. Quicunque eam ab ecclesia lan*  
20 *dauię separauerit. Delaicis*<sup>126</sup> *testis*  
21 *est Mouricus. Conuelin. tutir. lou=*  
22 *bran. abrgen. Anuin. unhu. Con=*  
23 *broin. catleu. briaual. guinoc.*  
24 *mathus. conuonoc. Decleri*<sup>[cis.]</sup><sup>127</sup>  
25 *Oudoceus episcopus. Iacob abbas catoci.*  
26 *catgen abbas ilduti. eutigirn ab=*  
27 *bas docunni. Finis autem huius agri*  
28 *est. apalude nigro usque adsedem*  
29 *cetiau. et ahescenn iudie usque ad*

<sup>125</sup> *presenti Oudoceo* (margin) {nota presentem oudoceum}.

<sup>126</sup> *Delaicis* (margin) {nota hunc ordinem de laicis. et de clericis}.

<sup>127</sup> *cleri*<sup>[cis.]</sup> The final part of this word seems to have been written by a different, possibly later, hand.

30 arbores foton.  
 31 **Lann cingualan et lannarth**  
 32 **bodu.** Lann conuur. *et lann pen=creic.*<sup>128</sup>  
 33 **S** ciendum<sup>129</sup> est sane quod Oudo=  
 34 ceus *episcopus* suum *proprium* adqui=  
 35 siuit agrum. idest podium Cyn=

{70vb}

1 gualan. Agrum quidem *sancti Dubricii*  
 2 inpatria Guhyr<sup>130</sup>. quem *sanctus* Oudoceus  
 3 atempore mortalitatis. idest ydyllyt  
 4 melen<sup>131</sup>. perdiderat usque adtempus ad  
 5 tempus Athruis filii mourici. Post uero  
 6 contentionem magnam inter oudoceum  
 7 *episcopum* et abbatem ilduti biuon quidi=  
 8 cebat suum esse agrum. Infine uero  
 9 iudicio iudicatus est ager predictus  
 10 oudoceo *episcopo* et altari landauie inperpe=  
 11 tua hereditate. Cella quidem Cyngua=  
 12 lan cum sua tota tellure. *et cella arth=*  
 13 uodu. congrisque et penncreic. Et *sanctus*

<sup>128</sup> **pen=creic.** The *creic.* is written in the empty space in line 30, above the rest of the rubric, because there was no space left on line 32.

<sup>129</sup> **S** ciendum The *S* is a three-line rubricated initial.

<sup>130</sup> **Guhyr** (margin) {Goweer}.

<sup>131</sup> **ydylyt melen** (margin) {*idest* y vall velen}.

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAIE

- 14 Oudoceus accepit demanu Athrui. gur=
- 15 canti magni nepotis tres cellulas pre=
- 16 dictas inperpetua consecratione. *et cum*
- 17 omni dignitate *et tota communione*
- 18 incampo *et insiluis inaqua et inpascu=*
- 19 is. *et subperpetuo anathemate. quicunque*
- 20 illas predictas eccl<sup>esias</sup> amonasterio Landa=
- 21 uię separauerit. Qui autem custodierit·
- 22 custodiet illum deus. AMEN. Declericis te=
- 23 stes sunt. Oudoceus episcopus. catgen. biuan.
- 24 cum sua familia. Iacob abbas altaris
- 25 sancti catoci. Eutigirn abbas Docunni cum
- 26 suis clericis. Delaicis rex Mouricus super
- 27 filium suum Athrui. Conuonuc. Gual=
- 28 lonir. morcenou. eithin. Conuetu.
- 29 gueithgen brochmaili filius. gindoc.
- 30 matuc. arthcumanu. Oguhyr. gur=
- 31 dilic. gurguistil. arguiret. abel. cum
- 32 presbiteris Conhail. Conhibrit. gueith=
- 33 gno. Finis Lann Cyngulan infra
- 34 duas fossas admare malyduc irdiu
- 35 foss dyr mynyd arhyt yrcecyN

{71ra}

1        fin LannGemei<sup>132</sup>  
 2        {*nota* Morgant Rex morgann̄c fflilius Athruis  
 3        *et* Athruis fuit filius Mauricij regis. Mauri=  
 4        cius vero filius fuit beati teudrici martiris.}  
 5        **Lann Merguall.**  
 6        **M** ORCANT<sup>133</sup> rex morcannhuc filius  
 7        athruis clamauit quietam in  
 8        die natalis *domini*. *et* prooblatione sua  
 9        ecclesiam cyngur trosgardi quę fu=  
 10      erat antea sancti Teliaui simul *et* reddi=  
 11      dit summo pontifici oudoceo<sup>134</sup> sanctisque  
 12      Teliauo Dubrio. omnibus pastoribus  
 13      landauię inperpetuo. *et* cum omni  
 14      territorio suo *et* finibus suis simulcum  
 15      mergualdo illius ecclesię principe sub  
 16      episcopo. *et* totam libertatem dedit ecclesię  
 17      *et* territorio illius *et* dominantibus  
 18      *et* inhabitaturis incolis inperpetuo.  
 19      *et* sine consule *et* proconsule *et* cum re=

<sup>132</sup> (top, above both columns) **O V D O C E V S E P I S C O P V S.**

<sup>133</sup> **M** ORcant The *M* is a two-line rubricated initial.

<sup>134</sup> **summo pontifici oudoceo** (margin) {*nota* summum pontificem oudoceum archiepiscopum Landauensem}. A pointing hand connects this note to line 11.

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

20 fugio. *et* sine expeditione infra regi=  
 21 onem nec extra<sup>135</sup>. nec ad uigilandam  
 22 die nec nocte. *et* cum omni communi=  
 23 one incolis incampo *et* insiluis IN  
 24 aqua *et* inpascuis. Declericis testes  
 25 sunt Oudoceus episcopus. Sulgen abb as<sup>136</sup> nant  
 26 carban. Saturn abbas Dochou. Gur=  
 27 haual abbas Lannildut<sup>137</sup>. Guencat  
 28 princeps lann cynuur. Delaicis mor  
 29 cant rex. Guedguen. briauail. Iunet.  
 30 guidnerth filius gullonar. Qui custodi=  
 31 erit custodiat illum *deus*. Qui autem non  
 32 seruauerit anathema sit. AMEN.  
 33 Finis illius Oaperfinnaun canthed  
 34 ynymor arhyt irpant dyuynyd dyr  
 35 pyll $\theta$ <sup>{d}</sup>u<sup>138</sup> dycarn cymlyr dy main dyas=  
 36 tur dycecin yr mynyd trus yr mynid<sup>139</sup>

{71rb}

1 dyguoun brechmil dyblain yr hy=  
 2 tyr. orhytyr dyrnant. arhyt yr

<sup>135</sup> **sine expeditione infra regi=**onem nec extra (margin) { [. ]ota expedi[....]em infra regionem [.]ec extra}.

<sup>136</sup> **abb as** There is a gap in this word due to a hole in the parchment.

<sup>137</sup> **abbas Lannildut** (margin) {Nota hic abbatem Lann $\theta$ lldut  $\underline{ya\mathfrak{v}r}$ }.

<sup>138</sup> **pyll $\theta$ <sup>{d}</sup>u** A later hand has added an ascender to the *o*, with the result that the letter now resembles a *d*.

<sup>139</sup> (bottom) {Ty[.....]}.

3        nant bet dubleis. dubleis bet ryt  
 4        ideueit. oryt dy nant bychan. ar<sup>140</sup>  
 5        hyt <sup>y</sup> nant ad sinistram dipenn Luhin<sup>141</sup>  
 6        latron. orluhinn dinant aryhit  
 7        bet y mor hafreN. **LANN CORS.**  
 8        **S** CIANT<sup>142</sup> omnes christiani quod agustus  
 9        rex brecheinniauc<sup>143</sup> et filii sui eli=  
 10      ud et riuallaun propter deum et amicitiam  
 11      carnalem dederunt Oudoceo Lann  
 12      Cors episcopo et suis omnibus successoribus in  
 13      ecclesia petri apostoli et sanctorum Dubricii et  
 14      teliaui delandaui et cum corpori=  
 15      bus suis adsepulturam suam<sup>144</sup>      inele=  
 16      mosina et cum suis piscibus et coretibus  
 17      anguillarum<sup>145</sup>. et cum toto territo=  
 18      rio suo. et inmodum dotis inperpe=  
 19      tuo. et cum sua tota libertate in cam=  
 20      po et insiluis. inaqua et inpascuis.  
 21      et cum suo refugio et etiam priuile=

<sup>140</sup> **ar** This may have been retraced. See following note.

<sup>141</sup> **Luhin** The *in* looks like it has been retraced. See previous note.

<sup>142</sup> **S** CIANT The *S* is a two-line rubricated initial.

<sup>143</sup> **agustus rex brecheinniauc** (margin) {Rex de brechyn<sup>nac</sup> Agustus}.

<sup>144</sup> **cum corpori=bus suis adsepulturam suam** (margin) {Nota cum corporibus suis ad sepulturam suam}.

<sup>145</sup> **cum suis piscibus et coretibus anguillarum** (margin) {Nota cum piscibus et coretibus anguillarum}.

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

22 gio sine consule sine proconsule sine  
 23 expeditione infra regionem nec  
 24 extra simili modo. Declericis testes  
 25 sunt Oudoceus *episcopus*. Sedoc testis. conbran.  
 26 Conocan. Conueon. Conlec filius con=  
 27 luip. bran. conbau. conlouern. Gel=  
 28 lan. Atgar. guengarth. Delaicis.  
 29 Agust rex<sup>146</sup> cum filiis suis Elguid et ri=  
 30 guallaun cum aliis. Quicunque<sup>147</sup> cus=  
 31 todierit. custodiat illum deus. Qui autem  
 32 abecclesia landauie separauerit.  
 33 separetur aconsortio angelorum. AMEN.  
 34 Finis illius est Oaper finnaun Dou=  
 35 decseint ynlinn Syuadon<sup>148</sup>. arhyt

{71va}

1 yrgu<sup>{o}</sup>uer dyuinyd bet lycat yrfin<sup>149</sup>  
 2 naun dypennclaud lyuarch hen  
 3 arhyt irCLAUD betpandyscynnyn  
 4 lyfni aryhit dirguairet bet ypen  
 5 brynn eital. adsinistram trus dipen

<sup>146</sup> **Agust rex** (margin) {Agustus Rex brechinawc}.

<sup>147</sup> (margin) {nota has benedictionem et maledictionem}.

<sup>148</sup> **ynlinn Syuadon** (bottom) {vide an haec aqua vocetur llinn ynys yvavon vbi habentur that moste fattyste bremys}.

<sup>149</sup> (top, above both columns) **O U D O C E V S E P I S C O P V S**.

6       ybrynn diblain nant tauel. arhyt  
 7       yr nant bet lyfni. Lyfni ynyhit  
 8       bet y Lynn. arhyt yrlynn betoper  
 9       finnaun ydoudecseint. ubi incepit.  
 10      Riu graenauc. Nant AuaN <sup>Villa guerberth</sup><sup>150</sup>  
 11      M OURICVS<sup>151</sup> rex et Cynuetu conue=  
 12       nerunt insimul landauie. et  
 13       presente Oudoceo episcopo iurauerunt  
 14       antepositis reliquiis sanctorum ut firmam  
 15      pa       cem<sup>152</sup> inter se tenerent. Fa=  
 16       cta iuratione. post interuallum oc=  
 17       cidit rex Mouricus dolo Cynuetu.  
 18       et postea episcopus Oudoceus conuocauit<sup>153</sup>  
 19       omnes clericos suos ab hostio Taratyr  
 20       ynGuy usque adtyui cum tribus ab=  
 21       batibus suis. Concen abbate carbani  
 22       uallis<sup>154</sup>. Catgen abbate ilduti. Sulg  
 23       en abbate docguinni. et plena si=  
 24       nodo excommunicauit regem Mouri=

<sup>150</sup> Nant AuaN <sup>Villa guerberth</sup> The last two words are written in the margin, but a pair of insertion marks [.] show that they should be inserted at the end of the rubric.

<sup>151</sup> M OURICVS The *M* is a two-line rubricated initial.

<sup>152</sup> pa       cem This word is divided into two by a tear in the parchment.

<sup>153</sup> (margin) {Sinodus}.

<sup>154</sup> carbani uallis (margin, marked by a *signe de renvoi* [.:] placed above *uallis*) {cambrice, llann karvan}. Misleadingly, a pointing hand seems to link this note with line 20.

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAIE

25      cum propter homicidium ab eo perpetra=  
26      tum. et propter pactum factum presen=  
27      tia sui. et super altare petri apostoli<sup>155</sup>. et  
28      sanctorum Dubricii et teliaui transgressum.  
29      et ita inclinando cruces ad terram  
30      simul et patriam dimisit sine bapti  
31      smo et communione christiana maledixit  
32      regem cum progenie confirmante  
33      sinodo et dicente. Fiant dies eius pauci.  
34      et fiant filii eius orphani. et uxor  
35      eius uidua. et remansit rex cum

{71vb}

1      tota regione sua spatio duorum annorum.  
2      et eo amplius sub eadem excommuni=  
3      catione. Post hec rex non potuit tan=  
4      diu durantem excommunicationem tan=  
5      tam amplius sustinere uidens perditio=  
6      onem anime sue et damnationem  
7      regni ueniam requisiuit apud sanctum  
8      Oudoceum landauicę. et effusis lacrimis  
9      cum inclinato capite. et coram tribus  
10     abbatibus Oudoceus episcopus imposuit ei iugum

<sup>155</sup> super altare petri apostoli (margin) {nota super altare petri Apostoli}. A pointing hand also draws attention to this line.

11 penitentię admodum qualitatis *et quan-*  
 12 titatis. commendans ei ut *tribus modis*<sup>156</sup>  
 13 emendaret apud *deum et ecclesiam landa-*  
 14 uię uidelicet iejunio. *et oratione. et ele-*  
 15 mosinis. Rex Mouricus accepto iugo  
 16 penitentię dedit quattuor uillas *pro*  
 17 redemptione animę suę *et pro anima*  
 18 Cynuetu ecclesię Landauię. *et inmanu Ou=*  
 19 docei *episcopi et omnibus suis successoribus cum to=*  
 20 ta sua libertate *et obomni seruitio li=*  
 21 beras inperpetuo. *et cum tota communione*  
 22 *perpatriam suam manentibus in his ter=*  
 23 *ris. incampo et insilua. inpascuis et in=*  
 24 aqua. .i.<sup>a</sup><sup>157</sup> Riugraenauc .ii.<sup>a</sup> NantauaN.  
 25 .iii.<sup>a</sup> est inqua occisus est Cynuetu ultra  
 26 Nadauan .iiii.<sup>a</sup> trans nadauan ubi filius  
 27 regis mechatus est<sup>158</sup>. Apalude Elleti usque  
 28 nadauan. idest uilla Gurberdh. deillis  
 29 quattuor .xxiiii.<sup>or</sup> modii terrarum.  
 30 Declericis testes sunt. Oudoceus *episcopus*. Con

<sup>156</sup> **tribus modis** (margin) {nota bene *tribus modis*}.

<sup>157</sup> **aqua. .i.<sup>a</sup>** There is a gap between these words due to a tear in the parchment.

<sup>158</sup> **ubi fiilius regis mechatus est** (margin) {nota vbi filius regis mechatus est,}. This note is accompanied by a pointing hand pointing at line 26.

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAIE

31 cen abbas carbani uallis<sup>159</sup>. Catgen abbas  
32 ilduti. Sulgen abbas docunni. Conbran.  
33 Sedoc. Cyn<sup>u</sup>ur. cetcu. Lyggessauc. gungua=  
34 re. Delaicis. Mouric rex cum filio suo  
35 frioc *et* nepote morcant filio Athruis

{72ra}

1 Cunblus. briaual. Gendic. guedg<sup>160</sup>  
2 en. guengarth. Qui custodierit. cu=  
3 stodiat illum *deus*. Qui autem separaue=  
4 rit ab *ecclesia* landauie. anathema sit.  
5 Finis Riugraenauc anadauan ducen=  
6 te fossa *perlongitudinem* sursum adru=  
7 fum lacum intriuio montis.<sup>161</sup>

8 VILLA GVILBIV.  
9 M ORCANT<sup>162</sup> rex filius athruis dedit  
10 uillam Guilbiu cum heredita=  
11 rio suo Gurhytyr pro anima sua *et*  
12 anima Mourici aui sui filii teudiric  
13 Oudoceo episcopo *et* ecclesię landauie *et* suis

<sup>159</sup> carbani uallis (margin, keyed with a *signe de renvoi* [:]) {*id est lannkarvanu*}.

<sup>160</sup> (top, above both columns) O V D O C E V S E P I S C O P V S.

<sup>161</sup> Following this line, two lines of the manuscript have been left blank.

<sup>162</sup> M ORCANT The *M* is a two-line rubricated initial.

- 14 pastoribus in perpetuo sine ullo censu  
 15 homini terreno et cum sua libertate. et  
 16 tota communione. De clericis testes  
 17 sunt Oudoceus episcopus. Concen abbas carbani  
 18 uallis. Colbrit abbas ilduti. Confur.  
 19 trycan. berthguin. catguare. Dalaicis<sup>163</sup>  
 20 Morcant rex. guinan filius ilud. iudic  
 21 filius cetuur. iunet filius letric. gin=  
 22 doc. guaidnerth filius guallonir. broc  
 23 uail. rihoithil. guengarth. Finem eiusdem  
 24 agri supradiximus. afine illius uille  
 25 inqua occidit Mouric cynuetu usque  
 26 ad cumulum lapidum. et usque ad cu=  
 27 mulum alium. et postea usque innau=  
 28 dauan. Qui custodierit. custodiat il=  
 29 lum deus. Qui autem separarauerit abec=  
 30 clesia landauie. Anathema sit. AMEN.  
 31 Podum liuhess in eluail. {nota in Eluel et quere}  
 32 M ORCANT<sup>164</sup> rex dedit Oudoceo episcopo  
 33 inelemosina podum Liuhesi et<sup>165</sup>

<sup>163</sup> Dalaicis Sic.<sup>164</sup> M ORCANT The M is a two-line rubricated initial.<sup>165</sup> (bottom) {Reuerende Episcope nota bene hoc latus pro possessionibus tuis amissis et cum maximis anath[.]matibus contra inimi<sup>cos tuos</sup> iniuste usurpantes et alienantes. et nota hunc sacrum librum per totum quia ut spero per christum singula contra te / iniuste alienata impetrabis.}.

# VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

{72rb}

- 1 landauie et suis *omnibus* successoribus  
2 inperpetuo sine ullo censu ulli homini  
3 terreno. et cum sua tota libertate in=  
4 campo et insiluis inaqua et inpascuis.  
5 et super sepulchrum mourici<sup>166</sup> regis ia=  
6 centis<sup>167</sup> landauie aui sui coram idone=  
7 is testibus. Declericis Oudoceus *episcopus* te=  
8 stis est. concen abbas carbani uallis.  
9 Colbrit abbas ilduti. Iudhurb abbas  
10 docunni. guencat princeps aluni ca=  
11 pitis. Sedoc. guorceniu. conoc. conbr=  
12 an. clemens. conueon. cetiu. saturn  
13 princeps Taui urbis. Delaicis. Mor=  
14 cant rex. briaual filius lumarch.  
15 Gindoc filius isael. iunet *filius* letric.  
16 guaidnerth *filius* guallonir. guidgen  
17 *filius* brochuail. Qui custodierit. be=  
18 nedicetur. Qui autem separauerit ab=  
19 ecclesia landauie. anathema sit. AMEN.<sup>168</sup>

<sup>166</sup> **sepulchrum mourici** (margin) {sepulcrum Mauricii}.

<sup>167</sup> **sepulchrum mourici regis ia=centis** (margin) {Quere vbi iacet} {{quia fundator est Landauensis Archiepiscopatus<sup>{{{piscopal is ecclesie}}}}</sup> / etc Et ibidem sepultus honorifice fuit,}}}. This line is also highlighted by a pointing hand in the inside margin. The reading that has been erased is difficult to discern; see LL 340.

<sup>168</sup> Following this line, two lines in the manuscript have been left blank.

20                    PORTH CASSECC<sup>169</sup>.

21        M OVRICUS<sup>170</sup> rex simul et iudic filius  
 22                    nud dederunt agrum porthcassec  
 23                    deo et ecclesię landauie et sanctis dubrio  
 24                    et teliauo et inmanu episcopi Oudocei et su=

25                    is omnibus successoribus in perpetuo. cum  
 26                    sua tota libertate. et cum duobus core=

27                    tibus suis. et communione incampo et  
 28                    insiluis in aqua et in pascuis. De  
 29                    clericis testes sunt. Oudoceus episcopus. bert=

30                    guin. gurbiu. iaco. Delaicis. Mor=

31                    cant rex. iudic hereditarius filius nud=<sup>171</sup>

32                    Eluoid. morclas. dallon filius guoid=

33                    gar. eliud filius guerith. Qui custo=

{72va}

1                    dierit custodiat illum deus. Qui autem<sup>172</sup>  
 2                    ab ecclesia Landauię et apastoribus illius  
 3                    separauerit. anathema sit. AMEN.<sup>173</sup>

<sup>169</sup> PORTH CASSECC (margin) {porthcassec}.

<sup>170</sup> M OVRICUS The *M* is a two-line rubricated initial.

<sup>171</sup> nud= *Sic.*

<sup>172</sup> (top, above both columns) O V D O C E V S E P I S C O P V S.

<sup>173</sup> Following this line, three lines in the manuscript have been left blank.

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAIE

- 4        **Tir** hiernin *et* tir retoc.
- 5        **S** CIANT<sup>174</sup> katholici uiri *quod* iudic
- 6              rex filius nud *et* cinan filius cin
- 7              uedu ambo reges dederunt duos a=
- 8              gros. agrum redoc. *et* agrum hier=
- 9              nin prosalute animarum suarum summo
- 10              episcopo {Oudoceo} *et* sanctis Dubricio *et* Teliauo *et* omnibus
- 11              pastoribus ecclesię landauię inperpetua
- 12              consecratione cum omni sua liber=
- 13              tate incampo *et* insiluis. inqua *et*
- 14              inpascuis. sine ullo censu ulli homini
- 15              terreno nisi ecclesię landauię. Decle=
- 16              ricis testes sunt. primus Oudoceus *episcopus*.
- 17              Cunbran. Cunueon. cunuaret *presbiter*.
- 18              gurceniu *presbiter*. Delaicis iudic *et*
- 19              cinan reges<sup>175</sup>. Elgued. atoc. milgen.
- 20              haiuen. hirel. conuoet. ciuoc.
- 21              protec. aerthirn. ludoce. *Quicunque*
- 22              custodierit. custodiat illum deus.
- 23              Qui autem non seruauerit. fiat sub
- 24              perpetuo anathemate donec ad emen=

<sup>174</sup> **S** CIANT The *S* is a three-line rubricated initial.

<sup>175</sup> **iudic et cinan reges** (margin) {nota hos reges}.

25 dationem uenerit. AMEN<sup>176</sup>

26 Coupalua penniporth. Villa *gre*

27 *guriī idest uilla filiorum .v. ourdeuint* <sup>super ripam Tam.</sup><sup>177</sup>

28 **F** ACTVM<sup>178</sup> est quod Oudoceus episcopus<sup>179</sup>

29 accepit uillam Greguri quę

{72vb}

1 *dicitur coupalua super ripam taf. idest penn*

2 *yport aguedgueno brochmaili filio*

3 *cum suo toto agro. idest cum tribus mo=*

4 *diis terrarum proanima sua et commer=*

5 *cio regni cęlestis cum omni sua liber=*

6 *tate et tota communione sine ullo cen=*

7 *su homini terreno nisi ecclesię landa=*

8 *uię. Declericis testes sunt. episcopus Oudoceus.*

9 *concen abbas carbani uallis. colbrit*

10 *abbas ilduti. Iudhubr abbas docunni.*

11 *Delaicis. Rex solus. Guidgen cum suis.*

12 *Qui custodierit. custodiat illum deus.*

<sup>176</sup> Following this line, three lines of the manuscript were initially left blank, after which a new rubric was started on a new line. However, that rubric did not fit into the two allotted lines, and so its last three words were written into the third originally blank line.

<sup>177</sup> *super ripam Tam.* This last part of the rubric was written on the blank line immediately above line 26, but a pair of insertion marks [ ] show that it should follow *ourdeuint*.

<sup>178</sup> **F** ACTVM The *F* is a four-line rubricated initial, descending into the lower margin.

<sup>179</sup> (margin) {nota hic de gabalua [...] tre oda}. Evans (LL 340) printed the illegible word as '(prope)', in brackets.

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAIE

13 Qui autem seruauerit. benedictus sit. AMEN.<sup>180</sup>

14 VILLA LATH.

15 S CIENDVM<sup>181</sup> est omnibus indextrali

16 britannia habitantibus quod Mor

17 cant rex athruis filius procommertio

18 regni cœlestis dedit uillam Lath lan=

19 dauiq ecclesiæ sancti Petri et sanctorum Dubricii

20 et Teliaui beato episcopo Oudoceo et suis suc=

21 cessoribus omnibus cum sua tota libertate

22 sine ullo censu homini terreno. nisi

23 ecclesiæ landauiq. Declericis testes sunt.

24 beatus episcopus oudoceus. Concen abbas car=

25 bani uallis. colbrit abbas ilduti. Sul=

26 gen abbas docguinni cum familia eorum.

27 Delaicis uero. Morcant rex. guonocatui

28 princeps aluni capitis. Sadoc presbiter.

29 gurceneu faber. briauail filius luua

30 rch. Gendoc filius ismael. Iunet. Rioidyl.

31 Qui separauerit hanc elemosinam ab

32 ecclesia Landauiq. destruat illum deus. Qui

<sup>180</sup> Following this line, two lines of the manuscript were left blank.

<sup>181</sup> S CIENDVM The S is a two-line rubricated initial.

33 autem seruauerit: benedictus sit. AMEN.<sup>182</sup>

{73ra}

1 {Nota hic de Abbatibus bene}183

2 {vide Monasticon Anglicanum Vol. i. p. 546.}

3 INsinuandum<sup>184</sup> est quod sanctus Oudoceus<sup>185</sup>

4 cum sua congregacione et ConceN

5 abbas sancti Catoci. et Sulgen abbas Do

6 cunni. et Congen abbas Ilduti cum omni

7 sua congregacione. et Morcant rex

8 et frioc patruus suus uenerunt om=

9 nes adpodum sancti Ilduti. et ambo mor

10 cant rex et frioc presentibus illis om=

11 nibus super altare sancti Ilduti antepositis

12 sanctis reliquiis iurauerunt ita ut si=

13 mul firmam pacem inter se sine do=

14 lo tenerent. Et ita tali conuentio=

15 ne ut si unus alterum occideret. aut

16 ei dolum inferret. nullo se alio mo

17 do redimeret agro nec argento. sed

18 regnum suum quietum clamaret.

<sup>182</sup> (bottom) {deo gratias}.

<sup>183</sup> (margin) {nota}. Four lines were originally left blank at the beginning of this column, but the lower two now contain notes by later hands.

<sup>184</sup> INsinuandum The *I* is a five-line rubricated initial.

<sup>185</sup> (top, above both columns) O V D O C E V S E P I S C O P V S.

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAIE

19      *et uitam suam totam duceret imper=*  
20      *egrinationem. Post multum uero*  
21      *temporis suadente diabolo. occidit*  
22      *rex morcant Frioc patrum suum*  
23      *dolo. et eo occiso. uenit rex Morcant*  
24      *ad Oudoceum episcopum ueniam requir=*  
25      *ens deperiurio facto simul cum homi=*  
26      *cidio perpetrato ad ecclesiam Landauiam.*  
27      Et audita eius petitione. mandauit  
28      *episcopus Oudoceus propter abbates trium con=*  
29      *gregationum suarum. Concen ab=*  
30      *batem catoci. sulgen abbatem do=*  
31      *cunni. Congen abbatem ilduti cum*  
32      *suis clericis congregatis in unum IN*  
33      *sancta sinodo<sup>186</sup> omnibus ab hostio Taratyr*

{73rb}

1      *yg guy usque adhostium tyui. Et ue=*  
2      *nit rex cum senioribus morcannuc*  
3      *obuiam illis adpodum carbani*  
4      *uallis et ad recipiendum iudicium*  
5      *demalefacto suo cum summa satisfa=*

<sup>186</sup> **sinodo** (margin) {sinodus}.

6 ctione. *et* plena sinodus<sup>187</sup> presentia  
 7 Oudocei episcopi iudicauit propter orbitatem<sup>188</sup>  
 8 regni ne fieret sine protegente clipeo  
 9 domini naturalis peregrinationem illius  
 10 iejuniis *et* orationibus *et* elemosinis re=  
 11 dimere simul cum homicidio periu=  
 12 rium expurgare. Et rex morcant as=  
 13 sensu seniorum morcanhuc posuit  
 14 manum suam super quattuor euan=  
 15 gelia *et* reliquias sanctorum tenente illa  
 16 sancto Oudoceo. *et* promittit in primis se  
 17 emendaturum depredicto facinore  
 18 sicut predictum est iejunio *et* oratione  
 19 *et* elemosina. Et insuper promittit se  
 20 nunquam tale quid amplius facturvm.  
 21 *et* se in omnibus regalem iustitiam mise=  
 22 ricorditer acturum. iuncta ei pe=  
 23 nitentia admodum facinorum *et* adil=  
 24 lius qualitatem *et* quantitatem po=  
 25 tentiam. *et* data sibi communione christi=  
 26 ana. ablata prius sibi ab episcopo Oudo=

<sup>187</sup> **sinodus** (margin) **SINODVS.**; (bottom, below both columns) {Nota bene omnes Synodos huius sancti libri quarum haec videtur prima}. The marginal note appears to be in the hand of the original rubricator.

<sup>188</sup> (margin) {facta per sanctum Odotheum}.

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAIE

27 ceo clamauit tres congregaciones  
28 catoci. Ilduti. docunni. liberas ab  
29 omni regali seruitio deo *et sanctis Te=*  
30 liauo Dubrio. Oudoceo. *et omnibus*  
31 successoribus suis. *et ita cum omni*  
32 sua dignitate *et priuilegio sanctorum Du=*  
33 bricii Teliaui inperpetua consecrati  
34 one ḥecclesię Landaue. *et utrem mel=*  
35 lis *et lebetem ferream. que ḥecclesia*

{73va}

1 *sancti Ilduti regi debebat reddere*<sup>189</sup>  
2 quietam rex Morcan clamauit si=  
3 ne fine. *et uouit deo et oudoceo in=*  
4 presenti sinodo nunquam inantea  
5 inaliquo dominari intribus congre=  
6 gationibus nec inearum possessio  
7 nibus. nec inrefugis uiolandis. neque  
8 glebam unam sciens unquam ab  
9 latus ui aut aliquo malo inge=  
10 nio desuis territoriis. *et ita libe=*  
11 ras sine ullo censu ulli homini terre=  
12 no magno uel modico. data ma=

<sup>189</sup> (top, above both columns) **O V D O C E V S E P I S C O P V S.**

13 ledictione uiolaturis. benedicti=  
 14 one autem conseruaturis inpace.  
 15 Declericis testes sunt. Oudoceus  
 16 *episcopus.* Concen abbas carbani uallis.  
 17 Sulgen abbas docunni. Congen  
 18 abbas ilduti. cum suis clericis. con=  
 19 uoge. gurcenou. coilbrit. conoc.  
 20 sulgen. conbran. Delaicis. Morcan  
 21 rex. guidgen. gindoc. iuthel. iunet.  
 22 iurthir. iudic. iudguallon. cumma=  
 23 gna copia clericorum et laicorum. tam  
 24 sinodo quam extra sinodum.  
 25 **Lann Guruaet.**  
 26 **A** VGUST<sup>190</sup> rex becheiniaun<sup>191</sup> et filii  
 27 eius eliud et riuallaun reddi=  
 28 derunt deo et sanctis Teliauo et Dubricio  
 29 et inmanu oudocei summi episcopi. et  
 30 omnibus episcopis landauie inperpetua  
 31 consecratione. Lannguruaet.  
 32 qux<sup>g</sup><sup>192</sup> antea fuerat inprimo tempo=  
 33 re sanctorum Dubricii et Teliaui cum om=

<sup>190</sup> **A** VGUST The *A* is a three-line rubricated initial.

<sup>191</sup> **becheiniaun** *Sic.*

<sup>192</sup> **qux<sup>g</sup>** The *g* looks like it was written over an erasure, possibly by a later hand.

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAIE

34 ni suo territorio. *et ita sine ullo*

35 censu ulli homini terreno magno uel

{73vb}

1 modico nisi ecclesię landauię. *et cum*

2 refugio suo *et omni dignitate sanctorum*

3 Dubricii *et Teliaui. et priuilegio. et to=*

4 ta communione incolis inperpetuo.

5 incampo *et insiluis. inqua et inpas=*

6 cuis. *et cum finibus suis. data maledic=*

7 tione uiolaturis. benedictione autem

8 seruaturis. Declericis testes *sunt. Oudo=*

9 ceus *episcopus. Sedoc. conbran. conocan. con=*

10 ueon<sup>193</sup>. conlec. bran. conlouern. gel=

11 lan. atgar. guengarth. Delaicis uero

12 August rex. filii eius eliud *et riuallauN*

13 cum multis aliis. Finis illius est.

14 blain ethrim arhit ircecin iuinid

15 nihit dicarn erchan. orcarn erchan

16 dirhenford iford nihit bet porth

17 idorcluit hit cecin nihit bet blain

18 nant dincat inant nihit betpan

19 discinn innant cilieni. cilieni nihit

<sup>193</sup> **ueon** The first minim of the *u* appears to have been redrawn.

- 20 dirguairet betinaper nant irhen ni  
 21 hit beticruc hisbernn. ocruc hisbe  
 22 rnn cecin iminid nihit bet imon  
 23 crois guerion dirguairet bet iguo=  
 24 un teirfin dinant cenou. nant cenov  
 25 nihit bet arcilieni. cilieni nihit bet  
 26 inaper ipost du. postdu nihit bet ar  
 27 cloutac. cloutac nihit betiblain dir  
 28 guern traus iminid nihit bet brinn  
 29 buceldid irbrinn nihit betiblain ma=  
 30 uan. oblain mauan iminid nihit  
 31 betiblain ethrim ubi incepit.

## 32 LANN CYNCYRILL.

- 33 M ORCANT<sup>194</sup> rex athruis filius<sup>195</sup>  
 34 pro anima frioc filio mou=  
 35 rici quem ipse occidit. et proredemp=

{74ra}

- 1 tione anime suę accepto iugo pe=  
 2 nitentię inieunio et elemosina et  
 3 oratione dedit summo Oudoceo episcopo  
 4 Lann Cincirill et agrum Cynfall. et  
 5 ecclesię Landauię et sanctis Dubrio et Teli=

<sup>194</sup> M ORCANT The *M* is a two-line rubricated initial.<sup>195</sup> M ORCANT rex athruis filius (bottom) {Morgan filius a[....]s}.

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAE

6        auo cum sua tota libertate *et* tota com=

7        munione incampo *et* insiluis. inaqua

8        *et* inpascuis. omnibus habitantibus inper=

9        petuo. Declericis testes sunt. Oudoceus

10      episcopus. Concen abbas carbani uallis. Con

11      gen abbas ilduti. Sulgen abbas Doc

12      guinni. Maioc. sulgen. colbrit. De

13      laicis. Morcant rex. Grucinan. Gued

14      gen. elcu. petyr. rihedl. samuel. tit=

15      gual. bleidcu. citoc. guelbiu. Qui

16      custodierit custodiat illum deus.

17      Qui autem ab ecclesia Landauię sepa=

18      rauerit. Anathema sit. AMEN.

19      Finis istius agri. Cepetic trican.

20      hoc est auado rufo<sup>196</sup> super rudlan Elei<sup>197</sup>

21      dehinc sursum eregione persiluam

22      super cliuium siluę usque adcruc cyn=

23      fall scoti. Exin fossa diuidente sur=

24      sum supra montem perlongitudinem

25      fosse usque adfontem. defonte deorsvm

26      perspatium usque adcapud claudtry=

27      can inualle fossa ducente usque ad

<sup>196</sup> **auado rufo** (margin, marked by a *signe de renvoi* [·/] above *auado*) {modo Redyng}.

<sup>197</sup> **Elei** (margin) {Eley est bunda}.

28      montem descendente deorsum *per=*  
 29      fossam *perlongitudinem adtalpon*  
 30      brinan aduiam latam. *perlongitu=*  
 31      dinem uię fossa ducente ad Elei<sup>198</sup>.  
 32      **Lann Oudocui**<sup>199</sup>.  
 33      **M** ORCANT<sup>200</sup> rex gleuissic *procom=*  
 34                mertio regni cęlestis cum ma=  
 35                gna deuotione humili *et contrito*

{74rb}

1      corde reddidit<sup>201</sup> Oudoceo *episcopo et sanctis*  
 2      Dubrio et teliauo et ecclesię Landa=  
 3      uię inhonore *sancti petri fundatę.*  
 4      Lannenniaun<sup>202{dest Lannoudocui}</sup>. cum sua tota di=  
 5      gitate<sup>203</sup> *et cum tota libertate et tota*  
 6      communione insilua *et incampis.*  
 7      inqua *et inpascuis. et cum quattu=*  
 8      or suis gurgitibus. *et cum coretibus et*  
 9      siluis *et sine aliquo censu ulli homini*  
 10     terreno nisi deo *et ecclesię landauię*

<sup>198</sup> Elei (margin) {Eley}.<sup>199</sup> **Lann Oudocui** (below) {Nota supra de llanndocuith}.<sup>200</sup> **M** ORCANT The *M* is a two-line rubricated initial.<sup>201</sup> **reddidit** The *dit* has been retraced.<sup>202</sup> **Lannenniaun** (margin) {Nota bene de Landocuith iuxta tintarn}.<sup>203</sup> **di=gitate** *Sic.*

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAIE

- 11 inperpetuo. *et* cum refugio suo *et ue*  
12 lut insulam undique liberam positam  
13 insalo<sup>{idest in mari}</sup>. Declericis testes *sunt* Oudoceus  
14 *episcopus*. Sulgen abbas carbani uallis.  
15 Gurthauar abbas ilduti. Saturn  
16 abbas docguinni. conbran. berth=  
17 guin. Dalaicis<sup>204</sup>. Morcant rex. eifest.  
18 conuiu. ihuc. iudic. guengarth. biu=  
19 an. iunet. ceriau. rihedl. Finis istius  
20 podi est. orciuilchi dilech oudou=  
21 cui dicribiralt irtu guartha ni=  
22 hit dir rit hit caletan. cemn ni=  
23 hit hetguailaut igue<sup>{e}</sup>un<sup>205</sup> dihann  
24 her irminid. dir rudpull. usque  
25 adylui. *et* deinde aguenfrut usque  
26 adtrylec bechan. Qui custodierit  
27 custodiat illum *deus*. Qui autem abec=  
28 clesia landauie<sup>q</sup> *et* apastoribus illius se=  
29 parauerit. anathema sit. AMEN.  
30 ECCL<sup>E</sup>SIA ELIDON ET GUOCOF.  
31 IVDhail<sup>206</sup> rex athruis filius. equitans

<sup>204</sup> Dalaicis *Sic.*

<sup>205</sup> igue<sup>{e}</sup>un A tail has been added to the *o* so that it resembles an *e*.

<sup>206</sup> IVDhail The *I* is a four-line rubricated initial, drawn in the inside margin.

- 32 quadam die pertellurem Guocob  
 33 titubante equo suo cecidit adter=  
 34 ram. *et resurgens sanus gratias egit*  
 35 deo. *et respexit uersus ecclesiam ElidoN*

{74va}

- 1 dixit eleuatis manibus addeum.<sup>207</sup>  
 2 Istam ecclesiam quam uideo cum  
 3 sua tota tellure. *et uillam Guocof*  
 4 inqua sto commendo deo omnipo=  
 5 tenti qui me sanum fecit deperi=  
 6 culo. Et aduocato ad eum Oudoceo  
 7 episcopo cum tribus abbatibus Concen ab=  
 8 bate carbani uallis. Colbrit abbate  
 9 ilduti. Iudhubr abbatte docunni.  
 10 Declericis testes sunt. Trychan. satuc.  
 11 cinbran. cinuchan. conguean.  
 12 conlec. oran. conuan. *et oudoceo*  
 13 episcopo *et omnibus successoribus suis inperpe*  
 14 tuo <sup>{in}</sup> ecclesia landauie sanctorum petri et  
 15 dubricii *et teliaui. et cum sua tota*  
 16 libertate *et omni communione ha=*  
 17 bitantibus *et habitaturis perenniter*

<sup>207</sup> (top, above both columns) O V D O C E V S E P I S C O P V S.

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAIE

- 18 interris istis incampo *et* insiluis.  
 19 inqua *et* inpascuis. ubique pertotam  
 20 regionem gleuissic. Delaicis testes sunt.  
 21 Ithail rex. brochmail. gellan. ad=  
 22 gar. guncar. Finis<sup>208</sup> illarum uillarum est  
 23 Orpant neshaf dilicatgurrimi.  
 24 O gurrimi hinniaun genou pa=  
 25 nt ciu iuinid nihid hitguartham<sup>209</sup>  
 26 iralt dirclaud. claud nihit intra=  
 27 us trus iford iclaud nihit trui i=  
 28 coit igua<sup>{i}</sup>ret irpant arhit iclaud  
 29 dircarn. claud nihit irfinnaun.  
 30 orfinnaun dirclaud. claud nihit  
 31 dirfinnaun arall. orfinnaun ar  
 32 hit ifoss iuinid trui icoit. dirmi  
 33 nid arirall arhit foss. foss nihit  
 34 irpant. pant nihit iuinid trus i  
 35 ford maur arhit iclaud trus imi=

{74vb}

- 1 nid iniaun iblain pant gulich. dihen  
 2 lotre elidon iblain ipant. ipant ig  
 3 uairet permedium uallis dirfinnaun

<sup>208</sup> **Finis** (margin) {bunda dominii de sancto lithano}.

<sup>209</sup> **hitguartham** The suspension mark above the *a* seems to have been partially erased.

4 licatgulich. gulich irguairet arihit  
 5 hi icueir pouisua deuui ipenn i  
 6 carn. ynis teireru ipartharall ir=  
 7 nant. nant iguairet arihit hit ni  
 8 aper iguorrimi. guorrimi nihit sur=  
 9 sum hitpennguocieir ipant ubi  
 10 incepit finis. Quicunque custodierit  
 11 custodiat illum deus. Qui autem abecclesia  
 12 landauiq separauerit anathema sit.  
 13 Emricorua inguent is coit super ri=pam guy.<sup>210</sup>  
 14 IVDhail<sup>211</sup> rex morcanti filius.  
 15 et filii eius Fernuail atque mouric  
 16 dederunt tres uncias agri pleni na=  
 17 uigationis guy fluminis idest. Em=  
 18 ricorua. et gurdocius hereditarius  
 19 filius catdem simul cum eis deo et sanctis  
 20 Dubrio et teliauo et oudoceo. et omnibus  
 21 suis successoribus ecclesię landauiq inper=  
 22 petuo cum omni libertate sua et core=  
 23 tibus suis omnibus. et cum tota communi=  
 24 one incampo et insiluis inaqua et  
 25 inpascuis. Declericis testes sunt. Episcopus Ou=

<sup>210</sup> **ri=pam guy.** The *pam guy.* is written in the space at the end of the following line.

<sup>211</sup> **IVDhail** The *I* is a three-line rubricated initial.

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAIE

- 26 doceus. Daganus abbas carbani ual=
- 27 lis. Eluoid abbas ilduti. Saturn abbas
- 28 docunni. Delaicis Ithail rex *et* filii eius
- 29 fernuail *et* mouric. gabran. Elfin.
- 30 guinan. mabsu. guallonor. guruo=
- 31 du. nud. arcon. tutnerth. etelic. dat=
- 32 lon. conocan. Quicunque custodierit
- 33 custodiat illum deus. Qui autem ab
- 34 ecclesia landauiq̄ sepauerit<sup>212</sup>, anathema sit.
- 35 Finis illius est. Vallis annuc super<sup>213</sup>

{75ra}

- 1 ripam Guy<sup>214</sup>. finis lanncinuarch<sup>{idest Sancti Kynmarci}</sup>.<sup>215</sup>
- 2 exalia parte pant annuc diuinid
- 3 bet pennfoss inhipant diuinid
- 4 dirpant arall ariscuid uersus ori
- 5 entem diguairet betirallt dirfin=
- 6 naun arhit iguuer betguy. Arhit
- 7 guy diuinid cum coretibus suis bet
- 8 pant annuc super ripam guy ubi
- 9 incepit. **Lann EMRDIL.**

<sup>212</sup> **sepauerit** *Sic.*

<sup>213</sup> (below) {in Wencia inferiori super ripam Wy est ista u[..]yg [.]com vt patet superius in rubrica}.

<sup>214</sup> **Guy** (margin) {Wy.}.

<sup>215</sup> (top) **O V D O C E V S EPISCOPUS.**

10      **I**THAIL<sup>216</sup> rex immolauit deo *et sanctis*  
 11      Dubrio*c* et Teliau*c*. *et inmanu ou=*  
 12      doce*i* summi *episcopi et omnibus successo=*  
 13      ribus suis inecclesia landauie<sup>217</sup>. Lann  
 14      efrdil inbrehes cum omni terri=  
 15      torio suo *et omni libertate sua. et*  
 16      tota communione incolis incampo.  
 17      *et insiluis. inqua et inpascuis. et*  
 18      cum finibus suis. *et attestantibus bo=*  
 19      nis hominibus. data maledictione uio=  
 20      laturis. benedictione autem conser=  
 21      uaturis inpace inecclesia landauie.  
 22      Finis<sup>218</sup> illius est. Oritimain arilgui  
 23      arhit irnant maliduc diuinid.  
 24      bet iblain bet allt ircicbran dib  
 25      lain nant irhebauc arihit bet  
 26      pan discinn hi guefrduur mali=  
 27      duc dirguairet bet ilgui. malid=  
 28      uc ilgui dirguairet bet rit irma=

<sup>216</sup> **I**THAIL The *I* is a four-line rubricated initial, drawn in the left margin.

<sup>217</sup> **inmanu ou=doce*i* summi *episcopi et omnibus successo=ribus suis inecclesia landauie***

(bottom, below both columns) {nota supra ad manum / oudoceum summum Episcopum Landauensem, ergo oudoceus fuit Archiepiscopus Landauensis, Et hoc fuit tertius Archiepiscopus Landauensis}.

<sup>218</sup> **Finis** (margin) {bunda llann eurdyl}.

## VITAE SANCTORUM CAMBRIAIE

29      in arylgui ubi incepit.<sup>219</sup>

30      LanN Menechi.

31      B ROCHmail<sup>220</sup> filius guidgentiu

32      ai uillam meneich cum .VI. mo=

33      diis agri immolau*t* deo *et sanctis Du=*

34      bricio *et Teliauo. et in manu Oudocei*

{75rb}

1      *episcopi et suis omnibus successoribus inec=*

2      *clesia landauie proanima sua et in*

3      *elemosina. et cum sua tota liberta=*

4      *te et omni communione incampo*

5      *et insiluis inaqua et inpascuis.*

6      Finis illius uille est. uilla Giur=

7      gii exaltero latere quam dede=

8      rat brochmail idem antea simi=

9      li modo oudoceo *episcopo*. Finis istius

10     uillę est. idest meneich hoc est ad

11     aquilonem tref irgillicg. id est tref

12     ircil antiquo *nomine*. et idem broch=

13     uail iterum dedit oudoceo *episcopo*

14     inuno die tres modios *agri*

<sup>219</sup> Following this line, one line of the manuscript has been left blank.

<sup>220</sup> B ROCHmail The B is a three-line rubricated initial.

15 nuc bacan deo *et* oudoceo *episcopo* cum  
16 suo territorio. Finis auia ma=  
17 gna quę dicit quę dicit aporta  
18 halan usque adriu finion exten=  
19 dente *per marginem* monticuli usque  
20 adriu tinuiu. idest henriu. iterum  
21 *per circuitum* usque aduiam mag  
22 nam. quę dicit adriufinion.  
23 Declericis testes *sunt. episcopus* Oudoceus.  
24 Concen abbas carbani uallis. Col=  
25 brit abbas ilduti. Iudhubr abbas  
26 docguinni. Delaicis brochmail  
27 cum suis. Qui custodierit custodi  
28 at illum *deus*. Qui autem ab ecclesia lan=  
29 dauię separauerit. anathema sit.

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