

‘Go and look in the Latin books’: Latin and the Vernacular in Medieval Wales

Paul Russell

*Od amheuyr bot pob un o’r llessoet a ducpuyt uchot eu bot ykeureyth Hewel, edrecher e
lleureu Lladyn ac eno y keffyr*¹

‘if there is any doubt that each one of the prohibitions mentioned above are in the law of
Hywel, one should look in the Latin books and there it will be found’.

1. Introduction

The Latin of medieval Wales has, it might be argued, been marginal to the concerns of the *DMLBS* in a number of respects. Geographically throughout the period with which the dictionary is concerned, Wales was marginal to the concerns of most of the historians, chroniclers, bureaucrats, poets, *et al.*, from whose writings the data for the dictionary has been drawn. Lexicographically too the Latin of medieval Wales has sat rather uncomfortably between two stools. Very early in the process it was agreed that data from Latin texts in Wales from before 1200 would be taken into the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from Celtic Sources*, a project under the auspices of the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin, though the details are vague as to which texts precisely would be taken over:² ‘in view of the project launched by the Royal Irish Academy for a Dictionary of Insular Celtic Latin, most Irish

¹ Jenkins (1963: 34 (§565) (my translation)). I am grateful to Georgia Henley and Rosalind Love for reading and commenting a draft of this paper. I am particularly grateful to Rosalind for regular discussion of these topics and for suggestions for improvement and the removal of error. While much of this paper was presented at the conference in Oxford in December 2013, some sections were also delivered at conferences and meetings in Aberystwyth, Bangor and Dublin, and I am grateful for the comments of those present.

² See *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from Celtic Sources (DMLCS)*, ed. A. Harvey; for current progress and publications, see <http://journals.eecs.qub.ac.uk/DMLCS/>; cf. also Harvey & Power (2005).

sources prior to 1200, and some Welsh sources, have been excluded (*sc.* from the *DMLBS*).³ However, it is clear that many of the relevant writers have been included, such as Gildas, ‘Nennius’, Asser, Rhigyfarch, Ieuan, Caradog, Geoffrey, and especially those who straddled the 1200 watershed, such as Gerald of Wales and Walter Map, who at least wrote about Wales even if they were not writing in Wales.

In one form or another Latin and Welsh (or the earlier Brittonic language antecedent to Welsh) have co-existed and interacted in Wales from the Roman period onwards. The period up to 1200 has generally been very well served by scholarship. The epigraphy of the Roman and post-Roman periods has now been collected and discussed.⁴ Texts from Wales of the earlier medieval period have been edited and well analysed.⁵ There are occasional difficulties about deciding whether a text was composed in Wales or elsewhere; for example, a colloquy text preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 572, f. 41v–47r (*s.* x²), conventionally entitled *De Raris Fabulis*, may well have originated in Wales in that it contains embedded Old Welsh glosses, but in the form we have it its more immediate provenance is Cornwall.⁶ Other texts are more easy to locate: the work emanating from Llanbadarn associated with Sulien and his sons, Ieuan and Rhigyfarch, marked a high point in

³ *DMLBS*, Fascicule I, ‘Note on Editorial Method’, p. xi. The 1200 watershed is also that used in Lapidge & Sharpe (1985). I am grateful to Anthony Harvey and David Howlett for discussing this with me.

⁴ For the Roman period, the inscriptions have been collected in the volumes of the *Roman Inscriptions in Britain* series (Collingwood & Wright 1965: 106–46; 1990–5; Tomlin, Wright, & Hassall 2009); more recent finds are recorded in the annual issues of *Britannia*. The post-Roman inscriptions have recently been re-edited in Redknapp and Lewis (2007) and Edwards (2007, 2013). The scholarship generated by these inscriptions is substantial; for good discussions of the latter, see Sims-Williams (2003); Charles-Edwards (1995; 2013: 96–173).

⁵ For an overview, see Lapidge (1986); cf. also Zeiser (2012). On the continuity of Latin usage in medieval Britain, see now Harvey (2015).

⁶ Stevenson (1929: 1–11) remains the best edition; Gwara (2004a) is a good discussion, though his edition (Gwara 2004b) is over-edited. On the Latin of this and other colloquy-texts, see Lapidge (2010).

Welsh Latinity.⁷ The Book of Llandaf (Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS 17110E), as we have it, is a twelfth-century production but containing much earlier material and is a treasure-house of charters, saints' lives, and episcopal documentation.⁸ One particular folio is of particular significance for the present discussion: f. 63 (a single leaf inserted into the manuscript) contains both a Latin (*Priuilegium Teliaui*) and Old Welsh version (*Braint Teilo*) of the same privilege which granted rights to the see of Llandaf on the grounds that it was founded by St Teilo.⁹ It is one of the earliest cases where we can see Latin and Welsh sitting side by side in a manuscript. It is by no means a straightforward text, but its most recent editor, Wendy Davies, has argued that the Welsh version falls into two chronologically distinct parts, Part I dating to the early twelfth century and an earlier Part II dating to the late eleventh century, and moreover that the Latin version was a translation of the Welsh.¹⁰ Although this pair of texts requires further detailed analysis, it is a relatively isolated, but extremely interesting, example of interaction between Latin and Welsh from this earlier period. The aim of what follows, however, is to focus on a period when we stand some chance of seeing Latin and Welsh interacting in Wales in a more thorough-going way, and for that we have to turn to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Three cases are considered: first, the Latin texts associated with the death of the Lord Rhys in 1197; secondly, a group of texts which were probably translated from Welsh into Latin in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century; and finally some Latin versions of the Welsh laws from the mid-thirteenth century. The texts considered can be dated to an approximate fifty year period from 1197 to c.1250,

⁷ Lapidge (1973–4); cf. also the saints' lives associated with them: St David (Sharpe and Davies 2007), St Padarn (Thomas and Howlett 2003); earlier editions are in Wade-Evans (1944).

⁸ The standard edition is still Evans & Rhys (1893); digital images of the manuscript are at <http://www.llgc.org.uk/index.php?id=1667>. For discussion of the manuscripts and its scribes, see Huws (2000); for the charters, W. Davies (1979); for discussion of the linguistic potential of the charters' witness lists, Sims-Williams (1991); for its historical and ecclesiastical context, J. R. Davies (1998, 2003).

⁹ For an edition and discussion, see W. Davies (1974–6).

¹⁰ W. Davies (1974–6: 125–33).

and through them we can consider some consequences of the co-existence of the two languages, and in particular how in some contexts medieval Welsh became distinctively Latinate and how in certain respects the Latin of medieval Wales arguably became Cambricised.¹¹

2. The death of the Lord Rhys

The death of the Lord Rhys in 1197 occasioned, both quantitatively and qualitatively, a greater outpouring of grief than for any other Welsh ruler (at least in terms of what has come down to us), even greater than that for Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, the last prince of Wales, in 1282.¹² Two things are remarkable for our purposes about that outpouring, first that it is in Latin and secondly the quality of the Latinity. It may be an accident of survival but, while several praise poems to the Lord Rhys are extant, by Gwynfardd Brycheiniog, Seisyll Bryffwrch and several by Cynddelw, no Welsh *marwnad* ‘death poem’ for the Lord Rhys has survived, though it is reasonable to suppose that they were composed, just as they were for Llywelyn ap Iorwerth and Llywelyn ap Gruffudd.¹³ The obituaries and lamentation have rather been preserved in the chronicle tradition. *Brut y Tywysogion* ‘the Chronicle of the Princes’ was a series of annals, mainly in Middle Welsh, which traced in annalistic form the history of the Welsh from the end of Geoffrey of Monmouth’s narrative up to their present. It has long been recognized that the original *Brut* tradition has been in Latin and that the surviving versions preserved in NLW MS Peniarth 20 (c.1330), a group of manuscripts including the Red Book of Hergest (Oxford, Jesus College MS 111), and in a revised version known as *Brenhinedd y Saeson* ‘the Kings of the English’ substantially represent Welsh

¹¹ It is worth adding the disclaimer that other languages were spoken in Wales in this period (Russell 2013), but the focus of this discussion is on the literary interchange between Welsh and Latin.

¹² For the historical context, see Turvey (1997), Pryce & Jones (1996).

¹³ For the poems, see Pryce & Jones (1996: 179–211), and for discussion, N. A. Jones (1996).

translations of the Latin.¹⁴ One Latin fragment has survived as part of Exeter, Cathedral Library MS 3514 and it allows us to understand more clearly the relationship between the Latin and Welsh versions of *Brut y Tywysogion*.¹⁵ We shall return to the Welsh version below, but for the moment we may concentrate on the Exeter fragment, which is conventionally entitled *Cronica de Wallia*.¹⁶ Crick has argued that the manuscript was a Welsh compilation perhaps put together in Whitland.¹⁷ We are fortunate that the surviving section spans the period 1190–1266, and although the coverage is patchy it does include an account of the death of the Lord Rhys in 1197. The preceding sections of the chronicle narrate the usual kind of territorial manoeuvrings, murder and mayhem, with the occasional death notice for a particularly devout abbot or bishop, and it provides no preparation for the great howl of grief which greets us early in the entry for 1197:¹⁸

[1] Hoc enim anno pestifero Atropos, sororum seuissima que nemini parcere gnara, cunctis mortalibus inuisa, magni uiri, scilicet Resi, exicium ausa est demoliri, quem instabilitatis mater Fortuna, nature condicionem hoc solo oblita, iugi celsitudine rote

¹⁴ For editions of the texts, see T. Jones (1941 (trans. 1952), 1955, 1971) respectively. For a summary introduction, see Henley (2012: 96–98). For images of Peniarth 20, see <http://www.llgc.org.uk/index.php?id=chronicleoftheprincespeniar>; for images of the Red Book, see *Early Manuscripts at Oxford University* (<http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=jesus&manuscript=ms111>). The *Brenhinedd y Saeson* version is substantially a combination of Welsh and English annals.

¹⁵ Exeter, Cathedral Library MS 3514, pp. 507–23 (pp. 520–1 are blank).

¹⁶ For the text, see T. Jones (1946); the translation by Remfry (2007: 230–47) is generally unreliable and is even worse when the Latin gets difficult. For discussion of the manuscript, see Crick (2010). As regards the title, which is added at the top of p. 507, Crick (2010: 38, n. 45) suggests that it could be read as *cronicon* rather than as *cronica*.

¹⁷ Crick (2010: 22–34).

¹⁸ The edition of the text and the translation are my own as are the punctuation and capitalisation; additions to the manuscript text are added in []; I am grateful to Rosalind Love and Georgia Henley for discussing aspects of this translation with me (cf. also Henley 2012: 112–13). The numbers in bold divide the text into sections which, apart from being useful to relate the translation to the text, will be relevant later in the discussion (see section 3 below). For an earlier edition of the text, see T. Jones (1946: 30.48–31.26); the translation in Remfry (2007: 232–3) should not be used. For a brief discussion of the rhetoric of this passage, see Henley (2012: 109–15).

passa est permanere suoque ab etatis sue exordio benigno refouerat gremio. Ad tanti ergo obitum uiri accedens [h]aut sine lacrimis enarrandum, utpote planctu dignum, [h]aut cuique sine dolore recordandum, quia omnibus dampnosum, [h]aut sine merore audiendum, quia cunctis lugubrem, deficio, uox silet, lingua stupet. [2] Tanti uiri probitates quas ille magnanimus historiographus Thebanus, si temporis uicissitudo concessissit, Tebaide sopita pertractante, gauderet, uerum ille historiographus Troianus poetarum nobilissimus, si misera fata dedissent, grandiloquo stilo in longum diffunderet eum.

[3] Letifer hic annus et cunctis lamentabilis annus, cuius iiii. Kalendas Maii Resus Griffini filius, Suthwallie princeps, uerum tocius Wallie capud insuperabile, fato occubuit importune. [4] Hic namque nobilissima regum ortus prosapia, uerum ipse clarus genearcha, mentis probitatem generi coequauit, et sic geminans animum nobilitate generis, consolator procerum, forcium debellator, subditorum benignus tutator, urbium ualidus expugnator, bella mouens, turmas instaurans, hostiles cateruas obruens, [h]aut secus quam aper frendens audacia, seu leo rugiens caude uerbere stimulatus in iras, ferritate deseuebat in hostes. O belli gloria, milicie decus ac clipeus, nobile tutamen patriae, armorum decus, brachium fortitudinis, largitatis manus, rationis oculus, honestatis splendor, animositatis apex, [5] probitatis Hercule[s],¹⁹ secundus Achillis, asperitatem pectore gerens, Nestoris modestiam, Tidei audaciam, Sampsonis fortitudinem, Hectoris grauitatem, Euriali agilitatem, Paridis formam, Vlixis facundiam, Salomonis sapienciam, Aiakis animositatem, iniurie dampna morte recompensantem! [6] O miserorum tutum refugium, nudorum indumentum, esuriencium morsus, siciencium potus! O omnium postulancium prompta satisfactio donorum! [7] O dulcis eloquio, comis obsequio, morum honestus,

¹⁹ I take *Hercule[s]* to be nominative and that the *-s* was dropped before *secundus*.

sermone modestus, uultu hilaris, facie decorus, cunctis benignus, omnibus equus, simplicitatis [h]aut fide pietas, humilitatis [h]aut fabricate sublimitas! Heu! heu! iam Wallia uiduata dolet ruitura dolore.

[1] For in this pestilential year Atropos, the most savage of the sisters, knowing how to spare nobody, and hated by all mortals, brought about the destruction of a great man, Rhys. Fortune, the mother of instability, setting aside the circumstances of her nature with regard to this person alone, allowed him to remain continually on the height of the wheel, and from the beginning of his life had gathered him into her kindly lap. Therefore, to approach the death of so great a man, which is not to be narrated without tears, as is worthy of a lament, not to be remembered by each person without sorrow, because it caused the loss of all things, not to be heard without grief, because it is mournful for all, I am insufficient; the voice is silent; the tongue is numb. [2] The honesty of such a man, which that great-hearted Theban historiographer would have celebrated, as the *Thebaid* relates things past, if the vicissitudes of time had granted it;²⁰ then that Trojan historian, most noble of poets, if the wretched fates had allowed, would have praised it with his eloquent pen for a long time.

[3] This death-bearing year and a lamentable year for all: on the fourth day before the Calends of May Rhys, son of Gruffudd, prince of South Wales, but also the unconquered head of all Wales, by fate perished inopportunistly. [4] For this man, descended from the most noble line of kings, himself indeed a leader of his race, the honesty of his mind was equal to that of his ancestors, and thus doubling his spirit by the nobility of his lineage, a consoler of nobles, a fighter against the brave, a kindly protector of the subjected, a powerful destroyer of cities, starting wars, preparing

²⁰ I take the sense to be that Statius would have enjoyed the nobility of Rhys, if he had been alive, but, as it is, the *Thebaid* deals with *sopita* 'things that have passed away, things of the past'.

battalions, destroying enemy columns, snarling with courage like a boar, or a roaring lion lashing its tail roused to anger, he would rage with ferocity at the enemy. O glory of war, honour and shield of soldiers, noble protector of his country, honour of arms, arm of bravery, hand of generosity, eye of reason, splendour of honour, peak of fierceness, [5] a Hercules of honesty, a second Achilles with harshness in his heart,²¹ the modesty of Nestor, the recklessness of Tydeus, the bravery of Samson, the solidity of Hector, the agility of Euryalus, the beauty of Paris, the eloquence of Ulysses, the wisdom of Solomon, the spirit of Ajax, repaying the damage of insult with death. [6] O safe refuge for the wretched, clothing for the naked, food for the hungry, drink for the thirsty. O swift provider of gifts for all who petition! [7] O sweet in speech, agreeable in behaviour, honourable in his customs, modest of speech, cheerful of expression, decorous of appearance, kind in all things, fair to all, a dutifulness of unfeigned simplicity, a loftiness of genuine humility! Alas! Alas! Wales mourns, now widowed and doomed to be destroyed by grief.

Despite the implausibly maternal attentions of Fortuna who protected Rhys from the vagaries of chance by stopping the Wheel of Fortune when Rhys' fate was at the top, Atropos got him anyway. The modesty topos is deployed to declare that the author is not up to the task of praising him and lamenting his death and that it would take a Statius or a Virgil to compose the kind of epic needed in these circumstances. Even so, he then goes on to give his audience

²¹ Following the pattern of *probitatis Hercule[s]*, *Achillis* should probably be understood a nominative (for *Achilles*), thus 'a second Achilles'. However, in a Welsh context, where *alius*, *secundarius*, and Middle Welsh *eil* can have the sense of 'successor to', 'son of' (see Russell 2011: 55–6) and references cited there), it is not impossible that it might mean 'a successor to Achilles'. Not also that the same phrase, with the same ambiguity, but in Welsh, *eil Achel*, is used in *Brut y Tywysogion* of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth on his death in 1240 but only in the Peniarth 20 version (T. Jones 1941: 198; trans. 1952: 105); *eil Achel* can reasonably mean 'a second Achilles', but in literary sources in particular *eil* [+ personal name] can mean 'son of ...'. One possibility is that 'a second Achilles' could amount to an oblique reference to Alexander (see n. 30 below).

a romp through classical and biblical epic summoning up as comparanda the virtues of *inter alios* Hercules, Achilles, Hector, Ulysses, Solomon, and Samson. The passage which follows this section recounts the short-lived succession by Gruffudd, Rhys' son, and signals that we are back in the real world of mundane politics and war.

The Boethian reference to Fortuna with which this passage opens is striking; Boethius remarks on the foolishness of trying to stop the wheel from turning, since part of the definition of *fors* is that the wheel must turn: *tu uero uoluentis rotae impetum retinere conaris? at omnium mortalium stolidissime, si manere incipit fors esse destitit* ('But are you really trying to hold back the motion of the turning wheel? Most foolish of mortals, if it starts standing still, then fortune ceases to exist').²² The conceit of this passage is that this sentiment is reversed: not only was Rhys, on account of his nobility, capable of having the wheel stopped with his fate on top, but *Fortuna* herself, setting aside her normal instincts (*mei ludicri ratio*, 'the rule of my game'²³), behaved as a mother towards him and stopped her own wheel, and did not cease to exist. Despite that, Atropos was having none of it and carried him off.

The passage as a whole is notable not only for its high rhetoric but also in its context. Whoever composed this, perhaps at St Davids, Strata Florida or somewhere with access to similar levels of learning and reading material, this was not a one-off nor an insertion composed by someone else. Glimpses of the same rhetorical devices resurface elsewhere, significantly when the sons and grandsons of Rhys meet their various ends; for example, in 1201 when Maredudd ap Rhys is killed and his brother Gruffudd dies too:

Modicum post circa festum apostolorum Petri et Pauli Mareduc filius Resi iuuenis
egregius, suis honor, hostibus horror, omnibus amor, inter armatas acies tanquam

²² *Consolatio*, II.i.9 (Bieler 1984: 18–19 (my translation)).

²³ *Consolatio*, II.ii.10 (Bieler 1984: 20 (my translation)).

fulgur egrediens cunctorumque mentibus uel spes unica uel metus existens, omnis honoris honos, decor et decus urbis et orbis apud Carnewalleun heu interficitur. Cuius castellum de Lanamdeury cum adiacente cantaredo Griffinus frater eius optinuit, uir magnus et prudens nimirum in formam informia, in normam enormia queque reducens, fortunam ducens et se in anteriora protendens, tempora sibi contemperans et semper successibus instans, et, ut sperabatur, Kambrie monarchiam in breui reformasset si non tam prepropere, tam premature, tam inopinate eum sequenti festiuitate Sancti Iacobi apostoli inuida factorum series rapuisset; et, ut breui eloquio laudis ad cumulum multa concludam, egregio patri sola fuit etate, non uirtute secundus. Hoc igitur anno magnus iste de quo loquimur Griffinus magni Resi filius de iure Kambrie princeps et heres, uir asper in hostes, benignus ad ciues, liberalis ad omnes sumpto religionis habitu apud Stratflur cum honore sepultus est.

A little while after the Feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul, Maredudd ap Rhys, a fine young man, a source of honour for his own people, a source of horror for his enemies, an object of love for all, as he was going out into battle like a thunderbolt, providing the only hope or fear in the minds of all, honour of every honour, an ornament and model for the city and the world at Carnwyllion, alas, was killed. His brother, Gruffudd, took possession of his castle at Llanymddyfry together with the adjacent cantred, a great and sensible man who would bring everything from disorder into order, from excess to normality, bringing good fortune and extending his influence into that which had happened previously, fitting the circumstances to himself and always pressing on with success, and in short he would have re-shaped the rule of Wales, as was hoped, had not the jealous progress of fate carried him off so precipitately, so prematurely, so unexpectedly on the following Feast of St James.

That I may bring everything to a climax in a brief eulogy, he was only in age and not in courage second to his famous father. So in this year Gruffudd ap Rhys, whom we are talking about, rightfully prince and heir of Wales, a man harsh to his enemies, kind to his citizens, generous to all, having taken on the religious habit was buried with honour at Strata Florida.

The earliest surviving Welsh account of the death of the Lord Rhys is preserved in the Peniarth 20 version of *Brut y Tywysogion* (pp. 201–5).²⁴ We shall return to the details of this Welsh account below, but what deserves our attention at this point in Peniarth 20 is what happens at the end of this passage. It is worth noting the page-layout at this point in the manuscript (Figures 1 and 2). The *Brut* in Peniarth 20 is standardly set out in two columns per page, and the entry for 1197 begins towards the bottom of the second column of p. 201 and continues to the end of p. 203, ending with *tec y wyneb, gwar a chyuyawn wrth bawb* ‘comely of face, meek and just towards all’ corresponding to *facie decorus cunctis benignus*.²⁵ While the Latin version of *Cronica de Wallia* carries on for a few more lines, the Welsh breaks off in order to leave space for a new introductory sentence: *a llyma y gwerseu mydyr lladin awnaethpwynt pan vv varw yr arglwyd rhys* ‘and these are the metrical verses that were composed when the Lord Rhys died’.²⁶ **[INSERT Figures 1 and 2 near here]** Figure 1 shows the layout of pp. 202–3 which represents the standard format throughout the chronicle. Figure 2 shows the dramatic change in layout on pp. 204–5 where the Latin poem has been copied line by line in a single wide column. The ink is badly faded, and some of the top of p. 204 and the bottom of p. 205 has been re-inked, but when it was freshly copied the impact of the layout of pp. 204–5 must have been dramatic. The layout has been carefully

²⁴ T. Jones (1941: 137–41; trans. 1952: 76–9).

²⁵ T. Jones (1941: 139b22–4; trans. 1952: 77.33).

²⁶ T. Jones (1941: 139b25–8; trans. 1952: 77.34–5).

planned and it is almost certain that the last few lines of the Latin were omitted in order to create room for the introductory sentence, so that the dramatic effect of turning the page could be maximised. While readers might have expected the chronicle to have continued with a narrative of the consequences of Rhys' death, even the introductory words at the bottom of the preceding page could not have prepared them for what lay overleaf: an elegy to the Lord Rhys in elegiac couplets which occupies most of the opening of pp. 204–5.²⁷

Nobile cambrensis cecidit dyadema decoris.

Hoc est resus obit cambria tota gemit

Resus obit non fama perit sed gloria transit

Cambrensis transit gloria Resus obit

Resus obit decus orbis abit laus quoque tepescit 5

In gemitum viuit cambria Resus obit

Semper resus obit populo quem viuus amauit

Lugent corda tacent corpora resus obit.

Resus obit vexilla cadunt regalia signa.

Hic iam nulla leuat dextera resus obit. 10

Resus obit ferrugo tegit galeam tegit ensem

Arma rubigo tegit cambria Resus obit.

Resus abest inimicus adest Resus quia non est

Iam tibi nil prodest cambria Resus abest.

²⁷ The poem is printed in T. Jones (1941: 140–1; it is not translated in 1952: 77–8 where the Latin is simply repeated). It has been edited and translated into Welsh by Pryce (1996); the English translation in Turvey (1997: 117–18) is occasionally unreliable in a few places, and the translation presented here is a revised version of Turvey's. I follow Pryce in emending *meri* to *merito* in l. 22 of the main poem. A version of this translation is printed by Henley (2012: 121). For brief discussions of the poem, see Pryce (1996: 212–15) and Henley (2012: 113–16).

Resus obit populi plorant gaudent inimici.	15
Anglia stat cecidit Cambria Resus obit.	
Ora rigant elegi cunctis mea fletibus isti	
Cor ferit omne ducis dira sagitta necis.	
Omnis lingua canit Reso preconia; nescit	
Laudes insignis lingua tacere ducis	20
Ploratu plene vite laxantur habene	
Meta datur meri[to], laus sine fine duci.	
Non moritur sed subtrahitur quia semper habetur	
Ipsius egregium nomen in orbe nouum	
Camber Locrinus Reso rex Albaque nactus.	25
Nominis et laudis inferioris erant	
Cesar et Arthurus leo fortis vterque sub armis.	
Vel par vel similis Resus vtrique fuit	
Resus Alexander in velle pari fuit alter	
Mundum substerni gliscit vterque sibi	30
Occasus solis tritus Resi fuit armis	
Sensit Alexandri solis in orbe manum	
Laus canitur cineri sancto; cantetur ab omni	
Celi laus regi debita spiritui	
Penna madet lacrimis quod scribit thema doloris	35
Ne careat forma, littera cesset ea.	

*Llyma wedy hyny y gwerseu mydyr o Ladin ysyd yn volyant ar y ved ef ac a
wnaethpwyd wedy darvot y gladu ef*

Grande decus tenet iste locus, si cernitur ortus

Si quis sit finis queritur ecce cinis

Laudis amator honoris odor dulcedinis auctor.

Resus in hoc tumultu conditur exiguo

Cesaries quasi congeries solis radiorum 5

Principis et facies vertitur in cineres

Hic tegitur sed detegitur quia fama perhennis.

Non sinit illustrem voce latere ducem

Colligitur tumba cinis hac sed transuolat ultra

Nobilitas claudi nescia fune breui. 10

Wallia iam viduata dolet ruitura dolore.

The noble crown of Welsh honour has fallen

This is to say, Rhys is dead, the whole of Wales mourns.

Rhys is dead; his fame has not perished, but his glory has

The glory of Wales has passed away, Rhys is dead.

Rhys is dead, the glory of the universe has left us, his praises too grow cold;

Wales lives on in her grief, Rhys is dead.

Rhys is dead for his people for ever whom he loved while alive.

Their hearts grieve, their bodies make no sound, Rhys is dead.

Rhys is dead, the standards, his royal symbols, fall.

No right hand now lifts them aloft here, Rhys is dead.

Rhys is dead, rust covers his helmet and his sword;

Rust covers his armour, Wales, (for) Rhys is dead.

Rhys is gone, the enemies close in, for Rhys is no more.

Naught avails you now, Wales, Rhys is gone.

Rhys is dead, the people weep (while our) enemies rejoice.

England stands, Wales has fallen, Rhys is dead.

My face is wet with all the tears of his elegy.

The dread arrow of the ruler's death strikes every heart.

Every tongue sings songs of praise to Rhys; the tongue cannot

Keep silent about the praises of (our) illustrious ruler.

The reins of life fall slack full of lamentation.

A turning-point is deservedly given, praise without end to a leader.

He does not die but is removed, for his fair name

Is held ever fresh throughout the world.

Camber, king Locrinus and Albanactus

Were inferior in name and repute to Rhys.

Caesar and Arthur, both brave (as) lions in arms,

Rhys was their equal or similar to both.

Rhys was a second Alexander of like desire,

Both yearned for the world to stretch out beneath them.

The west was beaten down by the arms of Rhys,

He felt the hand of Alexander in the sun's orbit.

Praises are sung to holy ashes; let due

Praise be sung by all to the king of heaven (and) the holy spirit.

My pen grows wet with tears for it writes on a theme of grief;

let the writing cease lest it lose its form.²⁸

After those, these are metrical verses of Latin which are a eulogy on his sepulchre and which were composed after he had been buried.

If its source is sought, that place has great majesty;

If one asks what is its end, here are his ashes:

One who loved a fair name, one fragrant with distinction, a fount of gentleness,

Rhys is buried in this small tomb;

The prince's hair, like a mass of the sun's rays,

And his face are turned to ashes

Here he lies hidden, but he is revealed, for his fame is for ever,

It does not allow the ruler, famed for his words, to lie concealed.

His ashes are collected in this tomb but his nobility flies beyond it

Refusing to be confined by a short rope.

Wales now widowed, grieves, doomed to be destroyed by grief.

If the vivid visual impact had been carefully planned, two other related features would have been just as striking: first, for a Latin poem lamenting the death of a Welsh ruler to have been embedded in a Welsh chronicle is extremely rare in the surviving sources (the only other example I know of, also connected to the Lord Rhys, is discussed below); but secondly, and

²⁸ I follow Pryce (1996: 219) in my translation of this line, and depart from earlier renderings in taking the line as two halves and not allowing *ne* to govern the whole sentence; 'let it not lack beauty, let not the letters cease' (Turvey 1997: 118; Henley 2012: 121). The sense follows on from the first half of the couplet: the writing has to stop or the letters will be washed away by the tears.

unlike the layout for a Welsh poem of this period, it has been copied line by line with the initial letter of each line decorated in red.

The poem falls into two halves marked at ll. 17 and 35 by reference to the tears shed, *ora rigant ... cunctis mea fletibus* (l. 17), *penna madet lacrimis* (l. 35). Lines 1–17 are in effect a *marwnad* ‘death poem’, the lines linked by the bald repetitive refrain (in Welsh terms *cymeriad* ‘linking device’) of *Resus obit* at the beginning or end of ll. 3–12; it changes to *Resus abest* for ll. 13–14 before reverting to *Resus obit* in ll. 15–16. Line 17 marks the turning point and was intended to be noteworthy as it is almost certainly a reworking of a line of the opening poem in Boethius’s *Consolatio: et ueris elegi fletibus ora rigant* ‘and my face is wet with the true tears of his elegy’.²⁹ The latter part of our poem, like the preceding prose, compares Rhys with Caesar, Arthur and Alexander but notably declares the eponymous Galfridian heroes, Camber, Locrinus and Albanactus to be inferior, *nomen et laudis inferioris* (l. 26);³⁰ the poet is having nothing to do with modern confections of the past but seems to be looking past them to real heroes. Line 35, which seems intended to pick up l. 17, is less obviously Boethian, but the last couplet brings us back to the theme of grief and tears, and how the poem must end before it is washed away in tears.³¹ The similarity to a Welsh

²⁹ *Consolatio*, I, m.i.4 (Bieler 1984: 1 (my translation)).

³⁰ On references to, and the significance of, Alexander in medieval Welsh literature, see Haycock (1987; 2007: 404–32); cf. Pryce (1996: 213). We may compare this trio with the comparison made between Gruffudd ap Cynan and Maccabaeus, Caesar, and Arthur, as three great men brought low by betrayal in *Vita Griffini filii Conani* (Russell 2005: 64–7 § 14, sentences 14–18); the medieval Welsh translation is *Historia Gruffud van Kenan* (Evans 1977: 11.18–12.3; trans. 1990: 63.37–64–19); for these texts, see below, p. 00. The Latin version of this biography was probably composed between 1137 and 1148 (Russell 2005: 46–7), and perhaps commissioned by, or composed for, his wife Angharad (Pryce 2014: 158).

³¹ One tantalising connection with our poem may involve John Gower’s *Vox Clamantis: penna madet lacrimis* occurs as the first half of *Vox Clamantis*, I, prologue, l. 37 (ed. Macaulay 1899–1902: IV.21 (text), IV.370 (notes)): *penna madet lacrimis hec me scribente profusis*; Macaulay (1899–1902: IV.370) claims that ll. 37–8 is a reworking of Ovid, *Tristia* IV.i.95–6: *saepe etiam lacrimae me sunt scribente profusis / humidaque est fletu litera facta meo*, though the claim seems to me to be speculative, except for the second half of the first line (on borrowings and reworkings of Ovid in Gower, see *inter alia*, Nolan 2011). It has been shown that fragments, if

marwnad cannot be coincidental and suggests that this poet who was well trained in Latin verse techniques was also trained in Welsh poetics. We may compare the similar rhetoric and structure in the *marwnad* for Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (d. 1282) by Gruffudd ap yr Ynad Coch which is full of repetitive refrains expressing uncontrollable grief of the poet and the people of Wales;³² we may take as an example, ll. 7–10, with its repeated *Gŵae vi* ‘woe is me’:³³

Gŵae vi am arglŷyd, gŵalch diwaratwyd!

Gŵae vi o’r aflŷyd y dramgŷyda!

Gŵae vi o’r gollet! Gŵae vi o’r dynghet!

Gŵae vi o’r clywet vot clŷyf arna!

Woe is me for a prince, a hawk beyond reproach!

Woe is me for the ill that overcame him!

Woe is me for the loss. Woe is me for the fate!

Woe is me to hear that he was wounded!

Our main poem then is 36 lines long, but after a brief Welsh interlude is followed by an 11 line poem which purports to be the epitaph on his tomb. The final line of the epitaph should give us pause for thought as it is almost identical to the final line of the prose lament in *Cronica de Wallia* (where we find the ametrical *iam Wallia ...* as against *Wallia iam ...* here).

not the whole, of the poem on the Lord Rhys was known in England by the mid-thirteenth century (T. Jones 1970–2) as it shows up in Higden’s *Polychronicon*; it is possible that the first half of l. 37 is another trace of its presence.

³² For an excellent discussion of the rhetoric of this poem, see Matonis (1979–80).

³³ Andrews et al. (1996: 414–33 (poem 36); my translation).

As single hexameter line, it looks out of place at the end of the epitaph which, like the preceding poem, is in couplets.³⁴ It does however provide a link between these poems and the Latin prose lament in *Cronica de Wallia*, and raises the possibility that the Latin text lying behind the Peniarth 20 Welsh text may already have contained the poem, and that *Cronica de Wallia* omitted the poem except for its last line; on this argument the adjustment of word order would have been made in *Cronica de Wallia* bringing the *iam* forward to follow the exclamation *heu heu*. Another possibility is that the single line was imported into the Peniarth 20 version from the poem, but whatever its source it was probably metrical as the line is, apart from the hesitation in word order in the first foot and a half, a well-formed hexameter and unlikely to have arisen by accident in a prose setting.

The only other Latin poem in a similar kind of context also relates to the Lord Rhys. Preserved in the *KR Misc. Bks 1* version of *Annales Cambriae* under the year 1197 we find the following entry:³⁵

Resus Grifini filius Sudwallie princeps nobilissimus, mors Anglorum, clypeus Britonum, iv Kalendarum Maii moritur; cuius corpus nobile apud Sanctum David cum honore debito humatum est. Ad cuius honorem hos versiculos, pro modulo nostro, composuimus, inducta similitudine inter ipsum et tyrannos per contrarium:

Cum voluit pluvias Busiris caede parabat,

Noluit ethereas sanguine Resus aquas;

Et quotiens Phaleris cives torreat in aere,

Gentibus invisus Resus adesse solet.

³⁴ The line was omitted by Pryce (1996: 214, n. 1) from his edition as he doubted that it belongs here.

³⁵ For this text, sometimes called the 'Breviate Chronicle', see ab Ithel (1860: 60–1); Pryce (1996: 222–3); for a brief discussion, see Pryce (1996: 213–14) who identifies most of the mythological references (l. 6 presumably refers to the horses of Diomedes).

Non fuit Antiphates, non falsus victor Ulixes, 5

Non homines rapidus pabula fecit equis,

Sed piger ad poenam princeps, ad praemia velox,

Quicquid do[...] ³⁶ quo cogitur esse ferox.

Hic non degenerat, generoso germine natus,

Regibus ortus, obit Resus, ad astra redit. ³⁷ 10

Rhys ap Gruffudd, prince of South Wales, death of the English, shield of the British, died on the fourth day before the Calends of May; his noble body was buried at St Davids with due honour. In his honour we composed these little verses, to the best of our capacity, drawing a contrast between him and tyrants:

When Busiris wanted rain, he sought it through slaughter,

Rhys declined rain from the heavens in return for blood;

And however often Phaleris used to roast citizens in bronze,

Rhys was always ready to face those peoples hateful to him.

He was not an Antiphates, nor a Ulysses falsely proclaiming victory,

Nor did he greedily turn his men into fodder for his horses.

But as a prince he was slow to punish, but swift to reward,

Whatever ... by which he is forced to be fierce.

He does not grow base, he born of a noble stock,

³⁶ There is at least one syllable missing and Pryce (1996: 223 n. 1), following a suggestion of Ceri Davies, suggests *do<ctus>*, thus ‘trained in whatever ...’, even though *doctus* is usually construed with *in* or with a simple ablative. For the solution, see below.

³⁷ Pryce (1996: 222) prints *velit*; he informs me that it is probably an error and *redit* should have been printed. In l. 10 there seems to be a connection between this and the Latin poem in Peniarth 20 in *obit Resus*. We may also note the tripartite structure of the line cutting across the natural caesura of the pentameter, with binding alliteration *re-* ... *re-* ... *re-* ... (cf. also the threefold repetition of *ge-* in the preceding line (l. 9)), and the assonance of *ortus*, *obit*.

Risen from kings; Rhys is dead; he returns to the stars.

Although the context is Latin and not Welsh, this poem emphasises the nobility of Rhys by contrast (*per contrarium*) with Busiris, Phaleris, Antiphates (King of the Laestrygonians), Ulysses, Diomedes, etc.³⁸ The focus of the contrasts seems to be on the Rhys' care for his own people; Rhys would not have had them sacrificed for rain, roasted in a bronze bull, eaten by cannibals or fed to horses. What has not been noticed in previous discussion is that lines 6–8 are a direct quotation of Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, I.ii.120–2.³⁹ That also has the advantage of explaining the corruption in l. 8: *Quicquid do quo cogitur esse ferox* is a simple scribal corruption of *Quique dolet quotiens cogitur esse ferox*. The context of these lines in the *Epistulae ex Ponto* is significant; Ovid, in exile in Tomis, is petitioning Fabius Maximus to plead his case with Augustus, and the lines in question refer to Augustus:

Non tibi Theromedon crudusque rogabitur Atreus
 quique suis homines pabula fecit equis, 120
 sed piger ad poenas princeps, ad praemia uelox,
 quique dolet, quotiens cogitur, esse ferox,
 qui uicit semper, uictis ut parcere posset,
 clausit et aeterna ciuica bella sera,
 multa metu poenae, poena qui pauca coeracet, 125
 et iacit inuita fulmina rara manu.

You will not have to appeal to a Theromedon or to a cruel Atreus,

³⁸ One might observe in relation to 1. 2 that in Wales lack of rain would have been the least of Rhys' problems.

³⁹ Gaertner (2005: 58–9 (text and trans.), 207–12 (notes)); cf. Helzlsouer (2003: 110–11), Tissot (2014: 88–9). I am extremely grateful to Rosalind Love for drawing my attention to this.

or to the man who fed humans to his horses,
 but to an emperor who is slow to punish and quick to reward,
 and who is distressed every time he is forced to be harsh,
 who has always won in order to be lenient to the vanquished,
 and has shut civil wars with an everlasting bar,
 who controls many things by the fear of punishment, few things by real
 punishments,
 and only rarely hurls thunderbolts with an unerring hand.

Augustus' magnanimity is contrasted with the cruelty of a Theromedon (thought to be a Scythian king who fed his lions on human flesh⁴⁰) or an Atreus (who tricked his brother, Thyestes, into eating his own sons). In the poem on Rhys, these two are replaced by Busiris and Phaleris, both of whom were famously cruel to their own citizens. Busiris and Phaleris figure as a pair elsewhere in Ovid and it is probable that they have been drawn from *Ars Amatoria* I 647–54:⁴¹

Dicitur Aegyptus caruisse iuuantibus arva
 imbris, atque annos sicca fuisse novem,
 Cum Thraseus Busirin adit, monstratque piari
 hospitibus adfuso sanguine posse Iouem.
 ...
 Et Phalaris tauro uiolenti membra Perilli
 torruit ...

⁴⁰ Gaertner (2005: 208); Tissol (2014: 88).

⁴¹ Hollis (1977: 25; notes 135–6); my translation.

Egypt was said to be in need of rain to help her fields,
 as there had been a nine-year drought,
 when Thraseus came to Busiris and showed him that
 Jupiter could be propitiated by shedding the blood of strangers.
 ...
 And Phalaris roasted the limbs of Perillus in the cruel bull.

Here both names are provided and the motivation of drought is mentioned as the stimulus to Busiris' actions. Both are also mentioned in Ovid *Tristia* III xi 39–41 but there only Busiris is mentioned by name and the issue of drought is also missing. The replacement of Theromedon and Atreus with Busiris and Phalaris may have been intended to shift the emphasis away from their bloodshed and cannibalism.⁴² In doing so, our poet has skated around the fact that Busiris always sacrificed foreign guests which is not to the point in the context of Rhys. Furthermore, if it is right that the Busiris and Phalaris lines were reworked from *Ars Amatoria* I, we have further evidence for the presence of copies of *Ars Amatoria* I in Wales; we know that a copy, glossed in Latin and Old Welsh, was taken from Wales to Glastonbury in the early tenth century where it was eventually bound into the so-called 'St Dunstons Classbook' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 4. 32).⁴³

By implication Rhys is compared with Augustus in contrast to these tyrants; both are rulers who look after their own citizens. It is notable that quotation of this passage does not continue beyond l. 122; this may simply be because the line are inapplicable to Rhys: ll. 123–

⁴² It is also worth noting that Busiris also appears fleetingly in Boethius, *Consolatio* II.vi.10 (Bieler 1984: 30), though the reference hardly seems significant for our purposes; Diomedes and his horses is also mentioned at IV m. 7.20–1 in wording that recalls both our poem and Ovid: *uictor immitem posuisse fertur / pabulum saeuis dominum quadrigis* 'the victor (*sc.* Hercules) is said to have made the harsh lord (*sc.* Diomedes) food for his own four savage horses'.

⁴³ Russell (forthcoming).

4 refer to Augustus bringing an end to civil war, and in medieval Wales that would hardly be to the point, nor would the reference in ll. 125–6 to Augustus’ divine attribute of casting thunderbolts. But once the central section of this poem is recognised as a quotation from Ovid, the poem as a whole gains considerably in force as a poem in praise of the Lord Rhys as a second Augustus. In passing, it is striking that at much the same time as this elegy was being composed for the Lord Rhys, Gerald of Wales quotes the same passage in *De Principis Instructione* in the section on the justice of a ruler (Warner 1891: 36 (I.x)).

The death of the Lord Rhys in 1197, then, presented an opportunity for displays of Latin pyrotechnics in a Welsh context. For such expertise in Latinate high rhetoric in Wales we might look both backwards and forwards: in the late eleventh century, the *Planctus* of Rhigyfarch ap Sulien lamented the depredations of the Normans in Wales in not a dissimilar fashion to what we find in these poems.⁴⁴ Given the Boethian context of the Wheel of Fortune motif used at the beginning of the prose lament, where it is skillfully inverted to the benefit of Rhys, it is striking that the metre and some of the phrasing of Rhigyfarch’s *Planctus* is derived from Boethius, *De consolacione*, I, m. ii.⁴⁵ Furthermore, if it is right that l. 17 of the main poem is a reworked line from Boethius, then we have even more reason (beyond the occurrence of the last line of the poem in the prose text) for thinking that the prose and verse versions of the lament for the Lord Rhys are connected. At the same time we may look forward: not only were some of the rhetorical devices in these laments part of the tool-kit of the Welsh poet for use in *marwnadau*, notably in the *marwnad* to Llywelyn ap Gruffudd by Gruffudd ab yr Ynad Coch in 1282, but, as Thomas Jones has shown, extracts of these poems ended up in Ranulf Higden’s *Polychronicon* from where it ended up in

⁴⁴ For an edition, see Lapidge (1973–4: 88–93).

⁴⁵ Lapidge (1973–4: 104); Boethius, *Consolatio* I, m. 2 (Bieler 1984: 3–4).

Camden.⁴⁶ These poems were clearly better known in the later medieval period than in later periods.

3. Latin texts in Welsh translations

The previous section considered some examples of high Latinate rhetoric from 1197. Around this same period and certainly no later than the mid-thirteenth century we begin to see a major phase in the translation of Latin texts into Middle Welsh, and in particular the range of texts that were being translated into the various European vernaculars at this period. By c.1240–50 we have manuscripts of several different versions of *Brut y Brenhinedd* ‘Chronicle of the Kings’, translations of Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia Regum Britanniae*.⁴⁷ In addition, the text which precedes Geoffrey in many Latin manuscripts, Dares Phrygius, was also translated as *Ystorya Daret*.⁴⁸ While Dares was an late antique text and probably included as it provide the ‘prequel’ to Geoffrey, the preference seems to have been to translate twelfth-century texts; thus, several Welsh versions of the *Imago Mundi* of Honorius Augustodunensis (c.1110–39) were produced with the title *Delw y Byd*.⁴⁹ More revealing for dating purposes is the Welsh translation of the life of Gruffudd ap Cynan (d. 1137), *Vita Griffini filii Conani*, translated into Welsh as *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*,⁵⁰ revealing because the manuscript tradition of both texts is very closely restricted to Gwynedd, and until 1282 the princes of Gwynedd traced their line back to Gruffudd ap Cynan. It is likely

⁴⁶ T. Jones (1970–2).

⁴⁷ For Geoffrey of Monmouth, see Reeve & Wright (2007). Two distinct Welsh versions are preserved in NLW MS Peniarth 44 (Roberts 1969) and NLW MS Llanstephan 1 (Roberts 1977), both dating to c.1250; NLW MS 5266B (the Dingestow Brut), s. xiii², represents a third version (Lewis 1942; cf. Roberts 1976–8); a fourteenth century re-working is BL, MS Cotton Cleopatra B. v (Parry 1933; cf. Roberts 2011). For discussion of these Welsh renderings of Geoffrey, see Parry (1930), Roberts (1969, 1977–8), Sims-Williams (2011).

⁴⁸ Owens (1951).

⁴⁹ Lewis and Diverres (1928); cf. Petrovskaia (2013).

⁵⁰ For an edition of the Latin life, see Russell (2005); for the Welsh version, Evans (1977; trans. 1990).

therefore that the impetus for translating the life came in Gwynedd and arguably in the early thirteenth century; the earliest manuscript fragment of the Welsh life (NLW Peniarth 17, which incidentally contains the earliest fragment of *Delw y Byd*) dates to the middle of the second half of the thirteenth century. Following the death of Owain Gwynedd, in 1170, the son and successor of Gruffudd ap Cynan, the next thirty years saw Gwynedd riven with chaos and war. It was only within the reign of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth (Llywelyn Fawr) were there periods of peace where such an enterprise might be contemplated; for example, between 1201 and 1210 when Llywelyn could portray himself like Gruffudd as bringing order to chaos after many setbacks, or alternatively between 1215 and 1217 when the recovery of Gwynedd east of the Conwy (lost in 1211) might allow Llywelyn to be seen, like Gruffudd, as regaining his patrimony.⁵¹ Because the translation of one of these texts can be located more or less in time and place, it does not follow that the others must have been translated at the same time; for example, Welsh translations of Geoffrey may have been made from the mid-twelfth century onwards. However, the dates of the earliest surviving manuscripts do not allow us to push them any later than the mid-thirteenth century. As far as we can tell, the provenance of all these mid-thirteenth manuscripts is northern and that might help the argument were it not for the fact that almost all the surviving vernacular Welsh manuscripts of the second half of the thirteenth century are northern; apart from the Black Book of Carmarthen (NLW Peniarth 1), a collection of medieval Welsh verse, we simply do not know what was being produced in the south. Even if the northern provenance is not as significant as it might be, we know we have the period right: two of the earliest datable wholly vernacular Welsh manuscripts are probably NLW Peniarth 44 and NLW Llanstephan 1 (both c.1250); both are translations of Geoffrey and were copied by the same scribe arguably at Valle Crucis (near modern

⁵¹ It is worth noting that Brynley Roberts has argued that the native tale, *Breudwyt Maxen Wledic*, might have been composed in the latter period (Roberts 2005).

Llangollen).⁵² It has been suggested that Peniarth 17, which as noted above contains fragments of the medieval Welsh life of Gruffudd ap Cynan and *Delw y Byd*, was written at Aberconwy.⁵³

An interesting feature of the Welsh of these texts is the style of the Welsh in which they are written which is distinctively different from what we might term ‘native’ prose. This style has not always been greeted with acclamation. In a discussion of *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys*, a native tale embedded in some versions of *Brut y Brenhinedd*, which was composed in this style, Brynley Roberts described it as follows:⁵⁴

The translators reflect some of the usages and vocabulary of this (*sc.* native) style but by and large they write in a more artificial periodic style with greater regard for logical sentence syntax, and tend to make greater use of concord of plural adjective and noun, and of plural verb with plural subject following, to precede the noun by an adjective, and to use demonstrative pronouns as relatives. ... It [*sc.* *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys*] is written in a flat, neutral style where the direct yet suggestive conciseness of the other tales has given way to baldness and factual expression. There is an almost complete lack of dialogue, no attention to character, and no attempt to involve the reader in the action ...

A more recent assessment by Roberts is more benign but points to a similar range of features as distinguishing Welsh translated from Latin from ‘native’ Welsh.⁵⁵

⁵² Huws (2000: 179–80, 189–92).

⁵³ Huws (2000: 75); the scribe has been identified as Hand B of the Book of Aneirin (NLW, MS Cardiff 2.81).

⁵⁴ Roberts (1975: xxviii); cf. also Lewis (1942: xxiv) who described the style as ‘braidd yn glonciog weithiau’ (‘quite clunky at times’).

⁵⁵ Roberts (2011: 221).

[T]he syntax of the sentence in these texts tends to be complex and logical, a written medium rather than one based on the rhythms of the spoken language. The style has a form of the relative clause that uses a relative pronoun foreign to Welsh usage, concord in number of subject and verb is common, and also of plural nouns preceded by plural adjectives; calques and translations of the elements of compound words are frequent. This style, which has its own dignity, appears to have been consciously created as a Latinate high (*gravis*) style suitable for certain categories of texts.

More work is needed to assess these features quantitatively, but it is interesting to see how, no doubt in a learned context, the style of Welsh can be influenced by Latin.⁵⁶ It is also worth emphasising that texts, such as *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys*, where there is no Latin version suggest that this became a style and not just the automatic outcome of the translation process. Most of the texts considered briefly above, however, do involve translation, and generally the resulting translation ends up being fairly close to the original; there is some variation but most of it can still be encompassed within the notion of translation. That said, in some cases something more is going on. In this context we may usefully consider the Welsh translations of the Latin prose lament on the Lord Rhys discussed above; not only do they exemplify some of the features of ‘translation’ Welsh noted above but they also show a significant degree of re-working, some of it perhaps as a reaction against the relative difficulty of the Latin; in other instances it may involve deliberate revision. As we saw above, a Welsh entry on the death of the Lord Rhys appears in three versions of the Welsh chronicles; while those in Peniarth 20 and the Red Book of Hergest are relatively close

⁵⁶ For an important attempt to assess the nature of subject and verb agreement in such texts, see Plein & Poppe (2014).

attempts at rendering the Latin text, the redactor of *Brenhinedd y Saesson* declined to engage with the Latin at all and replaced the long entry with a single laconic sentence.⁵⁷

Ac y bu varw Rys ap Grufud, tywyssauc Deheubarth Kymre, blodeu y marchogion, a'r gorev o'r a uu o genedyl Gymre eroet, .iiij. Kalendas Maij, gwedy llawer o uudugolaythev.

And Rhys ap Gruffudd, prince of South Wales, the flower of knights, and the best that had ever been of the race of the Welsh, died on the fourth day before the Calends of May, after many victories.

Even so, it is not without its interest. In declining to be Latinate, the redactor has resorted to a strikingly literary phrase: *blodeu y marchogion* ‘the flower of knights’, which occurs notably in the Welsh romance *Peredur*.⁵⁸

The other two versions remain more faithful to the Latin but even so the redactors are doing interesting things. The Peniarth 20 version runs as follows:⁵⁹

[3] yny vlwydyn honno y pedweryd dyd galan mei y bu varw rys vab gruffud tywyssawc deheubarth ac anorchyuygedic benn holl gymry ac y darystyngawd y anynat tyngetuenn y vlwydyn honno. yr honn a oed datkanadwy drwy dagreuoed a choffadwy drwy dolur teilwng o gwynvan kanys kolledus oed y bawb. [4] y dywededic rys hwnnw kanys hanoed or llin vonhedikaf a chanysn oed eglur

⁵⁷ T. Jones (1971: 192–3).

⁵⁸ Goetinck (1976: 13.4–20).

⁵⁹ T. Jones (1941: 138a4–139b24; trans. 1952: 76.38–78.45). The numbers in bold indicate the order of the sections as they stand in the Latin version in *Cronica de Wallia*.

bennkenedyl ef a gyffelybawd y adwyndra wrth y genedyl. Ac velly y dyblygawd ef boned y vedwl val yr oed gynghorwr kenedyl a gorchyuygwr y kedyrn ac amdiffynnwr y darystyngedigyon wyr grymus ymladwr y kaeryd kyffrowr y toruoed a ruthwr gelynolion vydinoed. megys glwder baed koet yn chwyrnu neu ynteu y llew yn maedu y llawr ay lywn rac llit velly y dywalhaei ef ymlith y elynion. och am ogonyant y ryueloed a tharyan y marchogyon amdiffynnwr y wlat tegwch arueu breich kedernyt llaw haelyoni llygat ac eglurder adwyndra blaenwyd mawrvryt ymdywynnygrwyd dosparth [5] mawrvrydrwyd herkwllff eil achel herwyd garwder y dwy vronn. hynawster nestor. glewder tydeus. kedernyt samson. dewred hector. llymder curialius. tegwch a phryt paris. huolder vlixes. doethineb selyf. mawrvryt aiax. [1] ac nyt ryued kwynaw rac yr angeu a wnelei y veint gollet honno. ar dymestlawl dyghetven greulonaf chwaer y antropos heb wybod na mynu arbet y neb yr hon a arueidyawd erchyrwynu ogygoruynus law personolaeth y kyfryw wr hwnw. yr hwn a ganorthwyawd kynno hyny ydeyghetuen mam dynyadawl anyan o hygar dechreu y yeuegtit ef ac odynd y diodefawd mynet dros gof goruchelder y rot pan vwryawd hwn yr llawr. [6] och am diogel amdiffyn y tlodyon ay nawd. dillat y noethyon. ymborth yr essewydyon. Diawt y sychedigyon. och am barawt helaethrwyd rodyon y bawb or ay keissyei [7] digrif y ymadrawd adurn y weithret. Adwynder moesseu. hynaws y ymadrawd tec y wyneb. gwar a chyuyawn wrth bawb.⁶⁰

[3] In that year, on the fourth day from the Calends of May, died Rhys ap Gruffudd, prince of Deheubarth and the unconquered head of all Wales. And his dire fate brought him low that year, – which should be narrated with tears and recorded with grief worthy of an elegy, for it was fraught with loss for everyone. [4] That said Rhys,

⁶⁰ I omit the final phrase which introduces the Latin poem; for discussion, see above.

since he was sprung from the most gentle stock, and since he himself was the renowned head of his kindred, made his worthiness match his lineage; and thus he increased twofold the nobleness of his mind, a counsellor as he was of his kinsmen and a conqueror of the mighty, and a defender of the vanquished, powerful stormer of fortresses, inciter of armies, and assaulter of hostile troops. Like to the bravery of a forest boar growling, or to the lion lashing the ground with its tail in anger, even so would he rage amongst his enemies. Alas for the glory of battles and the shield of knights, the defender of his land, the splendour of arms, the arm of prowess, the hand of generosity, the eye and lustre of worthiness, the summit of majesty, the light of reason, [5] the magnanimity of Hercules! A second Achilles in the sturdiness of his breast, the gentleness of Nestor, the doughtiness of Tydeus, the strength of Samson, the valour of Hector, the fleetness of Euryalus, the comeliness and face of Paris, the eloquence of Ulysses, the wisdom of Solomon, the majesty of Ajax! [1] Nor is it strange that we should lament the death that should cause so great a loss as that. And cruellest, tempestuous Fate, sister to Atropos, without knowing how or desiring to spare anyone, ventured to approach with envious hand the personage of such a man as that; – he whom before that Fate, mother of human nature, had aided from the beloved commencement of his youth; and thereupon she suffered to be forgotten the height of her Wheel, when she cast this man to the ground. [6] Alas for the sure defence of the poor and their protection, raiment for the naked, food for the needy, drink for the thirsty! Alas for the ready abundance of gifts for all who sought them! [7] Pleasant of speech, his deed an adornment; the worthiness of manners, kind of speech, comely of face, meek and just towards all.

The choices made here are revealing: sections [1] on Atropos and [2] on Statius and Virgil are the main victims of the editorial red pencil. Section [2] is omitted completely and section [1] is shortened and inserted after section [5], the list of heroic virtues. Furthermore, the section on Atropos has been drastically and probably mistakenly reworked perhaps because they misunderstood the relationship between Atropos and Fortuna. The effect of this is in some ways to produce an appreciably tighter and better organised text, one which certainly has a more effective opening which works better as the opening of an annalistic entry. This might make us wonder whether the Peniarth 20 version has preserved a better textual arrangement than the Latin of *Cronica de Wallia* even if it has misunderstood the Atropos section and omitted the reference to the epic poets. The fact that it has preserved the Latin poem and epitaph may point in the same direction.

However, when we turn to the version in the Red Book of Hergest, we find the order of *Cronica de Wallia* preserved, though much shortened, especially section [1] on Atropos and the precise date removed from [3], and with sections [6] and [7] omitted:⁶¹

[1] Ac yn y vlwydyn dymhestlus hono yd ymdangosses Antropos a'e chwioryd, y rei a elwit gynt yn Dwyesseu y Tyghetuenoed, y kygoruynus wenwynic nerthoed yn erbyn y veint arderchawc dywysawc [2] hyt na allei ystoriaeu Ystas ystoriawr na chath[l]eu Feryll vard menegi y veint gwynuan a dolur thrueni a doeth y holl genedyl y Brytanyeit pan dores Agheu, yr emelltigedic vlwydyn hono, olwyn y Tyghetuen y gymryt yr Arglwyd Rys ap Gruffud gan y hadaned dan darystigedic vedyant Agheu. [3] y gwr a oed ben a tharan a chedernit y deheu a holl gymry a gobeith ac amdiffin holl genedlaeth ybrytanyeit [4] y gwr hwnw a hanoed o vonedicaf lin brenhined ef a oed eglur o amylder kenedyl a grymusder y vedwl a gyffelybawd wrth y genedyl.

⁶¹ T. Jones (1955: 178.4–179.30).

Kyghorwr y dylyedogyon ymladgar yn erbyn kedryn. diogelwch ydarestygedigyon. Ymladwr ar gerryd kyffrowr yn ryfeloed. kyweirwr yny bydinoed ae reolwr. kwympwr ytoruoed ac megys baed yn whernu neu lew yn ruthraw velly y dywalei y greulonder yn y elynyon. Och am ogonyant yr ymladeu taryan y marchogyon ymdiffyn ywlat. tegwch arueu. breich y kedernit. Llaw yr haelon. llygeit y dosparth. echtywynwr advwynder. Vchelder mawrurytrwyd. defnyd grymusder. [5] eil achelarwy o nerth cledyr y dwyuron nestor o hynawster. tideus o lewder. samson o gedernit. ector o pruder. erckwlf o wychder. paris o pryt. vlixes o lauar. celyf o doethineb. ajax o vedwl. a grwnwal yr holl gampeu.

[1] And in that pestilential year Atropos and her sisters, who were formerly called the Goddesses of Fates, showed their envious, venomous powers against such an eminent prince that [2] neither the histories of Statius the historian nor the songs of Virgil the poet could tell how great a lamentation and grief and misery came to the whole race of the Britons when Death, in that accursed year, broke the wheel of Fate to snatch the Lord Rhys ap Gruffudd on its wings under the subduing power of Death; [3] the man who was the head and the shield and the strength of the South and of all Wales and the hope and the defence of all the race of the Britons. [4] That man was sprung from a most noble line of kings. He was conspicuous for the numbers of his kindred; and the force of his mind compared with his kindred; counsellor of the magnates, warlike against the strong, protection of the vanquished, assaulter of fortresses, attacker in battles, arrayer and ruler of armies, overthrower of hosts; and like to a boar growling or to a lion attacking, so raged his ferocity against his foes. Alas for the glory of battles, the shield of knights, the defence of his land, the splendour of arms, the arm of prowess, the hand of generosity, the eye of reason, the light of worthiness,

the height of magnanimity, the substance of might! [5] A second Achilles for the might of his breast-bone, a Nestor for gentleness, a Tydeus for doughtiness, a Samson for strength, a Hector for prudence, a Hercules for excellence, a Paris for beauty, a Ulysses for speech, a Solomon for wisdom, an Ajax for mind, and the foundation of all accomplishments!

Generally, everything is tighter and more coherent but, more so than the Peniarth 20 version, it does appear to be working from a text like that in *Cronica de Wallia*. Rather than assuming that the Peniarth 20 is closer to some putative original, it may be that we are witnessing the process of re-working and re-editing that is so often concealed behind a single surviving version of a text. If so, it would appear that the redactors and translators were very flexible in what they did to their texts; the other Latin passage quoted above about Maredudd and Gruffudd ap Rhys was treated differently: in Peniarth 20 it was translated almost exactly, while in the Red Book it has been very much abbreviated. In short, there was no single template for translating and redacting these texts.

4. Medieval Welsh law in Latin

Manuscripts of Welsh law form a significant proportion of all medieval manuscripts from Wales. Most of the vernacular law texts, certainly those of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, belong to one of the three main redactions conventionally known as Cyfnerth, Blegywryd and Iorwerth after their eponymous redactors.⁶² In total there are some 40

⁶² For introductory discussions of medieval Welsh law, see Jenkins (1986), Charles-Edwards (1989); another good starting point is the *Cyfraith Hywel* website: <http://cyfraith-hywel.cymru.ac.uk/en/index.php>. For editions of texts of each redaction, for Cyfnerth, see Wade-Evans (1909); for Blegywryd, see Williams & Powell (1961); and for Iorwerth, see Wiliam (1960). For a composite translation, see Jenkins (1986).

manuscripts of medieval Welsh law in Welsh, but in addition there are several Latin redactions of Welsh law, conventionally divided into five redactions:⁶³

Latin A: NLW, Peniarth MS 28 (+7 later derivative manuscripts);⁶⁴

Latin B: BL, Cotton MS Vespasian E.xi (+5);⁶⁵

Latin C: BL, Harleian MS 1796 (+3);⁶⁶

Latin D: Oxford, Bodley MS Rawlinson C 821 (+4);⁶⁷

Latin E: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 454 (+13).⁶⁸

Although there is rarely more than one surviving medieval manuscript of each redaction, Latin versions acquired a general popularity in the early modern period when numerous copies were made. The tendency has been to regard the Latin redactions as forming a group sitting in the midst of the Welsh redactions, but it is gradually emerging that the situation is more complicated than that. First, over the last few decades the scholarship on these texts has recognised that the importance of considering the relationship between the texts not at the level of whole texts but at the level of the ‘tractate’, a section of the text which deals with a particular body of law, such as the laws of court, of women, etc. In other words, adjacent tractates in the same manuscript might have rather different textual histories.⁶⁹ Secondly, it has been known ever since the 1960s that the Blegywryd redaction was a Welsh translation of

⁶³ The standard edition is that of Emanuel (1967); Latin A, B and C were also edited in Owen (1871: 771–862 (folio version), II.749–907 (quarto version)).

⁶⁴ Emanuel (1967: 97–171; trans. Fletcher 1986); the tractate on the law of women is re-edited in Emanuel & Fletcher (1980).

⁶⁵ Emanuel (1967: 172–275); the laws of court is re-edited in Russell (2000).

⁶⁶ Emanuel (1967: 276–93); re-edited in Russell (2011).

⁶⁷ Emanuel (1967: 294–407); the tractate on the Three Columns of Law (homicide, burning, and theft) is re-edited in Russell (2007b).

⁶⁸ Emanuel (1967: 408–517); the tractate on suretyship is re-edited in H. Davies (1986).

⁶⁹ Jenkins (1986: xxiv); Russell (2011: 2007a); for an example of the importance of working at the level of the tractate, see Charles-Edwards (1980).

a Latin text closely related to Latin D.⁷⁰ One good example of this is to be found in the variant readings of a sentence in the Latin tractates on the officers of the king's court which discusses the extent of the protection (Welsh *nawdd*) afforded by the chief-huntsman; two versions can be found which differ significantly in one word: *Refugium penkynynt est conducere hominem quo uox cornu eius auditur* 'The protection of the chief-huntsman is to give a man safe-conduct as far as the voice of this horn is heard'.⁷¹ The other version differs in having the less convincing *uix* 'hardly' instead of *uox*, a very simple scribal error;⁷² thus '... as far as his horn can hardly be heard'.⁷³ The Blegywryd redactor clearly had a text in front of him with *uix* as texts of the Blegywryd redaction all have *y breid* 'hardly'.⁷⁴ By contrast, texts of the other Welsh redactions have *llef* 'voice', probably the original reading in both languages.⁷⁵ One question which arises from this is how far back in the tradition of Welsh law we can trace Latin texts; after all, in an ecclesiastical legal context we have seen a Latin and Welsh version of the privilege of St Teilo sitting side by side in the early twelfth century. This, however, is not the place for an answer to that knotty question. We must content ourselves with a smaller but more relevant question in the present context, a question which is the converse of the question considered in the previous section: given that a Latinate style of Welsh prose developed out of translating texts from Latin into Middle Welsh, is it possible to detect a Welsh flavor or accent in the Latin of these law texts?

⁷⁰ Emanuel (1960–2 (in Welsh); 1973 (in English)).

⁷¹ Latin B (Emanuel 1967: 195.12; Russell 2000: 488–9 § 1/6.6); Latin E (Emanuel 1967: 439.9). Note that in this example *cornu* can be understood as the alternative genitive singular to *cornus*. References such as § 1/6.6 follow the conventions established for editing medieval Welsh law texts; accordingly, § 1/6.6 should read as part 1, section 6, sentence 6.

⁷² Latin A (Emanuel 1967: 111.37–8); Latin C (Emanuel 1967: 278.25–6); Russell (2011: 12–13 § 1.10/6); Latin D (Emanuel 1967: 319.25).

⁷³ There is also variation between *auditur* and *audiatur* which does not correspond to the *uox/uix* alternation (Russell 2011: xxxiii–iv, 58).

⁷⁴ Blegywryd 7.1–2.

⁷⁵ Cyfnerth 5/8; Iorwerth 15/23.

One of the difficulties in tackling this question is that the Latin texts have been so thoroughly edited by Emanuel according to his own view on how they were related that paradoxically in providing clean texts almost everything textually interesting about them has been concealed.⁷⁶ It was with this in mind that I re-edited Latin C so as to make the real text more accessible.⁷⁷ This is potentially a very interesting text: we know that it was produced in Anglesey c.1240–50, but although it comes from the north (and so should show signs of association with the Iorwerth redaction of the laws) it seems to reflect a stage of the law predating Iorwerth ap Madog's reworking of the law into the Iorwerth redaction.⁷⁸ Furthermore, it is the only Welsh law text with any substantial glossing: much of the Welsh technical terminology is glossed in Latin and *vice versa*.⁷⁹ In addition there is a significant layer of Latin glossing with distinctly Anglo-Norman flavor to it which may suggest that the manuscript was used in the march of Wales in the later thirteenth century, e.g. *principalis de menastrallis* glossing Welsh *pencherd* 'chief poet';⁸⁰ *garciones* glossing Welsh *guastrodion* 'grooms'.⁸¹

The effect of re-editing this text is to produce something written in a very rough-and-ready Latin with arguably some Welsh features to it. In a number of these Latin law texts *debet* is regularly used by itself to mean 'is entitled to receive';⁸² Emanuel would restore *habere* in each instance but there are enough cases of a lone *debet* that it is clearly a feature of the Latin. The basic sense of Middle Welsh *dyly* is 'to be entitled to' and it is clear that the use of *debet* mirrors the Welsh usage. Secondly, Middle Welsh uses a particle *yn* as a

⁷⁶ See Russell (2000: 478–80; 2011: xv–xix)

⁷⁷ Russell (2011); it is worth noting that in c.450 lines of printed text in Emanuel's edition he makes some 120 substantive editorial interventions (Russell 2011: xv–xvi).

⁷⁸ Russell (2011: xlii).

⁷⁹ Russell (2011: xxvii–xxxiii).

⁸⁰ Russell (2011: 30–1 § 1.18/5).

⁸¹ Russell (2011: 18–19 § 1.12/6, also § 1.13/14).

⁸² For example, in Latin C (Russell 2011: xxv–xxvi); for similar cases in Latin B, see Russell (2000: 480).

predicative marker in the sense of ‘as’; in Latin C we find several instances of Latin *in* with both accusative and ablative in this sense: *in cibos ancipitrum* ‘as food for the hawks’;⁸³ *in mercede eius* ‘as her maiden-fee’.⁸⁴ Thirdly, the use in Latin of a 3rd singular verb in an impersonal sense is restricted to a very small number of verbs, e.g. *parcitur* ‘(it) is spared’, etc. By contrast, in Middle Welsh every verb has an impersonal form. What seems to be happening in this text is that the range of the Latin impersonal has been extended more closely to match Welsh usage. Three examples of increasing complexity make the point: in *quod corium datur ante quam diuidatur coria inter regem et uenatores* ‘that hide is given before the hides are divided’, the phrase *ante quam diuidatur coria* the verb has to be treated as impersonal (lit.) ‘... before there is a dividing of the hides’;⁸⁵ several sentences further on the verb is plural, *antequam diuidantur coria*.⁸⁶ In this case it might be argued (as is implied by Emanuel’s emendation of the first instance) that the first instance is an error, perhaps simply a failure to spot a suspension mark. It is a little harder to argue for scribal error in the next example: *debet habere iii^{am} partem diru eius, si eum tenetur* ‘he (*sc.* the *distain*) should receive a third of the *dirwy* (fine) if an arrest is made’, where again the conditional clause seems to contain an impersonal verb.⁸⁷ Again, there is a rephrasing in the next sentence *si eum tenuerit*, and it might just be claimed that there is scribal confusion between the abbreviations for *-erit* and *-etur*, but less convincingly.⁸⁸ A final example is even less amenable to emendation: when the poet performs in the queen’s chamber, he is to keep the volume down *ne disturbetur aule* ‘so that the hall should not be disturbed’ where *aule* looks

⁸³ Russell (2011: 26–7 § 1.16/11).

⁸⁴ Russell (2011: 38–9 § 2.1/3).

⁸⁵ Russell (2011: 20–1 § 1.14/5).

⁸⁶ Russell (2011: 20–1 § 1.14/8). The Welsh versions tend to use a verbal noun, which can be interpreted personally or impersonally depending on the context, e.g. Cyfnerth redaction (Wade-Evans 1909: 14.3–4; trans. 157.25–6): *kyn rannu y cryn* ‘before sharing the skins’.

⁸⁷ Russell (2011: 30–1 § 1.18/2).

⁸⁸ Russell (2011: 30–1 § 1.18/3).

like a dative so that it should be literally understood as ‘so that there is not a disturbance for the hall’.⁸⁹ The accumulation of instances of Welsh influence in this text (and indeed in some of the other Latin texts of the law) is striking, and although some cases might be argued away, the cumulative weight is compelling, and suggests that we have to do with Welsh influence on Latin.

If the examples may be more concentrated in Latin C, this may be because it is the roughest of these Latin texts. There are hints of similar features in the other Latin texts and, if Emanuel was keen to emend them away, he may simply be continuing the practice of the scribes who may themselves have been erasing some of these features. While it has been argued that the Latinate style of Welsh texts developed into a style, in contrast, since the Welsh accent to the Latin of these texts was gradually being erased, it is less likely that we should see these features as arising automatically out of translation (though they may have started there) or as the beginning of the development of a style. It is at least as likely that we are seeing the product of Welsh-speaking redactors writing Latin.

To conclude, the Welsh sentence which prefaces this chapter, from *Llyfr Colan*, a late-thirteenth century re-working of the Iorwerth redaction, encourages the doubting reader to go and check the Latin version if he is not sure that the Welsh version of the law is right. The implication seems to be the Latin version provides a more reliable guide to what counts as the law of Hywel Dda. While it might be tempting to see this as reflecting a sense that somehow the Latin text is superior, it may have more to do with the fluidity of some of the Welsh texts. It has been shown that, while texts and tractates of the Iorwerth redaction are very closely related to each other in a clearly stemmatic way, texts of the Cyfnerth and Blegywryd redactions tend to be very fluid with redactors and scribes more concerned with

⁸⁹ Russell (2011: 30–1 § 1.18/6). Again the Welsh versions usually have a verbal noun, e.g. Cyfnerth redaction (Wade-Evans 1909: 34.5; trans. 180.17): *rac teruysgu y llys* ‘lest the hall be disturbed’.

content than precise wording.⁹⁰ This may have to do with the relative professionalisation of the law in Gwynedd in comparison with the administration of the law further south which tended to be more in the hands of the local landowners. The Latin texts, however, as far as we can tell, tend to reflect precise copying, though they have undergone significant amounts of re-ordering and restructuring with tractates; some, such as Latin B, are also an antiquarian collection which seems never to discard anything (which is hopeless for the practising lawyer but very useful for us). However we are to read that clause from *Llyfr Colan*, it speaks to a close, productive, and on-going relationship between Welsh and Latin texts of the law in late thirteenth-century Wales.

List of References

KR Misc. Bks Records of the Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Miscellaneous Books, Series 1, Ms. TNA: PRO E 164.

ab Ithel, J.W. (ed.) (1860), *Annales Cambriae* (London, Longman, Green, Longman & Roberts).

Andrews, Rh., Costigan, N.G., James, C., Lynch, P.I., McKenna, C., Owen, M.E., & Roberts, B.F. (eds) (1996), *Gwaith Bleddyn Fardd a Beirdd Eraill Ail Hanner y Drydedd Ganrif ar Ddeg* (Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion 7; Cardiff, University of Wales Press).

Bieler, L. (ed.) (1984), *Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii Philosophiae Consolatio*, 2nd edn (Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 94; Turnhout, Brepols).

Charles-Edwards, T.M. (1980), 'Relationship of the Tractates in Latin Redactions A and B to those in Llyfr Iorwerth and Llyfr Cyfnerth', in Jenkins & Owen (1980), 108–5.

Charles-Edwards, T.M. (1989), *The Welsh Laws* (Writers of Wales; Cardiff, University of Wales Press).

⁹⁰ Charles-Edwards (2001: 29–31).

- Charles-Edwards, T.M. (1995), 'Language and Society among the Insular Celts, AD 400–1000', in M. Green (ed.), *The Celtic World* (London, Routledge), 703–36.
- Charles-Edwards, T.M. (2001), 'The Textual Tradition of Medieval Welsh Prose Tales and the Problem of Dating', in B. Maier & S. Zimmer (eds), *150 Jahre "Mabinogion" – Deutsch-Walisische Kulturbeziehungen* (Tübingen, Niemeyer Verlag), 23–39.
- Charles-Edwards, T.M. (2013), *Wales and the Britons, 350–1064*. (The Oxford History of Wales, i; Oxford, OUP).
- Charles-Edwards, T.M. & Russell, P. (eds) (2007), *Tair Colofn Cyfraith: The Three Columns of Law in Medieval Wales* (The Welsh Legal History Society 5; Bangor, The Welsh Legal History Society).
- Collingwood, R.G. & Wright, R.P. (1965), *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain* (Oxford, Clarendon Press).
- Collingwood, R.G. & Wright, R.P. (1990–5), *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain, Instrumentum Domesticum* (Stroud, Alan Sutton).
- Crick, J. (2010), 'The Power and the Glory: Conquest and Cosmology in Edwardian Wales', in O. Da Rold & E. Treharne (eds), *Textual Cultures: Cultural Texts* (Woodbridge, Boydell), 21–42.
- Davies, H. (ed.) (1986), 'Latin Redaction E', in T.M. Charles-Edwards, M.E. Owen, & D.B. Walters (eds), *Lawyers and Laymen: Studies in the History of Law Presented to Professor Dafydd Jenkins on his Seventy-fifth Birthday Gŵyl Ddewi 1986* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press), 202–9.
- Davies, J.R. (1998), 'Liber Landavensis, its Date and the Identity of its Editor', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, 35: 1–11.
- Davies, J.R. (2003), *The Book of Llandaf and the Norman Church in Wales* (Woodbridge, Boydell).

- Davies, W. (1974–6), ‘Braint Teilo’, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 26: 123–37.
- Davies, W. (1979) *The Llandaff Charters* (Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales).
- Edwards, N. (ed.) (2007) *Corpus of Early Medieval Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculpture in Wales. Volume 3: North Wales* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press).
- Edwards, N. (ed.) (2013) *Corpus of Early Medieval Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculpture in Wales. Volume 2: South-West Wales* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press).
- Emanuel, H.D. (1960–2), ‘Llyfr Blegywryd a llawysgrif Rawlinson 821’, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 19: 23–8.
- Emanuel, H.D. (ed.) (1967), *The Latin Texts of the Welsh Laws* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press).
- Emanuel, H.D. (1973), ‘The Book of Blegywryd and Ms. Rawlinson 821’, in D. Jenkins (ed.), *Celtic Law Papers Introductory to Welsh Medieval Law and Government* (Brussels, Éditions de la Librarie Encyclopédique), 161–70 [an English translation of Emanuel 1960–2].
- Emanuel, H.D. & Fletcher, I. (1980), ‘The Text of Latin Redaction A’, in Jenkins & Owen (1980), 147–59.
- Evans, D.S. (ed.) (1977), *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press).
- Evans, D.S. (tr.) (1990), *A Medieval Prince of Wales: The Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan* (Felinfach, Llanerch Press).
- Evans, J.G. & Rhŷs, J. (eds) (1893), *The Text of the Book of Llandâv* (Oxford, Clarendon Press).
- Fletcher, I. (tr.) (1986), *Latin Redaction A of the Law of Hywel* (Aberystwyth, Seminar Cyfraith Hywel).
- Gaertner, J.F. (ed.) (2005), *Epistulae ex Ponto Book I* (Oxford, OUP).
- Goetinck, G.W. (1976), *Historia Peredur vab Efwrawc* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press).

- Griscom, A. (ed.) (1929), *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth* (London, Longmans).
- Gwara, S. (2004a), *Education in Wales and Cornwall in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries: Understanding De raris fabulis* (Cambridge, ASNC).
- Gwara, S. (ed.) (2004b), *De raris fabulis, 'On Uncommon Tales': a Glossed Latin Colloquy-text from a Tenth-century Cornish Manuscript* (Basic Texts for Brittonic History 4; Cambridge, ASNC).
- Harvey, A. & Power J. (eds) (2005), *The Non-Classical Lexicon of Celtic Latinity, Volume I: Letters A–H* (Turnhout, Brepols).
- Harvey, A. (2013), 'The Non-Classical Vocabulary of Celtic-Latin Literature: an Overview', in M. Garrison, A.P. Orbán, & M. Mostert (eds), *Spoken and Written Language: Relations between Latin and the Vernacular Languages in the Earlier Middle Ages* (Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 24; Turnhout, Brepols), 87–100.
- Harvey, A. (2015), 'Cambro-Romance? Celtic Britain's counterpart to Hiberno-Latin', in P. Moran & I. Warntjes (eds), *Early Medieval Ireland and Europe: Chronology, Contacts and Scholarship. A Festschrift for Dáibhí Ó Cróinín* (Studia Traditionis Theologiae 14; Turnhout, Brepols), 170–202.
- Haycock, M. (1987), "'Some Talk of Alexander and Some of Hercules": Three Early Medieval Poems from the Book of Taliesin', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, 13: 7–38.
- Haycock, M. (2007), *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin* (Aberystwyth, CMCS).
- Helzle, M. (ed.) (2003), *Ovids Epistulae ex Ponto, Buch I–II* (Heidelberg, Winter).
- Henley, G. (2012), 'Rhetoric, Translation and Historiography: The Literary Qualities of *Brut y Tywysogyon*', *Quaestio Insularis*, 13: 77–103.
- Hollis, A.S. (ed.) (1977), *Ovid Ars Amatoria Book I* (Oxford, OUP).

- Huws, D. (2000), 'The Making of *Liber Landavensis*', in id. (ed.), *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts* (Cardiff/Aberystwyth, University of Wales Press/National Library of Wales), 123–57 [originally published in *National Library of Wales Journal*, 25 (1987–8), 133–60].
- Jenkins, D. (ed.) (1963), *Llyfr Colan* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press).
- Jenkins, D. (tr.) (1986), *The Laws of Hywel Dda: Law Texts from Medieval Wales* (Llandysul, Gwasg Gomer).
- Jenkins, D. & Owen, M.E. (eds) (1980), *The Welsh Law of Women: Studies Presented to Professor Daniel A. Binchy on His Eightieth Birthday 3 June 1980* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press).
- Jones, N.A. (1996), 'Canu mawl Beirdd y Tywysogion i'r Arglwydd Rhys', in Pryce & Jones (1996), 129–44.
- Jones, T. (ed.) (1941), *Brut y Tywysogyon, Peniarth MS. 20* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press).
- Jones, T. (ed.) (1946), "'Cronica de Wallia" and Other Documents from Exeter Cathedral Library MS. 3514', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 12: 27–44.
- Jones, T. (tr.) (1952), *Brut y Tywysogyon, or The Chronicle of the Princes, Peniarth MS. 20 Version* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press).
- Jones, T. (ed.) (1955), *Brut y Tywysogyon, or The Chronicle of the Princes, Red Book of Hergest Version* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press).
- Jones, T. (1970–2), 'Molawd a Marwnad yr Arglwydd Rhys: Fersiynau Ychwanegol', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 24: 276–82.
- Jones, T. (ed.) (1971), *Brenhinedd y Saesson, or, the Kings of the Saxons: BM Cotton MS. Cleopatra B v and the Black Book of Basingwerk, NLW MS. 7006* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press).

- Lapidge, M. (1973–4) ‘The Welsh-Latin Poetry of Sulien’s Family’, *Studia Celtica*, 8–9: 68–106.
- Lapidge, M. (1986), ‘Latin learning in dark age Wales: some prolegomena’, in D.E. Evans, J.G. Griffith, & E.M. Jope (eds), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Celtic studies, Oxford 1983* (Oxford, Oxbow), 91–107.
- Lapidge, M. (2010), ‘Colloquial Latin in the Insular Latin scholastic *colloquia*?’, in E. Dickey & A. Chahoud (eds), *Colloquial and Literary Latin* (Cambridge, CUP), 406–18.
- Lapidge, M. & Sharpe, R. (1985), *A Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature 400–1200*, (Royal Irish Academy Dictionary of Medieval Latin from Celtic Sources, Ancillary Publication 1 ; Dublin, Royal Irish Academy).
- Lewis, H. & Diverres, P. (eds) (1928), *Delw y Byd (Imago Mundi)* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press).
- Lewis, H. (ed.) (1942), *Brut Dingestow* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press).
- Macaulay, G.C. (ed.) (1899–1902), *The Complete Works of John Gower*, 4 vols (Oxford, Clarendon Press).
- Matonis, A.T.E. (1979–80), ‘The Rhetorical Patterns in *Marwnad Llywelyn ap Gruffudd* by Gruffudd ab yr Ynad Coch’, *Studia Celtica*, 14–15: 188–92.
- Nolan, M. (2011), ‘The Poetics of Catastrophe: Ovidian Allusion in Gower’s *Vox Clamantis*’, in C. Cannon & M. Nolan (eds), *Medieval Latin and Middle English Literature: Essays in Honour of Jill Mann* (Cambridge, Brewer), 113–33.
- Owen, A. (ed.) (1841), *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, 2 vols (quarto), 1 vol. (folio) (London, Eyre & Spottiswoode).
- Owens, B.G. (1951), ‘Y fersiynau Cymraeg o Dares Phrygius (Ystorya Daret), eu Tarddiad, eu Nodweddion a’u Cydberthynas’ (MA diss., Aberystwyth).

- Parry, J.J. (ed.) (1930), 'The Welsh Texts of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*', *Speculum*, 5: 424–31.
- Parry, J.J. (ed.) (1937) *Brut y Brenhinedd: Cotton Cleopatra Version* (Cambridge, Mass., Medieval Academy of America).
- Petrovskaia, N. (2013), 'Delw y Byd: la traduction médiévale en gallois d'une encyclopédie latine et la création d'un traité géographique', *Études celtiques*, 39: 257–77.
- Plein, K. & Poppe, E. (2014), 'Patterns of Verbal Agreement in *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*: Norm and Variation', *Études celtiques*, 40: 145–63.
- Pryce, H. (ed.) (1996) 'Y Canu Lladin er cof am yr Arglwydd Rhys', in Pryce & Jones (1996), 212–23.
- Pryce H. (2014), Review of: R. Turvey (2013), *Owain Gwynedd, Prince of the Welsh* (Tal-y-bont, Y Lolfa), *Welsh History Review*, 27: 157–8.
- Pryce, H. & Jones, N.A. (eds) (1996), *Yr Arglwydd Rhys* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press).
- Redknap, M. & Lewis, J.M. (eds) (2007), *A Corpus of Early Medieval Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculpture in Wales, Volume 1: Glamorgan, Breconshire, Monmouthshire, Radnorshire and geographically contiguous areas of Herefordshire and Shropshire* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press).
- Reeve, M.D. (ed.) & Wright, N. (tr.) (2007), *Geoffrey of Monmouth: The History of the Kings of Britain* (Woodbridge, Boydell).
- Remfry, P. (ed.) (2007), *Annales Cambriae. A Translation of Harleian 3859; PRO E 164/1; Cottonian Domitian A 1; Exeter Cathedral Library MS. 3514, and MS Exchequer DB Neath, PRO E. 164/1* (Worcester [?], Castle Studies Research and Publishing).
- Rhys, J. & Evans, J.G. (eds) (1890), *The Text of the Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest* (Oxford, J.G. Evans).

- Richards, M. (ed.) (1990), *Cyfreithiau Hywel Dda Yn Ôl Llawysgrif Coleg Yr Iesu LVII*, 2nd edn (Cardiff, University of Wales Press).
- Roberts, B.F. (1969), 'Astudiaeth Destunol o'r Tri Chyfieithiad Cymraeg Cynharaf o *Historia Regum Britanniae* Sieffre o Fynwy: ynghyd ag "Argraffiad" Beirniadol o Destun Peniarth 44' (PhD diss., Aberystwyth) [<http://cadair.aber.ac.uk/dspace/handle/2160/5869> (accessed 8/12/2014)].
- Roberts, B.F. (ed.) (1971), *Brut y Brenhinedd: Llanstephan MS. I Version: Selections*. (Medieval and Modern Welsh Series 5; Dublin, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies).
- Roberts, B.F. (ed.) (1975), *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys* (Medieval and Modern Welsh Series 7; Dublin, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies).
- Roberts, B.F. (1976–8), 'Versiwn Dingestow o Brut y Brenhinedd', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 27: 331–61.
- Roberts, B.F. (1977–8), 'The Red Book of Hergest version of Brut y Brenhinedd', *Studia Celtica* 12–13:147–86.
- Roberts, B.F. (ed.) (2005), *Breudwyt Maxen Wledic* (Dublin, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies).
- Roberts, B.F. (2011), 'Ystoriaeu Brenhinedd Ynys Brydein; a fourteenth-century Welsh Brut', in J.F. Eska (ed.), *Narrative in Celtic Tradition. Essays in Honour of Edgar M. Slotkin* (CSANA Yearbook 8–9; Colgate NY, Colgate University Press), 217–27.
- Russell, P. (ed.) (2000), 'The Laws of Court from Latin B (BL, Cotton MS, Vespasian E.XI)', in T.M. Charles-Edwards, M.E. Owen, & P. Russell, *The Welsh King and his Court* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press), 478–526.
- Russell, P. (ed.) (2005), *Vita Griffini filii Conani. The Medieval Latin Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press).

- Russell, P. (2007a), 'The Arrangement and Development of the Three Columns Tractate', in Charles-Edwards & Russell (2007), 60–91.
- Russell, P. (2007b), 'The Three Columns of Law from Latin D (Oxford, Bodley, Rawlinson C 821)', in Charles-Edwards & Russell (2007), 213–37.
- Russell, P. (ed.) (2011), *Welsh Law in Medieval Anglesey. British Library, Harleian MS 1796 (Latin C)* (Texts and Studies in Medieval Welsh Law II; Cambridge, Seminar Cyfraith Hywel).
- Russell, P. (2013), '*Externarum linguarum excellens*: the rhetoric and reality of the languages of Gruffudd ap Cynan, ruler of Gwynedd († 1137)', in J.A. Jefferson & A. Putter (eds), *Multilingualism in Medieval Britain (c. 1066–1520): Sources and Analysis* (Turnhout, Brepols), 73–87.
- Russell, P. (forthcoming), *Reading Ovid in Medieval Wales* (Columbus OH, Ohio State University Press).
- Sharpe, R. & Davies, J.R. (eds) (2007), 'Edition of Rhygyfarch's *Life*', in J.W. Evans and J. Wooding (eds), *St David of Wales. Cult, Church and Nation* (Woodbridge, Boydell), 107–55.
- Sims-Williams, P. (1991), 'The Emergence of Old Welsh, Cornish and Breton Orthography, 600–800: The Evidence of Archaic Old Welsh', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 38: 20–86.
- Sims-Williams, P. (2003), *The Celtic Inscriptions of Britain: Phonology and Chronology, c.400–1200* (Publications of the Philological Society 37; Oxford, Blackwell Publishing).
- Sims-Williams, P. (2011), *Rhai o Addasiadau Cymraeg Canol o Sieffre o Fynwy* (Aberystwyth, Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd).
- Stevenson, W. H. (ed.) (1929), *Early Scholastic Colloquies* (Oxford, Clarendon Press).

- Thomas, C. & Howlett, D. (eds) (2003) “*Vita Sancti Paterni*”: the Life of Saint Padarn and the Original “*Miniu*”, *Trivium*, 33: 1–129.
- Tissol, G. (ed.) (2014), *Ovid Epistulae ex Ponto, Book I* (Cambridge, CUP).
- Tomlin, R.S.O., Wright, R.P., & Hassall, M.W.C. (2009), *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain. III. Inscriptions on Stone* (Oxford, Oxbow).
- Turvey, R. (1997), *The Lord Rhys, Prince of Deheubarth* (Ceredigion, Gwasg Gomer).
- Wade-Evans, A.W. (ed.) (1909), *Welsh Medieval Law* (Oxford, Clarendon Press).
- Wade-Evans, A.W. (ed.) (1944), *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press) [repr. with extra introduction and added appendices by S. Lloyd (2013) (Cardiff, Welsh Academic Press, 2013)].
- Warner, G.F. (ed.) (1891), *De Principis Instructione*, in id. (ed.), *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, viii (London, HMSO).
- Wiliam, A.Rh. (ed.) (1960), *Llyfr Iorwerth* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press).
- Williams, S.J. & Powell, J.E. (ed.) (1942), *Llyfr Blegywryd*, (Cardiff, University of Wales Press).
- Zeiser, S.E. (2012), ‘Latinity, Manuscripts, and the Rhetoric of Conquest in Late-Eleventh Century Wales’, (PhD diss. Harvard, Cambridge, Mass.).