



# The Book of Llandaf as a Historical Source

Patrick Sims-Williams

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THE BOOK OF LLANDAF  
AS A HISTORICAL SOURCE

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THE BOOK OF LLANDAF  
AS A HISTORICAL SOURCE

PATRICK SIMS-WILLIAMS

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have incurred many debts during the long gestation of this book. It began when I was asked to review Professor Wendy Davies's ground-breaking *An Early Welsh Microcosm* (1978) and *The Llandaff Charters* (1979) in the *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*. The draft of the review rapidly exceeded the required length, so I reduced it to the six-page summary version published in *JEH* in 1982 and reprinted in my *Britain and Early Christian Europe* (1995). A revision of most of the original draft appears in Chapters 1–12 of the present book, but some of it was diverted into earlier publications. One of the latter was the notes and maps which I added to Dr Kathleen Hughes's 1974/5 Oxford O'Donnell Lecture, 'The Celtic Church: is this a valid concept?', for its posthumous publication in *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* in 1981. The inclusion of these additions was approved by Professor Dorothy Whitelock and Dr David Dumville. The maps are reproduced in Appendix II below. As in 1981, I thank Dr David Robinson for his generous help with them. Further material, including more maps, appeared in my *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600–800* in 1990, and in an article about Llan-gors, Brycheiniog, in *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* in 1993.

In 1980 I had a fruitful correspondence with the late Peter Bartrum about the south-eastern Welsh genealogies. The resulting article eventually reached print in a shortened form in *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* in 2017, and now appears in a different, less truncated form as Chapter 13 of the present book. In completing this work I am indebted not only to Dr Bartrum, but also to Dr Ben Guy for further discussion and for a copy of his invaluable Cambridge University Ph.D. dissertation on the transmission of the medieval Welsh genealogies.

An important milestone towards the completion of this research was a grant in 1997–9 from the Leverhulme Trust in support of a project on *Manuscripts of the Old Welsh Period* in the Department of Welsh and Celtic Studies at Aberystwyth University. This had two components, each with its own researcher. Dr Helen McKee worked on the Cambridge Juvencus manuscript. Her excellent work, published in 2000, was not related to the Book of Llandaf, except insofar as the latter's Bishop Cyfeilliog may be the subject of the Juvencus *Cemelliauc* cipher. Directly relevant, however, was the research of John Reuben Davies, which relieved me of the need to complete my work on the Book of Llandaf's twelfth-century context. In 2003 he published *The Book of Llandaf and the Norman Church in Wales* (Volume XXI of Studies in Celtic History). As Dr Davies says in the Preface to this important study, his book and mine are complementary.

While the Leverhulme project was in progress, Dr Jon Coe was working in the Department on a Ph.D. on 'The place-names of the Book of Llandaf' (2001) and soon afterwards Dr Meredith Cane completed her Ph.D. on 'Personal names of men in Wales, Cornwall and Brittany 400–1400 AD' (2003), which is also relevant to the Book of Llandaf. I gained much from working with both of them. Philological aspects of the Book of Llandaf were also discussed in detail in my article on 'Archaic

## *Acknowledgements*

Old Welsh' in the *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* in 1991. The present book leaves philology to one side, however, and only summarises that article's findings.

It has been a privilege to have known the authors of all the most important works on the Book of Llandaf from 1948 to 2013: Peter Bartrum, Christopher Brooke, Wendy Davies, Kathleen Hughes, Daniel Huws, Kari Maund, Jon Coe, John Reuben Davies, and Thomas Charles-Edwards. Christopher Brooke – whose sparkling 1958 essay on three prelates 'that never existed' ('The archbishops of St David's, Llandaff and Caerleon-on-Usk') kindled my undergraduate interest in 1972 – was always interested and encouraging, and I regret that he and Peter Bartrum did not live to see this book. Over the years a number of other people have advised me on various points. I have tried to thank them all in the relevant footnotes and apologise for any inadvertent omissions. I must also thank the publisher's anonymous referee for helpful comments, and Cath D'Alton for redrawing the maps.

Finally, I am grateful to the series editors, and above all my wife Marged Haycock, for their patience during the long gestation of this book.

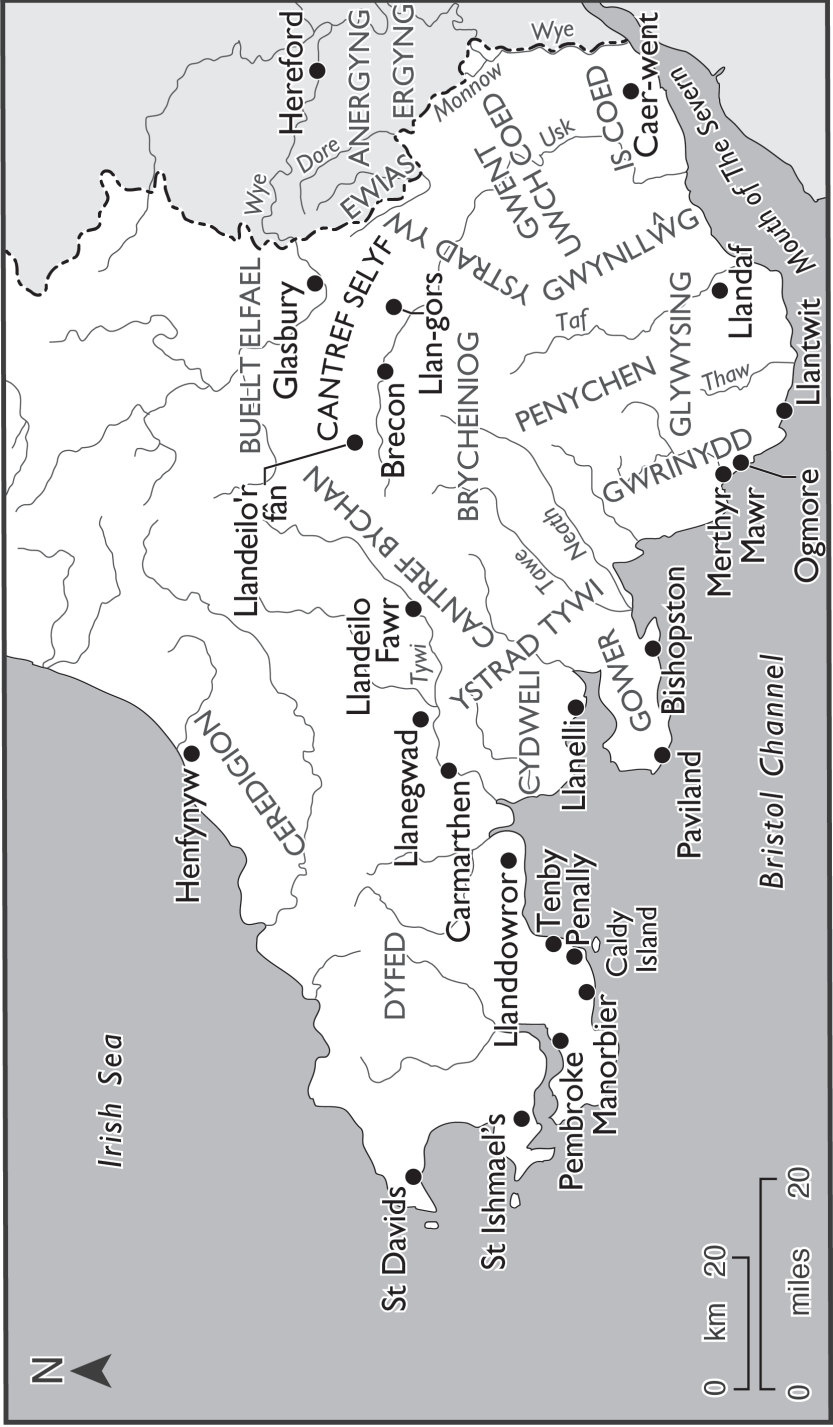
*Patrick Sims-Williams,  
Aberystwyth  
April 2018*

## ABBREVIATIONS

ABT	‘Achau Brenhinoedd a Thywysogion Cymru’ in <i>EWGT</i> 95–110
ABT(E)	ABT, MS E in <i>EWGT</i> 95–110
<i>Arch. Camb.</i>	<i>Archaeologia Cambrensis</i>
<i>ASE</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i>
<i>BBCS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies</i>
BL	British Library (London)
‘Chad’	Charter in the Book of St Chad (the Llandeilo/Lichfield Gospels) cited by number from the edition in <i>LL</i> xliii–xlvii
<i>CMCS</i>	<i>Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies</i> , previously, until Winter 1993, <i>Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies</i>
<i>DP</i>	Owen, Henry (ed.), <i>The Description of Penbrokshire by George Owen of Henllys</i> , 4 parts (London, 1892–1936)
<i>EA</i>	Davies, James Conway, <i>Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents Relating to Welsh Dioceses, 1066–1272</i> , 2 vols (Cardiff, 1946–8)
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>EME</i>	<i>Early Medieval Europe</i>
<i>EWGT</i>	Bartrum, P. C. (ed.), <i>Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts</i> (Cardiff, 1966)
<i>HB</i>	<i>Historia Brittonum</i> in Morris, John (ed. and transl.), <i>Nennius: British History and The Welsh Annals</i> (Chichester, 1980)
HG	‘Welsh Genealogies from Harleian MS. 3859’ in <i>EWGT</i> 9–13
JC	‘Jesus College MS. 20’ in <i>EWGT</i> 41–50
<i>JHSCW</i>	<i>Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales</i>
<i>LBS</i>	Baring-Gould, S., and Fisher, John, <i>The Lives of the British Saints</i> , 4 vols (London, 1907–13)
<i>LL</i>	Evans, J. Gwenogvryn (ed.), with the co-operation of John Rhys, <i>The Text of the Book of Llan Dav Reproduced from the Gwysaney Manuscript</i> [1893], facsimile reprint (Aberystwyth, 1979). Arabic numerals are to charter number (cf. below, 5 n. 27) unless ‘p.’ or ‘pp.’ is specified
MP	‘Miscellaneous Pedigrees’ in <i>EWGT</i> 121–2
NLW	National Library of Wales (Aberystwyth)
<i>NLWJ</i>	<i>National Library of Wales Journal</i>

## *Abbreviations*

<i>PBA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i>
Sawyer	Sawyer, P. H., <i>Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography</i> (London, 1968)
<i>SC</i>	<i>Studia Celtica</i>
<i>THSC</i>	<i>Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion</i>
<i>TYP<sup>t</sup></i>	Bromwich, Rachel (ed. and transl.), <i>Trioedd Ynys Prydein</i> , fourth edition (Cardiff, 2014)
<i>VC</i>	<i>Vita Cadoci</i> in <i>VS</i> 24–141 (cited by chapter number)
<i>VS</i>	Wade-Evans, A. W. (ed. and transl.), <i>Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae</i> (Cardiff, 1944)
<i>WHEMA</i>	Davies, Wendy, <i>Welsh History in the Early Middle Ages: Texts and Societies</i> (Farnham, 2009)
<i>WHR</i>	<i>Welsh History Review</i>



Map A South Wales



Map B South-East Wales





## INTRODUCTION

*Liber Landavensis*, the Book of Llandaf (Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales MS 17110E), a Gospel Book cum History cum Cartulary, is at once the most difficult and the most exciting document of the twelfth-century Church known to the present writer. Whether one's interests turn towards hagiography, post-Roman land tenure, ecclesiastical politics, the development of the Welsh language, early medieval diplomatic, or simply forgery on a grand scale, *Liber Landavensis* (hereafter *LL*) is a rich but challenging source. It was justly described by Adrian Morey and C. N. L. Brooke as a 'summit of achievement in the production of bogus documents' in Britain,<sup>1</sup> and therein lies its notoriety and much of its difficulty. Few works better illustrate their contention that in the twelfth century the worlds of the hagiographer, the charter forger, and the historian coincided closely in the service of the spiritual and temporal power and privileges of the churches for whom such men doctored or composed.<sup>2</sup>

In *LL* the saints' Lives, the twelfth-century documents, and the charters are inextricably inter-related, and a full understanding of it and its context will not come until the study of all three elements has been fully integrated. The first two of the three have been studied in detail by John Reuben Davies.<sup>3</sup> His work supplements G. H. Doble's intelligent, but often incomplete, work on the *Vitae*, and J. Conway Davies's and C. N. L. Brooke's interpretations of *LL* in relation to its documents about the struggles of Bishop Urban of Llandaf in 1119–34 against the bishops of St Davids and Hereford, the Pope, and the 'invasion of monks' from houses such as Gloucester and Tewkesbury.<sup>4</sup>

The third element in *LL* is the 159 charters which purport to date from the fifth or sixth centuries to the eleventh.<sup>5</sup> The present book is intended to supplement the two substantial books which Wendy Davies devoted to their evaluation. Her two books, the result of a decade of study,<sup>6</sup> were among the most important works on early Welsh history published in the twentieth century, and in turning attention back to the *LL* charters and their historical uses they performed a timely service. As she was aware, however, they were far from exhausting the potential of the charters. *The Llandaff Charters* was intended as 'a useful guide to their understanding and a coherent framework within which others can approach them' (p. vii). Her attempt to use them as a historical source for early Wales in *An Early Welsh Microcosm* was a pioneering venture into hitherto uncharted territory, and proved quite controversial.

<sup>1</sup> Morey and Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot and his Letters*, 128.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 141 and 145.

<sup>3</sup> J. R. Davies, *The Book of Llandaf*.

<sup>4</sup> Doble, *Lives*; Conway Davies, *EA*; Brooke, *The Church*. See also Smith, 'The kingdom of Morgannwg', and Cowley, 'The Church in medieval Glamorgan'.

<sup>5</sup> On the number of charters see below, 5 n. 27.

<sup>6</sup> I cite her articles by chapter number from her collected papers, *WHEMA*.

While some scholars were content to accept her assessment of the charters,<sup>7</sup> others were very critical<sup>8</sup> or simply dismissive.<sup>9</sup> The most recent work is constructive and appreciative but not uncritical,<sup>10</sup> and I believe that the present work falls into that category.

To appreciate the importance of Wendy Davies's work one must consider the cloud of opprobrium that descended on the Book of Llandaf from the moment it was published and translated by W. J. Rees in 1840. Since the seventeenth century, when the Book was in England, extracts had been published and passages cited by such reputable writers as Spelman, Dugdale, Ussher, Wharton, and Wilkins, and a few eighteenth-century Welsh antiquaries, including Iolo Morganwg, had been glad to exploit transcripts for their own purposes.<sup>11</sup> Rees's 1840 edition, however, exposed the Book as a whole to criticism. Thomas Stephens, writing anonymously to the *Cambrian* newspaper in 1843, described it as

a work which, while conducive to no good, is productive of positive injury, by inducing the mind to brood over 'the solitary, vindictive malice of monks.' It is a work purporting to consist of historical documents, but upon the veracity of whose statements the historian, according to the Rev. T. Price, cannot rely.<sup>12</sup>

Even the Dean of Llandaff, an eminent geologist, admitted in 1850 that the Book of Llandaf 'labours under the most serious chronological difficulties, which must throw over the whole a thick veil of obscurity and doubt'.<sup>13</sup> Haddan and Stubbs excluded relevant passages in their *Councils and Synods* in 1869 'as not being contemporary or genuine records', setting the tone for the future, notwithstanding Gwenogvryn Evans's complaints in his 1893 edition about 'the unreasonableness of much of the old criticisms by which the trustworthiness of the *Liber Landavensis* was impugned'. Evans maintained that the true chronology of the charters could be worked out from their witness lists, even if such questions 'would require a volume to discuss them'.<sup>14</sup> Although Alfred Anscombe, secretary of the British Numismatic Society, made a good start on such a programme in articles in the *Celtic Review* (1909–12), these were, and still are, generally overlooked.<sup>15</sup> The normally credulous Baring-Gould

<sup>7</sup> e.g. Wormald, Review; Snyder, *An Age of Tyrants*, 46–7.

<sup>8</sup> e.g. Maund, *Ireland, Wales, and England*, 183–206; *eadem*, 'Fact and narrative fiction'.

<sup>9</sup> e.g. Dark, *Civitas to Kingdom*, 140–8.

<sup>10</sup> Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons*, *passim*.

<sup>11</sup> See references in Rees, *Liber Landavensis*, x–xxiii, and in *LL*, viii–xii. For Iolo see below, ch. 7.

<sup>12</sup> *Cambrian*, 28 January 1843, reprinted by Löffler and Rhys, 'Thomas Stephens and the Abergavenny Cymreigyddion', 430. The quotation is from the *Letters of Junius*, and T. Price is Thomas Price ('Carnhuanawc').

<sup>13</sup> Conybeare, 'Memoir', 25.

<sup>14</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, I, 125–6, 207–8, 286–8 (cf. 289–96, etc.); *LL* xxiii. E. J. Newell, in his review of *LL* in 1893 (pp. 334–6), tended to agree with Evans, against Haddan and Stubbs and Willis-Bund (cf. Willis-Bund, 'The Teilo churches'). See also Newell, *Llandaff* (1902).

<sup>15</sup> Anscombe, 'Landavensium ordo chartarum', noted in 1946 by E. D. Jones ('The Book of Llandaff', 130 n. 2). When Bartrum undertook the same task in the 1940s he at first had no 'knowledge of Anscombe's scheme' ('Some studies', 286). Extraordinarily, J. W. James ignored both Anscombe and Bartrum in all his articles (from 1955 to 1973). In

and Fisher were somewhat dismissive of Llandaf's pretensions in their *Lives of the British Saints* (1907–13) and in 1932 the Revd Arthur Wade-Evans mocked the

vain imaginings of the Norman-French ecclesiastics, who gave us the Book of Llandaff, a spurious compilation, wherein everything, that is genuinely old, has been forced to bolster up ridiculous claims on behalf of Urban's new cathedral church, for which the Welsh could find no better name than Llan Dâf, 'the Church by the Taff'.

In 1942 the other influential student of the time, Canon G. H. Doble, concluded that the writing of the Book of Llandaf had 'resulted in a huge series of falsifications of history – it will take a very long time before they are all detected'.<sup>16</sup> Almost everybody was against what J. Conway Davies termed the 'pretensions' of Llandaf in his *Episcopal Acts Relating to Welsh Diocese* (1946–8), with the lone exception of J. W. James (1889–1983), who resented Wade-Evans's apparent St Davids bias.<sup>17</sup> Finding the assumptions of his own 1931 Durham D.D. dissertation contradicted at every turn, James published a long series of illogical diatribes from 1955 to 1973 with titles like '*The Book of Llan Dav* and Canon G. H. Doble'. In 1958 Christopher Brooke stumbled unawares<sup>18</sup> into this hornet's nest with his facetiously entitled essay 'The archbishops of St David's, Llandaff and Caerleon-on-Usk', in Nora Chadwick's *Studies in the Early British Church*.<sup>19</sup> This provoked one of Chancellor James's diatribes ('Wrong again, Mr. Brooke ...'), which amused Brooke,<sup>20</sup> and an equally fierce review by John Morris (1913–77) of University College London, who was later to encourage Wendy Davies to start research on the Book of Llandaf.<sup>21</sup> Morris, who called Brooke's 'the one bad article in a good book', ended his review

---

June 1980 Bartrum wrote to me that until Wendy Davies's books appeared he had seen nothing of interest apart from E. D. Jones's 1946 article 'and those by Chancellor James (which I could not take seriously)'. The latter are indeed marred, to quote J. R. Davies, by 'irrational thought processes and partisan prejudices' (*The Book of Llandaf*, 3 n. 12; cf. Sharpe, 'Which text is Rhygyfarch's *Life* of St David?'). By 1993 Bartrum had largely abandoned his 1948 chronology in favour of Wendy Davies's 1979 one (see his *A Welsh Classical Dictionary*, ii and passim).

<sup>16</sup> *LBS* II, 360–2, and IV, 266; Wade-Evans, 'The Llancarfan charters', 160; Doble, *Lives*, 164 (an essay first published in 1942). Wade-Evans's jibe about the name was ill-judged; *Llan* + topographical feature is an old type. See below, 164 n. 59.

<sup>17</sup> *EA* I, 151 and 182; James, 'A history of the origins and development of the Celtic Church in Wales', 231: 'The charge that the Llandaff records are an ex parte statement comes with a bad grace from those who uphold the full and plenary inspiration and inerrancy of Ricemarchus [*sic*] *Life* of St. David, and of the Vespasian A XIV text of that life'. In this dissertation James's target, alongside Wade-Evans, is the best forgotten Arthur Owen Vaughan.

<sup>18</sup> Personal comment.

<sup>19</sup> Later revised and toned down in 1986 in *The Church*, 16–49 (cf. *ibid.*, ix). By 2005, in his review of J. R. Davies's book, he had modified his views further.

<sup>20</sup> James, '*The Book of Llandav*: the church and see of Llandav and their critics', 7. Cf. Abulafia, Luscombe, and Mayr-Harting, 'Christopher Nugent Lawrence Brooke 1927–2015', 253. James's belief in a single line of bishops is not so wide of the mark (see ch. 14 below) as his notion that they mostly resided at Llandaf.

<sup>21</sup> Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, vii; cf. Brooke, *The Church*, ix.

with a series of assertions about the Llandaf (and Llancarfan) charters that proved programmatic:

[T]he grants are anything but uniform. Seventh-century prices are expressed as single objects – a chased swordhilt, a ‘best horse’, etc.; in the eighth century they are calculated according to a uniform standard of value, the cow, but from the ninth century onward in gold and silver. Early kings consult *cum senioribus Guent et Ercig*, but later kings have *comites*; early bishops are styled *episcopus*, later ones *pontifex* or *praesul*; orthography varies from Iudhail to Ithel, etc. Of the ‘elaborate witness lists ... skilfully and plausibly devised’, most of the later kings and some of the bishops are named at the right times in both Welsh and Anglo-Saxon contemporary notices, while half a dozen earlier rulers are found in the Cambrian Annals and contemporary inscriptions. But kings and bishops are a tiny fraction of the 1,200 witnesses, who sign over the centuries, father succeeding son, each only in his own ancestral area, without serious chronological inconsistency. So large and cohesive a list has not been ‘certainly faked’ by any known forger.<sup>22</sup>

These theses were investigated in detail by Wendy Davies in a series of articles from 1972 onwards<sup>23</sup> and in *An Early Welsh Microcosm* (1978) and *The Llandaff Charters* (1979). These books began the rehabilitation of the Book of Llandaf as a historical source for early medieval Wales. The same programme of rehabilitation is further advanced, I hope, in the present work, with various nuances in its favour and against.

\* \* \*

Like all modern studies of *LL*, this book refers to the meticulous text of J. G. Evans, which he published privately in 1893, with the assistance of Sir John Rhys on the Welsh portions and of Egerton Phillimore on topography.<sup>24</sup> Evans’s edition unfortunately excluded the early-twelfth-century Gospel of Matthew, which was probably always intended as a solemn inauguration of the codex, as Daniel Huws has shown.<sup>25</sup> Conversely, it included plates of the so-called Lichfield or ‘Chad’ Gospels, which were mistakenly supposed to be from Llandaf rather than Llandeilo Fawr (*LL* xliii–xlvi). In 1979 the National Library of Wales issued a reprint of the 1893 edition, with new plates of *LL* and the Lichfield Gospels in place of those of 1893. The text of the reprint is identical, except for a brief preface listing some trivial errata and referring to the work of Wendy Davies and the admirable study of the manuscript by E. D. Jones (1946), the codicological and palaeographical aspects of which have now been superseded, however, by Huws’s definitive analysis.<sup>26</sup> The whole manuscript can now be seen on the National Library’s ‘Digital Gallery’. In

<sup>22</sup> Morris, Review, 231–2. I will discuss all these assertions without attempting to correct Morris’s minor errors.

<sup>23</sup> Reprinted in *WHEMA*.

<sup>24</sup> Birch, *Memorials*, 1, claimed that Evans’s edition was ‘not immaculate in its readings or extensions of abbreviated words’, perhaps over-reacting to Evans’s criticism of his own work (*LL*, viii n. 3). On topography see also Egerton Phillimore’s notes in *DP* passim, and Coe, ‘The place-names of the Book of Llandaf’.

<sup>25</sup> Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, 124–6 (comparing the Sherborne Cartulary).

<sup>26</sup> Jones, ‘The Book of Llandaff’; Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, 123–57.

the present work, however, references are by page number to the Evans and Rhys edition (e.g. 'LL p. 4'), but the charters are referred to by the now standard system (e.g. 'LL 199a') introduced by Peter Bartrum.<sup>27</sup> References such as 'ii.33' and 'iii.4' refer to the chronological Sequences i, ii, and iii given in Wendy Davies's *Llandaff Charters*.<sup>28</sup>

Readers should note that where possible I have standardised Old Welsh personal names in Modern Welsh orthography, following the conventions of Studies in Celtic History: for example 'Cyfwyre' rather than *Comereg*. Where this is inappropriate, or not feasible, italics are used (e.g. *Comereg*). When there are great discrepancies between old and modern forms, cross-references are given in the Index.

There is no accurate translation of *LL*. Rees's 1840 translation was based on a faulty Latin text, but gives a general idea of the contents, as do the many extracts in Birch's *Memorials of the See and Cathedral of Llandaff* (1912), to which I give some references.

<sup>27</sup> Bartrum, 'Some studies'. If this system is ever abandoned much scholarship will become impenetrable! Charters are numbered according to the page on which they begin in the edition by Evans and Rhys, subdivided by letters if more than one begin on the same page (e.g. '199a', '199b'). There are either 158 or 159 charters, depending on whether 199b is treated as a single charter or as two (199bi and 199bii, the latter beginning 'Post multum uero temporis'). 196 is normally counted as a single charter, but is treated as two by Guy, 'The Life of St Dyfrig', 5 n. 15. See also below, 22 n. 3.

<sup>28</sup> *The Llandaff Charters*, 35–7, 41–53, and 59–69. I have supplied the Arabic numbers myself.



## THE BOOK OF LLANDAF AND THE EARLY WELSH CHARTER

In 1107 Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated Urban, a priest of the church of Worcester, as bishop of Glamorgan, and Urban made a canonical profession of obedience to Anselm as primate of all Britain.<sup>1</sup> Probably Urban, whose Welsh name was Gwrgan, was a member of a clerical dynasty, most likely that of Llancarfan, and had gone to Worcester, or to Worcester diocese, for his education.<sup>2</sup> For a dozen years after 1107 Urban was preoccupied with shoring up his diocese in the face of the Norman conquest of Glamorgan and the impending competition from his western neighbour, Bernard, bishop of St Davids (1115–48), a formidable opponent with better connections at the English court.<sup>3</sup> According to Bernard, Urban's dispute with St Davids had already begun in the time of Bishop Wilfred (*ob.* 1115), Bernard's predecessor.<sup>4</sup> By 1119, for the first time so far as we know, Urban was styling himself bishop of Llandaf, evidently having fixed his see close to the Norman castle of Cardiff, the *caput* of the new lordship of Glamorgan,<sup>5</sup> where he would enjoy a mutually advantageous relationship with Robert of Gloucester, the lord of Glamorgan.<sup>6</sup> Urban was probably not the first bishop to reside at Llandaf, for the mid-eleventh-century Joseph, whom Urban claimed as his predecessor but one, was described as *episcopus* on what appears to have been his gravestone at Llandaf; moreover Joseph's charters in the Book of Llandaf are clustered around Llandaf itself.<sup>7</sup> Certainly it is difficult to imagine how Urban could have begun to

<sup>1</sup> See *EA* I 125–6 and II 612–13, also on his Welsh name *Worgan* (or *Gurgan*, *ibid.* II 619). According to *LL* p. 280 Urban was previously archdeacon of Llandaf (*EA* I 125). While this claim may be true it could be part of the effort to show that Llandaf had always been 'a properly constituted diocese' (Brooke, *The Church*, 73). Cf. Pearson, *Fasti*, IX, 13 and 17–18.

<sup>2</sup> See Crouch, *Llandaff Episcopal Acta*, xi–xii, and 7 on the connection between Llancarfan and the Llandaf bishops (cf. *EA* II 506–37, Brooke, *The Church*, 38 n. 90, and J. R. Davies, *The Book of Llandaf*, 105 and 142). Note that the 'brothers' (*germani*) of Urban mentioned in a papal letter (Baumgarten, 'Papal letters relating to England', 532) are probably unnamed and distinct from the priest Caradog (*Caratocus*) and the Gwgan (*sic*: *Guganus*) of Llancarfan named in the same letter (cf. Crouch, *Llandaff Episcopal Acta*, xii n. 3, and J. R. Davies, *The Book of Llandaf*, 105). I am grateful to Professor Crouch for discussing this with me.

<sup>3</sup> *EA* I 126–7; Barrow, *St Davids Episcopal Acta*, 2–4.

<sup>4</sup> *LL* pp. 53–4; *EA* II 628; J. R. Davies, *The Book of Llandaf*, 37.

<sup>5</sup> *EA* I 128.

<sup>6</sup> See their agreement in 1126: *LL* pp. 27–9; *EA* II 620–1; J. R. Davies, *The Book of Llandaf*, 51–3.

<sup>7</sup> Redknap and Lewis, *A Corpus* I, 325 no. G39; *WHEMA* IV 67; Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, 23–4; *An Early Welsh Microcosm*, 21–2, 135–6, and 155. Cf. Brooke, *The*



attempt to foist Llandaf on his contemporaries as an ancient episcopal see if it had no history *at all* behind it.<sup>8</sup> Llandaf need not have been a permanent see, however, for the activities of Herewald (*ob.* 1104), whom Urban claimed as his immediate predecessor, covered a wide area, including Gwent and Eryng (Archenfield, south-west Herefordshire) as well as Glamorgan; Anselm referred to Herewald only as ‘a certain bishop of Wales’, not naming any see.<sup>9</sup>

In 1119 Urban launched his great campaign, at first successful, to get the Pope (Calixtus II) to take the church of Llandaf under his protection and to persuade the archbishop of Canterbury to prevent the bishops of St Davids and Hereford, and various monks and Norman nobles, from despoiling it. Duly supported by the archbishop, Urban began building a new church at Llandaf, adding to its allegedly original dedication to St Peter the names of St *Dubricius* (Dyfrig), St *Teiliu* (Teilo), and St *Oudoceus* (Euddogwy).<sup>10</sup> The choice of each of these three Welsh saints advanced Urban’s cause in different ways.

The early (seventh-century?) Breton *Vita sancti Samsonis* had associated St Dyfrig with Llanilltud (Llantwit) in Morgannwg and Ynys Bŷr (Caldy Island) in Pembrokeshire, both in areas claimed by Urban.<sup>11</sup> By Urban’s day, however, Dyfrig’s cult was mainly centred on Eryng (Archenfield), an area where Bishop Herewald had been particularly active, and this provides a further motive for its adoption by Urban in the context of his dispute with Hereford.<sup>12</sup> In 1120 Urban translated Dyfrig’s supposed relics to Llandaf from Enlli (Bardsey Island).<sup>13</sup> Scholars have suggested, on the one hand, that the cult of St Dyfrig was first brought to the Hereford area by Herewald and, conversely, on the other hand, that it was ancient there, and possibly concerned a Dyfrig distinct from the Dyfrig of the *Vita Samsonis*.<sup>14</sup>

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*Church*, 93, regarding Joseph as a ‘shadowy figure’ and his ordination of Herewald (*LL* pp. 265–6) as ‘doubtful’. For other arguments for Llandaf having some antiquity see *EA* I 184–5 and Lewis, ‘The *Liber Landavensis* and the diocese of Llandaff’, 58–9. There are a few retrospective references in slightly later, non-Llandaf sources to Herewald and Urban as ‘bishops of Llandaf’ (*EA* II, 612–13, 615, and 649). Note that the Chapter of St Davids, writing to the Pope *ca* 1145, did not deny that Herewald was ‘bishop of Llandaf’, even while advancing the notion that he had been promoted to that rank by ‘Archbishop’ Joseph of St Davids (was this a misrepresentation of the role of Bishop Joseph of Llandaf in *LL* pp. 265–6?): see *EA* I 262; Richter, *Canterbury Professions*, xc. MS B of *Annales Cambriae* describes him as *episcopus Landauensis* in his obit, but this may be a modernisation by the late-thirteenth-century scribe, for the Welsh versions s.a. 1045 call him simply ‘Teilo’s bishop’. Yet, seeing that there are very few Teilo churches other than Llandaf in the area from which Joseph received grants – the three Llandeilos near Abergavenny are the only others (Bowen, *The Settlements*, 56–7, and *EA* I 183) – it seems more likely than not that he was indeed bishop of a church of Teilo at Llandaf.

<sup>8</sup> See J. R. Davies, *The Book of Llandaf*, 10.

<sup>9</sup> *EA* II 610–12.

<sup>10</sup> *EA* II 615–18.

<sup>11</sup> See below, 158–60, and Doble, *Lives*, 56–9. Doble notes that Penalun (Penally), opposite Caldy, is granted to Dyfrig by charter 77 in *LL*. (The fact that 77 is a blatant forgery does not invalidate the point that Urban may have associated Dyfrig with this area.) Cf. Guy, ‘The Life of St Dyfrig’, 10–12.

<sup>12</sup> See Doble, *Lives*, 59–87; J. R. Davies, *The Book of Llandaf*, 84–6.

<sup>13</sup> *LL* pp. 84–6; *EA* II 618.

<sup>14</sup> See below, 160–1.

There was no need for Urban to translate the second patron saint, St Teilo, since, according to the Book of Llandaf, a miracle at the time of Teilo's death had created *three* bodies: one for Penally in Pembrokeshire, one for Llandeilo Fawr on the Tywi (Carmarthenshire) – the original centre of Teilo's cult, to judge by its name – and a third – the original, naturally – for Llandaf.<sup>15</sup> Thus Urban could lay claim to the many churches dedicated to St Teilo across south Wales, including those within the sphere of St Davids.<sup>16</sup>

By contrast, the third patron saint, St Euddogwy, seems to have had no previous cult except at Llandogo (*Lann Oudocui*) on the river Wye in Monmouthshire. The chief reason for enlisting him seems to have been the availability, in the archives of Llancarfan and Llandaf, of valuable batches of eighth-century land charters in favour of an identically named Bishop *Eudoce* (a distinct person, Doble supposed, on little evidence).<sup>17</sup>

In 1119 Urban presented Calixtus II with an impressive narrative: according to a chirograph of St Teilo, the church of St Peter at Llandaf had always been paramount in Wales, subject only to Rome (from the time of St Germanus in the fifth century) and to Canterbury and the king of England (from the time of St Augustine in the sixth century). During the reign of King William, however, and in particular during the old age of Bishop Herewald (*ob.* 1104), Llandaf had lost twenty-two of its twenty-four canonries and most of its lands and tithes, owing to lay despoilations and 'invasions' by monks (meaning those of new houses such as Tewkesbury) and by his brother bishops of Hereford and St Davids.<sup>18</sup>

For a while Urban seemed to succeed. In 1129, for example, he went to Rome with 'his privileges and ancient charters' and returned to Llandaf 'with joy'.<sup>19</sup> It is notable, however, that the other side of the argument was often not presented – on this occasion Hereford and St Davids failed to turn up – and that papal decisions had little practical effect. In 1131, when Bernard of St Davids mounted a counter-attack in Rome, Urban was unable to attend, 'prevented by bodily illness', and Innocent II ordered that the dispute should be settled in England.<sup>20</sup> The tide then seems to have turned against Urban,<sup>21</sup> and in 1134 he died on a last visit to Rome, 'having set forth the cause of his journey'. The Pope recommended that the Archbishop of Canterbury leave things as they were and commended Urban's supporters to him, among them a priest Caradog (perhaps the prolific hagiographer Caradog of Llancarfan) and Gwgan of Llancarfan, and also Urban's own brothers (*germani*). Urban's see was left vacant until 1140, and the whole controversy petered out.<sup>22</sup>

*Liber Landavensis*, the Book of Llandaf, is the embodiment of Urban's case for his church and diocese. Leaving aside various later additions, the codex seems to have reached its first intended form at some time between 1132 and Urban's death

<sup>15</sup> *LL* pp. 116–17. On the Lives of Teilo see Doble, *Lives*, 162–206; Hughes, *Celtic Britain*, 61–3; J. R. Davies, *The Book of Llandaf*, 112–19.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 86–9.

<sup>17</sup> Doble, *Lives*, 207–29; J. R. Davies, *The Book of Llandaf*, 89–94. See below, 166 n. 72.

<sup>18</sup> *LL* pp. 87–8; *EA* I 24, 55, and II 617; J. R. Davies, *The Book of Llandaf*, 63–75.

<sup>19</sup> *LL* 52–3; *EA* II 625.

<sup>20</sup> *LL* pp. 66–7; *EA* II 631–2.

<sup>21</sup> The documentation is not preserved in the Book of Llandaf, perhaps not so much because it was unfavourable to Urban as because the compilation of the Book ceased about 1132; cf. J. R. Davies, 'Liber Landavensis: its date and the identity of its editor', 10.

<sup>22</sup> Baumgarten, 'Papal letters relating to England', 531–2; *EA* II 632–4.