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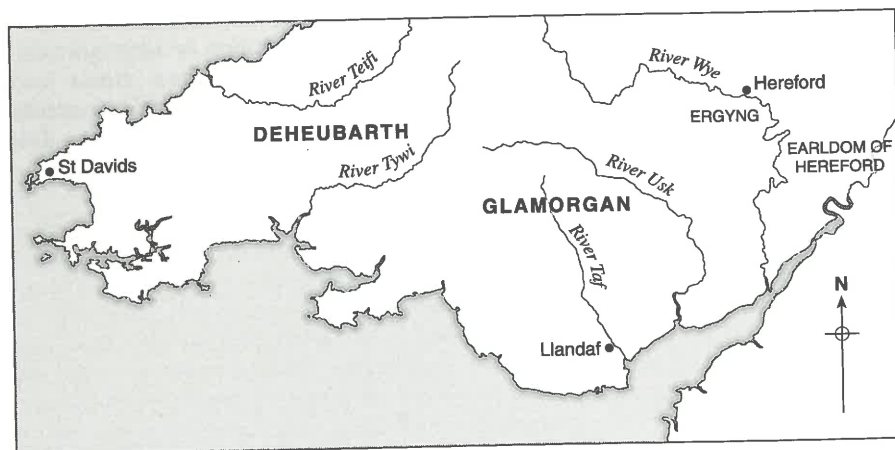
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Map 1. South Wales in the late eleventh century

I

BISHOP URBAN'S INHERITANCE

Llandaf, now a genteel suburb of Cardiff, lies less than two miles to the north-west of Cardiff Castle, which was once the centre of the Norman lordship of Glamorgan. The cathedral is set in a river meadow, at the foot of a steep slope, below the whitewashed houses of Cathedral Green. The present structure, dating mainly from the thirteenth century, but with comprehensive modern additions, is built around the exotic, Romanesque eastern arch of Bishop Urban's church, begun in 1120.¹ The castle and cathedral both lie on the banks of the River Taf, from which Llandaf derives its name. Three miles away, the river's estuary forms the setting for Cardiff Bay. Cardiff Castle is within sight of Llandaf, on the low ground, down river.² This proximity of castle and cathedral would have been more obvious and important for the ecclesiastics of the eleventh and twelfth centuries who laid the foundations for the see of Llandaf as we have known it for the last nine hundred years. The politically strategic location of the cathedral, the heart of a reformed bishopric, illustrates the significance of the secular power in the considerations that governed its temporal existence and conditioned its development.

As the seat of an ancient pre-Conquest bishopric, however, or even as the site of a notable early medieval church, the origins of the cathedral on the Taf are now regarded with suspicion by those who have studied its most venerable document, the *Liber Landauensis*. The lustre of a proud historical tradition, which glimmered in the minds of Llandaf clergy for successive generations, has grown tarnished in the inclement atmosphere of modern scholarship.

Throughout the Book of Llandaf, in every charter or memorandum, in every note of episcopal succession, and in the Life of each saint, we encounter the matter-of-fact assumption, the assertion, that there had been a bishopric of 'Llandaf' since the time of its founder, Archbishop Dyfrig. Every bishop, through seven centuries, is a bishop of 'Llandaf', a successor to the fifth-century patriarch. This ubiquitous gloss, however, is quite misleading, based as it is on a demonstrable untruth; for outside *Liber Landauensis*, a bishopric of 'Llandaf' is not attested until 1121.³ Before that date, moreover, our twelfth-century see of 'Llandaf' is known to us as the bishopric of 'Glamorgan';⁴ but

¹ A comprehensive discussion of the setting of the cathedral and an account of its architectural history are to be found in North, *The Stones of Llandaff Cathedral*.

² Llanelwy (St Asaph) is another Welsh episcopal see that was re-founded in the twelfth century within sight of a Norman political centre: Rhuddlan is clearly visible just over two and a half miles away. Llanelwy is on the River Elwy, a tributary of the Clwyd, which runs past Rhuddlan castle. Rhuddlan has its origins as a political centre in the early middle ages, as does St Asaph as an ecclesiastical site, if not certainly as an episcopal centre.

³ Charter of Henry I (*RRAN*, II, no. 1243).

⁴ Urban is 'bishop of Glamorgan' in a charter of Henry I in 1119 (*RRAN*, II, no. 1203).

even that diocese is not documented any further back than 1107.⁵ This fundamental problem of terminology plays a large part in undermining the reliability of the texts contained in the Book of Llandaf as trustworthy historical documents.

Nevertheless, whatever our view of Bishop Urban's integrity – and he was certainly no purveyor of untainted truths – it is unlikely that he should have set up a brand new episcopal see at Llandaf and carried off the story that it had existed since the fifth century. The twelfth-century diocese of Llandaf, whose history through seven centuries is presented in *Liber Landauensis*, could not have been conjured up from a vacuum if it were to have been a credible entity. There is no evidence that Llandaf's status as an historic see was doubted by contemporaries. There must have been a bishopric based at Llandaf, by whatever designation it was known, for a significant enough length of time that its legitimacy as an episcopal centre might remain unquestioned by neighbours and rivals. What, then, may have lain behind the bishopric that emerged from obscurity in the 1120s, and to what extent was its history a fabrication?

Bishops and bishoprics in early medieval south-east Wales

We know, from the most ancient of the Lives of St Samson, that a bishop named Dyfrig exercised jurisdiction in southern Wales in the late fifth or early sixth century.⁶ Dyfrig is associated, in an episcopal capacity, with the *domus* or *monasterium* of Illtud – the modern-day Llanilltud Fawr in Glamorgan – where he ordained Samson to the diaconate and the priesthood.⁷ Dyfrig spent the season of Lent off the Pembrokeshire coast, on Caldy Island, 'in his monastic house' (*in sua domo*); and he had ultimate authority at the monastery of Piro.⁸ We do not know where Dyfrig's see was based, but the most plausible candidates for an episcopal centre in the Romanised sector of South Wales are Caerwent or Carmarthen. Caerwent was a former Roman *ciuitas*, the capital of the region inhabited by the Silures;⁹ Carmarthen, also an important Roman settlement, was probably the capital of the Demetae.¹⁰ The consecration of Samson to the episcopate by Bishop Dyfrig may also imply the existence

of at least two other bishops based within striking distance of Dyfrig's *cathedra*, in order for the ordination to have been canonical.¹¹

Bishop Urban's proposition that a bishop called Dyfrig had founded his diocese in the fifth century may therefore reflect a dimly perceived reality. The evidence available to Llandaf's twelfth-century historians for the origins of their see was probably no more than we have today, namely, the earliest Life of St Samson. The historical memory of a Bishop Dyfrig in this Life, combined with the Lucius legend (derived via Bede from the *Liber Pontificalis*), resulted in the short pseudo-historical text, *De primo statu Landauensis ecclesie*, which opens the Llandaf story in *Liber Landauensis*.¹²

By the late seventh century, ecclesiastical organisation in Wales had undergone significant development away from the *ciuitas*-based type of bishoprics found in Britain and the rest of the empire in late-Roman times. Instead, we encounter evidence that more than one bishop was operating within each of the Brittonic kingdoms of western Britain. Bede recorded St Augustine summoning the 'bishops and teachers of the neighbouring British kingdom'.¹³ Aldhelm of Malmesbury, in a letter to King Geraint of Dumnonia, referred to the king's *sacerdotes* and *clerici* and the '*sacerdotes* of God abiding throughout Dumnonia';¹⁴ there is also a derogatory reference to the '*sacerdotes* of the Demetae [Dyfed]' who glory in the currency of their worldly possessions.¹⁵ *Sacerdos* in this context seems to mean 'bishop'.¹⁶ The multiplication of bishops in early eighth-century Dyfed, implied by Aldhelm, may somehow be reflected in the Welsh law-tract on the 'seven bishop-houses of Dyfed'. In this text, a situation is envisaged where there is a bishop for each of the seven petty-kingdoms, or *tudoedd* (the later *cantrefi*), within the over-kingdom of Dyfed.¹⁷

For the area claimed as a diocese by Bishop Urban, between the River Wye and the River Tywi, we know of a number of churches with episcopal associations.¹⁸ The best-attested episcopal household is that of St Teilo at Llandeilo Fawr in Ystrad Tywi; this must have provided the historical anchorage for the Teilo-based propaganda in the Book of Llandaf. One certain ninth-century bishop of Teilo, called Nyfys (*Nobis* in Old-Welsh orthography), has been transformed into a bishop of Llandaf in *Liber*

⁵ Petition for the election of Urban (Richter, *Canterbury Professions*, no. 7); there are references to Urban's consecration as 'bishop of Glamorgan' in twelfth-century English chronicles (Chronicle of John of Worcester, s.a. 1107; Eadmer, *Historia Nouorum* (ed. Rule, 187); William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, § 417 (ed. Mynors et al.).

⁶ The corrupt Latin suggests a Merovingian context for the composition of *Vita I S. Samsonis*. The introduction to Flobert's edition (*La Vie ancienne*) provides the most recent discussion on dating: he has argued for the mid-eighth century.

⁷ *Vita I S. Samsonis*, I.3, 15.

⁸ *Vita I S. Samsonis*, I.33, 34.

⁹ Collingwood and Wright, *Roman Inscriptions*, no. 311; Knight, 'The early Church'.

¹⁰ Jarrett and Mann, 'The tribes of Wales', 166–7. Carmarthen, the Roman Moridunum, was a significant town with a civil population and an amphitheatre (Salway, *Roman Britain*, 372, 579; Collingwood and Wright, *Roman Inscriptions*, 138). Less likely candidates as episcopal centres might be Caerleon or Cardiff. The legionary fort of Caerleon was the reputed site of the martyrdom of Julius and Aaron in the third century (Gildas, *De excidio*, c. 10; Boon, 'The early Church'). Cardiff was the site of Roman forts (see RCAHMW, *Inventory, The Early Castles*, 163–4, and further references given there).

¹¹ Cf. Chadwick, 'The evidence of dedications', 173–5.

¹² This tract is discussed below, chapter IV; it was originally intended to be the first historical text in *Liber Landauensis*, and the work of scribe A begins at this point.

¹³ *episcopos siue doctores proximae Brettonum prouinciae* (Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II.2 [ed. Colgrave and Mynors, 134]); see Stancliffe, 'The British Church'.

¹⁴ *cunctis Dei sacerdotibus per Domnoniam conuersantibus* (ed. Ehwald, *Aldhelmi Opera*, 480–6, at 480–1; trans. Lapidge and Herren, *Aldhelm: The Prose Works*, 155).

¹⁵ *Demetarum sacerdotes* (ed. Ehwald, *Aldhelmi Opera*, 484).

¹⁶ *Sacerdos* could mean 'bishop' or 'priest'. The opening of the letter makes reference to a recently held council of *episcopi* which drew together an innumerable crowd of the *sacerdotes* of God from nearly all of Britain: Aldhelm's use of *sacerdos* seems therefore to be a stylistic device rather than a term of differentiation.

¹⁷ Charles-Edwards, 'The seven bishop-houses of Dyfed'.

¹⁸ Throughout the Book of Llandaf there is a recurrent formula that describes the extent of the diocese of Llandaf, which runs typically, *totius parrochia ab hostio Taratyr super Guy usque ad ripam Tywi* ('of the whole diocese from the mouth of the Tretire on the Wye as far as the bank of the Tywi') (LL, 177). The Life of St Euddogwy provides a detailed description of the diocesan boundaries in Welsh (LL, 134–5) which is summarised in a solemn privilege of Pope Honorius II, dated 1129 (LL, 42–3).

Landauensis.¹⁹ The early medieval bishopric associated with Llandeilo Fawr may have encompassed the later administrative units – the *cantrefi* – of Gŵyr, Cydweli, and Cantref Bychan, which were claimed as composite territories of the diocese of Llandaf by Bishop Urban.²⁰ All three of these *cantrefi* were subsumed within the diocese of St Davids after the death of Bishop Urban, if not sometime before.

In Ystrad Yw, the north-eastern territory of the claimed diocese, there were bishops of Clas Cynidr, at Glasbury, near Brecon and Llan-gors: Tryferyn, the last of a long line of bishops there, died in 1055.²¹ It is possible that one of these independently attested bishops at Glasbury surfaces as a bishop in the Book of Llandaf.²² The bishop of 'Llandaf' called Gwrfan, who receives one grant, *Lann Mihacghgel Tref Ceriau in Brechenniauc* (charter 167, Llanfihangel Tal-y-Llyn, Brycheiniog), may correspond with the bishop whose name is spelt *Gueman* in the Glasbury list.²³

We know of a bishopric that encompassed Archenfield – the Welsh Ergyng – in the early tenth century. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records a bishop of Archenfield, *biscop on Ircingafelda*, in 914: he is called Cyfeiliog,²⁴ who must be the same Cyfeiliog – anachronistically styled 'bishop of Llandaf' – whose death is recorded in a Canterbury list of consecrations and obits, and in the Book of Llandaf, for the year 927.²⁵ The normal meaning of *biscop on*, in Old English, would be 'bishop of'; but John of Worcester interpreted the episode by recounting that Cyfeiliog, 'bishop of the Britons' was captured 'at a plain called Archenfield'.²⁶ Even if it were not a specific diocese, we might reasonably infer from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle that a Welsh bishop had been operating in Archenfield.

Finally, a grant was made by Æthelred the Unready in 1005, *ad episcopalem*

sedem que dicitur Deowiesstow, 'to the episcopal seat called Deowiesstow', now identified as Dewstow, near Caldicot in Monmouthshire.²⁷

The areas outside Glamorgan claimed by Bishop Urban therefore encompassed what look like smaller, defunct, territorial bishoprics: one in Ystrad Tywi, based on Llandeilo Fawr; another in Ystrad Yw, with its seat at Glasbury; and a third in Gwent Is-Coed, operating from Dewstow (and possibly encompassing Gwent Uch-Coed and, at some point, Ergyng). If we were to look to the Llandaf charters, we should find that they lend support to this view: grants are clustered around Llandeilo Fawr and in Gŵyr, there is a small group in Ystrad Yw, and others are found in a particular concentration around Dewstow, and spread throughout Gwent and Ergyng.²⁸

Llandaf as an episcopal centre

During the episcopate of Bishop Urban, Llandaf Cathedral had unquestionably become the ecclesiastical counterpart to Cardiff Castle, the focal point of the quasi-regal lordship of Glamorgan.²⁹ Throughout the early middle ages, we are able to identify a number of Welsh ecclesiastical sites associated with royal courts;³⁰ but the lack of archaeological evidence for the occupation of the Roman fort at Cardiff in the pre-Norman period makes a connection between Llandaf and a royal centre at Cardiff unlikely. Llandaf as the early medieval seat of a bishopric corresponding to the kingdom of Morgannwg (or Glywysing), and as an ecclesiastical counterpart to a royal court at Cardiff, therefore seems improbable.

More important, by comparison with other major ecclesiastical centres in Glamorgan, Llandaf is singularly lacking in any evidence of royal associations or high status. By contrast, a number of early medieval stone monuments at Llanilltud Fawr attest its royal connections. A disk-headed slab of the mid or late ninth century has the inscription, [I]N NOMINE DI PATRIS ET SPERETUS SANTDI ANC [C]RUCEM HOUELT PROPE[R]ABIT PRO ANIMA RES PA[T]RES EUS, 'In the name of God the Father and of the Holy Spirit, Hywel prepared this cross for Rhys, his father'.³¹ Another disk-headed slab-cross, of the early tenth century, has the inscriptions, + SAMSON POSUIT HANC C[R]UCEM [(?) ORATE] PRO ANIMA EIUS +, 'Samson erected this cross [pray] for his soul'; and ILTUTI, 'Of Illtud'; and SAMSON REGIS, 'Of Samson the king'.³² There is a pillar-cross of the late ninth century with the inscription, IN NOMINE DI SUMMI INCIPIT CRUX SALUATORIS QUAE PREPARAUIT SAMSONIS APATI PRO ANIMA SUA ET [P]RO ANIMA IUTHAHELO REX ET ARTMALI [ET] TEC[A]N, 'In the name of God Most High begins the cross of the

¹⁹ *LL*, 217. Nyfys is more likely to have been the 'archbishop' of St Davids, the relative of Asser, who held the see of Mynyw between 840 and 873, than a bishop in Glywysing (Jenkins & Owen, 'The Welsh marginalia', 52–3).

²⁰ These areas were confirmed by papal privilege in 1129 (*LL*, 40); their inclusion in the diocese is implied in *LL*, 279 (Cadwgan ap Meurig, king of Glamorgan, is said to have ruled there for many years). The claim is more explicit in a supposed tenth-century text (*LL*, 247–9), but this was not added to *Liber Landavensis* until the thirteenth century (Huws, 'The making of *Liber Landavensis*', 145).

²¹ Léon Fleuriot ('Les évêques') brought to our attention a fourteenth-century manuscript (whose orthography suggests that it was copied from an eleventh-century exemplar), which contains a list of bishops operating from Glasbury. For Tryferyn's death, ASC (C & D) 1055; Chronicle of John of Worcester, s.a. 1055.

²² Gerald of Wales included Tryferyn in his list of the bishops of St Davids in *Itinerarium Cambriae*, II.i; and he appears in a Canterbury list of consecrations and obits ('Some early professions', ed. Woodruff).

²³ The forms *Guruan* and *Gueman* are close enough for confusion in copying: *Gueman* could have been produced from a miscopying of *Guruan*, *Gurman*, or *Guorman* (cf. 'Guorman' for 'Guruan', *LL*, 77). The property is re-granted to Bishop Llifo in charter 237b; both charters probably emanate from a Llan-gors archive. Llifo may have been interpolated in charter 237b, the grant originally having been made to, or under the auspices of, Bishop Llynferth II of St Davids, who appears in the body of the text and in the witness-list.

²⁴ ASC (A) 914, *gefengon Cameleac biscop on Ircingafelda*.

²⁵ 'Some early Professions', ed. Woodruff, 163; *LL*, 237. Bishop Cyfeiliog is the recipient of nine grants among the Llandaf charters (231–237a); the five identifiable locations are all in Gwent (four in Gwent Is-Coed).

²⁶ Chronicle of John of Worcester s.a. 915; cf. P. Sims-Williams's comment *apud* Hughes, 'The Celtic Church', 9, n. 30.

²⁷ Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 913; ed. Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary', 73–4. For the identification of *Deowiesstow* with Dewstow (Monmouths.), see Whitelock, *Historical Documents*, 353.

²⁸ See maps, 4 and 5.

²⁹ The juxtaposition of bishop and earl in the agreement between Urban and Robert of Gloucester in 1126 (*LL*, 27–9; see below, 51–3, 56–9) makes this clear. For the quasi-regal status of the lordship, see *Cartae*, ed. Clark, II, no. 1247, quoted by Davies, 'Kings, lords and liberties', 42.

³⁰ See Jenkins, 'Regions and cantrefi', 44–9.

³¹ RCAHMW, *Inventory, The Early Christian Period*, no. 911. Although he is not designated 'king' in this inscription, the compilers of the *Inventory* thought that *Houelt* is the Hywel ap Rhys, king of Glywysing, who in 884 was subject to Alfred of Wessex (Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, § 80), and whose death is recorded in AC (A) 885 [=886]; cf. Knight, 'Sources'.

³² RCAHMW, *Inventory, The Early Christian Period*, no. 912.

Saviour, which Samson the abbot prepared for his soul and for the soul of King Ithel and Arthfael and Tegan'.³³ The kings who can be identified, Hywel ap Rhys and Ithel ab Athrwys, were rulers of Glywysing and Gwent respectively.³⁴ Llanilltud Fawr was possibly associated with a royal court at Llyswyrny, three miles away.³⁵

In the eighteenth century, the Reverend Dr David Nichols described a list of the abbots of Llanilltud that he had found:³⁶

There is a loose parchment at Llandaff very decayed and rent; some parts of it are rotten, and others worm eaten, very little of it can be read; but in it appear these names of the Abbots of Llantwit, Iltutus, Piro, Ifanus, Cennit, Samson, Guorthauer, Congers, Elbod, Tomre, Gwrhaval, Nudh, Elifet, Segin, Camelauc, Blettri, and many more that cannot be read now. So old and decayed is this parchment which I take to be some decree of a Pope; or it may be some charter of a King to the Abbot and Church of Llantwit.

Some of these names appear in the Llandaf charters as abbots of Llanilltud Fawr, but some are also the names of bishops of Llandaf. The bishops are *Nudh* (Nudd), *Camelauc* (Cyfeiliog), and *Blettri* (Bledri): they appear in the same (chronological) order in the Book of Llandaf. Here, it seems, are three abbots of Llanilltud who became bishops. We know from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle that Cyfeiliog was a bishop in the early tenth century;³⁷ it is significant, in the light of Llanilltud Fawr's connections with Gwentian rulers, that his grants in the Book of Llandaf are concentrated in Gwent, not on Llanilltud.

Another very telling testimony to Llanilltud's former status is the diminution of her rights in the Book of Llandaf. In the Life of St Dyfrig it is made clear that the monastery of St Illtud was subject to episcopal oversight from Llandaf,³⁸ and a number of the Euddogwy charters that grant property in Gŵyr appear to be anti-Llanilltud forgeries.³⁹

Llandough is another one of a trio of monasteries – Llanilltud Fawr and Llancarfan being the other two – whose abbots attest the Llandaf charters from

the time of St Euddogwy. The church lacks any explicit royal associations, but it is on the site of a Roman *uilla*, and may have been linked with the nearby royal fort of Dinas Powys in the early middle ages.⁴⁰ In Llandaf charter 180b, Bishop Berthwyn is made the recipient of *Lann Catgualatyr*, Bishton in Gwent; the doublet of this charter in the 'Vespasian' Life of St Cadog, § 67, shows that the property may originally have been granted to Llandough.⁴¹ Here again we have a monastic site in the Vale of Glamorgan with links to Gwent.

A significant ecclesiastical community at Margam may have been linked with a royal centre at Kenfig.⁴² A few miles down the coast, Merthyr Mawr has an eleventh-century stone commemorating, among others, St Glywys, the eponym of Glywysing.⁴³ Another eleventh-century stone at nearby Ogmores also honours Glywys, and includes a bishop called Fili (an Irish name) as a grantee of an *ager*.⁴⁴

By the end of the eleventh century, the most powerful ecclesiastical community in Glamorgan was Llancarfan, which was also closely linked to the old Glywysing dynasty through its patron, St Cadog, grandson of Glywys.⁴⁵ In the Book of Llandaf, Llancarfan is a monastery that is mentioned over a long notional period, from ca 650 to 1075, according to Wendy Davies's chronology.⁴⁶ There is persistent independent evidence for its existence from the ninth century onwards.⁴⁷ The Llandaf charters are witnessed by *abbates*, *magistri*, *doctores*, *lectores*, and *presbyteri* from Llancarfan. In charter 274, of ca 1075, Bishop Herewald's son, Lifris, is named as *magister* of Llancarfan and archdeacon of Glamorgan. Another charter (243), with a notional date of ca 980, includes a statement that the abbot of Llancarfan should always be worthy of episcopal honour – there is nothing in the rest of the book, or elsewhere, to suggest that the head of the house of Llancarfan was ever a bishop. In the Llandaf charters, as well as in the Llancarfan 'cartulary', the abbots of Llancarfan always have a separate *familia*, or household, from the bishop. This picture, whether it represents historical reality or twelfth-century inven-

³³ *Ibid.*, no. 933. *Samson abbas* (*Samsonis apati*) may be identified with *Samson abbas altari sancti Eltuti* in Lifris's Life of St Cadog, § 55. *Iuthahel* may be Ithel, king of Gwent, whose death is recorded in *AC* (A) 848; this may also be the Ithel ab Athrwys of the Harley genealogies (Bartrum, *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, 12). *Artmal* may (less certainly) be identified with the recorded ruler Arthfael, father of Meurig who died 849, and apparently a cousin to Athrwys, father of Ithel (RCAHMW, *Inventory, The Early Christian Period*, 31).

³⁴ The extent of the kingdom of Glywysing in the ninth century and its distinction from Gwent are uncertain. Asser (*Life of King Alfred*, § 80) distinguished the two kingdoms, but the Llandaf charters suggest that Glywysing encompassed Gwent (Davies, *An Early Welsh Microcosm*, 91–2). If the identities of Hywel ap Rhys and Ithel ab Athrwys of the Llanilltud stones are correct, it is noteworthy that a king of Gwent (Ithel) should be commemorated so far west, and that Hywel's grants in the Book of Llandaf are concentrated in Gwent. Perhaps Glywysing was an over-kingdom.

³⁵ Cf. Jenkins, 'Regions and cantrefs', 45.

³⁶ *The Antiquities of Llantwit Major, Com. Glamorgan*, in Williams, *History of Monmouthshire*, Appendix XIX.

³⁷ See above, 12.

³⁸ *Dubricius uisitauit locum beati Ilduti tempore quadragesimali, ut quæ emendanda corrigeret, seruanda consolidaret* (LL, 82).

³⁹ Charter 140 alludes to disputes with *Biun*, abbot of Illtud, about estates in Gŵyr. Since Gŵyr is beyond the normal area of Euddogwy's grants, but a centre for Illtud's cult, it is possible that the three charters granting estates in Gŵyr to Euddogwy (140, 144, 145) were originally in favour of Llanilltud.

⁴⁰ Jenkins, 'Regions and cantrefs', 46. Dinas Powys appears not to have been occupied between about the seventh and the eleventh centuries (see RCAHMW, *Inventory, The Early Castles*, 95–100, for a discussion of the site).

⁴¹ See below, 91–4, for further discussion of these texts. The Llancarfan charter includes the phrase, *atque tandem redditus dedit Docgwinno*.

⁴² Jenkins, 'Regions and cantrefs', 47.

⁴³ RCAHMW, *Inventory, The Early Christian Period*, no. 927. The inscription on this stone is comparable with one at nearby Ogmores in the names GLIUSSI/GLIGUIS and NERTTAN/NERTAT (below, n. 44).

⁴⁴ *ECMW*, no. 255: FILI EPI[SCOPO]. The reading given in RCAHMW, *Inventory, The Early Christian Period*, no. 926, FILIE : SU[A], is incorrect.

⁴⁵ Lifris of Llancarfan, *Vita S. Cadoci*, preface I.

⁴⁶ *An Early Welsh Microcosm*, 124.

⁴⁷ A late-ninth-century stone pillar-cross, preserved in Llancarfan churchyard, suggests the site of an ecclesiastical community there (RCAHMW, *Inventory, The Early Christian Period*, no. 940). There are references to Llancarfan in the tenth century in *AC* and *ByT*, which specifically state that Llancarfan was among the places destroyed by vikings in A.D. 987. The Irish Lives of St Finnian name a Welsh ecclesiastical site called *Lann Gharban* or *Gabran*, which must be Llancarfan. We may also speculate that Llancarfan had emerged in the context of a post-Roman secular administration, situated as it is in the heart of Glamorgan's villa country, but the archaeological and historical evidence does not allow us to present this as any more than a possibility. For the present purpose, the historical reality of a flourishing ecclesiastical community centred on the cult of St Cadog at Llancarfan as far back as the ninth and tenth centuries will suffice.

tion, nevertheless demonstrates the high status of Llandcarfan in the eyes of the early twelfth-century compilers of the Book of Llandaf. It is presented as a house of considerable antiquity, with an extensive *familia*, populated by relatives of the bishop, and whose abbot is worthy of episcopal honour.

In summary, we know that a fifth-century bishop called Dyfrig – a bishop likely to have had his base in Gwent – was associated with Llanilltud Fawr. In the late ninth and tenth centuries, some of Llanilltud's abbots became bishops who operated in Gwent. Llanilltud is also a royal burial site for kings of Gwent and Glywysing; it may have been the ecclesiastical counterpart to a royal court at Llysyrny. The Book of Llandaf plays down the status of Llanilltud. Bishop Berthwyn was somehow associated with Llandough, a site possibly once associated with the royal fort of Dinas Powys; Llandough appears to have held property in Gwent. In the Book of Llandaf, Llandcarfan is accorded a quasi-episcopal status, and is elsewhere linked to the dynasty of Glywysing. A number of other major ecclesiastical sites in western Glamorgan have associations with the Glywysing dynasty or are linked with kings and property in Gwent.

Is it therefore possible that there was no one episcopal seat in Glamorgan for much of the early middle ages, but rather an itinerant episcopal household that operated from a number of principal communities within the kingdom? This might account for the importance of the three monastic communities of Llanilltud Fawr, Llandough, and Llandcarfan in the Llandaf charters. Or, might we suppose that there was a bishop, operating from an episcopal seat in Gwent, whose jurisdiction took in the area of Glamorgan?⁴⁸ Whatever the case, Llandaf lacks any of the kind of evidence associated with other religious houses in the area that might connect it either with an early medieval bishop or a royal court. When, in that case, was a bishopric established at Llandaf?

A century before the writing of *Liber Landauensis*, we come across a 'bishop of Llandaf' called Joseph, who is supposed to have held the see between 1022 and 1045. Joseph is mentioned in *Annales Cambriae*, as 'bishop of Llandaf',⁴⁹ and in the *Brutiau*, as 'Teilo's bishop'.⁵⁰ These annals record his death in Rome ca 1045: this accords with the information promulgated in the Book of Llandaf.⁵¹ The designation of Joseph as 'bishop of Llandaf' in *Annales Cambriae* cannot be relied upon since the text post-dates *Liber Landauensis* and is likely to have been influenced by its propaganda. The *Brutiau*, too, are much later than the Book of Llandaf, but their reference to Joseph as 'Teilo's bishop' is intriguing. Unlike the early medieval 'bishops of Llandaf', the bishops of Teilo have impeccable ninth-century credentials. The fifth marginal note (Chad 5) in the so-called 'Book of St Chad', or 'Lichfield Gospels',⁵² records *Nobis episcopus Teiliau* as a witness to a grant.⁵³ In the light of this

evidence, it seems that the *Brutiau* have preserved a less corrupt version of an annal for 1045, of common derivation, than that found in *Annales Cambriae*. Joseph, rather than a bishop of Llandaf, may have been a bishop of Teilo. Wendy Davies has argued that the Llandaf charters themselves – unintentionally telling against the official Llandaf propaganda – reveal that Joseph was responsible for transferring the see to Llandaf. The charters of Joseph's episcopate (253–264b) seem to show that the bishopric began to receive massive endowments in the Llandaf area at this time, and witnesses to these grants appear as *presbiter sancti Teliauil Landauiae*.⁵⁴ We may be able to associate Joseph with Llandaf through an inscription, which is now lost, recorded by the seventeenth-century antiquary, Edward Lhuyd. He sketched the lettering on a stone at Llandaf that read, [. . .] EPISCOPI IOSEPH, '... of Bishop Joseph', the shape of the letters suggesting an eleventh- or twelfth-century date.⁵⁵ By the twelfth century (and probably much earlier), Llandeilo Fawr had suffered a catastrophic reversal of fortunes which resulted in the loss of her gospel book and her status as the principal church of St Teilo's cult. Llandaf was able to re-launch the cult of St Teilo and claim properties associated with Teilo in Dyfed.⁵⁶

In 1023, the year after Joseph became Teilo's bishop, Rhydderch ab Iestyn, king of Morgannwg, seized power in Deheubarth.⁵⁷ The previous year, St Davids had been destroyed by vikings,⁵⁸ and two years later, Morgynnydd of St Davids died;⁵⁹ the bishopric of St Davids was therefore in a weak position. The Book of Llandaf contains the text of a charter, granted by Rhydderch, confirming Llandaf's privileges and thirty-seven 'Teilo' properties throughout Deheubarth. Earlier in *Liber Landauensis* there is the pseudo-papal document, *Priuilegium S. Teliaui*, which is a translation of the Welsh *Braint Teilo* with the best part of a papal privilege tacked on: these two documents speak of the rights of the bishops of Teilo in relation to the kings of Morgannwg.⁶⁰ In 1045 Bishop Joseph died in Rome.

Here among all these texts, preserved in some jumbled and distorted way, we may have the bones of Bishop Urban's diocese of Llandaf, extending from the Wye to the Tywi. Perhaps Bishop Joseph was responsible for the creation of such a diocese – probably short-lived – under the auspices of Rhydderch ab Iestyn's extensive rule across Morgannwg and Deheubarth, taking advantage of a weakened St Davids. Joseph's journey to Rome may have been a simple pilgrimage; or perhaps it was to gain papal sanction for a new episcopal see at Llandaf.⁶¹ *Braint Teilo* may, in part, represent the text of a genuine charter of

⁴⁸ Here I approach conclusions similar to Wendy Davies's account in *An Early Welsh Microcosm*, 149–59.

⁴⁹ *Joseph episcopus Landauensis* (AC (B) [1044]).

⁵⁰ *Joseph escob Teilaw* (ByT (Pen. 20) 1043 [=1045]; ByT (RB) [1045]; ByS 1043 [=1045]).

⁵¹ Joseph is said to have been consecrated in 1022 and to have died, at Rome, in the twenty-fourth year of his consecration (LL, 252).

⁵² The 'Lichfield Gospels' were the principal gospel-book of the community of St Teilo at Llandeilo Fawr in Ystrad Tywi through the ninth-century. At some point, but in the tenth century, this *de luxe* manuscript crossed the border into Mercia and came to rest at Lichfield Cathedral. See Jenkins and Owen, 'The Welsh marginalia'.

⁵³ LL, xlv.

⁵⁴ *An Early Welsh Microcosm*, 21–2, 155.

⁵⁵ RCAHMW, *Inventory, The Early Christian Period*, 68.

⁵⁶ By the late tenth century, the gospel book of Llandeilo Fawr was at Lichfield (Jenkins and Owen, 'The Welsh marginalia', 48–9). For the cult of St Teilo at Llandaf and claims to 'Teilo' property, see below, 70–2, 86–9; also Davies, 'The saints of south Wales and the Welsh Church'.

⁵⁷ ByT (Pen. 20) 1021 [=1023]. For Rhydderch's position as king of Morgannwg, see Maund, *Ireland, Wales, and England*, 108.

⁵⁸ ByT (Pen. 20) 1020 [=1022].

⁵⁹ AC (B) [1025]; ByT (Pen. 20) 1023 [=1025].

⁶⁰ LL, 118–20, 120–1. See 68–70, below.

⁶¹ There was a good number of travellers to Rome from the British mainland around this time, including a mission to gain papal sanction for the removal of the see of Crediton to Exeter and the consolidation of the dioceses of Devon and Cornwall in the years 1049–51 (for a full discussion, see Barlow, *The English Church*, 289–308).

privileges granted by Rhydderch; *Priuilegium S. Teliaui* is a clumsy attempt to produce a papal privilege that was never acquired.⁶²

South-east Wales and the coming of the Normans

The prelude to the Cambro-Norman era of Llandaf's history was played out in the reign of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ap Seisyll, the only native Welsh king directly to have ruled the whole of Wales.⁶³ In 1056 Gruffudd defeated a long-standing enemy, Gruffudd ap Rhydderch ab Iestyn, king of Deheubarth. The Llandaf charters make Gruffudd ap Rhydderch a ruler of Morgannwg:⁶⁴ his son, Caradog, certainly held power in Gwent and Glamorgan twenty years later;⁶⁵ his father, Rhydderch, is also made a king of Morgannwg in the Book of Llandaf.⁶⁶ Gruffudd ap Llywelyn's actions after defeating Gruffudd ap Rhydderch certainly suggest that he had just slain a ruler of the South East: immediately after Gruffudd ap Rhydderch's demise, Gruffudd ap Llywelyn moved his army across to the English border, where he sacked the city of Hereford.⁶⁷ We may assume that the ruler (or rulers) of Glamorgan and Gwent, through whose territory Gruffudd would have approached the Wye valley, had been safely disposed of or subdued.

The last time that the native dynasty of Glamorgan had been in historical view was in 1043, when Hywel ab Owain, 'king of Glamorgan', died.⁶⁸ Hywel's son, Meurig, was captured by vikings in 1039,⁶⁹ but again, only the Llandaf charters testify to his later holding power in Glamorgan, after his father's death.⁷⁰ Cadwgan ap Meurig, son of Meurig ap Hywel, the last of the dynasty, is also known from the Book of Llandaf, which makes him king of Glamorgan in the early 1070s.⁷¹

Gruffudd ap Llywelyn is nowhere referred to as king of Morgannwg, but following his victory over Gruffudd ap Rhydderch in 1056 it is likely that he had now achieved at least overlordship of the kingdoms of south-east Wales. Perhaps he installed Meurig ap Hywel, of the native dynasty, as an under-king in Glamorgan. After Gruffudd ap Llywelyn's death in 1063, another power-struggle ensued.⁷²

By 1065, the future king of England, Earl Harold Godwinsson, had gained control of Gwent Is-Coed – easily accessible from England – which had probably been left without a ruler since the downfall of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn.

⁶² I elaborate on this question below, chapter IV.

⁶³ Maund, *The Welsh Kings*, 63–70; *ead.*, *Ireland, Wales, and England*, 64–8.

⁶⁴ Charter 264a.

⁶⁵ See below, 19–22. Caradog is named as king of Morgannwg in charter 272.

⁶⁶ Charter 253, 264b.

⁶⁷ AC (B) 1056; AC (C) 1055 [=1056]; ByT (Pen. 20) 1054 [=1056]; ByT (RB) [1056]; ByS 1054 [=1056].

⁶⁸ AC (B) 1043; ByT (Pen. 20) 1041 [=1043]; ByS 1041 [=1043]. Rhydderch ab Iestyn and his descendants were an intrusive dynasty (Maund, *Ireland, Wales, and England*, 108–11; *ead.*, *The Welsh Kings*, 61–2).

⁶⁹ AC (C) 1039; ByT (Pen. 20) 1037 [=1039]; ByT (RB) [1039]; ByS 1037 [=1039].

⁷⁰ Charters 249a, 255, 259, 261, 263.

⁷¹ Charters 259, 260, 261, 263, 267; LL 278–9.

⁷² For the circumstances of Gruffudd's death, see Maund, 'Cynan ab Iago'; Hudson, 'The destruction'.

Harold was able to build a royal residence at Portskewett, on the coast, 'and he commanded that large supplies of food and drink should be gathered there so that his lord, King Edward, could stay there sometimes for the chase'.⁷³ Caradog ap Gruffudd, the son of Gruffudd ap Rhydderch, assembled a host of men and attacked Portskewett from the north, massacring the builders. Caradog's action suggests that he held power in the northern part of Gwent – Uch-Coed – probably having seized back control of his father's former kingdom. An account in the Book of Llandaf of churches consecrated by Bishop Herewald, and of priests ordained by him, makes Caradog ruler of Ystrad Yw, Gwent Uch-Coed, and Gwynllŵg.⁷⁴ Caradog's attack on Portskewett from the north makes this a perfectly plausible state of affairs. The sacking of Portskewett may indicate that Caradog took possession of Gwent Is-Coed too, although the Book of Llandaf informs us that Caradog's cousin, and later adversary, Rhydderch, held this part of the kingdom with Ewias.⁷⁵ The same Llandaf document also tells us that Cadwgan ap Meurig (of the native dynasty) 'reigned in Glamorgan as far as the ford of the *Trunci* on the Tywi'; he also bore rule (*dominatus est*) in Gŵyr, Cydweli, and Cantref Bychan for many years until his death, and took hostages from these three *pagi*.⁷⁶ The taking of hostages implies that his control of these areas was a novel circumstance. The level of circumstantial detail in the account lends it an air of authenticity; there is no evidence from independent sources to contradict it.

After the success of William of Normandy over the English in 1066, circumstances on the Welsh border began to take new shape. In 1067, the Conqueror's loyal lieutenant, William fitz Osbern, became earl of Hereford, governing the territory neighbouring south-east Wales. The Domesday survey of Herefordshire and Gloucestershire shows that William fitz Osbern built a line of castles along the Welsh frontier, at Wigmore, Clifford, Ewias Harold, and Chepstow.⁷⁷

J. E. Lloyd, in his classic account of the coming of the Normans, declared that 'the whole region of Gwent fell into William fitz Osbern's hands'.⁷⁸ There is, however, little reason to think that any serious effort was made to topple Caradog ap Gruffudd ap Rhydderch: what evidence there is points to a different conclusion.⁷⁹ Caradog was not disturbed by the Normans; rather, he appears to have formed an alliance with them.⁸⁰ We know that at this time Maredudd ab Owain ab Edwin, of the line of Hywel Dda, held Deheubarth.⁸¹ In 1072 Maredudd was killed in battle on the banks of the Rhymni by Caradog ap Gruffudd ap Rhydderch, who had brought a Norman force to his aid.⁸² This battle, because of its location, must have been fought for control of the

⁷³ Chronicle of John of Worcester, s.a. 1065.

⁷⁴ LL, 278.

⁷⁵ LL, 279. Maund (*Ireland, Wales, and England*, 111, 115) said that the Book of Llandaf made Caradog king of Ystrad Tywi and Gwent Is-coed and Rhydderch king of Gwent Uch-coed: this must have been a simple error of reading on her part.

⁷⁶ LL, 278–9; the names of nine hostages are given (LL, 279, lines 24–7).

⁷⁷ Domesday Book, Herefordshire, fos 183va; 183rb; 186ra; Gloucestershire, fo. 162ra.

⁷⁸ *A History*, II.375.

⁷⁹ See Crouch, 'The slow death of kingship'.

⁸⁰ Contrast Maund, *Ireland, Wales, and England*, 146–7.

⁸¹ ByT (RB) [1069]; ByS 1068 [=1069]; Maund, *Ireland, Wales, and England*, 28–9.

⁸² AC (B) 1072; AC (C) 1071 [=1072]; ByT (Pen. 20) 1070 [=1072]; ByT (RB) 1070 [=1072]; ByS 1070 [=1072].

kingdom of Glamorgan; it may either have been prompted by the death of Cadwgan ap Meurig or have been the occasion of his death; the chronicles are silent on the matter. An alliance of Maredudd ab Owain, his brother Rhys, and Cadwgan ap Meurig had already suffered defeat at the hands of William fitz Osbern during an attack upon Brycheiniog sometime earlier.⁸³ The battle on the Rhymni must have left Caradog ap Gruffudd in control of Morgannwg, and perhaps Ystrad Tywi as well.⁸⁴ If Cadwgan had held control of Ystrad Tywi (Gŵyr, Cydweli, Cantref Bychan), it may have been as part of his alliance with Maredudd – perhaps an arrangement secured by hostages. The demise of Cadwgan would have left the area open to challengers, like Caradog.

The Life of St Gwynllw provides further evidence of Caradog's alliance with the Normans and his possession of the kingdom of Glamorgan. In 1075, William fitz Osbern's son, Roger, was imprisoned for rebellion. In recounting the fate of the Norman knights from Wales who had supported the treason, the author of St Gwynllw's Life wrote:⁸⁵

Nolentes exspectare capi, uenerunt ad Caradocum, regem Gulatmorganensium, in fugam. Ille recepit eos honorifice, fide data nunquam iussu regio eos lesurum esse, quamuis amitteret omnia que tenebat a rege

Unwilling to wait to be taken, they came in flight to Caradog, king of the Glamorgan folk. He received them honourably, his good word being given that he would never, by royal bidding, do them damage, though he should lose everything that he held from the king.

Caradog, now a vassal of William I,⁸⁶ was punished for his infidelity by the Conqueror, who sent his son, William Rufus, to pillage Glamorgan.⁸⁷

William fitz Osbern's castle-building did not take him very far into Gwent: he was merely in possession of Chepstow and Monmouth, which were (and are) just over the border.⁸⁸ According to Domesday Book, the farthest Norman outpost towards the west, by 1086, was Caerleon, which was held by Thurstin fitz Rolf.⁸⁹ Along the coast, Earl William had reached Caerwent and Caldicot, which are not far from Portskewett, where Harold had built the hunting lodge.⁹⁰ Any land held by the earl had probably been controlled by the Anglo-Saxons not long before. Crouch and Courtney have argued that the Gwentian possessions of Earl William's Norman monasteries confirm his limited incursion.⁹¹ The evidence for these holdings is to be found in two

⁸³ Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV (ed. Chibnall, II.260).

⁸⁴ Llandaf charter 272, which Wendy Davies has dated to ca 1072 (*The Llandaff Charters*, 129), makes Caradog king of Morgannwg. Although the designation *rex Morcannuc* may be genuine, Davies's dating is not unshakeable (cf. Maund, *Ireland, Wales, and England*, 204).

⁸⁵ *Vita S. Gundlei*, § 15 (*VSBG*, 188). The Book of Llandaf mentions three barons of William fitz Osbern, Humphrey, Osbern, and William the writer (*scriptor*), who were taken as traitors when Roger fell from grace (*LL*, 277–8).

⁸⁶ Caradog is *subregulus*, 'under-king', a few lines earlier.

⁸⁷ *Vita S. Gundlei*, § 15. If the Book of Llandaf (*LL*, 278) is to be believed, Caradog's position was not seriously affected by William Rufus's punitive raid, as he later appeared at the consecration of the church attached to Monmouth Castle.

⁸⁸ Domesday Book, Gloucs., fo. 162ra; Herefs., fo. 180vb. Crouch ('The slow death of kingship', 25) cited French parallels for the building of castles in such positions.

⁸⁹ Domesday Book, Herefs., fo. 185va.

⁹⁰ Domesday Book, Gloucs., fo. 162rb.

⁹¹ Crouch, 'The slow death of kingship', 25–6; Courtney, 'The Norman invasion'.

charters of confirmation endorsing the tithes granted to these houses: a charter of Nicholas ap Gwrgan, bishop of Llandaf (1148–83), to Lyre Abbey,⁹² and a charter of Henry II (1155–89), to the abbey of Corneilles.⁹³ Among the *beneficia* confirmed we find Troy and Cwmcarnfan, within four miles of Monmouth; Shirenewton, within two miles of Chepstow; and Llangua, a mile from Grosmont, is another of the earl's possible castles on the border. The farthest explicit reference to William fitz Osbern in Gwent is the confirmation to Lyre of what it had in tithes from the earl's grant in his village of Raglan, seven miles from Monmouth on the road to Usk.⁹⁴

Domesday Book mentions several Welsh magnates dependent on the king (as lord of Chepstow) between the Usk and the Wye in 1086; others are said to have been dependent on Earl William fitz Osbern, but to have been transferred by him to 'King Gruffudd's customary dues by King William's permission'.⁹⁵

The Norman incursions into Gwent in the first decade or so after the Conqueror's arrival in England therefore appear to have been less drastic than J. E. Lloyd thought. There were roughly three zones of Norman control in south-east Wales at this time.⁹⁶ First, there were the small patches of direct control on the eastern fringes of Gwent in the Wye valley, around the castles of Chepstow and Monmouth, which amounted to a depth of only a few miles. Secondly, there was a wider band as far westward as the River Usk where the Welsh princes acknowledged the over-lordship of the English earl but continued to rule. Finally, the kingdom of Glamorgan continued to the west of the Usk, allied to William fitz Osbern and his son, as a client of the king of England, but in practice a power in its own right under Caradog ap Gruffudd ap Rhydderch. As I have argued, this state of affairs explains the Norman presence at the battle of the Rhymni in 1072 and the generosity shown by Caradog ap Gruffudd to the earl of Hereford's men in flight in 1075.

Circumstances began to change when Caradog ap Gruffudd decided to extend his sights south-westwards. The first sign of this further ambition was the battle of the Camddwr in 1075.⁹⁷ Caradog, together with the brothers Goronwy and Llywelyn ap Cadwgan ab Elystan Glodrydd (part of another dynasty of the South which appears to have originated in Buellt),⁹⁸ was contending with Rhys, the brother of Maredudd ab Owain, and Rhydderch ap Caradog (Caradog ap Gruffudd's cousin), who were now co-rulers in

⁹² Crouch, *Llandaff Episcopal Acta*, no. 23; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI.ii.1095, no. xxvi; *EA*, II, no. L 180. See map 2. A charter of confirmation by Henry II (1144×89) covers the same possessions but specifies, *medietatem totius decimae inter Oscam et Waiam*, with no reference to forests (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI.ii.1092, no. i).

⁹³ Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI.ii.1076–7, no. ii; there is also a bull of Alexander III (1168), *ibid.*, VI.ii.1076, no. i. See map 2.

⁹⁴ The only source to name Earl William as original grantor of these tithes is this charter of Walter Bloet confirming tithes in Raglan to Corneilles and Lyre (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI.ii.1095), although William fitz Osbern must have initiated the granting of gifts to his Norman monasteries.

⁹⁵ Domesday Book, Herefs., fo. 162ra. This must refer to an arrangement reached in the time of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn and Edward the Confessor (Lloyd, 'Wales and the coming of the Normans', 144).

⁹⁶ Cf. Crouch, 'The slow death of kingship', 26–7.

⁹⁷ *AC* (C) 1074; *ByT* (Pen. 20) 1073 [=1075]; *ByT* (RB) [1075]; *ByS* 1073 [=1075]; where events are confused (Maund, *Ireland, Wales and England*, 29–30).

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 45–8.

Deheubarth.⁹⁹ Caradog ap Gruffudd was unsuccessful. In 1078, however, Caradog killed Rhys ab Owain and his brother Hywel;¹⁰⁰ yet he still was unable to win control in the South West and instead Rhys ap Tewdwr, of the dynasty of Einion ab Edwin ap Hywel Dda, secured power there.¹⁰¹ Finally, in 1081, at the battle of Mynydd Carn, Rhys ap Tewdwr allied with Gruffudd ap Cynan (a contender for the kingdom of Gwynedd) and met a force brought against them by Trahaearn ap Caradog (the king of Gwynedd) and Caradog ap Gruffudd.¹⁰² Caradog ap Gruffudd was slain in the conflict, making way for new rulers in the South East.

In 1071, ten years before the Battle of Mynydd Carn, William fitz Osbern had died in France; his son, Roger, succeeded him, but was imprisoned for rebellion against the Conqueror in 1075; the possessions of his earldom were retained by the Crown.¹⁰³ In 1081 William I made an expedition into Wales as far as St Davids.¹⁰⁴ All these events – the demise of the earl of Hereford, the possession of his lands by the king, and the sudden fall of an important client-king on the frontier – were no doubt the cause of the royal visit.¹⁰⁵

William would have met Rhys ap Tewdwr and received an acknowledgement of his over-lordship as well as a promise to pay an annual tribute of forty pounds. In the Domesday survey of Herefordshire, there is an entry, 'Rhys of Wales pays King William £40'.¹⁰⁶ This was the same amount as that paid by Robert of Rhuddlan for Gwynedd, and it is therefore almost certainly the rent of Deheubarth paid by Rhys ap Tewdwr under an agreement that protected him in the possession of his kingdom.¹⁰⁷ More significant is that three Welsh sources record the founding of Cardiff at this time.¹⁰⁸

Cardiff castle was built on the site of a Roman fort;¹⁰⁹ the great Norman motte is by far the largest in Glamorgan, and one of the best examples in Wales.¹¹⁰ The quality of the Roman masonry makes it likely that much of it was still standing in the late eleventh century: in a similar way, the Conqueror also personally directed castle-building at Warwick, York, Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Cambridge, all within pre-Norman rectangular

⁹⁹ *a gynhalassant Deheubarth: ByT (RB) [1075].*

¹⁰⁰ *AC (C) 1077 [=1078]; ByT (Pen. 20) 1076 [=1078]; ByT (RB) [1078].*

¹⁰¹ Maund, *Ireland, Wales, and England*, 33–8.

¹⁰² *AC (B) 1082 [=1081]; AC (C) 1080 [=1081]; ByT (Pen. 20) 1079 [=1081]; ByT (RB) [1081]; ByS 1079 [=1081]; Maund, Ireland, Wales, and England*, 34–6; *ead.* 'Trahaearn'.

¹⁰³ In Domesday Book, all William fitz Osbern's property belongs to the king.

¹⁰⁴ *AC (B) 1082 [=1081]; ByT (Pen. 20) 1079 [=1081]; ByT (RB) [1081]; ByS 1079 [=1081].*

¹⁰⁵ The chroniclers' record of this visit as a pilgrimage is likely to be propaganda derived from a St Davids-based annalist promoting the cult of his patron saint (see Davies, 'The saints of south Wales', 387–8).

¹⁰⁶ Domesday Book, Herefs., fo. 179rb.

¹⁰⁷ Lloyd, 'Wales and the coming of the Normans', 163.

¹⁰⁸ The 'Annals of Margam' and a related thirteenth-century chronicle in London, PRO, MS E. 164/1, fo. 29, state: *Edificata est Kerdia sub Willelmo primo* (ed. Luard, *Annales Monastici*, I. 4; 'Chronicle of the thirteenth century' [ed. anon.], 273). *ByS* 1080 [=1082] says: *y dechrewt edeiliat Caer Dyf*. These references have proved problematic for some (for example, Nelson, *The Normans*, 103–4) because of the late date of the text. The description of the Conqueror as *Willelmus primus* shows that these are not direct quotations from contemporary references. The Welsh chronicles, however, make William's visit a 'pilgrimage'; it is therefore unlikely that *Annales de Margam*, in stating that Cardiff was built under William I in 1081, are making a mere inference from the journey; the source must have been independent.

¹⁰⁹ RCAHMW, *Inventory, The Early Castles*, no. 735.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 164.

fortifications.¹¹¹ The building of Cardiff Castle would have shored up the Norman position in William's client kingdom of Morgannwg in the face of Rhys ap Tewdwr's rise in Deheubarth. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle hints at the possibility of isolated Norman garrisons already in place in its reference to William freeing hundreds of men on his expedition.¹¹²

The foundation of a mint at Cardiff has also been recognised. Three coins are attributable to a mint of William I at Cardiff. The earliest is a type-vi penny of 1077–80; there is a type-vii penny, conceivably of Cardiff origin; and two certain William I type-viii pennies from the Cardiff mint.¹¹³ Besides these three Cardiff coins of William I, there are contemporary coins attributed to a mint at St Davids: hoards from Llantrithyd and Wenallt have also shown that there were William I mints at Rhuddlan and St Davids.¹¹⁴ If Cardiff was founded around 1081 and there was a mint there producing Norman coinage, then there was a Norman presence of some description; this is likely to have been a permanent outpost-garrison in the heart of the kingdom of Glamorgan.¹¹⁵ The mints would have been set up to enable Rhys to render the yearly tribute of forty pounds to the king and (at Cardiff) to pay the garrison.¹¹⁶ If Caerleon Castle was built during the same campaign there would have been a chain of Norman fortresses along the coast of South Wales, perhaps intended to be supplied by sea, to dominate the lowlands of Glamorgan and to impress the Welsh magnates with their continuing dependence on the English king. Caerleon and Cardiff were built to stake the Norman claim to the area.¹¹⁷

The opening years of the reign of William Rufus were uneventful as far as the further advance of the Normans into South Wales was concerned. During his first year as king, William II was preoccupied with a rebellion in favour of his elder brother, Robert of Normandy.¹¹⁸ In 1093, however, a renewed Norman campaign into Wales began with the death of Rhys ap Tewdwr at the hands of the 'French' invading Brycheiniog.¹¹⁹ The Norman onslaught was devastating.¹²⁰

Ac yna y dygwydawd teyrnas y Brytanyeit . . . Ac yna . . . y deuth y Ffreinc y Dyuet a Cheredigyawt, y rei a'e kynhalassant gantunt etwa, ac y kadarnaassant o kestyll; a holl tir y Brytanyeit a achubassant.

And then fell the kingdom of the Britons . . . And then . . . the French came to Dyfed and

¹¹¹ He had also directed the building of castles at Exeter and Nottingham: Spurgeon, 'Mottes and castle-ringworks', 39.

¹¹² ASC (E), 1081.

¹¹³ Boon, *Welsh Hoards*, 40; Spurgeon, 'Mottes and castle-ringworks', 40. A fourth coin that was cited by Boon as a William I type-vii penny (*ca* 1080–83) from Cardiff has been discounted (see Blackburn, 'Coinage and currency', 57). A. G. Williams ('Norman lordship', 460) has argued that the type-viii pennies could have been produced anachronistically during Robert fitz Hamo's occupation of the site from 1093 onwards.

¹¹⁴ Boon, *Welsh Hoards*, 40.

¹¹⁵ Crouch, 'The slow death of kingship', 28. A. G. Williams's approach to the evidence for sustained Norman settlement at Cardiff under William I is rather sceptical ('Norman lordship', 459), but there is no evidence against such settlement.

¹¹⁶ See Courtney, 'The first Welsh mints'.

¹¹⁷ Crouch, 'The slow death of kingship', 28.

¹¹⁸ ASC (E) 1088; Barlow, *William Rufus*, chapter 2.

¹¹⁹ *AC (B) 1094 [=1093]; AC (C) 1091 [=1093]; ByT (Pen. 20) 1091 [=1093]; ByT (RB) 1090 [=1093]; ByS 1091 [=1093].*

¹²⁰ *ByT (RB) 1090 [=1093].*

Ceredigion, which they have held to this day, and they fortified them with castles; and they seized all the land of the Britons.

Nothing is mentioned, however, about the conquest of Glamorgan. The likelihood is that the Normans were already in control of the area. It would have been a judicious policy for the Normans to consolidate their position in the South East before attempting to take control of the central and south-western areas of Wales. The chronicles are characteristically silent about the fate of the kingdom of Glamorgan, so it is difficult to give a precise time-scale for the advance of the Norman forces. All that can be said with any certainty is that the Norman leader in Glamorgan was Robert fitz Hamo. Robert, the son of a sheriff of Kent, had won Rufus's favour because of his loyalty during the rebellion of 1088, and had been granted extensive lands in Gloucestershire.¹²¹ Sometime in the period 1089–1093, Robert became the first lord of the formally constituted lordship of Glamorgan.

In the time of Robert fitz Hamo, the full-scale re-ordering of the government of Glamorgan becomes visible. Cardiff became a borough with a sheriff, and the centre of a *comitatus* or county.¹²² Robert retained for himself what could be described as the Vale of Glamorgan proper – the most fertile areas of the former kingdom of Glamorgan – from where he could have direct control over the new shire. The range of Robert's acquisitions in Glamorgan can be found in the grants that he made from his property to the abbeys of Tewkesbury and Gloucester.¹²³ The list includes the most important churches in Glamorgan, which we encountered earlier in this chapter. To Gloucester Abbey he granted the church of St Cadog of Llanccarfan and Treguff. To Tewkesbury he gave the tithes of his lordship and the tithes that the abbot of Gloucester had in Llanccarfan; he also gave the *uilla* of Llandough, the parish church of St Mary in Cardiff, an arm of the River Taf, and the church of Llanilltud Fawr.

Other knights, who probably assisted in the subjection of Glamorgan, were given lands.¹²⁴ These knights owed military service and, above all, castle-guard: their affairs were regulated at the central feudal *curia*, the *comitatus*.¹²⁵ Robert of Hay was able to grant the church of Basaleg, near Newport, to Glastonbury.¹²⁶ Richard de Granville held the land between Gŵyr and Glamorgan, west of the River Neath.¹²⁷ Payn de Turberville held Coety, the land between the River Ogmere and Ewenni.¹²⁸ William de Londres held Ogmere Castle;¹²⁹ Herbert de St-Quentin was at Llanblethian, near Cowbridge;¹³⁰ Robert de Humfreville was at Pen-marc;¹³¹ and Robert le Sor was at Peterston on the River Ely.¹³² The hill-country – Blaenau Morgannwg – was left to the Welsh,

¹²¹ Barlow, *William Rufus*, 93.

¹²² *Cartae*, ed. Clark, I.38–40.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, I.37, 39–40, 92.

¹²⁴ See map 3.

¹²⁵ Davies, 'Kings, lords and liberties', 49.

¹²⁶ *Cartae*, ed. Clark, I.38; Pelteret, *Catalogue*, no. 58.

¹²⁷ *Cartae*, ed. Clark, I.74–5.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, II.653 (cf. Thomas Hardy, *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*, chapter I).

¹²⁹ *Cartae*, ed. Clark, II.653.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² *Ibid.* The holdings of these knights can only be deduced from the earliest survey of the shire-fee, which was completed on the death of Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester, in 1262 (*ibid.* II.649–51). Here the descendants of those who, according to Merrick's *Morganiae Archaio-graphia* (ed.

and native law would have prevailed. The lands from Aberafan to the Neath were held by Caradog ab Iestyn (son of Iestyn ap Gwrgan);¹³³ and, as far as we can tell, the other hilly regions were held by Welshmen. In 1262, Welshmen – namely, Gruffudd ap Rhys and Maredudd ap Gruffudd – were still holding Senghennydd and Machen (beyond the Rhymni).¹³⁴

In 1096 'the men of Brycheiniog and the men of Gwent and the men of Gwynllŵg rebelled against the oppression of the French'.¹³⁵ The Welsh inflicted a heavy blow on the Normans at an unidentified place called Celli Garnant; but the effect of this revolt does not seem to have been significant, as the Welsh failed to capture the Norman castles.¹³⁶

In the wake of these new arrangements in the South and Morgannwg, we stumble across a shadowy figure, Iestyn ap Gwrgan, who has left his trace in our sources. Although Iestyn does not appear in the chronicles and is nowhere found as a king of Morgannwg, we may infer that he held power in the kingdom, in some form, after the demise of Caradog ap Gruffudd. The only near contemporary references to him occur in the Llandaf charters (271, 272): in particular, he appears as a grantor, with household troops, in charter 271. This, combined with the subsequent position held by his sons in Morgannwg, implies that he held power in Morgannwg; but we know neither the nature nor the extent of his power. Like his son, Caradog, he may have controlled only parts of the uplands in Blaenau Morgannwg.¹³⁷

In this way the political landscape of south-east Wales, from the time of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn to the end of the eleventh century, was transformed. The internal organisation of the South was destabilised in 1063 as a consequence of the death of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn: the kingdoms and their boundaries became fluid and power changed hands at frequent intervals. The disposition of the English on the Welsh border was strong, and Earl Harold quickly gained control of lowland Gwent. Despite the coming of the Normans to England and the placing of William fitz Osbern in the earldom of Hereford, the position on the Welsh border did not, at first, drastically change. Norman inroads into Gwent during the first decade of the Conquest do not seem to have been much deeper than those made by the Anglo-Saxons: the Normans were even on friendly terms with Caradog ap Gruffudd. But the border was fortified with castles and a long-term plan was in place. After the death of William fitz Osbern and the deposition of his son in 1075, there was little advance into south-east Wales until 1081 and the Norman presence in Cardiff. Although Rhys ap Tewdwr now acknowledged the over-lordship of the Conqueror, he continued in full control of the kingdoms of South Wales. By the early 1090s, the Vale of Glamorgan had become subject to Robert fitz Hamo and his men;

James, 27), assisted Robert fitz Hamo in his conquest of Glamorgan can be identified (see *Cartae*, ed. Clarke, II.651–55). These sources are somewhat unsatisfactory because of their late date: only the names of St-Quentin and Le Sor can be found in documents contemporary with Robert fitz Hamo (*ibid.*, I.37–40).

¹³³ Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerarium Cambriae*, I.7 (ed. Brewer *et al.*, 69); see below.

¹³⁴ *Cartae*, ed. Clark, II.651.

¹³⁵ *Gwyr Brecheynauc a gwyr Gwent a gwyr Gwenllyuc a wrthnebassant gorthrymder y Freinc* (ByS 1094 [=1096]).

¹³⁶ *ByT* (Pen. 20) 1094 [=1096] (which calls it *Celli Tarfawg*); *ByT* (RB) 1092 [=1096]; *ByS* 1094 [=1096].

¹³⁷ See above, and n. 133.

Norman political structures appeared and land was parcelled out to Norman barons; but the hill-country remained in the hands of the Welsh.

Herewald and the bishopric of Glamorgan

During this lengthy period of political transition, the Church in south-east Wales was in the hands of a bishop called Herewald. The only contemporary allusion to Bishop Herewald occurs in a letter of Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, to the abbot of Séez, in which he refers to *episcopus de Walis qui uocatur Herewardus*.¹³⁸ Non-contemporary references appear (i) in a list of consecrations and obits of Welsh bishops written at Canterbury in a hand of the latter half of the twelfth century;¹³⁹ (ii) in a list of professions of canonical obedience by suffragan bishops, preserved in the library of the dean and chapter of Canterbury, in which Herewald appears as bishop of Llandaf under the primacy of Lanfranc;¹⁴⁰ (iii) in *Vita S. Gundleii*, a Life written after the Book of Llandaf, and preserved in a manuscript of ca 1200, where Herewald is referred to as bishop of Llandaf;¹⁴¹ (iv) in the late twelfth-century *Abbreviationes Chronicorum* by Ralph of Diss, which records the consecration of Herewald as bishop of Llandaf by Archbishop Lanfranc in 1071;¹⁴² and (v) in two thirteenth-century Welsh chronicles, which record the death of Herewald, bishop of Llandaf, in 1104, at the age of a hundred years.¹⁴³

The one contemporary reference to Bishop Herewald, the letter of Anselm, does not give a name to his bishopric, being no more specific than to describe him as a bishop from Wales. The other sources were written no earlier than the second third of the twelfth century and would therefore have been subject to contamination by Llandaf propaganda. The descriptions of Herewald as 'bishop of Llandaf' in this later material are anachronistic in the light of the evidence of contemporary royal charters, which indicate that the style, *N. Landauensis episcopus*, did not come into use before 1121.¹⁴⁴

The Book of Llandaf places great stress on Bishop Herewald's possessions and episcopal activities in Ergyng, and in Cantref Bychan, Gŵyr, Cydweli, and Ystrad Yw. There is a lengthy document that enumerates thirty-nine churches in these areas where Herewald had exercised episcopal rights of consecration or ordination or both.¹⁴⁵ The last of the bishops in the Glasbury episcopal list, named Tryferyn, 'left for Hereford'.¹⁴⁶ This Tryferyn, who died in 1055, appears in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and in John of Worcester's Chronicle as a Welsh bishop who had operated as a deputy to Bishop Æthelstan of Hereford.¹⁴⁷

We have seen that the years 1055–6 were politically significant for Ergyng. During this period, Gruffudd ap Llywelyn, the Welsh king, sacked Hereford with the aid of Earl Ælfgar,¹⁴⁸ and consequently made a pact with Harold Godwinsson at Billingsley, in Ergyng.¹⁴⁹ In 1056, Æthelstan, bishop of Hereford, died and in a matter of weeks his successor, Bishop Leofgar, was killed in battle by Gruffudd: after this, the see of Hereford was left vacant and put in the hands of Ældred, bishop of Worcester.¹⁵⁰ With the death of Bishop Tryferyn, the see of Hereford vacant, and the Welsh in a strong position on the border, it is possible that Herewald was consecrated ca 1056 to be bishop over a kind of buffer-diocese between England and Wales.¹⁵¹ More likely, Herewald may have been consecrated to the bishopric of Glamorgan, which went on to subsume Ergyng and the bishopric of Glasbury in Ystrad Yw, to the east, and, to the west, Llandeilo Fawr (encompassing Cantref Bychan, Cydweli and Gŵyr), within an expanding orbit of jurisdiction.¹⁵²

The Book of Llandaf presents a confused picture of Herewald's consecration. One detailed account of the bishop's election and episcopal ordination states that the event took place in 1059 with the consent of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn and Meurig ap Hywel (king of Glamorgan),¹⁵³ at the hands of Cynesige, archbishop of York, in the presence of Edward the Confessor.¹⁵⁴ A few pages later, however, there is a record of Herewald's death in 1104, in the forty-eighth year after his consecration: this means that he was consecrated in 1056.¹⁵⁵

The other sources only help to confuse matters. The Canterbury list of consecrations and obits and Ralph of Diss's *Abbreviationes Chronicorum* both say that Herewald was consecrated by Archbishop Lanfranc,¹⁵⁶ the latter text giving a date of 1071.¹⁵⁷ The notice of Herewald's death in the Canterbury list, however, provides information that does not tally with the statement made about the bishop's consecration a few lines earlier. Despite reporting that Herewald was consecrated by Archbishop Lanfranc (1071–89), the author of the Canterbury notice makes the bishop's death (in 1104) occur 'in the forty-eighth year of his consecration', again implying a consecration-date of 1056.

The Canterbury document is probably a forgery taken from a Llandaf source that was compiled on the basis of episcopal obits of Welsh origin.¹⁵⁸ The list would have been adapted to favour Canterbury's claim to primacy over the whole of Britain. The scribe, in copying the original obit, neglected the emendation of the length of Herewald's episcopate when adding the forged notice of his consecration by Archbishop Lanfranc. We may therefore take a consecration-date in the late 1050s as most likely.

¹³⁸ *S. Anselmi* [. . .] *Opera Omnia*, ed. Schmitt, IV.6, no. 175.

¹³⁹ Canterbury, Dean and Chapter, *Chartae Antiquae*, C 117v ('Some early Professions', ed. Woodruff, 163–4); Davies, 'The consecration', 53.

¹⁴⁰ Press-mark A.A., Portfolio C4 ('Some early Professions', ed. Woodruff, 166).

¹⁴¹ *VSBG*, 172–93 (at 188); see below, chapter VIII, for the date of the work.

¹⁴² *Radulphi de Diceto*, ed. Stubbs, I.203; see Gransden, *Historical Writing*, I.231–2, 234–5.

¹⁴³ *Annales de Margan*, s.a. 1104 (*Annales Monastici*, ed. Luard, I.8); 'Chronicle of the thirteenth century' [ed. Anon.], 273.

¹⁴⁴ See above, 9.

¹⁴⁵ *LL*, 275–8.

¹⁴⁶ . . . *Tremerin, et inde discessit as Herefordiam* (Fleuriot, 'Les évêques', 225).

¹⁴⁷ *ASC* (C & D) 1055; Chronicle of John of Worcester, s.a. 1055. See above, 12.

¹⁴⁸ *ByT* (Pen. 20) 1054 [=1056]; *ASC* (C, D & E) 1055; Chronicle of John of Worcester, s.a. 1055.

¹⁴⁹ Chronicle of John of Worcester, s.a. 1055; Maund, 'The Welsh alliances', 184–5; Lloyd, 'Wales and the coming of the Normans', 134.

¹⁵⁰ Chronicle of John of Worcester, s.a. 1056.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Brooke, *The Church and the Welsh Border*, 11, 93.

¹⁵² An original bishopric based at Llandeilo Fawr seems likely also to have encompassed Cantref Mawr (in which Llandeilo lay), but this area was not claimed by Llandaf.

¹⁵³ Maund, *Ireland, Wales, and England*, 107.

¹⁵⁴ *LL*, 265–6.

¹⁵⁵ *LL*, 280.

¹⁵⁶ See above, nn. 140, 142.

¹⁵⁷ The entry is probably based on the Canterbury list (Davies, 'The consecration', 54–6; Brooke, *The Church and the Welsh Border*, 19, n. 15).

¹⁵⁸ Davies, 'The consecration'.

There would have been compelling motives for a Canterbury scribe to record that the Welsh bishop had been consecrated by Lanfranc. First, if Herewald had been consecrated by the archbishop of Canterbury *ca* 1056, the rite would have been performed by Stigand, whose status in the metropolitical throne had been ambiguous, to say the least. He had been degraded in 1070 for unlawfully holding the bishopric of Winchester at the same time as the archbishopric; for taking possession of the archbishopric during the lifetime of Archbishop Robert; and for receiving the pallium from the excommunicated anti-pope, Benedict X.¹⁵⁹ A record of a consecration by Stigand would have reflected badly both upon Canterbury and the Welsh bishop. Secondly, the compilers of the Book of Llandaf would have us believe that Herewald had not been consecrated at Canterbury at all, but at York. The reason for having a consecration at York would probably have been to avoid the risk of an invalid sacrament at the hands of Stigand. In principle, a consecration at York in the late 1050s would have been quite feasible. Between 1052 and 1066 no English bishops came to Stigand for consecration except in the months immediately after his recognition by Pope Benedict X (April 1058–January 1059). This was the only period in the middle ages when the archbishop of York regularly consecrated bishops outside his own province. Earl Harold invited Archbishop Cynesige, and not Stigand, to consecrate his newly founded church of Waltham Holy Cross; and, contrary to the propaganda of the Bayeux Tapestry, it is likely that Ealdred of York crowned Harold king. William was certainly crowned by Ealdred.¹⁶⁰ In the context of the primacy dispute with York, the record of such an event would not have served Canterbury's interests.

The possibility that Herewald was not consecrated by one of the English metropolitans at all, but by a Welsh bishop (or bishops), must also be entertained. If he was appointed to a see based in Glamorgan (or even Ergyng), under the auspices of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn, who had recently sacked Hereford, killed its bishop, and appropriated Ergyng/Archenfield, it is unlikely that any English archbishop would have been eager to consecrate him. Under such circumstances it is possible that Gruffudd had had Herewald consecrated by Welsh bishops. Perhaps the consecration was uncanonical. As we have seen, even the archbishop of Canterbury could not put a name to Herewald's see, which would have been strange if his consecration had been regular. Moreover, Anselm had placed Herewald under an interdict, and would not allow the recognition of the orders of a cleric who had been ordained by him.¹⁶¹ This, too, might suggest that the regularity of Herewald's episcopal orders had been called into question.

Herewald died on 6 March 1104.¹⁶² The English chroniclers record that three years later, on 11 August 1107, Urban was consecrated as bishop of Glamorgan.¹⁶³ The petition of the clergy and people of 'the Church of Glamorgan' to

Archbishop Anselm, by which he was notified of the election of the new bishop, is, as we have seen, the earliest reference to a diocese of that name.¹⁶⁴ We can be more or less certain, therefore, that Herewald had also been bishop of a diocese of Glamorgan before Urban. The rule of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn throughout South Wales provides the most likely context for the expansion of the orbit of his jurisdiction eastwards to Ergyng. Likewise, the fall of Gruffudd might have obliged him to withdraw from Ergyng. The acquisitions of Cadwgan ap Meurig, the waxing and waning fortunes of Caradog ap Gruffudd (grandson of Rhydderch ab Iestyn) and his alliances with Welsh and Norman magnates, may have provided scope for the expansion of Herewald's bishopric westwards, towards the Tywi. If Llandaf was not already an episcopal seat, the growth of Cardiff as an administrative centre for Glamorgan in the later eleventh century would have suggested the nearby church as an obvious headquarters for Herewald. Perhaps Herewald was attempting to maintain the achievements of Joseph, using fortuitous political circumstances to retain, or re-incorporate, the former territories of Teilo's bishops in Cantref Bychan, Cydweli and Gŵyr, into a larger bishopric extending across the whole of Glamorgan, Gwent, and Ergyng. For the moment, however, our perception of the background to Bishop Urban's episcopate and the 'Book of Llandaf' project must incorporate a fair degree of uncertainty.

Although evidence for the ecclesiastical organisation of south-east Wales in the eleventh century is fragmentary, it should nevertheless be reasonable to conclude that Bishop Urban's claims for his diocese had some basis in reality in order for them to make any headway at all. That there was a diocese of Glamorgan encompassing the kingdoms of Morgannwg and Gwent, to which Urban was elected in 1107, must be fairly certain. It seems quite possible that, at some point in the early to mid-eleventh century, during the episcopates of Joseph and Herewald, the diocese of Glamorgan included territories in Ergyng and the *cantrefi* between the Tawe and the Tywi, which had been appropriated as the result of advantageous political circumstances. But the proposition that these peripheral territories had been long-standing components of a diocese ruled from Glamorgan is questionable.

Perhaps we should see the historical uncertainty surrounding the status of the bishopric of Glamorgan-Llandaf as the key to understanding Bishop Urban's episcopate and the Book of Llandaf. The diocese of Glamorgan, before the advent of Bishop Urban, was a nebulous entity; but from the very beginning of his episcopate Urban brought his new bishopric conclusively into the contemporary sphere of Normanised ecclesiastical organisation. Urban is the first Welsh bishop recorded as having made profession of canonical obedience to an archbishop of Canterbury,¹⁶⁵ as a consequence the 'Church of Glamorgan' was the first Welsh see to be formally and successfully incorporated into the province of Canterbury. This circumstance was emphasised by a consecration performed simultaneously with those to four English bishoprics: Winchester, Salisbury, Hereford, and Exeter.¹⁶⁶ During Urban's episcopate, the new style of 'Llandaf' was adopted for the diocese of Glamorgan.¹⁶⁷ Urban also took a full and active role in the life of the province of Canterbury: with Bernard of St

¹⁵⁹ Chronicle of John of Worcester, *s.a.* 1070.

¹⁶⁰ Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 464–6; Brooke, *The Church and the Welsh Border*, 93.

¹⁶¹ In his letter to the abbot of Séez, Anselm wrote, *De fratre illo, quem dicitis esse ordinatum a quodam episcopo qui a nobis est interdictus, hoc respondeo quia, si ordinatus est ab episcopo de Walis qui uocatur Herewardus: nec illis ordinibus quos ab illo accepit nostra concessione aliquando utetur, nec ab alio episcopo reordinari debet* (S. Anselmi [. . .] *Opera Omnia*, ed. Schmitt, IV.56, no. 175).

¹⁶² See above, nn. 143, 155.

¹⁶³ See above, n. 5.

¹⁶⁴ See above, 9–10.

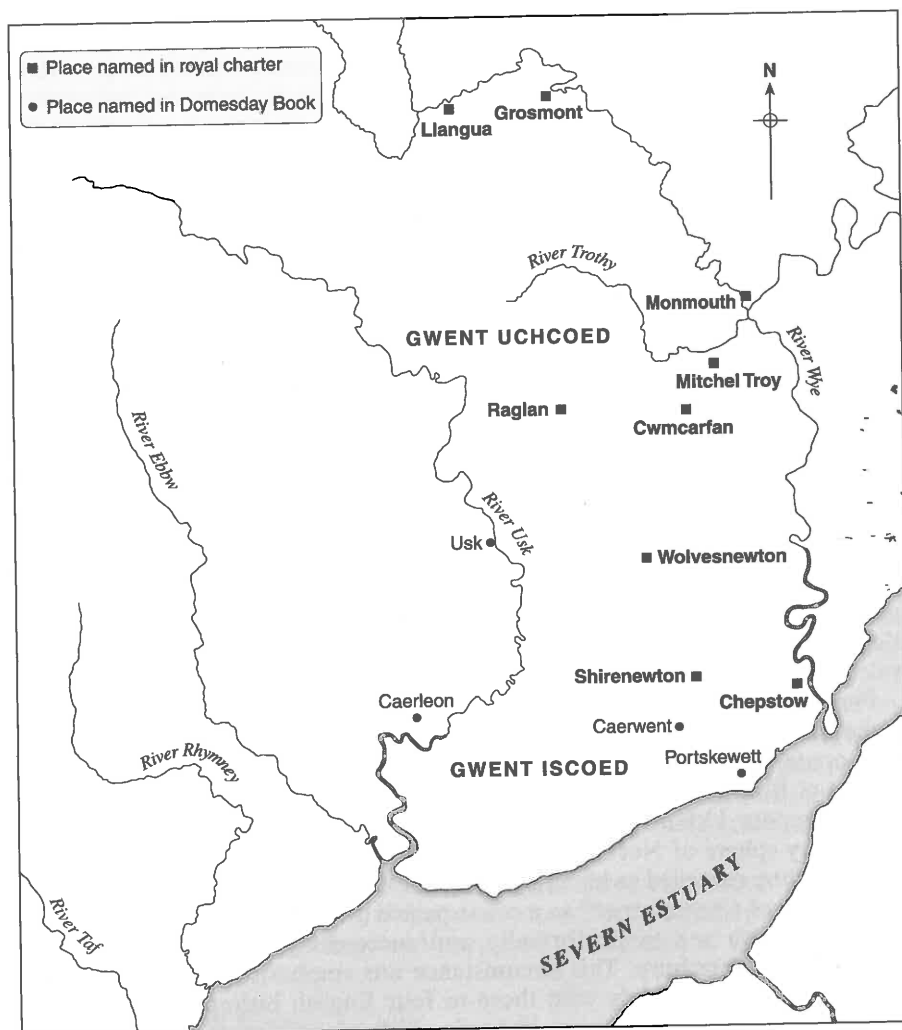
¹⁶⁵ *Canterbury Professions*, ed. Richter, no. 7.

¹⁶⁶ Chronicle of John of Worcester, *s.a.* 1107.

¹⁶⁷ See above, n. 3.

Davids (consecrated in 1115) he appears regularly as a suffragan of Canterbury, both at consecrations and Church councils;¹⁶⁸ he is also found in the witness-lists of royal charters.¹⁶⁹

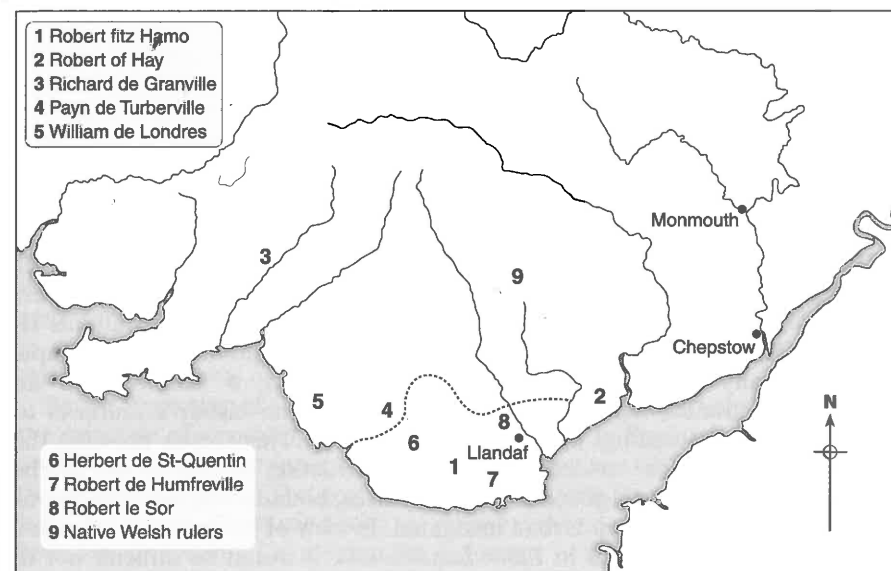
This high profile reflected the main preoccupation of Urban's episcopate, which was the pursuit of a series of legal petitions concerning the status, boundaries, and possessions of his diocese. It was this suit that he took before the English ecclesiastical courts and, more famously, to the papal curia.



Map 2. The probable possessions of William fitz Osbern in Gwent ca 1071

¹⁶⁸ For example, Chronicle of John of Worcester, s.aa. 1120, 1121, 1125, 1127.

¹⁶⁹ RRAN, II, nos 847, 1091, 1202, 1243, 1245, 1485.



Map 3. The possessions of Norman barons in south-east Wales at the end of the eleventh century