

**The Place-Names
of the
Book of Llandaf**

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PhD Thesis Submitted for Examination

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Summary of Thesis

This thesis brings together all the place-names contained in the Book of Llandaf (also known as *Liber Landavensis*), and discusses them, together with certain associated problems. The manuscript concerned is a cartulary of the early twelfth century, compiled at the cathedral church of Llandaf in an effort to demonstrate the legitimacy of the diocese's territorial claims. Much of the material copied into the Book is significantly older than the Book itself, some probably dating back to the seventh century, and the Book also contains documents bound into it after the twelfth century. Most of the place-names are Welsh, but a significant proportion is English or French. For each place-name there is a list of attestations (generally drawn only from within the Book, but occasionally referring to other primary or secondary sources), a suggested location for the place, discussion of the place-name's documentary context and the evidence for its location, and a discussion of the elements contained in the place-name. An alphabetical list of the elements found in the place-names is also supplied. An important adjunct to the thesis is a discussion of the boundary clauses which are attached to most of the charters copied into the Book. These bounds are written in Old Welsh or Latin, or in a mixture of the two languages, and have largely been overlooked by linguists due to the controversy surrounding the dating of the documents copied into the Book. A methodology is presented, involving the examination of proportions of certain datable features of language and style, whereby approximate dates can be supplied for these bounds. Editions and translations of each of the bounds, and a glossary of their vocabulary, are supplied as appendices to the thesis.

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Preface

I should acknowledge foremost the patience and helpful guidance of my supervisor, Professor Patrick Sims-Williams.

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My gratitude is due also, not least, to the various academic institutions at which I have studied, and to their staff (particularly Dr Oliver Padel, who first suggested the place-names of the Book of Llandaf to me as a PhD topic): the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic at Cambridge; the Department of Welsh at Aberystwyth; and the Celticists at Oxford.

List of Abbreviations

Anc Corr	Edwards, <i>Calendar of Ancient Correspondence Concerning Wales</i>
AnnCamb	Williams, <i>Annales Cambriæ</i>
CPNE	Padel, <i>Cornish Place-Name Elements</i>
DB	Domesday Book
dim.	diminutive
EANC	Thomas, <i>Enwau Afonydd a Nentydd Cymru</i>
Eng.	English
fem.	feminine
gen.	genitive
GMW	Evans, <i>Grammar of Middle Welsh</i>
GPC	Thomas, <i>Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru</i>
Lat.	Latin
len.	lenited
LHEB	Jackson, <i>Language and History in Early Britain</i>
LL	Evans, <i>The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv</i>
masc.	masculine
NGR	National Grid Reference
nr	near
pl.	plural
PNDinas P.	Pierce, <i>The Place-Names of Dinas Powys Hundred</i>
PNPemb.	Charles, <i>The Place-Names of Pembrokeshire</i>
PNRom. Brit.	Rivet and Smith, <i>The Place-Names of Roman Britain</i>
s.a.	<i>sub anno</i> 'under the year'
s.v.	<i>sub verbo</i> 'under the word'
sg.	singular/singulative

- Val. Eccl. *Valor Ecclesiasticus Temp.*, IV
- VAS Vita I Sancti Samsonis, edited in Flobert, *La Vie ancienne*
- Vesp. British Library manuscript, Cotton Vespasian A. XIV
- VN Lunt, W. E., ed., *The Valuation of Norwich* (Oxford, 1926)
- VSBG Wade-Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*
- W. Welsh
- WATU Richards, *Welsh Administrative and Territorial Units*

1. Introduction

1.1 The Book of Llandaf

1.1.1 Contents and Date

‘The Book of Llandaf’ is the name given in English to Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales MS 17110; in Welsh it is called ‘Llyfr Llandaf’, and in Latin, ‘Liber Landavensis’ (whence the usual abbreviation ‘LL’).¹ The standard edition of the manuscript is that of Gwenogvryn Evans, which is noted for its accuracy.² The manuscript was originally made up essentially of a gospel book, the Lives of some Southern Welsh saints, a cartulary (apparently of grants to the bishopric of Llandaf), and some documents relating to a territorial dispute between Bishop Urban of Llandaf and the bishops of St David’s and Hereford.³ The precise date of the manuscript is still controversial, but it is safe to say that it was written in the first two-thirds of the twelfth century. Based on purely palaeographical considerations Huws was unwilling to offer a more precise dating than ‘s. xii *med*’.⁴ Christopher Brooke proposed a date of c. 1135–50, based on an argument that the volume was written after Bishop Urban’s death (due to a reference to him as ‘uir bone memorie’ on page 85 of LL),⁵ whereas John Davies argued that the work was overseen (and probably partly written) by Urban himself, and consequently it should be dated to the period between 1119 (when Urban initiated the territorial dispute, which seems to be the reason behind the writing of the Book of Llandaf, with a letter to the Pope) and 1134 (Urban’s death).⁶ I find Davies’s argument the more convincing, and have therefore applied ‘c. 1120s’ as a general date for documents belonging to the period during which the manuscript was put together. The manuscript also contains a good deal of material added later in the form of glosses (mostly fifteenth-century) and memoranda (mostly administrative

¹ The spelling of the place-name *Llandaf* [ST156781] as an element in the name of the manuscript varies somewhat—in English *Llandaff* is common.

² Evans, *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv*. Henceforth abbreviated to ‘LL’.

³ The definitive account of the manuscript is that of Daniel Huws (‘The Making of *Liber Landavensis*’), to which should be supplemented the comments of John Davies (‘*Liber Landavensis*’).

⁴ ‘The Making of *Liber Landavensis*’, p. 135.

⁵ ‘The Archbishops of St David’s, Llandaff and Caerleon-on-Usk’, pp. 18–19.

⁶ ‘*Liber Landavensis*’, p. 11.

and fourteenth-century) relating to the diocese of Llandaf.⁷

1.1.2 The Llandaf Charters

Bishop Urban's desire to demonstrate the antiquity and importance of his diocese in his dispute before the Pope seems to underlie the construction of the Book of Llandaf. In fact, there is no reliable evidence for a diocese covering south-east Wales, nor for one centred on Llandaf, from before the time of Urban himself.⁸ In pursuit of the diocese's territorial claims a large number of charters were copied into the Book,⁹ and it is on these that most of the controversy surrounding the Book has been focused. Due to certain rather obvious irregularities in these charters and the political bias of the undertaking, it has long been assumed that the charters are total forgeries, or, at least, that the degree of forgery is so high that no information can be reliably obtained from them.¹⁰ In the course of her work on the Book of Llandaf, however, Wendy Davies discovered that there were correlations between the witness lists of most of the charters, which rendered the possibility of straightforward forgery highly unlikely.¹¹ Furthermore, she concluded that it was possible to establish a relative chronology of the charters, to which approximate absolute dates could be linked.¹² Patrick Sims-Williams broadly agreed with Davies's methodology, though he disagreed with the position of a few of the charters in the relative chronology, and suggested two general alterations to the absolute dating.¹³ Sims-Williams's examination of the orthography used to represent the personal names from the Book of Llandaf charter witness lists serves as additional evidence for the general reliability of the absolute dates.¹⁴ Where there has been disagreement with Davies's work it has mainly been directed at her use of the charters as datable evidence for the history of south-east Wales, a use which depends on the assumption that the Narrations of the charters were not substantially altered in the course of transmission.¹⁵ I agree that the Narrations should be treated with great suspicion, but I would argue that the name of the land granted by a charter

⁷ I have followed Huws ('The Making of *Liber Landavensis*') in the dating of these later additions.

⁸ Brooke, 'The Archbishops of St David's, Llandaff and Caerleon-on-Usk', pp. 36–37; Davies 'The Book of Llandaf', pp. 26–32.

⁹ See Wendy Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, pp. 92–130, for a list of these charters and a brief description of each.

¹⁰ Brooke, 'The Archbishops of St David's, Llandaff and Caerleon-on-Usk', pp. 31–34.

¹¹ See *The Llandaff Charters*, passim.

¹² *Ibid.*.

¹³ [Review article], pp. 125–27.

¹⁴ 'The Emergence of Old Welsh, Cornish and Breton Orthography', especially p. 78.

is the most likely element of a charter to be preserved in the course of its transmission. While it could be argued that Llandavian forgers simply collected together a pile of charters, copied out the witness lists for their nefarious purpose, and then threw away the rest of each charter, this seems far-fetched, and it can besides be shown that many witnesses are only named in charters purporting to grant land in particular districts (not the random distribution we should expect if place-names were randomly allocated to witness lists). Consequently, for the purposes of a discussion of place-names, I have followed Davies's charter dates, but with the proviso that these should be read only as approximate dates (and in the case of the earlier charters, as very approximate).

1.2 The Present Study

1.2.1 Objectives

The principal objective of the thesis is to gather together all the place-names contained within the Book of Llandaf.¹⁶ The great majority of the names refer, naturally, to places in South Wales, but there is a significant number from other areas, particularly Normandy (most of which occur as locative surnames of Normans). It should be noted that I have ignored place-names occurring in the flyleaves and the Gospels (with which the manuscript begins), and in this I might be accused of having fallen into the trap described by Huws, of defining a '*Liber Landavensis* proper'.¹⁷ I think the omission can be justified, however, on the grounds that the Gospels are very widespread and well-known documents, quite unlike the rest of the Book of Llandaf, which contains texts of relatively specific Llandaf interest, or which were composed or substantially re-worked at Llandaf. Each attestation of a place-name is shown in the form in which it appears in the manuscript, together with a reference to the location of the attestation, and a date for the text from which it is taken. In some cases I have presented, together with the Book of Llandaf attestations of a place-name, other mediaeval attestations of the same place-name. The primary objectives are twofold: first, to identify the location or feature intended by each place-name; and second, to

¹⁵ Sims-Williams, [Review article], pp. 128–29; Maund, *Ireland, Wales, and England*, pp. 183–220.

¹⁶ See the preface to the Register of Place-Names (§3.1) for what constitutes a place-name for this purpose.

¹⁷ 'The Making of *Liber Landavensis*', pp. 123–24.

identify the elements used in the formation of each place-name (only for Welsh-language names, and all names of places within the territory claimed by Llandaf).

1.2.2 Methodology

The foundation of the research is a database of the names (both personal and place-names) contained in the Book. The database contains over ten thousand records based on over two thousand names. Personal names were included because it was felt that these might be useful to other scholars, but also because many of the place-names contain a personal name as the qualifying element. The database is relational, allowing ready retrieval of records by type, element, source document, and so on.¹⁸

Many of the manuscript's place-names occur in the boundary clauses of charters. Very little work has been undertaken on these bounds since the publication of LL (where Evans and Rhŷs supply translations of the Welsh-language bounds as Appendix iv), the main exception being Lynda Rollason's detailed survey of the Herefordshire bounds.¹⁹ I disagree with many of Evans's translations, so I have included new editions and translations of these bounds in an appendix, together with a glossary of all words (Latin and Welsh) occurring in the bounds.²⁰ Until now, little has been said regarding the dating of the boundary clauses (other than that they generally appear to be later additions to their charters), so chapter 2 presents an analysis of some linguistic and orthographical features of the bounds in an attempt to establish their chronology. This chapter is a useful adjunct to the study because without a specific dating for the bounds one is left with a choice of dates between the date of the charter (in many cases too early) and the date of the manuscript (in almost all cases too late).

1.2.3 Expected Benefits

While some use has been made of particular place-names from the Book for comparative purposes, there has not yet been any analysis of the corpus as a whole—a particularly important task considering the potentially very early date of some of the name forms, and the fact that some of the names pertain to places in areas which were settled and re-named early on by English speakers. Several benefits may be expected

¹⁸ I gratefully acknowledge the help of Terrence James and Dr Gregory Toner in setting up this database.

¹⁹ LL, pp. 363–84; Rollason, 'The Boundaries'.

from this project. Reliable identifications of the places named in the Book will be of interest to historians and geographers. Analysis of the place-names themselves will produce useful data on place-name formation, and on aspects of the philology and orthography of Old Welsh. Furthermore, it is hoped that patterns in orthographical use will throw some light on the controversies surrounding the compilation of the Book of Llandaf.

²⁰ Appendices 1 and 2 respectively.

2. Dating the Bounds

2.1 Introduction

The delimitation of boundaries is an important element of the Book of Llandaf. The majority of the charters include some kind of boundary clause, and there are a few instances of bounds not associated with specific charters (for example, the perambulation of the territory claimed for the See of Llandaf on fol. 41, and, in more detail, on fols 67^v–68^f).¹ The bounds vary a great deal in such features as their language (some are entirely in Latin, some entirely in Welsh, and most are in a mixture of the two), their level of detail, and whether they describe a perambulation of the territory or merely give an idea of the length and width of the area.

2.1.1 The Issues

The matter of the dates of composition of these bounds has been largely ignored. It seems to be generally accepted that a boundary clause need not be contemporaneous with the charter to which it belongs,² and, presumably, where the two are not contemporaneous, the bounds would be the later element (though it is not inconceivable that the composer of a charter might copy the boundary clause of an earlier charter for the same land). Where there has been discussion, the assumption has generally been that the bounds are late compositions, belonging to the eleventh and twelfth centuries.³ The basis of this assumption appears to be the presence in the Welsh-language bounds of occasional linguistic and orthographic features more redolent of the Middle Welsh period than the Old Welsh.⁴ This relegation of the bounds to a late period (thereby, apparently, rendering them uninteresting to the scholar of Old Welsh) may be criticised on two fronts, however. The first is historical

¹ Henceforth, boundary clauses will be referred to by the number of the charter (following the convention explained by Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 4) to which they are attached, or, where they are not attached to a charter, by the page number (in parentheses) of LL on which they begin. Where more than one boundary clause occurs in a charter, or more than one unattached boundary begins on a particular page, these are distinguished by lower-case roman numerals. The two perambulations of the See referred to above are, therefore, '(42)' and '(134ii)'. Editions and translations of all the boundaries are supplied in Appendix 1.

² Davies, *Early Welsh Microcosm*, p. 29.

³ *Ibid.*; LHEB, p. 58. In *The Llandaff Charters* (pp. 142 and 143–44) Davies took the view, albeit cautiously, that some of the lengthier perambulations could date back to the mid-ninth century, and that some of the shorter boundary clauses could be even earlier; she suggested many of the features examined below (orthography, language, type, position) as potentially revealing.

rather than philological: some of the bounds are for territory known to have been under English settlement since well before the eleventh century (76a and 174b/229b).⁵ If these bounds are late then either Welsh was still in use among the clergy in these areas (even the Latin bounds contain the Welsh versions of place-names), or Llandaf was prepared to send out its own Welsh-speaking scribes (perhaps briefed with the Welsh equivalents of by then English place-names) to the English areas, or Llandaf obtained Latin/Old English boundary records and translated them. None of these suggestions is impossible, but it would be simpler to argue that these bounds date from an earlier period when Welsh was more likely to have been in use in their areas. Such an argument does not present any insurmountable difficulties. Many of the bounds which show late linguistic or orthographic features do so inconsistently, also exhibiting earlier features. If the bounds, as we see them, are essentially as they were first written (i.e. if the process of transmission was either very short, or, at any rate, highly conservative), then we must assume that they date from a period of linguistic flux when authors could select, apparently at random, between earlier and later forms and spellings of words. While we must allow for a more relaxed attitude to spelling (in the vernacular, at least) before the Modern period, it is hard to accept that linguistic flux could extend to actual forms (i.e. pronunciations) of words within a short example of idiolectal writing such as a boundary clause. It is more likely, therefore, that the inconsistencies of language in the bounds are the results of scribal alteration during less conservative copying. Scribal alteration can tend to affect a text in one of two ways, either through archaisation or through modernisation. On the whole, modernisation is the more likely effect, unless there is a clear motivation for archaisation. John Armstrong, discussing the occurrence of both *d*- and non-*d* spellings of the preposition *di* in some of the bounds (see §2.2.3 below), stated: 'Without attempting to argue the point in detail, I will propose that the loss of the initial consonants was already complete at the time of the writing of the Book of Llandaf, and that the *d*-forms, common as they are, are nothing more than archaizing spellings, serving to give the text the appearance of age and authority.'⁶ I should respond, though, that archaisation would be the result of deliberate, conscious work by the copyist, whereas modernisation could be an unconscious artefact of the

⁴ Davies, *Early Welsh Microcosm*, p. 29; LHEB, p. 58.

⁵ Davies, *ibid.*.

copying process. I find it hard to believe that a consciously archaising copyist should do so such a bad job as to leave a significant proportion of the more modern, non-*d* forms in the text. In the case of boundary clauses there would have been a need for intelligibility (i.e. contemporary language) which would probably have outweighed any desire to create archaic effect. On balance, therefore, it may be said that the presence of late language need not imply a late date for the bounds.

2.1.2 The Benefits of this Study

If the bounds cannot all be relegated to the same late date, then they represent a very significant, and hitherto overlooked, body of data. The surviving corpus of Old Welsh is very small, and its texts are often difficult to date or localise.⁷ The place of composition of all of the Book of Llandaf's bounds can at least be identified as South Wales, and in most cases one could be much more precise. It should also be possible to establish some kind of chronology for these documents. Comparison of dated and localised boundary texts from the Book of Llandaf with the rest of the Old Welsh corpus could add greatly to our knowledge of Old Welsh phonology, orthography, and, to a lesser extent, morphology. Even those bounds which are shown to belong to the eleventh or twelfth centuries could prove to be useful as representatives of the transition from Old to Middle Welsh—a period which has been relatively overlooked, particularly in recent years, when linguistic interest has been focused particularly on the beginnings of Old Welsh.⁸ For the purposes of this dissertation, however, the principal benefit of dating the bounds is in the determination of dates for the place-names occurring in them. As with place-names elsewhere in the Book of Llandaf, the form of the name is not necessarily of the same date as its document; it could be earlier (though one would suppose that archaisation would not have been favoured where there was a need for intelligibility), or it could belong to any time between the date of its document and the final production stage of the Book of Llandaf.

2.1.3 Methodology

This collection of bounds provides no absolute dating criteria *per se* (at least, not until there is an improvement in our knowledge of Old Welsh and the transition to Middle

⁶ 'On Some Middle Welsh Relative Constructions', p. 23.

⁷ For a survey see LHEB, pp. 42–59.

⁸ The work of John Koch in particular should be noted in this connexion.

Welsh), but there are certain criteria which, in combination, might establish a relative chronology. Each criterion consists of a pair of variants, where one is characteristic of an earlier date than the other. These criteria are of several kinds—phonological, orthographical, and textual—but, in order to yield useful data, they must be widespread throughout the corpus. For example, a characteristic feature of Old Welsh is the use of the grapheme *i* to represent the phoneme pair [i]/[ə], where generally in Middle Welsh (and always in Modern Welsh) *y* is employed. So this orthographical criterion consists of the variant pair *i* : *y* (earlier : later). In each case the later variants of a pair could be artefacts of the copying process, but, assuming that there was little tendency to archaisation, the earlier variants are more likely to be survivals from the original document. It seems reasonable to suggest that bounds with higher proportions of earlier forms of particular features are probably earlier than bounds with higher proportions of later forms. The main objection to such a suggestion would be that the bounds have not all undergone the same transmission process. The more stages of recension experienced by a text, the greater the probability of scribal updating. All that can reasonably be suggested from analysis of a particular criterion is that a text which appears to be earlier by virtue of its forms is probably early; texts which appear to be late need not be so.

The Book of Llandaf contains five boundary doublets, i.e. bounds which are found at two different locations in the manuscript.⁹ There are also eleven bounds which were copied into the British Library manuscript from sheets used in the compilation of the Book of Llandaf, Cotton Vespasian A. XIV (including one of the boundary doublets, thereby providing three versions of the same text). It is probable that the doublets within the Book of Llandaf, and the versions of the bounds in Cotton Vespasian A. XIV are all witnesses to the same late stage of editing in the composition of the Book of Llandaf. Although deliberate alterations, as well as scribal errors, are apparent from these witnesses, they are generally minor and tend towards modernisation rather than the reverse.

A relative chronology of the bounds (heavily weighted by caveats) may be obtained by identifying those bounds which appear to be earlier for each criterion. Some will appear to be earlier by all the criteria used—these can safely be classed as ‘early’

(within the range of dates spanned by the bounds), others will not appear to be earlier by any of the criteria—these can be classed as ‘late’ (but it must be borne in mind that this late appearance could just be the result of treatment at the hands of determined modernising scribes). The remaining group of bounds, which appear to be earlier by some criteria but not by others, need to be carefully considered to see whether they are genuinely intermediate in date or whether their appearance is simply the result of selective scribal updating (some scribes might have had a liberal attitude to some features but a conservative attitude to others). Genuine intermediacy is possible here because the change of variant from earlier to later did not take place at the same time for each of the criteria analysed. For example, the change to the later form of the definite article ([əɾ] > [ə]) might have been completed before the spelling *y* instead of *i* became common. If this were the case then we would expect to see an early group of bounds using the earlier *r* form of the article, spelling it *ir*, an intermediate group using the *r*-less form, spelling it *i*, and a late group spelling it *y*. The spelling *yr* would then be suspected as a partial modernisation of an original *ir*.

The criteria to be considered are:¹⁰

1. The use of *i* : *y* in the orthography of Welsh words
2. The form taken by the Welsh definite article (*r* : *r*-less) between consonants
3. The form taken by the Old Welsh preposition *di* ‘to, for’, Modern Welsh *i*, (*d* : *d*-less)
4. The form taken by the Old Welsh preposition *behit* ‘as far as’, Modern Welsh *bed* etc., (disyllabic : monosyllabic)
5. The relative use of Latin : Welsh
6. The type of the boundary (dimensional : perambulatory)

⁹ They are 74/171bi, (124)/(255), 162b/171bvi, 167/237b, 174b/229b.

¹⁰ In each pair the earlier form is placed first.

2.2 Dating Criteria

2.2.1 *i* : *y* in Orthography

As was stated above, a characteristic feature of Old Welsh is its use of the grapheme *i* to represent the phonemes [i] and [ə], for which Middle Welsh usually employs *y*. Examples of both types of spelling can be found in the Book of Llandaf. A simple comparison of numbers of *i* and *y* occurring throughout the corpus of bounds will not be meaningful here. Occurrences in Latin words, of course, should not be counted, but there is also a large number of corrupt or unknown words in which it is impossible to be sure of the phonological status of an *i* or *y*. The solution adopted here is to examine only certain commonly occurring words for which an *i*-spelling would have been usual in Old Welsh and a *y*-spelling usual in Middle Welsh. It is possible that the *y* grapheme was introduced for [i] first, and only later came to represent [ə]. The nature of the relationship between orthography and phonological changes caused by the accent shift is irrelevant for the purpose of examining the relative positions of the bounds in a spectrum of orthographic development. The twelve lexical items selected for this purpose are:

- the preposition *di/i* 'to, for',
- the noun *finhaun/finnaun* 'spring',
- the noun and preposition *hit* 'length, as far as',
- the preverbal particle *i*,
- the possessive pronoun 3 sg. *i*,
- the adverbial particle *in*,
- the preposition *in* 'in',
- the article *ir/i*,
- the noun *licat* 'spring, source',
- the noun *minid/uinid* 'mountain' (the two vowels counted separately),
- the noun *rit* 'ford',
- the preposition *trui* 'through'.

The values obtained for each of the bounds for this criterion are as follows:

BOUND	TOTAL¹¹	EARLIER¹²
(42)	37	94.6%
(69)	N/A ¹³	N/A
72b	17	82.4%
73a	14	100.0%
73b	N/A	N/A
74	4	100.0%
75	N/A	N/A
76a	1	0.0%
77i	25	100.0%
77ii	42	83.3%
121	10	100.0%
122	33	100.0%
123	21	90.5%
(124)	1	100.0%
125bi	11	72.7%
125bii	2	100.0%
125biii	5	100.0%
127a	4	100.0%
(134i)	N/A	N/A
(134ii)	138	5.8%
140i	3	33.3%
140ii	22	40.9%
141	43	18.6%
143	N/A	N/A
144	7	14.3%
145	35	20.0%
146	31	32.3%
147i	N/A	N/A
147ii	N/A	N/A
148	N/A	N/A
154	55	100.0%
155	N/A	N/A
156	17	100.0%
157	91	100.0%
158	20	100.0%
159a	21	100.0%
159b	2	100.0%
160	20	100.0%
162b	1	100.0%
164	N/A	N/A
165	19	100.0%
167	N/A	N/A
170	1	100.0%
171bi	2	100.0%
171bii	5	100.0%
171biii	22	100.0%
171biv	26	100.0%
171bv	30	100.0%
171bvi	1	100.0%

¹¹ The figures in this column are the sum of the numbers of *i* and *y* occurring in the selected lexical items in the bound.

¹² The figures in this column are the proportion of *i*, the earlier variant.

¹³ This criterion is not applicable to all the bounds, because they do not all contain the examined lexical items.

173	37	97.3%
174a	N/A	N/A
174b	N/A	N/A
176a	N/A	N/A
180b	53	100.0%
183a	1	100.0%
183b	21	95.2%
187	20	100.0%
188b	N/A	N/A
190b	13	92.3%
195	68	100.0%
197a	N/A	N/A
199b	N/A	N/A
200	N/A	N/A
201	28	100.0%
202	N/A	N/A
204a	N/A	N/A
206	67	100.0%
208	19	100.0%
209b	16	100.0%
210a	1	100.0%
212	53	100.0%
216b	5	100.0%
218	31	100.0%
223	N/A	N/A
224	1	100.0%
225	35	100.0%
227a	N/A	N/A
227b	50	100.0%
228	42	100.0%
229b	N/A	N/A
233	2	100.0%
235b	19	100.0%
237a	1	100.0%
237b	N/A	N/A
239	N/A	N/A
240i	26	96.2%
240ii	11	100.0%
240iii	22	100.0%
240iv	20	100.0%
240v	27	100.0%
240vi	8	100.0%
240vii	36	100.0%
240viii	78	100.0%
244i	32	100.0%
244ii	2	100.0%
246	13	53.8%
249a	1	100.0%
249bi	2	100.0%
249bii	14	100.0%
251i	2	100.0%
251ii	14	100.0%
(255)	1	100.0%
255i	12	100.0%
255ii	1	100.0%
255iii	N/A	N/A
257i	15	100.0%
257ii	20	100.0%

258	N/A	N/A
259	25	100.0%
260	34	100.0%
261	27	96.3%
262	37	100.0%
263	2	100.0%
264a	11	100.0%
264b	19	100.0%
267	57	100.0%
271	57	100.0%
274	3	100.0%

It will be seen that the majority of the bounds appear to be earlier as regards this criterion. The technique that will be followed here (and for each of the remaining criteria) is to divide the bounds as evenly as possible into an apparently earlier and an apparently later group. This will be done by finding the median proportion figure and classing all the bounds returning that figure or a lower figure as 'late' (except where the median is 100%, when only bounds returning a lower figure will come into this category), all the remaining bounds (of those for which a figure is available) will be classed as 'early'.

In this case the median is 100%. The following bounds are, therefore, apparently earlier by this criterion:

73a, 74, 77i, 121, 122, (124), 125bii, 125biii, 127a, 154, 156, 157, 158, 159a, 159b, 160, 162b, 165, 170, 171bi, 171bii, 171biii, 171biv, 171bv, 171bvi, 180b, 183a, 187, 195, 201, 206, 208, 209b, 210a, 212, 216b, 218, 224, 225, 227b, 228, 233, 235b, 237a, 240ii, 240iii, 240iv, 240v, 240vi, 240vii, 240viii, 244i, 244ii, 249a, 249bi, 249bii, 251i, 251ii, (255), 255i, 255ii, 257i, 257ii, 259, 260, 262, 263, 264a, 264b, 267, 271, 274.

The following bounds are apparently later:

(42), 72b, 76a, 77ii, 123, 125bi, (134ii), 140i, 140ii, 141, 144, 145, 146, 173, 183b, 190b, 240i, 246, 261.

Data are not available for the following bounds:

(69), 73b, 75, (134i), 143, 147i, 147ii, 148, 155, 164, 167, 174a, 174b, 176a, 188b, 197a, 199b, 200, 202, 204a, 223, 227a, 229b, 237b, 239, 255iii, 258.

2.2.2 The Article

The form taken by the definite article in standard Old Welsh is *ir* (or possibly '*r* post-

vocally).¹⁴ In Middle and Modern Welsh *yr* (or *'r*) is still used before a vowel, but before a consonant the form is *y* (or *'r*).¹⁵ So the form of the definite article used in inter-consonantal position (but not before *r* or *h*) or simply before a consonant when at the head of a clause may be regarded as an indicator of the period of the language to which a text belongs (*r* forms being earlier, and *r*-less forms later). For this criterion, then, all occurrences of the definite article in the position just defined were counted. The *r* forms occurred in the spellings *ir*, *hir*, *yr*, and the *r*-less forms in the spellings *i*, *he*, *hi*, *y*. The figures given below have a small element of subjectivity as there is a potential for ambiguity with the article: the *r*-less forms could be confused with examples of the possessive pronoun 3 sg., or the prepositions 'to, for', 'from', or 'in', and the *r* forms could be confused with examples of those prepositions plus the post-vocalic *'r* form of the article.

The values obtained were:

BOUND	TOTAL	EARLIER
(42)	6	0%
(69)	N/A	N/A
72b	2	50%
73a	5	60%
73b	N/A	N/A
74	N/A	N/A
75	N/A	N/A
76a	N/A	N/A
77i	1	0%
77ii	2	0%
121	4	50%
122	5	0%
123	N/A	N/A
(124)	N/A	N/A
125bi	1	0%
125bii	N/A	N/A
125biii	1	0%
127a	1	0%
(134i)	N/A	N/A
(134ii)	10	0%
140i	1	0%
140ii	N/A	N/A
141	6	50%

¹⁴ GMW, p. 24.

¹⁴ Ibid..

¹⁴ GMW, pp. 9–10 and 201.

¹⁴ GMW, p. 201.

¹⁴ GPC, I, 266 (s.v. *bed^l*, *fed*) and II, 1163 (s.v. *ed^l*); GMW, p. 196.

¹⁴ GPC, *ibid.*; GMW, p. 24.

¹⁵ GMW, p. 24.

143	N/A	N/A
144	2	100%
145	7	57%
146	8	63%
147i	N/A	N/A
147ii	N/A	N/A
148	N/A	N/A
154	9	22%
155	N/A	N/A
156	2	50%
157	13	15%
158	2	0%
159a	4	75%
159b	2	100%
160	5	0%
162b	N/A	N/A
164	N/A	N/A
165	N/A	N/A
167	N/A	N/A
170	N/A	N/A
171bi	N/A	N/A
171bii	1	100%
171biii	6	33%
171biv	5	60%
171bv	7	43%
171bvi	N/A	N/A
173	6	67%
174a	N/A	N/A
174b	N/A	N/A
176a	N/A	N/A
180b	11	36%
183a	1	100%
183b	N/A	N/A
187	4	50%
188b	N/A	N/A
190b	5	0%
195	6	0%
197a	N/A	N/A
199b	N/A	N/A
200	N/A	N/A
201	7	57%
202	N/A	N/A
204a	N/A	N/A
206	9	56%
208	5	80%
209b	N/A	N/A
210a	N/A	N/A
212	11	36%
216b	2	0%
218	8	38%
223	N/A	N/A
224	1	0%
225	6	83%
227a	N/A	N/A
227b	13	15%
228	9	33%
229b	N/A	N/A
233	1	0%

235b	3	33%
237a	N/A	N/A
237b	N/A	N/A
239	N/A	N/A
240i	3	33%
240ii	2	0%
240iii	3	0%
240iv	4	50%
240v	5	40%
240vi	2	0%
240vii	1	100%
240viii	17	82%
244i	5	60%
244ii	2	50%
246	3	0%
249a	1	0%
249bi	N/A	N/A
249bii	6	0%
251i	1	0%
251ii	1	0%
(255)	N/A	N/A
255i	1	0%
255ii	1	0%
255iii	N/A	N/A
257i	2	0%
257ii	3	0%
258	N/A	N/A
259	4	0%
260	5	0%
261	2	0%
262	8	38%
263	1	100%
264a	N/A	N/A
264b	4	50%
267	15	0%
271	11	0%
274	1	100%

In this case the median is 33%. The following bounds are, therefore, apparently earlier:

72b, 73a, 121, 141, 144, 145, 146, 156, 159a, 159b, 171bii, 171biv, 171bv, 173, 180b, 183a, 187, 201, 206, 208, 212, 218, 225, 240iv, 240v, 240vii, 240viii, 244i, 244ii, 262, 263, 264b, 274.

The following bounds are apparently later:

(42), 77i, 77ii, 122, 125bi, 125biii, 127a, (134ii), 140i, 154, 157, 158, 160, 171biii, 190b, 195, 216b, 224, 227b, 228, 233, 235b, 240i, 240ii, 240iii, 240vi, 246, 249a, 249bii, 251i, 251ii, 255i, 255ii, 257i, 257ii, 259, 260, 261, 267, 271.

Data are not available for the following bounds:

(69), 73b, 74, 75, 76a, 123, (124), 125bii, (134i), 140ii, 143, 147i, 147ii, 148, 155, 162b, 164, 165, 167, 170, 171bi, 171bvi, 174a, 174b, 176a, 183b, 188b, 197a, 199b, 200, 202, 204a, 209b, 210a, 223, 227a, 229b, 237a, 237b, 239, 249bi, (255), 255iii, 258, 264a.

2.2.3 The Preposition *di*

The Old Welsh preposition *di* ‘to, for’ became Middle Welsh *y* (Modern Welsh *i*). The mechanism for this is assumed to be, first, lenition of the initial *d* (as commonly in prepositions, conjunctions, and adverbs), and second, weakening and loss of the lenited *d* (similarly to the loss of [v]).¹⁶ It is not (usually) possible to distinguish between lenited and non-lenited *d* in Old Welsh orthography, but examples of both *d* and non-*d* forms do occur in the Book of Llandaf. Whether the spelling *di* (or *dy*) represents [di], [đi], or [i], it is reasonable to assume that *d* spellings are earlier than non-*d* ones. Examples also occur in the Book of Llandaf of a formally identical preposition meaning ‘from’, but since this preposition underwent the same sound changes as the one meaning ‘to, for’, it is not necessary to draw a distinction between the two for the purposes of this test.¹⁷

The values obtained were:

BOUND	TOTAL	EARLIER
(42)	15	100%
(69)	N/A	N/A
72b	2	100%
73a	3	100%
73b	N/A	N/A
74	2	100%
75	N/A	N/A
76a	N/A	N/A
77i	9	67%
77ii	7	14%
121	4	100%
122	13	100%
123	4	25%
(124)	N/A	N/A
125bi	2	50%
125bii	1	100%
125biii	2	100%
127a	1	100%

¹⁶ GMW, pp. 9–10 and 201.

¹⁷ GMW, p. 201.

(134i)	N/A	N/A
(134ii)	37	59%
140i	1	100%
140ii	8	100%
141	15	87%
143	N/A	N/A
144	1	100%
145	11	100%
146	5	100%
147i	N/A	N/A
147ii	N/A	N/A
148	N/A	N/A
154	7	86%
155	N/A	N/A
156	6	83%
157	21	38%
158	6	100%
159a	4	100%
159b	N/A	N/A
160	1	100%
162b	1	100%
164	N/A	N/A
165	8	88%
167	N/A	N/A
170	N/A	N/A
171bi	2	100%
171bii	3	100%
171biii	3	100%
171biv	8	75%
171bv	7	100%
171bvi	1	100%
173	7	100%
174a	N/A	N/A
174b	N/A	N/A
176a	N/A	N/A
180b	9	100%
183a	N/A	N/A
183b	4	100%
187	3	100%
188b	N/A	N/A
190b	4	100%
195	15	87%
197a	N/A	N/A
199b	N/A	N/A
200	N/A	N/A
201	4	100%
202	N/A	N/A
204a	N/A	N/A
206	20	95%
208	4	100%
209b	6	100%
210a	1	100%
212	18	100%
216b	1	100%
218	6	100%
223	N/A	N/A
224	N/A	N/A
225	8	100%

227a	N/A	N/A
227b	8	100%
228	5	100%
229b	N/A	N/A
233	N/A	N/A
235b	6	100%
237a	N/A	N/A
237b	N/A	N/A
239	N/A	N/A
240i	5	100%
240ii	2	100%
240iii	4	100%
240iv	5	100%
240v	5	100%
240vi	2	100%
240vii	11	91%
240viii	20	95%
244i	4	75%
244ii	N/A	N/A
246	N/A	N/A
249a	N/A	N/A
249bi	N/A	N/A
249bii	5	100%
251i	N/A	N/A
251ii	3	100%
(255)	N/A	N/A
255i	3	100%
255ii	N/A	N/A
255iii	N/A	N/A
257i	3	100%
257ii	6	100%
258	N/A	N/A
259	7	86%
260	9	100%
261	6	83%
262	15	100%
263	N/A	N/A
264a	2	100%
264b	5	100%
267	13	92%
271	14	93%
274	N/A	N/A

The median is 100%. The following bounds appear to be earlier:

(42), 72b, 73a, 74, 121, 122, 125bii, 125biii, 127a, 140i, 140ii, 144, 145, 146, 158, 159a, 160, 162b, 171bi, 171bii, 171biii, 171bv, 171bvi, 173, 180b, 183b, 187, 190b, 201, 208, 209b, 210a, 212, 216b, 218, 225, 227b, 228, 235b, 240i, 240ii, 240iii, 240iv, 240v, 240vi, 249bii, 251ii, 255i, 257i, 257ii, 260, 262, 264a, 264b.

The following appear to be later:

77i, 77ii, 123, 125bi, (134ii), 141, 154, 156, 157, 165, 171biv, 195, 206, 240vii,

240viii, 244i, 259, 261, 267, 271.

No data are available for the following:

(69), 73b, 75, 76a, (124), (134i), 143, 147i, 147ii, 148, 155, 159b, 164, 167, 170, 174a, 174b, 176a, 183a, 188b, 197a, 199b, 200, 202, 204a, 223, 224, 227a, 229b, 233, 237a, 237b, 239, 244ii, 246, 249a, 249bi, 251i, (255), 255ii, 255iii, 258, 263, 274.

2.2.4 The Preposition *behit*

This preposition (meaning ‘as far as’, or, with *pan*, as a conjunction ‘until’) occurs in the spellings *behet*, *behit*, *bihet*, and *bet* in the Book of Llandaf, of which *bet* is by far the most common. GPC supplies various other Old Welsh examples of the preposition:¹⁸ *behet* (Book of Saint Chad, s. ix), *bet* (Juvencus Englynion, s. ix/x), *biheit* (Oxoniensis Prior glosses, s. ix), *bichet* (Computus Fragment, s. x), *bihit* (no source or date given). The word seems rather less common in Middle Welsh:¹⁹ *vet* (*Breudwyd Ronabwy*, Red Book of Hergest, s. xiv; the manuscript reads *ver*), *ed* (Llansteffan 164, s. xv). The adverb *educher* ‘till evening’ contains the preposition as its first element; three examples are cited by GPC, twice in the White Book Mabinogion (s. ~~xiii~~), and once in *Ystoria de Carolo Magno* (s. xiv).²⁰ This preposition is not part of the vocabulary of Modern Literary Welsh, but it is still to be heard in the form *ed* in south-east Wales.²¹ The word seems to be cognate with Old Breton *bichit* and *bit* (Middle Breton *bet*, Modern Breton *bete*, *beteg*), and with Middle Cornish *bys*. Fleuriot suggested (albeit very tentatively) that the Old Breton *bit* does not derive from *bichit*, but rather that *bichit* derives from *bit cit* ‘jusqu’au bout de’ (in which the element *cit* is of uncertain origin).²² Fleuriot’s suggestion does not fit very well with the Welsh evidence. The etymology is unclear, but the word looks like a compound of *hyd* ‘length’ (which can also be used as a preposition with a similar range of meaning to *behit* etc., and occurs in the Book of Llandaf in the forms *hit*, *het*, and *hyt*).²³ Whatever the derivation, it seems clear that the disyllabic forms of the preposition are earlier than the monosyllabic forms.

s. xvii, copy
a text of

xiv/

¹⁸ GPC, I, 266 (s.v. *bed^l*, *fed*) and 1163 (s.v. *ed^l*); GMW, p. 196.

¹⁹ Ibid..

²⁰ GPC, I, 1169, s.v. *educher*.

²¹ GPC, I, 266 (s.v. *bed^l*, *fed*) and 1163 (s.v. *ed^l*).

²² *Dictionary of Old Breton*, pp. 82 (s.v. *bichit*), 84 (s.v. 2. *bit*), and 84 (s.v. *bit cit*).

²³ Although no explicit connection is made, *bet* is discussed in GMW (p. 196) in a note following the entry on *hyt* (pp. 195–96); and similarly in Strachan, *Introduction to Early Welsh*, p. 112.

The values obtained were:

BOUND	TOTAL	EARLIER
(42)	N/A	N/A
(69)	N/A	N/A
72b	2	100%
73a	N/A	N/A
73b	N/A	N/A
74	N/A	N/A
75	N/A	N/A
76a	N/A	N/A
77i	N/A	N/A
77ii	9	0%
121	1	100%
122	5	0%
123	5	0%
(124)	N/A	N/A
125bi	1	0%
125bii	1	0%
125biii	2	0%
127a	2	0%
(134i)	N/A	N/A
(134ii)	7	0%
140i	1	0%
140ii	5	0%
141	6	0%
143	N/A	N/A
144	N/A	N/A
145	3	0%
146	6	0%
147i	N/A	N/A
147ii	N/A	N/A
148	N/A	N/A
154	14	0%
155	N/A	N/A
156	N/A	N/A
157	N/A	N/A
158	4	0%
159a	5	0%
159b	N/A	N/A
160	5	0%
162b	N/A	N/A
164	N/A	N/A
165	2	0%
167	N/A	N/A
170	N/A	N/A
171bi	N/A	N/A
171bii	1	0%
171biii	2	0%
171biv	4	0%
171bv	3	0%
171bvi	N/A	N/A
173	9	0%
174a	N/A	N/A
174b	1	100%
176a	N/A	N/A

180b	6	0%
183a	N/A	N/A
183b	2	0%
187	11	0%
188b	N/A	N/A
190b	3	0%
195	9	0%
197a	1	0%
199b	N/A	N/A
200	N/A	N/A
201	5	0%
202	N/A	N/A
204a	1	100%
206	8	0%
208	5	0%
209b	2	0%
210a	N/A	N/A
212	4	0%
216b	3	0%
218	3	0%
223	N/A	N/A
224	N/A	N/A
225	6	0%
227a	N/A	N/A
227b	8	0%
228	10	0%
229b	1	100%
233	1	0%
235b	3	0%
237a	N/A	N/A
237b	N/A	N/A
239	N/A	N/A
240i	5	0%
240ii	4	0%
240iii	4	0%
240iv	5	0%
240v	4	0%
240vi	1	0%
240vii	4	0%
240viii	6	0%
244i	3	0%
244ii	N/A	N/A
246	8	0%
249a	N/A	N/A
249bi	2	0%
249bii	4	0%
251i	3	0%
251ii	N/A	N/A
(255)	N/A	N/A
255i	3	0%
255ii	2	0%
255iii	N/A	N/A
257i	3	0%
257ii	3	0%
258	N/A	N/A
259	N/A	N/A
260	5	0%
261	3	0%

262	3	0%
263	2	0%
264a	2	0%
264b	2	0%
267	4	0%
271	5	0%
274	N/A	N/A

The median is 0%. The following appear to be earlier:

72b, 121, 174b, 204a, 229b.

The following appear to be later:

77ii, 122, 123, 125bi, 125bii, 125biii, 127a, (134ii), 140i, 140ii, 141, 145, 146, 154, 158, 159a, 160, 165, 171bii, 171biii, 171biv, 171bv, 173, 180b, 183b, 187, 190b, 195, 197a, 201, 206, 208, 209b, 212, 216b, 218, 225, 227b, 228, 233, 235b, 240i, 240ii, 240iii, 240iv, 240v, 240vi, 240vii, 240viii, 244i, 246, 249bi, 249bii, 251i, 255i, 255ii, 257i, 257ii, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264a, 264b, 267, 271.

No data are available for the following:

(42), (69), 73a, 73b, 74, 75, 76a, 77i, (124), (134i), 143, 144, 147i, 147ii, 148, 155, 156, 157, 159b, 162b, 164, 167, 170, 171bi, 171bvi, 174a, 176a, 183a, 188b, 199b, 200, 202, 210a, 223, 224, 227a, 237a, 237b, 239, 244ii, 249a, 251ii, (255), 255iii, 258, 259, 274.

2.2.5 Latin or Welsh?

The criteria employed so far have applied only to the Welsh features of the boundaries. A large number of the boundaries, however, are predominantly Latin in language and, consequently, these have not yet yielded any data. There are, in fact, good grounds for supposing that the very Latinity of these boundaries is itself evidence for their date. It is known that the earliest Anglo-Saxon boundary clauses were written (at least predominantly) in Latin, and that only later did the vernacular become established for this purpose. Stenton remarked that 'detailed perambulations began to appear, particularly in Wessex, set out at first in Latin and English, but passing by the early ninth century into the Anglo-Saxon boundary-clauses which give a distinctive character to later Old English charters',²⁴ and that 'in the tenth century a

²⁴ Stenton, *Latin Charters*, p. 56.

set of boundaries written in English becomes a regular part of every normal charter.’²⁵ While the evidence from Wales is much scantier in this regard, there does appear to be a general trend over time away from use of Latin to use of the vernacular in all fields of literature.

This criterion is particularly useful because it provides a set of data covering all the bounds, but it must be treated with caution. The context of the bounds varies—some (principally those which are not associated with a charter) are thoroughly embedded in the Latin of their document, and might therefore be more susceptible to translation into Latin (if they were written in Welsh originally), whereas others stand much more as independent clauses. There can be no doubt that, even in the more independent seeming clauses, translation could occur (though in which direction is debatable); the boundary pair 74/171bi attests to this: where 74 reads ‘& inhit dirtnou guinn’, 171bi has ‘deinde dirtnouguinn’. However, as with all the criteria, the simple fact that the bounds are not uniform in their features provides the hope that their original state is still perceptible. No single criterion can be trusted as a guide to the chronology of the bounds, the criteria must be examined as a whole.

The method followed here is to establish the proportion of Latin words in the total number of words for each boundary. A ‘word’ is defined in this case as a group of letters which, in the critically edited text, are preceded by and followed by either a space or a mark of punctuation. So, for example, *di’r* ‘to the’ is regarded as two words rather than one. Introductory and concluding statements such as ‘Finis autem huius agri est’ or ‘ubi inceptit’ are not included in the total number of words, because these are always in Latin (except, possibly, in the case of 190b, where the clause is introduced by ‘Fin’). Personal and place-names are not regarded as Latin words (even when surrounded by Latin) unless they are obviously Latinised (e.g. *Landauensis*).

The values obtained were:

BOUND	TOTAL	EARLIER
(42)	161	29.8%
(69)	18	61.1%
72b	48	0.0%
73a	49	18.4%
73b	13	76.9%
74	68	69.1%

²⁵ Ibid., p. 66.

75	6	83.3%
76a	9	33.3%
77i	68	1.5%
77ii	139	0.0%
121	57	42.1%
122	96	0.0%
123	70	0.0%
(124)	6	0.0%
125bi	26	11.5%
125bii	9	0.0%
125biii	24	12.5%
127a	21	14.3%
(134i)	26	76.9%
(134ii)	345	0.6%
140i	23	56.5%
140ii	78	7.7%
141	154	5.2%
143	15	73.3%
144	21	23.8%
145	80	2.5%
146	75	2.7%
147i	9	66.7%
147ii	13	92.3%
148	18	94.4%
154	161	0.0%
155	73	84.9%
156	48	14.6%
157	192	2.1%
158	60	23.3%
159a	56	0.0%
159b	35	77.1%
160	54	0.0%
162b	5	0.0%
164	16	81.3%
165	74	29.7%
167	48	93.8%
170	7	71.4%
171bi	65	72.3%
171bii	56	60.7%
171biii	49	0.0%
171biv	63	3.2%
171bv	80	8.8%
171bvi	5	0.0%
173	103	1.9%
174a	25	84.0%
174b	22	63.6%
176a	18	88.9%
180b	142	5.6%
183a	8	62.5%
183b	56	7.1%
187	93	15.1%
188b	25	92.0%
190b	34	0.0%
195	144	0.7%
197a	23	65.2%
199b	8	50.0%
200	13	92.3%
201	64	0.0%

202	16	75.0%
204a	8	25.0%
206	177	7.3%
208	59	8.5%
209b	47	6.4%
210a	27	55.6%
212	141	1.4%
216b	67	55.2%
218	80	2.5%
223	53	90.6%
224	18	61.1%
225	97	7.2%
227a	25	96.0%
227b	117	3.4%
228	125	4.8%
229b	12	41.7%
233	75	73.3%
235b	73	20.5%
237a	12	16.7%
237b	48	93.8%
239	79	91.1%
240i	76	6.6%
240ii	36	0.0%
240iii	65	13.8%
240iv	55	5.5%
240v	53	3.8%
240vi	26	0.0%
240vii	92	0.0%
240viii	173	6.4%
244i	74	5.4%
244ii	21	57.1%
246	53	3.8%
249a	15	60.0%
249bi	11	0.0%
249bii	59	18.6%
251i	21	57.1%
251ii	46	4.3%
(255)	6	0.0%
255i	38	5.3%
255ii	14	14.3%
255iii	10	90.0%
257i	39	0.0%
257ii	56	3.6%
258	15	73.3%
259	53	0.0%
260	83	3.6%
261	65	1.5%
262	101	5.0%
263	16	12.5%
264a	38	5.3%
264b	40	0.0%
267	132	2.3%
271	132	1.5%
274	24	41.7%

The median is 12%. The following appear to be earlier:

(42), (69), 73a, 73b, 74, 75, 76a, 121, 125biii, 127a, (134i), 140i, 143, 144, 147i, 147ii, 148, 155, 156, 158, 159b, 164, 165, 167, 170, 171bi, 171bii, 174a, 174b, 176a, 183a, 187, 188b, 197a, 199b, 200, 202, 204a, 210a, 216b, 223, 224, 227a, 229b, 233, 235b, 237a, 237b, 239, 240iii, 244ii, 249a, 249bii, 251i, 255ii, 255iii, 258, 263, 274.

The following appear to be later:

72b, 77i, 77ii, 122, 123, (124), 125bi, 125bii, (134ii), 140ii, 141, 145, 146, 154, 157, 159a, 160, 162b, 171biii, 171biv, 171bv, 171bvi, 173, 180b, 183b, 190b, 195, 201, 206, 208, 209b, 212, 218, 225, 227b, 228, 240i, 240ii, 240iv, 240v, 240vi, 240vii, 240viii, 244i, 246, 249bi, 251ii, (255), 255i, 257i, 257ii, 259, 260, 261, 262, 264a, 264b, 267, 271.

2.2.6 Boundary Type

There is reason to believe that the style of bounds changed over time from relatively simple expressions of the dimensions of a territory (e.g. 255ii) to detailed perambulations (e.g. 77i), the motivation presumably being a combination of fashion and increasing competition for land. Davies perceived a distinction between 'short expressions of limits', which she thought to be 'original to the earliest charter texts', and long perambulations, which she regarded as later, sometimes original, and sometimes added.²⁶ The term 'dimensional' will be used to refer to those bounds which are defined in terms of opposing points, and 'perambulatory' will be used of those which define a circular route around the border of the territory (though frequently the final element, back to the starting point of a perambulation, is omitted). In fact, while most bounds conform straightforwardly to the dimensional or perambulatory modes, there are a number which fall somewhere in between the two categories. These variations can be described as either 'semi-perambulatory' (in which the boundary is followed from one point to another in one direction, and then between the same two points in the other direction, e.g. 125bi), or 'mixed' (in which the territory is first defined dimensionally, and then by a perambulatory or semi-perambulatory description, e.g. 249bii).

²⁶ *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 144.

The boundary types were as follows:²⁷

BOUND	TYPE
(42)	p
(69)	m
72b	p
73a	p
73b	d
74	p
75	d
76a	d
77i	p
77ii	p
121	p
122	p
123	p
(124)	d
125bi	s
125bii	d
125biii	s
127a	s
(134i)	p
(134ii)	p
140i	s
140ii	p
141	p
143	d
144	s
145	p
146	p
147i	d
147ii	?
148	p
154	p
155	p
156	p
157	p
158	p
159a	p
159b	p
160	p
162b	?
164	p
165	p
167	p
170	d
171bi	p
171bii	p
171biii	p
171biv	p
171bv	p
171bvi	?
173	p

²⁷ Key: p, perambulatory; d, dimensional; s, semi-perambulatory; m, mixed; ?, indeterminable.

174a	p
174b	d
176a	d
180b	p
183a	d
183b	p
187	m
188b	d
190b	p
195	p
197a	d
199b	d
200	d
201	p
202	d
204a	d
206	p
208	p
209b	p
210a	s
212	p
216b	p
218	p
223	p
224	d
225	p
227a	p
227b	p
228	p
229b	d
233	p/d
235b	p
237a	?
237b	p
239	d
240i	p
240ii	p
240iii	p
240iv	p
240v	p
240vi	s
240vii	p
240viii	p
244i	p
244ii	d
246	p
249a	d
249bi	?
249bii	m
251i	p
251ii	p
(255)	d
255i	p
255ii	d
255iii	d
257i	p
257ii	p
258	p

259	p
260	p
261	p
262	p
263	d
264a	p
264b	p
267	p
271	p
274	p

It would be wise to test the data to see whether there is any basis to the assumption that the dimensional type of boundary is earlier than the perambulatory type. The charts below (Figures 2.1 and 2.2) show the type of the boundary plotted against its apparent earliness or lateness on the basis of the other criteria. The numbers on the Y axis represent, as regards the columns, the number of criteria (the maximum is 5, therefore), and, as regards the diamond points, represent the boundary type (the dimensional type is plotted at 4, the mixed type at 3, the semi-perambulatory at 2, and the perambulatory at 1).²⁸ For each boundary there are two columns, one for the number of criteria by which the boundary appeared to be earlier—in black, and one for the number of criteria by which it could potentially be earlier (i.e. the number by which appeared to be earlier plus the number for which no data was available)—in white. The bounds are arranged primarily in order of potential earliness, and secondarily in order of the number of criteria for which they actually appeared to be earlier. Figure 1 shows those boundaries which had a potential earliness of 3 or more, and Figure 2 shows those with a potential earliness of 3 or less (consequently there is an overlap of twenty seven boundaries which appear on both charts).

it /

²⁸ Boundary types classed as 'indeterminable' were left out.

Figure 2.1:

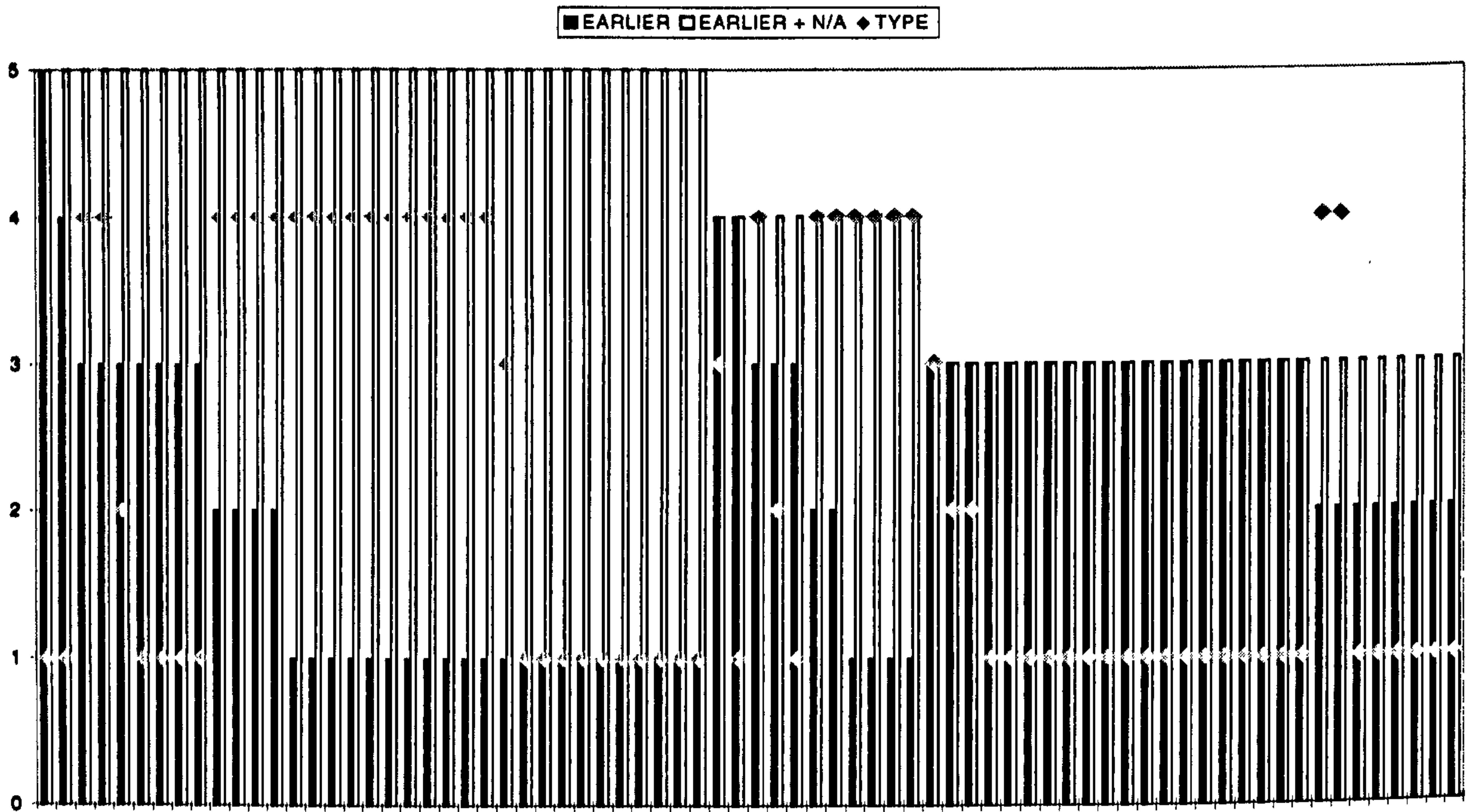
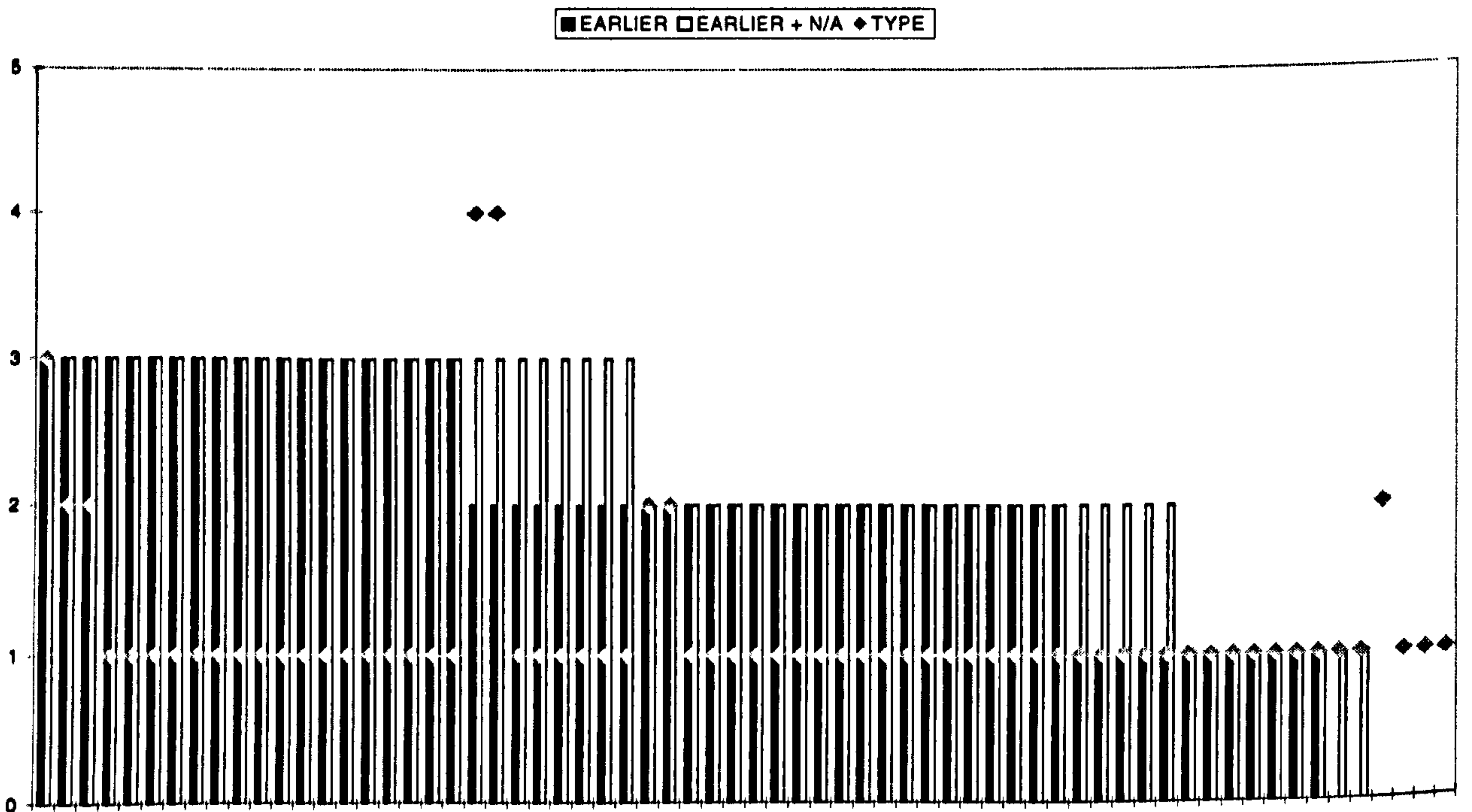


Figure 2.2:



The dimensional-type bounds are clearly clustered among those bounds which appear generally to be earlier (or, at least, potentially earlier), with only two (125bii and 255ii) occurring in the overlapping mid-range. The same applies to the mixed type (although, with only three examples, it would be foolish to place too much weight on this). When it comes to the semi-perambulatory type, however, there is a much more even spread—of the seven examples, two appear to be earlier, two occur in the mid-range, and three appear to be later. The perambulatory type is also spread across the whole range, but with a distinct bias to the later end—eighteen of these bounds appear to be earlier, seventeen are mid-range, and forty one appear to be later. These figures would fit a scenario in which the earliest boundaries were dimensional types, but with perambulations gradually coming into vogue at an early period (before the appearance of later forms among the other five criteria), and the two types overlapping for a while after the appearance of later forms in some of the other criteria. Many other explanations would be possible, though, so the type of a boundary should not be made to bear too much weight in questions over its dating.

The following boundaries are of the dimensional or mixed types, which will be regarded as earlier:

(69), 73b, 75, 76a, (124), 125bii, 143, 147i, 170, 174b, 176a, 183a, 187, 188b, 197a, 199b, 200, 202, 204a, 224, 229b, 233, 239, 244ii, 249a, 249bii, (255), 255ii, 255iii, 263.

The following are, therefore, apparently later:

(42), 72b, 73a, 74, 77i, 77ii, 121, 122, 123, 125bi, 125biii, 127a, (134i), (134ii), 140i, 140ii, 141, 144, 145, 146, 148, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159a, 159b, 160, 164, 165, 167, 171bi, 171bii, 171biii, 171biv, 171bv, 173, 174a, 180b, 183b, 190b, 195, 201, 206, 208, 209b, 210a, 212, 216b, 218, 223, 225, 227a, 227b, 228, 235b, 237b, 240i, 240ii, 240iii, 240iv, 240v, 240vi, 240vii, 240viii, 244i, 246, 251i, 251ii, 255i, 257i, 257ii, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 264a, 264b, 267, 271, 274.

It is not possible to categorise:

147ii, 162b, 171bvi, 237a, 249bi.

2.3 Relative Chronology

The data for each of the six criteria are presented above. No one of those criteria individually is sufficient to produce a relative chronology, but, if they are analysed together, it may be possible. The table below shows the results so far. Columns 1–6 represent the six dating criteria (in the order in which they were dealt with in the preceding pages). An 'X' is used to indicate that the boundary appeared to be earlier according to that criterion, 'N/A' indicates that data were not available, and the space is left blank if the boundary was classed as later (i.e. not earlier) according to the criterion. At the end of each row the number of criteria for which that boundary appeared to be earlier is given, followed by the number of criteria for which the boundary was potentially earlier (i.e. number of 'X's plus number of 'N/A's). The bounds are ranked primarily in order of their potential earliness, and within that in order of their 'definite earliness' (i.e. number of 'X's only).

	BOUND	1	2	3	4	5	6	EARLIER	EARLIER + N/A
1.	183a	X	X	N/A	N/A	X	X	4	6
2.	244ii	X	X	N/A	N/A	X	X	4	6
3.	170	X	N/A	N/A	N/A	X	X	3	6
4.	174b	N/A	N/A	N/A	X	X	X	3	6
5.	204a	N/A	N/A	N/A	X	X	X	3	6
6.	229b	N/A	N/A	N/A	X	X	X	3	6
7.	(69)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	X	X	2	6
8.	73b	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	X	X	2	6
9.	75	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	X	X	2	6
10.	143	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	X	X	2	6
11.	147i	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	X	X	2	6
12.	176a	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	X	X	2	6
13.	188b	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	X	X	2	6
14.	199b	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	X	X	2	6
15.	200	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	X	X	2	6
16.	202	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	X	X	2	6
17.	237a	X	N/A	N/A	N/A	X	N/A	2	6
18.	239	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	X	X	2	6
19.	255iii	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	X	X	2	6
20.	147ii	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	X	N/A	1	6
21.	121	X	X	X	X	X		5	5
22.	187	X	X	X		X	X	5	5
23.	73a	X	X	X	N/A	X		4	5
24.	263	X	X	N/A		X	X	4	5
25.	74	X	N/A	X	N/A	X		3	5
26.	159b	X	X	N/A	N/A	X		3	5
27.	171bi	X	N/A	X	N/A	X		3	5
28.	210a	X	N/A	X	N/A	X		3	5
29.	224	X		N/A	N/A	X	X	3	5
30.	249a	X		N/A	N/A	X	X	3	5

31.	274	X	X	N/A	N/A	X		3	5
32.	76a		N/A	N/A	N/A	X	X	2	5
33.	(124)	X	N/A	N/A	N/A		X	2	5
34.	162b	X	N/A	X	N/A		N/A	2	5
35.	171bvi	X	N/A	X	N/A		N/A	2	5
36.	197a	N/A	N/A	N/A		X	X	2	5
37.	(255)	X	N/A	N/A	N/A		X	2	5
38.	(134i)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	X		1	5
39.	148	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	X		1	5
40.	155	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	X		1	5
41.	164	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	X		1	5
42.	167	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	X		1	5
43.	174a	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	X		1	5
44.	223	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	X		1	5
45.	227a	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	X		1	5
46.	237b	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	X		1	5
47.	258	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	X		1	5
48.	171bii	X	X	X		X		4	4
49.	249bii	X		X		X	X	4	4
50.	125bii	X	N/A	X			X	3	4
51.	144		X	X	N/A	X		3	4
52.	156	X	X		N/A	X		3	4
53.	233	X		N/A		X	X	3	4
54.	255ii	X		N/A		X	X	3	4
55.	249bi	X	N/A	N/A			N/A	1	4
56.	72b		X	X	X			3	3
57.	125biii	X		X		X		3	3
58.	127a	X		X		X		3	3
59.	158	X		X		X		3	3
60.	159a	X	X	X				3	3
61.	171bv	X	X	X				3	3
62.	180b	X	X	X				3	3
63.	201	X	X	X				3	3
64.	208	X	X	X				3	3
65.	212	X	X	X				3	3
66.	216b	X		X		X		3	3
67.	218	X	X	X				3	3
68.	225	X	X	X				3	3
69.	235b	X		X		X		3	3
70.	240iii	X		X		X		3	3
71.	240iv	X	X	X				3	3
72.	240v	X	X	X				3	3
73.	262	X	X	X				3	3
74.	264b	X	X	X				3	3
75.	(42)			X	N/A	X		2	3
76.	165	X	N/A			X		2	3
77.	209b	X	N/A	X				2	3
78.	251i	X		N/A		X		2	3
79.	251ii	X		X	N/A			2	3
80.	264a	X	N/A	X				2	3
81.	122	X		X				2	2
82.	140i			X		X		2	2
83.	145		X	X				2	2
84.	146		X	X				2	2
85.	160	X		X				2	2
86.	171biii	X		X				2	2
87.	171biv	X	X					2	2
88.	173		X	X				2	2

89.	206	X	X			2	2
90.	227b	X		X		2	2
91.	228	X		X		2	2
92.	240ii	X		X		2	2
93.	240vi	X		X		2	2
94.	240vii	X	X			2	2
95.	240viii	X	X			2	2
96.	244i	X	X			2	2
97.	255i	X		X		2	2
98.	257i	X		X		2	2
99.	257ii	X		X		2	2
100.	260	X		X		2	2
101.	77i	X			N/A	1	2
102.	140ii		N/A	X		1	2
103.	157	X			N/A	1	2
104.	183b		N/A	X		1	2
105.	259	X			N/A	1	2
106.	141		X			1	1
107.	154	X				1	1
108.	190b			X		1	1
109.	195	X				1	1
110.	240i			X		1	1
111.	267	X				1	1
112.	271	X				1	1
113.	123		N/A			0	1
114.	246			N/A		0	1
115.	77ii					0	0
116.	125bi					0	0
117.	(134ii)					0	0
118.	261					0	0

2.3.1 The Sequence of the Dating Criteria

Of the one hundred and eighteen bounds, twenty appear in the very earliest group (potential earliness = 6) and four in the very latest (potential earliness = 0). This leaves ninety four bounds which show some combination of earlier and later appearance according to the six criteria employed. It should be possible to place these in chronological order by a more sophisticated examination than simply following the order in the table above. The changes on which the six criteria are based did not all happen at the same time, nor even over the same span of time. An orthographical change such as that from *i*-spellings to *y*-spellings, for example, may have taken a much longer time to become established than a phonologically-based one such as that from *di* to *i*. If the sequence of the changes could be established, then a more accurate chronology (with less reliance on 'potential earliness') could be created.

Since the chronology to be established is relative, the 'date' of a boundary will be expressed by means of list number (the number in the leftmost column, which shows

the relative ranking of each boundary). The sequence of change can be revealed by finding the mid-point of the span between the earliest occurrence, as regards each criterion, of a boundary classed as later and the latest occurrence of a boundary classed as earlier (the mid-point for this purpose is the point at which there are as many later-looking boundaries before as there are earlier-looking ones after).

CRITERION	EARLIEST	LATEST	MID-POINT
1. Orthography (<i>i</i> : <i>y</i>)	32	112	99
2. The Article ([əɾ] :	29	106	72
3. Preposition <i>di</i> : <i>i</i>	52	110	97
4. Preposition <i>behit</i> :	22	56	22
5. Latin : Welsh	33	82	59
6. Boundary Type	21	54	32

The sequence of change, therefore, appears to have been:

- The Preposition *behit* : *bet*,
- Boundary Type,
- Latin : Welsh,
- The Article,
- Preposition *di* : *i*,
- Orthography (*i* : *y*).

On this basis the bounds should each be datable to one of seven periods:

- I. the period before the change from earlier to later in any of the criteria,
- II. after the change from *behit* to *bet*, but before the other changes,
- III. after the preceding change and the change in the type of the clause, but before the other changes,
- IV. after the preceding changes and the change of use from Latin to Welsh, but before the other changes,
- V. after the preceding changes and the change in the form of the article, but before the other changes,

- VI. after the preceding changes and the change from *di* to *i*, but before the change from *i* to *y* in orthography,
- VII. after all the changes.

It is, however, quite likely that some of the changes overlapped others—those for Boundary Type, Latin : Welsh, and Orthography, may well have taken a long time to complete. The effect of such overlapping would be to blur the boundaries between one period and its neighbours. Perambulations, for example, may have been coming into vogue already before the change from *behit* to *bet* was complete (which would explain the results for 121, which appears to be early in all respects other than boundary type), and if this were the case, it would be impossible to tell whether a dimensional clause with *behit* were earlier or later than a perambulatory one, also with *behit*.

2.3.2 The Earliest Bounds

The following twenty bounds appeared to be earlier or potentially earlier by all six criteria:

(69), 73b, 75, 143, 147i, 147ii, 170, 174b, 176a, 183a, 188b, 199b, 200, 202, 204a, 229b, 237a, 239, 244ii, 255iii.

The table below shows the data for this group of bounds, with the criteria arranged in the sequence suggested above for their order of change. The bounds are arranged according to whether they show a definite early result (an 'X') or an 'N/A' for Criteria 4, 6, and 5. The sequence of change is such that we would expect bounds belonging to Period I to show 'X's in all columns, those in Period II to show a blank for Criterion 4, and those in Period III to show blanks for Criteria 4 and 6.

BOUND	4	6	5	2	3	1
174b	X	X	X	N/A	N/A	N/A
204a	X	X	X	N/A	N/A	N/A
229b	X	X	X	N/A	N/A	N/A
(69)	N/A	X	X	N/A	N/A	N/A
73b	N/A	X	X	N/A	N/A	N/A
75	N/A	X	X	N/A	N/A	N/A
143	N/A	X	X	N/A	N/A	N/A
147i	N/A	X	X	N/A	N/A	N/A
170	N/A	X	X	N/A	N/A	X
176a	N/A	X	X	N/A	N/A	N/A
183a	N/A	X	X	X	N/A	X
188b	N/A	X	X	N/A	N/A	N/A
199b	N/A	X	X	N/A	N/A	N/A

200	N/A	X	X	N/A	N/A	N/A
202	N/A	X	X	N/A	N/A	N/A
239	N/A	X	X	N/A	N/A	N/A
244ii	N/A	X	X	X	N/A	X
255iii	N/A	X	X	N/A	N/A	N/A
147ii	N/A	N/A	X	N/A	N/A	N/A
237a	N/A	N/A	X	N/A	N/A	X

The table shows that bounds 174b/229b (a boundary doublet) and 204a are those that can most confidently be said to belong to Period I. Bounds (69), 73b, 75, 143, 147i, 170, 176a, 183a, 188b, 199b, 200, 202, 239, 244ii, and 255iii could be as early as the first three, but could equally well belong to Period II. Bounds 147ii and 237a could be even younger still, dating to Period III, but again an earlier date is equally possible.

2.3.3 Bounds with a Potential Earliness of 5

The following table shows this group of bounds arranged according to their treatment of the individual criteria.

BOUND	4	6	5	2	3	1
187		X	X	X	X	X
197a		X	X	N/A	N/A	N/A
263		X	X	X	N/A	X
121	X		X	X	X	X
73a	N/A		X	X	X	X
74	N/A		X	N/A	X	X
(134i)	N/A		X	N/A	N/A	N/A
148	N/A		X	N/A	N/A	N/A
155	N/A		X	N/A	N/A	N/A
159b	N/A		X	X	N/A	X
164	N/A		X	N/A	N/A	N/A
167	N/A		X	N/A	N/A	N/A
171bi	N/A		X	N/A	X	X
174a	N/A		X	N/A	N/A	N/A
210a	N/A		X	N/A	X	X
223	N/A		X	N/A	N/A	N/A
227a	N/A		X	N/A	N/A	N/A
237b	N/A		X	N/A	N/A	N/A
258	N/A		X	N/A	N/A	N/A
274	N/A		X	X	N/A	X
(124)	N/A	X		N/A	N/A	X
(255)	N/A	X		N/A	N/A	X
162b	N/A	N/A		N/A	X	X
171bvi	N/A	N/A		N/A	X	X
76a	N/A	X	X	N/A	N/A	
224	N/A	X	X		N/A	X
249a	N/A	X	X		N/A	X

Bounds 187, 197a, and 263 show the expected results for bounds dating from Period II. Boundary 121 may be explained as an overlap of the change to perambulatory type

before the change to *bet*, consequently it should probably be dated to Period I. Bounds 73a, 74/171bi, (134i), 148, 155, 159b, 164, 167/237b, 174a, 210a, 223, 227a, 258, and 274 could be explained in the same way, but, if their 'N/A' for Criterion 4 be interpreted as a blank (i.e. later result), then they could equally well belong to Period III. The features of the doublet (124)/(255) could be the result of overlapping between Criteria 6 and 5, in which case this boundary should be classed as belonging to early Period IV; as it is not, however, really a typical dimensional type (giving limits in only one dimension, rather than two) and is too short to supply reliable statistics, it could be regarded as later—possibly even as late as Period VI. The doublet 162b/171bvi could also be explained as an example of Criteria 6 and 5 overlapping, but this boundary is very short too, and could be as late as Period V. The remaining bounds—76a, 224, and 249a—appear to show unusual combinations of features which are difficult to explain without recourse to unlikely amounts of overlap. In fact, the data for these three bounds are not very reliable. All that can safely be said about 76a is that it is not a perambulation, which probably places it in Periods I or II. As regards Criterion 2 (the article), bounds 224 and 249a have only one example each, so they cannot be securely classed as later for that feature, and consequently these too could be dated to Periods I or II.

2.3.4 Bounds with a Potential Earliness of 4

The table below shows the next group of bounds arranged according to their treatment of the criteria.

BOUND	4	6	5	2	3	1
171bii			X	X	X	X
144	N/A		X	X	X	
156	N/A		X	X		X
125bii		X		N/A	X	X
249bi		N/A		N/A	N/A	X
249bii		X	X		X	X
233		X	X		N/A	X
255ii		X	X		N/A	X

Only 171bii shows the result expected for a boundary from Period III. The results for 144 and 156 are difficult to explain. The use of *y* rather than *i* in the orthography of 144 sits uneasily with its appearance otherwise, so it is probably best explained as a Period III boundary which has undergone some modernisation. The later appearance of boundary 156 by Criterion 3 is entirely due to the interpretation of its reading *irtu*

guartha as ‘to the upper side’; if the *ir* is taken instead as the simple definite article, the problem can be avoided, and the boundary can be dated to Period III. Bounds 144 and 156 could conceivably belong to Period I, like bounds 73a, 74, (134i), 148, 155, 159b, 164, 167, 171bi, 174a, 210a, 223, 227a, 237b, 258, and 274 above. Boundary 125bii appears to show an overlap between Criteria 6 and 5, that is, it was written at a time when dimensional-type clauses could be written in Welsh, rather than mainly in Latin: early Period IV. Boundary 249bi could belong to the same overlap period, or it could belong to any subsequent period up to Period VI. With regard to the form of the article (Criterion 2), boundary 249bii appears to be late, which does not fit well with its results for Criteria 6 and 5. This could be the result of selective modernisation (making it originally a Period II boundary), or it could show overlapping of Criteria 6 and 5 with Criterion 2 (dating, therefore, from early in Period V). The latter seems more probable, particularly in view of the fact that in terms of type, this boundary is mixed—a type not as clearly early as the dimensional type. The remaining bounds in this group—233 and 255ii—are not as convincingly late as 249bii by Criterion 2. The late result for 255ii in Criterion 2 is due solely to a single reading which could easily be the result of modernisation, so 255ii could be interpreted as a Period II boundary. 233 is more complicated because it is really made up of two boundaries. The first is a perambulation, mainly in Latin, with no examples of the article, all of which would place it in Period III. The second is dimensional (albeit without the standard phrasing of the type), mainly in Latin, and has one (probable) example of the article in *poll icaith*, a place-name, perhaps meaning ‘pit of the captive’. While this second part of the boundary could belong to late in Period IV, showing overlapping of Criteria 6 and 5 with Criterion 2, as was suggested for 249bii, it is easier to put the late form of the definite article down to modernisation, in this case, and regard it as dating from Period II.

2.3.5 Bounds with a Potential Earliness of 3

The following table shows the results for this group of bounds, arranged according to their treatment of the criteria.

BOUND	4	6	5	2	3	1
159a				X	X	X
171bv				X	X	X
180b				X	X	X
201				X	X	X
208				X	X	X

212			X	X	X
218			X	X	X
225			X	X	X
240iv			X	X	X
240v			X	X	X
262			X	X	X
264b			X	X	X
209b			N/A	X	X
264a			N/A	X	X
125biii		X		X	X
127a		X		X	X
158		X		X	X
216b		X		X	X
235b		X		X	X
240iii		X		X	X
251i		X		N/A	X
(42)	N/A	X		X	
251ii	N/A			X	X
72b	X		X	X	
165		X	N/A		X

Bounds 159a, 171bv, 180b, 201, 208, 212, 218, 225, 240iv, 240v, 262, and 264b show results consistent with an origin in Period IV. Bounds 209b and 264a could belong to either Periods IV or V, depending on the interpretation of their 'N/A' result for Criterion 2. Bounds 125biii, 127a, 158, 216b, 235b, and 240iii show overlapping of Criteria 5 and 2 (i.e. bounds still using significant amounts of Latin after the change in the form of the article), which would place them early in Period V. Boundary 251i could be explained in the same way, but as its late result for Criterion 2 rests on a single example (*beticelli* 'as far as the grove'), which might not, in any case, be the article—it could be the possessive pronoun 3 sg.—this boundary might well belong to Period III. Boundary (42)—the bounds of the bishopric—can only be explained by recourse to modernisation. The simplest solution is that the modernisation occurred in the orthography only (it is notable that one of the fairly few examples of the grapheme *w* occurs in this boundary in the river name *tywi*), and that this shows the same overlapping of Criteria 5 and 2 as encountered above, placing the boundary, therefore, early in Period V. Disregarding its 'N/A' in Criterion 4, 251ii shows the expected pattern for a typical Period V boundary. As the only one showing more than one example of the disyllabic form of the preposition *behit* : *bet*, boundary 72b really ought to belong to Period I and give early results for all the criteria. That it appears to be late with regard to its orthography can only be explained as modernisation (it may be significant that this is the first boundary clause in the Book of Llandaf). The fact that it is a Welsh-language perambulation cannot, however, be explained in the same

way. The only solution is to argue that overlapping could take place between Criterion 4 and Criteria 6 and 5. The late result of boundary 165 in Criterion 3 is due to the single instance of *i*, rather than *di*, in *iuinid* ‘upwards’, all its other examples of this preposition are of the earlier form. This is probably a case of modernisation again, and the boundary can, therefore, be dated to Period III or early in Period V, depending on the interpretation of the ‘N/A’ result in Criterion 2.

2.3.6 Bounds with a Potential Earliness of 2

The following table shows the results for this group of bounds, arranged according to their treatment of the criteria.

BOUND	4	6	5	2	3	1
122					X	X
160					X	X
171biii					X	X
227b					X	X
228					X	X
240ii					X	X
240vi					X	X
255i					X	X
257i					X	X
257ii					X	X
260					X	X
171biv				X		X
206				X		X
240vii				X		X
240viii				X		X
244i				X		X
77i	N/A					X
157	N/A					X
259	N/A					X
140i			X		X	
145				X	X	
146				X	X	
173				X	X	
140ii				N/A	X	
183b				N/A	X	

Bounds 122, 160, 171biii, 227b, 228, 240ii, 240vi, 255i, 257i, 257ii, and 260 show the expected pattern for Period V. Bounds 171biv, 206, 240vii, 240viii, and 244i appear to show overlapping of Criteria 2 and 3, placing them early in Period VI. Bounds 77i, 157, and 259 are typical of Period VI (assuming that, had they used a form of the preposition *behit* : *bet*, it would have been the later). The apparently late results for boundary 140i by Criteria 1 and 2 are not very trustworthy—for the orthographical criterion the sample size is only three (one *i* and two *y*), and the result

by Criterion 2 is based on one example, so scribal interference could easily be invoked in explanation. Boundary 140i could be dated, therefore, to Period III, or possibly to early in Period V if the late form of the article is allowed to stand and overlapping between Criteria 5 and 2 is adduced. The next cluster of bounds—145, 146, and 173—probably reveal overlapping of Criterion 1 with Criteria 2 and 3. The single *y* found in 173 could be a consequence of modernisation, which would allow the boundary to be dated straightforwardly to Period IV. Bounds 145 and 146, however, have much more significant looking proportions of *y* (28/35 and 21/31 respectively), and, while modernisation cannot be ruled out, it is easier to see the use of *y* on such a scale as an original feature. Allowing this kind of overlapping, bounds 145 and 146 should be dated to late in Period IV. The remaining two bounds—140ii and 183b—could show the same kind of overlapping. However, since 183b has only one *y* (against twenty *i*), its late result for Criterion 1 can probably be ignored and a date of Period IV or V (depending on the interpretation of the 'N/A' for Criterion 2) can be assigned to it. The proportion of *y* in 140ii (13/22) is not so easily ignored, but, given the lack of a definitive result for Criterion 2, this boundary might well show overlapping of Criteria 1 and 3 only, and be datable to late in Period V.

2.3.7 Bounds with a Potential Earliness of 1

The following table shows the results for this group of bounds, arranged according to their treatment of the criteria.

BOUND	4	6	5	2	3	1
154						X
195						X
267						X
271						X
190b					X	
240i					X	
246					N/A	
141				X		
123				N/A		

Bounds 154, 195, 267, and 271 show the expected pattern for Period VI. Bounds 190b and 240i could belong to late in Period V (with overlapping of Criteria 3 and 1), or (if the single *y* in each is ascribed to modernisation) to any time in Period V. 246 is most easily explained as a Period VII boundary. The late appearance of boundary 141 by Criterion 3 could be the result of modernisation (only two of its fifteen examples of the preposition *di* : *i* are the later form, one of which occurs in a potentially later

parenthetical statement), but its result for Criterion 1 is more likely to be original, so the situation is similar to that for bounds 145 and 146 above, and this boundary should probably be dated to late in Period IV. The remaining boundary, 123, probably belongs to Period VII.

2.3.8 The Latest Bounds

Four bounds remain which show definite later results by all the dating criteria: 77ii, 125bi, (134ii), and 261. These, therefore, belong to Period VII.

2.4 Absolute Chronology

As a general rule it may be assumed that a charter's boundary clause will be of the same date or later than its charter. The work of the preceding sections has established a relative chronology by period, so it would be very useful to find some way of pinning absolute dates to some of the bounds. In fact, it may be possible to do this by examining the position of the boundary clauses in their charters. The usual position of the boundary clause in Continental and Anglo-Saxon examples is following the Disposition but preceding the Attestation and Sanction. This is the placement in 28% of those Llandaf charters which have both boundary clauses and Attestations. In the majority of cases the boundary clause comes after the Attestation, either as the last element (57%), or followed only by the Sanction (15%).²⁹ Where the boundary is the final clause of a charter it is likely to be a later addition; this is not to suggest that such boundary clauses are actually late, just that they were not composed as part of the charter. The same explanation probably applies to boundary clauses followed only by the Sanction—Sanctions could well have been composed and tacked on during the final stages of redaction at Llandaf.³⁰ There is some evidence for the transmission of boundaries on separate sheets from their charters, and it seems that when the Book of Llandaf compilers received a boundary on a separate sheet they simply copied it out at the end of the charter to which it applied. This is suggested by the facts that in the

²⁹ Davies noted the higher frequency of post-Attestation boundary clauses, but described the order Attestation/Boundary Clause/Sanction as being 'nearly as common' as Attestation/Sanction/Boundary Clause (*The Llandaff Charters*, p. 7).

³⁰ Commenting specifically on the variation between the orders Attestation/Sanction/Boundary Clause and Attestation/Boundary Clause/Sanction, Davies remarked that 'this seems to be quite arbitrary and without any determinable significance' (*The Llandaff Charters*, p. 132), though, presumably, she could have tried to explain it by her own arguments regarding separate stages of redaction (*The Llandaff*

manuscript the bounds sometimes appear in different ink from their charters and that occasionally space apparently intended for a boundary clause is left unfilled,³¹ and also by the fact that the wrong bounds are occasionally appended to a charter (as, perhaps, in the charter pair 176a/190b). The compilers of the Book of Llandaf do not appear to have had a policy of 'tidying up' charters with separate bounds by copying those bounds into the correct position. It follows, therefore, that where a boundary clause does precede the Attestation in a charter that is likely to have been the format of the charter when it reached Llandaf.³² It is, of course, possible that an originally separate boundary clause could have been copied into the text of a charter at an earlier, pre-Llandaf stage of redaction, or, conversely, that some centres may have been in the habit of composing charters with boundary clauses in final position. However, it is worth exploring the possibility that boundary clauses appearing before Attestations in their charters may be contemporaneous with those charters.

The following table compares the position of each boundary clause relative to the Attestation, and the date given to the charter by Davies, with the period assigned to that boundary in the preceding section. Not all the bounds appear as charter clauses, so no data can be given in the 'position' column; the same is true of boundary clauses whose charters have no Attestation.³³ The bounds have been arranged first in order of their period (where more than one possibility was suggested, the earliest possible is used), and second in order of date. Crossing out is used to indicate impossible data (so 'I or II' means that the boundary could belong to either period, whereas 'I or ~~II~~' means that the boundary was assigned originally to either period, but could only belong, in fact, to Period I on grounds of date).

PERIOD	BOUND	POSITION	DATE
I or II	(69)		?
I or III	(134i)		?
I or II	75	b	555
I or II	76a	b	575
I	72b	b	580
I or III	73a	b	585
I or II	73b	b	595

Charters, particularly p. 15).

³¹ I am grateful to John Davies for this information.

³² Davies adduces the occurrence of boundary clauses before Attestations as supporting evidence for the originality of those bounds to their charters (*The Llandaff Charters*, p. 144).

³³ Key: a1, after Attestation but followed by Sanction; a2, after Attestation as last element; b, before Attestation.

I	121	a2	600
I or III	164	a1	620
I or III	144	a2	650
I or II	143	a2	660
I or H	147i	b	665
I-III	147ii	a2	665
I or III	155	a2	675
I or H	159b	b	685
I or III	148	a1	688
I or III	156	a1	698
I	174b	b	703
I	229b	b	703
I or H	176a	b	705
I or II	188b	a1	710
I or H	183a	b	735
I or H	202	b	745
I	204a	a2	748
I or III	167	a2	750
I or II	200	a1	758
I or III	210a	a1	780
I or H	170	b	850
I or H	174a	b	855
I or H	74	b	860
I or H	171bi [= 74]	a1	860
I or III	227a	a1	864
I or II	199b	a2	868
I-H	237a	b	890
I or H	237b	b	925
I or H	239	b	925
I or III	274	a1	1075
II	197a		?
II	187	a2	725
I or II	224	a1	935
I or II	244ii	b	980
II	263	a1	1040
III or V	165	a2	?
III or V	140i	a2	655
III	171bii	a2	860
II and III	233	a2	905
I or III	223	a2	940
III or V	251i	b	1005
IV-VI	(124)		?
IV	125bii	b	?
IV-VI	(255)		?
IV or V	162b	a2	605
IV	141		620
IV	159a		685
IV	145	a2	695
IV or V	183b	a2	700
IV	180b	a2	710
IV	146	a2	720
IV	201	a2	750
IV or V	209b	a2	765
IV	208	a2	785
IV	171bv	a2	860
IV or V	171bvi	a2	860
IV	173	a2	860
IV	212	a2	862

IV	225	a2	864
IV	218	a2	955
IV	240iv	a2	970
IV	240v	a2	970
IV-VI	249bi	b	1015
IV	262	a2	1022
IV	264b	b	1025
IV or V	264a	b	1030
V	(42)		?
V	125biii	b	?
V	190b	a2	?
V	127a	a2	500
V	122	a2	600
V	160	a2	620
V	140ii	a2	655
V	158	a2	722
V	171biii	a2	860
V	216b	a2	870
V	227b	a2	872
V	228	a2	876
V	235b	a2	895
V	240iii	a2	970
V	240i	a2	970
V	240ii	a2	970
V	240vi	a2	970
V	251ii	a2	1005
H or V	249bii	a2	1015
V	257i	b	1033
V	257ii	a2	1033
V	255i	a1	1035
H [or V]	255ii	a1	1035
I-or-H [or	255iii	a1	1035
I-or-HH [or	258	b	1038
I-or-H [or	249a	b	1040
V	260		1040
VI	77i	a2	625
VI	157	a1	685
VI	154	a2	720
VI	195	a2	740
VI	206	a2	755
VI	171biv	a2	860
VI	240vii	a2	970
VI	240viii	a2	970
VI	244i	b	980
VI	259	a1	1040
VI	267	a2	1070
VI	271	a2	1075
VII	125bi	b	?
VII	(134ii)		?
VII	123		600
VII	77ii	a2	625
VII	246	a2	1020
VII	261	a2	1045

There is a strong correlation between the dates of charters whose boundary clauses precede the Attestation and the relative chronology, in terms of period, of those

boundary clauses. Using these apparently datable boundary clauses as anchor points, and working on the assumption that post-Attestation boundary clauses could have been added at any time after the composition of the charter, the following scenario is reached:

Period I	up to <i>c.</i> 930
Period II	<i>c.</i> 930– <i>c.</i> 990
Period III	<i>c.</i> 990– <i>c.</i> 1010
Period IV	<i>c.</i> 1010– <i>c.</i> 1030
Period V	<i>c.</i> 1030– <i>c.</i> 1050
Period VI	<i>c.</i> 1050– <i>c.</i> 1080
Period VII	<i>c.</i> 1080–[completion of the Book of Llandaf]

These dates must be treated with great caution, but they do fit the data, without requiring much special pleading. The few special cases are as follows:

The normal rule regarding position and date does not apply in the case of 244i. This can be explained as a result of the fact that charter 244 already included a boundary clause (244ii) when it was written *c.* 980, so when 244i was added later, during Period VI, it was written in in the same location as the existing boundary, instead of being added on at the end of the charter as usual.

The results for 249a and 255iii (which were assessed as Period I or II) and 255ii (which was assessed as Period II) fit better with their dates if they are regarded as showing the same kind of overlapping as 249bii. Similarly 258 (which was assessed as Period I or III) could show overlapping as in 125biii, 127a, 158, 216b, 235b, and 240iii.

The boundary clause for charter 274 (the last charter in the Book, in textual position as well as date) appears to be earlier than its charter's 1075 dating would allow. While it could be made later than its current assignment to Periods I or III, it could not really be later than, perhaps, the beginning of Period VI (it shows retention of the *r* form of the article). This is probably a case of an existing, older boundary being added to a charter later on. Another case of this may be boundary 263, assigned to Period II, but attached to a charter of 1040.

2.5 Analysis of Results

2.5.1 Boundary Dates and Anglo-Saxon Settlement

In section 2.1.1 above it was argued that some bounds must be earlier than the twelfth or eleventh centuries because they are for areas which were by that time probably too anglicised for Welsh still to be in use. It follows, then, that bounds from those areas should be early (i.e. Period I for those areas which were substantially Anglo-Saxon by c. 930, Period I or II for those which were anglicised by c. 990, etc.). Determining which areas were sufficiently anglicised for Welsh-language bounds to be unlikely (and by what date that occurred) is a difficult matter, but it is probably safe to say that the north and east banks of the Wye (downstream of Bridge Sollers, where Offa's Dyke reaches the river) were in Anglo-Saxon hands by 930. The only charters with boundary clauses to have been localised by Davies to east of the Wye are 174b and 229b (both Tidenham [ST556959], c. 703 and c. 878, using the same boundary) whose boundary clause belongs to Period I.

How much of the land to the south and west of the Wye was anglicised by the same date is more of a problem. There is a reference in the Book of Llandaf to an invasion of the *parrochia* by Saxons during the tenure of Bishop Euddogwy.³⁴ The area of this invasion is defined by the Rivers Wye and Dore, and the Worm Brook [SO401282], and Tar's Brook [SO550362], and, though it is not made explicit, this area corresponds with the district known as Anergyng. This district, as the name suggests, was a part of the region (and one-time kingdom) of Ergyng. Whether or not Anergyng was taken by military force or just by steady pressure of migration, the reference suggests that the district was regarded as having been settled by Anglo-Saxons a long time before the twelfth century.

The Domesday Book provides an additional perspective on the area of anglicisation. South and west of the Wye it records the Hundreds of Wormelow, Dinedor, and the southern part of Stretford, together with the districts of Ewias and Archenfield.³⁵ The Domesday Book distinguishes between English and Welsh land-holders and their customs, so it is apparent that the three Hundreds mentioned above were predominantly English by 1086, whereas Ewias and Archenfield were still perceived

³⁴ LL, pp. 133–34.

as Welsh areas, albeit under Norman control. The Golden Valley (the valley of the River Dore, also known as Straddle Hundred) was hidated (an indication of English settlement), but was clearly a frontier area, as can be seen from the fact that much of it is recorded as waste. The boundary between Welsh and English areas as represented by the Domesday Book is similar to that described in the Book of Llandaf, referred to above, the major differences being the addition of Wormelow Hundred (really a single manor) and the manor of Holme Lacy to the English area.³⁶ The western boundary of Archenfield (i.e. Ergyng without Anergyng) was the River Monnow, which also formed the southern boundary of Ewias. The division between the Golden Valley and Ewias is not certain, but it is presumed to lie to the west of the River Dore.³⁷ Figure 2.3 below shows the area under discussion, and the boundaries (together with the periods assigned to them).

Key:

For the sake of convenience each location on the map is represented by a lower-case letter and the period of the boundary (or boundaries) at that site is represented by an upper-case roman numeral. Some locations are the subject of boundary doublets, and some have more than one boundary associated with them. Where a boundary could belong to more than one period, the period numbers are separated by a slash (e.g. 'f' is I / III). Where more than one boundary is associated with a location, and the boundaries belong to different periods, the different period numbers are separated by a '+' (e.g. 'y' is V + VII). The letters represent the following boundaries:

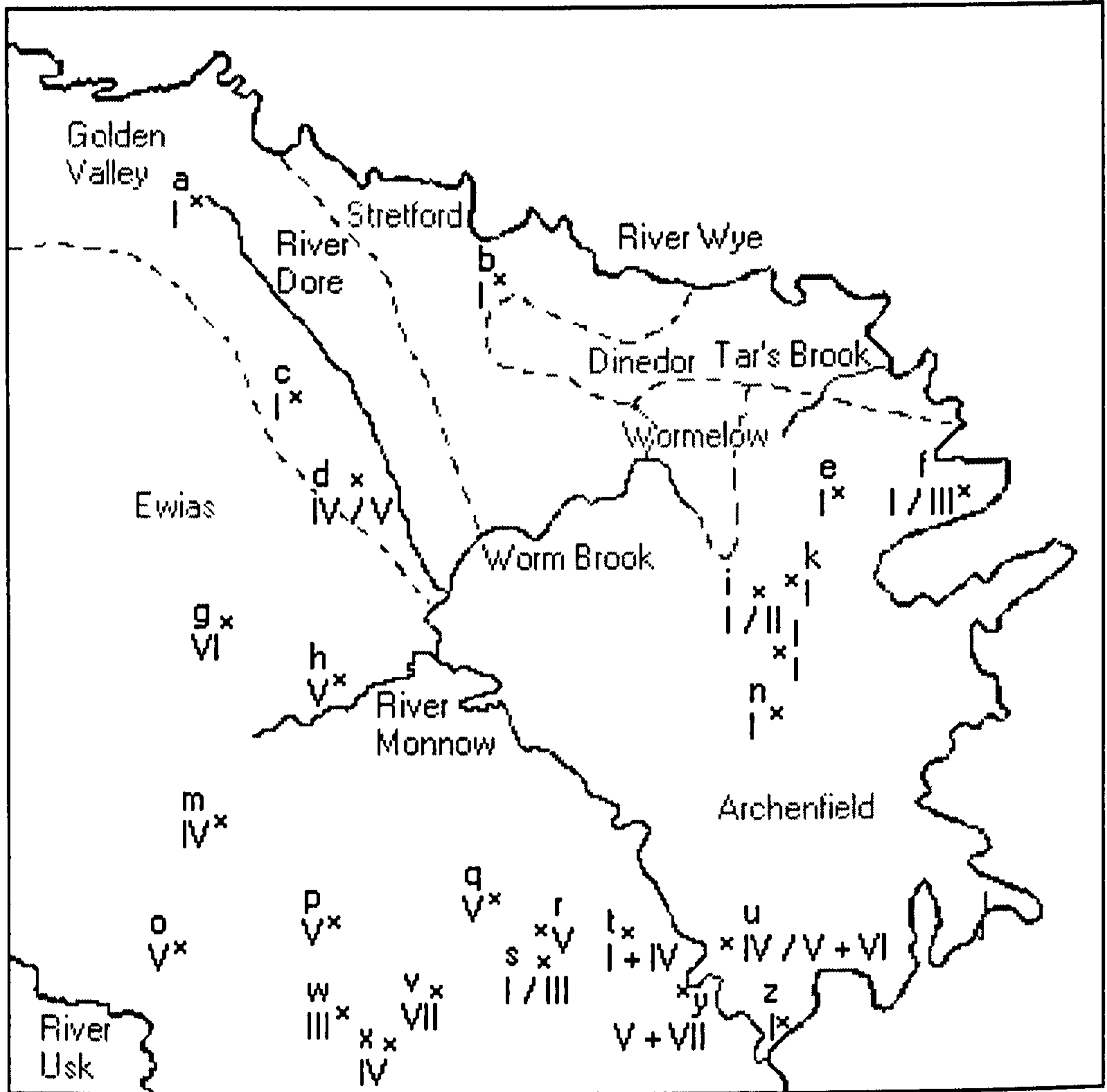
a: 72b	k: 73a	t: 74/171bi +
b: 76a	l: 75	264b
c: 73b	m: 240v	u: 171biv +
d: 162b/171bvi	n: 174a	264a
e: 170	o: 122	v: 123
f: 164	p: 228	w: 171bii
g: 195	q: 240i	x: 240iv
h: 160	r: 240ii	y: 240iii + 246
i: 200	s: 210a	z: 183a

³⁵ Morris, *Domesday Book*, XVII: *Herefordshire*, passim (particularly n. 1).

³⁶ *Ibid.*, n. 7.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, n. 1 and 7.

Figure 2.3:



As the map shows, all the boundaries of locations north and east of the Monnow belong, or could belong, to Period I, with the exceptions of d (162b/171bvi: *Mafurn*), g (195: Clodock), h (160: Llancillo), and u (171biv + 264a: Llangunville). Llangunville lies in the south of Archenfield, not far from Monmouth, and therefore in an area that was still regarded as culturally Welsh in 1086.¹ Clodock and Llancillo are both in the territory of Ewias which was also a Welsh area under Norman control according to the Domesday Book.² The remaining location, *Mafurn*, has not yet been identified, but it is assumed to have been in the Dore Valley. Although the Golden Valley is treated as an English hundred by the Domesday Book, it is clear that it was still a frontier zone between the Welsh and the English in 1086, so an eleventh-

¹ Ibid., n. 1.

century Welsh boundary clause for a territory on the west bank of the Dore (perhaps towards its southern end) is not too improbable. Besides, the bounds of *Mafurn* are so short and corrupt that secure dating is not really possible.

² Ibid..

3. Register of Place-Names

3.1 Preface

3.1.1 Limits and Arrangement of the Register

The following Register contains all the place-names found in the Book of Llandaf (with the restrictions outlined hereafter).

First of all, it is necessary to draw a distinction between place-names and topographical descriptions. Broadly the definition of 'place-name' employed here is 'a form of words used to refer to a place, which would not be an everyday description of that place'. So **Caerdydd** ('the fort of the **Taf**') must be a place-name partly because, as a description, 'the fort of the **Taf**' is not specific (the river is a long one, with other CAER sites not far from its banks). A phrase like *i nant bichan* ('the little stream'; charter 227b) is very specific, but only in the context of the bounds in which it appears, and it can be regarded simply as a description and not as a name. †**Nant Brat** ('the stream of treachery'), on the other hand is useless as a description (one could not describe the stream thus to a stranger demanding directions, and expect him to identify it on the basis of the description alone)—it is, therefore, a place-name. Most phrases of the form ABER + river name, I have indexed under the river name, rather than as names in their own right, except in those cases where it is apparent that the phrase no longer refers specifically to the mouth (ABER) of the river, but to a settlement near that location (e.g. **Abergfenni**). I have tried to err on the side of inclusivity, so it might be felt that some items discussed are not really place-names, but I hope that I have not left out, as descriptive phrases, any items which might be regarded as place-names.

Place-names from the documents comprising the flyleaves of the manuscript have not been included, and nor have place-names from the Gospels which begin the Book.

Population and language names are not included, except where they derive from a place-name, so there is an entry for **Anglia** (a place-name derived from a population name), but references to *Anglice* (language) or *Angli* (people) are not discussed, and there is an entry for **Britannia**, which includes discussion of *Britannice* (language), and *Britanni* (people), but not *Britones* (people). Locative surnames are only

discussed when they are Welsh in language, or from places within the territory claimed by Llandaf, or pertaining to people so named in or before the twelfth century.

Note that each entry refers to a particular place-name—where a place is referred to by more than one name in the collection, there is a separate entry for each of those names (though with cross-referencing between the names). Names for a particular place are distinguished or grouped according to whether they contain all the same elements, so †**Cair Duicil** and †**Din Duicil** are counted as different names for the same place (despite the fact that the elements CAER and DIN are apparently synonyms here), as are †**Cantuaria** and **Canterbury** (though both are based on the same stem, the latter is formed with an additional element). Where one name has Welsh and English spellings (as opposed to different forms), the Welsh form is preferred if the place is in what is now Wales, and the English if in England (though, again, with cross-referencing between the spellings). Entries are only for ‘living’ names, i.e. names which are or were in general use. Essentially this means that Latin forms are indexed under the Welsh or English name which they appear to calque. So *Bella Aqua* is discussed under **Fairwater**, and *Ecclesia Aquilensium* under **Llanddowror**. The exception to this rule is where the place named is unknown, or where it is known, but the apparently calqued form does not exist.

English alphabetical order is followed, but spaces and hyphens are not included as part of the alphabetisation.

3.1.2 Entry Layout

Each entry is presented in the following format:

{**Place-Name**}: [{grid reference, if possible}] ({other names for same place})

Attestations

{attested form} {source document} {page reference} {document date}

Location

{Discussion of the evidence for the identification of the place}

Elements

{The elements from which the place-name is constructed}

{Discussion of the elements, where necessary}

The dagger symbol (†) precedes name forms which are deemed to be no longer in use (in the case of Latin names which are still in use, it has been necessary to make a

judgment as to how well known the Latin form is). All place-names for which there is an entry in the Register are in **bold type**.

Grid references are standard Ordnance Survey National Grid References (abbreviated to 'NGR'). Where a grid reference is not available (for places outside the United Kingdom, for unidentified places, or for places too large to be usefully located by this means) the name is accompanied by '[NGR N/A]' or by some other description to aid location.

Where there are other names for the same place, these are given in parentheses alongside the NGR (in bold if they are to be found elsewhere in the Register, but otherwise in *italic type*).

The attested forms of a place-name are then listed, together with the document in which they appear, a page reference, and a date for the source document. The attestations are presented in the form in which they appear in LL (or as close an approximation to that form as my word-processor will allow), so where Evans has expanded a contraction, I have followed his expansion (representing his under-dotting with italic letters). I have used the modern *s* and *r* to represent the manuscript forms of those letters. I have sometimes included words that are not part of the place-name with an attestation, where those words are significant for an understanding of the use of the name (e.g. 'princeps aluni capitis' under **Penally**, where *princeps* indicates that the attested form refers to a monastic institution). A similar example from the same entry is '[terra] pen alun', where the fuller context of the attestation is 'terras eiusdem lann teliaumaur uidelicet & pen alun'.

The source document is represented by a code: LLch. (followed by a number) indicates a charter (the numbering system used is that of Wendy Davies);¹ LLb. (followed by a number) indicates a Papal Bull or one of the other letters or notices regarding the case brought by Bishop Urban against his neighbours at St David's and Hereford (the numbering system used is that of John Davies, which follows his arrangement of the documents in chronological order);² LLgloss indicates that the attested form is written as a gloss or marginal note; LLrub. indicates that the attested form is from the rubrication of the manuscript; and LL indicates any other document

¹ *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 4.

² 'The Book of Llandaf', pp. 236–46.

in the Book of Llandaf.

The page reference is to the page in LL on which the attestation is found.

The dates given for the source documents have been obtained from various sources: attestations found in boundary descriptions are dated according to the methodology described in chapter §2.4 above; Wendy Davies's dates are followed for the charters (shown in 'inverted commas' to distinguish them from dates obtained by other means);³ John Davies's dates are followed for the legal documents (those represented by the code LLb.);⁴ other sources contemporary with the construction of the Book are dated 'c. 1120s';⁵ and all other Llandaf sources are dated on the basis of the remarks of Huws.⁶

In some cases I have presented, together with the Book of Llandaf attestations of a place-name, other mediaeval attestations of the same place-name. These are generally obtained directly from secondary sources, and I have not had time to examine the original documents, so in these cases a footnote reference from the source code reveals the secondary literature from which I obtained the information.

Elements are given for all Welsh-language names, and all names of places within the territory claimed by Llandaf. Elements are in SMALL CAPITALS, underlined if English, *italicised* if Latin or French. The elements found in LL place-names are listed and discussed below in §3.3. Welsh elements appear in their Modern spelling, but English and French elements are given in their Old English and Old French forms, following what seems to be becoming the standard practice for Welsh place-name studies.

³ *The Llandaff Charters*, pp. 92–130.

⁴ 'The Book of Llandaf', pp. 236–46.

⁵ See §1.1.1 above.

⁶ 'The Making of *Liber Landavensis*'.

⁷ See, for example, PNPemb., II, 742.

[...]/A

†[...]nuc Bacan: [nr ST1378]

Attestations

Inuc bacan

LLch.159b p. 159 'c. 685'

Location

The scribe (hand 'A') of the single attestation of this name left a lacuna in place of its first part, presumably because at some stage in the transmission of the charter the first part of the name had become illegible.¹ The name refers to the three *modii* of land granted by Brochfael on the same day as the six *modii* (known as †Villa Meneich) with which the charter seems primarily concerned. Bounds are given, but it is not clear whether they constitute a single boundary clause, broken up by expansive references, or two, or perhaps even three, separate clauses. If there is only one clause here then it probably defines the boundary of †Villa Meneich, if two or three then the final one refers to the three *modii* of [...]nuc Bacan. In either case, there are good grounds for locating †Villa Meneich in the vicinity of Llandaf, and the additional gift of the three *modii* would probably have been from the same area. If the final part of the bounds does refer to the three *modii*, then a location bordering on Llandaf's own *podum* seems more certain, given the mention of †Riu Finion and *Henriu* (if this is the same as †Henriu Gunma), both of which occur in the boundary of Llandaf on page 69 of the Book of Llandaf. It seems a little strange, however, that a Llandaf scribe should apparently have been unfamiliar with the name of a place so close to home.

Elements

? + ?BYCHAN

The *-uc* of the first word looks like the dialectal reflex of the adjectival termination *-OG*. The second element is obscure as it stands, but it could be a miscopying or dialectal variant of *bichan* or *bechan* 'little'. Support for this suggestion might be taken from some of the forms of **Cantref Bychan**, where the second element is sometimes spelt *bachan* and sometimes *bican*.

¹ Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 103.

†[...]tauc: [nr ST5294]

Attestations

tauc

LLch.165 p. 166 c. 990–c. 1050

Location

As with the name discussed above, the first part of this name is missing where the scribe (hand 'A') left a lacuna. The name occurs as a point in the bounds of the MAENOR of †**Tnou Mur** (north Chepstow), and is mentioned in the bounds between †**Taranpull** and †**Cumulum ir Iuenn**. Since the bounds travel clockwise, with the Wye (**Gwy**) as their eastern limit, this place should be on the northern or north-western edge of the territory described.

Elements

The *-auc* may be the adjectival termination -OG (MW *-awc*).

Abbey Dore: see **Dore Abbey**.

†**Abbona:** [SS757901] (W. *Aberafan*; Eng. *Aberavon*)

Attestations

ecclesia de Abbona LL p. 326 c. 1350

Ecc'ia de Abbona cum Capella LL p. 331 c. 1350

Location

Both references occur in the additional documents at the end of the Book of Llandaf, the first in a list of the *synodalia* payable by churches in the deanery of **Gorfynydd**, and the second in a list of the tithes gathered by churches (under the heading of **Cynffig**). There seems to be no reason to doubt Evans's identification, since *Aberafan* occurs in the same area as the other churches referred to in both lists.

Elements

Aberafan stands at the mouth of the River *Afan*, the source, presumably, of the Book of Llandaf's *Abbona*. Confusion between the river name *Afan* and the common noun *afon* 'river' has given rise to the English form *Aberavon*. Curiously, the Brittonic form of *afon* was *abona*,² so it is interesting to note that in the first occurrence of *Abbona* on page 326, the first *b* has been partially erased.

² GPC, I, 43.

Abendonensis: see Abingdon.

Aberafan, Aberavon: see †Abbona.

Abergavenny: see Abergfenni.

Abergfenni: [SO300140] (Eng. *Abergavenny*)

Attestations

deconatu de <i>Bergeueny</i>	LL	p. 284	<i>s.</i> xiii ²
prior de <i>Bergeueny</i>	LL	p. 312	<i>c.</i> 1350
Henry de <i>Bergeueny</i>	LL	p. 314	<i>c.</i> 1350
<i>Bergeueny</i>	LL	p. 318	<i>c.</i> 1350
decanatu de <i>Bergeueny</i>	LL	p. 318	<i>c.</i> 1350
<i>ecclesia</i> de <i>Bergeueny</i>	LL	p. 318	<i>c.</i> 1350
<i>vicaria</i> de <i>Bergeueny</i>	LL	p. 318	<i>c.</i> 1350
<i>Bergeueny</i>	LL	p. 320	<i>c.</i> 1350
decanatu de <i>Bergeueny</i>	LL	p. 320	<i>c.</i> 1350
priore de <i>Bergeueny</i>	LL	p. 321	<i>c.</i> 1350
<i>ecclesijs</i> de <i>bergeueny</i>	LL	p. 321	<i>c.</i> 1350
<i>vicaria</i> de <i>Bergeueny</i>	LL	p. 321	<i>c.</i> 1350
<i>Bergeueny</i>	LL	p. 327	<i>c.</i> 1350
Prior de <i>Bergeueny</i>	LL	p. 327	<i>c.</i> 1350
<i>Vicaria</i> de <i>Bergeueny</i>	LL	p. 327	<i>c.</i> 1350
prior de <i>Bergeueny</i>	LL	p. 303	<i>c.</i> 1355
priorem de <i>bergeue</i> [...]	LLgloss	p. 303	<i>c.</i> 1477
Henricus de <i>bergeveny</i>	LLgloss	p. 314	<i>c.</i> 1477

Location

Bergeueny is undoubtedly the same as modern *Abergfenni*. The consistent loss of the initial *a* is curious, but it is probably the result of Anglo-Norman mispronunciation.

Elements

ABER + **Gfenni**

Aberhonddu: see Brecon.

Aber Meuruc: see †Mouric.

Aberthin: [SS999750]Attestations

ebirthun	LLch.260	p. 260	'c. 1040'–c. 1050
aper epyrthun	LLch.260	p. 261	'c. 1040'–c. 1050

Location

Both attestations are from the bounds of †**Villa Fratrus**. The identification followed here,³ can be regarded as secure, resting on the distinctive appearance of the name and the fact that the bounds tell us that the *Epyrthun* flows into the Thaw (**Ddawan**).

Elements

?

This name is discussed by Thomas.⁴ The initial *A-* of the modern name form is probably a haplological development from the name of the town at the mouth of the stream (also *Aberthin*, but originally *Aper Epyrthun*). Thomas was unable to suggest a meaning for the name, but maintained that the vowel of the final syllable was originally [ü], and that the change to [i] was dialectal. The same name (*Berthin Brook*) is borne by a tributary of the Usk (**Wysg**), joining that river at SO372017—see †**Everbechyn**.

Abingdon: [SU490970]Attestations

<i>monasterij abandonensis</i>	LL	p. 304	after 1480
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Location

The name occurs in a list of the bishops of Llandaf, in a reference to Milo Salley, one time almoner of Abingdon monastery.

†**Abrenan:** [?nr ST1177]Attestations

abrenan	LLch.258	p. 258	'c. 1038'
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Location

This name occurs as a point in the bounds of †**Tref Ginhill**, which has not yet been identified. The **Elái** occurs in the bounds too, however, which at least provides some sense of the location. Evans noted the similarity of *Abrenan* to

³ LL, p. 382; EANC, pp. 198–99.

†**Brenan Picet.**⁴ If the two names are the same, then *Abrenan* would be located near the **Elái**, not far from †**Henriu Gunma**, to the north west of **Llandaf**.

Elements

?BRYNAN

The initial *a* could be an error.⁶

Abrinum: see **Hafren**.

Acghiti, Acgiti: see **Anghidi**.

Aconbury: [nr SO505330]

Attestations

Priorissa de Acomeburye LL p. 327 c. 1350

Location

Evans identified this place with ‘*Acornbury, Her.*’. I can find no place with this exact name, but modern *Aconbury*, originally the name of the hill, but now carried also by a parish and Aconbury Court [SO517335], seems most likely. Knowles and Hadcock describe the history of Aconbury priory, which was founded in the early twelfth century as a hospital, and which survived to the Dissolution.⁷ See also †**Cair Rein**.

Adar: see †**Cil ir Adar**.

Æcclesia names: see under **Ecclesia**.

Agcr: see †**Estrat Agcr**.

Ager Cinguali: see †**Lann Cingualan**.

Ager Cinir: see †**Tir Cynir**.

Ager Conloc: see †**Tir Conloc**.

†**Ager Cynfall:** [nr the **Elái**]

Attestations

agrum Cynfall LLch.155 p. 155 ‘c. 675’

⁴ EANC, pp. 198–99.

⁵ LL, p. 378.

⁶ See also the discussion of †**Brenan Picet**.

⁷ *Medieval Religious Houses*, pp. 201, 278–79, and 313.

Location

Ager Cynfall occurs as an additional piece of land granted together with †**Lann Cincirill** in charter 155. Neither Evans nor Davies offers any suggestion regarding the identification of †**Lann Cincirill** itself, so the bounds attached to the charter may provide the best evidence for location. However, it is not clear whether the bounds are those of †**Lann Cincirill** alone, or of *Ager Cynfall* alone, or of both territories together. Such additional pieces of land do not necessarily adjoin the territory with which their charter is primarily concerned, but the occurrence of †**Cruc Cynfall Scoti** as a point in the bounds, suggests that either the two territories were adjoining, or, if they were not, that the bounds refer only to *Ager Cynfall*. Whichever may be the case, the bounds should be useful for the present purpose. The bounds contain five place-names: †**Cepetic Trican**, *Vadum Rufum*, †**Claud Trycan**, **Elái**, and †**Talpon Brinan**. Of these the **Elái** is known, and †**Cepetic Trican** appears to be identified in the text with *Vadum Rufum*, which occurs elsewhere as a name (in the charter pair 74/171bi). However, as the charter pair 74/171bi concerns **Llanfocha**, which is a long way from the **Elái**, these references to *Vadum Rufum* must be to different places (see (1) †**Vadum Rufum** and (2) †**Vadum Rufum**). In the absence of further identifiable points in the bounds, the best that can be said is that *Ager Cynfall* lies near a fording point (*VADUM*) of the **Elái**.

Elements

AGER + personal name

†**Ager Filiorum Grucauc**: [?nr SS445865]

Attestations

agrum filiorum grucauc LLch.239 p. 240 'c. 925'

Location

This reference occurs in the bounds of the two fields (*duobus agris*) of †**Meinporth**, which were granted together with †**Penn i Bei**, the main subject of the charter. *Ager Filiorum Grucauc* is at the opposite point in the (dimensional) bounds to a ditch which is described as being to the east. Consequently, it is reasonable to locate this place to the west of †**Meinporth**.

Elements

AGER + FILIUS (gen. pl.) + personal name

†Ager Guinna: [?ST030957] (?mod. *Llanwynno*)Attestations

agri guinna	LLch.209a	p. 209	'c. 770'
GVINNA	LLrub.	p. 209	c. 1120s

Location

The identification suggested here is that suggested tentatively by Davies. She does not state the grounds for this identification, so presumably it is based on the similarity of *Guinna* and the second element of *Llanwynno*. No bounds, nor any explicit statement of the place's location, are given, and the witnesses (apart from the king and bishop) have no associations with other charters.

Elements

AGER + ?personal name

†Ager Gurmarch: [?in Ergyng]

Attestations

agri Guruarch	LLch.185	p. 185	'c. 740'
terram Gurmarch	LLch.185	p. 185	'c. 740'
Gvrmarch	LLrub.	p. 185	c. 1120s

Location

The only clue to the location of this territory is the reference to the presence at the original deal of the *nobiles seniores* of *Ergyng*. Coplestone-Crow suggests (without further elucidation) that the site of this land might be Marstow [SO553192] ((1) *Llanmartin*).^a

Elements

AGER + personal name

†Ager Helic: [?in Gwent or Ergyng]

Attestations

agrūm helic	LLch.176b	p. 178	'c. 700'?
Ager helic	LLrub.	p. 176	c. 1120s

^a *Herefordshire Place-Names*, p. 145.

Location

This territory (as also †Ager Tencu), according to charter 176b, was granted to Bishop Berthwyn at Welsh Bicknor (†Lann Garth Benni), by the penitent King Clodri. No other evidence is available to locate it, so the best that can be said is that it lies in an area over which King Clodri and Bishop Berthwyn would have been likely to have had control.⁹

Elements

AGER + ?HELYG

AGER names are normally qualified by a personal name, so it is possible instead that the element here is the personal name *Helig*.¹⁰

Ager Hiernin: see †Tir Hiernin.

†Ager Louhai: [SO531007] (mod. Tyndyrn, Eng. *Tintern Parva*)

Attestations

agrum Louhai	LLch.209b	p. 209	'c. 765'
LOVHAI	LLrub.	p. 209	c. 1120s

Location

This territory is granted in charter 209b. The bounds define the territory in terms of the Wye (Gwy), †Drech Dindirn, and the †Catfrut. Evans identified this place as Tintern Parva (Tyndyrn, grid reference above), with which Davies agreed.¹¹ Given the location on the Wye (Gwy) and the probable relationship between the names †Drech Dindirn and Tyndyrn, this identification is likely.

Elements

AGER + ?personal name

Ager Redoc: see †Tir Retoc.

†Ager Tencu: [?in Gwent or Ergyng]

Attestations

agrum Tencu	LLch.176b	p. 178	'c. 700'?
ager tencu	LLrub.	p. 176	c. 1120s

⁹ Clodri's only other grant (also to Berthwyn) is (2) Cemais.

¹⁰ Compare the discussion of the river name *Helygi* in EANC, p. 148.

¹¹ LL, p. 410; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 118.

Location

See †Ager Helic.

Elements

AGER + personal name

Aghiti: see Anghidi.

Agustan: see Aust.

Aithnauc: see †Tal ir Aithnauc.

Alarun: see †Ynys Alarun.

Albano: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

Albanensis LLb.30 p. 54 1130

Location

This name occurs (in its Latin adjectival form) as the surname of one *Mattheus*, one of Pope Innocent's electors. Evans translates it 'of Albano'.¹² It might refer to Lake Albano, about 20 km south east of Rome.

†**All Hilguid:** [SO473025]

Attestations

all hilguid LLch.240 p. 242 s. xi²

Location

This name occurs as a point in the bounds of (1) **Llanisien**, one of several territories granted in charter 240. The boundary goes from the source of the †**Anghidi Fechan** upwards to *All Hilguid*; through the wood to the slope; along the slope to the breast of the hill; to below (1) **Llanisien**. From this description it is evident that the name refers to the ridge now called 'Star Hill' at its southern end and 'Llanishen Hill' at its northern end. The source of the †**Anghidi Fechan** is on the eastern side of this ridge, and if the ridge is crossed, the steeper western slope is still wooded.

Elements

ALLT + ?

The qualifier *hilguid* could be a compound of GWŶDD 'wood' and another

¹² LL, p. 386.

element, possibly *hyll* ‘ugly, bristly, matted’.

All Luyt: see †**Alt Luit**.

†**Allt Coit Guent:** [?ST3892]

Attestations

allt coit guent LLch.261 p. 262 c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

The attestation is from the bounds of **Llan-bedr**. The relevant section of the bounds could be translated in several different ways, the most likely of which would either treat *Allt Coit Guent* as a place-name, or take the element ALLT as a common noun and assume that the preposition *in* has been omitted between it and the place-name *Coed Gwent* (‘the ALLT in *Coed Gwent*’). Whichever approach is taken makes little difference to the interpretation of the bounds, which (provided that the identification of the grant’s focus is correct) appear to be relatively easy to follow. *Allt Coit Guent* stands between the source (BLAEN) of †**Nant i Gall** and a point opposite (*penn arciueir*) †**Lann Mihacgel**. We are also told that the ALLT has a ridge (CEGIN), which the boundary follows. The most obvious ridge feature in the vicinity of **Llan-bedr** is the one to the north west, the north-western face of which is known as *Kemeys Graig* (grid reference above).

Coit Guent is, in Modern Welsh, *Coed Gwent*, the large tract of woodland known in English as *Wentwood* [ST4294].¹³ The English name is presumably a translation of the Welsh.

Elements

ALLT + *Coed Gwent*

†**Allt ir Cicbran:** [?SO428055]

Attestations

allt ircicbran LLch.159a p. 159 s. xi¹

Location

This name occurs as a point in the bounds of **Llanerthill**. The bounds begin at a ford on the Olway (**Olwy**), and proceed to follow a stream upwards. *Allt ir*

¹³ The name *Coed Gwent* is not marked on the Ordnance Survey maps of the area, but the name is in use (e.g. EANC, p. 170, s.v. *Trogi*). Evans translates *Coit Guent* as ‘Went Wood’ (LL, p. 383).

Cicbran lies between the source of this stream and †Nant ir Hebauc. The text could be read to mean that the former of the two streams is the Olwy (Olwy) itself, but this hardly seems likely given that the source of the Olwy (Olwy) is significantly further west. In the absence of any other identifiable points, the best that can be said is that the name describes a hill (ALLT) near Llanerthill, possibly Cyncoed hill.

Elements

ALLT + YR + CIGFRAN

GPC adduces this place-name as an example of the noun *cigfran* 'raven', a compound of *cig* 'flesh' + BRÂN.¹⁴

Allt Llwyncelyn: see †Hen Alt.

Alltudion: see †Nant Bed ir Alltudion.

Alps: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

alpes	LL	p. 110	?
alpes	LL	p. 130	?

Location

The first example is from the Life of Saint Teilo, and the second is from the Life of Saint Euddogwy. In both cases the reference is to the Continent, so there is no reason to doubt the obvious identification with the Alps. In the first case the *Alpes* separate France and Italy, but the geography of the Life of Euddogwy is rather less accurate in its statement that Armorica extended as far as the *Alpes*.

Altisiodori, Altissiodorensis: see Auxerre.

†Alt Luit, Ir: [?SO139212]

Attestations

[i]ralt luit	LLb.25	p. 42	s. xi ¹
[i]r all luyt	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s

Location

Both attestations are versions of the same perambulation of the diocese. The

¹⁴ GPC, I, 477.

version from bull 25 uses older orthographic and linguistic forms than the document's date of 1129 would suggest: it appears to be a fairly faithful copy from a document of the first half of the eleventh century. The other version, however, from the Life of Euddogwy, is one of the most modern bounds in the Book of Llandaf in terms of orthographic and linguistic features, and is likely to be contemporary with the Book itself.

Ir Alt Luit occurs as a point in the perambulation, preceded by †**Cil Idris**, and followed by †**Lech Bichlit**. While the location of †**Cil Idris** depends on one's opinion of where the boundary reaches the **Wysg**, the grounds for associating †**Lech Bichlit** with **Blaenbychlyd** [SO142216], on Buckland Hill are reasonably solid. Evans tentatively identified *Ir Alt Luit* with 'Graig Lwyd', presumably present-day Craig-lwyd-fawr [SO146209], a farm on the south-eastern slope of Buckland Hill.¹⁵ Since ALLT has a range of meanings encompassing both 'hill' and 'slope',¹⁶ the name under discussion could refer to Buckland Hill itself, or to a particular slope of the hill. Alternatively, if one favoured a crossing of the **Wysg** at SO123232, the name could refer to Allt yr Esgair [SO126244].

Elements

YR + ALLT + LLWYD (fem.)

†**Alt Minchei**: [SN627059] (mod. *Cefn Drum*)

Attestations

alt minchei LLch.140 p. 141 s. xi¹

Location

This name occurs as a point in the bounds of **Llandeilo Tal-y-bont**. In the perambulation it stands between the source of the **Camffrwd** and an unspecified point on the (2) **Dulais**. Evans identified this place with **Cefn Drum**,¹⁷ which does seem to be the most suitable feature.

Elements

ALLT + ?MYNECHI

Evans suggested that *Minchei* should be read as *Minechi* or *Meneich*. The

¹⁵ LL, p. 368.

¹⁶ GPC, I, 78. The entry states that the meaning 'wood, wooded slope' is common in the South.

¹⁷ LL, p. 368.

elements MYNECHI (interpreted by Thomas as a name meaning 'tir y mynach neu'r meneich', derived from MYNACH + -I⁹) and *meneich* (one of the plural forms of MYNACH) both occur elsewhere in the Book of Llandaf (see †Lann Menechi and †Nant i Meneich).

†Alt Rudlan: [?SO360283]

Attestations

alt rudlan	LLch.162b	p. 163	s. xi ¹
alt rudlan	LLch.171b	p. 173	s. xi ¹

Location

Both attestations are from almost identical versions of the same boundary: that of †Mafurn. Unfortunately the bounds are very short, with a lacuna following *Alt Rudlan*, so a firm identification is difficult. Melville Richards saw the name surviving in Ruthland Farm [SO356282], which is plausible.¹⁹ *Alt Rudlan* cannot be very far from the Dore, as this also occurs as a point in the bounds. The clause begins *di guar alt rudlan* 'from on *Alt Rudlan*', which implies (as does the element ALLT 'hill, slope'), that it was a feature from which a descent could be made. Ruthland Farm stands on something of a promontory, jutting out from the eastern side of Mynydd Merddin, so, if Richards's identification is correct, this may be the ALLT of the name.

Elements

ALLT + ?RHUDD + ?LLAN

The qualifying element could instead begin with *grudd* 'cheek, slope' with the *g* lenited after feminine ALLT. Similarly the second part of the qualifier could be GLAN, or possibly *glân* 'clean, holy, beautiful', rather than LLAN. The etymology RHUDD + LLAN is favoured by the fact that generally in Old Welsh lenited *g* would be preserved in orthography, but cf. †Rudlan Elei.

Alun: see †Nant Alun.

Aluni Caput: see Penally.

Ambrus: see †Tref Meibion Ambrus.

Amhyr: see Gamber.

¹⁹ EANC, p. 127.

Amir: see †Humir.

†**Amithieil:** [?around SM9701]

Attestations

amithieil	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
amithieil	LL	p. 255	before 'c. 1025'

Location

This name is found in two documents: a list of possessions on page 124 (probably originally a list of **Penally**'s possessions), and a list appended to the Privilege of Bishop Joseph (granted by Rhydderch ab Iestyn) on pages 253–55 (classed by Davies as charter 253). The list appended to the Privilege seems to be a composite of several documents, including the list of **Penally**'s possessions.²⁰ Davies, referring to the Privilege, states that 'it is highly likely that [the Privilege] and list derive from a note made during [Joseph's] episcopate', and gives a date of *c.* 1025. If Davies is right in making the list and the main body of the Privilege contemporaneous, then the original list of **Penally**'s possessions must date from earlier than *c.* 1025.

In both versions of the list the reference to *Amithieil* occurs in clarifying the location of †**Porth Manach**, which is said to be in *Amithieil*. The location of †**Porth Manach** is uncertain, but it may be modern Monkton [SM9701]. The context of the list places *Amithieil* in **Penfro**, but no more can be deduced. Consequently the best that can be said is that this is a district name, possibly referring to the area around Monkton.

Elements

?AM- + ?

If the first element is indeed AM-, then the second element might have undergone lenition from a form with initial *g*.

Amroth: [around SN1607]

Attestations

tribus territoriis amrath	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
tribus territoriis amrath	LL	p. 255	before 'c. 1025'

¹⁹ Finberg, *The Early Charters*, p. 137.

²⁰ Davies, 'The Book of Llandaf', pp. 214–15.

Location

See Charles's discussion of this name.²¹ See under †**Amithieil** above for a discussion of the attesting documents. *Amrath* in the Book of Llandaf may be a district name—the territory around the river †**Rath**—whereas the settlement (or, at least, its church) is designated by †**Lann Rath**.

Elements

AM- + †**Rath**

Amyr: see **Gamber**.

Andrea, Andree: see **Saint Andras**.

Anergyng: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

Anercyc	LL	p. 69	?
anergyn	LL	p. 248	before s. xiii ¹
anergyng	LLgloss	p. 69	1476x78

Location

Anergyng is the Welsh name for the part of **Ergyng** which was settled earliest by Anglo-Saxons, the area defined by the Rivers **Gwy** and **Dore**, and the **Worm**, and †**Taratir**.²² In each of the three attestations the name occurs in conjunction with **Ergyng**.

Elements

AN- + **Ergyng**

The name is constructed with a prefix *an-*, which probably denotes negation here,²³ indicating that it refers to the place which is not (i.e. was, but no longer is) **Ergyng**.

Anghidi (Fawr): [SO530002] (Eng. *Angidy River*)

Attestations

aghiti maur	LLch.199bii	p. 200	'c. 868'–c. 930
acghiti	LLch.218	p. 221	s. xi ¹
aghiti maur	LLch.240	p. 242	s. xi ²

²¹ PNPemb., II, 464–65.

²² See above, §2.5.1.

²³ GPC, I, 104.

Location

It is clear that all three instances refer to the same river, which rises at Hygga [SO485037] according to Thomas (though, in the absence of other evidence, Ffynnon Gaer [SO495037] would seem an equally plausible source).²⁴ *Acghiti* in charter 218 could refer to †**Anghidi Fechan**, but without a qualifier the name is more likely to be used of the larger stream.

Elements

ANGH- + -ID + -I [+ MAWR (fem.)]

Thomas regards *ang(h)-* as the stem of the word, with *-idi* being a double termination from the verbal suffix *-id* and *-I*.²⁵ The stem may be associated with the meaning ‘hook’, ‘twist’, or may mean ‘narrow’.²⁶

†**Anghidi Fechan**: [?SO490006] (?mod. *Nant y Defaid*)

Attestations

aghiti bichan	LLch.199bii	p. 200	‘c. 868’–c. 930
acgiti bechan	LLch.240	p. 242	s. xi ²

Location

It seems reasonable to assume, where two rivers in the same area bear the same name, one qualified by ‘large’ and one by ‘small’, that the smaller one should flow into the larger one. In the endorsement to charter 199b the territory of *Ecclesia Trylec* is said simply to lie between the two rivers **Anghidi Fawr** and *Anghidi Fechan*. Davies’s identification of *Trylec* with Trellech [SO500055] is implausible, on the grounds that it is too far from the **Anghidi Fawr**. However, Trelleck Grange is situated very close to the **Anghidi Fawr**. (See **Tryleg** for further discussion.) If *Trylec* is to be identified with Trelleck Grange then the obvious candidate for the *Anghidi Fechan* is the stream now called *Nant y Defaid*, which joins the **Anghidi Fawr** about a kilometre south of Trelleck Grange. This agrees with Thomas’s identification.²⁷

Elements

Anghidi + BYCHAN (fem.)

²⁴ EANC, p. 128.

²⁵ Ibid..

²⁶ Ibid..

See Anghidi Fawr.

†Angia: [NGR N/A] (mod. *Jersey*)

Attestation

angiam LL p. 23 c. 1130

Location

The single attestation is from the Life of St Samson. Evans identified the place with Anjou,²⁷ but essentially the same reference occurs in other, fuller versions of the Life (the composition of which is dated by Flobert to c. 750), where it is clear that *Angia* is a marine island, almost certainly Jersey (which was known as *Andium/Angia* in the Classical/Dark-Age period).²⁸ See also †Lesia.

Anglesey: see Môn.

Anglia: [NGR N/A] (mod. *England*)

Attestations

anglię	LLch.192	p. 192	'c. 745'?
agglię	LLch.192	p. 192	'c. 745'?
angliam	LL	p. 254	'c. 1025'
angliam	LL	p. 254	'c. 1025'
anglię	LL	p. 246	982x1120s
AGGLIGENA	LL	p. 1	1120s
anglię	LL	p. 266	1120s
anglię	LL	p. 275	1120s
angliam	LL	p. 278	1120s
anglię	LL	p. 278	1120s
anglię	LL	p. 280	1120s
agliam	LLb.8	p. 48	1125
angliam	LLb.13	p. 34	1128
anglię	LLb.21	p. 40	1129
anglię	LLb.26	p. 53	1129
Anglie	LLb.42	p. 66	1131

²⁷ Ibid..

²⁸ LL, p. 386.

²⁹ Coates, *Ancient and Modern Names of the Channel Islands*, pp. 17–21; Flobert, *La Vie ancienne*, p. 232.

<i>angliam</i>	LL	p. 285	1199
<i>agliam</i>	LL	p. 285	1199
<i>anglie</i>	LL	p. 248	before <i>s.</i> xiii ¹
<i>Angliam</i>	LL	p. 317	<i>c.</i> 1350
<i>anglie</i>	LL	p. 327	<i>c.</i> 1350
<i>Anglie</i>	LL	p. 333	<i>c.</i> 1350
<i>Anglie</i>	LLgloss	p. 70	1476x78
<i>anglie</i>	LLgloss	p. 278	1476x78
<i>anglie</i>	LL	p. 305	1537

Location

The place-name *England* is not found in the Book of Llandaf, instead Latin *Anglia* is used in all but one case (see **Lloegr**).

Anhuc: see †Pant Anhuc.

Annouid: see Nofydd/

and †DiFrinn Annouid L/

Annuc: see †Pant Anhuc.

Aper Epyrthun: see Aberthin.

Aper Guaeche: see †Guaeche.

†**Aper Guenfrut:** [?SO537068] (?mod. *Whitebrook*)

Attestations

aperguenfrut	LLch.222	p. 222	' <i>c.</i> 942'
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Location

Although this name is descriptive in origin ('mouth of the †**Guenfrut**'), it is clear from the context of the reference in charter 222 that it is applied to a settlement. Evans, followed by Davies, identified this place with Whitebrook, a village on the banks of the stream named *White Brook*. 'White Brook' would then be an example of translation of a Welsh place-name into English. There is no further detail in charter 222 to confirm this identification, but two pieces of circumstantial evidence in its favour may be admitted: after the transgression at *Aper Guenfrut* a synod was held at **Llandogo** only about two kilometres south of Whitebrook; a stream called †**Guenfrut** occurs in the bounds of **Llandogo** (charter 156) which can reasonably be identified as the above-mentioned White Brook.

Elements

ABER + †Guenfrut

Aper Humir: see †Humir.**Aper Humur:** see †Lann Guenn Aper Humur.

†Aper Menei: [?SO333097 or SO334098]

Attestations

Apermenei	LLrub.	p. 180	c. 1120s
aper Menei	LLch.180a	p. 180	'c. 720'
Pont-Abermenu	Hist. Mon. ³⁰	I, 327	1738
Pont Abermynew	Hist. Mon. ³¹	I, 325	1774

Location

Davies identified this place as Monmouth (i.e. †Aper Myngui), but as she herself noted the charter's rubric locates it *iuxta frut mur fin mainaur Lann Garth* ('next to †Frut Mur [on?] the boundary of Llan-arth'). Llan-arth lies fourteen kilometres west of Monmouth which is probably too far away for it to have a boundary point described as 'next to' Monmouth. Furthermore, it would seem odd to describe the location of Monmouth with reference to anything other than the rivers Mynwy and Gwy. †Frut Mur is probably *Ffrwd Brook*, which flows into the Usk (Wysg) about two kilometres south west of Llan-arth.

Thomas identified the *Menei* of the name as a small stream with its source at SO324109 and its mouth on the Wysg at SO334097,³² which would place *Aper Menei* sufficiently close to Llan-arth.

Elements

ABER + river name

Aper Muric: see †Mouric.

†Aper Myngui: [SO512122]

Attestations

aper Mynuy	LLch.175	p. 175	'c. 733'
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³⁰ Bradney, *History of Monmouthshire*.

³¹ *Ibid.*.

³² EANC, pp. 29–30.

aper myngui LLch.186b p. 186 'c. 733'

Location

The two charters attesting this name are doublets, but vary slightly in their readings so that it is unclear whether their original recorded a gift of land which took place at *Aper Myngui* or a gift of land at this location. Davies opts for the former.³³

It is difficult to tell whether these are instances of a name-phrase referring to a settlement at or near the mouth of the **Mynwy**, or merely a topographical description (i.e. specifically the mouth of the river). Given the lack of description of the location in this charter doublet, we cannot be certain that the *Myngui* of the name is the major river **Mynwy** and not some other, smaller stream of the same name, but, equally, there is no strong reason for doubt.

Elements

ABER + **Mynwy**

†**Aquila**: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

aquila LL p. 29 1126

Location

This place-name occurs (as the locative surname of a certain Richard) in the list of the witnesses to the agreement between Bishop Urban and Robert of Gloucester. Evans tentatively suggested an identification with L'Aigle, forty eight kilometres south-east of Évreux in Normandy.³⁴ The following witness in the list is one Robert of †**Sigillo**. There is also a place called *L'Aquila* in Abruzzi, Italy (**Italia**), ninety kilometres north-east of Rome (**Roma**), and, given that this L'Aquila is relatively close (thirty kilometres south-east) to a place called *Sigillo*, this identification might be preferred.

preferred

Aquilensium, Aquilentium: see **Llanddowror**.

†**Arbores Foton**: [?nr ST502955]

Attestations

arbores foton LLch.143 p. 143 'c. 660'–c. 990

³³ *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 108.

³⁴ LL, p. 386.

Location

This name occurs in the boundary clause to charter 143 (Period I or II). The land granted is †**Ecclesia Guruid**, which has been identified with **St Wormet's** (Howick). None of the four points of this dimensional boundary can be identified so a definite conclusion is not possible.

Elements

ARBOR (acc. pl.) + ?personal name

ARBORES probably translates *COED*, a collective plural, which can have either a plural ('trees') or singular sense ('wood').

Archenfield: [NGR N/A]Attestations

Arcenefelde	DB	fol. 179b	1086
urceneuelde	LLb.35i	p. 57	1130
urceneuelde	LLb.35ii	p. 288	1130
Erchynfeld	LLgloss	p. 275	s. xv ^{med}
Erchynfeld	LLgloss	p. 279	s. xv ^{med}
vrchinveld	LLgloss	p. 57	1476x78

Location

The English-language place-name *Archenfield* was used in the Domesday Book of the district defined by the rivers **Mynwy** and **Gwy** to the west and east, and the **Worm Brook** and **Tar's Brook** to the north, i.e. the Welsh district of **Ergyng** after the loss of **Anergyng**.³⁵ On pages 275 and 279 *Erchynfeld* glosses forms of **Ergyng**.

Elements

The name is based on a tribal name *Ircingas*, derived from the same place-name as **Ergyng** (apparently formed with the tribal-name suffix *-ingas*) + FELD.³⁶

(1) †Arganhell: [?SO505257]Attestations

arganhell	LLch.75	p. 75	'c. 555'–c. 930
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³⁵ See above, §2.5.1.

³⁶ PNRom. Brit., p. 258, s.v. *Ariconium*.

Location

This name (which is fairly common as a stream name)³⁷ occurs in a very brief boundary clause. The charter is for †**Cil Hal** which has been identified (with varying degrees of confidence) with Pencoyd in Herefordshire [SO517266]. If the identification of †**Cil Hal** is correct then the suggested identity of the *Arganhell* is reasonable.³⁸ See also the following entry.

Elements

ARIAN + -ELL

(2) †**Arganhell**: [SO474178]Attestations

Licat arganhell	LLch.171b	p. 173	s. xi ¹
licat argannel	LLch.171b	p. 173	s. xi ¹

Location

This stream name occurs twice in the boundary clause for †**Lann Tipallai**, which is probably near **Llanfocha**. The grid reference given here is for the stream suggested by Thomas,³⁹ the source (LLYGAD) of which would be at either SO453175 or SO454171. If the suggested location of †**Duuir in Dair** is correct then the latter grid reference is more likely to be the point referred to in these bounds. See also the preceding entry.

Elements

ARIAN + -ELL

Armorica: [NGR N/A]Attestations

armoricas gentes	LL	p. 109	?
gentis armoriceꝥ	LL	p. 109	?
armoricorum brittonum	LL	p. 110	?
armoricorum	LL	p. 110	?
armorici	LL	p. 111	?
gentis armoriceꝥ	LL	p. 112	?
milites armorici	LL	p. 113	?

³⁷ See EANC, pp. 92–96; CPNE, p. 11, s.v. **arghantell*.

³⁸ See EANC, p. 94, and Rollason, 'The Boundaries', p. 71, for a discussion of this stream.

³⁹ EANC, p. 94.

armorici	LL	p. 113	?
armoricorum patria	LL	p. 114	?
armoricę gentis	LL	p. 130	?
armoricam terram	LL	p. 130	?
armoricas terras	LL	p. 18	c. 1130
armoricum regnum	LLgloss	p. 18	1476x78
armoricorum	LLgloss	p. 130	1476x78

Location

Armorica was the Roman name for north-western **Gaul**, comprising modern Brittany and the west of modern **Normandy**. Later, as the zone of Celtic culture was pushed westwards, the name became a synonym for Brittany.

These attestations, from the Lives of Samson, Teilo, and Euddogwy, seem to refer to a culturally, rather than geographically, defined area—the name is frequently used adjectivally to refer to a people. The only definition of the geographical extent of the term comes from the Life of Euddogwy (p. 130) where the ‘*armoricam terram*’ is described as ‘*durantem usque ad alpes*’ in the saint’s lifetime (see **Alps**). This cannot be taken entirely seriously, but it does suggest that the author recognised that the region had shrunk since the time of the saint. The fifteenth-century gloss on page 18 of the Life of Samson equates the name *Armorica* with ‘*parue britannie*’, i.e. Brittany (see **Britannia**).

Arthbodu, Arthuodu: see †**Lann Arthbodu**.

Aruaith: see †**Rit Aruaith**.

Aruen: see †**Finnaun Diguinid Aruen**.

Aruyno: see **St Arvans**.

As Fach: see (1) **Nash**.

Astur: see †**Main Dyastur**.

†**Atguedauc:** [nr SO363172]

Attestations

atguedauc	LLch.228	p. 229	s. xi ¹
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Location

This name occurs in the bounds of **Llanwytherin**. It is clear that it is the name of a stream as it is mentioned in conjunction with a ford (†**Rit ir Euic**), but it

is difficult to identify the stream more precisely than to say that it is probably one of several to the north of **Llanwytherin** which flow west–east from the slopes of the **Ysgyryd Fawr** towards the **Troddi**. It should also run to the north of the †**Coluin**.

Elements

?ADWEDD + -OG

We should expect *Atguedauc* to represent **Adweddog* in Modern Welsh orthography. The final *-auc* is presumably the adjectival suffix *-OG*, which leaves *atgued-* to be explained. A noun *adwedd* ‘death, retreat, disappearance, return’ is well attested, and GPC plausibly suggests that this is present in *Atguedauc*.⁴⁰

†**Auferreum Mare**: (?W. *Môr Hafren*, ?Eng. *Bristol Channel*)

Attestations

mare [...]	Austreum	VAS	p. 214	c. 750
auferreum	mare	LL	p. 19	c. 1130

Location

The reference occurs in the Life of Samson, when the saint is said to have crossed (*transfretavit*) the *Auferreum* sea. At the equivalent point in earlier versions of the Life this sea is called *Austreum*, which Flobert translates as ‘Méri-dionale’, and explains as ‘dénomination insulaire de la Manche’.⁴¹ While an interpretation of *Austreum* as ‘southern’ (an otherwise unattested adjective derived from *auster* ‘south’) is quite plausible, it might be preferable to regard this as a name for the Bristol, rather than English, Channel, since Samson is at this point travelling between Wales and Cornwall. Evans identified the first element of the Book of Llandaf version of the name as ‘Austferry’ (presumably the landing place for the Severn crossing near **Aust**),⁴² but it seems more likely that *auferreum* arose through a misreading of *austreum*, than the other way round.

Augustini: see **St Augustine’s Abbey**.

⁴⁰ GPC, I, 28, s.v. *adwedd*.

⁴¹ Flobert, *La Vie ancienne*, pp. 216–17.

⁴² LL, p. 387.

Aust: [ST572891]Attestations

agustan	LL	p. 252	1046–1120s
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Location

This place name occurs in a note on the career of Bishop Joseph. The note states that the bishop died while on pilgrimage to Rome at *Agustan* ('in uia Sancti Petri Apostoli apud Agustan'). It is possible that Joseph died before he was any great distance from Llandaf, and Aust, on the east bank of the Severn is a good candidate. The two earliest (Anglo-Saxon) references to Aust are *æt Austin* (691–99) and *æt/to Austan* (794),⁴³ and the crossing of the Severn at Aust has been in use since Roman times.⁴⁴ *Agustan* would then be an Old Welsh equivalent of Old English *Austan*, with the typical Old Welsh use of *gu* to represent [u].⁴⁵ See also †*Auferreum Mare*.

Auxerre: [NGA N/A]Attestations

Altisi odori	LLb.41	p. 66	1131
altissiodorensis	LLgloss	p. 10	1477x78
altissiodorensis	LLgloss	p. 68	1477x78

Location

The first example is from the *datum* of bull 41, and the other two are late glosses on the name of Saint Germanus (of Auxerre).

⁴³ Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, numbers 77 and 137 respectively.

⁴⁴ PNRom. Brit., pp. 510–11.

⁴⁵ Compare the spelling of King Awst's name as *agustus* in charter 146.

B

Bacan: see †[...]nuc Bacan.

Bacat: see †Garth Bacat.

Bachawy: see †Difrinn Machagui.

Bach Latron: see †Nant Bach Latron.

Baclan: see †Carn Baclan.

Badalon, Badlon, Baeluna: see **Ballon**.

Ballingham: see †Lann Budgualan.

Ballon: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

badalon	LLb.4	p. 93	1119
badlon	LLb.16	p. 37	1128
baeluna	LLb.28i	p. 30	1129?
baeluna	LLb.28ii	p. 53	1129?

Location

This place-name occurs as the surname of one Winebald, in three bulls (bull 28 was copied twice). Bulls 4 and 16 are addressed to Winebald (amongst others), regarding a complaint from Llandaf, and bull 28 is to Llandaf, on behalf of Winebald. It may be, then, that the spelling of the first two is that of someone at Llandaf, and that of bull 28 is that of Winebald himself (or an associate). *Ballon* is the name of a town to the north of **Le Mans**.

Bancorensi, Bancorensis: see **Bangor**.

Bangor: [SH575715]

Attestations

<i>episcopum bancorensi ciuitate</i>	LL	p. 71	1120s?
<i>episcopi bancornensis</i>	LL	p. 84	1120s?
<i>bancorensis episcopi</i>	LL	p. 84	1120s?
<i>bancorensis ecclesię pontificis</i>	LL	p. 85	1120s?
<i>bancorensis ꝥcclesię episcopum</i>	LL	p. 3	1120s?

bancorensis episcopi	LL	p. 5	1120s?
Episcopum bancorensi ciuitate	LLgloss	p. 71	1476x78
ciuitas bancorensis	LLgloss	p. 71	1476x78
Episcopus bancorensis	LLgloss	p. 71	1476x78
Episcopo bangorensi	LLgloss	p. 108	1476x78

Location

All the attestations of this name are adjectival, referring to the bishop or bishopric of Bangor. The references occur in the Lives of Elgar and Dyfrig (and the associated document 'On the First State of the Church of Llandaf'), in connection with Daniel of Bangor's subordinate relationship to Dyfrig, and with David of Bangor's consent in the translation of Dyfrig's bones.

Elements

BANGOR

The primary sense of *bangor* is 'cross-bar in a wattled fence' (a compound of *ban* 'branch' and *côr* 'plaiting, binding, boundary'), but it could be transferred (as here) to refer to churchland enclosed within a wattled fence.¹

Baraen: see †Nant Baraen.

Baraliuen: see †Fons Baraliuen.

Bard: see †Main i Bard.

Bardsey: see †Roma Britanniae, Ynys Enlli.

Barri, Y: [ST1067] (Eng. *Barry*)

Attestations

ecclesia de Barry	LL	p. 324	c. 1350
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Location

The attestation is from a list of churches in the deanery of **Llandaf**, the area of which included the parish of Barry. There is no reason to doubt the obvious identification.

Elements

?BAR (pl.)

¹ Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, pp. 55–56; GPC, 1, 254.

The name is discussed at length by Pierce.² A connexion with BAR is one of several possibilities explored, and the suggestion is made that all the forms might derive from an unattested stage **Barreu*, but Pierce is unable to make a suggestion as to the meaning of the ending *-eu*.³ I would see no difficulty, however, in interpreting **Barreu* as a plural of BAR.

Barruc: see †Cum Barruc.

Barry: see Barri.

Basaleg: [ST278871] (Eng. *Bassaleg*)

Attestations

presbiter bassalec	LLch.272	p. 273	'c. 1072'
ecclesia de Basselek	LL	p. 319	c. 1350
ecclesia de Basselec	LL	p. 323	c. 1350
ecc'ia de basselec	LL	p. 329	c. 1350
ecclesie de basselec	LL	p. 333	c. 1350
basselec	LL	p. 330	?

Location

There is no reason to doubt that all the attestations given here refer to the place still called *Basaleg*. No topographical information is provided apart from the fact that the attestations on pages 319 and 323 are in lists of churches in the deanery of Newport.

Elements

The name is a borrowing from Graeco-Latin *basilica*.⁴

Basilica Sancti Laurentii Extra Muros: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

Basilica sancti Laurentij extra muros	LL	p. 25	1128
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Location

Mentioned in the Description of Rome.

² PNDinas P., pp. 2–6.

³ Ibid., p. 4.

⁴ Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 10.

Basilica Sanctae Mariae Maioris: [NGR N/A]Attestations

Basilica <i>sanctę</i> Marię maioris	LL	p. 25	1128
<i>Sancte</i> Marię maioris	LL	p. 25	1128

Location

Mentioned in the Description of Rome.

Basilica Sancti Pauli Apostoli: [NGR N/A]Attestations

Basilica <i>sancti</i> Pauli apostoli	LL	p. 25	1128
<i>Sancti</i> Pauli	LL	p. 25	1128

Location

Mentioned in the Description of Rome.

Basilica Sancti Petri Apostoli: [NGR N/A]Attestations

Basilica <i>sancti</i> Petri apostoli	LL	p. 25	1128
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Location

Mentioned in the Description of Rome.

Basilica Salvatoris Patriarchalis: [NGR N/A]Attestations

Basilica saluatoris patriarchalis	LL	p. 25	1128
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Location

Mentioned in the Description of Rome.

Bassaleg: see Basaleg.

Baddon: [ST750640] (Eng. Bath)

Attestations

bathoniensi	LL	p. 280	s. xii ¹
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Location

This single reference is to John, Bishop of Bath, one of several English bishops present at the consecration of Urban as Bishop of Llandaf.

Bath: see Baddon.

†**Baudur:** [nr SO461172]Attestations

baudur	LLch.74	p. 74	'c. 860'–c. 930
baudur	LLch.171b	p. 172	'c. 860'–c. 930

Location

This stream name occurs as a point in the bounds of **Llanfocha** (the same bounds are used in both charters). Too few of the other points have been identified for this stream to be identifiable.

Elements

BAW + DŴR

A compound of *baw* 'filth, dung' and DŴR, seems a plausible name for a small stream such as this one.⁵ The same compound is seen in Cornish **bođour*.⁶

Beacons Down: see †**Mons Gurai**.

Beate Marie: see †**Ecclesia Beate Marie**.

Beaujeu: [NGR N/A]Attestations

Helioci	LLb.43i	p. 62	1132
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Location

The form of the name here is the result of a scribal error—read *Belioci*. Beaujeu lies to the south of Mâcon. For the identification, see LL, p. 404.

Beaulieu: [SU387025]Attestations

Abbas de bello loco	LL	p. 304	s. xiv ^{ex} /s. xv ⁱⁿ ?
abbas de bello loco	LL	p. 312	s. xiv ^{ex} /s. xv ⁱⁿ ?

Location

This name occurs in both of the lists of the bishops of Llandaf, in reference to one *Tidemannus* or *Tidmannus*. Evans made the identification with Beaulieu in Hampshire.⁷

Bechan, Bichan: see †**Anghidi Fechan, Cantref Bychan**.

⁵ GPC, I, 265, s.v. *baw*.

⁶ CPNE, p. 26.

⁷ LL, p. 387.

Becheiniaun: see **Brycheiniog**.

Bedeui: see †**Lann Bedeui**.

Bedewas: see **Bedwas**.

Bed ir Alltudion: see †**Nant Bed ir Alltudion**.

Bedwas: [ST170890]

Attestations

ecclesia de Bedewas LL p. 323 c. 1350

Location

Evans made the identification followed here,⁸ which seems probable both on grounds of form and context (a list of churches in the deanery of Newport).

Elements

BEDWOS⁹

Beggan: see †**Beganeston**.

†**Beganeston:** [?ST147747]

Attestations

ecclesia de Beganeston̄ LL p. 324 c. 1350

beganeston̄ LL p. 332 c. 1350

Location

Evans tentatively identified this place with '*Beggan, Glam.*',¹⁰ by which he presumably meant the farm of that name to the west of Leckwith. This identification seems reasonable both on grounds of form and context (the attestation from page 324 occurs in a list of churches in the deanery of Llandaf).

Elements

?personal name (gen.) + TŪN

Beiliau: see †**Villa Gunnuc**.

Bella Aqua: see **Fairwater**.

Bellamore: see †**Bolgros**.

⁸ Ibid..

⁹ GPC, I, 266.

¹⁰ LL, p. 387.

Bellus Locus: see **Beaulieu**.

Benni: see †**Garth Benni**.

Bergeueny, Bergeveny: see **Abergefenni**.

Berkeley: [?ST685990]

Attestations

Rogerio deberkele	LLb.4	p. 93	1119
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Location

Roger de Berkeley is one of several addressees of bull 4. It seems likely that the place referred to is the Berkeley in Gloucestershire.

Bernay: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

raul debernai	LL	p. 276	c. 1120s
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raul debernhai	LL	p. 277	c. 1120s
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Location

The man named in both attestations is Ralph de Bernay, Sheriff of Hereford under Earl William fitz Osbern. The *Bernay* after which he is named is in the département of Eure, Normandy.¹¹

Berthin: see †**Everbechyn**.

Bertus: see †**Villa Bertus**.

Betgues: see †**Betguos**.

†**Betguos, Ir:** [?nr SO457055]

Attestations

blain irbetguos	LLch.206	p. 207	s. xi ²
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arhit irbetguos	LLch.206	p. 207	s. xi ²
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pennibetgues	LLch.206	p. 207	s. xi ²
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Location

This name (if it is such—it could be a common noun) occurs three times in the boundary clause of charter 206. The object of the charter (†**Ecclesia Mamouric/†Lann Uuien**) may be Llangovan (at the grid reference given

¹¹ Morris, *Domesday Book*, xvii: *Herefordshire*, note to section 1,2.

above), but I am not confident of the identification.

Elements

BEDWOS¹²

†**Bic**: [?ST433994]

Attestations

imich	LLch.173	p. 174	s. xi ¹
bic	LLch.173	p. 174	s. xi ¹
bic	LLch.173	p. 174	s. xi ¹

Location

These three attestations refer to a stream in the bounds of **Llangwm**. We know from the bounds that it has at least one tributary: the †**Bis**, and possibly another (unnamed) stream which might run down from a spring ('licat irfinnaun') to the *Bic* above the confluence of the †**Bis**. Furthermore, the *Bic* is encountered in the area between †**Nant Broueni** (Dyffryn Brook) and †**Nant Foss Pluum**, so it is likely that it is a tributary of one or the other. There are only two tributary streams of Dyffryn Brook which themselves have tributaries: the one at the grid reference above and the one at ST435982. Of these two the former better suits the description given in the bounds (see †**Bis**).

Elements

?*BYCH

The spelling with initial *m* is the result of nasalisation after the preposition *in* 'in'. In the orthography of the Book of Llandaf *ch* sometimes represents [k], but more commonly [χ], and, conversely *c* may represent [χ] as well as [k] or [g]. The *i* could stand for the *i* or *y* of Modern Welsh orthography. The obsolete *BYCH is the only Welsh word which these spellings could represent.

Bichein: see †**Pillou Bichein**.

Bichlit: see †**Lech Bichlit**.

Birran: see †**Cair Birran**.

Birrion: see †**Din Birrion**.

¹² GPC, I, 266.

†**Bis**: [?ST436993]

Attestations

aper nant bis	LLch.173	p. 174	s. xi ¹
bis	LLch.173	p. 174	s. xi ¹
oper bis	LLch.173	p. 174	s. xi ¹

Location

These three attestations refer to a stream in the bounds of **Llangwm**. The stream is a tributary of the †**Bic**. From the source (BLAEN) of the *Bis* the bounds cross a road and head westwards towards †**Rit yr Onnenn**, a ford on †**Nant Broueni** (Dyffryn Brook). There are two candidates for the †**Bic**, and each has a tributary stream entering it from the western side: the one at the grid reference above and the one at ST435982. The former of these is separated from Dyffryn Brook by a road, and has its source east of a ford on Dyffryn Brook, and consequently this one is the more likely identification.

Elements

[NANT +] **BYS**

Bisgueiliauc: see †**Dugleis Bisgueiliauc**.

Bishopston: [SS578894] (W. Llandeilo Ferwallt; also †**Ecclesia Cyngur Tros Gardi**, †**Lann Conuur**, †**Lann Merguall**)

Attestations

[ecclesia] *que vocatur/* Bysschopestoñ LL p. 333 c. 1350

Location

As this attestation specifies that *Bysschopestoñ* is 'in Goweria' (i.e. **Gŵyr**), there is no reason to doubt this identification.

Elements

BISCOP (gen.) + TŪN

There is no reason to doubt the obvious assumption that the first element is BISCOP, Modern English *bishop*.

Bishton: see †**Lann Catgualatir**.

Bist: see †**Finhaun Bist**.

Bistill Deui: see †**Pistill Deui**.

Biuguan: see †**Nant Biuguan**.

Bledgint: see †Tref Bledgint.

Bledgur mab Aches: see †Tref Bledgur mab Aches.

Bolcros: see †Bolgros.

†**Bolgros:** [SO394407] (mod. *Bellamore*)

Attestations

abbas bolgros	LLch.165	p. 166	?
agrūm nomine bolgros	LLch.161	p. 161	'c. 610'
abbas bolgros	LLch.164	p. 164	'c. 620'
abbas bolcros	LLch.163b	p. 164	'c. 620'
Bolgros	LLch.192	p. 192	'c. 745'?
Bolgros	LLrub	p. 161	c. 1120s

Location

The identification of this place is followed by all the commentators (even if they do not all agree on the spelling of the modern name).¹³ The situation of *Bolgros*, as described in charter 161—'super ripam Guy eminus Mochros'—accurately describes the area of Bellamore (identifiable by three farms bearing the name) which lies about two kilometres south of the river Gwy and is not far from Moccas. There is no reason to doubt that the other attestations refer to the same place (the context is generally an Ergyng one).

Elements

BOL + RHOS

The modern Welsh spelling of this name would be *Bolros*. The first element is *bol* 'belly'—*bolg* in Old Welsh, where orthographic *g* represents lenited *g* (i.e. [3]).¹⁴ The spelling *bolcros* in charter 163b is probably an error, caused either by a misunderstanding of orthographical conventions, or simply by misreading. The name could be translated literally into English as 'Bellymoor', which is apparently what did happen.¹⁵ Evans says of BOL that it

¹³ LL, p. 388: 'Belly-moor, Madley'; EANC, p. 218: 'Belly-moor ger Madle'; Finberg, *The Early Charters*, p. 137: 'Bellymoor in Madley'; Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 103: 'Bellimoor'. *Bellamore* is the current Ordnance Survey form.

¹⁴ GPC, I, 296, s.v. *bol*.

¹⁵ Coplestone-Crow (*Herefordshire Place-Names*, p. 169) implicitly does not regard *Bellamore* as a translation of *Bolgros* (he regards the second element of *Bellamore* as more likely to contain *mere* 'pond' than *MOR*), but as he does not know of the explanation for the first element of *Bolgros*, perhaps his interpretation should be treated with caution.

signifies a large bog which swallows everything into itself.¹⁶ The form of the name is compound, but the equivalent name-phrase form occurs in *Rhos-y-Bol*, Anglesey.¹⁷

Boneuyleston: see **Bonvilston**.

Bonvilston: [ST065741] (W. *Tresimwn*)

Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Boneuylestoñ</i>	LL	p. 324	c. 1350
<i>Ecc'ia de Boneuylestoñ</i>	LL	p. 330	c. 1350

Location

There is no reason to doubt that these two attestations refer to Bonvilston in the Vale of Glamorgan—both are from lists of churches in the deanery of **Llandaf**. Pierce discusses this place-name.¹⁸

Elements

personal name (gen.) + TŪN

Bracd: see †**Cruc Bracd**.

Brace: see †**Brehes**.

Brachan: see †**Nant Brachan**.

Brachani: see **Brycheiniog**.

Brangwayn: see **Bryngwyn**.

Branuc: see †**Villa Branuc**.

Brat: see †**Nant Brat**.

Bratguen, Bratguenn: see †**Inis Bratguen**.

Brecheinauc, Brecheinniauc, Brecheniauc, Brechenniauc, Brechenoc: see **Brycheiniog**.

Brechfa: [?around SO115380]

Attestations

<i>brecua</i>	LL	p. 255	'c. 1025'
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¹⁶ *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 48.

¹⁷ GPC, I, 296, s.v. *bol*.

¹⁸ PNDinas P., pp. 11–13.

Location

This place-name occurs in the list of Teilo churches claimed by Llandaf in the Privilege of Bishop Joseph, where †**Lann Guruaet** (modern Llandeilo'r Fan) is said to be in *brecua*. In form it looks very much like *Brechfa* (the name of a village and the surrounding forest in **Cantref Mawr**—see †**Lann Teliau Nant Seru**), but †**Lann Guruaet** is too distant for this identification to be correct. More promising, however, is the small cluster of *Brechfa* names (at the grid reference above) on the eastern edge of **Cantref Selyf**. This area is also some way from Llandeilo'r Fan, but it is near **Llangoed**, the next church after †**Lann Guruaet** in the list. It is possible that there has been a copying error in the list. If the list originally read something like

Incantref selim. Lann coit inbrecua. Lann guruaet mainaur.

(with **Cantref Selyf** as a major region containing two churches, one of which is in a district called *Brechfa*) a scribe might have misunderstood *brecua* as another regional heading, and moved this new entry forward in the list to stand between the preceding **Dyfed** entries, and the following **Brycheiniog** entries (perhaps on the assumption that this *Brechfa* was the more western one in **Cantref Mawr**), resulting in the Book of Llandaf's

IN brecua. Lann guruaet mainaur. Incantref selim. Lann coit.

Evans suggested that *brecua* here is an error for some form of **Brycheiniog**,¹⁹ but this is a less satisfactory explanation as **Brycheiniog** would be a higher-level regional term than those used elsewhere in this list.

Elements

BRYCH (fem.) + MA²⁰

The first element does appear to be *brych* (fem. *brech*) 'spotted, variegated'.

Perhaps the name refers to some peculiar feature of the local soil.

Brechhina6c, Brechinawc: see **Brycheiniog**.

Brechmil: see †**Guoun Brechmil**.

Brechynna6c: see **Brycheiniog**.

¹⁹ LL, p. 388.

²⁰ PNPemb., I, 414, s.v. *Brechfa*.

Brecon: [SO045285] (W. *Aberhonddu*)Attestations

Archidiaconus Brechon LL p. 305 after 1575

Location

The name occurs late in a list of the bishops of Llandaf, in a reference to *Willelmus Blethyn*, previously archdeacon of Brecon.

Elements

The English-language place-name *Brecon* is derived from the Welsh district name **Brycheiniog**, itself based on the personal name *Brychan*. The *-ch-* of this instance may reflect a pronunciation preserving the [χ] of **Brycheiniog**.

Brecua: see **Brechfa**.

†**Brehes:** [around SO4304]Attestations

Lann efrdil inbrehes LLch.159a p. 159 'c. 685'

Location

Brehes appears to be the name of the area around **Llanerthill**. Might the name be preserved in the first element of Brace Farm [SO428045] and Brace Barn [SO431045]?

Elements

?

Breigam: see †**Villa Breican**.

Breit: see †**Eccluis Sant Breit**.

Breith: see †**Guoun Breith**.

†**Brenan Picet:** [?nr ST1177]Attestations

brenan picet LLch.237a p. 237 'c. 890'

Location

The name occurs as a point in the bounds (probably contemporaneous with the charter) of †**Cair Birran**, which has not yet been identified. However, one of the other points in the bounds is †**Guorlurch Iudgual**, which also occurs in the bounds of †**Henriu Gunma**, and this place lay on the north-western edge

of Llandaf's own *podum*. *Brenan Picet* may be the same place as †Abrenan,²¹ in which case it can be further located to somewhere near the Elái.

Elements

?*BRYNAN + ?PIG + ?

If this name is the same as †Abrenan, then it is possible that the *o* which precedes it in the clause is part of the name (i.e. *Obrenan*) rather than the preposition *o* 'from', in which case the first word is obscure. The second element might be connected with the noun *pig* 'point, peak' (if the word is not a borrowing from Middle English, as GPC tentatively suggests),²² perhaps as a participial adjective (with *-ed* or *-aid*),²³ though the verb *pigaf* is not attested with the meaning 'to form into a peak'.²⁴

Brethinoc, Brethynoc: see **Brycheiniog**.

Brideston: see **Briton Ferry**.

Bridstow: see (1) †Lann San Bregit.

Brigida: see (1) **Saint-y-brid**.

Brigide: see †Eccluis Sant Breit, **St Bride's Major, St Bride's Minor, (1) Saint-y-brid**.

†**Brinn Bucelid:** [SN869357] (mod. *Mynydd Bwlch-y-Groes*)

Attestations

brinn bucelid LLch.154 p. 155 s. xi²

Location

This place occurs as a point in the bounds of †Lann Guruaet (Llandeilo'r Fan). It stands between a marsh (GWERN) near the source of the **Clydach** and the source of the **Eithrim**.²⁵ It is quite clear, then, that the reference is to Mynydd Bwlch-y-Groes rather than the similarly named Bryn Bugeiliaid at SN858137.

²¹ LL, p. 378.

²² GPC, III, 2798.

²³ GPC, I, 69 (s.v. *-aid*²) and 1163 (s.v. *-ed*⁶).

²⁴ GPC, III, 2799.

²⁵ Following Evans's suggestion that references to the **Mawan** and the **Eithrim** have been confused in this clause: LL, p. 370.

Elements

BRYN + BUGAIL (pl.)

†**Brinn Cornou:** [nr SO367141]Attestations

brinn cornou LLch.171b p. 172 c. 990–c. 1010

Location

This place occurs as a point in the bounds of **Llanfable**. The other points in the boundary near *brinn cornou* have not been securely identified, and no feature bearing the name exists today, so it cannot be identified.

Elements

BRYN + ?*CORNAU

Padel takes the second element, rather, to be a plural form of CORN.²⁶

†**Brinn Hinn Hitian:** [nr ST097782]Attestationsbrinn hinn hitian LLch.216b p. 217 s. xi¹Location

This place occurs as a point in the bounds of **Saint-y-nyll**. The hill is described as lying between a ridge (CEGIN) and the **Dowlais**. Insufficient information is available, however, to make a positive identification.

Elements

BRYN + ?YNN + ?

It is not certain that all three elements here constitute a single name. Evans suggested that the second element might be *ynn* ‘ash trees’ (plural of ONN), presumably influenced by †**Penn Onn**, the name of part of the territory granted.²⁷ If this is correct, and the whole thing constitutes a single name, then the third element could be a personal name or an adjective. The second element might otherwise be the preposition YN, in which case the third element could be a river name (with this part of the clause to be translated ‘as far as the hill, into *Hitian*, as far as **Dowlais**’). Even if Evans’s interpretation of the second element is allowed to stand, the third element could be a separate name, (to be translated perhaps ‘as far as *Brinn Hinn*, *Hitian* as far as

²⁶ CPNE, p. 66.

Dowlais').

†Brinn i Cassec: [nr †Pull Mouric]

Attestations

brinn icassec	LLch.262	p. 262	'c. 1022'–c. 1030
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Location

This place occurs as a point in the bounds appended to charter 262. Although the approximate area is known, it is not clear precisely what the object of the grant is, nor whether the bounds given are for all, or only part of the territory.²⁸ In the bounds the hill is located between Mounton Brook (†Pull Mouric) and the end of a marsh ('penniguern'), but there is a lack of identifiable points to give a more precise identification.

Elements

BRYN + YR + CASEG

†Brinn Luguni: [?nr SO4107]

Attestations

brinnluguni	LLch.207	p. 207	'c. 760'
Brynn lyguni	LLrub.	p. 207	c. 1120s

Location

The place named in these attestations is one of two places granted in charter 207. The other place is the land of †Mathenni, which was probably in the vicinity of Llandenny. While it is likely that two places granted together in one charter are adjacent, or close by, it is by no means certain. I can find no trace of this name near Llandenny. Evans tentatively suggests Rhaglan, but this based on Wakeman's assertion that *Brinn Luguni* represents *Bryn Llyngwren* (which he claims to be the ancient name of Rhaglan), which I do not find convincing.²⁹

Elements

BRYN + ?

²⁷ LL, p. 376.

²⁸ See †Villa Carnou, †Villa Crucou Leuirn, and †Villa Crucou Morcan for discussion of the problems.

²⁹ LL, p. 410; 'Supplementary Notes', p. 14.

Bristol: [ST5872]Attestations

Abbas *sancti Augustini* bristoll' LL p. 329 c. 1350

Abbas *sancti Augustini* bristoll LLgloss p. 329 s. xvi

Location

Both references are from a list of tithes collected in the deanery of Newport. Bristol Cathedral was originally an Augustinian abbey.

Bristol Channel: see †*Auferreum Mare, Hafren*.

Britannia:

The name *Britannia* seems to be used in three different senses in the Book of Llandaf (the island of Britain, Wales, and Brittany), and can also occur as an element in name phrases for parts of Britain. Because of these different usages, and the occasional impossibility of determining the intended meaning, I shall discuss entries based on the name *Britannia* (together with its Norman descendant *Britayne*) here below. See also †*Roma Britanniae*.

Britannia

<i>britanniam</i>	LL	p. 26	?
<i>britannia</i>	LL	p. 26	?
<i>britanniam</i>	LL	p. 68	?
<i>britannieꝝ</i>	LL	p. 68	?
<i>britannieꝝ insuleꝝ</i>	LL	p. 69	?
<i>britannieꝝ</i>	LL	p. 69	?
<i>brittanniam</i>	LL	p. 99	?
<i>britannia insula</i>	LL	p. 110	?
<i>brittannieꝝ</i>	LL	p. 118	?
<i>britannia</i>	LL	p. 130	?
<i>brittannieꝝ</i>	LL	p. 131	?
<i>brittannieꝝ historiographus</i>	LL	p. 138	?
<i>telpaldi & ithaili regum brittannieꝝ</i>	LLch.192	p. 192	'c. 745'?
<i>confinibus britannieꝝ & anglieꝝ</i>	LLch.192	p. 192	'c. 745'?
<i>britannieꝝ totum confinium</i>	LLch.192	p. 192	'c. 745'?
<i>confinia [...] agglieꝝ & brittannieꝝ</i>	LLch.192	p. 192	'c. 745'?
<i>regum britannieꝝ regis [...] riderch</i>	LL	p. 252	1046–1120s

Grifudi regis britannię	LL	p. 269	'c. 1060'
britannię	LL	p. 270	'c. 1060'
britanniam insulam	LL	p. 88	1119
britanniam	LL	p. 80	1120s?
britannię	LL	p. 80	1120s?
britanniam	LL	p. 81	1120s?
episcopatus per britanniam	LL	p. 278	1120s
britannia	LL	p. 7	c. 1130
britannię	LL	p. 19	c. 1130
britanniam	LL	p. 21	c. 1130
britanniam	LL	p. 24	c. 1130
britanniam	LL	p. 24	c. 1130
ducem totius britannię	LL	p. 24	c. 1130
britannię	LL	p. 24	c. 1130
Edgar. Rex tocius britannie	LL	p. 248	before s. xiii ¹
Nomina regum britANNJE	LL	p. 285	1199
le Rey de Britayne	LL	p. 313	c. 1350
del Rey de Britaygne	LL	p. 313	c. 1350
britannie	LLgloss	p. 10	1476x78
regnum britannie	LLgloss	p. 116	1476x78
historiographus tocius britannie	LLgloss	p. 138	1476x78
nidualus dux britannię	LLgloss	p. 24	s. xvi

Apart from the sixteenth-century gloss on page 24 the only examples from the above list used equivalently to modern *Brittany* all occur in the Life of Samson (pages 6 to 24), though not all the examples from that source are used unambiguously, as, for example, where Samson's mother, before his birth, is told that 'Talem britannia nunquam genuit. nec unquam generabit'.³⁰

References to *Britannia Insula* are obviously to be interpreted in terms of Britain as a whole rather than just Wales, as also are references to kings of Britain which specifically include English kings, such as at pages 192, 248, and 285.

However, unless the reference to Æthelbald of Mercia in Charter 192 is

intended to imply that he, as well as Ithel, is in some sense a king of Wales, that charter nicely demonstrates the confusion over the use of the name *Britannia*, for the other three attestations refer to the border between *Britannia* and *Anglia*. The equivalence of Wales and *Britannia* is also clearly visible on page 252 (when Joseph is consecrated Bishop of Llandaf at the court of Cnut ‘electione [...] regum britannię regis [...] riderch regnantis per totam gualiam’), and on page 269 (where Griffudd is described as ‘regis britannię. & ut sic dicam totius gualię define adfinem’). Further confirmation is provided by the translation of the phrase ‘regibus istis & principibus britannię’ in the Latin Privilege of Teilo into Welsh as ‘breenhined hinn hatouyssocion cymry’.³¹

Generally, though, the choice between the senses of *Britain* or *Wales* is not easy, as, for example, when, in the Life of Euddogwy, the saint’s father puts him to the study of letters just as he had promised Teilo previously in ‘britannia’.³²

Britannicus (adj.)

houel britannicum regem	LLch.218	p. 219	‘c. 955’
britannice	LL	p. 78	1120s?
britannico sermone	LL	p. 80	1120s?
gens britannica	LL	p. 81	1120s?
more britannico	LL	p. 83	1120s?
britannicę gentis	LL	p. 266	1120s
more britannico	LL	p. 1	1120s
brittanicę gentis	LL	p. 18	c. 1130
herwaldi [...] britannici	LLgloss	p. 267	1476x78

The field of reference of this adjective is clearly Brittonic (i.e. pertaining to Wales, Brittany, and potentially Cornwall) and cultural more than geographical. Four of the attestations (from pages 1, 78, 80, and 83) refer to the Welsh language. On three occasions the adjective qualifies *gens*, exclusive of the English on page 266, and inclusive of the Bretons on page 18 (in the

³⁰ LL, p. 7.

³¹ LL, pp. 118 and 120.

³² LL, p. 130.

Life of Samson, which notably uses *Britannia* in the sense of Brittany). The reference also appears to be cultural in the remaining two examples from pages 219 and 267.

Britann(i)us (adj.)

Lucio britannio rege	LL	p. 26	?
Lucius britannorum rex	LL	p. 68	?
britannos	LL	p. 68	?
britannis	LL	p. 68	?
britannos	LL	p. 69	?
britannos	LL	p. 99	?
britannorum	LL	p. 100	?
historiografi			
gens brittannorum	LL	p. 114	?
brittannorum	LL	p. 130	?
lucio britannio reg[e]	LL	p. 289	?
cuique britanno	LLch.192	p. 192	'c. 745'
brittannos	LL	p. 18	c. 1130
britannis	LL	p. 21	c. 1130
britannorum	LL	p. 21	c. 1130

This adjective is employed, in all but two cases, substantively as a population name. The field of reference seems to correspond to that of *Britannicus* above. None of the above attestations can certainly be said to include the English, and those from the Life of Samson (pages 18 and 21) refer only to Bretons.

Dextera Pars Britanniae vel sim.

dextralis partis britannię	LL	p. 69	?
regni dextralis britannię	LL	p. 70	?
dextralem britanniam	LL	p. 71	?
dextralis brittannię	LL	p. 115	?
dextralis britannię	LL	p. 118	?
dextralis brittannię	LL	p. 132	?
dextralis brittannię	LL	p. 133	?
dextralem britanniam	LL	p. 133	?
dextralis britannię	LLch.165	p. 165	?

<i>archiepiscopus dextralis britannię</i>	LLch.163a	p. 163	'c. 595'
<i>dextera parte britannię</i>	LLch.161	p. 161	'c. 610'
<i>dextralis britannię insule</i>	LLch.162a	p. 162	'c. 615'
<i>dextrali britannia</i>	LLch.151b	p. 151	'c. 675'
<i>archiepiscopi dextralis britannię</i>	LLch.192	p. 192	'c. 745'?
<i>dextrali parte britannię</i>	LLch.169b	p. 169	'c. 850'
<i>dextera parte britannię</i>	LLch.212	p. 212	'c. 862'
<i>dextralis britannię</i>	LLch.230b	p. 230	'c. 866'
<i>dextralis britannię archiepiscopi</i>	LLch.230a	p. 230	'c. 880'
<i>dextera plaga britannię</i>	LLch.237b	p. 237	'c. 925'
<i>dextrali parte britannię</i>	LLch.223	p. 223	'c. 940'
<i>dextrales britannos</i>	LLch.255	p. 256	'c. 1035'
<i>archipresulem dexteralis britannię</i>	LL	p. 3	1120s
<i>dextralis magne britanie</i>	LLgloss	p. 70	1476x78
<i>dextrali britania</i>	LLgloss	p. 107	1476x78
<i>dextralis britannie</i>	LLgloss	p. 116	1476x78

The adjective *dexter* (normally 'right') and its non-Classical derivative *dextralis* must in these cases be taken to mean 'southern', a Cambro-Latin usage derived from the dual meaning of Welsh *deau*.³³ If *Britannia* can refer either to Britain as a whole or to Wales, then these variations on *Dextera Pars Britanniae* could mean either 'Southern Britain' or 'South Wales'. Many of these attestations are quite formulaic and lack contextual clues as to the intended geographical reference. The references to Llandaf's superiority over other bishoprics in *Dextera Pars Britanniae* (particularly the references to Dyfrig as archbishop at pages 3, 69, 163, 192, and 230) really oblige us to think in terms of a larger area than just South Wales. In the early twelfth-century context of the Book of Llandaf's creation, there were only two sees in South Wales—Llandaf and St David's—not enough to warrant an archiepiscopal authority. While the straightforward interpretation 'the southern part of Britain' would be possible, I would argue that, given Llandaf's acceptance of Canterbury's primacy, the name-phrase is not intended to include any part of England, but refers to Wales as a whole. This

interpretation would be backed up by the attestations on pages 118 and 256. In the former the phrase ‘& amultis aliis regibus & principibus dextralis britannię ’ is appended to a list of kings, which implies that the kings named are themselves of *Dextralis Britannia*. The list is made up exclusively of Welsh kings from the North as well as the South. Charter 255 begins with an account of how Meurig, king of Glamorgan, made a pact with Edwin, king of Gwent Is Coed, against the *Brachanii* and their other enemies. The *Brachanii* are presumably the inhabitants of Brycheiniog. These two sets of opponents are then described as the English (‘anglos’) on the one hand, and ‘dextrales britannos ultra montanos’ on the other. Since the *Brachanii* are very unlikely to be the English party, we should infer that they are the ‘dextrales brittanos’. This variation on the phrase *Dextera Pars Britanniae* is significant because it clearly excludes the English. If I am right in my contention that for the twelfth-century editors/compiler of the Book of Llandaf the term *Dextera Pars Britanniae* meant Wales, it is necessary to explain the strange situation that *Britannia* alone could also carry that meaning.

Dextera Pars Britanniae would be a perfect calque on the Welsh territorial name *Deheubarth Cymru*, and it may be that this is its source. Indeed, one of the above attestations—‘regni dextralis britannię’ from page 70—may carry the original meaning, since in a mediaeval context a kingdom of *Deheubarth* was a much more likely concept than a kingdom of Wales, let alone a kingdom of ‘Southern Britain’. The ambiguity of *Britannia* is likely to be to blame for the distortion in the meaning of *Dextera Pars Britanniae*: authors and redactors, having misunderstood the name to mean the whole of Wales, might then either misapply it in their own writing, or emend the text around an existing use of the name so as to change the apparent meaning.

Occidentalis Britannia

occidentalis britannię archiepiscopum LL p. 6 c. 1130

This single reference to Dyfrig is exactly equivalent to the references above to him as *Dextralis Britanniae Archiepiscopum*. If I am right in my interpretation above of that phrase as Wales, then *Occidentalis Britannia* should have the

¹¹ Latham, *Dictionary*, I, 646; GPC, I, 909, s.v. *deau*.

same meaning. It may be significant that this example of a difference in vocabulary comes from the Life of Samson, which generally uses *Britannia* in a different way.

Magna Britannia vel sim. : Minor Britannia vel sim.

maiolem brittanniam	LL	p. 131	?
Rey de tote Britayne la Grande	LL	p. 313	c. 1350
britannia minor	LLgloss	p. 181	s. xv
parue britannie	LLgloss	p. 130	1476x78
magne britanie [...] rege	LLgloss	p. 313	1476x78

The attestations from pages 181 and 130 are glosses on forms of *Cornugallia*, i.e. *Cornouaille*, and presumably, therefore, refer to Brittany. The attestation from page 131 is a reference in the Life of Euddogwy to the plague which affected Teilo in Wales. It is not clear whether *Maior Britannia* should be understood to mean the island of Britain as a whole or just Wales, but the use of the comparative *maior* does seem to imply an opposition to a *Britannia Minor*, which would presumably be Brittany. The remaining two attestations are late, and there is no reason to suppose that they are not usages similar to modern *Great Britain*.

Briton (Ferry): [SS736943] (W. Llansawel)

Attestations

Brigeton	PNDinas P.	p. 173	1208
Brigeton	PNDinas P.	p. 173	1336
Briggetun	PNDinas P.	p. 173	1338
<i>ecclesia de Bridestoñ</i>	LL	p. 326	c. 1350

Location

Bridestoñ is identified with Briton Ferry by Evans,³⁴ and the identification is plausible from the context (churches in the deanery of *Gorfynydd*). Pierce's suggestion that the LL attestation should be identified instead with *St Bride's Minor* can be rejected on the grounds that that church is mentioned earlier in the same list (LL, p. 325).³⁵

³⁴ LL, p. 388.

³⁵ PNDinas P., pp. 253–54, s.v. *Drope*.

Elements

?personal name (gen.) + TŪN

The first element could be *Bride*, i.e. St Bridget, but Pierce would prefer BRYCG.³⁶

†**Britton**: [?ST108758] (?mod. *Drope*)

Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Britton</i>	LL	p. 324	c. 1350
<i>Britton super Elly</i>	Val. Eccl.	iv, 349	1535
<i>Britton-Thorpe</i>	PNDinas P.	p. 253	1657–60

Location

This place-name is identified with Burton [ST034675] by Evans,³⁷ and the identification is plausible from the context (churches in the deanery of **Gorfynydd**), but Pierce points out that there is no evidence of a chapel or church at Burton.³⁸ Pierce suggests, instead, identification with Drope (grid reference above), the early forms of which contain *Britton*.

Elements

?BRYCG + TŪN

The name is discussed by Pierce, who favours the etymology above, but draws attention to Paterson's suggestion that the first element might be *Bride* (i.e. St Bridget), referring to the adjoining parish of St Bride's-super-Ely ((2) †**Lann San Bregit**).³⁹

Brockweir: [SO539011] (?also †**Pull Brochuail**)

Attestations

<i>Brockewere</i>	LLgloss	p. 141	c. 1328
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Location

This name occurs as a gloss on †**Pull Brochuail** in charter 141, in the account of King Tewdrig's rout of Saxon invaders, where the king is told by an angel that the enemy will turn in flight as far as †**Pull Brochuail**. The identification with modern Brockweir suits the context of the story perfectly. Brockweir is

³⁶ Ibid., p. 173, s.v. *Burton*.

³⁷ LL, p. 389.

³⁸ PNDinas P., p. 172, s.v. *Burton*.

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 253, s.v. *Drope*; Paterson, 'Scandinavian Influence', p. 55.

not far from Tintern (Tyndyrn) where the attack is said to have been made, and stands on the opposite bank of the Wye (Gwy), and although it is not explicitly stated that the Saxons were driven across the river, it is implicit in the account.

†Brodlan: [?SM908123]

Attestations

Brodlan	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
Bronnlann	LL	p. 255	before 'c. 1025'
brodlaŋ	LLb.36i	p. 56	1130
brodlann	LLb.36ii	p. 62	1130
brodlaŋ	LLb.36iii	p. 287	1130

Location

This is the name of one of three places in the cantref of Rhos claimed by Llandaf. I know of no identification for the place-name, and can find no trace of it on the current 1:25 000 Ordnance Survey map for the area, unless it is preserved in *Broadland* (NGR given in heading). No mention is made of the name in Charles's *Place-Names of Pembrokeshire*.

Elements

?BRAWD + ?LLAN

The second element (as usually in compound names with *-lan*) could be LLAN or GLAN. The first element presents more of a problem. It is possible that we have here BRON as shown in the attestation from the Privilege of Bishop Joseph (page 255), but, since the Privilege probably derives from the list of churches on page 124, and the reading of the various copies of Bull 36 agrees with that of the list, *Brod-* is more likely to be correct. Middle English *brōde* can probably be ruled out on grounds of date. In Old and Middle Welsh orthography internal or final *d* would normally represent [ð]. The *-o-* of a monosyllabic first element would be expected to appear as *-aw-* in its un-compounded Modern Welsh form. However, no word *brawd* exists before the eighteenth century,⁴⁰ so probably the *-d-* does represent [d]. If this is so, then the possibilities are *brawd* 'brother' and *brawd* 'judgment', of which the

⁴⁰ GPC, I, 313, lists *brawd*, but as an eighteenth-century invention.

latter seems more likely.

Brodlann: see †**Brodlan**.

Broeni: see †**Nant Broueni**.

†**Broi:** [NGR N/A]

Attestations

Gefrido debroi LLb.4 p. 93 1119

Location

This place-name occurs as the locative surname of one Geoffrey, one of several nobles addressed in bull 4 regarding a complaint from Llandaf. A search of similar place-names in Normandy revealed three possible candidates: Brouay (between Caen and Bayeux), Bray (between Évreux and Bernay), and another Bray (about 25 kilometres east of Alençon).

Bronnlann: see †**Brodlan**.

Broueni: see †**Nant Broueni**.

Brunus: see †**Lann Teliaw Mainaur Brunus**, †**Mainaur Brunus**.

Brycheiniog: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

rex brecheinniauc	LLch.146	p. 146	?
rex becheiniaun	LLch.154	p. 154	?
reges brècheniauc	LLch.167	p. 167	?
regem brecheniauc	LLch.237b	p. 237	'c. 925'
regem inregione brachani	LLch.218	p. 219	955
brecheniauc	LL	p. 254	'c. 1025'
brecheniauc	LL	p. 270	'c. 1060'
Brechenniauc	LLrub	p. 167	c. 1120s
Rex de brechyn(na6c)	LLgloss	p. 146	s. xv ^{med}
Reges de brechenoc	LLgloss	p. 167	s. xv ^{med}
brecheinauc	LLgloss	p. 168	s. xv ^{med}
rege de breth[i]noc	LLgloss	p. 219	s. xv ^{med}
Brethinoc	LLgloss	p. 237	s. xv ^{med}
brethynoc	LLgloss	p. 254	s. xv ^{med}

Rex brechinawc	LLgloss	p. 146	1476x78
Brechhina6c	LLgloss	p. 238	1476x78
brechhina6c	LLgloss	p. 238	1476x78

Location

These references are all quite clearly to the region of Brycheiniog or its kings.⁴¹ There is little here to add to existing knowledge of the extent of the region; the following churches are in Brycheiniog (or, at least, in the gift of its king): **Llangors** (charter 146), †**Lann Guruaet** (charter 154), †**Lann Mihacgel Tref Ceriau** (charters 167 and 237b). The Privilege of Bishop Herewald (pages 270–71) mentions churches in Brycheiniog that were in the diocese of **St David's**. See also **Brecon** and †**Brecua**.

Elements

personal name + -OG

REGIO + personal name (gen.)

In the attestation from charter 218 we see the name fully translated into Latin as 'the kingdom (*regio*) of Brychan'.

Brydell: see †**Pridell**.

Brynbuga: see **Usk**.

Bryngwyn: [SO390093]

Attestations

ecclesia de Brangwayn LL p. 320 c. 1350

Location

Evans's identification with Bryngwyn in Monmouthshire is probable given the context of the attestation (a list of churches in the deanery of **Abergefenni**).

Elements

?**BRYN** + ?**GWYN**

Although the modern form of the name appears to be quite clearly a name-phrase of **BRYN** and **GWYN**, this is not the impression given by the LL form (where the second element looks more like **GWAUN**).

⁴¹ See **WATU**, p. 241, for a definition of the extent of the territory.

†**Brynn Eital**: [?SO116289]Attestationspenn brynn eital LLch.146 p. 146 s. xi¹Location

This hill name occurs as a point in the bounds of **Llan-gors**. Assuming that the second occurrence of the word **BRYN** in the bounds refers to the same feature, one end (**PEN**) of *Brynn Eital* appears to be on the left bank of the **Llynfi**. Two hills fit the necessary requirements: **Allt yr Esgair** [SO126244] and the hill at the grid reference above. Making the same assumption, we can also say that the source (**BLAEN**) of **Nant Tawel** is on or near *Brynn Eital*. If the identification of **Nant Tawel** with the stream now bearing that name which enters the **Llynfi** at SO127280 is correct, then *Brynn Eital* must be the hill at the grid reference above. Thomas's identification of **Nant Tawel**, however, is a stream entering the **Llynfi** on the right bank.⁴² Either the bounds (or my interpretation of them) are wrong, or Thomas's identification is incorrect.

In an article on the crannog in **Llyn Syfaddan**, Ewan Campbell and Ian Lane refer to the bounds of charter 146, and supply a map to illustrate their interpretation of them, but unfortunately they do not provide an explanation of their interpretation.⁴³ They appear to identify *Brynn Eital* with the hill at SO142297, but this can only be correct if the second reference to a **BRYN** is to a different place from the first.

Elements

BRYN + personal name

Brynn Lyguni: see †**Brinn Luguni**.**Buceil**: see †**Merthir Buceil**.**Bucelid**: see †**Brinn Bucelid**.**Buch**: see **Bwch**, †**Nant i Buch**.**Budic**: see †**Cerniu Budic**.**Buell**: see **Buellt**.

⁴² EANC, p. 89.⁴³ 'Llangorse', p. 676.

Buellt: [NGR N/A] (Eng. *Builth*)

Attestations

buell	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s
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Location

This attestation occurs in the version of the bounds of the diocese of Llandaf from the Life of Euddogwy, in an explanation of the name †**Castell Teirtut**. We are meant to understand that †**Castell Teirtut** takes its name from the juncture of three cantrefs: **Cantref Bychan**, **Cantref Selyf**, and **Buellt**.

Elements

Buellt is derived from *bu* ‘head of cattle’ + **gellt* ‘pasture’ (probably the same word as *gwellt* ‘grass, straw’, in which the *w* developed under the influence of *gwair* ‘hay’).⁴⁴ The place-name occurs as an element in †**Teir Guernen Buell**.

Builth: see **Buellt**.

Burgo: see †**Monasterium de Burgo**.

Bwch: [SO256314]

Attestations

guarthaf buch	LLb.25	p. 42	s. xi ¹
guarthaf buch	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s

Location

The head (G^WARTHAF) of this stream is used as a point in both versions of the diocesan bounds. The suggestion that *Guarthaf Buch* might be connected with the Bwch brook was made by Evans.⁴⁵ The point is between the source of the **Grwyne** and †**Mincul**. The latter point is uncertain, but the general direction of the bounds is clearly north-eastward, and the head of the Bwch is to the north-east of the **Grwyne**. Evans pointed out, though, that the reference might be not to the head of the brook itself, but rather to ‘a place or district in that neighbourhood’.⁴⁶ In either case the intended location should be in the area of SO223348. The peak called *Twmpa* (English *Lord Hereford’s Knob*) is an obvious high point near the head of the Bwch.

⁴⁴ EANC, pp. 23–24; GPC, I, 1632, s.v. *gwellt*.

⁴⁵ LL, p. 368, n. 9.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*.

Elements

BWCH

Bwlch yr Efengyl: see †Mincul.**Bychlyt: see †Lech Bichlit.****Bysschopeston: see Bishopston.****Byuguan: see †Nant Biuguan.**

C

Caddoc, -i: see †Lan Caddoc Penros.

Caddokeston: see Cadoxton, Cadoxton-juxta-Neath.

Cadoxton: [ST1269] (W. *Tregatwg*)

Attestations

ecclesia de Caddokestoñ LL p. 324 c. 1350

Location

There are two places named *Cadoxton* in south-east Wales (the other being **Cadoxton-juxta-Neath**). This attestation is from a list of churches in the deanery of **Llandaf**, so it must refer to the *Cadoxton* which is now a suburb of Barry. The name is discussed by Pierce.¹

Elements

personal name (gen.) + TŪN

Cadoxton(-juxta-Neath): [SS756986] (W. *Llangatwg Nedd*)

Attestations

ecclesia de Caddokestoñ LL p. 325 c. 1350

Caddokestoñ LL p. 331 c. 1350

Vicaria de Caddokestoñ LL p. 331 c. 1350

Location

See **Cadoxton** above. These three attestations are from lists of churches in the deaneries of **Gorfynydd/Cynffig**, so they must refer to *Cadoxton-juxta-Neath*.

Elements

personal name (gen.) + TŪN

Cædweli: see Cydweli.

Caео: see †Cair Caiau.

Caerau: [ST1375]

Attestations

kayr LL p. 326 c. 1350

¹ PNDinas P., pp. 21–23.

Location

Both attestations are references to one of the prebends of **Llandaf** cathedral. We can be confident that Evans's identification (followed here) is correct, because the prebend of Caerau is still in existence.

Elements

CAER (pl.)

The LL form is apparently singular.

Caerdydd: [ST1876] (Eng. Cardiff)Attestations

uicecomiti decairti	LLb.34	p. 93	1119
kardi	LL	p. 27	1126
uicecomite [...] de kardi	LL	p. 28	1126
castello de kardi	LL	p. 28	1126
castello de kardi	LL	p. 28	1126
castello de kairdi	LL	p. 28	1126
vicecomite. de kardi	LL	p. 29	1126
<i>ecclesia ffratrum predicatorum</i> de kerdyf	LL	p. 317	c. 1350
<i>ecclesia beate Marie</i> de kerdyf	LL	p. 319	c. 1350
Ecc'ia de Kerdyf	LL	p. 330	c. 1350
kerdyf	LLgloss	p. 27	s. xv
kardi <i>id est</i> kardiuia	LLgloss	p. 27	1476x78

Location

There is no reason to doubt that these attestations all refer to the same place as present-day Cardiff. The twelfth-century references are all to the sheriff or castle of Cardiff.

Elements

CAER + **Taf**

The river-name *Taf* (**Taf Fawr**) in this name shows *i*-affection from an earlier genitive case ending. The original final [v] was replaced by [d] in Welsh (through phonological hypercorrection), and by [f] in English (perhaps through a mixture of phonological and orthographical confusion). It is interesting that none of the twelfth-century attestations show a final consonant,

which suggests that it was only weakly pronounced, if at all. It is not clear whether the fourteenth-century spellings represent a final [v] or [f], but as [v] is normally represented in the orthography of this hand ('G') by *u* or *v*, and [f] by *ff* or *f*, a final [f] is more likely. The *kardiuia* of the final attestation represents a final [v].

Caerfanell: [SO123232]

Attestations

crafnell	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s
Pont Krevannell	EANC	p. 97	1670–85

Location

Two issues need to be addressed in the discussion of this attestation: first, with which river name it should be identified, and second, with which river it should be identified. I shall begin with the second. The attestation is taken from the later of the two versions of the diocesan bounds. It seems probable that *Crafnell* is an error for *Crafnant* (see **Crawnnon**), but, if this is not the case, then it should be identified with a river flowing into the Usk (Wysg) opposite Buckland Hill [SO139212]—either the **Crawnnon** or the Caerfanell, of which the latter seems more likely in terms of the name's appearance.² Even if *Crafnell* is an error, it probably derives from a scribe's knowledge of the existence of the Caerfanell in the vicinity of the **Crawnnon**. Both Evans and Thomas identified *Crafnell* with the Caerfanell.³

Elements

? + -ELL

Thomas regarded *Crafnell* as a genuine form of the name, and demonstrated how the modern *Caerfanell* could develop from such a form.⁴ The ending is clearly the common diminutive (and river-name) suffix -ELL, which, if the Book of Llandaf form is genuine, leaves *crafn-* as the stem of the name. Thomas connected this *crafn-* with CRAF, but the *n* is difficult to explain. It is tempting to see a link with *Crafnant*, with which this name might have been confused, but it may be that the apparent similarity of the forms is a scribal

² See **Crawnnon** for the reasoning behind these arguments.

³ LL, p. 368; EANC, p. 97.

⁴ EANC, p. 97.

artifact. More forms are needed.

Caerfyrddin: [SN4120] (Eng. *Carmarthen*)

Attestations

Lann Toulidauc icair	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
Lanntoulidauc icair	LL	p. 254	before 'c. 1025'
lann toulidauc ig cair mirdin	LLb.36i	p. 62	1130
lanteuledauc in ggair uyrdin	LLb.36ii	p. 287	1130

Location

Essentially there are only two attestations here, as the list of properties on pages 254–55 is based in part on the list on page 124, and bull 36 exists in two copies. The assumption that the *cair* of the first two attestations is the same as the *cair mirdin* of bull 36i, is based on the connection with †**Lann Toulidauc** (which does not occur anywhere else in the manuscript), and on the similar context of the documents (lists of Teilo properties). Probably either *cair* was a normal contracted form of *cair mirdin*, or the second element was omitted by mistake. The name is sufficiently unusual that we may reasonably assume that these attestations refer to the same place as modern *Caerfyrddin*.

Elements

CAER + place-name

The second element is derived from *Moridunum*, the Roman name for the place.⁵

Caerleon: see **Caerllion**.

Caerllion: [ST3490] (Eng. *Caerleon*)

Attestations

ciuitatem legionum supra huisc	LL	p. 26	?
terram de Cairlion	LLb.28i	p. 30	1129?
terram de carlione	LLb.28ii	p. 53	1129?
kairleon	LL	p. 284	c. 1195
ecclesia de Kaerlyon	LL	p. 322	c. 1350
Abbas de Kaerlyon	LL	p. 328	c. 1350
kayrlyon vpon vske	LLgloss	p. 26	1476x78

⁵ PNRom. Brit., p. 422.

<i>ciuitatis legionum super fluuium oskam</i>	LLgloss	p. 69	1476x78
<i>vrbe legionum super fluuium oscam</i>	LLgloss	p. 225	1476x78

Location

This name is quite distinctive so there need be no doubt as to its identity, and the references to the place's situation on the Wysg confirm it (they might reflect the longer form of the place name: *Caerllion-ar-Wysg/Caerleon-upon-Usk*). On pages 322 and 328, the name occurs among places in the deanery of †Nether Went. The Latin forms can be regarded as calques, as the actual Roman name for the place was *Isca*.⁶

Elements

CAER + LLEON

CIVITAS + *LEGIO* (gen. pl.)

URBS + *LEGIO* (gen. pl.)

Both *civitas* 'city' and *URBS* are employed here as Latin equivalents of Welsh CAER. Welsh *lleon* 'legions' is, in fact, derived from this place-name, but the etymological assumption behind the coinage (that the *lleon* element is derived from the plural of Latin *legio* 'legion') is correct.⁷

Caerwent: [ST469905] (also †Guentionia Urbs)

Attestations

lector urbis guenti	LLch.243	p. 243	'c. 980'
lector urbis guenti	LLch.245	p. 244	'c. 980'
cairguent	LLch.274	p. 274	'c. 1075'
<i>ecclesia de Kayrwent</i>	LL	p. 319	c. 1350
<i>ecclesia de Kaerwent</i>	LL	p. 322	c. 1350
<i>Ecc'ia de Kaerwent</i>	LL	p. 329	c. 1350
Caer went	LLgloss	p. 220	s. xv ^{med}

Location

The earliest attestation of the Welsh form, *Cairguent*, supplies little information (it is the cognomen of the father of one of the witnesses to the charter), the three from the financial lists on pages 318 to 331 are each from a list for the deanery of †Nether Went, and the fifteenth-century gloss is on

⁶ PNRom. Brit., p. 378.

⁷ GPC, II, 2155, s.v. *lleon*².

†**Guentonia Urbs**. None of these would contradict the assumption that the reference is to modern Caerwent. The two attestations of the Latin name, *Urbs Guenti*, are from witness lists, which record the presence of *Eidef*, lector of this place. There is not really any firm evidence for the location, but the use of **Gwent** as an element suggests that the place is in that region. Indeed, *Urbs Guenti* looks very much like a Latin calque on *Caerwent* (particularly considering that †**Guentonia Urbs** is also used as a Latin name for *Caerwent*), as Evans supposed.*

Elements

CAER + **Gwent**

URBS + **Gwent** (Lat. gen.)

Caerwrangon: see †**Wigornia**.

†**Cai**: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

fontem sanifluum Cai	LL	p. 109	?
cai	LL	p. 109	?

Location

These two attestations from the Life of Teilo are references to a health-giving fountain near **Dol**, left by Teilo as a sign of his holiness. The name of the fountain is probably preserved in *Lairgué*, near Carfantain, which was earlier spelt *Ergai* or *Argai* (i.e. *ar-* 'opposite' + *Cai*).⁹

Caiau, Caio: see †**Cair Caiau**.

Cair: see **Caerfyrddin**, †**Tir i Cair**.

†**Cair Birran**: [?nr ST1177]

Attestations

uillam cair birran	LLch.237a	p. 237	'c. 890'
VILLA BIRAN	LLrub.	p. 237	c. 1120s

Location

The *VILLA* of *Cair Birran* is the object of the grant recorded in charter 237a. The rubric of the charter calls the place *Villa Birran*, which might represent a

* LL, p. 401, s.v. *Guentonia*.

genuine, abbreviated form of the place-name, but it seems more likely to be an error for *Villa Cair Birran*, as the place is described in the body of the charter. Bounds are supplied with the charter which provide two clues as to the location of this place. The strongest evidence is provided by the reference to †**Guorlurch Iudgual** as a point in the bounds, a place which is also mentioned in the bounds of †**Henriu Gunma**, which lay on the north-western edge of Llandaf's own *PODUM*. If another of the points in the bounds, †**Brenan Picet**, can be regarded as the same place as †**Abrenan**,¹⁰ then the bounds can be further located to somewhere near the **Elái**. I can, however, find no trace of a CAER feature in this area.

Elements

CAER + personal name

†**Cair Caiau**: [?SN676399] (?mod. *Caeo*, Eng. *Caio*)

Attestations

kaircaiau	LLb.36i	p. 56	1130
cair caiau	LLb.36ii	p. 62	1130
kaircaiau	LLb.36iii	p. 287	1130

Location

All three attestations are from a list of properties in the three copies of bull 36. Evans identifies the place as being 'in Caio, Carm.',¹¹ and Thomas locates it between **Llanpumsaint** and **Cynwyl Gaeo**.¹² A connexion with the settlement of Caio at the grid reference above is plausible, both on the ground of the appearance of the name, and on the ground that †**Lan Teliau Pimp Seint** (possibly Pumsaint, two kilometres west of Caio) immediately precedes *Cair Caiau* in the Book of Llandaf list. I do not know whether *Cair Caiau* refers to Caio itself, or to some other place in the area.

Elements

CAER + place-name

The second element is the name of the commote.¹³ Thomas suggests that it

* Doble, *Lives of the Welsh Saints*, p. 184, n. 56.

¹⁰ LL, p. 378.

¹¹ LL, p. 389.

¹² EANC, p. 215.

¹³ WATU, pp. 25 and 250.

might either be a hypocoristic form of the personal name *Cai*, or based on the common noun *cae* 'hedge, enclosure, field'.¹⁴

†**Cair Castell:** [?ST136969] (?mod. **Gelli-gaer**)

Attestations

Caircastell	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
cair castell	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
cair castell	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

Evans identifies this name with **Gelli-gaer**, though he does not say on what grounds.¹⁵ The attestations are all from lists of properties confirmed by papal privilege as belonging to Llandaf, and the context is the same for each: between †**Riu Brein** and †**Penn i Prisc**. †**Riu Brein** and †**Penn i Prisc** seem to be neighbouring territories (the **Nofydd** features in the bounds of both), so, unless there is good evidence for the identification with **Gelli-gaer**, it might be better to look in the vicinity of Cwm Nofydd (around ST1483). Indeed, a *cair* is mentioned in the bounds of †**Penn i Prisc**.

Elements

CAER + CASTELL

†**Cair Duicil:** [?] (also †**Din Duicil**)

Attestations

cairduicil. cum ecclesia sua	LLch.226	p. 226	'c. 860'
Villam cairduicil. cum ecclesia	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
CAIR DVICIL	LLrub.	p. 226	c. 1120s
uillam cairduicil cum ecclesia	LLb.12	p. 31	1128
Villam cairduicil. cum ecclesia	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

There is very little to help in the identification of this name. It occurs in charter 226 and in the lists of properties confirmed by papal privilege as belonging to Llandaf. The charter offers *Dinduicil* as an alternative name for the place (described as a *castellum*), and, though there are no bounds as such, the limits of an additional three *modii* granted with the territory are described

¹⁴ EANC, pp. 215–16.

as ‘*per circuitvm arcis supra montem et infra montem*’. The *mons* of this description may indicate that the CAER or DIN of the name was situated on a hill. The name’s context in the papal privileges is not very helpful: the immediate neighbours in the list are either unidentified or too far from each other to suggest any geographic order to the list, though †**Ecclesia Sancti Catoci** and †**Tal Pont Escob** are (or may be) in the area of **Caerdydd**. Analysis of the witness list of charter 226 is not very fruitful either: Bishop Nudd and King Hywel are active over a wide area and only two of the other witnesses crop up elsewhere (*Ruid* and *Bleinguid*), but the area covered by the witnesses does include **Caerdydd**, with two charters from the vicinity (216b and 227a). At present, then, there is more evidence to support a location near **Caerdydd** than there is for any other area, but the evidence is rather flimsy.

Elements

CAER + ?

†**Cair Enuin**: [?SO432033]

Attestations

cair enuin LLch.187 p. 188 s. x

Location

This name is used of a point in the bounds of **Llan-soe**, between the source (BLAEN) of the †**Murn** and (1) †**Tollcoit**. A fort (unnamed) is marked on the Ordnance Survey 1:25 000 map about 1.3 kilometres north west of **Llan-soe**, and this seems the most likely identification.

Elements

CAER + ?

Cairguent: see **Caerwent**.

Caerlion: see **Caerllion**.

Cair Mirdin: see **Caerfyrddin**.

Cair Nonou: see †**Cair Nonui**.

¹⁵ LL, p. 389.

†Cair Nonui: [?in S. Gwent]

Attestations

cairmonui	LLch.221	p. 221	'c. 950'
agri cairmonui	LLch.221	p. 221	'c. 950'
Cair NONOV	LLrub.	p. 221	c. 1120s

Location

This place is the object of charter 221. Its identity is uncertain, and no additional topographical information (such as a boundary clause) is present within the charter. Davies suggests only '?S. Gwent'.¹⁶ With no other options available, it may be fruitful to look at the witnesses to the charter. Charter 221 is one of only three grants to Bishop Pater, and one of only three attested by Nowy ap Gwriad as king, the other two being charters 217 and 218 in both respects. When the activities of the other witnesses are examined too it is clear that there is a strong relationship between charters 217, 218, and 221. The object of charter 217 (†Villa Guidcon) was granted at Trelleck Grange (Tryleg), and that of 218 has been identified as Penterry (see †Lann Bedeui), two places only three kilometres apart. Six CAER names are marked on the Ordnance Survey map in the vicinity of these two places—*Gaer Wood* [SO468059], *Ffynnon Gaer* (near a fort at SO492037), *Cwrt-y-Gaer* [ST449999], *Gaer-fawr* [ST441988], *Gaer Hill* [ST517979], *Gaerllwyd* [ST448968]—but *Caer Nonui* need not be any of these.

Elements

CAER + ?personal name

The second element is obscure. The variation in spelling between *-ou* and *-ui* probably has a phonological cause, perhaps a very early example of the falling together of [ü] and [i].¹⁷ It is possible, given the prominence of King Nowy in this cluster of grants that the name really represents *Cair Nouui*, whence *nonui* by scribal error, but the spelling *Nouui* for this personal name is not elsewhere attested in the Book of Llandaf.

¹⁶ *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 189.

¹⁷ Dated to late Middle Welsh in GMW, p. 2.

†Cair Rein: [?SO505330] (?mod. Aconbury)

Attestations

cair rein	LLb.25	p. 43	s. xi ¹
cayr rein	LL	p. 135	c. 1120s
cayr rein	LL	p. 135	c. 1120s

Location

This place-name occurs as a point in both versions of the diocesan bounds. It lies between the sources of the **Worm** and †**Taratir**, and, although it is not possible to be certain as to where exactly the source of each is meant to be, the area of reference is clear. The area is hilly overall, but the hill of **Aconbury** still shows ancient earthworks, so is the most likely site for the name (as was suggested by Evans).¹⁸

Elements

CAER + personal name

†Cair Riou: [?nr SO431170]

Attestations

cariou	LLch.210a	p. 210	'c. 780'
Cair Riov	LLrub.	p. 210	c. 1120s

Location

Cair Riou is the name of the land granted in charter 210. Although the exact location of this place-name is undetermined, its general location is quite clear from the bounds, provided that the identification of the †**Distin** with **Crofft Hîr Brook**, and of the *Liminan* with **Llymon**, is accepted. There is no obvious CAER site in the area between these two streams now. Evans identified the place as “‘Chapel Farm,’ Ll. Vannar’,” (presumably the place now marked ‘Old Chapel Farm’ at SO433161) and Davies gives the grid reference SO435158.²⁰

Elements

CAER + ?RHI (pl.)

The form *cariou* in the body of the charter allows us to have some doubt as to

¹⁸ LL, p. 368.

¹⁹ LL, p. 389.

²⁰ *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 118.

whether this really is a CAER name, though it is difficult to explain otherwise. The second element is probably the plural of RHI, but a singular *rhiau* (with the same range of meanings as, and probably derived from RHI) is also attested sufficiently early.²¹

Cairti: see **Caerdydd**.

Calcuch: see †**Lann Calcuch**.

Caldekote: see **Caldicot**.

Caldicot: [ST4888]

Attestations

Henrico de Caldicote	LL	p. 292	s. xiii ²
ecclesia de Caldekote	LL	p. 319	c. 1350
ecclesia de Caldekote	LL	p. 322	c. 1350
ecclesia de Caldekote	LL	p. 328	c. 1350

Location

The context for the three attestations from the financial lists of pages 318 to 331 is one of churches in the deanery of †**Nether Went**, which would support the obvious assumption that these are references to modern Caldicot.

Elements

CALD + COTE

CALD is Modern English 'cold', and COTE is Modern English 'cottage, shelter'.

The name is quite a common one, perhaps used of an uncomfortable lodging place for travellers. Compare *Coquet* in Pembrokeshire.²²

Caldicote: see **Caldicot**.

Caletan: see **Cledan**.

Cambren, Cambrenn: see †**Rit i Cambren**.

Camffrwd: [SN592061]

Attestations

camfrut	LLch.140	p. 140	s. xi ¹
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²¹ GPC, III, 3066, s.v. *rhiau*².

²² PNPemb., II, 728–29.

camfrut LLch.140 p. 140 s. xi¹

Location

The bounds of **Llandeilo Tal-y-bont** follow this river from its mouth on the **Llwchwr** to its source, on or near †**Alt Minchei**. This description fits well with the stream still known as *Camffrwd* to the north of Pontardulais.

Elements

CAM + FFRWD

(1) †**Camfrut**: [?SO456105]

Attestations

aper camfrut LLch.227b p. 228 s. xi¹

aper camfrut LLch.227b p. 228 s. xi¹

Location

This river name occurs as the opening and closing point in the bounds of **Llanddingad (Dingestow)**. No stream of this name is marked in the area on the current 1:25 000 Ordnance Survey map, but there is sufficient evidence in the bounds to narrow the possibilities down. The *Camfrut* is a tributary of the **Troddi**. The bounds follow a ditch (FFOS) across from the *Camfrut* to the source of the stream which runs down to †**Finnaun i Cleuion**. The direction taken by the ditch from the *Camfrut* is ‘ad dexteram’, which could be translated either ‘to the right’, or ‘to the south’. The translation ‘to the south’ would make good sense here, and would require the *Camfrut* to be the stream at the grid reference above. This identification depends, then, on the identification of †**Finnaun i Cleuion**.

Elements

CAM + FFRWD

(2) **Camfrut**: see **Camffrwd**.

†**Camguili**: [SN583032] (mod. *Gwili*)

Attestations

camguili LLch.140 p. 140 s. xi¹

camguili LLch.140 p. 140 s. xi¹

Location

This river name occurs as a point in the bounds of **Llandeilo Tal-y-bont**. It is located between the **Morlais** and the **Llwchwr**. One might suppose from its

name that the *Camguili* would be a tributary of the *Gwili*, but this is probably not the case given that the *Gwili* ought then to be mentioned separately, and it is not. Thomas also took the view that *Camguili* here was an older, or alternative, name for the *Gwili*.²³ The qualified form *Camguili* was probably used to contrast this river with the rather larger *Gwili* which enters the *Tywi* at SN431205.

Elements

CAM + river name

The second element is discussed by Thomas.²⁴

Camprenn: see †Rit i Cambren.

†Campull: [?SO537290]

Attestations

guartham campull LLch.73a p. 73 'c. 585'–c. 930

[i]rcampull LLch.73a p. 73 'c. 585'–c. 930

Location

The two attestations are from the bounds of **Llandinabo**. It is not certain that 'guartham campull' should be interpreted as a phrase—**GWARTHAF** could be taken to refer to the wood which precedes in the bounds, i.e. 'through the wood right to its top end'. The relevant section of the bounds could be interpreted in two different ways, either:

per silvam recte di guartham; campull; o'r campull recte usque Guy
'through the wood right to its top end; *Campull*; from the *Campull*
right to the Wye';

or:

per silvam recte di guartham campull; o'r campull recte usque Guy
'through the wood right to the head of *Campull*; from the *Campull*
right to the Wye'.

Neither is it certain that we are dealing here with a place-name, rather than a common noun. If it is a place-name it could be the name of a pool, or possibly the name of a stream (as a kind of *pars pro tota* name). Whichever is the case, the feature should not be far from the west bank of the Wye (**Gwy**), in the

²³ EANC, pp. 147–48.

vicinity of **Llandinabo**, perhaps the pool at the grid reference above.

Elements

CAMBWLL

GPC cites the second attestation as an example of CAMBWLL (CAM + PWLL), 'river bend, crooked pool, whirlpool'.²⁵

Campus Malochu: see †**Mais Mail Lochou**.

Candos: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

Roberto decandos	LLb.4	p. 93	1119
Rotberto decandos	LLb.16	p. 37	1128

Location

Robert de Candos is one of several nobles addressed in these two bulls regarding a complaint fom Llandaf. There is a village of this name about fifteen kilometres north-west of **Rouen**.

Cāneġ: see **Cantwn**.

Canteleu: see †**Cantelou**.

†**Cantelou:** [NGR N/A]

Attestations

willelmus decantolo	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Willelmus decantelou	LLb.25	p. 44	1129

Location

These two attestations occur in lists of Llandaf properties, both times with reference to twelve acres possessed by the William of this locative surname. Nicholl associated this William with the Cantelupe family,²⁶ but the forms here are more reminiscent of the place-name *Canteleu*, four kilometres west of **Rouen**. There are five *Canteloup/Chanteloup* names in the northern regions of **France**: three in **Lower Normandy** (twenty kilometres east of Cherbourg, seventeen kilometres south-east of Caen, and ten kilometres north-east of Granville), one in **Upper Normandy** (nineteen kilometres south-west of

²⁴ Ibid..

²⁵ GPC, I, 397–98, s.v. *cambren*.

²⁶ *The Normans*, p. 100.

Évreux), and one in Brittany (eighteen kilometres south of Rennes).

Canteloup: see †Cantelou.

Canterbury: [TR1457] (also **Cantuaria; Durovernum**)

Attestations

Erceueske de Canterbury	LL	p. 313	c. 1350
Canterbury	LL	p. 314	c. 1350

Location

In both attestations this place-name is associated with Archbishop Anselm, so the identification is certain.

Canthed: see †Finnaun Canthed.

Cantolo: see †Cantelou.

Canton: see Cantwn.

Cantrebachan, Cantre Bican, Cantrebicann, Cantre Bichan, Cantref Bican,

Cantref Bichan: see **Cantref Bychan.**

Cantref Bychan: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

cantref bychan	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s
cantref bichan	LL	p. 279	c. 1120s
cantref bichan	LLb.13	p. 35	1128
cantre bichan	LLb.15	p. 36	1128
Cantre bican	LLb.11	p. 52	1128
Cantrebachan	LLb.21	p. 41	1129
Cantrebachan	LLb.22	p. 46	1129
Cantrebachan	LLb.23	p. 47	1129
Cantrebichan	LLb.24	p. 47	1129
Cantrebachan	LLb.25	p. 42	1129
Cantrebachan	LLb.29i	p. 55	1130
Cantrebachan	LLb.29ii	p. 286	1130
cantrebachan	LLb.38i	p. 59	1131
Cantrebicann	LLb.38ii	p. 63	1131
cantref [...] bican	LL	p. 247	before s. xiii ¹

Location

Cantref Bychan was the name of one of the cantrefs of Ystrad Tywi.²⁷ The name does not appear to have been used of any other cantref. The first attestation here is from the longer version of the diocesan bounds, in an explanation of the name †**Castell Teirtut** (see also **Buelit** and **Cantref Selyf**). The second attestation occurs in a reference to Cadwgon's rule over **Gŵyr**, **Cedweli**, and Cantref Bychan (i.e. Ystrad Tywi); it immediately follows a list of churches consecrated, and clerics ordained, by Bishop Herewald, and, although the connexion is not made explicit, we are probably to understand that the churches are those in the secular dominion of Cadwgon. None of the churches mentioned is in Cantref Bychan, however. The final attestation is from a list of the seven cantrefs of **Morgannwg** and its bishopric of **Llandaf**. It is first in the list, followed by **Gŵyr**, **Cydweli**, and **Carnwyllion**, a context repeated in all the remaining attestations. From these contexts, it is reasonable to assume that all the attestations refer to the same place, and that that place is the cantref of Ystrad Tywi.

Elements

CANTREF + BYCHAN

Some of the forms show loss of final [v].²⁸ The spelling of BYCHAN as *bachan* is attested elsewhere, and probably derives from the influence of BACH.

Cantref Gwarthaf: [NGR N/A]Attestations

cantref guartha LL p. 254 'c. 1025'

Location

This place-name heads a section in a list of Llandaf's extra-diocesan possessions. *Cantref Gwarthaf* was the name of one of the cantrefs of **Dyfed**, but was also used of Penweddig in Ceredigion.²⁹ From the list of places in the cantref which follows the heading it is clear that the **Dyfed** cantref is meant.

Elements

CANTREF + GWARTHAF

²⁷ WATU, pp. 28, 227 (s.v. *Ystrad Tywi*), and 229.

²⁸ GMW, p. 9; LHEB, pp. 417–18.

²⁹ GPC, II, 1587, s.v. *gwarthaf*²; WATU, pp. 229, 248, and 253.

In the attestation the second element, unlike the first, shows loss of final [v].³⁰

Cantref Mawr: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

cantref maur	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
Cantref maur	LL	p. 254	before 'c. 1025'
cantref maur	LL	p. 254	'c. 1025'

Location

Two cantrefs by this name are recorded by Richards, one in Ystrad Tywi, and the other in **Brycheiniog**.³¹ The first attestation locates †**Lann Teliau Nant Seru** in *Cantref Mawr*. The location of this place is uncertain, but it is said to be on the **Cothi**, which rules out the *Cantref Mawr* in **Brycheiniog**. The second attestation (from a document closely related to that of the first attestation) heads a list of churches in *Cantref Mawr*, not all of which can be identified with certainty, but which do provide sufficient information to confirm that the cantref named is the one in Ystrad Tywi. The churches are: **Llandeilo Fawr**, †**Lann Teliau Nant Seru**, †**Lann Teliau Garth Teuir**, †**Lann Teliau Mainaur Brunus**, and †**Lann Teliau Bechan** in **Dyffryn Teifi**. The final attestation is in the preface to the list of Llandaf's extra-diocesan properties, in a reference to the regions in which those properties lay. Although the preface itself does not provide any clues as to which *Cantref Mawr* is meant, the only *Cantref Mawr* in the list is the one discussed above, so the same identification is probable.

Elements

CANTREF + MAWR

Cantref Selif, Selim: see Cantref Selyf.

Cantref Selyf: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

cantref selim	LL	p. 255	'c. 1025'
cantref selif	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s

³⁰ GMW, p. 9; LHEB, pp. 417–18.

³¹ WATU, pp. 21 (s.v. *Brycheiniog*), 28, 227 (s.v. *Ystrad Tywi*), and 229.

Location

Cantref Selyf was the name of the northernmost division of **Brycheiniog**.³² The first attestation here is from the longer version of the diocesan bounds, in an explanation of the name †**Castell Teirtut** (see also **Buellt** and **Cantref Bychan**). The second attestation is from the list of Llandaf's extra-diocesan possessions, where **Llangoed** (and probably originally †**Lann Guruaet** too—see **Brechfa**) is said to be in *Cantref Selyf*. None of these facts disagrees with the known area of Cantref Selyf.

Elements

CANTREF + personal name

The second element is the Welsh form of Latin *Salomo*, English *Solomon*.³³

Cantuaria: [TR1457] (also **Durovernum**; Eng. **Canterbury**)

Attestations

cantuarię	LL	p. 252	1046–1120s
cantuariensi archiepiscopo	LL	p. 280	1107–34
cantuarię	LL	p. 280	1107–34
cantuariensi archiepiscopo	LLb.3	p. 92	1119
cantuariensis archiepiscopus	LL	p. 87	c. 1120
archiepiscopi cantuariensis	LL	p. 84	1120s?
cantuariensis archiepiscopi	LL	p. 84	1120s?
cantuariensis ecclesię	LL	p. 84	1120s?
cantuariensis ęcclesię	LL	p. 86	1120s?
cantuariensis archiepiscopi	LL	p. 5	1120s
cantuarienses archiepiscopi	LLb.8	p. 48	1125
cantuariensis archiepiscopi	LLb.9	p. 49	1125
cantuariensis archiepiscopus	LLb.9	p. 49	1125
cantuariensis archiepiscopi	LLb.10	p. 49	1125
<i>Cantuariensi</i> . archiepiscopo	LL	p. 29	1126
cantuariensi archiepiscopo	LLb.11	p. 52	1128
cantuariensi archiepiscopo	LLb.13	p. 34	1128
Kantuariensis archiepiscopi	LLb.14	p. 35	1128

³² WATU, pp. 21 (s.v. *Brycheiniog*), 29, 229, and 251.

³³ EANC, p. 166.

<i>cantuariensis archiepiscopi</i>	LLb.21	p. 40	1129
<i>cantuariensi archiepiscopo</i>	LLb.22	p. 45	1129
<i>cantuariensi archiepiscopo</i>	LLb.26	p. 53	1129
<i>Cantuariensi archiepiscopi</i>	LLb.31i	p. 60	1130?
<i>cantuariensi archiepiscopo</i>	LLb.31ii	p. 64	1130?
<i>cantuariensi archiepiscopo</i>	LLb.35	p. 57	1130
<i>cantuariensi [...] Archiepiscop[o]</i>	LLb.42	p. 66	1131
<i>cantuariensis [...] archiepiscop[i]</i>	LLb.43	p. 62	1132
<i>cantuariensi episcopo</i>	LLb.44	p. 65	1132
<i>Cantuariam</i>	LL	p. 294	1304–05
<i>Cantuariam</i>	LL	p. 317	c. 1350
<i>Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi</i>	LL	p. 317	c. 1350
<i>archidiaconi Cantuariensis</i>	LL	p. 295	1441

Location

Cantuaria is the Anglo-Latin form of **Canterbury** (the Classical name is **Durovernum**).

Cantwn: [ST1676] (Eng. *Canton*; ?also †*Inis Marchan*)

Attestations

Molendino de cānef LL p. 284 c. 1195

Location

This reference to a mill occurs in a list of benefices contributed to Llandaf. Evans quotes Phillimore's opinion that the name represents 'canneton, now Canton, Cardiff'.³⁴ There is nothing in the context of the list to suggest a location, so Phillimore's opinion is the best guess.

Elements

?CANNE + TŪN

The *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* takes the first element to be the saint's name *Canna*,³⁵ but unless there is strong evidence in favour of the personal name interpretation, I should suggest that Old (and Middle) English *canne* 'can', used topographically of a hollow, would provide an equally plausible

³⁴ LL, p. 354.

³⁵ Lloyd, p. 535, s.v. *Keyne*.

alternative.³⁶

Canus: see †Tref Canus.

Caprae: see †Portus Caprae.

Carbani Uallis: see Llancarfan.

Cardiff: see Caerdydd.

Carfan: see Cwmcarfan.

Cariou: see †Cair Riou.

Carlione: see Caerllion.

Carmarthen: see Caerfyrddin.

Carmel: see †Mons Sanctae Mariae de Carmelo.

Carn: see †Tref Carn.

†Carn Baclan: [?SS113997]

Attestations

carn baclan LLch.125b p. 126 s. xi¹

Location

This place-name occurs as a point in the very brief, dimensional bounds of †Laithi Teliu, apparently opposed to †Cil Meiniauc and the †Ritec. The precise location is uncertain, but Campbell and Lane would, judging from their discussion of †Laithi Teliu and their map, place it in the vicinity of Frankleston Farm (grid reference above).³⁷

Elements

CARN + BAGLAN

The second element is most likely to be *baglan* ‘crook, crutch’, formed from *bagl* ‘crozier, crook, crutch’ + -AN, though the LL attestation is not noted by GPC.³⁸

³⁶ Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape*, p. 89. A probable Welsh example of this element is found in *The Gann* [SM815070]: PNPemb., II, 635.

³⁷ ‘Excavations’, pp. 56 and 58. This, however, is based on their assumption that *Carn Baclan* stands at the head of †Cil Meiniauc, with which I do not agree.

³⁸ GPC, I, 249.

†Carn Cymlyr: [nr SS578894]

Attestations

carn cymlyr	LLch.145	p. 145	s. xi ¹
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Location

The precise location of this place-name, which is a point in the bounds of **Llandeilo Ferwallt**, is uncertain. It is between some pools (*pyllou*) and †**Main Dyastur**.

Elements

CARN + ?

The second element might be a personal name.

†Carn Elfin: [nr ST1577]

Attestations

carn elfin	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
carn elfin	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

This place-name occurs in two lists of Llandaf's properties, confirmed by papal privilege. No topographical information as such is provided, but the context of the surrounding identifiable names in the list (†**Tref Ginhill**, †**Tref Laur**, †**Tref Crintorth**, †**Tref Miluc**, †**Merthir Onbrit**, †**Inis Marchan**, †**Inis Bratguen**, †**Tref Gillic**) points to a location not far from **Llandaf**, or perhaps a little further up the valley of the Ely (**Elái**).

Elements

CARN + personal name

†Carn Erchan: [nr SN888368]

Attestations

carn erchan	LLch.154	p. 154	s. xi ²
[i]rcarn erchan	LLch.154	p. 154	s. xi ²

Location

This place occurs as a point in the bounds of †**Lann Guruaet** (Llandeilo'r-fân). It is said to stand between the source of the **Eithrim** and an old road (*henford*). As Evans suggested, however, there seems to be some confusion between the streams **Eithrim** and **Mawan** in this boundary clause, and it

might be better to substitute the names, one for the other, where they occur.³⁹ If this is so, then the cairn of the name under discussion should stand near the source of the *Mawan*. The grid reference given is for a cairn (after which *Bryn-y-Garn* is named) between the source of the *Mawan* and a road, but there is also a cairn (*Garn Wen*) at SN877367 between the source of the *Eithrim* and a road.

Elements

CARN + ?personal name

Erchan is attested as a river name, based on *erch* 'mottled, dun, dark, hideous'.⁴⁰ A personal name would be more satisfactory in this case, however, and, indeed, *Erchan* is attested as a personal name in the Book of Llandaf (charter 199bii). One of the examples of the word in a place-name occurs not far from Llandeilo'r Fan in *Cwm Erchan* [SN942343]—could it be that the CWM was, in fact, named after the same man as the one commemorated in *Carn Erchan*?

†Carneu: [nr ST4587]

Attestations

carneu	LLch.233	p. 234	c. 990–c. 1010
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Location

It may be doubted whether this represents a place-name or just a common noun. It occurs in the first part of the bounds of †*Tref Perenn* (identified with Llanfihangel Rogiet, grid reference above), which are almost entirely in Latin. The only other uses of Welsh in this part of the bounds are proper nouns, so it is easiest to assume that the same is the case with *Carneu*, but it need not be so. The reference is to a road which leads to *Carneu*, so the place need not be very close to the focus of the grant. I can find no evidence of cairns in the area, apart from the bounds of charter 235b (†*Castell Conscuit* and †*Eccluis Sant Breit*) which refer to cairns (*carnou*) along their boundary (*fin*) with †*Tref Perenn*. That part of the boundary runs down to the shore, presumably ending at a point in grid square ST4686 or ST4786. Evans tentatively suggested an identification with 'Carry Hill', by which, I assume, he means

³⁹ LL, p. 370.

⁴⁰ GPC, I, 1229, s.v. *erch'*; EANC, pp. 66–67.

the hamlet of Carrow Hill [ST437903].⁴¹ A road does lead south from Carrow Hill towards Llanfihangel Rogiet, but it does not seem to me that there are sufficient grounds to be at all confident of this identification.

Elements

CARN (pl.)

†**Carn Gistlerth**: [nr ST0972]

Attestations

carn gistlerth LLch.259 p. 260 s. xi²

Location

This cairn is named as a point in the bounds of †**Tref Gulich**, between †**Pouisma Deui** and †**Carn Guocof**.

Elements

CARN + personal name

†**Carn Guenn**: [?nr SO455014]

Attestations

carnguenn LLch.251 p. 251 c. 1005

Location

This cairn is a point at the end of the bounds of †**Penn Celli Guenhuc**, which has not been identified other than to say that it is probably a territory adjacent to Llangunnog (hence the grid reference above).

Elements

CARN + GWYN (fem.)

†**Carn Gunstan**: [nr SO398149]

Attestations

carn gunstan LLch.123 p. 124 c. 1080–c. 1120s

carn gunstan LLch.123 p. 124 c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

Both attestations are from the bounds of **Llandeilo Gresynni**. In the bounds the cairn stands between the source (LLYGAD) of the †**Grenin** and †**Castell Mei**, but until at least one of these points is identified, a precise identification of *Carn Gunstan* will have to wait.

⁴¹ LL, p. 390.

Elements

CARN + ?personal name

The second element could represent a Welsh borrowing (or spelling) of the Old English personal name *Wynstān*.⁴²

†Carn Guocof: [nr ST0972]

Attestations

carn guocof LLch.259 p. 260 s. xi²

Location

This cairn is named as a point in the bounds of †Tref Gulich, between †Carn Gistlerth and a NANT flowing into the †Guorrimi. Given the close relationship between this boundary clause and that of charter 157,⁴³ it is tempting to make a connection between the second element of this place-name and the territory known as †Guocob.

Elements

CARN + ?OGOF

If the second element is the common noun OGOF, we might expect the definite article to be used (i.e. **Carn ir Guocof*). An interpretation of the element as a proper noun would be more satisfactory, but to my knowledge *Guocof* is not attested as a personal name.

Carn Luit: see Garn Lwyd.

Carnoti: see Chartres.

Carnou: see †Villa Carnou.

†Carn Perth yr Onn: [nr ST5391]

Attestations

carn perth yronn LLch.141 p. 143 s. xi¹

Location

This cairn is named as a point in the bounds of the territory granted in charter 141, probably around Matharn. The bounds run inland from the mouth (ABER) of †Pull Mouric on the Severn (Hafren) to the ABER of Hunger Pill (†Pull Neuynn) on the Wye (Gwy), and then back along the shore. *Carn*

⁴² Von Feilitzen, *Pre-Conquest Names*, p. 429.

Perth yr Onn is named between †*Otyñ Lunbiu* and some ruins (*macyrou*) near †*Pull Neuynn*, so it is probably not far from the shore. This section of the bounds might well lie in the industrial estate to the south of Chepstow (*Cas-Gwent*).

Elements

CARN + PERTH + YR + ONN

GPC cites this place-name as an example of the noun *perth* 'hedge, thicket, copse'.⁴⁴

Carnpont: see †*Tref i Carnpont*.

Carnwyllion: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

carnwaliaun LL p. 247 before *s.* xiii¹

Location

The commote of Carnwyllion was one of the three commotes making up the cantref of Eginog, the other two being *Cydveli* and *Gŵyr*.⁴⁵ The attestation above is from a list of the seven cantrefs of *Morgannwg*, in which the second cantref is defined as *Gŵyr*, *Cydveli*, and *Carnwaliaun*, so there need be no doubt over the identity of this place-name.

Elements

personal name + ?-ION + CARN + ?GWAL (pl.)

~~† am uncertain of the second element — the form in the Book of Llandaf looks very much like a plural of *gwal* 'wall', which is not implausible, but the modern form looks like the plural of *gwyllt* 'wild'~~

Carran: see †*Nant Castell Cerran*.

Cartusienis: see *Chartreuse*.

(1) †*Caruan*: [?SO399146] (?mod. *White Castle Brook*)

Attestations

caruan	LLch.123	p. 123	c. 1080–c. 1120s
aper caruan	LLch.123	p. 124	c. 1080–c. 1120s

⁴³ See †*Tref Gulych* below for a discussion.

⁴⁴ GPC, III, 2780.

⁴⁵ WATU, pp. 35 (s.v. *Carnwyllion*) and 64 (s.v. *Eginog*).

ⓐ The name could contain CARN, and an uncertain second element, but, as a district name, it seems best to explain the ending as the region-naming suffix -ION commonly formed with a personal name.

Lancarvan

Hist. Mon.⁴⁶ I, 97 1459Location

Both attestations are from the bounds of **Llandeilo Gresynni**, which, despite being relatively full and late, are difficult to follow due to the lack of certainly identifiable points. It is curious that the **Troddi** is not mentioned in the bounds, considering that that river flows only about four hundred metres south of the church. Perhaps, despite the description in the body of the charter, the land granted was not around the mound (*circa cumulum*) of the church (or perhaps the mound referred to was not the mound on which the church now stands). The bounds tell us that the *Caruan* joins the †**Ciuerdiued**, and that that **ABER** is not far from †**Castell Mei**.

Bradney tells us that a pack of hounds were kept into the nineteenth century by the **Powells of Llandeilo Gresynni**: ‘The kennels were on the site of the lodge opposite the mill, and the watercourse which brought water through the kennels from the Carvan brook can be still traced.’⁴⁷ The fifteenth-century attestation of the name above is from a Rent Roll reference to the holding by one David Wilcox of a brewery on the Carvan brook ‘somewhere where the post office now stands’ according to Bradney.⁴⁸ The identification given here is that of Thomas, which does seem to tie in with the evidence provided by Bradney.⁴⁹

Elements

personal name?

See the discussion under **Llancarfan**.

(2) Caruan: see **Cwmcarfan**.

Caruani Uallis: see **Llancarfan**.

Cas-gwent: [ST534941] (Eng. *Chepstow*; also †**Emricorua**, †**Strugull**)

Attestations

castellguent	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
castell guent	LLb.25	p. 44	1129

⁴⁶ Bradney, *History of Monmouthshire*.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 96.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 97.

⁴⁹ EANC, p. 48.

Castle-Guent

LLgloss

p. 32 'modern'

Location

The attestations from bulls 12 and 25 are from copies of the same list of Llandaf properties, so there is really only one example of this place-name here. There is no reason to doubt that it represents modern *Cas-gwent*. The place-name occurs in a reference to *Lann Cinmarch* (St Kingsmark), whose territory is said to include a meadow and weirs on the Wye (Gwy), and land within *Castell Guent*.

Elements

CASTELL + Gwent

Casnewydd: see Newport.**Cassec:** see †Brinn i Cassec, Porthcaseg.**Cassecc, Casseg:** see Porthcaseg.**Castell Carran:** see †Nant Castell Cerran.†Castell Cerran: [?SN070001] (?mod. *Norchard Beacon*)Attestations

castell cerran

LLch.127a p. 127 s. xi¹Location

This place-name occurs as a point in the boundary clause of charter 127a, which grants †Cil Tutuc and †Penn Clecir. These place-names and those of the bounds are all now lost, except, possibly, †Ritec, and the only additional information available is from the charter's Narration which locates the story in the area of Penally. If the identification of the †Ritec is correct, then this place should be somewhere along it, and Norchard Beacon (at the grid reference above) appears to be the only feature in the area which might be described as a CASTELL. See also †Nant Castell Cerran.

Elements

CASTELL + ?personal name

Charles compares this place-name with *Cilgerran* and suggests that the second element of both might be an unrecorded personal name *Cerran*.⁵⁰ An Old Irish

⁵⁰ PNPemb., I, 356.

personal name *Gerrán* also occurs, but, if Welsh *Cerran* is derived from this, then the initial consonant has undergone hypercorrection.

Castel Conscuit: see †**Castell Conscuit**.

†**Castell Conscuit:** [nr ST4888]

Attestations

ecclesiam castell conscuit	LLch.235b	p. 235	'c. 895'
Castell conscuit	LLrub.	p. 235	c. 1120s
Castel conscuit	LLgloss	p. 234	s. xv ^{med}

Location

Davies located the church of *Castell Conscuit* in **Caldicot**,⁵¹ and Evans identified it with Caldicot Castle itself.⁵² The main aids to the location of this place-name are the references in the charter to **Trogi**, **Hafren**, and †**Tref Perenn**, and the fifteenth-century glossator's assertion that the place lay near a group of territories in the vicinity of **Matharn**. The **Trogi** formerly flowed into the Bristol Channel (**Hafren**) at **Sudbrook**,⁵³ less than five kilometres south west of **Matharn**. The bounds of charter 235b follow the **Trogi** from its mouth as far as a **PANT**, along the **PANT**, and then along the boundary of †**Tref Perenn** to the coast, and back to the mouth of the **Trogi**. †**Tref Perenn** is probably to the west of the **Trogi**, and, if that is correct, then *Castell Conscuit* should be in the area of **Caldicot**.

Elements

CASTELL + personal name

A *Conscuit* was the father of one of the lay witnesses to charters 198b and 199bi, both of which were granted at **Cemais**, not far from *Castell Conscuit*.

The same personal name also occurs in †**Tonou Cinscuit**.

Castell Dinas: see †**Din March Lythan**.

Castell Guent: see **Cas-gwent**.

⁵¹ *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 123.

⁵² LL, p. 378.

⁵³ EANC, p. 170, s.v. *Trogi*.

†Castell Mei: [?SO379167] (?mod. *White Castle*)Attestations

castell mei	LLch.123	p. 124	c. 1080–c. 1120s
castell mei	LLch.123	p. 124	c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

Both attestations are from the bounds of **Llandeilo Gresynni**. *Castell Mei* stands between †**Carn Gunstan** and the confluence (ABER) of the (1) †**Caruan** and †**Ciuerdiued**, none of which are certainly identified. Only one feature worthy of the description CASTELL is still visible in the vicinity—*White Castle* (at the grid reference above).

Elements

CASTELL + ?personal name

The second element was considered to be probably a personal name by both Thomas and Williams.⁵⁴

†Castell Meirch: [?SO448173] (?mod. *Newcastle*)Attestations

castell merych	LLch.74	p. 74	'c. 860'–c. 930
castell meirch	LLch.171b	p. 172	'c. 860'–c. 930
cestill meirch	LLch.171b	p. 173	s. xi ¹

Location

The first two attestations are from different versions of the same boundary clause for **Llanfocha**. The remaining attestation is from the bounds of †**Lann Tipallai**, and I am not certain that it represents the same place as the first two, though it seems likely. The only CASTELL-type feature still visible in the vicinity of **Llanfocha** is *Newcastle*, just over a kilometre to the west, and this is the identification made by Thomas and Richards.⁵⁵

Elements

CASTELL + MARCH (pl.)

Note the apparently plural form of the first element in the final attestation—see the discussion of CASTELL in §3.3 below. The spelling *merych* for the second element could either be the result of a miscopying of *meyrch*—the

⁵⁴ EANC, p. 31; *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 41.

⁵⁵ EANC, p. 94, s.v. *Ariannell*; WATU, p. 166, s.v. *Newcastle*.

spelling used in the version of these bounds from the Vespasian manuscript—or it could represent a pronunciation with an epenthetic vowel breaking the consonant cluster [rɣ].

Castell Merych: see †**Castell Meirch**.

†**Castell Mingui:** [SO507129]

Attestations

CASTELLO MONEMVDE	DB	fol. 180d	1086
castell mingui	LL	p. 275	c. 1120s
castellum demingui	LL	p. 276	c. 1120s
castellum demingui	LL	p. 277	c. 1120s
castello mingui	LL	p. 278	c. 1120s

Location

It is quite clear that the above are all references to Monmouth Castle (grid reference above). The attestations are from a list of **Ergyng** churches and the accompanying account of Bishop Herewald's pastoral activities in that region. On pages 277 to 278 there is an account of the foundation and changes in possession of the castle. *Castell Mingui* must be Monmouth Castle as there is no other castle site on the **Ergyng** side of the Monnow (**Mynwy**).

Elements

CASTELL + **Mynwy**

CASTELLUM + [DE +] **Mynwy**

Latin *castellum* 'castle, fort' is the noun from which CASTELL is derived.*

Castellnewydd, Y: [SS902800] (Eng. *Newcastle*)

Attestations

<i>ecclesia</i> de Nouo Castro	LL	p. 325	c. 1350
Ecc'ia de Nouo Castro	LL	p. 331	c. 1350
<i>Vicaria</i> de Nouo Castro	LL	p. 331	c. 1350

Location

The first attestation is from a list of churches in the deanery of **Gorfynydd**, and the remaining two are from a similar list, this time headed **Cynffig**, apparently a subset of the **Gorfynydd** list which precedes it. So the place

* GPC, I, 438, s.v. *castell*.

should be in the **Cynffig** division (the northern half) of the deanery of **Gorfynydd**. Evans's identification with Newcastle (grid reference above)—the Norman castle and adjacent district of **Bridgend**—fits this evidence, and as the Latin of the attestations means 'new castle', and this is the only *Newcastle* place-name in the relevant area, can probably be regarded as secure.⁵⁷ The prebend of a certain Ralph, surnamed 'de Nouo castro', is listed in a document from the second half of the thirteenth century (page 284). The surname might derive from the name of this *Newcastle*, but it is not possible to be sure.

Elements

NOVUS (neut.) + *CASTRUM*

It is interesting that *castrum* 'fort' is used here, rather than *CASTELLUM* (as in †**Castell Mingui**).

†**Castell Teir Tut**: [?SN828312] (?mod. *Y Pigwn*)

Attestations

castell teirtut	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s
castell teirtut	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s

Location

Both attestations are from the diocesan bounds in the Life of Euddogwy; see †**Alt Luit, Ir** for the dating. As Evans explains, this part of the boundary is difficult to follow, but he (and Richards) identify *Castell Teirtut* with *Trecastle*.⁵⁸ By this I assume that they mean the remains of Roman camp on Mynydd Bach Trecastell (at the grid reference above), rather than the town itself.

The two boundary points before (†**Pyscotuc** and †**Teir Guernen Buell**) and the one after (†**Douluin Helic**) are not certainly identified, but the points either side of those are known: the **Tywi** and the source (**BLAEN**) of the **Usk** (**Wysg**). The name *Castell Teirtut* is explained in the text as relating to the three cantrefs of **Cantref Bychan**, **Cantref Selyf**, and **Buellt**, which presumably indicates a point in the vicinity of SN8739, where the three

⁵⁷ LL, p. 414.

⁵⁸ LL, p. 367; WATU, p. 37, s.v. *Castell Teirtud*.

cantrefs meet.⁵⁹ The seven cantrefs of the diocese of Llandaf are defined elsewhere in the Book of Llandaf,⁶⁰ and those parts of the diocesan bounds which can be traced do appear to correspond, at least broadly, to the external boundaries of this group of cantrefs. The relevant section of the bounds here—between the Tywi and the source of the Usk (Wysg)—should correspond, then, to the north-eastern border of **Cantref Bychan**, which appears to be the same as the border between modern-day Carmarthenshire and Brecknockshire.⁶¹ The Roman camp on Mynydd Bach Trecastell is the most obvious CASTELL-type feature along this stretch of border, but another possible site is an earthwork at SN849415.

Elements

CASTELL + TRI (fem.) + TUD

The three peoples (*tud* ‘people, tribe’) referred to are presumably those of the three cantrefs.

Castellum de Mingui, Castellum Mingui: see †**Castell Mingui**.

Castle-Guent: see **Cas-gwent**.

Castrogi: see **Trogi**.

Caswell: see †**Lann Teiliau Portulon**, †**Porth Tulon**.

Cat Brook: see †**Catfrut**.

Catan: see †**Cil Catan**.

†**Cateir Neueni:** [?SO229288]

Attestations

bronn cateir neueni	LLb.25	p. 42	s. xi ¹
bron cateir neueni	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s

Location

The attestations occur in both versions of the bounds of the diocese of Llandaf.⁶² The immediately preceding features in the clause are †**Din March Lythan** and †**Ol i Gabr**, and the following point is the source (LLYGAD) of the

⁵⁹ See maps 17, 26, 30, and 63 in WATU, pp. 242, 251, 253, and 283.

⁶⁰ LL, pp. 247–49.

⁶¹ See the maps referred to in note 59 above.

⁶² For a discussion of the date and context of these bounds, see above s.v. †**Al/Luit**.

Grwyne. Evans identified *Cateir Neueni* with ‘?Nevein’ which I cannot find. Between Castell Dinas [SO179301]—the suggested identity of †Dinmarch Lythan—and the source of the Grwyne, is a ridge of several peaks, one of which (at the grid reference given in the heading) is called *Pen y Gadair Fawr*, and from which descends a stream *Nant y Gadair* [SO217279]. I am not sure whether *Cateir Neueni* could refer to the whole ridge, or just to one of its peaks.

Elements

CADAIR + ?personal name

Cadair ‘chair’ occurs frequently in names of rocks, hills, and mountains, where it refers to a camp or fort, or to a feature in the shape of a chair.⁶³ The second element could be the result of a misreading of *Neuein*, i.e. the female personal name *Nyfain*.⁶⁴

†**Catfrut:** [SO531008] (Eng. *Cat Brook*)

Attestations

aper catfrut	LLch.209b	p. 209	s. xi ¹
aper catfrut	LLch.209b	p. 210	s. xi ¹

Location

The ABER of this stream with the Wye (Gwy) is the opening and closing point in the bounds of †Ager Louhai. Evans identified this stream with the one now known as *Cat Brook* which flows into the Wye (Gwy) in the right area, and I see no reason to doubt his identification.⁶⁵

Elements

CAD + FFRWD⁶⁶

Thomas conjectured that the name might refer to a battle fought nearby, or to the strength of the stream’s flow.⁶⁷ For a similar name semantically see †Catlan.

Catguistil: see †Nant Catguistil.

⁶³ Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 22; GPC, 1, 375.

⁶⁴ Attested as the name of a daughter of Brychan: Bartrum, *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, pp. 15 (*Nyuein*), 18 (*Nyuen*), and 82 (*Nevyn*).

⁶⁵ LL, pp. 376 and 390.

⁶⁶ LL, p. 376; EANC, p. 131, s.v. *Cedi*.

⁶⁷ EANC, p. 131, s.v. *Cedi*.

Cathouen: see †Villa Cathouen.

†Catlan: [?SO482149]

Attestations

nant catlan	LLch.240	p. 241	s. xi ¹
catlan	LLch.240	p. 241	s. xi ¹
catlan	LLch.240	p. 241	s. xi ¹

Location

This stream is followed in one of the two (different) bounds of †Lann Guoronui, which has been identified, though not certainly, with **Rockfield**. The bounds appear to be fairly simple: they run from a PANT in a ridge (CEGIN) on the western side of the Monnow (Mynwy) to the north of the church, to †Finnaun Dioci, along a brook (GOFER) to the *Catlan*, and along the *Catlan* back to the Monnow (Mynwy). If the territory described by the bounds is supposed to include the church itself, and if the identification with **Rockfield** is correct, then the *Catlan* could only be the stream entering the Monnow (Mynwy) at the grid reference above.

The difficulty with this identification is that precisely the same stream has been identified with the †Ieuen of the bounds given for †Lann Guoronui in charter 246. It is possible that the stream changed its name in the course of the eleventh century, but it seems unlikely. Both sets of bounds refer to a stream which runs into the Monnow (Mynwy), and which has at least one tributary; the stream at the grid reference above is the only such stream in the vicinity of **Rockfield** (otherwise the nearest to the north is at SO479167, and the nearest to the south is SO504126). Perhaps the two sets of bounds describe two different territories, only one of which includes the church itself (which most likely would be the bounds of charter 240, given the reference to the church in these). Alternatively, the identification of †Lann Guoronui could be incorrect.

Elements

[NANT +] CADLAN

Although this instance of the word is not noted by GPC,⁶⁸ there is no reason to

⁶⁸ GPC, I, 378.

doubt that the element here is *cadlan* 'battlefield, battle' (CAD + LLAN). For a similar name semantically see †**Catfrut**.

Catoci: see †**Ecclesia Sancti Catoci**.

Cayr Rein: see †**Cair Rein**.

†**Cecin Clysty**: [?SN992146] (?mod. *Cefn Nantyeugarn*)

Attestations

cechenlisti	LLb.25	p. 42	s. xi ¹
cecin clysty	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s
Cecycin clysti	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s

Location

This ridge occurs as a point in both versions of the diocesan bounds. It is clear that it lies somewhere in the area between the **Mellte** and the **Taf Fawr**, but a precise identification is more difficult. Evans identified this place-name with 'Mynydd y Glôg in Penderyn', i.e. SN979089, but this seems to be based on his assertion that the *Hepstur* of the boundary is not the same as the **Hepste**, and on two partial co-incidences of place-names.¹ I disagree with Evans's identification of the *Hepstur* (see **Hepste**), and prefer to assume that the modern county boundary reflects the mediaeval diocesan boundary unless there is sound evidence to the contrary. *Cecin Clysty* stands between †**Deri Emreis** and the source (BLAEN) of †**Frut i Guidon**, a tributary of the **Taf Fawr**. *Cefn Nantyeugarn* (grid reference above) is the only obvious ridge along the relevant stretch of the modern county boundary, and lies above the west bank of the **Taf Fawr**.

Elements

CEGIN + ?

Cechenlisti: see †**Cecin Clysty**.

†**Cecin Meirch**: [?SN594283]

Attestations

cecyn meryrc	LLch.77	p. 78	c. 1080–c. 1120s
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¹ LL, p. 367. The partial co-incidences are †**Gavanhauc** and *Tre-banog*, and †**Deri Emreis** and *Nant y Deri*.

delta
↓
δ/

cecin meirch LLch.77 p. 78 c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

This feature is a point in the bounds of **Llandeilo Fawr**. It stands between **Nant Llŵyd** and †**Dugleis Bisgueiliauc**. The identification given above (apparently that of Evans too)² is made on the basis that the ridge to which it refers is the most obvious ridge (CEGIN) feature in the area between the two streams, but it is also supported by a small amount of circumstantial evidence. Although the ridge identified with *Cecin Meirch* does not itself have a name nowadays (at least not on the current 1:25 000 Ordnance Survey map), two place-names containing the element MARCH are present at either end of its north-western slope: *Llwyn-march* [SN594287] and *Pistyllmarch* [SN582275]. Furthermore, a stream [SN610281] running between **Nant Llŵyd** and the northern end of the ridge is called *Nant y Ffin* ‘the NANT of the boundary’, which might be a reference to the boundary of **Llandeilo Fawr**.³

Elements

CEGIN + MARCH (pl.)

The forms of the two attestations in the Vespasian manuscript’s version of these bounds are *cecin meryrc* and *cecin meircht*. The spelling *meryrc* is likely to derive from a failed attempt to correct a spelling like *meryc* (cf. *merych* in †**Castell Meirch**).

†**Cecin Penn i Celli**: [?SO470166] (?mod. *Maypole/St Maughans Green*)

Attestations

cecin penn icgelli	LLch.264b	p. 265	‘c. 1025’
Cecin pennicelli	LLrub.	p. 264	c. 1120s
penygelli	LLgloss	p. 265	1476x78

Location

This place is specifically located next to (*iuxta*) **St Maughans (Llanfocha)** in the rubric of the charter, and such proximity is also implied by the charter’s Narration. The topology of the the bounds is quite specific: a PANT is mentioned, with its mouth to the north, up which the bounds travel (by implication southwards), a main road is followed westwards to the source of

² LL, p. 364.

³ Cf. *Pant y Ffin*, s.v. †**Isceuliauc**.

†**Finnaun Oir**, whence one follows a brook (GOFER) down to a clay-pit (*pridpull*), and down further to the mouth of the PANT. The bounds describe a tract of land sloping down from high ground in the south. Given that the generic element of the name for the land is CEGIN, it is reasonable to assume that the high ground constitutes a ridge, along which the main road of the bounds would run east–west. The road from **Monmouth** to St Maughans (**Llanfocha**) runs for a time east–west along a ridge to the south-east of St Maughans (**Llanfocha**), and this appears to be the only ridge fitting the requirements of the description.

Elements

CEGIN + PEN + YR + CELLI (len.)

The spelling *icgelli* in the first attestation would be a normal way of indicating the nasalisation caused by the preposition *in* with a following [k], but this cannot be the case here. CELLI is feminine, and, therefore, lenited after the article (as shown by the late gloss), so the spelling *icgelli* is probably an attempt to indicate this lenition.

Cecin Penn i Cgelli: see †**Cecin Penn i Celli**.

†**Cecin Penn Ros**: [?SO491149]

Attestations

cecinn penn ros	LLch.264a	p. 264	'c. 1030'–c. 1050
cecinn penn ros	LLch.264a	p. 264	'c. 1030'
Cecin penn ros	LLrub.	p. 264	c. 1120s
Penros	LLgloss	p. 264	s. xv ^{med}

Location

This place-name refers to land described in the Narrative as lying on the Monnow (**Mynwy**) on the other side from **Llangunville**. The rubric describes the land as *arguy* 'on the Wye (Gwy)'—which, in the light of the other evidence, must either be a mistake or a fairly generous use of the preposition *ar*. The name is also used of a specific feature within the area described in the bounds. The land granted must, therefore, lie on the west bank of the Monnow (**Mynwy**), opposite **Llangunville** (if that identification of *lanncinfall* is correct), and be dominated by a ridge (CEGIN). The bounds run along the ridge from a point opposite the mouth of †**Finnaun Emrdil** to the end of a meadow

on the Monnow (Mynwy). If we insist on the meaning ‘ridge’ for CEGIN then the place best fitting this description is the ridge on which Deepholm Farm now stands (grid reference above). The sense of CEGIN is not well understood, however, and, if a meaning like ‘straight hill slope’ (as one might find on one side of a ridge) be admitted, then this place-name could apply to the hill-face on which Perthyre Farm [SO487159] stands.⁴

Elements

CEGIN + PEN + RHOS

It is possible that the two qualifying elements should be treated as a single phrasal compound, *pen-rhos*.

Cecycin Clysti: see †Cecin Clysty.

†Cecyn Chethin: [?nr ST387873]

Attestations

cecyn chethin LLch.180b p. 183 s. xi¹

Location

This ridge is mentioned as a point in the bounds of †Lann Catgualatir (identified with Bishton—grid reference above). The bounds are lengthy, but following them is greatly hindered by the fact that a large steelworks now occupies much of the area described, and, furthermore, much of the terrain is low-lying (and originally marshy), so landscape features have probably been lost through drainage works. The ridge occurs in the bounds between †Hentref Merchitir (which lies to its east) and †Lontre Tunbulch, but separated from them by stagnant pools (*marulinniou*) and marsh (*cors*) respectively. This reference, then, probably applied to a long island in the marshland to the south of Bishton.

Elements

CEGIN + CETHIN

The *ch* of the second element probably represents [k], under the influence of Norman orthography. Although the adjective *cethin* ‘dark, rough’ would not be inappropriate in a place-name, it is possible that the second element is the result of a corruption of the word CEGIN itself (perhaps spelt *chechin*).

⁴ As suggested by Evans: LL, p. 383.

Cedgueli: see **Cydweli**.

Cefn Nantyeugarn: see †**Cecin Clysty**.

Cefn Pyllauduon: see †**Hir Cemyn**.

Cefn yr Ystrad: see †**Hir Cemyn**.

(1) †Cehir: [?SN254149]

Attestations

cehir	LLch.77	p. 78	s. xi ²
cehir	LLch.77	p. 78	s. xi ²

Location

This name occurs in the bounds of **Llanddowror**. It is not obvious from the bounds whether the name refers to a fixed point or a linear feature, but it is most probably a stream name like its namesake below ((2) †**Cehir**). The name occurs in the bounds between †**Nant Eilon** and †**Nant Bach Latron**, both of which seem to be tributaries of the *Cehir*, the former downstream of the latter. If either of the suggested identities of †**Nant Duin** (and hence of †**Nant Bach Latron**) is correct, then *Cehir* is probably the stream which flows past **Llanddowror** to the **Taf** at the grid reference above.

Elements

CYHYR

The noun *cyhyr* in its meaning 'sinew' seems like a plausible name for a stream.

(2) †Cehir: [?nr SO457055]

Attestations

cehir	LLch.206	p. 207	s. xi ²
cehir	LLch.206	p. 207	s. xi ²
Cehir	LLch.206	p. 207	s. xi ²

Location

This stream name is mentioned at two points in the bounds of †**Ecclesia Mamouric** (also known as †**Lann Uuien**), the identity of which is uncertain, though it has been identified with **Llangovan** in **Gwent** (grid reference above). Because of the uncertainty over the location of the charter grant, there remains a slight possibility that this *Cehir* is the same as (1) †**Cehir**. The stream occurs

in the bounds first between a birch grove (†**Betguos**) and an unnamed GOFER running into it from the east, where it has its source in †**Inis Cein**, and second between †**Sulcein** (with which it, presumably, has a confluence) and the breast of an unnamed hill.

Elements

CYHYR

Cein: see †**Inis Cein**, †**Nant Cein**.

Celinni: see †**Lann Celinni**.

Cella Arthuodu: see †**Lann Arthbodu**.

Cella Conguri: see †**Lann Conuur**.

Cella Cyngualan: see †**Lann Cingualan**.

Cella Penncreic: see †**Lann Pencreic**.

Celli Cintur: see †**Riu Celli Cintur**.

Celli Guenhuc, Celli Guennhuc, Celli Guennuc, Celli Guenuc: see †**Penn Celli Guenhuc**.

Celli Gulible: see †**Penn Celli Gulible**.

†**Celli Rudanhint:** [?nr SO482147]

Attestations

celli rudan hint LLch.246 p. 247 c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

This place-name occurs as a point in one of the two (different) bounds of †**Lann Guoronui**, which has been identified with **Rockfield** (grid reference above). The point in the bounds is between †**Finnaun he Collenn** and the †**Ieuen**, or, more generally, in the fork between the †**Targuus** and the †**Ieuen**. The grid reference above is for the confluence of these last two streams.

Elements

CELLI + ?RHUDD

I can make nothing of the second element as it stands, unless it is separated as *rud* and *an hint*, where *rud* is the second element of the place-name, and *an hint* is a misreading of *ar hint* ‘along, on the course of’, to be taken as part of the text of the clause. Although *ar hit* is much more common in the Book of

Llandaf, *ar hint* is also found in the bounds of charter 262.

(1) Cemais: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

chemeis	LL	p. 255	'c. 1025'
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Location

This attestation occurs in a description of the location of the *mainaur* of †Lann Teliau Litgarth as 'in fin Dou Cledif ha Chemeis', ('on the boundary of Daugleddau and Cemais'). The reference is from a list of Teilo churches in south-west Wales. As Daugleddau and Cemais are neighbouring cantrefs of Dyfed, and a *Llandeilo* (†Lann Teliau Litgarth) is, indeed, to be found on their border, we can be confident that this is a reference to the cantref of Cemais.

Elements

CEMAIS

The name is discussed by Charles.⁵ The spelling with initial *ch-* might be to indicate spirant mutation caused by the conjunction *ha*, but there are several examples in the Book of Llandaf of *ch* representing [k], so this need not be the case.

(2) Cemais: [ST381928] (Eng. *Kemeys Inferior*)

Attestations

agrum Cemeis	LLch.183b	p. 183	'c. 700'
cemeis	LLch.198b	p. 198	'c. 755'
cemeis	LLch.199b	p. 200	'c. 755'
CEMEIS	LLrub.	p. 183	c. 1120s

Location

Charter 183b grants the territory of *Cemeis* itself, and charters 198b and 199b both refer to transactions taking place there, both in connection with King Ffernfael. The place is described as 'in hostio humri riuuli' in charter 183b, and as 'in hostio humir' in charter 199b. It is reasonable, therefore, to assume that all these attestations refer to the same place. Bounds are supplied in charter 183b, and these locate the place on the Usk (Wysg). There are,

⁵ PNPemb., 1, 25.

however, two CEMAIS place-names on the Usk (Wysg): one at the grid reference above, known in English as *Kemeys Inferior*, and the other, *Kemeys Commander* (**Cemais Comawndwr**), further north, [SO349048]. We can be confident in following Evans and later commentators in their identification of these attestations with the former,⁶ though, because of a shared boundary point (†Nant Merthir) between this *Cemeis* and †**Merthir Iun et Aaron**, which, although some distance from the former, is certainly too far from the latter. See also **Cemais Comawndwr**.

Elements

CEMAIS

Cemais (Comawndwr): [SO349048] (Eng. *Kemeys Commander*)

Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Kemmeys</i>	LL	p. 321	c. 1350
<i>Ecc'ia de Kemmeys</i>	LL	p. 328	c. 1350

Location

Both attestations are from lists of churches in the deanery of **Usk**, which suits the identification above, made by Evans.⁷ *Kemeys Inferior* ((2) **Cemais**) is only about twelve kilometres to the south, but would not have fallen within the deanery of **Usk**.

Elements

CEMAIS

Cemeis: see (2) **Cemais**.

Cenard Maur: see **Cenarth**.

Cenarth: [SN269416]

Attestations

Cenard maur	LLch.127b	p. 129	before 'c. 1025'
cenarth maur	LLch.127b	p. 129	before 'c. 1025'
Cenarth maur	LL	p. 255	'c. 1025'
cenarth maur	LLrub.	p. 127	c. 1120s

⁶ LL, p. 391; Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 111.

⁷ LL, p. 391.

Location

Charter 127b (probably spurious) concerns the grant of *Cenarth Maur*. No topographical information is provided, but the place is granted together with **Mathri**, though there is nothing to suggest that the two places are near each other. The remaining attestation, from the list of Teilo properties, places *Cenarth Maur* together with *Mainaur Mathru* (**Mathri**), under the heading *Inpepitiauc* 'In **Pebidiog**'.

Davies identifies this place with modern Cenarth (grid reference above),⁸ on the basis, presumably, of the similarity of form. The trouble is that modern Cenarth is not in **Pebidiog**. I can find only three other similar place-names in the whole of Wales, of which two (*Cefn Cenarth* : SN969762; and *CeniARTH* : SN771970) are too far north to be of interest to the church of Llandaf; the remaining one (*Cenarth Bychan*) has been tentatively identified with Cefn-garth, Cilgerran [SN195431],⁹ about eight kilometres west of Cenarth (and not in **Pebidiog** either). In the absence of any further contenders, Davies's identification is the most probable. Indeed, the use of MAWR as a qualifier in all the attestations implies the existence of a *Cenarth Bychan*, which may be the one mentioned above.

The best explanation for the listing of *Cenarth Maur* under **Pebidiog** in the list is that it is a mistake occasioned by the association of the place with **Mathri** (which is in **Pebidiog**) in charter 127b.

Elements

?CEN + ?GARTH

This name is discussed by Thomas,¹⁰ who seems to favour the meaning of a GARTH with lichen (CEN) growing on it. Thomas also suggests, however, that the name might be an Irish calque (or partial calque) on the relatively common *Penarth*, *Peniarth* names. Another possibility, suggested by the identification of *Cenarth Bychan* with Cefn-garth (see above), is that the first element could be a form of CEFN.

Cenarth Maur: see **Cenarth**.

⁸ *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 96.

⁹ See PNPemb., I, 356–57.

¹⁰ EANC, p. 108.

Ceneian: see †Fons Ceneian.

†Ceninuc: [?SO447032]

Attestations

aper ceninuc	LLch.187	p. 188	s. x
ceninuc	LLch.187	p. 188	s. x
aper cennichuc	LLch.187	p. 188	s. x

Location

This stream name occurs in the bounds of **Llan-soe**. It is a tributary of the **Olway (Olwy)**, and has itself a tributary, described only as *ifinnaun* ‘the FFYNNON’. It is clear that it runs southwards from the **Olway (Olwy)**, towards the **Pill** brook, and, if my identification of †Cair Enuin in the bounds is correct, it must also be to the east of **Llan-soe**. Only one stream meets all these conditions (grid reference above).

Elements

CENNIN + -OG

This adjectival derivative of *cennin* ‘leeks, daffodils’ is paralleled in Cornish (*Ganinick*) and Breton (*Quignéne*).¹¹ The name presumably indicates that these plants were common along the banks of the stream.

Cennichuc: see †Ceninuc.

Cenou: see †Nant Cenou.

Cenubia Colcuch: see †Lann Calcuch.

Cenubia Cornubium: see †Lann Cerniu.

†Cepetic Trican: [on the Elái] (?also †Redyng, (1) †Vadum Rufum)

Attestations

Cepetic trican	LLch.155	p. 155	‘c. 675’–c. 1010
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Location

This place-name occurs in the bounds of charter 155, which grants †Lann Cincirill and †Ager Cynfall. Neither of these places has been identified, and it is not clear whether the bounds are those of both territories together, or of one territory alone. The place-name begins the bounds with no preceding

¹¹ CPNE, p. 50, s.v. *kenin*; Tanguy, *Les Noms de lieux bretons*, p. 112.

preposition and is immediately followed by ‘hoc est auado rufo’, which probably indicates that (1) †**Vadum Rufum** (glossed †**Redyng**)—a ford on the Ely (**Elái**)—is an alternative designation for the place, though it could just be somewhere close by.

Elements

? + personal name

The assumption that the second element is the personal name *Tyrchan* is reinforced by the occurrence in the same bounds of †**Claud Trycan**. The first element is a complete mystery to me.

Ceriau: see †**Lann Mihacghgel Tref Ceriau**, †**Tref Ceriau**.

Cerion: see †**Lann Deui Ros Cerion**.

Cerniu: see †**Lann Cerniu**, †**Lann Teliau Tref i Cerniu**.

†**Cerniu Budic**: [NGR N/A] (also **Cornouaille**)

Attestations

cerniu budic LL p. 131 ?

Location

This name is given in the Life of Euddogwy as an alternative name for *Cornugallia* (**Cornouaille**).

Elements

Cernyw + personal name

Cernyw: [NGR N/A] (Eng. *Cornwall*)

Attestations

cornubiensem regionem LL p. 108 ?

Location

The attestation, from the Life of Teilo, refers to the name of the land of King Gerennius, where the saint stayed on the way to **Armorica**. Although no further reference is made to this land by name, from the account of Gerennius’s death later in the Life (pages 113–14) it is apparent that it lay over the sea from **Armorica**. *Cornubia* (of which *Cornubiensem* here is an adjectival form) is the normal Vulgar Latin name for Cornwall, and is a

representation of the Brittonic name which became, in Welsh, *Cernyw*.¹² Apart from the appearance of the name itself, there are other reasons for locating this place-name in the south-western peninsula of **Britain**: first, its position between Teilo's native South Wales and **Armorica**; and second is the association of the place with King Gerennius, who bears a name (Welsh *Geraint*) prominent among the list of historical or pseudo-historical south-western figures.¹³

Cerr: see †Ryt y Cerr.

Cerran: see †Castell Cerran, †Nant Castell Cerran.

Cerruc: see †Cum Cerruc.

†**Cestill Dinan**: [?ST412878] (?mod. *Wilcrick Hill*)

Attestations

cestill dinan	LLch.180b	p. 182	s. xi ¹
cestill dinan	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Cestilldinan	LLb.25	p. 44	1129

Location

This place-name is attested first in the bounds of †**Lann Catgualatir**, and also in the list of Llandaf possessions in bulls 12 and 25. Evans identified this feature with ‘?Bishton Castle’ [ST392881].¹⁴ Although Evans's identification is not impossible, the remains of a fort on Wilcrick Hill (grid reference above) seem a more likely candidate. See also **Dinham**.

Elements

CASTELL + DINAN

The *i*-affection shown by the first element is also found in one of the attestations of †**Castell Meirch**—see the discussion of CASTELL in §3.3 below. The second element is probably the diminutive form of DIN, making this place-name somewhat tautologous.

Cestill Meirch: see †Castell Meirch.

Cestrensi: see Chester.

¹² LHEB, pp. 376–78.

¹³ Sims-Williams, ‘The Early Welsh Arthurian Poems’, p. 46.

¹⁴ LL, p. 373

Cetgueli: see **Cydweli**.

Cetguinn: see †**Cum Cetguinn**, †**Lann Cetguinn**.

Ceth: see **Pwll-y-cath**.

Cetiau: see †**Sedes Cetiau**.

Chanteloup: see †**Cantelou**.

Chartres: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

carnoti LLb.37 p. 64 1131

Location

This place-name is attested in the *datum* of bull 37. The form of the name is Mediaeval Latin, derived from the Classical name of the local tribe: the Carnutes. In the Classical period Chartres was known as *Autricum*.¹⁵

Chartreuse: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

ordinis cartusiensis LL p. 304 s. xv^{ex}

Location

The attestation is from a list of the bishops of Llandaf in a reference to Bishop John Ingleby of the Carthusian order. *Cartusia* is the Latin form of *Chartreuse*.

Chedueli: see **Cydweli**.

Chemeis: see (1) **Cemais**.

Chencian: see †**Fons Ceneian**.

Chepstow: see **Cas-gwent**, †**Emricorua**.

Cheriton: see †**Porth Medgen**.

Chester: [SJ4066]

Attestations

cestrensi [episcopo] LL p. 280 1107–34

¹⁵ Lewis, *Latin Dictionary*, p. 294, s.v. *Carnutes*.

Location

This place-name is attested in the list of bishops present at Urban's consecration in **Canterbury**. The identification with Chester is by Evans, and there is no reason to doubt it.¹⁶ From the vowel affection it is clear that this is a latinised form of the English name *Chester*, which is itself ultimately derived from Latin *castrum* (the proper adjectival form of *castrum* is *castrensis*).¹⁷ The Roman name for this place was *Deva* (and possibly also *Civitas Legionum*).¹⁸ Cf. **Chichester** below.

Chethin: see †**Cecyn Chethin**.

Chichester: [SU8504]

Attestations

cicestrensi [episcopo] LL p. 280 1107–34

Location

This place-name is attested in the list of bishops present at Urban's consecration in **Canterbury**. The identification with Chichester is by Evans, and there is no reason to doubt it.¹⁹ The form here is a latinisation of the English name (the Roman name for this place was *Noviomagus Reginorum*).²⁰ Cf. **Chester** above.

Chil Idris: see †**Cil Idris**.

Christchurch: [ST346894]

Attestations

christi ecclesia LL p. 318 c. 1350

christi ecclesia cum Capellis LL p. 322 c. 1350

Vicaria de christi ecc'ia LL p. 329 c. 1350

Location

All three attestations are from lists of churches in the deanery of †**Nether Went**. Evans made the identification with '*Christ Ch., Mon.*,'²¹ now a suburb of **Newport** (grid reference above), and there is no reason to doubt it.

¹⁶ LL, p. 391.

¹⁷ Lewis, *Latin Dictionary*, p. 298.

¹⁸ PNRom. Brit., pp. 336–37.

¹⁹ LL, p. 391.

²⁰ PNRom. Brit., p. 427.

Elements*personal name (gen.) + ECCLESIA***Christi Ecclesia: see Christchurch.****Cibi: [SO300136]**Attestations

blain cubi	LLch.122	p. 122	s. xi ¹
cubi	LLch.122	p. 123	s. xi ¹
cubi	LLch.122	p. 123	s. xi ¹

Location

This river name is attested in the bounds of **Llandeilo Bertholau**. There is no reason to doubt that the river named *Cubi* in the Book of Llandaf is the same as the modern Cibi.

Elements

?personal name

The name is discussed by Thomas.²² He concluded that it derives from the personal name *Cybi*, specifically, even, from the saint of that name who is said to have had connexions with two places in **Gwent**—Llangybi [ST374967] and Tredynog [ST379948]. While it is possible that the river was named after Saint Cybi, Thomas does not adduce any evidence of a cult of that saint anywhere nearer to it than Llangybi (which is about twenty kilometres away). The change from *u* to *i* in the first syllable of the river name is explained as a result of the falling together of these two sounds in South-Eastern dialect. Thomas suggested that the variation between *Cubi/Cibi* and *Cybi* was due to different treatments of [ü] before a labial.

Cibwr: [NGR N/A] (Eng. *Kibbor*)Attestations

kybor	LL	p. 27	1126
kybor	LL	p. 27	1126

Location

Both the attestations are from the record of the agreement between Robert,

²¹ LL, p. 391.²² EANC, pp. 133–34.

Count of Gloucester, and Bishop Urban. The general Cardiff (**Caerdydd**) context of the attestations allows us to be confident in identifying them as references to **Cibwr**, the name of the commote in which Cardiff (**Caerdydd**) is situated.²³

Elements

?

Cichman, Cichmann: see †**Nant Cichmann**.

Cidi: see **Cwm Cidi**.

Cil: see †**Tref ir Cil**.

†**Cil Catan:** [?nr SO520000]

Attestations

fincil catan LLch.218 p. 221 955

Location

The reference to this place is in a note of parcels of land attached to †**Lann Bedeui**. The three attached pieces of land are †**Glin Mannou**, †**Ros ir Eithin**, and †**Cil Coit**, and the **Anghidi** and the boundary (FFIN) of *Cil Catan* define the limit of either the three parcels together, or of the last only. Thomas comments on this name, together with the still current *Cilgadan* in Carmarthenshire [SN401115], but offers no identification.²⁴ The fact that *Cil Catan* has a boundary suggests that the name refers to an area of land rather than a point. Until the three attached parcels are identified, however, little can be said, apart from that this place is not far from the **Anghidi**, and probably not far from †**Lann Bedeui** (unless the area defined by the **Anghidi** and the boundary of *Cil Catan* is separated from the main focus of the grant).

Elements

CIL + ?personal name²⁵

Cilcirch: see †**Vallis Cilcirch**.

Cilciuhin: see †**Cilciuhinn**.

²³ LL, p. 391; WATU, pp. 42 and 321.

²⁴ EANC, pp. 44–45.

²⁵ Ibid..

†**Cilciuhinn**: [in or near **Gŵyr**]Attestations

Cilcyuhynn	LLch.140	p. 140	'c. 655'
Cilcyuhinn	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
Cilciuhinn	LLrub.	p. 140	c. 1120s
cilciuhin	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Cilciuhinn	LLb.25	p. 44	1129

Location

Essentially we have here two references to this place: one in the list of properties from the bulls, and one in charter 140. Bounds are not given for *Cilciuhinn* in the charter, but it is granted together with †**Lann Gemei** and **Llandeilo Tal-y-bont**. Although the lists in bulls 2, and 12/25 are by no means identical, it is noticeable that *Cilciuhinn* appears in a context of the same six properties in both lists:

Bull 2Bulls 12 and 25

† Culalann	† Lann Gemei
† Lann Cingualan	† Lann Cingualan
† Lann Teiliau Portulon	<i>Cilciuhinn</i>
Llandeilo Tal-y-bont	† Porth Tulon
† Lann Gemei	† Penn i Bei
† Lann Dotei	† Lann Dotei
<i>Cilciuhinn</i>	† Culalann
† Cruc Guernen	† Cruc Guernen

Those of these places which can be located are situated on or very close to the Gower peninsula (**Gŵyr**), so it is reasonable to suggest the same vicinity for *Cilciuhinn*.

Elements

?CIL + ?

I am not at all sure of the second element. The *u* could represent [v] or [y], if the latter, we could have an unattested metathesised form of *cychwyn* 'beginning' (of which a form *cywyn* is attested), or perhaps a form of *cowyn*

'plague'.²⁶

†**Cil Coit**: [?nr SO520000]

Attestations

cilcoit LLch.218 p. 221 955

Location

Cil Coit is one of three parcels of land said to belong to †**Lann Bedeui** in charter 218 (the other two being †**Glin Mannou** and †**Ros ir Eithin**). It is not clear whether these three pieces of land adjoin each other, or, indeed, whether they adjoin †**Lann Bedeui**. The limits of either *Cil Coit* alone, or of the three pieces of land together, are described as the **Anghidi** and †**Cil Catan**. More information is required to make a sound identification.

Elements

CIL + COED

Cilcyuhinn, Cilcyuhynn: see †**Cilciuhinn**.

†**Cil Fotul**: [?nr SO448173]

Attestations

cil fotul LLch.171b p. 173 s. xi¹

Location

This place is mentioned as a point in the bounds of †**Lann Tipallai**. It is immediately preceded in these bounds by †**Castell Meirch**, and, as the bounds seem to describe quite a small area, *Cil Fotul* is probably nearby.

Elements

CIL + ?

Cilgedin: [around SO355086]

Attestations

ecclesia de Culcudyn LL p. 320 c. 1350

Location

The attestation is from a list of churches in the deanery of **Abergefenni**, and almost certainly corresponds to **Llanfair Cilgedin** which occurs in a different list of the churches of the same deanery. *Cilgedin* could be the name of the district (albeit, perhaps, a very small one) in which the church of **Llanfair**

²⁶ GPC, I, 573 (s.v. *cowyn*), 657 (s.v. *cychwyn*), and 837 (s.v. *cywyn*).

Cilgedin stands.

Elements

?CIL + ?stream name

The spelling of the name here, and in the LL form of Llanfair Cilgedin, does not favour the interpretation of the first element as CIL. It could instead be *cul* 'narrow', which would require *Culcudyn* to be a compound (rather than a name-phrase). The modern spelling of the second element suggests **cedin*, but I know of no such word. If the LL spelling is accurate, the second element could be *cudyn* 'lock of hair, wisp', which could be the name of the stream on which the church stands. The church stands in a bend of this little stream, and such a bend might be referred to as a CIL.

Cilgwrrwg: [SO462982] (Eng. *Kilgwrrwg*) (?also †Cum Cerruc)

Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Kilgorroc</i>	LL	p. 321	c. 1350
[<i>ecclesia de Kilgor</i>]rock	LL	p. 282	s. xv ²

Location

Both attestations are from lists of churches, and both are explicitly located in the deanery of Usk. Only the last four letters of the later attestation are clearly visible due to later re-inking,² but Evans's reconstruction of the text is reasonable given the Usk context and the following reference to '[...]vauden', which is almost certainly Devauden. There is no reason to doubt the identification with Cilgwrrwg.

Elements

CIL + ?CYRROG

Discussion of the second element depends to an extent on whether or not †Cum Cerruc can be identified with Cilgwrrwg. The form *Kilgorroc* suggests CORROG (see †Corricou), perhaps as the name of a stream in the area, but the evidence of †Cum Cerruc does not sit well with CORROG.

†Cil Hal: [SO516266] (?mod. *Pencoyd*)

Attestations

Cil hal	LLch.75	p. 75	'c. 555'
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² LL, p. 353.

CIL HAL

LLrub.

p. 75 c. 1120s

Location

This place is granted in charter 75, and extremely brief dimensional bounds are given, defining it in terms of a large marsh (*palude magno*) and the (1) †Arganhell. The territory (*unam tellurem*) is said to have been given by Erb 'rex Guenti & ercic' to Dyfrig, which presumably places it in Gwent or Ergyng. One fifteenth-century glossator, however, apparently thought that *Cil Hal* was in Gower (Gŵyr). Modern commentators have preferred to identify this place with Pencoyd (grid reference above), but not one, to my knowledge, has explained why.²⁹ Coplestone-Crow confesses himself uncertain of the justification for the identification, but agrees that if it is correct, then Rollason's identifications for the marsh and the (1) †Arganhell are reasonable.²⁹

Elements

CIL + HAL

†Cil Idris: [?SO144203] (?mod. *Cil-wich-fawr*)Attestations

chilidris

LLb.25

p. 42 s. xi¹

cilydris

LL

p. 134 c. 1120s

Location

This place is mentioned as a point in both versions of the diocesan bounds. It is immediately followed by †Alt Luit and preceded by a crossing of the Usk (Wysg). †Alt Luit is probably to be identified with Buckland Hill [SO139212], or a slope thereof, and the river crossing is most likely to be near the mouth of the Crawnnon. Neither of these identifications is absolutely certain, but, if they are accepted, it seems irresistible to follow Evans in concluding that *Cil Idris* should be identified with modern *Cil-wich* (grid reference above).³⁰

Elements

CIL + personal name

²⁹ LL, p. 391; EANC, p. 94 (by implication—with reference to (1) †Arganhell); Finberg, *The Early Charters*, p. 136; Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 96.

³⁰ *Herefordshire Place-Names*, p. 161, s.v. *Pencoyd*. See (1) †Arganhell for Rollason's suggestions.

Cilieni: [SN938298]Attestations

nant cilieni	LLch.154	p. 155	s. xi ²
cilieni	LLch.154	p. 155	s. xi ²
cilieni	LLch.154	p. 155	s. xi ²
cilieni	LLch.154	p. 155	s. xi ²

Location

This river is followed in the bounds of Llandeilo'r-fân (†Lann Guruaet). As a river called *Cilieni* flows north–south less than a kilometre and a half to the east of Llandeilo'r-fân, that is the obvious identification. There is further confirmation in the fact that the bounds refer to **Nant-yr-hen** as a tributary of the Cilieni.

Elements

?CILAN + -I

The name is discussed by Thomas, who concludes that the stem of the name is a diminutive form of CIL.³¹ The usual diminutive is *cilan*, but Thomas pointed to the fact that a [i] is added to the stem in the plural of CIL, *ciliau*.³² The change **cilian* to **cilien-* is the result of *i*-affection from the -I.³³ Thomas stated that NANT in the attestation *Nant Cilieni* has the meaning 'valley' rather than 'stream'—this could be so, but I do not see that it is possible to be certain either way.³⁴

Ciliou: see †Lann Teliau i Ciliou.

†Cil ir Adar: [?nr SN602229]Attestations

cil ir adar	LLch.77	p. 78	c. 1080–c. 1120s
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Location

Cil ir Adar is a point in the bounds of Llandeilo Fawr. It occurs in these bounds immediately between †Hen Alt and a spring, †Licat Tauern, neither of which has yet been securely identified, but the place's more general

³⁰ LL, p. 368.

³¹ EANC, p. 134.

³² Ibid..

³³ Ibid..

³⁴ Ibid..

location is in the area between the **Myddyfi** (below the †**Isceuliauc**) and **Gwaith Dinefwr**. Evans noted the place-name *Rhiw-yr-adar* [SN595231] in this vicinity,³⁵ but, though there might be some connexion between the names, *Rhiw-yr-adar* will not do as an identification because it is on the wrong (west) side of the **Myddyfi**. Also in the vicinity, to the east of the **Myddyfi**, is a *Birdshill Farm* (grid reference above), which might also recall the element ADAR of the name, though further evidence is needed.

Elements

CIL + YR + ?ADAR

The element *adar* here is most likely to be modern *adar* ‘birds’—although *d* would normally represent [d̥] in intervocal position in the orthography of the Book of Llandaf, I know of no noun ****addar** or ****gaddar**.

†**Cilliuén:** [?ST502941]

Attestations

cilliuén LLch.171b p. 173 s. xi¹

Location

This name occurs as a point in the bounds of **Llanddinol (Itton)**, between a PANT associated with †**Tref Guid** and the †**Sichpull** on the †**Mouric**. *Cilliuén* appears to be a linear feature of some sort—the boundary travels along it (*'n i hit*)—but it could be taken either the name of the road (FFORDD) which is mentioned, or as the name of a stream. Evans seemed to favour the former option in his index, but, perhaps, the latter in his translation of the bounds.³⁶ Thomas identified *Cilliuén* with a stream running between Chepstow Park Wood (from ST494978) and entering Mouton Brook (†**Mouric**) at ST488944.³⁷ I am unable to follow the whole course of this stream at 1:25 000 scale, and it may be that, like many in this district, it runs underground for some of its length, so I am not entirely confident of Thomas’s description of the stream’s course.

Going back to the issue of whether *Cilliuén* is the name of a road or a stream, I would suggest that perhaps it could be both: primarily the name of a stream,

³⁵ LL, p. 364.

³⁶ LL, pp. 373 and 391.

³⁷ EANC, p. 110, s.v. †*Cyllywen*.

but also the name of a road or track running along its bank. A route can be traced from Lanquilan (ST496966—on the banks of Thomas's stream) along a combination of roads, paths, and tracks, which follows the contour lines in a way suggestive of a stream (though none is shown on the map). This putative stream would fall into Mounton Brook at ST502941. I would suggest that this may be the true course of the stream identified by Thomas as the *Cilliuén*.

Elements

?CIL + ?YWEN

Although Thomas indexed this name under a modernised spelling *Cyllywen* he admitted that any other combination of *is* and *ys* was also possible.¹⁸ The double *ll* is the chief objection to the interpretation of the first element as CIL (I can find no other example of the element spelt in this way). An alternative possibility would be to take it as *cyll-*, the compound form of *cwll* 'belly', though I can find no examples of this as a place-name element. The interpretation of the second element as *ywen* (singulative of YW) is less difficult, and, if the identification suggested above is correct, it could be backed up by the name *Yewtree Wood* near the suggested mouth of the *Cilliuén*.

Cil Luch: see Gillow.

†**Cil Meiniauc:** [?SN113002]

Attestations

cil meiniauc LLch.125b p. 126 s. xi¹

Location

This place-name is mentioned in the very brief, dimensional bounds of †**Laithi Teliau**. It is not clear whether it refers to a linear feature or to an area; if the former, then it apparently runs down to the †**Ritec**. Due to the uncertainty over the location of all the places associated with †**Laithi Teliau**, an identification cannot be made with any degree of confidence. Campbell and Lane, however, based on their identification of †**Laithi Teliau**, have identified *Cil Meiniauc* with the rivulet which runs along the south-eastern face of Longbury Bank, and flows into the †**Ritec**'s marshland at the grid

¹⁸ Ibid..

reference above.³⁹

Elements

CIL + MEINIOG

Cilpeddeg, Cil Pedec: see Kilpeck, †Lann Degui Cil Pedec.

Cil Retin, Ciltrhedyn: see †Lann Teliau Cil Retin.

†**Cil Tutuc:** [?nr SN0700]

Attestations

Ciltutuc	LLch.127a	p. 127	?
Ciltutuc	LL	p. 255	'c. 1025'
CIL tutuc	LLrub.	p. 127	c. 1120s

Location

Charter 127a records the grant of two *villae*—*Cil Tutuc* and †**Penn Clecir**. Bounds are given, but it is not made clear whether they apply to one or both of the properties. Neither is it expressly stated that the properties are adjacent. The crops of the grantor, the eponymous Tudwg, were damaged by the pigs of a man from **Penally**, so it is reasonable to assume that his lands were in that vicinity. The bounds refer to the †**Ritec** and †**Nant Castell Cerran**, which are also mentioned elsewhere. The remaining attestation from page 255, adds little other than to describe *Cil Tutuc* as *inpenbro*, 'in **Penfro**', and confirm the association with †**Penn Clecir**.

If the bounds given are meant to include *Cil Tutuc*, then the place should lie either to the east or to the west of †**Nant Castell Cerran**, which is mentioned in the bounds, hence the grid reference above. If the bounds are for †**Penn Clecir** only, however, little can be said about *Cil Tutuc* other than that it is not far from **Penally**. Campbell and Lane have identified *Cil Tutuc* and †**Penn Clecir** with Tarr and Carswell farms (SN089009 and SN098010 respectively), but their identification rests mainly on the fact that *Tarr* and †**Nant Torr i Cair** both contain the element TOR, which does not seem a strong enough basis to me.⁴⁰

³⁹ 'Excavations', p. 58.

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 57–58.

ElementsCIL + *f*personal name**Cil-wich-fawr:** see †Cil Idris.**Cilybebyll:** [SN743046]Attestations

<i>ecclesia de</i> Kilthibebul	LL	p. 325	c. 1350
[<i>ecclesia de</i>] Kilthibebul	LL	p. 331	c. 1350

Location

The attestations are from lists of churches in the deanery of Gorfynydd. The second of the two is as one of three churches under the responsibility of the Abbot of Neath (Mynachlog Nedd), the other two being *Kilthykarn* (Gelligarn) and *Caddokeston* (Cadoxton-juxta-Neath). The context of the former attestation is similar. Evans made the identification with Cilybebyll,⁴¹ which is reasonable on grounds of form (PABELL is fairly distinctive as an element) and location (it is seven kilometres north of Neath).

Elements

CIL + YR + PABELL (len.)

GPC cites this place-name in its discussion of the noun *pabell* 'tent'.⁴² The form *Kilthi-* suggests CELLI more than CIL YR (cf. *Kilthykarn* (Gelligarn)). Assuming that the vowel before the last element is the article, the last element must be feminine and singular (whence the lenition). The form *pebyll* is the original singular form (< Lat. *papilio*) from which *pabell* is a back formation, and the word is attested with both feminine and masculine gender.⁴³

Cil Ydris: see †Cil Idris.**Cinahi:** see †Fos Cinahi, †Luch Cinahi, †Main Cinahi.**Cinauc:** see †Henlenic Cinauc.**Cinbis:** see †Pant Tir Cinbis.⁴¹ LL, p. 391.⁴² GPC, III, 2662–63, s.v. *pabell*.⁴³ Ibid..

†**Cinbran:** [?SN582021] (?mod. *Nant y Garreg*)Attestations

blain Cynbran	LLch.140	p. 141	s. xi ¹
cinbran	LLch.140	p. 141	s. xi ¹

Location

This stream name is mentioned as a point in the bounds of **Llandeilo Tal-y-bont**. The bounds can be traced confidently for most of their course, so the general location of this stream can be determined: it flows into the **Llwchwr**, and should run south of **Llandeilo Tal-y-bont** (if the bounds are supposed to include the church). Two streams are suitable candidates. The more southerly enters the **Llwchwr** at SN576014, and this one has in its favour the fact that it is used as a parish boundary, and that its mouth lies opposite the mouth of the **Morlais** (where the bounds begin). The more northerly possibility (grid reference above), though, seems to me slightly more likely on the grounds that it rises nearer to the (2) **Dulais**, the last certain feature in the bounds. The second attestation appears to be qualified by *eithaf* ‘furthest’, which could indicate that the *Cinbran* had several tributary streams, all bearing the same name—this would better describe the identity favoured here for the stream. Alternatively *eithaf* might be interpretable as an adverb, giving a meaning such as ‘along the *Cinbran* utterly as far as the **Llwchwr**’.

Elements

?CYNFRAN

The noun *cynfran* ‘foremost raven, warrior’ (CYN- + BRÂN) is also attested as the name of a cleric (dated to c. 655–98 by Davies) in the Book of Llandaf.⁴⁴ Charter 140 is one of the charters witnessed by him.

Cincarui: see †Fons Cincarui.

Cincenn: see †Pull Otin Cincenn.

Cinfall: see †Cirn Cinfall.

Cingleis: see Cynlais.

Cingualan, Cinguali: see †Lann Cingualan.

⁴⁴ *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 156, s.v. *Conbran*.

Cinguid: see †Pull Cinguid.

Cinir: see †Tir Cynir.

†Cinluin: [?SO372157]

Attestations

cinluin	LLch.228	p. 229	s. xi ¹
cinluin	LLch.228	p. 229	s. xi ¹

Location

This stream forms part of the boundary of **Llanwytherin**. We learn from the bounds that it lies across a ridge (CEGIN) from the source (BLAEN) of the brook (GOFER) of †Pull Lifan. Further up the *Cinluin* from this point, the stream meets the boundary of †Tref Petir. Since the boundary of **Llanwytherin** starts from a point on the **Troddi** downstream from where it eventually rejoins that river, it can also be assumed (if the area described by the bounds includes the church itself) that the *Cinluin* runs to the south of **Llanwytherin**. Streams meeting the necessary criteria are those joining the **Troddi** at SO371169, SO372157, and SO381132 (Llanymynach Brook). If Thomas's identification of †Pull Lifan is correct then the second of the two suggestions above is the most likely.

Elements

CYNLLWYN

The noun *cynllwyn* 'plot, treachery, trick, ambush' also occurs in the Book of Llandaf as a common noun in 'Braint Teilo'.⁴⁵ Similar names semantically are used for the streams †Murn and †Nant Brat.

Cinreith: see †Nant Cum Cinreith.

Cinscuit: see †Tonou Cinscuit.

Cintur: see †Riu Celli Cintur.

Cinuc: see †Lann Guern Cinuc.

Circan: see †Circhan.

Circh: see †Vallis Cilcirch.

⁴⁵ LL, p. 120.

†**Circhan**: [?SO566305]Attestations

hostio circhan	LLch.171b	p. 171	?
riuulum circhan	LLch.164	p. 165	'c. 620'–c. 1010
hostio crican	LLrub.	p. 171	c. 1120s

Location

This stream name is strongly associated with Ballingham (†**Lann Budgualan**): it forms part of its boundary in charter 164, and in charter 171b †**Lann Budgualan** is twice described as being at the mouth of ('in hostio') the stream. In addition, we are told by the rubric of charter 171b that the stream's mouth is on the Wye (**Gwy**). Thomas identifies the stream with the one entering the Wye (**Gwy**) at the grid reference above, and his identification has been followed by subsequent commentators.⁴⁶ There are two difficulties with this identification: the first is simply that Ballingham is not on, or even very near, the mouth of any stream (Ballingham church is about a kilometre and a half from the mouth of either of the two nearest streams), but this could be explained as either an error of description in charter 171b, or as a result of a change of site;⁴⁷ the second difficulty is in reading the bounds of charter 164. These bounds run from a ford (†**Vadum Selinam**) via some point, or possibly points, now lost due to a manuscript lacuna, as far as 'the great river' (*flumine magno*) next to (*iuxta*) the *Circhan*, and then around in a circuit of the Wye (**Gwy**). Rollason assumes that the ford at the start of the bounds is on the stream which she identifies with the *Circhan*, and consequently has to translate *iuxta riuulum circhan* as 'as far as the stream Circhan'.⁴⁸ I am not happy with such a translation of the preposition *iuxta*, however, and would prefer to understand that the bounds meet the 'the great river', which, I agree, must signify the Wye (**Gwy**), at the point where the *Circhan* joins it. So it appears that the bounds refer to two streams: one with †**Vadum Selinam** on it, and the *Circhan*. There are, in fact, only two streams which provide plausible boundary points for Ballingham: the one already mentioned and another which enters the Wye (**Gwy**) at SO565328. The *Circhan* could be either of these, but

⁴⁶ EANC, p. 63, s.v. †*Cyrchan*; Davies, 'Unciae', pp. 117–18; Rollason, 'The Boundaries', p. 42.

⁴⁷ Rollason, 'The Boundaries', pp. 42–43.

the one already mentioned is certainly the more significant, and, therefore, the more likely.

Elements

[*RIVULUS* +] ?personal name

Thomas has discussed this name.⁴⁹

†**Cirium:** [NGR N/A]

Attestations

prouincia cirivm LL p. 23 c. 1130

Location

This province is referred to in the Life of Samson as the location of one of the saint's dragon-slaying miracles. The **Seine** is mentioned, and that river should be, therefore, either in the province or on its border. There is no reference to this province in the equivalent passage of the *Vita Prima* (book 1, chapter 58).⁵⁰

†**Cirn Cinfall:** [?nr SO492162]

Attestations

Cirn cinfall	LLch.171b	p. 173	s. xi ²
cirn cinfall	LLch.171b	p. 173	s. xi ²

Location

This place-name is mentioned as the start (and end) point in the bounds of **Llangunville**. It stands in the bounds between the source (LLYGAD) of †**Finnaun Emrdil** and †**Tal ir Aithnauc**. Evans identified this place with ‘?The Buckholt’,⁵¹ but there are several places in the area with this name, and he did not make it clear which he meant, but *Buckholt Wood* at SO5016 seems most likely. Rollason also discussed the name in her examination of the **Llangunville** boundary clause.⁵² She concluded that the element *cirn* probably indicated a mound, perhaps the burial mound of the *Cinfall* remembered in **Llangunville**, but her search for such a mound in the area failed.⁵³ She

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 41.

⁴⁹ EANC, p. 63, s.v. †*Cyrchan*.

⁵⁰ Flobert, *La Vie ancienne*, p. 230.

⁵¹ LL, p. 372.

⁵² Rollason, ‘The Boundaries’, pp. 46–47.

⁵³ Ibid..

discounted the possibility that *Tump Farm* [SO492158] might have any bearing on the case, on the grounds that it is not the original name of the farm (it was earlier called *Lower Llangunville Farm*),⁵⁴ but I would argue that probably *Tump Farm* and *Tump Wood* to the north (grid reference above) do take their names from a tump in the vicinity, even if it no longer exists. I have located this place-name near Tump Wood, but I am not very confident in this.

Elements

?CURN + personal name

Cirn probably represents Modern Welsh *cyrn*, which is either a variant of *curm* 'mound' or the plural of CORN.⁵⁵ It is difficult to decide between these two, but, on balance, a singular noun seems preferable to a plural.

†Ciu: [?nr SO4501]

Attestations

ciu LLch.240 p. 242 s. xi²

Location

The attestation is from the bounds of *Lannguern Timauc* (see †Lann Guern Cinuc). What kind of feature the name represents depends on how the bounds are punctuated at this point. Evans translated

'dubleis digenou irfoss ciu arhihit'

as

'The Dupleis to the mouth of the ditch of Ciu. Along it [...]',⁵⁶

whereas I would prefer to avoid the problem of the double definite (which is, however, not unexampled in LL) with the translation

'The Dupleis to the mouth of the ditch. Along the Ciu [...]'.

Evans, then, treated *Foss Ciu* as the name of a ditch, but I would take *Ciu* on its own to be the name of a linear feature (probably a stream flowing through a ditch into the Dupleis). I can find no stream bearing this name today in the relevant area, and I am unable to follow the bounds.

Elements

CYW

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 47.

⁵⁵ Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, pp. 15–16; GPC, I, 561–62 (s.v. *corn*), and 631 (s.v. *curm*).

⁵⁶ LL, p. 380.

For another stream of this name see †Pant Ciu.

†Ciuerdiued: [?nr SO3816]

Attestations

aper ciuerdiued	LLch.123	p. 123	c. 1080–c. 1120s
ciuerdiued	LLch.123	p. 123	c. 1080–c. 1120s
ciuerdiued	LLch.123	p. 123	c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

This stream is mentioned in the bounds of **Llandeilo Gresynni**. We learn from the bounds that it has confluences with both the (1) †Caruan and the †Guaeck, though we cannot be sure which are the major streams in each case (the confluence with the (1) †Caruan is referred to as both ‘aper ciuerdiued icaruan’ and ‘aper caruan. iciuerdiued’). The confluence with the (1) †Caruan is apparently not very far from †Castell Mei. Without further evidence, however, identification is impossible.

Elements

?CYFAIR + ?DIWEDD

I am not at all sure how this name should be broken down. If it is a compound of two words the second is most likely *diwedd* ‘end’, and the first might be *cyfair* ‘place, day’s ploughing’, or possibly *cyfar* ‘joint ploughing’, or *cywair* ‘correct’.

†Ciuilchi, Ir: [?SO5203]

Attestations

[i]rciuilchi	LLch.156	p. 156	‘c. 698’–c. 1010
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Location

This place is the starting point in the bounds of **Llandogo**. It is followed immediately by †Lech Oudoucui, which I have not yet identified. Evans’s suggested emendation of the final part of the bounds from ‘aguenfrut usque adtrylec bechan’ to something like ‘atrylec bechan usque adguenfrut’ is probably correct,⁵⁷ and this provides an end-point to the bounds in the White Brook (†Guenfrut). Since these bounds read as a perambulation (and assuming that they encompass **Llandogo** itself), *Ir Ciuilchi* should be south of

⁵⁷ LL, p. 370.

Llandogo and near the bank of the Wye (**Gwy**)—the final part of the boundary back along the Wye (**Gwy**) to the starting point has been omitted as unnecessary to mention. I can, however, find no trace of a feature in this area which might be described by the term **CYFYLCHI**.

Elements

YR + CYFYLCHI

This attestation is cited by GPC as an example of the noun *cyfylchi* ‘round fort’.⁵⁸

Ciuiu: see †**Dou Ciuiu**; †**Ecclesia Sancti Ciuiu**.

Civitas Legionum: see **Caerllion**.

Civitas Leoniana: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

ciuitate Leoniana LL p. 25 1128

Location

This is a reference to the Leonine City in Rome (**Roma**). The attestation is from a description of Rome and its churches.

†**Claud Etern:** [nr SO398149]

Attestations

penn claud etern LLch.123 p. 124 c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

This feature is named in the bounds of **Llandeilo Gresynni**. Its place in the bounds is between a little brook (‘guber bichan’) and †**Fos Cinahi**. Until some of the other points in these bounds have been located, however, identification of this feature will have to wait.

Elements

CLAWDD + personal name

⁵⁸ GPC, i, 725–26.

†**Claud Ismael:** [SO3526]Attestations

penn claud ismael	LLch.160	p. 160	s. xi ¹
penn claud ismael	LLch.160	p. 160	s. xi ¹

Location

This dyke is followed in the bounds of **Llancillo**. Its end (PEN) is located on (ar) †**Nant i Galles**, and the dyke is then followed towards the spring head (*licat finnaun*) of the †**Guualon**. There are various candidates for the identity of both streams, but whichever combination of each is correct, the dyke should pass through the grid square given above.

Elements

CLAWDD + personal name

†**Claud Lyuarch Hen:** [between ?nr SO129290 and ?nr SO157270]Attestations

penn claud lyuarch hen	LLch.146	p. 146	s. xi ¹
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Location

This feature is named in the bounds of **Llan-gors**. Its place in the bounds is between the source (LLYGAD) of †**Finnaun y Doudec Seint** and a point on the right bank of the **Llynfi**. The point at which the dyke reaches the **Llynfi** depends on the location of †**Brynn Eital**—the dyke apparently reaches the **Llynfi** upstream of it. This end of the dyke, then, is probably around SO129290. The identification of the start (*penn*) of the dyke depends on the identification of †**Finnaun y Doudec Seint**, for which there are several possibilities, but, if the bounds are supposed to include the modern site of **Llan-gors** church, those possibilities are reduced to the stream heads at SO157270, SO155265, and SO147262, the first of which would require the smallest length of dyke. It may be noteworthy that it is possible to trace a route quite smoothly between the suggested ends of the dyke along a combination of track and road, a stretch of which corresponds to the modern parish boundary. My identification of the dyke's route appears to agree with that shown in the map in Campbell and Lane's article on the crannog in **Llyn Syfaddan**.¹

¹ 'Llangorse', p. 676.

Elements

CLAWDD + personal name

†**Claud Tros Tref**: [?nr ST5299]Attestationsclaud trostref LLch.218 p. 221 s. xi¹Location

This dyke is named in the bounds of †**Lann Bedeui**. Its place in the bounds is between †**Torr ir Allt** and †**Frut i Guern**. Until more evidence from this area is produced, a closer identification will not be possible.

Elements

§/

CLAWDD + †TRAWS + TREF

The use of the phrase *tros tref* in place-names is evidenced elsewhere in **Trostre**, *Trostre-fawr* (Carmarthenshire: SS5299), *Drostre Bank* (Brecknockshire: SO1031), and *Troustrie* (Fife, nr Crail: NO6107).²

†**Claud Trycan**: [?nr †Ager Cynfall]Attestations

capud claudtrycan LLch.155 p. 156 ‘c. 675’–c. 1010

Location

The bounds in which this feature is mentioned are either for †**Lann Cincirill** and †**Ager Cynfall** together, or for one of them alone. The end (*capud*) of *Claud Trycan* is in a valley (*VALLIS*), apparently between two mountains (*MONS*). The nearest named features on either side in the bounds are †**Cruc Cynfall Scoti** and †**Tal Pon Brinan**, but both appear to be at some remove from the end of *Claud Trycan*. The *fossa* which is followed in the bounds immediately after the reference to ‘capud claudtrycan’ is probably the same feature, but this is not certain.

Elements

CLAWDD + personal name

Cf. †**Cepetic Trican** in the same bounds.

Clauorion: see †**Nant y Clauorion**.

Clawdd Brook: see †**Clougur**.

Cledan: [SO527039] (Eng. *Cleddon*)Attestations

caletan	LLch.156	p. 156	'c. 698'–c. 1010
riuulum Caletan	LL	p. 137	?

Location

From the contexts of these attestations it is clear that these are references to the Cledan, a short brook which enters the Wye (Gwy) near Llandogo. The charter attestation is from the bounds of Llandogo, and the other is from the Life of Euddogwy, from a passage explaining the origin of †Lann Enniaun (an alternative name for Llandogo). The story told in the Life is that King Einion (*Enniaun*) was hunting a stag one day, but the creature took refuge on Euddogwy's cloak where the saint was serving God 'prope flumen Guy supra riuulum Caletan'. The king granted land to the saint and †Lann Enniaun was founded there.

Elements

CALED + -AN

Thomas (followed by GPC) took this name to be made up of the adjective *caled* 'hard, rough' and the river-name (or diminutive) suffix -AN.³

Cleddon: see **Cledan**.

Cleuion: see †**Finnaun i Cleuion**.

Cliduan: see †**Vallis Cliduan**.

Clisti: see †**Cecin Clysty**.

Clitauc, Clodock: see †**Merthir Clitauc**.

†**Clougur:** [SO359092] (?mod. *Clawdd Brook*)

Attestations

Clougur	LLch.121	p. 122	'c. 600'–c. 930
clour	LLch.121	p. 122	'c. 600'–c. 930
clour	LLch.121	p. 122	'c. 600'–c. 930
Clour	Hist. Mon. ⁴	I, 327	1738

² CPNE, p. 89, s.v. *dres*.

³ EANC, pp. 54–55; GPC, I, 392, s.v. *caled*.

⁴ Bradney, *History of Monmouthshire*.

Location

This name occurs in the bounds of **Llan-arth**. Evans offered 'Clawr' as the modern form of the name, but with no further indication of its location.⁵ Thomas made the same identification, but supplied a context from which it is quite clear that he means the stream now called *Clawdd Brook* by the Ordnance Survey (grid reference above).⁶ The bounds are not easy to follow now, but Clawdd Brook is plausible as the southern/eastern boundary of **Llan-arth**. See also †**Clouuric**.

Elements

CLAU + ?GŴR

The name is discussed by Thomas.⁷

Clouman: see †**Telich Clouman**.

Clour: see †**Clougur**.

Cloutac: see **Clydach**.

Clouuan: see †**Telich Clouman**.

†**Clouuric:** [?SO370098]

Attestations

clouuric LLch.121 p. 122 'c. 600'–c. 930

Location

This stream is named as a feature in the same bounds as the †**Clougur** (of which name it is probably a diminutive). Thomas identified it with a stream rising on Clytha Hill (at SO372080) and entering Clawdd Brook (†**Clougur**) at the grid reference given above.⁸ I can see nothing in the bounds which would go against this identification.

Elements

†**Clougur** + -IG

The name is discussed by Thomas.⁹

⁵ LL, pp. 365–66 and 393.

⁶ EANC, pp. 183–84, s.v. †*Clouuric*. The form *Clawdd* goes back at least as far as the 1885 Ordnance Survey 6-inch map of the area.

⁷ Ibid..

⁸ Ibid..

⁹ Ibid..

Clydach: [SN902291]Attestations

cloutac	LLch.154	p. 155	s. xi ²
cloutac	LLch.154	p. 155	s. xi ²

Location

Both attestations are from the bounds of †Lann Guruaet (Llandeilo'r Fan). The identification followed here is that of both Evans and Thomas,¹⁰ made, presumably, on grounds of the similar appearance of the names, but there is really no reason to doubt their conclusion.

Elements

See the full discussion by Thomas.¹¹ The same river name occurs widely throughout South Wales in various orthographies and pronunciations (this instance should properly be spelt *Cleidach* to reflect the local pronunciation).¹² The un-Welsh *-ach* ending and the coincidence of similar-looking Irish river names led Thomas to propose an Irish origin for the Welsh names. On the basis of early genitive forms (*Clóitige*, *Clóitigi*) of the Irish names, Thomas reconstructed an original nominative **Clóitech*, which he connected with the root **kleu-* [*sic*: read **klou-*] 'to wash', also found in the river name *Clyde*.

Clysti, Clysty: see †Cecin Clysty.

Coed Gwent: see †Allt Coit Guent.

Coety: [SS923815] (Eng. *Coity*)

Attestations

Coitif	<i>Cartae Glam.</i> ¹³	I, 134	s. xii–xiii
Coytif	<i>Cartae Glam.</i> ¹⁴	I, 249	s. xii–xiii
Coitiff	<i>Cartae Glam.</i> ¹⁵	II, 236	s. xii–xiii
<i>ecclesia de Coytyf</i>	LL	p. 325	c. 1350
<i>Ecc'ia de Coytyf</i>	LL	p. 330	c. 1350

¹⁰ LL, p. 370; EANC, p. 8.

¹¹ EANC, pp. 8–12.

¹² Evans writes *Cleudach* (LL, p. 370), but his spelling is probably influenced by the Book of Llandaf's *Cloutac*, and the fact that Southern Welsh *eu* is indistinguishable from *ei*.

¹³ GPC, I, 535.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*.

Location

The attestations are from lists of churches in the deanery of **Gorfynydd**, which suits the identification with modern *Coety*.

Elements

COETY

GPC gives the modern place-name as an example of the common noun *coety* ‘forest dwelling; woodstore’ (COED + TŶ), but offers no explanation for the final *-f(f)* of the forms listed. If the derivation is correct the final consonant must be an inorganic growth—as TŶ earlier ended in [g] (which was lenited to [3] before being lost entirely)¹⁶—presumably an attempt to ‘restore’ a supposed original [v] which was no longer being pronounced.¹⁷

Cogan: [ST168705]Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Cogan</i>	LL	p. 324	c. 1350
<i>Ecc'ia de Cogan</i>	LL	p. 330	c. 1350

Location

The attestations are from lists of churches in the deanery of **Llandaf**, and there is no reason to doubt the identification with the place now called *Cogan*. The original focus of the parish, and the place from which the larger settlement at the north end of the parish [ST1772] takes its name is now listed by the Ordnance Survey as *Old Cogan Hall Farm* (grid reference above).¹⁸

Elements

COGAN

The name has been discussed in detail by Pierce, who favours the interpretation of the name as *cogan*, diminutive of CAWG (+ -AN).¹⁹ The name is attested as far back as the twelfth century in the form *Cogan*, and different forms do not appear until the sixteenth century.

Coit: see †Cil Coit.

Coit Guent: see †Allt Coit Guent.

¹⁶ LHEB, pp. 445–46.

¹⁷ GMW, p. 9.

¹⁸ PNDinas P., pp. 32.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 30–35.

Coity: see **Coety**.

Colcuch: see †**Lann Calcuch**.

Colewineston: see **Colwinston**.

Colimet: see †**Pull i Colimet**.

Collenn: see †**Finnaun he Collenn**.

Collou: see †**Tir Collou**.

†**Coluin:** [nr SO363172]

Attestations

licat coluin	LLch.228	p. 229	s. xi ¹
coluin	LLch.228	p. 229	s. xi ¹

Location

This stream name is attested in the bounds of **Llanwytherin**. Its source (LLYGAD) is described as across a ridge (CEGIN) south or east of †**Rit ir Euic**, and it runs down towards the **Troddi**, but the bounds leave it at the point where it meets a grove (LLWYN). From a combination of the testimony of the bounds and the topography of the area, it is apparent that both the †**Atguedauc** and the *Coluin* are streams running west–east from the slopes of the **Ysgryd Fawr**. If the area described by the bounds is to include **Llanwytherin** itself, then the *Coluin* should run to the north of the church (though it could conceivably be the stream which runs immediately to the south [SO371169] if the point where the bounds leave the *Coluin* is before the stream reaches the church). The *Coluin* is most likely to be either the stream which flows into the **Troddi** at SO371175, or modern *Nant y Bwch* [SO365187].

Elements

COLWYN

Charles includes this example amongst a list of streams with this name (*colwyn* ‘whelp, puppy’, also used a personal name).²⁰

²⁰ PNPemb., 1, 185.

Colwinston: [SS939753] (W. Tregolwyn)Attestations

ecclesia de Colewineston̄ LL p. 325 c. 1350

Location

The attestation is from a list of churches in the deanery of **Gorfynydd**, which suits the identification with modern *Colwinston*.

Elements

personal name (gen.) + TŪN

The first element is very probably the English personal name *Colwine*.²¹ *Rhos-y-Gilwen* in Pembrokeshire is another possible example of the same element in a Welsh place-name.²²

Compiègne: [NGR N/A]Attestations

Compendij	LLb.39	p. 59	1131
compendij	LLb.40	p. 61	1131

Location

Both attestations are from the *datum* of their bulls. *Compendium* is attested as the Latin form of this place-name from 557.²³ The Pope is known to have been in Compiègne on the date given for bull 39 (26 May), but he was elsewhere on the date given for bull 40 (7 April)—John Davies suggested that the latter date is a mistake, and that both bulls should bear the 26 May date.²⁴

Congint: see †**Villa Congint**.

Conlipan: see †**Villa Conlipan**.

Conloc: see †**Tir Conloc**.

Conscuit: see †**Castell Conscuit**.

Conuc: see †**Villa Conuc**.

Conuoi, Conuoy: see †**Terra Conuoi**.

Corncam: see †**Cruc Corncam**.

²¹ Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*, p. 142; Charles, *Non-Celtic Place-Names*, p. 142.

²² PNPemb., I, 300.

²³ *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

Cornou: see †Brinn Cornou, Llanfihangel Crucornau.

Cornouaille: [NGR N/A] (also †Cerniu Budic; Bret. *Kernev*)

Attestations

Cornugallia	LL	p. 130	?
regione cornugallia	LL	p. 130	?
cornugalliam	LL	p. 131	?
cornugalliam	LLch.180b	p. 181	'c. 710'
Cornwayle	LLgloss	p. 181	s. xv ^{med}
cornugallie	LLgloss	p. 130	1476x78

Location

The attestations from pages 130 and 131 are from the earlier part of the Life of Euddogwy, which tells of the exile (from *Cornugallia*) of the saint's father in Dyfed, of the saint's birth in *Cornugallia*, and of Saint Teilo's subsequent mission to *Cornugallia*. The author of the Life understands *Cornugallia* to be a region of (or possibly a synonym for) Armorica. The glossator on page 130 equated with *Cornugallie* with *Parva Britannia* (see **Britannia**). Charter 180b locates the archbishopric of Dol in *Cornugallia*, and the accompanying gloss simply repeats this information, though a different fifteenth-century hand has added 'britannia minor'. It is quite evident that these are all forms of modern *Cornouaille*, a region in Brittany.

Cornubia: see Cernyw.

Cornubium: see †Lann Cerniu.

Cornugallia: see Cornouaille.

Cornwall: see Cernyw.

Cornwayle: see Cornouaille.

†Corricou: [?SS861962 & SS875992] (?Afon Corrwg & Afon Corrwg Fechan)

Attestations

corricou	LLch.255	p. 257	'c. 1035'–c. 1050
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Location

The single attestation comes from the bounds of †Lann Tiuau. *Corricou* has

²⁴ Davies, 'The Book of Llandaf', p. 245.

the appearance of a plural form, and the use of the preposition *inter* confirms this. The singular form would probably be **corrwg*, **corryg*, or **corrig* in Modern Welsh orthography, none of which occur as common nouns. We are told that †**Lann Tiuauc** is in **Penychen**, but no further information is given which might help localise the place. Evans suggested the identification followed here,²⁵ which is entirely suitable both as regards the form of the name and as regards the demarcation of territory (*Afon Corrwg Fechan* flows into *Afon Corrwg* and the two rivers form a wedge shape enclosing a block of highland—a stone is even marked on the map in the right kind of position to be the *longum lapidem* of the bounds).

Elements

?CORROG (pl.)

The interpretation of this name depends on whether the stem has a single or double *r*. If the former, it should probably be connected with the element CÔR, or with *corwg* ‘coracle’; if the latter, then it would seem to be an adjectival form of the noun *cor* ‘dwarf’, i.e. CORROG in literary Modern Welsh, but showing here the South-Eastern dialectal reflex of -OG, -wg.

Corrwg: see †**Corricou**.

Cothi: [SN499201]

Attestations

ripam cothi	LL	p. 124	before ‘c. 1025’
ripam cothi	LL	p. 124	before ‘c. 1025’

Location

Both attestations are from a list of properties claimed by Llandaf. The first locates †**Lann Teliâu Nant Seru** on the *Cothi*, and the second locates †**Lann Teliâu Garth Teuir** on the same river (as the properties are adjacent in the list it is reasonable to assume that the reference is to the same river in each case). The two properties have not been securely identified, and the only additional piece of information is that †**Lann Teliâu Nant Seru** is said to be in **Cantref Mawr**. Thomas notes only two rivers bearing this name, one of which is in

²⁵ LL, p. 394.

Cantref Mawr,²⁶ and, as this is a fairly major river, the identification above is highly probable.

Elements

coth- + *-i*

This name is discussed by Thomas.²⁷ The name is based on a stem *coth-* plus the river-name suffix *-i*. The meaning of the stem is uncertain, but Thomas favours a connexion with the stem of the verbs *cothi* 'to throw out' and *ysgothi* 'to scour, excrete', though he also draws attention to Cornish and Middle Breton *coth* 'old'.

Couin: see **Cywyn**.

Coupalua: see **Gabalfa**.

Coychurch: [SS939797] (W. *Llangrallo*)

Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Coyt church</i>	LL	p. 325	c. 1350
<i>Ecc'ia de Coyt church</i>	LL	p. 330	c. 1350

Location

The attestations are from lists of churches in the deanery of **Gorfynydd**, which suits the identification with modern *Coychurch*.

Elements

?COED + CIRICE

The area was once more heavily wooded (hence COED), judging by neighbouring place-names (e.g. **Coety**). I see no reason to doubt that the second element is *cirice*, Modern English *church*.

Coyt Church: see **Coychurch**.

Coytre: see **Goetre**.

Coytyf: see **Coety**.

Crafnant: see **Crawnnon**.

Crafnell: see **Caerfanell**.

²⁶ EANC, pp. 134–35.

²⁷ *Ibid.*.

Crawnnon: [SO144200]Attestations

nant crafnant	LLb.25	p. 42	s. xi ¹
nant crafnant	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s

Location

The attestations are from the two versions of the diocesan bounds. The identification with modern *Crawnnon* was made by Evans, and is at least superficially plausible on grounds of the name's appearance.²⁸ The earlier attestation, from the briefer, mainly Latin boundary, arrives at *Nant Crafnant* after †Hal Du, and follows it to the Usk (Wysg), which it meets on the other side from †Cil Idris. The later attestation differs from this in adding †Hir Cemyn as an extra boundary point after †Hal Du, and, more significantly, in apparently jumping from *Nant Crafnant* to the *Crafnell* (see **Caerfanell**) before reaching the Usk (Wysg). The three most likely solutions are: the earlier version has omitted the reference to the *Crafnell*; or the later version is describing a slightly different boundary; or *Crafnell* is an error for *Crafnant*.²⁹ The fact that the later version does not describe the route to be followed from *Crafnant* to *Crafnell* (which would not be obvious as the two rivers run parallel for most of their length), strengthens the case for an error. The very probable location of †Lech Bichlit on Buckland Hill [SO139212] fixes the meeting point of the diocesan bounds with the Usk (Wysg) at either the mouth of the Crawnnon or the mouth of the **Caerfanell**, more likely the former.

Elements

?CRAF + ?NANT

The second element appears to be NANT, but, if so, the change to *-non* in the current form of the name is odd. In the orthography of the Book of Llandaf *craf* could represent Modern Welsh *craf* 'wild garlic' or *cruff* 'tenacious', but the element's appearance as *Craw-* in the current form of the name is more easily explained by the former. See also the discussion under **Caerfanell**.

Crecion: see †Luch i Crecion.

Cresseny, Cressinic, Cressinych: see Cressynni.

²⁸ LL, p. 367.

Cresynni: [around SO399150]Attestations

Crissinic	LLch.123	p. 123	?
<i>Sancti</i> Teiliaui decressinic	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
Lann Teiliau Cressinych	LLrub.	p. 123	c. 1120s
<i>sancti</i> Teiliaui de crissinic	LLb.12	p. 31	1128
<i>sancti</i> Teliawi crissinic	LLb.25	p. 43	1129
<i>Ecclesia</i> de lantelyo cresseny	LL	p. 284	s. xiii ²

Location

This name occurs as an element in the name **Llandeilo Gresynni**, and also on its own, apparently as a district name, in charter 123 (which grants **Llandeilo Gresynni**). The use as a district name occurs in a reference to Saint Teilo coming to a hill (*MONS*) in the middle of Cresynni ('inmedio Crissinic') next to the **Troddi**. Three *modii* of land around the hill were granted to the saint. It is reasonable to infer that this hill is the one on which **Llandeilo Gresynni** now stands, and, consequently, to further infer that *Cresynni* was the name of an area around this hill. The size of that area, however, remains unknown.

Elements

?personal name + ?-IG

All but the latest of the attestations from the Book of Llandaf show a final consonant, either *c* or *ch*. Final *c* could represent [k], [g], or [χ], and *ch* could represent either [k] or [χ]. Final [k] is unlikely in a native Welsh word, so the possibilities are really [χ], or [g] (but only if the *-ch* of the charter rubricator was an incorrect modernisation of an earlier *-c*). Of these two choices, [χ] seems more likely to be lost, as happened, but [g] has the advantage that it would provide the place-name with a suffix -IG which is attested as productive of at least one district name (*Penweddig*).²⁹ In his discussion of the stream name *Crysan*, Thomas suggested the possibility of a personal name *Cresan*.³¹ If such a name did exist, it could lie behind this district name.

Richards appears to interpret the name as *Croesyryn*, but the Book of Llandaf

²⁹ This last was the solution offered by Evans (LL, p. 368, n. 8).

³⁰ EANC, p. 180.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

forms would not support such an interpretation.³²

Crican: see †**Circhan**.

Crick: [ST488902]

Attestations

kric

LL

p. 291 s. xiii²

Location

The attestation is from a note of a gift of land to the church of Llandaf. The reference is to some territory adjoining the road between Chepstow (†**Strugull**) and *Kric*. The lands granted are in the vicinity of **Runston**. Given that the main highway west from Chepstow passes through Crick, and given the proximity of Crick to **Runston**, I do not understand Evans's apparent doubt over the identification ('?Crick, Mon.').³³

Elements

?CRUG

Crinow: see †**Lann Teliau Tref i Cerniu**.

Crintorth: see †**Tref Crintorth**.

Crisinic, Crissinic: see **Cresynni**.

Crita: see †**Petra Crita**.

Crofft Hîr Brook: see †**Distin**.

†**Crois Guerion:** [SN925349]

Attestations

crois guerion

LLch.154

p. 155 s. xi²

Location

This cross is attested as a point in the bounds of Llandeilo'r Fan (†**Lann Guruaet**). It is mentioned between †**Cruc Hisbernn** and †**Guoun Teir Fin**, or, more generally, between **Nant-yr-hen** and †**Nant Cenou** which take the bounds up to and down from the high ground to the east of the **Cilieni**. A cairn is shown in the relevant area, and it is possible that this is the location of the cross.

³² WATU, p. 106.

Elements

CROES + ?personal name

GPC cites this place-name as an example of the noun *croes* 'cross [monument]'.³⁴ The second element could instead be the plural of *gŵyr* 'error, wandering, twist', or an unattested plural form of *gwyry* 'virgin'. If the second element were a common noun, however, we might expect it to be accompanied by the definite article.

Cronnguern, Cronwern: see †Lann Cronnguern.

†Cruc Bracd: [nr SO3015]

Attestations

cruc bracd LLch.122 p. 123 s. xi¹

Location

This feature is attested as a point in the bounds of **Llandeilo Bertholau**, between (1) †Lech Luit and †Guern i Drution. The area where this feature lay—between the **Gefenni** (downstream of **Llandeilo Bertholau** if the bounds are to include their focus) and the **Cibi**—is now urban, and the features used as boundary points are probably now lost.

Elements

CRUG + ?

†Cruc Corncam: [?nr SN592258]

Attestations

cruc corn cam LLch.77 p. 78 c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

This feature is attested as a point in the bounds of **Llandeilo Fawr**, between †Cruc Cust and the source (BLAEN) of the †Isceuiauc (from which the grid reference above is taken). †Cruc Cust and *Cruc Corncam* carry the boundary between †Nant ir Eilin and the †Isceuiauc, so their identification is dependent on the identification of those two streams.

Elements

CRUG + CORNGAM

³¹ LL, p. 394.

³⁴ GPC, 1, 604.

The qualifying element is most likely *corngam* (CORN + CAM) ‘crooked-horned’, though it is not included among the examples of that adjective quoted by GPC.³⁵ Probably the CORN element of *corngam* has its sense of ‘cairn’ rather than ‘horn’.

Cruc Cornou: see **Llanfihangel Crucornau**.

†Cruc Cust: [?nr SN592258]

Attestations

chruc cust	LLch.77	p. 78	c. 1080–c. 1120s
cruc cust	LLch.77	p. 78	c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

This feature is attested as a point in the bounds of **Llandeilo Fawr**, between **†Nant ir Eilin** and **†Cruc Corncam**. *Cruc Cust* and **†Cruc Corncam** carry the boundary between **†Nant ir Eilin** and the **†Isceuiauc**, so their identification is dependent on the identification of those two streams. The grid reference above is for the source of the **†Isceuiauc**, near which is **†Cruc Corncam**.

Elements

CRUG + ?*CUST

The initial *ch-* of the first attestation could be to show nasalisation after the preposition *in*. The element **cust*, which would mean ‘hidden’, is attested only as the root of the adjective *digust* ‘clear, open, unobscured’.³⁶

†Cruc Cynfall Scoti: [?nr †Ager Cynfall]

Attestations

cruc cynfall scoti	LLch.155	p. 155	‘c. 675’–c. 1010
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Location

The bounds in which this feature is mentioned are either for **†Lann Cincirill** and **†Ager Cynfall** together, or for one of them alone. *Cruc Cynfall Scoti* is on a wooded hill or mountain (*cliuium* and *montem* probably refer to the same feature, or to different parts of the same) near the Ely (Elái). The head of **†Claud Trycan** lies in a valley below this hill or mountain.

³⁵ Ibid., 563.

³⁶ Ibid., 1002.

Elements

CRUG + personal name + ?*SCOTUS* (gen.)

It is tempting to link the *Cynfall* of †**Ager Cynfall** with the *Cynfall* of this name. The final element appears to be Latin *Scotus* 'Irishman', genitive in apposition to the personal name.

(1) †Cruc Glas: [nr the Nofydd]Attestations

[i]r cruc glas LLch.257 p. 258 'c. 1033'

Location

This feature is attested as a point in the bounds of †**Riu Brein**. *Cruc Glas* lies between †**Pull Otin Cincenn** and †**Guoun Guenn**, neither of which I can identify, but a more general location is provided by the **Nofydd**, which borders the territory on one side.

Elements

CRUG + GLAS

(2) †Cruc Glas: [?nr ST0977]Attestations

crucglas LLch.249a p. 249 'c. 1040'

Location

This feature is attested as a point in the brief, probably dimensional, bounds of †**Villa Elcu**. Until the focus of the grant is located it is not possible to make an suggestion as to the identity of this *Cruc Glas*.

Elements

CRUG + GLAS

†Cruc Guernen: [?in or near Gŵyr]Attestations

Cruch guernen	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
crucguernen	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Cruc guernen	LLb.25	p. 44	1129

Location

The attestations for this place are from simple lists of Llandaf properties, so little information can be gleaned as to its location. The context of *Cruc Guernen* in these lists, however, is the same as that of †**Cilciuhinn**, so I would

venture to suggest a Gower (**Gŵyr**) location.

Elements

CRUG + GWERN (sg.)

Cruch Guernen: see †**Cruc Guernen**.

†**Cruc Hisbernn:** [nr SN919349]

Attestations

cruc hisbernn	LLch.154	p. 155	s. xi ²
cruc hisbernn	LLch.154	p. 155	s. xi ²

Location

This feature is attested as a point in the bounds of Llandeilo'r Fan (†**Lann Guruaet**). It is mentioned between **Nant-yr-hen** and †**Crois Guerion**. It is not specified that the bounds should be followed right to the source of **Nant-yr-hen**. It appears, rather, that the CRUG is close to the stream, and near its head (as the bounds proceed along the ridge of the mountain—'cecin iminid').

Elements

CRUG + *YSBERN

Padel cites the second element of this place-name as a cognate of Cornish *spern* 'thorns, thorn-trees'.³⁷ The *hi* of the second element is interpreted here as the parasitic schwa which grew up in front of initial clusters of [s] + stop, but it could, alternatively, be taken to be the article. The schwa interpretation is more likely, however, in view of the late date of the attestations.³⁸

Crucis: see †**Ecclesia Sancte Crucis**.

Cruc Leuyrn: see †**Finnaun Cruc Leuyrn**.

Cruc Marc: see †**Mainaur Cruc Marc**.

Crucou Leuguirn, Crucou Leuirn: see †**Villa Crucou Leuirn**.

Crucou Morcan, Crucou Morcant: see †**Villa Crucou Morcan**.

³⁷ CPNE, p. 210.

³⁸ Jackson (LHEB, pp. 527–28) argues that this phenomenon was in existence at least as early as the ninth century.

†**Cruc Petill Bechan**: [SN5827]Attestations

cruc petill bechan LLch.77 p. 78 c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

This feature is attested a point in the bounds of **Llandeilo Fawr**, where it is mentioned between †**Cecin Meirch** and the †**Hebaucmein**. *Cruc Petill Bechan* and the †**Hebaucmein** serve to conduct the boundary down from †**Cecin Meirch** to †**Dugleis Bisgueiliauc**. The boundary could run straight down from the southern end of †**Cecin Meirch** or could turn off down the western slope at any point along the southern half of the ridge (the ridge is followed for at least some of its length from the northern end). As there is no mention of the stream which flows into †**Dugleis Bisgueiliauc** at SN578268, it is reasonable to assume that the boundary reaches †**Dugleis Bisgueiliauc** without crossing that stream, and consequently *Cruc Petill Bechan* is most likely to be somewhere in the grid square suggested above. This does not contradict Thomas's suggestion that *Cruc Petill Bechan* was near to Capel Isaac [SN582269].³⁹

Elements

CRUG + ?PADELL (pl.) + ?personal name

The second element can only really be related to *padell* 'pan, bowl, cauldron', of which *pedyll* is a plural form. *Bechan* looks like the feminine (singular) form of BYCHAN, but this will not do if the second element is plural, but Thomas suggested that *bechan* here might be a personal name, which is the simplest solution.⁴⁰ *Padell* is feminine, however, so if *petill* could be taken as a singular somehow (either a variant, or perhaps a fossilised genitive form), then *bechan* could be interpreted as an adjective agreeing with it.

†**Cruc Ri**: ['opposite' ?ST157850]Attestations

cruc ri LLch.255 p. 257 'c. 1035'–c. 1050

Location

This place is mentioned in the bounds of †**Penn i Prisc**. It is not itself a point

³⁹ EANC, p. 40, s.v. *Aberbechan*.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*.

in the bounds, but is mentioned in reference to an unnamed location: the reader is instructed by the bounds to proceed upwards from **Garn Lwyd** to a point opposite *Cruc Ri*, and from that point to an unnamed CAER. If my identification of **Garn Lwyd** is correct, and if the CAER of the bounds can be equated with Castell Morgraig [ST160844], then the location of the point opposite *Cruc Ri* is most likely to be the summit at ST157850. However, this is not in itself enough to establish the location of *Cruc Ri*, since the phrase *penn arciueir* ‘point opposite’ does not convey information about direction or distance, though it can be concluded, at least, that *Cruc Ri* should be visible from the specified point.

Elements

CRUG + RHI

Crunwear: see †Lann Cronnguern.

Crynwedd: see †Lann Teliau Tref i Cerniu.

Cubi: see Cibi.

Culalan: see †Culalann.

†Culalann: [?in or near Gŵyr]

Attestations

Cula lann	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
culalan	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Culalann	LLb.25	p. 44	1129

Location

The attestations for this place are from simple lists of Llandaf properties, so little information can be gleaned as to its location. Evans suggested a connection with ‘?Croes Gwla, S. of Lampha, Glam’, but, if this place is really called *Croes Gwta* (the form used by the Ordnance Survey— SS918745), there is no basis for his suggestion.⁴¹ The context of *Culalann* in these lists is the same as that of †Cilciuhinn, so, in the absence of additional evidence, I would suggest a Gower (Gŵyr) location.

⁴¹ LL, p. 394.

Elements

I am not at all sure of the meaning of this name. It could contain LLAN or GLAN as a second element. The *u* of the name could represent [ü] or [u]. If the former, then *cul* ‘narrow’ seems the only possibility. If the latter, then *cwl* ‘fault, sin’ or *cwll* ‘belly’ are possibilities, but we would expect [u] to become [ə] in this position in a compound. However *cwll* does have a derivative, *cylla* ‘stomach, maw’, which would explain the first *a*.

Calcudyn: see **Cilgedin, Llanfair Cilgedin.**

†Cum Barruc: [?north end of †Istrat Dour] (also †Lann Calcuch)

Attestations

Cumbarruc	LLch.76a	p. 76	‘c. 575’–c. 930
agri cum barruc	LLch.73b	p. 73	‘c. 595’
agri Cumbarruc	LLch.163a	p. 163	‘c. 595’
Cumbarruc	LLch.192	p. 192	‘c. 745’?
CVM BARRVC	LLrub.	p. 73	c. 1120s
CVM BARRVC	LLrub.	p. 163	c. 1120s
Cvm Barruc	LLrub.	p. 192	c. 1120s

Location

For the equation of *Cum Barruc* with †Lann Calcuch see under that name. This territory is granted in charters 73b/163a and 192, and these references do not add anything to what we already know of this place’s location from †Lann Calcuch: it is mentioned in a Gwent/Ergyng context. Bounds are given for the property in charter 73b, but the only named place in them is the unidentified †Petra Crita. More can be gleaned from charter 76a, however, where *Cum Barruc* is mentioned in the bounds of †Tir Conloc. These bounds are of a very simple, dimensional type, and define their territory as stretching from the Wye (Gwy) below †Inis Ebrdil as far as *Cum Barruc* in †Istrat Dour. We are told, then, that *Cum Barruc* is in the Dore Valley (†Istrat Dour), but we do not know on which side of that valley its territory lay. If *Cum Barruc* was on the western side of the Dore, then we can also be fairly sure that it was at the northern end of that valley, since the Wye (Gwy) and the Dore deviate from each other in a way that would preclude even a territory of the size of †Tir Conloc extending from the Wye (Gwy) to a point on the Dore

below Peterchurch [SO344385]. If, however, *Cum Barruc* extended from the eastern bank of the **Dore**, then it could be located further south, but still, probably, no further south than the valley of Ponty Pinna Farm [SO369353]. These arguments are based on the specified sizes of †**Tir Conloc** and *Cum Barruc* (four and three unciae respectively),⁴² on the assumption that an uncia was equal to roughly two hundred hectares,⁴³ and on the assumption that the length to width ratio of large territories such as these would not exceed 3:1.

Elements

CWM + ?*BARROG

The second element is probably derived from either *bâr* 'fury, trouble' or BAR (the double *r* making the latter the more likely). It could be the name of a stream running through the CWM, or a word somehow descriptive of the CWM, or the name of a person connected with the CWM. *Barrwg* is attested as a personal name, but the word could equally well be an adjectival form of BAR, i.e. BARROG (which is attested, with the meaning 'spur', but would more naturally mean 'hilly') showing the South-Eastern reflex of the adjectival termination -OG. A noun *barrug* 'hoar-frost, rime' is also a possibility.

†**Cum Cerruc**: [?ST4698] (?mod **Cilgwrrwg**)

Attestations

Cumcerruc	LLch.179c	p. 179	'c. 722'
CŴM CERRVC	LLrub.	p. 179	c. 1120s

Location

Cum Cerruc is the name of a valley, three *unciae* of which are granted in charter 179c. Either the whole valley, or, more likely, the land granted, is named 'uillam quę fuit guroc'—either 'the *VILLA* which was *Guroc*'s' or 'the *VILLA* which was *Guroc*'. No topographical information is supplied in the charter, but the associations of its witnesses are strongly with **Gwent** and **Ergyng**. The location of the CWM depends on the assumption of a relationship between the elements *Cerruc*, *Guroc*, and the *gwrrwg* of **Cilgwrrwg**. Evans and Davies (albeit tentatively) both identified *Cum Cerruc* with **Cilgwrrwg**,⁴⁴

⁴² LL, pp. 73, 76, 163, and 192.

⁴³ Davies, *Early Welsh Microcosm*, p. 33.

⁴⁴ LL, p. 391, s.v. *Kil Gorrock*; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 110.

but the justification is really rather tenuous.

Elements

CWM + ?CYRROG

The interpretation of the second element depends partly on whether or not it is the same as the *Guroc* of the phrase ‘uillam que fuit guroc’. The initial *c* of *cerruc* contrasted with the *g* of *guroc*, can be explained in various ways:

- *guroc* is the correct radical form, and *cerruc* is a mistake;
- both are correct—the elements are not related;
- *cerruc* is the correct radical form, and *guroc* is the result of lenition (misunderstood by a redactor of the charter to be the radical form).

If the first solution is accepted then we should probably take the second element to be a personal name. If, however, the second or third solution is deemed more plausible, then the second element might still be a personal name, or it could be CYRROG (with the common *-wg* for *-OG* of South Eastern Welsh). The meaning ‘forked CWM’ would suit the topography of the several adjoining small valleys which accommodate the headwaters of Pill brook and its tributaries in the vicinity of **Cilgwrrwg**. See also **Cilgwrrwg**.

†Cum Cetguinn: [?SO488115]

Attestations

licat cúm cetguinn LLch.201 p. 202 s. xi¹

Location

This place is attested as a point in the bounds of **Wonastow**. Assuming that the area described by the bounds includes the church itself, the bounds are relatively easy to follow. *Cum Cetguinn* runs down towards a road which the bounds cross before reaching †Nant i Meneich. †Nant i Meneich can be quite confidently identified, and, consequently, the road mentioned can only really be the Wonastow Road [SO4911]. There appears to be only one feature in the high ground to the north west of the Wonastow Road which could be described as a CWM—the small valley at the grid reference above.

Elements

CWM + ?personal name

With the second element, compare †Lann Cetguinn.

Cum Cinreith: see †Nant Cum Cinreith.

Cum Kydy: see **Cwm Cidi**.

†**Cum Mouric:** [?SO529318] (mod. ?*Little Dewchurch*)

Attestations

ecclesiam Cum mouric	LLch.170	p. 170	'c. 850'
CŴM MOVRIC	LLrub.	p. 170	c. 1120s
Cum mouruc	LL	p. 275	c. 1120s
cúm mouruc	LL	p. 277	c. 1120s
Cum meuric	LLgloss	p. 170	s. xv ^{med}

Location

This place is granted in charter 170, and is mentioned again (twice) in the list of **Ergyng** churches consecrated by Bishop Herewald (pages 275 and 277). The charter rubric also locates *Cwm Mouric* in **Ergyng**, and really this is all that can safely be said. Finberg identified this place with 'Morraston in Little Dewchurch' (grid reference above), though I do not know on what grounds, and he was followed by Davies and Coplestone-Crow.⁴⁵ Coplestone-Crow supplies two early forms for *Morraston*, which could be interpreted as indicating that the original English form of the place-name was something like **Mourigstun* (i.e. the personal name present in *Cum Mouric* (with change of [g] to [ʒ]) + TŪN): *Maryheston* (1409) and *Morghaston* (1534).⁴⁶

Elements

CWM + personal name

†**Cum Onnuiu:** [nr SN5702]

Attestations

cum Onnuiu	LLch.140	p. 140	s. xi ¹
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Location

This place-name is attested as a point in the bounds of **Llandeilo Talybont**. It stands in the bounds between †**Lannerch Onnuiu** and †**Guyth Lunguyd**, which I have not been able to identify with confidence. More generally the location of *Cum Onnuiu* is between the mouth (ABER) of the **Morlais** and some point on the **Gwili** (†**Camguili**).

⁴⁵ *The Early Charters*, p. 138; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 107; *Herefordshire Place-Names*, p. 64.
⁴⁶ *Herefordshire Place-Names*, p. 64.

Elements

CWM + ?personal name

†**Cumulus Frut Mur**: [?nr SO356095]Attestations

cumulum frut mur	LLch.121	p. 122	'c. 600'–c. 930
cumulo frut mur	LLch.121	p. 122	'c. 600'–c. 930

Location

This feature is named as a point in the bounds of **Llan-arth**, in which it is located on or near a main road (*via magna*) coming from the †**Clougur** (probably the Clawdd Brook). It seems safe to assume that the *Frut Mur* of this name is the †**Frut Mur** of the rubric to charter 180a, given the association of both with **Llan-arth**. We should expect *Cumulus Frut Mur* to be located at some point on the Ffrwd Brook (the probable identity of †**Frut Mur**). The most likely road to carry the bounds from the Clawdd Brook to the Ffrwd Brook is the one which crosses those streams at SO360093 and SO356095 respectively, and if this is so, then *Cumulus Frut Mur* should be near the latter crossing point.

ElementsCUMULUS + †**Frut Mur**†**Cumulus Glas**: [?nr the Gamber]Attestations

cumulum glas	LLch.174a	p. 174	'c. 855'–c. 930
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Location

This place is mentioned in the bounds of charter 174a. The territory granted in this charter is not named but it is described as being on the *Amhyr* (probably the **Gamber**). I am also unable to locate the other places named in the bounds (†**Vadum Pallan** and †**Silva Mam Ilet**) more precisely.

Elements

CUMULUS + GLAS

†**Cumulus ir Iuenn**: [nr ST5294]Attestations

cumulum iriuenn	LLch.165	p. 166	c. 990–c. 1050
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Location

This place is mentioned as a point in the bounds of the MAENOR of †Tnou Mur (north Chepstow). The immediately preceding point is †[...]tauc, and after *Cumulus ir Iuenn* the bounds go on to travel through a wood and along a dyke (CLAWDD) to a point on the Wye (Gwy). Since the bounds travel clockwise, with the Wye (Gwy) as their eastern limit, this place should be on the northern edge of the territory described.

Elements

CUMULUS + YR + YWEN

Curum: see †Riu i Curum.

Cust: see †Cruc Cust.

Cwm Brook: see Greidol.

Cwmcарfan: [SO477075] (Eng. *Cwmcарvan*)

Attestations

ecclesia de Cumcaruan LL p. 321 c. 1350

Location

This place is mentioned in a list of churches in the deanery of Usk. No additional topographical information is supplied, but there is no reason to doubt the obvious identification with *Cwmcарfan*, which is in the right area.

Elements

CWM + *Carfan*

For the river name *Carfan*, see the discussion under **Llancarfan**.

Cwmcарvan: see **Cwmcарfan**.

Cwm Cidi: [ST0967]

Attestations

Cymmyoucyti ~~†EBS†~~ p. 83† c. 1200

Cwmkedi VN p. 316 1254

ecclesia de Cumkydy LL p. 323 c. 1350

VSBq

Location

This place is mentioned in a list of churches in the deanery of **Llandaf**, and no

additional topographical information is supplied. Evans, Thomas, and Pierce all agree on the identification made above, and I see no reason to doubt it.⁴⁸

Elements

CWM + ?personal name⁴⁹

Cydweli: [NGR N/A] (Eng. *Kidwelly*)

Attestations

Cetgueli	LL	p. 135	?
cetgueli	LL	p. 279	c. 1120s
Cetgueli	LLb.11	p. 52	1128
cetgueli	LLb.13	p. 35	1128
cetgueli	LLb.15	p. 36	1128
Cedgueli	LLb.21	p. 41	1129
Chedueli	LLb.22	p. 46	1129
Cetgueli	LLb.23	p. 47	1129
Cetgueli	LLb.24	p. 47	1129
Chedueli	LLb.25	p. 42	1129
Chedueli	LLb.29i	p. 55	1130
Chedueli	LLb.29ii	p. 286	1130
chedueli	LLb.38i	p. 58	1131
Cetgueli	LLb.38ii	p. 63	1131
cædweli	LL	p. 247	before s. xiii ¹
ketweli	LLgloss	p. 135	1476x78

Location

Cydweli was the name of one of the commotes in the cantref of Eginog, and also the name of a settlement in that commote [SN408070].⁵⁰ All the attestations apart from that on page 135 are from lists of larger territories such as Gower (*Gŵyr*) and **Cantref Bychan**, so in these cases it is clearly the commote to which reference is being made. The first attestation is in a description of one of Saint Euddogwy's miracles which took place at (1) **Pen-allt** in *Cydweli*. If my identification of (1) **Pen-allt** is correct, then it is a place

⁴⁸ LL, p. 323; EANC, p. 137; PNDinas P., pp. 201–02, s.v. *Cwm Cidy*.

⁴⁹ Ibid..

⁵⁰ WATU, pp. 38 (s.v. *Cedweli*) and 256.

very close to the actual settlement of *Cydweli*, so in this case the reference could be to either the commote or to the settlement.

Elements

personal name + -I⁹¹

Cyffig: see †Lann Ceffic.

Cygleis: see Cynlais.

Cymlyr: see †Carn Cymlyr.

Cymru: [NGR N/A] (Eng. Wales; also **Britannia**)

Attestations

cymry	LL	p. 120	1081–1128
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Location

This reference (to the princes of Wales: ‘tousysocion cymry’) is from the first part of the Welsh version of the Privilege of Teilo. It is translated by **Britannia** in the Latin version of the same document.

Cynfall: see †Ager Cynfall.

Cynfall Scoti: see †Cruc Cynfall Scoti.

Cynffig: [SS802810] (Eng. *Kenfig*)

Attestations

<i>ecclesia</i> de Kenefeg	LL	p. 320	<i>c.</i> 1350
<i>ecclesia</i> de Kenefeg	LL	p. 326	<i>c.</i> 1350
Kenefeg	LL	p. 331	<i>c.</i> 1350
Ecc’ia de Kenefeg	LL	p. 331	<i>c.</i> 1350
<i>Vicaria</i> de Kenefeg	LL	p. 331	<i>c.</i> 1350

Location

The first two attestations are from lists of churches owing tithes in the deanery of **Gorfynydd**. The remaining three are from a similar list, this time headed *Kenefeg*, and apparently constituting a subset of the **Gorfynydd** list which precedes it. It is quite clear from the context of these lists that *Kenefeg* is modern Kenfig, and the name of a district around the town.

⁹¹ EANC, p. 127.

Elements

personal name

It seems that the settlement took its name from the river of the same name [SS779833], which, in turn, was originally a personal name.⁵²

Cynfran: see †**Cinbran**.

Cyngualan: see †**Lann Cingualan**.

Cynir: see †**Tir Cynir**.

Cynlais: [SN785094]

Attestations

cingleis	LLb.25	p. 42	s. xi ¹
cingleis	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s
Cingleis	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s
blayn cygleis	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s

Location

The attestations are from the two versions of the diocesan bounds. We are told that this stream joins the **Tawe** upstream of the confluence of the **Twrch** with the **Tawe**, and, as the next identifiable point in the bounds is the **Pyrddin**, we can also be confident that the stream in question flows west–east. In fact, there is no difficulty in identifying this stream with the one from which **Ystradgynlais** [SN7910] takes its name, marked (incorrectly?) on the Ordnance Survey 1:25 000 map as *Nant Gyrlais* and *Nant Cyrlais*.

Elements

CYN- + GLAIS

The prefix *cyn-* is translated by GPC as ‘former, past, sometime, ex-, pre-; early, primitive, first’, but perhaps the sense should be extended to ‘foremost, important’ in this stream name.

Cynlyuan: see †**Dinas Cynlyuan**.

Cynuc: see †**Lann Guern Cinuc**.

Cyrintord: see †**Tref Crintorth**.

⁵² EANC, pp. 185–86. The personal name is attested in LL as the name of a saint (p. 274), and the name of a lay witness (pp. 189 and 208).

Cyrnog: see †Nant Dincat.

Cyst: see †Yscuit Cyst.

Cyuiu: see †Ecclesia Sancti Ciuiu, †Villa Cyuiu.

Cyuyu: see †Villa Cyuiu.

Cywyn: [SN308129]

Attestations

fluuium Couin LL p. 115 ?

Location

No topographical context accompanies this reference from a list of miracles in the Life of Teilo, but there is no reason to doubt the identification with the river which bears the name today, and the argument is strengthened by the presence of a church dedicated to Teilo (**Llandeilo Abercywyn**) at the mouth of the river.

Elements

?COWYN

The name looks very much like the noun *cowyn* 'plague', though it is hard to see how a river should come to have such a name. The river name is used as an element in **Llandeilo Abercywyn**.

D

Daugleddau: [NGR N/A]Attestations

doucledif	LLch.127b	p. 127	before 'c. 1025'
dou cledif	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
findou cledif	LL	p. 255	before 'c. 1025'

Location

This is the name of one of the cantrefs of **Dyfed**, which corresponds to the later hundred of *Dungleddy*.¹ The first attestation sets the scene of charter 127b's long Narration, and as the Narration is 'a long agglomeration of traditions about places in [South-]West Wales',² the identification with the **Dyfed** cantref is secure. The remaining two attestations are from closely related lists of Teilo properties. Both occur with reference to †**Lann Teliau Litgarth**, the former locating that church simply in *Doucledif*, but the latter locating it more specifically on the border ('fin') of *Doucledif* and (1) **Cemais** (the name of the cantref immediately to the north of Daugleddau).

Elements

DAU + CLEDDYF

This name has been discussed by Charles.³ The cantref is named after the two rivers *Cledy* (or *Cleddau*), which run along its eastern and western borders and form its southern border, meeting at SN003116. The attestations from the Book of Llandaf show the noun meaning 'sword' in its most common form, *cleddyf*, but the modern name uses the variant form *cleddau*.

Dauid: see St David's.

Ddawan: [ST029658] (Eng. *Thaw*)Attestations

Nadauan	LLch.147	p. 148	'c. 665'
nadauan	LLch.147	p. 148	'c. 665'

¹ WATU, pp. 56 and 260.

² Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 97.

³ *I*, 395 (and I, 6).

nadauan	LLch.147	p. 148	'c. 665'–c. 930
nadauan	LLch.147	p. 148	'c. 665'–c. 1010
nauldauan	LLch.148	p. 149	'c. 688'–c. 1010
nadauan	LLch.204b	p. 204	'?c. 715'
nadauan	LLch.260	p. 261	'c. 1040'–c. 1050
nadauan	LLrub.	p. 260	c. 1120s
Nadauan flumen	‘CBS’	p. 45	c. 1200
fluvium Nadauan	‘CBS’	p. 53	c. 1200
fluminis Nadauan	‘CBS’	p. 90	c. 1200

Location

Charter 147 grants four properties around this stream:

- †**Riu Graenauc** (whose bounds mention the *Nadauan*);
- †**Nant Auan** (whose name is derived from the name *Nadauan*);
- the area where King Meurig killed *Cynuetu*, beyond (*ultra*) *Nadauan*;
- †**Villa Gurberdh**, across (*trans*) *Nadauan*.

The only feature in charter 147 which provides external evidence for the location of the stream is †**Nany Auan**. Charter 148 grants †**Villa Guilbiu**, whose bounds refer both to the *Nadauan* and the *VILLA* where King Meurig killed *Cynuetu*, but there is no external evidence for the location of this place. Charter 204b grants †**Villa Proclivii** which is described as being next to (*iuxta*) the *Nadauan*, but again there is no external evidence for the place's location. The bounds of charter 260 (†**Villa Fratrus**) refer to the *Epyrthun* (the stream of **Aberthin**), which identifies this instance of the name *Nadauan*, at least, as the stream now called *Ddawan* (Eng. *Thaw*).

The *Thaw* is referred to as the *Nadauan* in the Life of Cadog ('CBS' in the list of attestations above). The name is sufficiently distinctive that it seems probable that all attestations refer to the same stream, so the identification of all of them with the *Thaw* is reasonable.⁷

§ / ~~Rees, Lives.~~
~~Ibid.~~
~~Ibid.~~

⁷ LL, p. 414 (he indexes instances of †**Nant Auan** together with *Nadauan* here); EANC, p. 64; Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, pp. 99, 116–17, and 127.

Elements

? + -AN

This name is discussed by Thomas, who was unable to suggest an etymology for the name (other than, by implication, that it showed the -AN suffix), but he thought that it looked Irish.⁸ The development of the name from *Nadauan* to *Ddawan* is a result of the loss of the unaccented first syllable, and the development, in English, of *Ddawan* to *Thaw* shows the same loss of final [əɳ] as happened in **Penally** (> *Penalun*) and **Rhosili** (< *Rosulgen*).⁹

Deborah's Hole: see †Meinporth.

Demeticę, Demeticam: see Dyfed.

Dene: see Forest of Dean.

Derguist: see †Finnaun Derguist.

†**Deri Emreis:** [?nr SN9813]

Attestations

deri emreis	LLb.25	p. 42	s. xi ¹
deri emreis	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s
deri emreis	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s

Location

This feature occurs as a point in both versions of the diocesan bounds. Its place in the bounds is immediately between †**Gauanhauc** and †**Cecin Clysty**, neither of which is certainly identified. Evans suggested a connexion between this place-name and *Nant y Deri* [SN959075], but this, together with his identifications of the surrounding place-names, is based on his identification of the *Hepstur*. If the *Hepstur* can be identified with the **Hepste**, and if we assume that the modern county boundary is similar to the mediaeval boundary unless there is sound evidence to the contrary, then *Deri Emreis* should be somewhere in the area of the grid reference above. The nearest trees shown on the modern map are those along the banks of the **Taf Fawr**, but the area might

⁸ EANC, pp. 64–65.

⁹ EANC, p. 64.

well have sustained mixed deciduous woodland before the thirteenth century.¹⁰

Elements

DÂR (pl.) + personal name

This place name is cited by GPC as an example of *dâr* ‘oak tree’.¹¹

Deueit: see †Rit Deueit, †Ryt i Deueit.

Deui: see †Pistill Deui, St David’s, †Villa Deui.

Deustowe: see Dewstow.

Deuui, Deuvi: see St David’s.

Devauden: [ST483991]

Attestations

[de]vaudeñ LL p. 282 s. xv²

Location

This attestation comes from the entry for **Cilgwrrwg** in a list of dues owed to the archdeaconry. The first part of this place-name is missing (as is most of *Kilgorrock*) due to a hole in the folio, but Evans’s reconstruction is reasonable given that there cannot be many place-names (particularly not in the area of the deanery of Usk, as this one is stated to be) containing the combination *vauden*. Devauden is about two kilometres north-east of **Cilgwrrwg**.

Elements

?river name + ?DENU

The name could show the suffix *-den*, common in English place-names, and derived from several different Old English elements: *denu* ‘valley’, *denn* ‘pasture’, *dūn* ‘hill’, and even *tūn* ‘settlement’.¹² None of these elements could be rejected on the grounds of the local topography, but the meaning ‘valley’ would allow the first element to be interpreted as a river name. The *-au-* of the name could represent the suffix *-o*, attested in several river (and other place-) names.¹³ A river name *Deifo* occurs (the stem of which is uncertain), but there are also rivers with the stem *Dyf-*, connected by Thomas with Welsh DU (Old

¹⁰ Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 11.

¹¹ GPC, I, 890. Padel agrees: CPNE, p. 80.

¹² Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape*, p. 97.

¹³ EANC, pp. 215–24.

Welsh *dub*).¹⁴

Devi: see **St David's**.

Devonshire: [NGR N/A] (W. *Dyfnaint*)

Attestations

regione devunsira LL p. 1 1120s

Location

The one attestation of this place-name comes from the beginning of the *Life of Elgar*. The hermit is described as being English ('aggligena natione'), and there is no reason to doubt the obvious identification of *Devunsira* with modern *Devonshire*.

Devunsira: see **Devonshire**.

Devi: see **St David's**.

Dewchurch: see †**Lann Deui**, †**Lann Deui Ros Cerion**.

Dewi: see **St David's**.

Dewstow: [ST467889] (W. *Llanddewi*)

Attestations

ecclesia de Deustowe LL p. 322 c. 1350

Location

The single attestation comes from a list of churches in the deanery of †**Nether Went**. This church's place in the list is between **Caldicot** and **Caerwent**, which suits its identification with modern Dewstow.

Elements

personal name + STŌW

This name, which is a calque on *Llanddewi*, was probably also the mediaeval English name for **St David's**.¹⁵

†**Dibleis:** [nr ST2682]

Attestations

dibleis LLch.190b p. 191 s. xi¹

¹⁴ EANC, pp. 63–64 (s.v. *Dyfan*) and 139–40 (s.v. *Dyfi*).

¹⁵ PNPemb., I, 284–85.

Location

This feature is mentioned as a point in the bounds of **Marshfield**. Its place in the bounds is between †**Pillou Bichein** and †**Drausguern**. **Marshfield** is on the edge of Wentlooge Level, the landscape of which has probably changed considerably since the time of these bounds. I cannot identify any of the named features in these bounds, so the grid reference is simply for the **Marshfield** area.

Elements

DU + GLAIS

The *i* of the first element probably represents a schwa sound. Jackson argued that Proto-Welsh **dūb* yielded Old Welsh **dəb*- in pretonic syllables but **düb* under the stress (whence DU after the loss of [b]).¹⁶ Most of the forms of this river name in the Book of Llandaf spell the first element with a *u* (see **Dowlais**, †**Dubleis**, †**Dugleis Bisgueiliauc** and **Dulais**), which could be an archaic spelling, but is more likely to be a secondary development due to the influence of the [ü] pronunciation of the simplex.

†**Diffrinn Annouid**: [nr ST1483] (mod. *Cwm Nofydd*; also †**Penn i Prisc**)

Attestations

diffrinn anouid	LLch.255	p. 256	'c. 1035'
diffrin annouid	LLch.255	p. 257	'c. 1035'

Location

The first of the two attestations is from the main body of the charter, where it is equated with †**Penn i Prisc**, one of the locations granted, and the second is in the title of the relevant bounds. The river-name on which this name is based, **Nofydd**, occurs in these same bounds, and in the bounds of †**Riu Brein**, charter 257. The identification of *Diffrin Annouid* with *Cwm Nofydd* (made by both Evans and Davies)¹⁷ seems plausible, but, given the lack of identifiable places associated with it for confirmation, it cannot be regarded as totally secure. In charter 257, together with †**Riu Brein** (in whose bounds the **Nofydd** is mentioned), part of a wood called †**Inis Peithan** is also granted.

¹⁶ LHEB, pp. 275–77; this is a development of an argument by Thomas: EANC, pp. 13–14, s.v. †*Dywrach*.

¹⁷ LL, p. 381; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 127.

The bounds of †**Inis Peithan** can be traced with some confidence, and show it to be situated a little to the east of Cwm Nofydd. This does not provide totally watertight evidence for the identification of *Diffrinn Annouid* with Cwm Nofydd, however, as we cannot be certain that two pieces of land granted in one charter are necessarily adjoining.

Elements

DYFFRYN + Nofydd

†**Diffrinn Machagui**: [SO105428]

Attestations

driffrinn machagui LL p. 255 'c. 1025'

Location

This place-name is given in connexion with †**Lann Teliau i Ciliou** in a list of Teilo churches. The church is said to be in *Driffrinn Machagui*, but, since the identification of the church rests largely on the identification of *Driffrinn Machagui*, this evidence should be ignored. The reference occurs in one of two entries under the heading *In elmail* 'in **Elfael**'. Evans identified this valley as that of the '*Bachawy, Rad.*', that is, the valley of the river which enters the Wye (**Gwy**) at the grid reference above.¹⁸ The valley of the Bachawy would certainly be in **Elfael**, so, given the similarity of the names, this identification is plausible.

Elements

DYFFRYN + river name

The first *r* of the first element is the result of scribal error. The alternation of *m* in *Machagui* and *b* in modern *Bachawy* is probably caused by the ambiguity of the lenited form, which would begin with [v] whether *b* or *m* was the radical. Thomas takes the original form to be **Machafwy* or **Machawwy*, i.e. **Machaf-* or **Machaw-* (perhaps a personal name) plus the hydronymic suffix *-wy*.¹⁹ Richards, on the other hand, treats the name as: MA + personal name *Caw* + *-wy*.²⁰

Diffrin Teiui: see **Dyffryn Teifi**.

¹⁸ LL, p. 411.

¹⁹ 'Enwau Afonydd', p. 36.

²⁰ 'Some Welsh Place-Names', p. 368

Diguinid Aruen: see †**Finnaun Diguinid Aruen**.

Dimuner: see †**Tir Dimuner**.

Dinan: see †**Cestill Dinan**.

†**Dinas Cynlyuan:** [?SN610032]

Attestations

dinas cynlyuan LLch.140 p. 141 s. xi¹

Location

This place-name occurs in the bounds of **Llandeilo Tal-y-bont**. Its place in the bounds is between the (2) **Dulais** and the source (BLAEN) of the †**Cinbran**. The point at which the (2) **Dulais** is to be crossed is not indicated, and the identity of the †**Cinbran** is uncertain, though the more likely candidate is Nant y Garreg which has its source in grid square SN6002. As no intervening boundary points are mentioned, *Dinas Cynlyuan* is probably not very far from either the (2) **Dulais** or the source of the †**Cinbran**, so, assuming that it is still visible as a peak, it should be one of the two hills with their summits at SN610032 and SN617033, more likely the former.

Elements

DINAS + CYNLLYFAN

The element *dinas* (DIN + -AS) must have its earlier sense of ‘fortress’ here, rather than ‘city’. The second element, *cynllyfan* ‘leash’, would be appropriate as the name of a stream.

†**Din Birrion:** [?]

Attestations

dinbirrion	LLch.210b	p. 210	‘c. 765’
DIN Birrion	LLrub.	p. 210	c. 1120s
Lisdin Borrion	VSB ²¹	p. 134	c. 1200

Location

This place is granted in charter 210b. No bounds or other topographical information are supplied. Analysis of the witness list is not very useful either: the strongest associations are with charters 209b (†**Ager Louhai**), 202 (†**Villa Breican**), and 211a (†**Villa Gueruduc**), of which the first is in eastern **Gwent**,

the second is probably in the Vale of Glamorgan, and the third is unlocated.

Elements

?*DYNN + ?BWR (pl.)

The form of this name from the Life of Cadog has *llystyn* 'small castle, fortified court' as its first element.²² It is uncertain whether *llystyn* contains DIN or *DYNN, but the latter is more likely.²³ The spelling *din* for the first element in the Book of Llandaf forms could represent either DIN or *DYNN.

The second element could be a plural form of either of the adjectives *byr* 'short' or *bwr* 'fat', used substantivally here. The former has the advantage that *byrion* is the attested plural form, but the disadvantages that its use as a substantive does not seem to be attested in place-names, and that it does not explain the Life of Cadog *o* spelling.²⁴ *bwr*, on the other hand, derives from **bor*, so the *o* spelling of the Life of Cadog could be explained as an archaism, and, furthermore, although *bwr* itself is not attested as a substantive, its Cornish cognate *bor* does seem to be used in place-names with the meaning 'swelling, protuberance'.²⁵ The attested plural form of *bwr* is *byr*, but it might conceivably have had an alternative plural form, *byrrion*, when used in a substantival sense. The same element might also be seen in *Craig-y-Borion* [SN155095].²⁶

Dinbych-y-pysgod: see Tenby.

Dincat: see †Nant Dincat.

Dindirn: see †Drech Dindirn.

†**Din Duicil:** [?] (also †Cair Duicil)

Attestations

castellum dinduicil LLch.226 p. 226 'c. 860'

Location

This is an alternative name for the place more commonly known as †Cair

²¹ Wade-Evans, *Vitae*.

²² GPC, II, 2283.

²³ Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 77.

²⁴ GPC, I, 364.

²⁵ GPC, I, 354; CPNE, pp. 26–27.

²⁶ Charles, II, 465–66. I am not convinced by his suggestion that the second element might be contracted from original *claforion*.

Duicil (q.v. for further discussion).

Elements

DIN + ?

Dindyrn: see **Tyndyrn**.

Dinefwr: see **Gwaith Dinefwr**.

†**Din Gerein**: [?SW8735] (?mod. *Gerrans*)

Attestations

portum [...] din gerein LL p. 114 ?

Location

This place is mentioned in the Life of Teilo, as the saint's port of entry on his second visit to the land of King Gerennius. There are good grounds for locating Gerennius's kingdom in the south-western peninsula of Britain (see **Cernyw**), so Evans's identification of *Din Gerein* with modern *Gerrans* (grid reference above) is plausible, though probably not provable.²⁷ The suggestion that this *Din Gerein* could be the *Din Gereint* (at the mouth of the river Teifi [SN160485]) mentioned in *Brut y Tywysogion* (s.a. 1093) would require the assumption that the author of the Life had no notion of the geography of his story.²⁸ Doble notes that the Ordnance Survey name *Dingerein*, given to a barrow near *Gerrans*, is a nineteenth-century antiquarian invention.²⁹

Elements

DIN + personal name

Dingestow: [SO457104] (W. **Llanddingad**; also †**Merthir Dincat**)

Attestations

dynstow LLgloss p. 31 s. xv^{med}

Location

The attestation is a gloss on †**Merthir Dincat**, which it is probably safe to identify with **Dingestow**.

Elements

personal name + STŌW

²⁷ LL, p. 395; Sims-Williams, 'The Early Welsh Arthurian Poems', p. 47.

²⁸ Doble, *Lives of the Welsh Saints*, pp. 183–85; PNPemb., I, 356, s.v. *Cilgerran*.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 185, n. 61.

The personal name is *Dingad*, preserved more fully in the Welsh form of the name, **Llanddingad**.

†**Din Guennham**: [?SM989023] (?mod. *Golden Hill*)

Attestations

Din guennham	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
Din guennhaf	LL	p. 255	before 'c. 1025'

Location

The two documents from which the attestations are taken are closely related lists of Teilo properties. The relevant section of both lists is headed as being in **Penfro**. *Din Guennham* is specifically located in **Lanion**. I know of no ancient fort remains in this district, but Pembroke Dock covers a large part of the area now. It has been suggested that *Din Guennham* is to be identified with Golden Hill (grid reference above), which seems plausible, both in terms of name-form and location.³⁰

Elements

DIN + ?personal name

The second element could be the female personal name *Gwennaf* (attested in the Book of Llandaf as the name of Saint Teilo's grandmother).³¹ Alternatively it could be the superlative grade of the adjective GWYN. The way in which this name could have been transformed into *Golden Hill* is discussed by Charles.³²

Dinham: [ST480923]

Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Dynan</i>	LL	p. 322	c. 1350
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Location

Evans identified this place-name with '*Dinham, Mon.*', by which, presumably, he meant the farm, ruined castle, wood, or valley, in the area of the grid reference above.³³ This identification is plausible given the context of the attestation—a list of churches in the deanery of †**Nether Went**. An alternative possibility, however, would be identification of *Dynan* with the place known

³⁰ Owen, *Description of Penbrokshire*, II, 421, n. 107; PNPemb., II, 720–21.

³¹ LL, p. 130.

³² PNPemb, II, 720–21.

³³ LL, p. 395.

elsewhere in LL as †**Cestill Dinan**, which is also in †**Nether Went**.

Elements

DINAN

If the identification is correct, then the origin of the name and its later development precisely parallel *Dinham* in Cornwall.³⁴ *Dinam* is the usual outcome of DINAN in Welsh place-names.³⁵

†**Din March Lythan**: [?SO179301] (?mod. *Castell Dinas*)

Attestations

hanner. dinmarchtan	LLb.25	p. 42	s. xi ¹
hanher din march lythan	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s

Location

This name is attested in both versions of the diocesan bounds. Its place in the bounds is between †**Ritnant** and †**Ol i Gabr**, which leads on to †**Cateir Neueni**. The route taken by the bounds between Buckland Hill (†**Lech Bichlit**) and the source of the **Grwyne**—the area in which this place occurs—is particularly difficult to trace, due to the dearth of confidently identified place-names. Evans, followed by Richards, identified *Din March Lythan* with *Castell Dinas* (grid reference above), which is certainly a noticeable DIN-type feature in the right area, but I would not be very confident of this identification.³⁶

Elements

DIN + ?MARCH + ?LLYDAN

The final element is particularly uncertain, but it is more likely that the earlier attestation has lost letters, than that the later one has gained spurious letters. If this is so, *lythan* is most likely to be LLYDAN.

Dinmarchtan: see †**Din March Lythan**.

Dinneul: see †**Tref Dinneul**.

Dioci: see †**Finnaun Dioci**.

³⁴ CPNE, p. 85, s.v. **dynan*.

³⁵ Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 79.

³⁶ LL, p. 368; Richards 'Some Welsh Place-Names', p. 375.

†**Distin**: [SO437151] (mod. *Crofft Hîr Brook*)Attestations

distin	LLch.210a	p. 210	'c. 780'–c. 1010
distin	LLch.210a	p. 210	'c. 780'–c. 1010
apernant distir	LLch.240	p. 241	s. xi ¹
nant distir	LLch.240	p. 241	s. xi ¹
distir	LLch.240	p. 241	s. xi ¹

Location

The last three attestations are from the bounds of **Llanfaenor**, and the evidence for their identification with the stream now known as *Crofft Hîr Brook* (grid reference above) is overwhelming:

- assuming that the bounds enclose the object of the grant, and that the identification of the *Liman* with modern **Llymon** is correct, the *Distir* should join the **Llymon** from the east, and should have its source further north than **Llanfaenor**;
- Llandishty Farm [SO440157] (*Llan-distil* on the 1886 Ordnance Survey 6-inch map), on the high ground above *Crofft Hîr Brook*, probably takes its name from the *Distir*.³⁷

It is more difficult to demonstrate that the first two attestations refer to the same stream, though this is probably the case. The evidence for this is essentially the similarity of *Distin* in charter 210a to *Distir* in charter 240, the similarity of *Liminan* in charter 210a to *Liman* in charter 240 and to modern **Llymon**, and the coincidence of these two stream names.

Elements

?

If the two spellings *Distin* and *Distir* do refer to the same stream, one is presumably the correct form, and the other the result of scribal *r/n* confusion. I know of no other evidence to help determine which is the correct form (Thomas could not decide between the two forms either),³⁸ and neither is attested as a common noun nor, to my knowledge, a personal name. I have chosen to give the *n* spelling priority as the headword here, however, on the

³⁷ EANC, p. 74, s.v. †*Llymon*.

³⁸ *Ibid.*.

grounds that it could represent a word with the suffix *-in* or *-yn*, and such words are far more common in Welsh than words ending in *-ir* or *-yr*.³⁹ It should be noted that Evans gave '*Dishter*' as the modern form of the name in his index, though I do not know on what grounds.

Distir: see †Distin.

Diuent: see Gwent.

†**Diufrut:** [?SO310180] (?mod. *Awi*)

Attestations

blain diufrut	LLch.122	p. 122	s. xi ¹
diufrut	LLch.122	p. 122	s. xi ¹

Location

The place-name is attested in the bounds of **Llandeilo Bertholau**. The bounds go from the source (BLAEN) of the **Cibi**, over †Mail Uannon, to the source (BLAEN) of the *Diufrut*, which is then followed down to the **Gefenni**. The *Diufrut* could, then, be any one of the streams which flow from the west into the **Gefenni** north of **Llandeilo Bertholau**, but the source of the one suggested here [SO284195] is nearest the source of the **Cibi**. This stream might now be called *Awi/Awey*, judging by the name of the pool *Pwll Blaenawi* above the stream's head at SO280194.

Elements

?DU + FFRWD

Thomas cited this stream name as an example in support of his argument that the *dyw-* element in this and other names is a variant of DU.⁴⁰ He rejected the suggestion that the first element could be a variant of *dwy* 'two' (the feminine form of DAU), despite the fact that *diu* is attested with that meaning in the Book of Llandaf and elsewhere in Old Welsh.⁴¹ I would contend that, although the suggestion that initial *dyw-* in river names is a variant of DU is perfectly plausible, neither is there any good reason to reject the possibility that this

³⁹ Thomas discusses the *-in* suffixes in EANC, p. 198.

⁴⁰ EANC, pp. 13–14, s.v. †*Dywrach*.

⁴¹ Ibid.. Phillimore (Owen, *Description of Penbrokshire*, IV, 660, n. 1) believes this and other similar names to be formed from *diu* 'two' + stream name. The example of *irdiu foss* 'the two ditches' (LLch.144, p. 145) can be added to Thomas's examples. The alternation between *dui* and *diu* forms of the numeral could be compared with the development of Middle Welsh *o'e* 'to his' to Modern Welsh

element is a variant feminine form of DAU.

Diu Guent: see **Gwent**.

†**Diuguinid:** [?SO412052]

Attestations

licat idiuguinid	LLch.208	p. 208	s. xi ¹
licat irdiuguinid	LLch.208	p. 208	s. xi ¹

Location

This stream name occurs as a point in the bounds of the church of †**Mathenni**, which has been identified with Llandenny. Thomas discusses the name and gives a description of the stream's course (rising in 'Fforest Gwehelog' and running to the Olway (**Olwy**) opposite Treworgan).⁴² This description makes no sense, however, as a stream such as Thomas describes would have to flow through **Nant y Wilcae** to reach the Olway (**Olwy**)—Thomas was presumably confusing these two streams, and it would appear, therefore, that the stream which he identified with the *Diuguinid* was the one now called *Wecha Brook* [SO418049] which rises at SO387053, or, perhaps, at Ffynnon y Prydd [SO392048]. I do not know how strong the evidence is for this identification: Thomas's only other source for this stream name is Rees's *Historical Map of South Wales and the Border in the Fourteenth Century*. Rees's form of the name is *Nant Dywenydd* (the same as Evans's '**Dywenyδ*').⁴³

The bounds themselves appear to show that it is not the *Diuguinid* which flows into **Nant y Wilcae**, but rather that the *Diuguinid* joins another stream, the †**Henn Pont**, which itself flows into **Nant y Wilcae**. If my identification of the †**Henn Pont** is correct, then the *Diuguinid* is probably the stream flowing into the Wecha Brook at SO412052, the source of which is at SO409058. However the bounds are read, it is clear that the territory described does not include the church of Llandenny itself.

Elements

?

i'w (via *w'y* and *y'w*): GMW, p. 53, n. 2.

⁴² EANC, p. 140.

⁴³ LL, p. 395.

Thomas was unable to suggest a meaning for the name.⁴⁴ He rejected the identification with *dywenydd* 'gladness' (which is followed by GPC), probably rightly, since the Book of Llandaf forms require *i* or *y* as the second vowel, and not *e*. See also †**Finnaun Diguinid Aruen**.

†**Diugurach**: [in **Gŵyr**]

Attestations

oculum diugurach LLch.140 p. 140 c. 990–c. 1050

Location

This river name occurs in the bounds of †**Lann Gemei**, which has not been localised much more tightly than to say it is somewhere in the Gower peninsula (**Gŵyr**), probably in the south-west.

Elements

?DU + GWRACH

This name is discussed by Thomas.⁴⁵ For the first element see the discussion of elements under †**Diufrut** above. GWRACH is common as an element in river and stream names, perhaps referring to folk traditions of local witches.⁴⁶

Dixton: see (1) †**Hennlann**, †**Hennlann Titiuc**, †**Lann Tidiuc**.

Docguinni, Dochou, Docunni: see (1) **Llandoche**.

Dol: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

<i>dolensis ecclesie archiepiscopo</i>	LL	p. 109	?
<i>dol</i>	LL	p. 109	?
<i>episcopatus dolensis</i>	LL	p. 110	?
<i>dolensem episcopatum</i>	LL	p. 112	?
<i>episcopatum dolensem</i>	LL	p. 112	?
<i>dol</i>	LL	p. 113	?
<i>archiepiscopum dolensem</i>	LLch.180b	p. 181	c. 710
<i>archiepiscopus [...] dolensis ciuitatis</i>	LLch.180b	p. 181	c. 710
<i>monasterium [...] dolum</i>	LL	p. 21	c. 1130

⁴⁴ EANC, p. 141.

⁴⁵ EANC, pp. 13–14.

⁴⁶ EANC, pp. 14 (s.v. †*Dywrach*) and 114 (s.v. *Gwrachen*).

<i>dolvm</i>	LL	p. 24	c. 1130
<i>dolo monasterio</i>	LL	p. 24	c. 1130
<i>archiepiscopus dolensis</i>	LLgloss	p. 181	s. xv ^{med}
<i>Archiepiscopatu dolensi</i>	LLgloss	p. 21	1476x78
<i>Archiepiscopo dolensi</i>	LLgloss	p. 21	1476x78
<i>Archiepiscopus dolensis</i>	LLgloss	p. 22	1476x78
<i>archiepiscopus dolensis</i>	LLgloss	p. 22	1476x78
<i>Archiepiscopus Dolensis</i>	LLgloss	p. 97	1476x78
<i>archiepiscopus dolensis</i>	LLgloss	p. 112	1476x78
<i>dol</i>	LLgloss	p. 112	1476x78
<i>archiepiscopo dolensi</i>	LLgloss	p. 181	1476x78
<i>Archiepiscopi dolensis</i>	LLgloss	p. 24	s. xvi

Location

The attestations occur in the Lives of Teilo and Samson, and in charter 180b in reference to a pilgrimage of penance to Dol. The place is located in Armorica in the Life of Teilo, in **Britannia** in the Life of Samson (which uses **Britannia** in the sense of Brittany), and in **Cornouaille** in charter 180b. The frequent references to the place as the seat of an (arch)bishopric, together with the location in Brittany make it quite clear that the place meant is Dol-de-Bretagne.

Dolensem, Dolensi, Dolensi, Dolo, Dolum: see Dol.

Donato: see Sain Dunwyd.

Dor: see Dore.

Dorcluit: see †Porth i Dorcluit.

Dore: [SO399264]

Attestations

<i>riuulum Dor</i>	LL	p. 134	?
<i>ripam dour</i>	LLch.192	p. 192	'c. 745'?
<i>dour</i>	LLb.25	p. 43	s. xi ¹
<i>dour</i>	LLch.171b	p. 173	s. xi ¹
<i>dour</i>	LLch.162b	p. 163	s. xi ¹
<i>dour</i>	LL	p. 135	c. 1120s

dour	LL	p. 135	c. 1120s
dowr	LLgloss	p. 135	s. xv ^{med}

Location

The attestations on pages 43 and 135 are from the versions of the diocesan bounds, in which they occur between **Nant-y-bar** and the **Worm**—both tributaries of the Dore, so that identification for these attestations should not be in doubt. I am confident in the same identification for the attestation on page 134: the description of an area of land lost to the Saxons (clearly **Anergyng** though the territory is not named); the other features used in the description are the Wye (**Gwy**), the **Worm**, and †**Taratir**. Of the remaining attestations, those on pages 163 and 173 are from versions of the (corrupt) bounds of †**Mafurn**, and that on page 192 is from a description of †**Lann Cerniu**. Neither †**Mafurn** nor †**Lann Cerniu** have been securely identified, but they are certainly in a context of **Gwent** and **Ergyng** properties, so the identification of *Dour* with the Dore in these cases is probable. See also †**Istrat Dour**.

Elements

DŴR

Ekwall, Förster, and Jackson agree in deriving this river name from Late British **doċr-*, derived from British **dubro-* (whence Modern Welsh DŴR), with *ā*-affection from either a feminine plural or neuter plural ending—the same etymology as *Dover*.⁴⁷ The *u* of the majority of forms probably represents [v], and not [ü], as Ekwall supposed, or [u], as did Förster.⁴⁸ See also †**Istrat Dour**.

Dore Abbey: [SO387304]Attestations

Abbas de dora	LL	p. 327	c. 1350
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Location

This reference occurs in a list of the tithes gathered by churches in the deanery

⁴⁷ *English River Names*, pp. lxxxiii, 128, and 136; *Der Flußname Themse*, pp. 88–89; LHEB, pp. 418 and 577.

⁴⁸ LHEB, p. 418; *English River Names*, p. 128; *Der Flußname Themse*, p. 174, n. 1. I disagree with Jackson's suggestion that the *w* of *dowr* also represents a [v], however—I would assume that this spelling represents something like [dour].

of **Abergefenni**. There is no reason to doubt that this does refer to Dore Abbey, after which the village of Abbey Dore is named.

Elements

[*ABBATIA*] + *DE* + **Dore**

Dotei: see †**Puteus Dotei**.

†**Dou Ciuiu, Ir**: [nr ST3892]

Attestations

irdouciuiu LLch.183b p. 184 s. xi¹

Location

This feature (or features) occurs as a point in the bounds of Kemeys Inferior ((2) **Cemeis**). Its place in the bounds is on an ARDD between the sources of a small stream (*nant bichan*) which has its mouth on the Usk (**Wysg**) and the †**Humir**. The most likely identification for the ARDD of the bounds is the long ridge of Kemeys Graig/Bertholey Graig, and the grid reference above is for an area in the middle of this ridge. It is by no means certain that this is a place-name, or, indeed, whether the reference is to one or two features.

Elements

YR + DAU + ?

The meaning of *ciuiu* is uncertain. The most likely explanation is that it represents Modern Welsh *cyfiau* ‘shared field’, which also occurs in the boundary clause of charter 246 (‘dou ceuiou’). Alternatively it could—as a river name—be a compound of *cyf-* and YW, or it could be the adjective *cywiw* ‘very splendid’. I do not think there can be any connexion with the apparently identical element in †**Ecclesia Sancti Ciuiu**.

Dou Cledif: see **Daugleddau**.

Doudec Seint: see †**Finnaun y Doudec Seint**.

†**Douluin Helic**: [nr SN8127]

Attestations

pendouluinhelic	LLb.25	p. 42	s. xi ¹
douluyn helyc	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s
douluyn helyc	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s

Location

This place-name is attested in the two versions of the diocesan bounds. The earlier and briefer version of the bounds (from which the first attestation comes) locates it between the source of the Tywi and the source of the Usk (Wysg). The later version gives a more specific location: between †Castell Teirtut and the source of the Usk (Wysg). I can find nowhere with this, or a similar, name in the area between these two points. In the later version of the bounds we are told to travel upwards between †Castell Teirtut and *Douluin Helic*, but, provided that my identification of †Castell Teirtut is correct, this instruction cannot be taken too literally as †Castell Teirtut is on quite a significant peak, with no higher point on the route between it and the source of the Usk (Wysg) (either as the crow flies, or following the modern county boundary) until close to the end. Evans, in a footnote to his translation of the bounds, refers to Phillimore's identification of this place with *Waun Ddu* [SN8230], which seems to be the place referred to by Theophilus Jones as *Cors Pendaulwyn* in his description of the bounds of Brecknockshire.⁴⁹ The grid reference above is for the area halfway between †Castell Teirtut and the source of the Usk (Wysg).

Elements

DAU + LLWYN + HELYG

GPC offers this place-name as an example of the rare compound *deulwyn* 'two groves'.⁵⁰ I do not think it is possible to tell whether the forms here show a single compound word or the two words DAU and LLWYN separately. The final element could alternatively be the personal name *Helig* (cf. †Ager Helyg).

Douluyn Helyc: see †Douluin Helic.

Dour: see Dore.

Doward: see †Lann Dougarth.

Dowlais: [ST104768] (See also †Vadum Dupleis, (2) †Dupleis)

Attestations

dugleis

LLch.223

p. 224 c. 990–c. 1010

⁴⁹ LL, p. 367; Jones, *History of the County of Brecknock*, I, 12.

⁵⁰ I, 939.

dubleis

LLch.216b p. 217 s. xi¹Location

The second attestation is from the bounds of †**Penn Onn** and its church †**Lann Tilull**. If the identification of this place with **Saint-y-nyll** is correct, then the identification of the bounds' *Dubleis* with modern *Nant Dowlais* (grid reference above) is very probable. The same identification for the first attestation, from the bounds of †**Villa Segan**, is less certain, but still, I think, reasonable. The suggested identity of the *Dugleis* in charter 223 with the *Dubleis* of charter 216b is based on the fact that in both boundary clauses a great road ('via lata' in 216b and 'via magna'/'via lata' in 223) crosses the relevant river at a ford named in both cases as †**Vadum Dupleis**.

Elements

DU + GLAIS

In both cases the first element is spelt with a *u*, which is probably due to the spelling of the simplex DU—see the discussion under †**Dibleis**. The first attestation shows that the [b] of the first element has been lost. If the different spellings of the two forms—one preserving the original final [b] of DU, the other preserving the lenited initial [3] of GLAIS—are contemporary with their documents (that is, if they have not been altered during transmission), they suggest that probably neither sound was pronounced by the end of the tenth century, and that such spellings were purely conventional. The stream name is used as an element in †**Vadum Dupleis**.

Dowr: see Dore.

†**Drausguern, Ir:** [nr ST2682]Attestations

[i]rdrausguern

LLch.190b p. 191 s. xi¹Location

This feature is mentioned as a point in the bounds of **Marshfield**. Its place in the bounds is between the †**Dibleis** and the end (PEN) of †**Guern Du**. **Marshfield** is on the edge of Wentlooge Level, the landscape of which has probably changed considerably since the time of these bounds. I cannot identify any of the named features in these bounds, so the grid reference is simply for the **Marshfield** area.

Elements

YR + ?TRAWS + GWERN

If the name does contain *traws*, then this is an example of lenition represented orthographically (which is not usual in Old Welsh texts). No noun **trawswern* is recorded. This is probably the name of some feature (a path or causeway?) which crossed the marsh (GWERN).

Drec Dindirn: see †Drech Dindirn.

†Drech Dindirn: [SO532013]

Attestations

drech din dirn	LLch.209b	p. 209	s. xi ¹
drec din dirn	LLch.209b	p. 209	s. xi ¹
drec din dirn	LLch.209b	p. 209	s. xi ¹

Location

This place is prominent as a point in the bounds of †Ager Louhai. Its place in the bounds is between a point on the Cat Brook (†Catfrut) and the Wye (Gwy). The Cat Brook runs parallel with the Wye (Gwy) for most of its length, separated from it by a ridge. If the specified size of the grant (three *modii*) is correct then *Drech Dindirn* is most probably the peak at the southern end of the ridge (grid reference above). The name implies a point from which Tintern (Tyndyrn) can be seen, a description which perfectly suits this identification.

Elements

DRYCH + Tyndyrn

The first element is likely to be the noun *drych* in its sense ‘sight, spectacle’, probably giving the whole name a meaning ‘place with a view of Tyndyrn’.

Drenewydd Gelli-farch: see (1) †Neweton, Shirenewton.

Drenewydd yn Notais: see (2) †Neweton, Newton Nottage.

Drifrin Machagui: see †Difrin Machagui.

Drution: see †Guern i Drution.

Du: see Post Du.

(1) †Dubleis: [?SS619905] (?mod. *Black Pill*)Attestations

dubleis	LLch.145	p. 145	s. xi ¹
dubleis	LLch.145	p. 145	s. xi ¹

Location

The identity of this stream, which is followed by the bounds of **Llandeilo Ferwallt**, is uncertain, due to the paucity of identifiable features in the bounds. Evans identified it with the Black Pill (grid reference above), but I do not know what the basis for his identification is, unless it is just the equation of English *black* with the element DU of *Dubleis*.⁵¹ A ford, †Ryt i Deueit, on this stream is mentioned.

Elements

DU + GLAIS

See the discussion of this common stream name under †Dibleis and Dowlais.

(2) †Dubleis: [?Vale of Glamorgan]

Attestations

uillam Ellcon super dubleis	LLch.197	p. 198	'c. 748'
uilla ellcun. [...] super dubleis	LLch.198a	p. 198	'c. 745'

Location

†Villa Ellcun, is described in both the charters where it is mentioned as being on the *Dubleis*. The location of †Villa Ellcun is not certain, but it is probably in the area of the Vale of Glamorgan. I know of two streams by this name in the Vale, both *Nant Dowlais*, one of which is attested elsewhere in the Book of Llandaf (see **Dowlais**), and the other enters Nant Myddlyn at ST073836.

Elements

DU + GLAIS

See the discussion of this common stream name under †Dibleis and Dowlais.

(3) †Dubleis: [?nr SO4501]

Attestations

dubleis	LLch.240	p. 242	s. xi ²
dubleis	LLch.240	p. 243	s. xi ²

⁵¹ LL, p. 369.

dubleis LLch.240 p. 243 s. xi²

Location

All three attestations are from the bounds of *Lannguern Timauc* (see †**Lann Guern Cinuc**). I can find no stream bearing this name today in the relevant area, and I am unable to follow the bounds.

Elements

DU + GLAIS

See the discussion of this common stream name under †**Dibleis** and **Dowlais**.

(4) †**Dubleis**: [?ST388905] (?mod. *Monks' Ditch*)

Attestations

dubleis	LLch.261	p. 261	c. 1080–c. 1120s
dyfleis	LLch.261	p. 262	c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

The attestations are from the bounds of **Llan-bedr**, in which they constitute the first and last points. The stream has confluences with both †**Nant i Gall** and †**Nant March**. If the bounds travel clockwise, as is the normal practice (and as seems likely here, given the relative locations of †**Allt Coit Guent** and the *coit* in the bounds), then †**Nant March** flows into the *Dubleis* upstream of †**Nant i Gall**. I would suggest that the most likely candidate for this name is the stream which runs to the south-east of **Llan-bedr** between ST400911 and ST388905,⁵² but there are too many uncertainties associated with these bounds to be confident in the identification.

Elements

DU + GLAIS

See the discussion of this common stream name under †**Dibleis** and **Dowlais**. The *y* spelling of the second attestation probably indicates that the first syllable was pronounced with a schwa.

(5) **Dubleis**: see **Dowlais**, (1) **Dulais**, (2) **Dulais**, †**Vadum Dubleis**.

Dubleissou: see (2) **Dulais**.

⁵² I am unable to determine either the head or the end of this stream. Either it is now called *Monks' Ditch*, or its waters have joined that stream by ST378887.

†**Dubnnant Du, Ir:** [nr SO367141]Attestations

[i]r dubnnant du LLch.171b p. 172 c. 990–c. 1010

Location

This name is attested in the bounds of **Llanfable**. The other points in the boundary nearby ((1) †**Glasguern**, †**Flumen Iacob**, and †**Brinn Cornou**) have not been identified, and no feature bearing the name exists today, so it cannot be positively identified.

Elements

YR + DYFNANT + DU

This place-name is cited by Padel as an example of *dyfnant* ‘deep valley’, a compound of DWFN and NANT, the name-phrase equivalent of which is seen in †**Nant Duuin**.⁵³

Dubricii: see †**Ecclesia Sancti Dubricii, St Dubritius**.

Dudley: [SO9490]Attestations

Prior de Tutteley LL p. 327 c. 1350

Location

This reference occurs in a list of the tithes gathered in the deanery of **Abergefenni**. The identification with Dudley is by Evans, but he gives no further information.⁵⁴ The form of the name here is unusual—all the forms listed in the place-name survey for Worcestershire show both initial and medial *d*⁵⁵—so, if the identification is correct, the LL form is probably just a mis-spelling. There was a small Cluniac priory at Dudley, dependent on Much Wenlock.⁵⁶

Dugleis: see **Dowlais, (1) Dulais**.

†**Dugleis Bisgueiliauc:** [?SN544207] (?mod. *Dulas*)Attestations

dugleis bisgueiliauc LLch.77 p. 78 c. 1080–c. 1120s

⁵³ CPNE, p. 88.

⁵⁴ LL, p. 421.

⁵⁵ Mawer, *Place-Names of Worcestershire*, p. 289.

⁵⁶ Knowles, *Medieval Religious Houses*, pp. 97 and 99.

dugleis bis gueiliauc LLch.77 p. 78 c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

The attestations are from the bounds of **Llandeilo Fawr**. The basis for the identification made here is simply that the name is right and that it occurs in the right area (west of **Llandeilo Fawr**).

Elements

DU + GLAIS + BISWEILIOG

For the first two elements, see the discussion under †**Dibleis** and **Dowlais**. The addition of the adjective *bisweiliog* ‘dungy’ (*biswail* ‘dung’ + -IOG) was presumably to distinguish this river from the (1) **Dulais** which joins the **Tywi** on the other side of **Llandeilo Fawr**. Another stream named for its filthiness is the †**Baudur**.

Duicil: see †**Cair Duicil**.

(1) **Dulais**: [SN647239]

Attestations

dubleis	LLch.77	p. 78	c. 1080–c. 1120s
dugleis	LLch.77	p. 78	c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

This river name is attested in the bounds of **Llandeilo Fawr**. The river of the bounds is followed from its union with the *Euirdil* to the juncture with *Nant Luit*, and, since there is a river *Dulais* (grid reference above) in the vicinity of **Llandeilo Fawr** which is joined by streams called **Erddyl** and **Nant Llŵyd**, that identification is secure.

Elements

DU + GLAIS

See the discussion of this common stream name under †**Dibleis** and **Dowlais**.

(2) **Dulais**: [SN587037]

Attestations

dubleis	LLch.140	p. 141	s. xi ¹
dubleissou	LLch.140	p. 141	s. xi ¹

Location

The attestations are from the bounds of **Llandeilo Tal-y-bont**. The grounds for the identification made here are essentially that the name is right, and that

the Dulais would have to be crossed by the bounds anyway (assuming that the bounds are supposed to include the church of **Llandeilo Tal-y-bont**). The plural form of the second attestation probably indicates that both the Dulais proper and a tributary named after the major river (?**Dulais Fechan*) had to be crossed.

Elements

DU + GLAIS

See the discussion of this common stream name under †**Dibleis** and **Dowlais**. The second attestation is plural.

Dulas: see †**Dugleis Bisgueiliauc**.

†**Dulin**: [?SO439168]

Attestations

dulin · LLch.210a p. 210 'c. 780'–c. 1010

Location

The attestation is from the bounds of †**Cair Riou**. The most likely interpretation of the bounds would make this the name of a stream running from †**Pull Rud** to Crofft Hîr Brook (†**Distin**), but it is possible that this is only an element (a personal name?) in a name *Pull Rud Dulin*.⁵⁷ The size of the land granted (one *uncia*) makes it more likely that the name refers to one of the tributaries near the head of Crofft Hîr Brook, rather than to one further down. On the basis of the suggested identity of †**Pull Rud**, I would suggest that the *Dulin* is the stream entering Crofft Hîr Brook at the grid reference above.

Elements

?DU + ?LLYN

It is tempting to compare this name with Modern Welsh *Dulyn* (Dublin), a compound of DU and LLYN. This analysis would be more secure had the attestation a double *n*, given that LLYN originally ended in a geminate [n],⁵⁸ but there is at least one other example of LLYN from LL in the spelling *Lin* (†**Lin i Gleiniou**). Alternatively, the second element could be *llin* 'line, discharge', and a compound *dullyn* 'row, line' (*dull* + *-yn*) is attested, which would be

⁵⁷ Evans seems to have assumed the latter judging by his single index entry *Pull Rud Dulin*: LL, p. 416.

another possible derivation.⁵⁹

Dulon: see †Porth Tulon.

Dungleddy: see Daugleddau.

Duon: see †Guern i Duon.

Durham: [NZ2742]

Attestations

dunolmensi [episcopo]	LL	p. 280	'1107–34'
Dvnelmensi episcopo	LL	p. 29	1126

Location

Both attestations are from witness lists—the first from a list of those present at Urban's consecration in **Canterbury**, and the second from a list of those witnessing the agreement between Urban and Robert of Gloucester. The forms here are Latin adjectives based on the English place-name (Durham was not a significant Roman site). The *n* of the first syllable is original (the *r* of the modern form of the name was an innovation resulting from Norman speech habits).⁶⁰ The two Book of Llandaf forms demonstrate an attested change from *o* to *e* in the second syllable.⁶¹

Durovernum: [TR1457] (also **Cantuaria**; Eng. **Canterbury**)

Attestations

doroborensem ciuitatem	LL	p. 132	?
doroborensis ecclesie arciepiscopi	LLch.240	p. 240	'c. 970'
doroborensis ecclesie archiepiscopo	LL	p. 246	982–1120s
metropolitano doroberensis ecclesie	LL	p. 252	1022–1120s
metropolitano dorobernensis ecclesie	LL	p. 252	1046–1120s
dorobernensis ecclesie metropolitani	LLb.1	p. 88	1119

Location

The attestations are from a variety of documents, all associating the place-name with an archbishopric, and once, explicitly, with **Cantuaria**. The LL forms are all adjectival, based on three different stems: *Dorobor-*, *Dorober-*,

⁵⁹ GPC, II, 2272.

⁶⁰ GPC, I, 1099.

⁶¹ Ekwall, *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, p. 154.

and *Dorobern-*. The Classical name for the place was *Durovernum*, so the three stems in LL agree on a change from *u* to *o* in the first syllable (which is first seen in Bede's *Doruvernensis civitas*, but which is probably a native British phonological development), and they agree on a change from *v* to *b* (which is first seen in Asser's *Dorubernia*).⁶²

Duain: see †Nant Duain.

†Duir in Dair: [?SO451169]

Attestations

duir indair LLch.171b p. 173 s. xi¹

Location

This feature is named in the bounds of †Lann Tipallai, where it is mentioned between †Cil Fotul and the source (LLYGAD) of the (2) †Arganhell. Although none of the places in the bounds has been certainly identified, the area described seems to be a small territory in the vicinity of Newcastle (†Castell Meirch). The name implies a place where a stream flows into the ground, and only one such place is shown in the right area by the current 1:25 000 Ordnance Survey map (at the grid reference above).

Elements

DŴR + YN + DAEAR

The final element is probably *daear* 'earth', in its monosyllabic variant form *daer* (which seems to be Southern Welsh).⁶³

Dyastur: see †Main Dyastur.

Dyfan: see Merthyr Dyfan.

Dyfed: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

demeticę regionis	LLch.125a	p. 125	?
demeticę regionis	LLch.125a	p. 125	?
demeticę regionis	LLch.125b	p. 125	?
demeticam regionem	LL	p. 130	?

⁶¹ Ibid..

⁶² Ibid., p. 85, s.v. *Canterbury*; LHEB, pp. 259–60.

⁶³ GPC, I, 875.

demeticam regionem LL

p. 254 'c. 1025'

Location

All the attestations are in a South-Western Welsh context, the first four describing a kingdom. The forms are adjectival, based on the British stem *Demet-*, which was preserved as the form of *Dyfed* used in Latin documents.⁶⁴

See also †**Methiana**.

Elements

The place-name originates in the name of the tribe recorded by Ptolemy in this area, the *Demetæ*.⁶⁵

Dyffryn Brook: see †**Nant Broueni**.

Dyfleis: see (4) †**Dubleis**.

Dyfnaint: see **Devonshire**.

Dyffryn Golych: [ST0972] (also *Dyffryn Golwch*)

Attestations

dyffryn golych

LLgloss

p. 260 s. xv^{med}Location

The attestation is a gloss on the river name †**Gulich** which is mentioned in the bounds of †**Tref Gulich**. As †**Tref Gulich** can be located near **St Lythans** on the basis of several shared boundary points, we can be confident in the glossator's identification. See also †**Pant Gulich**.

Elements

DYFFRYN + †**Gulich**

This name is discussed by Pierce.⁶⁶ The Ordnance Survey form *Dyffryn Golwch* probably derives from an erroneous connexion of the river name †**Gulich** with the noun *golwch* 'worship'.

Dyffryn Teifi: [Valley of the *Teifi* [SN160485]]

Attestations

difrin teiui

LL

p. 124 before 'c. 1025'

difrin teiui

LL

p. 254 before 'c. 1025'

⁶⁴ LHEB, pp. 278–79.

⁶⁵ PNPemb., I, 1–2.

⁶⁶ PNDinas P., pp. 263–66.

Location

Both attestations are from versions of the same list of Teilo properties. Both are in definitions of the location of †**Lann Teliu Bechan**, which is not securely identified, so its location cannot be used to confirm the identity of *Difrin Teiui*. However, †**Lann Teliu Bechan** is located in **Cantref Mawr**, the northern border of which is marked by the river Teifi. This, together with the similarity of the name should be sufficient justification for the identification made here.

Elements

DYFFRYN + *Teifi*

Dynan: see **Dinham**.

Dynevor: see **Gwaith Dinefwr**.

Dynstow: see **Dingestow**.

E

Ebbot, Ebbw: see **Ebwy**.

Ebirthun: see **Aberthin**.

Eboracum: see **York**.

Ebrdil: see †**Inis Ebrdil**.

Ebroicensi: see **York**.

Ebwy: [ST316837] (Eng. *Ebbw*)

Attestations

Malendino de ebbot LL p. 284 c. 1195

Location

The attestation comes from a list of benefices contributed to the church of Llandaf by Bishop Henry. The relevant entry is for the tithes of the mill of *Ebbot*, given by the lord of **Caerllion**. The identification of *Ebbot* with the **Ebwy** is that of Evans,¹ and is not unreasonable, given the name's appearance and the proximity of **Caerllion** to the lower reaches of the river. Similar early forms would be needed, however, before the identification could be regarded as secure. I am not sure of the location of the mill intended by the reference—the only evidence that I could find for a mill on the river was the name *Millbrook* in grid-square ST2098.

Elements

As a river name, it seems likely that this contains the hydronymic suffix *-wy*, and if this is so, then the form *Ebbot* should probably be explained as a scribal error. The first syllable might be the **eb* 'horse', found in *ebol* 'foal'.

Ecclesia Aquilensium: see **Llanddowror**.

†**Ecclesia Beate Marie:** [ST155803]

Attestations

ecclesia beate Marie de kerdyf LL p. 319 c. 1350

¹ LL, p. 396.

Location

This church is named in a list of churches in the deanery of Llandaf. The 'de kerdyf' of the attestation indicates clearly enough the location of the church in Cardiff (Caerdydd). A Benedictine priory dedicated to St Mary was 'founded by Robert FitzHamon in the 1080s. In 1221 a parochial aisle was added, and other additions were made later. [...] It was then [early seventeenth century] under threat of undermining by the Taff and the parish transferred to St John's. St Mary's collapsed c. 1670. Little now remains.'²

Elements

ECCLESIA + BEATUS (fem. gen.) + personal name (gen.)

Ecclesia Beate Marie supra Montem: see Eglwys Fair y Mynydd.

Ecclesia Beati Caddoci de Pen Ros: see †Lan Caddoc Pen Ros.

Ecclesia Brigide: see †Eccluis Sant Breit.

Ecclesia Cathedrali Sancti Teliai: see †Ecclesia Sancti Teliaui.

Ecclesia Cinfall: see Llangunville.

†**Ecclesia Cyngur Tros Gardi:** [SS578894] (W. Llandeilo Ferwallt, Eng. Bishopston; also †Lann Conuur, †Lann Merguall,)

Attestations

ecclesiam cyngur trosgardi LLch.145 p. 145 'c. 695'

Location

This name is recorded in charter 145, where it is the object of the grant. The charter is headed with the rubric †Lann Merguall. There is no explicit equation between the place-name of the rubric and the place-name of the narrative, but †Lann Merguall is equated in charter 239 with 'monasterio sancti cinuuri' (†Lann Conuur), which shares the same personal name element as *Ecclesia Cyngur Tros Gardi*. All the above allows us reasonably to assume that *Ecclesia Cyngur Tros Gardi*, †Lann Conuur, and †Lann Merguall are different names for the same church. See under †Lann Merguall below for the identification with Bishopston (Welsh Llandeilo Ferwallt).

² Salter, *Old Parish Churches*, p. 52.

Elements

ECCLESIA + personal name + ?TRAWS + ?GARDD (pl.)

I am uncertain of the final elements. If the suggested etymology is correct, then the name would be parallel to †**Claud Tros Tref**. The plural forms of *gardd* ‘garden, enclosure’ listed by GPC are *gerddi*, *garddau*, and possibly *geirdd*;³ so, if the last element really is the plural of *gardd*, it is an example of *gerddi* without *i*-affection. Pierce has an interesting note on the use of the term *gardd* in South Wales.⁴

Ecclesia Cynmarchi: see **St Kingsmark**.

Ecclesia de Neeth: see **Mynachlog Nedd**.

Ecclesia de Sancta Brigida: see **Llansanffraid, (1) Saint-y-brid**.

Ecclesia de Sancta Helena: see **Llanelen**.

Ecclesia de Sancta Julitta: see **Llanilid**.

†**Ecclesia de Sancto Audoeno:** [?ST512929] (?mod. *Mounton*)

Attestations

ecclesia de sancto Audoeno LL p. 323 c. 1350

Location

The attestation is from a list of churches in the deanery of †**Nether Went**. The identification with *Mounton* (which is in the same half of the deanery as the surrounding places in the list) is Evans’s, but he provides no explanation.⁵

Elements

ECCLESIA + *DE* + *SANCTUS* (abl.) + *personal name* (abl.)

Ecclesia de Sancto Kynemarcho: see **St Kingsmark**.

Ecclesia de Sancto Machuto: see **Llanfocha**.

Ecclesia Diniul: see **Llanddinol**.

Ecclesia Elidon: see **St Lythans**.

Ecclesia Gart Benni, Garth Benni: see †**Lann Garth Benni**.

³ GPC, II, 1381.

⁴ PNDinas P., p. 331.

⁵ LL, p. 387—Evans prefixes a question mark to his identification.

Ecclesia Gueithirin: see **Llanwytherin**.

†**Ecclesia Gurthebiriuc:** [SO485108] (mod. **Llanwarw**, Eng. **Wonastow**)

Attestations

ecclesiam gurthebiriuc LLch.201 p. 201 'c. 750'

Location

This church, granted in charter 201, is equated in its rubric with **Llanwarw** (**Wonastow**).

Elements

ECCLESIA + †**Gurthebiriuc**

†**Ecclesia Guruid:** [?nr ST502955] (?mod. **St Wormet's**, *Howick*)

Attestations

ęcclesiam Guruid LLch.143 p. 143 'c. 660'

ECCLESIA GVRVID LLrub. p. 143 c. 1120s

Location

This church is the object of the grant recorded in charter 143. The tentative identification with Howick (grid reference above) given by Evans and Davies appears to be based on the similarity of *Guruid* to *Wormet*, the name of the saint commemorated in **St Wormet's**, a former alternative name for Howick.⁶ This does not seem a strong enough reason to have much confidence in the identification, and, in fact, there are no witness associations with any charter from **Gwent**, and what there is points instead to a Gower (**Gŵyr**) location. Baring-Gould identifies this church as 'Llanirwydd in Monmouthshire', which I cannot find.⁷

Elements

ECCLESIA + ?personal name

†**Ecclesia Istrat Hafren:** [?ST556958] (?mod. *Tidenham*)

Attestations

ęcclesiam istrat hafren LLch.174b p. 174 'c. 703'

ęcclesiam Strat haffren LLch.229b p. 229 'c. 878'

ęcclesia ystrat hafren LLrub. p. 174 c. 1120s

⁶ LL, p. 403, s.v. *Guruid*; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 97.

⁷ *Lives*, II, 99.

Location

This church was granted in charters 174b and regranted in charter 229b. The identification with Tidenham was made by Phillimore, and followed by both Richards and Davies.⁸ The name implies a place in the valley of the Severn (**Hafren**) and the bounds given in both charters refer to the sea. The bounds of the earlier charter refer to *Podum Ceuid* which has been identified with **Lancaut**, two kilometres west of Tidenham, but the strength of that identification relies to an extent on the identification of *Ecclesia Istrat Hafren* with Tidenham. Phillimore's identification relies mainly on his assumption that the identification of **Lancaut** is secure, but he also adduces as evidence his belief that the hamlet of Stroath [ST573979] (apparently *Stræt* in the Anglo-Saxon record of the Bounds and Customs of Tidenham), less than three kilometres north-east of Tidenham, takes its name from the element YSTRAD of *Ecclesia Istrat Hafren*.⁹ I do not share Phillimore's confidence in this identification. In the absence of further evidence, however, it is reasonable to locate this church in the area of Tidenham at least, because this area is the only one on the Welsh side of the river which could be described both as in the valley (YSTRAD) of the Severn (**Hafren**), and as near the sea. See also **Ystrad Hafren**.

Elements

ECCLESIA + Ystrad Hafren

Ecclesia Julij et Aaron: see †**Merthir Iun et Aaron**.

Ecclesia Mainuon: see †**Lann Mainuon**.

†**Ecclesia Mamouric:** [?SO457055] (also †**Lann Uuien**)

Attestations

ecclesiam mamouric	LLch.206	p. 206	'c. 755'
Ecclesia Mamovric	LLrub.	p. 206	c. 1120s

⁸ Owen, *Description of Penbrokshire*, III, 188–89, n. 4; WATU, pp. 203 and 277; *The Llandaff Charters*, pp. 108 and 122.

⁹ Owen, *ibid.*. Douglas and Greenaway, *English Historical Documents*, II, 879–80 (no. 174), agree in translating *Stræt* as modern *Stroath*. The 'Bounds and Customs of Tidenham' (c. 1060) is Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 1555.

Location

This place-name is treated in its charter as a synonym of †Lann Uuien.

Elements

ECCLESIA + **Mamouric*

The qualifying element here would most likely be either a personal name or a place-name. Richards prefers the latter, taking *Mamouric* to be a compound of MA and the personal name *Meurig*.¹⁰

Ecclesia Radh: see †Lann Rath.

†**Ecclesia Riu:** [?Gwent]

Attestations

<i>ecclesiam riu</i>	LLch.230a	p. 230	c. 880
ĒCCLESIA RIV	LLrub.	p. 230	c. 1120s

Location

Ecclesia Riu is granted in charter 230a. No bounds or other explicit references to the place's location are given by the charter, but the associations of its few witnesses are very strongly with places in Gwent (*Is Coed* and *Uwch Coed*).¹¹

Elements

ECCLESIA + ?RHIW¹²

Ecclesia Sanctae Brigidae: see (2) †Lann San Bregit.

Ecclesia Sanctae Mariae: see (2) †Lann Meir.

Ecclesia Sancte Brigide: see (1) Saint-y-brid.

Ecclesia Sancte Brigide Maioris: see St Bride's Major.

Ecclesia Sancte Brigide Minoris: see St Bride's Minor.

†**Ecclesia Sancti Catoci:** [ST051702] (also Llancarfan)

Attestations

<i>abbas sancti Catoci</i>	LL	p. 152	?
<i>abbatem catoci</i>	LL	p. 152	?

¹⁰ Richards 'Some Welsh Place-Names', p. 395.

¹¹ All the witnesses to this charter also witness charters 228 (Llanwytherin) and 229b (†Ecclesia Istrat Hafren), and the following charters have three witnesses in common with charter 230a: 214 (†Villa Guliple), 227a (†Villa Eliau), 227b (Llanddingad), 229a (Pencraig), and 230b (†Villa Branuc).

¹² CPNE, p. 197, s.v. *rew.

[congregatio] catoci	LL	p. 153	?
abbas altaris <i>sancti</i> Catoci	LLch.144	p. 144	'c. 650'
abbas <i>sancti</i> Catoci	LLch.140	p. 140	'c. 655'
abbas catoci	LLch.143	p. 143	'c. 660'
abbas catoci	LLch.183b	p. 184	'c. 700'
abbas altaris Catoci	LLch.180a	p. 180	'c. 720'
abbate catoci	LLch.212	p. 212	'c. 862'
abbate catoci	LLch.214	p. 215	'c. 862'
<i>ecclesie</i> <i>sancti</i> Catoci	LLch.243	p. 243	'c. 980'
<i>presbiter</i> <i>sancti</i> catoci	LLch.257	p. 258	'c. 1033'
lector catoci	LLch.267	p. 268	'c. 1070'
<i>presbiter</i> catoci	LLch.267	p. 268	'c. 1070'
<i>presbiter</i> <i>sancti</i> catoci	LLch.272	p. 273	'c. 1072'
doctor catoci	LLch.272	p. 273	'c. 1072'
<i>presbiter</i> <i>sancti</i> catoci	LLch.272	p. 273	'c. 1072'
magister <i>sancti</i> Catoci	LLch.271	p. 271	'c. 1075'
<i>presbiter</i> <i>sancti</i> catoci	LLch.271	p. 272	'c. 1075'
<i>presbiter</i> <i>sancti</i> catoci	LLch.271	p. 272	'c. 1075'
magister <i>sancti</i> catoci	LLch.274	p. 274	'c. 1075'
<i>Ecclesiam</i> <i>sancti</i> Catoci	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
<i>ecclesiam</i> <i>sancti</i> catoci	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
<i>ecclesiam</i> <i>sancti</i> catoci	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

There is no reason to doubt the identification of all the above attestations with the church of **Llancarfan**. In two cases (charters 243 and 274) there is explicit reference to **Llancarfan**, and in all the other cases (apart from the final three, the bulls) the reference is made in conjunction with references to **Llanilltud Fawr** and **Llandoche** (which are also generally mentioned in conjunction with the place-name in its **Llancarfan** form). It is less easy to demonstrate that the final three attestations are also to **Llancarfan**, but one might expect that such an important church would be mentioned in these lists, so the identification is reasonable.

Elements

[*ECCLESIA* + *SANCTUS* (gen.) +] *personal name* (gen.)

†**Ecclesia Sancti Ciuiu: [?nr ST387873] (?also †Villa Cyuiu)**Attestations

<i>ecclesia sancti Cyuiu</i>	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
<i>ecclesia sancti ciuiu</i>	LLb.12	p. 31	1128
<i>ecclesia sancti cyuiu</i>	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

All the attestations are from versions of the same list of Llandaf properties. In each case the church is linked with (*cum*) †**Lann Catgualatir**, which is identified with Bishton (grid reference above). This linkage probably implies proximity, a probability strengthened by the evidence for the location of †**Villa Cyuiu** in the same area (provided that *Ecclesia Sancti Ciuiu* and †**Villa Cyuiu** are in the same place). There is a place by the name of *Llangyfiw* [SO396006] approximately thirteen kilometres north of Bishton, but this is probably too far away to be the identity of *Ecclesia Sancti Ciuiu*.

Elements

ECCLESIA + *SANCTUS* (gen.) + personal name

(1) †**Ecclesia Sancti Dubricii: [SO419387]**Attestations

<i>ęcclesiam sancti Dubricij</i>	LLch.193	p. 194	c. 1100
<i>ecclesie sancti dubricij</i>	LLgloss	p. 194	s. xv ^{med}

Location

The attestations are from a post-mortem miracle (and a gloss thereon) in the Life of Clydog, where they are equated with **Madley**. It is not clear, however, whether the words are to be taken as the name of the church at **Madley**, or whether they are simply a phrase to indicate that Saint Dyfrig was the dedicatee of the church there.

Elements

ECCLESIA + *SANCTUS* (gen.) + *personal name* (gen.)

(2) †**Ecclesia Sancti Dubricii: [?SS5987]**Attestations

<i>ecclesiam sancti dubricij</i>	LLch.239	p. 239	'c. 925'
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Location

The attestation is from an account of the crimes of King Gruffudd ab Owain,

one of which was selling †**Porth Tulon** without permission. In the account †**Porth Tulon** is described as ‘*ecclesiam sancti dubricij*’, but, similarly to (1) †**Ecclesia Sancti Dubricii** above, it is not clear whether the words indicate a church name, or just a reference to the church’s dedication.

Elements

ECCLESIA + SANCTUS (gen.) + personal name (gen.)

†**Ecclesia Sancti Hillarii**: [?in †**Nether Went**]

Attestations

Ecclesia Sancti Hillarii LL p. 284 s. xiii²

Location

This church was identified with **Saint Hilari** by Evans,¹³ but that identification is contradicted by the context of the attestation: a list of churches in the deanery of †**Nether Went**. I am, however, unable to suggest an identification for this church in †**Nether Went**, and Evans’s suggestion could be correct if the list heading was not meant to apply to all the churches in the list.

Elements

ECCLESIA + SANCTUS (gen.) + personal name (gen.)

Ecclesia Sancti Ilduti: see **Llanilltud (Fawr)**.

†**Ecclesia Sancti Micaelis**: [?in **Gwent**]

Attestations

abbas ecclesie sancti micaelis LLch.221 p. 222 ‘c. 950’

Location

‘*Marchi filius catgen*’, the abbot of this place, is one of the clerical witnesses to charter 221. Charter 221 concerns the grant of †**Cair Nonui**, and the same man also witnesses charters 218 (†**Lann Bedeui**) and 239 (†**Penn i Bei**). †**Cair Nonui** and †**Lann Bedeui** are in **Gwent** but †**Penn i Bei** is in **Gower (Gŵyr)**. Charter 239 was granted ‘c. 925’ according to Davies, twenty-five to thirty years before the grants of charters 221 and 218,¹⁴ so it may be that *Marchi* moved from **Gower (Gŵyr)** to **Gwent** to take up the abbacy of *Ecclesia Sancti Micaelis*, but the evidence is not strong. Davies located the

¹³ LL, p. 404.

¹⁴ *The Llandaff Charters*, pp. 124 and 120.

church in Kemeys Inferior ((2) Cemais), comparing its name with †Lann Mihacgel,¹⁵ but dedications to St Michael are quite common, so I should like to see further evidence before accepting her identification.

Elements

ECCLESIA + SANCTUS (gen.) + personal name (gen.)

(1) †**Ecclesia Sancti Michaelis**: [?SO180238] (?mod. *Llanfihangel Cwm Du*)

Attestations

ęcclesiam sancti michaelis LL p. 279 c. 1120s

Location

The attestation is from a short list of churches consecrated by Bishop Herewald in Ystrad Yw. The area of Ystrad Yw is relatively small, and in it I know of only one dedication to St Michael: *Llanfihangel Cwm Du* (grid reference above), which is the identification made by Evans.¹⁶

Elements

ECCLESIA + SANCTUS (gen.) + personal name (gen.)

(2) †**Ecclesia Sancti Michaelis**: [?ST241846] (?mod. *Llanfihangel-y-fedw*, Eng. *Michaelstone-y-Fedw*)

Attestations

ecclesia sancti Michaelis LL p. 323 c. 1350

Ecc'ia sancti Michaelis LL p. 329 c. 1350

Location

The attestations are both from lists of churches in the deanery of Newport. The identification suggested above was made by Evans.¹⁷ Certainly the dedication is right—hardly an uncommon one in Wales, but the only church of St Michael recorded by Richards in Gwynllŵg (which seems to correspond to the deanery of Newport).¹⁸

Elements

ECCLESIA + SANCTUS (gen.) + personal name (gen.)

¹⁵ *Early Welsh Microcosm*, p. 136.

¹⁶ LL, p. 413.

¹⁷ LL, p. 412.

¹⁸ WATU, p. 86.

†**Ecclesia Sancti Michaelis iuxta Usk:** [?SO346092] (?mod. *Llanfihangel-y-gofion*,
Eng. *Llanvihangel Gobion*)

Attestations

ecclesia sancti Michaelis iuxta vsk' LL p. 320 c. 1350

Location

This church is named in a list of churches in the deanery of **Abergefenni**. The identification suggested above was made by Evans.¹⁹ Certainly the dedication is right and Llanvihangel Gobion is in the right deanery and on the Usk (Wysg).

Elements

ECCLESIA + SANCTUS (gen.) + *personal name* (gen.) + *IUXTA* + Wysg

Ecclesia Sancti Michaelis Kistornew: see **Llanfihangel Crucornau**.

Ecclesia Sancti Michaelis super Eleye: see **Llanfihangel-ar-Elái**.

Ecclesia Sancti Nisien: see (2) **Llanisien**.

Ecclesia Sancti Sulbiu: see **Llancillo**.

†**Ecclesia Sancti Teliaui:** [ST156781] (also **Llandaf**)

Attestations

<i>monasterium sancti teliaui</i>	LLch.218	p. 220	955
<i>ecclesię sancti teliaui</i>	LLch.218	p. 220	955
<i>presbiter sancti teliaui</i>	LLch.257	p. 258	'c. 1033'
<i>presbiter sancti teliaui</i>	LLch.272	p. 273	'c. 1072'
<i>ecclesia Cathedrali sancti teliai</i>	LLgloss	p. 61	1476x78

Location

The final attestation, commenting on the unjust seizure of many Teilo churches from 'ecclesia Cathedrali sancti teliai', can safely be regarded as a reference to the church of **Llandaf** from context. The third and fourth attestations are the titles of the clerical witnesses Rhwydd and Morfarch respectively, who are associated in other charters with the church of **Llandaf**.²⁰

Whether or not the first two attestations are also references to **Llandaf** or to

¹⁹ LL, p. 408, s.v. *L. M. iuxta Usk*; Richards gives *Llanfihangel-nigh-Usk* as an obsolete name for this church (WATU, p. 122, s.v. *Llanfihangel-y-gofion*), which would further confirm the identification.

²⁰ *The Llandaff Charters*, pp. 181 and 184.

Y /

some other Teilo church depends on whether or not they are original to the charter, and, if they are original, on the significance of the phrase 'sedis episcopalis famosissime que ad ripam tauis fluminis posita est', which describes the seat of Bishop Pater at the beginning of the charter. If the attestations are late interpolations, then they would be in favour of Llandaf, and, therefore, a reference to that church. Davies regards the bulk of the Narration of charter 218, including the phrase quoted above as original.²¹ The 'sedis episcopalis' is most probably Llandaf,²² and the sense of the Narration seems to demand that it and 'ecclesie sancti teliaui' both refer to the same place, so if both references are early, the second attestation above is also most likely to be a name for the church at Llandaf. The 'monasterium sancti teliaui' is mentioned as the location where the bishop kept six men imprisoned, so the identification with Llandaf could be made on the same grounds as the identification of 'ecclesie sancti teliaui' in the same charter.²³

Elements

[*ECCLESIA* +] *SANCTUS* (gen.) + *personal name* (gen.)

MONASTERIUM + *SANCTUS* (gen.) + *personal name* (gen.)

†**Ecclesia Sancti Teliaui de Merthir Mimor:** [SS882775] (also Merthyr Mawr)

Attestations

<i>Sancti Teiliaui de merthir myuor</i>	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
<i>sancti teliaui demerthir mimor</i>	LLb.12	p. 31	1128
<i>sancti teliaui demerthir mymor</i>	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

All three attestations are from versions of the same list of churches. There is no reason to doubt that this is the name of the church at Merthyr Mawr.

Elements

[*ECCLESIA*] + *SANCTUS* (gen.) + *personal name* (gen.) + *DE* + Merthyr Mawr

Ecclesia Sancti Tussien: see (2) Llanisien.

²¹ Ibid., p. 120.

²² *Early Welsh Microcosm*, p. 136.

²³ Davies was uncertain about the identification of the *monasterium*: *ibid.*, pp. 121 and 136.

†**Ecclesia Sanctorum Iarmen et Febric:** [?ST516965] (?also St Arvans)

Attestations

ecclesiam sanctorum iarmen et febric LLch.218 p. 219 955

Location

The attestation is from the Narration of charter 218, which recounts the events leading up to and following from a violation of sanctuary at *Ecclesia Sanctorum Iarmen et Febric*. Evans suggested the identification with **St Arvans**, which was followed by Davies.²⁴ In fact, the charter gives no description of the location of the church, so the only grounds for the identification are the similarity of the personal name elements *Iarmen* and *Arvan* (*Aruynus* c. 1350—see **St Arvans**), and the fact that the land granted in recompense for the violation (†**Lann Bedeui**) is not far from **St Arvans**.

Elements

ECCLESIA + *SANCTUS* (gen. pl.) + personal name + *ET* + personal name

Ecclesia Tipallai: see †**Lann Tipallai**.

Ecclesia Tituuc Sancti, Ecclesia Tytiuc: see †**Lann Tidiuc**.

†**Eccluis Guiniau:** [?nr SS1199 or SN261265]

Attestations

Eccluis gunniau	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
Eccluis guiniau	LL	p. 255	before 'c. 1025'

Location

The two attestations are from different versions of the same list of Teilo properties. In both cases the place-name is followed by the comment 'ubi natus est Sanctus Teliāus', but as this is the only reference to the birthplace of Teilo (and as, in any case, there might have been conflicting traditions regarding the birthplace of the saint, as there were regarding the resting place of his body²⁵), it is not very helpful as evidence for the location of *Eccluis Guiniau*. Evans notes that the Life of Teilo refers to the burial of Teilo's forefathers at **Penally**, and suggests that the place of the saint's birth might,

²⁴ LL, p. 405; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 120.

²⁵ The miracle of the multiplication of Teilo's body (LL, pp. 116–17) is clearly an attempt to account for such a dispute.

therefore, be located in that area.²⁶ In both versions of the list *Eccluis Guiniau* follows a group of properties in the vicinity of **Penally**, on the banks of the †**Ritec**, and Campbell and Lane include *Eccluis Guiniau* in their discussion of these properties, identifying it with Castle Gwynne [SS106999] on the grounds of the apparent similarity of the name and of the place's proximity to Trefloyne (their suggestion for the identity of †**Luin Teliu**).²⁷ Rees tentatively identifies *Eccluis Guiniau* with Whitewell, two kilometres west of **Penally**.²⁸ The reasons for a location near **Penally** are not very strong, however, and the only solid restriction on the choice of a location is that the place should be in South West Wales, as are all the other properties in the list. One might expect *Eccluis Guiniau* to have a modern form such as **Llanwynio*, **Llanwinio*, or **Llanwnnio*, and, in fact, a place by the name of *Llanwinio* does occur [SN261265], and in the prescribed area.

Charles refers to Phillimore's identification of *Eccluis Guiniau* with *St Twynnells* [SR949976], but there is no sound evidence for this—the attestations of *St Twynnells* show it to be based on a personal name in -OG or E ELL.²⁹

Elements

EGLWYS + personal name

Eccluis Nissien: see (1) **Llanisien**.

†**Eccluis Sant Breit:** [?ST483886]

Attestations

ecclesiam brigide	LLch.235b	p. 235	'c. 895'
eccluis Santbreit	LLrub.	p. 235	c. 1120s

Location

Charter 235b concerns the grant of this church, together with the church of †**Castell Conscuit**. Bounds are given which appear to be for both territories together (the bounds are introduced 'Finis illarum est'). The size of the grant appears to be six *modii* for each church (i.e. one *uncia* total), but it could be

²⁶ LL, p. 402.

²⁷ 'Excavations', pp. 56–57.

²⁸ *South Wales* (SW sheet).

²⁹ Owen, *Description of Penbrokshire*, II, 321, n. 1; PNPemb., II, 734.

read to mean six *modii* between the two churches. If the bounds do include *Eccluis Sant Breit* then the church cannot be identified with St Bride's Netherwent (apparently the only surviving Brigidine dedication in the area—see (1) **Saint-y-brid**) as the grant's size is not enough to encompass both St Bride's Netherwent and the mouth of the **Trogi**. Perhaps the church at **Caldicot** was originally dedicated to St Bride, and later re-dedicated to St Mary (the dedication it carries now). From c. 1350 the church at **Caldicot** is referred to in LL lists as 'ecclesia de Caldekote').

Elements

EGLWYS + SANT + personal name

ECCLESIA + *personal name* (gen.)

Echni: see †Ynys Echni.

Eclin: see (1) †Eilin.

Edelicion: see Edeligion.

Edeligion: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

edelicion	LLch.272	p. 273	'c. 1072'
edelyvon	LL	p. 247	before s. xiii ¹

Location

The first attestation is part of a description of the location of †**Tref Rita**, and the second is from a list defining the seven cantrefs of **Morgannwg** (which is said to correspond to the diocese of Llandaf). Although the location of †**Tref Rita** is uncertain, it is described as being next to (*iuxta*) †**Merthir Tecmed**, which is in the commote of Edeligion. Therefore the identification of the first attestation with Edeligion is quite safe. Edeligion is normally considered a commote of Gwent Is Coed (see **Gwent**),³⁰ but the reference for the second attestation, *Edelyvon*, describes it as part of a cantref with **Gwynllŵg**. The cantrefs of **Gwynllŵg** and Gwent Is Coed (see **Gwent**) were neighbours, however, so it is not too improbable that Edeligion might at some time have been considered a part of **Gwynllŵg**. The spelling *Edelyvon* is difficult to explain, unless it is just a copying error, but, as the name of a large territorial

unit in the vicinity of **Gwynllŵg**, Edeligion is the only plausible identity.

Elements

personal name + -ION

Edelyvon: see **Edeligion**.

Edilbiu: see †**Luch Edilbiu**.

Efelffre: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

eueffre	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
eueffre	LL	p. 255	before 'c. 1025'

Location

Both attestations are from versions of the same list of Teilo churches, in both cases in a reference to the location of †**Lann Teliau Luin Guaidan**. The attestation from page 255 is in a section of the list headed by the title 'IN cantref *guartha*'. As one of the commotes of **Cantref Gwarthaf** is named *Efelffre*,³¹ and as there are good independent grounds for locating †**Lann Teliau Luin Guaidan** in Efelffre, the identification of LL's *Euelfre* with the commote of Efelffre is sound.

Elements

?GEFEL + ?BRE

The name is discussed by Charles, who suggests that the name is a compound of *gefel* 'tongs' and BRE.³² The loss of initial [g] in the first element is explained by supposing that the compound was originally preceded by the article (though it is nowhere attested with the name) which caused lenition: **Yr Efelffre*. The second element poses more of a problem, as the modern pronunciation of the second syllable is [fre], and not the [vre] which BRE would be expected to yield. Charles suggests that the pronunciation is the result of English misunderstanding of Welsh orthography, but the LL attestations of this name (which are the earliest) most likely show the [fre] pronunciation of the final syllable at a date which is too early for English

³⁰ WATU, pp. 81 and 277.

³¹ WATU, pp. 64 and 248.

³² PNPemb., II, 463–64.

influence to be held responsible³³—perhaps [fre] should be explained as an unusual example of provection.³⁴

†Eglesclif: [?ST365831] (?also Goldcliff)

Attestations

Johannis de Eglesclif	LL	p. 300	1326
Johannem de Eglesclif	LL	p. 300	1326
Johannem de Eglesclif	LL	p. 310	1326
Johannem de Eglesclyf	LL	p. 310	1326
Johannes de Eglesclif	LL	p. 312	c. 1350
Johannes de Eglesclif	LL	p. 317	c. 1350
Johannis de Eglesclif	LL	p. 317	c. 1350
Johannes de Egles clif	LL	p. 303	c. 1354

Location

John of *Eglesclif* was a fourteenth-century bishop of Llandaf. The place-name is identified with **Goldcliff** by Evans,³⁵ but the reason for this is not given. Perhaps Eglescliffe [NZ4113] and Eaglescliffe [NZ4215], both places near Stockton-on-Tees should be considered.

Elements

?place-name + CLIF

The County Durham *Eglescliffe* is interpreted by Gelling as ‘cliff at *Eccles* (Celtic Christian centre)’,³⁶ where *Eccles* is an Anglo-Saxon borrowing of the ancestor of Welsh EGLWYS.³⁷

Eglesclyf: see †Eglesclif.

Eglus Pruwys: see Eglwys Brewys.

Eglwys Brewys: [ST005691]

Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Eglus pruwys</i>	LL	p. 325	c. 1350
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³³ Orthographic *f* can represent both [f] and [v] in LL, but most frequently *u* is used for [v] and *f* for [f].

³⁴ The obvious parallel is the common hill name *Moelfre*, one of the Cornish cognates of which, *Mulfra*, does seem to show provection of [vre] to [fre] (CPNE, p. 30, s.v. **bre*).

³⁵ LL, p. 400.

³⁶ *Place-Names in the Landscape*, p. 278.

³⁷ LHEB, p. 227.

Ecc'ia de Eglys pruwys LL p. 331 c. 1350

Location

Both attestations are from lists of churches in the deanery of **Gorfynydd**. I see no reason to doubt Evans's identification.³⁸

Elements

EGLWYS + ?personal name

The spelling *pruwys* probably represents the unmutated form of the second element, of which modern *Brewys* is the lenited form (showing lenition after the feminine EGLWYS).

Eglwys Fair y Mynydd: [SS960785] (Eng. *St Mary Hill*)

Attestations

ecclesia beate Marie supra Montem LL p. 325 c. 1350

Ecc'ia beate Marie supra montem LL p. 331 c. 1350

Location

Both attestations are from lists of churches in the deanery of **Gorfynydd**. The identification followed here is that of Evans,³⁹ which seems reasonable as well on grounds of appearance as of general location. There is some element of doubt, however, insofar as **St Mary Hill** is not in the cantref of **Gorfynydd** (it is, rather, in **Penychen**),⁴⁰ but **St Mary Hill** is on the border with the cantref of **Gorfynydd**, and the deanery of the same name might not have had quite the same limits.

Elements

ECCLESIA + BEATUS (fem. gen.) + *personal name* (gen.) + *SUPRA + MONS* (acc.)

Eglwysilan: see †**Merthir Ilan**.

Eglwys Newydd: see †**Stuntav**.

Eglys Pruwys: see **Eglwys Brewys**.

Eguic: see †**Nant ir Eguic**.

Eholch: see †**Pibenn Eholch**.

Eiliau: see †**Tref Eiliau**.

³⁸ LL, p. 396.

(1) †Eilin: [?SO463177]Attestations

uallis eclin	LLch.74	p. 74	'c. 860'–c. 930
eilin	LLch.171b	p. 172	'c. 860'–c. 930

Location

This feature is named in the bounds of **Llanfocha** (the same bounds are used in both charters). I have not been able to follow these bounds, but the bounds of **†Lann Tipallai**, which has been located in the vicinity of **Llanfocha**, refer to a point called **†Luch ir Eilin**. It seems reasonable to suggest that there might be a connexion between these names, and that the form *Eclin* from charter 74 therefore represents an error for *Eilin*, rather than the other way round. It is not possible to determine which of the readings of charters 74 and 171b (i.e. with or without *VALLIS*) is correct, but if there is a connexion with **†Luch ir Eilin**, and if **†Luch ir Eilin** is the name of a stream source, then we should probably take *Eilin* here to be a stream name.

Elements

[*VALLIS*] + ?*EILIN*

This name should be compared with **†Nant ir Eilin** and **†Nant Eilon**.

(2) Eilin: see **†Nant ir Eilin**.

Eilon: see **†Nant Eilon**.

Eirgin: see **Ergyng**.

Eital: see **†Brynn Eital**.

Eithin: see **†Ros ir Eithin**.

Eithinauc: see **†Tref Eithinauc**.

Eithrim: [SN909329]Attestations

blain ethrim	LLch.154	p. 154	s. xi ²
blain ethrim	LLch.154	p. 155	s. xi ²

* LL, p. 411.

** WATU, pp. 279 and 313.

Location

The attestations are from the starting and finishing points of the bounds of †**Lann Guruaet** (Llandeilo'r Fan). In fact, there is good reason to suppose, as Evans suggested, that the **Eithrim** and the **Mawan** have been confused in these bounds, such that one should be substituted for the other (**Mawan** for **Eithrim**, and **Eithrim** for **Mawan**).⁴¹ The reason for this supposition is that the bounds evidently travel clockwise around their focus, so that the source of the **Eithrim** should be met before the source of the **Mawan**, but, according to the bounds, the reverse is true. The actual source (BLAEN) of the **Eithrim** is at SN876362, but the point referred to in the bounds as 'blain ethrim' is at SN888368.

Elements

?ETHR- + ?GRYM

The first part of the name could be derived from one of the following prefixes: the intensifier *ad-* (as in *ethrin* 'turbulent' < **athrin* < **ad-trin*)⁴², *athr-/ethr-* 'between' (as in *ethrod*, a variant of *athrod* < **athr-rhawdd* or **athr-od*)⁴³, or *e(ch)-* 'out of, from' (as in *etholaf*)⁴⁴. In the case of the first or last of these possible prefixes, we should expect the second element of the name to be **trim* or, possibly, **trym*, neither of which is attested to my knowledge. If the prefix is *athr-/ethr-* then the second element should be **rhim*, **rhym*, **grim*, **grym*, or a suffix **-im* or **-ym*, of which only **grym* 'force, authority, ability' is attested as a native word. The suggested derivation ETHR- + GRYM is by no means certain, but support might be drawn from the fact that the Irish cognate *etargreim* does occur, albeit as a hapax gloss, probably meaning 'intervening, dominating'.⁴⁵ The meaning of *Ethrim* as a river name would then be something like 'the one which forces its way through'. The name also occurs as an element in †**Lann Ethrim**, where it is possibly the name of a stream. If the suggested derivation is correct then the modern form of the name shows confusion of *i* and *y* (not uncommon in Southern Welsh dialects) in the second syllable, and a change from *Ethr-* to *Eithr-* in the first syllable (perhaps caused

⁴¹ LL, p. 370.

⁴² GPC, I, 1255.

⁴³ GPC, I, 235 and 1255.

⁴⁴ GPC, I, 1254; LHEB, p. 638.

⁴⁵ Quin, *Dictionary of the Irish Language*, pp. 285 and 335 (s.v. *forúaslaigech*).

by confusion with the word *eithr* 'except, beyond').

Ela: see †Nant Hela.

Elái: [ST190727] (Eng. *Ely*)

Attestations

elei	LL	p. 69	?
Elei	LL	p. 133	?
Elei	LLch.155	p. 156	'c. 675'
Elei	LLch.204a	p. 204	'c. 748'
elei	LLch.258	p. 258	'c. 1038'
elei	LLch.258	p. 259	'c. 1038'
elei	LLch.271	p. 272	'c. 1075'
elei	LLch.271	p. 272	'c. 1075'
elei	LLch.271	p. 272	'c. 1075'
elei	LLch.271	p. 272	'c. 1075'
Elei	LLch.271	p. 272	'c. 1075'
Eley	LL	p. 27	1126
Eley	LL	p. 27	1126
eley	LL	p. 28	1126
elei	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
elei	LLb.25	p. 43	1129
Eley	LLgloss	p. 155	s. xv ^{med}
Eleye	LLgloss	p. 258	s. xv ^{med}
Eleye	LLgloss	p. 259	s. xv ^{med}

Location

All the above attestations refer to the river Ely. On five occasions territory is defined as being between the rivers Taf (Fawr) and Ely: 'infra taf & elei' (pp. 32, 43, 69, and 133) and 'deinter Taf et Eley' (p. 27). The river name occurs as an element in Llanfihangel-ar-Elái, †Strat Elei, and probably †Rudlan Elei.

Elements

? + -I

This river name is discussed by Thomas.⁴⁶

Elchon: see **Olchon**.

Elcu: see †**Villa Elcu**.

Elei: see **Elái**, †**Rudlan Elei**, †**Strat Elei**.

Eley: see **Elái**, †**Strat Elei**.

Eleye: see **Elái**.

†**Eleyesmor:** [on the **Elái**]

Attestations

Eleyesmor	LL	p. 293	1328
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Location

Eleyesmor is the name given to the location of an acre of meadowland granted to John of Ireland by the Church of Llandaf. The charter provides no explicit description of the place's location, and essentially the only evidence is in the place-name itself, which suggests marshy land (MÖR) somewhere along the Ely (**Elái**). The element MÖR seems to be used in the Cardiff (**Caerdydd**) area to denote saltmarsh—for example, *Penarth Moors* [ST1773], *Cardiff West Moors* [ST1874], *East Moors* [ST2075], *Pengam Moors* [ST2176], and perhaps †**Petresmor**—so *Eleyesmor* should probably be located near the mouth of the Ely (**Elái**), perhaps around Penarth Moors.

Elements

Elái (Eng. gen.) + MÖR

Elfael: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

eluil	LL	p. 254	'c. 1025'
elmail	LL	p. 255	'c. 1025'
eluil	LLrub.	p. 149	c. 1120s
Eluel	LLgloss	p. 149	1476x78

Location

There is no reason to doubt that all the attestations refer to the cantref of Elfael. On page 254 *Eluil* is included in a list with the larger regions of

⁴⁶ EANC, pp. 141–42.

Dyfed, Cantref Mawr, and Brycheiniog, and then on page 255 (part of the same document) two churches claimed by Llandaf are listed as being in *Elmail*. The two churches are †Lann Meilic ha Lyguess and †Lann Teliau i Ciliou, both of which can be identified independently with places in the cantref of Elfael. The attestations from page 149 are concerned with the location of †Podum Liuhess, probably to be identified with Llowes church (just as †Lann Meilic ha Lyguess), which is in Elfael.

Elements

Elfael appears to be a personal name (< **elu-* + **maglos*), so presumably it was originally the qualifying element of a longer territorial name such as **Cantref Elmail*, from which the generic element was dropped.⁴⁷

Elfin: see †Carn Elfin.

Elgui: see Olwy.

Elhaith: see †Frut Elhaith.

Eliau: see †Tref Eliau, †Villa Eliau.

Elichguid: see †Fynnaun Elichguid.

Elidon: see St Lythans.

Ellcon, Ellcun: see †Villa Ellcun.

Elleti: see †Palus Elleti.

Ellgnou: see †Villa Ellgnou.

Elmail, Eluail, Eluel: see Elfael.

Ely: see Elái.

Emblin, Emelinn, Emlin, Emlinn: see Emlyn.

Emlyn: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

emlin	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
emlinn	LL	p. 255	before 'c. 1025'
emelinn	LLb.36i	p. 56	1130

⁴⁷ I am grateful to Patrick Sims-Williams for this suggestion.

emblin	LLb.36ii	p. 62	1130
emelinn	LLb.36iii	p. 287	1130

Location

All the attestations (which are effectively from two documents—the first two are from versions of the same list, and the last three are from separate copies of the same papal letter) are from references to the location of †Lann Teliau Cil Retin. There are good grounds for locating †Lann Teliau Cil Retin in the cantref of Emlyn, so the attestations above can be explained as examples of the cantref name.

Elements

AM- + GLYN

The name is discussed by Charles.⁴⁸ A spelling *Emelyn* is noted by Charles, which should be compared with *Emelinn* here;⁴⁹ the *e* is probably epenthetic. It is easiest to explain the spelling *Emblin* as a miscopying of *Emeli(n)n*, in view of the document's relationship with LLb.36i and LLb.36iii, but the reverse could conceivably be true (where *b* would be an inorganic growth). All the attestations show *i*-mutation of the prefix AM- under the influence of the second syllable.

Emrdil: see †Finnaun Emrdil.

Emreis: see †Deri Emreis.

†**Emricorua:** [ST534941] (W. Cas-gwent, Eng. *Chepstow*; also †Strugull)

Attestations

Emricorua	LLch.158	p. 158	'c. 722'
Emricorua	LLrub.	p. 158	c. 1120s

Location

Emricorua is the object of charter 158's grant. The rubric provides the information that the place is in Gwent Is Coed (see Gwent) on the banks of the Wye (Gwy), and the Narration adds the information that it is on a navigable stretch of the river (the lower reaches, therefore). From the bounds we learn that it adjoins St Kingsmark (with †Pant Anhuc serving as the

⁴⁸ PNPemb., I, 347.

⁴⁹ Ibid..

boundary), and that it must be to the south of that territory, since the bounds run up the Wye (Gwy) to reach †Pant Anhuc. St Kingsmark is located a little to the north-west of Chepstow (Cas-gwent), and the territory ascribed to *Emricorua* is large (three *unciae*), so Evans's identification of *Emricorua* with Chepstow (Cas-gwent) is probably correct.⁵⁰

Elements

*AMRYGOR + MA

The first element is discussed in GPC under *amrygyr* (treated as an *i*-affected variant of an unattested **amrygor*).⁵¹ The first element of *Emricorua* appears to show *i*-affection in the first syllable. The original meaning of *AMRYGOR would have been 'carrying about' (AM- + **kor-*, with perhaps some sense of frequent or excessive action (from the *ry-* prefix), but the Middle Welsh attestations show that it developed the meaning 'busy, restless' as an adjective. GPC suggests that *Emricorua* should be interpreted as 'busy place', i.e. a place for business (a meaning similar to that of *Chepstow*, 'market place').⁵² The notion of 'business' seems, however, to be absent from *AMRYGOR's Old Irish cognate *immarchor*, with which the sense of 'carrying about' prevails.⁵³ One of the meanings of *immarchor* is 'act of ferrying, being ferried; a ferry, passage',⁵⁴ and it is possible that this is the meaning present in *Emricorua*. The meaning 'ferrying place' would suit the location, but, given the presence of a bridge over the river since Roman times, the ferries referred to might have plied their trade up and down the river, rather than directly across.

Eneuris: see †Lech Eneuris.

England: see Anglia, Lloegr.

Enli, Enlli: see Ynys Enlli.

Enuin: see †Cair Enuin.

Eodeton: see Itton.

Epyrthun: see Aberthin.

⁵⁰ LL, p. 371 (Evans appears to have misinterpreted the bounds as those of †Lann Cinmarch).

⁵¹ GPC, I, 100–01.

⁵² Ekwall, *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, p. 100, s.v. *Chepstow*.

⁵³ Quin, *Dictionary of the Irish Language*, p. 389.

Erbin: see †Poll Erbin.

Erchan: see †Carn Erchan.

Erchin, Erching, Erchyng, Ercic, Ercicg, Ercig, Ercineg, Ercycg, Ercych: see Ergyng.

Erddyl: [SN655277]

Attestations

euyrdil	LLch.77	p. 78	c. 1080–c. 1120s
Euirdil	LLch.77	p. 78	c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

This stream forms part of the boundary of **Llandeilo Fawr** between †Hytyr Melin and the (1) Dulais. The Erddyl is a tributary of the (1) Dulais, and I can see no reason to doubt this identification.

Elements

?AFRDDWL

See the discussion under AFRDDWL below.

Ergic, Ergin, Erging, Ergyn: see Ergyng.

Ergyng: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

Ercic	LL	p. 69	?
rex [...] ercic	LLch.75	p. 75	'c. 555'
rege ercicg	LLch.163a	p. 163	'c. 595'
rex ercycg	LLch.161	p. 161	'c. 610'
rex ercycg regionis	LLch.162a	p. 162	'c. 615'
rex ercicg	LLch.162a	p. 162	'c. 615'
rex ercicg	LLch.163b	p. 163	'c. 620'
ercycg	LLch.184	p. 185	'c. 738'
melioribus [...] ercicg	LLch.184	p. 185	'c. 738'
seniorum ercycg	LLch.185	p. 185	'c. 740'
senioribus [...] Ercicg	LLch.198b	p. 198	'c. 755'
ercychi regionis	LL	p. 78	1120s?

⁹⁴ Ibid..

ercicg	LLrub.	p. 72	c. 1120s
ercycg	LLrub.	p. 163	c. 1120s
Ercicg	LLrub.	p. 169	c. 1120s
ercicg	LLrub.	p. 170	c. 1120s
Ercicg	LLrub.	p. 200	c. 1120s
ercig	LLrub.	p. 229	c. 1120s
terra ercycg	LL	p. 275	c. 1120s
Terra ercycg	LL	p. 278	c. 1120s
parrochia ercycg	LL	p. 279	c. 1120s
Ercycg	LLb.11	p. 52	1128
Ergin	LLb.13	p. 35	1128
[parrochia] ergic	LLb.15	p. 36	1128
Ergin	LLb.21	p. 41	1129
[plebs] Erchin	LLb.22	p. 46	1129
[plebs] Ergic	LLb.23	p. 47	1129
[parrochia] Ercycg	LLb.24	p. 47	1129
Ercincg	LLb.25	p. 42	1129
[parrochia] Eirgin	LLb.29i	p. 55	1130
[parrochia] Eirgin	LLb.29ii	p. 286	1130
ergyn	LL	p. 248	before s. xiii ¹
Rex [...] Erchyng	LLgloss	p. 75	s. xv ^{med}
Rex erchyng	LLgloss	p. 78	s. xv ^{med}
Rex Erchyng	LLgloss	p. 161	s. xv ^{med}
Rex Erchyng	LLgloss	p. 162	s. xv ^{med}
Rex Erchyng	LLgloss	p. 163	s. xv ^{med}
Rex Erchyng	LLgloss	p. 163	s. xv ^{med}
Erching	LLgloss	p. 169	s. xv ^{med}
ergyng	LLgloss	p. 170	s. xv ^{med}
ergyng	LLgloss	p. 173	s. xv ^{med}
Erching	LLgloss	p. 185	s. xv ^{med}
Ergyng	LLgloss	p. 185	s. xv ^{med}
Erging	LLgloss	p. 192	s. xv ^{med}
Erging	LLgloss	p. 200	s. xv ^{med}

Erging	LLgloss	p. 229	s. xv ^{med}
Erging	LLgloss	p. 69	1476x78
Rex Erchyng	LLgloss	p. 78	1476x78

Location

Ergyng is taken to have been initially the name of the territory defined by the rivers Wye (Gwy), Dore, and Monnow (Mynwy). Later, as a result of Anglo-Saxon incursions, it was used to refer to the reduced area defined by the Wye (Gwy), the Monnow (Mynwy), the Worm, and †Taratir (with the portion lost to the Anglo-Saxons being known as Archenfield).⁵⁵ ~~This reduced area was known to the English as Archenfield.~~ The usage in the various documents of the Book of Llandaf sits well with the definition above—the name *Ergyng* is never employed inappropriately—though, on one occasion (the definition of Dyfrig's *parrochia* on page 69) the name *Anergyng* is used anachronistically.

Elements

Ergyng is derived from Romano-British *Ariconium*, a station at Weston under Penyard [SO6323], east of the Wye (Gwy), which suggests that the territory of this kingdom might once have been greater.⁵⁶

Estom Lowern: see Llanfihangel Ystum Llywern, Ystum Llywern.

†**Estrat Agcr:** [ST138779] (W. Tyllgoed, Eng. Fairwater)

Attestations

uillam Strat hancr	LLch.179a	p. 179	'c. 710'
agrum estrat agcr	LLch.188b	p. 188	'c. 710'
VILLA STRAT	LLrub.	p. 179	c. 1120s

Location

Charters 179a and 188b are versions of the same document, though 179a is incomplete. In charter 188b *Agrum Estrat Agcr* is equated with Tyllgoed.

Elements

YSTRAD + ?ANCR

The second element is treated as an example of the common noun ANCR

⁵⁵ See above, §2.5.1.

⁵⁶ PNRom. Brit., p. 258; Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, p. 45.

'anchorite' by GPC.⁵⁷

Estrat Elei: see †Strat Elei.

Estrat Eu: see Ystrad Yw.

Estrat Eur: see †Istrat Dour.

Estrat Iu: see Ystrad Yw.

Etern: see †Claud Etern.

Ethrim: see Eithrim; †Lann Ethrim.

Eu: see Ystrad Yw.

Euas: see Ewias.

Euelfre: see Efelffre.

Eugias, Euias: see Ewias.

Euic: see †Rit ir Euic.

Euirdil: see Erddyl.

Euonię: see Môn.

Euyas: see Ewias.

Euyrdil: see Erddyl.

†Everbechyn: [?SO372017] (?mod. *Berthin Brook*)

Attestations

ffratres de Everbechyn LL p. 328 c. 1350

Location

Thomas included this attestation, albeit with a question mark, among his list of forms for *Berthin Brook* (grid reference above).⁵⁸ The LL attestation is from a list of churches and religious institutions owing tithes in the deanery of Usk (within which *Berthin Brook* is found), but the places named are not necessarily in the deanery, nor even in the diocese—note, for example, the presence in the same list of (2) **Llanthony**—so, without further evidence, the identification of *Everbechyn* is doubtful.

⁵⁷ GPC, I, 110.

Elements

The name *Berthin* is discussed by Thomas, who connects it with *Aberthin*.⁵⁸

Evrddyl: see †*Inis Ebrdil*.

Ewvias: see *Ewias*.

Ewenhi: see (2) *Ewenni*.

(1) Ewenni: [SS912778] (Eng. *Ewenny*)

Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Ewenny</i>	LL	p. 320	c. 1350
<i>Prior de Ewenny</i>	LL	p. 330	c. 1350

Location

The attestations are from lists of churches in the deanery of *Gorfynydd*, and I see no reason to doubt the obvious identification with *Ewenni* at the grid reference above, which has a Benedictine priory (founded 1141).⁶⁰

Elements

The settlement is named after the river (2) *Ewenni* on which it stands.⁶¹

(2) Ewenni: [SS879768] (Eng. *Ewenny*)

Attestations

<i>amnem Euenhi</i>	LLch.176a	p. 176	'c. 705'–c. 930
<i>euenhi</i>	LLch.212	p. 213	s. xi ¹
<i>cimer euenhi</i>	LLch.212	p. 214	s. xi ¹
<i>Ewenny</i>	LLgloss	p. 176	s. xv ^{med}
<i>Eweny</i>	LLgloss	p. 214	s. xv ^{med}

Location

The attestations are associated with the bounds of charters 176a (†*Villa Conuc*) and 212 (*Merthyr Mawr*). Because of the identifiability of both *Merthyr Mawr* (the object of the charter) and the River *Ogmore* (*Ogwr*) (mentioned in the bounds), there is no difficulty in identifying the attestations from charter 212 as references to the *Ewenni* river which joins the *Ogmore* (*Ogwr*) at the grid reference above. There is no such security in making the

⁵⁸ EANC, pp. 198–99.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*.

⁶⁰ Information on the Ordnance Survey 1:25 000 scale map of the area.

same identification for the attestation from charter 176, though it is probably correct as no other river of this name is known.

Elements

The name is discussed in detail by Thomas.⁶² The *Aventio* of the Ravenna Cosmography is very probably the Romano-British form of *Ewenni*.⁶³ The second element of the name is the -I river- and place-name suffix. Thomas favours an interpretation of the first element as a stem meaning 'water', and this is supported by Rivet and Smith.⁶⁴

Eweny: see (1) *Ewenni*, (2) *Ewenni*.

Eweny: see (2) *Ewenni*.

Ewias: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

euias	LLch.193	p. 194	?
Eugias	LLch.196	p. 196	c. 1070–c. 1120
euyas	LL	p. 279	c. 1120s
euias	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Euias	LLb.25	p. 42	1129
pago Ewias	LLb.26	p. 54	1129
[parrochia] heuias	LLb.38i	p. 59	1131
[parrochia] Euias	LLb.38ii	p. 63	1131
ewyas	LL	p. 248	before s. xiii ¹
ewyas	LL	p. 248	before s. xiii ¹
[terra] ewwias	LL	p. 248	before s. xiii ¹
[terra] ewias	LL	p. 248	before s. xiii ¹
Euias	LLgloss	p. 194	s. xv ^{med}
Euyas	LLgloss	p. 248	1476x78

Location

Ewias is the name of a territory (treated as a commote of Gwent Uwch Coed

⁶¹ EANC, pp. 142–43.

⁶² *Ibid.*.

⁶³ PNRom. Brit., pp. 260–61.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*.

(see **Gwent**) by Richards)⁶⁵ straddling the modern border between England and Wales. The attestations on pages 194 and 196 are from material relating to the martyr Clydog, whose only known church is at Clodock (†**Merthir Clitauc**) in Ewias. The attestations on pages 32, 42, 59, 63, and 279, are from lists of commotes and cantrefs, fitting the identification of Ewias as a commote. In the attestations on page 248, *Ewias* is linked with another commote, **Ystrad Yw**, as one of the ‘two true sleeves’ (‘dew. wur laweys’) of **Gwent Uwch Coed** (see **Gwent**), a description which agrees with Richards’s designation of Ewias as part of that cantref (though there are difficulties with the classification of **Ystrad Yw**). The context of the attestation on page 54 is not sufficient to be as confident of the identification as in all the other cases, but I know of nowhere else bearing this name, so the identification is probably correct.

Elements

**oui-* + -AS

Ekwall derived the name from the Indo-European root **oui-* ‘sheep’ (surviving in EWIG) and the nominal suffix -AS, also found in DINAS.⁶⁶ The name is sometimes also seen spelt *Ewyas* and *Euas*.

Ewyas: see **Ewias**.

Exeter: see †**Exonia**.

†**Exonia:** [SX9192] (mod. *Exeter*)

Attestations

Exoniensis [episcopus] LL p. 295 1107–34

Location

The attestation is from a single-sentence document which is probably a copy of the now missing conclusion to the account of Bishop Urban’s consecration (page 280).⁶⁷ ‘*Willelmus Exoniensis*’ is named by the document as one of three men consecrated as bishops at Winchester (†**Wintonia**). *Exonia* is the mediaeval Latin name for Exeter, of which the adjectival form (used here) is *Exoniensis*—the Classical name for the site was *Isca Dumnoniorum*.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ WATU, pp. 68, 81 (s.v. *Gwent Uwch Coed*), and 270.

⁶⁶ *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, p. 171, s.v. *Ewyas Harold*.

⁶⁷ Davies, ‘The Book of Llandaf’, pp. 106–07.

⁶⁸ PNRom. Brit., p. 378.

Exoniensis: see †**Exonia**.

Eynesham: see **Eynsham**.

Eynsham: [SP4309]

Attestations

abbas de eynesham	LL	p. 304	after 1480
eynesham abbas	LL	p. 305	after 1545

Location

Both attestations are from a list of the bishops of Llandaf. The bishops concerned, Milo Salley and Anthony Kechyn, are both described as one time abbots of *Eynesham*. Evans's identified the place as 'Nr. Oxford', which is the identification followed here—the only place of this name in Britain.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ LL, p. 398.

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Fairwater: [ST138779] (Welsh Tyllgoed)Attestations

bella aqua LLgloss p. 188 s. xv^{med}

Location

The form *bella aqua* occurs as a gloss on 'TVLL COIT' (i.e. Tyllgoed), the rubric of charter 188b. This is clearly a Latin translation of *Fairwater*, the English name for Tyllgoed.

Elements

BELLUS (fem.) + *AQUA*

Fan Brycheiniog: see †Mynid Du.

Febric: see †Ecclesia Sanctorum Iarmen et Febric.

Ferdun: see Mynydd Merddin.

Ferwallt: see Llandeilo Ferwallt.

Farleigh, Farley: see †Ffarley.

Ferdun: see †Luch Ferdun.

Ffagano: see Sain Ffagan.

†**Ffarley:** [?ST8065] (?mod. *Monkton Farleigh*)

Attestations

Prior de ffarley LL p. 329 c. 1350

Location

The attestation is from a list of churches and religious institutions owing tithes in the deanery of †Nether Went. Evans identified this place as '*Monkton-Farley, Wilts.*', i.e. *Monkton Farleigh* (grid reference above). *Farleigh* and *Farley* are common place-names in southern and midland England, but I know of no examples of the name from Wales.

Fflemyngeston: see Flemingston.

Ffraxinus: see (2) Nash.

Ffrwd Brook: see †Frut Mur.

Filiorum Grucauc: see †Ager Filiorum Grucauc.

Filiorum Quichtrit: see †Tref Meibion Guichtrit.

†**Finhaun Bist:** [?SO328258]

Attestations

aper finhaun bist LLch.195 p. 196 s. xi²

Location

The attestation is from the bounds of †Merthir Clitauc. We are told that *Finhaun Bist* flows into the Monnow (Mynwy) downstream of the point where the †Hilin joins that river, and that its source (BLAEN) is below †Guoun Breith. In other words *Finhaun Bist* runs west–east between Hatterrall Hill/Ridge and the Monnow (Mynwy). The †Hilin cannot reasonably be identified with any stream joining the Monnow (Mynwy) further north than SO325271, so the northernmost candidate for the identity of *Finhaun Bist* is the stream which joins the Monnow (Mynwy) at SO324270. The precise location of †Guoun Breith is uncertain, but it is somewhere on the ridge of Hatterrall Hill, so it is not likely to be south of about SO315239, and, consequently, the southernmost candidate for the identity of *Finhaun Bist* would be the stream entering the Monnow (Mynwy) at SO331240. The criteria employed above leave eight streams which could be *Finhaun Bist*. Rollason drew attention to the course of the modern Welsh–English border from near a fordable point on the Monnow (Mynwy)—SO328258, up a stream, and on to Hatterrall Hill,¹ so, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, this stream (which now enters the Monnow (Mynwy) a little further south of the border’s crossing) is the best candidate.

Elements

FFYNNON + ?POST (len. pl.)

That the FFYNNON is an element of the stream name (rather than a common-noun description of the source of the stream) seems to be indicated by the description of the mouth of the stream as ‘aper finhaun bist’. The second element could, alternatively, be BYS, but then the final *t* of the LL form would be difficult to explain. If the second element is POST, then this stream name

¹ Rollason, ‘The Boundaries’, p. 68.

would provide an example of lenition represented in orthography, which is fairly unusual in LL.

Finion: see †Riu Finion.

†**Finnaun Bechan, I:** [?nr SO324208]

Attestations

aper ifinnaun bechan LLch.240 p. 242 s. xi¹

Location

This stream is mentioned in the bounds of **Llanfihangel Crucornau**. The bounds follow the **Honddu** upstream before reaching the confluence (ABER) of the *Finnaun Bechan*, which is followed up to its source (LLYGAD), on the other side of a hill (ALLT) from the meadow (*gueirclaud*) where the bounds began. Assuming that the area described by the bounds includes **Llanfihangel Crucornau** itself then the bounds must run anticlockwise (given that they travel up the **Honddu**). The first stream visible on the current 1:25 000 map of the area to enter the **Honddu** upriver of **Llanfihangel Crucornau** does so at SO314211, but if this is the *Finnaun Bechan* then the bounds must describe a larger area than appears to be the case. It is more likely that the bounds cover quite a small area around their church, and that the *Finnaun Bechan* is a short brook not shown on the 1:25 000 map, perhaps running from the well at SO323207.

Elements

YR + FFYNNON + BYCHAN (fem.)

†**Finnaun Canthed:** [nr SS578894]

Attestations

aper finnaun canthed LLch.145 p. 145 s. xi¹

Location

This stream forms part of the boundary of **Llandeilo Ferwallt**. The precise location is uncertain, due to the paucity of identifiable features in the bounds, but we do learn that the mouth (ABER) of the stream is on the sea. The bounds proceed from the mouth of the stream up a PANT to some pools (*pyllou*), but it is not clear whether this is the course of the stream.

Elements

FFYNNON + ?CANT (pl.)

The most likely explanation for the second element is that it is an *-edd* (or possibly *-ed*) plural of one of the nouns *cant*: ‘hundred’, ‘rim, partition’, or ‘throng’, the second of which would offer a good sense for a boundary stream. An *-oedd* plural is normal for *cant* meaning ‘hundred’, but the only attested plural for the other *cant* nouns is with *-au*.² Alternatively the second element could be a personal name.

†**Finnaun Cruc Leuyrn**: [nr ST5292]

Attestations

finnaun cruc leuyrn	LLch.141	p. 142	s. xi ¹
finnaun cruc leuyrn	LLch.141	p. 142	s. xi ¹

Location

This spring is used as a point in the bounds of †**Merthir Teudiric**. The bounds are difficult to follow closely due to a lack of identifiable features, but it is fairly clear that the territory described lies entirely between Mouton Brook (†**Pull Mouric**) and the Wye (**Gwy**) as the bounds start and finish on these rivers but are never said to cross them. *Finnaun Cruc Leuyrn* is mentioned between †**Fynnaun Elichguid** and the mouth of †**Nant Biuguan**. There might be a connexion between this place and †**Villa Crucou Leuirn**.

Elements

FFYNNON + CRUG + LLEWYRN

†**Finnaun Derguist**: [nr ST1483]

Attestations

finnaun derguist	LLch.255	p. 257	‘c. 1035’–c. 1050
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Location

This spring is used as the starting point for the bounds of †**Diffrinn Annoid**. It is not possible to provide more than a general location for this place due to the difficulty of following the bounds.

Elements

FFYNNON + ?DIRWEST

The explanation of the second element as *dirwest* ‘fasting’ is uncertain due to the use of *i* in the second syllable instead of *e* as would be expected, though

² GPC, I, 418.

(unless this is an unattested form of the plural with *i*-affection). (The spelling with *e* in the first syllable is not such a problem, as the vowel of that syllable was originally [ə],³ for which *e* is sometimes used in LL orthography.)

†**Finnaun Diguinid Aruen**: [?nr ST5299]

Attestations

finnaun diguinid aruen LLch.218 p. 221 s. xi¹

Location

This spring is named in the bounds of †**Lann Bedeui**. It comes between †**Frut i Guern** and †**Nant Gunos**; indeed, a likely reading of the bounds is that the spring which rises from *Finnaun Diguinid Aruen* is a tributary of †**Nant Gunos**. Until more evidence from this area is produced, a closer identification will not be possible.

Elements

FFYNNON + ? + ?personal name

The second element is the name of at least four other streams—including, from LL, the †**Diuguinid**—and has been discussed by Thomas.⁴ The final element could be the personal name *Iarmen* of †**Ecclesia Sanctorum Iarmen et Febric** or the *Arvan* of **St Arvans** (which might well be the same name in any case). †**Ecclesia Sanctorum Iarmen et Febric** is mentioned earlier in charter 218, and **St Arvans** is in or near the area described by the bounds of the charter.

†**Finnaun Dioci**: [?nr SO482149]

Attestations

licat finnaun dioci LLch.240 p. 241 s. xi¹

Location

This spring is named as a point in one of the two (different) bounds of †**Lann Guoronui**, which has been identified, though not certainly, with **Rockfield**. The bounds place the spring to the west of the Monnow (**Mynwy**), and seem to indicate that its stream (GOFER) flows into the †**Catlan**.

³ GPC, I, 1038.

⁴ EANC, p. 141, s.v. *Dywynni, Dywynnydd*. See †**Diuguinid** above for further discussion.

Elements

FFYNNON + DIOGI

Thomas takes the second element to be *diogi* 'laziness', referring to this as an example of FFYNNON + abstract noun.⁵ A spring of the same name is attested from the early nineteenth century in Pembrokeshire.⁶

Finnaun Doudec Seint: see †**Finnaun y Doudec Seint**.

Finnaun Efrdil: see †**Finnaun Emrdil**.

†**Finnaun Emrdil:** [?SO492152]

Attestations

aperfinnaun emrdil	LLch.264	p. 264	'c. 1030'–c. 1050
aper finnaun efrdil	LLch.264	p. 264	'c. 1030'–c. 1050
licat finnaun efrdil	LLch.171b	p. 173	s. xi ²

Location

The attestations are from the bounds of **Llangunville** and †**Cecin Penn Ros**. We learn from the former that *Finnaun Emrdil* has its source (LLYGAD) not far from †**Cirn Cinfall**, and that it flows down to the Monnow (**Mynwy**). The bounds of †**Cecin Penn Ros** confirm that the mouth (ABER) of the stream is on the Monnow (**Mynwy**), and, in addition, indicates that the mouth of the stream is opposite one end of †**Cecin Penn Ros**. Given the most likely identifications of †**Cirn Cinfall** and †**Cecin Penn Ros**, the streams at SO492152 and SO494151 are the best candidates. Also possible are streams at SO484165 and SO490162. The stream at SO492152 carries a modern parish boundary, so this is my choice for the identity of *Finnaun Emrdil*, in which I agree with Rollason.⁷

Elements

FFYNNON + ?AFRDDWL

See the discussion under AFRDDWL below.

⁵ Ibid..

⁶ PNPemb., II, 417.

⁷ Rollason, 'The Boundaries', p. 47.

†**Finnaun Guaidan:** [?nr SO482149]Attestations

finnaun guaidan LLch.246 p. 247 c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

This spring is attested in one of the two (different) bounds of †**Lann Guoronui**, which has been identified with **Rockfield** (grid reference above). The spring appears from the bounds to be on a ridge (CEGIN) between †**Ryt y Cerr** and the †**Targuus**. Few of the points in this boundary have been identified yet, so the precise location of this feature remains uncertain.

Elements

FFYNNON + GWAEDDAN

GWAEDDAN is attested as both a common noun and a personal name (e.g. LL, p. 116), and it occurs as an element in other place-names, including †**Lann Teliau Luin Guaidan**. The element here could be interpreted as a personal name ('Gwaeddan's spring'), as a river name ('the spring of the Gwaeddan'), or as a common noun ('the crier's spring').

†**Finnaun he Collenn:** [?nr SO482147]Attestations

finnaun he collenn LLch.246 p. 247 c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

This place-name occurs as a point in one of the two (different) bounds of †**Lann Guoronui**, which has been identified with **Rockfield** (grid reference above). The point in the bounds is between the †**Targuus** and †**Celli Rudanhint**, or, more generally, in the fork between the †**Targuus** and the †**Ieuen**. The grid reference above is for the suggested confluence of these last two streams.

Elements

FFYNNON + YR + COLLEN

The qualifying element is *collen* 'hazel tree', singulative of *coll* 'hazel trees' (+ -EN). A Cornish parallel (or near parallel—it appears to lack the definite article) is *Fenton-gollan*.⁸ This spelling of the definite article is not used in any

⁸ CPNE, pp. 62–63 (s.v. **coll*) and 97 (s.v. *fenten*).

other of the LL bounds, but other spellings with initial *h* (*hir* and *hi*) occur in the bounds of charters 125b, 158, 171b, 240, 244, and 251.

†**Finnaun i Cleuion:** [?SO454099]

Attestations

licat finnaun icleuion LLch.227b p. 228 s. xi¹

Location

This spring is named as a point in the bounds of **Llanddingad (Dingestow)**. The bounds describe an area of three *modii* (about fifty hectares)* on either side of the **Troddi**, presumably including the site of the church itself. From the bounds it appears that *Finnaun i Cleuion* is situated on a stream (not at its head) between the †**Camfrut** and †**Nant i Buch**. On the Ordnance Survey map at 1:25 000 scale there is only one well (at the grid reference above) meeting this description, sufficiently close to **Dingestow**.

Elements

FFYNNON + YR + CLAF (pl.)

GPC cites this place-name as an example of the substantival use of the adjective *claf* ‘sick, leprous, maimed; sick person, leper’.¹⁰ Compare †**Nant y Clauorion**.

†**Finnaun i Da:** [between SN6121 and SN6928]

Attestations

finnaun ida LLch.77 p. 78 c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

The attestation is the opening point in the bounds of **Llandeilo Fawr**. As Evans says, the opening section of the bounds is difficult to follow,¹¹ but two approaches can be tried. The bounds are perambulatory, but they can either be assumed to describe the full perambulation (i.e. the final point is the same as or near to the starting point) or to omit a particular stretch of boundary between the closing and opening points (something obvious such as a river—in this case, perhaps, the **Tywi**). If the phrase ‘ypenn yglaspull. artyui’ which follows the attestation is read as Modern Welsh ‘ym mhen Y Glasbwl ar

* See †**Cum Barruc** above for the size of *unciae* and *modii*.

¹⁰ GPC, I, 487, s.v. *claf*.

¹¹ LL, p. 364.

Dywi', then *Finnaun i Da* should be on the Tywi, but if it is read as 'i ben Y Glasbwl ar Dywi', then the spring might be further away from the river, but still probably not very distant. The closing point of the bounds is †Letuer Cell (unidentified but near **Gwaith Dinefwr**), and the next identifiable point after *Finnaun i Da* is the **Erddyl**, which is reached by travelling over land from the Tywi (rather than by travelling up the (1) **Dulais**), so it can safely be said that *Finnaun i Da* is on or near the banks of the Tywi between grid squares SN6121 and SN6928.

Elements

FFYNNON + ?YR + ?DA

The element *da* 'good' here would have one of its substantival senses 'wealth, cattle, chattels; good man, good people; goodness; prosperity'. The name could also be interpreted as *Finnaun Ida*, with *Ida* as an unknown personal name, or the whole thing could even be read not as a name, but as a phrase divided 'y finnaun/id a' ('the FFYNNON/goes').

less probably) /
s / s it /

†**Finnaun Liss**: [?nr ST096776]

Attestations

finnaun liss

LLch.263

p. 263

c. 930–c. 990

Location

This spring is one of the four points defining the dimensions of the territory granted to *Lann Sant Breit* in charter 263. *Lann Sant Breit* is probably to be identified with St Bride's-super-Ely ((2) †**Lann San Bregit**), so, if it can be assumed that the territory defined includes the church itself, then the spring should be in that vicinity as the territory is only three *modii* in size. *Finnaun Liss* is opposed in the bounds by 'cimer irdounant brachan' (see †**Nant Brachan**).

Elements

FFYNNON + ?LLYS

One might question the likelihood of LLYS being spelt with double *s*. The consonant was a geminate historically, but there is some evidence that it had already been simplified by the seventh century.¹²

¹² LHEB, p. 343.

†**Finnaun Oir**: [?SO469166]Attestations

fontem oir	LLch.264b	p. 264	'c. 1025'
licat finnaun Oir	LLch.264b	p. 265	'c. 1025'–c. 1030
finnaun Oir	LLch.264b	p. 265	'c. 1025'–c. 1030

Location

This spring is mentioned in both the Narration and the bounds of †**Cecin Penn i Celli**. We learn from the Narration that Rhiwallon came to the spring on his way from St Maughans (**Llanfocha**), presumably along the road referred to in the bounds. The bounds indicate that a brook (**GOFER**) runs from the spring to a clay-pit (*pridpull*). If my identification of the general area of the territory is correct (see †**Cecin Penn i Celli**) then *Finnaun Oir* should be just on the north side of the ridge road between St Maughans (**Llanfocha**) and Maypole [SO473162]. The only feature visible at 1:25 000 scale coming close to the requirements outlined above is a small pool at the grid reference above. No brook is shown running from this little pool on the current Ordnance Survey 1:25 000 map, but it might be linked to the brook which enters the stream identified with the (2) †**Arganhell** at SO467177.

Elements

FFYNNON + OER

FONS + OER

GPC cites this place-name as an example of the adjective *oer* 'cold'.

†**Finnaun Uanon**: [?SS887771]Attestations

aperfinnaun uanon	LLch.212	p. 213	s. xi ¹
aper finnaun uanon	LLch.212	p. 214	s. xi ¹

Location

The mouth (**ABER**) of this stream on the (2) **Ewenni** is used as the opening and closing point in the bounds of **Merthyr Mawr**. The general area described by the bounds is fairly clear: land in the fork of the rivers **Ogmore** (**Ogwr**) and (2) **Ewenni**, and land on the other side of the **Ogmore** (presumably including **Merthyr Mawr** itself). The mouth of *Finnaun Uanon* on the (2) **Ewenni** is upstream of that river's juncture with the **Ogmore**, but probably not very far

up since the total size of the territory is specified as only four *modii* (about sixty seven hectares).¹³ We know furthermore that *Finnaun Uanon* should run into the (2) *Ewenni* from the east because the bounds begin at the point opposite ('penn ar ciueir') its mouth. Only one suitable candidate is visible on the current 1:25 000 map—the well at SS888770, from which a stream runs for just over one hundred metres before entering the (2) *Ewenni* at the grid reference above.

Elements

FFYNNON + BANON

†*Finnaun y Doudec Seint*: [?SO136267]

Attestations

aper finnaun doudecseint LLch.146 p. 146 s. xi¹

oper finnaun ydoudecseint LLch.146 p. 146 s. xi¹

Location

The mouth (ABER) of this spring on *Llyn Syfaddan* is attested as the opening and closing point in the bounds of *Llan-gors*. The territory described by the bounds is essentially one piece of land bounded by *Finnaun y Doudec Seint*, †*Claud Lyuarch Hen*, the *Llynfi*, and *Llyn Syfaddan*, and another piece of land across the *Llynfi*, which does not adjoin *Llyn Syfaddan*. If the bounds are assumed to include the site of *Llan-gors*, then *Finnaun y Doudec Seint* cannot be on the western side of the lake (between the inflow and outflow of the *Llynfi*). Four streams flow into *Llyn Syfaddan* on the eastern side (at SO131268—now *Nant Cwy*, SO136267, SO141262, and SO141261). If the bounds include *Llan-gors* then the stream now called *Nant Cwy* can only be identified with *Finnaun y Doudec Seint* if the piece of land across the *Llynfi* is south of the lake rather than to its north, which would require a different identification for *Nant Tawel* than the one deemed probable here. Of the three remaining candidates for the identity of *Finnaun y Doudec Seint*, the first [SO136267] is slightly more likely than the others for reasons associated with the identification of †*Claud Lyuarch Hen*. This identification appears to agree with that of Campbell and Lane in the map accompanying their article

¹³ See †*Cum Barruc* above for the size of *unciae* and *modii*.

on the crannog in **Llyn Syfaddan**.¹⁴ See also †**Lann i Doudec Seith**.

Elements

FFYNNON + YR + DEUDDEG + SANT (pl.)

This is an example of a plural noun after a numeral!

Flemingston: [ST017700] (W. *Trefflemin*)

Attestations

ecclesia de fflemyngeston̄ LL p. 325 c. 1350

Location

This place-name is attested in a list of churches in the deanery of **Gorfynydd**, which suits the identification with modern *Flemingston*. Evans identified this name with '*Flimston, Glam.*',¹⁶ which I cannot find, but perhaps it is an alternative form of the same name *Flemingston*. There are three places in Pembrokeshire bearing the name *Flimston* or *Flimstone*, which is based on either FLEMING or *Flemish*.¹⁷

Elements

FLEMING (gen.) + TŪN

Charles points out that *Fleming* is also attested as a personal name.¹⁸

†**Flumen Iacob:** [nr SO367141]

Attestations

flumen iacob LLch.171b p. 172 c. 990–c. 1010

Location

This river name is attested in the bounds of **Llanfable**. The other points in the boundary nearby ((1) †**Glasguern**, †**Dubnnant Du**, and †**Brinn Cornou**) have not been identified, and no feature bearing the name exists today, so it cannot be positively identified.

Elements

FLUMEN + personal name

Probably the same name is represented by *Nant Iago* [SO284143] near **Abergfenni** (though it is certainly not the same stream).

¹⁴ 'Llangorse', p. 676. Marked by them as *Guver Duodecseint*.

¹⁵ GMW, p. 47.

¹⁶ LL, p. 399.

¹⁷ PNPemb., II, 522, 534, and 679.

¹⁸ PNPemb., II, 773.

†Fons Baraliuen: [?SO433177]

Attestations

fontem baraliuen	LLch.210a	p. 210	'c. 780'–c. 1010
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Location

The attestation is from the bounds of †Cair Riou. The bounds describe an *uncia* of land between the Crofft Hîr Brook (†Distin) and the *Liminan* (almost certainly to be identified with the Llymon). *Fons Baraliuen* is a point in the route of the bounds between the *Liminan* and the Crofft Hîr Brook at the northern end of the territory. The spring is mentioned between †Vallis Morcant and †Rivulus Penlucan. There are a number of springs in the right area (in grid squares SO4217, SO4317, and SO4417 between the Llymon and the Crofft Hîr Brook), but, if the suggested identification of †Pull Rud is correct, then the one at the grid reference above is most likely. Evans has a note, attributed to J. A. Bradney, on this spring: 'Perhaps a well in a field now called Croft Hir, near Nant farm house. This well is resorted to by people for wishing and is said to have seven springs.'¹⁹ This would seem to be the 'Wishing Well' at SO442171, but its position right on the Crofft Hîr Brook does not fit very well with the bounds.

Elements

FONS + ?

The second element might contain *bara* 'bread'.

†Fons Ceneian: [?SO119279]

Attestations

fontem ceneian	LLch.167	p. 168	c. 925
fonte ceneian	LLch.167	p. 168	c. 925
fontem cheneian	LLch.237b	p. 239	c. 925
fonte cheneian	LLch.237b	p. 239	c. 925

Location

This spring is used as a point in the bounds of †Tref Ceriau, which has been identified with Llanfihangel Tal-y-llyn. The bounds are short and consequently probably describe quite a small area, presumably including the

¹⁹ LL, p. 399.

site of the church. The territory is defined by a main road (*uia magna*) to the south and a stream, *Riuulus Tauguel*, probably **Nant Tawel**, to the north. *Fons Ceneian* seems to be on the stream, at the eastern limit of the territory. From the spring the bounds proceed up a valley (†**Sicca Vallis**) to the main road. The only evidence for a spring in the appropriate area is the name *Pistyll Wood* [SO122279], containing the element PISTYLL (of which *FONS* could be a translation). *Fons Ceneian* could refer to the source (grid reference above) of the small brook at the edge of Pistyll Wood.

Elements

FONS + ?personal name

†**Fons Cincarui**: [?in Gwent]

Attestations

fontem cincarui LLch.227a p. 227 ‘c. 864’–c. 1010

Location

This spring name is attested as a point in the bounds of †**Villa Eliau**, which is probably somewhere in **Gwent**. *Fons Cincarui* follows †**Vallis Leprosorum** in the bounds.

Elements

FONS + ?personal name

†**Fons Niger**: [?SO3810, SO3811, SO3910, or SO3911]

Attestations

fontem nigrum LLch.121 p. 122 ‘c. 600’–c. 930

Location

This spring is named as a point in the bounds of **Llan-arth**. Its place in the bounds is between the end of a ditch (FFOS) and the †**Clougur** (from which it is separated by a wood). If the identification of †**Cumulus Frut Mur** as a point near the end of the Ffrwd Brook is correct, then it is probably reasonable to assume that the bounds run clockwise from a point on the Clawdd Brook (†**Clougur**) downstream of **Llan-arth**, round **Llan-arth**, and back to the Clawdd Brook at a point upstream of **Llan-arth**. If this is so then *Fons Niger* should be not far to the north or west of the Clawdd Brook, east of **Llan-arth**, probably in the grid squares SO3810, SO3811, SO3910, or SO3911. Evans noted the names ‘Black House’ (i.e. *Ty-du* at SO385121) and *Llaca-du* at

SO392118.²⁰Elements*FONS + NIGER***Fons Oir:** see †**Finnaun Oir**.**†Fons Tollcoit:** [?ST140780]Attestations

oculo fontis tollcoit LLch.188b p. 189 'c. 710'–c. 990

Location

Fons Tollcoit is a point in the bounds of **Fairwater (Tyllgoed)**. The area is now very built up so there can be little certainty in the identification of the boundary points. The name might, however, refer to the source of the stream at the grid reference above (the only stream still visible on the 1:25 000 scale map of the area).

Elements*FONS + Tyllgoed***Ford's Lake:** see †**Rath**.**Forest of Dean:** [NGR N/A]Attestations

foresta de Dene LL p. 333 c. 1350

foresta de Dene LL p. 334 c. 1350

Location

Both attestations are from references to the location of the church of **Newland**. The name is distinctive, so, given the combination with the name **Newland**, the identification is sound.

†Fos Cinahi: [nr SO398149]Attestations

fos cinahi LLch.123 p. 124 c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

This feature is named in the bounds of **Llandeilo Gresynni**. Its place in the bounds is between †**Claud Etern** and the †**Grenin**. Until some of the other

²⁰ LL, pp. 365 and 366.

points in these bounds have been located, however, identification of this feature will have to wait.

Elements

†OS + ?personal name

†**Fossa Paludis**: [?ST140770]

Attestations

fossam paludis LLch.188b p. 189 'c. 710'–c. 990

Location

Fossa Paludis is attested in the bounds of **Fairwater (Tyllgoed)**. The built-up nature of the area now makes it difficult to be sure of the identification of the boundary points. The specified size of the territory is six *modii* (about one hundred hectares),²¹ and a plausible interpretation of the bounds would be to have the western limit defined by the stream running from the point identified as †**Fons Tollcoit** down to the Ely (**Elái**), and the eastern limit defined by a valley (probably also running down to the Ely (**Elái**) with a named stone at either end. This interpretation would place *Fossa Paludis* near the stream mouth at the grid reference above (presumably a marshy area, given the qualifying element *PALUS*).

Elements

FOSSA + PALUS (gen.)

†**Fossa Senex**: [?SO5027 or SO5026]

Attestations

fossam senem LLch.200 p. 201 'c. 758'–c. 990

Location

This ditch is named in the bounds of †**Hen Lenhic**. The church is described as being on the bank of the **Gamber**, and the bounds define the dimensions of its territory as: between the **Gamber** and the †**Via Iacinthina** in one direction, and as far as *Fossa Senex* in the other. The territory is three *modii* (about fifty hectares) in size.²² If Evans's identification of †**Hen Lenhic** with Lenaston Farm [SO507271] is correct, then the bounds perhaps define a rough rectangle between the **Gamber** to the west and the road to the east, in which case the

²¹ See †**Cum Barruc** above for the size of *unciae* and *modii*.

ditch under discussion here would be more likely to define the southern than the northern limit, so perhaps the track between SO502264 and SO507262. If, on the other hand, the identification favoured by both Rollason and Davies with **Llanwarne** [SO505281] is correct, then we should probably accept Rollason's suggestion that the ditch ran to the west of the church, between the road immediately to the north of the church and the **Gamber**,²³ so perhaps the line of field boundaries between SO501279 and SO507272.

Elements

FOSSA + SENEX

The second element is Latin *senex* 'old'.

Foss Ciu: see †**Ciu**.

Foss Pluum: see †**Nant Foss Pluum**.

Foton: see †**Arbores Foton**.

Fotul: see †**Cil Fotul**.

Foxhole Slade: see †**Meinporth**.

Foy: see †**Lann Timoi**.

France: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

<i>franciam</i>	LL	p. 108	?
<i>franciam</i>	LL	p. 110	?
<i>francię rege</i>	LLb.6	p. 89	1119

Location

The first two attestations are from the Life of Teilo. In the first (page 108) we are told of the flight of the British on account of plague to †**Hibernia** and to *Francia*. The Life goes on to tell of Teilo's journey through Cornwall (**Cernyw**) to **Armorica**, which suggests that **Armorica** could be treated as part of *Francia*. The next attestation (page 110) comes after Teilo has learnt of the end of the plague, when we are told that he sent messengers into *Francia* and **Italy** to gather his countrymen for their return. As Teilo is in **Armorica**

²² See †**Cum Barruc** above for the size of *unciae* and *modii*.

²³ Rollason, 'The Boundaries', pp. 75–76.

when this happens, the implication this time is that **Armorica** is different from *Francia*. The Life of Teilo can perhaps be regarded as representing a situation in which **Armorica** is geographically in *Francia* but not so politically or culturally. The final attestation is in a reference to the presence of King *Lodguinus* (i.e. Louis VI, 1108–37) of *Francia* at the Council of Rheims in 1119.

Fratrus: see †**Villa Fratrus**.

†**Fraxinus Stifilat:** [?nr ST4495]

Attestations

fraxino stifilat LLch.244 p. 245 ‘c. 980’

Location

Fraxinus Stifilat is one of the four points in the dimensional bounds of †**Villa Stifilat**. †**Villa Stifilat** is granted together with †**Lann Mihacgel Lichrit** but neither has been securely identified, and, though it is probable, it is not certain that the two properties are neighbours. One of the points in the bounds of †**Villa Stifilat** is †**Pull hi Guarach**, which Evans compared with “‘*Pwll y reuch*,’ nr. Earlswood Chapel, Mon.”. I cannot find this *Pwll y Reuch* now, but it should be somewhere near ST4495 (Earlswood). The territory of †**Villa Stifilat** is specified as four *modii* (about sixty seven hectares), so, assuming that the length to width ratio of the territory did not exceed 3:1, *Fraxinus Stifilat* should not be more than 1500 metres from †**Pull hi Guarach** (and would most probably be more like 600 metres distant).²⁴ Note also the ‘Ash Coppice’ and ‘Ash Covert’ shown at 1:25 000 scale in grid squares ST4493 and ST4593 respectively.

Elements

FRAXINUS + ?personal name

The second element of this name is clearly the same as the second element of †**Villa Stifilat**. If the second element is not a personal name, it might possibly be connected with *stwffwl/ystwffwl* ‘staple, column’.

²⁴ See †**Cum Barruc** above for the size of *unciae* and *modii*.

†Frut Elhaith: [?nr ST1177]

Attestations

frut elhaith	LLch.237a	p. 237	'c. 890'
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Location

The name occurs as a point in the bounds of †Cair Birran, which has not yet been identified. However, one of the other points in the bounds is †Guorlurch Iudgual, which also occurs in the bounds of †Henriu Gunma, and this place lay on the north-western edge of Llandaf's own *podum*. If another of the points in the bounds, †Brenan Picet, can be regarded as the same place as †Abrenan,²⁵ then the bounds can be further located to somewhere near the Elái.

Elements

FFRWD + personal name

†Frut Gurcant: [?SN171071]

Attestations

frut gurcant	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
frut gurcant	LL	p. 255	before 'c. 1025'

Location

Both attestations are from versions of the same list of properties (probably originally a list of the possessions of Penally).²⁶ The context is a very brief description of the bounds of †Lann Rath, †Lann Cronnguern, and the three territories of Amroth. Charles suggested the identification followed here,²⁷ which is well suited to mark the eastern limit of these territories—it is the westernmost stream which would include Crunwear (†Lann Cronnguern) and one must travel over five kilometres further east along the coast before reaching another significant stream.

Elements

FFRWD + personal name

²⁵ LL, p. 378.

²⁶ See the discussion under †Amithieil.

²⁷ PNPemb., II, 465, s.v. *Amroth*.

†**Frut i Guern:** [?nr ST5299]Attestations

frut iguern	LLch.218	p. 221	s. xi ¹
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Location

This brook is crossed by the bounds of †**Lann Bedeui**. It is mentioned between †**Claud Tros Tref** and †**Finnaun Diguinid Aruen**. Without further evidence from the area, a closer identification is impossible.

Elements

FFRWD + YR + GWERN

Evans appears to understand the name as comprising two elements—FFRWD and *Iguern* (interpreted as a personal name?).²⁸ Cf. †**Rivulus i Guern**.

†**Frut i Guidon:** [?SN993155] (?mod. *Nant y Geugarn*)Attestations

blainfrutguidon	LLb.25	p. 42	s. xi ¹
blain frut yguidon	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s

Location

In both versions of the diocesan bounds this stream is followed from †**Cecin Clysty** to the **Taf Fawr**. If my identification of †**Cecin Clysty** is correct, the stream now called *Nant y Geugarn* (grid reference above) is one of several possible identities for LL's *Frut i Guidon*, and, as this is the stream which takes the modern county boundary down to the west bank of the **Taf Fawr**, it is the most likely.

Elements

FFRWD + YR + GWIDDON

GPC cites this place-name as an example of the noun *gwiddon* 'witch'.²⁹ The name should probably be compared with the fairly common group of river names containing the element GWRACH (see †**Diugurach**), and, similarly, the element *gwiddon* probably refers to local stories of a witch.

²⁸ LL, pp. 377 and 405 (s.v. *Iguern*).

²⁹ GPC, II, 1658.

†**Frut Mur:** [?SO357094] (?mod. *Ffrwd Brook*)Attestations

frut mur LLrub. p. 180 c. 1120s

Location

Frut Mur is attested in the rubric of charter 180a, which grants †**Aper Menei**, and as an element in the name †**Cumulus Frut Mur**. The rubric tells us that *Frut Mur* is next to (*iuxta*) †**Aper Menei**, and (probably) that it serves as that territory's boundary with **Llan-arth**. Both Evans and Thomas made the identification followed here, which seems reasonable on grounds of name form and location.³⁰

Elements

FFRWD + ?MAWR

Frut y Guidon: see †**Frut i Guidon**.

†**Fynnaun Elichguid:** [nr ST5292]Attestations

fynnaun elichguid LLch.141 p. 142 s. xi¹

Location

This spring is used as a point in the bounds of †**Merthir Teudiric**. The bounds are difficult to follow closely due to a lack of identifiable features, but it is fairly clear that the territory described lies entirely between Mounton Brook (†**Pull Mouric**) and the Wye (**Gwy**) as the bounds start and finish on these rivers but are never said to cross them. *Fynnaun Elichguid* precedes †**Finnaun Cruc Leuyrn** in the bounds.

Elements

FFYNNON + ?personal name

Pierce suggests that the second element is a personal name *Helygwydd*, attested in LL in the spellings *Heliguid* (page 196) *Elecuid* (page 199), and *Helicuid* (page 200).³¹ The *ch* of *Elichguid* would then represent [k], as a result of hardening of [g] between a vowel and [ɹ]—a phenomenon discussed

³⁰ LL, p. 399; EANC, p. 29, s.v. †*Menai*.

³¹ PNDinas P., p. 51.

by Pierce.³²

³² Ibid..

G

Gabalfa: [ST1678] (also †**Penn i Porth**, †**Tref Meibion Ourdeuein**, †**Villa Gregurii**)

Attestations

coupalua	LLch.151a	p. 151	'c. 680'
Coupalua	LLrub.	p. 151	c. 1120s
gabalua	LLgloss	p. 151	1476x78

Location

This is the name (or, rather, one of several names) of the territory granted in charter 151a. There is no boundary clause to the charter, but we are told that the territory is on a river *Taf*. The alternative names for the place (†**Penn i Porth**, †**Villa Gregurii**, and *Villa Filiorum .v. Ourdeuint*, i.e. †**Tref Meibion Ourdeuein**) are not very useful as only the last certainly occurs elsewhere in LL (and that without a secure context for identification). David Llywelyn, the glossator, identified *Coupalua* with 'gabalua (*prope*) tre oda', the reference to **Treoda** clearly indicating that he meant the district of Gabalfa (grid reference above) in Cardiff (**Caerdydd**). As the element CEUBALFA is used in only two place-names—the other is on the Wye (**Gwy**) at SO2346—Llywelyn's identification is very likely to be correct.

Elements

CEUBALFA (len.)

GPC adduces this place-name (and the LL attestations of it) as an example of the noun *ceubalfa* 'ferry', a compound of *ceubal* 'ferry-boat' + MA.¹ The lenition shown in both the fifteenth-century and modern forms of the name is caused by the article, which, however, seems to be generally omitted.

Gabalua: see **Gabalfa**.

Gabr: see †**Ol i Gabr**.

Gafenni: see **Gefenni**.

Gall: see †**Nant i Gall**.

¹ GPC, I, 472.

Galles: see †Nant i Galles.

Gallica: see Wales.

Gamber: [SO523224]

Attestations

amyr	LLch.200	p. 200	'c. 758'
amyr	LLch.200	p. 201	'c. 758'–c. 990
amhyr fluminis	LLch.174a	p. 174	'c. 855'
amyr flumen	LLch.174a	p. 174	'c. 855'–c. 930

Location

There is little difficulty in the identification of the first two attestations with the stream now called *Gamber*. These attestations are from the Narrative and bounds of charter 200 which grants †Hen Lenhic (another name for, or a place near, Llanwarne). As Llanwarne is on the Gamber, there is no reason to doubt the identification made by Evans and others.² The remaining two attestations are more difficult. They occur in the Narrative and bounds of their charter, but no name is given to the territory granted and there is no indication of its location apart from the bounds (none of the other points in which are identified), and the fact that it is on the *Amhyr*. The possibility should not be ignored that the stream of charter 174a might be not the Gamber, but the †Humir (which is attested once in the form *Amir*), or even another stream entirely.

The source of the Gamber, *Gamber Head*, is probably the place referred to as *Licat Amr* in one of the *mirabilia* of the *Historia Brittonum*.³ A place *Lagademar*, identified with Garway [SO455224], is recorded in the Domesday Book, and is considered by the editors of the Herefordshire volume to be a corruption of a LLAN name.⁴ Coplestone-Crow, however, supposed *Lagademar* to be a form of *Licat Amr*.⁵ This suggestion necessitates either that we reject the identification of *Lagademar* with Garway, or that we suppose that the place regarded as the head of the Gamber up to the time of the Domesday

² LL, p. 386.

³ Morris, *Nennius*, p. 42.

⁴ Morris, *Domesday Book*, xvii: *Herefordshire*, 1,50 and note.

⁵ *Herefordshire Place-Names*, p. 91.

survey, at least, was not the place now regarded as the head of that stream (known as *Gamber Head* [SO494296]). Coplestone-Crow opts for the latter possibility, but his argument that the original course of the Gamber was that of the Garren Brook [SO559183] is contradicted by the connexion between the Gamber and Llanwarne mentioned above.⁶

Elements

?personal name

A priest of †Lann Suluc, *Iacob filium Amhyr*, is mentioned on page 277 of LL. In *Historia Brittonum* the spring *Licat Amr* is said to take its name from the nearby grave of a warrior called *Amr*.⁷ The *Historia Brittonum* explanation looks very much like an aetiological legend, but it does suggest that *Amr* was a known personal name. *Gamber* is derived by both Ekwall and Förster from Celtic **Ambrā*, cognate with Latin *imber* 'rain', but Jackson regards this as doubtful on the grounds that the name is 'of uncertain etymology and language'.⁸ Jackson's scepticism may have been unfounded, since, from the dating evidence now available, it is highly unlikely that *Gamber* has a Germanic origin, so, if it is not Brittonic, it would have to be pre-Celtic. The most likely explanation for the initial *g* of the modern form of the name is that it arose amongst Welsh speakers who falsely 'restored' the consonant on the assumption that it had been originally present but lost through lenition (cf. *godidog* < *odidog*).⁹ Such a development could not have happened before the period when lenition of [g] began to result in loss of consonant value entirely, but this might have been as early as the ninth century.¹⁰

Garan, Garann: see Llangarron.

Garn Lwyd: [ST153851]

Attestations

[i]rcarn luit LLch.255 p. 257 'c. 1035'–c. 1050

Location

Ir Carn Luit is named as a point in the bounds of †Penn i Prisc and, as a *Garn*

⁶ Ibid..

⁷ Morris, *Nennius*, p. 42.

⁸ Ekwall, *English River Names*, p. 12; Förster, *Der Flußname Themse*, p. 165; LHEB, pp. 509–10.

⁹ Ekwall, *ibid.*; GPC, II, 1421.

¹⁰ LHEB, p. 438.

Lwyd is marked on the current Ordnance Survey map of the area, less than a kilometre north of that valley, it is reasonable to identify the two. There is nothing in the rest of the boundary clause to support or contradict this identification. The presence of other cairns in the area is suggested by the name *Cefncarnau* for the top of the northern slope of Cwm Nofydd [ST1584].

Elements

YR + CARN (len.) + LLWYD (fem.)

The article is omitted in the modern form of the name, but that it existed once is indicated by the lenition of CARN.

†Garth Bacat: [nr †Pull Mouric]

Attestations

garth bacat	LLch.262	p. 262	'c. 1022'–c. 1030
garth bacat	LLch.262	p. 262	'c. 1022'–c. 1030

Location

This place occurs as a point in the bounds appended to charter 262. Although the approximate area is known, it is not clear precisely what the object of the grant is, nor whether the bounds given are for all, or only part of the territory.¹¹ The bounds describe territory on both sides of †Pull Mouric (i.e. Mounon Brook). *Garth Bacat* is not far from the top end of †Nant Hela, separated from it by a grove (LLWYN). Due to the lack of identifiable points in the bounds, the best that can be said is that *Garth Bacat* is not far from Mounon Brook.

Elements

GARTH + ?BAGAD

GPC regards this place-name as containing the primary sense of BAGAD, 'cluster, bunch'.¹² The word can also have the senses 'host, multitude' and 'flock, herd', and, though these are demonstrably later developments,¹³ perhaps 'flock, herd' would be more likely, particularly given that GARTH can mean 'enclosure'.

¹¹ See †Villa Carnou, †Villa Crucou Leuirn, and †Villa Crucou Morcant for discussion of the problems.

¹² GPC, I, 249.

¹³ Ibid..

†**Garth Benni**: [?nr SO592176] (?mod. *Welsh Bicknor*; also †**Lann Garth Benni**,
†**Lann Custenhin**)

Attestations

guritpenni	LLch.165	p. 166	?
mainaur garth benni	LLch.72a	p. 72	'c. 575'
princeps garthbenni	LLch.164	p. 164	'c. 620'
garth benni	LLch.230b	p. 231	'c. 866'
garthbenni	LLrub.	p. 72	c. 1120s
garthbenni	LL	p. 276	c. 1120s

Location

In charters 164, 165, and 230b this place-name is attested as the place of origin of a witness. The main reason for regarding *Guritpenni* of charter 165 as an example of this name is that there it is associated with a cleric called Gwernabwy, and an abbot (*princeps*) of *Garth Benni* with the same name is recorded as a witness to charter 164. Davies regards charter 165 as a forgery based on a genuine list of clerical witnesses from c. 625. The other clerical witnesses in this charter are said to be from †**Bolgros**, †**Lann Guorboe**, †**Lann Deui**, †**Lann Enniaun**, and **Lancaut**—places in **Ergyng** and on the **Wye (Gwy)** in **Gwent**. Charter 164 concerns the grant of †**Lann Budgualan** (**Ballingham** in **Ergyng**) and its witnesses are all associated with places in **Ergyng**. The location of the land granted by charter 230b (†**Villa Branuc**) is uncertain but its associations and witnesses are **Ergyng** ones. Charter 72a concerns the grant of the *maenor* of *Garth Benni*, which is located by the rubricator in **Ergyng**. The attestation on page 276 is from a list of churches in **Ergyng**. Clearly, then, there are strong grounds for locating *Garth Benni* in **Ergyng**, and the reference to 'iaculum constantini regis' across the **Wye (Gwy)** suggests that the place is on that river. The church of this place is elsewhere referred to as †**Lann Garth Benni** and †**Lann Custenhin**, and these references serve to confirm, but not add to, what has been said above of *Garth Benni*.

The identification with **Welsh Bicknor** goes back at least as far as Evans, and

has been followed by Finberg, Richards, and Davies.¹⁴ Finberg notes that Welsh Bicknor is called *ecclesia Sancti Custenin de Biconovria* in a charter of 1144, and this, provided that this identification is correct, of course, would constitute strong circumstantial evidence insofar as it demonstrates an association between Welsh Bicknor and St Cystennin.¹⁵ It is difficult to relate *Biconovria* to *Garth Benni* unless one or both of the forms is highly corrupted. M. P. Watkins identified the place with Huntsham [SO5617], on the basis that that is the only place with a marsh which could be named †*Palus Niger* in the area of Welsh Bicknor, which seems a weak basis given the landscape changes which can happen over the course of a thousand years.¹⁶ Rollason also sought the site of *Garth Benni* within this area, and drew attention to the farm named *Hentland* (probably *henllan* ‘old church’) at SO567163, though she did not feel able to make a definite identification.¹⁷

Elements

GARTH + ?BEN (pl.)

The place-name is also present in †*Lann Garth Benni*, the name of the church of †*Garth Benni*. The second element appears to be the plural of *ben* ‘wagon, cart’, in which case the place-name would mean ‘wagon enclosure’.

Garthon: see †*Minid Garthon*.

Garth Teuir: see †*Lann Teliau Garth Teuir*.

Garway: see †*Lann Guorboe*, †*Lann Mihacgel supra Mingui*.

Gauanauc: see †*Gauanhauc*.

†*Gauanhauc*: [?nr SN9713]

Attestations

gauannauc	LLb.25	p. 42	s. xi ¹
gauanhauc	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s
gauanauc	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s

¹⁴ LL, p. 407, s.v. *L. Custenhin G. Benni* (this identification was credited to Egerton Phillimore by Evans: LL, p. xl); Finberg, *The Early Charters*, p. 136; WATU, p. 131, s.v. *Llangystennin Garth Benni*; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 92.

¹⁵ *The Early Charters*, p. 136.

¹⁶ ‘Lann Custenhinn Garthbenni’, p. 198.

¹⁷ Rollason, ‘The Boundaries’, pp. 10–25 (particularly pp. 21–23).

Location

This feature is attested in both versions of the diocesan bounds. It stands between the source (BLAEN) of the †**Guyragon** and †**Deri Emreis**, neither of which is certainly identified. The wording of the bounds suggests that this is a point rather than a linear feature. Evans compared this place-name with the *Tre-banog* names around SN9307, but this is based on little more than a weak coincidence of sounds, and on his identification of the *Hepstur* (with which I disagree). If the *Hepstur* can be identified with the **Hepste**, and if it is assumed that the modern county boundary reflects the mediaeval boundary unless there is sound evidence to the contrary, then *Gauanhauc* should be somewhere in the area of the grid reference above.

Elements

?GOF + ?-OG

The name appears to contain the adjectival ending -OG. The first *u* could represent [v] or [u] (*au* never represents the diphthong of [a] and [ü] in LL's Welsh orthography). Conceivably the base of the name could be noun GOF, of which -*ann*- would be part of the original stem.¹⁸ If that is so then the [o] of GOF has been assimilated to the following [a].

Gauannauc: see †**Gauanhauc**.

Gaul: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

gallię	LL	p. 68	?
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Location

The context of this attestation is the sending of Bishops Germanus and Lupus from Gaul to Britain to extirpate the heretical Pelagian doctrine.

Gavenny, Gebenni: see **Gefenni**.

Gefenni: [SO300136] (Eng. *Gavenny*)

Attestations

gebenni	LLch.122	p. 123	s. xi ¹
geuenni	LLch.122	p. 123	s. xi ¹

¹⁸ GPC, II, 1428.

geuenni

LLch.122

p. 123 s. xi¹Location

All three attestations are from the bounds of **Llandeilo Bertholau**, which describe land on both sides of this river. The bounds tell us that the river runs between the source of the **Cibi** and the **Ysgryd Fawr**, which is quite sufficient to identify the LL forms with the Gavenny.

Elements

GOF + -I

The name is discussed by Thomas, who derives it from *Gobannium*, the name of a Roman station in the area (probably Brittonic **Gobannion*).¹⁹ The *-ann-* is part of the original stem of GOF.²⁰ The LL forms show *i*-affection across two syllables, and the English form (as well as the Welsh *Gafenni* which is often seen) is the result of dissimilation.²¹

†**Gefiat**: [SO485170, SO488171, SO494171, SO494170, or SO491165]

Attestations

aper gefiat LLch.171b p. 173 s. xi²

gefiat LLch.171b p. 173 s. xi²

Location

This stream name is attested in the bounds of **Llangunville**. Thomas suggests that *Aper Gefiat* would be a point on the Monnow (**Mynwy**),²² but I do not see any plausible reading of the bounds which would indicate this. It seems to me that the bounds require the **ABER** of the stream to be with another stream inland, and not with the Monnow (**Mynwy**). If the suggested identifications of †**Cirn Cinfall** and †**Finnaun Emrdil** are correct, and if the bounds are supposed to include **Llangunville**, then the *Gefiat* should be north-east of †**Finnaun Emrdil**. The only likely candidates are those at the grid references above.

Elements

Thomas has discussed this name, and concluded that the *e* represents [ei],

¹⁹ EANC, pp. 143–45; PNRom. Brit., p. 369; LHEB, pp. 351–53.

²⁰ GPC, II, 1428.

²¹ EANC, p. 144.

²² EANC, p. 174, s.v. †*Geifiad*; Rollason's suggestions imply the same supposition: 'The Boundaries', pp. 48–49.

resulting from *i*-affection of [a], caused by the suffix -IAD (which denotes the subject of a verbal concept).²³ He suggests that the name is based on the same stem as the verbal noun *gafael* 'to hold, seize' (i.e. **ghabh-*) and the noun *gefyn* 'shackle' (which, however, GPC derives from **gem-*). In either case there seems to be a notion of holding fast.

Gelli-gaer: [?ST135969] (?also †Cair Castell)

Attestations

ecclesia de Kilchigayr LL p. 324 c. 1350

Location

The attestation is from a list of churches owing tithes in the deanery of **Llandaf**. The identification with Gelli-gaer was made by Evans,²⁴ and is reasonable on grounds of form and location.

Elements

CELLI + CAER (len.)

The representation of the Welsh [†] by *lch* is comparable with the use of *lth* in *Kilthykarn* (**Gelli-garn**). The modern form of the name shows lenition of CELLI. ~~The composition of the name is interesting: as it stands it appears to be a compound rather than a name phrase.~~

Gelli-garn: [SS957793]

Attestations

ecclesia de Kilthykarn LL p. 325 c. 1350

[*ecclesia de*] *Kilthykarn* LL p. 331 c. 1350

Location

The attestations are from lists of churches in the deanery of **Gorfynydd**. The second of the two is as one of three churches under the responsibility of the Abbot of Neath (**Mynachlog Nedd**), the other two being *Caddokeston* (**Cadoxton-juxta-Neath**) and *Kilthibebul* (**Cilybebyll**). The context of the former attestation is similar. Evans made the identification with '*Gelli Garn*, N. of Llangan, Glam.', i.e. the church at the grid reference above.²⁵ In terms of form this is entirely reasonable, and also in terms of general location (it is just

²³ EANC, *ibid.*; GPC, II, 1997, s.v. *-iad*¹ & ².

²⁴ LL, p. 391.

north of Eglwys Fair y Mynydd which is also located in the deanery of Gorfynydd). However, the elements of the name are relatively common, so further evidence (for example of a connexion between Neath Abbey and this church) would be needed before much weight could be placed on this identification.

Elements

CELLI + CARN (len.)

Note the representation of the Welsh [t] by *lth*. As with Gelli-gaer, the modern form of the name shows lenition of CELLI, ~~and the name appears to be a compound rather than a name phrase.~~

Genoa: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

ianue	LLb.34i	p. 57	1130
Janue	LLb.34ii	p. 60	1130
ianuę	LLb.34iii	p. 287	1130
ianue	LLb.35i	p. 57	1130
ianue	LLb.35ii	p. 288	1130

Location

The Classical Latin form of the name was *Genua*.²⁶ The form *Janua* is probably the result of mediaeval speculation about a connexion with the god Janus.²⁷

Georgii, Georgio: see Sain Siorys.

Gerein, Gerrans: see †Din Gerein.

Geuenni: see Gefenni.

Gillic, Gillicg: see †Tref Gillic.

Gillow: [SO531253]

Attestations

gillwc	LLgloss	p. 275	s. xv ^{med}
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²⁶ Ibid..

²⁷ Lewis, *Latin Dictionary*, p. 809.

²⁸ *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

Location

This place-name is attested as a late gloss on the place-name element *Cil Luch* in †**Lann Mihacgel Cil Luch** (q.v.). The association with a church dedicated to St Michael, location in **Ergyng**, and the similarity of *Cil Luch/Gillwc* to *Gillow*, provide reasonable grounds for the identification made here.

Elements

CIL + LLWCH

The location of *Gillow* is perfectly described by the elements CIL and LLWCH—it is close by a pool (LLWCH) at the head of a stream in a small valley (CIL). Note also *Great Cil-llwch* and *Little Cil-llwch* in grid square SO3813.

Gillwc: see **Gillow**.

Ginhill: see †**Tref Ginhill**.

Gistlerth: see †**Carn Gistlerth**.

Giurgii: see †**Villa Gregurii**.

Glamorgan: see **Gwlad Morgan**.

Glan Rath, Glann Rath: see †**Rath**.

Glas: see †**Cruc Glas**, †**Cumulus Glas**.

(1) †**Glasguern, Ir:** [nr SO367141]

Attestations

[i]rglasguern LLch.171b p. 172 c. 990–c. 1010

Location

This feature is named as the opening point in the bounds of **Llanfable**. The next point in the bounds is the †**Dubnnant Du**. None of the points in the bounds have been securely identified apart from the **Troddi** which is the closing feature. Since the bounds seem to describe a perambulation it is reasonable to assume that *Ir Glasguern* is the name of an alder marsh on the **Troddi**.

Elements

YR + GLAS + GWERN

(2) †Glasguern: [nr ST556958]Attestations

glasguern	LLch.174b	p. 175	'c. 878'–c. 930
glasguern	LLch.229b	p. 229	'c. 878'–c. 930

Location

Both attestations are from bounds of †**Ecclesia Istrat Hafren**. Charter 174b appears to give two different boundaries (perhaps for adjoining territories, or just different ways of defining the same territory), only the second of which is used in charter 229b. The bounds in which *Glasguern* occurs appear to be dimensional, with *Glasguern* opposed to †**Louern**. The exact location of †**Ecclesia Istrat Hafren** is not certain, and none of the boundary points has been securely identified, but the territory should be somewhere in the vicinity of Tidenham (grid reference above).

Elements

GLAS + GWERN

†Glaspull, Y: [between SN6121 and SN6928]Attestations

penn yglaspull	LLch.77	p. 78	c. 1080–c. 1120s
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Location

This feature is mentioned in the bounds of **Llandeilo Fawr**. It is described as on (*ar*) the **Tywi**, and it should be near †**Finnaun i Da** (see which for a discussion of the opening section of these bounds).

Elements

YR + GLAS + PWLL

Glastonbury: see †Glastonia.

†Glastonia: [ST5039] (mod. *Glastonbury*)Attestations

glastoniensis	LL	p. 333	c. 1350
glastonie	LLgloss	p. 88	1476x78

Location

The reference to the monastic invasion of Llandaf's property mentioned in a letter of Urban to Pope Calixtus II (pages 87–88) attracted a marginal comment from David Llywelyn, identifying the religious houses responsible

as *Glastonia*, **Gloucester**, and **Tewkesbury**. *Glastonia* is the usual Latin form of *Glastonbury*.²⁸ The adjectival form *Glastoniensis* is used to describe the location of a †**Monasterium Beate Marie** in connexion with the *vicaria* of **Basaleg**. Since the monastery at Glastonbury was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and since **Basaleg** was a dependent,²⁹ the identification is practically certain.

Glaswg: see †**Glesius**.

Glat Morcant: see **Gwlad Morgan**.

Gleiniou: see †**Lin i Gleiniou**.

†**Glesius**: [?ST104786] (?mod. *Nant y Glaswg*)

Attestations

glesius	LLch.263	p. 263	c. 930–c. 990
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Location

Glesius is named as one of the four points defining the dimensions of the territory granted to *Lann Sant Breit* in charter 263. *Lann Sant Breit* is probably to be identified with St Bride's-super-Ely ((2) †**Lann San Bregit**). Evans identified *Glesius* with 'Glasswg' (i.e., presumably, Nant y Glaswg—grid reference above),³⁰ which is quite possible, though it should be pointed out that it is not obvious from the text what kind of feature *Glesius* is. *Glesius* is opposed in the bounds to †**Nant Brachan**.

Elements

?GLAS + ?-OG

If the identification with Nant y Glaswg is correct, then the final *-s* should probably be regarded as the result of a misreading of *-c* or *-g*. The LL form would show a termination *-iwig*, a dialectal variant of *-iog* (see *-OG*), and the first syllable could then be explained as *i*-affection of GLAS. We should expect such a word to be written **gleisiog* in standard Modern Welsh orthography, but no such word is recorded by GPC, though the word could be a variant

²⁸ Ekwall, *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, p. 198.

²⁹ Knowles, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 66.

³⁰ LL, p. 383.

form of *glasog* 'gizzard, kidney' or 'bluish'.³¹

†**Glin Mannou:** [?nr SO520000]

Attestations

Glin mannou LLch.218 p. 221 955

Location

Glin Mannou is one of three parcels of land said to belong to †**Lann Bedeui** in charter 218 (the other two being †**Cil Coit** and †**Ros ir Eithin**). It is not clear whether these three pieces of land adjoin each other, or, indeed, whether they adjoin †**Lann Bedeui**. A place *Glyn Wood* occurs a few hundred metres to the north of Penterry Farm (the suggested identity of †**Lann Bedeui**), and the GLYN in this case appears to refer to the valley of the lower reaches of the **Anghidi**.

Elements

GLYN + ?MAN¹ (pl.)

The second element might be the plural of *man* 'blemish'.

Glomorgan: see **Gwlad Morgan**.

Gloucester: [SO830185]

Attestations

<i>consulem Gloecestrie</i>	LL	p. 27	1126
<i>milone de gloecestria</i>	LL	p. 29	1126
<i>Miloni degloecestria</i>	LLb16	p. 37	1128
<i>Gloucestria</i>	LL	p. 294	1304–05
<i>Conte [...] de Gloucestre</i>	LL	p. 313	c. 1350
<i>Conte [...] de Gloucestre</i>	LL	p. 314	c. 1350
<i>Conte de Gloucestre</i>	LL	p. 314	c. 1350
<i>Conte de Gloucestre</i>	LL	p. 315	c. 1350
<i>Conte de Gloucestre</i>	LL	p. 316	c. 1350
<i>Conte de Gloucestre</i>	LL	p. 317	c. 1350
<i>Lantony iuxta Gloucestriam</i>	LL	p. 328	c. 1350
<i>Abbas Glouc'</i>	LL	p. 330	c. 1350
<i>glowcestrie</i>	LLgloss	p. 88	1476x78

³¹ GPC, II, 1404.

Erle of glowcestre

LLgloss p. 313 1476x78

Location

The majority of the attestations are in references to the count of Gloucester ~~(called 'earl' in the fifteenth-century gloss on page 313)~~. The name is quite distinctive, and there is no reason to doubt that all the above attestations refer to the vicinity of the grid reference above.

Gloyiud: see †Tref Gloyiud.

Glyncorwg: see †Lann Tiuauc.

Glywysing: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

rex gleuissic	LL	p. 137	?
regis gleuissicg	LL	p. 206	?
regionem gleuissic	LLch.157	p. 157	? 'c. 685'
rex gleuissic	LLch.156	p. 156	'c. 698'
rege gleuissicg	LLch.204b	p. 204	'?c. 715'
senioribus gleuissicg	LLch.190a	p. 190	'c. 728'
rege gleuissicg	LLch.191	p. 191	'c. 730'
rex gleuissicg	LLch.195	p. 195	? 'c. 740'
regis gleuissicg	LLch.204a	p. 204	'c. 748'
rex gleuissicg	LLch.209a	p. 209	'c. 770'
regem gleuissicg	LLch.212	p. 212	? 'c. 862'
rege gleuissicg	LLch.214	p. 214	? 'c. 862'
regis gleuissicg	LLch.229b	p. 230	'c. 878'

Location

Glywysing is clearly employed as the name of a kingdom—all but two of the attestations are in the titles of kings (Einion, Morgan ab Athrwys, Ithel ap Morgan, Meurig ab Ithel, and Hywel ap Rhÿs). The area covered seems to be south-east Wales generally, corresponding to the earlier sense of Morgannwg (which seems to be a later name for the same kingdom).³² The attestation on pages 191 and 195 are glossed 'gwenll6c' and 'wenthloc' (i.e. Gwynllŵg) by fifteenth-century hands, but these cannot be taken seriously as Ithel ap

³² For a fuller discussion see Davies, *Early Welsh Microcosm*, p. 91.

Morgan's grants are from a much wider area than **Gwynllŵg** alone.³³

Elements

personal name + -ING³⁴

The place-name is an example of a dynastic name (personal name *Glywys* + dynastic suffix *-ing*³⁵) being transferred to the territory governed by the dynasty.

Gob: see †Nant i Gob.

Goetre: [SO327059]

Attestations

ecclesia de Coytre LL p. 321 c. 1350

Location

The attestation is from a list of churches in the deanery of **Abergefenni**. Three *Goetre* names are listed in the *Gazetteer* (the unlenited form *Coetre* does not occur), two in Glamorgan (**Morgannwg**) and one in **Gwent**. As the **Gwent** one is within the deanery of **Abergefenni**, it is the most likely identity of LL's *Coytre*.

Elements

COED + TREF³⁶

The modern form shows lenition after the article (which is, however, generally omitted). The assimilation of the two dental stops to [t] shows that the word is a proper compound ('wood-settlement', not 'wood of the settlement').

Gof: see †Nant i Gob.

Goher: see **Gŵyr**.

Goldclif: see **Goldcliff**.

Goldcliff: [ST372819] (?also †Eglesclif)

Attestations

monasterio deGoldcliue	LL	p. 291	1245
Willelmus prior de Goldcliuia	LL	p. 303	c. 1350

³³ See the list of Ithel's grants in *ibid.*, p. 68, n. 7.

³⁴ Davies, *Early Welsh Microcosm*, p. 99.

³⁵ GPC, II, 2016.

³⁶ GPC, I, 535.

Willelmus [...] prior de Goldclif	LL	p. 312	c. 1350
Willame de Goldcliue	LL	p. 315	c. 1350
ecclesia de Goldclif	LL	p. 318	c. 1350
ecclesia de Goldclyf	LL	p. 322	c. 1350
Prior de Goldclyf	LL	p. 328	c. 1350
prior Gooldcliuie	LLgloss	p. 225	s. xv ^{med}
Goldcliuie	LLgloss	p. 88	1476x78
prior goldcliuie	LLgloss	p. 226	1476x78

Location

Three of the attestations concern William, one time prior of Goldcliff and later bishop of Llandaf. It is probable that all the above attestations refer to the same place. Evidence for location is provided by the attestations on page 291 (where the monastery is linked with **Porton**, and, therefore, probably nearby), and on pages 318, 322, and 328 (where it is in the deanery of †**Nether Went**), all of which concurs with the identification made here.

Elements

GOLD + CLIF

In many of the attestations the name is latinised as *Goldclivia*, which perhaps derives from a French form *Goldclive*, attested on page 315 (and also perhaps on page 291).

Goldcliue, Goldcliuia, Goldcliuie, Goldclyf: see **Goldcliff**.

Golden Hill: see †**Din Guennham**.

Golden Valley: see †**Istrat Dour**.

Goldsland Brook: see †**Guorrimi**.

Golwch, Golych: see **Dyffryn Golych**.

Gooldcliuie: see **Goldcliff**.

Gorduur Pill: see **Pill Brook**.

Gorenyth: see **Gorfynydd**.

Gorfynydd: [NGR N/A] (also *Gwrinydd*, *Gronedd*)

Attestations

guorinid	LLrub.	p. 202	c. 1120s
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guorinid	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Guorinid	LLb.25	p. 42	1129
wurhinit	LL	p. 247	before s. xiii ¹
Gronyth	LL	p. 319	c. 1350
Decanatu de Gronnyth	LL	p. 319	c. 1350
Gronyth	LL	p. 325	c. 1350
decanatu de Gronyth	LL	p. 325	c. 1350
Gronyth	LL	p. 330	c. 1350
gorenyth	LLgloss	p. 247	1476x78

Location

The attestations from pages 32 and 42 are from two versions of a document naming the territory and possessions of Llandaf. *Guorinid* is named in both versions in a list of larger territorial units: cantrefs and commotes. *Wurhinit* (glossed *Gorenyth*) is specifically identified as one of the seven cantrefs of **Morgannwg** on page 247. In the attestations from the fourteenth-century tax records on pages 318 to 331 *Gronyth* is named as a deanery. The lists of churches in the deanery show it to cover a similar area to the cantref (as defined by Richards),³⁷ but apparently with some encroachment into the areas allocated to **Penychen** (e.g. **Eglwys Fair y Mynydd**) and **Nedd** (e.g. **Cilybebyll**) by Richards. If the identification of †**Villa Ellgnou** with **Ton-Breigam** (†**Villa Breican**) is correct, then the rubric to charter 202 is further evidence for the cantref incorporating slightly more territory in the south-east than Richards allows.

Elements

?GOR- + ?

There seems to be some confusion over this name. Richards's own usage appears to indicate that a form *Gwrinydd* became later *Gorfynydd*, but that *Gronedd* also exists as a by-form.³⁸ Evans identifies the LL entries with '*Gorenyð*, now corrupted into *Groneath*'.³⁹ The earliest LL forms *Guorinid* represent what is *Gwrinydd* in modern orthography. The name probably

³⁷ WATU, pp. 79 (s.v. *Gorfynydd*) and 279 (s.v. *Gwrinydd*).

³⁸ The entry in the text of his WATU is under the heading '*Gorfynydd* [*Gwrinydd*] (*Gronedd*)' (p. 79), though, confusingly, the relevant map bears the title '*Gwrinydd* (*Gorfynydd*)' (p. 279).

³⁹ LL, p. 403.

contains the prefix GOR- (Old Welsh *guor*-). It might be formed from the personal name *Gwrin/Gwryn* (found in the form *Gurgint* in the 'Surexit' Memorandum)⁴⁰ plus the territorial suffix-YDD.

Gospel Pass: see †Mincul.

Goweer, Gower, Goweria: see Gŵyr.

Grace Dieu Abbey: [SO451130]

Attestations

Abbas de *gratia* dei LL p. 327 c. 1350

Location

The abbot of Grace Dieu is listed as one of the tithe payers in the deanery of **Abergefenni**. I see no reason to doubt that the reference is to the (no longer extant) Cistercian abbey at the grid reference above, which was on the southern edge of the deanery.

Elements

[*ABBATIA*] + *DE* + *GRATIA* + *DEUS* (gen.)

Gratia Dei 'grace of God' is simply a Latin translation of the French phrase *Grace Dieu*.

Graenauc: see †Riu Graenauc.

Gratia Dei: see Grace Dieu Abbey.

Gratlaun: see †Lann Mihachgel Meibion Gratlaun.

Great Malvern Priory: [SO7845]

Attestations

Prior de Maiori Maluernia LL p. 327 c. 1350

Location

The prior of *Maior Maluernia* is listed as owing tithes in the deanery of **Abergefenni**. The identification followed here was made by Evans,⁴¹ and is convincing on grounds of form. I am uncertain over which land in the deanery was owned by the priory. The comparative *maior* contrasts this priory with the smaller one to the south at Little Malvern [SO7740].

⁴⁰ Jenkins, 'The Welsh Marginalia [Part II]', pp. 107–08.

⁴¹ LL, p. 411.

Greguri, Gregurii: see †Villa Gregurii.

Greidol: [SO388258] (mod. *Cwm Brook*)

Attestations

nant greitiaul LLch.160 p. 160 s. xi¹

Location

This stream is mentioned in the bounds of **Llancillo**. The bounds show that the stream had the †**Guualon** as a tributary, and that it itself ran to the Monnow (**Mynwy**). To the north of **Llancillo** is a small valley called *Greidol Dingle* [SO3427/3527] through which runs a stream now called *Cwm Brook*. It is very probable, then, that *Cwm Brook* is a later name for a stream which was originally called *Greidol* (or *Nant Greidiol*) for its entire length.

Elements

NANT + GREIDIOL

The adjective *greidiol* 'warm, passionate, fierce' is also attested as a personal name, and the entry in GPC assumes that the stream name here is based on the personal name,⁴² but the sense of the adjective 'fierce' seems to me perfectly suitable as a stream name in its own right.

†Grenin: [nr SO398149]

Attestations

aper grenin	LLch.123	p. 124	c. 1080–c. 1120s
grenin	LLch.123	p. 124	c. 1080–c. 1120s
licat grenin	LLch.123	p. 124	c. 1080–c. 1120s
licat grenin	LLch.123	p. 124	c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

This stream is followed from its mouth (ABER) to its source (LLYGAD) in the bounds of **Llandeilo Gresynni**. The mouth (we are not told onto what) is near †**Fos Cinahi** and the source is near †**Carn Gunstan**. At present there is insufficient evidence to suggest an identification. Thomas stated that the stream was probably a tributary of the **Troddi**, and that that confluence should be to the west of **Tal-y-coed** [SO414151], but it is not clear whether he had a

⁴² GPC, II, 1528–29.

particular stream in mind.⁴³

Elements

?GREYENYN

Thomas confessed himself unable to explain this name.⁴⁴ The name could be interpreted as the singulative of *graean* 'gravel', which is *greyenyn* in modern orthography. The sense would perhaps be 'the little stream with the gravelly bed'.

Gronedd: see **Gorfynydd**.

†**Gronna:** [?nr ST104779]

Attestations

medium gronne LLch.223 p. 224 c. 990–c. 1010

Location

This word is highly obscure, and it is not clear whether it is used here as a common or as a proper noun. The bounds of †**Villa Segan**, following a ditch from near †**Puteus Dotei** cross through the middle of the feature, and on to †**Tumulus Guian**. The identification of points in these bounds is dependent on the identification of †**Vadum Dupleis** (grid reference above).

Elements

I am unable to suggest either a Welsh or a Latin origin for this word, though it might conceivably have some connexion with CRWN (fem. *cron*).

Gronnyth, Gronyth: see **Gorfynydd**.

Grosemond, Grosmont: see **Grysmwnt**.

Grucauc: see †**Ager Filiorum Grucauc**.

Grwyne (Fawr): [SO235159]

Attestations

licat guerinou	LLb.25	p. 42	s. xi ¹
latguerinou	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s

Location

The source (LLYGAD) of this river is named as a point in both versions of the

⁴³ EANC, p. 206.

⁴⁴ Ibid..

diocesan bounds. (The attestation from page 134, makes no sense as it stands, and, because its context is identical to that on page 42, it should obviously be corrected to *lycatguerinou*.) The boundary point comes between the breast of †**Cateir Neueni** and *Guarthaf Buch* (the head of the **Bwch**). The location of †**Cateir Neueni** is uncertain, but the bounds approach the head of the **Bwch** from the south west. Evans identified *licat Guerinou* as ‘the spring of Grwynè Vawr’ (i.e. SO209322), which is very probable as regards appearance and location (the source of the river is just over two kilometres south west of the source of the **Bwch**).

Elements

?GWERYN (pl.)

There are, in fact, two different nouns *gweryn*, one meaning ‘snake’ and the other ‘liquid’, either of which would be appropriate as a stream name.

Grysmwnt, Y: [SO404242] (Eng. *Grosmont*)

Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Grosemond</i>	LL	p. 318	c. 1350
<i>ecclesia de Grosemond</i>	LL	p. 320	c. 1350
<i>Vicaria de Grosemond</i>	LL	p. 320	c. 1350

Location

The three attestations are from lists of churches owing tithes in the deanery of **Abergefenni**, which suits the obvious identification with *Grosmont*.

Elements

[YR +] *GROS + MONT*

The name is simply French for fat (or large) mountain.

†**Guaech:** [nr SO398149]

Attestations

<i>aper guaech</i>	LL	p. 123	c. 1080–c. 1120s
<i>aperguaech</i>	LL	p. 123	c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

The *Guaech* is mentioned in the bounds of **Llandeilo Gresynni**. It has a confluence (ABER) with the †**Ciuerdiued**, but it is not clear which is the major stream. From that confluence the bounds proceed to a little brook (‘guber bichan’), but the route taken is not defined, whether along the *Guaech* or over

land. The bounds are rather difficult to follow due to a lack of identified points, so only a general location can be suggested.

Elements

I am unable to explain this name, unless there is a connexion with *gwäeg* 'buckle'. The *-ch* could be a wrong modernisation of *c*, properly representing [g].

Guai: see **Gwy**.

Guaidan: see †**Finnaun Guaidan**, †**Lann Teliâu Luin Guaidan**.

†**Guaissaf Liguallaun filius Tutbulch:** [?SO414185]

Attestations

guaissaf liguallaun filius tutbulch LLch.240 p. 241 s. xi¹

Location

This feature is mentioned as a point in the bounds of **Llan-llwydd**. If the identification of **Llan-llwydd** is correct, and if it is included in the territory described by the bounds, the bounds must travel anticlockwise. The *Guaissaf* is described as being above a point in a PANT, which must lie to the west of the **Llymon**, north of **Llan-llwydd**. The size of the territory is not specified, but the most likely identity for the PANT, is the one which opens onto the **Llymon** at SO418184 (its source is not far from the source of a stream which runs into the †**Llecha**, and the two are linked by a track). The meaning of **GWAESAF** here is uncertain, but it seems most likely to refer to a reservoir—perhaps surviving in the small rock outcrop at the grid reference above.

Elements

GWAESAF + personal name + *FILIUS* + personal name

GWAESAF has an Irish cognate *fáesam*, and in both languages the primary meaning is 'that which supports', i.e. 'protection', but the Irish dictionary refers to one example of *fáesam* as 'reservoir', and GPC suggests that the **LL** example of **GWAESAF** might have the same meaning.⁴⁵ As Evans suggests, *Liguallaun* is probably an error for *Riguallaun*.⁴⁶ A Rhiwallon ap Tudfwlch is the grantor of charter 264b, dated by Davies to c. 1025, the land granted in

⁴⁵ GPC, II, 1551; Quin, *Dictionary of the Irish Language*, p. 291.

⁴⁶ LL, p. 378.

which (†*Cecin Penn i Celli*) is only about five and a half kilometres from *Llan-llwydd*.

Gualia: see *Wales*.

Guarach: see †*Pull hi Guarach*.

Guartha: see *Cantref Gwarthaf*.

Guarthacum: see *Warthacwm*.

Guarthaf Buch: see *Bwch*.

Guarthafcum: see *Warthacwm*.

Guartham Campull: see †*Campull*.

Guascar: see †*Tref Guascar*.

Gucaun: see †*Henntref Gucaun*.

Gucof: see †*Guocob*.

†*Gudinn, Ir*: [?in SO5114]

Attestations

irgudinn

LLch.183a p. 183 'c. 735'–c. 930

Location

The attestation is from the bounds of †*Lann Tidiuc*, which has been identified (though not securely) with *Dixton*. The bounds are dimensional, and could be read either as defining territory between 'duos riuulos irgudinn' (i.e. two streams called *Ir Gudinn*) and the *Wye (Gwy)*, or as defining territory between 'duos riuulos' ('two [unnamed] streams') in one dimension, and between *Ir Gudinn* and the *Wye (Gwy)* in the other. Evans seems to prefer the former option,⁴⁷ and Rollason follows him in this (noting, however, the lack of an opposing point to the *Wye (Gwy)* limit),⁴⁸ but it would seem to me to make more sense to follow the latter interpretation, as this would then provide the four points expected in a dimensional boundary, and would avoid the slight difficulty of having to postulate two nearby streams with the same name. As Rollason points out, *Dixton* lies between two streams which run from the

⁴⁷ LL, p. 406, s.v. *Irgudinn*.

⁴⁸ 'The Boundaries', pp. 54–55.

north-west parallel to each other, so these are likely to be the 'duos riuulos' of the bounds (provided that the identification of †Lann Tidiuc with Dixton is correct).⁴⁹ The territory is said to be four *modii* in size, so the north-western limit of the territory should be in the grid square above, between the source of the shorter of the two streams and the longer one.

Elements

YR + ?GW DEN (pl.)

Gwdyn (in Modern Welsh orthography) is attested as a plural form of *gwden* 'withe', but there are two difficulties with this interpretation: the first being that the use of *d* to represent intervocalic [d] would be unusual in LL orthography (we should expect *t*), and the second being that there is no trace of gemination in the final [n] of *gwden*, so the LL spelling in *-nn* would have to be regarded as an error. Alternatively we might seek to relate the element to GWŶDD (perhaps with an anomalous masculine singulative ending, *-YN*, instead of the usual feminine *-EN*).

†**Guefrduur**: [SO437043] (mod. *Pontyrhydvan Brook*)

Attestations

guefrduur LLch.159a p. 159 s. xi¹

Location

This stream helps define the bounds of Llanerthill. We learn that †Nant ir Hebauc is a tributary of the *Guefrduur*, and that the *Guefrduur* itself flows into the Olway (Olwy). Evans and Thomas both state that the modern name of this stream is *Gwenddwr*, but give no examples of this modern form.⁵⁰ There is a farm to the north of Llanerthill called *Llangwendr* [SO436052], which perhaps takes its name from this stream. There are only two streams which could be the *Guefrduur*: one to the west of Llanerthill (at SO427041)—going further west one encounters Nant y Wilcae—and to the east Pontyrhydvan Brook at the grid reference above. The evidence of the name *Llangwendr* on the bank of Pontyrhydvan Brook favours the latter identification.

Elements

GWEFR + DŴR

⁴⁹ Ibid..

⁵⁰ LL., p. 371; EANC, p. 95.

GPC cites this name as an example of the noun *gwefr* 'amber'.⁵¹

Gueithirin: see **Llanwytherin**.

Gueith Tineuur: see **Gwaith Dinefwr**.

Guenedocia, Guenedotia: see **Gwynedd**.

†**Guenfrut:** [?SO537068] (?Eng. *White Brook*)

Attestations

guenfrut LLch.156 p. 156 'c. 698'–c. 1010

Location

This stream is mentioned in the bounds of **Llandogo**. As the bounds stand, the name occurs between the **Olwy** and †**Trylec Bechan**, but Evans suggested reversing *Guenfrut* and †**Trylec Bechan** to make *Guenfrut* the final point in the bounds.⁵² Of the other places mentioned, the only identifiable ones are the **Cledan**, the **Olwy**, and possibly †**Trylec Bechan**. As the **Olwy** is north-west of the **Cledan** it is reasonable to conclude that the perambulation runs clockwise, and, consequently, the *Guenfrut* should be east (north-east or south-east) of the **Olwy**. While it is possible that the bounds are correct in their present form, it seems more likely that the **Wye (Gwy)**, on which **Llandogo** stands, should be considered an unstated part of the boundary (the bounds start on the river and run round to another point on the river). If this last interpretation is correct, then the stream now called *White Brook* (grid reference above) would be well suited to carry the bounds back to the **Wye (Gwy)**, and Evans's suggested emendation should be accepted. The fact that *White Brook* translates *Guenfrut* is further evidence in favour of the identification.

Elements

GWYN (fem.) + FFRWD

Winford (Somerset), *Wynford* (Devon), and †*Wenferð* (Worcestershire) are probably other examples of the same name.⁵³ The river name is present as an element in †**Aper Guenfrut**.

⁵¹ GPC, II, 1615. Padel agrees: CPNE, pp. 240–41, s.v. **whevrer*.

⁵² LL, p. 370.

⁵³ Jackson, 'Addenda and Corrigenda', p. 47.

Guenhuc: see †Penn Celli Guenhuc.

Guen Is Coit: see Gwent.

Guenn: see †Carn Guenn; †Guoun Guenn.

Guennhaf, Guennham: see †Din Guennham.

Guennhuc: see †Penn Celli Guenhuc.

Guennonoe: see †Villa Guinnonui.

Guennuc: see †Penn Celli Guenhuc.

Guent: see Cas-gwent; †Allt Coit Guent, Gwent.

Guenti: see †Urbs Guenti.

Guent Is Coit: see Gwent.

†Guentonia Urbs: [ST469905] (mod. Caerwent)

Attestations

abbas guentonię urbis	LLch.221	p. 222	'c. 950'
guentonia urbe	LLch.218	p. 220	c. 955

Location

The first attestation is from the witness list to charter 221 (†Cair Nonui) and the second is from the Narration of charter 218 (†Lann Bedeui) in an account of a meeting between King Nowy and Bishop Pater at *Guentonia Urbs*. The second attestation is glossed *Caer Went* (i.e. Caerwent) by a mid-fifteenth-century hand. While the context of the attestations does not provide conclusive proof of the identification with Caerwent favoured by all the commentators,⁴ the gloss, together with the form of the name (which looks like a Latin partial calque on Caerwent), is strongly suggestive.

Elements

Gwent (Lat. adj., fem.) + URBS

Guent Uch Coit: see Gwent.

Guenuc: see †Penn Celli Guenhuc.

⁴ LL, p. 401; Davies, *Early Welsh Microcosm*, p. 61.

†**Guenuin Meirch:** [?nr SO4501]Attestations

guenuin meirch LLch.240 p. 242 s. xi²

Location

The attestation is from the bounds of *Lannguern Timauc* (see †**Lann Guern Cinuc**). Evans takes the name to be that of a stream,⁵⁵ and this seems plausible as the feature seems to be linear, and has a source (unless the word **BLAEN** is taken to refer to a point in the woods which are mentioned). I can find no stream bearing this name today in the relevant area, and I am unable to follow the bounds.

Elements

GWENWYN + MARCH (pl.)

The first element appears to be *gwenwyn* 'poison'. The name is curious, but perhaps indicates that local vegetation was poisonous to horses.

Guerberth: see †**Villa Gurberdh**.

Guerinou: see **Grwyne**.

Guerion: see †**Crois Guerion**.

Guerituc: see †**Villa Gueruduc**.

Guern: see †**Frut i Guern**, †**Glasguern**, †**Rivulus i Guern**.

Guern Cinuc, Cynuc: see †**Lann Guern Cinuc**.

†**Guern Du, I:** [nr ST2682]Attestations

penniguern du LLch.190b p. 191 s. xi¹

Location

The end (PEN) of this marsh is mentioned as a point in the bounds of **Marshfield**. Its place in the bounds is between the †**Drausguern** and †**Luch Edilbiu**. **Marshfield** is on the edge of Wentlooge Level, the landscape of which has probably changed considerably since the time of these bounds. I cannot identify any of the named features in these bounds, so the grid

⁵⁵ LL, p. 380.

reference is simply for the **Marshfield** area.

Elements

YR + GWERN + DU

Guernen: see †Cruc Guernen.

†Guern i Drution: [nr SO3015]

Attestations

guern idrution LLch.122 p. 123 s. xi¹

Location

This marsh is attested as a point in the bounds of **Llandeilo Bertholau**, between †Cruc Bracd and †Luch i Crecion. These points cover a stretch of the bounds between the **Gefenni** and the **Cibi** which is now mostly urbanised, which hinders easy identification, but the marsh was probably not very far from the grid reference suggested above.

Elements

GWERN + YR + DRUD (pl.)

GPC cites this place-name as an example of the substantival use of *drud* 'dear; daring; rash; furious'.^{*6}

†Guern i Duon: [?SN290140]

Attestations

guern iduon LLch.77 p. 78 s. xi²

aper guern iduon LLch.77 p. 78 s. xi²

Location

This feature, which is attested in the bounds of **Llanddowror**, can probably be identified as a stream as it has a confluence (ABER) and is linear (it is followed). The mouth of the stream is on the **Taf**, downstream of the mouth of †Nant Duuin on that river. If the bounds are assumed to include **Llanddowror** itself then we can also say that the mouth of *Guern i Duon* is downstream of **Llanddowror**, on the right bank of the **Taf**. Various streams meet these criteria, but the element **GWERN** suggests marshiness, so perhaps the stream flowing into the **Taf** at the grid reference above (in a large marsh) is the most likely.

^{*6} GPC, 1, 1086.

Elements

GWERN + ?YR + ?DU (pl.)

Evans takes the name to be composed of GWERN and *Idvon*, but I have no idea what that second element might be, unless it is a personal name.⁵⁷

Guern Timauc, Tiuauc: see †Lann Guern Cinuc.

Gueruduc: see †Villa Gueruduc.

Guhér, Guhir, Guhyr: see Gŵyr.

Gui: see Gwy.

Guian: see †Tumulus Guian.

Guichtrit: see †Tref Meibion Guichtrit.

Guicon: see †Villa Guidcon.

Guid: see †Tref Guid.

Guidcon: see †Villa Guidcon.

Guidhuc: see †Poll hir Guidhuc.

Guidon: see †Frut i Guidon.

Guilbiu: see †Villa Guilbiu.

Guilca: see Nant y Wilcae.

Guiniau: see †Eccluis Guiniau.

Guinn: see †Tnou Guinn.

Guinna: see †Ager Guinna.

†Guinnic: [?SO453011]

Attestations

oper guinnic	LLch.251	p. 252	s. xi ¹
gunnic	LLch.251	p. 252	s. xi ¹
gunnic	LLch.251	p. 252	s. xi ¹

Location

This stream is named in the bounds of †Henlenic Cinauc (identified with

Llangunnog). The bounds begin at the confluence (ABER) of the stream with the **Pill** brook and the stream is followed upwards as far as a clay-pit (*pridpull*). Since the **Pill** brook is followed downwards (*di'r guairet*) back to the confluence with the *Gunnic*, it is likely that the *Gunnic* is to the west of Llangunnog (assuming that the bounds include the site of Llangunnog itself). The bounds seem to describe quite a short perambulation with few features mentioned so the *Gunnic* is most likely to be the next stream to the west of Llangunnog, at the grid reference above.

Elements

?GWYN + ?-IG

The form *Gunnic* need not be a bar to the interpretation offered here, since the simplification of [uĩ] to [u] is quite common in LL.

Guinnonui, Guinnoui: see †**Villa Guinnonui**.

Gulat Morcant: see **Gwlad Morgan**.

Gulible: see †**Penn Celli Gulible**, †**Villa Guliple**.

(1) †**Gulich:** [ST093710] (also *Nant Brân/River Waycock*)

Attestations

[i]r finnaun licat gulich	LLch.157	p. 158	s. xi ²
gulich	LLch.157	p. 158	s. xi ²
gulich	LLch.259	p. 260	s. xi ²
gulich	LLch.259	p. 260	s. xi ²
golywch	LLgloss	p. 259	s. xv ^{med}

Location

This stream name is attested in the closely related bounds of **St Lythans** and †**Tref Gulich**. We learn from the bounds of the former that the stream rises not far from †**Hen Lotre Elidon** at *Licat Gulich* in †**Pant Gulich**, and that it has a confluence further down with the †**Guorrimi**. The bounds of †**Tref Gulich** do not add anything to this. The *Gulich* can quite safely be identified as the stream which runs through **Dyffryn Golych**. This stream has sources to the north-west and to the north-east. The Ordnance Survey map names the stream the *River Waycock* and identifies its principal source as that running

⁹⁷ LL, p. 364.

from the north-west, that from the north-east it calls *Nant Brân*. I would identify the source (LLYGAD) of the *Gulich*, however, with that of Nant Brân, on the grounds that the bounds in which the source is mentioned are those of **St Lythans**, and it would be difficult to make these bounds, as they stand, cover territory as far west as the source of the *River Waycock*. So the name *Gulich* is supposed to have applied to Nant Brân for its whole length and then to the River Waycock down from the confluence of Nant Brân. There is no evidence, to my knowledge, to indicate whether or not the name *Gulich* was applied to the river below the confluence with the †**Guorrimi** (the grid reference given above is, therefore, for this confluence). A property, probably in the valley of Nant Brân, is referred to in LL under the name †**Nant Baraen**, so perhaps †**Nant Baraen** was originally the name of the valley (one of the senses of NANT), and *Gulich* the name of the stream.

Elements

?GWLYCH

This name is discussed by Pierce, who suggests, as an alternative, a derivation from GO- and 'an unidentified *-lich, -lych*' which he suggests might be related to LLWCH.²⁸ The main difficulty with GWLYCH is that it is a monosyllable, whereas the stream name seems to have been disyllabic from at least the fifteenth-century (spellings with *Gul-* are ambiguous in this regard), but this could perhaps be explained as Anglicisation. The name is present as an element in **Dyffryn Golych**, †**Pant Gulich**, and †**Tref Gulich**.

(2) †**Gulich**: [nr ST095720] (also †**Tref Gulich**)

Attestations

gulich	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Gulich	LLb.25	p. 44	1129

Location

The attestations are from versions of a list of properties claimed by Llandaf. The context is the same for both: preceded by †**Guocob** and †**Nant Baraen** and followed by **Llwyneliddon**. One of the boundary points of †**Tref Gulich**, which borders on **Llwyneliddon**, is †**Carn Guocof**, which is probably related

²⁸ PNDinas P., p. 265.

to †**Guocob** mentioned above. It is clear, then, that *Gulich* is in the same area as †**Tref Gulich**, and also the stream (1) †**Gulich**. Since the context of the list from which the attestations are taken is one of churches or properties, it is likely that these attestations should be regarded as abbreviated forms of †**Tref Gulich**.

Elements

(1) †**Gulich**

Guliple: see †**Villa Guliple**.

Gulych: see †**Tref Gulich**.

†**Gundy Teliau:** [ST155781]

Attestations

gundy teliau yn lann taf	LL	p. 120	s. x ² –s. xi
gundy teliau ynn lan taf	LL	p. 120	c. 1081–c. 1120s

Location

The attestations are from the two parts (earlier and later) of the Privilege of Teilo. Perhaps this should not really be regarded as a place-name. It is the name of a building within the precincts of **Llandaf** itself.

Elements

GWYNDY + personal name

The spelling *gun* shows simplification of [uĩ] to [u] which is quite common in LL.

Gungleis, Gungleys: see **Gwynlais**.

Gunhoill: see †**Lann Gunnhoill**.

Gunhucc: see †**Villa Gunnuc**.

Gunley: see **St Woolos**.

Gunma: see †**Henriu Gunma**.

Gunnhoill: see †**Lann Gunnhoill**.

Gunniau: see †**Eccluis Guiniau**.

Gunnic: see †**Guinnic**.

Gunnua: see †**Henriu Gunma**.

Gunnuc: see †Villa Gunnuc.

Gunstan: see †Carn Gunstan.

Gunua: see †Henriu Gunma.

†**Guocob:** [nr ST110729]

Attestations

tellurem Guocob	LLch.157	p. 157	?’c. 685’
uillam Guocof	LLch.157	p. 157	?’c. 685’
Gucof	LLrub.	p. 157	c. 1120s
guocof	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Guocob	LLb.25	p. 44	1129

Location

This territory is granted, together with *Ecclesia Elidon* (St Lythans), in charter 157. The remaining two attestations are from versions of a list of properties claimed by Llandaf, in a context which includes Llwyneliddon (St Lythans), so the identity of these attestations and those from charter 157 need not be doubted. Bounds are appended to charter 157, but they apply to the combined territory of *Guocob* and *Ecclesia Elidon*, so the specific area of *Guocob* within the whole territory cannot be determined. If there is a connexion between the name of this territory and †Carn Guocof, then *Guocob* would be near †Tref Gulich (another territorial division of the land of St Lythans). Evans seems to identify *Guocob* with Wenvoe (Gwenfô),⁹⁹ but I can see no reason for this other than its proximity to St Lythans.

Elements

OGOF¹⁰⁰

Guocof: see †Carn Guocof, †Guocob.

Guoher: see Gŵyr.

Guoidhearn: see †Villa Guoidhearn.

Guolchetua: see †Nant i Guolchetua.

Guonhoill: see †Lann Gunnhoill.

⁹⁹ LL, pp. 370 and 402.

Guorgued: see †Riu Guorgued.

Guorinid: see Gorfynydd.

†**Guorlurch Iudgual:** [?nr ST1177]

Attestations

guorlurch iudgual	LLch.237a	p. 237	'c. 890'
guorlurch iudgual	LLch.267	p. 268	'c. 1070'–c. 1080

Location

This track is mentioned in the bounds of †Cair Birran, which has not yet been identified, but also in the bounds of †Henriu Gunma, which lay on the north-western edge of Llandaf's own *podum*. If another of the points in the bounds of †Cair Birran, †Brenan Picet, can be regarded as the same place as †Abrenan,⁶¹ then the bounds can be further located to somewhere near the Elái.

Elements

GORLLWRW + personal name

This place-name is cited by GPC as an example of the noun *gorllwrw* 'way, path' (GOR- + *llwrw* 'track, path').⁶²

Guormui, Guormuy: see Worm.

†**Guornoid:** [?SO1728] (?*Mynydd Troed*)

Attestations

guornoid	LLb.25	p. 42	<i>s.</i> xi ¹
guornoyd	LL	p. 134	<i>c.</i> 1120s

Location

This feature is a point in both versions of the diocesan bounds. The specific location is between a ridge associated with a mill-stream and †Ritnant, neither of which has been certainly identified, but, in terms of known points, the general location can be described as between Buckland Hill [SO1321] and the source of the Grwyne [SO2032]. Evans suggested the identification with

⁶⁰ GPC, III, 2638.

⁶¹ LL, p. 378.

⁶² GPC, II, 1490.

Mynydd Troed (grid reference above),⁶³ but this is really no more than a plausible guess (indeed there is nothing in the bounds to indicate even what kind of feature the name denotes).

Elements

GOR- + ?

Guornoyd: see †Guornoid.

†**Guorrimi:** [?ST093710] (?mod. *Goldsland Brook*)

Attestations

	licatgurrimi	LLch.157	p. 157	s. xi ²	
	gurrimi	LLch.157	p. 157	s. xi ²	
	guorrimi	LLch.157	p. 158	s. xi ²	
	guorrimi	LLch.157	p. 158	s. xi ²	
	gurimmi	LLch.259	p. 260	s. xi ²	
	gurimmi	LLch.259	p. 260	s. xi ²	
amnem /	†Gurimi	CBS	p. 45	c. 1200	VSBG p. 62

Location

This stream name is attested in the closely related bounds of **St Lythans** and †**Tref Gulich**. We learn from the former bounds that the source of the stream is not far from the mouth (GENAU) of †**Pant Ciu**, and that the (1) †**Gulich** flows into the *Guorrimi*. The bounds of †**Tref Gulich** confirm this last fact, but do not add more information. Presumably the (1) †**Gulich** must constitute the western boundary of **St Lythans**, and, therefore, it can be assumed that the *Guorrimi* is the southern boundary of that territory. Two streams meet these requirements: *Goldsland Brook* [ST093710] and *Nant Brynhill* [ST093699]. The former seems more likely, since the bounds of †**Tref Gulich** run overland between the (1) †**Gulich** and the *Guorrimi* and make no mention of crossing a stream on the way (which would be the case if the *Guorrimi* were modern *Nant Brynhill*). Pierce agrees with this identification.⁶⁴ Thomas identifies the stream with the River Waycock (or one of its tributaries),⁶⁵ but he was

⁶³ LL, p. 368.

⁶⁴ ~~Recs. Lives.~~

⁶⁵ PNDinas P., p. 309.

⁶⁶ EANC, p. 165, s.v. *Rhymni*.

mistaken in his identification of the course of the River Waycock—elsewhere he locates the source of the River Waycock in a wood between Wenvoe Castle and Merthyr Dyfan,⁶⁷ which is, in fact, the source of Nant Brynhill.

Elements

GO- + ? **Rhymhi*

The commentators agree that this is a compound of GO- and a river name **Rhymhi* (though GOR- should be possible here too), which is probably related to the river name *Rhymni* (see **Rumney**). In the Life of Cadog ('CBS' in the attestations above) the stream name is translated into Latin as ~~'Parvam Remni'~~ or ~~'Parvam Rymi'~~, where the adjective *parva* 'little' is probably translating GO-.⁶⁸ **Rhymhi* could be formed from *rhwmp* 'auger' (cf. †**Taratir**) and the suffix -i.⁶⁹

†**Guoun Brechmil**: [nr SS578894]

Attestations

guoun brechmil LLch.145 p. 145 s. xi¹

Location

This marsh is used as a point in the bounds of **Llandeilo Ferwallt**. The exact location is uncertain due to a lack of identifiable features, but it can be said that it lies on the other side of an unnamed mountain from †**Main Dyastur**.

Elements

GWAUN + ?*BRECHFIL

The meaning of the element *brechmil* is uncertain, but it could be a hapax compound of *brech* 'spot' and *mil* 'animal', denoting a speckled animal (a legendary creature of the marsh?).

†**Guoun Breith, Ir**: [around SO310251]

Attestations

iguoun breith LLch.195 p. 196 s. xi²
irguoun breith LLch.195 p. 196 s. xi²

Location

This marsh (or, rather, a stone in it) is the opening and closing point in the

⁶⁷ EANC, p. 222, s.v. †*Io*.

⁶⁸ PNDinas P., p. 309.

⁶⁹ EANC, p. 165, s.v. *Rhymni*; Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 42; PNDinas P., p. 310.

bounds of †**Merthir Clitauc**. The general location is quite clearly the ridge of Hatterrall Hill (a CEGIN on the same side of the **Olchon** and the Monnow (Mynwy) as †**Nant Trineint**). There are sufficient identifiable points in these bounds to tell that they travel clockwise, and, consequently, that they begin by travelling north from *Ir Guoun Breith* to †**Riu i Curum**. The bounds close by travelling up †**Finhaun Bist** to its source (BLAEN) and thence up to the marsh. †**Riu i Curum** has been identified securely, and, if the suggested identification of †**Finhaun Bist** is accepted, then *Ir Guoun Breith* is very likely somewhere in grid squares SO3025, SO3026, or SO3125. No marsh is shown in these squares on the modern Ordnance Survey map, but the principal sources of the stream which runs through Cwm Iau are located in the appropriate area (around SO310251), which, therefore, might once have been marshy.

Elements

YR + GWAUN + BRITH (fem.)

†**Guoun Guenn, I:** [nr the Nofydd]

Attestations

iguoun guenn LLch.257 p. 258 'c. 1033'

Location

This feature is attested as a point in the bounds of †**Riu Brein**. *I Guoun Guenn* lies between †**Cruc Glas** and †**Luin Ina**, neither of which I can identify, but a more general location is provided by the **Nofydd**, which borders the territory on one side.

Elements

GWAUN + GWYN (fem.)

†**Guoun Teir Fin:** [?around SN924344]

Attestations

guoun teirfin LLch.154 p. 155 s. xi²

Location

This marsh is mentioned as a point in the bounds of Llandeilo'r Fan (†**Lann Guruaet**). It is located to the south of †**Crois Guerion** and †**Nant Cenou**. A few hundred metres south-east of the source of **Nant-yr-hen** is a large marsh. It is likely that *Guoun Teir Fin* is the name of this marsh.

Elements

GWAUN + TRI (fem.) + FFIN

Gurai: see †Mons Gurai.**Gurberdh:** see †Villa Gurberdh.**Gurcant:** see †Frut Gurcant.**Gurimmi:** see †Guorrimi.**Gurit Penni:** see †Garth Benni.**Gurmarch:** see †Ager Gurmarch.**Gurmuy:** see Worm.**Gurrimi:** see †Guorrimi.**(1) †Gurthebiriuc:** [around SO485108]Attestations

Gvrthebiriuc LLrub. p. 201 c. 1120s

Location

The church of *Gurthebiriuc* (†**Ecclesia Gurthebiriuc**) is granted by charter 201. The charter's rubric '*Gvrthebiriuc Lanngunguarui super Trodi*' should probably be interpreted as *Gurthebiriuc*, the name of the district, and *Lanngunguarui super Trodi* (Llanwarw, Eng. Wonastow), an alternative name for †**Ecclesia Gurthebiriuc**.

Elements

personal name + -OG

This is probably an example of a territorial name composed of a personal name + -OG (cf. Gwynllŵg). The personal name could be either Modern Welsh *Gwerthefyr* (Old Welsh *Guorthemir*)—with incorrect use of graphic *b* to represent the nasal (or originally nasal) bilabial fricative—or **Gwerthebyr* (Old Welsh *Guortepir*) with unusual use of *b* for [b]. In either case the prefix *guor-* in the name has not been *i*-affected to [g_{uer}], but has instead been reduced to *gur-*.⁷⁰

Guruid: see †**Ecclesia Guruid**.

†**Guualon**: [SO351275, SO369272, SO371268, or SO375265]

Attestations

licat finnalnaun guualon	LLch.160	p. 160	s. xi ¹
guualon	LLch.160	p. 160	s. xi ¹

Location

The *Guualon* is attested as part of the bounds of **Llancillo**. The bounds show that the stream is a tributary of the **Greidol**, and that the spring at its head is not far from one end of †**Claud Ismael**. If the territory described by the bounds includes **Llancillo** itself, then it is clear that the *Guualon* must flow into the **Greidol** from the west or south, which leaves the streams at SO351275, SO369272, SO371268, and SO375265 as candidates. Rollason reached the same conclusion in her discussion of this boundary clause.⁷¹

Elements

?GOFAL (pl.)

The name appears to be the plural of *gofal* 'care'. For the vocalism of the first syllable here, compare *guber* and *guuer*, the usual LL forms of *gofer* 'brook', which also show [guv].

Guy: see **Gwy**, †**Ystum Guy**.

Guye: see **Gwy**.

Guyr: see **Gŵyr**.

†**Guyragon**: [?SN968131]

Attestations

guyragon	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s
Guyragon	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s

Location

This feature is a part of the diocesan bounds as defined in the Life of Euddogwy (LL, pages 134–35). The *Guyragon* is a linear feature (it can be followed), one end of which connects to (or is adjacent to) the river called *Hepstur*, and it has a BLAEN at the other end—it is probably a stream. The source (or summit) of the *Guyragon* is not far from the †**Gauanhauc**—that

⁷⁰ LHEB, pp. 607 and 653.
⁷¹ Rollason, 'The Boundaries', p. 39.

feature comes next in the bounds. The identification of the *Hepstur* is the key to the identification of this, and the following features, in the bounds. If the *Hepstur* can be identified with the **Hepste**, then the *Guyragon* should be a tributary of that river, flowing from the east, and, perhaps, near to the modern county boundary (which might reflect the mediaeval boundary). The stream at the grid reference above is only the most likely of several possibilities.

Elements

?GŴYR + ?

The intervocal *g* of the name could represent [ŋ], in which case it might be comparable with the element underlying *Caerwrangon*, the Welsh name for Worcester.⁷²

†Guyth Lunguyd, Yr: [?SN582033]

Attestations

[y]r guyth lunguyd LLch.140 p. 140 s. xi¹

Location

This feature is attested as a point in the bounds of **Llandeilo Tal-y-bont**. It is mentioned in the bounds between †**Cum Onnuiu** and a point on the lower reaches of the Gwili (†**Camguili**). The element GŴYTH suggests that this is the name of a small stream or drain, perhaps a tributary of the Gwili (†**Camguili**). Just such a stream can be seen at the grid reference above, and, though it might not have quite the same course as the eleventh century *Guyth Lunguyd*, it is not likely to be far off.

Elements

GŴYTH + ?personal name

GPC cites this place-name as an example of the noun *gŵyth* 'vein, sinew, nerve; stream, drain, channel'.⁷³ One *Lunguid* is a lay witness to charter 209.

Interpretation
of the difficulty
redundant
in article. h/

Gwaith Dinefwr: [SN611217] (Eng. *Dynevor Castle*)

Attestations

gueithineuur	LLch.77	p. 78	c. 1080–c. 1120s
gueithineuur	LLch.77	p. 78	c. 1080–c. 1120s

⁷² I am grateful to Patrick Sims-Williams for this suggestion.

⁷³ GPC, II, 1791.

Location

This fort is mentioned as a point in the bounds of **Llandeilo Fawr**. It is clear from the bounds that the place is near the **Tywi**. There is no reason to doubt the identification followed here, given the known general location and the distinctive form of the name.

Elements

GWAITH + *Dinefwr*

GPC cites this place-name as an example of the noun *gwaith* 'work', in its sense of 'earthwork, fort'. *Dinefwr* (DIN + *efwr* 'cow-parsnip'⁷⁴) is the name phrase equivalent of the Gaulish compound *Eburodunum*.⁷⁵ The *t*-spelling of *Dinefwr* is unusual, and could be purely orthographic ([d] is generally written *t* in medial or final position), or it could represent a genuine phonetic phenomenon (a form of provection).

Gwenddwr: see †**Guefrduur**.

Gwenvô: [ST122727] (Eng. *Wenvoe*)

Attestations

Wnfa	Cart. ⁷⁶	I, 134	1153
Wenfo	Cart. ⁷⁷	III, 941	s. xiii
Wnuo	Cart. ⁷⁸	I, 163	? s. xiii
Wunfo	VN	p. 315	1254
Wenvo	Cart. ⁷⁹	II, 650	c. 1262
Ecclesia de Wlno	Tax ⁸⁰	p. 279	c. 1291
Wonfo	Cart. ⁸¹	III, 956	c. 1291
Woufa	Cart. ⁸²	III, 1001	1306–07
Wonfa	CR ⁸³	I, 272	1307

⁷⁴ The cognates of Welsh *efwr* are used of different plant names (GPC, I, 1173; CPNE, p. 96, s.v. **evor*), so 'cow-parsnip' is not necessarily the plant referred to in *Dinefwr* (Richards 'Some Welsh Place-Names', p. 371).

⁷⁵ CPNE, p. xv.

⁷⁶ PNDinas P., p. 299.

⁷⁷ Ibid..

⁷⁸ Ibid..

⁷⁹ Ibid..

⁸⁰ Astle, *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*.

⁸¹ PNDinas P., p. 299.

⁸² Ibid..

⁸³ Matthews, *Cardiff Records*.

Womfo	Cart. ⁸⁴	III, 1053	1317
<i>ecclesia de Wenfo</i>	LL	p. 324	c. 1350
<i>Ecc'ia de Wenfo</i>	LL	p. 330	c. 1350

Location

The LL attestations are from lists of properties owing monies in the deanery of **Llandaf**. Pierce's identification, followed here, can be regarded as secure on the basis of the name's appearance and the place's location in the right deanery.⁸⁵ See also †**Guocob**.

Elements

?

Pierce discusses this place-name but is unable to offer a convincing explanation, though he notes that GWAUN has been suggested as the first element, and that it has been compared with *Gunma* (? < GWYNFA) in †**Henriu Gunma**.⁸⁶

Gwent: [NGR N/A]

References to *Gwent* can be grouped into references to the territory as a whole, references to its northern and southern divisions (*Gwent Uwch Coed* and *Gwent Is Coed* respectively), and references to the whole territory in terms of the two divisions (*Dwy Went*). The territorial name is also present as an element in the names †**Allt Coit Guent**, **Caerwent**, **Cas-gwent**, †**Guentonia Urbs**, †**Nether Went**, and †**Penn Celli Guenhuc**.

Gwent

ynyr guent	LL	p. 118	?
rex Guenti regionis	LLch.165	p. 165	?
rex Guenti & ercic	LLch.75	p. 75	'c. 555'
ynyr guent	LLch.121	p. 121	'c. 600'
senioribus guenti & Ercicg	LLch.198b	p. 198	'c. 755'
regionem guenti	LLch.234	p. 234	'c. 895'
regis guenti	LLch.222	p. 223	'c. 942'
rex guenti	LLch.244	p. 244	'c. 980'

⁸⁴ PNDinas P., p. 299.

⁸⁵ Ibid..

⁸⁶ Ibid., pp. 300–01.

reges guenti	LLch.251	p. 251	'c. 1005'
regis guenti	LLch.249b	p. 249	'c. 1015'
patriam guenti	LLch.249b	p. 250	'c. 1015'
regis guenti	LLch.261	p. 261	'c. 1045'
archidiaconus guenti	LL	p. 270	'c. 1060'
domini guenti	LLch.274	p. 274	'c. 1075'
archidiaconus guenti	LLch.274	p. 274	'c. 1075'
Rex Wencie et Erchyng	LLgloss	p. 75	s. xv ^{med}
Rex wencie	LLgloss	p. 244	s. xv ^{med}
Wencia	LLgloss	p. 261	s. xv ^{med}

The region of Gwent took its name from the Roman *civitas* capital Venta Silurum (Caerwent).⁸⁷ The last reference to a king of Gwent is in charter 261 ('c. 1045'), which also refers to a king of Morgannwg. The earliest reference is in charter 75 ('c. 555') in which the king of Gwent is also called king of Ergyng (though charters 161, 162a, 163a, and 163b, dated 'c. 595'–'c. 620', refer to kings of Ergyng with no mention of Gwent). Grants made by, or endorsed by, kings of Gwent all concern places in the area defined as Gwent (*Uwch Coed* plus *Is Coed*) by Richards,⁸⁸ apart from charter 165 (which includes places in Ergyng and Ewias), charter 75 (†Cil Hal which might be in Ergyng), and possibly charter 222 (†Tref i Carnpont which Evans and Davies identify with a place in Gwynllŵg, though without much evidence). It seems probable that the use of a territorial name in association with the title 'rex' does not imply that the king's power was total in that territory, or that his power was restricted to that territory.⁸⁹ Kings of Gwent seem sometimes to have been subject to Kings of Glywysing or Morgannwg; perhaps dominion over Gwent was given to junior branches, rather like the later English imposition of the king's eldest son as 'Prince of Wales'.⁹⁰

Gwent Uwch Coed

guent uch coit LLrub. p. 180 c. 1120s

⁸⁷ Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 95.

⁸⁸ WATU, pp. 277–78.

⁸⁹ Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 90–91.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 102–03. In charter 261 Cadwgan ap Meurig is king of Gwent, while his father is king of Morgannwg, but twenty five years later, in charter 267, Cadwgan himself is king of Morgannwg.

guent uch coit	LL	p. 279	c. 1120s
cantref wenthuccoyt	LL	p. 247	before s. xiii ¹
went huc coyt	LL	p. 248	before s. xiii ¹
went huc coyt	LL	p. 248	before s. xiii ¹

There is nothing in the above attestations which disagrees with Richards' definition of *Gwent Uwch Coed*.⁹¹ The first attestation locates †*Aper Menci* in this region. The document on pages 247–49 defines *Gwent Uwch Coed* as one of the seven cantrefs of *Morgannwg*, and goes on to add that *Ystrad Yw* and *Ewias* are the two true sleeves of *Gwent Uwch Coed* ('dew. wur laweys. went huc coyt'), i.e. parts (presumably commotes) of the cantref. Richards agrees in defining *Ewias* as a commote of the cantref, but makes *Ystrad Yw* a commote of the neighbouring cantref of *Talgarth* instead.⁹² The remaining attestation from page 279 is in a statement of the political conditions during the episcopacy of Herewald. It makes one *Caratocus* (Caradog ap Gruffydd) king in *Ystrad Yw*, *Gwent Uwch Coed*, and *Gwynllŵg*, with the rest of *Gwent* (*Ewias* and *Gwent Is Coed*) under the rule of a certain Rhydderch (?ap Caradog). This division seems peculiar, in that Rhydderch's territories are separated. Perhaps the scribe has mixed up *Uwch Coed* and *Is Coed*—if the names were reversed the territories would be contiguous. Caradog ap Gruffydd is known to have attacked Earl Harold's hunting lodge at *Portskewett* (*Porth Sgiwed*), which does demonstrate an interest in *Gwent Is Coed*.⁹³

Gwent Is Coed

rege gueniscoit	LLch.255	p. 256	'c. 1035'
guent is coit	LLrub.	p. 158	c. 1120s
guent iscoit	LL	p. 279	c. 1120s
cantref. wenyscoyt	LL	p. 247	s. xiii ¹

The rubric of charter 158 locates †*Emricorua* in *Gwent Is Coed*, which

⁹¹ WATU, p. 278.

⁹² WATU, p. 227.

⁹³ Lloyd, *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, p. 66. Maund maintains that this division of land is reasonable, but she seems to have mistaken *Ystrad Yw* for *Ystrad Tywi*, and makes no mention of Caradog's apparent possession also of *Gwynllŵg*: *Ireland, Wales, and England*, p. 111.

accords with Richards' definition of the territory.⁶⁴ The document on pages 247–49 defines Gwent Is Coed as one of the seven cantrefs of Morgannwg. This same document, however, records Edeligion together with Gwynllŵg as a cantref, whereas Richards has Edeligion as a commote of Gwent Is Coed.⁶⁵ Charter 255 mentions Edwin ap Gwriad as king of the territory in a reference to an accord between him and the king of Morgannwg. Finally, the attestation on page 279 refers to the political situation at the time of Bishop Herewald—see under Gwent Uwch Coed above for a discussion of this reference.

Dwy Went

diu guent	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Diuent	LLb.25	p. 42	1129

Both attestations are from lists of larger territorial units controlled (or claimed) by Llandaf. I see no reason to doubt that these references to the 'two Gwents' are to the two cantrefs of Gwent: Uwch Coed and Is Coed. Ewias is mentioned separately in the list, which suggests that its position as a commote of Gwent Uwch Coed (q.v.) was not regarded as obvious. The element *diu* is the feminine form of the numeral 'two' (*dou* is used consistently as the masculine form). *Diu* also occurs in the bounds of charter 144 ('irdiu foss'), and once elsewhere in Old Welsh in one of the glosses on Martianus Capella.⁶⁶ The south-western Brittonic languages show the same or similar feminine form (Cornish: *dyw*, *dew*; Breton: *diu*, *dyu*, *diou*, *dyou*, *dieu*).⁶⁷

Gwernesney: see Gwernesni.

Gwernesni: [SO415018] (Eng. *Gwernesney*)

Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Warnestny</i>	LL	p. 321	c. 1350
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Location

The attestation is from a list of properties owing monies in the deanery of Usk. The identification followed here is probable given the appearance of the name,

⁶⁴ WATU, p. 277.

⁶⁵ WATU, pp. 81 and 277.

⁶⁶ Falileyev, *Etymological Glossary*, p. 48.

⁶⁷ Lewis, *Llawlyfr Cernyweg Canol*, p. 23; Lewis, *Llawlyfr Llydaweg Canol*, p. 21.

and the place's location in the right area⁹⁸

Elements

?GWERNOS + ?-NI

The modern form of the name is most easily interpreted as *gwernos* 'stunted alder trees' (dim. pl. of GWERN), *i*-affected by the suffix -NI. The LL form with *Warn-* might represent a dialectal pronunciation.

Gwili: see †Camguili.

Gwlad Morgan: [NGR N/A] (Eng. *Glamorgan*; also *Morgannwg*)

Attestations

rex gulatmorcant	LLch.255	p. 255	'c. 1035'
rex gulatmorcant	LLch.249a	p. 249	'c. 1040'
rex gulatmorcant	LLch.259	p. 259	'c. 1040'
archidiaconus gulat morcant	LLch.274	p. 274	'c. 1075'
parrochiam gulatmorcanensem	LL	p. 85	1120s?
regis inglatmorcant	LL	p. 278	c. 1120s
seignurages de Glomorgan	LL	p. 313	c. 1350
Seignur de Glomorgan	LL	p. 313	c. 1350
seignurie de Glomorgan	LL	p. 313	c. 1350
seignurie de Glomorgan	LL	p. 314	c. 1350
seignurie de Glomorgan	LL	p. 315	c. 1350
garde de Glomorgan	LL	p. 315	c. 1350
seignurie de Glamorgan	LL	p. 316	c. 1350
terres de Glomorgan	LL	p. 316	c. 1350
Seignur de glamorgan	LLgloss	p. 313	1476x78

Location

The three earliest attestations are references to the dominion of King Meurig ab Hywel, and on page 278 there is a reference to Meurig's son Cadwgon, which refers to his father's territory. One of the witnesses to charter 274 is the archdeacon of Glamorgan (another witness is the archdeacon of Gwent). The attestation on page 85 is from the Life of Dyfrig in an account of a miraculous fall of rain which ended a prolonged drought which had affected the whole

⁹⁸ LL, p. 422.

parrochia of Glamorgan. All the remaining attestations are in reference to the later mediaeval lordship of Glamorgan. The name is predominantly used, then, of a temporal territory, but it is used of a spiritual domain on pages 85 and 274. None of the documents supply much information about the extent of the territory.

Elements

GWLAD + personal name

The LL forms illustrate both the early stage of the name in which *gwlad* 'country, land, region' is still visible, and the later *Glamorgan* stage.⁹⁹

Gwndy: [ST439869] (Eng. *Undy*)

Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Wondy</i>	LL	p. 318	c. 1350
<i>ecclesia de Wondy</i>	LL	p. 322	c. 1350
<i>Ecc'ia de Wondy</i>	LL	p. 328	c. 1350
<i>ecclesia de Womdye</i>	LL	p. 282	s. xv ²

Location

All the attestations are from lists of churches, and all are explicitly located in the deanery of †Nether Went. There is no reason to doubt the identification with Undy.¹⁰⁰ See also †Villa Iunuhic.

Elements

?GWYNDY

GWYNDY is attested elsewhere in LL in †Gundy Teliau, where the spelling *gun* shows simplification of [ɣi] to [u] which is quite common in LL. GWYNDY is a plausible name for a church and associated settlement, and I see no difficulty in interpreting any of the forms of the name as deriving from this element. Phillimore suggested that this name was, rather, a compound of GWAUN and TŶ, which is possible (and the local topography is marshy),¹⁰¹ but this does not seem quite so likely to me as the GWYNDY interpretation.

⁹⁹ Room, *Pocket Companion Guide*, p. 98, derives the name from GLAN + *Morgan* 'Morgan's Shore', substantiating this claim with reference to an (unnamed) 'early (undated) record of the name as *Glanna Morgan*', but I see no reason to prefer that explanation to the more obvious territorial description with *gwlad*.

¹⁰⁰ LL, p. 422, s.v. *Wondy*.

¹⁰¹ Owen, *Description of Penbrokshire*, IV, 427.

Gwrinydd: see **Gorfynydd**.

Gwy: [ST5490] (Eng. *Wye*)

Attestations

ripam Guy	LL	p. 69	?
ripam Guy	LL	p. 71	?
ripam Guy	LL	p. 134	?
Guy flumine	LL	p. 134	?
saltibus Guy fluminis	LL	p. 137	?
flumen Guy	LL	p. 137	?
ripam fluminis Guy	LL	p. 139	?
ripam Guy	LLch.141	p. 141	?
guy	LL	p. 152	?
Guy amnem .	LLch.72a	p. 72	'c. 575'
ripam gui	LLch.76a	p. 76	'c. 575'
Guy	LLch.73a	p. 73	'c. 585'–c. 930
ripam guy	LLch.161	p. 161	'c. 610'
fluminis guy	LLch.164	p. 165	'c. 620'–c. 1010
Guy	LLch.147	p. 147	'c. 665'
Guy	LLch.176b	p. 177	'c. 700'
ripam guy	LLch.205	p. 205	'c. 708'
hostio Guy	LLch.180b	p. 181	'c. 710'
guy fluminis	LLch.158	p. 158	'c. 722'
ripam guy	LLch.183a	p. 183	'c. 735'
guy flumen	LLch.183a	p. 183	'c. 735'–c. 930
ripam Guy	LLch.178	p. 178	'c. 743'
flumen guy	LLch.192	p. 192	'c. 745'?
guy	LLch.169b	p. 169	'c. 850'
guy	LLch.212	p. 213	'c. 862'
ripam guy	LLch.214	p. 215	'c. 862'
gui	LLch.233	p. 233	'c. 905'
guy	LLch.231	p. 231	'c. 910'
gui	LLch.237b	p. 238	'c. 925'
ripam gui	LLch.222	p. 222	'c. 942'

guy	LLch.218	p. 219	955
hostium guy	LLch.240	p. 241	'c. 970'?
guy	LLch.165	p. 166	c. 990–c. 1030
guy	LLch.165	p. 166	c. 990–c. 1030
guy	LLb.25	p. 43	s. xi ¹
fluminis gui	LLb.25	p. 43	s. xi ¹
ripam Guy	LLch.158	p. 158	s. xi ¹
guy	LLch.158	p. 158	s. xi ¹
guy	LLch.158	p. 158	s. xi ¹
ripam guy	LLch.158	p. 158	s. xi ¹
guy	LLch.209b	p. 209	s. xi ¹
guy	LLch.209b	p. 209	s. xi ¹
guy	LLch.209b	p. 209	s. xi ¹
ripam guy	LLch.249b	p. 250	'c. 1015'
gui	LL	p. 252	1022x1120s
Guy	LL	p. 254	'c. 1025'
guy	LLch.255	p. 256	'c. 1035'
ripam gui	LLch.259	p. 259	'c. 1040'
gui	LL	p. 252	1046x1120s
Guy	LLch.141	p. 143	s. xi ²
Guy	LLch.141	p. 143	s. xi ²
ripam gui	LL	p. 270	'c. 1060'
ripam Gui	LLch.267	p. 267	'c. 1070'
guy	LL	p. 135	c. 1120s
Guy	LL	p. 135	c. 1120s
ripam guy	LLrub.	p. 158	c. 1120s
guy	LLrub.	p. 171	c. 1120s
ripam guy	LLrub.	p. 183	c. 1120s
gui	LLrub.	p. 229	c. 1120s
guy	LLrub.	p. 264	c. 1120s
guy	LL	p. 278	c. 1120s
ripam Gui	LL	p. 80	1120s?
ripam Gui	LL	p. 80	1120s?

guai	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Gui	LLb.21	p. 41	1129
gui	LLb.25	p. 44	1129
[fluvius] Gui	LLb.22	p. 46	1129
[fluvius] Gvy	LLb.23	p. 47	1129
Wy	LLgloss	p. 71	s. xv ^{med}
Wy	LLgloss	p. 72	s. xv ^{med}
ripa wy	LLgloss	p. 76	s. xv ^{med}
wy	LLgloss	p. 135	s. xv ^{med}
Wy.	LLgloss	p. 161	s. xv ^{med}
Wy	LLgloss	p. 166	s. xv ^{med}
Wy	LLgloss	p. 169	s. xv ^{med}
wy	LLgloss	p. 254	s. xv ^{med}
ripam de guye	LL	p. 282	s. xv ²
Gwy	LLgloss	p. 209	1476x78

Location

There is no reason to doubt that these are all references to the River Wye (grid reference above). Most of the attestations are from set formulae expressing the extent of the diocese (generally with the Wye as the eastern, and the Tywi as the western, limit), and most of these formulae refer to the location of Moccas, or the mouth of the †**Taratir**, on the river. Similarly the river is followed in both versions of the diocesan bounds on pages 42–43 and 134–35, and is referred to as marking the Welsh–English border in charter 192. The river is also referred to in connexion with various places: **Llandogo**, **Tyndyrn** (Tintern), †**Garth Benni** (?Welsh Bicknor), †**Tir Conloc**, **Llandinabo**, †**Bolgros** (Bellamore), †**Lann Budgualan** (Ballingham), †**Emricorua** (Chepstow), **St Kingsmark**, (1) †**Hennlann**/†**Lann Tidiuc** (Dixton), (2) †**Hennlann** (?Hentland), †**Merthir Teudiric** (Matharn), **Pencraig**, and †**Cecin Penn Ros**. This river name occurs as an element in †**Ystum Guy**.

Elements

Williams derives this river name from a root **uei-* (> Brittonic **uē-*) 'turn,

twist', which also underlies the adjective GŴYR.¹⁰² Ekwall, bringing in the evidence of the Old English name for the river, *Wæg*, suggests a derivation from **uogio-* or **uogiā*, related to an Indo-European root *uegh-* 'carry',¹⁰³ but Jackson rejects this on the grounds that **uogi-* would result in ***Gwei*, rather than *Gwy*.¹⁰⁴ In view of the Old English form of the name, it does seem necessary to derive the river name from a stem with [g], and I should suggest that a Brittonic form **uēgo-* or **uēgā* would suit the evidence (cf. **lēgā* > *llwy*¹⁰⁵).

Gwynedd: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

regem Guenedotię	LL	p. 107	?
regis guenedocię	LL	p. 85	1120s?
guenedotia	LL	p. 2	1120s
regis guenedotię	LL	p. 5	1120s

Location

Three of the attestations are in references to kings: Maelgwn (page 107) and Gruffudd (pages 5 and 85), both of whom are well known as kings of Gwynedd.¹⁰⁶ The remaining attestation is in a reference to the desolation of the land for seven years while the hermit Elgar dwelt on Bardsey Island (Ynys Enlli). The land referred to would be Gwynedd, given the location of the island.

Elements

Strictly speaking, the forms above are adjectival (Modern Welsh *Gwyndod*), though they are used as nouns. The Brittonic name from which the nominal and adjectival forms of the place-name are derived is **Uēnedā*.¹⁰⁷ The LL forms show velarisation of the initial [u], but the vowel between *n* and *d* (which was lost through syncope) is still shown. The spelling with *c* on page 85 demonstrates that a Vulgar Latin pronunciation (in which *-ci-* and *-ti-* were pronounced identically as [tsi]) was being followed for these Latinised forms.

¹⁰² *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 38; GPC, II, 1781, s.v. *gŵyr*.

¹⁰³ *English River Names*, pp. 451–54.

¹⁰⁴ LHEB, p. 452.

¹⁰⁵ LHEB, p. 448.

Gwynlais: [?ST131820] (mod. *Nant y Fforest*)Attestations

gungleis	LL	p. 69	?
Gungleis	LL	p. 133	?
aper gungleis	LLch.257	p. 258	'c. 1033'
aper gungleis	LLch.257	p. 258	'c. 1033'
Gungleys <i>super</i> Taf	LLgloss	p. 258	s. xv ^{med}

Location

The first two attestations are from the (rudimentary) bounds of the *podum* of **Llandaf**. Little information can be gleaned from these bounds, other than that the *podum* is defined by the **Taf (Fawr)** and the **Ely (Elái)**, to the west and east, and the sea to the south. Consequently the *Gungleis* should define the northern point of the bounds. The bounds of †**Inis Peithan** (charter 257) also refer to a *Gungleis*, the mouth (ABER) of which is on the **Taf (Fawr)**. †**Inis Peithan** is granted together with †**Riu Brein**, so the two territories are probably (but not certainly) neighbours. **Llandaf** and †**Riu Brein** are only about five kilometres apart, so it seems probable that all the attestations above refer to the same river. Evans suggested that the river name is preserved in the settlement name *Tongwynlais*, on the **Taf (Fawr)**.¹⁰⁶ The stream flowing through *Tongwynlais*, and which rises at *Blaengwynlais*, is now known as *Nant y Fforest*, and its outflow into the **Taf (Fawr)** is not now visible due to modern development, but it should be somewhere near the grid reference suggested above.

Elements

GWYN + GLAIS

The spelling *gun* shows simplification of [uĩ] to [u] which is quite common in LL.

Gwynllŵg: [NGR N/A] (Eng. *Wentloog*)Attestations

gunnlyuiuc	LL	p. 279	c. 1120s
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¹⁰⁶ Lloyd, *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, pp. 310–11 and 610.

¹⁰⁷ LHEB, p. 655.

¹⁰⁸ LL, p. 382.

guonliuiuc	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Gunliuiuc	LLb.25	p. 42	1129
cantref. gunlyuch	LL	p. 247	before s. xiii ¹
wenll6c	LLgloss	p. 190	s. xv ^{med}
wenthloc	LLgloss	p. 195	s. xv ^{med}
gwenll6c	LLgloss	p. 191	s. xv

Location

The first four attestations are from lists of larger territorial units; that on page 247 lists *Gunlyuch* as a cantref (together with **Edeligion**). The final two attestations, from fifteenth-century glosses, equate the name with **Glywysing**. Finally, the gloss on page 190 locates **Maerun** in *Wenll6c*. **Maerun** (English **Marshfield**) was in the cantref of Gwynllŵg (which survived into the modern period as the hundred of *Wentloog*), and I see no reason to doubt that all the attestations refer to this same cantref or hundred.¹⁰⁹ **Edeligion** is normally considered a commote of Gwent Is Coed (see **Gwent**),¹¹⁰ but it does neighbour Gwynllŵg, so this serves to confirm the identification made here. The equation of Gwynllŵg with **Glywysing** is odd (the former is a division of the latter, not an equivalent term), and can only really be explained as an error resulting from the ignorance of the fifteenth-century glossators.

Elements

personal name + -OG

The same personal name is present in **St Woolos**.

Gŵyr: [NGR N/A] (Eng. *Gower*)

Attestations

regionis guhiri	LLch.76b	p. 76	'c. 605'
patria Guhyr	LLch.144	p. 144	'c. 650'
pago guhir	LL	p. 279	c. 1120s
Guhir	LLb.11	p. 52	1128
GuhIR	LLb.13	p. 35	1128
[parrochia] Guhir	LLb.15	p. 36	1128
Guher	LLb.21	p. 41	1129

¹⁰⁹ WATU, pp. 86, 222, 281, and 298.

¹¹⁰ WATU, pp. 81 and 277.

[plebs] Guoher	LLb.22	p. 46	1129
[plebs] Guher	LLb.23	p. 47	1129
[parrochia] Guhir	LLb.24	p. 47	1129
Guoher	LLb.25	p. 42	1129
[parrochia] Goher	LLb.29i	p. 55	1130
[parrochia] Goher	LLb.29ii	p. 286	1130
[parrochia] Goher	LLb.38i	p. 58	1131
[parrachia] Guhir	LLb.38ii	p. 63	1131
[cantref] guyr	LL	p. 247	before s. xiii ¹
Goweria	LL	p. 333	c. 1350
gower	LLgloss	p. 31	s. xv ^{med}
Goweer	LLgloss	p. 75	s. xv ^{med}
Gower	LLgloss	p. 144	s. xv ^{med}

Location

Most of the attestations are from lists of larger territories (commotes and cantrefs) in dispute with the bishops of **St David's** and **Hereford** (pages 35, 36, 41, 42, 46, 47 (bulls 23 and 24), 52, 55, 58, 63, and 286). From other attestations we learn that the following places were in the territory: **Llandcilo Tal-y-bont** (page 31), †**Cil Hal** (page 75), †**Porth Tulon** (page 76), †**Lann Cingualan** (page 144), and **Bishopston** (page 333). The attestation on page 279 is from a reference to the dominion of King Cadwgan (ap Bleddyn) over **Guhir**, **Cydweli**, and **Cantref Bychan**. Finally, the list of the cantrefs of **Morgannwg** includes, as the second cantref, **Guyr**, **Cydweli**, and **Carnwyllion**. These last two commotes, together with Gower, constituted the cantref of Eginog, and there is no reason to doubt that all the attestations are to Gower.¹¹¹

Elements

GŴYR

Gyllicg: see †**Tref Gillic**.

¹¹¹ WATU, pp. 64 (Eginog) and 282 (Gower).

Gynhil, Gynnhill: see †Tref Ginhill.

H

Habrinum: see **Hafren**.

Haffren: see †**Ecclesia Istrat Hafren**.

Hafren: [ST5085] (Eng. *Severn, Bristol Channel*)

Attestations

sinus sabrineꝥ	LL	p. 69	?
Sauernam	LLch.141	p. 142	?
sabrina	LLch.234	p. 234	'c. 895'
sabrinvm	LLch.233	p. 234	s. x
mare hafren	LLb.25	p. 43	s. xi ¹
hafrenn	LLch.141	p. 143	s. xi ¹
mor hafren	LLch.145	p. 146	s. xi ¹
mor hafren	LLch.235b	p. 236	s. xi ¹
Hafren	LL	p. 135	c. 1120s
Hafren	LL	p. 135	c. 1120s
habrinum flumen	LL	p. 16	c. 1130
abrinum mare	LL	p. 19	c. 1130
Habrinum flumen	LLgloss	p. 16	1476x78
Sabrinum	LLgloss	p. 16	1476x78
Hafren	LLgloss	p. 16	1476x78
habrinum mare	LLgloss	p. 19	1476x78
hafren mor	LLgloss	p. 19	1476x78
seuarne	LLgloss	p. 142	1476x78

Location

The river Severn was known in the Roman period as *Sabrina*, which developed into Modern Welsh *Hafren*, and was borrowed by the Anglo-Saxons as *Sæfern* (whence Modern English *Severn*).¹ All the attestations above can be explained as forms of the river name, and this is the most likely interpretation unless there is evidence to the contrary. The Bristol Channel is known in Welsh as *Môr Hafren*, and this should likewise be regarded as the

most likely interpretation of the attestations with *MÔR* and *MARE*, unless there is evidence against it (see also †*Aufferreum Mare*). All the charters attesting this river name concern places near the mouth of the Severn, or on the Bristol Channel coast: *Matharn*/†*Merthir Teudiric* (charter 141), †*Yscuit Cyst* (charter 234), †*Tref Peren*/*Llanfihangel Rogiet* (charter 233), †*Lann Merguall*/*Bishopston* (charter 145), and †*Castell Conscuit* (charter 235b). The attestations on pages 43 and 135 are from the two versions of the diocesan bounds; in the former the Wye (*Gwy*) is followed down to *Mare Hafren*, and in the latter that river falls into the *Hafren*. The two attestations from the *Life of Samson* (pages 16 and 19) are not in a context which provides much evidence for location. The glosses are all by David Llywelyn, all translations of the Latin forms of the name into Welsh or English. The river name is also present as an element in †*Ecclesia Istrat Hafren* and *Ystrad Hafren*.

Elements

[*MÔR*] + ? + ?-EN

[*MARE*] + ? + ?-EN

Most commentators seem to regard the stem of this name as non-Indo-European—see *PNRom. Brit.* for a full discussion.² In most of the Latin forms the name is treated as a neuter, which might be due to the influence of the gender of *FLUMEN* and *MARE*.

Hafrenn: see *Hafren*.

Hal: see †*Cil Hal*.

Halan: see †*Porta Halan*.

†**Halannauc, Ir:** [nr SO367141]

Attestations

[i]rhalannauc LLch.171b p. 172 c. 990–c. 1010

Location

This feature is named as a point in the bounds of *Llanfable*. It is mentioned between †*Manach Rivulus* and the †*Oncir*, but as too few of the points in the bounds have been identified, the best that can be said is that it is near

¹ Ekwall, *English River Names*, pp. 358–60.

² *PNRom. Brit.*, pp. 450–51, s.v. *Sabrina*.

Llanfable.Elements

YR + ?ALANNOG

GPC gives *Halannauc* here as its only attestation of a word *alannog* ‘place where coltsfoot grows’, created from *alan* ‘coltsfoot’ and the adjectival suffix -OG.³ An alternative interpretation would be to treat the name as the noun HÂL and adjective *gannog* ‘scaly’.

†Hal Du, Ir: [?SO080144]

Attestations

haldu	LLb.25	p. 42	s. xi ¹
hal du	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s
[i]r hal du	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s

Location

This feature is mentioned as a point in both versions of the diocesan bounds. In the shorter, earlier version it is located between †Rit i Cambren (a ford on the Taf Fechan, upstream of its junction with the Taf Fawr) and *Nant Crafnant* (Crawnon), and in the other, more detailed version †Hir Cemyn comes before *Nant Crafnant* (Crawnon). The element HÂL is defined as ‘moorland’ by GPC, but the original meaning may have been something more like ‘dirty water, marsh’.⁴ If the sense intended here is ‘marsh’, then the marshy ground at the grid reference above would be a plausible location for *Hal Du*, but in any case the intended feature should be no further than three kilometres away. Evans suggested a location ‘near the head of the Rumney river’,⁵ but this seems to be based on the co-incidence of the element DU in the place-name *Pyllau-duon* in this area [SO0911]. It is true that the modern county boundary runs between the Taf Fechan and the location suggested by Evans, but the county boundary does not continue on to the Crawnon from that point, and I would suggest that the county and diocesan bounds diverge after the Taf Fechan.

³ GPC, I, 74.

⁴ GPC, II, 1815; CPNE, p. 125.

⁵ LL, p. 367.

Elements

YR + HÂL + DU

A *Haldu* is also attested from Cornwall.⁶

†Hal Melen, Ir: [nr †Lann Cerniu, on the Dore]

Attestations

ir halmelen LLch.72b p. 73 'c. 580'–c. 930

Location

This feature is attested as a point in the bounds of †Lann Cerniu, which has not, however, been identified further than to say that is on the Dore.

Elements

YR + HÂL + MELYN (fem.)

†Hal Ruma: [between SO2540 and SO2738]

Attestations

halruua	LLb.25	p. 42	s. xi ¹
hal ruma	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s

Location

This feature is mentioned in both versions of the diocesan bounds between the †Pridell and †Main i Bard. The location of the former is uncertain, but that of the latter is known. The bounds are coming from the direction of *Guarthaf Buch* (Bwch), so Evans's suggestion that *Hal Ruma* should be identified with 'Cussop "Moor"' (i.e., presumably, Cusop Hill, SO2540) is reasonable. Another possibility, which would take the bounds more directly between *Guarthaf Buch* (Bwch) and †Main i Bard, would be to identify *Hal Ruma* with Cefn Hill [SO271389].

Elements

HÂL + ?personal name

It is tempting to try to connect the second element with **Roma**, but the Old Welsh spelling of that place-name is *Rumein* (found in LL: see **Roma**), and it would not be easy to account for the preservation of final *-a*. Conceivably we could have here a compound of RHUDD and MA, with simplification of [dv] to

• CPNE, p. 126.

[v].⁷ Searle records the existence of an Anglo-Saxon personal name *Ruma* as an element in the place-name *Rumanhel*.⁸

Hal Ruua: see †Hal Ruma.

†Hal Un Guernen: [nr SN8310]

Attestations

halunguernen	LLb.25	p. 42	s. xi ¹
all unguernenn	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s
all unguernlnenn	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s

Location

This feature is attested as a point in both versions of the diocesan bounds, between the sources (BLAEN) of the **Cynlais** and the **Pyrddin**. Those two points are just under five kilometres apart, but most of the area is now occupied by opencast workings. Evans identified *Hal Un Guernen* with 'the Drum', now *Mynydd y Drum*, the site of the workings.⁹ The grid square suggested above for the location of the feature is the midpoint between the sources of the two streams.

Elements

HÂL + UN + GWERN (sg.)

The name contains the numeral *un* 'one'.

Hancr: see †Estrat Agcr.

Hebauc: see †Nant ir Hebauc.

†Hebaucmein, Ir: [nr SN5827]

Attestations

irhebauc mein	LLch.77	p. 78	c. 1080–c. 1120s
[i]rhebauc mein	LLch.77	p. 78	c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

These stones are a point in the bounds of **Llandeilo Fawr**. They stands between †**Cruc Petill Bechan** and the **Dulas** (†**Dugleis Bisgueiliauc**). No mention is made of crossing a stream between †**Cruc Petill Bechan** and the

⁷ I am grateful to Patrick Sims-Williams for this suggestion.

⁸ *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*, p. 404.

⁹ LL, p. 367.

Hebaucmein, so the stones cannot be south of the stream which flows past Capel Isaac. The stones should be in the angle of the Dulas and the stream which flows past Capel Isaac (the junction of the two is at SN578268), probably in the grid square suggested above.

Elements

YR + HEBOG + MAEN (pl.)

The name is based on an otherwise unattested compound of HEBOG and MAEN.

†Heithtir Rud, Ir: [nr †Lann Cerniu, on the Dore]

Attestations

[i]rheith tir rud LLch.72b p. 73 'c. 580'–c. 930

Location

This feature is attested as a point in the bounds of †Lann Cerniu, which has not, however, been identified further than to say that is on the Dore.

Elements

? + ?RHUDD

This place-name has not yet been satisfactorily explained. RHUDD as the final element is the least problematic aspect of the name, and the first element is probably a compound with TIR, but what the first part of that compound is is the heart of the problem. Evans interpreted 'Heith-tir' as 'barley-land' (albeit with a question mark), in other words, a compound of *haidd* and TIR.¹⁰ If that were so this would be either an unparalleled example of orthographic *th* for [d], or an unparalleled example of provection of [d] to [b] before [d] (initial consonant of TIR after lenition). One might interpret the first element as a compound of *aith* 'heather' and TIR, but *aith* is not attested before the fifteenth century, and might be a back-formation from *eithin* 'heather'.¹¹ Another possibility, tentatively suggested to me by Nicholas Jacobs, would be to interpret the first *r* not as the article, but as part of the first element, making it a compound of *rhaith* and TIR.¹² He suggested a meaning 'wasted land' for the compound, with an otherwise unattested **rhaith* 'violence, plunder', cognate

¹⁰ LL, p. li/

¹¹ GPC, I, 73.

¹² Letter of 2000-06-19.

yL/ with Irish *recht* 'onslaught, rage'.¹³ (The attested *rhaith* 'law' could be considered too, however.) The main difficulty here is in explaining the spelling *rh-*, which does not appear in Welsh orthography until the Early Modern period.

Hela: see †Nant Hela.

Helic: see †Ager Helic, †Douluin Helic, †Luin Helic.

Helioci: see Beaujeu.

Helyc: see †Douluin Helic.

†Hen Alt, Ir: [?SN601237] (?mod. *Allt Llwyncelyn*)

Attestations

irhen alt

LLch.77

p. 78 c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

This feature is named as a point in the bounds of **Llandeilo Fawr**. Its place in the bounds is between the **Myddyfi** (below the †**Isceuiauc**) and †**Cil ir Adar**. While it is difficult to be specific (the location of †**Cil ir Adar** is not certain), the general location can be determined. There are three candidates: the hill at SN599248, Birdshill [SN606228], and *Allt Llwyncelyn* (grid reference above). The second can probably be ruled out on the ground that it is separated from the **Myddyfi** by a stream, and there is no mention of crossing such a stream in the bounds, and furthermore Birdshill might be the location of †**Cil ir Adar**. Of the remaining two possibilities I have chosen *Allt Llwyncelyn*, because it contains the element **ALLT**.

Element

YR + HEN + ALLT

Hendreb Iouoniu: see †Henntre Biguonui.

Hendrew: see †Hennriu.

†Henglas: [?SO473106]

Attestations

aper henglas

LLch.227b

p. 228 s. xi¹

¹³ Quin, *Dictionary of the Irish Language*, p. 502, s.v. 2 *recht*.

henglas

LLch.227b p. 228 s. xi¹Location

This stream is followed by a stretch of the bounds of **Llanddingad (Dingestow)**. See (1) †**Camfrut** for a discussion of the route taken by these bounds. We know that the *Henglas* flows into the **Troddi** downstream of, and from the opposite side of, the (1) †**Camfrut**. Furthermore, the *Henglas* has at least one tributary stream (which enters it at *Aper Henglas*). There is only one tributary of the **Troddi** which meets these criteria and is sufficiently close to **Dingestow** (the territory granted is only three *modii*): the one at the grid reference above.

⊙ /

Elements

HEN + GLAS

†**Hen Lenhic**: [SO505281 or SO507271] (?mod. *Lenaston Farm*; ?also **Llanwarne**, †**Lann Guern Teliau ha Dibric**)

Attestations

ecclesiam hennlennic	LLch.200	p. 200	'c. 758'
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HEN LENHIC	LLrub.	p. 200	c. 1120s
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Location

This site is granted in charter 200. Both the rubric and the Narration appear to equate the place named with *Lann Guern* (**Llanwarne**), and the **Gamber** is significant in the bounds. Davies and Rollason identify the place straightforwardly with **Llanwarne** (the first of the two grid references above),¹⁴ but Evans identifies it with *Lenaston Farm*, one kilometre to the south (the second grid reference).¹⁵ Finberg interprets the charter as granting land at **Llanwarne** together with the church of *Hen Lenhic*, which he identifies with *Lenastone*.¹⁶ Which identification is preferred depends on whether one takes the charter's equation of *Hen Lenhic* and *Lann Guern* literally or not (it could be understood to mean that *Hen Lenhic* was part of *Lann Guern*'s territory, not that the two are synonymous). Earlier forms of the name *Lenaston* could be conclusive.

¹⁴ *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 116; 'The Boundaries', pp. 75–76.

¹⁵ *LL*, p. 404.

¹⁶ *The Early Charters*, p. 140.

Elements

HEN + LLENNIG

†**Hen Lenic Cinauc**: [?SO455014] (?mod. *Llangunnog*; ?also †**Lann Guern Cinuc**,
†**Lis Guern**)

Attestations

henlenic cinauc arpill LLch.251 p. 252 s. xi¹

Location

The identification with *Llangunnog* (at the grid reference above) is that of Evans,¹⁷ Thomas,¹⁸ Richards,¹⁹ and Davies.²⁰ This identification seems to rest on the coincidence of the personal name *Cynog* as an element, the fact that the place should be in **Gwent** (the grantors were kings of **Gwent**), and the proximity of the **Pill** brook (a stream called *Pill* is significant in the bounds of *Hen Lenic Cinauc*). The identification of this place-name with †**Lann Guern Cinuc** is made by Evans and Richards,²¹ and appears to rely on the occurrence of *Cynog* in both, and, perhaps, also on the association of *Hen Lenic Cinauc* with †**Penn Celli Guenhuc** (their bounds occur together in charter 251) which might itself have a relationship with †**Lann Guern Cinuc**. According to its bounds *Hen Lenic Cinauc* is adjacent to †**Lann Gunnhoill**.

Elements

HEN + LLENNIG + personal name

†**Hen Lotre Elidon**: [?nr ST102740]

Attestations

hen lotre elidon LLch.157 p. 157 s. xi²

Location

This place is mentioned in the bounds of **St Lythans**. The bounds place *Hen Lotre Elidon* at the summit of †**Pant Gulich**. The grid reference above is for the summit of the **PANT** identified as †**Pant Gulich**. The name probably refers to 'an early (ecclesiastical) site connected with *Elidon*' (the eponym of

¹⁷ LL, p. 381.

¹⁸ EANC, pp. 190–91, s.v. *Gwynnig*.

¹⁹ WATU, pp. 131 (s.v. *Llangynog*) and 172 (s.v. *Pencelli Gwennwg*). He contradicts himself, however, on pages 90 (s.v. *Henlennig Cynog*) and 141 (s.v. *Llan Wern Gynog*) where the identification is with **Llangunock**.

²⁰ *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 126. The grid reference she gives is for **Wolvesnewton**.

Llwyneliddon and St Lythans).²²

Elements

HEN + LLODRE + personal name

- (1) †Hennlann: [?SO519135] (?mod. *Dixton*; also †Hennlann Titiuc, †Lann Tidiuc)

Attestations

podium hennlann super ripam guy LLch.183a p. 183 'c. 735'

Location

This church is granted by charter 183a. The rubric of the charter calls the church *Ecclesia Tytiuc*, and in the text *Hennlann* is glossed contemporaneously *Ecc'ia Tituuc Sc'i*. See further under †Lann Tidiuc.

Elements

HEN + LLAN

- (2) †Hennlann: [?SO542263] (?mod. *Hentland*; ?also †Hennlann Dibric et Lann Teliiau)

Attestations

podo hennlann super ripam Gui LL p. 80 1120s?

Location

The attestation is from the Life of Dyfrig, in a reference to seven years spent by the saint at this monastery. We are told that the place is on the bank of the Wye (Gwy), but there is no other evidence for its location. Evans took the view that this *Hennlann* was the same as (1) †Hennlann, i.e. *Dixton*,²³ and it is noteworthy that that place is also described by the word *podium* and located 'super ripam guy'. I would prefer, though, to follow Davies's identification with †Hennlann Dibric et Lann Teliiau, on the ground that (1) †Hennlann is clearly dedicated to a *Titiuc*, whereas we should expect the *Hennlann* under discussion to carry a Dyfrig dedication.²⁴ Coplestone-Crow suggested that Llanfrother [SO542287] might be the original site of Dyfrig's *Hennlann*: 'This place may have been the site of *Hennlan super ripam Gui* [...]. The late

²² LL, p. 408; WATU, p. 131 (s.v. *Llangynog*).

²³ PNDinas P., p. 261.

²⁴ LL, p. 404, s.v. *Hennlann Titiuc*.

²⁵ *Early Welsh Microcosm*, pp. 141 and 144, n. 2.

medieval form of this place-name *Henfresroudre* ('old place of the brethren') suggests that, as local tradition has it, this rather than Hentland was the site of St Dyfrig's first and most important monastery. The site certainly suits the description *super ripam Gui* given it in LL better than Hentland. If this supposition is correct, then St Dyfrig's church here will have been combined with a Teilo foundation at Hentland in or before the 11th century to produce at the Hentland site *Hennlan dibric a lann teliau in uno cimiterio.*²⁵ The bases of Coplestone-Crow's argument seem to me rather tenuous, though (for one thing, I would dispute the claim that Hentland is too far from the river to be described in relation to it). The place might, of course, be somewhere else entirely.

Elements

HEN + LLAN

†**Hennlann Dibric et Lann Teliau:** [?SO542263] (?mod. *Hentland*; ?also (2) †**Hennlann**)

Attestations

Hennlann dibric. <i>et</i> lann teliau inuno cimiterio	LL	p. 275	c. 1120s
hennlann dibric & lannteliau in uno cimiterio	LL	p. 275	c. 1120s
villa sancti dubricij. Villa sancti Theliai	LLgloss	p. 275	1476x78

Location

This place features in a list of **Ergyng** churches, and in the following account of churches consecrated by Bishop Herewald (again in an **Ergyng** context). Evans identified these as references to Hentland (grid reference above), which is reasonable on grounds of form and location, but, in the absence of more specific evidence, it should not be regarded as certain. See also (2) †**Hennlann** above.

Elements

HEN + LLAN + personal name + *ET* + LLAN + personal name

VILLA + SANCTUS (gen.) + *personal name* (gen.) + VILLA + SANCTUS (gen.) + *personal name* (gen.)

²⁵ *Herefordshire Place-Names*, p. 100.

†**Hennlann Titiuc**: [?SO519135] (?mod. *Dixton*; also (1) †**Hennlann**, †**Lann Tidiuc**)

Attestations

hennlann titiuc LLch.230b p. 231 ‘c. 866’

Location

This place-name is attested in the witness list to charter 230b (†**Villa Branuc**). The churches of various of the clerical witnesses are specified in this list, and one, *Lutinn*, is associated with *Hennlann Titiuc*. This attestation provides no information to help locate the place, but it is very likely to be the same as (or possibly only near) †**Lann Tidiuc** (i.e. *Dixton*).

Elements

HEN + LLAN + personal name

Henn Lennic: see †**Hen Lenhic**.

†**Henn Pont**: [?SO418049] (?mod. *Wecha Brook*)

Attestations

hennpont	LLch.208	p. 208	s. xi ¹
henpont	LLch.208	p. 208	s. xi ¹

Location

This feature is mentioned in the bounds of the church of †**Mathenni**, which has been identified with Llandenny. Although the name means literally ‘old bridge’ it is clear that the feature so named is a stream (or conceivably some other linear feature such as a road). It is followed downwards from the †**Diuguinid** to *Nant y Wilcae*. So the *Henn Pont* is probably a tributary of *Nant y Wilcae*, which should itself have a tributary (the †**Diuguinid**). The †**Diuguinid** should run into the *Henn Pont* from the north since the bounds run back from *Nant y Wilcae* (upstream, and therefore north, of its confluence with the *Henn Pont*) to the source (LLYGAD) of the †**Diuguinid**. Streams meeting these criteria join *Nant y Wilcae* at SO417040, SO418049 (now called *Wecha Brook*), and SO416071—anything further north would probably be too far from Llandenny. The area is specified as three *modii* (about fifty hectares).²⁶ Of the three candidates, the first would give bounds describing too

➤ See under †**Cum Barruc** above for the size of *modii* and *unciae*.

small an area, and the last would result in too large an area. Consequently, the *Henn Pont* is most likely to be the stream now called *Wecha Brook*.

Elements

HEN + PONT

†**Hennriu**: [around ST3891]

Attestations

hennriu	LLch.261	p. 261	'c. 1045'
Hennriu in Lebinid	LLrub.	p. 261	c. 1120s
Henriw in Wencia	LLgloss	p. 261	s. xv ^{med}

Location

Charter 261 grants *Lannpetyr inhennriu* (see **Llan-bedr**), so we should regard *Hennriu* as the name of an area. The rubric of the charter locates *Hennriu* in the commote of **Llebenydd** (a commote of **Gwent**), and a fifteenth-century gloss locates it simply in **Gwent**. Enough information is provided by the charter to be confident in the identification of the property granted as **Llan-bedr**, and consequently to identify *Hennriu* (the slope—**RHIW**—on which **Llan-bedr** stands) as the south-east slope of the long ridge of **Kemeys Graig** (see †**Allt Coit Guent**) around grid square ST3891. The name *Hennriu* is even preserved in *Hendrew Farm* at ST398914. See †**Villa Henriu**.

Elements

HEN + RHIW

Hennriu Gunnua: see †**Henriu Gunma**.

†**Hentre Biguonui**: [nr SO461172]

Attestations

hendreb iouoniu	LLch.74	p. 74	'c. 860'–c. 930
hentre iguonui	LLch.171b	p. 172	'c. 860'–c. 930

Location

This settlement is named as a point in the bounds of **Llanfocha** (the same bounds are used in both charters). Too few of the other points have been identified for more than a general location to be offered.

Elements

HENDREF + ?personal name

It seems most likely that the second element is a personal name, as is usually

the case in place-names with TREF or HENDREF as the generic element. I know of no personal name resembling either *Iouoniu* or *Iguonui*, but one of the lay witnesses to charter 74 is called *Biuonui*, and I would suggest that the HENDREF under discussion was his. Both of the forms attested in LL could derive from an original form such as *Henntre Biguonui*. The loss of the initial *b* of the personal name is easily explained by a combination of the fact that scribes would have been familiar with spellings of HENDREF in final *-b* (representing [v]), and the fact that the personal name would have been lenited after feminine HENDREF in any case, leaving it with an initial [v] (still spelt, however, as *b*). The change from **Henntre Biguonui* to the attested forms would have occurred in two stages: first, a copying error shifted the *b* from the start of the second element to the end of the first (or possibly the whole name-phrase was just written unspaced); and second, the resulting **Henntreb Iguonui* was altered by the scribe of charter 171b (by modernising **Henntreb* to *Henntre*), and was partly modernised (**Henntreb* > *Hendreb*) and partly miscopied (the unfamiliar **Iguonui* > *Iouoniu*) by the scribe of charter 74.

†Henntref Gucaun: [nr †Henriu Gunma]

Attestations

henn tref gucaun LLch.267 p. 268 s. xi²

Location

This place-name is mentioned as a point in the bounds of †Henriu Gunma. The precise location of †Henriu Gunma is still uncertain, but it was somewhere on the north-western edge of Llandaf's *podum*.

Elements

HENDREF + personal name

Henntre Iguonui: see †Henntre Biguonui.

Hen Pont: see †Henn Pont.

†Henriu: [?nr ST1278] (also †Henriu Gunma, †Riu Tinui)

Attestations

henriu LLch.159b p. 160 'c. 685'–c. 930

Location

Henriu is supplied as an alternative name for †Riu Tinui in the rather

confused boundary clause(s) of charter 159b. One of the other points in the same bounds is †**Riu Finion**, which also occurs in the bounds of the *PODUM* of **Llandaf**, along with †**Henriu Gunma**, so it is probable that this *Henriu* is short for †**Henriu Gunma**.

Elements

HEN + RHIW

†**Henriu Gunma**: [nr ST1278] (?also †**Henriu**, †**Riu Tinuiu**)

Attestations

Henriu gunua	LL	p. 69	?
Henriugunua	LLch.267	p. 268	'c. 1070'
HenN RIV GuNNua	LLrub.	p. 267	c. 1120s
henriugunma	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Henriu gunua	LLb.25	p. 44	1129

Location

Henriu Gunma is the name of a territory granted in charter 267. It is also named (pages 32 and 44) in two versions of a list of properties confirmed to the church of **Llandaf** by the Pope. The remaining attestation (page 69) is from a very brief note of the bounds of the *podum* of **Llandaf** where it is used as a point. The list of properties does not convey any information which would help to locate *Henriu Gunma*. The bounds of the *PODUM* of **Llandaf** are not expressed clearly, but it is stated that the territory occupies the whole area between the **Taf (Fawr)** and **Ely (Elái)**, with the sea as the southern boundary. Consequently the other points mentioned (including *Henriu Gunma*) must be defining the route of the bounds at the north-western end of the territory between the two rivers. The bounds of *Henriu Gunma* are given in the charter, but none of the points can be identified with any confidence. One point in the bounds, †**Guorlurch Iudgual**, is also attested in the bounds of †**Cair Birran**, and if another of the points in those bounds, †**Brenan Picet**, can be regarded as the same place as †**Abrenan**,²⁷ then perhaps *Henriu Gunma* could be located nearer the **Ely (Elái)** than the **Taf (Fawr)**.

²⁷ LL, p. 378.

Elements

HEN + RHIW + ?GWYNFA

Simplification of [uĩ] to [u] is quite common in LL, so *gun* probably represents GWYN. Although *gwynfa* (GWYN + MA) has the common-noun sense ‘paradise’ in Modern Welsh, the Irish and Gaulish cognates, *Fion-mhagh* and *Vindomagus*, are attested as place-names,²⁸ so perhaps the LL use should be interpreted more prosaically as ‘pleasant spot’.

Henriu Gunua: see †Henriu Gunma.

Henriw: see †Hennriu.

Hentland: see (2) †Hennlann, †Hennlann Dibric et Lann Teliau.

†Hentref Merchitir: [?nr ST387873]

Attestations

hentref merchitir	LLch.180b	p. 183	s. xi ¹
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Location

This settlement is attested as a point in the bounds of †Lann Catgualatir (identified with Bishton—grid reference above). The bounds are lengthy, but following them is greatly hindered by the fact that a large steelworks now occupies much of the area described, and, furthermore, much of the terrain is low-lying (and originally marshy), so landscape features have probably been lost through drainage works. The bounds reach *Hentref Merchitir* after passing through an area of marsh (CORS) and the following point is some stagnant pools (*marulinniau*) to the west.

Elements

HENDREF + personal name

Hepste: [SN924098]

Attestations

hepstur	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s
Hepstur	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s

Location

This river name is attested in the longer of the two versions of the diocesan

²⁸ GPC, II, 1773.

bounds. We glean that it is a tributary of the **Mellte**, and that it itself has a tributary called the †**Guyragon**. Evans commented: ‘Hepstwr, i.e. Hesp-δwr, is *not* the Hepstè, which would be Hepstou in our text, but the brook now called variously Sych-ryd, -nant, -bant.’²⁹ Thomas seems to agree with Evans in regarding LL’s *Hepstur* as a different river from the Hepste, but he does not suggest an identification.³⁰ I agree with Evans that Old Welsh *Hepstur* would not normally yield a modern form *Hepste*, but there are only two possible candidates for the *Hepstur* (i.e. rivers running into the **Mellte** from the east, upstream of its confluence with the **Nedd**): the Sychryd [SN910079] and the Hepste (grid reference above). It seems to me far more likely that *Hepstur* should become *Hepste* (perhaps by analogy with **Mellte**), than that it should be partially ‘translated’ to *Sychryd* (even assuming that *Heps-* is metathesised from *hysb* ‘dry’). In addition there is the circumstantial evidence that the modern county boundary does run from the **Mellte** up the Hepste.

Elements

?HYSB + ?DŴR³¹

The initial *Heps-* is supposed to be metathesised from *hysb* ‘dry’. The change from final [ur] to [e] could be through the influence of the **Mellte**.

Hepstur: see **Hepste**.

Hereford: [SO510397]

Attestations

herfordiam	LLch.192	p. 192	‘c. 745’?
comitis herfordię	LLch.274	p. 274	‘c. 1075’
Herfordensis	LL	p. 295	1107–34
[episcopi] Herfordię	LLb.1	p. 88	1119
episcopo Herfordię	LLb.3	p. 93	1119
uicecomitis herfordię	LL	p. 276	c. 1120s
uicecomitis herfordię	LL	p. 277	c. 1120s
ecclesia herfordię	LL	p. 278	c. 1120s
[episcopo] herfordię	LLb.10	p. 49	1125

²⁹ LL, p. 367, n. 7.

³⁰ EANC, p. 88, s.v. *Sychan*.

³¹ *Ibid.*.

Ricardo herfortensi	LLb.11	p. 52	1128
Ricardo herfortensi	LLb.13	p. 34	1128
[<i>ęcclesia</i>] herfortensis	LLb.13	p. 35	1128
Ricardo herfortensi	LLb.14	p. 35	1128
[<i>ęcclesia</i>] herfortensis	LLb.14	p. 36	1128
Ricardum herfortensem	LLb.15	p. 36	1128
[<i>ęcclesiam</i>] herfortensem	LLb.18	p. 39	1128
[<i>ęcclesiam</i>] herfortensem	LLb.19	p. 39	1128
[<i>ęcclesiam</i>] herfordię	LLb.20	p. 52	1129
RICARDVM herfortensem	LLb.21	p. 40	1129
[<i>ęcclesię</i>] herfortensis	LLb.21	p. 40	1129
[<i>ęcclesię</i>] herfortensis	LLb.21	p. 41	1129
Ricardo herfortensi	LLb.22	p. 45	1129
Ricardo herfortensi	LLb.23	p. 46	1129
Ricardum herfortensem	LLb.24	p. 47	1129
herefordensi <i>ęcclesia</i>	LLb.35i	p. 57	1130
<i>episcopatum</i> herefordensem	LLb.35i	p. 57	1130
herefordensi <i>ęcclesia</i>	LLb.35ii	p. 288	1130
<i>episcopatum</i> herefordensem	LLb.35ii	p. 288	1130
Herfortensis <i>ęcclesia</i>	LLb.37	p. 63	1131
.R. herfortensi <i>ęcclesię</i>	LLb.37	p. 63	1131
.R. herfortensis <i>episcopus</i>	LLb.37	p. 63	1131
herfortensi <i>ęcclesię</i>	LLb.37	p. 63	1131
<i>dyocesis</i> Herfordensis	LL	p. 333	c. 1350
<i>episcopum</i> Herfordhensem	LLgloss	p. 64	1476x78
[<i>Episcopum</i>] Herfordie	LLgloss	p. 65	1476x78
<i>episcopum</i> herfordie	LLgloss	p. 87	1476x78
<i>episcopum</i> herfordie	LLgloss	p. 92	1476x78
[<i>Episcopo</i>] herfordensi	LLgloss	p. 94	1476x78

Location

There is no reason to doubt the identification with Hereford. Most are references to the dispute between Llandaf and the bishops of St David's and Hereford.

Herfordia, Herfortensis: see **Hereford**.

†**Hescenn Iudie:** [?nr ST502955]

Attestations

hescenn iudie LLch.143 p. 143 'c. 660'–c. 990

Location

This name is attested in the bounds of †**Ecclesia Guruid**, which has been identified with **St Wormet's** (Howick). None of the four points of this dimensional boundary can be identified so a definite conclusion is not possible.

Elements

HESGEN + ?personal name

Iudie seems likely to be an error for *Iudic* (modern *Iddig*), or perhaps *Iudiul/Iudio* (a witness to charters 169b and 170). The first element here is supposed to be *hesgen* 'place where sedge grows, bog', a compound of *hesg* 'sedge' and the suffix -EN (in its name-forming, rather than singulative sense).³²

Heuias: see **Ewias**.

Hibernia: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

hiberniam	LL	p. 108	?
hiberniensis occidentales	LL	p. 269	'c. 1060'
hiberniam	LL	p. 1	1120s
hibernia	LL	p. 16	c. 1130
Johannis de Hybernia	LL	p. 292	c. 1328
Johanni de Hibernia	LL	p. 292	c. 1328
hibernia	LLgloss	p. 1	s. xvi

Location

The name is distinctive and there is no reason to doubt the identification with Ireland. The reference to 'hibernienses occidentales' is from the Privilege of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn, in a description of Gruffudd's military successes. I am not aware of any evidence that Gruffudd spent any time in Ireland, so perhaps

³² GPC, II, 1861; CPNE, pp. 130–31, s.v. *heschen*.

the reference is to Irishmen in the host brought from Ireland by Hywel ab Edwin in his 1044 attack on Gruffudd.³³

Hiernin: see †Tir Hiernin.

Hierosolima: see Jerusalem.

Hieuen: see †Ieuen.

Highlight: see †ȜoȜ Wanwol.

Hi Guarach: see †Pull hi Guarach.

Hilarii: see Saint Hilari.

†Hilin: [SO325271, SO325265, SO328264, SO328263, or SO330253]

Attestations

blain hilin	LLch.195	p. 196	s. xi ²
hilin	LLch.195	p. 196	s. xi ²

Location

This stream is followed by the bounds of †Merthir Clitauc from its source on Mynydd Merddin to its mouth on the Monnow (Mynwy). It is clear from the more easily identifiable points that the bounds run clockwise around Clodock (†Merthir Clitauc), and consequently the *Hilin* must enter the Monnow (Mynwy) south of their focus. The northernmost stream which could reasonably be identified with the *Hilin* is therefore the one at SO325271. After the mouth of the *Hilin*, the bounds travel down the Monnow (Mynwy) until they reach the mouth of †Finhaun Bist on the opposite bank. Since the southernmost candidate for that stream has its mouth at SO315239, the *Hilin* cannot be further south than SO330253. In fact, if the suggested identity of †Finhaun Bist is correct, then the *Hilin* cannot be further south than SO328263 as the bounds stand. It should be pointed out, though, that the stream at SO330253 is followed by the modern parish bounds, and both this and the suggested identity of †Finhaun Bist could be correct if 'diguairt' in the account of the bounds route along the Monnow (Mynwy) were regarded as an error for 'diuinid'. Rollason points out that the course of many of the

³³ Lloyd, *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, p. 312.

streams in this area has been altered.³⁴

Elements

?HIL + ?

The name might be based on the noun *hil* ‘seed’.

Hillarii: see †**Ecclesia Sancti Hillarii**.

Hinn Hitian: see †**Brinn Hinn Hitian**.

†**Hir Cemyn, Ir:** [?SO0814] (?mod. *Cefn yr Ystrad*)

Attestations

[i]r hir cemyn LL p. 134 c. 1120s

Location

This ridge is mentioned as a point in the longer version of the diocesan bounds, where it stands between †**Hal Du** and *Nant Crafnant* (Crawnon). From my identification of †**Hal Du**, this ridge would be the one now called *Cefn yr Ystrad* (grid reference above), which is now the site of a quarry. If Evans’s identification of †**Hal Du** is correct, however, then the ridge would be the one now called *Cefn Pyllauduon* [SO1012].

Elements

YR + HIR + CEFN

The spelling *cemn* is used for the noun *cefn* ‘ridge’ in the bounds of charter 156, and that would be the expected Old Welsh form of *cefn* (which Jackson derives from **cemno-*).³⁵ The *y* of *cemyn* here represents an epenthetic vowel.³⁶

Hir Guidhuc: see †**Poll hir Guidhuc**.

Hir Pant: see †**Villa hir Pant**.

Hisbernn: see †**Cruc Hisbernn**.

Hitian: see †**Brinn Hinn Hitian**.

†**Hitir Melin, Ir:** [nr SN584034]

Attestations

[i]r hitir melin LLch.140 p. 140 s. xi¹

³⁴ ‘The Boundaries’, pp. 66–67.

³⁵ LHEB, p. 419.

³⁶ LHEB, p. 337.

[i]r hytir melin LLch.140 p. 140 s. xi¹Location

This feature is atested as a point in the bounds of **Llandeilo Tal-y-bont**. It stands between the †**Camguili** and the **Llwchwr**. The two rivers run almost parallel and not far apart along the lower reaches of the †**Camguili**. The point at which the bounds cross the †**Camguili** is not certain, but is probably not far above its mouth (see †**Guyth Lunguyd**). The point at which the bounds reach the **Llwchwr** is more certain: downstream of the confluence of the **Camffrwd**. This leaves only a small area (around the grid reference above) in which to locate the *Hitir Melin*. A connexion with *Felin Forest* at SN578043 is tempting, but this place is probably too far north. See also †**Hytyr Melin**.

Elements

YR + ?*YTIR + ?MELYN

The Old Welsh spelling *melin* is ambiguous: it could represent either *melin* ‘mill’ or MELYN. GPC offers the interpretation MELYN,³⁷ which really must be right if the analysis of the preceding elements as article + noun is correct.

Hodni: see **Honddu**.

Honddu: [SO335233]

Attestations

hodni	LLch.240	p. 242	s. xi ¹
hodni	LLch.240	p. 242	s. xi ¹
fluvium Hotheni	G.C.Op., 6 ³⁸	p. 37	s. xii ^{ex}

Location

The two LL attestations are from the bounds of **Llanfihangel Crucornau**. The **Honddu** flows right past **Llanfihangel Crucornau**. See also (1) **Llanthony**, which contains this river name as an element.

Elements

HAWDD + -NI

Thomas derives *Hodni* from *hawdd* ‘easy’ and the river-name suffix -NI.³⁹ The same name is applied to the river whose mouth is the site of **Brecon** (Welsh

³⁷ GPC, III, 2422.

³⁸ Dimock, *Itinerarium Kambriæ et Descriptio Kambriæ*.

³⁹ EANC, pp. 152–53.

Aberhonddu), and both rivers underwent the same sound changes: metathesis and change of *i* to *u* (purely a written change).⁴⁰

Hostiensis: see **Ostia**.

Hostio Circan, Crican: see †**Circhan**.

Hostio Humir, Humri: see †**Humir**.

Howick: see **St Wormet's, †Ecclesia Guruid**.

Huch: see †**Ol Huch**.

Huisc: see **Wysg**.

Humer: see †**Humir**.

†**Humir:** [?ST372925] (also †**Nant Merthir**)

Attestations

hostio humri	LLch.183b	p. 183	'c. 700'
hostio humir	LLch.199b	p. 200	'c. 755'
messes oper humir	LLch.230b	p. 231	'c. 866'
oper humir	LLch.230b	p. 231	'c. 866'
amir	LLch.225	p. 226	s. xi ¹
Aper humir inuisc	LLch.183b	p. 184	s. xi ¹
blain nant humir	LLch.183b	p. 184	s. xi ¹
humer riuulus	LLgloss	p. 184	s. xv ^{med}

Location

I should first address the question of whether all the attestations refer to the same stream. Charter 183b concerns the grant of (2) **Cemais**, in both the Narration and bounds of which the *Humir* is mentioned. We learn that the mouth (ABER) of the stream is on the Usk (**Wysg**), and that †**Nant Merthir** is an alternative name for it. The Narration of charter 199b informs us that King Ffernfael held court 'inmedio cemeis in hostio humir', a reference which Davies found suspicious.⁴¹ †**Villa Branuc** is granted in charter 230b, and with it is granted 'campum monachorum iuxta messes oper humir & cum aratris suis inoper humir'. The bounds of †**Merthir Iun et Aaron** (charter 225)

⁴⁰ EANC, pp. 149–52.

mention †Nant Merthir, and *Amir* is supplied as an alternative name.

The links between the attestations from charters 183b, 199b, and 225 are strong enough to be confident that they are references to the same stream. The mouth of this stream is on the Usk (Wysg), in the middle ('inmedio') of the area of (2) Cemais. Its source (BLAEN) is described as lying on the breast of an ALLT (probably †Allt Coit Guent) in the bounds of charters 183b and 225. Since the stream is a point in the bounds of both (2) Cemais and †Merthir Iun et Aaron, it should presumably lie somewhere between the two, on the left bank of the Usk (Wysg). The grid reference above is for the most likely-looking of several possibilities. This stream is somewhat longer than other possible streams flowing down from the ridge identified as †Allt Coit Guent, and its mouth is quite literally in the middle of a river loop (CEMAIS).

There is insufficient information about the location of †Villa Branuc, to say for certain that its *Humir* is the same as the one referred to in charters 183b, 199b, and 225. In view of the evident possibility of confusion between the forms *Amir* and *Humir*, the *Humir* in the bounds of †Villa Branuc could be the Gamber, or even some other stream. See also †Lann Guenn Aper Humur.

Elements

NANT + ?

RIVULUS + ?

Humri: see †Humir.

Humur: see †Lann Guenn Aper Humur.

Hunger Pill: see †Pull Neuyenn.

Husc: see Wysg.

Hybernia: see Hibernia.

Hytir Melin: see †Hitir Melin.

⁴⁴ *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 115.

†**Hytyr Melin, Ir:** [nr SN6727]Attestations

ir hytyr melin	LLch.77	p. 78	c. 1080–c. 1120s
[i]r hytyr melin	LLch.77	p. 78	c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

Both attestations are from the bounds of **Llandeilo Fawr**. The bounds at this point are rather vague, but it appears that the *Hytyr Melin* stands between the **Tywi** and the **Erddyl**. There is no further indication of where the place might be, and I can see no current similar name. See also †**Hitir Melin**.

Elements

YR + ?*YTIR + ?MELYN

See †**Hitir Melin**.

Hywig: see **St Wormet's, †Ecclesia Guruid**.

I/J

Iacinta, Iacantha: see †Petra Iacantha.

Iacinthina: see †Via Iacinthina.

Iacinthinus: see †Petra Iacinthinus.

Ianue: see Genoa.

Iarmen: see †Ecclesia Sanctorum Iarmen et Febric.

I Cair: see †Tir i Cair.

I Ceth: see Pwll-y-cath.

I Colimet: see †Pull i Colimet.

Ida: see †Finnaun i Da.

Idiouen: see †Tref ir Idiouen.

I Dorcluit: see †Porth i Dorcluit.

I Duon: see †Guern i Duon.

Ierosolima, Ierusalem: see Jerusalem.

†**Ieuen:** [?SO482149]

Attestations

hieuen	LLch.246	p. 247	c. 1080–c. 1120s
ieueN	LLch.246	p. 247	c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

This stream is mentioned in one of the two (different) bounds of †Lann Guoronui, which has been identified with Rockfield. The bounds reach the stream from †Celli Rudanhint and proceed to another stream, the †Targuus. It is probable, but not certain, that this indicates that the †Targuus and the *Ieuen* have a confluence. Similarly, as the bounds run from the *Ieuen* to the Monnow (Mynwy) at the end of the clause, one might infer that the *Ieuen* is a tributary of that river. The interpretation of the bounds is difficult, however: they run between the †Targuus and the *Ieuen*, then from the *Ieuen* to the †Targuus, and finally back to the *Ieuen*. There are two major streams in the

vicinity of **Rockfield** which conjoin at SO482147, shortly before flowing into the Monnow (**Mynwy**) at the grid reference above. The identification is based on the inference from the bounds that the *Ieuen* is the name of the stream which runs into the Monnow (**Mynwy**). Thomas identified the *Ieuen* with the more northerly (source in square SO4516) of the two streams mentioned above,¹ but I see no strong reason to prefer that one over the more southerly alternative (source in square SO4713).

The difficulty with this identification is that precisely the same stream has been identified with the †**Catlan** of the bounds given for †**Lann Guoronui** in charter 240. It is possible that the stream changed its name in the course of the eleventh century, but it seems unlikely. Both sets of bounds refer to a stream which runs into the Monnow (**Mynwy**), and which has at least one tributary; the stream at the grid reference above is the only such stream in the vicinity of **Rockfield** (the nearest to the north is at SO479167, and the nearest to the south is SO504126). Perhaps the two sets of bounds describe two different territories, only one of which includes the church itself (which most likely would be the bounds of charter 240, given the reference to the church in those). Alternatively, the identification of †**Lann Guoronui** could be incorrect.

Elements

IAU + -EN²

Ifftwn: [ST465879] (Eng. *Ifton*)

Attestations

ecclesia de Yueton LL p. 322 c. 1350

Location

The attestation is from a list of churches in the deanery of †**Nether Went**, positioned between **Llanfihangel** and **Rogiet**. This, together with the form of the place-name, seems sufficient to justify Evans's identification with *Ifton* (grid reference above).³

¹ EANC, p. 120.

² Ibid..

³ LL, p. 407, s.v. *Iveton*.

Elements

?personal name + TŪN

The qualifying element could be the Anglo-Saxon personal name *Ifa*.

Ifton: see **Ifftwn**.

Iguein: see †**Rit Iguein**.

I Guern: see †**Frut i Guern**.

Iguonui: see †**Henntre Biguonui**.

Ilduti: see **Llanilltud (Fawr)**.

I Lech: see †**Pull i Lech**.

Ilet: see †**Silva Mam Ilet**.

Ilgui: see **Olwy**.

Ili: see †**Luin Ili**, †**Tref Ili**.

Ilien: see †**Sant Ilien**.

Iliman: see †**Villa Iliman**.

Ilston: see †**Jeoleston**.

Ina: see †**Luin Ina**.

Inferior Wencia: see †**Nether Went**.

†**Inis Bratguen:** [?around ST122833 or ST127824]

Attestations

inis bratguenn	LLch.257	p. 258	'c. 1033'
Ynis bratguen	LLb.25	p. 43	1129
inis bratguen	LLb.12	p. 32	1128

Location

This meadow (or, just possibly, island) is listed as one of the properties claimed by Llandaf in bulls 12 and 25 (these two versions of the list are virtually identical). The context of the relevant part of the list is of places within a few kilometres of Llandaf, or perhaps further away up the valley of the Ely (Elái). The other attestation is from the bounds of a wood—described in the Narration as 'tertia parte siluę ynis peithan' (see †**Inis Peithan**)—granted with †**Riu**

lyk/

Brein (which has separate bounds) in charter 257. The bounds apparently describe the aforementioned piece of wood belonging to †**Inis Peithan** plus a wood belonging to *Inis Bratguen*. The bounds are quite easy to follow, so the wood can be safely identified with the wood now called *Fforest-fawr* around ST1383. Most of the land in this area is steeply contoured and the two most likely sites for a meadow (assuming that that is the meaning of YNYS here) are on the left bank of the **Taf (Fawr)** around ST122833 and ST127824.

Elements

YNYS + personal name

†**Inis Bratguenn**: see †**Inis Bratguen**.

†**Inis Cein**: [?nr SO457055]

Attestations

iniscein	LLch.206	p. 207	s. xi ²
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Location

This feature is named as a point in the bounds of †**Ecclesia Mamouric** (also known as †**Lann Uuien**), the identity of which is uncertain, though it has been identified with Llangovan in **Gwent** (grid reference above). The bounds mention *Inis Cein* as the location of the source (LLYGAD) of an unnamed GOFER, which runs westwards to the (2) †**Cehir**.

Elements

YNYS + ?CAIN

It seems likely that there is some connexion between the names *Inis Cein*, and †**Nant Cein** and †**Nant Sulcein** (which are mentioned later on in the bounds).

†**Inis Ebrdil**: [around SO3840] (also †**Mais Mail Lochou**)

Attestations

insulam ebrdil	LLch.76a	p. 76	'c. 575'–c. 930
inis ebrdil	LL	p. 79	1120s?
inis ebrdil	LL	p. 80	1120s?
ynys evrddyl	LLgloss	p. 79	s. xv ^{med}

Location

The first attestation is from the bounds of †**Tir Conloc**, which territory is described as lying on the Wye (**Gwy**) below (*infra*) *Insula Ebrdil*. The other attestations are from the Life of Dyfrig, from which we learn that an

alternative name for the place is †**Mais Mail Lochou**, that *Mochros* (see **Moccas**) is in a corner of the YNYS ('inangulo illius insule'), and probably that **Madley** is also in the territory. It seems reasonable to assume, then, that *Inis Ebrdil* is the name of the relatively low-lying triangle of land south of the Wye (**Gwy**), with **Moccas** at the north-west end and **Madley** at the south-east end. See †**Mais Mail Lochou** for further discussion.

Elements

YNYS + ?personal name

See the discussion under AFRDDWL below.

†**Inis Marchan**: [?ST1676] (?mod. **Cantwn**)

Attestations

inis marchan	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Ynis marchan	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

This meadow (or, just possibly, island) is listed as one of the properties claimed by Llandaf in bulls 12 and 25 (these two versions of the list are virtual identical). The territory is granted with a mill and shore rights between the **Taf (Fawr)** and the Ely (**Elái**) ('cum molendino. & maritimis infra taf et elei'). Evans suggested the identification with Canton (**Cantwn**),⁴ which is plausible, though the reference to shore rights might suggest somewhere a little further south, nearer the sea.

Elements

YNYS + personal name

†**Inis Peithan**: [?around ST122833 or ST127824]

Attestations

siluę ynis peithan	LLch.257	p. 257	'c. 1033'
inis peithan	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Ynis peithan	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

The context of all the attestations is identical to that of †**Inis Bratguen**, and it is clear that that YNYS and *Inis Peithan* are close neighbours. See †**Inis**

⁴LL, p. 411.

Bratguen for discussion.

Elements

YNYS + ?personal name

Insula Ebrdil: see †**Inis Ebrdil**.

Insula Echni: see †**Ynys Echni**.

Insula Enli: see **Ynys Enlli**.

†**Insula Teithi:** [?]

Attestations

insulam Teithi	LL	p. 69	?
insulam Teithi	LL	p. 133	?

Location

This island is named in the Lives of Dyfrig and Euddogwy, in the same formula ('amochros super ripam Guy usque adinsulam Teithi' on page 69), expressing the extent of the early diocese of Llandaf. The Life of Euddogwy goes on to explain the events which led to the division of the diocese at the river Tywi, which implies that the diocese of Llandaf once covered the whole of South Wales. The formula used to express the extent of the diocese before this split should probably be read as defining that extent with reference to its extreme points. We know the approximate location of *Mochro* the point opposing the island of *Teithi*: it is **Moccas** in the north-eastern corner of the diocese. The island of *Teithi* should probably, therefore, be understood to mark the south-western corner of the diocese before its division. There are four significant islands off the coast of South-West Wales: Ramsey Island [SM7023], Skomer Island [SM7209], Skokholm Island [SM7305], and Caldey Island [SS1496]. *Teithi* is likely to be an older name for one of these islands, but it could apply to a different island (or, just conceivably, meadow) altogether.

Elements

INSULA + ?*TEITHI*

The second element could either be *teithi* 'characteristics' or 'right' (two different nouns), or the plural of *taith* 'journey, voyage' or 'right, message' (also two different nouns).

Iouoniu: see †Henntre Biguonui.

I Post Du: see Post Du.

Ir Cil, Ir Gillicg: see †Tref ir Cil.

Ir Gudinn: see †Gudinn.

Ir Hen: see Nant-yr-hen.

Ir Idiouen: see †Tref ir Idiouen.

Ir Isceiauc: see †Tref ir Isceiauc.

†**Isceuiauc:** [?SN601250]

Attestations

blain isceuiauc	LLch.77	p. 78	c. 1080–c. 1120s
isceuiauc	LLch.77	p. 78	c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

The attestations are from the bounds of **Llandeilo Fawr**. The feature has a **BLAEN** and is followed by the bounds as far as the **Myddyfi**, which suggests that *Isceuiauc* refers to a stream. The bounds reach the source (**BLAEN**) from †**Cruc Corncam**. The identification of most of the points in this second half of the bounds is uncertain, but the general direction is quite clear—the bounds reach the **Myddyfi** from †**Dugleis Bisgueiliauc**, i.e. from the west. Evans identified the *Isceuiauc* with ‘*Skeio*, Ll. Deilo Vowr’,⁹ by which I suppose he meant the farm *Yscaio* at SN596254. The farm stands above a stream which fits the criteria (running into the **Myddyfi** from the west)—the identification suggested above. The stream rises in *Pant-y-ffin* [SN593258] which is suggestive.

Elements

?*YSGEIFIOG

Iscirit: see **Ysgyryd Fawr**.

Ismael: see †**Claud Ismael**.

Israel: [NGR N/A]

⁹LL, p. 406.

Attestations

israhelitico populo LL p. 103 ?

Location

The attestation is from the Life of Teilo, in a comparison of one of the saint's miracles with the miracle of the Rock in Horeb (Exodus 17. 1–6), where God provided water for the thirsting Israelites.

Israheliticus: see **Israel**.

†Istleidiauc, Ir: [nr the Nofydd]Attestations

ir istleidiauc LLch.257 p. 258 'c. 1033'

Location

This feature is mentioned in the bounds of †**Riu Brein**. Its place in the bounds is between †**Rit Litan** on the **Nofydd** and †**Pull Otin Cincenn**. The course of the bounds is uncertain but a more general location is provided by the **Nofydd**, which borders the territory on one side.

Elements

YR + ? + -OG

Istrad Iu: see **Ystrad Yw**.

†Istrat Dour: [valley of the Dore] (mod. *Golden Valley*)Attestations

<yn>is stratdour	LLch.76a	p. 76	'c. 575'–c. 930
istratour	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Estrateur	LLb.25	p. 42	1129

Location

The head form used here is a reconstruction. Ostensibly *ynis stratdour* means 'the island of *Stratdour*', but such an interpretation makes no sense in its context. If the phrase is divided *yn isstrat dour* ('in *Isstrat Dour*') instead, it makes much better sense. The spelling *isstrat* (with double *s*) is, to my knowledge, otherwise unattested, but it is easy to imagine how a scribe faced with a form such as **ynistratdour* could have copied the *s* twice by mistake, through supposing it to have belonged to two words.

Williams has discussed the relationship of the LL forms to the modern English

name *Golden Valley*. He supposed that in the LL form of the river name, *Dour*, the *ou* represents the diphthong [oü], and that [əstrad doür] was misunderstood as [əstrad oür] ‘valley of gold’ or ‘Golden Valley’.⁶ There are some problems with this interpretation, however:

- The *ou* in the form *Dour* probably represented [dovr] rather than [doür] (see *Dore*). It is conceivable that the twelfth-century redactors of LL misinterpreted that spelling as indicating [doür], but what little evidence there is suggests that the Welsh pronunciation by the twelfth century was, rather, [do:r] or [dour].⁷
- The LL redactors were aware that the name of the river flowing through the YSTRAD began with a [d], however they pronounced the rest of the name (there are several references to the river in LL, none spelt without initial *d*).

It seems more likely, as has been suggested, that it was the Norman French who first saw ‘gold’ in the name of the valley—a pronunciation [do:r] would have suggested *d’or* ‘of gold’ to them. I would suggest that the LL redactors consciously changed the Welsh name of the valley from [əstrad do:r] to [əstrad oür] under French influence.

Elements

YSTRAD + *Dore*

Istrat Elei: see †Strat Elei.

Istrat Eu: see Ystrad Yw.

Istrat Hafren: see †Ecclesia Istrat Hafren, Ystrad Hafren.

Istrat Iu: see Ystrad Yw.

Istrat Our: see †Istrat Dour.

Istrat Yu: see Ystrad Yw.

⁶ *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 29.

⁷ As well as *Dour*, the river name is also spelt *Dor* (probably twelfth century) and *Dowr* (fifteenth century), and, of course, the modern English pronunciation is [do:r].

Italia: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

italiam	LL	p. 110	?
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Location

The single attestation is from the Life of Teilo. After the saint has learnt of the end of a plague which led to the flight of the Britons overseas, he sends messengers into *Francia* (France) and Italy to gather his countrymen for their return. Teilo is in *Armorica* at the time, and the messengers are sent beyond the Alps ('ultra alpes') to get to Italy.

Italy: see **Italia**.

Itton: [ST493952] (W. Llanddinol)

Attestations

Hudeton'	VN	p. 321	1254
ecclesia de Eodetoñ	LL	p. 322	c. 1350

Location

Eodetoñ, attested in a list of churches in the deanery of †Nether Went, was identified by Evans with Itton. The identification of *Hudeton'* (also located by its text, the Norwich Valuation, in the deanery of †Nether Went) with Itton was made by C. A. H. Green:⁸

Elements

?personal name + TUN

Iu: see **Ystrad Yw**.

Iudbiu: see †**Villa Iuduiu**.

Iudgual: see †**Guorlurch Iudgual**.

Iudie: see †**Hescenn Iudie**.

Iuduiu: see †**Villa Iuduiu**.

Iuenn: see †**Cumulus ir Iuenn**.

Iugerorum: see †**Urbs XII Iugerorum**.

⁸ VN, p. 321, n. 3.

†Iulen, Ir: [nr a wood off the †Morduc]

Attestations

[i]r iulen LLch.122 p. 123 s. xi¹

Location

This feature is named as a point in the bounds of **Llandeilo Bertholau**. The bounds follow the †**Morduc** from its source (**BLAEN**) on **Ysgyryd Fawr** down to its confluence with the **Gefenni**. It appears that they take a detour from the †**Morduc** after a point when the stream runs through a wood (**COED**), when the bounds continue to *ir Iulen*, before returning to the †**Morduc**. There is no indication of what kind of feature it might be, nor even of what the name might mean.

Elements

YR + ? + ?-EN

The element *iulen* also appears in †**Pull ir Iulenn**.

Iulenn: see †**Pull ir Iulenn**.

Iunuhic: see †**Villa Iunuhic**.

Janue: see **Genoa**.

†Jeoleston: [?SS556903] (?mod. *Ilston*, ?W. *Llanilltud Gŵyr*)

Attestations

Ecclesia de Jeoleston LLgloss p. 324? s. xvi

Location

This place-name is added in a late hand to one of the lists of churches owing tithes to Llandaf. From Evans's edition it appears that the gloss is on page 324, but it looks as though this is the result of an error in the edition, and probably the gloss is on page 325, 326, or 327. Consequently, I am not certain in which deanery list the gloss appears—it could be in **Llandaf** (page 324), **Gorfynydd** (page 325 or 326); or **Abergefenni** (page 327). Evans identified *Jeoleston* with '*Ll. Illtud* or *Ilston*., Gower', by which he meant the place at the grid reference above. I do not know whether there are any grounds for the identification, other than the general appearance of the form, and it should be pointed out that against the identification is the fact that none of the LL deanery lists include churches in Gower (**Gŵyr**).

Elements

?personal name (gen.) + TŪN

Jersey: see †Angia.

Jerosolimis: see Jerusalem.

Jerusalem: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

<i>sanctam ciuitatem ierusalem</i>	LL	p. 103	?
<i>ierosolimam</i>	LL	p. 104	?
<i>hierosolime</i>	LL	p. 115	?
Jerosolimis	LLgloss	p. 104	s. xv

Location

All the attestations are from the Life of Teilo, from the legend of the visit of Teilo, David, and Padarn to Jerusalem.

K

Kaerlyon: see **Caerllion**.

Kaerwent: see **Caerwent**.

Kaircaiau: see †**Cair Caiau**.

Kairdi: see **Caerdydd**.

Kairleon: see **Caerllion**.

Kantuariensis: see **Cantuaria**.

Kardi, Kardiuiia: see **Caerdydd**.

Kayr: see **Caerau**.

Kayrlyon: see **Caerllion**.

Kayrwent: see **Caerwent**.

Kellenny: see †**Lan Caddoc Kellenny**.

Kemeys Graig: see †**Allt Coit Guent**.

Kemeys Inferior: see **Cemais**.

Kemeys Commander, Kemmeys: see **Cemais Comawndwr**.

Kenderchurch: see †**Lann Cinitir**, †**Lann i Cruc**.

Kenefeg, Kenfig: see **Cynffig**.

Kentchurch: see †**Lan Cein**.

Kerdyf: see **Caerdydd**.

Ketwell: see **Cydweli**.

Keynesham: see **Keynsham**.

Keynsham: [?ST2180] (?mod. *Llanrhymni*)

Attestations

Abbas de Keynesham LL

p. 329 c. 1350

Location

We are told that the abbot of *Keynesham* owed a tithe to the church of Llandaf

for property held in the deanery of Newport. Evans located the place in Somerset (i.e. Keynsham at ST6568),¹ but Richards offers *Keynsham* (or *Kensham*) as an alternative name for Llanrhymni (grid reference above).² Llanrhymni was within the deanery of Newport, so Richards's identification is more likely.

Elements

personal name (Eng. gen.) + HAMM

The generic element is probably English *hamm* 'enclosure'. The qualifier is likely to be the saint's name *Cain* (one of the daughters of Brychan Brycheiniog), who is also remembered in †**Lan Cein**.³

Kibbor: see **Cibwr**.

Kidwelly: see **Cydweli**.

Kilchigayr: see **Gelli-gaer**.

Kilgorrock: see **Cilgwrrwg**.

†**Kilgoygan:** [SO301010] (mod. *Llanfihangel Pont-y-moel*, Eng. *Llanvihangel Pontymoel*)

Attestations

Kilgoygan LL p. 321 c. 1350

Location

This church is named in a list of churches owing tithes in the deanery of Usk. Evans could say no more about the location than '?near Usk',⁴ but Thomas and Richards both identified *Cilgoegan/Llanfihangel Cilgoegan* with Llanfihangel Pont-y-moel (grid reference above), which is in the right area.⁵

Elements

CIL + COEG + -AN⁶

Kilgwrrwg: see **Cilgwrrwg**.

¹ LL, p. 391.

² WATU, pp. 97 (s.v. *Kensham*) and 137 (s.v. *Llanrhymni*).

³ Lloyd and Jenkins, *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, p. 535, s.v. *Keyne*.

⁴ LL, p. 391.

⁵ EANC, p. 55; WATU, pp. 43 (s.v. *Cilgoegan*), 120 (s.v. *Llanfihangel Cilgoegan*), and 121 (s.v. *Llanfihangel Pont-y-moel*).

⁶ EANC, p. 56.

Kilpeck: [SO445305] (W. *Cilpeddeg*; also †Lann Degui Cilpedec)

Attestations

ecclesiam Cilpedec	LLch.169b	p. 169	'c. 850'
CHIPEETE	DB	fol. 181a	1086
CILPedec	LLrub.	p. 169	c. 1120s
cilpedec	LL	p. 276	c. 1120s
Cilpedec	LLgloss	p. 169	s. xv ^{med}

Location

This place is granted in charter 169, and there is a further reference (page 276) in a list of churches consecrated by Bishop Herewald. The internal evidence of the Book of Llandaf tells us little more than that this place is in **Ergyng**, but it seems reasonable to identify its *Cil Pedec* with modern *Cilpeddeg*—the Welsh form of *Kilpeck*—as did Evans and later commentators.⁷ The Domesday Book might provide more concrete evidence for the identification: on fol. 181a, in a list of places in **Archenfield**, appears a place called *Chipeete*, identified with Kilpeck (though on what grounds I am not sure),⁸ which is said to have been held *T.R.E.* by one *Cadiand*. This *Cadiand* has been identified with the *Catgen Du* who is mentioned in association with *Cil Pedec* in the attestation from page 276.⁹

Elements

CIL + ?personal name

I am unable to identify the second element, but perhaps it represents an otherwise unattested borrowing into Welsh of Latin *pedica* 'shackle'. If the Domesday Book form does not represent a different name, it must be the result of a major transcription error. Thomas thought that **Peddeg* here was the short form of a personal name **Peddegau*, which is seen in †Nant Pedecou.¹⁰

The place-name is present as an element in †Lann Degui Cilpedec.

Kil Redin: see †Lann Teliau Cil Retin.

Kilthibebul: see Cilybebyll.

⁷ LL, p. 391; Finberg, *The Early Charters*, p. 138; Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 106.

⁸ Morris, *Domesday Book*, XVII: *Herefordshire*, §1,53 (and note).

⁹ *Ibid.* There is a problem, however, in reconciling Domesday Book's *T.R.E.* date for this character with the Book of Llandaf's statement of his time—apparently after the time of William the Conqueror.

¹⁰ EANC, p. 22, s.v. *Baddege*.

Kilthykarn: see **Gelli-garn.**

Kistornew: see **Llanfihangel Crucornau.**

Kric: see **Crick.**

Kybor: see **Cibwr.**

Kydy: see **Cwm Cidi.**

L

Laguernnuc: see †Licat Laguernnuc.

L'Aigle, L'Aquila: see †Aquila.

Laithi Teiliau: see †Laithi Teliau.

†Laithi Teliau: [?SN117001]

Attestations

Laithi teliau	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
Laith ti teliau	LL	p. 255	before 'c. 1025'
Laith ty teliau	LLch.125b	p. 126	s. xi ¹
Laith ti Teiliau	LLrub.	p. 125	c. 1120s
llyth. ty Teliau	LLgloss	p. 255	1476x78

Location

The first two attestations are from different versions of the same list of Teilo properties, in a Pembrokeshire context (preceded in the list by †Tref Carn and followed by †Menechi). In both these cases the same description of the property's location is used: on the †Ritec, near (*iuxta*) Penally. The third and fourth attestations are from charter 125b, which grants †Tref Carn, *Laith Ti Teiliau*, and †Menechi. Bounds are supplied with the charter, which mention the †Ritec (as well as two other places which have not been securely identified). Campbell and Lane suggested a location around the grid reference above, an identification based on the fact that, because the bounds do not seem fully to describe an area of land, the land was defined by the sea on one side.¹ This suggestion reads a little more into the bounds than they can really support, but the place should not be far from this area, for it is clearly somewhere on the lower reaches of the †Ritec (near Penally).

Elements

LLAETHDY + personal name

GPC cites this place-name as an example of the noun *llaethdy* 'dairy' (*llaeth*

¹ 'Excavations', pp. 56 and 58.

'milk' + TŶ),² whose cognate *lety is also found in Cornish place-names.'

Laithy Teliau: see †Laithi Teliau.

Lampaddoc: see Llanbadog.

Lampha, Lamphey: see †Lan Tiuei.

(1) †Lamyhangel: [?SO462013] (?mod. Llanfihangel Torymynydd, Eng. *Llanvihangel Court*; ?also †Lan Vihangell Kennan)

Attestations

ecclesia de Lamyhangel LL p. 321 c. 1350

Location

This church is named in a list of properties in the deanery of Usk. The identification with Llanfihangel Torymynydd was made by Evans,⁴ and is reasonable insofar as that place is in the right deanery, but there were other churches with the same dedication to St Michael in Usk (Llanfihangel Llantarnam [ST3093], †Kilgoygan, and Llanfihangel Troddi [SO4910] at least). *Lamyhangel* cannot be †Kilgoygan as the latter is attested in the same list, but it is not possible to be certain that it might not be one of the other *Llanfihangels*.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

(2) Lamyhangel: see Llanfihangel, Llanmihangel.

Lamyhangel Estom Lowern: see Llanfihangel Ystum Llywern.

La Nasch Osmundi: see (1) Nash.

Lanblethian, Lanblethyan: see Llanfleiddan.

†Lan Caddoc Auel: [SO456156] (mod. *Llangatwg Feibion Afel*, Eng. *Llangattock Vibon Avel*)

Attestations

ecclesia de Lancaddoc auel LL p. 320 c. 1350

² GPC, II, 2083.

³ CPNE, p. 148.

⁴ LL, p. 408, s.v. *L. M. Tor Meneth*.

Location

The attestation is from a list of churches in the deanery of **Abergefenni**. Evans made the identification followed here,⁵ which is reasonable on grounds of form (dedication to Cadog and association with the name *Afel*) and location (it is in the area of the deanery).

Elements

LLAN + personal name + [MAB (len. pl.)?] + personal name

It seems most likely that the plural of MAB, present in the modern forms of the name, has been omitted by error in the LL form. A similarly structured name is †**Lann Mihachgel Meibion Gratlaun**. The personal name, in the form *Auel*, is attested on page 279 of LL.

Lan Caddoc iuxta Usk: see **Llangattock Nigh Usk**.

†**Lan Caddoc Kellenny**: [?SO361200] (?mod. *Llangatwg Lingoed*, Eng. *Llangattock Lingoed*)

Attestations

ecclesia de Lancaddoc Kellenny LL p. 320 c. 1350

Location

The attestation is from a list of churches in the deanery of **Abergefenni**. The identification with *Llangatwg Lingoed* was made tentatively by Evans, and followed (without apparent doubt) by Richards.⁶ Despite the difficulty of explaining the difference in form, *Llangatwg Lingoed* does look like the most likely identification for *Lan Caddoc Kellenny*—all the other known *Llangadog* churches in the area covered by the deanery are covered in the same list of churches from pages 320–21.

Elements

LLAN + personal name + ?

Evans compared the LL form with '*Ll. G. Lennig of the Myvyrian list*', and suggested that *Kellenny* might be a corruption of *Henlennic*, though he also drew attention to the existence of the place-name †**Lann Celinni** in **Ergyng**.⁷ I am not convinced by Evans's derivation of *Kellenny* from *Henlennic*. Richards

⁵ LL, p. 407.

⁶ *Ibid.*; WATU, p. 126, s.v. *Llangatwg Lingoed*.

⁷ LL, p. 407.

gives *Llangatwg Celennig* as an earlier name for Llangatwg Lingoed,⁸ and this offers a more satisfactory explanation of both *Kellenny* and *Lennig*, but I do not know what his evidence for the form is. I do not know whether this *Celennig* could be the word meaning 'New Year's gift'.⁹ Perhaps the element is not *celennig*, but *celynnig* 'abounding with holly'.¹⁰

†Lan Caddoc Pen Ros: [SO416117] (mod. *Pen-rhos*)

Attestations

<i>Ecclesia beati Caddoci de penros</i>	LL	p. 284	s. xiii ²
<i>ecclesia de Lancaddoc Penros</i>	LL	p. 321	c. 1350

Location

Both attestations are from lists of churches in the deanery of Abergefenni. The identification with modern Pen-rhos is that of Evans, followed by Richards,¹¹ and I see no reason to doubt it. The Anglican church at Pen-rhos is now dedicated to 'St Cadoc'.

Elements

LLAN + personal name + *Pen-rhos*

ECCLESIA + BEATUS (gen.) + personal name (gen.) + DE + *Pen-rhos*

Although Pen-rhos is now the name of the settlement, it appears from these attestations that it might once have been a district name. Note, however, the occurrence of another *Penn Ros* in †Cecin Penn Ros, also in the deanery of Abergefenni.

Lan Cadwalladre: see †Lann Catgualatir.

Lan Caruan: see Llancarfan.

Lancaster: [SD4761]

Attestations

<i>Comitis Lancastrie</i>	LL	p. 334	c. 1350
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Location

The attestation is from a list of ecclesiastical benefices. There is no reason to doubt the obvious identification.

⁸ WATU, p. 126.

⁹ GPC, I, 393, s.v. *calennig*, *celennig*.

¹⁰ GPC, I, 459.

¹¹ LL, p. 407; WATU, p. 125.

Lancastria: see **Lancaster**.

Lan Cattwc: see **Llangadog**.

Lancaut: [ST533965]

Attestations

lann ceuid	LLch.165	p. 166	'c. 625'
podum ceuid	LLch.174b	p. 175	'c. 703'–c. 930

Location

The earlier attestation is from the clerical witness list of charter 165. Most of the clerics in the list are associated with a church; the one associated here with *Lann Ceuid, Bithen*, is regarded by Davies as the same man as the *Bithen* named as abbot (*princeps*) of †**Lann Dougarth**.¹² The associations of the clerics who witnessed charter 165 are all with places in **Ergyng** and on the **Wye (Gwy)** in **Gwent**. The second attestation is from the bounds of †**Ecclesia Istrat Hafren** (which has been identified with Tidenham). Whether or not the identification of †**Ecclesia Istrat Hafren** is correct, the bounds at least place *Podum Ceuid* not far from the sea. We cannot be certain that the two attested forms refer to the same place, but the equivalence of **LLAN** and *PODUM*, together with the unusual second element, make it probable. Phillimore identifies this place with **Lancaut** (grid reference above), largely on the basis of the similarity of its name to *Lann Ceuid* (referring also to the eleventh-century form of *Lancaut, Landcawet*, in the **Bounds and Customs of Tidenham**).¹³ If the identification of †**Ecclesia Istrat Hafren** with Tidenham, or a place nearby, is correct, then the identification of *Lann Ceuid* with **Lancaut** can be regarded as secure. The possibility that Abbot *Bithen* of †**Lann Dougarth** moved twenty kilometres down the **Wye (Gwy)** to **Lancaut** is interesting.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

¹² *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 150.

¹³ Owen, *Description of Penbrokshire*, III, 188–89, n. 4. Finberg, Richards, and Davies agree with the identification: *The Early Charters*, pp. 32–33; WATU, p. 127, s.v. *Llangewydd*; Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 193. Douglas, *English Historical Documents*, II, 879–80 (no. 174), agrees (in translating *Landcawet* as modern *Lancaut*). The 'Bounds and Customs of Tidenham' (c. 1060) is Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 1555.

PODUM + personal name

The same name is found in **Llangewydd**.

†**Lan Cein**: [?SO419256] (?mod. *Kentchurch*)

Attestations

Lan cein LL p. 275 c. 1120s

Location

This place is named in a list of **Ergyng** churches. The identification with *Kentchurch* was made by Evans and by Richards,¹⁴ and is reasonable insofar as *Kentchurch* is in **Ergyng** and that name looks as if it could be a calque on *Lan Cein*.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

There is also a *Llan-gain* in Carmarthenshire [SN388155]. The second element is likely to be the saint's name *Cain* (one of the daughters of Brychan Brycheiniog), who is also remembered in **Keynsham**.¹⁵

†**Lan Chouian**: [?SO456054] (?mod. *Llangofen*, Eng. *Llangovan*)

Attestations

ecclesia de lanchouian LL p. 284 s. xiii²

Location

This church is listed as being in the deanery of **Usk**. Evans took the LL form to represent '*Ll. Goven, Mon.*', by which he probably meant *Llangofen* at the grid reference above,¹⁶ which is plausible (it is in the right deanery and the LL spelling could represent something similar to the modern form of the name), but more evidence would be required to be confident of the identification. See also †**Lann Uuien**.

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

If the identification is correct, then we must assume that an earlier initial *c* (representing [g], lenited from [k]) of the second element was incorrectly

¹⁴ LL, p. 407; WATU, p. 125, s.v. *Llan-gain*.

¹⁵ Lloyd, *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, p. 535, s.v. *Keyne*.

¹⁶ LL, p. 407. There is another place of this name nearby at SO440073, but this one lacks a church, and so is less likely.

modernised to *ch* (which often represents [k] in the later Norman-influenced orthography of LL). Perhaps the second element is related to the Caernarvonshire river name *Cofan*.¹⁷ An alternative form of *Llangofen*—*Llanygofain*—suggests the etymology LLAN + YR + GOF (pl.), but this is not supported by any of the LL forms.

Lan Cinnfall: see Llangunville.

Lan Cinmarc: see St Kingsmark.

Lan Comb, Cum: see Llangwm.

Lan Degeueth: see Llandegfedd.

Lan Desoy: see Llan-soe.

Lan Dewy Ruthery: see Llanddewi Rhydderch.

Lan Dewy Skyret: see Llanddewi Ysgyryd.

Lan Disoy: see Llan-soe.

Landocuith: see Llandogo.

Lan Douche: see (1) Llandoche.

Lan Dowe: see Llandŵ.

Lan Do~~z~~we: see (2) Llandoche.

Lan Dyfuyrguyr, Dyfŵrwir: see Llanddowror.

Lan Dyuoddok: see Llandyfodwg.

Lan Edern, Edernen: see Llanedern.

Lan Elli: see Llanelli.

La Newelond, Newelonde: see Newland.

Lan Foyst: see Llan-ffwyst.

Lan Gan: see Llan-gan.

Lan Garann: see Llangarron.

Langeston: see Langstone.

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¹⁷ EANC, p. 56.

Lan Gewy: see **Llangewydd.**

Langstone: [ST382903]

Attestations

<i>Ecclesia de langeston</i>	LL	p. 284	<i>s.</i> xiii ²
<i>ecclesia de Langeston</i>	LL	p. 318	<i>c.</i> 1350
<i>ecclesia de Langeston</i>	LL	p. 322	<i>c.</i> 1350

Location

All three attestations are from lists of churches in the deanery of †**Nether Went**. No additional topographical information is available, but there is no reason to doubt that these are references to Langstone (grid reference above), which is in the right deanery.

Elements

LANG + STĀN

Lan Guergualt: see **Llandeilo Ferwallt.**

Lan Guern: see †**Lis Guern.**

Lan Gunyth: see **Llangynwyd.**

Lan Guonhoill: see †**Lann Gunnhoill.**

Lan Guwan: see **Llangiwa.**

Lan Gynydd: see **Llangynydd.**

Lan Gyvelach: see **Llangyfelach.**

Lan Gywan: see **Llangiwa.**

Lan Hardneu: see **Llanarthne.**

Lan Hary: see **Llanhari.**

Lan Helicon: see †**Lann Helicon.**

Lanihangell Tormeneth: see **Llanfihangel Torymynydd.**

Lan Ilthern: see **Llanilltern.**

Lan Iltwy: see **Llanilltud (Fawr).**

Lanion: [SM9703]Attestations

lonion	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
lonion	LL	p. 255	before 'c. 1025'
Llonyon ym Penvro	TYP ¹⁸	p. 45	s. xiii
lys lonion	Taliesin ¹⁹	p. 73, ll. 5–6	s. xiii
Estlandyan	AD ²⁰	iii	1421
Landean	Wms ²¹		1451
Landyan	HwestCorp ²²		1463

Location

The two documents from which the attestations are taken are closely related lists of Teilo properties. The relevant section of both lists is headed as being in **Penfro**, and in both cases *Lonion* is given as the location of †**Din Guennham**. Evans made the identification with Lanion (around the grid reference above), which Charles confirms with the addition of the other, later attestations above.²³

Elements

?personal name + -ION

Charles suggested that this was an example of a district name composed of the suffix -ION added to an unattested personal name **Llon*.²⁴

Lan Kadawadr, Kadwaladur: see †**Lann Catgualatir**.

Lan Karuan: see **Llancarfan**.

Lan Louel: see **Llanllywel**.

Lan Maβweys: see **Llanfaches**.

Lan Martyn: see **Llanfarthin**.

Lan Maucheys: see **Llanfaches**.

¹⁸ Bromwich, *Trioedd*, p. 45 (triad no. 26).

¹⁹ Evans, *Facsimile and Text of the Book of Taliesin*.

²⁰ PNPemb., II, 722. Apparently this is volume III of *Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds in the Public Record Office* (London, 1890–), but Charles gives no page number and I am unable to find the reference.

²¹ PNPemb., II, 722.

²² *Ibid.*.

Lan Mays: see **Llan-faes**.

Lan Merwalt: see **Llandeilo Ferwallt**.

Lan Mihacgel i Pull: see †**Lann Mihacgel i Pull**.

Lan Mouor: see **Llanofer**.

†**Lann Arthbodu:** [?in **Gŵyr**]

Attestations

cella arthuodu	LLch.144	p. 144	'c. 650'
lann arthbodu	LLch.144	p. 144	s. 1120s

Location

This church is granted in charter 144 together with †**Lann Cingualan**, †**Lann Conuur**, and †**Lann Pencreic**. No further information is provided in the charter to aid the identification of this church, but a Gower (**Gŵyr**) location has been generally assumed,²⁵ presumably because of the association with †**Lann Cingualan** and †**Lann Conuur**. Davies tentatively suggested identification with Pennard [SS567887], but did not say on what grounds.²⁶ It is possible that *Lann Arthbodu* and †**Lann Conuur** are one and the same; although the rubric lists them as two separate churches, in the narrative the reference is to 'cella arthuodu. congurique', and, later there is a reference to the 'tres cellulas predictas' which makes sense if one of the churches has the dual dedication that I suggest.²⁷ See †**Lann Conuur** for further discussion.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

CELLA + personal name

†**Lann Bedeui:** [?ST522998] (?mod. *Penteri*, Eng. *Penterry*)

Attestations

lann Vedeui	LLch.218	p. 221	s. xi ¹
fin lannuedeui	LLch.218	p. 221	s. xi ¹
territorio lannuedeui	LLch.218	p. 221	s. xi ¹

²³ LL, p. 410; PNPemb., II, 722.

²⁴ PNPemb., II, 722.

²⁵ LL, p. 407; Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 97.

²⁶ Davies, *ibid.*.

²⁷ Davies, *ibid.*, suggested that these three cells are dependents of a main estate.

presbiter delannedeui LLch.274 p. 274 'c. 1075'

Territorium lann bedeui LLrub. p. 218 c. 1120s

Location

The territory of *Lann Bedeui* is granted in recompense for the violation of †**Ecclesia Sanctorum Iarmen et Febric** in charter 218, which accounts for all but one of the attestations. The remaining attestation is from the witness list to charter 274 (†**Villa Gunnuc**) in which one of the attestors is the priest (*presbiter*) *Edulf* of *Lann Bedeui*. The bounds of the territory are given, but, as most of the points are unidentified, they do not provide much useful information, only that the territory shares a boundary (FFIN) with †**Tnou Mur**. Appended to the bounds is a reference to three parcels of land belonging to *Lann Bedeui*. This additional territory is defined in terms of the **Anghidi**, but the usefulness of this information is limited as there is no explicit indication that the additional territory is adjacent to *Lann Bedeui*. Finally, it is reasonable to assume that *Lann Bedeui* lies in the vicinity of †**Ecclesia Sanctorum Iarmen et Febric**, which has been identified (though not certainly) with **St Arvans**. It should also be noted that the Wye (**Gwy**) is not used in the definition of the bounds of *Lann Bedeui*.

The reference to the shared boundary with †**Tnou Mur** is the most promising piece of evidence. †**Tnou Mur** is just to the north of Chepstow. The shared boundary is a dyke (CLAWDD), known as †**Pibenn Eholch**, running along a PANT. Two such features are mentioned in the bounds of the MAENOR of †**Tnou Mur**: one is a FOSSA in a VALLIS on the southern side of that territory, and the other is a CLAWDD (no valley mentioned) running down to the Wye (**Gwy**) on the northern side. Of these two the feature on the northern side seems more likely, as this is nearer to both the **Anghidi** and **St Arvans**. If part of the boundary on the southern side of *Lann Bedeui* is a dyke near the Wye (**Gwy**) to the north of †**Tnou Mur**, then *Lann Bedeui* should be somewhere near **St Arvans**. All the commentators, following Evans, have identified this place with Penterry (grid reference above),²⁸ which is in the right area, but, unless there is additional evidence for this identification, I should prefer to identify *Lann Bedeui* with somewhere further south, nearer **St Arvans**.

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

Lann Berugall: see †Lann Merguall.**Lann Bocha: see Llanfocha.****Lann Budgual: see †Lann Budgualan.****†Lann Budgualan: [?SO576316] (?mod. *Ballingham*)**Attestations

podum <i>sancti</i> budgualan	LLch.164	p. 164	'c. 620'
çcclesię lannbudgualan	LLch.171b	p. 171	after 'c. 860'
Lann Budgualan	LLrub.	p. 164	c. 1120s
Lann budgualan	LLrub.	p. 171	c. 1120s
Lann budgual	LL	p. 275	c. 1120s

Location

This church is granted in charters 164 and 171b. Bounds are supplied in charter 164, which indicate a location in a bend of the Wye (Gwy). Charter 171b does not give bounds for this church, but both the Narration and the rubric locate it at the mouth of the †**Circhan** (Narration: 'in hostio circan'; rubric: 'in hostio crican *super* guy'), which stream is mentioned in the bounds of charter 164. The attestation on page 275 is from a list of churches in **Ergyng**. So (assuming that *Lann Budgual* and *Lann Budgualan* are the same place) we should look for a location in **Ergyng** in a loop of the Wye (Gwy). The identification with **Ballingham** goes back at least as far as Evans, and has been followed by subsequent commentators.²⁹ The similarity of the elements *Budgualan* and *Balling-* in combination with the suitable location of **Ballingham** make the identification likely.³⁰

Elements

LLAN + personal name

PODUM + *SANCTUS* (gen.) + personal name

²⁹ LL, p. 407; WATU, p. 177, s.v. *Penteri*; Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 120.

³⁰ LL, p. 407; Finberg, *The Early Charters*, pp. 137 and 138; WATU, p. 124, s.v. *Llanfuddwalan*; Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 104.

³⁰ Note, however, Gelling's interpretation of *Ballingham* as 'river-bend land of the people of Badela' (*Place-Names in the Landscape*, p. 260), which, if correct, would remove the half of the argument

Lann Cadauc: see **Llangadog**.

†Lann Calcuch: [?north end of †Istrat Dour] (also †Cum Barruc)

Attestations

lann calcuch	LLch.165	p. 165	?
Cenubia. Colcuch	LLch.192	p. 192	'c. 745'?
lann calcuch	LLrub.	p. 165	c. 1120s
Cenubia colcvch	LLrub.	p. 192	c. 1120s

Location

Lann Calcuch is one of several churches granted in charter 165. Little can be gleaned from this charter regarding the place's location (no bounds are given), but the grantor is Athrwys, king of **Gwent**, and those of the other churches which are identifiable are in **Gwent** and **Ergyng**.

Cenubia Colcuch has caused some confusion. The words occur twice in charter 192, first in the rubric—'Cvm Barruc. Cenubia colcvch. LANN CERNIV.', and second in the list of churches granted—'Cumbarruc cum tribus unciis. idest Cenubia. Colcuch cum tribus unciis agri.'. The punctuation of the second reference, and also the repetition of 'cum tribus unciis', suggests that scribe 'A' of the Book of Llandaf (and possibly an earlier redactor) took *Cenubia* to be an alternative name for †Cum Barruc, and *Colcuch* to be a separate place, and this has led modern scholars to assume the same.¹¹ Davies did suggest, however, albeit hesistantly, the possibility that *Cenubia Colcuch* might be one name.¹² I think the evidence for this interpretation is stronger than Davies realised:

- the charter states that the grant comprises eleven churches—to take *Colcuch* as a separate place would make twelve churches;
- the punctuation of the rubric does not separate the words *cenubia* and *colcuch*;
- it is evident from the equivalence of *Cenubia Cornubium* and †Lann Cerniu, later in the same list of churches, that *cenubia* (=Latin *coenobium* 'monastery') is a calque on LLAN, making *Cenubia Colcuch* exactly

based on the name's form.

¹¹ LL, p. 394, s.v. *Cum Barruc*; Finberg, *The Early Charters*, p. 139; Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 113.

equivalent to *Lann Calcuch*;³³

- the list of churches granted in charter 165 (with *Lann Calcuch*) and the list of those granted in charter 192 have five other places in common—†Lann Cerniu, †Mafurn, †Lann Guorboe, Llandinabo, and †Lann Deui.

Finberg identifies *Lann Calcuch* with Callow [SO495344], probably following Phillimore, but this seems to be based simply on the similarity of names, and on the assumption that *Cenubia* and *Colcuch* are separate names.³⁴ The identification with Callow does not fit with the best evidence for the location, which is discussed under †Cum Barruc.

Elements

LLAN + ?

CENUBIA + ?

The second element is uncertain. The first vowel varies between *a* and *o*, but the spelling is otherwise consistent. It is clearly a disyllable, but it could either be broken *c*lc | uch* or *c*l | cuch*. If the word is broken in the former manner, then the second syllable is probably the dialectal reflex of -OG (spelt, unusually, with *ch* for orthographic *c* [g]), and the first syllable is probably *calch* 'lime, chalk'.³⁵ If the word is broken the other way, however, the possibilities are greater: the first syllable could be *cal* 'penis', *col* 'awn, spike', *call* 'wise', or *coll* 'loss' or 'hazel'; and the second syllable could be either *cwch* 'boat' or *cuwch* 'frown' (the latter is supposed to be the basis of the river name *Cuch* in Pembrokeshire).³⁶

Lann Caruan, Caruania: see Llanarfarn.

†Lann Catgualatir: [?ST386872] (?mod. *Trefesgob*, Eng. *Bishton*)

Attestations

Lann Catgualatyr	LLch.180b	p. 182	'c. 710'
Villam Lann Catgualatyr	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
LANN Catgualatyr	LLrub.	p. 180	c. 1120s
uillam lann gatgualatir	LLb.12	p. 31	1128

³² *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 114.

³³ Evans suggested the possibility that *cenubia* might mean 'coenobia': LL, p. 391, s.v. *Cenubia*.

³⁴ Owen, *Description of Pembrokeshire*, III, 273, n. 1; Finberg, *The Early Charters*, pp. 138 and 139.

³⁵ GPC, I, 392, s.v. *calchog*, remarks on the use of the word as a farm name.

³⁶ PNPemb., I, 10.

uillam lanncatgualatir	LLb.25	p. 43	1129
lankadwaladur	LL	p. 317	c. 1350
lancadwalladre	LLgloss	p. 180	s. xv ^{med}
ecclesiam de lankadawadr'	LL	p. 282	s. xv ²

Location

Three of the attestations are connected with the grant of this church in charter 180b. Although the charter has a fairly lengthy boundary clause, it contains nothing which would give us any indication of the place's location. Three more of the attestations (pages 31, 43, and 90) are from versions of a list of properties claimed by the church of Llandaf. The section of the list in which the attestations occur seems to contain only Gwent properties, and a further clue to the location of *Lann Catgualatir* is its linkage in this list with †*Ecclesia Sancti Ciuiu* which, if it is in the same place as †*Villa Cyuiu*, should be near the coast in Gwent Is Coed (see *Gwent*). The remaining two attestations do not provide any useful information for the present purpose. One (page 317) is a record of the death of Bishop John of †*Eglesclif* in this place in 1346, and the other (page 282) is a note of the ownership of the property by the archdeacon of Llandaf, and of its value. All the modern authorities seem to agree on the identification of this place with Bishton (grid reference above).³⁷ Although the *Gazetteer* gives *Trefesgob* as the modern name of the place in Welsh, it has a cross reference from *Llangadwaladr Tre Esgob*.³⁸

Elements

LLAN + personal name

Lann Catgualatyr: see †**Lann Catgualatir**.

†**Lann Ceffic:** [?SN208139] (?mod. *Cyffig*)

Attestations

Lann ceffig	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
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Location

The attestation is from what seems to have been originally a list of churches in the possession of Penally. The place is located in Talacharn in the list. Evans identified it with '*Kiffig, Carm.*', and Richards seems to be referring to the

³⁷ LL, p. 407; WATU, p. 125, s.v. *Llangadwaladr Tre Esgob*; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 110.

same place under the heading *Cyffig* (it is in the commote of Talacharn).³⁸ I can find no place of this or similar name marked on the modern Ordnance Survey map of the area at 1:25 000 scale, but Richards's own map of Cantref Gwarthaf locates *Cyffig* in a position that looks to be around the grid square SN2013 and the only church shown by the Ordnance Survey in this area is the unnamed one at the grid reference above.

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

†Lann Celinni: [in Ergyng]

Attestations

Lann celinni	LL	p. 275	c. 1120s
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Location

This place is named in a list of Ergyng churches. To my knowledge the only identification that has been suggested for this place is Coplestone-Crow's venture that this church might have been at Ganarew [SO529163], but there is no evidence for this.⁴⁰ Evans compared the second element with the final element of †Lan Caddoc Kellenny, but he does not seem to have meant to imply by this that the two were the same place (and, anyway, †Lan Caddoc Kellenny is in the deanery of Abergefenni, not in Ergyng).

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

†Lann Cerniu: [on the Dore]

Attestations

lann Cerniu	LLch.165	p. 165	?
Lann Cerniu	LLch.72b	p. 72	'c. 580'
Cenubia cornubium	LLch.192	p. 192	'c. 745'?
Lann Cerniu	LLch.192	p. 192	'c. 745'?
Lann Cerniu	LLrub.	p. 72	c. 1120s
lann Cerniv	LLrub.	p. 165	c. 1120s
LANN CERNIV	LLrub.	p. 192	c. 1120s

³⁸ Davies, *Gazetteer*, p. 64.

³⁹ LL, p. 407; WATU, pp. 54 and 200 (s.v. *Talacharn*).

⁴⁰ *Herefordshire Place-Names*, p. 90, s.v. *Ganarew*.

Location

This well-attested place-name has been identified by Evans as ‘?The site of Abbey Dore’, by Phillimore (followed by Finberg) as ‘near Dorstone’, and by both Richards and Davies as Dorstone, of whom only Phillimore explains his reasoning.⁴¹ Phillimore’s reasoning is faulty, however, in that it is based on a misunderstanding of the list of properties in charter 192, which, he believes incorrectly, equates *Cenubia Cornubium/Lann Cerniu* with †Cum Barruc.⁴² The evidence for the place’s location is as follows: a context of Gwent and Ergyng churches in charters 165 and 192, the description *super ripam dour* ‘on the bank of the Dore’ in charter 192, and the place’s bounds in charter 72b. In fact, the bounds are not very useful as evidence as none of the named features (†Nant ir Eguic, †Heithir Rud, †Hal Melen, and †Lost ir Inis) have been securely identified. All that remains, therefore, is that ~~that~~ this church lay somewhere along the Dore. Coplestone-Crow also draws attention to the flimsy evidence available for identification of this place.⁴³

Elements

LLAN + CERNYW

CENUBIA + ?CORNUBIIS (gen. pl.)

The same place-name (*Llangernyw*) is found in North Wales at SH8767. The Latin calque *Cenubia Cornubium*, probably shows the genitive plural of a (to my knowledge unattested) *Cornubiis*, either meaning ‘one from *Cornubia*’ or referring to a member of the tribe known in the Roman period as the *Cornovii*.⁴⁴ *Cornubia* is attested during the Dark Ages as the Latin name for the Cornish peninsula (see *Cernyw*),⁴⁵ but could conceivably refer to any other area associated with the *Cornovii*. Alternatively *Cornubium* could be the nominative form of a district name in its own right, in which case it should probably be regarded as a variant form of *Cornubia*.

§ /

⁴¹ LL, p. 407; Owen, *Description of Penbrokshire*, III, 273, n. 1; Finberg, *The Early Charters*, p. 136; WATU, p. 127; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 193.

⁴² Owen, *Description of Penbrokshire*, III, 273, n. 1.

⁴³ *Herefordshire Place-Names*, p. 20, s.v. *Abbey Dore*.

⁴⁴ See PNRom. Brit., pp. 324–25; and Webster, *The Cornovii*, for discussion of this tribe, and further references.

⁴⁵ LHEB, p. 377.

†**Lann Cetguinn:** [?SO240171] (?mod. **Llangenni**, Eng. *Llangenny*)

Attestations

ecclesiam lann cetguinn LL p. 279 c. 1120s

Location

The attestation is from a list of churches in **Ystrad Yw**. The identification with **Llangenny** was made by Richards, but I do not know on what grounds.*

There are four churches in the relevant list, of which only the first has been identified with a place actually in the commote of **Ystrad Yw**, the rest (including this one) being in the neighbouring commote of **Crucywel** (as defined by Richards).⁴⁷

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

With the second element, compare †**Cum Cetguinn**.

Lann Ceuid: see **Lancaut**.

Lann Cinauc: see **Llangunnock**.

†**Lann Cincirill:** [?nr the **Elái**]

Attestations

Lann Cincirill LLch.155 p. 155 'c. 675'

LanN Cyncyrill LLrub. p. 155 c. 1120s

Location

This church, together with †**Ager Cynfall**, is granted in charter 155. Bounds are supplied which are either for both properties or for †**Ager Cynfall** alone (as the two properties are granted together, they are probably adjacent or near neighbours, but it is not certain). The bounds refer to the **Elái**, so the best that can be said is that *Lann Cincirill* is probably near this river.

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

Lann Cinfall: see **Llangunville**.

⁴⁶ WATU, p. 126, s.v. *Llangedwyn*.

⁴⁷ WATU, p. 323.

†Lann Cingualan: [?nr SS4287]

Attestations

podum Cyngualan	LLch.144	p. 144	'c. 650'
Cella [...] Cyngualan	LLch.144	p. 144	'c. 650'
Lann Cyngualan	LLch.144	p. 144	'c. 650'
monasterio <i>sancti</i> cinguali	LLch.239	p. 239	'c. 925'
agrum cinguali	LLch.239	p. 240	'c. 925'
Lann Cyngualan	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
Lann cingualan	LLrub.	p. 144	c. 1120s
Lann cingualan	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Lann Cingualan	LLb.25	p. 44	1129

Location

The variations on the name *Lann Cingualan* in charter 144 all clearly refer to the same place. We are told that it lies 'in patria Guhyr' (that is, in **Gŵyr**), that it is not the same place as †Lann Arthbodu, †Lann Conuur, or †Lann Pencreic, and that it is bounded by the sea and the boundary of †Lann Gemei. The three bulls each contain essentially one list of churches, and *Lann Cingualan* is in the same context in each—a context of **Gŵyr** churches, next to or near †Lann Gemei in the list.

The connexion of the *Cingualan*-based names discussed so far with the *Cingual*-based names of charter 239 is a little more doubtful. However, both are based on the same personal name, and it is not unusual at an early date for a church to be referred to by both hypocoristic and non-hypocoristic versions of its saint's name. The names under discussion here occur incidentally in charter 239, the first in a reference to King Gruffudd ab Owain's breaking of the sanctuary of 'monasterium Sancti Cinguali', but this does not provide any localisation. The second reference is more useful: it occurs in the boundary clause of †Penn i Bei, to the west of which *Ager Cinguali* is said to lie. †Penn i Bei is described as being in the area of **Rhosili** in the charter's rubric. As **Rhosili** is on the western coast of **Gŵyr**, *Ager Cinguali* (and presumably, therefore, *Monasterium Sancti Cinguali*) must be located very near to that town. †Penn i Bei is listed with the same group of churches as *Lann Cingualan* in bulls 12 and 25, which adds credence to the identification of the *Cingual* and *Cingualan* names.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

PODUM + personal name

CELLA + personal name

MONASTERIUM + SANCTUS (masc. gen.) + *personal name* (gen.)AGER + *personal name* (gen.)

The form taken by the personal-name qualifier varies among the attestations. It is either Latinised (with *-us*) or made diminutive (with *-AN*), but never both. In *Ager Cinguali*, *AGER* should perhaps be treated as a common noun, rather than as part of the name, and the personal name itself taken as representative of the church name: 'territory of [the church of] Cynwal'.

Lann Cinith: see **Llangynydd**.

†**Lann Cinitir:** [?SO402283] (?mod. *Kenderchurch*; also †**Lann i Cruc**)

Attestations

lanncinitir

LL

p. 277 c. 1120s

Location

This place is named in a list of churches said to have been in the charge of Bishop Herewald. The part of the list in which it is mentioned concerns churches in **Ergyng**. Two places are known to have borne this name: **Llangynidr** in **Talgarth** [SO155194], and **Kenderchurch** in **Ergyng** (grid reference above).⁴⁸ Evans made the identification with **Kenderchurch**, which is to be preferred on account of its **Ergyng** location.⁴⁹

Elements

LLAN + personal name

The modern name *Kenderchurch* is an English translation of *Lann Cinitir*.

Lann Cinmarch, Cinuarch: see **St Kingsmark**.

Lann Cinuil: see **Llangunville**.

Lann Coit: see **Llangoed**.

⁴⁸ WATU, p. 130, s.v. *Llangynidr*. Lloyd and Jenkins, *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, p. 91, also makes a connexion between Saint Cynidr and **Kenderchurch**.

⁴⁹ LL, p. 407. Richards seems to agree (WATU, p. 130)—he associates the relevant *Llangynidr* with *Llan y Crug* and the same association is found in LL (see †**Lann i Cruc**).

†**Lann Conuur**: [SS578894] (mod. **Llandeilo Ferwallt**, Eng. **Bishopston**; also
 †**Ecclesia Cyngur Tros Gardi**, †**Lann Merguall**)

Attestations

[cella] conguri	LLch.144	p. 144	'c. 650'
princeps lann cynuur	LLch.145	p. 145	'c. 695'
monasterio <i>sanc</i> i cinuuri	LLch.239	p. 239	'c. 925'
Lann conuur	LLrub.	p. 144	c. 1120s

Location

The attestations from pages 145 and 239 are linked by their common identification with †**Lann Merguall** (modern **Llandeilo Ferwallt/Bishopston**). Charter 144 concerns the grant of †**Lann Cingualan** which is located in Gower (**Gŵyr**), so, as an additional property granted with †**Lann Cingualan**, *Lann Conuur* might reasonably be located in the same area. Given the common personal-name element, and the common location in Gower (**Gŵyr**), it seems reasonable to assume that all the attestations refer to the same place. See †**Ecclesia Cyngur Tros Gardi** and †**Lann Merguall** for further discussion of this identification.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

[CELLA] + *personal name* (gen.)

MONASTERIUM + SANCTUS (gen.) + *personal name* (gen.)

Lann Cors: see **Llan-gors**.

†**Lann Cronnguern**: [SN186107] (mod. **Cronwern**, Eng. **Crunwear**)

Attestations

lann cronnguern	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
Lann cronnguern	LL	p. 255	before 'c. 1025'

Location

The two attestations are from versions of the same list of Teilo churches. The church is listed as being in **Penfro**, and located with †**Lann Rath** and the three territories of **Amroth**, between †**Frut Gurcant** and the †**Rath**. All this gives a clear enough indication of the place's location, to be confident in the

identification made here (following Evans and others).⁵⁰

Elements

LLAN + CRWN (fem.) + GWERN

Charles translates this name as 'Church by the round alder-swamp', taking the second element to be *cron*, the feminine form of the adjective *crwn* 'round'.⁵¹

Lann Cruc: see †Lann i Cruc.

Lann Culan: see Llangiwa.

Lann Cum: see Llangwm.

†Lann Custenhin: [?nr SO592176] (?mod. *Welsh Bicknor*; also †Lann Garth Benni, †Garth Benni)

Attestations

Lann Custenhinn	LLrub.	p. 72	c. 1120s
Lann custenhin	LL	p. 275	c. 1120s
lanncusthennin	LL	p. 276	c. 1120s

Location

Charter 72a concerns the grant of †Garth Benni, and *Lann Custenhinn* is given in the rubric to the charter as an alternative name for that place (or as a name for the church of that place). The other two attestations are from a list of churches in Ergyng and the following account of the churches over which Bishop Herewald had charge (the relevant part here being Ergyng churches). There are strong grounds for locating †Garth Benni in Ergyng too, so it is reasonable to assume that all three attestations refer to the same place. For the evidence as to the precise location of this place see †Garth Benni.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

Lann Custenhinn, Custhennin: see †Lann Custenhin.

Lann Cyncyrill: see †Lann Cincirill.

Lann Cyngualan: see †Lann Cingualan.

Lann Cynuur: see †Lann Conuur.

⁵⁰ LL, p. 407; WATU, p. 128, s.v. *Llangronwern*; PNPemb., II, 486.

†**Lann Degui Cil Pedec:** [SO445305] (mod. **Kilpeck**, W. *Cilpeddeg*)

Attestations

Lann degui cilpedec LL p. 275 c. 1120s

Location

The attestation is from a list of churches in **Ergyng**. The possibility should be presented that *Lann Degui Cil Pedec* might represent two names—*Lann Degui* and *Cil Pedec*—of two separate places, but the punctuation of the list (which, for the rest of the list, defines separate entries) suggests that we are dealing here with a name for a single place. The element *Cil Pedec* is sufficiently distinctive to be confident in the identification with **Kilpeck**. **Kilpeck** church is nowadays dedicated to Saints Mary and David. Probably, then, the attestation is a reference specifically to the church of St David (*Lann Degui*) in the settlement of **Kilpeck** (*Cil Pedec*).

Elements

LLAN + personal name + **Kilpeck**

Lann Deugui Ros Cerion: see †**Lann Deui Ros Cerion**.

†**Lann Deui:** [?SO482311] (?mod. *Much Dewchurch*; ?also †**Lann Deui Ros Cerion**)

Attestations

lann deui	LLch.165	p. 165	?
abbas lanndeui	LLch.165	p. 166	?
abbas lann deui	LLch.163b	p. 164	'c. 620'
abbas lann deui	LLch.164	p. 164	'c. 620'
abbas podii deui	LLch.190a	p. 190	'c. 728'
Lann Deui	LLch.192	p. 192	'c. 745'?
Lann Deui	LLrub.	p. 165	c. 1120s

Location

The attestations from charters 163b, 164, and 165 (p. 166) are from the clerical witness lists where the place is named as the church of an Abbot Gorddogwy. The place is also amongst the properties granted in charter 165. Charters 163b (explicitly) and 164 (probably) concern places in **Ergyng**, and charter 165

* PNPemb., II, 486, s.v. *Crunwear*.

concerns places in Ergyng, Ewias, and Gwent (*Uwch Coed*). Of the remaining two attestations, the one from charter 192 is from a list of properties which overlaps considerably with the list of properties granted in charter 165. Consequently we can be very confident that the *Lann Deuis* of charters 163b, 164, and 165 refer to the same place and that that place is in Ergyng (or possibly adjacent areas of Ewias or Gwent), and fairly confident that the same place is named in charter 192. Abbot *Morheb* of *Podium Deui* is one of the clerical witnesses to charter 190a, the object of which (†*Villa Bertus*) cannot be identified more certainly than to say it is located in Glywysing. A cleric named *Morheb*, however, witnessed the grant of *Ecclesia Tytiuc* (†*Lann Tidiuc*, identified with *Dixton*) at around the same date. If both *Morhebs* can be assumed to be the same man, then the latter grant would show him to have operated in the Ergyng area, which would strengthen the identification of charter 190a's *Podium Deui* with the other attestations of *Lann Deui* above.

The evidence of the above is not sufficient to offer a precise identification. Evans identified these attestations with '*Dew-church, Her.*', by which he apparently does not mean *Much Dewchurch* (that identification he reserves for †*Lann Deui Ros Cerion*), so perhaps he meant Little Dewchurch [SO529317].⁵² Both Finberg and Davies also identify the attestations with '*Dewchurch*', by which, however, both seem to mean *Much Dewchurch* (Finberg indexes '*Little Dewchurch*' separately from '*Dewchurch*', and Davies gives a specific grid reference).⁵³

Elements

LLAN + personal name

PODUM + personal name

†*Lann Deui Ros Cerion*: [SO482311] (?mod. *Much Dewchurch*; ?also †*Lann Deui*)

Attestations

Lann deui ros cerion	LL	p. 275	c. 1120s
lann deugui ros cerion	LL	p. 276	c. 1120s

⁵² LL, p. 407.

⁵³ Finberg, *The Early Charters*, pp. 138 and 40 (index entries on p. 242); *The Llandaff Charters*, pp. 105 and 193.

Location

This place-name occurs in a list of **Ergyng** churches and the accompanying account of Bishop Herewald's jurisdiction over them. There is no internal evidence to suggest a more specific location than just somewhere in **Ergyng**, but both Evans and Richards identified the place with Much Dewchurch (without specifying the reason).⁴⁴ Churches dedicated to St David (*Dewi*) are quite common in this district, so alternative possibilities (such as Little Dewchurch—SO529317) should be borne in mind.

Elements

LLAN + personal name + *Ros Cerion*

I know of no other references to the district name *Ros Cerion* (modernised as *Rhos Ceirion* by Richards).⁴⁵ The first element of that name is RHOS, but I am uncertain of the second.

Lann Dibrguir: see Llanddowror.

Lann Dilull: see †Lann Tilull.

Lann Dineul, Diniuil, Diniul: see Llanddinol.

Lann Dipallai: see †Lann Tipallai.

Lann Diuailauc: see Llandyfaelog.

†**Lann Dodei:** see †Lann Dotei.

†**Lann Dotei:** [in or near Gŵyr]

Attestations

Lann Dodei	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
lann dotei	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Lann dotei	LLb.25	p. 44	1129

Location

All three attestations are from the lists of properties claimed by Llandaf. The place appears in a context of the same six properties in both lists. Those of these places which can be located are situated on or very close to the Gower peninsula (Gŵyr), so it is reasonable to suggest the same vicinity in this case.

⁴⁴ LL, p. 407; WATU, p. 112, s.v. *Llanddewi Rhos Ceirion*.

⁴⁵ WATU, p. 112, s.v. *Llanddewi Rhos Ceirion*.

Evans drew attention to the occurrence of the same qualifying element in the name †**Puteus Dotei**, but the available evidence suggests a different location for that place.

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

†**Lann Dougarth**: [?nr SO5416] (?*Great/Little Doward*)

Attestations

princeps lanndougarth LLch.163b p. 164 'c. 620'

princeps lanndougarth LLch.164 p. 164 'c. 620'

Location

A certain *Bithen*, abbot (*princeps*) of *Lann Dougarth*, witnesses the grants of **Llancloudy** (charter 163b) and †**Lann Budgualan** (charter 164). A *Bithen* (probably the same man) also witnesses charter 165 a few years later (c. 625), this time as abbot of **Lancaut**.⁵⁶ Phillimore identified the element *Dougarth* with the name of the Doward Hills (SO538161 and SO548164), and concluded that *Lann Dougarth* might therefore be Ganarew [SO529163] or Whitchurch [SO549176] at the foot of those hills.⁵⁷ Both Richards and Davies identified the place with 'Doward', by which, presumably, is meant the village of Great Doward [SO5516], or possibly Little Doward [SO541162].⁵⁸ The general area of these identifications is consistent, even if there is no certainty over the specific location. The internal evidence of LL is restricted to the **Ergyng** context of the grants witnessed by *Bithen* as abbot of *Lann Dougarth*. The area of the Doward Hills falls just within **Ergyng**, so the identification is reasonable.

Elements

LLAN + DAU + GARTH

The etymology of the place-name lends credence to the identification offered above, as the Doward Hills have two distinct peaks.

Lann Dyfrgyr: see **Llanddowror**.

⁵⁶ *The Llandaff Charters*, pp. 104–05.

⁵⁷ LL, p. 408.

⁵⁸ WATU, p. 111, s.v. *Llanddeuarth*; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 193.

†**Lann Ebrdil:** [?SO419387] (?mod. Madley)Attestations

Lann Ebrdil	LLch.192	p. 192	'c. 745'?
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Location

A *Lann Ebrdil* is also listed amongst the eleven churches restored to Llandaf by King Ithel in charter 192. Davies identified this church with **Llanerthill**,⁵⁹ but the other ten churches in this list are in **Ewias** and **Ergyng**, whereas **Llanerthill** is in **Gwent Uwch Coed**. *Ebrdil*, the daughter of King Peibio, is said in the Life of Dyfrig to have given birth to that saint at **Madley** in **Ergyng**.⁶⁰ It is this connexion, together with the **Ewias** and **Ergyng** context of the list, which led Phillimore (followed by Finberg and Coplestone-Crow) to suggest the identification of *Lann Ebrdil* with **Madley**.⁶¹ There is no way to be certain, however, that this name does not refer to some other place in **Ergyng** or **Ewias**, and the possibility should also be borne in mind that it might refer to **Llanerthill**.

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

See the discussion under AFRDDWL below.

Lann Efrdil: see **Llanerthill**.

Lann Elli: see **Llanelli**.

Lann Emrdil: see **Llanerthill**.

†**Lann Enniaun:** [SO526040] (mod. Llandogo)Attestations

Lann Enniaun	LL	p. 138	?
lann enniaun	LLch.165	p. 166	'c. 625'
Lannenniaun	LLch.156	p. 156	'c. 698'
abbas lann enniaun	LLch.222	p. 223	'c. 942'

Location

The story of the foundation of this church is recounted in the Life of

⁵⁹ Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, pp. 113–14.

⁶⁰ LL, pp. 78–79.

⁶¹ Owen, *Description of Penbrokshire*, III, 273, n. 1; *The Early Charters*, p. 140; *Herefordshire Place-Names*, p. 139.

Euddogwy (page 138). It took its name from King Einion who granted the land to Euddogwy, but the church (and the surrounding settlement) eventually came to be known instead, after the saint, as *Lann Oudocui* (Llandogo). This change of name can be seen in charters 156 and 222, in each of which *Lann Enniaun* is glossed *Lann Oudocui*. The remaining attestation occurs in the witness list of charter 165, as the origin of one of the clerics, but without further identification. The churches of origin of all of the clerical witnesses to charter 165 are stated, and they can all be seen to come from places in Ergyng and along the Wye (Gwy), which makes it reasonable to assume that this *Lann Enniaun* is also modern Llandogo.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

†Lannerch Glas: [near Madley and †Merthir Clitauc]

Attestations

lannerch glas LLch.193 p. 194 c. 1100

Location

This place is named in the Life of Clydog, in an account of one the martyr's miracles. Two enemies from *Lannerch Glas* decide to settle their differences with an oath over the altar of St Dyfrig at Madley. Having set out, however, they decide to shorten their journey by making the oath over the grave of Clydog instead. The grave of Clydog is at Clodock (†Merthir Clitauc). Although the point is not made clear in the story, it appears that the men intended their journey to be a short one (probably no more than a day). The point of origin of the two men would therefore be near Madley (within perhaps thirty kilometres, if they intended to return on the same day and had horses), and significantly nearer to Clodock (†Merthir Clitauc). I notice a place called Llanerch-y-coed [SO275425] within the suggested area, though it is about the same distance (fifteen kilometres) from both Clodock and Madley.

Elements

LLANNERCH + GLAS

†Lannerch Onnuiu: [nr SN5702]

Attestations

guailaut lannerch Onnuiu LLch.140 p. 140 s. xi¹

Location

This place-name is attested as a point in the bounds of **Llandeilo Talybont**. It stands in the bounds between the mouth (ABER) of the **Morlais** and †**Cum Onnuiu**, which I have not been able to identify with confidence. There is obviously some connexion between †**Cum Onnuiu** and *Lannerch Onnuiu*. The element CWM can be used to denote a kind of wood, as well as a valley, so it might be that *Lannerch Onnuiu* is the name of a glade (LLANNERCH) within †**Cum Onnuiu**.

Elements

LLANNERCH + ?personal name

The second element appears to be a compound of ONN and *byw* 'alive, lively, life%'

or, more likely, *gwiw*
'lively' & /

†**Lann Ethrim**: [?SN700041]

Attestations

lann ethrim

LL

p. 279 c. 1120s

Location

This place is named in a list of churches between the **Tawe** and **Tywi** over which Bishop Herewald had jurisdiction. As far as I am able to establish, no place exists with this name form today. Evans identified *Lann Ethrim* with 'Ethrim on the Clydach, Glam.',⁶² by which I assume he means the farm marked *Eithrim* by the Ordnance Survey [SN707035]. If Evans's general identification is correct, then the chapel (grid reference above) just to the north of the farm seems the most likely candidate to be LL's *Lann Ethrim*. This chapel does fall within the area between the **Tawe** and **Tywi**, but more evidence would be needed to be confident in the identification.

Elements

LLAN + ?stream name

The second element appears to be the same as the name of the stream **Eithrim** (spelt *Ethrim* in LL). If the suggested location of *Lann Ethrim* is correct, then it seems plausible that the chapel was named from the stream near the source of which it stood, but that, at some point after the construction of the building,

⁶² LL, p. 408.

the stream was re-named *Nant y Capel* [SN683025].

Lann Garan: see **Llangarron**.

†**Lann Garth Benni:** [?nr SO592176] (?mod. *Welsh Bicknor*; also †**Garth Benni**, †**Lann Custenhin**)

Attestations

abbas lann garth benni	LLch.163b	p. 164	'c. 620'
ęcclesię Garth benni	LLch.176b	p. 176	'c. 700'?
ęcclesiam Garthbenni	LLch.176b	p. 177	'c. 700'?
ecclesiam Gartbenni	LLch.176b	p. 177	'c. 700'?
ecclesia garthbenni	LLch.178	p. 178	'c. 743'

Location

The bulk of the attestations is from charter 176b which relates the grant of †**Ager Helic** and †**Ager Tencu** by King Clodri in repentance for his breaking of an oath made at this church. Charter 178 concerns the grant of three *modii* of land on the Wye (**Gwy**), made at the church. The remaining attestation is from charter 164 (**Llancloudy**) witnessed by the abbot of *Lann Garth Benni*. It is reasonable to assume (because of the distinctiveness of the qualifying element) that these are references to the church (also called †**Lann Custenhin**) on the site of †**Garth Benni**. For the identification with *Welsh Bicknor* see the discussion under †**Garth Benni**. The attestations listed here re-inforce the impression of an **Ergyng** location, near the Wye (**Gwy**), but there is no evidence to suggest a more specific location.

Elements

LLAN + †**Garth Benni**

ECCLESIA + †**Garth Benni**

Lann Gatgualatir: see †**Lann Catgualatir**.

†**Lann Gemei:** [nr †**Lann Cingualan**] (also †**Terra Conuoi**)

Attestations

fin Lann Gemei	LLch.144	p. 145	'c. 650'–c. 1010
Lann Gemei	LLch.140	p. 140	'c. 655'
lann Gemei	LLch.140	p. 140	'c. 655'
Lann Gemei	LLb.2	p. 90	1119

lanngemei	LLrub.	p. 140	c. 1120s
Lann gemei	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Lanngemei	LLb.25	p. 44	1129

Location

We learn from charter 144 that *Lann Gemei* shares a boundary with †**Lann Cingualan**. The available evidence suggests that †**Lann Cingualan** was on the south coast of the Gower peninsula (**Gŵyr**), perhaps not far from **Rhosili**. The shared boundary between †**Lann Cingualan** and *Lann Gemei* was an inland ridge (**CEGIN**) (on the other side of †**Lann Cingualan** from the sea). The bounds of *Lann Gemei* itself are given in charter 140 (which grants the territory). These bounds also mention a ridge (**DORSUM**)—presumably the same one—and it is clear that *Lann Gemei* also faces onto the coast. The remaining three attestations (pages 32, 44, and 90) are from versions of the same list of properties, with *Lann Gemei* in a context of Gower (**Gŵyr**) churches.

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

Lann Gemei is equated with †**Terra Conuoi** in charter 140, but this equation has been interpreted in different ways: Evans assumed that the element *Gemei* was equivalent to *Conuoi* (i.e. that *Gemei* was an error for *Genuei*),¹ whereas Davies took †**Terra Conuoi** to be the name of the territory, and *Lann Gemei* to be the name of the church.² Whilst Evans's solution is attractive in some ways, it does not explain why the spelling *Gemei* is the only one encountered in the documents, so I would favour Davies's interpretation.

Lann Geruall: see **Llandeilo Ferwallt**.

Lann Geuelach: see **Llangyfelach**.

†**Lann Guenn Aper Humur:** [?nr SO523224]

Attestations

lann guenn. aperhumur	LL	p. 277	c. 1120s
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¹ LL, p. 408.

² *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 97.

Location

The attestation is from a list of **Ergyng** churches under the jurisdiction of Bishop Herewald. Evans seemed to think that *Lann Guenn Aper Humur* was another name for **Llanwarne**,³ but this seems unlikely, given that **Llanwarne** is already entered twice (unusually) in the list of **Ergyng** churches. The *Humur* of this place-name is clearly a stream. The location of a stream called †**Humir** is known, but it is outside **Ergyng**. There is some evidence for confusion between the forms of the **Gamber** and the †**Humir**, so it might be that *Lann Guenn* stood at the mouth (**ABER**) of the **Gamber** (which is in **Ergyng**). The current 1:25 000 Ordnance Survey map of the area shows nothing to suggest a church in the vicinity of the **Gamber**'s mouth, but the possibility would be worth investigating. It could be that there is some connexion between this church and †**Villa Branuc**, which might also be located near the mouth of the **Gamber**.

Elements

LLAN + GWYN (fem.) + ABER + ?**Gamber**

Evans suggested identity for this place-name, implies that he regarded the second element, *guenn*, as a misreading of *guern* (**GWERN**).

Lann Guern: see **Llanwarne**.

†**Lann Guern Cinuc**: [?SO455014] (?mod. *Llangunnog*; ?also †**Hen Lenic Cinauc**, †**Lis Guern**)

Attestations

lann guern tiuau	LLch.240	p. 241	?‘c. 970’
lannguern timau	LLch.240	p. 242	?‘c. 970’
Villam Lannguern Cynuc	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
uillam lannguern cinuc	LLb.12	p. 31	1128
Villam lannguern cynuc	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

The identification of the last three forms with *Llangunnog* (at the grid reference above) is that of Evans and Richards,⁴ and appears to rely on the

³ LL, p. 408.

⁴ LL, p. 408; WATU, p. 131 (s.v. *Llangynog*)—but this is contradicted on page 141 (s.v. *Llan Wern Gynog*) where the identification is with *Llangunnock* in St Weonards parish, Herefordshire.

occurrence of the personal name *Cynog* as an element in both, and also on their identification of this place-name with †**Hen Lenic Cinauc**. The last three attestations of this name from lists of Llandaf properties are in a suitable geographical context (†**Villa Tanasan, Llangwm, †Merthir Dincat, Llanarth**) for this identification.

The two forms from charter 240 have been regarded by the other commentators as a separate place-name, identified with Llanwern [ST371879] by Evans, Richards, and Davies.⁵ However, there are grounds for locating both *Lann Guern Tiuauc* and †**Hen Lenic Cinauc** (?=*Lann Guern Cinuc*) near †**Penn Celli Guenhuc**, and it seems suspicious that two places with such similar names as *Lann Guern Cinuc* and *Lann Guern Tiuauc* should be neighbours. I would suggest that the latter is the result of a scribal misreading of a spelling of the former such as *Lann Guern Cinauc*, aided, perhaps, by confusion with †**Lann Tiuauc** and †**Villa Sancti Tauauc**.

Elements

LLAN + GWERN + personal name

Lann Guern Cynuc: see †**Lann Guern Cinuc**.

†**Lann Guern Teliau ha Dibric**: [SO505281] (mod. Llanwarne; ?also †**Hen Lenhic**)

Attestations

Lann guern teliau ha dibric LL p. 275 c. 1120s

Location

The attestation is from a list of **Ergyng** churches (preceding an extended list for the same area with comments on Bishop Herewald's jurisdiction over each church). The identification with **Llanwarne** was made by Evans, and is followed by Richards.⁶ Given the co-incidence of the name (the early forms of **Llanwarne** are *Lann Guern*) and the **Ergyng** location, this is reasonable.

Elements

LLAN + GWERN + personal name + *JA* + personal name

§/

Lann Guern Timauc, Tiuauc: see †**Lann Guern Cinuc**.

⁵LL, p. 380, n. 22—Evans also suggests Gwernesney [SO415018]; WATU, p. 141, s.v. *Llan-wern*—he is not certain; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 125.

Lann Gunguarui: see **Llanwarw**.

Lann Gunhoill: see †**Lann Gunnhoill**.

†**Lann Gunnhoill:** [?nr SO4601]

Attestations

lann gunnhoill	LLch.240	p. 241	? 'c. 970'
tir lanngunnhoill	LLch.251	p. 252	c. 1030–c. 1050
Languonhoill	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
lann gunhoill	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
lann guonhoill	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

The last three attestations are from versions of the same list of properties claimed by Llandaf. The part of the list from which these attestations come does not provide any geographical context that would suggest a location for this church. The best evidence is from the bounds of †**Hen Lenic Cinauc** given in charter 251. A ridge (CEGIN) is mentioned in these bounds which is described as 'Fin tir lanngunnhoill'. This implies a location close to †**Hen Lenic Cinauc**—which has been identified as Llangunnog [SO455014]—and, presumably, north of the **Pill** brook (Llangunnog is north or east of the brook, which the bounds mention but do not cross). Finally *Lann Gunnhoill* is one of several properties granted in charter 240, for all of which bounds are given, except, unfortunately, *Lann Gunnhoill*. All the other properties are in **Gwent**, which fits the evidence from charter 251. Furthermore in charter 240 *Lann Gunnhoill* is listed next to (1) **Llanisien**, which is less than three kilometres north-east of Llangunnog.

I can see no place-names similar to *Lann Gunnhoill* in the area of Llangunnog, but the place-names *Lanpill* [SO460006], *Llanfihangel Tormynydd* [SO462013], and *Church Farm* [SO464018] all recall some ecclesiastical relationship.

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

⁶LL, p. 408; WATU, p. 141, s.v. *Llan Wern Teilo a Dyfrig*.

†**Lann Guorboe**: [SO455224] (mod. *Garway*)Attestations

lann guoruoe	LLch.165	p. 165	?
abbas Guruoe	LLch.165	p. 166	'c. 625'
abbas lannguorboe	LLch.163b	p. 164	'c. 620'
Lann Guoruoe	LLch.192	p. 192	? 'c. 745'
LanN Guorboe	LLrub.	p. 162	c. 1120s
lann gurboe	LLrub.	p. 165	c. 1120s

Location

Charter 162a records the grant of this territory by the king of **Ergyng** to Bishop Ufelfyw. No bounds are given, but it is reasonable to assume a location in **Ergyng**. Charter 165, which is probably a forgery in large part,⁷ grants *Lann Cinmarch* (**St Kingsmark**) in **Gwent** and a number of **Ergyng** properties. The abbot of this church witnesses charter 163b, the grant of **Llancloudy** in **Ergyng**. Charter 192 is a record of the grant of eleven churches, all in **Ergyng** or **Gwent**. All the internal evidence points to a location in **Ergyng**, but does not help towards a more precise identification. The identification with modern *Garway* (grid reference above) seems to be agreed on by most of the commentators.⁸ Their reasoning is not explained, but the combination of the similar appearance of the place-names and the **Ergyng** location seems sufficient. Coplestone-Crow goes against the grain by proposing instead that the place should be identified with Eaton Bishop [SO443391], but he does not appear to have any evidence for this, and his reason for rejecting the standard identification is purely to explain the fact that in charter 165 †**Lann Guorboe** appears to be located in a district called *Campus Malochu* (see the discussion under †**Mais Mail Lochou**).⁹ See also †**Lann Mihacgel supra Mingui**.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

The place-name is explained as deriving from the name of the church's first

⁷ Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 105.

⁸ LL, p. 408; Finberg, *The Early Charters*, pp. 137 and 139; WATU, pp. 73 (s.v. *Garway*) and 141 (s.v. *Llanwrffwy*); *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 103.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 80 and 90–91.

priest in charter 162a.

†**Lann Guoronui**: [?SO481148] (?Eng. Rockfield)

Attestations

lann guoronui	LLch.240	p. 241	? 'c. 970'
lannGuoronui	LLch.240	p. 241	? 'c. 970'
Lannguronoï	LLch.246	p. 246	'c. 1020'

Location

The grant of this church is recorded in both charters 240 and 246, and different bounds are given for each. Little can be gleaned from these attestations, apart from its location in **Gwent** (all of the other properties granted in charter 240 are in **Gwent**) and on the Monnow (**Mynwy**) (the river is mentioned in both sets of bounds). All the commentators identify this place with **Rockfield**, but I do not know the grounds for this identification.¹⁰ See †**Ieuen** and †**Catlan**.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

Lann Guoruoe, Gurboe: see †**Lann Guorboe**.

†**Lann Gurfrit**: [in Rhos]

Attestations

Lann gurfrit	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
Lanngurfrit	LL	p. 255	before 'c. 1025'
lanworfrit	LLb.36i	p. 56	1130
lann gurfrit	LLb.36ii	p. 62	1130
lan Worfrit	LLb.36iii	p. 287	1130

Location

The two earliest attestations are from both versions of a list of Llandaf's extra-diocesan properties (most of which are dedicated to St Teilo). The church is listed under the heading of **Rhos**. The remaining attestations are from three copies of a letter sent by Pope Innocent II regarding settlement of a dispute between Bishops Urban and Bernard. I am not aware of any suggested identification for this place, so the best that can be said is that the place is in

¹⁰ LL, p. 408; WATU, pp. 135 (s.v. *Llanoronwy*) and 185 (*Rockfield*); *The Llandaff Charters*, pp. 125-26.

the cantref of Rhos.

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

Lann Guronui: see †Lann Guoronui.

†Lann Guruaet: [SN895346] (mod. *Llandeilo'r-fân*)

Attestations

Lannguruaet	LLch.154	p. 154	?
Lann guruaet mainaur	LL	p. 255	'c. 1025'
Lann Guruaet	LLrub.	p. 154	c. 1120s

Location

This church is granted in charter 154, and bounds are given. Sufficient of the points in these bounds are identifiable to be confident in Evans's identification with *Llandeilo'r-fân* (grid reference above).¹¹ The attestation on page 255 is from a list of Llandaf's extra-diocesan possessions. As this list stands it appears that *Lann Guruaet* is in a district called *Brecua*, but there are good grounds for supposing that the list has been miscopied (see the discussion under *Brechfa*) and that the church should really be under the heading of **Cantref Selyf** (the cantref in which *Llandeilo'r-fân* is situated).

Elements

LLAN + personal name

Lann Guruae: see †Lann Guorboe.

†Lann Helicon: [?]

Attestations

Lan helicon	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
LANN HELICON	LLrub.	p. 205	c. 1120s
lannhelicon	LLb.12	p. 31	1128
lann helicon	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

This place-name is unidentified. I know of no suggested identity by any of the commentators, no similar modern place-name is known to me, and the internal

¹¹ LL, p. 370. Evans is followed by Richards (WATU, p. 107, s.v. *Llandeilo'r-fân*) and Davies (*The Llandaff Charters*, p. 101).

evidence from LL is meagre and contradictory. The place is granted in charter 205 but no bounds are supplied, and analysis of other appearances of the charter's witnesses does not produce any obvious geographical affinity. The three remaining attestations from versions of the same list of properties are from a section of that list which does not appear to be organised on geographical lines.

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

The second element could either be *Heliconis*, the name of an early female saint and martyr from Greece, or a derivative of the native personal name *Helyg* (with the name-forming suffix *-on*).

Lann Hunapui: see **Llandinabo**.

†Lann i Cruc: [?SO402283] (?mod. *Kenderchurch*; also **†Lann Cinitir**)

Attestations

Lann cruc	LL	p. 275	c. 1120s
lann icruc	LL	p. 277	c. 1120s

Location

This place is named in a list of churches said to have been in the charge of Bishop Herewald. The part of the list in which it is mentioned concerns churches in **Ergyng**. It is not certain that both attestations refer to the same place, though it seems likely given the limited size of the area. The second attestation immediately follows **†Lann Cinitir**, and it looks very much like it is an alternative name for that church.¹² The identification made here, then, depends on the identification of **†Lann Cinitir**.

Elements

LLAN + [YR +] CRUG

The form with the article is probably the correct one.

†Lann i Doudec Seith: [?nr SO1527]

Attestations

Lann idoudec seith	LL	p. 255	'c. 1025'
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¹² Evans (LL, p. 407) and Richards (WATU, p. 142, s.v. *Llan y Crug*) both make this assumption.

Location

This place-name is attested in a list of Llandaf's extra-diocesan properties. It is in the list (with **Llan-gors** and †**Lann Mihachgel Meibion Gratlaun**) under the heading 'Incantref talacharn', where **Talacharn** is an error for **Talgarth**. Evans and Richards both suggested a location near **Llan-gors**.¹³ As far as I know, the only reason for locating this church in the vicinity of **Llan-gors**, is the apparent association of its name with †**Finnaun y Doudec Seint**, which is within the parish of **Llan-gors**. This seems reasonable enough. I can find no trace of an ecclesiastical building in the immediate vicinity of any of the more likely candidates for the identity of †**Finnaun y Doudec Seint**, however, so the grid reference above is a general one for the area of the stream.

Elements

LLAN + YR + DEUDEG + SAITH

Richards interprets the final element as **SANT**, or its plural *saint*, but a noun *saith* 'saint' is attested (which represents a different line of development of Latin *SANCTUS* from **SANT**).¹⁴ Another example of the same place-name can be found in †**Lann i Doudec Sent** (with a different form of the final element). For similar dedications to multiple (numbered) saints see †**Lan Teliau Pimp Seint**, **Llantrisant**, and **Llantrisant**.

†**Lann i Doudec Sent**: [?nr SO592176]

Attestations

lann idoudecSENT LL p. 276 c. 1120s

Location

This place-name is attested in the list of **Ergyng** churches over which Bishop Herewald had jurisdiction. It is described as being in the *cimiterium* (meaning 'parish'?) of †**Lann Custenhin**, which has been identified (though by no means certainly) with Welsh Bicknor (grid reference above).

Elements

LLAN + YR + DEUDEG + SANT (pl.)

The final element *sent* very likely represents *seint* (with Old Welsh

¹³ LL, p. 408; WATU, pp. 128 (s.v. *Llan-gors*) and 143 (s.v. *Llan y Deuddeg Sant*).

¹⁴ WATU, pp. 128 (s.v. *Llan-gors*) and 143 (s.v. *Llan y Deuddeg Sant*). Campbell and Lane interpret the final element in the same way in their map of the bounds of **Llan-gors** ('Llangorse', 676).

orthographical representation of [ei] with *e*), i.e. the plural of *SANT*.¹⁵ Another example of the same place-name can be found in †*Lann i Doudec Seith*. For similar dedications to multiple (numbered) saints see †*Lan Teliau Pimp Seint*, *Llantrisaint*, and *Llantrisant*.

Lann Ildut, Iltut: see *Llanilltud (Fawr)*.

Lann Isann: see †*Lann Issan*.

†**Lann Issan:** [SM833073] (mod. *St Ishmael's*)

Attestations

Llanisan'	Owen ¹⁶	IV, 428	s. ix
Lann issan	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
Lann issan	LL	p. 255	before 'c. 1025'
lanyssan	LLb.36i	p. 56	1130
lann isann	LLb.36ii	p. 62	1130
lan yssan	LLb.36iii	p. 287	1130
Lan Yssan in Ros	LatLaws ¹⁷	p. 141	s. xii
[monasterium Sancti] Ysam	Capgrave ¹⁸	p. 556	s. xv

Location

The two earliest attestations are from both versions of a list of Llandaf's extra-diocesan properties. The church is listed under the heading of *Rhos*. The remaining attestations are from three copies of a letter sent by Pope Innocent II regarding settlement of a dispute between Bishops Urban and Bernard. Evans repeats Phillimore's tentative identification with *St Ishmael's* (grid reference above), and Charles agrees.¹⁹ *St Ishmael's* is in *Rhos*, and, if the non-LL *Lann Issan*-type forms of the place-name given by Charles are correctly applied to *St Ishmael's*, then the identification can be regarded as secure.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

Charles suggests that *Isan* might be a hypocoristic form of *Ismail* (Modern Welsh *Ysfael*) on which the modern name of the place is based. He suggests

¹⁵ This is implicitly Richards's interpretation: WATU, p. 143 (s.v. *Llan y Deuddeg Saint*).

¹⁶ *Description of Penbrokshire*.

¹⁷ Emanuel, *Latin Texts*.

¹⁸ PNPemb., II, 633.

that the personal name *Isan* also lies behind (2) **Llanisien**.²⁰ Williams sees instead the personal name *Nisien* behind these LLAN names, but this does not seem as strong an explanation for the attested forms.²¹

Lann Iunabui: see **Llandinabo**.

Lann Liuit: see **Llan-llwydd**.

Lann Loudeu: see **Llancloudy**.

†**Lann Mainuon:** [?SO491017] (?mod. *Trelleck Grange*)

Attestations

podo mainuon	LLch.217	p. 217	'c. 960'
ecclesia mainuon	LLch.217	p. 218	'c. 960'
Lann Mainuon	LLrub.	p. 199	c. 1120s
Ecclesia mainuon	LLrub.	p. 217	c. 1120s

Location

According to their rubrics this church is the object of both charter 199b and charter 217. In the first rubric the place is identified with *Ecclesia Trylec* and in the second with †**Villa Guidcon**. The Narration of charter 217 locates *Podum Mainuon* 'in medio trilec podo' and relates how a synod was held at the church and †**Villa Guidcon** granted in penance by King Nowy. In fact, it is quite clear that the rubric to charter 217 is incorrect in equating *Ecclesia Mainuon* with †**Villa Guidcon**.²² The location of *Podum Mainuon* within the *podum* of *Trilec* suggests that we are to understand **Tryleg** as the name of a district, and that its church is *Podum Mainuon*. Bounds are appended to charter 199, which locate *Lann Mainuon* in the area of modern Trelleck Grange (grid reference above).

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

ECCLESIA + ?personal name

PODUM + ?personal name

The second element looks like a compound of MAEN (or *main* 'slender') and

²⁰ LL, p. 409; PNPemb., II, 633.

²¹ PNPemb., II, 633.

²² Williams, *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*, p. 163.

²³ As Davies points out: *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 201 n. 9.

bôn 'base, stem'.

Lann Marthin, Martin: see (1) **Llanmartin**.

(1) †Lann Maur: [SO311163] (mod. **Llandeilo Bertholau**)

Attestations

Lann maur	LLch.122	p. 122	'c. 600'
Lann Maur	LLrub.	p. 122	c. 1120s

Location

This place-name is used in both the rubric and the narrative of charter 122 as a synonym for **Llandeilo Bertholau** (the object of the grant).

Elements

LLAN + MAWR

(2) †Lann Maur: [SN629222] (mod. **Llandeilo Fawr**)

Attestations

Lann maur	LLch.77	p. 77	?
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Location

Charter 77 relates the grant of three properties by King Nowy: **Penally**, **Llanddowror**, and *Lann Maur*. The last is described as being on the bank of the Tywi. Bounds of **Llanddowror** and **Llandeilo Fawr** are given, which implies that **Llandeilo Fawr** was one of the properties granted. As **Llandeilo Fawr** was a great (MAWR) church, situated on the Tywi, the assumption that it is the place meant by *Lann Maur* is reasonable.²³ This name for the place might be recalled by *Pen Lan-fawr* near the church [SN6222].

Elements

LLAN + MAWR

†Lann Meilic ha Lyguess: [SO192417] (also **†Podum Liuhess**)

Attestations

Lann meilic ha lyguess	LL	p. 255	'c. 1025'
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Location

This church is named in a list of Llandaf's extra-diocesan properties, under the heading of **Elfael**. Evans made the identification, followed here, with '*Llowes*

²³ Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 95.

Ch., Rad.,²⁴ and this is also the identification made by Richards.²⁵ The village of Llowes (grid reference above) is in Elfael, and its church is dedicated to St Meilig, so the identification is very solid.

Elements

LLAN + personal name + A + ?personal name

The formation of this place-name, with *Lyguess* linked to the personal name element *Meilic* by the conjunction A, suggests that *Lyguess* too is a personal name. If this is so an interesting development has taken place, wherein an original dedication to two saints has been split, so that the church is named after one (Meilig) and the village after the other (Llywes).

(1) †Lann Meir: [SO508129]

Attestations

Lann meir castell mingui LL p. 275 c. 1120s

Location

There is no difficulty in identifying this place-name as applying to modern St Mary's Church in Monmouth (grid reference above). The attestation links *Lann Meir* to Monmouth Castle (†Castell Mingui), next to which St Mary's still stands. The church was founded as a priory, a daughter church of St Florent's of Saumur.²⁶ It is mentioned (unnamed) a little later in LL ('ecclesiam de castello mingui', page 278) and in the Domesday Book (fol. 180d).

Elements

LLAN + personal name

(2) †Lann Meir: [?]

Attestations

<i>ecclesiam sanctę marię</i>	LLch.231	p. 231	'c. 910'
Lann meiripenn Rós	LLrub.	p. 231	c. 1120s
lann meir penn ros	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Lann meir penn ros	LLb.25	p. 44	1129

²⁴ LL, p. 408.

²⁵ WATU, p. 119, s.v. *Llanfeilig a Llywes*. Richards uses the form *Llywes* here, and on his map of Elfael (p. 267), but indexes under the form *Llowes* on page 145.

²⁶ Knowles, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 71.

Location

This place is granted in charter 231 and mentioned also in both copies of the list of properties confirmed as Llandaf's by Pope Honorius II. The context of the attestation in the lists does not suggest any particular geographical area. Neither does charter 231 provide any more evidence than to locate the church in †Penn Ros, which cannot be independently identified. All the commentators have suggested that this *Lann Meir* might be the same as (1) †Lann Meir, but there does not seem to be any evidence for this other than the identical dedication (which is hardly likely to be an unusual one).²⁷

Elements

LLAN + personal name

†Lann Menechi: [?ST1678] (?mod. *Mynachdy*; also †Villa Meneich)

Attestations

LanN Menechi LLrub. p. 159 c. 1120s

Location

Lann Menechi is the name given to the place granted by charter 159b in its rubric. In the Narrative, however, the place is named †Villa Meneich. Evans identified this place with 'Monachdy, Gabalva, Ll. Dâv' (i.e. *Mynachdy*—ST1678), Richards more vaguely made it a chapelry in Cardiff (Caerdydd), and Davies located it near Llandaf.²⁸ Some bounds are given which are rather difficult to follow, but which mention some identified (or probably identified) places: *Villa Giurgii* and †Riu Finion. The latter is a point in the bounds of Llandaf's own *podum*, and this is probably the reason for Davies's location of *Lann Menechi* near Llandaf. *Villa Giurgii* is probably a form of †Villa Gregurii, another name for Gabalfa, and it is probably this which informed Evans's suggested identification with *Mynachdy*. As stated above, the bounds are rather confused, but it seems that the reference to †Riu Finion comes from a separate part of the bounds, defining a parcel of land of three *modii* granted on the same day ('inuno die'). If the identification of *Villa Giurgii* with †Villa Greguri is correct then Evans was probably right to locate *Lann Menechi* near

²⁷ LL, p. 408; WATU, p. 117, s.v. *Llanfair Pen-rhos*; Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 191, s.v. *Ecclesia Sanctae Mariae*.

²⁸ LL, p. 408; WATU, p. 119, s.v. *Llanfenechi, Villa Mynaich*; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 103.

Gabalfa, in which case the etymology of *Lann Menechi*/†**Villa Meneich** would favour his identification with Mynachdy.

Elements

LLAN + MYNACH (pl.)

Given the equation of this place-name with †**Villa Meneich**, it is likely that the second element, *menechi*, is an error for *meneich*, but the element MYNECHI (itself based on MYNACH) which occurs as a place-name in †**Menechi** presents a plausible alternative. See †**Villa Meneich** for further discussion.

†**Lann Merguall**: [SS578894] (mod. **Llandeilo Ferwallt**, Eng. **Bishopston**; also †**Ecclesia Cyngur Tros Gardi**, †**Lann Conuur**)

Attestations

lannberugall	LLch.239	p. 239	'c. 925'
Lann Merguall	LLrub.	p. 145	c. 1120s

Location

The second of the two attestations above is the rubric of charter 145, which grants †**Ecclesia Cyngur Tros Gardi**. There is no explicit equation between the place-name of the rubric and the place-name of the Narrative, but there is a reference to *Mergualdus* as the *princeps* of the church, and *Mergualdus* is, presumably, the eponym of *Lann Merguall*. In the second attestation *lannberugall* is equated with *monasterio sancti cinuuri* (†**Lann Conuur**), but no further locational information is conveyed. All the above allows us reasonably to assume that the two attestations are to the same church, and that that church was also (probably earlier) dedicated to a saint Cynwr. The only additional internal information supplied for the location of this church is the boundary clause for charter 145, which, although I cannot securely identify any of its features, makes it apparent that the location is coastal, on the Severn Estuary/Bristol Channel (**Hafren**). In the absence of any contradictory evidence, and on the basis of the unusual shared element (the personal name *Merwallt*), it is reasonable to follow Evans and Davies in identifying this place-name with **Llandeilo Ferwallt** (English **Bishopston**, grid reference

above).²⁹

Elements

LLAN + personal name

The second element is the personal name *Merwallt* (probably borrowed from Old English *Merewald*, a variant of *Merewalh*).³⁰ For the loss of final *-t* after *-ll-*, see ALLT. The confusion between initial *b* and initial *m* in the second element is a result of a combination of the phonological phenomenon that the products of lenition of [b] and [m] fell together as [v], and Old Welsh orthography in which this [v] was represented by either *b* or *m*, according to its phonological origin. The initial consonant of the second element was lenited (as normally in such compounds) and one scribe, unfamiliar with this unusual personal name, guessed at an initial *b*. For further orthographical confusion involving this personal name, see *Llandeilo Ferwallt*.

Lann Mergualt: see *Llandeilo Ferwallt*.

Lann Mihacel Tref Ceriau: see †*Lann Mihacghgel Tref Ceriau*.

†**Lann Mihacgel:** [?ST380927]

Attestations

lann mihacgel LLch.261 p. 262 c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

This church is mentioned as a point in the bounds of *Llan-bedr* in †*Hennriu*. It is in some sense ‘opposite’ (*arciueir*) to a point on †*Allt Coit Guent*. Evans identified the building as a church in *Kemeys Inferior ((2) Cemais)*,³¹ which I take to mean the church remains indicated by the Ordnance Survey at the grid reference above. This identification fits the available evidence, but information as to this church’s dedication would be needed to confirm it. Davies linked †*Ecclesia Sancti Micaelis* with this *Lann Mihacgel*,³² but this seems to rest predominantly on the common dedication to St Michael.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

²⁹ LL, p. 369; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 189.

³⁰ Cf. the first known ruler of the Magonsætan (on the South Welsh border with England), who bore this name: Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, p. 47.

³¹ LL, p. 383.

†**Lann Mihacgel Cil Luch:** [SO521255] (mod. *Michaelchurch*)

Attestations

Lann mihacgel cil luch	LL	p. 275	c. 1120s
lann mihacgel cil luch	LL	p. 277	c. 1120s

Location

The first attestation is from a simple list of **Ergyng** churches, and the second is from an expansion of that list with evidence of Bishop Herewald's jurisdiction over each church. Evans identified this place as '*St. Michael's Church, near Gillow, Her.*',³³ which I take to mean modern Michaelchurch (one kilometre west of **Gillow**). Richards made the same identification.³⁴ The combination of the **Ergyng** location, the dedication to St Michael, and the association with **Gillow**, render the identification most probable.

Elements

LLAN + personal name + **Gillow**

Lann Mihacgel Cruc Cornou: see **Llanfihangel Crucornau**.

†**Lann Mihacgel i Pull:** [west (?) bank of the †**Mouric**]

Attestations

lan mihacgel ipull	LLch.240	p. 241	? 'c. 970'
lann mihacgel ipull	LLch.240	p. 242	s. xi ¹

Location

This place is one of several granted in charter 240. Although the place-name is identical in form to *Llanfihangel-y-pwll* (the Welsh name for Michaelston-le-Pit—ST152729), that cannot be the correct identification for the LL attestations, mainly because all the identifiable places in charter 240 are in **Gwent**. Furthermore the bounds of *Lann Mihacgel i Pull* locate the place on the †**Mouric**. It is probably this last piece of evidence (together with the element PWLL in the place-name) which has led commentators to suggest

³³ *Early Welsh Microcosm*, p. 136.

³⁴ LL, p. 408.

³⁵ This is clear from his map of Ergyng: WATU, p. 269 (where *Llanfihangel Cil Lluch* is in parentheses under the map points marked *Michaelchurch* and *Gillow*). There is an error on page 120 of WATU where *Llanfihangel Cil-lluch* is equated with 'Michaelstone and Gillow'—the place is referred to again as *Michaelchurch* on page 157.

identification with **Pwllmeurig**,³⁵ but study of the bounds does not really support this suggestion, and tends, rather, to contradict it. The bounds seem to locate the church between the ridge (CEGIN) of a hill on the western side and the †**Mouric** on the other side, with a meadow or island (YNYS) above it and the end of the hill below it. **Pwllmeurig** is on the eastern bank of the †**Mouric**, but, even if the relationship of the ridge and the river to the church is reversed, the topography of the site does not suit the description in the bounds. I am unable, however, to suggest with any confidence an alternative identification.

Elements

LLAN + personal name + YR + PWLL

†**Lann Mihacgel Lichrit**: [?ST449947]

Attestations

Lann Mihacgel lichrit	LLch.244	p. 244	'c. 980'
LANN mihacgel lichrit	LLrub.	p. 244	c. 1120s
lann mihagel liclit	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Lann mihagel liclit	LLb.25	p. 44	1129

Location

Lann Mihacgel Lichrit is the name of the property granted in charter 244 (together with †**Villa Stifilat**). Bounds are supplied which locate the place on the **Trogi**. The assumption that the two attestations under the form *Lann Mihagel Liclit* refer to the same place is reasonable, not purely because of the similarity of the final element, but also because both attestations are from versions of the same list of properties, in a **Gwent Is Coed** context. These attestations from the lists add no further information, but the bounds in charter 244 do add a little more: the combination of two specified compass points and a reference to the direction of flow of the **Trogi** makes it clear that the bounds run anticlockwise, defining an area on the east bank of that stream. Evans identified both the *Lichrit* and *Liclit* names with Earlswood (in the area of the grid reference above).³⁶ Davies identified *Lann Mihacgel Lichrit* with 'Llanmelin, ST 460920'—the *Liclit* names are from documents outside the

³⁵ LL, p. 408; WATU, p. 123, s.v. *Llanfihangel-y-pwll*; Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 194.

³⁶ LL, p. 408.

scope of her work on the charters.³⁷ Richards preferred Earlswood for the *Lichrit* name and Llanmelin for the *Liclit* one.³⁸ Richards could be right in identifying the two name forms as representing separate places, but, unless there is other evidence from outside LL, it is easier to assume that one form is an error for the other. None of the commentators gives any reason for their identifications (indeed, they all accompany their suggestions with question marks), but the location of Earlswood does suit well the topography of the bounds (it has a prominent ridge to its east, which Llanmelin lacks). One possible clue remains, which is Evans's identification of †**Pull hi Guarach**, a point in the bounds of †**Villa Stifilat** (granted together with *Lann Mihacgel Lichrit* in charter 244). If this identification is correct then †**Villa Stifilat** can be anchored in the vicinity of Earlswood.

Elements

LLAN + personal name + ?

(The following discussion is based on the assumption that all the attestations represent the same place-name.) The final element looks like a compound divided into *lich-* or *lic-* and *rit* or *lit*. The first part of the compound could reasonably be (in modern orthography) LLWCH, *llwch* 'dust, powder', or *llyg* 'shrew', and the second RHYD, *llyd* 'passion, throng', or *-lyd* 'full'. Richards's modernisation of one form of the place-name is *Llanfihangel Llyglyd*,³⁹ which would suggest a meaning 'abounding in shrews' for the final element, and his modernisation of the other form is *Llanfihangel Llechryd*,⁴⁰ in which the final element would mean 'stone-ford'. *Llechryd* is relatively common as a place-name (three examples in Davies's *Gazetteer*), but the LL spellings do not support the interpretation of the name as containing *llech*. The bounds do mention a ford on the **Trogi** so I would suggest that the element might be a compound of LLWCH and RHYD: 'the ford at the pool' (or, if *llwch* here is 'dust, powder', 'dust ford'). Rhys compares the *Liclit* forms of this place-name with an inscribed name LOCVLITI from a stone near Pwllheli, and if the reading is correct, it would lend support to *Liclit* (particularly as that is the

³⁷ *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 125.

³⁸ WATU, p. 121, s.v. *Llanfihangel Llechryd* and *Llanfihangel Llyglyd*.

³⁹ *Ibid.*.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*.

lectio difficilior).⁴¹

†**Lann Mihacgel Maur**: [ST451878] (W. Llanfihangel, Eng. *Llanfihangel Rogiet*, also †**Tref Perenn**)

Attestations

Lann Mihacgel maur	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
LanN mihacgel maur	LLrub.	p. 233	c. 1120s
lann mihagzel maur	LLb.12	p. 31	1128
lann mihagzel maur	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

There is room for doubt as to whether the attestations refer to one or to two places. The identification followed here is based on the evidence available for the attestation from page 233. The remaining three attestations are from versions of a list of properties confirmed by the Pope to Llandaf, but the part of the list from which they come shows no geographic ordering which would suggest a location, so the only reason to associate them with the one on page 233 is the identical name (which is not an unusual one in respect of elements or formation).

The attestation from page 233 is from the rubric of charter 233, where *Lann Mihacgel Maur* is given as an alternative name for †**Tref Perenn**, the object of the grant. The territory of †**Tref Perenn** lay immediately west of Caldicot and abutted the coast, so, as a *Llanfihangel* name in this area, *Llanfihangel Rogiet* (grid reference above) is the most likely identification for *Lann Mihacgel Maur*.⁴²

Elements

LLAN + personal name + MAWR

Lann Mihacgel Meibion Gratlaun: see †**Lann Mihachgel Meibion Gratlaun**.

†**Lann Mihacgel supra Mingui**: [?SO462207]

Attestations

Lann mihacgel supra mingui	LL	p. 275	c. 1120s
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⁴¹ Rhŷs, 'The Origin of the Welsh Englyn', p. 85.

⁴² The same identification was made by Evans (LL, p. 408), Richards (WATU, p. 120, s.v. *Llanfihangel Fawr*), and Davies (*The Llandaff Charters*, p. 123).

Location

The attestation is from a list of churches in Ergyng, and the name itself indicates that the place is on the Monnow (Mynwy). The identification with Garway (?†Lann Guorboe) was made by both Evans and Richards.⁴³ Present-day Garway church [SO455224] does stand in a valley on a hill above the Monnow (Mynwy) and it is dedicated to St Michael, but, as Coplestone-Crow points out, the site of this church does not extend back further than its twelfth-century foundation by the Templars.⁴⁴ There was earlier a chapel with the same dedication near SO462207 (the precise site is now lost), about a kilometre and a half south-east of Garway church, and even nearer to the river.⁴⁵

Elements

LLAN + personal name + SUPRA + Mynwy

†Lann Mihacghgel Tref Ceriau: [?SO114283] (?mod. *Llanfihangel Tal-y-llyn*; ?also †Llann Mihangel, †Lann Mihachgel Meibion Gratlaun, †Tref Ceriau)

Attestations

Lann Mihacel tref ceriau LLch.167 p. 168 ?

Lann Mihacghgel trefceriav LLrub. p. 167 c. 1120s

Location

Lann Mihacghgel Tref Ceriau is the name of the property granted to Llandaf in charter 167. The rubric tells us that this place is in **Brycheiniog** and the charter has a boundary clause, which is practically identical to the boundary clause of charter 237b (†Tref Ceriau). It seems reasonable to assume that †Tref Ceriau is the name of a farm/settlement (TREF) and that *Lann Mihacghgel Tref Ceriau* is the name of the church associated with †Tref Ceriau. *Lann Mihacghgel Tref Ceriau* was identified with Llanfihangel Tal-y-llyn by both Evans and Thomas, but with Llanfihangel Cwm Du by Richards and by Davies.⁴⁶ I do not know on what grounds these identifications were made—both the suggested places are in **Brycheiniog**, but the only evidence known to me for the identification is in the charter's bounds. A *Riuulum*

⁴³ LL, p. 408; WATU, p. 120, s.v. *Llanfihangel-ar-Fynwy*.

⁴⁴ *Herefordshire Place-Names*, p. 91.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ LL, p. 408, s.v. *L. M. Trev Ceriau*; EANC, p. 221, s.v. *Ceiro*; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 106; WATU, p. 122, s.v. *Llanfihangel Tref Geirio*.

Tauguel is mentioned in these bounds, which could be the Nant Tawel of charter 146 (Llan-gors). Nant Tawel runs through Llanfihangel Tal-y-llyn, and therefore, without further evidence, the identification with Llanfihangel Tal-y-llyn (grid reference above) seems more likely.

Elements

LLAN + personal name + †Tref Ceriau

†Lann Mihachgel Meibion Gratlaun: [?SO114283] (?mod. *Llanfihangel Tal-y-llyn*; ?also †Lann Mihacghgel Tref Ceriau, †Llann Mihangel, †Tref Ceriau)

Attestations

Lann mihacgel meibion gratlaun LL p. 255 'c. 1025'

LANN mihachgel meibion gratlaun LLrub. p. 237 c. 1120s

Location

The earlier attestation is from a list of Llandaf's extra-diocesan properties. It is in the list (with Llan-gors and †Lann i Doudec Seith) under the heading 'Incantref talacharn', where Talacharn is an error for Talgarth. The second attestation (from the rubric of charter 237b) is given as an alternative name for †Tref Ceriau, which is elsewhere called †Lann Mihacghgel Tref Ceriau. *Lann Mihachgel Meibion Gratlaun* is identified with Llanfihangel Tal-y-llyn by Evans, and also by Davies, but with Llanfihangel Cwm Du by Richards.⁴⁷ Davies assumes, however, that the identification of *Lann Mihachgel Meibion Gratlaun* with †Tref Ceriau (which she takes to be the correct name for the object of the grant) is an error.⁴⁸ Richards and Evans both appear to accept the names *Lann Mihachgel Meibion Gratlaun*, †Tref Ceriau, and †Lann Mihacghgel Tref Ceriau as synonyms.⁴⁹ I am not aware of any evidence for the identification of these names, other than that provided by LL, and I see no reason to assume that the LL rubricator made a mistake. As for the location of this place, the evidence is the list heading on page 255 (but both the suggested identities—Llanfihangel Tal-y-llyn and Llanfihangel Cwm Du—are in the

⁴⁷ LL, *ibid.*; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 194; WATU, p. 121, s.v. *Llanfihangel Meibion Gradlon*.

⁴⁸ *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 201, n. 4.

⁴⁹ LL, p. 408; WATU, p. 120, s.v. *Llanfihangel Cwm Du*.

cantref of Talgarth),³⁰ and the bounds shared by charters 167 and 237b. A stream mentioned in these bounds, *Riuulum Tauguell/Taugeiel* could be the Nant Tawel which helps define the bounds of charter 146 (Llan-gors), and which runs right past the church of Llanfihangel Tal-y-llyn. On balance, then, the identification with Llanfihangel Tal-y-llyn (grid reference above) is most likely.

Elements

LLAN + personal name + MAB (pl.) + personal name

Lann Mihagel Liclit: see †Lann Mihacgel Lichrit.

Lann Mihaggel Maur: see †Lann Mihacgel Maur.

Lann Mocha: see Llanfocha.

Lann Nissien: see (1) Llanisien.

Lann Oudocui: see Llandogo.

†Lann Pencreic: [?SS497922]

Attestations

[cella] ... penncreic	LLch.144	p. 144	'c. 650'
lann pencreic	LLrub.	p. 144	c. 1120s

Location

This church is one of three (or possibly just two) properties granted together with †Lann Cingualan in charter 144 (the others being †Lann Cynuur and †Lann Arthbodu, which may, however, really be the same property with two dedications). Nothing is said specifically about the place's location in the charter, but the fact that it is granted together with the aforementioned places might indicate proximity to them (though it need not), in which case it would be somewhere in Gower (Gŵyr). Evans identified this place with '?Pen-mân, Gower',³¹ which I take to mean Penmaen [SS532887]. I suppose the grounds for his identification to be the semantic equivalence of the generic elements MAEN and CRAIG. Davies suggested 'Pencraig, Llanrhidian'.³² I cannot find this place—the grid reference she gives (see above) is for Llanrhidian itself—but,

³⁰ WATU, p. 323.

³¹ LL, p. 408.

³² *The Llandaff Charters*, pp. 97 and 197.

if she is right, as the only place in Gower (Gŵyr) bearing this name, this identification would be the strongest candidate.

Elements

LLAN/[CELLA] + PEN + CRAIG

LLAN and CELLA could be common nouns rather than an element of the name. In the earlier attestation from the Narrative it is not clear whether the word CELLA should be taken as belonging with *penncreic* as well as 'arthuodu. congurique'.

†Lann Petir: [SO564248] (mod. *Peterstow*)

Attestations

Lann petyr	LL	p. 275	c. 1120s
lann petir	LL	p. 276	c. 1120s

Location

The first attestation is from a simple list of Ergyng churches, and the second is from an expansion of that list with evidence of Bishop Herewald's jurisdiction over each church. The identification with Peterstow (grid reference above) is that of Evans, and seems reasonable, given their common Ergyng location and dedication to St Peter.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

The modern, English, name for the place is a calque on *Lann Petyr*.

(1) †Lann Petyr: [?ST082764 or SS993853] (?mod. *Llanbedr-y-fro*, Eng. *Peterston-super-Ely*; or *Llanbedr-ar-fynydd*, Eng. *Peterston-super-montem*; ?also †Petreston)

Attestations

Lann Petyr	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
<i>sancti petri</i>	LLb.12	p. 31	1128
<i>Sancti Petri</i>	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

The attestations are from all three versions of the list of churches confirmed to Llandaf by the Pope. The context of the section of the list in which the attestations are is one of Glamorgan (Morgannwg) churches. The most obvious identification is with Peterston-super-Ely (the first of the two grid

references above), but there is another *Llanbedr* name in the right area: Peterston-super-montem. I do not know which of these two churches (if, indeed, it is either) is meant by the forms above.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

[*ECCLESIA* +] *SANCTUS* (gen.) + *personal name* (gen.)

(2) †Lann Petyr: see †Lann Petir, Llan-bedr, Llanbedr Ystrad Yw.

†Lann Rath: [SN163079]

Attestations

<i>ecclesia Radh</i>	LL	p. 115	?
Lan rath	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
Lann rath	LL	p. 255	before 'c. 1025'

Location

See Charles's discussion of this name.³³ *Ecclesia Radh* is named (page 115) in the Life of Teilo as the site of one of that saint's miracles. The other two attestations are from versions of the same list of properties (probably originally a list of the possessions of Penally).³⁴ In the list this church is named together with †Lann Cronnguern and the three territories of Amroth. Charles is probably correct in his assertion that Amroth in the Book of Llandaf is a district name—the territory around the river †Rath—and that the settlement now known as Amroth (or, at least, its church) is designated by †Lann Rath.³⁵

Elements

LLAN + †Rath

ECCLESIA + †Rath

Lann Ridol: see Llanrothal.

(1) †Lann San Bregit: [SO584248] (Eng. *Bridstow*)

Attestations

Lann sanfreit	LL	p. 275	c. 1120s
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³³ PNPemb., II, 464–65.

³⁴ See the discussion under †Amithieil.

³⁵ PNPemb., II, 464.

lannsanbregit

LL

p. 276 c. 1120s

Location

This place-name is attested in a list of the churches in Ergyng, and in the following expansion of that list which adds evidence of Bishop Herewald's authority in each church. All the authorities seem to agree on the identification with Bridstow (grid reference above),⁵⁶ which is plausible since *Bridstow* is the only place-name in Ergyng which remembers a dedication to St Bridget.

Elements

LLAN + SAN + personal name

The modern, English, name of the place is a compound of the personal name element and STŌW, an Old English equivalent to LLAN. Jackson comments on this as an example of translation of a Brittonic place-name into English, and discusses the development of the personal name element in this place-name (and in the other examples of *Llansanffraid* place-names).⁵⁷

(2) †Lann San Bregit: [ST096776] (mod. *Llansanffraid-ar-Elái*, Eng. *St Bride's-super-Ely*)

Attestations

<i>ecclesiam sanctę</i> Brigide	LLch.263	p. 263	'c. 1040'
Lann sant breit	LLrub.	p. 263	c. 1120s
lann sanfreit	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Lann Sanbregit	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

This church is the object of the grant recorded in charter 263. The charter's rubric locates the church in †Mainaur Cruc Marc, which has not been identified. Bounds are given for the grant, but none of its points have been identified on grounds independent of the identification of the church itself, so their evidence is not useful. The witness associations of the charter are most strongly with properties (so far as they are identifiable) within a few kilometres of Llandaf (charters 249a, 255, 258, and 259).

The place-name is also attested in two versions of a list of properties confirmed to Llandaf by papal privilege. The context of the two list entries

⁵⁶ LL, p. 409; LHEB, p. 244; WATU, p. 19, s.v. *Bridstow*.

⁵⁷ LHEB, pp. 244 and 498.

(the same in each case) provides slightly more clear-cut evidence. The entry is preceded by †**Lann Tilull** and †**Penn Onn** (i.e. **Saint-y-nyll** and an unidentified nearby property), and followed by †**Tref Meibion Ambrus** (unidentified) and **Pen-tyrch**, all of which suggests an area between the rivers **Taf (Fawr)** and **Elái**, to the west and north-west of **Llandaf**.

All the authorities identify these attestations with St Bride's-super-Ely (grid reference above),⁹⁸ which seems likely given that that place lies in the suggested area, six kilometres west of **Llandaf**.

Elements

LLAN + SAN + personal name

LLAN + SANT + personal name

ECCLESIA + SANCTUS (fem. gen.) + *personal name* (gen.)

Jackson discusses the development of the personal name element in this place-name (and in the other examples of *Llansanffraid* place-names).⁹⁹

Lann San Freit: see (1) †**Lann San Bregit**, (2) †**Lann San Bregit**.

Lann Sant Breit: see (2) †**Lann San Bregit**.

†**Lann Sant Guainerth**: [SO496243] (mod. *St Weonard's*)

Attestations

Lann santguainerth	LL	p. 275	c. 1120s
lann santguainerth	LL	p. 276	c. 1120s

Location

This place-name is attested in a list of the churches in **Ergyng**, and in the following expansion of that list which adds evidence of Bishop Herewald's authority in each church. Evans, Thomas, and Richards agree on the identification with St Weonard's (grid reference above),¹⁰⁰ which is plausible on grounds of form and location.

Elements

LLAN + SANT + personal name

The modern, English, name would be a calque on the LL form. Richards's

⁹⁸ LL, p. 409; Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 128.

⁹⁹ LHEB, p. 498.

¹⁰⁰ LL, p. 409; EANC, p. 69, s.v. *Garan*; WATU, p. 137, s.v. *Llansainwenarth*.

modernised form of the place-name, *Llansainwenarth*,⁶¹ implies that he saw the same dedication in this church as in **Llanwenarth**.

Lann Sulbiu: see **Llancillo**.

†**Lann Suluc:** [SO565276] (mod. *Sellack*)

Attestations

lann suluc	LLch.230b	p. 231	'c. 866'
Lann suluc	LL	p. 275	c. 1120s
titulo lann suluc	LL	p. 276	c. 1120s
lannsuluc	LL	p. 277	c. 1120s

Location

The earliest attestation is from the clerical part of the witness list of charter 230b, which grants †**Villa Branuc**. The origins of several of the clerics witnessing the charter are specified—a certain *Concum* is linked with *Lann Suluc*—and all are associated with places in **Ergyng**. The remaining three attestations are from a list of the churches in **Ergyng** (page 275), and the following expansion of that list (pages 276 and 277) which adds evidence of Bishop Herewald's authority in each church. The attestation from page 276 refers to the ordination of the priest of Foy (†**Lann Timoi**) under the title of ('sub titulo') *Lann Suluc*, which suggests a close relationship between the two churches. The identification with *Sellack* (grid reference above) followed here was made by Evans and Richards.⁶² The identification can be regarded as sound on the strength of the similarity of the appearance of the name, and the location of *Sellack* in **Ergyng**, about three kilometres east of Foy (†**Lann Timoi**). *Sellack* church is dedicated to St *Tysilio*, so, if the equivalence of the personal names *Suluc* and *Tysilio* is accepted (see below), this would provide additional confirmation of the identification.

The Domesday Book contains a single entry under the heading 'SVLCET HVND', which has been interpreted as the name of a small 'hundred' (really an English manorial intrusion into **Ergyng**) around *Sellack*. The editors suggest that *Sulcet* 'may be a misreading of *Suluc* itself, or it may contain a Welsh suffix or terminal el., or *Suluc* may have been gallicized by the addition of the

⁶¹ WATU, p. 137.

OFr suffix *-er'*.⁶³

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

It has been suggested that *Suluc* is a hypocoristic form of the personal name *Sulio*,⁶⁴ of which *Tysilio* is another hypocoristic form (which is not to say that the saints of those names were one and the same).⁶⁵ It is possible, in fact, that *Suluc* represents the basic form of the personal name, and that *Sulio* and *Tysilio* are the later developments.⁶⁶

Lann Suluiu: see **Llancillo**.

Lann Teiliau Cressnych: see **Llandeilo Gresynni**.

Lann Teiliau Maur: see **Llandeilo Fawr**.

†**Lann Teiliau Portulon:** [?SS590883] (?mod. *Caswell*; also †**Porth Tulon**)

Attestations

Lann Teiliau portulon LLb.2 p. 90 1119

Location

This church is named in the earliest of the three lists of the properties confirmed to Llandaf by papal privilege. The context in the list is one of Gower (Gŵyr) properties, but no more can be ascertained from this attestation. In the two later versions of the list the same property is referred to just as †**Porth Tulon** (see which for the identification made above).

Elements

LLAN + personal name + †**Porth Tulon**

Lann Teilo Mawr: see **Llandeilo Fawr**.

⁶³ LL, p. 409; WATU, p. 139, s.v. *Llansulwg*.

⁶⁴ Morris, *Domesday Book*, XVII: *Herefordshire*, 29,20 and note.

⁶⁵ Ibid..

⁶⁶ Jones, *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr*, 1, 15, n. 4.

⁶⁷ I am grateful to Patrick Sims-Williams for this suggestion.

†**Lann Teliau: [SN255145] (also Llanddowror)**Attestations

podo [...] lannteliau	LLch.127b	p. 128	before 'c. 1025'
Lannteliau	LL	p. 254	before 'c. 1025'

Location

Both attestations are given as alternative names for **Llanddowror** in their texts. The church is still dedicated to St Teilo.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

Lann Teliau Aper Coguin, Couin: see Llandeilo Abercywyn.

†**Lann Teliau Bechan: [in Dyffryn Teifi]**Attestations

ecclesia Lan teliau bechan	LL	p. 116	?
Lann Teliau bechan	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
Lann teliau bechan	LL	p. 254	before 'c. 1025'

Location

The attestations from pages 124 and 254 are from both versions of a list of Llandaf's extra-diocesan properties (almost all dedicated to St Teilo). In both versions the church is described as being in **Dyffryn Teifi**, and comes under the heading of **Cantref Mawr**. The other attestation of this place-name is from a brief list of Teilo's miracles at the end of his Life, but it comes without any indication of where it might be. Evans, Richards, and John Davies all suggested separate identifications for the place referred to in the property list and the place referred to in the Life, all agreeing on identification with **Llandeilo Abercywyn** for the latter,¹ but I know of no reason for this. Evans offered no suggestion for the place referred to in the property list, but Richards suggested Llanybydder [SN519438] or Pencarreg [SN535450], and John Davies thought perhaps Henllan [SN353402].² None of these three churches is nowadays dedicated to Teilo, and I see no way of making an identification without further evidence. The *Lan Teliau Bechan* in the Life of Teilo is mentioned in connexion with the punishment of a petty king called

¹ LL, p. 409; WATU, p. 106, s.v. *Llandeilo Fechan*; 'The Book of Llandaf', p. 147, n. 139.

Gwaeddan, so, if this church is not the same as the *Lann Teliau Bechan* in *Dyffryn Teifi*, it is tempting to link it with †**Lann Teliau Luin Guaidan**.

Elements

LLAN + personal name + BYCHAN (fem.)

†**Lann Teliau Cil Retin**: [SN278349]

Attestations

Lann teliau cilretin	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
Lannteliau cil retin	LL	p. 255	before 'c. 1025'
lanteliau kilredin	LLb.36i	p. 56	1130
lann teliaui cil retin	LLb.36ii	p. 62	1130
lanteliau kilredin	LLb.36iii	p. 287	1130

Location

The two earliest attestations are from both versions of a list of Llandaf's extra-diocesan properties (almost all dedicated to St Teilo). In both versions the church is described as being in **Emlyn**, and comes under the heading of **Penfro**. The remaining attestations are from three copies of a letter sent by Pope Innocent II regarding settlement of a dispute between Bishops Urban and Bernard. *Lann Teliau Cil Retin* is one of the disputed properties mentioned in the papal letter; in the letter it is described as being in **Emlyn**. As there is a hamlet called *Cilrhedyn* in the cantref of **Emlyn**, and the church of that hamlet (grid reference above) was dedicated to St Teilo, the identification followed here made by both Evans and Richards is solid.³

Elements

LLAN + personal name + *Cilrhedyn*

The settlement name *Cilrhedyn* is a name-phrase of CIL and *rhedyn* 'ferns, bracken'.

Lann Teliaui Cil Retin: see †**Lann Teliau Cil Retin**.

†**Lann Teliau Garth Teuir**: [SN658379] (?mod. *Garth Farm*)

Attestations

Lann Teliau garth teuir	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
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³ LL, p. 409; WATU, p. 106, s.v. *Llandeilo Fechan yn Nyffryn Teifi*; 'The Book of Llandaf', p. 215.

⁴ LL, p. 409; WATU, p. 44, s.v. *Cilrhedyn (West)*.

Lann teliaŷ garthteuir LL p. 254 before 'c. 1025'

Location

Both attestations are from the two versions of a list of Llandaf's extra-diocesan properties (almost all of which are dedicated to St Teilo). The first attestation is described as being on the bank of ('super ripam') the Cothi, and the second is in a section of its list under the heading of Cantref Mawr. Evans identified this place with "'Bron Deilo", Caio, Carm.' (i.e. the chapel at Garth Farm—SN658379?), but Richards suggested instead 'Capel Teilo' (which I cannot find) in the parish of Talylychau.⁴ More evidence would be needed to make a confident identification.

Elements

LLAN + personal name + **Garth Teuir*

The distinguishing suffix *Garth Teuir* is a place-name in its own right; it is composed of GARTH and what may be a river name. If *Teuir* is a river name it could be based on the stem *tam-*, common in European river names, with an *i*-affecting suffix *-ir* or *-yr*.⁵

†Lann Teliau i Ciliou: [?SO108429]

Attestations

Lann teliau iciliou LL p. 254 'c. 1025'

Location

This church is named in a list of Llandaf's extra-diocesan properties, under the heading of Elfael. The place is located *idrifrinn machagui*, that is 'in †Difrinn Machagui'. Both Evans and Richards identified the church with Llandeilo Graban [SO093446].⁶ I am not sure on what grounds the identification was made—it is true that that church carries the right dedication (to St. Teilo), and that it is not far from †Difrinn Machagui, but it is not in that valley. There is a place (at the grid reference above) called *Ciliau* on the edge of the right valley. I know of no evidence for a chapel on this site, but the location is right and the similarity to the element *ciliou* in the LL place-name seems significant.

⁴ LL, p. 409; WATU, pp. 32 (s.v. *Capel Teilo*) and 106 (s.v. *Llandeilo Garth Tefyr*).

⁵ Compare the discussion of the river name *Teme* in EANC, pp. 177–79, s.v. *Dyffryn Tefeidiad*.

⁶ LL, p. 409; WATU, p. 107, s.v. *Llandeilo'r Ciliau*.

Elements

LLAN + personal name + ?YR + ?CIL (pl.)

The interpretation above is the one implied by Richards's modernised form *Llandeilo'r Ciliau*.⁷ However, if the element *i* of the place-name is the article, one would expect it to take the form *ir* or *r*, due to its following a vowel (but LL does contain other examples of the non-*r* form of the article appearing after a vowel, e.g. 'trui i coit' from charter 157). Alternatively one could interpret the *i* as the preposition YN, in which case *ciliou* is more likely to be a place-name **Cil Iou* (CIL + IAU).

†**Lann Teliau Litgarth**: [SN105272] (mod. *Llandeilo*, Eng. *Llandilo*; also †**Lann Teliau Penn Litgarth**)

Attestations

Lann teliau litgarth	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
Lannteliau litgarth	LL	p. 255	before 'c. 1025'

Location

Both attestations are from the two versions of a list of Llandaf's extra-diocesan properties (almost all of which are dedicated to St Teilo). The first attestation is described simply as being in **Daugleddau**, and the second is located more specifically as being on the border (FFIN) of **Daugleddau** and (1) **Cemais**. The church of Llandeilo which stands on the border of the neighbouring Dyfed cantrefs of **Daugleddau** and (1) **Cemais**, at the head of a ridge formerly known as *Llwydarth*, is the obvious identification.⁸

Elements

LLAN + personal name + *Llwydarth*

The name of the ridge, *Llwydarth*, is explained by Charles as a compound of LLWYD and GARTH, though he fails to account for the spelling *Lit-* (which would not be a normal representation of LLWYD).⁹ *Lit-* would be more likely to represent *llid* 'anger, passion; inflammation', so perhaps this was originally present, but was later changed to LLWYD.

Lann Teliau Luin Gaidan: see †**Lann Teliau Luin Guaidan**.

⁷ WATU, p. 107.

⁸ PNPemb, I, 70, s.v. *Llandeilo*.

⁹ PNPemb, II, 414–15.

†**Lann Teliau Luin Guaidan:** [SN133152] (mod. *Llan-gwathan*)

Attestations

Lann teliau luin gaidan	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
Lann teliau luin guaidan	LL	p. 255	before 'c. 1025'

Location

This church is named in the two lists of Llandaf's extra-diocesan properties. In both versions of the list the church is described as being in **Efelffre**. Within that commote (of **Efelffre**) is a place called *Llan-gwathan* (grid reference above) which, from its early forms seems likely to have been originally called **Llwyn Gwaeddán*.¹⁰ The identification with this *Llan-gwathan* made by Evans, Richards, and Charles, is therefore very probably correct.¹¹ Charles suggested that the church of St Teilo (*Lann Teliau*) need not necessarily have been right on the site of the grove (LLWYN), but might have stood nearby, perhaps at Crinow [SN127143].¹² In this connexion I would draw attention also to *Henllan* [SN134162], about the same distance to the north. In one of the attestations of †**Lann Teliau Bechan** there is a reference to a petty king named Gwaeddán, so it is possible that that attestation refers to the church under discussion here.

Elements

LLAN + personal name + LLWYN + GWAEDDAN

GWAEDDAN could be a common noun, the name of a stream, or a personal name. Charles interprets it as a personal name ('Gwaiddán's grove').¹³ Cf. †**Finnaun Guaidan**. The form *gaidan* on page 124 is presumably an error for *guaidan*.

†**Lann Teliau Mainaur Brunus:** [SN494203] (?mod. *Llandeilo Rwnws*, Eng. *Llandilo-yr-ynys*)

Attestations

Lann teliau mainaur brunus	LL	p. 254	'c. 1025'
lann teliau mainaur	LLb.36ii	p. 62	1130

¹⁰ PNPemb, II, 499.

¹¹ LL, p. 409; WATU, p. 107, s.v. *Llandeilo Llwyn Gwaeddán*; PNPemb, II, 499, s.v. *Llangwathan*.

¹² PNPemb, *ibid.*.

¹³ *Ibid.*.

lantelïau mainaur brunuis LLb.36iii p. 287 1130

Location

The attestation on page 254 is from a list of Llandaf's claimed extra-diocesan properties. It comes under the heading of **Cantref Mawr** in that list. The remaining attestations are from copies of Pope Innocent II's letter regarding properties in dispute between Bishops Urban and Bernard. LL contains three copies of this papal letter, of which LLb.36iii is the original copy, and LLb.36i and LLb.36ii are later copies.¹⁴ These later copies are defective—LLb.36i omits several of the properties listed, including the one discussed here (through homoeoteleuton)¹⁵ and LLb.36ii has omitted the element *brunus/brunuis*. There is very little evidence to suggest a location for this place, other than that it is in **Cantref Mawr**, but the identification with Llandeilo Rwnws (grid reference above) made by Evans and Richards seems plausible on grounds of appearance.¹⁶

Elements

LLAN + personal name + †Mainaur Brunus

Lann Telïau Maur: see Llandeilo Fawr.

†**Lann Telïau Nant Seru:** [on the Cothi]

Attestations

Lann Telïau nant Seru	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
Lann telïau nant seru	LL	p. 254	before 'c. 1025'

Location

This church is named in both versions of the list of Llandaf's claimed extra-diocesan properties. In both it is located in **Cantref Mawr**, and in the former it is said to be on the bank of the **Cothi**. The only commentator (to my knowledge) to have suggested an identification for this church is John Davies, who proposed Brechfa [SN525303], but I do not know what the grounds for this are.¹⁷ Brechfa is near enough to the **Cothi** to be described as on its bank ('super ripam'), and its Anglican church is dedicated to St Teilo, but these are

¹⁴ Huws, 'The Making of *Liber Landavensis*', 148.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*.

¹⁶ LL, p. 409; WATU, p. 107, s.v. *Llandeilo Rwnws*.

¹⁷ 'The Book of Llandaf', p. 215.

not strong enough grounds to be at all confident of the identification.

Elements

LLAN + personal name + **Nant Seru*

Thomas states that the element *Seru* in the stream name *Nant Seru* is probably the adjective *serw* 'dark', though the word is also attested as a personal name.¹⁸

†**Lann Teliau Penn Litgarth**: [SN105272] (mod. *Llandeilo*, Eng. *Llandilo*; also

†**Lann Teliau Litgarth**)

Attestations

lantelïau pennllitgart	LLb.36i	p. 56	1130
lann telïau pennlitgarth	LLb.36ii	p. 62	1130
lantelïau penn llitgart	LLb.36iii	p. 287	1130

Location

The attestations are from three copies of a letter sent by Pope Innocent II regarding several properties in dispute between Bishops Urban and Bernard. From the strong similarity of the names, it is reasonable to follow Evans, Richards, and Charles in identifying †**Lann Teliau Penn Litgarth** with †**Lann Teliau Litgarth**, i.e. *Llandeilo* at the grid reference above.¹⁹

Elements

LLAN + personal name + PEN + *Llwydarth*

For *Llwydarth* see †**Lann Teliau Litgarth**.

†**Lann Teliau Penn Tiuinn**: [SN238087]

Attestations

Lann telïau penntyuinn	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
Lanntelïau penn tiuinn	LL	p. 254	before 'c. 1025'
penntiwin	LLb.36i	p. 56	1130
lann telïau penntuin	LLb.36ii	p. 62	1130
lantelïau penn tiwin	LLb.36iii	p. 287	1130

Location

This church is named in the two lists of *Llandaf*'s extra-diocesan properties, in the latter of which it comes under the heading of **Cantref Gwarthaf**. The other two attestations are from copies of Pope Innocent II's letter regarding

¹⁸ EANC, pp. 86–87, s.v. †*Serfan*.

properties in dispute between Bishops Urban and Bernard. LL contains three copies of this papal letter, of which LLb.36iii is the original copy, and LLb.36i and LLb.36ii are later copies.²⁰ LLb.36i has omitted several of the properties listed, including the *Llandeilo* part of the one discussed here (through homoeoteleuton).²¹ Evans and Richards both identify *Lann Teliau Penn Tiuinn* as the church of Pentywyn (Eng. *Pendine*), which seems reasonable on grounds of appearance and suits the location in **Cantref Gwarthaf**. The Anglican church at the grid reference above is not nowadays dedicated to St Teilo.

Elements

LLAN + personal name + *Pentywyn*

Pentywyn is a name phrase of PEN and *tywyn* 'sea-shore, sand-dune'.

Lann Teliau Penn Tuin: see †**Lann Teliau Penn Tiuinn**.

Lann Teliau Penn Tyuinn: see †**Lann Teliau Penn Tiuinn**.

Lann Teliau Pim Seint: see †**Lan Teliau Pimp Seint**.

Lann Teliau Port Halauc, Porth Halauc: see **Llandeilo Bertholau**.

†**Lann Teliau Tref i Cerniu:** [in **Cantref Gwarthaf**]

Attestations

Lann teliau tref icerniu LL p. 124 before 'c. 1025'

Lannteliav tref icerniu LL p. 254 before 'c. 1025'

Location

This church is named in the two lists of Llandaf's extra-diocesan properties, in the latter of which it comes under the heading of **Cantref Gwarthaf**. Phillimore seems first to have proposed the identification with Crinow (W. *Crynwedd*), and this was repeated by Richards—both prefaced the identification with a question mark.²² In his discussion of the place-name *Crinow*, Charles includes these LL forms under his list of attestations, but he expresses considerable scepticism about this identification.²³ There is no

²⁰ LL, p. 409; WATU, p. 106, s.v. *Llandeilo*; PNPemb, I, 70, s.v. *Llandeilo*.

²¹ Huws, 'The Making of *Liber Landavensis*', p. 148.

²² Ibid..

²³ LL, p. 409; WATU, pp. 107 (*Llanpumsaint*) and 135 (s.v. *Llanpumsaint*).

²⁴ PNPemb., II, 485.

known connexion between Crinow church and St Teilo, and, although the English name of the place could possibly be derived from the element CERNYW, the Welsh name, *Crynwedd*, seems less likely to be related. The similarity of *Crinow* to the element CERNYW of the name is too slight a reason to support the identification, so the best that can be said is that the name refers to a place in **Cantref Gwarthaf**.

Elements

LLAN + personal name + *Tref y Cernyw*

The settlement name *Tref y Cernyw* is made up of the elements TREF + YR + CERNYW.

†**Lann Tidiuc**: [?SO519135] (?mod. *Dixton*; also †**Hennlann**, †**Hennlann Titiuc**)

Attestations

eccl'a tituuc sc'i	LLch.183a	p. 183	'c. 735'
Ecclesia Tytiuc super ripam guy	LLrub.	p. 183	c. 1120s
Lann tydiuc	LL	p. 275	c. 1120s
lann ti diuc	LL	p. 276	c. 1120s

Location

The first two attestations are from charter 183a, in which the church is granted, where it is also called (1) †**Hennlann**. The church is located on the bank of the Wye (**Gwy**) in the rubric, Narration, and bounds of the charter, and the bounds further locate it between two streams called †**Rivulus ir Gudinn** (for the location of which, though, there is no external evidence). The second two attestations are from a list of **Ergyng** churches and an account of Bishop Herewald's consecration of those churches. The evidence from **LL**, then, is that this church is in **Ergyng** on the Wye (**Gwy**). Evans adopted Phillimore's identification of this church with *Dixton* (grid reference above), and this was also followed by Davies.²⁴ *Dixton* certainly fits the rather loose geographical criteria suggested above, and Charles supplies forms which support the likelihood that the first element of *Dixton* derives from *Tidiuc*.²⁵

Elements

LLAN + personal name

²⁴ **LL**, p. 404, s.v. *Hennlann Titiuc*; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 110.

²⁵ Charles, *Non-Celtic Place-Names*, p. 262.

ECCLESIA + personal name [+ *SANCTUS* (gen.)]

†**Lann Tilull**: [ST097780] (mod. **Saint-y-nyll**; also †**Penn Onn**)

Attestations

<i>ecclesia</i> [...] <i>lann tilull</i>	LLch.216b	p. 217	'c. 870'
<i>Lann dilull</i>	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
<i>Lann tylull</i>	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

This church is listed as one of the properties claimed by Llandaf in bulls 12 and 25 (these two versions of the list are virtual identical). The context of the relevant part of the list is of places within a few kilometres of Llandaf to its north and west. Immediately following *Lann Tilull* in these lists is †**Penn Onn**, and this association is repeated in charter 216b (from which the remaining attestation comes). The charter grants the *VILLA* of †**Penn Onn** together with its church, *Lann Tilull* (called *Sant Tylull* in the rubric—see **Saint-y-nyll**). Bounds are supplied with the charter, but these are not easy to trace. This place has been identified with **Saint-y-nyll** by Evans (tentatively) and Davies,²⁶ which is reasonable as far as the place-name's appearance and known location is concerned. The bounds of the charter feature a stream called *Dubleis*, which can be identified with the **Dowlais** if the identification of *Lann Tilull* with **Saint-y-nyll** is accepted.

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

The LL forms of this place-name look as though they are based on a personal name formed with the hypocoristic prefix *ty-*.

†**Lann Timoi**: [SO597283] (mod. *Foy*)

Attestations

<i>lann timoi</i>	LLch.230b	p. 231	'c. 866'
<i>Lann tiuoi</i>	LL	p. 275	c. 1120s
<i>lann tiuoi</i>	LL	p. 275	c. 1120s

Location

The earliest attestation is from the clerical part of the witness list of charter

²⁶ LL, p. 409; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 119.

230b, which grants †**Villa Branuc**. The origins of several of the clerics witnessing the charter are specified—a certain *Mailserw* is linked with *Lann Timoi*—and all are associated with places in **Ergyng**. The remaining two attestations are from a list of the churches in **Ergyng**, and the following expansion of that list which adds evidence of Bishop Herewald's authority in each church. One of the attestations from this list refers to the ordination of the priest of *Lann Tiuoi* under the title of ('sub titulo') †**Lann Suluc** (i.e. Sellack), which suggests a close relationship between the two churches. The identification with Foy (grid reference above) followed here was made by Evans and Richards.²⁷ The identification can be regarded as sound on the strength of the similarity of the appearance of the name, and the location of Foy in **Ergyng**, about three kilometres west of Sellack (†**Lann Suluc**).

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

The second element looks very much like a hypocoristic form of a personal name **Moi* (formed with the prefix *Ty-*). The whole name could have been contracted to [voi] (with lenition of [m] to [v], whence the modern form *Foy* might have arisen under the influence of Norman French *foy* 'faith').

†**Lann Tipallai**: [?nr Llanfocha]

Attestations

<i>Ecclesiam Tipallai</i>	LLch.171b	p. 172	after 'c. 860'
<i>lanntipallai</i>	LLch.171b	p. 173	<i>s. xi</i> ¹
<i>lann typallai</i>	LLrub.	p. 171	<i>c. 1120s</i>
<i>lann di pallai</i>	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
<i>Lann di pallai</i>	LLb.25	p. 44	1129

Location

The first three attestations are from charter 171b, which records the grant of *Lann Tipallai* along with several other churches in **Gwent** and **Ergyng**. The place-name is also attested in two versions of a list of properties confirmed to Llandaf by papal privilege. No geographical context is apparent from these two list entries. One piece of evidence is provided by the bounds of *Lann*

²⁷ LL, p. 409; WATU, p. 109, s.v. *Llandyfóí*.

Tipallai in the charter, in the use of †**Castell Meirch** as a boundary point. The same place-name is used of a point in the bounds of **Llanfocha**, and the consequently supposed proximity of *Lann Tipallai* to **Llanfocha** lies behind Evans's suggestion of '?Parsonage Farm, St. Maughan's' and Richards's location of the place in the parish of Llangatwg Feibion Afel (†**Lan Caddoc Auel**).²⁸ The bounds refer to the (2) †**Arganhell**, for which an identity in the vicinity of **Llanfocha** has been suggested on the basis, apparently, of the assumed location of *Lann Tipallai*. There is no independent evidence, however, for a stream in this immediate area bearing that name, and it should be pointed out that there is independent evidence for streams bearing the name elsewhere in **Ergyng** ((1) †**Arganhell**) and **Gwent** [SO489028], neither of which are close enough to **Llanfocha** to have a boundary point in common.

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

†**Lann Tisauuc**: [in **Ergyng**]

Attestations

Lann tisauuc	LL	p. 275	c. 1120s
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Location

This place is named in a list of **Ergyng** churches. To my knowledge the only identification that has been suggested for this place is Coplestone-Crow's venture that this church might have been at Ganarew [SO529163], but there is no evidence for this.²⁹

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

†**Lann Tituil**: [?SO382130] (?mod. *Llwyn-deri*)

Attestations

lann tituil	LLch.240	p. 241	'c. 970'
lann tituill	LLch.240	p. 241	s. xi ¹

Location

This church is one of eight whose grants are recorded in charter 240. All the places mentioned in this charter seem to be in **Gwent**. Bounds are given for

²⁸ LL, p. 409; WATU, p. 109, s.v. *Llandyballai*.

Lann Tituil which follow the **Troddi**, so it can be stated with confidence that the church was somewhere on this stream. Evans offered the identification with *Llwyn-deri* (grid reference above), which was followed by Davies.²⁹ Evans's identification seems to be based on his identification of *Nant Meneich* with *Mynachdy Brook* (see †**Manach Rivulus**), which is possible, but cannot be regarded as secure, but if it is correct, then the identification of *Lann Tituil* with *Llwyn-deri* is also likely to be correct. If *Nant Meneich* can be identified with †**Nant i Meneich**, however, then *Lann Tituil* could be St Dial's Farm [SO499114].

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

Lann Tituill: see †**Lann Tituil**.

†**Lann Tiuauc:** [?SS876993] (?mod. *Glyncorwg*)

Attestations

lann tiuauc	LLch.255	p. 257	'c. 1035'
lanntiuauc	LLch.255	p. 257	'c. 1035'
Lanntiuauc	LLrub.	p. 255	c. 1120s

Location

The grant of this church is one of three recorded in charter 255. The place-name is recorded in the rubric, Narration, and bounds of the charter. The rubric describes *Lann Tiuauc* as being in **Penychen**, and the bounds describe a simple wedge of territory between the †**Corricou**. No place with a name like **Llandyfog* exists today to my knowledge, and the description 'in **Penychen**' is too vague to be useful, so the identification of the †**Corricou** is the best guide. A church can be seen (at the grid reference above) in the piece of land between the two streams identified as the †**Corricou**, but this might not be the site of the building granted in the charter. The major problem with this identification, however, is that the territory described is not within the cantref of **Penychen** (it is, according to Richards, in the cantref of **Afan**), but it would have been on the border with **Penychen**, and perhaps we should allow for

²⁹ *Herefordshire Place-Names*, p. 90, s.v. *Ganarew*.

³⁰ LL. p. 379; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 125.

some fluidity in the limits of major territorial units in highland areas.³¹ See also

†**Villa Sancti Tauauc.**

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

†**Lann Tiuinauc:** [SO549176] (mod. *Whitchurch*)

Attestations

Lann tiuinauc	LL	p. 275	c. 1120s
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Location

This place is named in a list of churches in **Ergyng**. Evans, Richards, and Coplestone-Crow all identify *Lann Tiuinauc* with Whitchurch (grid reference above).³² Coplestone-Crow adduces as evidence for the identification, the early forms *Landeuenok* (1334) and *Landonenok* (1436).³³ It is possible that there is an etymological connexion between the lost Welsh and the modern English names for the place, insofar as the personal name element *Tiuinauc* contains the element GWYN, which is equivalent to the qualifying element of *Whitchurch*, but this might just be a coincidence.³⁴

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

Lann Tiuoi: see †**Lann Timoi.**

†**Lann Toulidauc:** [?SN417204] (in **Caerfyrddin**)

Attestations

Lann Toulidauc icair	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
Lanntoulidauc icair	LL	p. 254	before 'c. 1025'
lann toulidauc ig cair mirdin	LLb.36i	p. 62	1130
lanteuledauc in ggair uyrddin	LLb.36ii	p. 287	1130

Location

This church is named in the two lists of Llandaf's extra-diocesan properties, in the latter of which it comes under the heading of **Cantref Gwarthaf**. The other two attestations are from copies of Pope Innocent II's letter regarding

³¹ WATU, pp. 5 (s.v. *Afan*), 274, and 303.

³² LL, p. 409; WATU, p. 111, s.v. *Llandywynnog*; *Herefordshire Place-Names*, pp. 205-06.

³³ *Herefordshire Place-Names*, pp. 205-06.

³⁴ As Coplestone-Crow supposes: *ibid.*.

properties in dispute between Bishops Urban and Bernard. LL contains three copies of this papal letter, of which LLb.36iii is the original copy, and LLb.36i and LLb.36ii are later copies.³⁵ LLb.36i has omitted several of the properties listed, including the one discussed here (through homoeoteleuton).³⁶ The last two clearly locate *Lann Toulidauc* in Carmarthen (Caerfyrddin), and it seems a reasonable assumption that this is also what is meant by the 'icair' of the first two. Richards identified the church specifically as St Peter's, Carmarthen [SN415202],³⁷ but there is evidence to suggest that the Augustinian priory of St John (grid reference above) was built on the site of *Lann Toulidauc* (the priory is called in its cartulary the 'Priory of S. John the Evangelist and St Theulacus').³⁸

Elements

LLAN + personal name

Lann Tydiuc: see †Lann Tidiuc.

Lann Tylull: see †Lann Tilull.

Lann Typallai: see †Lann Tipallai.

Lann Tyssoi: see Llan-soe.

Lann Uannar: see Llanfaenor.

Lann Uedeui: see †Lann Bedeui.

†Lann Uuien: [SO456054] (?mod. *Llangofen*; also †Ecclesia Mamouric)

Attestations

lannuuien	LLch.206	p. 206	'c. 755'
Villam sancti Nuluien cum ecclesia	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
Lann Vuien	LLrub.	p. 206	c. 1120s
uillam sancti nuuien cum ecclesia	LLb.12	p. 31	1128
uillam sancti nuuien cum ecclesia	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

This name poses a number of problems. It is not certain that the *uuien* forms

³⁵ Huws, 'The Making of *Liber Landavensis*', 148.

³⁶ Ibid..

³⁷ WATU, p. 107, s.v. *Llandeulyddog*.

³⁸ Baring-Gould, *Lives*, IV, 252.

and the *nuuien* forms are referring to the same place. The object of charter 206 is identified with ‘?LL[AN] GOVEN, *Mon.*’ by Evans, and with ‘Llangofen, SO 457055’ by Davies.³⁹ There are, in fact, two places bearing this name in the same area: one (marked as *Llangovan* by the Ordnance Survey) at the location given by Davies, and the other (*Llangoven*) at SO440073. The former of these is more likely, though, as it has a church, which the latter lacks. I do not know on what grounds this identification has been made—there is no firm evidence from within the Book of Llandaf. The context of the attestations does not contradict the above identification: charter 206 is a grant to Bishop Cadwared, whose grants seem only to be from **Gwent**,⁴⁰ and the attestations from the bulls are in a list with churches between the lower reaches of the **Wysg** and **Gwy**. Against the **Gwent** identification, however, are two possible pieces of evidence. In the boundary clause of charter 206 a stream called *Cehir* ((2) †**Cehir**) and a place called †**Messur Pritguenn** are mentioned. The same stream name ((1) †**Cehir**) occurs also in charter 77 (in the bounds of **Llanddowror**), which, if these two *Cehirs* are the same, would force a much more westerly identification. The significance of †**Messur Pritguenn** is in the fact that it might refer to a coastal location, which would rule out either of the places called *Llangofen*.⁴¹ See also †**Lan Chouian**.

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

[*ECCLESIA* +] *SANCTUS* (gen.) + ?personal name

If the Latin and the Welsh forms do refer to the same place, then misdivision must have occurred at some point. Either the second element really begins with a vowel and the *n* of the Latin forms has been added from the end of LLAN, or the element really begins with *n*, but this was lost in the Welsh forms due to the opposite mis-analysis. If the identification with one of the *Llangofen* names is correct, then the second element might normally have initial *g*, lenition of which could yield the Book of Llandaf forms. An alternative form of *Llangofen*—*Llanygofain*—suggests the etymology LLAN + YR + GOF (pl.), but this is not supported by any of the LL forms.

³⁹ LL, p. 375; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 117.

⁴⁰ *Early Welsh Microcosm*, p. 152.

Lann Vedeui: see †Lann Bedeui.

Lan Rath: see †Lann Rath.

Lan Ririd, Ryryd: see Llantridddy.

Lan Teilo Maur, Mawr, Vawr: see Llandeilo Fawr.

Lan Teliau Bechan: see †Lann Teliau Bechan.

Lan Teliau Kil Redin: see †Lann Teliau Cil Retin.

Lan Teliau Mainaur Brunuis: see †Lann Teliau Mainaur Brunus.

Lan Teliau Maur: see Llandeilo Fawr.

Lan Teliau Penn Llitgart: see †Lann Teliau Penn Litgarth.

Lan Teliau Penn Tiwin: see †Lann Teliau Penn Tiuinn.

†Lan Teliau Pimp Seint: [?SN6540 or SN415294]

Attestations

lantelieu pimpseint	LLb.36i	p. 56	1130
lann teliau pimseint	LLb.36ii	p. 62	1130
lantelieu pimpseint	LLb.36iii	p. 287	1130

Location

The attestations are from three copies of a letter sent by Pope Innocent II regarding several properties in dispute between Bishops Urban and Bernard. Two identifications have been proposed: Pumsaint [SN6540] by Evans, and Llanpumsaint [SN4129] by Richards.⁴² There is very little to choose between these identifications—neither place has any modern connexion with St Teilo, to my knowledge—but the fact that †Cair Caiu (either Cao—SN676399, or somewhere nearby) immediately follows *Lan Teliau Pimp Seint* perhaps favours Evans's suggestion.

Elements

LLAN + personal name + PUMP + SANT (pl.)

The name appears to contain the numeral *pump* 'five'. For similar dedications to multiple (numbered) saints see †Lann i Doudec Seith, †Lann i Doudec

⁴¹ Bromwich and Evans, *Culhwch and Olwen*, p. 156.

⁴² LL, p. 409; WATU, pp. 107, s.v. *Llandeilo Tref Gernyw*.

Sent, Llantrisant, and Llantrisant.

Lan Teiliau Tal y Pont, Teliav Tal y Pont, Teliav Tal y Pont: see **Llandeilo Tal-y-bont.**

Y/

Lan Telyo Cresseny: see **Llandeilo Gresynni.**

Lan Telyo Porthaloc: see **Llandeilo Bertholau.**

Lan Teuledauc: see †**Lann Toulidauc.**

Lanthon, Lanthony: see (2) **Llanthony.**

†**Lan Tiuei:** [?SS922755] (?mod. *Llanffa*, Eng. *Lampha*)

Attestations

terram lan tiuei LLch.212 p. 212 'c. 862'

Location

This church is referred to in the Narration on charter 212, which recounts 'the rebellion of *Gallun* ap Cydrych against king Hywel, his appropriation of *terra Lan Tiuei*, and his subsequent murder by Hywel, and Hywel's adultery and penance'.⁴³ No information is given about the location of *Lan Tiuei*, and, though it might be supposed that the church was in the vicinity of the lands granted (†**Merthir Buceil**, **Merthyr Mawr**, and †**Tir Collou**), this is not necessarily so. Only Evans has offered an identification for this place: '*Lamphey*, Glam.', by which I assume that he meant *Lampha* (Welsh *Llanffa*) at the grid reference above. This identification is certainly plausible as regards form, and *Lampha* is close to the area of the lands granted in the charter.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

Lamphey in Pembrokeshire [SN0100] is identical formally to the *Lampha* with which *Lan Tiuei* has been identified. The place is also known as *Lampha*, and its Welsh name is *Llandyfai* (attested in the twelfth century as *Lantefei*).⁴⁴ Charles compares the Pembrokeshire place-name with the LL one, with *Llandyfeisant* [SN6222], and with †**Lann Timoi**.

Lan Toene, Tony: see (1) **Llanthony.**

⁴³ Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 119.

⁴⁴ PNPemb., II, 694–95.

Lan Trissan: see **Llantrisant, Llantrisant.**

†**Lan Ueyr:** [ST446924] (mod. *Llanfair Isgoed*, Eng. *Llanvair-Discoed*)

Attestations

ecclesia de Lanueyr LL p. 322 c. 1350

Location

Evans made the identification followed here,⁴⁵ which is plausible given the context of the attestation—a list of churches in the deanery of †**Nether Went**. I can find no other *Llanfair* place-name in the area of this deanery, and *Lan Ueyr* is listed between **Dinham** and †**Neweton** (probably **Shirenewton**)—two places within four kilometres of *Llanvair-Discoed*.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

Lan Ueyr Culcudyn: see **Llanfair Cilgedin.**

†**Lan Vihangell Kennan:** [SO462013] (mod. *Llanfihangel Torymynydd*, Eng.

Llanvihangel Court; ?also (1) †**Lamyhangel**)

Attestations

ecclesia de lanvihangell kennan LL p. 282 s. xv²

Location

See **Llanfihangel Torymynydd.**

Elements

LLAN + personal name + ?personal name

The interpretation of the final element *kennan* as the personal name *Cynan* is implied by Richards's modernised form of the name, *Llanfihangel Cynan*.⁴⁶

†**Lan Waryn:** [?ST367883] (?mod. *Llan-wern*)

Attestations

ecclesia de Lanwaryn LL p. 322 c. 1350

Location

This church is named in a list of properties in the deanery of †**Nether Went**. Evans made the identification with *Llanwern* at the grid reference above, which is possible—*Lan Waryn* could be a spelling of *Llan-wern*, and *Llan-*

⁴⁵ LL, p. 409.

⁴⁶ WATU, p. 120.

wern is in †Nether Went.

Elements

LLAN + ?GWERN

Lan Waynarth: see Llanwenarth.

Lan Worfrit: see †Lann Gurfrit.

Lan Wytheryn: see Llanwytherin.

Lan Yltwyt: see Llanilltud (Fawr).

Lan Yssan: see †Lann Issan, (1) Llanisien.

Lata Petra Monachorum: see †Lech Meneich.

Lateranensi: see Lateranus.

Lateranum: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

lateranensi palatio	LL	p. 25	1128
Laterani	LLb.13	p. 35	1128
Laterani	LLb.14	p. 36	1128
Laterani	LLb.15	p. 37	1128
Laterani	LLb.16	p. 38	1128
Laterani	LLb.17	p. 38	1128
LATERANI	LLb.18	p. 39	1128
LATERANI	LLb.19	p. 39	1128
Laterani	LLb.21	p. 41	1129
Laterani	LLb.25	p. 45	1129
Laterani	LLb.22	p. 46	1129
Laterani	LLb.23	p. 47	1129
Laterani	LLb.24	p. 48	1129
Laterani	LLb.26	p. 54	1129
Laterani	LLb.27	p. 30	1129?
Laterani	LLb.28	p. 30	1129?
Laterani	LLb.28	p. 53	1129?

Location

All the attestations are references to the Lateran Palace in Rome. The first

(adjectival) is from a description of Rome and its churches, and the remaining attestations are all from the *Datum* of papal documents.

Lath: see †Villa Lath.

La Thawe: see †Nant Auan.

Latron: see †Nant Bach Latron, †Luhin Latron.

Laur: see †Tref Laur.

Lebinid: see Llebenydd.

Lech: see †Pull i Lech.

†Lecha: [SO416150]

Attestations

lecha	LLch.240	p. 241	s. xi ¹
lecha	LLch.240	p. 241	s. xi ¹
lecha	LLch.240	p. 241	s. xi ¹

Location

The attestations are taken from the bounds of Llan-llwydd. *Lecha* can be identified as a stream name with some confidence—it is described as a linear feature, into which a NANT falls (*discinn*). The bounds describe a block of territory between the *Lecha* and Llymon streams. The *Lecha* is described as being on the western side (*ex una parte occidentali*), so, if it can be assumed that the territory described by the bounds includes Llan-llwydd itself, we can say that the stream is to the west of that place. Running parallel to the Llymon is a stream (grid reference above) which suits perfectly the description in the bounds.

Elements

?LLECH + ?*-A

A connexion with LLECH seems likely, though the ending in *-a* is difficult to explain.⁴⁷ Padel suggests that the Cornish place-names *Leah* and *Leha* might represent a derivative of *legh* (the Cornish cognate of LLECH), **legha* ‘place of flat stones’.⁴⁸ The *-a* of this **legha* would be an obscure name-forming suffix,

⁴⁷ Thomas has some examples of river names based on LLECH: EANC, p. 15, s.v. *Llechach*.

⁴⁸ CPNE, p. 146, s.v. **legh*.

attested in a few Cornish place-names, but not thought to exist in Breton and Welsh.⁴⁹ Charles saw a suffix *-a* (which he thought might derive from the relatively common *-AN* river-name suffix) in the Pembrokeshire river name *Cneifa*.⁵⁰ Note also the place-name *Plâs Llecha* [ST378935], a dwelling place on a small tributary stream of the Usk (Wysg).

†Lech Bichlit: [SO139212]

Attestations

lech bichlit	LLb.25	p. 42	s. xi ¹
lech bychlyt	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s

Location

This stone is mentioned as a point in both versions of the bounds of the diocese. It occurs between †Alt Luit and a ridge (CEGIN) associated with a mill-stream ('pinnmarch'), but the identifications of both these points depends in large part on the location of *Lech Bichlit*. The general location of the stone is on or near a hill (ALLT) on the north bank of the Usk (Wysg), not far from the outflow of the *Crawnnon*. Evans identified *Lech Bichlit* as "a stone" on *Mynydd Buckland*.⁵¹ Buckland Hill is indeed the most likely location for the stone, and the name of the stone seems to be remembered in the place-name *Blaenbychlyd* [SO143215] on the north-eastern slope of the hill. It does not seem unreasonable to suppose that the name *Buckland* is a corruption of Welsh *Bychlyd*, in which case *Lech Bichlit* would apply to a prominent stone somewhere on the hill. The grid reference above is for the summit of Buckland Hill.

Elements

LLECH + ?*BYCHLYD

I would suggest that **bychlyd* is an unattested adjective 'abounding in bucks', from *bych-* (the composition form of BWCH) and *-lyd* (a suffix added to word stems to convey a sense of tendency toward, or abundance in). Cf. the Roman fort name *Brocolitia*, which Williams interpreted as 'infested with badgers' (formed from the ancestors of Welsh *broch* 'badger' and *-lyd* 'full of'), but

⁴⁹ CPNE, p. 3, s.v. **-a*.

⁵⁰ PNPemb., I, 8.

⁵¹ LL, p. 368.

which Rivet and Smith prefer to interpret as 'heathery'.⁵²

Lech Bychlyt: see †Lech Bichlit.

†Lech Eneuris: [?nr †Merthir Clitauc]

Attestations

lech eneuris LLch.197a p. 197 s. x

Location

This stone is mentioned in a brief note of a grant (with bounds) at the end of the documents which comprise the Life of Clydog. It is not entirely clear whether one or two properties are granted, and, consequently, whether the note gives one or two sets of bounds—the problem is discussed under (2) †Lech Luit. The only identifiable point in the bounds attached to the note is the Monnow (Mynwy), and it seems reasonable to assume (given the documentary context) that the area described is near Clodock (†Merthir Clitauc).

Elements

LLECH + ?personal name

†Lech Forch: [nr the †Gefiat]

Attestations

lech forch LLch.171b p. 173 s. xi²

Location

This stone is attested as a point in the bounds of Llangunville. It occurs below the end of a hill ('[...] bet tal irbrinn diguairt di lech forch') near the mouth (ABER) of the †Gefiat. Several streams are possible candidates for the †Gefiat, and Rollason was unable to discover any obvious stone feature in the area.⁵³

Elements

LLECH + FFORCH

The second element appears to be *fforch* 'fork, cleft', as supposed by GPC.⁵⁴

⁵² PNRom. Brit., pp. 283–84, s.v. *Brocavum* and *Brocolitia*.

⁵³ 'The Boundaries', p. 48.

⁵⁴ GPC, I, 1303.

Location

The attestation is from the bounds of †**Merthir Teudiric**. The bounds are difficult to follow closely due to a lack of identifiable features, and the opening section ('sursum yrpull. yrlech lybiau. orpull yrlech bet blain'), from which the attestation is taken, is particularly difficult to interpret. It is not clear whether or not the two nouns *pull* in the section refer to the same feature, and whether one or both refer to †**Pull Mouric**. Similarly, the two nouns *lech* might refer to the same or different features. One explanation may be that the bounds originally read 'sursum yrpull. orpull yrlech bet blain' at this point, and that 'yrlech lybiau.' is an incorporated gloss. In any case, it is fairly clear that the whole territory described lies entirely between Mounton Brook (†**Pull Mouric**) and the Wye (**Gwy**) as the bounds start and finish on these rivers but are never said to cross them. The bounds open at the mouth of Mounton Brook (†**Pull Mouric**), so the section from which the attestation comes should be not far from that point, on the Wye (**Gwy**) side.

Elements

LLECH + personal name

†**Lech Melen, Ir:** [?nr SO457055]

Attestations

[i]r lech melen LLch.206 p. 207 s. xi²

Location

This stone is named as a point in the bounds of †**Ecclesia Mamouric** (also known as †**Lann Uuien**), the identity of which is uncertain, though it has been identified with Llangovan in **Gwent** (grid reference above). The stone is south of †**Nant Cein**, on a ridge (CEGIN). Further along, on the same ridge is a stone house (*mainti*).

Elements

LLECH + MELYN (fem.)

†**Lech Meneich:** [?SN256148]

Attestations

Lech meneich LLch.127b p. 128 before 'c. 1025'
lata *petra monachorum* LLgloss p. 128 1476x78

Location

This stone is mentioned in an account of the seven lads put to monastic life at **Llanddowror** by St Teilo. The lads are said to have lived off fish found every day on the stone, which is located in the **Taf**. A 'Standing Stone' is marked by the Ordnance Survey at the grid reference above, which is about two hundred metres south of the current course of the **Taf**, but 'Standing Stone' does not imply the kind of broad, flattish stone suggested by the element **LLECH**.

Elements

LLECH + [YR +] **MYNACH** (pl.)

LATUS (fem.) + **PETRA** + **MONACHUS** (gen. pl.)

The gloss confirms the interpretation of the stone's name as 'the monks' stone'. One would expect to see the article between the elements **LLECH** and *meneich*. It is notable that the glossator, David Llywelyn, felt that **LLECH** should be translated into Latin as *lata petra* 'broad stone', rather than simply *petra*.

†**Lechou**: [?nr ST3790]Attestations

blain nant lechou	LLch.225	p. 226	s. xi ¹
lechou	LLch.225	p. 226	s. xi ¹

Location

This stream helps define the bounds of †**Merthir Iun et Aaron**. Its source (**BLAEN**) seems to be in a **PANT** above the source (**BLAEN**) of †**Nant Merthir**. The *Lechou* is followed downwards to the mouth (**GENAU**) of another **PANT**. The general area is south of the **Usk (Wysg)** between †**Nant Merthir** and a hill which should probably be identified as **Chepstow Hill [ST3590]**. I am unable to relate the description in the bounds to the topography of the area (even allowing for different identifications of †**Nant Merthir**) so perhaps some error has occurred in the redaction of the bounds. The grid reference above is for the general area in which the stream should be.

Elements

[**NANT** +] ?**LLECH** (pl.)

†**Lech Oudoucui:** [?SO5203]Attestations

lech oudoucui LLch.156 p. 156 'c. 698'–c. 1010

Location

This stone is named as a point in the bounds of **Llandogo**. It is followed immediately by †**Ciuilchi**, a round fort which I have not yet identified, but which should be south of **Llandogo** and near the bank of the **Wye (Gwy)**. From the stone the bounds proceed to the crest (*crib*) of a slope (**ALLT**), which is likely to refer to the top of the well-defined slope between SO521037 and SO525030. This would suggest that the stone is, or was, somewhere on that slope, looking over the **Wye (Gwy)**.

Elements

LLECH + personal name

†**Lechou Lition:** [?nr †**Merthir Clitauc**]Attestations

lechou lition LLch.197a p. 197 s. x

Location

See the discussion under (2) †**Lech Luit**.

Elements

LLECH (pl.) + LLWYD (pl.)

Legionum: see **Caerllion**.

Le Mans: see **Mans**.

Le Menede: see †**Menede**.

Lembi: see †**Vallis Lembi**.

Lenaston: see †**Hen Lenhic**.

Le Newelond: see **Newland**.

†**Lennic:** [?nr †**Merthir Clitauc**]Attestations

Lennic LLch.197a p. 197 s. x

Location

See the discussion under (2) †**Lech Luit**.

Elements

LLENNIG

Leoniana: see **Civitas Leoniana.****Leprosorum:** see †**Vallis Leprosorum.**†**Lesia:** [NGR N/A] (mod. *Guernsey*)Attestations

lesiam LL p. 23 c. 1130

Location

The single attestation is from the Life of St Samson. Evans identified the place with Lisieux,⁵⁵ but essentially the same reference occurs in other, fuller versions of the Life (the composition of which is dated by Flobert to c. 750), where it is clear that *Lesia* is a marine island, almost certainly Guernsey (which was known as *Lisia* in the Classical/Dark-Age period).⁵⁶ See also †**Angia.**

†**Letuer Cell:** [?SN621222]Attestations

letuer cell artyui LLch.77 p. 78 c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

The attestation is the closing point in the bounds of **Llandeilo Fawr**. The place comes next in the bounds after **Gwaith Dinefwr** and is described as being on the Tywi. Given the uncertainty over what kind of feature the place-name represents (if it is a place-name), it is difficult to provide a more precise location than to say on the Tywi, near **Gwaith Dinefwr**, but, if the *cell* of the name does indicate a religious building, then perhaps there is some connexion with the church marked by the Ordnance Survey at the grid reference above.

Elements

?LLYDW + ?YR + ?CELL

The initial *letu* might be *llydw* ‘community’. The suggested etymology is very tentative. GPC interprets *cell* here as the noun ‘cell, bower’.⁵⁷ The *e* spelling of

⁵⁵ LL, p. 410.⁵⁶ Coates, *Ancient and Modern Names of the Channel Islands*, pp. 14–17; Flobert, *La Vie ancienne*, p. 232.⁵⁷ GPC, I, 459.

[ə] in *llydw* and the article would be very unusual in terms of LL orthography, but these bounds are among the latest of the Old Welsh documents in the Book, so such a spelling (normally associated with the earlier phases of Middle Welsh)⁵⁸ is not too improbable. If this interpretation is correct then the attestation is more a descriptive phrase than a place-name.

Leuguirn, Leuirn: see †**Villa Crucou Leuirn**.

Leuyrn: see †**Finnaun Cruc Leuyrn**.

Lexoviensis: see **Lisieux**.

†**Licat Laguernnuc:** [?nr SO457055]

Attestations

guer licat laguernnuc LLch.206 p. 207 s. xi²

Location

The brook (GOFER) flowing from this spring is named as a point in the bounds of †**Ecclesia Mamouric** (also known as †**Lann Uuien**), the identity of which is uncertain, though it has been identified with Llangovan in **Gwent** (grid reference above). The brook of the spring seems to be encountered in the bounds below the spring itself, because the bounds follow the brook upwards. The brook occurs in the area between the (2) †**Cehir** and †**Messur Pritguenn**.

Elements

LLYGAD + ?*LLYWERNOG

⁵⁸ GMW, p. 1.

One would normally expect the qualifying element of a LLYGAD name to be the name of the stream which flows from that spring, but in this case the issue of the spring is described only by the common noun GOFER. This suggests that *laguernnuc* might not be a stream name, but should be taken instead as an adjective applying only to the spring. The word appears to be an adjective derived from **llywern* (the singular of LLEWYRN) and the suffix -OG, meaning 'foxy', or, in place-names, perhaps 'abounding in foxes'. The use of the graph *a* in the first syllable of the adjective is odd—perhaps it is an error for *o*. *Licat Laguernnuc* might refer, then, to a spring rising in a place where foxes lived (cf. †**Finnaun Cruc Leuyrn**). Padel and Pierce both discuss Brittonic examples of streams with vulpine associations.¹

†**Licat Tauern**: [?nr SN6022]

Attestations

licat tauern LLch.77 p. 78 c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

This spring is a point in the bounds of **Llandeilo Fawr**. It occurs in these bounds immediately between †**Cil ir Adar** and a spring, †**Pistill Deui**, neither of which has yet been securely identified, but the place's more general location is in the area between the **Myddyfi** (below the †**Isceuiauc**) and **Gwaith Dinefwr**.

Elements

LLYGAD + ?TAFARN

I am not at all sure of the interpretation of the second element. If it is *tafarn* 'inn', it is significant that the second vowel is [e] rather than [a], which would reflect the noun's origin in Latin *taberna*.²

Lichrit, Liclit: see †**Lann Mihacgel Lichrit**.

Licotuc: see †**Tref Licotuc**.

Lifan: see †**Pull Lifan**.

Lili: see †**Tref Ili**.

¹ CPNE, p. 154, s.v. *lowarn*; PNDinas P., pp. 41–42, s.v. *Lavernock*.

² Jackson discusses the development of Latin *-er-* (via Vulgar Latin *-ar-*) to Welsh *-ar-*: LHEB, pp. 280–81. A variant *tafern* is attested but it is apparently late and supposed to be the result of English

Liman, Liminan: see **Llymon**.

Lincoln: [SK9771]

Attestations

linconiensi LL p. 280 1107–34

Location

This place-name is attested in the list of bishops present at Urban's consecration in **Canterbury**. The identification with Lincoln is by Evans, and there is no reason to doubt it.³ This is an adjectival form of a latinisation of the English name (the Roman name for this place was *Lindum [colonia]*).⁴

Linconiensi: see **Lincoln**.

†**Lin i Gleiniou:** [in the Elái, ?nr ST0284]

Attestations

perued lin igleiniou LLch.271 p. 272 s. xi²

Location

This place is named as a point in the bounds of †**Villa Miluc**. It is described as being in the Ely (**Elái**), so it probably applies to a pool in that river. †**Villa Miluc** has been identified, though not certainly, with Garth Maelwg, but the bounds are difficult to follow, so the best that can be said is that *Lin i Gleiniou* is a part of the Ely (**Elái**), perhaps near Garth Maelwg.

Elements

LLYN + YR + GLAIN (pl.)

GPC cites this place-name as an example of the noun *glain* 'gem, amulet'.⁵

Linn Syuadon: see **Llyn Syfaddan**.

†**Lis Castell:** [in Dyfed]

Attestations

liscastell LLch.125b p. 125 ?

Location

Charter 125b opens with an account of King Aergol holding court at *Lis Castell*, the capital of the whole region of **Dyfed** ('caput totius demeticę

influence: GPC, IV, 3413, s.v. *tafarn*.

³ LL, p. 410.

⁴ PNRom. Brit., p. 393, s.v. *Lindum*¹.

regionis'). I do not know of any identification of this place, nor can I find any place of this name in existence today.

Elements

LLYS + CASTELL

†**Lis Guern**: [SO455014] (?mod. *Llangunnog*; ?also †**Hen Lenic Cinauc**, †**Lann Guern Cinuc**)

Attestations

Lisguern LLrub. p. 251 c. 1120s

Location

The attestation is from the rubric of charter 251. The charter grants †**Penn Celli Guenhuc**, which is described as being next to (*iuxta*) *Lis Guern*. Evans states that the place-name has been altered later into *Languern* ~~(see †**Lis**~~ ~~**Guern**)~~.⁶ We know that †**Penn Celli Guenhuc** was next to *Lannguern Tiuauc* (it is mentioned in its bounds) which is probably an error for †**Lann Guern Cinuc**, identified with *Llangunnog* (grid reference above). Furthermore charter 251 includes bounds for †**Hen Lenic Cinauc**, which has been identified as another name for *Llangunnog*.

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Elements

LLYS + GWERN

The alteration of *Lis* to *Lan* could indicate that *Lis* was an error, or it could be that *Lis Guern* was a genuine name for the place but that the LLAN form of the name was considered more modern or more relevant.

Lisieux: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

Luxoniensi episcopo LL p. 29 1126

Location

The attestation is from a list of those witnessing the agreement between Urban and Robert of Gloucester. The form is a Latin adjective, which Evans takes to be an error for *Lexoviensi* 'of Lisieux'.

Liss: see †**Finnaun Liss**.

⁶ GPC, II, 1399, s.v. *glain*¹.

¹ LL, p. 352.

Litan: see †Rit Litan.

Litgarth: see †Lann Teliau Litgarth, †Lann Teliau Penn Litgarth.

Lithano: see St Lythans.

Liuan: see Llymon.

Liuhesi, Liuhess: see †Podum Liuhesi.

Llan Allen: see †Nant Alun.

Llan-arth: [SO376109]

Attestations

podum suum langarth	LLch.123	p. 123	?
Lann garth	LLch.121	p. 121	'c. 600'
lanngarth	LLch.225	p. 225	'c. 864'
Lanngarth	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
LANN GARTH	LLrub.	p. 121	c. 1120s
fin mainaur LanN GARTH	LLrub.	p. 180	c. 1120s
Lanngarth	LLb.12	p. 31	1128
Lann garth	LLb.25	p. 43	1129
<i>Ecclesia de lanhart</i>	LL	p. 284	s. xiii ²

Location

Charter 121 concerns the grant of *Lann Garth* by Iddon, king of Gwent. Bounds are given in the charter, which, by their mention of †Cumulum Frut Mur, probably locate this *Lann Garth* near †Aper Menei. The rubric of charter 180, which grants †Aper Menei, locates that place next to †Frut Mur, which is described as the boundary (FFIN) of *Lann Garth*. The attestations from pages 121 and 180 can safely be read as references to the same place, and, given the Gwent location, the other evidence for the location of †Aper Menei, the probable identity of †Frut Mur, and the appearance of the name, identification with Llan-arth at the grid reference above seems secure. Two of the remaining attestations are from the Narrations of charters 123 and 225, which grant Llandeilo Gresynni and †Merthir Iun et Aaron, the former of which is less than five kilometres from Llan-arth, and the latter is about twenty

⁷LL, p. 411.

kilometres from there. The attestation from page 284 is from a list of churches in the deanery of **Abergefenni**, and the attestations from the three versions of the list of churches confirmed to Llandaf by the Pope (pages 31, 43, and 90), are in a clear context of places in **Gwent Uwch Coed**, all of which suits the identification with **Llan-arth**.

Elements

LLAN + GARTH

Llanarthne: [SN534202] (Eng. *Llanarthney*)

Attestations

ecclesia lan hardneu LL p. 279 c. 1120s

Location

This place-name is attested in a list of churches between the **Tawe** and **Tywi** which Bishop Herewald is said to have administered. Evans made the identification, followed here, which seems likely on grounds of form and location (it is on the south bank of the **Tywi**).

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

Llanarthney: see **Llanarthne**.

Llanbadoc: see **Llanbadog**.

Llanbadog (Fawr): [SO376000] (Eng. *Llanbadoc*)

Attestations

[ecclesia de] Lampaddoc LL p. 321 c. 1350

Location

This is one of the churches of **Usk** ('ecclesijs. de Vsk') listed among the churches owing tithes in the deanery of **Usk**. Evans identified this church as '*Llam Badock, Mon.*'¹ Only one place of this name is listed by Davies's *Gazetteer* (grid reference above), and, as that place is within a kilometre of **Usk**, it is very likely the correct identification.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

¹ LL, p. 407.

Llanbeder: see **Llan-bedr**.

Llan-bedr: [ST387909] (Eng. *Llanbeder*; ?also †**Villa Henriu**)

Attestations

Lannpetyr LLch.261 p. 261 'c. 1045'

Location

This place is granted in charter 261. It is described as being in †**Hennriu**, and bounds are given, the most securely identifiable point of which is †**Allt Coit Guent**. All the commentators agree on the identification with the **Llan-bedr** at the grid reference above.⁹ The identifications of each of †**Hennriu**, †**Allt Coit Guent**, and *Lann Petyr* could not be regarded as secure if examined without regard for the other two, but the combination of all three is compelling.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

Llanbedr-ar-fynydd: see (1) †**Lann Petyr**, †**Petreston**.

Llanbedr-y-fro: see (1) †**Lann Petyr**, †**Petreston**.

Llanbedr Ystrad Yw: [SO239204]

Attestations

lannpetyr LL p. 279 c. 1120s

Location

The attestation is from a list of churches over which Bishop Herewald had jurisdiction in the area of **Ystrad Yw**. The identification with **Llanbedr Ystrad Yw** (grid reference above) is that of Evans, and seems reasonable, given the location in **Ystrad Yw** and the dedication to St Peter. There are four churches in the relevant list, of which only the first has been identified with a place actually in the commote of **Ystrad Yw**, the rest (including this one) being in the neighbouring commote of **Crucywel** (as defined by Richards).¹⁰

Elements

LLAN + personal name [+ **Ystrad Yw**]

Llanblethian: see **Llanfleiddan**.

⁹ LL, p. 383; WATU, p. 104, s.v. *Llanbedr-yn-Henrhiw*; Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 128.

¹⁰ WATU, p. 323.

Llancarfan: [ST051702] (also †Ecclesia Sancti Catoci)Attestations

podum carbani uallis	LL	p. 152	?
abbas carbani uallis	LL	p. 154	?
abbate carbani uallis	LLch.147	p. 147	'c. 665'
abbas carbani uallis	LLch.147	p. 148	'c. 665'
abbas carbani uallis	LLch.151b	p. 151	'c. 675'
abbas carbani uallis	LLch.155	p. 155	'c. 675'
abbas carbani uallis	LLch.149	p. 149	'c. 680'
abbas carbani uallis	LLch.151a	p. 151	'c. 680'
abbate carbani uallis	LLch.157	p. 157	'c. 685'
abbas carbani uallis	LLch.159b	p. 160	'c. 685'
abbas carbani uallis	LLch.148	p. 149	'c. 688'
abbas nant carban	LLch.145	p. 145	'c. 695'
abbas carbani uallis	LLch.156	p. 156	'c. 698'
abbate carbani uallis	LLch.176b	p. 177	'c. 700'?
abbas carbani uallis	LLch.176a	p. 176	'c. 705'
abbas carbani uallis	LLch.190b	p. 191	'c. 705'
abbas caruani uallis	LLch.205	p. 206	'c. 708'
abbate caruani uallis	LLch.204b	p. 205	'?c. 715'
abbas carbani uallis	LLch.158	p. 158	'c. 722'
abbas carbani uallis	LLch.179c	p. 179	'c. 722'
abbate carbani uallis	LLch.175	p. 175	'c. 733'
abbas caruani uallis	LLch.186b	p. 187	'c. 733'
abbas caruani uallis	LLch.195	p. 196	'c. 740'
Lann Caruanię	LLch.243	p. 243	'c. 980'
lanncaruan	LLch.274	p. 274	'c. 1075'
ecclesia de Lancaruan	LL	p. 319	c. 1350
Lan karuan	LL	p. 324	c. 1350
E(cc'ia de La)ncaruan	LL	p. 330	c. 1350
lanncaruan	LLgloss	p. 243	s. xv ^{med}
Lancaruan	LLgloss	p. 243	s. xv
llann karvan	LLgloss	p. 147	1476x78

llanz karvan	LLgloss	p. 148	1476x78
Lancarvan	LLgloss	p. 196	1476x78

Location

The equation of *Carbani Uallis* and *Nant Carban* is demonstrated (if there were any doubt) by the fact that Abbot Sulien's monastery is described by both forms. The change from NANT to LLAN forms of the name is well documented in sources other than the Book of Llandaf,¹¹ but also by the glosses on pages 147, 148, and 196. The place-name, as it occurs here, is not used of the valley, but of the monastery in the valley; this can be determined from the fact that all the NANT and VALLIS forms are qualified by *PODUM* or *abbas* (i.e. *abbas podi*), and also from the very fact that the element NANT is later replaced by LLAN. The general vicinity of the place is proved by the fact that the name is listed together with churches in the deanery of Llandaf in the financial documents on pages 319, 324, and 330, but there is no reason to doubt that that these attestations all refer to the place now called *Llancarfan*.

Elements

[*PODUM*] + NANT [> LLAN] + ?personal name

[*PODUM*] + ?personal name (gen.) + *VALLIS*

This place-name is discussed by Thomas.¹² The earliest forms are Latin calques on *Nant Carfan* (which is itself attested in charter 145), with NANT in the sense of 'valley'. The replacement of NANT with LLAN is not attested before the late tenth century (charter 243). Thomas was uncertain whether the element *carfan* was a personal name or an example of the common noun (which has a range of meanings, all with the general sense of a side of something or something stacked up). There is a stream by the same name in the vicinity of *Llandeilo Gresynni*, and another which gave its name to *Cwmcarfan*.

Llancillo: [SO367255]

Attestations

podum LannSuluiu	LLch.160	p. 160	'c. 620'
<i>Ecclesiam sancti Sulbiu</i>	LLb.2	p. 90	1119

¹¹ EANC, pp. 47–50.

¹² *Ibid.*.

Lann Sulbiv	LLrub.	p. 160	c. 1120s
<i>ęcclesiam sancti sulbiu</i>	LLb.12	p. 31	1128
<i>ęcclesiam sancti Sulbiu</i>	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

This church is granted in charter 160, and bounds are given which refer to two independently identifiable rivers: the Monnow (**Mynwy**) and the **Greidol**. The remaining attestations are from three versions of a list of properties confirmed to Llandaf by the Pope. In each of the versions of the list *Ecclesia Sancti Sulbiu* comes between **Clodock** and the unidentified †**Penn i Uei** at the end of a section listing places in **Gwent Uwch Coed**. On grounds of form, together with the locational evidence highlighted above, Evans's identification (grid reference above) can be regarded as sound.¹³

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

Llancloudy: [SO496210]

Attestations

podum Loudeu	LLch.163b	p. 163	'c. 620'
Lann Loudeu	LLch.192	p. 192	'c. 745'?
Lann Loudeu	LLrub.	p. 163	c. 1120s
Lann loudeu	LL	p. 275	c. 1120s

Location

This church is granted in charter 163b, re-granted in charter 192, and the final attestation is from a list of **Ergyng** churches. The **Ergyng** context is confirmed by the two charters: 163b specifically states that the church is in **Ergyng**, and the places granted in 192 all seem to be in **Ewias** and **Ergyng**. The identification with Llancloudy (grid reference above) is probable on grounds of appearance and the location in **Ergyng**.¹⁴

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

¹³ LL, p. 409. This identification is followed by Davies (*The Llandaff Charters*, p. 103), Finberg (*The Early Charters*, p. 138), and Richards's spelling of *Llancillo* as *Llansulfyw* (WATU, pp. 105 and 139) implies that he agreed.

¹⁴ Finberg, *The Early Charters*, pp. 137 and 140; WATU, p. 133, s.v. *Llanloudeu*; Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 104.

PODUM + ?personal name

Llancloudy is an Anglicisation of the original Welsh (showing the common English representation of Welsh [†] with [kl]). Evans refers to the place as *Llanloudy*, and Richards and Davies call it *Llanlowdy*.¹⁵ The form *Llanlowdy* occurs in nearby *Llanlowdy Hill* [SO4919].

Llandaf: [ST156781] (also †*Ecclesia Sancti Teliaui*, ?†*Tauī Urbs*)

Unsurprisingly there is a very large number of attestations of this place-name (eight hundred and fourteen), so the usual format will not be applied to this entry. Instead, the page numbers of the attestations will be grouped by the form of the place-name. It seems unnecessary to discuss the reasons for the identification made here. From the lists of churches on pages 318 to 331, the deanery of **Llandaf** seems to have covered the territory between the rivers Thaw (**Ddawan**) and Rhymni. The place-name is a name-phrase of **LLAN** and **Taf** (**Fawr**).

Land.: page 329.

Landadauię: page 183.

Landaf: pages 69, 313–17, 319, 323, 329.

Landaff: page 203.

Landaphe: page 282.

Landauen.: page 281.

Landauense: pages 70, 225, 284, 290, 329.

Landauensem: pages 27, 31, 36, 37, 39, 42, 46, 48, 57, 60, 65, 69, 89, 92–94, 96, 159, 249, 275, 280, 282, 284, 287, 289, 290, 295, 296, 298–300, 302, 303, 305–10, 317, 327.

Landauenses: page 107.

Landauensi: pages 30, 35, 37–39, 44, 47, 49, 52, 53, 55, 57–59, 61–63, 65–67, 70, 71, 77, 95, 114–16, 119, 135, 225, 248, 275, 277, 284, 286, 288–90, 293–95, 297–301, 303, 307–11, 313, 314, 316–18, 326, 332–34.

Landauensibus: page 96.

Landauensis: pages 28, 34–38, 40–43, 46, 47, 49, 52, 56, 57, 60–62, 64, 65, 68–70, 76, 84–87, 89, 92–94, 97, 107, 118, 121, 124, 130–35, 141,

¹⁵ LL, p. 408; WATU, p. 133, s.v. *Llanloudeu*; Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 104.

149, 159, 177, 195, 223, 225, 226, 237, 238, 266, 267, 270, 276, 278, 280, 282, 284, 287, 288, 290–94, 296–99, 301, 302, 305–07, 309, 310, 313, 314, 317, 329, 332–34.

Landauensium: page 333.

Landauia: pages 75, 116, 118, 121, 133, 146, 215, 216, 226, 293.

Landauię: pages 69–77, 107, 117–19, 121–23, 125–27, 129, 131, 132, 133, 136–40, 142–52, 154–69, 171–92, 194–206, 208–18, 220–40, 243–47, 249–54, 256–65, 268, 270–75, 277, 278, 280.

Landauiam: pages 5, 26, 28, 31, 42, 84, 85, 90, 135, 152, 181, 211–13, 215, 233, 238, 244, 250, 256, 259, 263, 267, 271, 273, 283.

Landauie: pages 74, 75, 77, 94, 150, 153, 165, 168, 170, 177, 180, 230, 247, 260, 273, 277, 278, 291, 317, 321.

Landaiensem: page 48.

Landaiensis: page 56.

Landauo: pages 27, 29.

Landauum: pages 28, 29.

Lanndauia: page 164.

Lann Taf: page 120.

Lann Tam: page 69.

Lan Taf: pages 69, 120.

Lan Tam: page 120.

Llanddewi: see Dewstow.

Llanddewi Nant Hodni: see (1) Llanthony.

Llanddewi Rhydderch: [SO349129]

Attestations

ecclesia de Landewy Ruthery LL p. 320 c. 1350

Location

The single attestation is from a list of churches in the deanery of **Abergefenni**. The identification followed here was made by Evans,¹⁶ and is very probable on grounds of form and location.

¹⁶ LL, p. 407.

Elements

LLAN + personal name + personal name

I do not know whether the LL form *Ruthery* represents a genuine pronunciation, or just a scribal error. See also **Rhydri**.

Llanddewi Ysgyryd: [SO340170] (Eng. *Llanthewy Skirrid*)Attestations

ecclesia de Landewy skyret LL p. 320 c. 1350

Location

The single attestation is from a list of churches in the deanery of **Abergefenni**. The identification followed here is obvious on grounds of form and location. (The modern Welsh and English forms are taken from Davies's *Gazetteer*—the Ordnance Survey marks the place only with *Llanddewi Court*.)

Elements

LLAN + personal name + **Ysgyryd**

Llanddingad: [SO457104] (Eng. *Dingestow*; also †*Merthir Dincat*)Attestations

<i>ecclesiam Dincat</i>	LLch.227b	p. 227	'c. 872'
ECCLESIA DINCAT	LLrub.	p. 227	c. 1120s
<i>Ecclesia de landinegat</i>	LL	p. 284	s. xiii ²

Location

This place is named in charter 227b (where it is the object of the grant) and, later, in a list of churches in the deanery of **Abergefenni**. We can be confident in the identification of the first two from a combination of the name's form and the charter's boundary clause, which locates the grant on the **Troddi**. The specified deanery of the final attestation confirms the identification.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

ECCLESIA + personal name

Llanddinol: [ST493952] (Eng. *Itton*; also †*Tref Dinneul*)Attestations

<i>ecclesiam Diniul</i>	LLch.171b	p. 172	'c. 860'?
<i>lann diniul</i>	LLch.171b	p. 173	'c. 860'?

Lann diniuil	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
Lanndiniul	LLrub.	p. 171	c. 1120s
lann dineul	LLb.12	p. 32	1128

Location

Lann Diniul is named as one of several properties whose grant is noted in charter 171b. Bounds are supplied which locate the place in the vicinity of Mounton Brook (†Mouric), which suits the identification with modern *Llanddinol*. The remaining two attestations are from lists of properties claimed by Llandaf (the equivalent list on pages 43–44 names the place as †Tref Dinneul), the context of which does not help suggest a location. Consequently the identification of the attestations from charter 171b can be considered secure, but that of the other two is less so (though, as *Llanddinol* is the only place with a name at all similar in the area claimed by Llandaf, the identification is probable).

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

ECCLESIA + ?personal name

Llanddinol seems to be regarded as a form of *Llanddeiniol*,¹⁷ but there are difficulties in relating the various forms of the second element (*Diniul*, *Diniuil*, *Dineul*, *Dinneul*) to the personal name *Deiniol*. Patrick Sims-Williams has suggested to me that the forms of the second element might be an attempt to represent the genitive singular of the Irish personal name *Dínél* (Ogam DINEGLO).¹⁸ Alternatively the *-ul* suffix might be explicable as a variant form of *-ol* (< **-āl-*), showing the same phonological change as is exhibited by the *uc* forms of the adjectival suffix *-OG* (in which case the form in *-uil* would simply be an error).

Llanddowror: [SN255145] (also †Lann Teliau)

Attestations

<i>territorium aquilentium</i>	LLch.77	p. 77	?
<i>ecclesię aquilensium</i>	LLch.77	p. 77	?
landyfuyrguyr	LL	p. 133	?

¹⁷ LL, p. 407; WATU, p. 112; Davies, *Gazetteer*, p. 60.

¹⁸ Ziegler, *Die Sprache der altirischen Ogam-Inschriften*, p. 167.

Lanndyfrgyr	LLch.127b	p. 128	before 'c. 1025'
lanndibrguir mainaur	LL	p. 254	before 'c. 1025'
landyf6rwir	LLgloss	p. 128	s. xv ^{med}

Location

The date of charter 77 is probably late.¹⁹ The attestation on page 133 is from the Life of Euddogwy, of uncertain (but probably late) date. Charter 127b is probably derived from one of the sources for the list of properties attached to the Privilege of Bishop Joseph (pages 253–55). It follows that the materials from which the list was created must pre-date the list (c. 1025 according to Davies).²⁰

The four examples of the LLAN form of the place-name are all clearly referring to the same place (in fact, the references all seem to derive from a single original source: of the two on page 128, one is a gloss on the other; as was stated above, the Privilege and its list are derived in part from material which also went into charter 127b; and the Life of Euddogwy appears to refer to charter 127b). Furthermore, it is reasonable to identify this LLAN name with Llanddowror, on the basis of its association with the Taf in charter 127b, as well as the similarity of the forms of the name.

The second element of the LLAN form of the name is understood to mean 'water men' in charter 127b,²¹ from Old Welsh *dubr* 'water' and *guir* 'men'. It is this that enables us to make the connection between *Llanddowror* and the two Latin forms of charter 77. I can find no examples of either *aquilensium* or *aquilentium* from Classical Latin, but they look like genitive plural forms of a putative **aquilens-*~~*tis*~~, based on *aqua* 'water', so the examples are probably to be translated along the lines of 'the church/territory of the watery ones'—a Latin calque on *Llanddowror*. Further corroboration is provided by the fact that *Ecclesia/Territorium Aquilentium* is said to stand on the Taf.²² There is a boundary clause for this church in charter 77, but I am unable to identify any points in it other than the Taf.

¹⁹ *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 95: 'there is nothing to suggest the framework of any original charter'.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

²¹ It is translated as *aquatici uiri* on page 129.

²² LL, p. 77: 'territorium aquilentium super ripam Tam fluminis'.

Elements

LLAN + DYFRWR (pl.)

ECCLESIA/TERRITORIUM + ?**AQUILENS* (gen. pl.)

The noun *dyfrwr* (DŴR + GŴR) has various meanings: ‘one who lives in water; one who drinks water only; water-carrier; water-bailiff; boatman; fireman’.²³

Latin *territorium* ‘territory’ (page 77) is perhaps translating Welsh MAENOR, used to refer to the territory of the church on page 254.

Llandegfedd: [ST338957] (Eng. *Llandegveth*; also †*Merthir Tecmed*)

Attestations

ecclesia de Landegeueth LL p. 321 c. 1350

Location

The attestation is from a list of churches in the deanery of Usk. I know of only one place of this name, and that place is in the right deanery, hence the identification followed here.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

Llandegveth: see **Llandegfedd**.

Llandeilo: see †**Lann Teliau Litgarth**.

Llandeilo Abercywyn: [SN309130] (Eng. *Llandilo-abercowin*)

Attestations

Lann teliau aper Couin LL p. 124 before ‘c. 1025’

Lann teliau aper coguin LL p. 254 before ‘c. 1025’

Location

This church is named in the two lists of Llandaf’s extra-diocesan properties, in the latter of which it comes under the heading of **Cantref Gwarthaf**. The name is sufficiently distinctive that the identification with Llandeilo Abercywyn (grid reference above) is secure. It has been suggested that one of the attestations of †**Lann Teliau Bechan** might be a reference to this place.

Elements

LLAN + personal name + ABER + Cywyn

²³ GPC, I, 1127.

Llandeilo Bertholau: [SO311163] (Eng. *Llantilio Pertholey*; also (1) †Lann Maur)Attestations

lann Teliau port halauc	LLch.122	p. 122	'c. 600'
<i>Sancti</i> Teiliaui deporth halauc	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
Lann Teliau porth halauc	LLrub.	p. 122	c. 1120s
<i>sancti</i> teliaui deporth halauc	LLb.12	p. 31	1128
<i>sancti</i> teliawi de porthalauc	LLb.25	p. 43	1129
<i>Ecclesia</i> de lantelyo porthaloc	LL	p. 284	s. xiii ²

Location

The grant of this church is recorded in charter 122, the bounds of which locate the place in the vicinity of the **Gefenni**. Its name is also attested in each of the three versions of the list of properties confirmed to Llandaf by the Pope (pages 31, 43, and 90). Either side of it in the list are **Llanarth** and **Llandeilo Gresynni**, both places in the deanery of **Abergefenni**. It is also listed among places in that deanery on page 284. The place-name is so distinctive that the identification made here would be probable in any case, but the evidence of the location in the deanery of **Abergefenni**, and on the **Gefenni**, serves to confirm it.

Elements

LLAN + personal name + **Porth Halog*

[*ECCLESIA* +] *SANCTUS* (gen.) + *personal name* (gen.) + *DE* + **Porth Halog*

The meaning of the final element is uncertain. It looks very much as though it is made up of *PORTH* and *halog* 'dirty', and this is the interpretation made by GPC.²⁴ Conceivably the name refers to the outflow of a small stream into the **Gefenni** at this point.

Llandeilo Fawr: [SN629222] (also (2) †Lann Maur)Attestations

Lannteiliau maur	LL	p. 133	?
Lan Teliaumaur	LL	p. 135	?
Lann Teliau maur	LL	p. 254	'c. 1025'
lann teliaumaur	LL	p. 270	'c. 1060'

²⁴ GPC, II, 1816 (s.v. *halog*), and III, 2855 (s.v. *porth*³).

territorii Lann Teiliau maur	LLch.77	p. 78	c. 1080–c. 1120s
termino de lanteliau maur	LLb.36i	p. 56	1130
<i>termino delann teliau maur</i>	LLb.36ii	p. 62	1130
<i>termino de lanteliau maur</i>	LLb.36iii	p. 287	1130
<i>lanteilo maur</i>	LLgloss	p. 78	s. xv ^{med}
llandeilo va6r	LLgloss	p. 116	s. xv
lanteilo mawr	LLgloss	p. 77	1476x78
lannteilo ma6r	LLgloss	p. 77	1476x78
Lanteilova6r	LLgloss	p. 114	1476x78
lanteilo ma6r	LLgloss	p. 115	1476x78
llannteilova6r	LLgloss	p. 115	1476x78
Lan Teliau maur	LLgloss	p. 135	1476x78
lan teliau maur	LLgloss	p. 135	1476x78

Location

The first two attestations are from the Life of Euddogwy, from one of which we learn that this place was one of Llandaf's properties beyond the Tywi (along with **Penalun**). In the list of Llandaf's extra-diocesan properties on pages 254–55, *Lann Teliau Maur* is located in **Cantref Mawr**. The church is again mentioned (with **Penally**) as one of these extra-diocesan properties in the Privilege of Bishop Herewald (pages 269–70). The bounds of the territory of Llandeilo Fawr are defined at the end of charter 77. The attestations from pages 56, 62, and 287 are from three copies of a letter sent by Pope Innocent II regarding several properties in dispute between Bishops Urban and Bernard. The remaining attestations are from glosses on the above (and some glosses on the Life of Teilo—pages 114–16, remarking on the fact that the church had been in the possession of Llandaf). The available information on the above fits the identification with Llandeilo Fawr.

Elements

LLAN + personal name + MAWR

Llandeilo Ferwallt: [SS578894] (Eng. **Bishopston**; also †**Ecclesia Cyngur Tros Gardi**, †**Lann Conuur**, †**Lann Merguall**)

Attestations

Sancti Teiliaui de lann merguall LLb.2 p. 90 1119

<i>sancti</i> teliaui delann geruall	LLb.3	p. 31	1128
<i>sancti</i> Teliaui delanguergualt	LLb.25	p. 43	1129
uille <i>Sancti</i> Teliawi de lanmerwalt	LLb.39	p. 59	1131

Location

There is no reason to doubt that all the attestations refer to the same place. No context is provided by bull 39, but in the lists of the remaining three documents this name is preceded and followed by the same two names. The form of the name is quite distinctive and is probably sufficient to identify this place with modern **Llandeilo Ferwallt** (English **Bishopston**).

Elements

[*ECCLESIA*]/*VILLA* + *SANCTUS* (gen.) + *personal name* (gen.) + *DE* + †**Lann Merguall**

The LLAN of †**Lann Merguall** has disappeared from the modern form of the name. The final element represents the personal name *Merwallt* (see †**Lann Merguall** for further discussion of this name). The forms of *Merwallt* with initial *gu-* and *g-*, must derive from a clumsy scribe's attempt to modernise a form with initial *u-* (representing [v]), under the misapprehension that it represented [u] (represented by *-gu-* in Old Welsh orthography).

Llandeilo Graban: see †**Lann Teliau i Ciliou**.

Llandeilo Gresynni: [SO398148] (Eng. *Llantilio Crossenny*)

Attestations

<i>Sancti</i> Teiliaui decressinic	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
Lann Teiliau Cressinych	LLrub.	p. 123	c. 1120s
<i>sancti</i> teiliaui de crisinic	LLb.12	p. 31	1128
<i>sancti</i> Teliawi crissinic	LLb.25	p. 43	1129
<i>Ecclesia</i> de lantelyo cresseny	LL	p. 284	s. xiii ²

Location

See **Cresynni**.

Elements

LLAN + personal name + **Cresynni**

[*ECCLESIA* +] *SANCTUS* (gen.) + *personal name* (gen.) + **Cresynni**

[*ECCLESIA* +] *SANCTUS* (gen.) + *personal name* (gen.) + *DE* + **Cresynni**

Llandeilo'r-fân: see †**Lann Guruaet**.

Llandeilo Rwnws: see †Lann Teliau Mainaur Brunus.

Llandeilo Tal-y-bont: [SN584029]²⁵ (?also †Tal i Pont)

Attestations

lan Teliau talypont	LLch.140	p. 140	'c. 655'
lanteliav talypont	LLch.140	p. 140	s. xi ¹
Lan Teiliau talypont	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
uillam sancti teliaui detalipont	LLb.12	p. 31	1128
Villam sancti teliauii detalipont	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

This church is re-granted in charter 140, and is mentioned in each of three versions of a list of properties confirmed to Llandaf by papal privilege. The context in the three lists is one of Gower (Gŵyr) properties. In charter 140 it is granted together with †Cilciuhinn and †Lann Gemei, both of which also occur in the same Gower (Gŵyr) context in the papal privileges. Clearly, then, all the attestations refer to the same church, and that church is in Gower (Gŵyr). Bounds are given in the charter which are relatively easy to follow, and confirm the identification made here.

Elements

LLAN + personal name + *Tal-y-bont*

[*ECCLESIA* +] *SANCTUS* (gen.) + personal name (gen.) + *DE* + *Tal-y-bont*

The place-name *Tal-y-bont* (TAL + YR + PONT) which describes this *Llandeilo* church perhaps refers to the same bridge (PONT) as is remembered in *Pontarddulais* one kilometre to the north-east [SN5903].

Llandeilo Vawr: see **Llandeilo Fawr.**

Llandevaud: see †Villa Sancti Tauauc.

Llandilo: see †Lann Teliau Litgarth.

Llandilo-abercowin: see **Llandeilo Abercywyn.**

Llandilo-yr-ynys: see †Lann Teliau Mainaur Brunus.

²⁵ The grid reference 'SN6004' given by Davies's *Gazetteer* (p. 59) and Davies (*The Llandaff Charters*, p. 97) is probably intended to indicate a grid square within the parish of this church.

Llandinabo: [SO518284]Attestations

Lann iunabui	LLch.165	p. 165	?
podum Junabui	LLch.73a	p. 73	'c. 585'
Lann Iunabui	LLch.192	p. 192	'c. 745'?
lann iunabui	LLrub.	p. 73	c. 1120s
Lann iunabui	LLrub.	p. 165	c. 1120s
Lann hunapui	LL	p. 275	c. 1120s

Location

This church is granted in charter 73a, where its bounds are given. The grant was made by one Peibio, who is very probably the Peibio, king of Ergyng, mentioned at the beginning of the Life of Dyfrig.²⁶ The bounds refer to the Wye (Gwy), so we can locate this church near that river in Ergyng. The re-grant of the church, along with several others, is noted in charter 165. The principal church of those mentioned in charter 165 is *Lann Cinmarch* (St Kingsmark) near Chepstow, but the others are in Ergyng or Ewias. Similarly *Lann Iunabui* is one of several churches (in Ewias and Ergyng) re-granted in charter 192. Finally the place is mentioned in a list of Ergyng churches on page 275. From the Ergyng context, the location on the Wye (Gwy), and the place-name's appearance, I should regard Davies's identification with Llandinabo (grid reference above) as sound.²⁷ Phillimore is confident in the identification of *Lann Hunapui* with Llandinabo, and allows the possibility that *Lann Iunabui* might be the same place (though he seems to find some difficulty, which I cannot understand, in the different spellings *Iunabui* and *Hunapui*), but he regards Llandinabo's location almost three kilometres from the Wye (Gwy) as too far distant for that river to feature in its bounds.²⁸ Phillimore suggests, without explanation, that *Lann Iunabui* (but not *Lann Hunapui*) might be identified with Bredwardine [SO3344], which is on the Wye (Gwy), and might be in Ergyng (the limits of this territory are not well defined at its north-western corner), and it is his thinking that lies behind Evans's separate identifications, and, later, Coplestone-Crow's, of *Lann*

²⁶ LL, p. 78.

²⁷ *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 93. She is probably following Richards in this (WATU, p. 107).

Hunapui and *Lann Iunabui* with Llandinabo and Bredwardine respectively.²⁹

Elements

LLAN + personal name

PODUM + personal name

A certain Inabwy is one of the clerical witnesses to charter 73a, so it seems likely that the church is named after him. The [d] of the modern form of the name could be from a hypocoristic *ty-* prefixed to the personal-name element (not shown in the LL forms), or it could be the remnant of the original final [d] of LLAN.

(1) Llandoche: [ST168732] (Eng. *Llandough*)

Attestations

abbatis Docguinni	LL	p. 131	?
abbas Docunni	LL	p. 152	?
abbatem docunni	LL	p. 152	?
[congregatio] docunni	LL	p. 153	?
abbas docunni	LL	p. 154	?
abbas Docunni	LLch.144	p. 144	'c. 650'
abbas Docguinni	LLch.140	p. 140	'c. 655'
abbas docunni	LLch.143	p. 143	'c. 660'
abbate docguinni	LLch.147	p. 147	'c. 665'
abbas docunni	LLch.147	p. 148	'c. 665'
abbas docguinni	LLch.151b	p. 151	'c. 675'
abbas Docguinni	LLch.155	p. 155	'c. 675'
abbas docunni	LLch.149	p. 149	'c. 680'
abbas docunni	LLch.151a	p. 151	'c. 680'
abbate docunni	LLch.157	p. 157	'c. 685'?
abbas docguinni	LLch.159b	p. 160	'c. 685'
abbas Dochou	LLch.145	p. 145	'c. 695'
abbas docguinni	LLch.156	p. 156	'c. 698'
abbate Docunni	LLch.176b	p. 177	'c. 700'
abbas docunni	LLch.183b	p. 184	'c. 700'

²⁸ Owen, *Description of Penbrokshire*, III, 273, n. 1.

²⁹ Owen, *ibid.*; LL, p. 408; *Herefordshire Place-Names*, pp. 42-43 and 131.

abbas Docguinni	LLch.176a	p. 176	'c. 705'
abbas docunni	LLch.190b	p. 191	'c. 705'
abbas docguinni	LLch.205	p. 206	'c. 708'
abbate docunni	LLch.204b	p. 205	'c. 715'?
abbas docunni	LLch.180a	p. 180	'c. 720'
abbas docunni	LLch.158	p. 158	'c. 722'
abbas docguinni	LLch.179c	p. 179	'c. 722'
abbate docunni	LLch.175	p. 175	'c. 733'
abbas docunni	LLch.186b	p. 187	'c. 733'
abbas docunni	LLch.195	p. 196	'c. 740'
abbate docunni	LLch.212	p. 212	'c. 862'
abbate docunni	LLch.214	p. 215	'c. 862'
sacerdos <i>sancti</i> docunni	LLch.257	p. 258	'c. 1033'
sacerdos docunni	LLch.249a	p. 249	'c. 1040'
presbiter <i>sancti</i> docunni	LLch.267	p. 268	'c. 1070'
presbiter <i>sancti</i> docunni	LLch.271	p. 272	'c. 1075'
<i>ecclesia</i> de Landouche	LL	p. 324	c. 1350

Location

All the attestations but the last are references to the abbot of the monastic foundation of Saint *Docunnus*, always in the context of a powerful triumvirate of abbots, with the abbots of **Llancarfan** (†*Ecclesia Sancti Catoci*) and **Llanilltud Fawr**. It is generally believed that this monastery was located in the parish of modern Llandough at the grid reference above,³⁰ but it should be noted that there is another place of the same name within the diocese ((2) **Llandoche**). The last attestation can be identified safely with the Llandough at the grid reference above, as it is from a list of churches in the deanery of **Llandaf**.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

[*ECCLESIA* +] personal name

[*ECCLESIA* +] *personal name* (gen.)

[*ECCLESIA* +] *SANCTUS* (gen.) + *personal name* (gen.)

For a full discussion see Pierce.³¹

(2) Llandoche: [SS995729] (Eng. *Llandough*)

Attestations

ecclesia de Landoꝝwe LL p. 325 c. 1350

Location

The attestation is from a list of churches in the deanery of **Gorfynydd**, which suits Evans's identification (followed here).³² The possibility of confusion with **Llandŵ**, in the same deanery should be borne in mind.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

The derivation of the place-name is supposed to be identical with that of (1) **Llandoche**.³³

Llandogo: [SO526040] (also †Lann Enniaun)

Attestations

<i>lann oudocui</i>	LLch.222	p. 222	'c. 942'
<i>lannoudocui</i>	LLch.222	p. 223	'c. 942'
<i>Villam sancti Oudocei</i>	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
<i>lannoudocui</i>	LLrub.	p. 156	c. 1120s
<i>Lann Oudocui</i>	LLch.156	p. 156	c. 1120s
<i>uillam sancti Oudocei</i>	LLb.12	p. 31	1128
<i>uillam sancti oudoeci</i>	LLb.25	p. 43	1129
<i>Llanndocuith</i>	LLgloss	p. 156	c. 1460
<i>Landocuith</i>	LLgloss	p. 156	c. 1460

Location

The attestations fall into three groups: the two from charter 222, the four associated with charter 156, and the three papal privileges. Charter 222 relates how, as a result of the depredation of †**Aper Guenfrut**, a synod was held at *Lann Oudocui*. The abbot of †**Lann Enniaun** is one of the clerical witnesses to charter 222, and his place of origin is glossed as *Lann Oudocui*. Charter 156

³¹ PNDinas P., pp. 111–15.

³² *Ibid.*.

³³ LL, p. 408.

³⁴ PNDinas P., p. 113.

concerns the grant of *Lann Oudocui*, which is also called †*Lann Enniaun* in the Narration. One of the two fifteenth-century glosses on charter 156 locates the place near (*iuxta*) Tintern (Tyndyrn). These attestations are all linked to each other, and, from the appearance of the place-name, the evidence described above, and the bounds to charter 156 (which refer to several independently identifiable places), the identification with Llandogo (grid reference above) is sound.³⁴

A *Villa Sancti Oudocei* is mentioned in three versions of a list of places confirmed to Llandaf by papal privilege. The context in this list points to a location in **Gwent**, so the identification with Llandogo proposed by Evans is reasonable.³⁵

Elements

LLAN + personal name

[*ECCLESIA* +] *SANCTUS* (gen.) + personal name

The form of the two fifteenth-century glosses is odd. They clearly show that the loss of the initial diphthong of the personal-name element had already occurred by their date. The final *th* in these forms might perhaps represent a false restoration of a supposedly original [ð].

Llandough: see (1) **Llandoche**, (2) **Llandoche**.

Llandow: see **Llandŵ**.

Llandŵ: [SS942733] (Eng. *Llandow*)

Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Landowe</i>	LL	p. 325	c. 1350
<i>Ecc'ia de Landowe</i>	LL	p. 331	c. 1350

Location

Both attestations are from lists of churches in the deanery of **Gorfynydd**, which suits Evans's identification (followed here).³⁶ The possibility of confusion with (2) **Llandoche**, in the same deanery should be borne in mind.

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

³⁴ LL, p. 408; WATU, p. 115, s.v. *Llaneuddogwy*; Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 102.

³⁵ LL, p. 408, s.v. *L. Oudocui*.

Llandyfaelog: [SN415118]Attestations

lann diuailauc LL p. 279 c. 1120s

Location

Evans made the identification ('*Ll. Dyveilog, Carm.*') followed here," which fits the context of the attestation—a list of churches between the **Tawe** and **Tywi** controlled by Bishop Herewald.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

Llandyfai: see †Lan Tiuei.

Llandyfodwg: [SS956872]Attestations

ecclesia de Landyuoddok LL p. 325 c. 1350

Location

The grounds for the identification are the combination of the distinctive name with the location in the deanery of **Gorfynydd**. I see no reason for doubt. *Llandyfodwg* seems to be the name of the church (and its parish), but not the settlement, which is marked *Glynogwr* by the Ordnance Survey.

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

Llanedern: [ST220819]Attestations

[ecclesia de] Lanedern LL p. 285 s. xiii^{ex}/s. xiv
lanedernen LLgloss p. 324 s. xvi

Location

The identification above is probable in any case as it is the only place of this name in South Wales. Further confirmation is provided by a late hand's addition of *Lan Edernen* to a list of churches in the deanery of **Llandaf**. The earlier attestation is from a note to the effect that this church had been omitted from a taxation list, but, as the list includes churches in various deaneries, this

* LL, p. 408.

" LL, p. 407.

evidence is not particularly useful.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

The extra *-en* of the later attestation is probably an error.

Llaneirwg: see **St Mellons**.

Llanelen: [SO303109] (Eng. *Llanellen*)

Attestations

ecclesia de sancta Helena LL p. 320 c. 1350

Location

The attestation is from a list of churches in the deanery of **Abergefenni**. Evans made the identification followed here,³⁸ which seems reasonable. The church of Llanelen is dedicated to St Helen.

Elements

ECCLESIA + DE + SANCTUS (fem. abl.) + *personal name* (abl.)

The LL form is simply the Latin name for the church called *Llanelen* in Welsh.

Llanellen: see **Llanelen**.

Llanelli: [SN5000]

Attestations

lann elli LL p. 279 c. 1120s

lan elli LLgloss p. 279 s. xv^{med}

Location

The attestation (with its gloss which adds no further information) is from a list of churches between the **Tawe** and **Tywi** over which Bishop Herewald exercised jurisdiction. I know of only two places by this name: the more famous one at the grid reference above, and a much smaller place, about six kilometres west of **Abergefenni** [SO232148]. The former falls within the area covered by the list, and is therefore the identification followed here.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

³⁸ LL, p. 404.

Llanerthill: [SO434045]Attestations

Lann efrdil	LLch.159a	p. 159	'?c. 685'
Lann EmRdil	LLrub.	p. 159	c. 1120s
llann eurdyl	LLgloss	p. 159	s. xv ^{med}

Location

This church is granted in charter 159a. It is located in †**Brehes**, but this place has not been independently identified. The territory of the church is defined in the charter by bounds which refer to the **Olwy**, and since Llanerthill (grid reference above) stands on the bank of that stream, that is very probably the correct identification for the place granted in charter 159a.³⁹ It is possible that the †**Lann Ebrdil** of charter 192 is also a reference to the same place.

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

See the discussion under AFRDDWL below.

Llanfable: [SO366140] (Eng. *Llanvapley*)Attestations

ecclesiam Mable	LLch.171b	p. 172	after 'c. 860'
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Location

This church is one of several whose grant is recorded in charter 171b. It is called just †**Mable** in the rubric. The places mentioned in the charter are spread over **Ewias**, **Ergyng**, and **Gwent**. Bounds are given for the church in the charter, one of the points of which, the **Troddi**, is independently identifiable. From the available evidence the identification with Llanfable (grid reference above) made by Evans and Davies is probable.⁴⁰

Elements

ECCLESIA + ?personal name

The church at Llanfable is now dedicated to 'St Mable'. I can find no further information on this saint. It is possible that the personal name has been spuriously extracted from the place-name. Cf. *Cefn Mably Woods* [ST2184].

OL/

³⁹ LL, p. 408 (*Llandenni* is the nearest significant settlement); Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 102. Richards Cambricises *Llanerthill* as *Llanefrddyl* (WATU, p. 115) which implies the same identification.

Llanfaches: [ST434917] (Eng. *Llanvaches*; ?also †Merthir Maches)Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Lanmauchey</i> s	LL	p. 322	c. 1350
<i>Ecc'ia de Lanmagwey</i> s	LL	p. 329	c. 1350

Location

Evans made the identification followed here,⁴⁰ which seems probable both on grounds of form and context (a list of churches in the deanery of †Nether Went).

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

Llanfaenor: [SO431169]Attestations

<i>lann uannar</i>	LLch.240	p. 241	? 'c. 970'
<i>lann uannar</i>	LLch.240	p. 241	s. xi ¹

Location

†Distin (mod. *Crofft Hir Brook*) The grant of this church is recorded in charter 240, and its bounds are given. The bounds locate the territory between the †Distin (mod. *Crofft Hir Brook*) and the Llymon, which confirms the identification of the place with modern Llanfaenor (grid reference above).⁴²

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

Thomas and Richards agree with Evans's assertion that the modern form *Llanfaenor* is incorrect (based on the misinterpretation of the qualifying element as MAENOR),⁴³ but I am not sure what the element *uannar* might mean, unless it is a personal name (the usual type of qualifier in LLAN names).

Llan-faes: [SS980694] (Eng. *Llanmaes*)Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Lanmays</i>	LL	p. 325	c. 1350
<i>Ecc'ia de Lanmays</i>	LL	p. 331	c. 1350

⁴⁰ LL, p. 372; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 107.

⁴¹ LL, p. 412, s.v. *Merthir Maches*.

⁴² LL, p. 378-79; WATU, pp. 116 (s.v. *Llanfaenor*) and 118 (s.v. *Llanfannar*); Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 125.

⁴³ EANC, p. 74, s.v. †*Llymon*; WATU, pp. 116 (s.v. *Llanfaenor*) and 118 (s.v. *Llanfannar*).

Location

The two attestations are from lists of churches in the deanery of **Gorfynydd**. I know of three places with this name: one in Anglesey (**Môn**), one near **Brecon**, and one in the Vale of Glamorgan. As the last falls within the area of the deanery of **Gorfynydd**, it is the probable identity of LL's *Lanmays*.

Elements

LLAN + MAES⁴⁴

Llanfair Cilgedin: [SO355086] (Eng. *Llanfair Kilgeddin*)

Attestations

Ecc'ia de Lanueyr culcudyn LL p. 327 c. 1350

Location

The attestation is from a list of churches in the deanery of **Abergefenni**. The name is sufficiently distinctive to justify the identification given here. The same church (probably) is referred to elsewhere as *Ecclesia de Culcudyn* (see **Cilgedin**).

Elements

LLAN + personal name + **Cilgedin**

Llanfair Isgoed: see †Lan Ueyr.

Llanfair Kilgeddin: see **Llanfair Cilgedin**.

Llanfarthin: [ST394894] (Eng. *Llanmartin*)

Attestations

ecclesia de Lanmartyn LL p. 322 c. 1350

Ecc'ia de Lanmartyn LL p. 328 c. 1350

Location

The grounds for the identification are the combination of the distinctive name with the location in the deanery of †**Nether Went**. I see no reason for doubt.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

Llanffa: see †Lan Tiuei.

⁴⁴ Williams's comparison of this place-name with **Llan-gors** and *Llan-y-wern* (*Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 45) implies that he regards the second element as MAES.

Llan-ffwyst: [SO286132] (Eng. *Llanfoist*)Attestations

ecclesia de Lanfoyst LL p. 320 c. 1350

Location

The grounds for the identification are the combination of the distinctive name with the location in the deanery of **Abergefenni**. I see no reason for doubt.

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

Llanfihangel: [ST451878] (Eng. *Llanfihangel Rogiet*; also †Lann Mihacgel Maur, †Tref Perenn**)**Attestations

ecclesia de Lamyhangel LL p. 322 c. 1350

Location

The attestation is from a list of churches in the deanery of †**Nether Went**, positioned between **Undy (Gwndy)** and **Ifftwn**. This, together with the form of the place-name, seems sufficient to justify Evans's identification with the *Llanfihangel* at the grid reference above.⁴⁵

Elements

LLAN + personal name

Llanfihangel-ar-Elái: [ST115763] (Eng. *Michaelston-super-Ely*)Attestations

ecclesia Sancti Michaelis super Eleye LL p. 324 c. 1350

Location

The attestation is from a list of churches in the deanery of **Llandaf**. The name is clearly equivalent to the modern Welsh and English names for the place at the grid reference above.

Elements

ECCLESIA + SANCTUS (gen.) + *personal name* (gen.) + *SUPER* + **Elái**

The element *super* 'on' (also present in the English form of the name), translates, or is translated by, Welsh **AR**.

Llanfihangel Pont-y-moel, Llanfihangel Cilgoegan: see †Kilgoygan**.**

⁴⁵ LL, p. 408, s.v. *L. M. Maur*.

Llanfihangel Crucornau: [SO325205] (Eng. *Llanvihangel Crucorney*)Attestations

lann Mihacgel cruc cornou	LLch.240	p. 241	?‘c. 970’
lann mihacgel cruc cornou	LLch.240	p. 242	s. xi ¹
<i>ecclesia sancti Michaelis Kistornew</i>	LL	p. 320	c. 1350

Location

The first two attestations are from charter 240, which records the supposed regrant of several churches in **Gwent**. Bounds are given which locate the church near the **Honddu**. The form of the place-name is sufficiently distinctive to justify the identification made here, which suits the available evidence for the location.⁴⁶ The fourteenth-century attestation is more problematic. Evans indexed this last attestation together with the first two, amending *Kistornew* to *Kilcornew* without comment.⁴⁷ *Ecclesia Sancti Michaelis Kistornew* is mentioned in a list of churches in the deanery of **Abergefenni**, which is true of Llanfihangel Crucornau. The identification is plausible, but not certain.

Elements

LLAN + personal name + CRUG + ?*CORNAU

ECCLESIA + SANCTUS (gen.) + personal name (gen.) + ?CIL + ?*CORNAU

If Evans is correct in his identification and emendation of *Ecclesia Sancti Michaelis Kistornew* then it could be that the church or settlement had an alternative name with the element CIL replacing CRUG (alternatively CIL would be an error for CRUG).

Llanfihangel Cwm Du: see (1) †*Ecclesia Sancti Michaelis*, †Lann Mihacghgel Tref Ceriau, †Lann Mihachgel Meibion Gratlaun, †Tref Ceriau.

Llanfihangel Llantarnam: see (1) †Lamyhangel.

Llanfihangel Rogiet: see †Lann Mihacgel Maur, Llanfihangel, †Tref Perenn.

Llanfihangel Tal-y-llyn: see †Lann Mihacghgel Tref Ceriau, †Lann Mihachgel Meibion Gratlaun, †Llann Mihangel, †Tref Ceriau.

⁴⁶ Davics, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 125.

⁴⁷ LL, p. 408.

Llanfihangel Torymynydd: [SO462013] (Eng. *Llanvihangel Court*; also †Lan Vihangell Kennan, ?(1) †Lamyhangel)****

Attestations

lanihangell tormeneth LL p. 282 s. xv²

Location

This place-name is attested in a note of the ownership of †**Lan Vihangell Kennan** by the archdeacon of Llandaf, and of its value. *Lanihangell Tormeneth* is given as an alternative name for the place. The document provides no firm evidence for the location of this place (though it does describe it as lying under a mountain ‘*jacens subter montem*’—probably Star Hill [SO473020] if the identification is correct), but the form of the name is sufficiently distinctive to justify identification with Llanfihangel Torymynydd.

Elements

LLAN + personal name + TOR [+ YR] + MYNYDD

Llanvihangel Court is on a distinctive spur (the TOR) projecting south-westwards from the ridge of Star Hill (the MYNYDD).

Llanfihangel Troddi: see (1) †Lamyhangel, †Troia.

Llanfihangel y Bont-faen: see Llanmihangel.

Llanfihangel-y-fedw: see (2) †Ecclesia Sancti Michaelis.

Llanfihangel-y-gofion: see †Ecclesia Sancti Michaelis iuxta Usk.

Llanfihangel-y-pwll: see †Michelestowe.

Llanfihangel Ystum Llywern: [SO432139]

Attestations

Ecc'ia de Lamyhangel. estomlowern LL p. 327 c. 1350

Location

The attestation is from a list of churches in the deanery of Abergefenni. The name is sufficiently distinctive to justify the identification given here. The same church (probably) is referred to elsewhere as *Ecclesia de Estom Lowern* (see *Ystum Llywern*).

Elements

LLAN + personal name + **Ystum Llywern**

Llanfleiddan: [SS988742] (Eng. *Llanblethian*)Attestations

<i>ecclesia</i> de Lanblethyan	LL	p. 319	c. 1350
<i>ecclesia</i> de Lanblethyan	LL	p. 325	c. 1350
[<i>ecclesia</i> de] Lanblethian	LL	p. 330	c. 1350
<i>Vicaria</i> de (Lan)blethyan	LL	p. 331	c. 1350

Location

All the attestations are from administrative lists of churches in the deanery of **Gorfynydd** (the one on page 330 is in a reference to a tithe owed by the abbot of **Tewkesbury** for this church). The identification with Llanblethian made here is obvious on grounds of form, and suits the location in **Gorfynydd**.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

Llanfocha: [SO461172] (Eng. *St Maughan's*)Attestations

lann mocha	LLch.74	p. 74	'c. 860'
Lann Bocha	LLch.171b	p. 172	after 'c. 860'
lann Mocha	LLch.264b	p. 264	'c. 1025'
<i>presbiter</i> lannmocha	LLch.264b	p. 265	'c. 1025'
lann mocha	LLch.264b	p. 265	'c. 1025'
lann mocha	LLch.264a	p. 264	'c. 1030'
lann mocha	LLch.272	p. 272	'c. 1072'
lann Bocha	LLrub.	p. 74	c. 1120s
lannmocha	LLrub.	p. 171	c. 1120s
lannbocha	LLrub.	p. 264	c. 1120s
<i>ecclesia</i> de <i>sancto</i> Machuto	LL	p. 320	c. 1350

Location

This church is granted in charter 74, and the same document is (inexpertly) incorporated into the composite charter 171b. The attestations above from charters 74 and 171b are, therefore, from versions of the same document. Bounds are given for *Lann Mocha*, but only one of the points mentioned is referred to elsewhere—†**Castell Meirch**—and that is in the bounds of †**Lann Tipallai**, whose own identification seems to rest on the identification of this

boundary point with Newcastle [SO448173], and so can hardly be considered a firm anchor. The witness associations of charter 74 are quite clearly with Ergyng and Gwent (*Uwch Coed*).

Charter 264b grants †Cecin Penn i Celli, which is described as lying next to (*iuxta*) *Lann Bocha*, and two of its witnesses are connected with that place. Bounds are given but none of the points are independently identifiable. The witness associations of the charter are somewhat contradictory—most strongly with charter 264a †Cecin Penn Ros in Gwent (*Uwch Coed*), but there are several fairly strong associations with places within a few kilometres of Llandaf.

One of the witnesses to charter 264a is connected with *Lann Mocha*, and the location of the object of this charter's grant can be identified with some confidence as lying not far from Rockfield in Gwent (*Uwch Coed*).

There is a reference to *Lann Mocha* in the Narration of charter 272 (King Caradog's *familia* plundered the bishop's foodrent at the church) but there is no necessary geographical relationship between the object of the grant—†Tref Rita in Edeligion—and *Lann Mocha*.

The remaining attestation (page 320), in a Latin form, is from a list of properties in the deanery of Abergefenni.

The forms *Lann Mocha* and *Lann Bocha* both suggest Modern Welsh *Llanfocha*, and only one place of this name is listed in Davies's *Gazetteer* (the Welsh name for St Maughan's, grid reference above). Although the evidence for the locations of the attestations above is rather vague, in no case does it contradict the identification with St Maughan's (which is in the area of Gwent (*Uwch Coed*)), made by both Evans and Davies.⁴⁸ The Latin form *Ecclesia de Sancto Machuto* is more problematic, but I know of no alternative suggestion.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

ECCLESIA + DE + SANCTUS (abl.) + personal name (abl.)

Pierce suggested that *Llanfocha* was a parallel form to *Llandoche*, with the latter based on a personal name constructed with the honorific prefix *do-*, and the former based on the same name constructed instead with the alternative

prefix *mo-*.⁴⁹ If Pierce is correct **Mochan* would be an earlier form of the personal name element, and this form seems to be preserved in the English version of the place-name, *St Maughan's*. If *Ecclesia de Sancto Machuto* does refer to St Maughan's, it is difficult to explain the spelling of the personal name element. It is very likely to have been influenced by the name of the Breton saint Machutus (possibly the connexion was aided through the influence of a latinised form such as **Machuno*).

Llanfoist: see Llan-ffwyst.

Llangadog: [SN706284]

Attestations

lanncadauc	LL	p. 279	c. 1120s
lan cattwc	LLgloss	p. 279	s. xv ^{med}

Location

This church is mentioned in a list of churches over which Herewald exercised episcopal jurisdiction. The part of the list in which *Lanncadauc* occurs seems to concern places between the Tawe and the Tywi. Davies's *Gazetteer* lists only one place of this name in the area between the two rivers: Llangadog at the grid reference above, so this is the most probable identification.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

Llan-gan: [SS957778]

Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Langan</i>	LL	p. 325	c. 1350
<i>Ecc'ia de Langan</i>	LL	p. 331	c. 1350

Location

This place-name is attested in two administrative lists of churches in the deanery of Gorfynydd. Two places with this name are known to me, one in Pembrokeshire [SN177187] and one in Glamorgan, which is in the area of

⁴⁹ LL, p. 408; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 194.

⁵⁰ PNDinas P., p. 115, s.v. *Llandough*.

Gorfynydd, so this latter is the obvious identification.

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

Charles commented on this place-name in his discussion of the Pembrokeshire example of the name.¹ The second element seems most likely to be *can* 'white', either as a personal name (cf. GWYN) or possibly as an adjective.

Llangarron: [SO530211]

Attestations

Lann Garan	LLch.192	p. 192	'c. 745'?
lan garann	LL	p. 277	c. 1120s
llann arann	LGC ²	p. 49	1455–85

Location

Charter 192, from which the earlier attestation comes, concerns the re-grant of several churches in **Ewias** and **Ergyng**, and the later attestation is from an account of the **Ergyng** churches to which Bishop Herewald ministered. The name is a distinctive one, and since there is a place called *Llangarron* (grid reference above) in **Ergyng**, that is the obvious identification.³

Elements

LLAN + *Garren*

The church stands on the right bank of the Garren Brook [SO559183]. Thomas surmised, reasonably enough, that the church took its name from the brook, and that the brook takes its name from *garan* 'crane'.⁴ He suggested that the initial [g] should really be lenited in the name of the church (as shown in the fifteenth-century attestation of its name).

Llangattock Lingoed: see †**Lan Caddoc Kellenny**.

Llangattock Nigh Usk: [SO330096] (W. *Llangatwg Dyffryn Wysg*)

Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Lancaddoc iuxta vsk'</i>	LL	p. 320	c. 1350
<i>Ecc'ia de Lancaddoc iuxta vsk'</i>	LL	p. 327	c. 1350

¹ PNPemb., II, 413, s.v. *Llangan West*.

² Jones, *Gwaith Lewis Glyn Cothi*.

³ Finberg, *The Early Charters*, p. 140; Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 113.

⁴ EANC, p. 69, s.v. *Garan*.

Location

Both attestations are from lists of churches in the deanery of **Abergefenni**. The LL form looks like a Latin calque on the modern English name *Llangattock Nigh Usk*, and that place is in the area of the deanery.

Elements

LLAN + personal name + NĒAH + Wysg

LLAN + personal name + *IUXTA* + Wysg

Latin *IUXTA* is a translation of English *nēah* ‘nigh, near’.

Llangattock Vibon Avel: see †**Lan Caddoc Auel**.

Llangatwg Dyffryn Wysg: see **Llangattock Nigh Usk**.

Llangatwg Feibion Afel: see †**Lan Caddoc Auel**.

Llangatwg Lingoed: see †**Lan Caddoc Kellenny**.

Llangatwg Nedd: see **Cadoxton-juxta-Neath**.

Llangenau, Llangenni: see †**Lann Cetguinn**.

Llangennith: see **Llangynydd**.

Llangenny: see †**Lann Cetguinn**.

Llangennydd: see **Llangynydd**.

Llangewydd: [SS875809]

Attestations

Cimiterio de Langewy LL p. 325 c. 1350

Location

The attestation is from a list of properties within the deanery of **Gorfynydd**, in a reference to money owed by the Abbot of **Margam** for a church ‘which was in the old cemetery of *Langewy*’. The identification offered here was made by Evans, and is reasonable on grounds of form and location (it is within the area of **Gorfynydd**). The church no longer exists (though its site is marked by the Ordnance Survey) but the place-name is preserved in a number of local features.

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

The same name is found in **Lancaut**. The absence of final [d] from the LL

form probably reflects a genuine spoken form.

Llangiwa: [SO389257] (Eng. *Llangua*)

Attestations

Lann Culan	LLch.216a	p. 216	'c. 872'
LANn CULAN	LLrub.	p. 216	c. 1120s
ecclesia de languwan	LL	p. 318	c. 1350
ecclesia de Langywan	LL	p. 320	c. 1350

Location

Lann Culan is the object of the grant of charter 216a. Both Evans and Davies identified it with *Llangua* (grid reference above), but I am not sure on what grounds.⁵ The charter provides very little by way of clues as to the location of the property. The affiliations of its witnesses are most strongly with charters 214 (†*Villa Guliple*) and 216b (†*Penn Onn*) (which are on either side of it in the manuscript), neither of which are identified with places anywhere near *Llangua*.

The identification of the remaining two attestations with *Llangua* is more solid.⁶ Both are in lists of properties in the deanery of *Abergefenni*, which suits this identification.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

Llangoed: [SO119400]

Attestations

Lanncoit	LLch.166	p. 166	'c. 595'
Lann coit	LL	p. 255	'c. 1025'
Lann coit	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
LanN Coit	LLrub.	p. 166	c. 1120s
lann coit	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
lann coit	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

There might be as many as three different places meant by the attestations above. The most clearly located attestation is the one from the list of *Llandaf*'s

⁵ LL, p. 407; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 119.

extra-diocesan properties on pages 254 and 255. In this list *Lann Coit* comes under the heading of **Cantref Selyf** (see **Brechfa** for a discussion of this part of the list). There are very few places called *Llangoed*, and one of them is in **Cantref Selyf**—the farm and castle at the grid reference above. A place called *Lann Coit* is granted in charter 166. No bounds or other references to the location of the place are explicitly stated in the charter, but there are slight witness associations with places in **Gwent Uwch Coed** and **Ergyng**. Of the lay witnesses, none (apart from the grantor, King Iddon) are present in any other charters, which is what one would expect from an outlying grant, so it is quite possible that this *Lann Coit* is the same as the one attested on page 255. The three remaining attestations are from three versions of a list of properties confirmed to Llandaf by the Pope. The section of the list in which the attestations occur does not have a particular geographical context, so this *Lann Coit* could conceivably be anywhere in South Wales, but it seems reasonable to assume, in the absence of contradictory evidence, that all the LL attestations of this place-name refer to the same place.

Elements

LLAN + COED

Llangofen: see †**Lann Uuien**, †**Lan Chouian**.

Llan-gors: [SO135276] (Eng. *Llangorse*)

Attestations

Lann cors	LLch.146	p. 146	?
monasterio suo Lan Cors	LLch.237b	p. 238	'c. 925'
monasterio Lann cors	LLch.237b	p. 238	'c. 925'
Lann cors	LL	p. 255	'c. 1025'
Lann Cors	LLrub.	p. 146	c. 1120s
Monasterio [...] llangors	LLgloss	p. 238	1476x78

Location

This place is the object of the grant of charter 146. The grant is said to have been made by King Awst of **Brycheiniog**, and bounds are given which confirm the identification with modern Llan-gors. The Narration of charter

• LL, p. 407, s.v. *L. Culan*.

237b provides an account of the theft of the bishop's foodrent from *Lann Cors* by King Tewdwr of Brycheiniog. In this case, the Brycheiniog context, together with the distinctiveness of the place-name should be sufficient to support the identification with Llan-gors. Finally, *Lann Cors* is mentioned in one of the two lists of Llandaf's extra-diocesan properties. In this list it comes under the heading 'Incantref talacharn', where **Talacharn** should be seen as an error for **Talgarth**. The identity of this final attestation is perhaps not quite as secure as that of the others, but I know of no reason to suspect that it might refer to somewhere other than Llan-gors.

Elements

LLAN + CORS

The church and settlement are situated on the edge of a lake (Llangorse Lake or **Llyn Syfaddan**), so there is no difficulty with the interpretation of the qualifying element as *cors* 'swamp, fen'.

Llangorse Lake: see **Llyn Syfaddan**.

Llangovan: see †**Lann Uuien**; †**Lan Chouian**.

Llangrallo: see **Coychurch**.

Llangunnock: [SO509232]

Attestations

Lann cinauc LL p. 275 c. 1120s

Location

Lann Cinauc is listed among places in **Ergyng**. The identification with Llangunnock at the grid reference above was made by Evans,⁷ and it is probable as there do not seem to be any other places of this name in **Ergyng**. Furthermore *Lann Cinauc* is immediately preceded in the list by *Lann Sant Guainerth*, identified with St Weonards (†**Lann Sant Guainerth**) which is only one and a half kilometres away from Llangunnock.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

Llangunnog: see †**Henlenic Cinauc**, †**Lann Guern Cinuc**, †**Lis Guern**.

⁷ LL, p. 407.

Llangunville: [SO494166] (also †Merthir Cynfall)Attestations

<i>ecclesię cinfall</i>	LLch.264a	p. 264	'c. 1030'
<i>lanncinfall</i>	LLch.264a	p. 264	'c. 1030'
<i>presbiter lann cinfall</i>	LLch.264a	p. 264	'c. 1030'
<i>idmab delan cinnfall</i>	LLch.264a	p. 264	'c. 1030'
<i>Lann Cinfall</i>	LLch.171b	p. 173	s. xi ²
<i>Lann cinuil</i>	LL	p. 275	c. 1120s

Location

Charter 264a concerns the grant of †**Cecin Penn Ros** to the bishop of Llandaf and the church of *Cinfall* ('*ecclesię cinfall*'). Two of the witnesses to the charter are associated with *Lann Cinfall*. †**Cecin Penn Ros** is described as lying on the other side ('*exalia parte*') of the Monnow (**Mynwy**) from *Lann Cinfall*. The bounds of *Lann Cinfall* (referred to in the rubric and Narration as †**Merthir Cynfall**) are recorded in charter 171b. These bounds locate the church near the Monnow (**Mynwy**), and refer to †**Finnaun Emrdil** (which is also a point in the bounds of †**Cecin Penn Ros**). Although there is a slight difficulty with the form of the final syllable, the only place on the Monnow (**Mynwy**) with a name like *Lann Cinfall* is Llangunville Farm (grid reference above), and this is the identification made by Evans and Davies.⁸ A *Lann Cinuil* is mentioned among the **Ergyng** churches listed on page 275, and since Llangunville Farm falls within the area of **Ergyng**, that seems the most likely identification for this attestation too.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

ECCLESIA + personal name

It is difficult to account for the different forms of the personal name element. *Lann Cinuil* in the **Ergyng** list corresponds perfectly well to the modern *Llangunville*, but the other forms clearly show an [a] in the final syllable, and their spelling in *f* would normally indicate [f] rather than [v] in LL orthography.

⁸ LL, p. 372; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 107.

Llan-gwathan: see †Lann Teliau Luin Guaidan.

Llangwm: [ST424999]

Attestations

lann Cum	LLch.173	p. 173	'c. 860'
lanncúm	LLch.274	p. 274	'c. 1075'
monachus de lanncum	LLch.274	p. 274	'c. 1075'
Villam lann Cúm	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
LANN CÚM	LLrub.	p. 173	c. 1120s
uillam lann cum	LLb.12	p. 31	1128
uillam lann gum	LLb.25	p. 43	1129
Ecclesja de lan Cum	LL	p. 284	c. 1195
lancomb	LL	p. 326	c. 1350
Prebenda de Lancomb	LL	p. 330	c. 1350

Location

The only place of this name in the area claimed for the diocese of Llandaf is Llangwm (grid reference above) in Gwent Uwch Coed, so *a priori* that would be the most likely identification. *Lann Cum* is granted in charter 173, for which the strongest witness associations are with places in Gwent, Ergyng, and Ewias. A close connexion between *Lann Cum* and †Villa Gunnuc is clear from charter 274, which grants the latter property—the property is granted to God, the three saints of Llandaf, and the four saints of *Lann Cum*, a monk of *Lann Cum* is a witness to the transaction, and the bounds have some points in common with the bounds of *Lann Cum*. The bounds of †Villa Gunnuc refer to Nant y March, which runs very near to Llangwm, so there are good grounds for the identification of the *Lann Cum* of charter 173 and 274 with Llangwm. Three of the attestations (pages 31, 43, and 90) are from the three versions of a list of properties confirmed to Llandaf by the Pope. The context of the attestations in this list is one of places in Gwent Uwch Coed, which suits the identification with Llangwm. The attestation from page 284 is from a list of benefices contributed to the church of Llandaf, but there is no particular geographical context to support or contradict the identification. The remaining two attestations are references to the prebendary stall called *Llangwm* in Llandaf Cathedral. The bounds of the charter describe a territory falling

mainly in grid square ST4399, and evidently do not include the location of the church itself (or, at least, not the modern location of the church).

Elements

LLAN + CWM

Llan-gwm Isaf: see †Villa Gunnuc.

Llangyfelach: [SS646989]

Attestations

lanngueelach	LL	p. 279	c. 1120s
langyvelach	LLgloss	p. 279	s. xv ^{med}

Location

This church is mentioned in a list of churches over which Hereward exercised episcopal jurisdiction. The part of the list in which *Lanngueelach* occurs seems to concern places between the Tawe and the Tywi. Davies's *Gazetteer* lists only one place with a name like this: Llangyfelach at the grid reference above, which is in the area between the two rivers, so this identification is very probable.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

Llangynidr: see †Lann Cinitir.

Llangynwyd: [SS857888]

Attestations

ecclesia de Langunyth	LL	p. 326	c. 1350
Ecc'ia de Langunyth	LL	p. 331	c. 1350

Location

I am not particularly confident about this identification. The first attestation is from a list of churches under the heading of **Gorfynydd**, and the second is from a similar list, this time under the more specific heading of **Cynffig**. Evans identified *Langunyth* with '*Ll. Gunwyd, Carm.*', which I am unable to identify, but which seems most unlikely to be correct, since the apparent area of **Cynffig** (apparent from the identifiable churches under that heading) does not include anywhere in Carmarthenshire. Llangynwyd, the identification made here, is the only place known to me with a similar name in the relevant

area.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

The main objection to the identification of *Langunyth* with Llangynwyd is the *-th* spelling for the final [d].

Llangynydd: [SS428914] (Eng. *Llangennith*)

Attestations

lann Cinith	LL	p. 279	c. 1120s
langynydd	LLgloss	p. 279	s. xv ^{med}

Location

The primary attestation is from a list of churches over which Bishop Herewald is said to have had control. The section of the list from which it comes is for churches between the rivers **Tywi** and **Tawe**. Evans made the identification followed here (*'Ll. Genyδ, Gower'*),⁹ which is very probable on grounds of form (I am not aware of any other places with this or a similar name) and of location (it is in the area between the two rivers).

Elements

LLAN + personal name

The place-name is also found in the form *Llangennydd*, which better shows the personal name element *Cennydd*.¹⁰

Llanhari: [ST006804] (Eng. *Llanharry*)

Attestations

ecclesia de Lanhary	LL	p. 324	c. 1350
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Location

The attestation is from an administrative list of churches in the deanery of **Llandaf**. The identification made here is obvious on grounds of form, and suits the location in **Llandaf**.

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

Llanharry: see **Llanhari**.

⁹ LL, p. 407.

¹⁰ WATU, p. 127, s.v. *Llangennith*; Gruffudd, *Enwau Cymraeg*, p. 23, s.v. *Cennydd*.

Llanilid: [SS977813]Attestations

ecclesia de Sancta Julitta LL p. 325 c. 1350

Location

The attestation is from an administrative list of churches in the deanery of **Gorfynydd**. The identification with Llanilid (grid reference above) was made by Evans,¹¹ and is reasonable insofar as *Ilid* is the Welsh equivalent of *Julitta*, and Llanilid is in the right area. Llanilid is dedicated to Saints Ilid and Curig, who are clearly Julitta and Quiricus (or *Cyricus*), early mother and child martyrs, in Welsh guise.¹² There is a slight element of doubt, however, insofar as Llanilid is not in the cantref of **Gorfynydd** (it is, rather, in **Penychen**),¹³ but Llanilid is on the border with the cantref of **Gorfynydd**, and the deanery of the same name might not have had quite the same limits.

Elements

ECCLESIA + DE + SANCTUS (fem. abl.) + *personal name* (abl.)

Llanilltern: [ST095799]Attestations

ecclesia de Lanilthern LL p. 324 c. 1350

Location

The attestation is from an administrative list of churches in the deanery of **Llandaf**. The identification made here is obvious on grounds of form, and suits the location in **Llandaf**.

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

Llanilltud (Fawr): [SS966687] (Eng. *Llantwit Major*)Attestations

Lannildut	LL	p. 71	?
abbas Ilduti	LL	p. 152	?
podum <i>sancti</i> Ilduti	LL	p. 152	?

¹¹ LL, p. 407, s.v. *Julitta*.

¹² Lloyd and Jenkins, *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, p. 88, s.v. *Curig*, refer to the confusion between the apparently native saint Curig and the Cilician saint and martyr Cyricus.

¹³ WATU, pp. 132 and 313.

abbatem ilduti	LL	p. 152	?
[congregatio] ilduti	LL	p. 153	?
ecclesia <i>sancti</i> ilduti	LL	p. 153	?
abbas ilduti	LL	p. 154	?
abbatem ilduti	LLch.144	p. 144	'c. 650'
abbas <i>sancti</i> ilduti	LLch.140	p. 140	'c. 655'
abbas ilduti	LLch.143	p. 143	'c. 660'
abbate ilduti	LLch.147	p. 147	'c. 665'
abbas ilduti	LLch.147	p. 148	'c. 665'
abbas ilduti	LLch.151b	p. 151	'c. 675'
abbas ilduti	LLch.155	p. 155	'c. 675'
abbas ilduti	LLch.149	p. 149	'c. 680'
abbas ilduti	LLch.151a	p. 151	'c. 680'
abbate ilduti	LLch.157	p. 157	'c. 685'?
abbas ilduti	LLch.159b	p. 160	'c. 685'
abbas ilduti	LLch.148	p. 149	'c. 688'
abbas Lannildut	LLch.145	p. 145	'c. 695'
abbas ilduti	LLch.156	p. 156	'c. 698'
abbate ilduti	LLch.176b	p. 177	'c. 700'
abbas ilduti	LLch.183b	p. 184	'c. 700'
abbas ilduti	LLch.176a	p. 176	'c. 705'
abbas ilduti	LLch.190b	p. 191	'c. 705'
abbas ilduti	LLch.205	p. 206	'c. 708'
abbate ilduti	LLch.204b	p. 205	'c. 715'?
abbas ilduti	LLch.180a	p. 180	'c. 720'
abbas ilduti	LLch.158	p. 158	'c. 722'
abbas ilduti	LLch.179c	p. 179	'c. 722'
abbate ilduti	LLch.175	p. 175	'c. 733'
abbas ilduti	LLch.186b	p. 187	'c. 733'
abbas ilduti	LLch.195	p. 196	'c. 740'?
abbate ilduti	LLch.212	p. 212	'c. 862'
abbate ilduti	LLch.214	p. 215	'c. 862'
abbas ilduti	LLch.228	p. 228	'c. 876'

abbas ilduti	LLch.229b	p. 230	'c. 878'
abbas ilduti	LLch.230a	p. 230	'c. 880'
presbiter <i>sancti</i> ilduti	LLch.271	p. 272	'c. 1075'
Lann Ildut	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
doctoris delanniltut	LL	p. 279	c. 1120s
<i>sancti</i> ilduti	LLb.12	p. 31	1128
<i>sancti</i> Ilduti	LLb.25	p. 43	1129
<i>ecclesia</i> de Lanyltwyt	LL	p. 319	c. 1350
<i>ecclesia</i> de Laniltwyt	LL	p. 325	c. 1350
[<i>ecclesia</i>] de Lanyltwyt	LL	p. 330	c. 1350
<i>Vicaria</i> de Laniltwyt	LL	p. 331	c. 1350
abbatem llannvldut va6r	LLgloss	p. 145	1476x78

Location

The majority of the attestations are references to the abbot of the monastic foundation of Saint Illtud, generally in the context of a powerful triumvirate of abbots, with the abbots of **Llancarfan** (†*Ecclesia Sancti Catoci*) and (1) **Llandoche**. The primary monastery of Saint Illtud was Llanilltud Fawr (grid reference above), and there is no reason to doubt that that is the place meant by the attestations above. The four attestations from the administrative lists on pages 318 to 331 come under the deanery of **Gorfynydd** which is correct for Llanilltud Fawr.

Elements

LLAN + personal name [+ MAWR]

[*ECCLESIA* + *SANCTUS* (gen.) +] *personal name* (gen.)

PODUM + *SANCTUS* (gen.) + *personal name* (gen.)

Llanilltud Gŵyr: see †Jeoleston.

Llanishen: see (1) Llanisien, (2) Llanisien.

(1) **Llanisien**: [SO474034] (Eng. *Llanishen*)

Attestations

lann nissien	LLch.240	p. 241	? 'c. 970'
lann nissien	LLch.240	p. 242	s. xi ²
ir eccluis nissien	LLch.240	p. 242	s. xi ²

Location

The attestations are from charter 240 (which grants this church along with several other properties) and from a list of churches in the deanery of Usk. The bounds of *Lann Nissien* in the charter define the property in terms of the **Olwy** and the two **Anghidi** streams, which, together with the appearance of the place-name, confirms the identification with Llanisien (grid reference above) made by Evans and Davies.¹⁴ This Llanisien is within the area of the deanery of Usk, so the same identification is also probable for the final attestation. Llanisien is now dedicated to St Dennis.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

EGLWYS + personal name

The name of this church should be considered together with (2) Llanisien and †Lann Issan. Williams sees these as commemorating a Saint *Nisien*, whereas Charles regards the personal-name base as *Isan*, which, he suggests, might be a hypocoristic form of *Ismail* (Modern Welsh *Ysfael*).¹⁵ The early forms in this case suggest that *Nisien* is the underlying name.

(2) Llanisien: [ST176818] (Eng. *Llanishen*)Attestations

<i>Sancti nisien</i>	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
<i>sancti nisien</i>	LLb.12	p. 31	1128
<i>sancti Tussien</i>	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

This church is named in each of three versions of a list of properties confirmed to Llandaf by the Pope. The context of the section of the list in which the attestations are is one of Glamorgan (**Morgannwg**) churches, so the identification above, made by Evans, is reasonable.¹⁶

Elements

[*ECCLESIA* +] *SANCTUS* (gen.) + personal name

¹⁴ LL, p. 408; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 125.

¹⁵ *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*, p. 163; PNPemb., II, 633.

¹⁶ LL, p. 414, s.v. *Nisien, ec. S.*

Llanisien is now dedicated to St Isan, the same saint commemorated in †**Lann Issan**.¹⁷ The first two of the LL forms, however, suggest that the personal name element is *Nisien*, as perhaps in (1) **Llanisien** (q.v.). If *Tussien* in the attestation from page 43 is not a mistake, it might be a variant of *Isan* with the hypocoristic prefix *ty-*.

Llanllowell: see **Llanllywel**.

Llan-llwydd: [SO416178]

Attestations

Lann Liuit	LLch.240	p. 241	?‘c. 970’
lann Liuit	LLch.240	p. 241	s. xi ¹

Location

This church is one of several whose re-grant is recorded in charter 240. It clearly has a close relationship with **Llanfaenor**—they are mentioned adjacently in the charter, both are described as churches of †**Machumur**, and both share the **Llymon** as a boundary marker. From the similarity of its name, and the fact that it is on the opposite side of the **Llymon** from **Llanfaenor**, **Llan-llwydd** (grid reference above) is very likely to be the modern identity of *Lann Liuit*.¹⁸

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

The form of this place-name used in the heading is the one used by the Ordnance Survey (the place is too small to appear in the *Gazetteer*). Evans, Richards, and Davies all refer to the place as *Llanllwyd*,¹⁹ though Evans elsewhere uses *Llanllwyd*,²⁰ and Richards indicates that he believes *Llanlliwid* to be an earlier form of the same name.

Llanllywel: [ST392985] (Eng. *Llanllowell*)

Attestations

ecclesia de Lanlouel	LL	p. 321	c. 1350
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¹⁷ PNPemb., II, 633.

¹⁸ LL, p. 378; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 125.

¹⁹ LL, p. 378; WATU, p. 134; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 125.

²⁰ LL, p. 408.

Location

The attestation is from an administrative list of churches in the deanery of Usk. The identification made here is obvious on grounds of form, and suits the location in Usk.

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

The church of Llywel [SN869309] is said to take its name from a saint, and the origin of this church's name is likely to be the same.²¹ The similarity of the names suggests that there is a connexion with the place-name *Llewelyn's Dingle*, at the mouth of which Llanllywel stands.

Llanmaes: see **Llan-faes**.

(1) Llanmartin: [SO553192] (Eng. *Marstow*)Attestations

Lann martin	LL	p. 275	c. 1120s
lann marthin	LL	p. 277	c. 1120s

Location

The first attestation is from a simple list of **Ergyng** churches, and the second is from an expansion of that list with evidence of Bishop Herewald's jurisdiction over each church. Evans made the identification with Marstow (marked parenthetically as *Llanmartin* by the Ordnance Survey), which is suitable as regards form and location. See also †**Ager Gurmarch**.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

The English name of this place, *Marstow*, is a calque on the Welsh name.

(2) Llanmartin: see **Llanfarthin**.**Llanmihangel:** [SS981718] (W. *Llanfihangel y Bont-faen*)Attestations

ecclesia de Lamyhangel	LL	p. 325	c. 1350
Ecc'ia de Lamyhangel	LL	p. 331	c. 1350

Location

The attestations are from lists of churches in the deanery of **Gorfynydd**. The

identification followed here is that of Evans, which is very likely to be correct as it is the only *Llanfihangel* place-name in the relevant area (Llanfihangelynys-Afan—SS8196—is also in Gorfynydd deanery, but it falls within the area which would come under the heading of Cynffig and not Gorfynydd on page 331).

Elements

LLAN + personal name

Llanndocuith: see Llandogo.

Llann Eurdyl: see Llanerthill.

Llann Karvan: see Llancarfan.

†**Llann Mihangel:** [?SO114283] (?mod. *Llanfihangel Tal-y-llyn*; ?also †**Lann Mihacghgel Tref Ceriau**, †**Lann Mihachgel Meibion Gratlaun**, †**Tref Ceriau**)

Attestations

llann Mihangel LLgloss p. 168 s. xv^{med}

Location

This place-name is attested as a gloss on †**Lann Mihacghgel Tref Ceriau**, which has been identified with *Llanfihangel Tal-y-llyn*.

Elements

LLAN + personal name + †**Tref Ceriau**

Llann Teilo Vawr: see Llandeilo Fawr.

Llann Ulldut Va6r: see Llanilltud (Fawr).

Llanofer: [SO317093] (Eng. *Llanover*)

Attestations

ecclesia de Lanmouor LL p. 321 c. 1350

Location

This church is named in a list of properties in the deanery of **Abergefenni**. The identification followed here was made by both Evans and Richards.²¹ If the explanation below of the place-name's form be accepted then the

²¹ Baring-Gould, *Lives*, III, 387.

²² LL, p. 408; WATU, p. 135, s.v. *Llanofer Fawr*.

identification seems satisfactory.

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

Richards summarises the development of this place-name as: *Llanfofor* > *Llanofor* > *Llanofer*.²³ The personal-name element would be the same as that in *Merthyr Mawr* (one of the LL forms of which is *Merthir Mouor*).

Llanover: see *Llanofer*.

Llanpumsaint: see †*Lan Teliâu Pimp Seint*.

Llanrhymni: see *Keynsham*.

Llanrothal: [SO470186]

Attestations

Lann ridol

LL

p. 275 c. 1120s

Location

This church is named in a list of *Ergyng* churches. The identification with *Llanrothal* (grid reference above) was made by Evans,²⁴ and seems reasonable on grounds of the place-name's appearance and the location in *Ergyng*.

Elements

LLAN + ?personal name

The LL spelling *ridol* would most likely represent either **Rhiddol* or **Rhyddol* in modern orthography, the latter of which would be more likely to yield *Llanrothal*. There might be a connexion with the nearby names *Trythel Barn* (if [tr] is an English approximation of Welsh [p]) and *Ruthlin*. I would speculatively suggest that the church might have taken its name from the stream on which it stands [SO468185], and that that stream was named **Rhyddol* (*rhydd* 'free' + the adjectival suffix -OL).

Llansanffraid: [SO357100] (Eng. *Llansantffraed*)

Attestations

ecclesia de sancta Brigida

LL

p. 321 c. 1350

²³ WATU, p. 135, s.v. *Llanofer Fawr*. Other examples of loss of initial [v] in the second element of LLAN place-names can be seen on the same page (*Llannor* and *Llanol*).

²⁴ LL, p. 409. Richards's gives *Llanridol* as an earlier form of *Llanrothal* (WATU, p. 135) which suggests the same identification.

Location

The attestation is from a list of churches in the deanery of **Abergefenni**. Evans identified this reference as '*Ll. Sant Ffrêd, Mon.*' (i.e. Llanfanffraid at the grid reference above), which is reasonable as the usual Welsh name for Brigidine churches is *Llanfanffraid*, and this is the only *Llanfanffraid* place-name in the deanery of **Abergefenni**.

Elements

ECCLESIA + DE + SANCTA (abl.) + *personal name* (abl.)

Llanfanffraid-ar-Elái: see (2) †**Lann San Bregit**.

Llanfanffraid-ar-Ogwr: see **St Bride's Minor**.

Llansannor: see †**Nant Auan**.

Llansantffraed: see **Llanfanffraid**.

Llansanwyr: see †**Nant Auan**.

Llansawel: see **Briton Ferry**.

Llan-soe: [SO442024] (Eng. *Llansoy*)

Attestations

podum sancti Tisoi	LLch.187	p. 187	'c. 725'
Lann TYSSOI	LLrub.	p. 187	c. 1120s
ecclesia de Landissoy	LL	p. 321	c. 1350
Ecc'ia de Landesoy	LL	p. 328	c. 1350

Location

This place is named in charter 187 (which records its grant) and in two lists of properties in the deanery of **Usk**. Bounds are given in charter 187 which, by their location of the territory between the **Olwy** and the **Pill** brook, confirm the identification of the place with modern **Llan-soe** (grid reference above).²⁵

Elements

LLAN + personal name

PODUM + SANCTUS (gen.) + personal name

The LL forms of the personal-name element are prefixed by hypocoristic *ty-*, which does not appear in the modern forms.

Llansoy: see **Llan-soe**.

Llantarnam: see (1) †**Lamyhangel**.

Llanthewy Skirrid: see **Llanddewi Ysgryd**.

(1) Llanthony: [SO288278] (*W. Llanddewi Nant Hodni*)

Attestations

<i>priorem de lantoene</i>	LLb.37	p. 63	1131
Lanthotheni	G.C.Op., 6 ²⁶	p. 37	s. xii ^{ex}
<i>priorem de Lantony</i>	LLgloss	p. 63	1476x78

Location

LLb.37 is a letter from Pope Innocent II informing Bishop Urban that the church of **Hereford** has chosen Robert, Prior of Llanthony, to be its bishop. Llanthony Abbey was founded at a site on the bank of the **Honddu**, at the grid reference above, but it was abandoned in 1134, and the community took refuge at the palace of their former prior, Robert, now Bishop of **Hereford**. Two years later the Earl of Hereford established the monks in a new priory near **Gloucester**—see (2) **Llanthony**.²⁷

Elements

NANT + **Honddu**

Thomas repeats Gerald of Wales's explanation that the place-name originated in the confusion of the element NANT in **Nant Hoddni* (preserved in the Welsh name for the priory, *Llanddewi Nant Hodni*) with LLAN.²⁸

(2) Llanthony: [SO8117]

Attestations

<i>Prior de Lanthony</i>	LL	p. 328	c. 1350
<i>Prior de Lanthony</i>	LL	p. 328	c. 1350
lanthoñ	LLgloss	p. 327	s. xvi
<i>Prior de lanthoñ</i>	LLgloss	p. 327	s. xvi

Location

See (1) **Llanthony**. Although a few monks remained at the original site of the

²⁵ LL, p. 409; WATU, p. 110, s.v. *Llandysoe*; Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 112.

²⁶ Dimock, *Itinerarium Kambriæ et Descriptio Kambriæ*.

²⁷ Herbermann, *Catholic Encyclopedia*, IX, 316, s.v. *Llanthony Priory*.

²⁸ EANC, p. 150.

abbey, the principal site (*Llanthony Secunda*) was the one near Gloucester (at the grid reference above), so references to the Prior of *Llanthony* after 1134 would be to the later site.²⁹ In any case, one of the two attestations on page 328 is specified as being ‘*iuxta Gloucestriam*’ (next to Gloucester). The two attestations on page 327 are later additions to the list of tithes payable in the deanery of *Abergefenni*. It is not certain that *Llanthony* is meant by ‘*lanthoñ*’, but that is Evans’s assumption, and it seems probable.³⁰

Elements

(1) *Llanthony*

Llantilio Crossenny: see *Llandeilo Gresynni*.

Llantilio Pertholey: see *Llandeilo Bertholau*.

Llantridddy: [ST043728] (Eng. *Llantrithyd*)

Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Lanryryd</i>	LL	p. 324	c. 1350
<i>Ecc’ia de Lanririd</i>	LL	p. 330	c. 1350

Location

Both attestations are from lists of churches in the deanery of *Llandaf*. I see no reason to doubt the identification, followed here, made by both Evans and Pierce.³¹ *Llantridddy* falls within the area of the deanery, and Pierce lists many examples of forms of the place-name similar to the LL ones.

Elements

?NANT + personal name

In his discussion of this place-name, Pierce concludes that Williams was probably correct in his analysis of the name as deriving from NANT + the personal name *Rhirid*.³² This would then be an example of the element NANT becoming confused with LLAN. The *t* of the place-name is explained as deriving from NANT. The unusual sound change seen in *Rhirid* > *Rhiddyd* is notable.³³

²⁹ Herbermann, *Catholic Encyclopedia*, IX, 316, s.v. *Llanthony Priory*.

³⁰ LL, p. 409.

³¹ LL, p. 409; PNDinas P., pp. 121–24.

³² PNDinas P., pp. 123–24; Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 10.

³³ Phillimore gives other examples of the same change: Owen, *Description of Penbrokshire*, II, 321.

Llantrisant: [ST391969] (Eng. *Llantrisant*, *Llantrissent*)Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Lantrissan</i>	LL	p. 321	c. 1350
<i>ecc'ia de Lantrissan</i>	LL	p. 328	c. 1350

Location

This church is named in two administrative lists of properties in the deanery of Usk (the latter in reference to tithes owed by the prior of (2) Llanthony for this church). The *Gazetteer* lists three places by this name: one in the deanery of Usk (grid reference above), one elsewhere in the diocese (**Llantrisant**), and one outside the diocese in Anglesey (**Môn**) [SH3683]; clearly the first of these is the one indicated by the attestations.

Elements

LLAN + TRI + SANT

The modern Welsh form of the name *Llantrisant*, and one of the English forms, *Llantrissent*, show the plural of SANT, but the LL form is based on the singular (with the [t] assimilated to preceding [n], as in SAN). Another example of the same place-name can be found in **Llantrisant**. For similar dedications to multiple (numbered) saints see †**Lann i Doudec Seith**, †**Lann i Doudec Sent**, and †**Lan Teliaw Pimp Seint**.

Llantrisant: [ST046834]Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Lantrissan</i>	LL	p. 324	c. 1350
<i>Ecc'ia de Lantrissan</i>	LL	p. 330	c. 1350

Location

This church is named in two administrative lists of properties in the deanery of Llandaf. The *Gazetteer* lists three places by this name: one in the deanery of Llandaf (grid reference above), one elsewhere in the diocese (**Llantrisant**), and one outside the diocese in Anglesey (**Môn**) (SH3683); clearly the first of these is the one indicated by the attestations.

Elements

LLAN + TRI + SANT

Another example of the same place-name can be found in **Llantrisant**. For similar dedications to multiple (numbered) saints see †**Lann i Doudec Seith**,

†Lann i Doudec Sent, and †Lan Teliau Pimp Seint.

Llantrissent: see Llantrisaint.

Llantrithyd: see Llantridddy.

Llantwit Major: see Llanilltud (Fawr).

Llanvaches: see Llanfaches, †Merthir Maches.

Llanvair-Discoed: see †Lan Ueyr.

Llanvapley: see Llanfable, †Mable.

Llanvetherine: see Llanwytherin.

Llanvihangel Court: see Llanfihangel Torymynydd, †Lan Vihangell Kennan, (1)
†Lamyhangel.

Llanvihangel Crucorney: see Llanfihangel Crucornau.

Llanvihangel Gobion: see †Ecclesia Sancti Michaelis iuxta Usk.

Llanvihangel Pontymoel: see †Kilgoygan.

Llanwarne: [SO505281] (also †Lann Guern Teliau ha Dibric, ?†Hen Lenhic)

Attestations

lannguern	LLch.200	p. 200	'c. 758'
<i>LADGVERN</i>	DB	fol. 181d	1086
LANN GVERN	LLrub.	p. 200	c. 1120s
lannguern	LL	p. 276	c. 1120s
lanngnern	LL	p. 277	c. 1120s

Location

Charter 200, which refers twice to *Lann Guern*, concerns the grant of †Hen Lenhic. It is clear from the phrasing in both the rubric and the Narration that there is a close relationship between *Lann Guern* and †Hen Lenhic—either the two are different names for the same place, or †Hen Lenhic is being defined as being near or belonging to *Lann Guern*.⁴⁴ Whatever the relationship, *Lann Guern* is said by the charter's rubric to be in Ergyng, and the place granted is described as lying on the *Amyr*. The *Amyr* is probably the Gamber,

⁴⁴ See †Hen Lenhic for further discussion of this relationship.

so the location and the appearance of the name suit the identification with Llanwarne.³⁵ The attestations from pages 276 and 277 are from a list of churches in Ergyng over which Bishop Herewald exercised pastoral care. *Lann Guern* appears twice in the list, which is peculiar, but it is reasonable to assume that the second reference is just a fuller version of the first (a *Gulcet filius Asser* and a *Semion* or *Simeon* are mentioned as priests of the church in both). *Llanwarne* is the only place-name known to me in the area of Ergyng which looks like it could derive from *Lann Guern*, so the identification seems reasonable.³⁶ In a shorter version of this list of Ergyng churches (without the references to Herewald's activities) probably the same church is known as †*Lann Guern Teliau ha Dibric*. In Domesday Book a *Ladgvern*, identified with Llanwarne, is mentioned which was a dependency of the manor of Holme Lacy, belonging to the canons of Hereford cathedral.³⁷

Elements

LLAN + GWERN

Llanwarw: [SO485108] (Eng. Wonastow; also †*Ecclesia Gurthebiriuc*)

Attestations

Lanngunguarui super Troddi LLrub. p. 201 c. 1120s

Location

Lann Gungarui is the name given in the rubric to the property granted in charter 201 (called †*Ecclesia Gurthebiriuc* in the Narrative). Bounds are supplied which, however, provide no independent evidence for the location of this place, apart from what is already known from the rubric: that it is on the Troddi. Evans made the identification with Wonastow, which is plausible as regards location (it is on the Troddi).³⁸ Wonastow—recorded in LL as *Wonwarestowe*—is quite clearly an English calque on *Lann Gunguarui*, so the identification can be confirmed on the ground of the form.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

The personal-name element *Gunguarui* has been contracted in the modern

³⁵ LL, p. 408; Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 116.

³⁶ LL, p. 408; Finberg, *The Early Charters*, p. 140.

³⁷ Morris, *Domesday Book*, xvii: *Herefordshire*, 2,12 (and n.).

Welsh form of the place-name.

Llanwenarth: [SO275148]

Attestations

<i>ecclesia</i> de Lanwaynarth	LL	p. 320	c. 1350
Ecc'ia de Lanwaynarth	LL	p. 327	c. 1350

Location

Evans made the identification followed here,³⁹ which is plausible given the context of the attestation—a list of churches in the deanery of †**Nether Went**—and the place-name's appearance.

Elements

LLAN + personal name

The personal name element is probably the same as in †**Lann Sant Guainerth** (mod. *St Weonard's*).

Llan-wern: see †**Lann Guern Cinuc**, †**Lan Waryn**.

Llanwinio: see †**Eccluis Guiniau**.

Llanwynell: see **Wolvesnewton**.

Llanwynno: see †**Ager Guinna**.

Llanwytherin: [SO364171] (Eng. *Llanvetherine*)

Attestations

<i>ęcclesiam</i> gueithirin	LLch.228	p. 228	'c. 876'
Ęcclesia Gueithirin	LLrub.	p. 228	c. 1120s
<i>ecclesia</i> de Lanwytheryn	LL	p. 320	c. 1350
Ecc'ia de Lanwytheryn	LL	p. 327	c. 1350

Location

This church is granted by charter 228, and its name also occurs in two lists of properties in the deanery of **Abergefenni**. Bounds are supplied with the charter, and these bounds refer to the **Troddi**. The place-name's distinctive appearance and location in the deanery of **Abergefenni** near the **Troddi** leave no room for doubt over Evans's identification with modern **Llanvetherine**

* LL, p. 408.

* LL, p. 409.

(grid reference above).⁴⁰

Elements

LLAN + personal name

ECCLESIA + personal name

The personal name element is *Gwytherin*, the Welsh development of Latin *Victorianus*.⁴¹

Llanymynach Brook: see †**Manach Rivulus**.

Llaythty Teliau: see †**Laithti Teliau**.

Llebenydd: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

Lebinid

LLrub.

p. 261 c. 1120s

Location

Lebinid is given as the location of †**Hennriu** in the rubric of charter 261. It was identified by Evans as ‘*A Commote in Guent Is Coed*’,⁴² that is *Llebenydd*, in modern orthography.⁴³ The identification is very likely to be correct on grounds of appearance (but see below) and location (†**Hennriu** is within the area of the commote).

Elements

? + -YDD

The LL spelling of the place-name is a little odd for two reasons: the vowel of the second syllable seems to be wrong (neither Old nor Middle Welsh *i* would normally represent [e]), and the use of *b* to represent [b] in intervocalic position is also unusual at this date.

Llech: see †**Nant Cenou**.

Lloegr: [NGR N/A] (Eng. *England*; also *Anglia*)

Attestations

loegria

LLgloss

p. 225 1476x78

Location

David Llywelyn (the glossator) refers, in a marginal comment, to *Loegria* as

⁴⁰ Ibid.. Davies makes the same identification: *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 122.

⁴¹ Richards, *Enwau Tir a Gwlad*, p. 203.

⁴² LL, p. 409.

the location of the martyrdom of St Alban. *Loegria* is a Latinisation (coined by Geoffrey of Monmouth) of *Lloegr*.

used /

Elements

Hamp derives this name from **(p)les-okri-s* 'having a nearby border, being from near the border'.⁴⁴

Llowes: see †Lann Meilic ha Lyguess, †Podum Liuhess.

Llwchwr: [SS456993] (Eng. *Loughor*)

Attestations

Luchur	LLch.140	p. 140	s. xi ¹
luchuc	LLch.140	p. 140	s. xi ¹
lychur	LLch.140	p. 141	s. xi ¹
ll6chwr	LLgloss	p. 140	1476x78

Location

The first three attestations are from the bounds of **Llandeilo Tal-y-bont**, and the last one is an marginal note by David Llywelyn, noting that **Llandeilo Tal-y-bont** seems to be near the Llwchwr. There are good grounds for locating **Llandeilo Tal-y-bont** on the Llwchwr, and some of the other points in the bounds still bear the same names today, so there is no difficulty in making this identification.

Elements

?LLUG + ?*-AR

This river was known to the Romans as the *Leuca*, and the fort on its bank (modern *Casllwchwr*, Eng. *Loughor* [SS5697]) was called *Leucarum*.⁴⁵ There are two problems here—the first is the origin of the final syllable in *-r* of the modern name for the river, and the second is how the *c* of the name in the Roman period came to give the [χ] of the modern Welsh and English forms of the name. Jackson suggested that the river might have had two names: the *Leuca* attested in the Ravenna Cosmography, and another, **Leucara*, from which the fort took its name.⁴⁶ A suffix **-ār(a)* is well known as a river- or

⁴⁴ WATU, pp. 144 and 277.

⁴⁵ 'Lloegr', p. 85.

⁴⁶ PNRom. Brit., pp. 388–89.

⁴⁷ LHEB, p. 688, n. 2; PNRom. Brit., p. 389.

water-suffix.⁴⁷ **Leucara* is plausible as a river name (it is thought to lie behind the Ayrshire river name *Lugar*),⁴⁸ and it would explain the final *-r* of *Llwchwr*. To explain the [χ] of the modern forms of the name Jackson had to posit yet another bye-form, **Luccara*.⁴⁹ Perhaps Jackson was thinking that **Luccara* could have arisen from **Leucara* by folk etymology—**Leucara* would have meant something like ‘the shining river’,⁵⁰ but it might have been thought that the river name was based on **luccos* (which yielded modern LLWCH) instead of **leucos* (which yielded modern *llug* ‘light, brightness’). The vowel quality of the second syllable of *Llwchwr* could be explained as the result of influence from the first syllable, or as part of the same dialectal development of [a:] > [u] as seen in the adjectival suffix *-āk-* > *-wg* (see -OG).

Llwydarth: see †Lann Teliau Litgarth, †Lann Teliau Penn Litgarth.

Llwyn-deri: see †Lann Tituil.

Llwyneliddon: [ST110729] (Eng. St Lythans)

Attestations

luin Elidon	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Luin Elidon	LLb.25	p. 44	1129

Location

Llwyneliddon is the Welsh name for the place called in English **St Lythans**. Pierce listed these attestations of *Luin Elidon* under his discussion of **St Lythans**.⁵¹ The attestations come from two versions of a list of properties confirmed to Llandaf by the Pope, and the fact that in both cases *Luin Elidon* immediately follows (2) †*Gulich* does suggest that the identification with modern Llwyneliddon is correct. One element of doubt might be raised, however, by the fact that *Ecclesia Elidon* also occurs in both of the lists which mention *Luin Elidon*, and it would be odd for the same place to be mentioned twice. Two explanations suggest themselves: either the repetition is a mistake, or *Ecclesia Elidon* and *Luin Elidon* are two different places (but not necessarily far removed from each other—one name might apply to the

⁴⁷ PNRom. Brit., p. 389.

⁴⁸ Ibid..

⁴⁹ LHFB, p. 688, n. 2.

⁵⁰ PNRom. Brit., pp. 388–89.

building and the other to its territory).

Elements

LLWYN + personal name⁵²

Llymon: [SO443139]

Attestations

liminan	LLch.210a	p. 210	'c. 780'–c. 1010
liman	LLch.240	p. 241	s. xi ¹
liman	LLch.240	p. 241	s. xi ¹
liman	LLch.240	p. 241	s. xi ¹
liman	LLch.240	p. 241	s. xi ¹
liman	LLch.240	p. 241	s. xi ¹
liuan	LLch.240	p. 241	s. xi ¹

Location

The attestations are drawn from three boundary clauses: those of †Cair Riou (page 210), Llan-llwydd (the first three on page 241), and Llanfaenor (the last three on page 241). The territory of †Cair Riou is defined essentially as 'inter distin *et* liminan', that is between the †Distin and the *Liminan*. If the identification of †Distin in these bounds with Crofft Hîr Brook is correct, then *Liminan* here is very probably to be identified with the Llymon (given the similarity of *Liminan* to *Llymon* and the proximity of the Llymon to Crofft Hîr Brook). Thomas suggested that the *Liminan* might instead be a tributary of the Llymon, but the topology of the area does not fit with this suggestion.⁵³ The attestations from the two sets of bounds on page 241 can all be much more securely identified with the Llymon. The *Liman* marks the bounds of Llan-llwydd's territory on the eastern side, which suits the identification very well. The bounds of Llanfaenor describe a wedge of territory between the *Distir* (†Distin) and the *Liman*, and that place does indeed lie between the Llymon and Crofft Hîr Brook. Evans identified all the attestations with the Llymon, and this was repeated by Thomas (with the proviso discussed above that the

⁵¹ PNDinas P., pp. 260–2.

⁵² *Ibid.*.

⁵³ EANC, p. 74, s.v. †Llymon.

Liminan might instead be a tributary of the Llymon).⁵⁴

Elements

LLYM + -AN

I agree with Thomas's assertion that the form *liuan* is a mistake for *liman* (presumably a hyper-correction by a scribe who was used to updating intervocal *m* ([v] < [m]) to *u* ([v]). Thomas suggested the derivation from the adjective *llym* 'sharp, pointed; keen; acute; vehement' with the river-name suffix -AN.⁵⁵ If the *liminan* of charter 210a is the Llymon, then it seems unlikely that that form shows the different etymology *llymin* (< LLYM) + -AN. More likely, *liminan* is an error for *liman*, perhaps, though, under the influence of *llymin*.

Llynfi: [SO178389]

Attestations

Lyfni	LLch.146	p. 146	s. xi ¹
lyfni	LLch.146	p. 146	s. xi ¹
Lyfni	LLch.146	p. 146	s. xi ¹
Leveni	Cartularium ⁵⁶	p. 158	s. xii ^{med}
fluvium Leveni	G.C.Op., 6 ⁵⁷	p. 21	s. xii ^{ex}
Lleueny River	Leland ⁵⁸	p. 107	1536–39
Blain Lleueni	Leland ⁵⁹	p. 107	1536–39
Llyfny	Owen ⁶⁰	III, 320	s. xvii
Lhynvi, Lhyfni	Lhuyd Paroch. ⁶¹	pt 2, pp. 29–30	c. 1700

Location

All the attestations are from the bounds of **Llan-gors**. There is no problem with the identification of **Llan-gors**, and the bounds refer to the fact that the *Lyfni* flows into **Llyn Syfaddan**, which confirms the identification with the **Llynfi**.

⁵⁴ LL, pp. 378–79, and 410; EANC, pp. 73–74, s.v. †*Llymon*.

⁵⁵ EANC, p. 74, s.v. †*Llymon*.

⁵⁶ Banks, 'Cartularium'.

⁵⁷ Dimock, *Itinerarium Kambriæ et Descriptio Kambriæ*.

⁵⁸ Smith, *The Itinerary*.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*.

⁶⁰ *Description of Penbrokshire*.

⁶¹ Lhwyd, *Parochialia*.

Elements

LLYFN + -I

Thomas takes the name to be based on *llyfn* 'smooth' with the river-name suffix -I.⁶² The metathesis, which appears (from the forms given by Thomas) to have taken place during the seventeenth century, might have been partly due to the influence of LLYN (the river flows through **Llyn Syfaddan**).

Llyn Syfaddan: [SO1326] (Eng. *Llangorse Lake*)Attestations

linn Syuadon	LLch.146	p. 146	s. xi ¹
aqua vocetur llinn ynys yvavon	LLgloss	p. 146	1476x78

Location

This lake is mentioned in the bounds of **Llan-gors** and in a gloss on those bounds. The identification can be regarded as secure: in addition to the simple fact of the name's appearance, there are enough identifiable points in the bounds for it to be clear that the area described borders on the lake. The fifteenth-century gloss is a comment on the fat bream to be found in the lake. Gerald of Wales also comments on the good fishing in the lake (which he refers to simply as 'lacus ille de Brecheniuauc [...] quem et Clamosum dicunt'), but the fish which he mentions are pike, perch, trout, and eels.⁶³

Elements

LLYN + ?

Thomas is uncertain about the meaning of the second element, but he mentions Rhÿs's suggestion that it is derived from the Irish female personal name *Samthann*.⁶⁴ The glossator appears to assume that this place-name contains the element YNYS.

Lochou: see †**Mais Mail Lochou**.

Locus, Bellus: see **Beaulieu**.

Loegria: see **Lloegr**.

⁶² EANC, p. 161.

⁶³ Dimock, *Itinerarium Kambriæ et Descriptio Kambriæ*, p. 33. 'That lake of Brycheiniog, which they also call the Noisy One.'

⁶⁴ EANC, p. 167, s.v. *Syfyddi*; *Celtic Folklore*, 1, 74.

London: [TQ3079] (Fr. Londres)Attestations

lunduniensi	LL	p. 280	1107–34
Lundonię	LL	p. 266	1120s
lundonię	LLb.9	p. 49	1125
Lundoniensis	LLb.10	p. 49	1125
lundoniis	LL	p. 29	1126
lundonię	LLb.11	p. 52	1128
Londoniis	LL	p. 294	1304–05
Londoniis	LL	p. 295	1304–05
londonie	LL	p. 334	c. 1350

Location

There is no reason to doubt that these are all references to London. The earliest attestation is a reference to the presence of Maurice, bishop of London, at the consecration of Bishop Urban. Another Maurice of London (probably the same as the Maurice FitzWilliam ‘delundriis’ who is chastised in LLb.16—see **Londres**) was present (page 26) at the agreement in 1126 between Urban and Robert, count of **Gloucester**. Three of the attestations (pages 49 and 52) are references to two legatine councils held in London in 1125 and 1127. The two references to a cleric named Johannes de Londoniis (pages 294 to 295) are from an account of a dispute over the church of **Newland**. On page 266 there is an account of Herewald’s consecration as bishop. The consecration is said to have taken place in 1059 in London, and the ceremony performed by Archbishop Cynesige (much the same story is found on page 313—see **Londres**). The historical evidence surrounding Herewald’s consecration is contradictory; John Davies concluded that it probably happened in 1056, possibly at the hands of Cynesige in **York**.⁶⁵

Londres: [TQ3079] (Eng. London)Attestations

lundriis	LLb.16	p. 37	1128
Londres	LL	p. 313	c. 1350

⁶⁵ ‘The Book of Llandaf’, pp. 26–29.

Location

There is no reason to doubt that these are both references to **London**, in its French form, *Londres*. The earlier attestation is from a papal rebuke to various nobles accused of plundering the church of Llandaf. The relevant noble here is Maurice FitzWilliam ‘delundriis’ (a Latinised form based on *Londres*). The later attestation is from a French-language document, giving potted biographies of the bishops of Llandaf. Here the story of Herewald’s consecration as bishop in London at the hands of Archbishop Cynesige is repeated (much the same story is found on page 266—see **London**).

†**Longa Insula:** [nr SO367141]Attestations

longam insulam LLch.171b p. 172 c. 990–c. 1010

Location

This feature is named as a point in the bounds of **Llanfable**. It is mentioned in the bounds following a stretch of boundary between two castles (‘*inter duo castella*’) and preceding the terminus of the bounds in the **Troddi**. The only point in the bounds to have been identified is the **Troddi**, so the best that can be said is that this place-name applied to a feature (probably a meadow (YNYS)) on the **Troddi** near **Llanfable**.

Elements

LONGUS (fem.) + *INSULA*

This Latin name, literally ‘long island’, is probably a translation of a Welsh form **Ynys Hir* (YNYS + HIR), so *insula* here could mean ‘meadow’ instead of ‘island’.

Longuern: see †**Louern**.

Lonion: see **Lanion**.

†**Lontre Tunbulch:** [nr ST387873]Attestations

lontre tunbulch LLch.180b p. 183 s. xi¹
[i]r lontre tunbulch LLch.180b p. 183 s. xi¹

Location

This ridge is mentioned as a point in the bounds of †**Lann Catgualatir**

(identified with Bishton—grid reference above). The bounds are lengthy, but following them is greatly hindered by the fact that a large steelworks now occupies much of the area described, and, furthermore, much of the terrain is low-lying (and originally marshy), so landscape features have probably been lost through drainage works. The feature occurs in the bounds between †**Cecyn Chethin** and the mouth (ABER) of †**Nant Alun**, but separated from both of them by marshland (CORS). If the interpretation of the first element as LLODRE is correct then the place-name perhaps applied to a homestead (or the remains of one) in the marshland to the south of Bishton.

Elements

?LLODRE + ?personal name

Thomas includes this under his examples of place-names exhibiting the element LLODRE,⁶⁶ so *lontre* would probably be an error for *lotre*. Interestingly, the second element also looks like an error—probably a misreading of *tutbulch* (the personal name *Tudfwlch* in LL orthography). If a *t* had been misread as an *n* in *tutbulch/tunbulch*, then possibly the *n* in *lontre* also arose through a misreading of an original *t*.

Lord Hereford's Knob: see **Bwch**.

†**Lost ir Inis:** [nr †**Lann Cerniu**, on the **Dore**]

Attestations

lost irinis	LLch.72b	p. 73	'c. 580'–c. 930
lost irinis	LLch.72b	p. 73	'c. 580'–c. 930

Location

This feature is attested as a point in the bounds of †**Lann Cerniu**, which has not, however, been identified further than to say that is on the **Dore**.

Elements

LLOST + YR + YNYS

Padel compared this name with the identically formed Breton *Lostanenez*.⁶⁷

The element *llost* 'tail' perhaps denotes a tapering piece of land.

Lotre Elidon: see †**Hen Lotre Elidon**.

⁶⁶ EANC, p. 82.

⁶⁷ CPNE, p. 154, s.v. *lost*.

†**Louern:** [nr ST556958]Attestations

louern	LLch.174b	p. 175	'c. 878'–c. 930
longuern	LLch.229b	p. 229	'c. 878'–c. 930

Location

Both attestations are from bounds of †**Ecclesia Istrat Hafren**. Charter 174b appears to give two different boundaries (perhaps for adjoining territories, or just different ways of defining the same territory), only the second of which is used in charter 229b. The bounds in which *Louern* occurs appear to be dimensional, with *Louern* opposed to (2) †**Glasguern**. The exact location of †**Ecclesia Istrat Hafren** is not certain, and none of the boundary points has been securely identified, but the territory should be somewhere in the vicinity of Tidenham (grid reference above).

Elements

?LLEWYRN

Probably *Longuern* should be amended to *Louguern*. The name looks very much like the noun LLEWYRN (spelt *lowern* in **Ystum Llywern**), and, if so, it would probably be the name of a stream (as has been suggested for the second element of **Ystum Llywern**).

Loughor: see **Llwchwr**.

Louhai: see †**Ager Louhai**.

Louhelic: see †**Nant Louhelic**.

Lowern: see **Llanfihangel Ystum Llywern**, **Ystum Llywern**.

†**Luch Cinahi:** [?in SO4303]Attestations

blain luch cinahi	LLch.187	p. 188	s. x
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Location

This name is used of a point in the bounds of **Llan-soe**, between (1) †**Tollcoit** and †**Main Cinahi**, or, more broadly, between †**Cair Enuin** and the **Olwy**. The fort identified as †**Cair Enuin** is only about eight hundred metres from the **Olwy**, so, if that identification is correct, the general location of *Luch Cinahi* is clear enough (in the grid square above). The fact that *Luch Cinahi*

has a **BLAEN** and seems to be followed down to the **Olwy**, suggests that it is the name of a stream, which is not a usual meaning for **LLWCH**. Thomas mentions that **LLWCH** is sometimes used in combination with the name of a river or stream to denote its source,⁶⁸ which offers a possible explanation (*Cinahi* would then be the name of the stream), but it would leave the phrase ‘blain luch cinahi’ slightly tautologous (unless the word **BLAEN** originated as a gloss on **LLWCH**). Alternatively we could leave *Luch Cinahi* as the name of a pool, with the **BLAEN** indicating its top end, and what is said to be followed down to the **Olwy** could be the boundary itself, rather than a stream.

Elements

LLWCH + ?personal name

Cinahi recurs in †**Main Cinahi** (the next point in the same bounds) and †**Fos Cinahi** (in the bounds of **Llandeilo Gresynni**).

†**Luch Edilbiu**: [nr ST2682]

Attestations

luch edilbiv LLch.190b p. 191 s. xi¹

Location

This feature is mentioned as a point in the bounds of **Marshfield**. Its place in the bounds is between the end (**PEN**) of †**Guern Du** and a dyke (**CLAWDD**) leading to the sea. **Marshfield** is on the edge of **Wentlooge Level**, the landscape of which has probably changed considerably since the time of these bounds. I cannot identify any of the named features in these bounds, so the grid reference is simply for the **Marshfield** area.

Elements

LLWCH + personal name

†**Luch Ferdun**: [SO337272]

Attestations

[i]r luch ferdun LLch.195 p. 196 s. xi²

Location

This pool is named as a point in the bounds of †**Merthir Clitauc**. It is located on **Mynydd Merddin**, between †**Nant Cum Cinreith** and the source (**BLAEN**)

⁶⁸ EANC, p. 33, s.v. *Sawddai*.

of the †Hilin. On Mynydd Merddin, between the sources of the possible candidates for †Nant Cum Cinreith and the †Hilin, two pools are shown on the current Ordnance Survey 1:25 000 map of the area, the larger of which is at the grid reference above, and the other is at SO341276.⁶⁹ The larger of the two seems the more likely identification.

Elements

LLWCH + ?personal name

The qualifying element is the same as in Mynydd Merddin.

†Luch i Crecion: [?SO293152]

Attestations

luch icrecion LLch.122 p. 123 s. xi¹

Location

This pool is attested as a point in the bounds of **Llandeilo Bertholau**, between †Guern i Drution and a point on the Cibi. The bounds are running from the direction of the **Gefenni** across land which is now mostly urbanised, which hinders easy identification, but there are two pools close together on the left bank of the Cibi, the larger of which is at the grid reference suggested above.

Elements

LLWCH + YR + ?

The qualifying element appears to be a plural noun in *-ion*. It might be from **CRAIG**, though the usual plural forms are *creigiau* and *creigydd*,⁷⁰ or it might be from *cragen/crogen* ‘shell’, the plural forms of which are *cregyn*, *cragennau*, or *crogennau*.⁷¹

†Luch ir Eilin: [?SO453174]

Attestations

luch ireilin LLch.171b p. 173 s. xi¹

Location

This feature is named as a point in the boundary clause for †Lann Tipallai. The point is reached by following a dyke (CLAWDD) from the source (LLYGAD)

⁶⁹ The same pools were suggested as identities for *Luch Ferdun* by Rollason (‘The Boundaries’, pp. 65–66).

⁷⁰ GPC, I, 578.

⁷¹ GPC, I, 577.

of the (2) †Arganhell, and the boundary proceeds to follow a PANT to †Castell Meirch. No pools are marked in the vicinity of the point suggested as the source of the (2) †Arganhell on the current Ordnance Survey 1:25 000 scale map of the area, so perhaps LLWCH has the sense here of 'stream source' (a sense noted by Thomas).⁷² If LLWCH here does have the sense of 'stream source', then the stream itself would be called *Eilin*, and indeed a stream with this name (†Eilin) is mentioned in the bounds of Llanfocha. If the identifications suggested for †Duir in Dair and the source of the (2) †Arganhell are correct then the bounds run anticlockwise, and the next stream source in this direction after that of the (2) †Arganhell would be the one at the grid reference above.

Elements

LLWCH + YR + ?(1) †Eilin

Eilin also occurs as an element in †Nant ir Eilin, where GPC considered it a variant of the common noun EILON (attested in †Nant Eilon).⁷³ If *Eilin* in this place-name is the name of a stream, we should not expect it to be preceded by the article (use of the article with river and stream names is common in English, but very uncommon in Welsh).

Luchuc, Luchur: see Llwchwr.

†Luhin Latron: [?SS6091] (?mod. *Clyne Wood*)

Attestations

penn Luhin latron LLch.145 p. 146 s. xi¹

Location

The identity of this grove (LLWYN), an end of which is mentioned as a point in the bounds of Llandeilo Ferwallt, is uncertain, due to the paucity of identifiable features in the bounds. Evans identified it with Clyne Wood (grid reference above),⁷⁴ but I do not know what the basis for his identification is. Evans's suggested identifications for this place and the (1) †Dubleis (from earlier in the same bounds), seem rather too close together for a boundary which would then have to enclose a large area.

⁷² EANC, p. 33, s.v. *Sawddai*.

⁷³ GPC, I, 1192.

⁷⁴ LL, p. 415, s.v. *Penn Luhin Latron*.

ElementsLLWYN + LLEIDR (pl.)⁵

For another LLEIDR name see †Nant Bach Latron.

Luin Elidon: see Llwyneliddon.**Luin Guaidan:** see †Lann Teliau Luin Guaidan.**†Luin Helic:** [?nr SO483032]Attestations

luin helic	LLch.240	p. 242	s. xi ²
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Location

This grove is used as a point in the bounds of (1) Llanisien. Its position in the bounds is between the sources of †Nant Cichmann and the Anghidi Fawr. If Thomas is correct in his identification of the source of the Anghidi Fawr as Hygga [SO485037], then *Luin Helic* should be near the grid reference suggested in the heading.⁶ If, on the other hand, the source of that stream is Ffynnon Gaer [SO495037], then *Luin Helic* would be somewhere near SO496040. In his translation of the bounds, Evans seemed to imply that *Luin Helic* might be identified with Hygga,⁷ but this does not seem likely to me, as *Hygga* is not used of any feature above the source of the Anghidi Fawr, but, rather, it is applied to a farm just to the east of the source [SO486036], and to a dingle through which the stream flows [SO488031].

Elements

LLWYN + HELYG

The final element could alternatively be the personal name *Helig* (cf. †Ager Helyg).

†Luin Ili: [nr ST556958]Attestations

guarthaf luin ili	LLch.174b	p. 175	'c. 878'–c. 930
guarthaf luin ili	LLch.229b	p. 229	'c. 878'–c. 930

⁵ GPC, II, 2145; CPNE, p. 141, s.v. *lader*.

⁶ EANC, p. 128.

⁷ LL, p. 379.

Location

Both attestations are from bounds of †**Ecclesia Istrat Hafren**. Charter 174b appears to give two different boundaries (perhaps for adjoining territories, or just different ways of defining the same territory), only the second of which is used in charter 229b. The bounds in which *Luin Ili* occurs appear to be dimensional, with the grove (LLWYN) opposed to the sea. The exact location of †**Ecclesia Istrat Hafren** is not certain, and none of the boundary points has been securely identified, but the territory should be somewhere in the vicinity of Tidenham (grid reference above). The sea would probably mark the eastern boundary of an estate near Tidenham, in which case *Luin Ili* would be on western side of the estate.

Elements

LLWYN + personal name

†**Luin Ina**: [nr the Nofydd]Attestations

luin ina	LLch.257	p. 258	'c. 1033'
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Location

This grove is named as the final point in the bounds of †**Riu Brein**. *Luin Ina* is immediately preceded in the bounds by †**Guoun Guenn**, which I have not been able to identify, but since the **Nofydd** seems to border the territory on one side, *Luin Ina* should lie on the bank of that river.

Elements

LLWYN + personal name

†**Luin Teliau**: [?SS106997] (?mod. *Trefloyne*)Attestations

Luin teliau	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
Luin teliau	LL	p. 255	before 'c. 1025'

Location

The two attestations are from different versions of the same list of Teilo properties, under the heading 'in **Penfro**' in the latter. All the authorities seem to agree on the identification with the farm called *Trefloyne* (grid reference

above).⁷⁸ This consensus rests on little more, however, than the co-incidence of a common element LLWYN, and an assumption that *Luin Teliau* should be in the vicinity of Penally. It is true that both *Luin Teliau* and *Trefloyne* contain the element LLWYN, but, in his discussion of *Trefloyne*, Charles failed to find any reference to Teilo in connexion with the farm.⁷⁹ In both versions of the list *Luin Teliau* follows a group of properties in the vicinity of Penally, on the banks of the †Ritec, but it is not at all clear that *Luin Teliau* belongs in the same context. Campbell and Lane adduce, as supporting evidence, the fact that *Luin Teliau* is followed by †Eccluis Guiniau in the LL lists, but their identification of †Eccluis Guiniau with Castle Gwynne, which adjoins Trefloyne, is not convincing.⁸⁰ All that can be safely said is that *Luin Teliau* was somewhere in the cantref of Penfro.

Elements

LLWYN + personal name

Luit: see †Alt Luit, Garn Lwyd, Nant Llŵyd.

Lunbiu: see †Otyr Lunbiu.

Lundonie, Lundoniensis, Lunduniensi, Lundoniis: see London.

Lundriis: see Londres.

Lunguyd: see †Guyth Lunguyd.

Luxoniensi: see Lisieux.

Luyt: see †Alt Luit.

Lwyd: see Garn Lwyd.

Lychur: see Llŵchwr.

Lyfann: see †Pull Lifan.

Lyfni: see Llynfi.

Lyguess: see †Lann Meilic ha Lyguess.

⁷⁸ LL, p. 410; WATU, p. 146, s.v. *Llwyn Teilo*; PNPemb., II, 706; Campbell and Lane, 'Excavations', 57.

⁷⁹ PNPemb., II, 706.

⁸⁰ Campbell and Lane, 'Excavations', 57.

Lyra: see **Lyre**.

Lyre: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

<i>procuratore de lyra</i>	LL	p. 318	c. 1350
<i>Procuratore de lyra</i>	LL	p. 327	c. 1350

Location

Both attestations are references to monies owed by the church of *Lyra* for property within the deanery of **Abergefenni**. In the first case the property is specifically named as **Llangiwa**. Evans located *Lyra* ‘in Normandy’,⁸¹ which is reasonable—the abbey of St Mary at La Vieille-Lyre (thirty one kilometres south-west of Évreux in Normandy) owned various properties in Herefordshire at the Domesday Survey,⁸² and **Llangiwa** is close to the Monmouthshire border with Herefordshire. The DB spellings are *Lira* and *Lire*.⁸³

Lythano: see **St Lythans**.

Lyuarch Hen: see †**Claud Lyuarch Hen**.

⁸¹ LL, p. 411.

⁸² See the references under ‘St. Mary’s of Lyre’ in the index of ‘Churches and Clergy’ at the back of Morris, *Domesday Book*, XVII: *Herefordshire*.

⁸³ *Ibid.*.

M

†**Mable:** [SO366140] (mod. **Llanfable**, Eng. *Llanvapley*)

Attestations

Mab le LLrub. p. 171 c. 1120s

Location

Mable is one of seven churches listed in the rubric of charter 171b. In the charter itself, the church is named ‘ecclesiam Mable’, and it is possible that we are meant to understand ‘Mab le’ in the rubric as *Ecclesia Mable* similarly (the word ‘ęcclesię’ stands at the head of the list in the rubric). See further under **Llanfable**.

Elements

?

See **Llanfable**.

Machagui: see †**Difrinn Machagui**.

Machen: [ST2189/ST2387]

Attestations

ecclesia de Maucheyn LL p. 323 c. 1350

Location

Evans made the identification followed here,¹ which seems probable both on grounds of form and context (a list of churches in the deanery of **Newport**). *Machen* is used in the name of a string of settlements and buildings (around the grid reference above). The plain (MA) originally denoted by the name was probably the flat land along the left bank of the Rhymni, in the area of the *Machen* names.

Elements

MA + ?CAIN

Thomas refers to this place-name in his discussion of place-names formed from MA prefixed to a qualifying element, causing spirant mutation of that qualifier.² He seems to agree with Williams in taking the qualifying element to

¹ LL, p. 412.

² EANC, p. 163.

be *Cain*,³ but without explaining whether this *Cain* is the personal name, the adjective (CAIN), or a river name (which would probably be based on either the personal name or the adjective). Richards takes *Cain* here to be a personal name.⁴ I can find no trace of a name *Cain* on the maps of the relevant area now.

Maches: see †Merthir Maches.

Machinis: see Machynys.

†**Machumur:** [around SO4217]

Attestations

ecclesias Machumur	LLch.240	p. 241	?‘c. 970’
lann Liuit machumur	LLch.240	p. 241	s. xi ¹
lann uannar demachumur	LLch.240	p. 241	s. xi ¹

Location

Charter 240 is a record of the grant of several churches in Gwent. Nine churches are named and bounds are given for eight of them. The list of the churches begins ‘ecclesias Machumur uidelicet Lann Liuit *et* lann uannar. *et* lann guoronui. *et* [cetera]’, so it is not clear whether the ‘ecclesias Machumur’ are some unnamed churches, or whether that is a term encompassing all the churches which follow in the list, or whether the term applies to some of the churches at the head of the list, but not the whole list. The matter is clarified somewhat by the fact that the names of the first two churches in the list, **Llan-llwydd** and **Llanfaenor**, are specifically qualified with *Machumur* at the head of their boundaries. It is still possible that some or all of the other churches should also be located in *Machumur*, but it seems more likely that the name is that only of the district around **Llan-llwydd** and **Llanfaenor** (for the term to encompass just the next church in the list, Rockfield (†Lann Guoronui), would stretch the district five and a half kilometres further to the south-east). *Machumur* looks very much like the name of a plain (see the discussion of elements below), but such an interpretation does not suit the topography of the area around the two churches at all well.

³ Williams, *Canu Llywarch Hen*, p. 208, s.v. *Eli*.

⁴ Richards ‘Some Welsh Place-Names’, pp. 391–92.

Elements

?MA + ?personal name

The name appears to be an example of MA prefixed to a qualifying element, causing spirant mutation of that qualifier, as, most famously, in *Machynlleth*.⁵ However, the topography of the location does not favour this interpretation (at least, not if MA has its usual sense). The qualifying element in such names is usually a personal or river name.⁶ Richards suggests that we might have here a scribal error for *Machinmur* (where the second element would be the personal name *Cynfwr*),⁷ but *Cumur* as it stands could be a personal name, a compound of *cu* (Old Welsh **cum*) 'dear' and GŴR.⁸

Machynys: [SS5098]Attestations

terram machinis	LLch.189	p. 189	'c. 735'
Machynys	LLrub.	p. 189	c. 1120s

Location

Machynys is the name of a territory granted to Llandaf in charter 189. No bounds or other information as to the location of the place are given. Evans pointed out that there is a place of this name '*nr. Llanelly Docks*', and Davies made a tentative identification with **Llanelli** itself.⁹ The only place of this name recorded in the *Gazetteer* is the Machynys in the grid square above, just to the south of **Llanelli**. The identification is by no means certain.

Elements

?MA + ?YNYS

GPC includes this place-name among its examples of MA as the first element of a place-name.¹⁰ In this position MA causes spirant mutation of the following element, which is most commonly a personal or river name.¹¹ So the second element could be an unattested personal or river name **Cynys*. However, the territory does seem to occupy something of a peninsula, which might have

⁵ EANC, p. 163, s.v. *Meheli*; Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 31; CPNE, p. 156, s.v. **ma*.

⁶ EANC, *ibid.*; Williams, *ibid.*.

⁷ Richards 'Some Welsh Place-Names', p. 393.

⁸ I am grateful to my supervisor, Patrick Sims-Williams, for this suggestion.

⁹ LL, p. 411; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 112.

¹⁰ GPC, III, 2293.

¹¹ EANC, p. 163, s.v. *Meheli*; Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 31; CPNE, p. 156, s.v. **ma*.

been referred to as an YNYS (cf. *Morfa'r-ynys Farm* on the eastern edge of the area [SS521989]), and if the second element is YNYS, *Mach-* might be explained as a prevocalic composition form of MA. Alternatively we could have here a compound of *mach* 'surety' and YNYS.¹²

Madley: [SO420388]

Attestations

Matle	LLch.193	p. 194	c. 1100
matle	LL	p. 79	1120s
matle	LL	p. 79	1120s
Matle	LL	p. 79	1120s
Matle	LLgloss	p. 194	s. xv ^{med}

Location

All the attestations show a strong association between this place and St Dyfrig. Charter 193 is essentially a Life of Clydog, and *Matle* is mentioned in an account of one the martyr's miracles. Two enemies from †**Lannerch Glas** decide to settle their differences with an oath over the altar of St Dyfrig at *Matle*. Having set out, however, they decide to shorten their journey by making the oath over the grave of Clydog instead. The grave of Clydog is at Clodock (†**Merthir Clitauc**). Although the point is not made clear in the story, it appears that the men intended their journey to be a short one (probably no more than a day), so it is reasonable to locate *Matle* in the same region as Clodock. The attestations from page 79 are from the Life of Dyfrig, where *Matle* is the name of the place where the saint was born. It can be concluded that *Matle* is in **Ergyng** (the birth seems to happen in an area under the jurisdiction of King Peibio of **Ergyng**), and that it was near, or included, a rock in a river (where the birth occurred). Furthermore, the Life implies that *Matle* is within †**Inis Ebrdil** or †**Mais Mail Lochou**, which, from other evidence, can be located at the northern edge of **Ergyng** on the Wye (**Gwy**). All the evidence suits Evans's identification with Madley (grid reference above).¹³

¹² I am grateful to my supervisor, Patrick Sims-Williams, for this suggestion.

¹³ LL, p. 412.

Elements

?MAD + ?LLE

In the Life of Dyfrig *Matle* is translated into Latin as ‘mat bonus. le locus’, i.e. *mad* ‘fortunate, good’ + LLE, which smacks very much of popular etymology. It is possible that the name is really an Anglo-Saxon one, composed of either the personal name *Māda* or the common noun *mæd* ‘meadow’ + *lēah* ‘wood, glade’ (later ‘pasture, meadow’).¹⁴

Maenorbŷr: [SS065976] (Eng. *Manorbier*)Attestations

mainaur pir	LL	p. 124	before ‘c. 1025’
mainaur pir	LL	p. 255	before ‘c. 1025’
Maynaurpir	G.C.Op., 6 ¹⁵	p. 92	s. xii ^{ex}
Ecclesia de Moinorbir	Tax ¹⁶	p. 275	1291
Maynorbur	<i>Inv (PRO)</i> ¹⁷		1293

Location

The two attestations are from different versions of the same list of Llandaf’s extra-diocesan properties, under the heading ‘in **Penfro**’. In both cases it is mentioned in order to clarify the location of †**Pull Arda**, which is described as next to (*IUXTA*) *Mainaur Pir*. The location in **Penfro**, together with the name’s appearance, makes the identification with Manorbier (grid reference above) probable.¹⁸

Elements

MAENOR + personal name

This place-name is discussed by Charles.¹⁹**Maerun:** [ST261825] (Eng. *Marshfield*)Attestations

MAERVN	LLrub.	p. 190	c. 1120s
Maerun	LLgloss	p. 190	s. xv ^{med}

¹⁴ Cf. *Madeley*, explained in the Glossarial Index to Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape*, p. 297.

¹⁵ Dimock, *Itinerarium Kambriæ et Descriptio Kambriæ*.

¹⁶ Astle, *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*.

¹⁷ PNPemb., II, 697.

¹⁸ LL, p. 411; PNPemb., II, 697–98.

¹⁹ PNPemb., II, 697–98.

Location

Charter 190 is a doublet of charter 176a, but the rubric of each gives a different name for the object of the grant (*Maerun* for the former and †*Villa Conuc* for the latter). Different bounds are given in each too. *Maerun* is the Welsh name for the place known in English as **Marshfield**, and there is no reason to doubt the identification of the place in the charter's rubric with **Marshfield** (but neither is there any positive evidence for the identification).²⁰ Evans and Davies stated that the bounds of charter 190 are those of **Marshfield**,²¹ but I do not believe it is possible to be entirely confident of this—the bounds locate the place on the sea (which is true of **Marshfield**) but no other points are identifiable. A mid-fifteenth century glossator clearly believed that this *Maerun* was **Marshfield** from his statement that it was 'in mora de wenll6c' (i.e. the cantref of **Gwynllŵg**/hundred of **Wentlooge** in which **Marshfield** is).

Elements

?MA + ?personal name

I am not aware of any existing interpretation of this place-name. I would offer as a suggestion that the diphthong [ae] arose from vocalisation of the original [g] in **magos* (the Brittonic precursor to MA) after it came into contact (in lenited form) with the initial [r] of the second element.²² The second element could then be the personal name *Rhun*.

†**Mafurn**: [?south end of †**Istrat Dour**]

Attestations

podum mafurn	LLch.165	p. 165	?
Mafurn	LLch.162b	p. 162	'c. 605'
Podum Mafurn	LLch.192	p. 192	'c. 745'?
Mafurn	LLch.171b	p. 172	after 'c. 860'
mafurn	LLch.162b	p. 163	s. xi ¹

²⁰ LL, p. 411; Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 113.

²¹ Ibid..

²² Cf. the development of *aer* 'battle' from Celtic **agro-*: GPC, I, 37; LHEB, p. 461, Falileyev, *Etymological Glossary*, p. 81, s.v. *hair*. It makes no difference to the present argument whether the group [ʒr] developed from original [gr] or over an earlier syllabic division (with intervening composition vowel): LHEB, pp. 462 and 466.

Finis mafurn	LLch.171b	p. 173	s. xi ¹
MAFVRN	LLrub.	p. 162	c. 1120s
podum mafurn	LLrub.	p. 165	c. 1120s
mafurn	LLrub.	p. 171	c. 1120s

Location

The grant of *Mafurn* is recorded in charters 162b, 165, 171b, and 192 (from which all the above attestations come). The place is the sole object of charter 162b, but in each of the other charters it is one of several properties in a **Gwent/Ergyng/Ewias** context. Charter 162b records that the grantor of *Mafurn* was King *Cinuin*, son of Peibio, who was involved in the granting of other properties in **Ergyng** and †**Istrat Dour**. Bounds are given for *Mafurn* at the end of charter 162b, and a version of the same bounds is used in charter 171b. There appears to be a lacuna in the bounds, and the only point in them which can be identified with any confidence is the river **Dore**, which sits well with the evidence for the place's more general location outlined above. No one to my knowledge has offered a suggestion more specific than Evans's 'somewhere on the Dore',²³ but if Richards's identification of one of the boundary points, †**Alt Rudlan**, is correct then *Mafurn* would be a place or area along the lowest reaches of the **Dore**. If the list of churches in charter 165 has been miscopied, it is possible that *Mafurn* should be located in †**Mais Mail Lochou** (q.v. for discussion), which would require it to be on the upper reaches of the **Dore**, on the east bank. Williams suggested that 'dyfryn Mewyrnyawn', mentioned in one of the Llywarch Hen poems, might be connected with *Mafurn*, but this does not add anything to our knowledge of the place's location.²⁴

Elements

?MA + ?FFWRN

Some thought should be given to the phonology represented by the spellings of this place-name. In LL orthography *f* could represent [f] or [v], but more usually the former. The fact that in all the attestations the spelling is *Mafurn*,

²³ LL, p. 412; Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 104.

²⁴ Williams, *Canu Llywarch Hen*, p. 150.

and never *Mauurn*, would incline me towards an [f] pronunciation.²⁵ Furthermore, if the first element is MA, we should expect the first letter of the second element to have undergone spirant mutation or to remain unchanged, not to have been lenited (as would have to be the case if *f* represented [v]). The *f* could represent the spirant mutation of an initial [p], but no element **pwrn* or **purn* is known to me, so *ffwrn* ‘furnace’ seems the most likely interpretation of *furn*.²⁶ A meaning ‘plain of the furnace’ could be compared with *Mathafarn* ‘plain of the inn’. If Williams is right in comparing *Mewyrnyawn* with *Mafurn* (see above), I would suggest that the *w* of that name does represent a [v], but that this could easily have arisen from a misunderstanding of an *f* spelling like **Mefyrnyawn*.²⁷

Magor: see *Magwyr*.

Magwyr: [ST425869] (Eng. *Magor*)

Attestations

<i>ecclesie de magor</i>	LL	p. 291	1245
<i>ecclesia de Magor</i>	LL	p. 322	c. 1350
<i>ecclesia de Magor</i>	LL	p. 328	c. 1350
<i>Vicaria de Magor</i>	LL	p. 329	c. 1350

Location

The earliest attestation is from a note of a thirteenth-century grant to Llandaf, in a reference to an annual payment made to the church of Magor from the church of **Porton**. The remaining attestations list the place as being in the deanery of †**Nether Went**. As there is a place called *Magor* in †**Nether Went**, about five and a half kilometres north-east of **Porton**, that is the obvious identification.

Elements

MAGWYR

GPC cites this place-name as an example of the noun *magwyr* ‘wall, fortification, ruin’.²⁸

²⁵ Sims-Williams, ‘The Provenance of the Llywarch Hen Poems’, p. 49.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 49–50.

²⁷ *Ibid.*.

²⁸ GPC, III, 2320.

Mail Lochou: see †Mais Mail Lochou.

†**Mail Uannon:** [around SO2818] (mod. *Mynydd Pen-y-fâl*, Eng. *The Sugarloaf*)

Attestations

mailuannon LLch.122 p. 122 s. xi¹

Location

The place-name is attested in the bounds of **Llandeilo Bertholau**. The bounds go from the source (BLAEN) of the **Cibi**, over *Mail Uannon*, to the source (BLAEN) of the †**Diufrut**. Although it is not clear precisely which of several possibilities should be identified as the source of these streams, it is clear that to go from one to another would involve crossing the higher ground of the Sugar Loaf (W. *Mynydd Pen-y-fâl* [SO2718]) or a ridge which protrudes from that mountain, the **Deri** [SO2917].

Elements

?MOEL + ?BANON (len.)

The substantival sense of MOEL suits the topography of the Sugar Loaf very well. The main problem is with the *a* spelling—there is some slight evidence for *a*-diphthong forms of this adjective/noun, but this is usually put down to influence from the Irish cognate *maol* (which could apply here).²⁹ None of the various words *mael* and *mail* are at all suitable to be the element in this place-name. The *fâl* of the Welsh name *Mynydd Pen-y-fâl* might conceivably preserve the *mail* of *Mail Uannon* (as Williams supposed),³⁰ but it seems more likely to be *bâl* ‘peak, summit’. The difficulty with the interpretation of the qualifying element here as BANON is in the fact that the LL spelling shows double *n*, whereas the attestations of BANON recorded by GPC show no trace of such gemination.³¹ Williams took the first element to be either an adjective meaning ‘mutilated, dismembered’ (i.e. a variant form of *moel*) or an adjective meaning ‘kingly, high’ (i.e. *mael* ‘prince, chieftain, lord’ in a meaning unattested by GPC), and suggested that if the second element were not BANON, then it might be connected with *ban* ‘point, peak, bare hill; horn’ (which does

²⁹ LHEB, pp. 326–27; GPC, III, 2475.
³⁰ *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 20.
³¹ GPC, *v*, 255.

have etymological *-nn*).³² A compound of *ban* and the nominal suffix *-on* would make good sense in a hill name. The possibility should also be considered that there might be a connexion between the second element and *Gobannium*, the name of a Roman station in the area (probably Brittonic **Gobannion*),³³ but this seems less likely to me.

Main: see †Rit ir Main, †Tref Main.

†Mainaur Brunus: [?around SN494203]

Attestations

mainaur brunus	LLch.125a	p. 125	?
MAInaur brunus	LLrub.	p. 125	c. 1120s

Location

Mainaur Brunus is one of three properties supposed, according to charter 125a, to have been granted to the church of Llandaf by Maredudd ap Rhain, King of Dyfed. The land was granted 'cum ecclesia et piscibus et siluis', which suggests a location near a river, lake, or the sea, and the fact that the grant was said to have been made by the king of Dyfed, suggests a location in that region. It is reasonable to assume that the church of *Mainaur Brunus* is †Lann Teliau Mainaur Brunus (there is no conflict between the available evidence for the location of the two place-names), which has been identified with Llandeilo Rwnws (grid reference above), in which case *Mainaur Brunus* would be the name of the district around that church.

Elements

MAENOR + ?BRWYNOS

The low-lying land around Llandeilo Rwnws (†Lann Teliau Mainaur Brunus), along the north bank of the Tywi, would be likely to be marshy, and, therefore, possibly a 'rushy land' (BRWYNOS; = *brwyn* 'rushes' + -OS). The simplification of the diphthong [ui] to [u] is attested elsewhere in LL,³⁴ and the variation [os]/[us] in the form of the suffix might be comparable with the variation seen in the forms of the adjectival suffix -OG. Alternatively the second element could be a personal name, related to the known personal name

³² *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 20; GPC, I, 253, s.v. *ban*.

³³ See the discussion under *Gefenni*.

³⁴ For example the form *Eglus pruwys* of *Eglwys Brewys*.

*Brwyn.*³⁵

†**Mainaur Cruc Marc:** [around ST096776]

Attestations

mainaur crucmarc LLrub. p. 263 c. 1120s

Location

This MAENOR is specified as the location of (2) †**Lann San Bregit**, in the rubric of the charter which grants that church. There is no other reference to the MAENOR in LL, so on this evidence all that can be said is that the name applies to a district including the site of St Bride's-super-Ely (hence the grid reference above). Richards located *Maenor Crugmarchan* in the area of Peterston-super-Ely ((1) †**Lann Petyr**) and **Llanilltern**, but I do not know whether he had any evidence for this other than that from LL.³⁶ There might be a connexion between this name (if it contains *Marchan*) and †**Tref Marchan**.

Elements

MAENOR + CRUG + ?personal name

There is what appears to be some kind of suspension mark over the *ar* of *marc*, on which Evans remarks: 'This contraction is not used elsewhere in this MS. ?*crucmarchan*, or *crucmrachan*. Cp. *Marchan* & *Brachan*.'³⁷ *Marchan* is a known personal name (attested in LL on pages 198 and 279), and *Brachan* is the name of a stream in the bounds of (2) †**Lann San Bregit** (see †**Nant Brachan**). Despite the occurrence of *Brachan* in the bounds, *Marchan* seems more likely as the expansion of *marc*, and Richards seems to agree with this, judging by his use of the form *Maenor Crugmarchan*. It is possible that *marc* is not a contraction at all, in which case it might represent the element MARCH.

Mainaur Mathru: see **Mathri**.

Mainaur Pir: see **Maenorbŷr**.

Mainaur Tnoumur: see †**Tnou Mur**.

³⁵ EANC, p. 218, s.v. *Brwyno*.

³⁶ WATU, p. 149.

³⁷ LL, p. 352.

†Main Brith, I: [nr ST2682]

Attestations

imain brith LLch.190b p. 191 s. xi¹

Location

This stone is mentioned as the starting point in the bounds of Marshfield. A dyke (CLAWDD) leads from it to †Pillou Bichein. The bounds end at the sea, so it is likely that they also start on the coast. Marshfield is on the edge of Wentlooge Level, the landscape of which has probably changed considerably since the time of these bounds. I cannot identify any of the named features in these bounds, so the grid reference is simply for the Marshfield area.

Elements

YR + MAEN + BRITH

†Main Cinahi: [?in SO4303]

Attestations

main cinahi LLch.187 p. 188 s. x

Location

This stone is named as a point in the bounds of Llan-soe, between †Luch Cinahi and the Olwy. †Luch Cinahi, or *Cinahi*, might be the name of a stream (see †Luch Cinahi), in which case *Main Cinahi* would probably be the name of a stone on the bank of that stream. The grid reference above is for the grid square covering the area between †Cair Enuin and the Olwy.

Elements

MAEN + ?personal name

Cinahi recurs in †Luch Cinahi (the previous point in the same bounds) and †Fos Cinahi (in the bounds of Llandeilo Gresynni).

†Main Dyastur: [nr SS578894]

Attestations

main dyastur LLch.145 p. 145 s. xi¹

Location

This marsh is used as a point in the bounds of Llandeilo Ferwallt. The exact location is uncertain due to a lack of identifiable features, but it can be said that it lies between †Carn Cymlyr and an unnamed mountain, on the other side of which is †Main Dyastur. The possibility should be borne in mind that

Main Dyastur is not a place-name at all, but that 'dy main dyastur' should be translated as 'to [the] stone, to *Astur*', where *Astur* would itself be a place-name (perhaps a stream name).

Elements

MAEN + ?personal name

†Main i Bard: [?SO280399]

Attestations

main i bard	LLb.25	p. 42	s. xi ¹
main ybard	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s

Location

This feature is mentioned in both versions of the diocesan bounds between †Hal Ruma and *Nant i bard* (Nant-y-bar). In the longer, later version the next point is specifically the source (LLYGAD) of *Nant i bard*. If the identification of *Nant i bard* with Nant-y-bar is correct, then *Main i Bard* is likely to be the stone marked on the Ordnance Survey 1:25 000 scale map at the grid reference above, which is within seven hundred metres of the source of Nant-y-bar.

Elements

MAEN + YR + BARDD²⁸

Main Melin: see †Rit i Main Melin.

†Main Tillauc, Ir: [in SO3228]

Attestations

[i]r main tillauc	LLch.195	p. 196	s. xi ²
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Location

This stone is named as a point in the bounds of †Merthir Clitauc. It is located somewhere in the triangle of land above the confluence of the Olchon and the Monnow (Mynwy), between those two rivers (see †Ynys Alarun). From the wording of the bounds it is clear that the bounds cross this triangle of land south of the confluence of †Nant Trineint with the Olchon. I can find no sign of a stone in this area now.

²⁸ GPC, I, 257, s.v. *bardd*.

Elements

YR + MAEN + TYLLOG

The qualifying element here is the adjective *tyllog* 'holed, full of holes' (TWLL + -OG).

Mainuon: see †Lann Mainuon.

Main y Bard: see †Main i Bard.

Maior Maluernia: see Great Malvern Priory.

†Maisi: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

maisi	LL	p. 29	1126
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Location

This place-name occurs (as a locative surname) in the list of the witnesses to the agreement between Bishop Urban and Robert of Gloucester. The most similar place-name in a plausible area is *Maisy*, the name of a small town in Normandy, about eighteen kilometres north-east of Carentan.

†Mais Mail Lochou: [around SO3840] (also †Inis Ebrdil)

Attestations

campo malochu	LLch.165	p. 165	?
mais mail lochou	LL	p. 79	1120s?

Location

The head form *Mais Mail Lochou* is taken from the Life of Dyfrig, where it is said to be an alternative name for †Inis Ebrdil (hence the grid reference above). Charter 165 refers to a *Campus Malochu*, which looks very much like a partial calque on †Mais Mail Lochou.³⁹ Problematically, though, *Campus Malochu* is mentioned in a list of churches, in a reference apparently to the location of †Lann Guorboe (Garway), which is many kilometres south of the area of †Inis Ebrdil. Either the identification of *Campus Malochu* with †Mais Mail Lochou is wrong, or charter 165 has been miscopied (perhaps by associating *Campus Malochu* with the preceding item in a list, where it originally belonged with the following item, †Mafurn).

³⁹ Evans noted the similarity of the names (LL, pp. 411, s.v. *Malochu*, and 412, s.v. *Matle*), and Padel

Coplestone-Crow agrees that *Mais Mail Lochou* and *Campus Malochu* are the same place, and identifies that place as a district later known as *Mawfield* (represented today only in the names of two farms around SO452367).⁴⁰ He regards *Mawfield* as an Anglicisation of the Welsh name, and defines the territory as approximating to the modern parishes of Moccas, Blakemore, Tyberton, Preston on Wye, Madley, Kingstone, and Eaton Bishop, together with the western parts of Allensmore and Clehonger.⁴¹ The evidence which he adduces for all this is the information from LL discussed under †*Inis Ebrdil* above, combined with the location of the farms now called *Mawfield* [SO452367], and the facts that according to later English documents Kingstone [SO424357] lay in Mawfield, and that lands at Godway in Peterchurch [SO358411] bordered on Mawfield.⁴² Coplestone-Crow's solution to the problem of the apparent location of †*Lann Guorboe* in the district is to reject its identification with Garway, and propose instead that it should be identified with Eaton Bishop [SO443391], but he does not appear to have any evidence for this.⁴³ It is possible that the suggested derivation of *Mawfield* from *Mais Mail Lochou* is a red herring, but if it is accepted, and if my suggestion above, that charter 165 should be interpreted as locating †*Mafurn*, rather than †*Lann Guorboe* in the district, is also accepted, then Coplestone-Crow's description of the district should be extended to include lands on the Dore.

Elements

MAES + ?personal name

CAMPUS + ?personal name

CAMPUS 'plain' is used here as the Latin equivalent of MAES. *Mail Lochou* might be an Irish personal name of the type *Mael* + adjective/noun/proper noun,⁴⁴ where *Mael* is cognate with Welsh MOEL.

Maisy: see †*Maisi*.

took them to be the same (CPNE, p. 165, s.v. *mes*).

⁴⁰ *Herefordshire Place-Names*, p. 14.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 80 and 90–91.

⁴⁴ Quin, *Dictionary of the Irish Language*, p. 449, s.v. 3 *Mael*.

Malmesbury: [ST9387]Attestations

Abbas de Malmesbury LL p. 328 c. 1350

Location

The Abbot of Malmesbury is named in a list of people and institutions owing tithes in the deanery of †**Nether Went**. As there seem to be no other places of this name, and as Malmesbury has a famous abbey, this is the obvious identification.

Malochu: see †**Mais Mail Lochou**.

Malo Passu: see **Malpas**.

Malpas: [?ST303901]Attestations

Prior de Malo passu LL p. 329 c. 1350

Location

The prior 'de Malo passu' is listed among the people and institutions owing tithes in the deanery of **Newport**. The name appears to be a Latin form of modern *Malpas* (cf. Gerald of Wales's joke about the *Malpas* near Cheshire [SJ4847], which he refers to as 'Malus passus'⁴⁵). I can find three places called *Malpas* in Britain: the one in Cheshire, one in Cornwall [SW8442], and one near **Newport**. This last seems the most likely, given that the tithes were paid in the deanery of **Newport** (but the institution paying the tithes would not necessarily be in the same deanery—**Bristol** abbey, for example, is mentioned in the same list).⁴⁶ There was formerly in the *Malpas* near **Newport**, a Cluniac monastery forming a cell to the priory of **Montacute**, in Somersetshire, and founded by Winebald de **Ballon**.⁴⁷

Elements

MALUS + PASSUS

The formation of the name is French (*mal* 'bad' + *pas*), on which the Latin is a calque.

⁴⁵ Dimock, *Itinerarium Kambriæ et Descriptio Kambriæ*, p. 146.

⁴⁶ Evans's '*Malpas, Mon.*' (LL, p. 411) implies the same identification.

⁴⁷ Knowles, *Medieval Religious Houses*, pp. 97 and 100.

Malvern: see **Great Malvern Priory**.

Mamheilad: [SO305034] (Eng. *Mamhilad*)

Attestations

ecclesia de Mamheilad LL p. 321 c. 1350

Location

The attestation is from a lists of churches in the deanery of **Abergefenni**, which suits the obvious identification with the place which still bears the name today.

Elements

?MA + ?personal name

Richards suggests that this place-name might be formed from MA and a personal name *Meiliad*.⁴⁸ Alternatively we could divide the word *mam* 'mother' + **Heilad*, supposing that the church was named after the (presumably pious) mother of some character called **Heilad*.

Mamhilad: see **Mamheilad**.

Mam Ilet: see †**Silva Mam Ilet**.

Mamouric: see †**Ecclesia Mamouric**.

Manach: see †**Porth Manach**.

†**Manach Rivulus:** [?SO380131] (?mod. *Llanymynach Brook*)

Attestations

manach riuulo LLch.171b p. 172 c. 990–c. 1010

Location

This stream is named as a point in the bounds of **Llanfable**. It seems that the bounds cross (rather than follow) the stream after running through a wood (*SILVA*) from †**Brinn Cornou**, and continue to †**Halannauc**, but neither of these, nor any other of the other points in the bounds (apart from the **Troddi**) have been identified. There are two streams with names based on the element **MYNACH** in the vicinity of **Llanfable**: **Mynachdy Brook** and **Llanymynach Brook**, the latter of which runs through the village. **Mynachdy Brook** joins **Llanymynach Brook** at SO369133, and their combined flow continues to the

⁴⁸ Richards 'Some Welsh Place-Names', pp. 394–95.

Troddi (at the grid reference above). The name *Llanymynach* might be an example of an original NANT name becoming re-interpreted as a LLAN name (cf. (1) **Llanthony**). If the name of this stream were originally **Nant y Mynach*, the Latin form under discussion here could be a calque on it. See also †**Nant i Meneich**.

Elements

MYNACH + RIVULUS

Manaur Tnoumur: see †**Tnou Mur**.

Mannou: see †**Glin Mannou**.

Manochi: see †**Vallis Manochi**.

Manorbier: see **Maenorbŷr**.

Mans, Le: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

Abbas de Mans LL p. 327 c. 1350

Location

The attestation is from a list of tithes owed in the deanery of **Abergefenni**. The 'Abbas de Mans' was responsible for the payment of a tithe 'pro temporalibus' in that deanery. Evans's identification with Le Mans can be regarded as secure. The Benedictine priory of St Mary's was founded in **Abergefenni** in the year 1087 by Hamelin de **Ballon**. The foundation consisted of a Prior and twelve monks, drawn from the Abbey of St Vincent in Le Mans.⁴⁹

Marc: see †**Mainaur Cruc Marc**.

Marcán: see **Margam**.

March: see **Nant y March**, (1) †**Nant March**.

Marchan: see †**Tref Marchan**.

Marchleu: see †**Villa Marchleu**.

⁴⁹ Knowles, *Medieval Religious Houses*, pp. 52–58.

Marcroes: [SS921690] (Eng. *Marcross*)Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Markeros</i>	LL	p. 320	c. 1350
<i>ecclesia de Markeros</i>	LL	p. 325	c. 1350
<i>Ecc'ia de Markeros</i>	LL	p. 331	c. 1350

Location

All the attestations are from administrative lists of churches in the deanery of **Gorfynydd**. The identification with *Marcross* made by Evans seems reasonable in terms of appearance, and suits the location in **Gorfynydd**.⁵⁰

Elements

?MARCH + ?RHOS

The main difficulty with the interpretation offered here is in the hardening of the [χ] of MARCH to the [k] seen in the LL forms, as well as in the modern forms of the name, though there are parallels in **Pen-marc** and **St Kingsmark**. The vowel *e* of the LL forms could be explained as an epenthetic vowel, breaking up the consonant group [kr]. The modern Welsh form in *-croes* might originate in a false division of the name (presumably at a stage when the epenthesis seen in the LL forms was not strongly pronounced), and the supposition that it contained the noun *croes* 'cross' (a supposition which would also account for the English spelling with *-cross*). Alternatively the name could originally have been **Machroes*, a compound of MA and *croes* 'cross', which developed an intrusive [r] in the same way, perhaps, as **Matharn** and **Mathri**.⁵¹

Marcross: see **Marcroes**.

Margam: [SS802862]Attestations

<i>marcan</i>	LLrub.	p. 224	c. 1120s
<i>monasterium de Margan</i>	G.C.Op., 6 ⁵²	p. 67	s. xii ^{ex}
<i>abbas de Morgan</i>	LL	p. 312	c. 1350
<i>Abbate de Morgan</i>	LL	p. 325	c. 1350

⁵⁰ LL, p. 411.

⁵¹ I am grateful to Patrick Sims-Williams for this suggestion.

⁵² Dimock, *Itinerarium Kambriæ et Descriptio Kambriæ*.

Abbas de Morgan	LL	p. 331	c. 1350
abbas de Margan	LLgloss	p. 303	s. xv

Location

Johannes de la Ware, abbot of this place, is mentioned as having become bishop of Llandaf in two lists of Llandaf's bishops (pages 303 and 312). Two of the other attestations (pages 325 and 331) are also to the abbot of this place, in reference to monies owed by him to Llandaf for property in the deanery of **Gorfynydd** (the former specifically for a church which was in the old cemetery of **Llangewydd**, and the latter coming under the subset of **Cynffig** properties). The identification of these attestations with Margam Abbey is reasonable, given the general location and the importance of this abbey.⁵³ The earliest attestation is from the rubric of charter 224, where **Merthyr Mawr** is described as 'inmarcan'. Evans identified this attestation with Margam,⁵⁴ presumably meaning some district bearing this name, since **Merthyr Mawr** is about twelve kilometres south-east of Margam Abbey. *Margam* was the name of a manor later in the Middle Ages, but the area of this manor did not extend far enough south to encompass **Merthyr Mawr**.⁵⁵ Jenkins regards *Margam* as the name of a cantref (less well attested than the other Glamorgan cantrefs) covering the area between the rivers **Tawe** and **Ogmore (Ogwr)**.⁵⁶

Elements

This territorial name could be an example of a personal name (perhaps Irish *Marcán*), which was originally just the qualifying element of a place-name which lost its generic element (cf. **Elfael**).⁵⁷

Margan: see **Margam**.

Marie: see **Eglwys Fair y Mynydd**, †**Ecclesia Beate Marie**.

Markeros: see **Marcroes**.

⁵³ LL, pp. 411 (s.v. *Marcan*) and 413 (s.v. *Morgan*).

⁵⁴ LL, p. 411.

⁵⁵ WATU, pp. 153 and 279.

⁵⁶ Jenkins, 'Regions and Cantrefs', p. 34.

⁵⁷ I am grateful to Patrick Sims-Williams for this suggestion.

Marshfield: [ST261825] (W. Maerun)Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Mersfield</i>	LL	p. 323	c. 1350
<i>Ecc'ia de Mersfield</i>	LL	p. 329	c. 1350

Location

Evans made the identification followed here,⁵⁸ which seems probable both on grounds of form and context (a list of churches in the deanery of Newport).

ElementsMERSC + FELD

I see no reason to doubt the obvious interpretation that this name denotes 'open land by a marsh', as does *Marshfield* in Gloucestershire.⁵⁹

Marstow: see (1) Llanmartin.

Martharne: see Matharn.

Marthel Deuan: see Merthyr Dyfan.

Marthel Maur: see Merthyr Mawr.

Marther Geryn: see †Merthir Gerein.

Martherne: see Matharn.

Marthru: see Mathri.

Martirium Iulij et Aaron: see †Merthir Iun et Aaron.

Matharn: [ST523908] (Eng. *Mathern*; also †Merthir Teudiric)

Attestations

<i>Ecclesia de Martharne</i>	LL	p. 284	s. xiii ²
<i>Martherne</i>	LL	p. 292	s. xiii ²
<i>Ecclesie de Martherne</i>	LL	p. 292	s. xiii ²
<i>ecclesie de Martherne</i>	LL	p. 328	c. 1350
<i>Martherne</i>	LLgloss	p. 141	s. xv ^{med}
<i>Martherne</i>	LLgloss	p. 234	s. xv ^{med}
<i>territorio Martherne</i>	LLgloss	p. 235	s. xv ^{med}

⁵⁸ LL, p. 412.

⁵⁹ Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape*, p. 298.

territorium de Matharne LLgloss p. 142 1476x78

Location

The church of this place is listed among properties in the deanery of †**Nether Went** on pages 284 and 328. The attestations on page 292 are from a thirteenth-century charter, granting land in the vicinity of **Runston**, in return for which a payment was to be made at *Martherne* for the benefit of that church. A fifteenth-century glossator has written *Martherne* as a heading for charter 141, which grants †**Merthir Teudiric**, and another glossator of the same period has added a note to explain that the bounds of this same charter are those of *Martherne*. The former of the aforementioned glossators again equated †**Merthir Teudiric** with *Martherne* on page 235, and wrote a long note on page 234 stating that †**Tref Perenn**, †**Yscuit Cyst**, †**Villa Cyuiu** are all in the area of *Martherne*. The identification of all the attestations with modern Mathern raises no difficulties. The Anglican church at **Matharn** is nowadays dedicated to St Tewdric.

Elements

?

The attestations suggest that an [r] originally preceded the [b] (though **Mathri** might provide an example of non-etymological [r] developing early in such a position⁶⁰), but it is not so easy to determine whether the the final syllable should have [ar] or [er]. It is tempting to see a connexion with the earlier name for the place, †**Merthir Teudiric**. Perhaps the same phenomenon was in operation as gave rise to the *Marth-* forms of **Merthyr Dyfan** and **Merthyr Mawr**.

Matharne: see **Matharn**.

†**Mathenni:** [?around SO4104]

Attestations

terre mathenni	LLch.207	p. 207	'c. 760'
ecclesiam mathenni	LLch.208	p. 208	'c. 785'
mathe <u>n</u> ni	LLrub.	p. 207	c. 1120s
MATHENNI	LLrub.	p. 208	c. 1120s

⁶⁰ I am grateful to Patrick Sims-Williams for this suggestion.

Location

Charter 207 concerns the grant of †**Brinn Luguni** with the three *modii* (about fifty hectares) of the land of *Mathenni*, which appears to be equated with †**Mustuir Mur**. The re-grant of the three *modii* of the church of *Mathenni* is recorded in charter 208, and bounds are appended to this charter. *Mathenni* was identified with Llandenny [SO415039] by Evans, Richards, and Davies,⁶¹ an identification which seems to depend on the fact that both place-names are based on the qualifying element **Tenni*, and on the likely identification of one of the streams in the bounds (**Nant y Wilcae**). Although it is reasonable to locate *Mathenni* in the vicinity of Llandenny, it does not seem that the area described by the bounds includes the present site of Llandenny—rather the boundary seems to perambulate around the little hill at SO415055. *Mathenni* should be the name of a flat area (MA) rather than a hill, so if I have correctly interpreted the bounds, perhaps this hill is the territory of the church of *Mathenni* and not *Mathenni* itself. The plain (MA) of **Tenni* should presumably be somewhere near Llandenny and the hill mentioned above. If **Tenni* was the name of a stream, then it would not have applied to any of the streams mentioned in the bounds (unless they had been renamed), but it could have been the name of the stream on which Llandenny stands [SO417040], in which case *Mathenni* would be the flat area immediately to the north of Llandenny, which extends down to **Nant y Wilcae**. If **Tenni* was a personal name, then *Mathenni* could apply to any part of, or the whole of, the plain alongside **Nant y Wilcae**.

Elements

MA + **Tenni*

The name appears to be an example of MA prefixed to a qualifying element, causing spirant mutation of that qualifier, which is most commonly a personal or river name.⁶²

Mathern: see **Matharn**.

⁶¹ LL, p. 376; WATU, p. 154; *The Llandaff Charters*, pp. 117–18.

⁶² Richards 'Some Welsh Place-Names', p. 396.; EANC, p. 163, s.v. *Meheli*; Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 31; CPNE, p. 156, s.v. **ma*.

Mathri: [SM879319] (Eng. *Mathry*)Attestations

Marthru	LLch.127b	p. 129	before 'c. 1025'
seith seint mathru	LLch.127b	p. 129	before 'c. 1025'
mathru	LLch.127b	p. 129	before 'c. 1025'
Mainaur mathru	LL	p. 255	'c. 1025'
Mainaurmathru	LLrub.	p. 127	c. 1120s
Martru	G.C.Op., 1, 3 ⁶³	passim	c. 1200
Ecclesia de Martre	Tax ⁶⁴	p. 274	1291
Marthre	ERStD ⁶⁵	I, 298	1403
Mathru	LLgloss	p. 129	s. xv ^{med}

Location

Four of the five attestations are from charter 127b, which attempts to explain the basis of Llandaf's claim to the territories of *Mathru* and **Cenarth**. The only information given in the charter about the place's location is that it is in **Pebidiog**. The remaining attestation, from a list of Llandaf's extra-diocesan properties, places *Mainaur Mathru* together with **Cenarth**, under the heading *Inpepitiauc* 'In **Pebidiog**'. The location in **Pebidiog**, together with the name's appearance, makes the identification with *Mathry* (grid reference above) probable.⁶⁶

Elements

?MA + ?TRU

(The *t* of the second attestation has been altered from *r*.⁶⁷) This name is discussed by Charles,⁶⁸ who refers to two different interpretations, depending on whether or not the [r] shown by some attestations before the [p] (including one of the LL ones) is original. Phillimore suggested that if the [r] was intrusive the name could be interpreted as MA + *tru* 'sad'.⁶⁹ Other commentators have preferred to keep the [r] and connect the name with some

⁶³ Brewer, *De Rebus a Se Gestis, Libri III; Invectionum Libellus; Symbolum Electorum*, and *I. De Invectionibus, Lib. IV; II. De Menevensi Ecclesia Dialogus; III. Vita S. David*.

⁶⁴ Astle, *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*.

⁶⁵ Isaacson, *The Episcopal Registers of the Diocese of St David's*.

⁶⁶ LL, p. 411, s.v. *Mainaur Mathru*; Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 96; PNPemb., I, 270–71.

⁶⁷ LL, p. 350.

⁶⁸ PNPemb., I, 270–71.

word derived from Graeco-Latin *martyr*.⁷⁰ The Anglican church in Mathry is dedicated to the Holy Martyrs. Although the majority of the attestations given by Charles do show the [r], the [r]-less forms in LL are from the earliest stratum of attestation, and the present-day form of the place-name is also [r]-less. It is easier to explain how an [r] might have intruded into the name (by analogy with words based on *martyr*, or by anticipation of the second [r]), than it is to explain how an original [r] might have been lost as early as the eleventh century. Consequently I would favour Phillimore's interpretation. If the *Math-* (rather than *Marth-*) form of **Matharn** is the earlier, then that name would provide a parallel for early intrusion of non-etymological [r].⁷¹

Mathru, Mathry: see **Mathri**.

Matle: see **Madley**.

Mauan: see **Mawan**.

Maucheyn: see **Machen**.

Mauricii: see †**Mouric**.

Mawan: [SN896346]

Attestations

blain mauan	LLch.154	p. 155	s. xi ²
blain mauan	LLch.154	p. 155	s. xi ²

Location

The source (BLAEN) of this stream is used as a point in the bounds of †**Lann Guruaet** (Llandeilo'r Fan). There is good reason to suppose, as Evans suggested, that the **Eithrim** and the **Mawan** have been confused in these bounds, such that one should be substituted for the other (**Mawan** for **Eithrim**, and **Eithrim** for **Mawan**).⁷² The reason for this supposition is that the bounds evidently travel clockwise around their focus, so that the source of the **Eithrim** should be met before the source of the **Mawan**, but, according to the bounds, the reverse is true. The actual source (BLAEN) of the **Mawan** is at

⁷⁰ Owen, *Description of Penbrokshire*, I, 107 (n. 7), and II, 290 (n. 1).

⁷¹ References from PNPemb., I, 270–71.

⁷² I am grateful to Patrick Sims-Williams for this suggestion.

⁷³ LL, p. 370.

SN888368, but the point referred to in the bounds as 'blain mauan' is at SN876362.

Elements

personal name

The name is discussed by Thomas, who concludes that this is an example of a personal name transferred to a river name.⁷³

Maypole: see †Cecin Penn i Celli.

Meath: see †Methiana.

Mebion Guichtrit: see †Tref Meibion Guichtrit.

Mebion Ourdeuein: see †Tref Meibion Ourdeuein.

Medgen: see †Porth Medgen.

Mei: see †Castell Mei.

Meibion Ambrus: see †Tref Meibion Ambrus.

Meibion Gratlaun: see †Lann Mihachgel Meibion Gratlaun.

Meibion Guichtrit: see †Tref Meibion Guichtrit.

Meibion Ourdeuein: see †Tref Meibion Ourdeuein.

Meibion Uchtrit: see †Tref Meibion Guichtrit.

Meinbui: see Mynwy.

Meiniauc: see †Pont Meiniauc.

†Meinporth: [?nr SS445864]

Attestations

duobus agris meinporth LLch.239 p. 240 'c. 925'

Location

†Meinporth is granted together with †Penn i Bei, the main object of charter 240. †Penn i Bei has been identified with Paviland (at the grid reference above) which is less than a kilometre from the coast, so it is noticeable that its (dimensional) bounds do not refer to the sea. *Meinporth* has its own bounds, which locate the territory between the sea and †Petra Iacintha in one

dimension, and between a ditch (FOSSA) and †**Ager Filiorum Grucauc** in the other. If the identification with Paviland is correct, then, perhaps the two *agri* of *Meinporth* lay between Paviland and the sea. The name *Meinporth* implies a coastal haven (PORTH) so Deborah's Hole [SS434862] or Foxhole Slade [SS437858] would be the most likely identifications.

Elements

MAEN/+ PORTH

(pl.) L/

Meirch: see †**Castell Meirch**, †**Cecin Meirch**, †**Guenuin Meirch**.

Meithini, Meithiui: see **Myddyfi**.

Melano: see **St Mellons**.

Meldou: see **Mellte**.

Melin: see †**Hitir Melin**, †**Hytyr Melin**, †**Rit i Main Melin**.

Mellte: [SN902074]

Attestations

meldou	LLb.25	p. 42	s. xi ¹
melltou	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s
Melltou	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s

Location

This river name is attested in both of the two versions of the diocesan bounds. From the later, and fuller, of the two we glean that it is a tributary of the **Nedd**, and that it itself has a tributary called the *Hepstur* (**Hepste**). From this evidence, together with the name's appearance, the identification with the **Mellte** is entirely satisfactory.⁷⁴

Elements

?MELLT (pl.)

It is very likely that the root of this name is *mellt* 'lightning', but the interpretation of the *-ou* suffix is more difficult. Thomas postulated that both this name and **Hepste** show an Old Welsh suffix *-tou*, derived from the stem *tam-* seen in many river names (see **Taf**), but his evidence seems restricted to

⁷⁴ EANC, pp. 75–76.

⁷⁵ LL, p. 412; EANC, p. 178.

these two LL names (and, in any case, the LL form of *Hepste* is probably *Hepstur*, not **Hepstou*).⁷⁵ *Mellt* is a collective noun, so GPC does not record a plural form for it,⁷⁶ but a plural form would be allowable if it were applied to *Mellt* as a proper noun. I would suggest as a hypothesis that originally the two major tributaries of the Mellte (now *Llia* and *Tringarth*) were called *Mellt* (or names based on it), and that downstream of their confluence [SN936142] the river was given a plural name based on the name of the two tributaries.

Melltou: see *Mellte*.

†**Menechi:** [?around SN068007 or SN083005]

Attestations

Menechi	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
Menechi	LL	p. 255	before 'c. 1025'
Menechi	LLch.125b	p. 126	s. xi ¹
MENECHI	LLrub.	p. 125	c. 1120s

Location

The first two attestations are from different versions of the same list of Teilo properties, in a Pembrokeshire context (preceded in the list by †**Laithti Teliau** and followed by †**Pull Arda**). In both these cases the same description of the property's location is used: on the †**Ritec**, near (*IUXTA*) **Penally**. The third and fourth attestations are from charter 125b, which grants †**Tref Carn**, †**Laithti Teliau**, and *Menechi*. Bounds are supplied with the charter, which locate the place on the †**Ritec** and between †**Nant hi Rotguidou** and †**Nant Castell Cerran**. Campbell and Lane identified *Menechi* with Roberts Wall Farm [SN101005] but their identification rests mainly on their (in my opinion rather weakly based) identification of †**Cil Tutuc** and †**Penn Clecir**, with which *Menechi* shares a boundary.⁷⁷ Phillimore suggests an identification with 'Hollow Ways' (?near *Holloway Bridge* at SN107004), but this seems to be a guess—the nearest point on the †**Ritec** to **Penally**.⁷⁸ From the suggested identifications of †**Nant hi Rotguidou** and †**Nant Castell Cerran** the place

⁷⁵ EANC, p. 178.

⁷⁶ GPC, III, 2426.

⁷⁷ 'Excavations', pp. 57–58.

⁷⁸ Owen, *Description of Pembrokeshire*, II, 327, n. 3.

should lie either between the first and second, or between the third and fourth, of the four tributary streams on the south bank of the †Ritec, hence the grid references above.

Elements

MYNECHI

Menechi: see †Lann Menechi.

†Menede, Le: [nr ST5090]

Attestations

le Menede LL p. 291 s. xiii²

Location

This place is mentioned in a thirteenth-century charter, granting various pieces of land in the vicinity of **Runston**. It is said to be the name of a plain (*CAMPUS*) in which an acre of the land granted is situated. The acre is bounded on either side by the lands of William of St Pierre (**Sain Pÿr**) and of Adam Daniel. The most useful piece of evidence is the information that the acre abuts the main road between Chepstow (†Strugull) and **Crick**, though it is not clear to me from the wording whether the road marked the northern or southern boundary of the land. I can find no trace of this place-name along the relevant stretch of road, so the grid reference above is a general one for a location on the road in the vicinity of **Runston** and St Pierre (**Sain Pÿr**).

Elements

LE + ?MUNEDE

The principal element could be MYNYDD or its Middle English derivative *munede* ‘forest clearing’, but it looks somewhat more like the latter, and the description of the place as a *CAMPUS* suits that interpretation. MUNEDE is a common element in the **Forest of Dean**, just across the Wye (**Gwy**) from the relevant area.⁷⁹

Menei: see †Aper Menei.

Meneich: see †Villa Meneich, †Lech Meneich, †Nant i Meneich.

Menethistelan: see Mynyddislwyn.

⁷⁹ See Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape*, p. 172, for a discussion of this element.

Meneuensi, Meneuensis, Meneuie: see **Mynyw**.

Merchiau: see †**Riu Merchiau**.

Merchitir: see †**Hentref Merchitir**.

Mersfield: see **Marshfield**.

Merthir: see †**Nant Merthir**.

†**Merthir Buceil:** [?nr SS882775]

Attestations

Merthir buceil	LLch.212	p. 213	'c. 862'
Merthirbuceil	LLrub.	p. 212	c. 1120s
merthir buceil	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Merthir buceil	LLb.25	p. 44	1129

Location

Merthir Buceil is one of three lands granted in charter 212, the others being **Merthyr Mawr** and †**Tir Collou**. The place-name also occurs in two versions of the list of properties confirmed to Llandaf by the Pope, but the context does not help to suggest a location for this place. It would be reasonable to suppose, as did Evans and Davies, that *Merthir Buceil* was in the vicinity of **Merthyr Mawr**, but this need not necessarily be so.¹ Richards tentatively suggested a location in the parish of Bridgend [SS9079], about three kilometres north-east of **Merthyr Mawr**.²

Elements

MERTHYR + BUGAIL

Merthir Cibliuer: see †**Merthir Cimliuer**.

†**Merthir Cimliuer:** [?in Morgannwg]

Attestations

merthir cimliuer	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Merthir cibliuer	LLb.25	p. 44	1129

Location

This place-name occurs in two versions of a list of Llandaf's properties,

¹ LL, p. 412; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 196.

² WATU, p. 156, s.v. *Merthyr Bugail*.

confirmed by papal privilege. No topographical information as such is provided, but the attestations come from a section of the list containing properties in Morgannwg. The immediately preceding item in the list (**Pen-tyrch**) is in Penychen, and the immediately following item (†**Merthir Buceil**) is probably in Gorfynydd, so I am unable to tell in which cantref (if either) this place might be.

Elements

MERTHYR + ?personal name

The spelling *cimliuer* is a scribal self-correction from *ciuliuer*.³ An alternative interpretation of the second element would be to connect it with the noun *llifeiriant* ‘a flowing, flood’, which, GPC suggests, derives from *llif*² + **bêr* (< *beraf*^{*1}). The hypothetical noun **cyflifer* would be composed of the root of *llifeiriant* with the prefix *cyf-*, probably functioning as an intensifier, giving a meaning like ‘powerful flood’.

†**Merthir Clitauc**: [SO326275] (mod. *Clodock*)

Attestations

territorium merthirclitauc	LLch.195	p. 195	‘c. 740’
Merthir Clitauc	LLrub.	p. 195	c. 1120s
<i>merthir</i> clitauc	LLgloss	p. 195	s. xv

Location

There is no strong reason to doubt that these three attestations refer to Clodock church. Although *merthir* could be a common noun designating the martyr Clydog, it seems much more likely that it is used here as the place-name element meaning ‘sanctified cemetery’, particularly in the first attestation where the surrounding text is all Latin. The bounds supplied for the territory demonstrably include the modern site of Clodock, and, to my knowledge, no other place has a connexion with the martyred Clydog.

A further reference, ‘ad *sanctum* Clitauc’, from the following document (LLch.196, page 196), might be read as evidence for another name for Clodock church—an abbreviated form of *Ecclesia Sancti Clitauci*. It seems more likely, though, that this is a reference to ‘St Clydog’ (rather than ‘St

³ LL, p. 346.

Clydog's'), on account of his continuing spiritual presence at his church.

Elements

MERTHYR + personal name

†**Merthir Cynfall:** [SO494166] (mod. **Llangunville**)

Attestations

Methirchinfall	LLch.171b	p. 171	after 'c. 860'
merthir cynfall	LLrub.	p. 171	c. 1120s

Location

Charter 171b is a composite record of the grant of seven properties, among them *Merthir Cynfall*. Bounds are given for six of the seven places, including one set for **Llangunville**, but none under a heading *Merthir Cynfall*, so it is reasonable to assume that *Merthir Cynfall* and **Llangunville** are synonyms.⁴

Elements

MERTHYR + personal name

†**Merthir Dincat:** [SO457104] (W. **Llanddingad**; Eng. **Dingestow**)

Attestations

Villam merthirdincat	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
uillam merthir dincat	LLb.12	p. 31	1128
uillam merthir dincat	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

The attestations are from the three versions of a list of properties confirmed to Llandaf by papal privilege. The context is the same in all three versions, and indicates a location in **Gwent** (Uwch Coed). Both Evans and Richards assumed that the name was a synonym for **Llanddingad/Dingestow**, which is plausible as regards the name's form, and suits the available evidence for location.⁵

Elements

MERTHYR + personal name

⁴ As did Evans (LL, p. 412), Richards (WATU, p. 156, s.v. *Merthyr Cynfall*), and Davies (*The Llandaff Charters*, p. 107).

⁵ LL, p. 412; WATU, p. 156, s.v. *Merthyr Dingad*.

†**Merthir Gerein**: [?nr ST427884]Attestations

merthirgerein	LLch.233	p. 234	c. 990–c. 1010
<i>ecclesia de Marthergeryn</i>	LL	p. 323	c. 1350

Location

The earlier attestation is from the bounds of †**Lann Mihacgel Maur** (probably Llanfihangel Rogiet) and the later is from a list of churches in the deanery of †**Nether Went**. The reference in the bounds is to a road which comes from *Merthir Gerein*, but I am unable to trace the bounds, so this information is not particularly useful. Wakeman, on the matter of the location of this place, states: ‘That chapel [*Merthir Gerein*] stood near the Upper Grange Farm House, in the parish of Magor, its remains have not been removed many years.’⁶ Richards also identified the place as a chapel in the parish of Magor (**Magwyr**).⁷ The grid reference above is for Upper Grange (the place, I assume, mentioned by Wakeman), which is in †**Nether Went** and is only two and a half kilometres west of Llanfihangel Rogiet (†**Lann Mihacgel Maur**).

Elements

MERTHYR + personal name

†**Merthir Gliuis**: [?SS836775] (?mod. *Clevis*)Attestations

merthir gliuis	LLch.224	p. 225	‘c. 935’–c. 990
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Location

Merthir Gliuis is mentioned as a point in the dimensional bounds of †**Tref Ret**, opposed by the Ogmore (**Ogwr**). †**Tref Ret** seems to have been in the area of Merthyr-mawr Warren [SS8676]. Evans identified *Merthir Gliuis* as ‘*Clevis*, Newton Nottage’, which is an area of **Newton Nottage** at the grid reference above (now called *Clevis*), and Richards also identified the place as a chapel in the parish of **Newton Nottage**.⁸ The grid reference above is a general one for the Newton area.

• ‘Supplementary Notes’, p. 16, s.v. *Tref Peren*.

’ WATU, p. 156, s.v. *Merthyr Gerain*.

’ LL, p. 412; WATU, p. 156, s.v. *Merthyr Gerain*. See also the discussion by Sims-Williams in ‘A Turkish–Celtic Problem’, p. 219.

Elements

MERTHYR + personal name

The qualifier is most probably the personal name *Glywys*. It seems very probable that there is a connexion between the eponym of this MERTHYR and the *Gligris* mentioned in the inscription of a stone found at Ogmere Castle in 1929.⁹ The inscription (Macalister, no. 1024;¹⁰ Nash-Williams, no. 255;¹¹ RCAHMW, no. 926¹²) records a grant of land by one Arthfael to God, *Gligris*, *Nertat*, and another party over whose name there is disagreement.

†Merthir Ilan: [?ST106890] (?mod. *Eglwysilan*)

Attestations

merthir ilan	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Merthir ilan	LLb.25	p. 44	1129
ylan	LLgloss	p. 32	1476x78

Location

This place-name occurs in the two longer versions of the list of properties confirmed as Llandaf's by Pope Honorius II. The context of the attestation in the lists does not suggest any particular geographical area. Both Evans and Richards regarded *Merthir Ilan* as a synonym for *Eglwysilan* (grid reference above),¹³ which is plausible as regards the name's formation, but there is not enough evidence to be confident of the identification.

Elements

MERTHYR + personal name

†Merthir Issiu: [SO278224] (mod. *Patrisio*, Eng. *Partrishow*)

Attestations

merthir issiu	LL	p. 279	c. 1120s
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Location

The attestation is from a list of churches over which Bishop Herewald had jurisdiction in the area of Ystrad Yw. The identification with Partrishow (grid

⁹ Sims-Williams, *ibid.*, p. 223.

¹⁰ *Corpus Inscriptionum*, II, 162–63.

¹¹ *Early Christian Monuments*, pp. 155–60.

¹² Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales, *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Glamorgan*, I, part 3 (Cardiff, 1976), pp. 55–56.

¹³ LL, p. 412; WATU, p. 156, s.v. *Merthyr Ilan*.

reference above) is that of Evans and Richards,¹⁴ and seems reasonable, given the location and the qualifying personal-name element. There are four churches in the relevant list, of which only the first has been identified with a place actually in the commote of Ystrad Yw, the rest (including this one) being in the neighbouring commote of Crucywel (as defined by Richards).¹⁵

Elements

MERTHYR + ?personal name

†Merthir Iun et Aaron: [?nr ST3590]

Attestations

territorium <i>sanctorum</i> martirium iulij <i>et</i> aaron	LLch.225	p. 225	'c. 864'
merthir iVN <i>et</i> AARON	LLrub.	p. 225	c. 1120s
<i>ecclesiam</i> Julij <i>et</i> aaron	LLgloss	p. 225	s. xv ^{med}

Location

The territory of this church is granted in charter 225. Bounds are given which locate the place on the Usk (Wysg). Evans, Richards, and Davies all identified the place with St Julian's in Newport [ST3289] (the grid reference given by Davies was that of Caerllion).¹⁶ The Anglican parish church of St Julian's [ST323895] is dedicated to SS Julius and Aaron, which appears to be independent confirmation of the identification, but there has only been a church on this site since 1926.¹⁷ The parish of St Julian's is indeed on the Usk (Wysg), though the bounds of charter 225 show that the territory they define bordered on that of Kemeys Inferior ((2) Cemais), which might lead one to seek a location for *Merthir Iun et Aaron* a few kilometres further up the river. In fact Evans located the territory 'near Chepstow' [ST3590], a hill three and a half kilometres upriver of the area of the modern parish of St Julian's.¹⁸ Gerald of Wales remarks that 'in former times' there were three churches in Caerllion, one of which was dedicated to the martyr Julius, and one to his fellow martyr Aaron,¹⁹ but the facts that he is talking about two separate churches, and that he locates them in Caerllion, on the wrong side of the river,

¹⁴ LL, p. 412; WATU, p. 156, s.v. *Merthyr Isw*.

¹⁵ WATU, p. 323.

¹⁶ LL, p. 412; WATU, p. 156, s.v. *Merthyr Iul ac Aaron*; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 121.

¹⁷ Internet: <http://www.newportchurches.com/Hist.html>.

¹⁸ LL, p. 377.

suggest that there is no direct connexion between these and *Merthir Iun et Aaron*. See also †**Sant Ilien**.

Elements

MERTHYR + personal name + *ET* + personal name

ECCLESIA + *personal name* (gen.) + *ET* + personal name

The form 'i'vN' in the second attestation of the place-name is presumably an error for 'i'vL'. The Welsh element MERTHYR is derived from Latin *martyrium* 'the place where a martyr is buried', seen in the first attestation.²⁰

†**Merthir Maches**: [ST434917] (?mod. **Llanfaches**, Eng. *Llanvaches*)

Attestations

ecclesiam merthir maches LLch.211b p. 211 'c. 775'

Merthirmaches LLrub. p. 211 c. 1120s

Location

The church of *Merthir Maches* is granted to Llandaf in charter 211b. Evans, Richards, and Davies all agreed on the identification with **Llanfaches**.²¹ There are no bounds or other explicit references to the place's location in the charter, but there is a very strong correlation of witnesses with charter 206, which grants †**Lann Uuien**. If the identification of †**Lann Uuien** with Llangofen is correct then the relationship between the two charters would support the identification of *Merthir Maches* with **Llanfaches**. Otherwise the identification rests only on the probable occurrence of *Maches* as the qualifying element in both names.

Elements

MERTHYR + ?personal name

Merthir Mimor: see †**Ecclesia Sancti Teliui de Merthir Mimor**, **Merthyr Mawr**.

Merthir Miuor: see **Merthyr Mawr**.

Merthir Mouor: see **Merthyr Mawr**.

Merthir Mymor, Myuor: see †**Ecclesia Sancti Teliui de Merthir Mimor**.

¹⁹ Dimock, *Itinerarium Kambriæ et Descriptio Kambriæ*, p. 56.

²⁰ Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, p. 1116; GPC, III, 2436.

²¹ LL, p. 412; WATU, p. 156, s.v. *Merthyr Maches*; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 119.

†Merthir Onbrit: [?nr ST1477]

Attestations

merthir onbrit	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
merthir onbrit	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

This place-name occurs in two versions of the list of Llandaf's properties confirmed by papal privilege. No topographical information as such is provided, but the context of the surrounding names in the list (†Tref Ginhill, †Tref Laur, †Tref Crintorth, †Tref Miluc, †Carn Elfin, †Inis Marchan, †Inis Bratguen, †Tref Gillic) points to a location not far from Llandaf, or perhaps a little further up Ystrad Elái. If there is a direct connexion between this name and the †Petra Onnbrit, which is mentioned as a point in the bounds of Tyllgoed, then the *Merthir* might be located in the vicinity of Fairwater (Tyllgoed), hence the grid reference above. Evans put *Merthir Onbrit* 'somewhere near Fairwater', and this is probably be the reasoning behind Richards's identification of the place as a chapel in Cardiff (Caerdydd).²²

Elements

MERTHYR + personal name

†Merthir Tecmed: [ST338957] (mod. Llandegfedd, Eng. *Llandegveth*)

Attestations

podum merthir tecmed	LLch.199a	p. 199	'c. 750'
merthir tecmed	LLch.272	p. 273	'c. 1072'
Merthir Tecmed	LLrub.	p. 199	c. 1120s

Location

The PODUM of *Merthir Tecmed* is granted to Llandaf in charter 199a. There are no bounds or other explicit references to the place's location in the charter, but there is a weak correlation of witnesses with charters 198b, 199b, and 200 (places in Gwent and Ergyng).²³ Charter 272 locates †Tref Rita, the object of its grant, next to (*IUXTA*) *Merthir Tecmed*. While the identity of †Tref Rita is uncertain, the charter does explicitly locate it in Edeligion, a commote of

²² LL, p. 412; WATU, p. 156, s.v. *Merthyr Onfryd*.

²³ There is a slightly stronger correlation with charter 202 (†Villa Breican), but its location is uncertain.

Gwent. Evans, Richards, and Davies all agreed on the identification with **Llandegfedd**,²⁴ which is reasonable given the occurrence of *Tegfedd* as the qualifying element in both names, and the available evidence for the place's location.

Elements

MERTHYR + personal name

†**Merthir Teudiric**: [ST523908] (mod. **Matharn**, Eng. *Mathern*)

Attestations

territorio merthir teudiric	LLch.235a	p. 235	'c. 900'
presbiter de merthirteudiric	LLch.274	p. 274	'c. 1075'
Villam Merthir Teudiric	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
uillam mertyr teudiric	LLb.12	p. 31	1128
uillam merthir theoderici	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

The last three attestations are from the three versions of a list of properties confirmed to Llandaf by the Pope. The context in this list points to a location in **Gwent**. The evidence in favour of **Gwent** is further strengthened by the appearance of a priest of *Merthir Teudiric* as a witness to the grant of †**Villa Gunnuc** in charter 274. Charter 235a grants †**Villa Cyuiu**, which is described as a 'membrum deterritorio merthir teudiric'. There is no other reference to the location of †**Villa Cyuiu** in the charter, but a fifteenth-century hand added a marginal note 'Membrum de territorio Martherne', thereby equating *Merthir Teudiric* with **Matharn**. There are good grounds for identifying **Matharn** as the object of charter 141: the *oraculum* ('oratory') of King Tewdrig and its territory. The basis for the identification of *Merthir Teudiric* with **Matharn** is essentially the fifteenth-century marginal note to that effect, and the fact that **Matharn** was regarded as King Tewdrig's burial place. This seems to me to be a strong enough combination.²⁵ The Anglican church at **Matharn** is nowadays dedicated to St Tewdrig.

²⁴ LL, p. 412; WATU, p. 156, s.v. *Merthyr Tegfedd*; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 115.

²⁵ Evans (LL, p. 412), Richards (WATU, p. 156, s.v. *Merthyr Tewdrig*), and Davies (*The Llandaff Charters*, p. 196) all agree on this identification.

Elements

MERTHYR + personal name

MERTHYR + *personal name* (gen.)**Merthir Theoderici:** see †**Merthir Teudiric.****†Merthyr:** [?SO050063] (?mod. *Merthyr Tudful*, Eng. *Merthyr Tydfil*)Attestations

ecclesia de Merthyr LL p. 324 c. 1350

Ecc'ia de Merthyr LL p. 330 c. 1350

Location

This place is named in two lists of churches in the deanery of **Llandaf**. I know of three MERTHYR place-names in the area of this deanery: **Merthyr Dyfan**, †**Merthir Onbrit**, and *Merthyr Tudful*. **Merthyr Dyfan** can be ruled out as a possible identification on the grounds that the list in which it is attested also contains one of the attestations under discussion here. Evans identified these attestations as references to Merthyr Tudful,²⁶ but †**Merthir Onbrit** should also be borne in mind as a possibility, and it could, of course, be somewhere else entirely within the deanery.

Elements

MERTHYR

Merthyr Dyfan: [ST115694]AttestationsMartheldouan Cart.²⁷ III, 942 s. xiii

Ecclesia de Mertherdevan VN p. 316 1254

Ecclesia de Mertherdevan Cart.²⁸ III, 948 1254Ecclesia de M'ther Tax²⁹ p. 279 c. 1291Martheldevan Cart.³⁰ III, 956 c. 1291

ecclesia de Martheldeuan LL p. 324 c. 1350

Location

This place is named in a list of churches in the deanery of **Llandaf**. The

²⁶ LL, p. 412.

²⁷ PNDinas P., p. 133.²⁸ PNDinas P., p. 133.²⁹ Astle, *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*.

identification with Merthyr Dyfan made by both Evans and Pierce seems reasonable in terms of appearance, and suits the location in Llandaf.³¹

Elements

MERTHYR + personal name

The name is discussed by Pierce, who suggests some parallels for the dissimilation of MERTHYR to *marthel*, shown in the LL, and two other thirteenth-century attestations.³² Another parallel is found in one of the LL forms of Merthyr Mawr.

Merthyr Mawr: [SS882775] (also †Ecclesia Sancti Teliaui de Merthir Mimor)

Attestations

merthir Miuor	LLch.212	p. 213	'c. 862'
Finis Merthir Miuor	LLch.212	p. 213	s. xi ¹
merthirmimor	LLrub.	p. 212	c. 1120s
merthir miuor	LLrub.	p. 224	c. 1120s
Pola de Merthirmouor	LL	p. 284	c. 1195
Merthyr mawr	LLgloss	p. 213	s. xv
ecclesiam de Marthelmaur'	LL	p. 283	s. xv ²

Location

Four of the seven attestations are from charter 212, where *Merthir Miuor* is granted, along with †Merthir Buceil and †Tir Collou. Bounds of *Merthir Miuor* are given which refer to the (2) Ewenni and the Ogmore (Ogwr). The proximity to these rivers, together with a fifteenth-century glossator's comment 'Nunc vocatur Merthyr mawr', is probably sufficient to confirm Evans's and Davies's identification with Merthyr Mawr.³³ †Tref Ret, granted in charter 224, is referred to in the rubric of that charter as next to (*IUXTA*) *Merthir Miuor*. The bounds of †Tref Ret locate that place near the mouth of the Ogmore (Ogwr), so again the identification with Merthyr Mawr is reasonable.³⁴ The attestation from page 284 is from a list of benefices contributed to the church of Llandaf, but there is no particular geographical

³⁰ PNDinas P., p. 133.

³¹ LL, p. 411; PNDinas P., p. 133.

³² PNDinas P., p. 133–35.

³³ LL, p. 412; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 119.

³⁴ LL, p. 412; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 121.

context to support or contradict the identification.³⁵ The remaining attestation (page 283) comes from a list of dues owed to the archdeacon of Llandaf, but again there is no geographical context, so the identification rests on the name's appearance.³⁶

Elements

MERTHYR + ?personal name

Although the second element appears from the modern form of the name to be MAWR, this looks to be a relatively recent development. As with LLAN place-names, MERTHYR place-names are most commonly formed with a personal name as the qualifying element, so that is the most likely interpretation of the second element in this case. Richards modernises the second element as *Myfor* (which would be a hypocoristic compound of the suffix *my-* and the attested personal-name *Môr*).³⁷ The personal-name element would be the same as that in Llanofer (LL *Lanmouor*).

Merton College: [SP517060]

Attestations

socius de collegij de Merton' Oxon' LL p. 304 1479

Location

A list of the bishops of Llandaf refers to the fact that Bishop John Marshall (consecrated 1479) was sometime fellow of Merton College, Oxford.

Mertyr Teudiric: see †Merthir Teudiric.

Merych: see †Castell Meirch.

Meryrc: see †Cecin Meirch.

†Messur Pritguenn: [?nr SO457055]

Attestations

messur pritguenn	LLch.206	p. 207	s. xi ²
messur pritguenn	LLch.206	p. 207	s. xi ²

Location

This feature is named as a point in the bounds of †Ecclesia Mamouric (also

³⁵ LL, p. 412.

³⁶ Ibid..

³⁷ WATU, p. 156, s.v. *Merthyr Mawr*. I am grateful to Patrick Sims-Williams for the interpretation of

known as †**Lann Uuien**), the identity of which is uncertain, though it has been identified with Llangovan in Gwent (grid reference above). *Messur Pritguenn* is east of a great grove (LLWYN) and not far from a main road (FFORDD). It occurs in the area between †**Licat Laguernnuc** and the †**Betguos**.

Prydwen is well known in Welsh tradition as the name of Arthur's ship.³⁸ The story *Culhwch ac Olwen* refers to a site on the Welsh coast where the ship Prydwen landed bearing a cauldron stolen from Ireland.³⁹ The place is named *Messur y Peir*, where *mesur* 'measure, quantity' seems to refer to the 'fill' of the cauldron with Irish treasures,⁴⁰ or perhaps a depression where the cauldron was supposed to have left its imprint. Bromwich and Evans identified *Messur y Peir* with Pwllcrochan [SM9203], and suggested that *Messur Pritguenn* might have been another name for the same place.⁴¹ Although there is room for doubt over the location of †**Ecclesia Mamouric**/†**Lann Uuien**, it seems highly unlikely that it is in the area of Pwllcrochan. It is reasonable to assume, however, that the LL *Messur Pritguenn* is a reference to an Arthurian story—if †**Ecclesia Mamouric**/†**Lann Uuien** is not on the coast, then perhaps *Messur Pritguenn* is the name of a notable hollow in the ground, in the shape of a ship's hull.⁴²

Elements

MESUR + ?ship name

See above for the interpretation of *mesur*.

†**Methiana**: [NGR N/A] (?Eng. *Meath*, Ir. *An Midhe*)

Attestations

regione methiana LL p. 6 c. 1130

Location

Regio Methiana is said to be the place of origin of Saint Samson's father in the LL version of the Life of that saint. Evans identified this as a reference to Meath in Ireland, and John Davies agreed with this in his discussion of the

Myfor.

³⁸ Bromwich and Evans, *Culhwch and Olwen*, p. 147.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 37, ll. 1036–1056.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

⁴² Jackson, 'Rhai Sylwadau', pp. 22–23.

Life.⁴³ Davies noted that this is one of several points at which the LL version of the Life is at variance with the *Vita I Sancti Samsonis* on which it is based—in the *Vita I* the statement at this point is to Samson's origin in *Demetia* (Dyfed)—and discussed this as part of the evidence for Llandaf's deliberate emendation of the Life for its own political purposes.⁴⁴ In fact, though, there is no further reference to Ireland in the Life, and I wonder whether *Methiana* might not have arisen not through deliberate change, but rather through a misreading or misunderstanding of **regione demethiana*, in which **demethiana* was an adjectival form of *Demetia* (Dyfed).

Methir Chinfall: see †Merthir Cynfall.

Meurig: see Pwllmeurig.

Meuruc: see †Mouric.

Mich: see †Bic.

Michaelchurch: see †Lann Mihacgel Cil Luch.

Michaelstone-y-Fedw: see (2) †Ecclesia Sancti Michaelis.

Michaelston-le-Pit: see †Michelestowe.

Michaelston-super-Ely: see Llanfihangel-ar-Elái.

†**Michelestowe:** [ST151729] (mod. *Michaelston-le-Pit*, W. *Llanfihangel-y-pwll*)

Attestations

Michelstowe	Cart. ⁴⁵	III, 956	c. 1291
Michelestowe	Cart. ⁴⁶	II, 710	s. xiii
Michelestowe	Cart. ⁴⁷	III, 736	s. xiii
Micheilestowe	Cart. ⁴⁸	III, 726	s. xiii
ecclesia de Michelestowe	LL	p. 324	c. 1350

Location

This place is named in a list of churches in the deanery of Llandaf. I know of

⁴³ LL, p. 412; Davies, 'The Book of Llandaf', p. 192.

⁴⁴ Davies, 'The Book of Llandaf', pp. 192 and 199.

⁴⁵ PNDinas P., p. 146.

⁴⁶ Ibid..

⁴⁷ Ibid..

⁴⁸ Ibid..

only two *Michael/Mihangel* place-names in the area of this deanery: **Llanfihangel-ar-Elái/Michaelston-super-Ely** and **Llanfihangel-y-pwll/Michaelston-le-pit**. The former can be ruled out as a possible identification on the grounds that the list in which it is attested also contains the attestations under discussion here. Consequently Evans's identification with Michaelston-le-pit is reasonable.⁴⁹ Pierce makes the same identification and provides other examples of the same name for the place.⁵⁰

Elements

personal name + STŌW

Pierce explains the development of the place-name from a STŌW name to a TŪN one, and discusses the distinguishing suffixes *le-Pit* and *y-pwll*, which appear in the more recent forms of the name.⁵¹

Midhe: see †Methiana.

Mihacghgel: see †Lann Mihacghgel Tref Ceriau.

Mihachgel: see †Lann Mihachgel Meibion Gratlaun.

Miluc: see †Tref Miluc.

Minchei: see †Alt Minchei.

†**Mincul, Ir:** [?SO235352] (?mod. *Bwlch yr Efengyl*, Eng. *Gospel Pass*)

Attestations

[i]rmincul	LLb.25	p. 42	s. xi ¹
[y]r uyncul	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s

Location

This feature is named as a point in both versions of the diocesan bounds. The point is between *Guarthaf Buch* (Bwch) and the †Pridell. The latter point is unidentified but the general direction of the bounds between these points is north-eastward. Evans identified *Ir Mincul* as '*Bwlch y Vingul*', and I can find no place of this precise name, but it does look rather like *Bwlch yr Efengyl* (Eng. *Gospel Pass*), the name of the pass at the head of the Vale of Ewyas

⁴⁹ LL, p. 413.

⁵⁰ PNDinas P., pp. 146–52.

⁵¹ Ibid..

(grid reference above).⁵² Gospel Pass is certainly in the right area (one and a quarter kilometres east-north-east of the source of the **Bwch**), but until further evidence is produced the identification must remain tentative.

Elements

YR + ?MYNGUL (len.)

The spelling *mincul* would be the natural way to represent *myngul* ‘slender-necked’ (*mŵn* ‘neck’ + CUL) in Old Welsh orthography. The ‘slender-necked one’ would be an apt description of this narrow, well-defined pass. I am not sure of the reason for the lenition shown by the later attestation. If the name has given rise to modern *Bwlch yr Efengyl* then that would have developed from a misunderstanding of the lenited form **Y Fyngul* (perhaps caused by the presence of the famous abbey of (1) **Llanthony** further down the valley).

Minerton: see †**Minid Garthon**.

Mingui: see **Mynwy**.

Minid Ferdun: see **Mynydd Merddin**.

†**Minid Garthon:** [?SN088032] (?mod. *Minerton*)

Attestations

uinyd garthon	LLch.125b	p. 126	c. 1080–c. 1120s
uinid garthon	LLch.125b	p. 126	c. 1080–c. 1120s
Menegardun	Slebech ⁵³	p. 193	?s. xiii
Mineyerdoun	IPM ⁵⁴	VI, 336	1324
Mynyerdon	C1 ⁵⁵	p. 267	1325
Mynierdon	C1 ⁵⁶	p. 276	1325

Location

This hill is named as a point in the bounds of †**Tref Carn**. The bounds run from *Minid Garthon* to the source of †**Nant Brat** and along that stream down to the †**Ritec**, and then again from *Minid Garthon* to the source of †**Nant y**

⁵² LL, p. 368. The name *Bwlch yr Efengyl* appears only on the Ordnance Survey ‘Pathfinder’ series 1:25 000 scale map (sheet 1039), copyright 1989—the ‘Outdoor Leisure’ series map (sheet 13), copyright 1996, which superseded Pathfinder 1039 marks the place only as *Gospel Pass*.

⁵³ Charles, ‘The Records of Slebech’.

⁵⁴ *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*.

⁵⁵ *Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward II, A.D. 1323–1327* (London, 1898)✓

Clauorion and down it to the †**Ritec**. The possible sources of the two streams are very close to each other, on the hill at the grid reference above, or the ridge (*Astridge*) which runs out from the hill to the east. The modern name of the hill seems to be *Minerton*, which is discussed by Charles.⁵⁷ The earliest form of the name quoted by Charles, *Menegardun*, looks sufficiently similar to *Minid Garthon* that the names could be related (see further below).

Elements

MYNYDD + ?GARTHAN

Charles's tentative etymology of *Minerton* (Old English *gemāne* 'common' + *geard* 'enclosure' + *dūn* 'hill') was made in the absence of the LL forms, which I would suggest could be at the base of the name. I am uncertain of the meaning of LL's *garthon*; it certainly looks as though it should be based on GARTH, and a derivative *garthan* 'encampment, stronghold, rampart; field of battle; battle' is well attested. A suffix *-on* is known, which has various functions, including name-forming,⁵⁸ so GARTH + *-on* might also be a possibility.

Minuensem, Minuensi, Minuensis: see **Mynyw**.

Minugui, Minwy: see **Mynwy**.

Mirdin: see **Caerfyrddin**.

Mitchel Troy: see †**Troia**.

Mithri: see †**Rivulus Mithri**.

Moccas: [SO357432]

Attestations

mochros	LL	p. 69	?
Locus mocrosi	LL	p. 71	?
mochros	LL	p. 133	?
mochros	LL	p. 134	?
mochros	LLch.161	p. 161	'c. 610'
mochros	LLch.163b	p. 164	'c. 620'

⁵⁶ Ibid..

⁵⁷ PNPemb., II, 717.

⁵⁸ GPC, III, 2647.

abbas mochros	LLch.164	p. 164	'c. 620'
Mochros	LLch.192	p. 192	'c. 745'?
Mochros	LL	p. 80	1120s?
Moch ros	LL	p. 80	1120s?
Mochros	LLgloss	p. 71	s. xv ^{med}
mochros	LLgloss	p. 161	s. xv ^{med}
mochros	LLgloss	p. 80	s. xvi

Location

This place is several times described as on or above (*SUPER/supra*) the Wye (**Gwy**). It seems to be in **Ergyng**—it is one of eleven **Ergyng** properties granted in charter 192, and *Comereg*, abbot of *Mochros*, witnessed the grants of **Llancloudy** (charter 163b) and †**Lann Budgualan** (Ballingham; charter 164), both in **Ergyng**. On page 134 some short bounds are given, which include *Mochros*, for an area of Llandaf's *parrochia* which is said to have been overrun by the Saxons in Euddogwy's time, and this area seems to correspond to **Anergyng**, the northern part of **Ergyng**.⁵⁹ The foundation of *Mochros* is described in the Life of Dyfrig (page 80), where it said to be in a corner of †**Inis Ebrdil**. All commentators, to my knowledge, have agreed on the identification of LL's *Mochros* with Moccas (grid reference above), a place on the Wye (**Gwy**) in **Anergyng**, which does fit the available evidence.⁶⁰

Elements

MOCH + RHOS

The name is explained (in Latin) as a compound of MOCH 'porci' ('pig') and RHOS 'locus' in the Life of Dyfrig (page 80). This interpretation is followed by Williams, who adduces several other examples of the same name, including *Mochras* [SH5526] and a *Mucros* in Ireland.⁶¹

Mochros: see Moccas.

Mocrosi: see Moccas.

⁵⁹ See above, §2.5.1.

⁶⁰ LL, p. 413; Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 23; Finberg, *The Early Charters*, p. 140; WATU, p. 158, s.v. *Moccas*; Davies, 'The Book of Llandaf', p. 196.

⁶¹ *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 23.

Môn: [NGR N/A] (Eng. *Anglesey*)

Attestations

insula euonię LL p. 253 'c. 1025'

Location

The attestation is from King Rhydderch ab Iestyn's confirmation of Llandaf's privileges, and comes from a reference to the extent of Rhydderch's power, stating that he is 'rex morcannuc immo totius gualię excepta tantum insula euonię quam iacob filius idgual per se tenebat'. Iago ab Idwal was king of **Gwynedd** from 1033 to 1039.⁶² All the authorities seem to agree in the identification of *Insula Euoniae* with Anglesey, and I can see no reason to disagree.⁶³

Elements

The LL form probably represents a Latinised form of *Môn*, though I am not sure of the origin of the initial *e*. The name *Môn* is attested from Classical times in the form *Mona*, which may be derived from the Brittonic root **mōn-* (supposed to underlie MYNYDD), or the Indo-European root **men-* 'to stretch out' (as also postulated for *Mynwy*), possibly a reference to Holyhead Mountain [SH2182].⁶⁴

†**Monasterium Beate Marie:** [ST5039]

Attestations

Abbate et Conuentu Monasterii beate Marie LL p. 333 c. 1350

Location

The attestation is from a list of ecclesiastical benefices in connexion with the *vicaria* of Basaleg. The adjective *Glastoniensis* ('of †Glastonia/Glastonbury') is used to describe the location of this monastery, which makes it clear that the reference is to Glastonbury Abbey.

†**Monasterium de Burgo:** [TL8564] (Abbey of *Bury St Edmunds*)

Attestations

Monachus Monasterii de Burgo LL p. 304 s. xiv^{ex}

⁶² Lloyd and Jenkins, *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, p. 408.

⁶³ LL, p. 398; Davies, *Early Welsh Microcosm*, p. 96; Evans, *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*, p. 35.

⁶⁴ EANC, p. 30; PNRom. Brit., pp. 419–20; GPC, III, 2541, s.v. *mynydd*.

Location

The attestation is from a list of the bishops of Llandaf, in the entry for Edmund Bromfield (bishop from 1389 to 1391 or 1393), a monk of the abbey of Bury St Edmunds (grid reference above).⁶⁵

Monasterium Sancti Cinguali: see †Lann Cingualan.

Monasterium Sancti Cinuuri: see †Lann Conuur.

Monasterium Sancti Teliui: see †Ecclesia Sancti Teliui.

Monemuta, Monemute, Monemuwe: see Monmouth.

Monks' Ditch: see (4) †Dubleis.

Monkton: see †Porth Manach.

Monkton Farleigh: see †Ffarley.

Monmouth: [SO5012] (W. *Trefynwy*)

Attestations

<i>Willelmum de Monemuta</i>	LL	p. 295	1304–05
<i>Johannis de Monemuta</i>	LL	p. 299	1323
<i>Johanne(m de) Monemuta</i>	LL	p. 299	1323
<i>Johannis de Monemuta</i>	LL	p. 309	1323
<i>Johannem de Monemuta</i>	LL	p. 309	1323
<i>Alexandro de Monemuta</i>	LL	p. 293	c. 1328
<i>Johannes de Monemuta</i>	LL	p. 312	c. 1350
<i>Johan de Monemuwe</i>	LL	p. 317	c. 1350
<i>Johannes de Monemuta</i>	LL	p. 317	c. 1350
<i>Prior de Monemuta</i>	LL	p. 327	c. 1350
<i>Johannis de Monemuta</i>	LL	p. 334	c. 1350
<i>Johannes de Monemuta</i>	LL	p. 334	c. 1350
<i>Johannes de Monemuta</i>	LL	p. 303	c. 1354
<i>Johannis de Monemuta</i>	LLgloss	p. 300	s. xv
Monmouth	LLgloss	p. 160	s. xv ^{med}
munmowth	LLgloss	p. 277	1476x78

⁶⁵ Birch, *Memorials*, p. 339.

(Mon)emuta	LLgloss	p. 277	1476x78
munmoth	LLgloss	p. 278	1476x78
monemute	LLgloss	p. 278	1476x78

Location

Most of the attestations are uses of the place-name as a surname (mostly in relation to Bishop John *de Monemuta* of Llandaf), and, as such, they do not provide evidence for the place's location. The Prior of Monmouth is listed on page 327 as owing tithes in the deanery of **Abergefenni** (Monmouth was on the edge of the deanery). A glossator on page 160 noticed the appearance of the Monnow (**Mynwy**) in the bounds of **Llancillo**, and seems to have assumed that the place was near Monmouth, which is wrong—Monmouth is at the mouth of the river, whereas **Llancillo** is some distance upstream. The glosses on pages 277 and 278 are more accurate identifications of the location of Monmouth Castle (†**Castell Mingui**).

Elements

Mynwy + MŪDA

The place-name simply means 'mouth (*mūða*) of the Monnow (**Mynwy**)'. Most of the attestations show the Latinised form *Monemuta*.

Monnow, Monnwy: see **Mynwy**.

†**Mons Gurai:** [?SS887754] (?mod. *Beacons Down*)

Attestations

uertice montis gurai LLch.176a p. 176 'c. 705'–c. 930

Location

This mountain or hill is mentioned as a point in the dimensional bounds of †**Villa Conuc**, opposed by the river Ewenny ((2) **Ewenni**). The other dimension is defined by two ditches (*FOSSA*), one of which is described as 'contra mare', the precise meaning of which is unclear to me, but it surely implies proximity to the sea. So the name applies to a hill or mountain near the Ewenny, and near the sea. †**Villa Conuc** is described as 'the *VILLA* in which the tomb of *Gurai* is' ('uillam inqua sepulcrum est Gurai'). On the west bank of the Ewenny, near its mouth, are **Merthyr Mawr** and †**Tref Ret**, which would not leave much room for †**Villa Conuc**, so it is more likely that the *VILLA* should be located on the east bank. Evans suggested an identification

with ‘?Cnwc, St. Bride’s Major’, which I cannot find, but which would be in the right area (near **St Bride’s Major**).⁶⁶ However, the place-name *Cnwc* would be more likely derived from the common noun *cnwc* ‘hillock’ than from the personal name *Conuc*. It seems reasonable to assume that the *Gurai* of the tomb and the *Gurai* of the *MONS* are one and the same. I would very tentatively suggest that the tomb of *Gurai* might be identified as the tumulus marked by the Ordnance Survey at SS884751, in which case *Mons Gurai* might be the hill of Beacons Down, with its summit at the grid reference above.

Elements

MONS + personal name

†**Mons Sanctae Mariae de Carmelo:** [NGR N/A]

Attestations

ordine Montis sancte Marie de Carmelo LL p. 317 c. 1350

Location

The attestation is from a brief biography of John Paschal, consecrated as bishop of Llandaf in 1344. That he was of the Carmelite order is confirmed in the lists of bishops on pages 303 and 312. The description of the order as *Ordo Montis Sanctae Mariae de Carmelo* seems likely to be an error or alternative for *Ordo Sanctae Mariae de Monte Carmelo*. Mount Carmel, after which the order was named, is just over ten kilometres south-east of Haifa in Israel.

Montacute: [ST4916]

Attestations

monachis demonte acuto LLb.28i p. 30 ?1129

monchis demonte acuto LLb.28ii p. 53 ?1129

Location

Bishop Urban is commanded by Bull 28 to grant the territory of **Caerllion** to the monks of this place, the territory having been given to them by William de **Ballon**. Evans made the identification followed here, and this seems to be confirmed by independent evidence that there was formerly in **Malpas** (about four kilometres west of **Caerllion**), a Cluniac monastery forming a cell to the

⁶⁶ LL, p. 394, s.v. *Conuc*. Davies was less specific in her identification, saying just ‘Ewenny river, Vale of Glamorgan’ (‘The Book of Llandaf’, p. 108).

priory of Montacute, and founded by Winebald de Ballon.⁶⁷

Monte Acuto: see **Montacute**.

Morcan: see †**Villa Crucou Morcan**.

Morcanhuc, Morcannhuc, Morcannoc, Morcannuc: see **Morgannwg**.

Morcant: see †**Vallis Morcant**, †**Villa Crucou Morcan**.

†**Morduc:** [SO310158]

Attestations

blain morduc	LLch.122	p. 123	s. xi ¹
morduc	LLch.122	p. 123	s. xi ¹
morduc	LLch.122	p. 123	s. xi ¹

Location

This stream is followed in the bounds of **Llandeilo Bertholau**. The bounds follow the *Morduc* from its source (**BLAEN**) on **Ysgyryd Fawr** down to its confluence with the **Gefenni**, with a detour via the †**Iulen**. The bounds are relatively easy to follow, in their general direction, at least, so it is clear that, if the area they describe is supposed to include **Llandeilo Bertholau** itself, the *Morduc* must enter the **Gefenni** south of that church. The grid reference above is for the only stream which rises on the **Ysgyryd Fawr** and enters the **Gefenni** below the church.

Elements

personal name?

This could be a variant of the personal name *Mordoc*, attested as the name of a lay witness to charters 176b and 183b.

Morgan: see **Gwlad Morgan, Margam**.

Morgannok, Morgannuc, Morgann6c: see **Morgannwg**.

Morgannwg: [NGR N/A] (Eng. *Glamorgan*; also **Gwlad Morgan**)

Attestations

rex morcanhuc	LL	p. 118	?
rex morcanhuc	LL	p. 119	?

⁶⁷ See under **Malpas**.

senioribus morcannuc	LL	p. 152	?
seniorum morcanhuc	LL	p. 153	?
rege morcannuc	LLch.193	p. 195	?
regum morcanhuc	LLch.196	p. 197	?
rex morcanhuc	LLch.140	p. 140	'c. 655'
rex morcannhuc	LLch.145	p. 145	'c. 695'
senioribus morcannuc	LLch.180b	p. 181	'c. 710'
regis morcannuc	LLch.216b	p. 217	'c. 870'
rex morcannuc	LLch.240	p. 240	'c. 970'?
regni morcannuc	LLch.240	p. 241	'c. 970'?
regis morcanhuc	LLch.246	p. 246	'c. 1020'
regum morcannuc	LL	p. 252	1022–1120s
populi morcannuc	LL	p. 252	1022–1120s
rex morcannuc	LL	p. 253	'c. 1025'
rex morcanhuc	LLch.264a	p. 264	'c. 1030'
regis morcannuc	LLch.259	p. 259	'c. 1040'
regis morcanhuc	LLch.263	p. 263	'c. 1040'
regis morcanhuc	LLch.261	p. 261	'c. 1045'
regis morcannuc	LL	p. 252	1046–1120s
regis morcannuc	LLch.267	p. 267	'c. 1070'
rex morcannuc	LLch.272	p. 272	'c. 1072'
brennhin morcannhuc	LL	p. 120	c. 1081–c. 1120s
brennhin morcannhuc	LL	p. 120	c. 1081–c. 1120s
brennin morcannhuc	LL	p. 121	c. 1081–c. 1120s
dominio morgannuc	LL	p. 247	before s. xiii ¹
finem morgannuc	LL	p. 248	before s. xiii ¹
Morgannuc	LL	p. 248	before s. xiii ¹
dominio Morgannuc	LL	p. 248	before s. xiii ¹
Morgannok	LL	p. 313	c. 1350
Morcannoc	LLgloss	p. 241	s. xv ^{med}
Rex morgann6c	LLgloss	p. 141	1476x78
Rex morgann6c	LLgloss	p. 145	1476x78

Location

For a fuller discussion of the use of this place-name in LL, see Davies, *Early*

Welsh Microcosm, page 92. *Morgannwg* was the name of the predominant kingdom in South-East Wales, based on the territory of earlier Glywysing. Richards defines the extent of the territory before the Norman Conquest as comprising the cantrefs of Gorfynydd, Penychen, Senghennydd, Gwynllŵg, and Gwent,⁶⁸ but a document on pages 247 to 249 defines *Morgannwg* as being co-extensive with the area claimed for the diocese of Llandaf, that is, adding Cantref Bychan, Gŵyr, Cydweli, Carnwyllion, Ystrad Yw, and Ewias to Richards's list. It should be borne in mind that the use of a territorial name in association with the title 'rex' does not necessarily mean that the king's power was total in that territory, or that his power was restricted to that territory.⁶⁹

Elements

personal name + -OG⁷⁰

Môr Hafren: see **Hafren**.

Moric: see †**Pull Mouric**.

Morlais: [SN573017]

Attestations

aper morcleis LLch.140 p. 140 s. xi¹

Location

This river name occurs as the starting point in the bounds of **Llandeilo Tal-y-bont**. The bounds are perambulatory, so the fact that they end on the **Llwchwr** implies that the perambulation should also start on that river. It is reasonable, therefore, to assume that the *Morcleis* has its mouth (ABER) on the **Llwchwr**. Furthermore, it is clear from other identifiable points, and the fact that the bounds cross the **Llwchwr** (as well as ending and starting on that river), that the mouth of the *Morcleis* should be on the west bank of the **Llwchwr**. As the river Morlais has such a similar name and has its mouth on the **Llwchwr** in the appropriate area (grid reference above), that is the obvious identification.

Elements

?MAWR + ?GLAIS

⁶⁸ WATU, p. 160.

⁶⁹ Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 90–91.

Both Williams and GPC include *Morlais* among their examples of river names based on the element GLAIS (referred to by Williams as *glas*).⁷¹ The modern form of the name would certainly support this interpretation, but the LL form raises problems—it looks as if it is based instead on *clais* ‘ditch’. Either the LL form represents the original, which was later altered by analogy with GLAIS names, or, the LL form represents a false archaisation of an earlier written **Morgleis*. If the first element is not unstressed MAWR, it could be *môr* ‘sea’. A personal name *Morcleis* is attested as the name of a lay witness to charter 202.

Moryc: see †Pull Mouric.

Mount Carmel: see †Mons Sanctae Mariae de Carmelo.

Mounton Brook: see †Mouric, †Pull Mouric.

†Mouric: [ST520895] (mod. *Mounton Brook*; also †Pull Mouric)

Attestations

mouric	LLch.234	p. 234	‘c. 895’
aper muric	LLch.141	p. 143	s. xi ¹
Mouric	LLch.171b	p. 173	s. xi ¹
Mouric	LLch.171b	p. 173	s. xi ¹
mouric	LLch.171b	p. 173	s. xi ¹
mouric	LLch.240	p. 242	s. xi ¹
mouric	LLch.262	p. 262	s. xi ¹
aber meuruc	LLgloss	p. 143	1476x78
portum mauricij	LLgloss	p. 143	1476x78

Location

This stream is named in a reference to the fishing rights of †Yscuit Cyst (charter 234), and in the bounds of four properties: Matharn/†Merthir Teudric (charter 141), Itton/Llanddinol (charter 171b), †Lann Mihacgel i Pull (charter 240), and †Villa Crucou Morcan (charter 262). As far as can be determined these places are all in the same area. There is some evidence to suggest that the same stream is also referred to by the name †Pull Mouric,

⁷⁰ Davies, *Early Welsh Microcosm*, p. 92.

⁷¹ *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 43; GPC, II, 1399.

that being the facts that:⁷²

- the bounds of charter 141 start at the mouth of (ABER) of †Pull Mouric and finish at the mouth (ABER) of the *Muric*;
- charter 234 refers to weirs (*coretibus*) in the *Mouric* and to free landing rights for ships in the mouth (*hostium*) of †Pull Mouric;
- the bounds of charter 262 start at a point on the *Mouric* and finish apparently at the same point on †Pull Mouric.

Given the obvious relationship between †Pull Mouric and the settlement name **Pwllmeurig**, it seems reasonable to identify the *Mouric* as the stream which flows past that village, now known as Mounton Brook. Mounton Brook suits the available evidence for the *Mouric*: it flows past both **Itton** (charter 171b) and **Matharn** (charter 141), before flowing out into the Severn (**Hafren**) below the Wye (**Gwy**) (charter 141). See also †Palus Mourici.

Elements

personal name

Thomas suggested that †Pull Mouric was the original name for the stream, and that this was later contracted to *Mouric* alone.⁷³

Mourici: see †Palus Mourici.

Much Dewchurch: see †Lann Deui, †Lann Deui Ros Cerion.

Munmoth, Munmowth: see Monmouth.

Mur: see †Frut Mur, †Mustuir Mur, †Tnou Mur.

Muric: see †Mouric, †Pull Mouric.

†Murn: [?SO430012]

Attestations

nant murn	LLch.187	p. 188	s. x
murn	LLch.187	p. 188	s. x

Location

This stream is followed in the bounds of **Llan-soe**, from its mouth on **Pill** brook to its source (**BLAEN**). If it can be assumed that the territory described by

⁷² Thomas (EANC, pp. 193–94) regards the two as synonyms for the river.

⁷³ EANC, p. 194, s.v. *Meurig*.

the bounds includes the church itself, then the *Murn* should be west of the stream at SO443016. The source of the *Murn* should be not far from †**Cair Enuin**, the next point in the bounds. The stream at the grid reference above is really the only possible identification if the bounds travel clockwise (as must be the case if the identification of †**Cair Enuin** with a feature west of **Llan-soe** is correct).

Elements

[NANT +] ?MURN

The most likely interpretation of *murn* here is that it represents Modern Welsh *murn* 'treachery, ambush, assassination'. This is how Andrew Breeze understands the place-name when he refers to it in his discussion of the Cornish place-name *Lamorna*.⁷⁴ The LL forms could instead represent the word *mwrn* 'heavy, sultry, burden', but GPC suggests that this is a variant of *bwrn*, and not attested until the fourteenth or fifteenth century, so it is less likely. For similar names semantically compare †**Cinluin** and †**Nant Brat**.

Muryc: see †**Pull Mouric**.

†**Mustuir Mur:** [?SO415055]

Attestations

mustuir mur LLch.207 p. 207 'c. 760'

Location

Charter 207 concerns the grant of †**Brinn Luguni** with the three *modii* (about fifty hectares) of the land of †**Mathenni**, which appears to be equated with *Mustuir Mur*. The re-grant of the three *modii* of the church of †**Mathenni** is recorded in charter 208, and bounds are appended to this charter. The interpretation of the element *Mustuir* seems reasonable, and if it is correct then *Mustuir Mur* should be a name for the church of †**Mathenni**. If the area described by the bounds in charter 208 includes the church itself, then *Mustuir Mur* would be on the hill at the grid reference above, otherwise the church could be anywhere nearby, but most likely at **Llandenny** [SO415039] (given the relationship between the names *Llandenny* and †**Mathenni**).

⁷⁴ 'Does Lamorna in Cornwall Mean "Valley of Murders"?' p. 261. (I disagree, however, with his comparison of *Lamorna* with *Nant Murn*.)

ElementsMYSTWYR + MAWR⁷⁵

GPC cites *Mustuir Mur* as its only example of the noun MYSTWYR, which is discussed in detail by Pierce.⁷⁶

Myddyfi: [SN597220]Attestations

ueithini

LLch.77

p. 78 c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

This feature is named as a point in the bounds of **Llandeilo Fawr**. It is not clear from the wording of the bounds what manner of feature the name might represent; the bounds follow the †**Isceuliauc** (probably a stream) to it (expressed with the compound preposition ‘bet ar’), and go on to the next feature, the hill †**Hen Alt**. More generally the feature is located between †**Dugleis Bisgueiliauc** (probably the Dulas) and **Gwaith Dinefwr** (Dynevor Castle). Evans seems to have been the first to suggest that LL’s *ueithini* represented a lenited **meithiui* (with scribal *n/u* confusion), and that **meithiui* was the stream now called *Myddyfi* by the Ordnance Survey (grid reference above), all of which was taken up by Thomas.⁷⁷ The suggestion is plausible, and the location of the Myddyfi fits the evidence available.

Element

? + -I

As Thomas states there is no difficulty in explaining the variation between LL’s *n* and the modern [v] pronunciation, and neither is there any difficulty with the vocalic phonology of the name. The main problem is that *th* in LL orthography should represent [p] rather than [d], which does seem to be the sound in the modern form of the name, and [p] > [d] in intervocalic position is not a normal phenomenon in Welsh phonology. The spelling *ueithini* is a rare example of initial lenition ([m] > [v]) being shown in LL orthography.

Mynachdy: see †**Lann Menechi**, †**Villa Meneich**.

⁷⁵ WATU, p. 154, s.v. *Mathenni*.

⁷⁶ GPC, III, 2543; ‘The Evidence of Place-Names’, pp. 485b–86b.

⁷⁷ LL, p. 412, s.v. *Meithini*; EANC, p. 163, s.v. *Middifi*.

Mynachlog Nedd: [SS737973] (Eng. *Neath Abbey*)Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Neeth</i>	LL	p. 325	c. 1350
<i>Abbas de Neth'</i>	LL	p. 331	c. 1350
<i>Ecc'ia d(e N)eeth</i>	LL	p. 331	c. 1350
<i>Abbas de Neth</i>	LL	p. 331	c. 1350

Location

The church itself of this place is referred to twice, first in a list of churches in the deanery of **Gorfynydd**, and second in a similar list, this time headed **Cynffig**, and apparently constituting a subset of the **Gorfynydd** list which precedes it. So the place should be in the **Cynffig** division (the northern half) of the deanery of **Gorfynydd**. Of the remaining two attestations on page 331, the first is in a reference to monies paid by the abbot of *Neth* for the churches of **Gelli-garn**, **Cadoxton-juxta-Neath**, and **Cilybebyll**, and the second is simply for monies paid by the same abbot for property in the **Cynffig** division of **Gorfynydd**. *Neath Abbey* is in the right area, and this, together with the name's appearance, should be sufficient to justify the identification.

Elements

ECCLESIA + DE + Nedd

Myngui: see †**Aper Myngui**, **Mynwy**.

†**Mynid Du:** [SN825218] (mod. *Fan Brycheiniog*)

Attestations

<i>mynid du</i>	LLb.25	p. 42	<i>s. xi</i> ¹
<i>y mynyd du</i>	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s
<i>y mynyd du</i>	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s

Location

This mountain is named as a point in the two versions of the diocesan bounds. The place is very easy to locate—it is between the sources (BLAEN) of the **Usk** (**Wysg**) and the **Twrch**, points only about two kilometres apart. Heading south from the source of the **Usk** (**Wysg**) towards that of the **Twrch**, one climbs upwards two hundred and eighty metres to a spur of **Fan Brycheiniog** (grid reference above) called *Fan Foel* [SN821223]. From *Fan Foel* it is only a walk of a few hundred metres along **Fan Brycheiniog** to the source of the **Twrch**. It

is notable that the modern county boundary follows the same course between the sources of the two rivers.

Elements

[YR +] MYNYDD + DU

Mynnwy, Mynugui, Mynui: see **Mynwy**.

Mynuy: see †**Aper Myngui**.

Mynwy: [SO512122] (Eng. *Monnow*)

Attestations

ripam myngui	LLch.193	p. 194	?
myngui	LLch.193	p. 195	?
ripam meinbui	LLch.171a	p. 171	'c. 855'
Mingui	LLch.196	p. 197	s. x
Myngui	LLch.196	p. 197	s. x
mingui	LLch.196	p. 197	s. x
mingui	LLch.160	p. 160	s. xi ¹
mingui	LLch.160	p. 160	s. xi ¹
Mingui	LLch.240	p. 241	s. xi ¹
mingui	LLch.240	p. 241	s. xi ¹
mingui	LLch.240	p. 241	s. xi ¹
mingui	LLch.240	p. 241	s. xi ¹
mingui	LLch.264a	p. 264	s. xi ¹
mingui	LLch.264a	p. 264	s. xi ¹
mingui	LLch.264a	p. 264	s. xi ¹
ripam mingui	LLch.264a	p. 264	'c. 1030'
mingui	LLch.171b	p. 173	s. xi ²
mingui	LLch.171b	p. 173	s. xi ²
mynui	LLch.195	p. 196	s. xi ²
mynugui	LLch.195	p. 196	s. xi ²
mingui	LLch.195	p. 196	s. xi ²
mingui	LLch.195	p. 196	s. xi ²
ripam mingui	LLch.196	p. 196	c. 1070–c. 1120
minugui	LLch.246	p. 247	c. 1080–c. 1120s

flumen mingui	LLch.193	p. 193	1120s?
uadum myngui	LLch.193	p. 193	1120s?
Mynby	LLgloss	p. 186	s. xv ^{med}
ripa Minwy	LLgloss	p. 194	s. xv ^{med}
Monnwy	LLgloss	p. 196	s. xv ^{med}
Minwy	LLgloss	p. 196	s. xv ^{med}
Mynn wy	LLgloss	p. 247	s. xv ^{med}
ripam Minwy	LLgloss	p. 264	s. xv ^{med}
mynby	LLgloss	p. 197	1476x78

Location

This river name is attested in charters and other documents associated with Clodock (†Merthir Clitauc; LLch.193, LLch.195, LLch.196), Llancillo (LLch.160), Rockfield (†Lann Guoronui; LLch.240, LLch.246), †Cecin Penn Ros (LLch.264a), Llangunville (LLch.171b), all of which are places on the Monnow. The gloss on page 186 is on charter 186b, which grants a *PODUM* at †Aper Myngui. Charter 171a grants an *AGER* on the bank of the *Meinbui*. There is very little evidence for the location of this place, but it has very strong witness associations with charters 169b and 170 (both in *Ergyng*) and fairly strong links with 74/171b (*Gwent/Ergyng/Ewias*) and 174a (?*Ergyng*), which suits Evans's and Davies's tentative identification with the Monnow.⁷⁸

Elements

Thomas takes the stem of this river name to be **men-* 'to stretch out' (as also postulated for *Môn* and †Aper Menei), and the suffix is probably the hydronymic suffix *-wy*.⁷⁹ Thomas also speculates on the possibility that the whole name is actually derived from the tribal name *Menapii* (in the form **Menavii*), which has spread to be used of the principal river in the tribe's district, but Jackson rejects this as a phonological impossibility.⁸⁰

Mynydd Bwlch-y-Groes: see †Brinn Bucelid.

⁷⁸ LL, p. 412; 'The Book of Llandaf', p. 107.

⁷⁹ 'Enwau Afonydd', pp. 37–38.

⁸⁰ Ibid.; LHEB, pp. 379–80.

Mynyddislwyn: [ST193939]Attestations

ecclesia de Menethistelan LL p. 323 c. 1350

Location

Evans made the identification followed here,¹¹ which seems probable both on grounds of form and context (a list of churches in the deanery of Newport).

Elements

MYNYDD + IS + ?LLWYN

The modern form of the name suggests the straightforward interpretation offered above ('mountain below [the] grove'), but the LL form looks more

if / or GLAN / like its final element is LLAN (perhaps MYNYDD + IS + YR + LLAN), so it might

be significant that the mountain on the side of which the church is situated is

the final element called *Mynydd y Lan* [ST2092]

to be GLAN /

Mynydd Merddin: [SO341279]Attestations

minid ferdun LLch.195 p. 196 s. xi²

minid ferdun LLch.195 p. 196 s. xi²

Location

This hill is named in the bounds of †**Merthir Clitauc**. The hill is reached by following †**Nant Cum Cinreith** up from the Monnow (**Mynwy**). The hill seems to have a noticeable linearity because it is followed, first to †**Luch Ferdun**, and then to the source of the †**Hilin**, which stream takes the bounds back down to the Monnow (**Mynwy**). Enough of the features in the bounds can be identified for it to be clear that *Minid Ferdun* is east of the Monnow (**Mynwy**), and, of course, it should be in the vicinity of †**Merthir Clitauc**. All this, together with the appearance of the name, makes the identification with Mynydd Merddin practically certain.

Elements

MYNYDD + ?personal name

The qualifying element is the same as in †**Luch Ferdun**. Evans commented that, in his time, the hill was called *Money Farthing Hill*.¹² Despite its

¹¹ LL, p. 412.

¹² LL, p. 375, n. 15.

anglicisation the form *Money Farthing* better preserves the true pronunciation of this place-name, than the spurious Ordnance Survey form *Mynydd Merddin*. The LL spelling *Ferdun* probably represents [ferðun] or [ferðün].⁸³ The Ordnance Survey form probably derives from an assumption at some stage that a written *f*, representing [f], was the Modern Welsh orthographic representation of [v], resulting from lenition of [m], but the noun MYNYDD is masculine so it would not cause lenition of a following element. There is likely also to have been influence from the legendary name *Myrddin* (often also spelt *Merddin*). The form *Money Farthing* shows that the common loss of final [ð] had taken place in MYNYDD. *Farthing* and *Merddin* suggest that the *u* of the LL form represented [ü] rather than [u].

Mynydd Pen-y-fâl: see †Mail Uannon.

Mynydd Du: see †Mynid Du.

Mynyw: [SM751254] (mod. *Tyddewi*, Eng. St David's)

Attestations

minuensem ciuitatem	LL	p. 100	?
ęcclesiam minuensem	LL	p. 115	?
minvensi episcopo	LLb.11	p. 52	1128
[ęcclesia] minuensis	LLb.20	p. 52	1129
dyocesi Meneuensi	LL	p. 333	c. 1350
Ecclesia minuensis	LLgloss	p. 115	s. xv
ecclesia meneuensis	LLgloss	p. 115	s. xv
minuensem ciuitatem	LLgloss	p. 100	s. xv ^{med}
meneuensis	LLgloss	p. 100	s. xv ^{med}
[episcopus] meneuie	LLgloss	p. 87	1476x78
[Episcopus] menevensi	LLgloss	p. 94	1476x78
Archiepiscopus meneuensis	LLgloss	p. 97	1476x78
episcopum menevensem	LLgloss	p. 97	1476x78

Location

There need be no doubt about the identification of these attestations with the

⁸³ It is clear from his indexing (LL, p. 398) that Evans understood the *f* to represent [f] rather than [v].

(archi)episcopal seat of **St David's**.⁶⁴ Almost all of the attestations are associated in one way or another with a reference to a bishop.

Elements

MYNYW

The name is discussed by Charles, who takes *mynyw* to be a common noun meaning 'brake, grove', cognate with Irish *muine* of similar meaning.⁶⁵ The word is not, however, recognised by GPC. All the attestations are in Latin, most are adjectival derivatives of the proper noun. The glosses on pages 100 and 115 are explanations that the LL adjectival form *Minuensis* corresponds to the contemporary (fifteenth century) form *Meneuensis*. Charles does not mention the LL form of the adjective, *Minuensis*, offering only *Menevia* as the Latin proper noun, and *Menevensis* as its derived adjective. *Menevia* is explained by Jackson as 'a natural late Latin spelling derived from the OW. **Meneu* form of putting *Məniū*.'⁶⁶ LL's *Minuensis* could be explained as resulting from a misreading of **Miniuensis*, which would be the natural Latin adjective derived from *Miniu* (attested in *Annales Cambriae*⁶⁷).

⁶⁴ LL, p. 413.

⁶⁵ PNPemb., I, 283–84.

⁶⁶ LHEB, p. 378.

⁶⁷ PNPemb., I, 283; LHEB, p. 378.

N

Nadauan: see Ddawan.

Nan Pedecon: see †Nant Pedecou.

†Nant Alun: [?ST380872] (?mod. *Llan Allen Winter Sewer*)

Attestations

<i>Aper nant alun</i>	LLch.180b	p. 182	<i>s. xi</i> ¹
<i>aper nant alun</i>	LLch.180b	p. 183	<i>s. xi</i> ¹

Location

This mouth (ABER) of this stream is mentioned as the starting point in the bounds of †Lann Catgualatir (identified with Bishton). The mouth of the stream is in the marsh (CORS), which figures prominently in the bounds. The source (BLAEN) of the stream is described as being on the same ridge as the top end (BLAEN) of a dry valley ('sichnant'). The bounds are lengthy, but following them is greatly hindered by the fact that a large steelworks now occupies much of the area described, and, furthermore, much of the terrain is low-lying (and originally marshy), so landscape features have probably been lost through drainage works. The name of a brook a little to the west of Bishton, *Llan Allen Winter Sewer* (grid reference above), is reminiscent of LL's *Nant Alun*. I can find no trace of a place called *Llan Allen*, or similar, near the sewer, so perhaps this name is an example of confusion between the elements LLAN and NANT (cf. (1) Llanthony and †Nant Auan).

Elements

NANT + ?personal name

The qualifying element *Alun* is also common as a river-name.¹

†Nant Auan: [?SS993775] (?mod. *Llansanwyr*, Eng. *Llansannor*)

Attestations

NantauAN	LLch.147	p. 148	'c. 665'
Nant Auan	LLrub.	p. 147	c. 1120s
Ste. Senware de Lathawe	Cart. Glam. ²	I, 134	1153–83

¹ PNPemb., I, 3; CPNE, pp. 4–5.

² EANC, p. 65.

ecclesia de La Thawe	LL	p. 324	c. 1350
Llansannor alias Thawe	Val. Eccl.	IV, 349	1535

Location

Nant Auan is the name of one of four properties granted in charter 147. The other three properties are on a stream called *Nadauan* (i.e. Ddawan, Eng. *Thaw*), so it is likely that *Nant Auan* is on the same stream, and that there is a connexion between the names *Nant Auan* and *Nadauan*.

Ecclesia de la Thawe is listed in LL as a church in the deanery of Llandaf. The identification of this church with Llansannor (grid reference above) is based on the references to that church as *Ste. Senware de Lathawa* and *Llansannor alias Thawe* (see attestations above).

Whether or not *Nant Auan* can also be identified with Llansannor is more doubtful.³ Probably *Nant Auan* is on the Thaw, which does suit the identification, and it is possible to construct a common etymology for the names *Nant Auan* and *La Thawe* (see below).

Elements

?NANT + Ddawan

Thomas suggested that *Nant Auan* developed from **Nant Nadauan*, through conflation of NANT and the initial *Na-* of *Nadauan*.⁴ Llansannor seems earlier to have been known as *La Thawe*, in which the *La* is supposed to have developed from NANT (via LLAN).⁵ In other words *La Thawe* is supposed to be the descendant of **Nant Dauan*, which itself could either be explained as a misunderstanding of *Nadauan*, or as deriving from **Nant Nadauan*, through the same process of conflation suggested by Thomas to explain *Nant Auan* < **Nant Nadauan*. I would suggest that the simplest explanation for this nexus of names is as follows:

the stream was known as *Nadauan* and the area around Llansannor was known as **Nant Nadauan* (the valley of the Thaw broadens out noticeably between Llansannor and Cowbridge);

- **Nant Nadauan* developed to **Nant Dauan* by a process of conflation;

³ The identification is made by Evans (LL, p. 414), Thomas (EANC, p. 65), and Davies (*The Llandaff Charters*, p. 98).

⁴ EANC, p. 64–65.

⁵ Ibid..

1. **Nant Dauan* developed to *Nant Auan* through loss of [d] after the final dental of NANT;
2. **Nant Dauan* developed to **Llan Dauan* (cf. (1) **Llanthony** for confusion of the elements LLAN and NANT), which, in turn, developed to *La Thawe*.⁶

†**Nant Bach Latron**: [?SN250133]

Attestations

nant bachlatron	LLch.77	p. 78	s. xi ²
nant bachlatron	LLch.77	p. 78	s. xi ²

Location

This stream is followed in the bounds of **Llanddowror**. The name occurs in the bounds between (1) †**Cehir** (of which it seems to be a tributary) and the source (BLAEN) of †**Nant Duuin**. If the area described by the bounds is supposed to include **Llanddowror** itself, then this stream should be in the vicinity of that church, south of the **Taf**, and if either of the suggested identities of †**Nant Duuin** is correct, then *Nant Bach Latron* is probably the stream at the grid reference above.

Elements

NANT + BACH + LLEIDR (pl.)

For another LLEIDR name see †**Luhin Latron**. The element *bach* in this place-name is interpreted by GPC (and Padel) as the noun *bach* ‘hook, claw, crook, nook’, rather than the adjective *bach* ‘small’.⁷ Presumably, then, we should understand *Bach Latron* itself as a place-name, and translate the whole as ‘the stream of Thieves’ Nook’.

†**Nant Baraen**: [nr ST101729] (?mod. *Nant-brân*)

Attestations

nant baraen	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Nant baraen	LLb.25	p. 44	1129

Location

The attestations are from versions of a list of properties claimed by **Llandaf**. The context is the same for both: preceded by †**Guocob** and followed by (2)

• Ibid..

†**Gulich** and **Llwyneliddon**. The area in which these properties are is quite a small one, so, as there is a stream called *Nant Brân* [ST096725] which flows in just this area, that is the obvious identification. Evans compared *Nant Baraen* with a name *Llan Paran*, and identified it with ‘*Nant Bran vel L. Pran, St. Lythan’s*’.⁷ Pierce offers the LL attestations as his earliest examples of *Nant Brân*, and also gives LLAN forms of the name (though not the one offered by Evans).⁸ The LL attestations are references to a property rather than to the stream itself, so, as the only settlement on this small stream, the farm called *Nant-brân* (grid reference above) seems the most likely candidate. If this identification is correct, it is notable that the farm has retained the same name from at least 1128 to the present day. The stream *Nant Brân* was probably originally called (1) †**Gulich**, and it seems that †**Pant Gulich** was an alternative name for the valley of *Nant Brân*.

Elements

NANT + ?personal name

Pierce supposed that *Baraen* was a trisyllable with a hiatus between [a] and [e], and postulated a derivation from a personal name ‘from a root form **Baragen-*’.¹⁰ As an alternative, he suggested the possibility that the second element could be *braen* ‘putrid, rotten, evil-smelling’ (in which case *Baraen* would show an intrusive [a]).¹¹

†**Nant Bed ir Alltudion**: [?ST339896]

Attestations

blain nant bed iralltudion LLch.225 p. 226 s. xi¹

Location

This stream is followed by the bounds of †**Merthir Iun et Aaron**. The stream rises on the shoulder (‘uscuid’) of a hill (ALLT), and runs down to the Usk (Wysg). Assuming that the area described by the bounds includes †**Merthir Iun et Aaron** itself, the stream should run down to the left bank of the Usk (Wysg), and should do so south of the focus of the territory (on the grounds

⁷ GPC, I, 246, s.v. *bach*²; CPNE, p. 14, s.v. *bagh*.

⁸ LL, p. 387. His source for this is Clark, *Cartæ*, I, 21 (a document of 1153–83, which refers to a *Lanparan*).

⁹ PNDinas P., pp. 267–68.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*.

that †Nant Merthir runs to the Usk (Wysg) at the opposite side of the territory, and that stream can be shown to be on the northern side of the territory). The location of †Merthir Iun et Aaron is uncertain, but if it is correctly located near Chepstow Hill, then *Nant Bed ir Alltudion* should probably rise on the long ridge projecting south-westwards from that hill. Several streams fit these criteria, but most are short, and appear to be little more than drainage ditches. The most likely candidate to my mind is the one at the grid reference above, but those at ST349907 and ST337895 are also possibilities.

Elements

NANT + BEDD + YR + ALLTUD (pl.)¹²

The word *bed* has been corrected from *bet*,¹³ which was presumably originally written though confusion with the preposition *bet*. We can be confident, though, that *bed* (i.e. Modern *bedd* 'grave') is the correct reading, because *Ir Alltudion* ('the exiles') would not make sense on its own as a place-name.

Nant Bis: see †Bis.

†Nant Biuguan: [nr ST5292]

Attestations

genou nant byuguan	LLch.141	p. 142	s. xi ¹
nant biuguan	LLch.141	p. 142	s. xi ¹

Location

This spring is used as a point in the bounds of †Merthir Teudiric. The bounds are difficult to follow closely due to a lack of identifiable features, but it is fairly clear that the territory described lies entirely between Mounton Brook (†Pull Mouric) and the Wye (Gwy) as the bounds start and finish on these rivers but are never said to cross them. Thomas, in his discussion of this stream name, said that the bounds were probably those of **Crick**,¹⁴ but this is highly unlikely because **Crick** is on the wrong side of Mounton Brook for its bounds to refer to the Wye (Gwy). The mouth ('genou') of *Nant Biuguan* is

¹¹ Ibid..

¹² GPC, I, 78 (s.v. *alltud*) and 267 (s.v. *bedd*).

¹³ LL, p. 351.

¹⁴ EANC, p. 78.

mentioned between †Fynnaun Elichguid—from which it is only a short distance away ‘eminus’)—and †Pullou Rinion.

Elements

NANT + personal name¹⁵

The personal name is attested with the spelling *Biuan* in charters 122, 144, 156, and 166, and with the spelling *Biguan* in charter 218.

†Nant Brachan: [?ST0977]

Attestations

nantbrachan	LLch.263	p. 263	c. 930–c. 990
cimer irdounant brachan	LLch.263	p. 263	c. 930–c. 990
ualle brachan	LLch.216b	p. 217	s. xi ¹
nant brachan	LLch.216b	p. 217	s. xi ¹

Location

This feature is named as a point in the bounds of St Bride’s-super-Ely ((2) †Lann San Bregit) and of Saint-y-nyll, two places close enough to each other for it to be likely that their *Nant Brachans* are the same place. The dimensional bounds of charter 263 ((2) †Lann San Bregit) locate *Nant Brachan* opposite †Glesius in one dimension; in the other dimension †Finnaun Liss is opposed by ‘cimer irdounant brachan’. If the identification of †Glesius is correct, and if the territory described by the bounds is supposed to include St Bride’s-super-Ely itself, then *Nant Brachan* should be south-west of St Bride’s-super-Ely. There is no other indication of there being two *Nant Brachans*, so I would suggest that perhaps the bounds originally ended ‘bet cimer irdounant’, and that *brachan* was later added as a gloss on *nant*—in other words, the confluence (*cimer*) might be of *Nant Brachan* and some other NANT, or even of two other streams (neither of them *Nant Brachan*).

The bounds of charter 216b (Saint-y-nyll) run in one direction out from *Vallis Brachan* to †Vadum Dupleis (a ford on the Dowlais), and then in another direction from *Nant Brachan* to the Dowlais. The equation of *Vallis Brachan* and *Nant Brachan* makes it clear that the sense of NANT intended in these bounds is ‘valley’ rather than ‘stream’. The bounds follow a main road (‘uia

¹⁵ Ibid..

lata') out of the valley. If the territory described is supposed to include **Saint-y-nyll** itself, then the valley must be west of the **Dowlais**.

There are two valleys which fit the criterion of being west of the **Dowlais**/south-west of **Saint-y-nyll**, both of which are rather small: one is that of the stream running from ST090774 to ST095768, and the other is that containing St Bride's-super-Ely (grid reference above). Of these two valleys, the latter has a road running its length, so that is the more likely. A stream called *Nant Rhych* [ST104771] runs through the valley suggested as *Nant Brachan* to the **Dowlais**, so if *Nant Brachan* in charter 263 refers to a stream rather than the valley, then *Nant Brachan* would be an earlier name for Nant Rhych.

Elements

NANT + ?personal name

VALLIS + ?personal name

The second element seems most likely to be a form of the personal name *Brychan*—cf. the reference to **Brycheiniog** as 'regione brachani', and to its inhabitants as 'brachanios' (page 256). There is, however, also a river name *Brochan* discussed by Thomas.¹⁶

Nant Brân: see (1) †**Gulich**, †**Nant Baraen**.

†**Nant Brat:** [SN090012, SN091013, or SN118004]

Attestations

blain nant brat LLch.125b p. 126 c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

This stream is named in the bounds of †**Tref Carn**. The bounds run from †**Minid Garthon** to the source (BLAEN) of *Nant Brat* and along that stream down to the †**Ritec**, and then again from †**Minid Garthon** to the source of †**Nant y Clauorion** and down it to the †**Ritec**. See the discussion of †**Tref Carn** for the arguments over the identification of the two bounding streams. Rees appears to identify *Nant Brat* with the stream entering the †**Ritec** at SN091013, but the basis of his identification is uncertain.¹⁷

¹⁶ EANC, pp. 42–43.

¹⁷ Rees, *South Wales* (SW sheet).

Elements

NANT + ?BRAD

The second element appears to be *brad* 'treachery'.¹⁸ For similar names semantically compare †Cinluin and †Murn.

Nant Broeni: see †Nant Broueni.

†Nant Broueni: [SO426000] (mod. *Dyffryn Brook*)

Attestations

naNT broeni	LLch.274	p. 275	?before c. 1010
nant broeni	LLch.274	p. 275	?before c. 1010
nant broueni	LLch.173	p. 174	s. xi ¹

Location

This stream is named in the bounds of †Villa Gunnuc (charter 274) and Llangwm (charter 174), two places in the same area—so we can be confident that the same stream is meant by all the attestations. Charter 274 shows *Nant Broeni* to be a tributary of Nant y March. The bounds of charter 173 describe a perambulation in an area between *Nant Broueni* and its tributary †Nant Foss Pluum. These bounds run from the source of †Nant Foss Pluum to the source of an unnamed stream which runs down to the †Bic. The †Bic is then followed down to its confluence with the †Bis, which in turn is followed upwards to its source, after which the bounds proceed westwards to †Rit yr Onnenn, a ford on the *Broueni*. The most natural interpretation of all this is that the †Bic is a tributary of either the *Broueni* or of †Nant Foss Pluum. The fact that the bounds head westwards between the source of the †Bis and †Rit yr Onnenn suggests that the territory described is to the east of the *Broueni*. In fact, a look at the streams of the relevant area reveals that there are only two tributaries of Nant y March which themselves have at least one significant tributary: Dyffryn Brook (grid reference above), and the stream at SO429008, both of which run from the east. Of these two, the former is the only one to have a tributary which itself has a tributary, consequently it is the only reasonable identification. Thomas too identified *Nant Broueni* as 'nant fechan yn rhedeg o'r dwyrain i Nant-y-march' ('a little stream running from the east to Nant y

¹⁸ GPC, I, 304, s.v. *brad*.

March').¹⁹

Elements

NANT + ?

Thomas confessed himself unable to offer a suggestion for the etymology of the second element (other than, by implication, that it contained the suffix -I).²⁰ He regarded the *u* of *Broueni* as representing [v], and thought that *Broeni* showed loss of [v] between vowels.²¹ The *u* could equally be regarded as a [u], and interpreted as having been lost in *Broeni*, or as having developed as an inorganic growth in *Broueni*. A possible interpretation of the second element would be to regard it as a district name with BRO, in which case *enilueni* could be the lenited form of a place-name in -I (based on a stem **ban/*ben*, **man/*men*, or **gwan/*gwen*).

Nant Byuguan: see †Nant Biuguan.

Nant Carban: see Llancarfan.

†Nant Castell Cerran: [?SN074009 or SN082009]

Attestations

blain nant castell cerran	LLch.125b	p. 126	s. xi ¹
nant castell carran	LLch.127a	p. 127	s. xi ¹

Location

This stream is used as a boundary for both †Cil Tutuc/†Penn Clecir (charter 127a) and †Menechi (charter 125b). We learn from both that it is a tributary of the †Ritec. The territories described in these two boundary clauses have been located on the south side of the †Ritec, largely for the reason that they both have associations with **Penally**, which is on that side of the river. A stronger basis for this assumption, however, might be sought in the fact that there is some slight independent evidence for the location of †Tref Carn on the north side of the river (the identification of †Minid Garthon with Minerton). There are four significant tributaries of the †Ritec from the north, and two of these are named in the bounds of †Tref Carn, so, since the territories described in the two boundary clauses containing the attestations are

¹⁹ EANC, p. 164, s.v. †Nant Brofeni.

²⁰ Ibid..

defined by three streams, those two territories must be on the opposite side of the †Ritec from †Tref Carn. *Nant Castell Cerran* should be in between †Nant hi Rotguidou and †Nant Torr i Cair. Four significant streams flow into the †Ritec from the south (there are also some dry valleys nearer the mouth of the †Ritec which might once have been described by the element NANT), so, if *Nant Castell Cerran* is one of these, it should be the second or third (grid references above). Either of the two candidates would suit the identification of †Castell Cerran. Campbell and Lane identified *Nant Castell Cerran* with the essentially dry valley which opens onto the †Ritec at SN100009, but their identification rests mainly on their (in my opinion rather weakly based) identification of †Cil Tutuc and †Penn Clecir,²² and there is no trace of any CASTELL feature on this valley.

Elements

NANT + †Castell Cerran

†Nant Catguistil: [?ST512933 or ST502942]

Attestations

nant catguistil LLch.165 p. 166 c. 990–c. 1050

Location

This stream or valley is a feature in the bounds of *Lann Cinmarch* (St Kingsmark). It seems to be synonymous with, or flow through, a large PANT ('pant maur') which opens onto †Pull Mouric (Mouton Brook), upstream of the point where a main road ('uiam latam') from †Pant Anhuc reaches that brook. *Nant Catguistil* is followed upwards to †Ol Huch. The point where the main road reaches Mouton Brook could be either ST515922 or ST512931. There are two valleys on Mouton Brook which could reasonably be identified as the *pant maur* of the bounds (i.e. large features which are not too far from the focus of the bounds), hence the grid references above.

Elements

NANT + personal name

Nant Catlan: see †Catlan.

²¹ Ibid..

²² 'Excavations', pp. 56–58.

†Nant Cein: [?nr SO457055]

Attestations

nant cein	LLch.206	p. 207	s. xi ²
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Location

This stream is followed in the bounds of †**Ecclesia Mamouric** (also known as †**Lann Uuien**), the identity of which is uncertain, though it has been identified with Llangovan in Gwent (grid reference above). *Nant Cein* is reached by the bounds as they descend from a hill (ALLT), and the stream is followed southwards to a point opposite †**Lech Melen**.

Elements

NANT + ?CAIN

It seems likely that there is some connexion between the names *Nant Cein*, and †**Inis Cein** and †**Nant Sulcein** (which are mentioned elsewhere in the bounds).

†Nant Cenou: [?SN911337 or SN912321] (?mod. *Nant y Beinon* or *Llech*)Attestations

nant cenou	LLch.154	p. 155	s. xi ²
nant cenov	LLch.154	p. 155	s. xi ²

Location

This stream is followed in the bounds of Llandeilo'r Fan (†**Lann Guruaet**). **Nant-yr-hen** takes the bounds up to the high ground to the east of the **Cilieni** and *Nant Cenou* takes them back down to that river. The point immediately before *Nant Cenou* is †**Guoun Teir Fin**, and it seems likely that the source of the stream is in that marsh. *Nant y Beinon* and the *Llech* (grid references above) rise in the area of †**Guoun Teir Fin**, of which the latter is the larger, and perhaps, therefore, slightly more likely.

ElementsNANT + CENAU²³

Padel compares the use of *cenau* 'whelp' in this name with the appearance of the cognate Cornish element **kenow* in a handful of Cornish place-names, and concludes that the Cornish examples are probably examples of the noun used

²³ GPC, i, 461.

as a personal name.²⁴ *Cenau* is apparently also attested as a personal name in the case of the legendary *Cenau ap Coel*.²⁵

Nant Cichman: see †Nant Cichmann.

†Nant Cichmann: [?SO477043]

Attestations

nant cichmann	LLch.240	p. 242	s. xi ²
nant cichman	LLch.240	p. 242	s. xi ²

Location

This stream is followed in the bounds of (1) Llanisien. We learn from the bounds that it is a tributary of the **Olwy**. The bounds run from the source (BLAEN) of *Nant Cichmann* to †**Luin Helic**, and on to the source (BLAEN) of the **Anghidi Fawr**. Thomas identified this stream with the one which enters the **Olwy** at SO446031,²⁶ but the bounds do not seem to make sense with this interpretation, because they start and finish at a point on the **Olwy** below its confluence with *Nant Cichmann*, and I cannot see how such a point on the **Olwy** would be reached. If Thomas is correct in his identification of the source of the **Anghidi Fawr** as Hygga [SO485037],²⁷ then I would identify *Nant Cichmann* with the small stream which enters the **Olwy** at the grid reference suggested in the heading. If, on the other hand, the source of that stream is Ffynnon Gaer [SO495037], then the stream would be one of SO486046, SO491048 or SO494048.

Elements

NANT + ?*CYCHFAN

I am not convinced by Williams's suggestion (supported by Thomas) that *Cichmann* is a personal name borrowed from Irish *Cichmuine* (which has been thought to be the name of a water goddess).²⁸ It would seem as plausible to regard the second element as an unattested noun (or place-name) **cychfan* 'boat-place, hive-place' (*cwch* 'boat, beehive' + MAN).

²⁴ CPNE, p. 50.

²⁵ See references from Bartrum, *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, p. 177.

²⁶ EANC, pp. 78–79.

²⁷ EANC, p. 128.

²⁸ Williams, *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*, pp. 160–61; EANC, p. 79.

†**Nant Cum Cinreith**: [?SO328283]

Attestations

<i>aper nant cum. cinreith</i>	LLch.195	p. 196	s. xi ²
.i. nant cum	LLch.195	p. 196	s. xi ²

Location

This stream is followed in the bounds of †**Merthir Clitauc**. The bounds cross the Monnow (**Mynwy**) to get to the the mouth (**ABER**) of this stream. The bounds at this point are coming from the west, so *Nant Cum Cinreith* should enter the Monnow (**Mynwy**) on its eastern bank. Furthermore, the bounds cross the **Olchon** before reaching the Monnow (**Mynwy**), and do not cross **Escley Brook** [SO327287], so the mouth of *Nant Cum Cinreith* should be between the mouths of the **Olchon** and **Escley Brook**. Only two streams meet these criteria: the one at the grid reference above, and the one at SO328287. Of these two, the former flows into the Monnow (**Mynwy**) at the point where a footbridge and a ford cross the river, and the path continues on up the stream, so this is the more likely identification.

The gloss ‘.i. nant cum’ on *cinreith* must pre-date the final redaction of LL because it has also been copied into the Vesp. version of the Clydog documents.²⁹

Elements

NANT + CWM + ?CYNRHAITH

Cinreith should represent *cynrhaith* ‘fundamental precept, basic law’ in modern orthography. The only difficulty is that the word is rare, and not attested before 1794.³⁰ Perhaps the element in this case is a personal name.

†**Nant Dincat**: [?SN899375 or SN902372] (?mod. [unnamed] or *Cyrnog*)

Attestations

blain nant dincat	LLch.154	p. 155	s. xi ²
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Location

This stream is followed in the bounds of **Llandeilo’r-fân** (†**Lann Guruaet**). The source (**BLAEN**) of *Nant Dincat* is reached by following a ridge (**CEGIN**) from †**Porth i Dorcluit**. The stream is a tributary of the **Cilieni**. Given the

²⁹ Fol. 86^r. See the edition of these bounds in Appendix 1 below.

³⁰ GPC, I, 799.

uncertainty over the location of †**Porth i Dorcluit**, I am unable to provide a more accurate location than to say that the stream should be one of the tributaries near the head of the **Cilieni** (there are not really enough data in the bounds to take the bounds to a stream which would fall into the **Cilieni** further down). The streams entering the **Cilieni** at SN894378 and SN891380 are too close to the source of the **Mawan** to be *Nant Dincat*. The two remaining possibilities (grid references above) both rise on a ridge.

Elements

NANT + personal name

Nant Distir: see †**Distin**.

†**Nant Du, I**: [?ST125838] (?mod. *Nant Llywydd* and *Nant y Brynau*)

Attestations

blain inant du	LLch.257	p. 258	'c. 1033'
inant du	LLch.257	p. 258	'c. 1033'

Location

This stream is followed in the bounds of a wood—described in the Narration as 'tertia parte siluę ynis peithan' (see †**Inis Peithan**)—granted with †**Riu Brein** (which has separate bounds) in charter 257. The source (BLAEN) is across ('trusso') from the source (BLAEN) of the **Gwynlais**, and it flows down to a point near the **Taf (Fawr)** where its waters disappear underground. The source of the **Gwynlais** is just over a hilltop from the source of *Nant Llywydd* (five hundred metres north-west, at ST140843), but also just across another hill from the source of *Nant y Brynau* (eight hundred and seventy metres north-east, at ST148847). Either stream is possible, but the former seems slightly more likely to me. *Nant Llywydd* and *Nant y Brynau* meet at ST129839 and continue towards the **Taf (Fawr)**. This stream does seem to disappear before reaching the **Taf (Fawr)** (grid reference above) is for the last point at which I can see it.

Elements

YR + NANT + DU

he/ δ/

†Nant Duuin: [?SN239151 or SN241151]

Attestations

blain nant duuin	LLch.77	p. 78	s. xi ²
nant duuin	LLch.77	p. 78	s. xi ²
apernant duuin	LLch.77	p. 78	s. xi ²

Location

This stream is followed in the bounds of **Llanddowror**. The source (BLAEN) of *Nant Duuin* is across ('intraus') some unnamed feature from †Nant Bach Latron, and is followed down to its mouth (ABER) on the Taf. Assuming that the territory described by the bounds includes **Llanddowror** itself, then the direction of the perambulation should be clockwise (the Taf is followed downwards between the end of the boundary and the start). It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that *Nant Duuin* runs to the Taf to the east of **Llanddowror**. There is a major stream which runs through **Llanddowror** immediately to the east of its church, but it would be difficult to make sense of the bounds if this were their *Nant Duuin*. Either of the next two streams to the east would be candidates for *Nant Duuin*, however, hence the grid references above.

Elements

NANT + DWFN¹¹

The attestations here show the existence of an epenthetic vowel in DWFN. Padel interpreted NANT here as having the 'valley' rather than 'stream' sense.¹² 'Valley' seems more likely to me, but I do not think that it is possible to rule out the meaning 'stream'.

†Nant Eilon: [?SN256137]

Attestations

penn nant eilon	LLch.77	p. 78	s. xi ²
nant eilon	LLch.77	p. 78	s. xi ²

Location

This stream is followed in the bounds of **Llanddowror**. The head (PEN) of *Nant Eilon* is across ('trans') a hill or mountain (MYNYDD) from †Guern i

¹¹ GPC, I, 1104, s.v. *dwfn*; CPNE, p. 88, s.v. *downans.

¹² CPNE, p. 88, s.v. *downans.

Duon, and is followed down to the (1) †**Cehir**. The stream at the grid reference above is a tributary of the (1) †**Cehir**, and has its head on the other side of a hill from the source of †**Guern i Duon**.

Elements

NANT + EILON

This name is cited by GPC as an example of *eilon* 'deer'.³³ See also the very similar name †**Nant ir Eillin**.

Nant Ela: see †**Nant Hela**.

†**Nant Foss Pluum**: [?ST432995]

Attestations

nant foss plu um LLch.173 p. 174 s. xi¹

Location

This stream is followed in the bounds of **Llangwm**. It is a tributary of †**Nant Broueni** (Dyffryn Brook), which should run into that stream from the east (the same side as the †**Bic**), below the confluence of the †**Bic**. The source of the stream seems to be near a ridge. The stream which best fits the criteria is the one at the grid reference above.

Elements

NANT + FFOS + ?PLUF

The qualifying element might be *pluf* 'feathers'. The hiatus between the letters *u* in the attestation is barely apparent in the edition and might be an artefact of typesetting.

Nant Greitiaul: see **Greidol**.

†**Nant Gunos**: [?nr ST5299]

Attestations

nant gunos LLch.218 p. 221 s. xi¹

Location

This stream or valley is named in the bounds of †**Lann Bedeui**. It is mentioned between †**Finnaun Diguinid Aruen** and †**Tralucg Teudus**. If *Nant Gunos* is a stream then this stretch of the bounds should probably be interpreted as follows: a stream is followed down from †**Finnaun Diguinid**

Aruen to *Nant Gunos*, which is then followed down through a PANT to †Tralucg Teudus. If it is a valley then the interpretation should probably be: a stream is followed down from †Finnaun Diguinid Aruen through *Nant Gunos* (which is also referred to as a PANT) to †Tralucg Teudus. Until more evidence from this area is produced, a closer identification will not be possible.

Elements

NANT + ?

The noun NANT should be masculine at the date of this attestation,³⁴ so the second element should not have undergone initial lenition from ***Cunos* (and, in any case, such lenition would probably not be shown by LL's orthography). The first syllable of the second element could represent what would be written in Modern Welsh orthography as **gwn-*, **gun-*, or **gwyn-*. The final *os* is perhaps the diminutive plural suffix *-os*. A noun *gwynos* 'dusk, twilight' is known, but this is regarded by GPC as a Dyfed dialect form of *gogyfnos*,³⁵ and is therefore unlikely to lie behind LL's *gunos*. This stream name might be comparable with the parish name *Llanwnnws*, whose church at SN685695 is dedicated to a St Gwnnws (though we should expect the geminate *n* to appear in the LL form if the comparison is valid).

†Nant Hela: [nr †Pull Mouric]

Attestations

guartha nant hela	LLch.262	p. 262	'c. 1022'–c. 1030
paNT nant ela	LLch.262	p. 262	'c. 1022'–c. 1030

Location

This stream is followed in the bounds appended to charter 262. Although the approximate area is known, it is not clear precisely what the object of the grant is, nor whether the bounds given are for all, or only part of the territory.³⁶ The bounds describe territory on both sides of †Pull Mouric (i.e. Mouton Brook). We can be fairly confident that NANT in these attestations has the sense of

³⁴ GPC, I, 1192, s.v. *eilon*'.

³⁵ Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 26.

³⁶ GPC, II, 1778.

³⁷ See †Villa Carnou, †Villa Crucou Leuirn, and †Villa Crucou Morcant for discussion of the problems.

'stream' rather than 'valley', because of the second reference to 'the PANT of *Nant Hela*', where the best interpretation is probably that PANT describes the valley and NANT describes the stream running through it. The top end (GWARHAF) of *Nant Hela* is not far from †**Garth Bacat**, separated from it by a grove (LLWYN). Due to the lack of identifiable points in the bounds, the best that can be said is that *Nant Hela* is not far from Mounton Brook.

Elements

NANT + ?HELA

An inorganic *h* is often prefixed to semantic units beginning with a vowel,³⁷ so it might be that *Ela* is the correct form of the second element. However, I do not know what *Ela* might mean. Since *hela* 'hunting' is a known word, and one with a suitable meaning for a place-name,³⁸ it is probably the most likely interpretation. The *h* might have been omitted in the second attestation under the misapprehension that it was of the inorganic, purely orthographical type.

Nant Hîr: see †**Nant ir Eilin**.

†**Nant hi Rotguidou:** [?SN067011 or SN084009]

Attestations

nant hiroguidou LLch.125b p. 126 s. xi¹

Location

This stream (or possibly valley) is used as a boundary for †**Menechi**. We learn from the bounds that it is a tributary of the †**Ritec**, and that †**Tref Eithinauc** should be not far from it. *Nant hi Rotguidou* should flow to the †**Ritec** from the south, and it should be the next stream along (either to the east or west) that river from †**Nant Castell Cerran** (q.v.). If the suggested identifications of both †**Nant Castell Cerran** and †**Nant Torr i Cair** are correct (and provided that NANT in this name has the sense 'stream' rather than 'valley'), then *Nant hi Rotguidou* should be either the first or last of the four tributary streams on the south bank of the †**Ritec** (grid references above). Campbell and Lane identified *Nant hi Rotguidou* with the tiny, dry valley which opens onto the

³⁷ As, for example, the following from Falileyev, *Etymological Glossary*: *hair* (Modern *aer*), *hared* (Modern *araith*), *hatbid* (Modern *adfydd*), *haur* (Modern *awr*), *heitham* (Modern *eithaf*), and *hir* (Modern *yr*).

³⁸ Cf. the Cornish place-names *Brill* and *Goonhilly* (CPNE, p. 128, s.v. **helgh*).

†Ritec at SN103008, but their identification rests mainly on their (in my opinion rather weakly based) identification of †Cil Tutuc and †Penn Clecir.³⁹

Elements

NANT + YR + RHODWYDD (pl.)

GPC cites this place-name as an example of the noun *rhodwydd* 'defensive dyke, ?ford'.⁴⁰ Padel translates this name as 'the valley/stream of the fords', and suggests that the apparent incongruity of the meanings 'defensive dyke' and 'ford' might be resolved by interpreting the noun as 'fortified ford, bank for defending a ford'.⁴¹

Nant Humir: see †Humir.

Nant i Bard: see Nant-y-bar.

†Nant i Buch: [?SO459100]

Attestations

nant i buch LLch.227b p. 228 s. xi¹

Location

This stream is followed in the bounds of **Llanddingad (Dingestow)**. The bounds describe an area of three *modii* (about fifty hectares)⁴² on either side of the **Troddi**, presumably including the site of the church itself. *Nant i Buch* is reached by crossing a ridge (CEGIN) from †**Finnaun i Cleuion**, and is followed down to a ditch (FFOS) on the left, from which the bounds proceed to a little stream ('nant bichan'), running down to the **Troddi**. If the identification of †**Finnaun i Cleuion** is correct, then *Nant i Buch* should be the stream at the grid reference above. This is problematic, however, because the slight rise of land crossed between the spring and the stream suggested as *Nant i Buch* could hardly be described as a ridge (the usual translation of CEGIN).

Elements

NANT + YR + BWCH⁴³

³⁹ 'Excavations', pp. 56–58.

⁴⁰ GPC, III, 3087.

⁴¹ CPNE, p. 199, s.v. **rodwyth*.

⁴² See under †**Cum Barruc** above for the size of *unciae* and *modii*.

⁴³ GPC, I, 351, s.v. *bwch*; CPNE, p. 26, s.v. *bogh*.

†Nant i Gall: [?ST385901 or ST388905]

Attestations

nant igall	LLch.261	p. 261	c. 1080–c. 1120s
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Location

This stream is followed in the bounds of **Llan-bedr**. It is followed from its mouth on the (4) †**Dubleis** up to its source (**BLAEN**) on †**Allt Coit Guent**. From the source of the stream the bounds follow the ridge of †**Allt Coit Guent** up to a point opposite †**Lann Mihacgel**. If the identification of all these places is correct then *Nant i Gall* would be one of the two streams at the grid references above. Tatlock thought that both this stream and †**Nant i Galles** (which, however, is certainly a different stream) could be identified with the *Fontes Galahes/Galabes/Galae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Prophetiae Merlini*.⁴⁴

ElementsNANT + YR + GALL⁴⁵

Thomas suggested that the final element might be an otherwise unattested borrowing of Irish *gall* 'pillar stone, standing stone',⁴⁶ but as GALL (also a borrowing from Irish) is otherwise attested in Welsh, it is the more likely interpretation.

†Nant i Galles: [SO335233, SO356241, or SO367248]

Attestations

nant igalles	LLch.160	p. 160	s. xi ¹
aper nant igalles	LLch.160	p. 160	s. xi ¹
nant igalles	LLch.160	p. 160	s. xi ¹

Location

Nant i Galles is attested as part of the bounds of **Llancillo**. The bounds show that the stream is a tributary of the **Monnow (Mynwy)**, and that a dyke (†**Claud Ismael**) runs from some point along it towards the spring of the †**Guualon**. The mouth of *Nant i Galles* on the **Monnow (Mynwy)** should be upstream of the mouth of the **Greidol** on the same river, and upstream of

⁴⁴ *Legendary History*, p. 75.

⁴⁵ GPC, II, 1377, s.v. *gall*.

⁴⁶ EANC, p. 112, s.v. *Gallen*.

SO375252 (assuming that the territory described is supposed to include the church of Llancillo itself). The bounds do not appear to cross over Mynydd Merddin, so the furthest up the Monnow (Mynwy) that *Nant i Galles* would be likely to be is SO335233. There are two other possible streams (grid references above), whose sources are very close together (SO352250 and SO352252). Rollason reached a similar conclusion in her discussion of this boundary clause.⁴⁷ Tatlock thought that both this stream and †Nant i Gall (which, however, is certainly a different stream) could be identified with the *Fontes Galahes/Galabes/Galae*s of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Prophetiae Merlini*.⁴⁸

Elements

NANT + YR + ?*GALLES

The *-es* of the final element could be the feminine suffix. Its initial *g-* could be the result of lenition from a noun **calles*. I can find no nouns **cales*, **calles*, **gales*, or **galles*, but perhaps the element could be an unattested feminine form of either *call* 'wise' (hence 'wise woman'), or of GALL (hence 'female foreigner').

†Nant i Gob: [nr †Villa Iunuhic]

Attestations

nant igof	LLch.249b	p. 251	s. xi ¹
nant igob	LLch.249b	p. 251	s. xi ¹

Location

This stream marks one of the boundaries of †Villa Iunuhic. Due to the uncertainty over the location of the land granted it is not possible to make an identification. *Nant i Gob* is described as flowing into 'pil', which could be either the common noun PIL (indicating a coastal location), or the name of the stream Pill brook.

Elements

NANT + YR + GOF⁴⁹

Nant i Gof: see †Nant i Gob.

⁴⁷ Rollason, 'The Boundaries', pp. 32–33.

⁴⁸ *Legendary History*, p. 75.

⁴⁹ GPC, II, 1428, s.v. *gof*.

†Nant i Guolchetua: [nr †Villa Iunuhic]

Attestations

nant iguolchetua	LLch.249b	p. 251	s. xi ¹
[i]mant iguolchetua	LLch.249b	p. 251	s. xi ¹

Location

This stream marks one of the boundaries of †Villa Iunuhic. Due to the uncertainty over the location of the land granted it is not possible to make an identification. Evans refers to the testimony of Wakeman that a stream ‘which flows by Penhow [...] to the sea is called Olchva, or Olva, which I venture to identify with the Golchetva of the text. In the Ordnance Map it is named the “Old brook”!’.⁵⁰ This stream seems to have changed its name again, for it is now known as *St Bride’s Brook*. Most of the flow of St Bride’s Brook is carried by Mill Reen to Magor Pill on the coast [ST438847]. I do not think that the similarity of the names *Olva* and *Guolchetua* is sufficient to warrant the identification, however. *Nant i Guolchetua* is described as flowing into ‘pil’, which could be either the common noun PIL (indicating a coastal location), or the name of the Pill brook.

Elements

NANT + YR + *GOLCHEDFA

GPC cites this place-name in its discussion of the verbal adjective *golched* ‘washed’.⁵¹ Here it is compounded with MA, to give a meaning such as ‘washing place’.

†Nant i Meneich: [SO497109]

Attestations

nant imeneich	LLch.201	p. 202	s. xi ¹
nant meneich	LLch.240	p. 242	s. xi ¹
nant meneich	LLch.240	p. 242	s. xi ¹

Location

The attestations are from the bounds of Wonastow (charter 201) and †Lann Tituil (charter 240). The reason for including both groups of attestations together is the virtually identical formation of the name, combined with the

⁵⁰ LL, p. 381, n. 24.

⁵¹ GPC, II, 1447, s.v. *golched*.

fact that in both sets of bounds the stream is said to run into the **Troddi**. The location of **Wonastow** is known, whereas that of †**Lann Tituil** relies essentially on the identification of its *Nant Meneich*. If the area described by the bounds of **Wonastow** include the church itself then they must run clockwise from a ford on the **Troddi** round to the north of the church, and back to the **Troddi** via *Nant i Meneich*. Consequently *Nant i Meneich* should be to the east of the church. The only plausible candidate to be this stream is the one entering the **Troddi** at the grid reference above. Another stream of the same name, appearing in Latin guise as †**Manach Rivulus**, runs into the **Troddi** further west, and it is possible that the *Nant Meneich* in the bounds of †**Lann Tituil** applies to this stream instead.

Elements

NANT + [YR +] MYNACH (pl.)

†**Nant ir Eguic**: [nr †**Lann Cerniu**, on the **Dore**]

Attestations

licat nant yreguic	LLch.72b	p. 72	'c. 580'–c. 930
nant ireguic	LLch.72b	p. 72	'c. 580'–c. 930

Location

This feature is attested as a point in the bounds of †**Lann Cerniu**, which has not, however, been identified further than to say that is on the **Dore**.

Elements

NANT + YR + EWIG⁵²

The final element also appears in †**Rit ir Euic**. Almost the same name (but lacking the article) is seen in Cornish *Nanjewick*.⁵³

†**Nant ir Eilin**: [SN575259] (?mod. *Nant Hîr*)

Attestations

nant ireilin	LLch.77	p. 78	c. 1080–c. 1120s
nant ireilin	LLch.77	p. 78	c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

This stream is followed in the bounds of **Llandeilo Fawr**. It appears to be a tributary of the **Dulas** (†**Dugleis Bisgueiliauc**), and the bounds follow it up

⁵² GPC, I, 1262, s.v. *ewig*.

towards the †**Isceuiauc** (via †**Cruc Cust** and †**Cruc Corncam**). Several streams run east–west to the Dulas south of the †**Hebaucmein** (the last point mentioned in the bounds before the bounds enter the Dulas). *Nant ir Eilin* could not be further south than SN569247 on grounds of distance from the †**Isceuiauc**, and even the stream at SN569247 looks to be a bit too far from the †**Isceuiauc**. The remaining possibilities are the streams at SN578268 and the grid reference above, of which the latter passes closest to the source of the †**Isceuiauc**. If the suggested identification is correct, the bounds would have to leave *Nant ir Eilin* well before reaching its source (but this is not a requirement of the bounds).

Elements

NANT + YR + EILIN

EILIN also occurs as an element in †**Luch ir Eilin** and on its own in (1) †**Eilin**.

The only attestations of the noun offered by GPC are those from LL.³⁴

†**Nant ir Hebauc**: [SO435051, SO435057, or SO435061]

Attestations

blain nant ir hebauc LLch.159a p. 159 s. xi¹

Location

This stream helps define the bounds of **Llanerthill**. We learn that it rises on †**Allt ir Cicbran** and is a tributary of the †**Guefrduur**. The identification of these two as Cyncoed hill and Pontyrhydan Brook respectively is reasonably sound, so the grid references above are for the three streams which run down from that hill to that brook.

Elements

NANT + YR + HEBOG³⁵

Nant ir Hen: see **Nant-yr-hen**.

Nant Lechou: see †**Lechou**.

³³ CPNE, p. 96, s.v. *ewyk.

³⁴ GPC, I, 1192.

³⁵ GPC, II, 1831, s.v. hebog.

Nant Llŵyd: [SN638301]Attestations

nant luit	LLch.77	p. 78	c. 1080–c. 1120s
nant luit	LLch.77	p. 78	c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

This stream is followed in the bounds of **Llandeilo Fawr**. The **(1) Dulais** is followed up to a confluence ('cimer'), and from there the bounds run to *Nant Luit* and on up to †**Cecin Meirch**. As there is a stream of the same name (*Nant Llŵyd*), tributary to the **(1) Dulais**, which runs down from the foot of the hill identified with †**Cecin Meirch**, that is the obvious identification. Evans interpreted the bounds' reference to a confluence as meaning the confluence of the **(1) Dulais** with *Nant Ddu*,* but this seems unnecessary—the point where *Nant Llŵyd* enters the **(1) Dulais** is at or very close to the mouth of two other streams, so this could be the reason why the bounds do not run simply from the **(1) Dulais** to *Nant Llŵyd*.

Elements

NANT + LLWYD

Nant Llywydd: see †Nant Du.

†Nant Louhelic: [nr †Villa Iunuhic]

Attestations

nant louhelic	LLch.249b	p. 250	'c. 1015'
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Location

This stream marks one of the boundaries of †**Villa Iunuhic**. Due to the uncertainty over the location of the land granted it is not possible to make an identification. *Nant Louhelic* is described as flowing into 'pill', which could be either the common noun PIL (indicating a coastal location), or the name of the **Pill** brook.

Elements

NANT + ?personal name

Nant Luit: see Nant Llŵyd.

* LL, p. 364. I can find no *Nant Ddu*, but the stream intended by Evans might be *Afon Ddu* [SN649303].

(1) †Nant March: [?ST399911]

Attestations

licat nant march	LLch.261	p. 261	c. 1080–c. 1120s
nant march	LLch.261	p. 262	c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

The attestations are from the bounds of **Llan-bedr**. *Nant March* takes the bounds down from the ridge (CRIB) of †**Allt Coit Guent** to the (4) †**Dubleis**. The source (LLYGAD) of *Nant March* should be further along the ridge (i.e. north-eastwards) than the point opposite †**Lann Mihacgel**, this point being at ST386924. The ridge of the ALLT is well defined, and the grid reference above is for the confluence of the stream which rises just below the ridge with the stream identified with the (4) †**Dubleis**.

Elements

NANT + MARCH

(2) Nant March: see Nant y March.

†Nant Maur: [?SO312188]

Attestations

aper nantmaur	LLch.122	p. 123	s. xi ¹
nantmaur	LLch.122	p. 123	s. xi ¹

Location

This stream is followed in the bounds of **Llandeilo Bertholau**. The mouth (ABER) of *Nant Maur* is on the **Gefenni**, across ('trio') from the mouth of the †**Diufrut** on that river. The source (BLAEN) of the stream is on the **Ysgryd Fawr**. The bounds are relatively easy to follow, in their general direction, at least, so it is clear that, if the area they describe is supposed to include **Llandeilo Bertholau** itself, *Nant Maur* must enter the **Gefenni** north of that church. There are two streams large enough to warrant the description MAWR which fit the criteria: one at SO310177 and one at the grid reference above. Of these two, the former enters the **Gefenni** downstream of the †**Diufrut**, and the latter upstream of it. Evans interpreted the bounds as following the **Gefenni** upwards to the mouth of *Nant Maur*, which presumably indicates that he

favoured the identification which I have followed here.” I have based my identification on the facts that the preferred stream appears to be larger, that it is followed by the modern boundary of **Llandeilo Bertholau** parish, and that its source is at the northern end of the **Ysgyrd Fawr** (which, I think, makes better sense of the preposition used to describe the passage of the bounds across (‘trus’) the hill to the source of the †**Morduc**).

Elements

NANT + MAWR

Nant Meneich: see †**Nant i Meneich**.

†**Nant Merthir:** [?ST372925] (also †**Humir**)

Attestations

blain nant merthir	LLch.225	p. 226	s. xi ¹
nant merthir	LLch.183b	p. 184	s. xi ¹

Location

The attestations are from the bounds of †**Merthir Iun et Aaron** (charter 225) and (2) **Cemais** (charter 183b). In the former *Amir* is supplied as an alternative name for *Nant Merthir*, and in the latter *Nant Merthir* is supplied as an alternative name for the †**Humir**. The similarity of the names *Amir* and †**Humir**, together with the proximity of the territories described by the two bounds, and the fact that the name *Nant Merthir* is applied to both, is probably sufficient to justify the identification of *Amir* with †**Humir**. See further the discussion under †**Humir**.

Elements

NANT + MERTHYR

The element MERTHYR could either refer to the name of the church †**Merthir Iun et Aaron**, or to the local martyrs (SS Julius and Aaron) celebrated in that church’s name.

Nant Murn: see †**Murn**.

¹ LL, p. 366.

†Nant Pedecou: [nr SO461172]

Attestations

caput nan pedecon	LLch.74	p. 74	'c. 860'–c. 930
caput nant pedecou	LLch.171b	p. 172	'c. 860'–c. 930

Location

This stream name occurs as a point in the bounds of **Llanfocha** (the same bounds are used in both charters). Too few of the other points have been identified for this stream to be identifiable.

Elements

NANT + ?personal name

Thomas was sure that the second element was the same as the stream name *Byddegai* [SN985241].⁵⁸ He suggested a relationship with the second element of *Cilpeddeg* (Kilpeck), and concluded that both were based on a personal name **Peddegau*, which had a short form **Peddeg*.⁵⁹ The form *pedecon* could be explained as having arisen through scribal *n/u* confusion.⁶⁰

†Nant Ruisc: [nr ST5291]

Attestations

blain pant nant ruisc	LLch.141	p. 143	s. xi ¹
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Location

This stream is mentioned in the bounds of the territory granted in charter 141, probably around **Matharn**. The bounds run inland from the mouth (ABER) of †Pull Mouric on the Severn (Hafren) to the ABER of Hunger Pill (†Pull Neuynn) on the Wye (Gwy), and then back along the shore. From the top end (BLAEN) of the PANT of *Nant Ruisc* the bounds continue to †Otyñ Lunbiu. Too few of the points have been identified for this stream to be identifiable.

Elements

NANT + RHWYSG

The qualifying element appears to be the noun *rhwysg* 'rush, attack, force, majesty, pride', but the Irish word *ríasc* 'a fen or piece of marshy ground' (for

⁵⁸ EANC, p. 22, s.v. *Baddege*.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*.

which we should expect the Welsh cognate to be *rhwysg*) should be noted.⁶¹

Nant Seru: see †Lann Teliau Nant Seru.

Nant Sulcein: see †Sulcein.

Nant Tael: see Nant Tawel.

Nant Tawel: [SO127280]

Attestations

riuulum tauguel	LLch.167	p. 168	c. 925
riuulum taugeiel	LLch.237b	p. 238	c. 925
blain nant tael	LLch.146	p. 146	s. xi ¹

Location

This stream helps define the bounds of **Llan-gors** (charter 146) and †**Lann Mihachghel Tref Ceriau/†Lann Mihachgel Meibion Gratlaun** (?=Llanfihangel Tal-y-llyn; charters 167 and 237b; the same bounds are used in both). We learn from the bounds of **Llan-gors** that *Nant Tael* rises on †**Brynn Eital** and runs down to the **Llynfi**. Also, since the bounds reach †**Brynn Eital** by following the **Llynfi** downstream and crossing to the left ('ad sinistram'), the stream should enter the **Llynfi** on its west bank. The bounds of the territory granted by charters 167 and 237b appear to show that the stream marks the northern limit of the territory and that it flows (at least for the relevant part of its course) west–east or east–west. As there is nowadays a stream called *Tawel* (grid reference above) which fits the available criteria, that seems to me to be the obvious identification. Thomas's identification of **Nant Tawel**, however, is with Nant-y-felin [SO138243], a stream entering the **Llynfi** on the right bank.⁶² He does not state the reason for this identification, but, as it requires a change of name for the stream, and some alteration of the wording of the bounds of charter 146, I would not accept it without good evidence.

Elements

NANT + TAWEL

RIVULUS + TAWEL

⁶¹ Quin, *Dictionary of the Irish Language*, p. 507.

⁶² EANC, p. 89.

GPC cites this place-name as an example of the adjective *tawel* 'quiet, peaceful'.⁶³

†Nant Torr i Cair: [?SN074009 or SN082009]

Attestations

nant torr icair LLch.127a p. 127 s. xi¹

Location

This stream is used as a boundary for †Cil Tutuc/†Penn Clecir (charter 127a). It runs down from †Castell Cerran to an unknown feature called 'hi locnhty', which is probably on the †Ritec. *Nant Torr i Cair* should flow to the †Ritec from the south, and it should be the next stream along (either to the east or west) that river from †Nant Castell Cerran (q.v.), the other stream in the bounds of †Cil Tutuc/†Penn Clecir. I have identified †Nant Castell Cerran as one of the two streams running down from Norchard Beacon (†Castell Cerran), so *Nant Torr i Cair* should be the other one of these two streams, given its proximity to †Castell Cerran. The name of the stream suggests that it runs from the 'belly' (TOR) of a CAER, and either of the two candidates would suit this description. Campbell and Lane identified *Nant Torr i Cair* with the essentially dry valley which opens onto the †Ritec at SN088009, but their identification rests mainly on their (in my opinion rather weakly based) assumption of a relationship between this name and the name of the farm *Tarr* [SN088008 and SN089009].⁶⁴

Elements

NANT + TOR + YR + CAER

†Nant Trineint: [?SO315292] (?mod. *Turnant*)

Attestations

nant trineint LLch.195 p. 196 s. xi²

Location

This stream is followed in the bounds of †Merthir Clitauc. There are sufficient identifiable points in these bounds to be confident that they travel clockwise, so it is apparent that *Nant Trineint* is encountered on the ridge of Hatterrall Hill, north of †Riu i Curum. The bounds follow the ridge until they

⁶³ GPC, IV, 3457.

reach some stones facing *Nant Trineint* ('bet imein arciueir nant trineint'), and from there they descend along it to the **Olchon**. There are many streams descending from the ridge to the **Olchon**, but Evans's identification with *Turnant* (i.e. the streams in the vicinity of the three *Turnant* settlement names in the squares SO3028 and SO3029) is probably right.⁶⁶ The evolution of *Trineint* to *Turnant* is plausible, and a cairn is marked above Great Turnant at SO298287 which could be the stones referred to in the bounds. Furthermore the name *Trineint* probably signifies three streams, and the stream at the grid reference above does have three main tributaries which meet close together.

Elements

NANT + TRI + NANT (pl.)⁶⁶

Padel translated this place-name as 'three-stream valley'.⁶⁷ In fact, though, the three streams do not form much of a valley (and what there is of a valley only begins below their confluence). I should think it preferable to translate the name as 'three-stream stream', i.e. 'the stream with three equal tributaries'.

Nant-y-bar: [SO291415]

Attestations

nant ibard	LLb.25	p. 42	s. xi ¹
lycat nant y bard	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s
nant ybard	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s

Location

This stream is followed in both versions of the diocesan bounds. It takes the boundary down from †**Main i Bard** to the **Dore**. The identification of †**Main i Bard** is dependent on the identification of *Nant i Bard*, but the general direction of approach at this point is clearly from the west or south-west (the nearest preceding point which can be identified with confidence is the **Bwch**). The only remaining fact which can be determined from the bounds is that the confluence of *Nant i Bard* with the **Dore** should be upstream of the confluence of that river with the **Worm** (but this is not very helpful as the **Worm** reaches the **Dore** near its bottom end). The identification followed here is based

⁶⁶ 'Excavations', pp. 56–58.

⁶⁷ LL, p. 374. Rollason agrees with Evans's identification ('The Boundaries', pp. 58–62).

⁶⁸ CPNE, p. 233, s.v. *try-².

essentially on the name's appearance, but it does suit what other evidence is available. There is a problem that Nant-y-bar is not apparently a tributary of the Dore—according to the Ordnance Survey the stream into which it flows (at the grid reference above) is called *Pont-y-Weston Brook*. I would suggest, however, that either the name *Nant i Bard* applied originally to what is now called *Nant-y-bar* plus *Pont-y-Weston Brook* (entering the Dore, therefore, at SO319417), or *Pont-y-Weston Brook* was originally regarded as the upper reaches of the Dore, rather than as a tributary stream.

Elements

NANT + YR + BARDD⁶⁸

The modern form of the name shows the common Welsh loss of final [d].

Nant y Bard: see **Nant-y-bar**.

Nant y Beinon: see †**Nant Cenou**.

Nant y Brynau: see †**Nant Du**.

†**Nant y Clauorion:** [SN090012, SN091013, or SN118004]

Attestations

naNT y clauorion LLch.125b p. 126 c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

This stream is named in the bounds of †**Tref Carn**. The bounds run from †**Minid Garthon** to the source (BLAEN) of †**Nant Brat** and along that stream down to the †**Ritec**, and then again from †**Minid Garthon** along *Nant y Clauorion* to the †**Ritec**. See the discussion of †**Tref Carn** for the arguments over the identification of the two bounding streams. Campbell and Lane identified this stream with the one at SN118004, based on their identification of †**Nant Brat** with the stream at SN091013, and the fact that they did not know of the existence of the other possible stream.⁶⁹

Elements

NANT + YR + CLAFWR (pl.)

GPC adduces this place-name as an example of the noun *clafwr* 'sick person,

⁶⁷ Ibid..

⁶⁸ GPC, I, 257, s.v. *bardd*.

⁶⁹ 'Excavations', p. 58.

leper'.⁷⁰ Compare †**Finnaun i Cleuion** and †**Vallis Leprosorum**.

Nant y Defaid: see †**Anghidi Fechan**.

Nant y Fforest: see **Gwynlais**.

Nant y Garreg: see †**Cinbran**.

Nant y Geugarn: see †**Frut i Guidon**.

Nant y Glaswg: see †**Glesius**.

Nant y March: [SO423021]

Attestations

nant march	LLch.274	p. 275	?before c. 1010
nant march	LLch.274	p. 275	?before c. 1010

Location

This stream is named in the bounds of †**Villa Gunnuc** (charter 274). The reason for the identification with the stream now called *Nant y March* is that the same bounds mention †**Nant Broueni**, a stream which is also mentioned in the bounds of **Llangwm**, and *Nant y March* flows through **Llangwm**. Thomas described *Nant y March* as a tributary of the **Pill** brook,⁷¹ but the Ordnance Survey appears to regard *Nant y March* as a tributary of a brook which it calls *Llan-gwm-Isaf Brook* (grid reference above), which is itself a tributary of the **Pill** brook. It seems more likely that *Nant y March* was the name of the stream all the way to the **Pill** brook, but it is possible that the Ordnance Survey's division of the stream is correct, in which case the grid reference for *Nant y March* should be SO429008.

Elements

NANT + [YR +] MARCH

The same name is used of another stream: (1) †**Nant March**.

Nant yr Eguic: see †**Nant ir Eguic**.

⁷⁰ GPC, I, 488, s.v. *clafwr*.

⁷¹ EANC, p. 164, s.v. †*Nant Brofeni*.

Nant-yr-hen: [SN909345]Attestations

aper nant irhen LLch.154 p. 155 s. xi²

Location

This stream is followed in the bounds of Llandeilo'r Fan (†Lann Guruaet). We learn from the bounds that it is a tributary of the **Cilieni**, and that that confluence (ABER) is downstream of the confluence of †Nant Dincat with the **Cilieni**. *Nant ir Hen* is followed up to †Cruc Hisbernn. As there is a stream of just this name, tributary to the **Cilieni**, that is the obvious identification, and I see no reason to doubt it.

Elements

NANT + YR + ?HEN

If the final element were HEN, then it would be an example of the adjective used substantivally (meaning probably 'old person').

Nant y Wilcae: [SO416035]Attestations

guilca	LLch.208	p. 208	s. xi ¹
guilca	LLch.208	p. 208	s. xi ¹

Location

The *Guilca* is named is followed in the bounds of the church of †Mathenni, which has been identified with Llandenny. We learn that the †Henn Pont is a tributary of this stream, but neither this, nor any other of the other points mentioned in the bounds, is certainly identifiable. However, given the proximity of Nant y Wilcae to Llandenny, and given the similarity of *Guilca* to the element *Wilcae* of that name, it is probable that the two are to be identified.

Elements

[NANT + YR] + ?

It is probable that the final element in the name should begin with g- (the initial w- of *Wilcae* would be the result of lenition). The *i* of the LL form could represent either *i* or *y* in modern orthography. I know of no word **gwilca(e)/*gwylca(e)*, so perhaps this is a compound divided between the *l* and the *c*, though normally a [k] in this sort of internal position should have

undergone lenition to [g]. Although *Wilcae* appears to contain CAE, this etymology is not supported by the LL form. Both *gwil* ‘mare; whore’ and *gŵyl* ‘holiday; vigil’ are possible elements of this word, but the former is probably a borrowing from English and its earliest attestations are of the form *gwilff*.⁷²

Nasch Osmundi: see (1) Nash.

(1) Nash: [SS962729] (*Yr As Fach*)

Attestations

ecclesiam de lanasch' osmundi LL p. 283 s. xv²

Location

This attestation comes from a list of dues owed to the archdeacon of Llandaf. The deanery to which the church belongs is not specified but the preceding entries in the list (**Cilgwrrwg**, **Gwndy**, **Tyndyrn**, **Llanfihangel Torymynydd**, and †**Lann Catgualatir**) are in the deaneries of **Usk** and †**Nether Went**, and those entries following (**St Lythans** and **Merthyr Mawr**) are in the deaneries of **Llandaf** and **Gorfynydd**. Evans tentatively identified this attestation with (2) Nash, but the identification followed here is that of Richards.⁷³

Elements

LE (fem.) + place-name + *personal name* (gen.)

The form of the attestation is a mixture of French (the definite article), English *Nash* (see (2) Nash), and the Latin genitive of the personal name *Osmund*.

(2) Nash: [ST343836] (*W. Trefonnen*)

Attestations

ecclesia de ffraxino LL p. 322 c. 1350

Location

The attestation is from a list of churches in the deanery of †**Nether Went**. The identification followed here is that of Evans, which seems reasonable as I can find no other settlement names in the deanery based on the elements ÆSC or ONNEN.⁷⁴ See also (1) Nash.

⁷² GPC, II, 1661, s.v. *gwilff*.

⁷³ LL, p. 414, s.v. *Nasch Osmundi*; WATU, p. 164.

⁷⁴ LL, p. 399.

Elements*FRAXINUS*

The Latin is a calque on *Nash*, which derives from wrong division of Middle English *atten ashe* 'at the ash [ÆSC]'.⁷⁵ *Nash* place-names are relatively common in southern and midland England, and there are several other examples in the more anglicised parts of South Wales (e.g. SM9710, SN0202, SN0412, SS9168, SS9270, SS9672).

Naudauan: see **Ddawan**.

Neath: see **Mynachlog Nedd, Nedd**.

Nedd: [SS720925] (Eng. *Neath*)

Attestations

ned	LLb.25	p. 42	s. xi ¹
ned	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s
Ned	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s

Location

This river name is attested in both of the two versions of the diocesan bounds. The bounds reach the river by following the **Pyrrdin** downwards, and then, as it is written, continue up the *Ned* to the **Mellte**. The identification with the river **Neath** seems generally satisfactory, since the **Pyrrdin** and **Mellte** are both tributaries of it, but there is a problem in that the influx of the **Mellte** is actually downstream of that of the **Pyrrdin**. Probably both boundaries should be emended to take the course down from the **Pyrrdin** to the **Mellte**, as Evans suggested.⁷⁶

Elements

?

The Roman fort at Neath [SS7497], *Nidum*, probably takes its name from the river.⁷⁷ The Brittonic form of the river's name was probably **Nidā*, and as such it can probably be related to several other European river names.⁷⁸ Pokorny derived these river names from a root **neid-/nid-* 'flow, stream', though

⁷⁵ Parsons, *Vocabulary of English Place-Names*, pp. 22–23 (s.v. *atte*) and 32–33 (s.v. *æsc*).

⁷⁶ LL, p. 367.

⁷⁷ PNRom. Brit., p. 425.

⁷⁸ Ibid..

Ekwall denied that such a root existed, and suggested instead derivation from a root **nei-* ‘brilliant’.⁷⁹

Nedern Brook: see Trogi.

Neeth, Neth: see Mynachlog Nedd.

†**Nether Went:** [NGR N/A]

Attestations

decanatu inferioris Wencie	LL	p. 284	s. xiii ²
Nether Went	LL	p. 318	c. 1350
Decanatu de Neth Went	LL	p. 318	c. 1350
Nether Went	LL	p. 322	c. 1350
decanatu de Nether Went	LL	p. 322	c. 1350
Nether Went	LL	p. 328	c. 1350
decanatu de netherwent	LL	p. 282	s. xv ²

Location

Nether Went (Lat. *Inferior Wencia*) is the name given to a deanery in the diocese of Llandaf. Each of the attestations is the heading of a list, and from the identifiable churches coming under the headings it is apparent that the deanery covered the area between the rivers Usk (Wysg) and Wye (Gwy), south of a line between Wentwood [ST4294] and Chepstow Park Wood [ST4997].

Elements

NEODERA + Gwent

INFERIOR + Gwent (Lat. fem.)

The name is English, and the spelling *Went* of the second element suggests that it was borrowed before the date when initial velarisation in Welsh would have been apparent to English ears, but Jackson states that the developing velarisation before non-lenited [ɹ] (which eventually yielded [gɹ]) was perceived by the English as [ɹ] throughout the settlement period.⁸⁰ Latin *inferior* ‘lower’ is used in the first attestation to translate the English element *neodera* ‘nether’.

⁷⁹ Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, I, 761; Ekwall, *English River Names*, p. 303, s.v. *Nidd*.

Neueni: see †Cateir Neueni.

Neufmarché: [NGR N/A] (Eng. *Newmarch*)

Attestations

nouo mercato LLb.4 p. 93 1119

Location

This place-name occurs as the surname of Bernard, one of several landowners addressed in a papal letter regarding a complaint from Llandaf. The Norman lord Bernard of Neufmarché styled himself ‘de Novo Mercato’ in a charter executed by William the Conqueror in 1086–87 in favour of Battle Abbey.⁸⁰ *Neufmarché* is the name of a castle in Normandy, about forty five kilometres east of Rouen. The English version of the name seems to be *Newmarch*.⁸¹

Neuynn: see †Pull Neuynn.

Newcastle: see †Castell Meirch, Castellnewydd.

Newelond, Newelonde: see Newland.

(1) †Neweton: [?ST478935] (‡mod. Shirenewton, W. *Drenwydd Gelli-farch*)

Attestations

ecclesia de Noua villa LL p. 319 c. 1350
ecclesia de Neweton LL p. 322 c. 1350

Location

Evans made the identification followed here,⁸² which is plausible given the context of the attestations—lists of churches in the deanery of †Nether Went. I know of two *Newton* place-names in the area of the deanery: *Shirenewton* (grid reference above) and *Newton Green* [ST518917]. As *Shirenewton* is attested elsewhere in a similar list of churches in the deanery, it seems reasonable to conclude that the attestations above refer to the same place.

Elements

NOVUS (fem.) + *VILLA*

NIWE + TŪN

⁸⁰ LHEB, p. 389.

⁸¹ Thorpe, *Gerald of Wales*, p. 88, n. 74.

⁸² LL, p. 414; Thorpe, *ibid.*.

⁸³ LL, p. 414, s.v. *Newton* and *Nova Villa*.

(2) †Neweton: [around SS830780] (mod. Newton Nottage, W. *Drenwydd yn Notais*)

Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Noua villa</i>	LL	p. 326	c. 1350
<i>porcione ecc'ie de Newton</i>	LL	p. 329	c. 1350
<i>Ecc'ia de Neweton</i>	LL	p. 331	c. 1350

Location

The first attestation is from a list of churches in the deanery of **Gorfynydd**, and the third is from a similar list, this time headed **Cynffig**, apparently a subset of the **Gorfynydd** list which precedes it. So the place should be in the **Cynffig** division (the northern half) of the deanery of **Gorfynydd**. Evans's identification with **Newton Nottage** fits this evidence, and as (to my knowledge) the only *Newton* place-name in the relevant area, can probably be regarded as secure.⁴⁴ The remaining attestation (page 329) is from a list of people and churches owing monies in the deanery of **Llandaf**. It mentions that the Archdeacon of **Llandaf** should pay tithes for his share of the church of *Newton*, and it is this fact which links this attestation to **Newton Nottage**, because the single attestation of **Newton Nottage** in LL is a reference to the Archdeacon of **Llandaf**'s ownership of a portion of that church.

Elements

NOVUS (fem.) + *VILLA*

NIWE + TŪN

Neweton Nwstaysch: see **Newton Nottage**.

Newland: [SO552095]

Attestations

<i>La Newelonde</i>	LL	p. 294	1304–05
<i>Ecclesiam de la Newelonde</i>	LL	p. 294	1304–05
<i>Ecclesie [...] de la Newelonde</i>	LL	p. 294	1304–05
<i>ecclesia et Manerio [...] apud le Newelond</i>	LL	p. 333	c. 1350
<i>ecclesie de la Newelond</i>	LL	p. 333	c. 1350
<i>ecclesie de la Newelond</i>	LL	p. 334	c. 1350

⁴⁴ LL, p. 414.

Location

The first group of attestations (page 294) is in an extract from a plea roll concerning a dispute over the church of *La Newelonde*. There is no evidence for the location of this church, but it seems reasonable to assume that it is the same place as is referred to in the second group of attestations. This second group of attestations is from a list of ecclesiastical benefices. The church of *La Newelond* is described here as being in the **Forest of Dean** and within the limits of the diocese of **Hereford**. There is a village called *Newland* (grid reference above) in the relevant area, so that is the obvious identification.

Newmarch: see **Neufmarché**.

Newport: [ST3088] (W. *Casnewydd*)

Attestations

Newport	LL	p. 319	c. 1350
Decanatu de Nouo burgo	LL	p. 319	c. 1350
<i>ecclesia Sancti Gunley de Nouo burgo</i>	LL	p. 319	c. 1350
Newport	LL	p. 323	c. 1350
decanatu de Nouo burgo	LL	p. 323	c. 1350
<i>ecclesia de Nouo Burgo</i>	LL	p. 323	c. 1350
Newport	LL	p. 329	c. 1350
<i>Ecc'ia de Nouo burgo</i>	LL	p. 329	c. 1350

Location

The settlement name *Newport* (grid reference above) is used as the name of a deanery in the diocese of Llandaf. Each of the attestations is the heading of a list, and from the identifiable churches coming under the headings it is apparent that the deanery covered the area between the rivers Rhymni and Usk (Wysg). The deanery appears to correspond to **Gwynllŵg**, as defined by Richards (though the northernmost church listed as being in Newport deanery is *Mynyddislwyn*, a long way further south than the northern limit of **Gwynllŵg**).⁸⁵

On pages 319 and 320 'decanatu de Nouo burgo' is used in the subheadings of lists, as an equivalent to the *Newport* of the main heading, so in these case the

⁸⁵ WATU, p. 281.

reference is to the deanery of *Newport*. The remaining attestations are taken from the main body of each of the three lists of churches in the deanery of *Newport*. Probably the unnamed church of *Novus Burgus* in the lists on pages 323 and 329 is the same as the church of St 'Gunley' (St Woolos) of *Novus Burgus* listed on page 319. Whether or not the identification of the church with **St Woolos** in *Newport* is correct, the equivalence of the place-names *Novus Burgus* and *Newport* used for the name of the deanery, should be sufficient to justify the identification. The prebend of a certain Geoffrey, surnamed 'de Nouo burgo', is listed in a document from the second half of the thirteenth century (page 285). The surname might derive from the name of this place, but it is not possible to be sure.

Elements

NIWE + PORT

NOVUS + *BURGUS*

Port here has its older sense of 'town' (as it does in the element PORT-GERÉFA, seen in **Porton**). There is also a *Newport* in Pembrokeshire [SN058389], for which the same Latin calque is used.* *BURGUS* is a Latinised form of Old English *burh* 'fortification, market town, borough'.

Newton: see (2) †**Neweton**, **Shirenewton**, **Wolvesnewton**.

Newton Nottage: [around SS830780] (W. *Drenwydd yn Notais*; also (2) †**Neweton**)

Attestations

ecclesia de Newetoñ. nwstaysch' LL p. 283 s. xv²

Location

This church is named in an account of the possessions of the Archdeacon of Llandaf. There is no evidence for the location of the place associated with the attestation, but Evans's identification, followed here, is practically certain, given the name's distinctive appearance.⁸⁷

Elements

NIWE + TŪN : HNOT + ÆSC

Newton and *Nottage* are two separate places, which are combined in the name of the parish. The LL form beginning *nwst-* is probably the result of a scribal

* PNPemb., I, 161.

error—perhaps a misreading of *nwt-*, or an oral variant with anticipation of the final sibilant. Nottage is presumably named after a distinctively knotty ash tree (cf. Knotty Ash near Liverpool [SJ4091]).

Nicholai, Nicholao: see **Sain Nicolas**.

Nicopolis: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

oppido nicopoli	LL	p. 26	?
oppido nicopo[li]	LL	p. 289	?

Location

The attestations are from two versions of a brief biography of Pope Eleutherius, derived from the 'Liber Pontificalis'. Eleutherius is said to have been born in Nicopolis. The city no longer exists but it stood near Préveza, in the Epirus region of Greece, about one hundred and twenty kilometres north-west of Patras.⁸⁸

Niger: see †**Fons Niger**.

Nis: see †**Villa Nis**.

Nofydd: [ST158818] (mod. *Nant Cwmnofydd*)

Attestations

annouid	LLch.257	p. 258	'c. 1033'
annouid	LLch.255	p. 257	'c. 1035'–c. 1050

Location

For the identification of the *Annouid* with the Nofydd see †**Diffrinn Annouid**.

Elements

?NAWF + ?-YDD

Quite a few river-names are based on *nawf* 'swim' (or its Indo-European root **snā-*).⁸⁹ The initial *a-* of the Book of Llandaf form is probably a prosthetic syllable, which has not come down to the modern form.⁹⁰

Norchard Beacon: see †**Castell Cerran**.

⁸⁷ LL, p. 414, s.v. *Neweton*.

⁸⁸ In square C3 of map 54 in Talbert, *Barrington Atlas*.

⁸⁹ EANC, p. 32.

⁹⁰ See Jackson, 'Prosthetic Vowels'.

Normandy: [NGR N/A]Attestations

Normannia LL p. 286 1199

Location

William of Normandy ('*Willelmus de Normannia*'), i.e. William 'the Conqueror', is mentioned on page 286 in a list of the Kings of England. The place-name is based on the population name *Normanni*, which occurs elsewhere in LL.⁹¹

Normannia: see Normandy.

Noruuicensi: see Norwich.

Norwich: [TG2208]Attestations

noruuicensi [episcopo] LL p. 280 1107-34

Location

This place-name is attested in the list of bishops present at Urban's consecration in **Canterbury**. The identification with Norwich is by Evans, and there is no reason to doubt it.⁹² The form here is a Latin adjective based on the English place-name (Norwich was not a Roman site).

Nottage: see Newton Nottage.

Nova Villa: see (1) †Neweton, (2) †Neweton.

Nova Villa Lupi: see Wolvesnewton.

Novo Burgo: see Newport.

Novo Castro: see Castellnewydd.

Novo Mercato: see Neufmarché.

Nuuien: see †Lann Uuien.

⁹¹ See LL, p. 414, s.v. *Normanni*.

⁹² LL, p. 414.

O

Ocmor, Ocmur: see **Ogwr**.

Oda: see **Treoda**.

Ogmore: see **Ogwr**, †**Villa Conuc**.

Ocuur: see **Ogwr**.

Ogwr: [SS863758] (Eng. *Ogmore*)

Attestations

amnem ocmur	LLch.224	p. 225	'c. 935'–c. 990
ocmur	LLch.212	p. 213	s. xi ¹
ocmur	LLch.212	p. 214	s. xi ¹
ocuur	LLch.212	p. 214	s. xi ¹
aqua de Ocmur	LLgloss	p. 225	s. xv ^{med}
Ocmor	LLgloss	p. 213	c. 1460

Location

The attestations are from the bounds of **Merthyr Mawr** (charter 212) and †**Tref Ret** (charter 224), and glosses on those bounds. None of the other points in the bounds of †**Tref Ret** can be identified with confidence, but the territory is said to be next to **Merthyr Mawr**. As the **Ogmore** flows right past **Merthyr Mawr**, the identification with that river can be regarded as secure. There is further confirmation in the fact that the bounds of charter 212 refer to the confluence of the **Ogmore** with the **Eweny** ((2) **Ewenni**).

Elements

?*~~AWG~~ + ?MAWR

Og- is quite common as a first element in river names, and its meaning is uncertain, though Williams agreed with Thomas's suggestion that it might be an adjective **awg* 'swift' (only attested as part of the compound *diog* 'lazy').¹ No one, to my knowledge, has suggested the possibility that the first element could be *og* 'harrow', which would seem to be to a plausible element in a river name (this is probably Thomas's thinking in including the Denbighshire river

¹ EANC, p. 81, s.v. *Ogwan*; *Enwau Lleoedd*, pp. 34–35; GPC, I, 1026, s.v. *diog*.

name *Ogel/Ogeu* in his list of rivers named after piercing instruments²). The second element began with [m] originally, as can be seen in the LL form *Ocmur*, and this is preserved in the modern English form of the river name, *Ogmore*. In Welsh the [m] was lenited to [v] (which is probably the stage shown by the LL form *Ocuur*), which was eventually assimilated to the following [u], resulting in the Modern Welsh form *Ogwr*.³ If the second element is MAWR, the form *mur* here could be compared with †Frut Mur and †Tnou Mur.

Oir: see †Finnaun Oir.

Olchon: [SO328281]

Attestations

elchon LLch.195 p. 196 s. xi²

Location

This brook is followed in the bounds of †Merthir Clitauc. It is reached from †Nant Trineint, and followed down to †Ynys Alarun. The general location is between the ridge of Hatterrall Hill and the Monnow (Mynwy). The appearance of the name, together with the evidence for the brook's general location, should be sufficient to justify the identification made here.⁴

Elements

Ekwall supposes that this stream name is properly **Ylchon*, with the same change of [ə] > [o] as is seen in the English form of Mynwy, *Monnow*.⁵ This is possible, though we should not normally expect *e* to represent [ə] in LL orthography. Together with Mynwy, he also adduces as evidence for this sound change the name *Olwy*, which he regards as properly **Ylwy* (but if that stream was ever **Ylwy* such a form would have been a secondary development from **Elwy* or **Ilwy*, if its derivation from the *il-* prefix is accepted). If Ekwall is correct in his interpretation of the name as **Ylchon*, then his explanation of it as deriving from Brittonic **Ulconā* (**ulk-* 'bad' + *-onā*, the river-name

² EANC, p. 100, s.v. *Gwachell*.

³ Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 34.

⁴ LL, p. 397; LHEB, p. 677.

⁵ Ekwall, *English River Names*, p. 309.

suffix) is plausible.⁶

†**Ol Huch**: [?start in ST5194 or ST5095]

Attestations

ol huch LLch.165 p. 166 c. 990–c. 1050

Location

This track is followed in the bounds of *Lann Cinmarch* (St Kingsmark). The track is joined near the top end of †**Nant Catguistil** and followed along to the †**Taranpull**. Both of the suggested identities of †**Nant Catguistil** have paths of one sort or another marked near their head, but there is not enough evidence available to justify favouring one over any of the other possibilities.

Elements

ÔL + HWCH

Evans (and GPC) took the qualifying element to be *hwch* ‘sow, pig’.⁷

†**Ol i Gabr**: [?between SO180302 and SO195301]

Attestations

oligabr	LLb.25	p. 42	s. xi ¹
ol ygabr	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s

Location

This track is followed in both versions of the diocesan bounds. It is followed from †**Dinmarch Lythan** to the breast (BRON) of †**Cateir Neueni**, neither of which has been identified particularly securely. A track does run east from Castell Dinas—the suggested identity of †**Dinmarch Lythan**—towards the high ground on which †**Cateir Neueni** has been located, hence the grid reference above, but this track as it appears today would not carry the bounds far enough, so the identification is very tentative.

Elements

ÔL + YR + GAFR

Evans translates this name as ‘the Goat’s track’ (*gafr* ‘goat’), and both GPC and Padel agree.⁸

Olway: see **Olwy**.

⁶ Ibid..

⁷ LL, p. 372 (‘Sow’s track’); GPC, II, 1928, s.v. *hwch*.

Olwy: [ST388979] (Eng. *Olway*)Attestations

ylui	LLch.156	p. 156	'c. 698'–c. 1010
riuulum elgui	LLch.187	p. 188	s. x
ilgui	LLch.187	p. 188	s. x
ilgui	LLch.187	p. 188	s. x
ilgui	LLch.187	p. 188	s. x
ilgui	LLch.187	p. 188	s. x
ilgui	LLch.159a	p. 159	s. xi ¹
ilgui	LLch.159a	p. 159	s. xi ¹
ilgui	LLch.159a	p. 159	s. xi ¹
ylgui	LLch.159a	p. 159	s. xi ¹
glan ilgui	LLch.240	p. 242	s. xi ²
ilgui	LLch.240	p. 242	s. xi ²
ilgui	LLch.240	p. 242	s. xi ²

Location

This stream is named in four different sets of bounds: those of **Llandogo** (charter 156), **Llansoy** (charter 187), **Llanerthill** (charter 159a), and **(1) Llanisien** (charter 240). The bounds of charter 156 do not provide much evidence to aid identification, but we can conclude from them that part of the *Ylui* should be in the area between the **Cledan** and the White Brook (†**Guenfrut**). Charter 187 describes the territory of **Llansoy** as lying between the *Ilgui* and the **Pill** brook. None of the other place-names in the bounds of charter 159a can be identified independently, but it is reasonable to locate their *Ilgui* near the object of the grant, **Llanerthill**. Similarly, although the bounds of **(1) Llanisien** do contain some independently identifiable points, there is no topographical evidence for the location of the stream, apart from its proximity to **(1) Llanisien**.

The similarity of the name to modern *Olwy* (Eng. *Olway*) and the fact that the various territories are all in the vicinity of the *Olway* makes that identification reasonable.* The location of the source of the *Olway* is not clear from the

* **LL**, p. 368; **GPC**, II, 1370 (s.v. *gafr*), and III, 2640 (s.v. *δl'*); **CPNE**, p. 102, s.v. *gaver*.

* **LL**, p. 405, s.v. *Ilgui*.

current Ordnance Survey mapping of the area, but from the use of the stream as a point in the bounds of **Llandogo**, it seems likely that the upper reaches of the stream are what is now marked at 1:25 000 scale as *Penarth Brook* [SO4804].

Elements

?EL- + ?

Williams compared this stream name with the name of the river *Elwy* [SJ0376]. The name contains the prefix *el-/il-* ‘frequent, many’,¹⁰ but see under **Olchon** for Ekwall’s opinion that the vowel sound of the first syllable should be [ə]. The suffix is the hydronymic *-wy*.

Ol y Gabr: see †**Ol i Gabr**.

Onbrit: see †**Merthir Onbrit**.

†**Oncir, Ir**: [nr SO367141]

Attestations

[i]roncir LLch.171b p. 172 c. 990–c. 1010

Location

This feature is named as a point in the bounds of **Llanfable**. It is mentioned next after the †**Halannauc**, but too few of the points in the bounds have been identified, so the best that can be said is that it is near **Llanfable**. If **ONGYR** can be translated as ‘ash trees’, then it might be that the feature referred to is the same as that referred to in Latin later in the bounds as *fraxina*, and this should be regarded as a common-noun topographical description, rather than as a place-name.

Elements

YR + ?ONGYR

GPC attests a noun *ongyr*, which it translates ‘(ashen) spear(s)’. The noun is supposed to be a compound of **ONN** and an element **cȳr*, the meaning of which is not clear.¹¹ One of the suggested comparanda for this word is *afallgyr* ‘apple trees’ (in which the second element is apparently a form of **CÔR**), so

¹⁰ Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 40.

¹¹ GPC, III, 2648.

perhaps *ongyr* could also mean 'ash trees'.¹²

Onn: see †Carn Perth yr Onn.

Onnbrit: see †Petra Onnbrit.

Onnuiu: see †Cum Onnuiu, †Lannerch Onnuiu.

Oper Humir: see †Humir.

Orcades: [NGR N/A] (mod. *Orkneys*)

Attestations

insularum orcadum habitatores LL p. 269 'c. 1060'

Location

The name is distinctive and there is no reason to doubt the identification with the Orkneys (Latin *Orcades*). The reference to the inhabitants of these islands is from the Privilege of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn, in a description of Gruffudd's military successes. Gruffudd's Orkney enemies would probably have been raiding Vikings, or perhaps Orkneymen in the host of 'Black Gentiles' brought from Ireland by Hywel ab Edwin in his 1044 attack on Gruffudd.¹³

Orduur Pill: see Pill Brook.

Orkneys: see *Orcades*.

Oscam, Oskam: see Wysg.

Ostia: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

hostiensis LLb.30 p. 54 1130

Location

This name occurs (in its Latin adjectival form) as the surname of one *Johannes*, one of Pope Innocent's electors. Evans identified it with the port of Ostia,¹⁴ at the mouth of the Tiber, just over twenty kilometres south-west of Rome (Roma). Classical *ostium* 'entrance, river mouth' (from which the place-name *Ostia* is derived¹⁵) is spelt *hostium* in LL (e.g. pages 42, 43, 134,

¹² GPC, I, 41.

¹³ Lloyd and Jenkins, *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, p. 312.

¹⁴ LL, p. 405.

¹⁵ Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, p. 1284.

and 236).

Otin Cincenn: see †Pull Otin Cincenn.

†Oryn Lunbiu: [nr ST5391]

Attestations

otryn Lunbiu LLch.141 p. 143 s. xi¹

Location

This feature is named as a point in the bounds of the territory granted in charter 141, probably around **Matharn**. The bounds run inland from the mouth (ABER) of †Pull Mouric on the Severn (**Hafren**) to the ABER of Hunger Pill (†Pull Neuynn) on the Wye (**Gwy**), and then back along the shore. *Oryn Lunbiu* is reached by a following a dyke (CLAWDD) from the top end (BLAEN) of the PANT of †Nant Ruisc, and the bounds continue along a dyke (the same one?) to †Carn Perth yr Onn. Too few of the points have been identified for the feature to be identifiable.

Elements

ODYN + personal name¹⁶

A *Lunbiu* is named as a lay witness to charters 202 and 204b (s. viii¹).¹⁷

Oudocei, Oudoeci: see Llandogo.

Oufreu: see †Villa Oufreu.

Ourdeuein, Ourdeuint: see †Tref Meibion Ourdeuein.

Oxford: see Oxonia.

Oxonia: [SP5106] (mod. *Oxford*)

Attestations

socius de collegij de Merton' Oxon' LL p. 304 1479

Location

A list of the bishops of Llandaf refers to the fact that Bishop John Marshall (consecrated 1479) was sometime fellow of Merton College, Oxford. *Oxon.* is

¹⁶ GPC, III, 2618, s.v. *odyn*¹.

still the usual abbreviation for *Oxonia* (and its derivative adjective *Oxoniensis*), the Late Latin name for Oxford.

¹⁷ Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 178.

P/Q

Pallan: see †Vadum Pallan.

Palude Elleti: see †Palus Elleti.

Paludem Mourici: see †Palus Mourici.

Paludem Nigrum: see (2) †Palus Niger, (3) †Palus Niger.

Palude Nigro: see (1) †Palus Niger.

Paludis: see †Fossa Paludis.

†Palus Elleti: [nr the Ddawan]

Attestations

palude Elleti LLch.147 p. 148 'c. 665'–c. 930

Location

This marsh is used as a point in the dimensional bounds of †Villa Gurberdh. The territory is described simply as lying between the marsh and the Thaw (Ddawan). Until †Villa Gurberdh is identified, the best that can be said is that the marsh should be somewhere near the Thaw.

Elements

PALUS + ?personal name

†Palus Mourici: [?in ST5192]

Attestations

paludem mourici LLch.179b p. 179 'c. 730'

paludem mourici LLch.191 p. 191 'c. 730'

Location

†Villa Guinnonui is granted in the charter pair 179b/191. In the Narration of both it is described as next to (*IUXTA*) *Palus Mourici*. The location of the territory is uncertain, but the witness associations of the charter pair are most strongly with places in Gwent, which fits its suggested location between Mouton and Pwllmeurig. The second element could well be the river name †Mouric (Mouton Brook), as regards appearance (and the probable location in Gwent). I do not know whether the location suggested for †Villa Guinnonui is based on a supposition that *Palus Mouric* should be on the

†**Mouric**, but, if not, then this could serve as confirmation of a relationship between *Palus Mouric* and †**Mouric**.

Elements

PALUS + ?†**Mouric** (Lat. gen.)

(1) †Palus Niger: [?nr ST502955]

Attestations

palude nigro LLch.143 p. 143 'c. 660'–c. 990

Location

This name is attested in the bounds of †**Ecclesia Guruid**, which has been identified with **St Wormet's** (Howick). None of the four points of this dimensional boundary can be identified so a definite conclusion is not possible.

Elements

PALUS + *NIGER*

PALUS is consistently treated as a masculine noun in LL, though it was feminine in Classical Latin.

(2) †Palus Niger: [?nr SO592176]

Attestations

paludem nigrum LLch.72 p. 72 'c. 575'

Location

This marsh is named in the Narration of the charter granting †**Garth Benni**, in a phrase describing the disposition of the territory. †**Garth Benni** is conventionally identified with Welsh Bicknor (grid reference above), but the justification for this identification is open to question. Watkins identified this marsh with a marshy area next to Huntsham [SO5617], on the ground that it is the nearest marshy area to Welsh Bicknor.¹

Elements

PALUS + *NIGER*

(3) †Palus Niger: [?ST103775]

Attestations

paludem nigrum LLch.223 p. 224 c. 990–c. 1010

¹ 'Lann Custenhinn Garthbenni', p. 198.

Location

This marsh is named as a point in the bounds of †**Villa Segan**. The bounds run down through the marsh to the **Dowlais**, where they terminate. The identification of points in these bounds is dependent on the identification of †**Vadum Dupleis** [?ST104779]. The most notable marsh on the **Dowlais** is at the grid reference above, around four hundred metres south of the suggested location for †**Vadum Dupleis**.

Elements

PALUS + NIGER

Pant: see †**Villa hir Pant**.

†**Pant Anhuc:** [ST532940]

Attestations

fissura uallis annuc	LLch.165	p. 166	c. 990–c. 1050
pant anhuc	LLch.165	p. 166	c. 990–c. 1050
Vallis annuc	LLch.158	p. 158	s. xi ¹
pant annuc	LLch.158	p. 158	s. xi ¹
pant annuc	LLch.158	p. 158	s. xi ¹

Location

This valley is used as a point in the bounds of both †**Emricorua** (Chepstow, charter 158) and **St Kingsmark** (charter 165), and the bounds of the former make specific mention of the fact that *Vallis Annuc* divides the two territories. We learn from both that the valley opens onto the Wye (Gwy). The grid reference above is for the only valley on the river between Chepstow (†**Emricorua**) and **St Kingsmark**.

Elements

PANT + ?ANNOG

VALLIS + ?ANNOG

If the second element is ANNOG ‘instigation, persuasion’, these attestations would be further examples of the phonological phenomenon responsible for the common representation of -OG (q.v.) by -uc in LL.

Pant Annuc: see †**Pant Anhuc**.

†**Pant Ciu**: [?in ST1171]Attestations

genou pant ciu LLch.157 p. 157 s. xi²

Location

This valley is named as a point in the bounds of **St Lythans**. It appears that *Pant Ciu* is the PANT described at the beginning of the bounds as nearest to the source of the †**Guorrimi** ('neshaf dilicatgurrimi'), but, in any case, it is clear enough that the PANT should be near to the head of that stream. If the identification of the †**Guorrimi** with Goldsland Brook is correct, then *Pant Ciu* should be in the grid square suggested above, and should be on the north side of the brook (assuming that the brook marks the southern boundary of the territory). The two most likely candidates are the little valleys on either side of the hillock at ST11718, the one to the east being the nearer to the source of Goldsland Brook, but the one to the west being the only one to give rise to a stream (if one wished to interpret the element CYW here as the name of a stream).

Elements

PANT + CYW

CYW is used as the name of a stream or ditch in †**Ciu**.

†**Pant Gulich**: [?in ST1073] (?mod. *Nant Brân*)Attestations

blain pant gulich LLch.157 p. 157 s. xi²

Location

This valley is named in the bounds of **St Lythans**. The summit (BLAEN) of the PANT is described as the location of †**Hen Lotre Elidon**, and further down the valley is the source (LLYGAD) of the (1) †**Gulich**. If I am correct in my identification of the source of the (1) †**Gulich** as ST102736, then *Pant Gulich* should be the valley now known as *Nant Brân*, and it seems that a name similar to *Nant Brân* was already used of the valley in the twelfth century (see †**Nant Baraen**).

Elements

PANT + (1) †**Gulich**

†Pant Pull Penhic: [?ST460964]

Attestationsgenou pant pull penhic LLch.171b p. 173 s. xi¹genou paNT pull pennic LLch.171b p. 173 s. xi¹Location

The mouth (GENAU) of this PANT on Moun-ton Brook (†Mouric) is mentioned as the opening and closing point in the bounds of Llanddinol (Itton). It should be on the northern side of Moun-ton Brook (assuming that the territory described by the bounds includes the site of the church itself), and upstream of the †Cilliu-en. Thomas identified *Pull Penhic* as a ditch, now called *The Pink*.² I cannot find a ditch of this name, but I presume that it runs somewhere near the farms Upper Pink and Lower Pink [ST4596], perhaps along the track between them. Although the similarity of the names has a certain attraction, without further evidence to connect them, I would not support Thomas's identification for the reason that the two farms are on the southern side of Moun-ton Brook. The identification proposed here, with the PANT feature whose stream enters Moun-ton Brook from the north at ST460964, seems the most likely if the the identification of *Pull i Ceth* with *Pwll-y-cath* is correct.

Elements

PANT + PWLL + ?PENNYG

GPC cites this place-name as an example of the noun *pennyg* 'intestines, entrails, belly',³ and Thomas suggested that *Pwll Pennyg* would be a suitable name for a pool into which the innards of animals were thrown.⁴ Derivation from either of the two words *pennig* 'nipple' or 'prominent, special' cannot be ruled out, though neither of these is attested before the sixteenth century,⁵ and the etymology of *pennyg* better explains the LL spelling *penhic* (which is, however, a correction from *pennic*⁶).

Pant Pull Pennic: see †Pant Pull Penhic.

² EANC, p. 195, s.v. ?*Nant Pennig*.

³ GPC, III, 2756, s.v. *Pennyg*.

⁴ EANC, p. 195, s.v. ?*Nant Pennig*.

⁵ GPC, III, 2754.

⁶ LL, p. 351.

†Pant Tir Cinbis: [nr SS882775]Attestations

pant tir cinbis LLch.212 p. 214 s. xi¹

Location

This valley is named as a point in the bounds of **Merthyr Mawr**. The general area described by the bounds is fairly clear: land in the fork of the rivers Ogmore (**Ogwr**) and (2) **Ewenni**, and land on the other side of the Ogmore (presumably including **Merthyr Mawr** itself). It is clear that *Pant Tir Cinbis* should be in the area north-west of the Ogmore (**Ogwr**), but the bounds are difficult to follow in this area. The specified size of the territory is quite small— only four *modii* (about sixty seven hectares)⁷—so it can be said that *Pant Tir Cinbis* should be within a kilometre of **Merthyr Mawr**. This PANT seems to be adjacent to, or to join onto, **†Pant Tref Saturn**.

Elements

PANT + TIR + ?personal name

†Pant Tref Saturn: [nr SS882775]Attestations

pant tref saturn LLch.212 p. 214 s. xi¹

Location

This PANT seems to be adjacent to, or to join onto, **†Pant Tir Cinbis** (q.v. for discussion of the location).

Elements

PANT + TREF + personal name

Partrishow, Patrisio: see **†Merthir Issiu**.

Paviland: see **†Penn i Bei**.

Pebidiog: [NGR N/A]Attestations

pepitiauc	LLch.127b	p. 129	before 'c. 1025'
pepitiauc	LL	p. 255	'c. 1025'
Pebidyawc	Hendreg ^a	p. 198	s. xii

⁷ See under **†Cum Barruc** above for the size of *unciae* and *modii*.
^a Morris-Jones, *Llawysgrif Hendregadredd*.

Pepidiauc	G.C.Op., 1, 3 ⁹	passim	c. 1200
Penbidiauc	G.C.Op., 1 ¹⁰	p. 59	c. 1200
Pebydiauk	EpActs ¹¹	I, 391	1253
Penbidiauc	LS ¹²		1292
pepydia6c	LLgloss	p. 129	s. xv ^{med}

Location

All three attestations of this place-name from LL are in references to the location of **Mathri**. Evans and Charles both identified these attestations as *Pebidiog*, the name of one of the cantrefs of Dyfed, which was later known as *Dewsland Hundred*,¹³ and this is reasonable, given the name's appearance, and the fact that **Mathri** is in the cantref.¹⁴ The attestation from page 255 is a heading in a list of properties, which appears to include **Cenarth**, as well as **Mathri**, in *Pebidiog*. **Cenarth** does not fall within the area of the cantref, but it seems easier to explain this as the result of a mistake in the presentation of the list, than to suppose that the area of *Pebidiog* once extended so far as to include **Cenarth**.

Elements

personal name + -OG¹⁵

Pedecon, Pedecou: see †Nant Pedecou.

Peithan: see †Inis Peithan.

Pembrey: see Pen-bre.

Pembroke: see Penfro.

(1) **Pen-allt:** [SN388070]

Attestations

uiam pennalt	LL	p. 135	?
rupibus pennalt	LL	p. 135	?

⁹ Brewer, *De Rebus a Se Gestis, Libri III; Invectionum Libellus; Symbolum Electorum*, and *I. De Invectionibus, Lib. IV; II. De Menevensi Ecclesia Dialogus; III. Vita S. David*.

¹⁰ Brewer, *De Rebus a Se Gestis, Libri III; Invectionum Libellus; Symbolum Electorum*.

¹¹ Conway Davies, *Episcopal Acts*.

¹² PNPemb., I, 197.

¹³ LL, p. 415; PNPemb., I, 197.

¹⁴ As defined by Richards: WATU, pp. 154 (s.v. *Mathri*) and 305.

¹⁵ PNPemb., I, 197.

Location

Both attestations are from a description of one of Saint Euddogwy's miracles. In the former the place is located in **Cydweli**. As there is a place called *Penallt* about two kilometres west of the settlement of **Cydweli**, in the commote of the same name, it seems reasonable to assume that this is the place intended.

Elements

PEN + ALLT

(2) Pen-allt: [SO522107] (?also †Villa Tanasan)Attestations

[ecclesia de] Pennalth LL p. 321 c. 1350

Location

The attestation is from a list of churches in the deanery of **Usk**. The LL form appears to show an English pronunciation spelling of *Pen-allt*.¹⁶ I know of only one place of this name in the deanery of **Usk**, hence the identification followed here. Pen-allt is just under six kilometres north-east of **Tryleg** (with which it is associated in the list of churches).

Elements

PEN + ALLT

Penally: [SS117991]Attestations

terram Pennalun	LLch.77	p. 77	?
Penn alun	LL	p. 116	?
pennalun	LLch.125b	p. 126	?
pennalun	LLch.127a	p. 127	?
locum pennalun	LLch.127a	p. 127	?
pennalun	LL	p. 130	?
[terra] Pennalun	LL	p. 133	?
princeps aluni capitis	LLch.151b	p. 151	'c. 675'
princeps aluni capitis	LLch.149	p. 149	'c. 680'
pennalun	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
pennalun	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'

¹⁶ LL, p. 415.

penn alunn	LL	p. 255	before 'c. 1025'
pen alun	LL	p. 255	before 'c. 1025'
[terra] pen alun	LL	p. 270	'c. 1060'
Penn ALVN	LLrub.	p. 77	c. 1120s
penalvn	LLgloss	p. 77	s. xv ^{med}
pennal6n	LLgloss	p. 77	1476x78

Location

This place is granted in charter 77, together with (2) †Lann Maur (Llandeilo Fawr), and Llanddowror. Bounds are supplied for the other two territories, but not for *Pennalun*. The known location of Llandeilo Fawr and Llanddowror, together with the fact that the territories are said to have been granted by Nowy ab Arthur, would suggest a general South-Western location for *Pennalun*. A fifteenth-century glossator located this *Pennalun* next to (*IUXTA*) Tenby.

Charter 125b refers to *Pennalun* as the PODUM of St Teilo, and this supposed connexion is confirmed in the saint's Life (page 116) where *Pennalun* is one of three places which claimed the right to the saint's body after his death.

Charter 127a recounts how the pigs of a man from *Pennalun* strayed into the crops of a rich man, whose subsequent revenge resulted in a murder. In penance the rich man granted his *villae* †Cil Tutuc and †Penn Clecir to Teilo. It is reasonable to assume that these territories, one, at least, of which is located by its bounds on the †Ritec, are near *Pennalun*. The lists of extra-diocesan properties claimed by Llandaf (pages 124 and 254–55) describe two further places on the †Ritec as next to (*IUXTA*) *Pennalun*.

Abbots (*princeps*) of *Aluni Caput* are listed as witnesses of charters 149 (Llowes) and 151b (†Villa Lath). The latter place is unidentified, but the former is near the border with England, a long way from south-west Wales.

The available evidence suits the identification with Penally made here.¹⁷

Elements

PEN + ?personal name¹⁸

?personal name (gen.) + CAPUT

¹⁷ LL, p. 415; PNPemb., II, 704; Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 122.

¹⁸ PNPemb., II, 704.

The qualifying element *Alun* is also common as a river-name (cf. †*Nant Alun*).¹⁹ *CAPUT* 'head' is employed here as the Latin translation of PEN.

Pen Alun: see **Penally**.

Penarth: [ST1871]

Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Pennarth'</i>	LL	p. 324	c. 1350
<i>manerio de Pennarth</i>	LLgloss	p. 329	s. xvi

Location

The first attestation is from a list of monies owed in the deanery of **Llandaf**, and the second is from a late addition to a similar list, where it is stated that it is the abbot of **St Augustine's Abbey, Bristol**, who is responsible for the payment. The identification with Penarth at the grid reference above can be regarded as secure, on the grounds that it is the only place of this name in the deanery of **Llandaf**, and that it was owned by **St Augustine's Abbey**.²⁰

Elements

PEN + ?GARTH

The possible interpretations of the name are discussed in detail by Pierce, who also offers *arth* 'bear' as a possible second element.²¹

Pen-bre: [SN428012] (Eng. *Pembrey*)

Attestations

<i>pennbre</i>	LL	p. 279	c. 1120s
<i>penbre</i>	LLgloss	p. 279	s. xv ^{med}

Location

This church is mentioned in a list of churches over which Herewald exercised episcopal jurisdiction. The part of the list in which *Pennbre* occurs seems to concern places between the **Tawe** and the **Tywi**. The *Gazetteer* lists only one place of this name, which is in the area between the two rivers: **Pembrey** at the grid reference above, so this is the most probable identification.

¹⁹ PNPemb., I, 3; CPNE, pp. 4–5.

²⁰ LL, p. 415; PNDinas P., p. 158.

²¹ PNDinas P., pp. 159–60.

ElementsPEN + BRE²²**Pen Bro, Penbrok:** see **Penfro**.**Pencenn:** see †**Tonou Pencenn**.**Pen Claw:** see **Pen-clawdd**.**Pen-clawdd:** [ST452078] (also *Pen-y-clawdd*)Attestations

ecclesia de Penclaw LL p. 321 c. 1350

Location

The attestation is from a list of churches in the deanery of Usk. The LL form could plausibly be explained as a pronunciation spelling of *Pen-clawdd* (showing the loss of final [d̪] which is relatively common). I know of only one place of this name in the deanery of Usk, hence the identification followed here.

Elements

PEN + CLAWDD

Pen Clecir: see †**Penn Clecir**.**Pen Coyd:** see †**Cil Hal**.**Pencraig:** [SO566208]Attestations

penncreic LLch.229a p. 229 'c. 874'

Penncreic LLrub. p. 229 c. 1120s

Location

Penn Creic is the object of the grant in charter 229a. No bounds are given but the place is specified as being in **Ergyng** and on the Wye (**Gwy**) in the rubric. I know of only one place by this name in **Ergyng** (which is on the correct river)—at the grid reference above. This identification was made by Evans, Finberg, and Davies.²³

²² GPC, I, 313, s.v. *bre*.

²³ LL, p. 415; *The Early Charters*, p. 141; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 122.

Elements

PEN + CRAIG

Pen Creic: see †Lann Pencreic.**†Pen Deulin:** [?ST059766] (?mod. *Pendeulwyn*, Eng. *Pendoylan*)Attestations[ecclesia] de pendeūlin LL p. 285 s. xiii^{ex}/s. xivLocation

The attestation is from a note to the effect that this church had been omitted from a taxation list, but, as the list includes churches in various deaneries, this evidence is not particularly useful. Evans suggested that the name should be corrected to 'pendeuluin', and that this was a reference to Pendoylan (grid reference above).²⁴ Pendoylan is, to my knowledge, the only church site with a name like this, so the identification is plausible, but the evidence for location is not strong enough for the identification to be treated with much confidence.

Elements

PEN + DAU + ?LLWYN

The final element could instead be LLYN or GLYN.

Pendeulwyn: see †Pen Deulin.**Pendine:** see †Lann Teliau Penn Tiuinn.**Pen Douluin Helic:** see †Douluin Helic.**Pendoylan:** see †Pen Deulin.**Penfro:** [NGR N/A] (Eng. *Pembroke*)Attestations

pennbro	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
Penbro	LL	p. 255	before 'c. 1025'
penbro	LL	p. 255	before 'c. 1025'
Conte de penbrok	LL	p. 315	c. 1350

Location

The first three attestations occur as headings in two versions of a list of extra-diocesan properties claimed by Llandaf. There are enough identifiable places

under the heading to be confident that the name refers to an area of south-west Wales, and it seems reasonable to assume, therefore, that the reference is to the CANTREF of Penfro.²⁵ The final attestation is from an account of the bishops of Llandaf, in a reference to Gilbert Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, who held the temporality of Llandaf in 1240 in the period between the death of Bishop 'Elys' and the accession of Bishop 'Willame de Bourk'.²⁶ The English form of the name, *Pembroke*, 'was originally applied to the *cantref* and *cwmwd* of Penfro [...] but in course of time it became also the name of the town, castle, earldom, lordship, deanery and the whole modern county.'²⁷

Elements

PEN + BRO (len.)²⁸

As Charles states 'the Anglicised form *Pembroke* derives from the Latinised version of the name which was *Penbrochia* and the like in which the *-ch-* represents the lost final *-g* of Celtic *brog* [Mod. W. BRO] and the *-b-* remains unmutated'.²⁹ Jackson had a slightly different explanation of the English form, which was that Anglo-Saxons heard the second element while it was still pronounced [-*broʒ*], but substituted for it their own word BRŌC.³⁰

Penhic: see †Pant Pull Penhic.

Penho, Penhow: see Pen-hw.

Pen-hw: [ST424908] (Eng. *Penhow*)

Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Penho</i>	LL	p. 322	c. 1350
<i>Ecc'ia de Penho</i>	LL	p. 328	c. 1350

Location

This church is named in two lists of properties in the deanery of †Nether Went. The identification with Penhow is obvious on grounds of the name's appearance, and the place's location.

²⁴ LL, pp. 354 and 415.

²⁵ Defined by Richards in WATU, pp. 173 and 309.

²⁶ For a brief biography see Lloyd and Jenkins, *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, p. 617.

²⁷ PNPemb., II, 719.

²⁸ PNPemb., II, 671.

²⁹ PNPemb., II, 719–20.

³⁰ LHEB, p. 458.

Elements

PEN + ?HŌH

Gelling briefly mentions that *hōh* ‘heel, hill’ ‘was still in occasional use when English names were being coined in Wales’, but does not give examples of such names.³¹

Pen Ichen: see **Penychen**.

Pen-llin: [SS973760] (Eng. *Penllyn*)

Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Penthlyn</i>	LL	p. 325	c. 1350
<i>Ecc'ia de Penthlyn</i>	LL	p. 331	c. 1350

Location

Both attestations are from lists of churches paying monies in the deanery of **Gorfynydd**. The LL form appears to show an English pronunciation spelling of *Pen-llin* or *Penllyn*. There are several places called *Pen-llin* or *Penllyn*, but only one (grid reference above) is in **Gorfynydd**, and that is the identification followed here.³²

Elements

PEN + ?LLYN

The Modern Welsh form with *llin* suggests that the final element should be one of the words *llin* ‘line’, ‘flax’, or ‘discharge’,³³ none of which, however, would make very good sense in a place-name. Perhaps we have here a stream name *Llin*. There is no significant stream in the immediate area of Penllyn, but there is a small lake at ST973769, so LLYN seems a more likely explanation.

Penllyn: see **Pen-llin**.

Penlucan: see †**Rivulus Penlucan**.

Pen-marc: [ST058688] (Eng. *Penmark*)

Attestations

Penmarc	Cart. ³⁴	I, 163	s. xii
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³¹ *Place-Names in the Landscape*, p. 167.

³² LL, p. 415.

³³ GPC, II, 2180–81.

³⁴ PNDinas P., pp. 166–67.

Penmarc	Cart. ³⁵	I, 133	1153–83
Penmarc	Cart. ³⁶	VI, 2335	1193–1218
Penmarch	PM SI ³⁷	p. 289, 32	s. xiii
Ecclesia de Penmark	Cart. ³⁸	III, 939	s. xiii
Ecclesia de Penmark	Cart. ³⁹	III, 941	s. xiii
Ecclesia de Penmark	VN	p. 315	1254
Ecclesia de Penmark	Cart. ⁴⁰	III, 947	1254
Penmarc	Cart. ⁴¹	II, 650	c. 1262
Ecclesia de Pemdret	Tax ⁴²	p. 279	c. 1291
Penmarc	Cart. ⁴³	III, 956	c. 1291
ecclesia de Penmark	LL	p. 319	c. 1350
ecclesia de Penmark	LL	p. 324	c. 1350
(Ecc'ia d)e Penmark	LL	p. 330	c. 1350

Location

The attestations are from lists of churches in the deanery of **Llandaf**, and there is no reason to doubt the identification with the place now called *Penmark*.

Elements

PEN + ?MARCH

The name has been discussed in detail by Pierce, who favours the interpretation above.⁴⁴ The main difficulty is that almost all the attested forms of the name seem to show the same hard final [k] as is present in the name today. This has led many to assume that the second element is the personal name *Marc* (< Lat. *Marcus*), but hardening of [χ] to [k] is well attested in Welsh place-names (probably under English influence), as in **St Kingsmark**.⁴⁵

Penmark: see **Pen-marc**.

Pennalt: see (1) **Pen-allt**.

³⁵ Ibid..

³⁶ Ibid..

³⁷ Ibid..

³⁸ Ibid..

³⁹ Ibid..

⁴⁰ PNDinas P., pp. 166–67.

⁴¹ Ibid..

⁴² Astle, *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*.

⁴³ PNDinas P., pp. 166–67.

⁴⁴ Ibid..

Pennalith: see (2) Pen-allt.

Penn Alun, Alunn: see Penally.

Pennarth: see Penarth.

Pennbre: see Pen-bre.

Pennbro: see Penfro.

†**Penn Celli Guenhuc:** [?nr SO455014]

Attestations

terram penn celli guenhuc	LLch.251	p. 251	'c. 1005'
fin. penn celli guennuc	LLch.240	p. 242	s. xi ²
penn celli guennuc	LLch.240	p. 242	s. xi ²
Penn CELLI GUENNHVCC	LLrub.	p. 251	c. 1120s
penn celli guenuc	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Penn celliguenhuc	LLb.25	p. 44	1129

Location

The location of this territory is uncertain. Davies suggested 'near Llan-wern, ST 371879',⁴⁶ whereas Evans couldn't decide between a similar location or identification with **Wolvesnewton**.⁴⁷ Their suggestions are based largely on two factors: the first is the association of *Penn Celli Guenhuc* with a *Lann Guern*, and the second is that charter 251 includes a boundary of †**Henlenic Cinauc** with no explanation of the relationship between that territory and *Penn Celli Guenhuc*. Davies apparently chose to ignore the second of these factors, but Evans implicitly assumed that there was a connexion. The association with a *Lann Guern* is twofold: first, the bounds of *Lannguern Tiuauc* (page 242) refer to *Penn Celli Guennuc*, and second, the rubric to charter 251 locates *Penn Celli Guenhuc* 'iuxta Lisguern', which has been altered later into *Languern* (see †**Lis Guern**).⁴⁸

†**Henlenic Cinauc** is otherwise unattested. The only other place-names in the Book of Llandaf to include the personal name *Cynog* as an element are †**Lann Guern Cinuc**, †**Lann Cinauc**, and †**Villa Conuc**. If, following Richards, we

⁴⁶ Ibid..

⁴⁷ *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 126.

⁴⁸ LL, pp. 380–81 (n. 22).

identify †Henlenic Cinauc with †Lann Guern Cinuc,⁴⁸ then the reason for the addition of its boundary to charter 251 is clear.

†Henlenic Cinauc has been plausibly identified with Llangunnog [SO455014], if this is correct, and if its association with *Penn Celli Guenhuc* is not mistaken, then *Penn Celli Guenhuc* should be located somewhere nearby.

Elements

PEN + CELLI + Gwent + -OG

Guenhuc here should be modern standard **Gwennog*, which is unattested to my knowledge, but would be a natural adjectival form of Gwent (+ -OG). The attestations above all show the South-Eastern dialectal reflex of -OG. Padel took *Guennuc* to be a river name.⁵⁰

†Penn Celli Gulible: [?nr ST1177]

Attestations

penncelli gulible LLch.267 p. 268 'c. 1070'–c. 1080

Location

This grove is mentioned in the bounds of †Henriu Gunma, which lay on the north-western edge of Llandaf's own *podum*. From *Penn Celli Gulible* the bounds proceed to †Guorlurch Iudgual, a track which is also followed in the bounds of †Cair Birran. If another of the points in the bounds of †Cair Birran, †Brenan Picet, can be regarded as the same place as †Abrenan,⁵¹ then the bounds can be further located to somewhere near the Elái.

Elements

PEN + CELLI + GWLYBLE

†Penn Clecir: [?nr SN0700]

Attestations

penclecir	LLch.127a	p. 127	?
Penn clecir	LL	p. 255	'c. 1025'
penn clecir	LLrub.	p. 127	c. 1120s

⁴⁸ LL, p. 352.

⁴⁹ WATU, p. 131, s.v. *Llangynog*. Richards is not, however, consistent in his location of the *Llangynog* represented by these two names—see †Henlenic Cinauc.

⁵⁰ CPNE, p. 180, s.v. **pen (an) gelli*.

⁵¹ LL, p. 378.

Location

The *VILLA* of *Penn Clecir* is strongly associated with †*Cil Tutuc* (q.v. for a full discussion).

Elements

PEN + CLEGYR

GPC adduces this place-name as an example of the noun *clegyr* 'rocks, crag, cairn'.⁵²

Penn Creic: see †*Lann Pencreic*, *Pencraig*.

Penn Echenn: see *Penychen*.

†**Penn Hellei:** [?in *Senghennydd*]

Attestations

agrum Pennhellei	LLch.188a	p. 188	'c. 738'
PENN HELLEI	LLrub.	p. 188	c. 1120s

Location

The *AGER* of *Penn Hellei* is granted in charter 188a. No bounds are given, but the charter seems to locate the place 'in medio sergunhid'. †*Sergunhid* is possibly an error, or an alternative name, for *Senghennydd*.

Elements

PEN + ? + -AI⁵³

†**Penn i Bei:** [?SS445864] (?mod. *Paviland*)

Attestations

agri pennibei	LLch.239	p. 239	'c. 925'
Penn ibei	LLrub.	p. 239	c. 1120s
penn i uei	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Penniuei	LLb.25	p. 44	1129

Location

This place is the main object of the grant recorded in charter 239. The rubric specifies that the place is in *Rosulgen* (*Rhosili*), and the charter's bounds refer to the sea (none of the other points mentioned can be identified independently). The remaining two attestations are from two (practically

⁵² GPC, I, 495, s.v. *clegyr*. Padel agrees: CPNE, p. 60, s.v. **cleger*.

⁵³ EANC, p. 22.

identical) versions of a list of churches confirmed to Llandaf by the Pope. The context of the attestations in this list is one of properties in Gower (Gŵyr), which serves to strengthen the assumption that *Rosulgen* is Rhosili, and, therefore, that *Penn i Bei* can be located in the Rhosili area of Gower (Gŵyr). The identification with Paviland (grid reference above), seems to go back to Thomas,⁵⁴ but I am not aware of any evidence for it, other than the vague similarity of the names and Paviland's location just over three kilometres south-east of Rhosili. Richards and Davies agree with Thomas's identification, Richards adding a parenthetical 'land' to *Pen-y-fai* to explain the change of the name to *Paviland*.⁵⁵

Elements

PEN + YR + ?

The final element in this name has been discussed by both Thomas and Williams.⁵⁶ Thomas identifies it as a dual form of MA (it was necessary to identify it as a dual in order to explain the *i*-affection and apparent lenition after the article).⁵⁷ Williams also finds himself tempted to relate the element to MA, suggesting that the *i*-affection and lenition could be explained as archaic features of a genitive form of the noun.⁵⁸ Richards's solution to the problem is simply to propose that **mai* (presumably fem.) could be an alternative form of MA.⁵⁹ Williams, however, points out that the LL spellings in *b* point against such an interpretation.⁶⁰ As an alternative, he suggests that the final element could be *bai* 'fault, transgression' (perhaps with a meaning 'slope' here), but this still leaves a difficulty with the lenition shown by the element (*bai* is masculine).⁶¹

Pennic: see †Pant Pull Penhic.

Penn i Celli, Cgelli: see †Cecin Penn i Celli.

Penn Ichen, Ichenn: see Penychen.

⁵⁴ EANC, p. 31, s.v. †*Myddfai*.

⁵⁵ WATU, pp. 170 (s.v. *Paviland*) and 178 (s.v. *Pen-y-fai*); *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 124.

⁵⁶ EANC, pp. 31–32; *Enwau Lleoedd*, pp. 32–33.

⁵⁷ EANC, pp. 31–32.

⁵⁸ *Enwau Lleoedd*, pp. 32–33.

⁵⁹ 'Some Welsh Place-Names', pp. 403–04.

⁶⁰ *Enwau Lleoedd*, pp. 32–33.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*.

†**Penn i Porth:** [ST1678] (also **Gabalfa**, †**Tref Meibion Ourdeuein**, †**Villa Gregurii**)

Attestations

penn yporth	LLch.151a	p. 151	'c. 680'
penniporth	LLrub.	p. 151	c. 1120s

Location

Penn i Porth is given as an alternative name for **Gabalfa**, granted in charter 151a.

Elements

PEN + YR + PORTH

†**Penn i Prisc:** [nr ST1483] (mod. *Cwm Nofydd*; also †**Diffrinn Annouid**)

Attestations

uillam penn iprisc	LLch.255	p. 256	'c. 1035'
Penniprisc	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
Penn iprisc	LLrub.	p. 255	c. 1120s
penn i prisc	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
penniprisc	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

The *VILLA* of *Penn i Prisc* is one of three properties granted in charter 255. It is equated with †**Diffrinn Annouid**, which is the name given at the head of the relevant bounds. See †**Diffrinn Annouid** for the location of this territory in *Cwm Nofydd* (grid reference above). This place-name is also attested in each of three versions of a list of properties confirmed to Llandaf by the Pope. The context in the list is one of **Senghennydd** properties, which supports the identification made here.

Elements

PEN + YR + PRYSG

GPC cites this place-name as an example of the noun *prysg* 'copse, grove'.⁶²

†**Penn i Uei:** [?]

Attestations

Villam penuei	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
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⁶² GPC, III, 2925.

uillan penn i uei	LLb.12	p. 31	1128
Villam penniuei	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

The attestations are from three versions of a list of properties confirmed to Llandaf by the Pope. In each of the versions of the list the VILLA comes between **Llancillo** and †**Lann Helicon** (the presence of **Llandeilo Talybont**—a Gower (**Gŵyr**) property—after *Penn i Uei* on pages 31 and 43 should probably be explained as a copying error, due to eyeskip from †**Penn i Bei** elsewhere in the same list). **Llancillo** is at the end of a section listing places in **Gwent** (**Uwch Coed**) and **Ewias**, so, if *Penn i Uei* belongs with these properties, it should be in the same area. If, on the other hand, *Penn i Uei* belongs with †**Lann Helicon** and the following properties, then this does not suggest any particular location, as this section of the list does not appear to be organised on geographical lines. Thomas, followed by Richards, is, as far as I know, the only commentator to have suggested a location: ‘rywle ar gyffiniau Brych. a Henff.’ (‘somewhere on the border of **Brycheiniog** and Herefordshire’).⁶³ The vagueness of this description suggests that he was assuming that *Penn i Uei* belonged with **Llancillo** and the preceding group of properties, which could include the area which he describes. There are various places with this name: Pen-y-fai [SS893818], Pen-y-fai [SN497015], Penvay [SN891297], †*Landdeui Pennbei* [ST332958] (~~Rees, *Lives*, page 50~~, now *Llanddewi Fach*), Penfai [SN251424], and †**Penn i Bei**. Any of these places could be the *Pen i Uei* under discussion, apart from the last two (Penfai is outside the area of Llandaf’s interests, and †**Penn i Bei** occurs elsewhere in the same list as *Pen i Uei*).

G, page 72/

Elements

PEN + YR + ?

See †**Penn i Bei**. It is possible that the article in this name is intrusive (it is not present in the attestation from page 90), perhaps introduced on the model of †**Penn i Bei**.

Penn i Uei: see †**Penn i Bei**.

⁶³ EANC, p. 31; ‘Some Welsh Place-Names’, p. 403.

Penn Luhin Latron: see †Luhin Latron.

†Penn Onn: [ST097780] (mod. **Saint-y-nyll**; also †Lann Tilull)

Attestations

uillam penn onn	LLch.216b	p. 217	'c. 870'
Villa Penn ONN	LLrub.	p. 216	c. 1120s
penn onn	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
penn onn	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

The *Penn Onn* is the name given to the secular settlement (i.e. the *VILLA*) associated with the church of †Lann Tilull (q.v. for a full discussion).

Elements

PEN + ONN

(1) †Penn Ros: [?]

Attestations

penn Rós	LLrub.	p. 231	c. 1120s
penn ros	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
penn ros	LLb.25	p. 44	1129

Location

Penn Ros is named as the location of (2) †Lann Meir, which is granted in charter 231, and the same association is also made in both copies of the list of properties confirmed as Llandaf's by Pope Honorius II. The context of the attestation in the lists does not suggest any particular geographical area, and neither does charter 231. Forms of the name-phrase *Pen-rhos* occurs several times in LL, and two instances can be located—one around SO4111 (†Lan Caddoc Pen Ros) and one around SO4914 (†Cecin Penn Ros), and other examples of the name-phrase from within the diocesan area claimed by Llandaf are at ST3491 and SN8011. If the various commentators are correct in their suggestion that (2) †Lann Meir might be the same as (1) †Lann Meir, then this *Penn Ros* would be a name for the **Monmouth** area, but the evidence for the suggestion seems rather weak.

Elements

PEN + RHOS

The place-name is relatively common in Cornwall.⁶⁴

(2) †Penn Ros: [?]

Attestations

uilla pennros LL p. 270 'c. 1060'

Location

The grant of the *VILLA* of *Penn Ros* is recorded in the Privilege of Bishop Herewald, which mainly concerns the confirmation by King Gruffudd of Llandaf's possession of various extra-diocesan properties. Davies located *Penn Ros* on the Wye (Gwy) but I can see no justification for this—the proclamation was made at †Ystum Gwy, but, since the document concerns properties ranged over most of South Wales, little can be read into this. The place intended could be (but need not be) any one of several places named *Pen-rhos*, including (1) †Penn Ros, †Lan Caddoc Pen Ros, or †Cecin Penn Ros.

Elements

PEN + RHOS

The place-name is relatively common in Cornwall.⁶⁵

(3) Penn Ros: see †Cecin Penn Ros.

Penn Tirch: see Pen-tyrch.

Penn Tiuinn, Tiwin, Tuin: see †Lann Teliâu Penn Tiuinn.

Penn Tyrch: see Pen-tyrch.

Penn Tyuinn: see †Lann Teliâu Penn Tiuinn.

Penn y Porth: see †Penn i Porth.

Pen-rhos: see †Lan Caddoc Pen Ros.

Pen Ros: see †Cecin Penn Ros, †Lan Caddoc Pen Ros.

Penteri, Penterry: see †Lann Bedeui.

Penthlyn: see Pen-llin.

Pen Tirch: see Pen-tyrch.

⁶⁴ CPNE, p. 183.

Pen-tyrch: [ST103817]Attestations

<i>ecclesiam penntirch</i>	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
<i>Ēcclesiam penn tyrch</i>	LLb.25	p. 44	1129
<i>ecclesia de Pentirch'</i>	LL	p. 324	c. 1350

Location

The first two attestations of this place-name are from two versions of a list of Llandaf's properties, confirmed by papal privilege. No topographical information as such is provided, but the attestations come from a section of the list containing properties in **Morgannwg**. The final attestation is from a list of properties paying monies in the deanery of **Llandaf**. I am aware of only three places bearing this name—a district in Montgomeryshire [SJ0608], a settlement near **Llangybi** [SH4241], a settlement near **Cenarth** [SN269416], **Penteri** (see †**Lann Bedeui**), and the settlement at the grid reference above—of which only the last is in **Morgannwg** and the deanery of **Llandaf**.

Elements

PEN + TWRCH (gen.)⁶⁶

Pentywyn: see †**Lann Teliau Penn Tiuinn**.

Penuei: see †**Penn i Uei**.

Penychen: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

<i>regione pennichenn</i>	LLch.193	p. 194	?
<i>pennichen</i>	LLrub.	p. 255	c. 1120s
<i>penichen</i>	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
<i>Penn echenn</i>	LLb.25	p. 42	1129
<i>Penychen</i>	LL	p. 247	before s. xiii ¹

Location

The attestations from pages 32 and 42 are from two versions of a document naming the territory and possessions of **Llandaf**. *Penichen* is named in both versions in a list of larger territorial units: cantrefs and commotes. *Penychen* is

⁶⁶ Ibid..

⁶⁶ CPNE, pp. xvi, 45 (s.v. *keyn*), and 222 (s.v. *torch*).

specifically identified as one of the seven cantrefs of Morgannwg on page 247. The Life of Clydog refers to the foundation of the church of †Merthir Clitauc by three refugees from *Pennichenn*, but no information is supplied to indicate where that region might lie. There is no reason to doubt that these attestations are to the cantref of Penychen, broadly as defined by Richards.⁶⁷ †Lann Tiuauc is located in the rubric of charter 255 ‘inpennichen’, though the available evidence suggests that the church might rather have been just outside Penychen in the cantref of Afan, as those places are defined by Richards.

Elements

PEN + ?YCH (pl.)

The qualifying element is probably the plural of *ych* ‘ox’.

Pen-y-clawdd: see Pen-clawdd.

Pen-y-fâl: see †Mail Uannon.

Pen y Gelli: see †Cecin Penn i Celli.

Pepitiauc, Pepydia6c: see Pebidiog.

Perche, le: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

comite. depertico LL p. 29 1126

Location

This place-name occurs as the title of one ‘Rotrochus’, a witness to the agreement between Bishop Urban and Robert of Gloucester. Evans identified *Perticus* as ‘Perche’.⁶⁸ Le Perche is the name of a region of Normandy, formerly a county. ‘Rotrochus’ can probably be identified as Rotrou, Comte du Perche (1089–1144).

Peren, Perenn: see †Tref Perenn.

Périers: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

Pirerij LLb.38i p. 59 1131

⁶⁷ WATU, pp. 178 and 313.

⁶⁸ LL, p. 415.

Pireti

LLb.38ii

p. 63 1131

Location

The attestations are from the *datum* of bull 38, present in LL in two copies. The identification with Périers in Normandy was made by Haddan and Stubbs.⁶⁹ *Pireti* is presumably a simple scribal error.

†**Periron**: [?SO482149]Attestations

aper periron

LLch.240

p. 241 s. xi¹Location

The mouth (ABER) of this stream is mentioned in one of the two (different) bounds of †**Lann Guoronui**, which has been identified, though not certainly, with **Rockfield**. The bounds follow the †**Catlan** down to the Monnow (**Mynwy**), and the mouth of the *Periron* is met at some point on the †**Catlan**. There is too much uncertainty associated with these bounds, to say much more than that the *Periron* might be somewhere near Rockfield (grid reference above).

Williams paid some attention to this name because of its possible association with the *Aber Perydon* mentioned twice in ‘Armes Prydain’ (ll. 18 and 71) in connexion with a visit from the stewards of Cirencester.⁷⁰ Williams was unable to offer a suggestion as to the identity of this stream, but he concluded that the association was plausible. I should add, though, that the stream referred to in the LL bounds is likely to be a small one, and, therefore, perhaps unlikely to receive mention in an important poem such as ‘Armes Prydain’. Sims-Williams plausibly identified the *Perydon* of ‘Armes Prydein’ with Sandyhaven Pill [SM8507] in Rhos.⁷¹ As Williams pointed out, stream and river names can be borne by multiple streams and rivers,⁷² so it could be that the names are indeed the same, but that the intended locations are different.

Elements

?personal name

Williams suggested that both the ‘Armes Prydain’ form *Perydon* and the LL

⁶⁹ *Councils*, I, 340.

⁷⁰ Williams, *Armes Prydein*, pp. xxxvi–xl.

⁷¹ ‘The Early Welsh Arthurian Poems’, p. 50.

form *Periron* derive from a spelling *Periuon* (representing **Peryfon* in Modern Welsh orthography).⁷³ *Periron*, according to his suggestion, would be the result of a misreading of *Periuon*.⁷⁴ He supposed that **Peryfon* could be a personal name based on *peryf* 'king, lord' and a name-forming suffix *-on*.⁷⁵

Perth yr Onn: see †Carn Perth yr Onn.

Perticus: see *Perche*.

Peterston-super-Ely, -super-montem: see (1) †Lann Petyr, †Petreston.

Peterstow: see †Lann Petir.

Petill Bechan: see †Cruc Petill Bechan.

Petir: see †Tref Petir.

†**Petra Crita:** [in †Cum Barruc, ?north end of †Istrat Dour]

Attestations

petram crita LLch.73b p. 74 'c. 595'–c. 930

Location

This stone is one of the boundary markers of †Cum Barruc. The bounds are dimensional and none of the other points are named. Due to the uncertainty over the location of †Cum Barruc, it is not possible to suggest an identification for this stone.

Elements

PETRA + ?personal name

A personal name *Crida* is attested in Welsh as the name of Crida ap Pyd, whom Bartrum supposes to be the same as Creoda son of Cynewald.⁷⁶ Two *Creodas* are recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, one (son of Cerdic) in some versions of the West-Saxon royal genealogy,⁷⁷ and the other (son of Cynewald/Cenwald) in the Mercian royal genealogy.⁷⁸ A *Crida* is also

⁷² Ibid., p. xl.

⁷³ Ibid..

⁷⁴ Ibid..

⁷⁵ Ibid..

⁷⁶ Bartrum, *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, p. 179.

⁷⁷ Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, II, 4.

⁷⁸ Ibid., II, 6.

recorded as having died in 593.⁷⁹ That an Anglo-Saxon personal name might occur as an element of a place-name in a border area such as †Istrat Dour is not too improbable.

Petra Iacinta: see †Petra Iacintha.

†Petra Iacintha: [?nr SS445864]

Attestations

petram iacintham LLch.239 p. 240 'c. 925'

petram iacintam LLch.239 p. 240 'c. 925'

Location

This stone is named as a boundary marker of two properties—†Meinporth and an unnamed AGER next to †Telych—associated with †Penn i Bei. The precise location of these territories is uncertain, but it is probably safe to say that they are near †Penn i Bei, which has been identified with Paviland (grid reference above).

Elements

PETRA + HYACINTHUS (fem.)

The author of these bounds seems to have mistakenly regarded *PETRA* as a feminine noun. *Hyacinthus* 'hyacinth' is used here as an adjective, equivalent to *HYACINTHINUS*.

†Petra Iacinthinus: [nr ST141778]

Attestations

petram iacinthinum LLch.188b p. 189 'c. 710'–c. 990

Location

This stone is named as a point in the bounds of Fairwater (Tyllgoed). The area is now very built up so there can be little certainty in the identification of the boundary points. *Petra Iacinthinus* should be somewhere in the vicinity of the hilltop (grid reference above) at the centre of Fairwater.

Elements

PETRA + HYACINTHINUS

Petra Monachorum: see †Lech Meneich.

⁷⁹ Ibid., I, 20–21 (s.a. 593), and II, 18.

†**Petra Onnbrit**: [nr ST141778]Attestations

petram onnbrit LLch.188b p. 189 ‘c. 710’–c. 990

Location

This stone is named as a point in the bounds of **Fairwater** (Tyllgoed). The area is now very built up so there can be little certainty in the identification of the boundary points. *Petra Onnbrit* should be somewhere in the vicinity of the hilltop (grid reference above) at the centre of **Fairwater**. There might be a connexion between this stone and †**Merthir Onnbrit**.

Elements

PETRA + personal name

†**Petresmor**: [?around ST268801]Attestations

[ecclesia de] Petresmor LL p. 329 c. 1350

Location

The church of *Petresmor* is one of three churches in the deanery of **Newport** for which the abbot of **St Augustine’s Abbey, Bristol**, owed tithes to **Llandaf**. The element MŌR seems to be used in the **Cardiff (Caerdydd)** area to denote saltmarsh—for example, *Penarth Moors* [ST1773], *Cardiff West Moors* [ST1874], *East Moors* [ST2075], *Pengam Moors* [ST2176], and perhaps †**Eleyesmor**—so Evans’s suggestion that the intended church might be **Peterstone Wentlooge** (grid reference above), which is in a low-lying area on the coast, is plausible.⁸⁰ The common reference to *Peter* in the names is suggestive, but further evidence would be necessary to be confident of the identification.

Elements

personal name (gen.) + MŌR

⁸⁰ LL, p. 416.

†**Petreston:** [?ST082764 or SS993853] (?mod. *Llanbedr-y-fro*, Eng. *Peterston-super-Ely*; or *Llanbedr-ar-fynydd*, Eng. *Peterston-super-montem*; ?also (1) †**Lann Petyr**)

Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Petrestoñ</i>	LL	p. 324	c. 1350
<i>Ecc'ia de Petrestoñ</i>	LL	p. 330	c. 1350

Location

Both attestations are from lists of churches in the deanery of **Llandaf**. Evans identified these as references to Peterston-super-Ely,⁸¹ but there is another *Peterston* name in the right area: Peterston-super-montem. I do not know which of these two churches (if, indeed, it is either) is meant by the forms above.

Elements

personal name (gen.) + TŪN

Petro: see **Sain Pŷr**.

Peurdin: see **Pyrddin**.

†**Pibenn Eholch:** [?ST529949, ST533953, or ST526967]

Attestations

<i>pib henn eholch</i>	LLch.218	p. 221	s. xi ¹
<i>pant. pibenn eholch</i>	LLch.218	p. 221	s. xi ¹

Location

This feature is mentioned as the opening and closing point in the bounds of †**Lann Bedeui**. It appears to be the name of a dyke (CLAWDD), running along a PANT, and it is described as the boundary between †**Lann Bedeui** and †**Tnou Mur** (i.e. the territory of **St Kingsmark**). There are some slight grounds for supposing that the PANT of *Pibenn Eholch* opens onto the Wye (Gwy)—see †**Lann Bedeui**. It can be said with some confidence, then, that *Pibenn Eholch* was a channel (PIBEN) running down a PANT to the north of **St Kingsmark**, possibly opening onto the Wye (Gwy). There are not many valley features on the relevant stretch of the Wye (Gwy), so, if the PANT does indeed open onto the river, it should be at one of the grid references above.

⁸¹ Ibid..

Elements

PIBEN + ?personal name

GPC cites this as an example of the noun *piben* 'pipe, kiln-hole' (*pib* 'pipe' + -EN).⁸²

Pibhenn Eholch: see †Pibenn Eholch.

Picet: see †Brenan Picet.

Pill: [SO413028]

Attestations

pill	LLch.187	p. 188	s. x
pill	LLch.187	p. 188	s. x
pill	LLch.187	p. 188	s. x
pill	LLch.187	p. 188	s. x
orduur pill	LLch.251	p. 251	'c. 1005'
pill	LLch.251	p. 252	s. xi ¹
pill	LLch.251	p. 252	s. xi ¹
pill	LLch.251	p. 252	s. xi ¹
pill	LLch.251	p. 252	s. xi ¹
pill	LLch.249b	p. 251	'c. 1015'
pill	LLch.249b	p. 251	s. xi ¹
pill	LLch.249b	p. 251	s. xi ¹
pill	LLch.249b	p. 251	s. xi ¹

Location

The attestations are from five sets of bounds in three charters: **Llan-soe** (charter 187), †**Penn Celli Guenhuc** and †**Hen Lenic Cinauc** (charter 251), and two different bounds of †**Villa Iunuhic** (charter 249b). The bounds of **Llan-soe** locate the territory between the **Olwy** and the *Pill*, from which it is evident that the *Pill* referred to is the brook which still bears the same name (grid reference above). The suggested identities of †**Hen Lenhic Cinauc** and †**Penn Celli Guenhuc** are based largely on the assumption that the *Pill* of their bounds is the Pill Brook, under discussion here, but there is no strong evidence for this. The location of †**Villa Iunuhic** is uncertain—it is probably

⁸² GPC, III, 2794.

in **Gwent**, but it cannot be more precisely located, so the references to *Pill* in its two sets of bounds might refer instead to a coastal PIL (as a common noun), or to another stream with the same name. Evans interpreted ‘orduur pill’ in the bounds of †**Penn Celli Guenhuc** as ‘the Gorδwr (?) of the Pill’,⁸³ which seems reasonable—LL’s lenited ‘orduur’ could be explained as deriving from a scribal contraction of ‘o orduur pill’ (‘from the *gorddwr* of the Pill’).

Elements

?PIL

PIL is usually restricted to coastal locations, quite unlike the situation of the Pill Brook.

Pill Cinguid: see †**Pull Cinguid**.

†**Pillou Bichein, I**: [nr ST2682]

Attestations

ipillou bichein LLch.190b p. 191 s. xi¹

Location

These pools are mentioned as a point in the bounds of **Marshfield**. A dyke (CLAWDD) leads to them from the starting point in the bounds, †**Main Brith**, and the bounds continue to the †**Dibleis**. The bounds end at the sea, so it is likely that they also start on the coast. **Marshfield** is on the edge of **Wentlooge Level**, the landscape of which has probably changed considerably since the time of these bounds. I cannot identify any of the named features in these bounds, so the grid reference is simply for the **Marshfield** area.

Elements

YR + PWLL (pl.) + BYCHAN (pl.)⁸⁴

Pirerii, Pireti: see **Périers**.

†**Pistill Deui**: [nr **Gwaith Dinefwr**]

Attestations

bistill deui LLch.77 p. 78 c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

This spring is a point in the bounds of **Llandeilo Fawr**. It occurs in these

⁸³ LL, p. 381.

⁸⁴ GPC, I, 360, s.v. *bychan*.

bounds immediately between †Licat Tauern and Gwaith Dinefwr, the former of which has yet to be securely identified. Curiously there is a place of just this name (*Pistyll Dewi*) not very far away, on the opposite side of the Tywi, at SN539193, but the general area covered by the bounds is quite clear, and the modern Pistyll Dewi cannot be the place referred to in these bounds.

Elements

PISTYLL + personal name

GPC cites this place-name as an example of the noun *pistyll* 'waterfall, spring',⁸⁵ which in this case shows initial mutation of [p] to [b] (caused by the preposition *i*). It is very unusual for initial mutation to be shown in Old Welsh orthography, but these bounds are among the latest in LL.

Pluum: see †Nant Foss Pluum.

Podium Deui: see †Lann Deui.

Podium Hennlann: see (1) †Hennlann.

Podum Ceuid: see Lancaut.

Podum Cyngualan: see †Lann Cingualan.

Podum Hennlann: see (2) †Hennlann.

Podum Iunabui: see Llandinabo.

Podum Liuhess: see †Podum Liuhesŷ.

†Podum Liuhess: [SO192417] (also †Lann Meilic ha Lyguess)

Attestations

podum Liuhesi	LLch.149	p. 149	'c. 680'
Podum liuhess	LLrub.	p. 149	c. 1120s

Location

The grant of this church to Llandaf is recorded in charter 149. The identification with Llowes church is probably correct,⁸⁶ given that the charter's rubric locates the church in Elfael; and that the same church (under the name †Lann Meilic ha Lyguess) is claimed by Llandaf elsewhere.

⁸⁵ GPC, III, 2810.

⁸⁶ LL, p. 410; Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 99.

Elements*PODUM* + ?personal name*PODUM* + ?*personal name* (gen.)

It is not clear to me whether the spellings *Liuhesi* and *Liuhess* are both correct, or whether one is an error for the other.

Podum Loudeu: see Llancloudy.

Podum Mainuon: see †Lann Mainuon.

Podum Sancti Budgualan: see †Lann Budgualan.

Podum Sancti Ilduti: see Llanilltud (Fawr).

Podum Sancti Tisoi: see Llan-soe.

Poguisma: see †Pouisma Deui.

†Poll Erbin: [?nr ST4587]

Attestations

poll erbin LLch.233 p. 234 s. x

Location

This feature is named as a point in the dimensional bounds which define the coastal part of the territory of Llanfihangel Rogiet (†Lann Mihacgel Maur; grid reference above). As well as *Poll Erbin*, the coastal territory is defined by the Severn (Hafren), †Urbs XII Iugerorum (unidentified), and †Poll i Caith (unidentified). The best that can be said is that this is the name of a feature (a pool?) between Llanfihangel Rogiet and the coast.

Elements

?PWLL + ?personal name

Evans assumed that *poll* in this, and other names, was a form of PWLL.⁸⁷ If this is correct, then it should be noted that this form is phonologically similar to the Cornish cognate of PWLL, *pol*.⁸⁸ *Erfin* occurs as a river name in Cardiganshire [SN678836], which Thomas derives from a personal name *Erfin* (Old Welsh *Ermin*),⁸⁹ so the second element in *Poll Erbin* might be a river name (derived from a personal name), or a straightforward personal name. If

⁸⁷ LL, p. 416.

⁸⁸ CPNE, p. 187.

the personal name derivation is correct, then this is an example of Late Old Welsh confusion over the correct representation of the [v] sound, which in earlier Old Welsh orthography was spelt *b* or *m* according to whether the sound had developed from [m] or [b].

†Poll Hir Guidhuc: [?nr ST4495]

Attestations

poll hir l guidhuc LLch.244 p. 245 'c. 980'

Location

Poll hir Guidhuc is one of the four points in the dimensional bounds of †Villa Stifilat. †Villa Stifilat is granted together with †Lann Mihacgel Lichrit but neither has been securely identified, and, though it is probable, it is not certain that the two properties are neighbours. Opposing *Poll hir Guidhuc* in the bounds of †Villa Stifilat is †Pull hi Guarach, which Evans compared with 'Pwll y reuch,' nr. Earlswood Chapel, Mon.'. I cannot find this *Pwll y Reuch* now, but it should be somewhere near ST4495 (Earlswood). The territory of †Villa Stifilat is specified as four *modii* (about sixty seven hectares), so, assuming that the length to width ratio of the territory did not exceed 3:1, *Poll hir Guidhuc* should not be more than 1500 metres from †Pull hi Guarach (and could be as little as 400 metres distant).⁹⁰

Elements

?PWLL + ?HIR + ?GWYDDOG

Evans assumed that *poll* in this, and other names, was a form of PWLL.⁹¹ He also seems to have taken *hir* in this name as spelling of YR (with inorganic *h*), rather than the adjective HIR.⁹² In *guidhuc* the *dh* could represent any one of the dentals [ð], [b], [d], or [t], and the final *-uc* most likely represents [-ug], the South Eastern variant of -OG, though it could represent [-üg]. Bearing this in mind, *guidhuc* could represent Modern Welsh *gwyddog* 'conspicuous' or 'woody' (GWŶDD + -OG), *gwyddug* 'fierce, fierceness', *gwythog* 'fierce' or 'having veins', or *gwydog* 'wicked, vicious'.⁹³ Most of these possibilities are

⁸⁹ EANC, p. 205.

⁹⁰ See †Cum Barruc for the size of *unciae* and *modii*.

⁹¹ LL, p. 416.

⁹² Ibid..

⁹³ GPC, II, 1750, s.v. *gwydiog*.

adjectives, which do not follow very naturally after the article, so HIR gives better sense than YR. If the final element can mean ‘woody’, then the name could be interpreted as ‘the long woody pool’.

†**Poll i Caith**: [?nr ST4587]

Attestations

poll icaith LLch.233 p. 234 s. x

Location

This feature is named as a point in the dimensional bounds which define the coastal part of the territory of Llanfihangel Rogiet (†**Lann Mihacgel Maur**; grid reference above). As well as *Poll i Caith*, the coastal territory is defined by the Severn (**Hafren**), †**Urbs XII Iugerorum** (unidentified), and †**Poll Erbin** (unidentified). The best that can be said is that this is the name of a feature (a pool?) between Llanfihangel Rogiet and the coast.

Elements

?PWLL + ?YR + ?CAETH⁹⁴

Evans assumed that *poll* in this, and other names, was a form of PWLL.⁹⁵ The same, or a very similar name, might be represented by **Pwll-y-cath**.

Pons Episcopi: see †**Tal Pont Escop**.

†**Pont Meiniauc, Ir**: [?nr ST4594]

Attestations

irpont meiniauc LLch.244 p. 244 s. xi²

Location

Ir Pont Meiniauc is named in the bounds of †**Lann Mihacgel Lichrit**. This and the **Trogi** are the only named features in the bounds, so the bounds are not easy to follow, but it can probably be assumed that they run anticlockwise, encompassing territory on the east bank of the **Trogi** (see †**Lann Mihacgel Lichrit**). The bounds run along (‘arhit’) *Ir Pont Meiniauc*, which suggests that it is a linear feature such a stream or a road. As the bounds run along the feature from a ford (RHYD) on the **Trogi**, the road interpretation is perhaps the more likely. If the suggested location of †**Lann Mihacgel Lichrit**, and the

⁹⁴ GPC, I, 385, s.v. *caeth*.

⁹⁵ LL, p. 416.

assumption about the direction taken by the bounds, is correct, then it can be said that *Ir Pont Meiniauc* was the name of a feature, running eastwards or northwards from a ford on the **Trogi**, downstream of Earlswood (†**Lann Mihacgel Lichrit**).

Elements

YR + PONT + MEINIOG*

Pontyrhydau Brook: see †**Guefrduur**.

†**Porta Halan:** [nr ST156781]

Attestations

porta halan LLch.159b p. 160 'c. 685'–c. 930

Location

This place is named in a set of bounds from charter 159b. The bounds are probably those of a territory named as †[...]nuc **Bacan** (q.v. and †**Lann Menechi**). The territory described by these bounds should be on the northern edge of the *PODUM* of **Llandaf** and between the rivers **Taf (Fawr)** and **Ely (Elái)**, since one of the points mentioned, †**Riu Finion**, is also used to define the northern limit of the *PODUM* of **Llandaf**. *Porta Halan* is named in a reference to a main road (*via magna*) which runs between that place and †**Riu Finion**. The meaning of the element *PORTA* in this name has some bearing on the discussion of the place's location. Classically *PORTA* should mean 'gate, entrance', and if this is the intended sense in this name, then perhaps it refers to a gate in the enclosure round the church of **Llandaf** (where else in this area would be important enough to have had a named gate at this period?). Alternatively we could interpret *porta* here as an error for *portus* 'port', in which case the name would refer to a landing place on one of the rivers **Taf (Fawr)** or **Ely (Elái)**. There is too much uncertainty here to suggest a more specific location than somewhere with a few kilometres of **Llandaf** (grid reference above).

Elements

?*PORTA* + ?**HALAN*

See above for discussion of the first element. The element *halan* could be

* CPNE, p. 159, s.v. **meynek*; GPC, III, 2412, s.v. *meiniog*.

interpreted as a hapax *HALAN ‘little moor’ (formed from HÂL and the diminutive suffix -AN), either as a common noun, or as a name (perhaps a stream name).

Port Halauc, Porthaloc: see **Llandeilo Bertholau**.

Porthcaseg: [ST525980] (Eng. *Porthcasseg*)

Attestations

agrum porthcassec	LLch.150a	p. 150	‘c. 693’
PORTH Cassecc	LLrub.	p. 150	c. 1120s
ecclesia de Porth casseg	LL	p. 322	c. 1350

Location

The grant of this place is recorded in charter 150a, and it is named again in a list of properties in the deanery of †**Nether Went**. The charter provides very little information about the place’s location, but it should be close to a river since the Narration refers to two weirs (‘*duobus coretibus*’) associated with the place. It seems reasonable to assume that the charter and the list are referring to the same place, given the distinctive appearance of the name. The obvious identification is with the farm of this same name, which is in the area of †**Nether Went**, and only just over a kilometre from the Wye (Gwy).⁹⁷ The place is listed on page 322 between **St Arvans** and **Tyndyrn**, and Porthcaseg farm is situated halfway between those two places.

Elements

PORTH + CASEG⁹⁸

Porth Cassec, Cassecc, Porthcasseg: see **Porthcaseg**.

Porthceri: [ST082666] (Eng. *Porthkerry*)

Attestations

Porthkery	Cart. ⁹⁹	III, 942	s. xiii
Porthkire	Cart. ¹⁰⁰	III, 956	s. xiii
Portciri	VN	p. 315	1254
Portkyn	Anc Corr	XXXVIII, 32	1335

⁹⁷ Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 99.

⁹⁸ CPNE, p. 42, s.v. *cassec*.

⁹⁹ PNDinas P., p. 198.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*.

Location

The single LL attestation is from a list of churches in the deanery of Llandaf, and there is no reason to doubt the identification followed here, made by both Evans and Pierce.¹⁰¹

Elements

PORTH + ?personal name

The name has been discussed in detail by Pierce, who favours the interpretation of the second element as the personal name *Ceri*.¹⁰²

Porth Halauc: see **Llandeilo Bertholau**.

†**Porth i Dorcluit:** [?SN887390]

Attestations

porth idorcluit LLch.154 p. 155 s. xi²

Location

Porth i Dorcluit is the name of a feature in the bounds of Llandeilo'r-fân (†**Lann Guruaet**). It is reached by following an old road ('henford') from †**Carn Erchan**, and from it the bounds continue by following a ridge (CEGIN) to the source (BLAEN) of †**Nant Dincat**. Both of the two suggested identities for †**Nant Dincat** rise on the same ridge, which is, therefore, the most likely identity of the CEGIN followed in the bounds. There is only one obvious road between †**Carn Erchan** and the ridge on which †**Nant Dincat** rises, so *Porth i Dorcluit* should probably be located on or near that road, near the end of the ridge. If PORTH here has the sense of 'gap, pass' then the point at the grid reference above, on the road, would be the most likely location of *Porth i Dorcluit*.

Elements

PORTH + YR + DORGLWYD¹⁰³

GPC cites this place-name as an example of the noun *dorglwyd* 'wattle-gate, defence'.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ LL, p. 416; PNDinas P., p. 198.

¹⁰² PNDinas P., pp. 198–200.

¹⁰³ GPC, III, 2855, s.v. *porth*².

¹⁰⁴ GPC, I, 1077, s.v. *dorglwyd*.

Porth Isceuin: see **Porth Sgiwed**.

Porthkerry, Porthkyry: see **Porthceri**.

†**Porth Manach:** [?SM979014] (?mod. *Monkton*)

Attestations

Porth manach mainaur	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
Porthmanach mainaur	LL	p. 255	before 'c. 1025'

Location

Both attestations are from versions of a list of Llandaf's extra-diocesan properties. In both cases the place is described as being in †**Amithieil**, apparently the name of a district, which cannot, however, be identified independently of *Porth Manach*. The context is one of properties in the CANTREF of **Penfro**, and this provides the only secure evidence for the place's location. In his entry on *Monkton* (grid reference above), Charles refers to the possibility advanced by Wade-Evans that that is the place meant by LL's *Porth Manach*.¹⁰⁵ This suggestion probably, in fact, goes back to Evans who identifies *Porth Manach* with 'Mouncton'.¹⁰⁶ The basis for this identification seems to be little more than the monastic associations of the LL and the modern place-name.

Elements

PORTH + MYNACH

†**Porth Medgen:** [?SR987973] (?mod. *Cheriton*)

Attestations

Porth medgen	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
Porth medgen	LL	p. 255	before 'c. 1025'

Location

Both attestations are from versions of a list of Llandaf's extra-diocesan properties. The context is one of properties in the CANTREF of **Penfro**, and this provides the only secure evidence for the place's location. Evans tentatively identified this place as *Cheriton* (grid reference above), but I do not know

¹⁰⁵ PNPemb., II, 702; 'Pembrokeshire Notes', p. 126.

¹⁰⁶ LL, p. 416.

what the basis for his identification is.¹⁰⁷ Charles refers to Phillimore's suggestion that *Medgen* was the name of a stream, preserved in the settlement name *Merrion* [SR9397].¹⁰⁸ The stream flows out into the sea at Broad Haven [SR978940] (not far from Cheriton) which would then be the location of *Porth Medgen*. The change from the [ð] of *Medgen* to the [r] of *Merrion* is certainly not impossible, but it is a little unlikely (though Phillimore notes that the same phenomenon is seen in **Llantridddy**¹⁰⁹), and there is no additional evidence to support the identification.

Elements

PORTH + ?personal name

Porth Scuwet: see **Porth Sgiwed**.

Porth Sgiwed: [ST499881] (Eng. *Portskewett*)

Attestations

Portasihð	ASC ¹¹⁰	s.a.	1065
porth isceuin	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Porth isceuin	LLb.25	p. 44	1129
portum Eskewin	G.C.Op., 6 ¹¹¹	p. 220	s. xii ^{cx}
ecclesia de Porthscuwet	LL	p. 319	c. 1350
ecclesia de Portscuwet	LL	p. 323	c. 1350
Ecc'ia de Portscuwet	LL	p. 328	c. 1350
portskywet	LLgloss	p. 32	s. xv ^{med}

Location

The attestations can be divided into two groups. The first comprises the two attestations from two very similar versions of a list of properties confirmed to Llandaf by the Pope (LLb.12 and LLb.25). The context of the attestations here seems to be one of properties in **Gwent**. The attestation on page 32 is glossed *Portskywet* by a fifteenth-century hand, which provides a link with the other group of attestations (whose forms also end in *-t*), those from lists of properties in †**Nether Went** on pages 319, 323, and 328. All the authorities

¹⁰⁷ LL, p. 416.

¹⁰⁸ PNPemb., II, 740–41; Owen, *Description of Penbrokshire*, II, 321.

¹⁰⁹ Owen, *ibid.*.

¹¹⁰ Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, I, 190–91, s.a. 1065.

¹¹¹ Dimock, *Itinerarium Kambriæ et Descriptio Kambriæ*.

seem agreed on the identification of the forms in final *-n* with those in final *-t*, and on the identification of all these with modern *Portskewett*.¹¹² Gerald of Wales refers to *Portum Eskewin* in **Gwent** as the south-easternmost point in **Wales**—its traditional rôle in Welsh geography!¹³

Elements

PORTH + ?*YSGEWIN

An adjective **ysgewin* ‘replete with elder trees’ (YSGAW + -IN) could be present here, either describing PORTH, or as a stream name. The apparent change from forms in *-n* to forms in *-t* is difficult to account for—some form of dental was apparently perceived at the end of the name as early as 1065 (Anglo-Saxon Chronicle).

†**Porth Tulon**: [?SS590883] (?mod. *Caswell*; also †**Lann Teiliau Portulon**)

Attestations

portum dulon	LLch.239	p. 239	‘c. 925’
PORTH TVLON	LLrub.	p. 76	c. 1120s
porth tulon	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Porthtulon	LLb.25	p. 44	1129

Location

This church is named in two of the three versions of a list of properties confirmed to Llandaf by papal privilege. The context in the list is one of **Gower (Gŵyr)** properties. In the earliest of the three versions of the list the same property is referred to as †**Lann Teiliau Portulon**. Charter 76b records the grant by one *Guorduc* of his daughter, *Dulon*, and four *modii* of land. From the charter’s rubric, ‘PORTH TVLON’, we are clearly meant to infer that that is the name of the land granted, and that the land took its name from the daughter *Dulon*. There is no information in charter 76b which would help to locate the land granted. Charter 239 relates the three offences committed by King Gruffudd ab Owain, including the selling of *Portus Dulon*, which led to his grant of †**Penn i Bei** to Llandaf. The charter has a strong **Gower (Gŵyr)** context—†**Penn i Bei**, the place granted, as well as *Monasterium Sancti*

¹¹² LL, p. 416; WATU, p. 181, s.v. *Portskewett*; Thorpe, *Gerald of Wales*, p. 220.

¹¹³ Dimock, *Itinerarium Kambriæ et Descriptio Kambriæ*, p. 165; Bromwich, *Trioedd*, pp. 236–37; Sims-Williams, ‘The Early Welsh Arthurian Poems’, p. 45.

Cinguali (†Lann Cingualan) and *Monasterium Sancti Cinuuri* (†Lann Conuur), the two other places violated by the king, have all been located in that district. It is plain, then, that LL conveys no more evidence for the identification of the place-name than that it is probably in Gower (Gŵyr). Evans located this place ‘on Caswell Bay’, and Richards (followed by Davies) identified it with **Bishopston** (which might amount to the same identification—Caswell Bay is less than two kilometres from **Bishopston**).¹⁴ **Bishopston** is known in LL as **Llandeilo Ferwallt**, and **Llandeilo Ferwallt** is attested in the same lists of properties as †Lann Teiliau Portulon/*Porth Tulon*, so these names cannot apply to the same place.

Elements

PORTH + ?personal name

PORTUS + ?personal name

Porton: [ST383833]

Attestations

(ecclesiam de) portreuestuñ	LL	p. 291	1245
<i>ecclesia</i> de Portreuestuñ	LL	p. 291	1245
<i>ecclesia</i> de Portreuestoñ	LL	p. 322	c. 1350

Location

This church is linked with **Goldcliff** and **Magor (Magwyr)** in a charter of 1245, and listed among properties in the deanery of †Nether Went on page 322. The identification is reasonable on grounds of the place-name’s appearance and Porton’s location in †Nether Went, not far from both **Goldcliff** and **Magor (Magwyr)**.

Elements

PORT-GERĒFA (gen.) + TŪN

The LL form suggests that the original meaning of the name was ‘Portreeve’s Town’ rather than ‘Port Town’. PORT in this phrasal element has the older sense of ‘town’ (as in **Newport**). See also **Shirenewton**, where the element GERĒFA has also been lost.

Portreuestoñ, Portreuestuñ: see **Porton**.

¹⁴ LL, p. 416; WATU, p. 107, s.v. *Llandeilo Porth Tulon*; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 94.

Port Scuwet, Portskewett, Port Skywet: see **Porth Sgiwed**.

Portulon: see †**Lann Teiliau Portulon**.

†**Portus Caprae:** [?nr SS445864]

Attestations

portum capre LLch.239 p. 240 'c. 925'

Location

This place is named in the definition of the territory of an unnamed *AGER* next to †**Telich**, associated with †**Penn i Bei**. The precise location of this place is uncertain, but it is probably safe to say that it is near †**Penn i Bei**, which has been identified with Paviland, and on the coast (as is implied by the element *PORTUS* in the name).

Elements

PORTUS + *CAPRA* (gen.)

The qualifying element appears to be *capra* 'nanny goat'.

Portus Dulon: see †**Porth Tulon**.

Portus Mauricii: see †**Mouric**.

†**Post Du:** [?SN912315 or SN921302] (?mod. *Pyllan* or [unnamed])

Attestations

aper ipost du LLch.154 p. 155 s. xi²

postdu LLch.154 p. 155 s. xi²

Location

This stream is followed in the bounds of Llandeilo'r-fân (†**Lann Guruaet**). It is a tributary of the **Cilieni**, and, as takes the bounds across towards the **Clydach**, it should enter the **Cilieni** from the west. The confluence (ABER) of the *Post Du* with the **Cilieni** should be downstream of the confluence of †**Nant Cenou** with the **Cilieni**—below SN911337, therefore. The *Post Du* should probably be quite long (with its source not far from the **Clydach**) because the route taken by the bounds between the *Post Du* and the **Clydach** is not specified. The two streams at the grid references above are the most likely candidates, of which the latter, unnamed, stream seems to me the more likely (defining an obvious route between the **Cilieni** and the **Clydach** through the gap between the high ground of Cefn Twrch and Yr Allt).

Elements

?POST + DU

It is not clear whether the article shown in the first attestation is really part of the name—Welsh river and stream names are not normally referred to with the article. Padel thought that *post* in this name was probably not connected with the element POST, on the ground that he regarded POST as a borrowing from English or French,¹¹⁵ whereas GPC allows that POST might have been borrowed into Welsh at an earlier period, but is still unsure whether *post* could be an example of the element.¹¹⁶

†**Pouisma Deui**: [?ST101723]Attestations

pouisua deuui	LLch.157	p. 158	s. xi ²
[i]r poguisma	LLch.259	p. 260	s. xi ²
pouisma deui	LLch.259	p. 260	s. xi ²
po6ysua dewi	LLgloss	p. 260	s. xv ^{med}

Location

This feature is mentioned in the closely related bounds of **St Lythans** and †**Tref Gulich**. From the bounds of the former, we learn that the feature is at the end of a cairn or mound (CARN), facing onto the (1) †**Gulich** (Nant Brân/River Waycock), upstream of its confluence with the †**Guorrimi** (?Goldslan Brook). The bounds of †**Tref Gulich** serve to confirm this interpretation. Both sets of bounds seem to describe territory in the angle between the (1) †**Gulich** and the †**Guorrimi**, so we should look for *Pouisma Deui* to the east of the (1) †**Gulich**. The element POWYSFA perhaps indicates a spot on high ground with good views, and such a place, meeting the available evidence for the place's location, is the promontory around the 'Long Cairn' at the grid reference above. This is only really a plausible guess, but *Pouisma Deui* should, in any case, be within a kilometre of this point.

Elements

POWYSFA + personal name

GPC cites this place-name as an example of the noun *powysfa* 'resting place'

¹¹⁵ CPNE, p. 192, s.v. *post*.

¹¹⁶ GPC, III, 2860, s.v. *post*'.

(*powys* 'rest' + MA). Williams compared this place-name with the various hill names of the formation *eisteddfa* 'sitting place' + saint's name, but Pierce expressed some doubt over whether the personal name *Dewi* here refers to the saint.¹¹⁷

Pouisua Deuui, Po6ysua Dewi: see †**Pouisma Deui**.

†**Pridell, Ir:** [near SO2537]

Attestations

[i]rpridell	LLb.25	p. 42	s. xi ¹
[y]r brydell	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s

Location

This feature is named as a point in both versions of the diocesan bounds. The point is between the †**Mincul** and †**Hal Ruma**. The grid reference above is for a square in the area between the suggested locations of those points. What kind of feature the name might represent is uncertain. It seems unlikely to be a stream because Welsh river and stream names are not normally referred to with the article.

Elements

YR + PRIDDELL (len.)¹¹⁸

GPC cites this as an example of the noun *priddell* 'clod, dust, earthen floor, earthenware vessel'.

Pritguenn: see †**Messur Pritguenn**.

Proclivii: see †**Villa Proclivii**.

Pruwys: see **Eglwys Brewys**.

Pull: see †**Glaspull**.

†**Pull Arda:** [nr SS065976]

Attestations

Pull arda	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
Pull arda	LL	p. 255	before 'c. 1025'

¹¹⁷ *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 22; PNDinas P., pp. 220–21.

¹¹⁸ GPC, III, 2884.

Location

The two attestations are from different versions of the same list of Llandaf's extra-diocesan properties, under the heading 'in Penfro'. In both cases the location is described as next to (*IUXTA*) Manorbier (*Maenorbŷr*). There are too many little pools in the area around Manorbier for me to be able to offer any particular suggestion.

Elements

PWLL + ?

†**Pull Brochuail**: [?SO539011] (?mod. **Brockweir**)Attestations

pull brochuail LLch.141 p. 141 ?

Location

This place is named in the Narration of charter 141 in an account of King Tewdrig's rout of Saxon invaders, where the king is told by an angel that the enemy will turn in flight as far as *Pull Brochuail*. The identification with **Brockweir**, made by a fourteenth-century glossator, suits the context of the story perfectly. **Brockweir** is not far from Tintern (*Tyndyrn*) where the attack is said to have been made, and stands on the opposite bank of the Wye (*Gwy*), and although it is not explicitly stated that the Saxons were driven across the river, it is implicit in the account.

Elements

PWLL + personal name

†**Pull Cinguid**: [nr †**Villa Iunuhic**]Attestations

pull cinguid LLch.249b p. 250 'c. 1015'

Location

Pull Cinguid marks one of the boundaries of †**Villa Iunuhic**. Due to the uncertainty over the location of the land granted it is not possible to make an identification.

Elements

?PWLL + ?personal name

There seems to be some alteration to the *u* of *pull*, which may be an attempt to

change the word to *pill*. Evans referred to the place as *Pill Cinguid*.¹¹⁹ The second element could alternatively be the noun *cynwydd* ‘wood, shrubs, kindling’ (not, however, attested before 1604), or the adjective *cynwydd* ‘mixed, grievous, awful’ (for which GPC has only one attestation).¹²⁰

†**Pull hi Guarach:** [?ST456945]

Attestations

pull higuarach LLch.244 p. 245 ‘c. 980’

Location

This pool is one of the four points in the dimensional bounds of †*Villa Stifilat*, which has not been securely identified. Evans compared this name with “‘*Pwll y reuch*,’ nr. Earlswood Chapel, Mon.”.¹²¹ Earlswood is in ST4495, but I cannot find *Pwll y Reuch*, unless it is the *Porth-y-rhwth* at ST456945 (the name appears in this form on the 1886 6-inch map of the area, as well as on the modern 1:25 000 scale map).

Elements

PWLL + ?YR + ?GWARACH

GPC offers *gwarach* as an alternative form of *gwariach* ‘rabble, riff-raff, poor, wretched people’.¹²² The second element could alternatively be GWRACH, with *guarach* resulting from a mis-copying of *gurach*. Also *higuarach* could be the adjective *hywar* ‘meek, docile’,¹²³ with a suffix *-ach* (either the comparative, the diminutive, or the abstract noun forming suffix).¹²⁴

Pull i Ceth: see *Pwll-y-cath*.

†**Pull i Colimet:** [nr SS882775]

Attestations

pull icolimet LLch.212 p. 213 s. xi¹

Location

This pool is named as a point in the bounds of *Merthyr Mawr*. The general area described by the bounds is fairly clear: land in the fork of the rivers

¹¹⁹ LL, p. 381.

¹²⁰ GPC, I, 803.

¹²¹ LL, p. 416.

¹²² GPC, II, 1576 (s.v. *gwarach*) and 1585 (s.v. *gwariach*).

¹²³ GPC, II, 1987.

¹²⁴ GPC, I, 6.

Ogmore (Ogwr) and (2) Ewenni, and land on the other side of the Ogmore (presumably including Merthyr Mawr itself). It is clear that *Pull i Colimet* should be in the area north-west of the Ogmore (Ogwr), but the bounds are difficult to follow in this area. The specified size of the territory is quite small—only four *modii* (about sixty seven hectares)¹²⁵—so it can be said that *Pull i Colimet* should be within a kilometre of Merthyr Mawr. The pool should be near the top end of a PANT, and from it a dyke (CLAWDD) should lead up to the top of a hill ('penn ir alt').

Elements

PULL + ?YR + ?

Evans translated this name as 'the Pwll in the Colimet', but it is not possible to decide on the appropriate meaning of *i* in the name without knowing the meaning of *colimet*.

†Pull i Lech: [nr SS882775]

Attestations

pull ilech LLch.212 p. 213 s. xi¹

Location

This pool is named as a point in the bounds of Merthyr Mawr. The general area described by the bounds is fairly clear: land in the fork of the rivers Ogmore (Ogwr) and (2) Ewenni, and land on the other side of the Ogmore (presumably including Merthyr Mawr itself). *Pull i Lech* seems to be the name of a feature on the Ogmore, either on one of its banks, or, more likely, the name of a section of the river. The specified size of the territory is quite small—only four *modii* (about sixty seven hectares)¹²⁵—so it can be said that *Pull i Lech* should be within a kilometre of Merthyr Mawr.

Elements

PULL + YR + LLECH

†Pull ir Iulenn: [?nr ST153851]

Attestations

pull ir iulenn LLch.255 p. 257 'c. 1035'–c. 1050

¹²⁵ See †Cum Barruc for the size of *unciae* and *modii*.

Location

This pool is named as a point in the bounds of †**Diffrinn Annouid**. It is not possible confidently to suggest a location for this place due to the difficulty of following the bounds. The pool is named in the bounds between †**Riu Tiuuil** and *Ir Carn Luit*, the latter of which has been identified with **Garn Lwyd** (hence the grid reference above).

Elements

PWLL + YR + ? + ?-EN

The final element is also present in †**Iulen**.

†**Pull Lifan**: [?SO371144]Attestations

aper pull lyfann	LLch.228	p. 229	s. xi ¹
pull lifan	LLch.228	p. 229	s. xi ¹

Location

The attestations constitute the opening and closing points of the bounds of **Llanwytherin**. We can be fairly confident that *Pull Lifan* is the name of a stream, rather than of a pool, because it has a confluence (ABER) with the **Troddi**. The bounds go on to refer to the brook (GOFER) of the *Pull*, however, so it might have been the case that the name applied to a specific pool (PWLL) as well as to the brook running from it. Since the boundary of **Llanwytherin** starts from a point on the **Troddi** downstream from where it eventually rejoins that river, it can also be assumed (if the area described by the bounds includes the church itself) that *Pull Lifan* runs to the south of **Llanwytherin**. The source (BLAEN) of the stream is over a ridge (CEGIN) from the †**Cinluin**. *Pull Lifan* is unlikely to be either of the streams at SO371169 or SO381132 (Llanymynach Brook) as the former does not have its source on the other side of a ridge from a suitable candidate for the *Cinluin*, and the latter is probably referred to elsewhere in LL under the name †**Manach Rivulus**). The remaining possibilities are the streams at SO370165, SO372157, and SO371144, of which the last is the identification made by Thomas.¹²⁶

¹²⁶ EANC, p. 83.

Elements

PWLL + ?LLYFFANT

Thomas took the second element to be *llyfan* ‘string’, which he connected with *llyfanog* ‘hairweed’ (a freshwater plant).¹²⁷ This is possible but *f* in LL orthography would normally represent [f] rather than [v], and *llyfan* is not attested before 1803.¹²⁸ If *f* here does represent [f], then the interpretation of the second element as *llyffant* ‘toad’ is most likely. Padel seems to assume this when he connects the LL name with the Cornish place-name *Polyphant*,¹²⁹ and GPC does acknowledge forms of *llyffant* without the final *-t*.¹³⁰

Pull Lyfann: see †Pull Lifan.

†Pull Mouric: [ST520895] (mod. *Mounton Brook*; also †Mouric)

Attestations

hostio pull mouric	LLch.234	p. 235	‘c. 895’
pull mouric	LLch.165	p. 166	c. 990–c. 1050
pull mouric	LLch.165	p. 166	c. 990–c. 1050
aper pull Muric	LLch.141	p. 142	s. xi ¹
pull mouric	LLch.262	p. 262	s. xi ¹
pull mouric	LLch.262	p. 262	s. xi ¹
pul Muryc	LLgloss	p. 142	s. xv ^{med}
pulmoric	LLgloss	p. 166	s. xv ^{med}
portus de pullmoryc	LLgloss	p. 235	s. xv ^{med}
pul Muric	LLgloss	p. 262	s. xv ^{med}
pul Muric	LLgloss	p. 262	s. xv ^{med}

Location

The mouth of this stream is named in a reference to landing rights associated with †Yscuit Cyst (charter 234), and in the bounds of three properties: St Kingsmark (charter 165), Matharn/†Merthir Teudiric (charter 141), and †Villa Crucou Morcan (charter 262). As far as can be determined these places are all in the same area. For the evidence for the equivalence of the

¹²⁷ Ibid..

¹²⁸ GPC, II, 2253.

¹²⁹ CPNE, p. 146, s.v. **lefant*.

¹³⁰ GPC, II, 2260.

names *Pull Mouric* and †*Mouric* see under †*Mouric*. Given the obvious relationship between *Pull Mouric* and the settlement name *Pwllmeurig*, it seems reasonable to identify it as the stream which flows past that village, now known as Mounton Brook. Mounton Brook suits the available evidence for the *Pull Mouric* from charter 141: it flows past *Matharn*, before flowing out into the Severn (*Hafren*) below the Wye (*Gwy*).

Elements

PWLL + personal name

Thomas suggested that this was the original name for the stream, and that it was later contracted to †*Mouric* alone.¹³¹

Pull Moryc, Muric: see †*Pull Mouric*.

†**Pull Neuynn:** [?ST540909] (?mod. *Hunger Pill*)

Attestations

aper pull neuynn LLch.141 p. 143 s. xi¹

Location

This stream or PIL is named as the closing point in the bounds of the territory granted in charter 141, probably around *Matharn*. The mouth (ABER) of *Pull Neuynn* is located on the Wye (*Gwy*). The identification with *Hunger Pill* was made by Evans, and this seems very likely, given that the PIL is in the right area, and the probable equivalence of meaning of the names *Pull Neuynn* and *Hunger Pill*.¹³²

Elements

PWLL + ?NEWYN

GPC cites this place-name as an example of the noun *newyn* ‘hunger’.¹³³ The double *n* of the attestation raises a slight element of doubt over this interpretation, as the etymology of *newyn* shows its single *n* to be historically correct.¹³⁴ Alternatively the second element could be the personal name *Nefyn*.

¹³¹ EANC, p. 194, s.v. *Meurig*.

¹³² LL, p. 416.

¹³³ GPC, III, 2580, s.v. *newyn*.

¹³⁴ Ibid..

†Pull Otin Cincenn: [nr the Nofydd]

Attestations

pull otincincenn LLch.257 p. 258 'c. 1033'

Location

This feature is attested as a point in the bounds of †Riu Brein. Its place in the bounds is between the †Istleidiauc and (1) †Cruc Glas, neither of which I can identify, but a more general location is provided by the Nofydd, which borders the territory on one side.

Elements

PWLL + ODYN + personal name¹³⁵

A certain 'Cincenn filius Guebric' witnesses this and the closely related preceding charter (LLch.255). The bounds are probably contemporary with the charter, so the possibility should be considered that the place-name contains the name of this *Cincenn*.

†Pullou Rinion: [nr ST5292]

Attestations

pullou rinion LLch.141 p. 142 s. xi¹

Location

Pullou Rinion is mentioned as a point in the bounds of †Merthir Teudiric. The bounds are difficult to follow closely due to a lack of identifiable features, but it is fairly clear that the territory described lies entirely between Mounton Brook (†Pull Mouric) and the Wye (Gwy) as the bounds start and finish on these rivers but are never said to cross them. The *Pullou Rinion* are met in the bounds from some point on †Nant Biuguan, and indeed, since the relevant point on †Nant Biuguan is not specified, it is likely that *Pullou Rinion* is the name of a feature, or features, on that stream.

Elements

PWLL (pl.) + ?RHYN (pl.)

There are several possible interpretations of the second element. GPC suggests that it could be a plural form of the adjective *rhyn* 'rigid, brave, rough, terrible, cold, shivery'.¹³⁶ There is also a plural noun *rhynion* 'groats, hulled oats'.¹³⁷ The

¹³⁵ LL, p. 382 (Evans translates the name as 'the Pwll of Cincenn's kiln').

¹³⁶ GPC, III, 3140.

word could also be a plural form of *rhin* ‘mystery, enchantment, attribute, mysterious, occult’, either as a noun or an adjective.¹³⁸ The final *-ion* could have resulted from a misreading of *-iou*, through scribal *n/u* confusion at some stage. Reading *riniou* would not affect the possibility that the word might be a plural of *rhyn* or *rhin*, but it would hinder the interpretation *rhynion*.

Pull Penhic, Pennic: see †**Pant Pull Penhic**.

†**Pull Rud:** [?in SO4816]

Attestations

pull rud LLch.171b p. 173 s. xi²

Location

This feature is named as a point in the bounds of **Llangunville**. It is mentioned between the Monnow (**Mynwy**) and the end of a hill (‘tal irbrinn’), from which the bounds proceed down to †**Lech Forch**. If the suggested identity of †**Finnaun Emrdil** is correct, and if it is assumed that the bounds encompass the site of the church itself, then it is clear that the bounds should travel up the Monnow (**Mynwy**) from the mouth (ABER) of †**Finnaun Emrdil** to *Pull Rud*. *Pull Rud* could be the name of a point in the river, or of a pool, stream, or pit a little way inland from it, but not, I think, the name of a valley, as suggested by Rollason (I am not aware of any evidence for the semantic range of PWLL extending as far as ‘valley’).¹³⁹ From the various possible identifications of the †**Gefiat**, and the consequent possible locations of †**Lech Forch** and the hill (BRYN) up which the bounds proceed from *Pull Rud*, it can be said that *Pull Rud* is most likely to be either a point in the Monnow (**Mynwy**) in the grid square above, or a feature on the left bank of the river in that grid square.

Elements

PWLL + RHUDD¹⁴⁰

Essentially the same name is †**Pull Rud** below (but which is prefixed with the article), and the same name is found with compound formation in †**Rudpull**.

¹³⁷ GPC, III, 3141.

¹³⁸ GPC, III, 3075.

¹³⁹ ‘The Boundaries’, p. 48.

¹⁴⁰ GPC, III, 3099, s.v. *rhudd*.

†**Pull Rud, Ir:** [?SO438171]Attestations

[i]r pull rud	LLch.210a	p. 210	'c. 780'–c. 1010
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Location

The attestation is from the bounds of †**Cair Riou**. The most likely interpretation of the bounds would make *Ir Pull Rud* and †**Dulin** separate names, with the †**Dulin** being the name of a stream running from *Ir Pull Rud* to Crofft Hîr Brook (†**Distin**), but it is possible that †**Dulin** is only an element in a name *Pull Rud Dulin*.¹⁴¹ The size of the land granted (one *uncia*) makes it more likely that the name refers to one of the tributaries near the head of Crofft Hîr Brook, rather than to one further down. The bounds can be read either as running from †**Fons Baraliuen** to *Ir Pull Rud*, crossing †**Rivulus Penlucan** on the way, or as running from †**Fons Baraliuen** to †**Rivulus Penlucan**, and down that stream to *Ir Pull Rud*. The former of these two possibilities does not sit particularly well with the topography of the area, so we should probably regard *Ir Pull Rud* as the name of a pool in †**Rivulus Penlucan**. This description well suits the pool at the grid reference above, but perhaps attention should also be directed at the place-names *Pool Lane Cottage* and *Pool Cottage* in the grid square SO4417.

Elements

YR + PWLL + RHUDD

Essentially the same name is †**Pull Rud** above (but which lacks the article), and the same name is found with compound formation in †**Rudpull**.

Pul Meuric: see **Pwllmeurig**.

Pul Moric, Muric, Muryc: see †**Pull Mouric**.

Pumsaint: see †**Lan Teliau Pimp Seint**.

†**Puteus Dotei:** [?nr ST104779]Attestations

putevm dotei	LLch.223	p. 224	c. 990–c. 1010
puteo dotei	LLch.223	p. 224	c. 990–c. 1010

¹⁴¹ Evans seems to have assumed the latter judging by his single index entry *Pull Rud Dulin*: LL, p. 416.

Location

This well or pit is named as a point in the bounds of †**Villa Segan**, the identification of which is dependent on the identification of †**Vadum Dupleis** (grid reference above). The bounds reach *Puteus Dotei* from a main road ('uia lata'), and continue to the middle of †**Gronna**, following a ditch (FOS).

Elements

PUTEUS + ?personal name

The qualifying element appears to be *puteus* 'well, pit'. The same generic element is present in †**Lann Dotei**.

Pwllmeurig: [ST519924] (Eng. *Pwllmeyric*)

Attestations

ecclesia de Pulmeuric LL p. 323 c. 1350

Location

This church is named in a list of properties owing monies in the deanery of †**Nether Went**. The name is distinctive so the identification with the village of Pwllmeurig is sound. The village probably took its name from the stream name †**Pull Mouric**, rather than the other way round.

Elements

†**Pull Mouric**

Pwllmeyric: see **Pwllmeurig**.

Pwll-y-cath: [ST464970]

Attestations

pull iceth LLch.171b p. 173 s. xi¹

Location

Pull i Ceth is mentioned as a point in the bounds of **Llanddinol (Itton)**. The bounds describe it as being next to (*IUXTA*) a main road ('ford maur'/'uiam magnam'). It is located in the bounds between †**Pant Pull Penhic** and a **PANT** associated with †**Tref Guid**, neither of which has been independently identified, and it should be on the northern side of Mounton Brook (assuming that the territory described by the bounds includes the site of the church itself). The identification with the farm called *Pwll-y-cath* (grid reference above) seems reasonable given the strong similarity of its name to *Pull i Ceth*, and its location in the right area, next to a road.

Elements

PWLL + YR + ?CAETH (pl.)

Ceth could represent what would be written in later Old, and Middle, Welsh as *ceith* (modern *caith*), plural of CAETH. The same, or a very similar, name is present in †Poll i Caith. *Cath* in the modern form of the place-name would be a natural phonological development. The lack of lenition in the modern form of the place-name would support the proposition that *cath* here is not the noun *cath* 'cat', which is feminine (we should expect **Pwll-y-gath* if it were the element in this name). The name presumably refers to a pit where captives were kept.

Pyllan: see Post Du.

Pyrddin: [SN898091]

Attestations

blain peurdin	LLb.25	p. 42	<i>s.</i> xi ¹
blayn peurdin	LL	p. 134	<i>c.</i> 1120s
peurdin	LL	p. 134	<i>c.</i> 1120s

Location

The attestations are from the two versions of the diocesan bounds. The source (BLAEN) of this river is reached by travelling across †Hal Un Guernen from the source (BLAEN) of the Cynlais, and it is followed down to its confluence with the Nedd. The name *Peurdin* is very similar to modern *Pyrddin*, the name of a river which follows exactly the right course, so we can be confident of the identification.¹⁴²

Elements

?PEFR + ?DIN

Pefr 'shining' is found as an element in several Scottish river names.¹⁴³ If the second element is DIN, then this would be a case of a river taking its name from a nearby feature (perhaps associated with the Roman camps at SN858107 and SN862102 near the river's source?).

¹⁴² LL, p. 367.

¹⁴³ CPNE, p. 184, s.v. *pever.

†**Pyscotuc**: [?SN777466] (?mod. *Pysgotwr*)

Attestations

<i>aper pyscotvc</i>	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s
<i>pyscotuc</i>	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s

Location

This river is mentioned in the longer of the two versions of the diocesan bounds. In these bounds the **Tywi** is followed up from its mouth as far as the mouth (ABER) of the *Pyscotuc*, and thence to †**Teir Guernen Buell**. In the shorter version the bounds travel right up the **Tywi** to its source (BLAEN). From this we should suppose that the *Pyscotuc* enters the **Tywi** near its upper reaches. Evans made the identification with the *Pysgotwr* (grid reference above).¹⁴⁴ LL's *Pyscotuc* certainly bears a strong resemblance to *Pysgotwr*, and that river is a tributary of the **Tywi** (about sixteen kilometres below its source).

Elements

?PYSGOTWR

If the identification with the *Pysgotwr* is correct, then the final *-uc* of the LL form would probably be the result of a misreading of *-ur*. The name certainly appears to be based on the element *pysgod* 'fish'. The noun *pysgotwr* 'fisherman' is a compound with GŴR. *Pyscotuc* could, however, represent modern *pysgodog* 'fishy' (+ -OG).

Pysgotwr: see †**Pyscotuc**.

Quichtrit: see †**Tref Meibion Guichtrit**.

¹⁴⁴ LL, p. 367.

R

Radh: see †Lann Rath.

Radur: [ST132801] (Eng. *Radyr*)

Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Radur</i>	LL	p. 324	c. 1350
Rader	Leland ¹	p. 21	1536–39
Yr Adur	Mostyn ²	134, 49	
Villa Aradur	Owen ³	p. 306	

Location

The attestation is from a list of properties paying monies in the deanery of **Llandaf**. I am aware of only two places bearing this name—a settlement in Monmouthshire [SO362022], and the settlement at the grid reference above, which is in the deanery of **Llandaf**.

Elements

?*ARADUR

Williams suggested that this place-name might derive from *ARADUR, an unattested borrowing from Latin *oratorium* ‘oratory’.⁴

Radyr: see Radur.

Ragelan, Raglan: see Rhaglan.

†**Rath:** [SN145060] (?mod. *Ford's Lake*)

Attestations

glann rath	LL	p. 124	before ‘c. 1025’
glan rath	LL	p. 255	before ‘c. 1025’

Location

See Charles’s discussion of this name.⁵ Both attestations are from versions of the same list of properties (probably originally a list of the possessions of

¹ Smith, *The Itinerary*.

² Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 53.

³ Owen, *Description of Penbrokshire*, III, 306.

⁴ *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 53.

⁵ PNPemb., II, 464–65.

Penally).⁶ The context is a very brief description of the bounds of †**Lann Rath**, †**Lann Cronnguern**, and the three territories of **Amroth**. These territories are described as lying between †**Frut Gurcant** and the bank (GLAN) of the *Rath*. There is clearly a relationship between the name of this stream and the names **Amroth** and †**Lann Rath**. Probably **Amroth** was originally the name of the district around the stream, and †**Lann Rath** was the name of the principal church of the district. Charles suggests that the stream entering the sea at SN163070 is the *Rath*, presumably on the assumption that the modern settlement of **Amroth** must be on the banks of the *Rath*. Given that **Penrath** [SN123085] and **Cwm Rath** [SN150078] stand on tributaries of the stream now called Ford's Lake, and that the forest of **Coetrath** stretched between **Amroth** and **Saundersfoot** [SN1304],⁷ it might be preferable to identify the *Rath* with modern Ford's Lake.

Elements

Two different interpretations have been suggested for this name: either that it represents a word for fortified earthworks (probably a borrowing from Irish *ráth*), or that it is the word seen as the stem of the verb *rhathu* 'to rub, scrape'.⁸

†**Redyng**: [on the **Elái**] (also †**Cepetic Trican**, (1) †**Vadum Rufum**)

Attestations

Redyng LLgloss p. 155 s. xv^{med}

Location

This place-name occurs as a gloss on (1) †**Vadum Rufum** in the bounds of charter 155, which grants †**Lann Cincirill** and †**Ager Cynfall**. The only evidence for the location of these territories is in the description of (1) †**Vadum Rufum** as being on (*SUPER*) †**Rudlan Elei**, which presumably places them near the Ely (**Elái**). The glossator's 'modo Redyng' would appear to indicate that *Redyng* was the name known to him for (1) †**Vadum Rufum**, but I can find no place of this name near the Ely (**Elái**).

Elements

?RHYD + ?YNG

⁶ See the discussion under †**Amithieil**.

⁷ PNPemb., II, 464.

⁸ *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 45; PNPemb., II, 465; GPC, III, 3039–40, s.v. *rhath*¹.

The fact that *Redyng* appears to be the name of a ford would support the possibility that its *Red-* is the element RHYD. If that is the case, then the remaining *-yng* could reasonably be interpreted as YNG. Alternatively the name could be English in language, with the *Red-* part being Modern English *red*, translating the element *RUFUS* in (1) †*Vadum Rufum* and RHUDD in †*Rudlan Elei*.

Regio Brachani: see *Brycheiniog*.

Rempny: see *Rumney*.

Rennes: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

renni LLb.4 p. 93 1119

Location

This place-name occurs as the surname of William FitzRoger, one of several landowners addressed in a papal letter regarding a complaint from Llandaf. The identification with Rennes was made by Davies?

Redoc: see †*Tir Retoc*.

Remense, Remensi: see *Rheims*.

Remis: see *Rheims*.

Renni: see *Rennes*.

Ret: see †*Tref Ret*.

Retoc: see †*Tir Retoc*.

Rhaglan: [SO413076] (Eng. *Raglan*)

Attestations

[ecclesia de] Ragelan LL p. 321 c. 1350

Location

The attestation is from a list of properties paying monies in the deanery of Usk. The only place of this name known to me is the one at the grid reference above, which is in the right area.

* 'The Book of Llandaf', p. 237.

Elements

RHAGLAN

Rhaglan is a common noun meaning 'forecourt', a compound of *rhag* 'before' and LLAN.

Rheims: [NGR N/A]Attestations

Concilium Remense	LLb.6	p. 89	1119
Remis	LLb.7	p. 92	1119
REMIS	LLrub.	p. 87	c. 1120s
<i>concilio remensi</i>	LLrub.	p. 95	c. 1120s
Remis	LLb.41	p. 65	1131
Remensi concilio	LLb.41	p. 66	1131
<i>concilio remensi</i>	LLgloss	p. 95	s. xiii

Location

Most of the attestations (pages 65, 66, 89, and 95) are in references to Papal councils held at Rheims in 1119 and 1131. Of the remaining two documents, LLb.7 is a letter from Pope Calixtus II in Rheims (for the earlier council), and the rubrication on page 87 belongs with a copy of Urban's first letter to the Pope (in Rheims) requesting Papal aid. The place-name derives from the name of a people, the *Remi*, living in the vicinity of Rheims.¹⁰

Rheithtir Rud: see †Heithtir Rud.

Rhit Aruaith: see †Rit Aruaith.

Rhiw Arw, Cwrw: see †Riu i Curum.

Rhos, Y: [NGR N/A] (Eng. *Roose*)

Attestations

ros	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
rós	LL	p. 255	before 'c. 1025'
Ros	ByS ¹¹	p. 104	1108
Ros	ByT ¹²	p. 52	1108

¹⁰ Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, p. 1561, s.v. *Remi*.

¹¹ Jones, *Brenhinedd y Saesson*.

¹² Thomas, *Brut y Tywysogyon*.

Ros	ByT ¹³	p. 98	1116
Ros	AnnCamb	s.a.	1136
Ros	AnnCamb	s.a.	1189
Ros	G.C.Op., 6 ¹⁴	p. 80	s. xii ^{ex}
Rosensi provincia	G.C.Op., 6 ¹⁵	p. 86	s. xii ^{ex}
Ros	G.C.Op., 1 ¹⁶	p. 59	c. 1200

Location

The two LL attestations are from two versions of a list of extra-diocesan properties claimed by Llandaf. In both cases *Ros* is the heading of a section of the list, in a South-Western context, containing the properties †Lann Issan, †Brodlan, and †Lann Gurfrit. Of these three, only the first can be identified with much confidence: †Lann Issan, which is probably St Ishmael's. As St Ishmael's is in the CANTREF of Y Rhos (later Roose Hundred) in Dyfed, the identification seems reasonable.¹⁷

Elements

RHOS¹⁸

Rhosili: [SS416881]

Attestations

rosulgen LLrub. p. 239 c. 1120s

Location

The ancestor of the modern name *Rhosili* is clearly the *rosulgen* of charter 239. This form occurs in the rubric to the charter: 'Penn i Bei in Rosulgen'. †Penn i Bei is identified with Paviland by Davies,¹⁹ and (if the identification is correct) the distance of Paviland from the town of Rhosili, together with the expression 'in Rosulgen', suggests that *Rosulgen* is used here as a district name.

Elements

RHOS + personal name

¹³ Ibid..

¹⁴ Dimock, *Itinerarium Kambriæ et Descriptio Kambriæ*.

¹⁵ Ibid..

¹⁶ Brewer, *De Rebus a Se Gestis, Libri III; Invectionum Libellus; Symbolum Electorum*.

¹⁷ LL, p. 418; PNPemb., II, 570. For a definition of the extent of the territory see WATU, pp. 188 and 318.

¹⁸ PNPemb., II, 570.

The qualifying element appears to be the personal name *Sulien*. The modern form *Rhosili* shows the same loss of final [ən] as happened in **Ddawan** (> *Thaw*), and **Penalun** (> *Penally*).²⁰

Rhufain: see **Roma**.

Rhydri: [ST193865] (Eng. *Rudry*)

Attestations

ecclesia de Ruthery LL p. 324 c. 1350

Location

The attestation is from a list of churches in the deanery of **Llandaf**. The identification followed here is that of Evans, which is plausible, but cannot be regarded as secure unless further evidence is forthcoming.

Elements

?

It is not possible to tell whether *Ruthery* represents a genuine pronunciation of an earlier stage of this place-name, or whether it derives from an oral or scribal error. The modern form *Rhydri* might perhaps be connected with RHYD (though the settlement is not near any stream large enough to have a significant ford) or the personal name *Rhodri*. The LL form is identical to the LL form of the final element in **Llanddewi Rhydderch**, which is probably the personal name *Rhydderch*, and the names *Rhydderch* and *Rhodri* were often confused.²¹

Richmond: see †**Sheyn**.

Rinion: see †**Pullou Rinion**.

Rita: see †**Tref Rita**.

†**Rit Aruaith:** [on †**Pull Mouric**]

Attestations

rit aruaith	LLch.262	p. 262	'c. 1022'–c. 1030
rhit aruaith	LLch.262	p. 262	'c. 1022'–c. 1030

²⁰ *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 124.

²⁰ EANC, p. 64.

²¹ Morgan, *Welsh Surnames*, pp. 183–85, s.v. *Rhydderch*.

Location

This ford on Mouton Brook (†Mouric/†Pull Mouric) occurs as the opening and closing point in the bounds appended to charter 262. Although the approximate area is known, it is not clear precisely what the object of the grant is, nor whether the bounds given are for all, or only part of the territory.²² The bounds describe territory on both sides of Mouton Brook.

Elements

RHYD + ?ARFAITH

I can think of two possible interpretations of the second element: either *arfaith* 'very long' or *arfaeth* 'intention, purpose', of which the former is the rarer word, but the more suitable semantically.²³ The bounds begin 'rit aruaith ar mouric' which Evans translates 'The ford of the Arvaith on the Mouric', and end 'betpull mouric arhit aruaith ubi incepit', which Evans translates 'as far as Pool Merrick, along the Arvaith, where the boundary began'.²⁴ I should prefer to translate the final section as 'as far as †Pull Mouric and *Rhit Aruaith* where it began'. While it is possible that the original author of the bounds actually wrote 'arhit aruaith', the representation of [p] by *rh* would not be expected for a document of this date,²⁵ so I would suggest that 'arit aruaith' was what was originally written, and that this was misunderstood by a later redactor as an error for 'arhit aruaith' (due to the influence of the very common prepositional phrase *ar hit* 'along').

†Rit Deueit: [?nr SO481148]

Attestations

rit deueit

LLch.246

p. 247

c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

This ford is mentioned in one of the two (different) bounds of †Lann Guoronui, which has been identified with Rockfield (grid reference above). The attestation is from a reference to the three acres below *Rit Deueit* 'teir eru iss rit deueit', which three acres are perhaps defined by the final section of the

²² See †Villa Carnou, †Villa Crucou Leuirn, and †Villa Crucou Morcan for discussion of the problems.

²³ GPC, I, 192, s.v. *arfaeth* and *arfaith*.

²⁴ LL, p. 383.

²⁵ Jackson states that the spelling *rh* for this sound was not invented until the sixteenth century: LHEB,

bounds ('Otaruus bet tref gloyiud hit ieuen bet minugui'). There is considerable doubt over the identification of points in these bounds, and, indeed, over the location of the entire territory (see †**Ieuen**), so an identification of *Rit Deueit* cannot reasonably be made. Evans located this ford on the Monnow (**Mynwy**), but I can find no trace of a ford on that river in the vicinity of **Rockfield**.²⁶

Elements

RHYD + DAFAD (pl.)²⁷

The final two letters are written over an erasure, and Evans conjectured that the scribe might first have written *rit deuent*,²⁸ conceivably under the influence of a **uent* spelling of **Gwent**. This place-name should be compared with †**Ryt i Deueit**.

†**Ritec**: [SN1200] (mod. *The Pill, or Backwater*)

Attestations

ripam ritec	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
glan ritec	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
ripam ritec	LL	p. 255	before 'c. 1025'
glann ritec	LL	p. 255	before 'c. 1025'
ritec	LLch.125b	p. 126	s. xi ¹
ritec	LLch.125b	p. 126	s. xi ¹
ritec	LLch.125b	p. 126	s. xi ¹
ritec	LLch.127a	p. 127	s. xi ¹
ritec	LLch.125b	p. 126	c. 1080–c. 1120s
ritec	LLch.125b	p. 126	c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

This stream is mentioned in descriptions of the locations of four properties: †**Laithi Teliau** (pages 124, 126, 255), †**Menechi** (pages 124, 126, 255), †**Tref Carn** (page 126), and †**Cil Tutuc/†Penn Clecir** (page 127). The precise locations of these properties is uncertain, but three of them—†**Laithi Teliau**, †**Menechi**, and †**Cil Tutuc/†Penn Clecir**—are described as being

p. 477.

²⁶ LL, p. 417.

²⁷ GPC, I, 878, s.v. *dafad*.

near **Penally**. The stream should be quite a long one, since it has at least four properties along its banks, and the stream which flows into the marshy area in the grid square above before reaching the sea is the only long stream in the vicinity of **Penally**. This stream is marked as 'The Ritec (Rhydeg)' by the Ordnance Survey, but Charles seems to suspect that this name has found its way onto the maps as the result of an antiquarian identification.²⁹ The local name for the stream is *The Pill* (also, earlier, *Backwater*).³⁰ Despite the apparent anachronism of the Ordnance Survey's name for the stream, the identification is probably correct.

Elements

?RHYD + *-eg*

Thomas suggests the derivation above, but points out that *rhwd*, 'rust, dirt' is also a possibility.³¹

†**Rit i Cambren**: [?in SO0513]

Attestations

riticambren	LLb.25	p. 42	s. xi ¹
ryt ycamprenn	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s
ryt ycamprenn	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s

Location

This ford is mentioned as a point in both versions of the diocesan bounds. The bounds run up the **Taf Fechan** from its junction with the **Taf Fawr** to *Rit i Cambren*, and then from the ford to †**Hal Du**. Evans compared this place-name with 'Rhiw Gambren, near Pont Sticcill',³² which I cannot find, but the area immediately to the north of Pontsticill [SO0511] is now covered by a reservoir, so perhaps Rhiw Gambren lay in this area. A location on the **Taf Fechan** in the area now covered by the Pontsticill Reservoir, would sit well with the suggested location of †**Hal Du**.

²⁸ LL, p. 352.

²⁹ PNPemb., II, 562.

³⁰ Ibid..

³¹ EANC, pp. 84–85, s.v. *Rhydan*.

³² LL, p. 367.

ElementsRHYD + YR + CAMBREN³³

CAMBREN (CAM + *pren* 'tree') has a range of meanings from the literal 'crooked tree' to 'swingletree, cambrel, yoke'.³⁴

†**Rit Iguein:** [?SO459103]Attestationsrit iguein LLch.227b p. 228 s. xi¹Location

This ford on the **Troddi** is named in the bounds of **Llanddingad (Dingestow)**. The bounds describe territory on both sides of the **Troddi**, with *Rit Iguein* being the crossing point between the two. The ford should not be very far from †**Nant i Buch** (the preceding place-name). The only crossing point on the **Troddi** in the vicinity of **Dingestow** nowadays is the bridge (grid reference above) which carries the road over the river eastwards from the village. If there had been a ford at this point earlier, it would be a plausible identification for *Rit Iguein*. If this is correct then the bounds probably describe a figure of eight, anti-clockwise round **Dingestow**, and clockwise round the territory to the east of the **Troddi**. A little to the north-east of **Dingestow**, across the river, is a farm called *Treowen* [SO463105] (perhaps earlier SO461111), the second element of which is probably the same as the second element of *Rit Iguein*.

Elements

RHYD + personal name

The personal name *Owain* is spelt *Iguein* in charter 240 (page 241).

Rit i Main: see †**Rit ir Main**.†**Rit i Main Melin:** [on the **Elái**, ?nr ST0284]Attestationsrit imain melin LLch.271 p. 272 s. xi²Location

This place is named as a point in the bounds of †**Villa Miluc**. It appears to be the name of a ford on the **Ely (Elái)**, upstream of †**Lin i Gleiniou**. †**Villa**

³³ GPC, I, 398, s.v. *cambren*; CPNE, p. 36.
³⁴ GPC, I, 397-98, s.v. *cambren*.

Miluc has been identified, though not certainly, with Garth Maelwg, but the bounds are difficult to follow, so the best that can be said is that *Rit i Main Melin* is a ford on the Ely (**Elái**), perhaps near Garth Maelwg.

Elements

RHYD + YR + MAEN + MELYN

With the *Main Melyn* of this place-name, compare the cognate Cornish field name *Mean-Mellin*.³⁵

†**Rit ir Euic**: [nr SO363172]

Attestations

rit ir euic LLch.228 p. 229 s. xi¹

Location

This name occurs in the bounds of **Llanwytherin**, as the name of a ford on the †**Atguedauc**, which has not been identified more precisely than to say that it is probably one of several streams to the north of **Llanwytherin** which flow west–east from the slopes of the **Ysgryd Fawr** towards the **Troddi**.

Elements

RHYD + YR + EWIG³⁶

†**Rit ir Main**: [?SO429042]

Attestations

rit i main LLch.159a p. 159 s. xi¹

rit irmain LLch.159a p. 159 s. xi¹

Location

Rit ir Main is the name of a ford on the **Olway (Olwy)**, used as the opening and closing point in the bounds of **Llanerthill**. From the ford the bounds proceed up an unnamed stream to its source, thence to †**Allt ir Cicbran**, down †**Nant ir Hebauc** to the †**Guefrduur**, down the †**Guefrduur** to the **Olway (Olwy)**, and down the **Olway (Olwy)** back to the ford. *Rit ir Main* should be somewhere near the mouth of the unnamed stream which takes the bounds up to †**Allt ir Cicbran**, otherwise the bounds would not describe full perambulation. If the identification of the †**Guefrduur** with **Pontyrhydan Brook** is correct, then it is clear that the bounds describe a territory in the nook

³⁵ CPNE, p. 161, s.v. *melyn*².

of that brook and the Olway (Olwy), presumably including Llanerthill itself. There is only really one likely identification of the unnamed stream—that at SO428042—so the point nearby (grid reference above) where a road crosses the Olway (Olwy) seems the most likely location of *Rit ir Main*. It might be significant that there is a farm called *Rhyd-y-maen* [SO423028] two kilometres south-west of Llanerthill. The present location of the farm would not really work as the location of the ford of the LL bounds, but conceivably the farm has moved from somewhere nearer the suggested location of *Rit ir Main*.

Elements

RHYD + YR + MAEN

†**Rit Lechauc, I:** [?SO309151 or SO308149]

Attestations

irit. lechauc LLch.122 p. 123 s. xi¹

Location

This ford is attested as a point in the bounds of Llandeilo Bertholau. It is on the Gefenni, downstream of the mouth of †Nant Morduc, and from it the bounds proceed westwards to the Cibi. The Gefenni is not a particularly large stream, and it could probably have been forded at any point on its course, but, in view of the suggested location of †Luch i Crecion (the point at which the bounds reach the Cibi), either of the two road crossings at the grid references above would provide plausible locations for *I Rit Lechauc*.

Elements

YR + RHYD + LLECHOG

GPC refers to a farm named *Rhydlechog* near Bala in its discussion of the adjective *llechog* 'slaty, stony, flagged' (LLECH + -OG).³⁷

†**Rit Litan:** [on the Nofydd]

Attestations

rit litan LLch.257 p. 258 'c. 1033'

Location

This ford on the Nofydd is named as the starting point in the bounds of †Riu Brein. From it the bounds proceed to the †Istleidiauc. The only identified

* GPC, I, 1262, s.v. *ewig*; CPNE, p. 96, s.v. **ewyk*.

place in the bounds is the **Nofydd**.

Elements

RHYD + LLYDAN³⁸

†**Ritnant**: [?SO183288]

Attestations

ritnant	LLb.25	p. 42	s. xi ¹
rytnant	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s

Location

This feature is a point in both versions of the diocesan bounds. If Evans's suggested identifications of the preceding and following points, †**Guornoid** and †**Din March Lythan**, are correct, then *Ritnant* would very likely be the stream which flows into the Rhiangoll at the grid reference above. The area in which this feature is mentioned is particularly difficult to trace, however, due to the dearth of confidently identified place-names.

Elements

?RHYD + NANT

The name appears to be compound in formation, with NANT as the generic. RHYD is not at all usual as a qualifying element, so perhaps *rhwd* 'rust, dirt' should be considered instead.

†**Rit yr Onnenn**: [?ST433989]

Attestations

rit yronnenn	LLch.173	p. 174	s. xi ¹
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Location

This ford is named as a point in the bounds of **Llangwm**. It is clear from the bounds that it is on †**Nant Broueni** (Dyffryn Brook). Only one ford (grid reference above) on Dyffryn Brook is marked by the Ordnance Survey, and that ford is west of the source of one of the possible identifications of the †**Bis**, so it seems like a plausible identification.

Elements

RHYD + YR + ONNEN

Onnen 'ash tree' is the singulative of ONN (+ -EN).

³⁷ GPC, II, 2125, s.v. *llechog*¹.

Riu: see †Ecclesia Riu.

†**Riu Brein:** [nr the Nofydd]

Attestations

terram Riubrein	LLch.257	p. 257	'c. 1033'
Riubreinn	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
RIV BREIN	LLrub.	p. 257	c. 1120s
riu brein	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Riu brein	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

The attestations are from three versions of a list of properties confirmed to Llandaf by the Pope, and from charter 257, where it is the name given to the territory granted. The versions of the property list do not provide useful evidence for the place's location because the preceding and following points in the list (†Lann Gunnhoill and †Cair Castell) are widely separated. Fortunately, however, the extent of the territory is defined by bounds in charter 257. The bounds locate the territory on the Nofydd,³⁹ but a more precise identification is not possible. A fifteenth-century glossator has added a marginal 'seyghenyth' (Senghennydd) alongside the charter, and a location on the Nofydd would place the property in the cantref of Senghennydd.

Elements

RHIW + BRÂN (pl.)⁴⁰

Riu Breinn: see †Riu Brein.

†**Riu Celli Cintur:** [nr ST451878]

Attestations

riu celli cintur	LLch.233	p. 234	c. 990–c. 1010
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Location

This slope is mentioned as a point in the bounds of †Lann Mihacgel Maur (probably Llanfihangel Rogiet). I am unable to trace the route of the bounds, however, so the grid reference above is for Llanfihangel Rogiet.

³⁹ CPNE, p. 145, s.v. *ledan*.

⁴⁰ Hence Evans's identification ('somewhere between Castell Coch & Castell Morgraig'): LL, p. 382.

⁴¹ GPC, I, 308, s.v. *brân*; CPNE, p. 196, s.v. **rew*.

Elements

RHIW + CELLI + ?CYNNWR

The noun *cynnwr* ‘leader, forefather’ is a compound of *cynt* ‘previous’ and *GŴR*,⁴¹ so the expected Old Welsh spelling would be *cintur*, as found in this place-name.

†Riu Finion: [nr ST1279]

Attestations

riu finion	LL	p. 69	?
riu finion	LLch.159b	p. 160	‘c. 685’–c. 930
riu finion	LLch.159b	p. 160	‘c. 685’–c. 930

Location

This place is named in both the bounds of the *PODUM* of **Llandaf** (page 69), and in those of a territory named as †[...]nuc **Bacan** (q.v. and †**Lann Menechi**). I have not been able to trace the bounds of the latter territory, but the bounds of **Llandaf**’s *PODUM* are more promising. In these the territory is defined by the rivers **Taf (Fawr)** and **Ely (Elái)**, and the sea, and also by three points: †**Henriu Gunma**, *Riu Finion*, and the **Gwynlais**. As the rivers **Taf (Fawr)** and **Ely (Elái)**, and the sea define three sides of an approximate rectangle around **Llandaf**, it seems reasonable to assume that the other three points complete this rectangle, by defining the north-western boundary, between the two major rivers. The **Gwynlais** is a tributary of the **Taf (Fawr)**, and there are slight but independent grounds for locating †**Henriu Gunma** near the **Ely (Elái)**, so *Riu Finion* is probably somewhere approximately halfway between the two rivers, to the north-west of **Llandaf**.

Elements

RHIW + ?FFIN (pl.)

There is also an adjective *ffinion* ‘loathsome, worthless’, but, in view of the place’s use as a boundary point, *FFIN* is a more likely qualifier.

†Riu Graenauc: [nr the Ddawan]

Attestations

Riugraenauc	LLch.147	p. 148	‘c. 665’
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⁴¹ GPC, I, 797.

Riugraenauc	LLch.147	p. 148	'c. 665'–c. 1010
Riu graenauc	LLrub.	p. 147	c. 1120s

Location

Riu Graenauc is the name of one of four properties on the Thaw (**Ddawan**) granted in charter 147. Bounds are given which define the territory as the area between the Thaw (**Ddawan**) and a lake (†**Rufus Lacus**) in the crossroads (*triuuium*) of a mountain. Evans located this place near Llansannor, which is presumably based on the assumption that *Riu Graenauc* should be near †**Nant Auan** (one of the other properties granted in charter 147), and the identification of †**Nant Auan** with Llansannor.⁴²

Elements

RHIW + GRAEANOOG

GPC cites this place-name as an example of the adjective *graeanog* 'gravelly' (*graean* 'gravel' + -OG).⁴³

†**Riu Guorgued**: [?ST0977]Attestations

riu guorgued LLch.216b p. 217 s. xi¹

Location

This place occurs as a point in the bounds of **Saint-y-nyll**. Insufficient information is available, however, to make a positive identification.

Elements

RHIW + ?GORWEDD

As well as *gorwedd* 'lying down' (GOR- + *gwedd* 'appearance'), there is also a noun *gorwydd* 'forest edge, wooded slope' (GOR- + GWŶDD), which is more common as a place-name element (cf. **Cefn-gorwydd** [SS5995], which, according to GPC is locally pronounced 'Cefen Gorwedd')⁴⁴

†**Riu i Curum**: [around SO308273] (?mod. *Rhiw Arw*)Attestations

riu icurum LLch.195 p. 196 s. xi²

⁴² LL, p. 417.

⁴³ GPC, II, 1521, s.v. *graeanog*.

⁴⁴ GPC, II, 1507.

Location

This slope is named as a point in the bounds of †**Merthir Clitauc**. It is encountered on the ridge (CEGIN) of Hatterall Hill, between †**Guoun Breith** and the Turnant †**Nant Trineint**. Rollason points out the existence of a path named *Rhiw Arw* (grid reference above) running down the slope eastwards from the ridge, and notes that at the foot of the path is a ruined cottage called *Rhiw Cwrw* [SO309276].⁴⁵ It seems likely that *Rhiw Arw* arose from a misunderstanding of a form such as **Rhiw Gwrw*—confusion is possible because RHIW can be masculine or feminine in gender.⁴⁶ The area of the slope down which the path runs is about halfway between the preceding and following points in the bounds, so this identification is very likely.

Elements

RHIW + YR + CWRW

GPC cites this place-name as an example of the noun *cwrw* ‘beer, ale’.⁴⁷ *Cwrw* developed from Brittonic **curmi-*, and the LL spelling *curum* shows that an epenthetic vowel (seen later in Middle Welsh forms such as *cwryf* and *cwrwſ*) had grown between the [r] and the final [v], and, perhaps, that that final [v] still retained some degree of nasality (accounting for the *m* spelling).⁴⁸

†**Riu Merchiau**: [?nr ST412878]Attestations

riu merchiau LLch.180b p. 182 s. xi¹

Location

This place-name is attested in the bounds of †**Lann Catgualatir** (identified with Bishton). It is the name of a slope down which the bounds travel from a ridge near †**Cestill Dinan** into a marsh (presumably the marshy area to the south of Bishton). The identification of *Riu Merchiau* really depends, then, on the identification of †**Cestill Dinan**, which I have suggested might be Wilcrick Hill (hence the grid reference above). There is, however, nothing that might be called a ridge (CEGIN or CRIB) around this hill, so the identification is far from certain.

⁴⁵ ‘The Boundaries’, p. 58.

⁴⁶ GPC, III, 3082.

⁴⁷ GPC, I, 649.

Elements

RHIW + personal name

Williams (following Phillimore) treats the qualifying element of this place-name as a personal name (which would be in Modern Welsh *Meirchio*), a pet-form of *Marchudd*.⁴⁹

†**Riu Timuil**: [nr ST451878]Attestations

riu timuil LLch.233 p. 234 c. 990–c. 1010

Location

This slope is mentioned as a point in the bounds of †**Lann Mihacgel Maur** (probably Llanfihangel Rogiet). I am unable to trace the route of the bounds, however, so the grid reference above is for Llanfihangel Rogiet.

Elements

RHIW + ?personal name

The name looks very similar to †**Riu Tiuuil**. Evans, however, also compared *Timuil* with *Diniuil*—which is attested as the spelling of the second element of **Llanddinol (Itton)** in one of its LL attestations.⁵⁰ In any case, the second element is probably a personal name.

†**Riu Tinuiu**: [?nr ST1278] (also †**Henriu**, †**Henriu Gunma**)Attestations

riu tinuiu LLch.159b p. 160 'c. 685'–c. 930

Location

Riu Tinuiu is given the alternative name †**Henriu** in the rather confused boundary clause(s) of charter 159b. See †**Henriu** for the reasoning behind the identification with †**Henriu Gunma**.

Elements

RHIW + ?personal name

⁴⁹ For the development of the noun from **curmi-* to *cwrw* see LHEB, p. 414.

⁵⁰ 'The Towyn Inscribed Stone', pp. 30–31.

⁵¹ LL, p. 417.

†**Riu Tiuuil**: [nr ST1483]Attestations

riu tiuuil LLch.255 p. 257 'c. 1035'–c. 1050

Location

This slope is named as a point in the bounds of †**Difrinn Annoid**. It is not possible to provide more than a general location for this place due to the difficulty of following the bounds. *Riu Tiuuil* is named in the bounds between †**Finnaun Derguist** and †**Pull ir Iulenn**.

Elements

RHIW + ?personal name

Cf. †**Riu Timuil**.Riuulum Circhan: see †**Circhan**.

Riuulum Taugeiel: see Nant Tawel.

Riuulum Tauguel: see Nant Tawel.

River Waycock: see (1) †**Gulich**.†**Rivulus i Guern**: [?nr SO529318]Attestations

riuulo iguern LLch.170 p. 170 'c. 850'–c. 930

Location

This stream defines the territory of †**Cum Mouric**. The bounds are very brief, describing an area between this stream and an unnamed hill (*clivus*). The grid reference above is for Little Dewchurch, the identification which has been proposed for †**Cum Mouric**, but this identification is not at all certain.

Elements

RIVULUS + YR + GWERN

The name is likely to be a partial Latinisation of a name like †**Frut i Guern**.Rivulus ir Gudinn: see †**Gudinn**.†**Rivulus Mithri**: [?SS461884]Attestations

riuulum mithri LLch.239 p. 240 'c. 925'

LocationThis stream is named in the bounds of †**Penn i Bei**. The bounds are

dimensional, defining the territory as lying in one dimension between *Rivulus Mithri* and the summit (*vertex*) of an unnamed hill or mountain (*MONS*), and in the other dimension between a wood (*SILVA*) to the east and *Ager Cinguali* (†Lann Cingualan) to the west. *Rivulus Mithri* should be broadly to the north or south of †Penn i Bei, then. If the identification of †Penn i Bei with Paviland is correct, then this stream would probably be one of the two streams rising around SS439870 (at East Pilton) and SS448870 (at Pylewell), which meet at the grid reference above. The place-names associated with these two streams suggest names in PIL—I can find nothing similar to *Mithri* in this area.

Elements

RIVULUS + ? + ?-I

Thomas discusses this stream name together with other names with the suffix I, but confesses himself uncertain of its derivation, saying that it does not look Welsh.⁵¹ Patrick Sims-Williams has suggested to me ‘at a guess’ that the qualifying element could be an unattested Irish personal name **Ithrí* (< **Iturīx* ‘corn-king’), formed with the Irish hypocoristic prefix *Mo-*.

†*Rivulus Penlucan*: [?SO438169]

Attestations

riuulum penlucan LLch.210a p. 210 ‘c. 780’–c. 1010

Location

The attestation is from the bounds of †Cair Riou. The bounds describe an *uncia* of land between the Crofft Hîr Brook (†Distin) and the *Liminan* (almost certainly to be identified with the Llymon). *Rivulus Penlucan* is a stream in the route of the bounds between the *Liminan* and the Crofft Hîr Brook at the northern end of the territory, specifically between †Fons Baraliuen and †Pull Rud. Thomas suggested the identification followed here,⁵² which is most probable if the bounds are read as indicating that †Pull Rud is a pool on *Rivulus Penlucan*.

Elements

RIVULUS + ?personal name

Thomas suggested that *Penlucan* might be a personal name, made up of the

⁵¹ EANC, p. 164.

⁵² EANC, p. 83.

elements PEN, LLUG, and the diminutive suffix -AN.⁵³

Rochester: see †Roffa.

Rockfield: [SO481148] (?also †Lann Guoronui)

Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Rokeuile</i>	LL	p. 284	c. 1195
<i>ecclesia de Rokeuyle</i> ⁵⁴	LL	p. 320	c. 1350

Location

The earlier attestation is from a list of benefices contributed to Llandaf, but there is nothing in the context of the list to suggest a location. The later attestation is from a list of churches owing monies in the deanery of **Abergefenni**. The identification with modern Rockfield was made by Evans, and seems plausible as far as appearance is concerned, and this place is in the area covered by the deanery of **Abergefenni**.⁵⁵ I can find no other place with a name like this in South-East Wales.

Elements

?ROKE + ?VILLE

The lack of final *d* in the attestations suggests that the second element is French *ville* 'settlement'. If the second element is French, then the first element is more likely to be French also. *Roke* could be an Old French form of *roche* 'rock'. If the second element is English FELD, however (perhaps misinterpreted as *ville* by Francophone scribes), then the first element would be more likely to be *hrōc* 'rook'. Cf. The French place-name *Rocheville* (sixteen kilometres south of Cherbourg). The interpretation as a French name is also made by Charles: 'This is a place-name transplanted from Normandy by a Norman settler who came from Rocheville in Manche. This settler may have been Radulphus de *Rochevilla*, a witness to a Monmouth charter in the eleventh century [...]. For French *roche* English *rock* was substituted and, to complete the Anglicising of the name, French *ville* later gave way to English FELD.'⁵⁶

⁵³ Ibid..

⁵⁴ LL, p. 357.

⁵⁵ LL, p. 418.

⁵⁶ Charles, *Non-Celtic Place-Names*, p. 263–64.

Rofensi: see †Roffa.

†**Roffa:** [TQ7468] (mod. *Rochester*)

Attestations

rofensi [episcopo] LL p. 280 1107–34

Location

This place-name is attested in the list of bishops present at Urban's consecration in **Canterbury**. The identification with Rochester is obvious on the ground that *Roffensis*, the adjective derived from *Roffa*, is to this day the usual Latin style of the Bishop of Rochester. In the Roman period, the name of the site was *Durobrivae*, which was borrowed into early Old English in a form such as **Rofri*, and the later Latin form *Roffa* derives from a folk etymology, supposing **Rofri* to be connected with Old English *hrōf* 'roof'.⁷⁷

Rogezate: see Rogiet.

Rogiet: [ST456876]

Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Rogezate</i>	LL	p. 318	c. 1350
<i>ecclesia de Rogezate</i>	LL	p. 322	c. 1350
<i>Ecc'ia de Rogezate</i>	LL	p. 328	c. 1350

Location

All the attestations are from lists of properties owing monies in the deanery of †**Nether Went**. The identification followed here was made by Evans, and it is reasonable on grounds both of the name's appearance and of the place's location.

Elements

?HRYCG + GEAT

The second element appears to be English *geat* 'gap, opening, gate', and Charles suggested that the first element might be a development of English *hrycg* 'ridge'.⁷⁸

Rokeuile, Rokeuyle: see **Rockfield**.

⁷⁷ LHEB, p. 267.

⁷⁸ Charles, *Non-Celtic Place-Names*, p. 254.

†**Roma Britanniae:** [SH1221] (W. Ynys Enlli, Eng. *Bardsey*)Attestations

roma britannię	LL	p. 1	1120s
roma britannię	LL	p. 83	1120s?

Location

The attestations are from the Lives of Elgar (page 1) and Dyfrig (page 83). The context in both is a reference to **Ynys Enlli**, for which *Roma Britanniae* is said to be an old, proverbial alternative name. The Life of Dyfrig is partly modelled on that of Elgar, and the relevant passage here seems to have been borrowed, virtually unedited.⁹⁹

Elements**Roma + Britannia** (gen.)

The reason for the name is explained as being the similarity between Bardsey Island (**Ynys Enlli**) and Rome (**Roma**) in the length and danger of the journey involved to get there, and in the holiness of the place.

Roma: [NGR N/A] (W. *Rhufain*, Eng. *Rome*)Attestations

seniorum urbis romę	LL	p. 68	?
romana ecclesia	LL	p. 133	?
papou rumein	LL	p. 120	s. x ² -s. xi
sedis romanę epicopus	LLb.1	p. 88	1119
sanctę romanę ęcclesię	LLb.2	p. 92	1119
romanorum imperatoris	LL	p. 84	1120s?
romanę ęcclesię	LLb.8	p. 48	1125
SANCTĘ Romanę ęcclesię	LLb.8	p. 48	1125
romanę ęcclesię	LLb.8	p. 48	1125
ęcclesię romanę	LLb.9	p. 49	1125
romanę ęcclesię	LLb.10	p. 49	1125
[Roma]ni concilii	LLb.10	p. 49	1125
romanę ciuitatis	LL	p. 25	1128
ęcclesię romę	LL	p. 25	1128

⁹⁹ Davies, 'The Book of Llandaf', pp. 188–90.

romam	LLb.11	p. 52	1128
romano conuentu	LLb.11	p. 52	1128
Romanam	LLb.13	p. 34	1128
romanam audientiam	LLb.14	p. 35	1128
romam	LLb.20	p. 52	1129
romanę ecclesie	LLb.20	p. 52	1129
sancta romana ecclesia	LLb.22	p. 46	1129
sancta romana ecclesia	LLb.23	p. 47	1129
sanctę Romanę ecclesię	LLb.25	p. 45	1129
roma	LL	p. 15	c. 1130
sancte romanę ecclesię	LLb.30	p. 54	1130
Romanam ecclesiam	LLb.30	p. 55	1130
sancte romane ecclesię	LLb.32i	p. 58	1130
sancte romane ecclesie	LLb.32ii	p. 288	1130
sancte romane ecclesie	LLb.33i	p. 58	1130?
sancte romane ecclesie	LLb.33ii	p. 288	1130?
romam	LLb.36i	p. 56	1130
romam	LLb.36ii	p. 61	1130
romam	LLb.36iii	p. 287	1130
romam	LLb.37	p. 63	1131
Rome	LLb.41	p. 66	1131
Rome	LL	p. 314	c. 1350
Curia romana	LL	p. 317	c. 1350
Curia romana	LL	p. 317	c. 1350
Curia romana	LL	p. 317	c. 1350
Curia romana	LL	p. 317	c. 1350
curia Romana	LLgloss	p. 121	s. xv
Rome	LLgloss	p. 314	1476x78

Location

There is no reason to doubt the obvious identification. All attestations are Latin in language, apart from *Rumein* (page 120; Welsh) and *Rome* (page 314; French).

Rome: see Roma.

Roose, Ros: see **Rhos**.

Ros Cerion: see †**Lann Deui Ros Cerion**.

†**Ros ir Eithin:** [?nr SO520000]

Attestations

ros ireithin LLch.218 p. 221 955

Location

Ros ir Eithin is one of three parcels of land said to belong to †**Lann Bedeui** in charter 218 (the other two being †**Glin Mannou** and †**Cil Coit**). It is not clear whether these three pieces of land adjoin each other, or, indeed, whether they adjoin †**Lann Bedeui**. The limits of either *Ros ir Eithin* alone, or of the three pieces of land together, are described as the **Anghidi** and †**Cil Catan**. More information is required to make a sound identification.

Elements

RHOS + YR + EITHIN

The cognate Cornish form of this name is seen in *Rosenithon*.⁶⁰

Rosulgen: see **Rhosili**.

Rotguidou: see †**Nant hi Rotguidou**.

Rotomagensis: see **Rouen**.

Rouen: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

Rotomagensi archiepiscopo	LL	p. 29	1126
Rotomagensi [archiepiscopo]	LLb.42	p. 66	1131
rotomagensis [archiepiscopi]	LLb.43i	p. 62	1132

Location

The three attestations are references to the archbishop of this place. There is no reason to doubt the identification with Rouen.⁶¹ The Classical name for the place was *Rotomagi* (of which the forms here in *Rotomagens-* are adjectival derivatives).⁶² On page 66, the Archbishop of Rouen is mentioned, together with those of **Canterbury** and **York**, as one of the archbishops of England

⁶⁰ CPNE, pp. 92 and 201.

⁶¹ LL, p. 418.

⁶² Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, p. 1601.

(Anglia).

Rud: see †Pull Rud.

Rudanhint: see †Celli Rudanhint.

Rudlan: see †Alt Rudlan.

†**Rudlan Elei:** [on the Elái]

Attestations

rudlan Elei LLch.155 p. 155 'c. 675'–c. 1010

Location

This place-name occurs in the bounds of charter 155, which grants †Lann Cincirill and †Ager Cynfall, the location of which is uncertain. The identification of the territory rests on the the assumption that *Rudlan Elei* must be connected in some way (presumably by proximity) with the Ely (Elái).

Elements

RHUDD + ?GLAN + Elái

Rudlan would be a compound of RHUDD and either GLAN or LLAN. The former seems more likely, given the riverine connexion in the name (+ Elái). *Rhuddlan* (of which place-name there are examples in Cardiganshire [SN4943] and Denbighshire [SJ0278]) is treated by Jackson as a compound of RHUDD and GLAN.⁶³ Cf. †Alt Rudlan.

†**Rudpull, Ir:** [nr SO5004]

Attestations

[i]r rudpull LLch.156 p. 156 'c. 698'–c. 1010

Location

This pool is named as a point in the bounds of Llandogo. The bounds proceed to the *Rudpull* from a marsh (GWAUN; most likely Cleddon Bog [SO509038]), via the middle of a hill ('hannher irminid'; most likely Broad Meend [SO505044]), and continue to the Olway (Olwy). There are several small pools in the area between Broad Meend and the Olway (Olwy), none more likely than any other, so the grid reference above is a general one.

⁶³ LHEB, p. 436.

Elements

YR + RHUDD + PWLL

The same name is found with name-phrase formation in †**Pull Rud.**⁶⁴**Rudry:** see **Rhydri.****Rufum:** see (1) and (2) †**Vadum Rufum.**†**Rufus Lacus:** [nr the **Ddawan**]Attestations

rufum lacum LLch.147 p. 148 'c. 665'–c. 1010

Location

This lake or pool is mentioned as a point in the perfunctory bounds of †**Riu Graenauc**. The territory is defined as the area between the Thaw (**Ddawan**) and the *Rufus Lacus*, which is described as being 'in the crossroads of the mountain' ('intriuiio montis'). It is not clear to me what might be meant by 'in the crossroads of the mountain'. †**Riu Graenauc** cannot be more closely identified than to say that it is on the river Thaw (**Ddawan**), possibly near Llansannor, and this is not sufficient to suggest an identification for *Rufus Lacus*.

Elements*RUFUS + LACUS*

The generic element here is Latin *lacus* 'lake, pool'. The name could be a Latin translation of a name such as †**Pull Rud** or †**Rudpull**.

Ruisc: see †**Nant Ruisc.****Ruma:** see †**Hal Ruma.****Rumein:** see **Roma.****Rumney:** [ST214791] (W. *Tredelerch*)Attestations

Ecclesia de Rempney	Tax ⁶⁵	p. 279	c. 1291
ecclesia de Rempny	LL	p. 319	c. 1350
ecclesia de Rempny	LL	p. 323	c. 1350

⁶⁴ CPNE, p. 204, s.v. *ruth*.⁶⁵ Astle, *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*.

[ecclesia] de Rempny LL

p. 329 c. 1350

Location

All the attestations are from lists of properties in the deanery of Newport. On page 329 it is one of three churches for which the abbot of St Augustine's Abbey, Bristol, owed tithes to Llandaf. There are two places bearing this name, both in the area of the deanery: Rhymney [SO1107] and Rumney (grid reference above). Of these the latter seems far more likely to be the place intended by the LL attestations, because Rumney's church is dedicated to St Augustine.

Elements

The settlement takes its name from the river Rhymni, on which it stands. Thomas suggests that the stem of the name could derive from *rhwmp* 'auger' with the river-name suffix -NI, and Williams agrees with this.⁶⁶ This interpretation would be supported by the presence of a *p* in the forms of the settlement name (though not in the earliest forms of the river name). The same stem might be present in †Guorrimi, and for a stream name with a similar meaning see †Taratir.

Runestun: see Runston.

Runston: [ST495915]

Attestations

Ecclesiam de Runestuñ	LL	p. 291	s. xiii ²
runestuñ	LL	p. 291	s. xiii ²
capellani de Runestuñ	LL	p. 292	s. xiii ²
Runestuñ	LL	p. 292	s. xiii ²

Location

The thirteenth-century charter in which the attestations are found concerns the grant of the territory of the church of *Runestun* by the Bishop of Llandaf to a certain man named Robert. Evans made the identification followed here, with the extinct mediaeval village of Runston (grid reference above).⁶⁷ This can be regarded as secure, given the appearance of the place-name, and the co-

⁶⁶ EANC, p. 165; *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 42. I cannot find the verb *rhyfi* which Thomas suggests as an alternative stem.

⁶⁷ LL, p. 418.

occurrence in the same charter of the names of several identifiable nearby places (Sain Pÿr (St Pierre), Crick, †Strugull (Chepstow), Matharn, and Caldicot). In two of the attestations the place-name is used as the surname of a certain Nicholas.

Elements

? (gen.) + TŪN

The first element could be the Welsh personal name *Rhun*, treated here as an English element with genitive *s*, or, if an English personal name be preferred, it might be *Rūnhere*, or perhaps a pet-name derived from a name in *Rūn*.⁶⁸

Ruthery: see **Llanddewi Rhydderch, Rhydri.**

Ruua: see †**Hal Ruma.**

†**Ryt i Deueit:** [?SS6190]

Attestations

ryt ideueit LLch.145 p. 145 s. xi¹

Location

This ford on the (1) †**Dubleis** is named as a point in the bounds of **Llandeilo Ferwallt**. The identity of the stream is highly uncertain, but if Evans's identification with Black Pill is correct,⁶⁹ the ford should be on the stretch of the stream in the grid square above. As a source for his identification of the ford as being on the Black Pill, Evans names one 'Ll. Reynolds'.⁷⁰

Elements

RHYD + YR + DAFAD (pl.)

Virtually the same name (but without the article) is probably †**Rit Deueit**.

Rytnant: see †**Ritnant**.

†**Ryt Sinetic:** [on the Taf]

Attestations

rytsinetic LLch.127b p. 127 before 'c. 1025'

Location

This ford is named in charter 127b's long Narration. The Narration tells of a

⁶⁸ Owen, *Description of Penbrokshire*, IV, 371, n. 1; Charles, *Non-Celtic Place-Names*, p. 249.

⁶⁹ LL, p. 369.

⁷⁰ LL, p. 417.

man from **Daugleddau** and his wife who lament their misfortune in having produced septuplets. The father takes his seven sons to *Ryt Sinetic*, where he attempts to drown them, but is prevented by St Teilo. Teilo takes the rescued boys to live at **Llanddowror**. *Ryt Sinetic* is located somewhere on the **Taf**, by which is clearly meant the more westerly of the two rivers of that name (given the associations with **Daugleddau** and **Llanddowror**). I can find no place of this name along the course of the river, but it should probably be somewhere along its upper half, as the river would not be fordable lower down.

Elements

RHYD + ?SYNEDIG

Synedig 'surprised' seems an odd adjective to use to describe a ford, but I can think of no other word which *sinetic* might represent.

†**Ryt Tindyrn**: [?SO538011]

Attestations

ryt tindyrn	LLch.141	p. 141	?
uadum tindirn	LLch.141	p. 141	?

Location

Ryt Tindyrn is named in the Narration of charter 141 in an account of King Tewdrig's rout of Saxon invaders, where the king is told by an angel that if he stands firm on the bank of the Wye (**Gwy**) at this ford, the enemy will turn in flight. The Saxons are described as having fled to †**Pull Brochuail**, which has been plausibly identified with **Brockweir**. The name *Ryt Tindyrn* strongly suggests a connexion with Tintern (**Tyndyrn**). A bridge (grid reference above) now crosses the river between Tintern (**Tyndyrn**) and **Brockweir**, and it seems reasonable to suggest that the bridge was built on the site of an earlier ford, and that that ford is the one meant by the attestations.

Elements

RHYD + **Tyndyrn**

VADUM + **Tyndyrn**

Ryt y Cambrenn, Camprenn: see †**Rit i Cambren**.

†Ryt y Cerr: [?nr SO482149]

Attestations

ryt ycerr

LLch.246 p. 247 c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

This ford is mentioned as the opening point in one of the two (different) bounds of †Lann Guoronui, which has been identified with Rockfield (grid reference above). From the ford the bounds proceed to a ridge (CEGIN), and on to †Finnaun Guaidan. There is considerable doubt over the identification of points in these bounds, and, indeed, over the location of the entire territory (see †Ieuen). The bounds appear to end on the Monnow (Mynwy), or on a stream (the †Targuus/†Ieuen) which probably runs to the river, and, if this is so, then *Ryt y Cerr*, as the starting point, should probably also be on the Monnow (Mynwy). I can, however, find no trace of a ford on the river in the vicinity of Rockfield.

Elements

RHYD + YR + ?CAR (pl.)

The noun *car* ‘vehicle, cart, sled’ historically had a geminate [r], which explains the double *r* of *cerr*. In Modern Welsh the plural of *car* is *ceir*; the diphthong [ei] is often represented by *e* in Old Welsh orthography.

S

†**Sabi[...]:** [NGR N/A]

Attestations

sabiensis LLb.30 p. 54 1130

Location

This name occurs (in its Latin adjectival form) as the surname of one *Chun*, one of Pope Innocent's electors. I do not know where this place might be, or, indeed, what the proper noun might be on which the adjectival form *Sabiensis* is based.

Sabrina, Sabrinum: see **Hafren.**

Sain Dunwyd: [SS933680] (Eng. *St Donat's*)

Attestations

<i>ecclesia de sancto Donato</i>	LL	p. 319	c. 1350
<i>ecclesia de sancto Donato</i>	LL	p. 325	c. 1350
<i>Ecc'ia de sancto Donato</i>	LL	p. 331	c. 1350

Location

All the attestations are from administrative lists of churches in the deanery of **Gorfynydd**. The identification with St Donat's made by Evans is obvious in terms of appearance, and suits the location in **Gorfynydd**.¹

Elements

ECCLESIA + DE + SANCTUS (abl.) + personal name (abl.)

Sain Ffagan: [SS121771] (Eng. *St Fagans*)

Attestations

<i>ecclesia de sancto ffagano</i>	LL	p. 319	c. 1350
<i>ecclesia de sancto ffagano</i>	LL	p. 324	c. 1350
<i>Ecc'ia de sancto ffagano</i>	LL	p. 330	c. 1350

Location

All the attestations are from administrative lists of churches in the deanery of **Llandaf**. The identification made here is obvious in terms of appearance, and is in the right deanery.

Elements

ECCLESIA + DE + SANCTUS (abl.) + personal name (abl.)

Sain Nicolas: [ST090743] (Eng. *St Nicholas*)

Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Sancto Nicholao</i>	LL	p. 324	c. 1350
[prebenda] <i>Sancti Nicholai</i>	LL	p. 326	c. 1350
(Ecc'ia d) <i>sancto Nicholao</i>	LL	p. 330	c. 1350

Location

The attestations on pages 324 and 330 are from administrative lists of churches in the deanery of **Llandaf**. The identification with the modern church and settlement of St Nicholas is obvious in terms of appearance, and is in the right deanery.² The attestation on page 326 is a reference to the prebendary stall called *St Nicholas* in Llandaf Cathedral, and I do not know whether this derives from the place-name or not.

Elements

[*PREBENDA*] + *SANCTUS (gen.) + personal name (gen.)*

ECCLESIA + DE + SANCTUS (abl.) + personal name (abl.)

Sain Pÿr: [ST515905] (Eng. *St Pierre*)

Attestations

<i>sancto petro</i>	LL	p. 291	s. xiii ²
<i>sancto petro</i>	LL	p. 292	s. xiii ²
<i>sancto petro</i>	LL	p. 292	s. xiii ²
<i>ecclesia de sancto Petro</i>	LL	p. 323	c. 1350

Location

The thirteenth-century charter in which the first three attestations are found concerns the grant of the territory of the church of **Runston**. The place-name is used as the surname of two men: one 'W.' (probably 'William'), and one Robert. The remaining attestation is from a list of churches owing monies in the deanery of †**Nether Went**. As St Pierre is in †**Nether Went**, and only just over two kilometres from **Runston**, that identification is probable.³

¹ LL, p. 395.

² PNDinas P., p. 274.

³ LL, p. 416.

Elements*ECCLESIA + DE + SANCTUS (abl.) + personal name (abl.)***Sain Siorys: [SS104766] (Eng. *St George's*)**Attestations

Ecc(lesia) [...] <i>sancti</i> Georgii	LL	p. 295	1304–05
<i>ecclesia de sancto</i> Georgio	LL	p. 324	c. 1350
Ecc'ia de <i>sancto</i> Georgio	LL	p. 330	c. 1350

Location

The first attestation is from a plea roll extract, pertaining to the will of David le Grant, to whom this church is said to have belonged. The only information given about the place's location is that it is in the bishopric of Llandaf. St George's at the grid reference above is the only settlement named after this saint within the diocese. The reference is to a church, however, so it might be that a church of this dedication in a different settlement is intended. The other two attestations are from administrative lists of churches in the deanery of **Llandaf**. The identification made here is obvious in terms of appearance, and is in the right deanery!

Elements*ECCLESIA + SANCTUS (gen.) + personal name (gen.)**ECCLESIA + DE + SANCTUS (abl.) + personal name (abl.)***Saint Andras: [ST138714] (Eng. *St Andrews Major*)**Attestations

<i>ecclesia sancti</i> Andree	LL	p. 319	c. 1350
<i>ecclesia de sancto</i> Andrea	LL	p. 324	c. 1350
[prebenda] <i>Sancti</i> Andree	LL	p. 326	c. 1350
Prebenda <i>sancti</i> Andree	LL	p. 329	c. 1350
Ecc'ia de <i>Sancto</i> Andrea	LL	p. 330	c. 1350

Location

The attestations on pages 319, 324, and 330 are from administrative lists of churches in the deanery of **Llandaf**. The identification with the modern church and settlement of St Andrews Major is obvious in terms of appearance,

⁴ LL, p. 399; PNDinas P., 249.

and is in the right deanery.⁵ The attestations on pages 326 and 329 are references to the prebendary stall called *St Andrew* in Llandaf Cathedral, and I do not know whether this derives from the place-name or not.

Elements

ECCLESIA/PREBENDA + SANCTUS (gen.) + personal name (gen.)

ECCLESIA + DE + SANCTUS (abl.) + personal name (abl.)

Saint Andrews Major: see **Saint Andras**.

St Arvans: [ST516965] (?also †*Ecclesia Sanctorum Iarmen et Febric*)

Attestations

ecclesia de sancto Aruyno LL p. 322 c. 1350

Location

This church is named in a lists of properties in the deanery of †**Nether Went**. The identification with St Arvans is obvious on grounds of the name's appearance, and the place's location.⁶ The place is listed between **Itton** and **Porthcaseg**, and St Arvans is situated halfway between those two places.

Elements

ECCLESIA + DE + SANCTUS (abl.) + personal name (abl.)

Sain Tathan: [ST017679] (Eng. *St Athan*)

Attestations

ecclesia de sancta Tathana LL p. 320 c. 1350

ecclesia de Sancta Tathana LL p. 325 c. 1350

Ecc'ia de sancta Tathana LL p. 331 c. 1350

Location

All the attestations are from administrative lists of churches in the deanery of **Gorfynydd**. The identification with St Athan made by Evans is obvious in terms of appearance, and suits the location in **Gorfynydd**.⁷

Elements

ECCLESIA + DE + SANCTUS (fem. abl.) + personal name (abl.)

It is tempting to identify the saint of this dedication with the St Tathan whose Life is discussed by Baring-Gould and Fisher, but, as they point out, ~~that~~ St

⁵ PNDinas P., p. 207.

⁶ LL, p. 387, s.v. *Aruyno*.

Tathan is male, whereas this ~~one~~ is apparently female.⁸

saint /

St Augustine's Abbey: [ST583727]

Attestations

Abbas sancti Augustini	LL	p. 329	c. 1350
Abbas sancti Augustini	LLgloss	p. 329	s. xv ^{med}

Location

The earlier attestation is from a list of properties owing tithes in the deanery of **Newport**. A subsection of this list concerns properties in the deanery owned by St Augustine's, **Bristol**. A fifteenth-century hand has added a similar entry to include **Penarth** in the list of properties owing tithes in the deanery of **Llandaf**. As St Augustine's Cathedral in **Bristol** was formerly an abbey, and bore the same dedication, the identification is obvious.

Elements

[*ABBATIA* +] *SANCTUS* (gen.) + *personal name* (gen.)

St Bride's Major: [SS894749] (W. *Saint-y-brid*)

Attestations

<i>ecclesia sancte Brigide Maioris</i>	LL	p. 325	c. 1350
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Location

This place-name and *Ecclesia Sanctae Brigidae Minoris* are from a list of churches in the deanery of **Gorfynydd**. The distinction between the churches *maior* and *minor* in LL corresponds nicely with the distinction between the English place-names *St Bride's Major* and *St Bride's Minor*, and I see no reason to doubt Evans's identifications of these places thus.⁹

Elements

ECCLESIA + *SANCTUS* (fem. gen.) + *personal name* (gen.) + *MAIOR* (gen.)

The English form of the name preserves the Latin comparative adjective *maior* 'greater'.

⁷ LL, p. 419.

⁸ *Lives*, IV, 211–14.

⁹ LL, pp. 388–89.

St Bride's Minor: [SS919849] (W. *Llansanffraid-ar-Ogwr*)Attestations

ecclesia sancte Brigide Minoris LL p. 325 c. 1350

Location

See **St Bride's Major**. The name only survives as a parish name. I am not sure where the original centre of the parish lay, but perhaps it was at *Lan Farm* (grid reference above).

Elements

ECCLESIA + *SANCTUS* (fem. gen.) + *personal name* (gen.) + *MINOR* (gen.)

The English form of the name preserves the Latin comparative adjective *minor* 'smaller'.

St Bride's Netherwent: see (1) Saint-y-brid.

St Bride's-super-Ely: see (2) †Lann San Bregit.

St Cross: [?]

Attestations

Sancte Crucis LL p. 326 c. 1350

Prebenda sancte Crucis LL p. 330 c. 1350

Location

On both occasions the reference is to a prebend of a canon of the church of **Llandaf**. I am not sure whether a church name is implied by these attestations.

Elements

SANCTUS (fem.) + *CRUX*

The second element here is Latin *crux* 'cross', referring to the True Cross.

St David's: [SM751254] (W. *Tyddewi*; also *Mynyw*)

Attestations

locum sancti Daud LL p. 135 ?

episcopo dauid LLch.237b p. 238 'c. 925'

episcopatum sancti dauid LL p. 254 'c. 1025'

episcopatu sancti Deuui LL p. 270 'c. 1060'

[*episcopus*] *sancti Deui* LLb.1 p. 88 1119

episcopo sancti Deui LLb.3 p. 93 1119

[*episcopus*] *sanct[i] Daud*] LLb.10 p. 49 1125

[episcopus] <i>sancti</i> Devi	LLb.13	p. 34	1128
[ecclesia] <i>sancti</i> Deuvi	LLb.13	p. 35	1128
[episcopus] <i>sancti</i> deuui	LLb.14	p. 35	1128
[ecclesia] <i>sancti</i> Devvi	LLb.14	p. 36	1128
[episcopus] <i>sancti</i> Devvi	LLb.15	p. 36	1128
<i>ęcclesiam sancti</i> Devvi	LLb.18	p. 39	1128
[ecclesia] Devvi	LLb.19	p. 39	1128
[episcopus] <i>sancti</i> Devvi	LLb.21	p. 40	1129
[ecclesia] <i>sancti</i> Devvi	LLb.21	p. 40	1129
[ecclesia] <i>sancti</i> DEVVI	LLb.21	p. 41	1129
[episcopus] <i>sancti</i> Dewi	LLb.22	p. 45	1129
[episcopus] <i>sancti</i> Dewi	LLb.23	p. 46	1129
[episcopus] <i>sancti</i> Dewi	LLb.24	p. 47	1129
<i>episcopus sancti dauid</i>	LLb.26	p. 53	1129
<i>archidiaconus sancti dauid</i>	LLb.27	p. 30	1129?
<i>sancto dauid</i>	LLb.31i	p. 60	1130?
<i>sancto dauid</i>	LLb.31ii	p. 64	1130?
<i>episcopi sancti dauid</i>	LLb.32i	p. 58	1130
<i>episcopi sancti dauid</i>	LLb.32ii	p. 288	1130
<i>sancto. dauid</i>	LLb.36i	p. 56	1130
<i>sancto dauid</i>	LLb.36ii	p. 61	1130
<i>sancto dauid</i>	LLb.36iii	p. 286	1130
<i>episcopum. Sancti dauid</i>	LLb.38i	p. 58	1131
<i>episcopum sancti Dauid</i>	LLb.38ii	p. 63	1131
[episcopus] <i>sancti</i> dauid	LLb.39	p. 59	1131
<i>episcopo. sancti DEWI</i>	LLb.40	p. 61	1131
<i>episcopum sancti. dauid</i>	LLb.41	p. 65	1131
<i>episcopum sancti. dauid</i>	LLb.42	p. 66	1131
<i>episcopo sancti de6i</i>	LLgloss	p. 34	1476x78
[episcopus] Dewi	LLgloss	p. 65	1476x78
[episcopus] dewi	LLgloss	p. 87	1476x78
<i>episcopos sancti dewi</i>	LLgloss	p. 92	1476x78

Location

There need be no doubt about the identification of these attestations with the

(archi)episcopal seat of St David's.¹⁰ Most are references to the dispute between Llandaf and the bishops of St David's and Hereford, and almost all are associated in one way or another with a reference to a bishop.

Elements

ECCLESIA + *SANCTUS* + personal name

It is interesting to note the even spread of forms of the place-name with *Dewi* (the Welsh name of the saint) and *David* (the Latin name). Among the papal documents there is a clear split between preference for one and the other, between LLb.24 and LLb.26. This seems to correspond to the arrival of Bernard, Bishop of St David's, at the papal curia (as remarked in LLb.26). Perhaps for international purposes Bernard preferred to refer to his see by the Latin, and therefore less outlandish sounding, form of the saint's name.

St Dial's Farm: see †Lann Tituil.

St Donat's: see Sain Dunwyd.

St Dubritius: [?]

Attestations

<i>Sancti Dubricij</i>	LL	p. 326	c. 1350
<i>Prebenda sancti Dubricij</i>	LL	p. 330	c. 1350

Location

On both occasions the reference is to a prebend of a canon of the church of Llandaf. I am not sure whether a church name is implied by these attestations.

Elements

SANCTUS + *personal name*

St Fagans: see Sain Ffagan.

St Georges: see Sain Siorys.

Saint Hilari: [ST016732] (Eng. *St Hilary*)

Attestations

<i>Ecclesiam sancti Ylarij</i>	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
<i>ecclesiam sancti Hilarii</i>	LLb.12	p. 31	1128
<i>ecclesiam sancti Hilarii</i>	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

¹⁰ LL, p. 395, s.v. *David*.

Location

This church is named in each of three versions of a list of properties confirmed to Llandaf by the Pope. The context of the section of the list in which the attestations are is one of Glamorgan (**Morgannwg**) churches, so the identification above, made by Evans, is reasonable.¹¹ See also †**Ecclesia Sancti Hillarii**.

Elements

ECCLESIA + SANCTUS (gen.) + personal name (gen.)

St Hilary: see **Saint Hilari**.

St Ishmael's: see †**Lann Issan**.

St Kingsmark: [ST5294]

Attestations

<i>ecclesiam Cynmarchi</i>	LLch.165	p. 165	?
<i>finis lanncinuarch</i>	LLch.158	p. 158	<i>s. xi</i> ¹
Lann Cinmarch	LLrub.	p. 165	<i>c. 1120s</i>
<i>uillam lann cinmarch</i>	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
<i>Villam lan cinmarc</i>	LLb.25	p. 44	1129
<i>Ecclesia de sancto kynemarcho</i>	LL	p. 284	<i>s. xiii</i> ²
<i>Prior de s'. Kynmarco</i>	LL	p. 328	<i>c. 1350</i>
<i>seint kynmark</i>	LLgloss	p. 32	<i>s. xv</i> ^{med}
<i>Sancti kynmarci</i>	LLgloss	p. 158	<i>s. xv</i> ^{med}

Location

First it is necessary to demonstrate that all the attestations refer to the same place. Those from pages 158 and 165 are linked by the boundary point †**Pant Anhuc**. Those from pages 32 and 44 are in versions of the same list of properties claimed by Llandaf, and both are immediately preceded in the list by †**Tnou Mur**, the MAENOR of which is said to be coextensive with the territory of *Ecclesia Cynmarch* in charter 165. The attestations from pages 284 and 328 are both from lists of churches in †**Nether Went**, which can be assumed to be the location of the property granted in charter 165 (the bounds place it on the Wye (**Gwy**) in the vicinity of **Pwllmeurig**).

¹¹ LL, p. 404.

From charters 158 and 165, then, we can deduce that this place was on the Wye (Gwy), immediately to the north of †Emricorua, which has been identified with Chepstow. Furthermore, the two versions of the list of properties (pages 32 and 44) give *Villa Lann Cinmarch* land within Chepstow ('*terram infra castellgwent*'—see *Cas-gwent*). Both Evans and Richards identify this place with 'St Kinmark[']s' in Chepstow,¹² by which they presumably mean St Kingsmark (Finberg's identification)¹³ on the north-western edge of the town. Knowles and Hadcock discuss the priory (under the name *St Kynemark*) which stood on this site until the Dissolution.¹⁴ The place seems now only to be remembered onomastically by the street names *Kingsmark Lane* and *St Kingsmark Avenue* in ST5294.

Elements

SAINT + personal name

LLAN + personal name

ECCLESIA + *personal name* (gen.)

[*ECCLESIA* +] *SANCTUS* (gen.) + *personal name* (gen.)

ECCLESIA + *DE* + *SANCTUS* (abl.) *personal name* (abl.)

St Lythans: [ST110729] (W. Llwyneliddon)

Attestations

<i>ęcclesiam</i> Elidon	LLch.157	p. 157	? 'c. 685'
<i>Ecclesiam</i> Elidon	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
<i>Ecclesia</i> EliDon	LLrub.	p. 157	c. 1120s
<i>ęcclesiam</i> elidon	LLb.12	p. 31	1128
<i>ęcclesiam</i> elidon	LLb.25	p. 43	1129
<i>sancto</i> lithano	LLgloss	p. 157	s. xv ^{med}
<i>ecclesia de sancto</i> lythano	LL	p. 283	s. xv ²

Location

This church is granted in charter 157, together with †Guocob. Bounds are given (for the two territories combined) which refer to the (1) †Gulich, a stream which can reasonably be identified as that running through Dyffryn

¹² LL, p. 407; WATU, p. 130, s.v. *Llangynfarch*.

¹³ Finberg, *The Early Charters*, p. 138.

¹⁴ Knowles, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 462.

Golych. The reference on page 283, from a list of dues owed to the archdeacon of Llandaf, does not provide any geographical context. The attestations on pages 31, 43, and 90 are at the head of each of three versions of a list of properties confirmed to Llandaf by the Pope, and the context of the section of the list which the attestations begin is one of Glamorgan (**Morgannwg**) churches. Given the distinctive appearance of the qualifying element in these attestations, together with the evidence for a location in Glamorgan (**Morgannwg**), near **Dyffryn Golych**, the identification with St Lythans (grid reference above) can be regarded as secure.¹⁵ The Welsh name for St Lythans is **Llwyneliddon**, but there is some slight reason for doubt over whether **Llwyneliddon** and *Ecclesia Elidon* were originally exactly equivalent places—see **Llwyneliddon** for this argument.

Elements

ECCLESIA + personal name

ECCLESIA + *DE* + *SANCTUS* (abl.) + *personal name* (abl.)

St Mary Hill: see **Eglwys Fair y Mynydd**.

St Mary's, Cardiff: see †**Ecclesia Beate Marie**.

St Mary's, Monmouth: see (1) †**Lann Meir**.

St Maughans: see **Llanfocha**.

St Maughans Green: see †**Cecin Penn i Celli**.

St Mellons: [ST229815] (W. *Llaneirwg*)

Attestations

ecclesia de sancto Melano LL p. 323 c. 1350

[*ecclesia de*] *Sancto Melano* LL p. 329 c. 1350

Location

Evans made the identification followed here,¹⁶ which seems probable both on grounds of form and context (a list of churches in the deanery of **Newport**). The second attestation lists this church as one of three in the deanery for which the abbot of **St Augustine's Abbey, Bristol**, owed tithes to Llandaf.

¹⁵ LL, p. 397, s.v. *Elidon*; PNDinas P., p. 260.

¹⁶ LL, p. 412, s.v. *Melano*.

Elements

ECCLESIA + DE + SANCTUS (abl.) + personal name (abl.)

St Nicholas: see **Sain Nicolas.**

St Pierre: see **Sain Pÿr.**

St-Quentin: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

<i>sancto. Quintino</i>	LL	p. 29	1126
<i>sancto quintinum</i>	LLb.31i	p. 60	1130?
<i>sancto Quintinum</i>	LLb.31ii	p. 65	1130?

Location

The first attestation occurs as the locative surname of a certain Richard, one of the witnesses to the agreement between Urban and Robert of Gloucester. The remaining two attestations are from the datum of two copies of the same papal letter. Evans identified all three attestations simply with 'St. Quentin', and Davies did the same in respect of the papal letter.¹⁷ The difficulty is that there are many places in France with this name, so I am not certain whether the first attestation refers to the same place as the other two, and where that place, or those places, might be. Nowadays the most important settlement of this name is St-Quentin in Picardy, seventy five kilometres east of Amiens.

St Weonards: see †**Lann Sant Guainerth.**

St Woolos: [ST309876]

Attestations

ecclesia Sancti Gunley LL p. 319 c. 1350

Location

This is the name of the church of *Novus Burgus* (i.e. Newport) given in a list of properties owing monies in the deanery of Newport. The principal church of Newport (now a cathedral) is St Woolos (grid reference above), so the identification would be likely in any case, but both *Gunley* and *Woolo* are known to be corrupt forms of *Gwynllyw*, the name of the saint and king who

¹⁷ LL, p. 416, s.v. *Quintinus*; Davies, 'The Book of Llandaff', p. 243.

ruled over this area (**Gwynllŵg**, which also takes its name from him).¹⁸

Elements

ECCLESIA + SANCTUS (gen.) + personal name

St Wormet's: [ST502955] (also *Howick*, ?also †**Ecclesia Guruid**)

Attestations

ecclesia de sancto Wormeto LL p. 323 c. 1350

Location

The attestation is from a list of churches in the deanery of †**Nether Went**. Evans repeats Phillimore's identification with St Wormet's (grid reference above; a disused alternative name for Howick), which seems reasonable as regards form and location, and Charles agrees.¹⁹

Elements

ECCLESIA + DE + SANCTUS (abl.) + personal name (abl.)

(1) Saint-y-brid: [ST428896] (Eng. *St Bride's Netherwent*)

Attestations

ecclesia sancte Brigide LL p. 318 c. 1350

ecclesia de sancta Brigida LL p. 322 c. 1350

Ecc'ia de sancta Brigida LL p. 328 c. 1350

Location

All three attestations are from lists of churches in the deanery of †**Nether Went**. Evans made the identification followed here,²⁰ and, as I can find no record of any other church with this dedication in the area (apart from the one indexed under †**Eccluis Sant Breit**), it is probably correct.

Elements

ECCLESIA + DE + SANCTUS (fem. abl.) + personal name (abl.)

ECCLESIA + SANCTUS (fem. gen.) + personal name (gen.)

(2) Saint-y-brid: see **St Bride's Major**.

¹⁸ LL, p. 402, s.v. *Gunley*; Lloyd, *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, p. 331, s.v. *Gwynllyw*.

¹⁹ LL, p. 422, s.v. *Wormeto*; Charles, *Non-Celtic Place-Names*, p. 246.

²⁰ LL, p. 388.

Saint-y-nyll: [ST097780] (also †Lann Tilull, †Penn Onn)Attestations

Sant Tylull	LLrub.	p. 216	c. 1120s
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Location

Sant Tylull is the name given to the church of †Penn Onn, granted in charter 216b, in the rubric of that charter. In the body of the charter the church is referred to as †Lann Tilull. The identification tentatively made by Evans with modern Saint-y-nyll is probably largely based on the similar appearance of *Sant Tylull* and *Saint-y-nyll*, but the little evidence available for the location of †Lann Tilull does fit in with this identification.²¹

Elements

[*ECCLESIA* +] SANT + personal name

The LL forms of this place-name look as though they are based on a personal name formed with the hypocoristic prefix *ty-*. The change from *Sant Tylull* to *Saint-y-nyll* could easily be explained as the result of phonological confusion.

Salesberiensis: see **Salisbury**.

Salisbury: [SU1332]Attestations

Sarisberie	DB	fol. 66a	1086
Salesberiensis [episcopo]	LL	p. 295	'1107–34'
saresberiensis episcopo	LL	p. 29	1126
saresberijs	LL	p. 29	1126

Location

The first attestation is from a single-sentence document by a fifteenth-century hand which is probably a copy of the now missing conclusion to the account of Bishop Urban's consecration (page 280).²² 'Rogerius. Salesberiensis' is named by the document as one of three men consecrated as bishops at Winchester (†Wintonia). The other two attestations are from a list of those witnessing the agreement between Urban and Robert of Gloucester. One of the witnesses is the same Bishop Roger, and the other is a certain Edward. Given that forms of the place-name with *r* in place of the modern *l* are known (as in

²¹ LL, p. 376.

the Domesday Book reference above), the identification with Salisbury is sound.²³ The grid reference above is for Old Sarum, the site of the cathedral and settlement at the time of the attestations (the present site [SU1429] was not settled until the thirteenth century).²⁴

Salso Marisco: see Saltmarsh.

Saltmarsh: [?ST351830]

Attestations

salso Marisco	LL	p. 312	c. 1350
sauz Marreys	LL	p. 314	c. 1350
sauz Marreys	LL	p. 314	c. 1350
salso Marisco	LLgloss	p. 314	c. 1350
Salso Marisco	LL	p. 303	c. 1354

Location

All the attestations are uses of this place-name as the surname of William, Bishop of Llandaf (1185–91). Bishop William is mentioned by Gerald of Wales,²⁵ and Thorpe translates his name as ‘Saltmarsh’.²⁶ There is a *Saltmarsh* within the diocese of Llandaf (grid reference above), but there is no indication that Bishop William was a native of the diocese (indeed, earlier in his career he had been Abbot of St Augustine’s, Bristol).²⁷ There is also a *Saltmarshe* [SE7824] in Yorkshire.

Elements

SALSUS + MARISCUS

SEL + MARAIS

Both Latin and French forms are probably translations of English *salt-marsh*.

Samaria: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

muliere samaritana	LL	p. 117	?
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²³ Davies, ‘The Book of Llandaf’, pp. 106–07.

²⁴ LL, p. 418, s.v. *Salesberiensis* and *Saresberia*.

²⁵ Morris, *Domesday Book*, vi: Wiltshire, B3–4n..

²⁶ Dimock, *Itinerarium Kambriæ et Descriptio Kambriæ*, pp. 55 and 67.

²⁷ *Gerald of Wales*, p. 114, n. 153.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

Location

The adjectival form (*samaritanus*, *-a*, *-um*) of this regional name occurs at the end of the Life of Teilo, in a reference to the story of the Samaritan woman at the well (John 4). Samaria was the name of a region west of the River Jordan, between the Dead Sea and the Sea of Galilee.

Samaritana: see Samaria.

Sancte Crucis: see St Cross.

Sancti Cinguali: see †Lann Cingualan.

Sancti Nisien: see (2) Llanisien.

Sancti Oudocei: see Llandogo.

Sancti Oudoeci: see Llandogo.

Sancti Petri: see (1) †Lann Petyr.

Sancti Tauauc: see †Villa Sancti Tauauc.

Sancti Teiliaui de Cressinic, Crisinic: see Llandeilo Gresynni.

Sancti Teiliaui de Lann Mergualt: see Llandeilo Ferwallt.

Sancti Teiliaui de Porth Halauc: see Llandeilo Bertholau.

Sancti Teliui de Lann Geruall: see Llandeilo Ferwallt.

Sancti Teliui de Porth Halauc: see Llandeilo Bertholau.

Sancti Teliuui de Lan Guergualt: see Llandeilo Ferwallt.

Sancti Teliawi Crissinic: see Llandeilo Gresynni.

Sancti Teliawi de Lan Merwalt: see Llandeilo Ferwallt.

Sancti Teliawi de Porthalauc: see Llandeilo Bertholau.

Sancti Tussien: see (2) Llanisien.

Sancti Tyuauc: see †Villa Sancti Tauauc.

Sanctum Clitauc: see †Merthir Clitauc.

†**Sant Ilien:** [nr ST451878]Attestations

sant ilien	LLch.233	p. 234	c. 990–c. 1010
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Location

This place is mentioned in the bounds of †**Lann Mihacgel Maur** (probably Llanfihangel Rogiet). The reference is to a road which comes from *Sant Ilien*, but I am unable to trace the bounds, so this information is not particularly useful. Evans suggested that this place might be St Julians (see †**Merthir Iun et Aaron**), which is possible, but the evidence is not strong enough to have much confidence in the identification.²⁸ The grid reference above is for Llanfihangel Rogiet.

Elements

SANT + personal name

Sant Tylull: see **Saint-y-nyll**.

Saresberiensis, Saresberis: see **Salisbury**.

†**Sata Tinnuhuc:** [nr SO461172]Attestations

sata tinnu huc	LLch.74	p. 74	'c. 860'–c. 930
sata tinnu huc	LLch.171b	p. 172	'c. 860'–c. 930

Location

The attestations are from the bounds of **Llanfocha** (the same bounds are used in both charters). Too few of the other points have been identified for an identification to be suggested.

Elements

?*SATA* + ?personal name

The *huc* could be the preposition *uwch* 'above' (spelt *huch* in the bounds of charter 73a), but it would be difficult to make sense of a preposition at this point in the bounds. If the first element here is Latin *sata* 'standing corn', then we might expect a personal name as qualifier, and this could be the reasoning behind Evans's index entry *Tinnu huc*.²⁹ If *Tinnu huc* should be taken as a

²⁸ LL, p. 405.

²⁹ LL, p. 420.

single word, then it could be adjectival in formation, based on the suffix *-uc*, the South-Eastern dialectal reflex of *-OG*.

Saturn: see †**Pant Tref Saturn**.

Sauernna: see **Hafren**.

Sauz Marreys: see **Saltmarsh**.

Schirreues Newton: see **Shirenewton**.

Scithia: see **Scythia**.

Scotia: [NGR N/A] (mod. *Scotland*)

Attestations

rege scotie LL p. 29 1126

Location

David, King of Scotland, is named on page 29 as a witness to the agreement between Urban and Robert of Gloucester.

Scotland: see **Scotia**.

Scythia: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

scithia LL p. 99 ?

Location

Scythia is named in the Life of Teilo as the original home of the Picts, in a preface to an account of the ravages wrought by an invasion of Irish settlers. The story of the Scythian origins of the Picts is probably derived from Bede, and the confusion of the Picts and the Irish probably stems from Isidore of Seville.³⁰ *Scythia* was used by mediaeval writers as 'an evasive name' for somewhere 'beyond familiar lands'.³¹

†**Sedes Cetiau:** [?nr ST502955]

Attestations

sedem cetiau LLch.143 p. 143 'c. 660'–c. 990

Location

This name is attested in the bounds of †**Ecclesia Guruid**, which has been

³⁰ Davies, 'The Book of Llandaf', p. 138.

identified with **St Wormet's** (Howick). None of the four points of this dimensional boundary can be identified so a definite conclusion is not possible.

Elements

SEDES + personal name

Latin *sedes* 'seat' is probably translating CADAIR here, which is quite commonly used with a personal name (often a saint) to name prominent sites on hills and mountains, such as one might use to avail oneself of a good view. *Cetiau* is probably the personal name now spelt *Ceidio* (a name borne by three different supposed saints); a *Cetiau* is mentioned in the Life of Euddogwy (page 132).³²

Segan: see †Villa Segan.

Segenid, Seghenid: see Senghenydd.

Seine: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

flumen [...] Sigona LL p. 23 c. 1130

Location

The single attestation is from the Life of St Samson. The saint, asked to rid a certain province of a serpent, commands the monster to swim across a river (called *Sigona*) and remain on a rock (identified as La Roque St-Samson by Flobert) on its opposite bank. Evans and Flobert both identified this river as the Seine (Classically *Sequana*).³³

Seint Kynmark: see St Kingsmark.

Selif, Selim: see Cantref Selyf.

Selinam: see †Vadum Selinam.

Sellack: see †Lann Suluc.

Senem: see †Fossa Senex.

Senghenydd: [NGR N/A]

³¹ Tatlock, *Legendary History*, pp. 109–10.

³² Baring-Gould, *Lives*, II, 99.

³³ LL, p. 419; *La Vie ancienne*, pp. 230–31, n. 4.

Attestations

seghenid	LLch.255	p. 256	'c. 1035'
segenid	LLrub.	p. 255	c. 1120s
seyghenyth	LLgloss	p. 258	s. xv ^{med}

Location

This place-name is used twice, in the rubric and body of charter 255, to define the location of †**Tref Eliau**. From this it is reasonable to assume that the name applies to a district or region. The location of †**Tref Eliau** is uncertain, but its bounds indicate that it is a coastal property. The identification of *Seghenid/Segenid* with Senghennydd (the cantref between the rivers **Taf (Fawr)** and **Rhymni**)³⁴ is based entirely on the name's appearance, but, as it is quite distinctive, this seems reasonable.³⁵ The third of the attestations is written as a single word in the margin next to charter 257, which is presumably meant to indicate that the fifteenth-century glossator knew, or supposed, the property granted by the charter (†**Riu Brein**) to be in *Seyghenyth*, and †**Riu Brein** would indeed be located in the cantref of Senghennydd. See also †**Sergunhid**.

Elements

?SANG- + ? + -YDD

There are few words in Welsh beginning [sVŋ-] are rare, so a derivation based on the stem *sang-* 'trample, crush' is very probable.³⁶ The territorial suffix †YDD could cause *i*-affection of the stem to *seng-*.³⁷

†**Sergunhid**: [?]Attestations

medio sergunhid	LLch.188a	p. 188	'c. 738'
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Location

This place-name is attested in the body of charter 188a, to define the location of †**Penn Hellei**, which has not been identified. From this it is reasonable to assume that the name applies to a district or region. Evans suggested that *Sergunhid* might be an error for, or a variant of, **Senghennydd**,³⁸ which is

³⁴ See WATU, p. 321, for a definition of the extent of the cantref.

³⁵ LL, p. 419, s.v. *Seghenid*.

³⁶ GPC, III, 3167, s.v. *sangiaf*.

³⁷ See Pierce, 'The Evidence', p. 482b, for a derivation from an eponymous **Sangan*.

³⁸ LL, p. 419, s.v. *Seghenid*.

possible—Lifris of Llancarfan refers in his *Life of Cadog* to a district of **Glywysing** called *Seruguunid*, which Jenkins takes to mean **Senghennydd**.³⁹

Elements

?personal name + -YDD

If it is not an error for **Senghenydd**, the name could be interpreted as deriving from the personal name *Serwan* (attested as *Serguan*, a lay witness to charter 202), or a similar name, plus the territorial suffix -YDD.

Seru: see †**Lann Teliau Nant Seru**.

Seuan: see †**Villa Seuan**.

Seuarne, Severn: see **Hafren**.

Seyghenyth: see **Senghennydd**.

Sheen: see †**Sheyn**.

†**Sheyn:** [TQ1774] (mod. *Richmond*)

Attestations

prior de sheyn LL p. 304 after 1479

Location

The name occurs in a list of the bishops of Llandaf, in a reference to John Ingleby, one time prior of *Sheyn*. John Ingleby is described as a Carthusian, and, as there was a Carthusian priory at *Sheen* (now Richmond at the grid reference above), that is the most likely identification.⁴⁰

Shirenewton: [ST478935] (W. *Drenwydd Gelli-farch*; ?also (1) †**Neweton**)

Attestations

Ecc'ia de Schirreues newton̄ LL p. 329 c. 1350

Location

Evans made the identification followed here,⁴¹ which is plausible given the context of the attestation—a list of churches in the deanery of †**Nether Went**. I know of two *Newton* place-names in the area of the deanery: *Shirenewton* and *Newton Green* [ST518917]. Given the distinctive first element, Shirenewton is clearly the correct identification.

³⁹ ~~Rees, *Lives*, p. 22~~; 'Regions and Cantrefs', p. 36.

⁴⁰ Knowles, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 133.

Elements

SCĪR-GERĒFA (gen.) + NIWE + TŪN

The LL form suggests that the original meaning of the name was 'Sheriff's New Town' rather than 'Shire New Town'. See also **Porton**, where the element GERĒFA has also been lost.

†**Sicca Vallis**: [?SO118278]Attestations

siccam uallem	LLch.167	p. 168	c. 925
siccam uallem	LLch.237b	p. 239	c. 925

Location

The attestations are from the bounds of †**Tref Ceriau**, which has been identified with **Llanfihangel Tal-y-llyn**. The bounds are short and consequently probably describe quite a small area, presumably including the site of the church. The territory is defined by a main road (*uia magna*) to the south and a stream, *Riuulus Tauguel*, probably **Nant Tawel**, to the north. *Sicca Vallis* is followed upwards from †**Fons Ceneian** on *Riuulus Tauguel* to the main road. If the identification of †**Fons Ceneian** is correct, then *Sicca Vallis* would be in the area around the grid reference above. The contour lines in this area do not suggest any valley feature, so the identification is rather uncertain.

Elements

SICCUS (fem.) + *VALLIS*

The Latin could either translate the common noun *sychnant* 'dry valley' (which occurs as 'irsichnant' in the bounds of charter 180b), or a place-name **Nant Sych* (NANT + SYCH).

†**Sichpull, Hi**: [?ST502941]Attestations

hi sich pull	LLch.171b	p. 173	s. xi ¹
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Location

Hi Sichpull seems to be the name of the point at which the †**Cilliuen** reaches **Mounton Brook** (†**Mouric**), if my interpretation of the bounds in this area (see †**Cilliuen**) is correct.

¹ LL, p. 418.

Elements

YR + SYCH + PWLL

The name contains *sych* 'dry'. Precisely the same name is seen in †**Sichpull** below, and it might be that we have here an example of a common noun, **sychbwll*, unremarked by GPC.

†**Sichpull, Ir:** [nr SS882775]Attestations[i]r sichpull LLch.212 p. 214 s. xi¹Location

This feature is named as a point in the bounds of **Merthyr Mawr**. The general area described by the bounds is fairly clear: land in the fork of the rivers **Ogmore (Ogwr)** and (2) **Ewenni**, and land on the other side of the **Ogmore** (presumably including **Merthyr Mawr** itself). It is clear that *Ir Sichpull* should be in the area north-west of the **Ogmore (Ogwr)**, but the bounds are difficult to follow in this area. The specified size of the territory is quite small—only four *modii* (about sixty seven hectares)⁴²—so it can be said that *Ir Sichpull* should be within a kilometre of **Merthyr Mawr**. It is reached by following a dyke (CLAWDD) from the top of a hill ('penn ir alt'), and the bounds continue, following one or two dykes, to †**Pant Tref Saturn**.

Elements

YR + SYCH + PWLL

See †**Sichpull** above.†**Sigillo:** [NGR N/A]Attestations

sigillo LL p. 29 1126

Location

This place-name occurs (as the locative surname of a certain Robert) in the list of the witnesses to the agreement between Bishop Urban and Robert of Gloucester. The preceding witness in the list is one Richard of †**Aquila**. There are two places called *Sigillo* in Italy (**Italia**)—one in Latium, thirty eight kilometres south-east of Spoleto, and the other in Umbria, thirty seven

⁴² See †**Cum Barruc** for the size of *unciae* and *modii*.

kilometres north-east of Perugia. The former of these two places is only thirty kilometres north west of a place called *L'Aquila*, which might be the identity of †Aquila.

Sigona: see Seine.

Sili: [ST151683] (Eng. *Sully*)

Attestations

Sulie	Cart. ⁴³	III, 917	c. 1193–98
Sulia	Cart. ⁴⁴	II, 271	c. 1202
Suly	Cart. ⁴⁵	II, 325	c. 1200–14
Sullie	Cart. ⁴⁶	II, 343	c. 1200–62
Sully	Cart. ⁴⁷	III, 941	s. xiii
Syllie	Cart. ⁴⁸	II, 479	c. 1231–90
Sullia	Cart. ⁴⁹	II, 513	1240–c. 1250
Sulye	VN	p. 315	1254
Ecclesia de Mulye	Tax ⁵⁰	p. 279	c. 1291
Sulli	CR ⁵¹	I, 271	1307
Sulley	Cart. ⁵²	III, 1052	1317
Suili	Cart. ⁵³	IV, 1245	1340
<i>ecclesia de Sully</i>	LL	p. 324	c. 1350
<i>Ecc'ia de Sully</i>	LL	p. 330	c. 1350

Location

The LL attestations are from lists of properties owing monies in the deanery of Llandaf. Pierce's identification, followed here, can be regarded as secure on the basis of the name's appearance and the place's location in the right deanery.⁵⁴

⁴³ PNDinas P., p. 290.

⁴⁴ Ibid..

⁴⁵ Ibid..

⁴⁶ Ibid..

⁴⁷ Ibid..

⁴⁸ Ibid..

⁴⁹ Ibid..

⁵⁰ Astle, *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*.

⁵¹ Matthews, *County Records*.

⁵² PNDinas P., p. 290.

⁵³ Ibid..

⁵⁴ PNDinas P., pp. 290–93.

Elements

?

The origins of this place-name are discussed in detail by Pierce, who favours the interpretation that the place was named after the holders of the manor, the *de Sully* family (rather than the other way round), and that the family's surname might originate in one of the several places named *Sully* in France.”

†**Silva Mam Ilet: [?nr the Gamber]**Attestations

silua mam ilet LLch.174a p. 174 ‘c. 855’–c. 930

Location

This wood is mentioned as an adjunct to the unnamed territory granted in charter 174a. The territory is described as being on the *Amhyr* (probably the **Gamber**). I am also unable to locate the other places named in the bounds (†**Cumulus Glas** and †**Vadum Pallan**) more precisely.

Elements

SILVA + ?*MA* + ?personal name

The first element is Latin *silva* ‘wood’. I should tentatively suggest that the qualifying element could be identical with the place-name **Mamheilad** (?*MA* + personal name *Meiliad*), but it could be taken to contain *mam* ‘mother’ and a different personal name.

Sinetic: see †**Ryt Sinetic**.

Skadforlang: see †**Sladforlang**.

Skenefrith, Skenefryth, Skenfrith: see **Ynysgynwraidd**.

Skirrid Fawr: see **Ysgyryd Fawr**.

Skyret: see **Llanddewi Ysgyryd**.

†**Sladforlang: [nr ST495915]**Attestations

sladforlang	LL	p. 291	s. xiii ²
skadforlang	LL	p. 291	s. xiii ²

⁵⁵ Ibid..

Location

This place is mentioned in a thirteenth-century charter, granting various pieces of land in the vicinity of **Runston** (hence the grid reference above). It appears to be located between two woods (*bosci*). Evans seems to be quite sure of the difference between the first syllable of each of the two attestations (*slad-* and *skad-*).⁵⁶ In the second example, the final letter of the name could be *g* or *d*, but, given that there is no such doubt over the final letter of the first example, it seems preferable to assume *g*.⁵⁷ If the first element is correctly interpreted as SLÆD, then the place-name *Slade Wood* [ST477910], less than two kilometres south-west of **Runston**, should be noted.⁵⁸

Elements

?SLÆD + ?FURLANG⁵⁹

I can find no element that would explain *Skad-*, but *Slad-* can plausibly be explained as SLÆD. The basic sense of SLÆD is ‘valley’, but it has a variety of later, more specialised meanings, including ‘broad strip of greensward between two woods’,⁶⁰ and this could be the sense of the element here, given the likelihood that the place-name did apply to a place between two woods. A *slæd-furlang* would be a strip of land (*furlang*) which could be described as a SLÆD.

Soissons: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

Suessionni	LLb.2	p. 92	1119
Suessionni	LLb.3	p. 93	1119
Suessionni	LLb.4	p. 94	1119
Suessionni	LLb.5	p. 94	1119

Location

All the attestations are from the *datum* of their bulls. Soissons takes its name

⁵⁶ LL, p. 355.

⁵⁷ Ibid..

⁵⁸ Charles, *Non-Celtic Place-Names*, pp. 244–45, seems to suggest, in fact, that *Sladforlang* might be Slade Wood.

⁵⁹ Ibid..

⁶⁰ Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, II, 127.

from the Suessiones, the name of the local people in the Roman period.⁶¹

†St[...]: [?SO311214] (?Stanton)

Attestations

st***** LL p. 291 s. xiii²

Location

The attestation is from a late charter which concerns a grant of lands in the vicinity of Runston. The land is granted to one Robert of St*****—the manuscript has been damaged at this point, so that only the first two letters of this place-name are visible. Evans points out that the place-name could not have contained any letters with descenders (such as *g* or *p*), and repeats Phillimore's suggestion that it could be *Stanton*.⁶² *Stanton* is a very common place-name in Britain, but the nearest example to Runston (and the only example in Wales) is Stanton Manor at the grid reference above. The identification is very doubtful.

Elements

?STĀN + ?TŪN

Stifilat: see †Fraxinus Stifilat, †Villa Stifilat.

Stifilot: see †Villa Stifilat.

Strat: see †Estrat Agcr.

Strat Dour: see †Istrat Dour.

†Strat Elei: [?nr the Elái]

Attestations

Strat Eléi	LLch.204a	p. 204	'c. 748'
STRAT ELÉI	LLrub.	p. 204	c. 1120s
istrat elei	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Estrat elei	LLb.25	p. 43	1129
Strat Eley	LLgloss	p. 204	s. xv ^{med}

Location

Strat Elei is the name of the property whose grant is recorded in charter 204a.

⁶¹ Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, p. 1791.

⁶² LL, p. 355.

Very brief, dimensional bounds are given which locate the place between †Tonou Cinscuit (otherwise unknown) and the Ely (Elái). Probably the same place is listed amongst properties confirmed to Llandaf by papal privilege on pages 32 and 43. There is no indication of the location of the place apart from the fact that it should be on the Ely (Elái). Evans, followed by Davies, suggested that this place might be the town of Ely [ST132763], but I know no of no evidence for this.⁶³

Elements

YSTRAD + Elái

Strat Haffren: see †Ecclesia Istrat Hafren.

Strat Hancr: see †Estrat Agcr.

Strat Yu: see Ystrad Yw.

†Strugull: [ST534941] (W. Cas-gwent, Eng. *Chepstow*; also †Emricorua)

Attestations

castro Strigulensi	G.C.Op., 6 ⁶⁴	p. 139	s. xii ^{ex}
Strigulense castrum	G.C.Op., 6 ⁶⁵	p. 171	s. xii ^{ex}
strugull	LL	p. 291	s. xiii ²
ecclesia de Strugull'	LL	p. 319	c. 1350
ecclesia de Strugull'	LL	p. 322	c. 1350
Prior Strugull'	LL	p. 328	c. 1350

Location

The last three attestations are all from lists of properties owing monies in the deanery of †Nether Went. The first attestation is from a note of a gift of land (in the vicinity of Runston) to the church of Llandaf, in a reference to some territory adjoining the road between *Strugull* and *Crick*. There is an abundance of references from the Norman period to the castle and lordship of *Striguil*, centred on Chepstow (grid reference above).⁶⁶ From the appearance of the name and the available evidence for the place's location, the equation of

⁶³ LL, p. 397; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 116.

⁶⁴ Dimock, *Itinerarium Kambriæ et Descriptio Kambriæ*.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*.

⁶⁶ Richards refers to the lordship under the name *Strigoil*: WATU, p. 199.

LL's *Strugull* with *Striguil*/Chepstow is very likely.⁶⁷

Elements

?

†**Stuntav:** [?ST1580] (?W. *Yr Eglwys Newydd*, Eng. *Whitchurch*)

Attestations

Capellam de stuntaf LL p. 27 1126

Location

The attestation is from the record of an agreement between Robert, Count of Gloucester, and Bishop Urban. Evans identified *Stuntaf* here as a form of *Ystum Taf* (i.e. 'the bend of the Taf'), which he further identified as a name for Whitchurch (grid reference above).⁶⁸ The agreement concerns various places in the Cardiff (*Caerdydd*) area, so I can see no reason to doubt the identification.

Elements

YSTUM + **Taf (Fawr)**⁶⁹

Sudbrook: [ST506873]

Attestations

ecclesia de Sudebrok LL p. 323 c. 1350

Location

The attestation is from a list of properties owing monies in the deanery of †**Nether Went**. Evans's identification, followed here, can be regarded as secure on the basis of the name's appearance and the place's location in the right deanery.⁷⁰

Elements

?SUD + BRŌC

I know of three places by this name: this one in Monmouthshire, and two in Lincolnshire (SK9744 and TF0376). Gelling refers to the two in Lincolnshire, translating one as 'south brook' and the other as 'sparrows' brook'. The latter meaning presumably derives from Old English *sugga* 'sparrow', so, given that the LL attestation shows initial *sud-* (rather than *sug-*) it seems probable that

⁶⁷ LL, p. 419.

⁶⁸ Ibid..

⁶⁹ Ibid.; Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 30.

⁷⁰ LL, p. 419.

'south brook' is the correct interpretation here.

Sudebrok: see **Sudbrook**.

Suessioni: see **Soissons**.

Sugarloaf: see †**Mail Uannon**.

†**Sulcein:** [?nr SO457055]

Attestations

nant sulcein	LLch.206	p. 207	s. xi ²
sulcein	LLch.206	p. 207	s. xi ²

Location

This stream is followed in the bounds of †**Ecclesia Mamouric** (also known as †**Lann Uuien**), the identity of which is uncertain, though it has been identified with Llangovan in **Gwent** (grid reference above). *Sulcein* is reached by the bounds as they descend from a stone house ('mainti') on a ridge (CEGIN), and the stream is followed to the (2) †**Cehir** (with which it, presumably, has a confluence).

Elements

[NANT +] ?SUL + ?CAIN

It seems likely that there is some connexion between the names *Sulcein*, and †**Inis Cein** and †**Nant Cein** (which are mentioned elsewhere in the bounds).

The name seems to be a compound with *sul* 'Sunday, ?sun'.

Sully: see **Sili**.

Su3 Wales, Suthwalia, Suthwallia: see **Wales**.

Syfaddan, Syuadon: see **Llyn Syfaddan**.

T

Taaf: see **Taf (Fawr)**.

Taf: [SN3209]

Attestations

ripam Tam fluminis	LLch.77	p. 77	?
Taf flumen	LLch.127b	p. 128	before 'c. 1025'
taf flumine	LLch.127b	p. 128	before 'c. 1025'
taf	LLch.77	p. 78	s. xi ²
taf	LLch.77	p. 78	s. xi ²
taf	LLch.77	p. 78	s. xi ²
ripa taf	LLgloss	p. 77	s. xv ^{med}

Location

All the attestations of this river name are associated with two charters: 77 (which grants the territories of Penally, †Lann Maur, and very likely Llanddowror) and 127b (which grants the territories of Mathri and Cenarth). The Narration of charter 77 describes *Territorium Aquilentium* (identified with Llanddowror) as being on the bank of the Taf ('super ripam Tam fluminis'), and this is confirmed by the bounds of the church (*Ecclesia Aquilensium*) in the same charter. Llanddowror does indeed stand only about four hundred metres from the Taf. Although the identification of *Ecclesia/Territorium Aquilentium* with Llanddowror cannot be regarded as certain, the other south-western associations of charter 77 should lead us to prefer to identify this *Taf* with the one at the grid reference above, rather than with the one discussed below. Charter 127b is described by Davies as 'a conglomeration of traditions about places in west Wales'.¹ In it it is related how St Teilo rescued seven boys from being drowned in the Taf by their father, and sent them to his foundation of Llanddowror. Near Llanddowror the boys found a rock in the Taf, which supplied them with fish to sustain them. This time the association with Llanddowror is clearer, so the identification with the Taf at the grid reference above is secure.

¹ *Early Welsh Microcosm*, p. 167.

Elements

This river name is derived from a Celtic base which was very productive of river names in Britain and other areas formerly Celtic in language.² The traditional explanation is that the root of these names is **teme-* 'dark', over which Ekwall expresses some doubt (suggesting that perhaps the river names contain the same stem, but with a different meaning).³

Taf Bechan: see **Taf Fechan.**

Taf (Fawr): [ST1972] (Eng. *Taff*)

Attestations

taf	LL	p. 69	?
taf	LL	p. 133	?
ripam taf	LLch.151a	p. 151	'c. 680'
tipam tauī fluminis	LLch.218	p. 218	955
taf	LLch.257	p. 258	'c. 1033'
taf	LLch.257	p. 258	'c. 1033'
taf	LLch.257	p. 258	'c. 1033'
taf	LLch.257	p. 258	'c. 1033'
tafmaur	LLb.25	p. 42	s. xi ¹
taf maur	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s
Taf maur	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s
ripam Tām	LLrub.	p. 151	c. 1120s
Taf	LL	p. 27	1126
taf	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
taf	LLb.25	p. 43	1129
Taaf	LL	p. 293	c. 1328
Taf	LL	p. 289	1332
Taf maur	LLgloss	p. 134	s. xv ^{med}
Taf	LLgloss	p. 258	s. xv ^{med}
Ripam Taf	LLgloss	p. 141	1476x78

Location

There is no reason to doubt that any of the attestations above are ~~not~~

² Ekwall, *English River Names*, pp. 390–91.

references to this river, and in most cases there are good grounds to support that identification. The *PODUM* of **Llandaf** itself is defined as lying between the rivers **Elái** and **Taf** on pages 69 and 133, and other territories are described as lying in the same area on pages 27 and 32/43. The reference on page 293 is to a property called †**Eleyesmor**, which is presumably on the **Elái**. Other identifiable properties described as being on the bank of this river are **Gabalfa** (page 151) and †**Inis Peithan** (page 258). The Narration of Charter 218 refers to Bishop *Pater* as bishop of ‘the very famous episcopal seat which is sited on the bank of the river *Tauí*’ (‘*episcopi sedis episcopalis famosissime que ad ripam tauí fluminis posita est*’). *Pater* is presented as bishop of **Llandaf** throughout **LL**, so it is reasonable to suppose, as did Evans and Davies, that *Tauí* here is genitive of **Tavus*, a Latinisation of *Taf*, and that the *Taf* referred to is the one under discussion here.⁴ The river is also used as a point in the diocesan bounds, laid out on pages 42–43 and 134–35, and we can be confident that these are references to the right river on account of the fact that it is mentioned in the bounds between the identifiable points of the **Mellte** and the **Crawnnon**. The river rises from two tributaries—*Taf Fawr* and **Taf Fechan**, so the use of **MAWR** as a distinguishing element in some of the attestations serves to avoid confusion with **Taf Fechan**.

Elements

Taf (+ **MAWR**)

See under **Taf** above for a discussion of the river name.

Taf Fechan: [SO037072]

Attestations

taf bechan	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s
Taf bechan	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s
Taf vaghan	LLgloss	p. 134	s. xv ^{med}

Location

This river is followed, in the longer of the two versions of the diocesan bounds, up from its junction (‘*cymer*’) with the **Taf (Fawr)** to a ford called †**Rit i Cambren**. As the major tributary of the **Taf (Fawr)** in the relevant area

³ *Ibid.*.

⁴ **LL**, p. 419, s.v. *Taav*; *Early Welsh Microcosm*, 136.

(between the **Mellte** and the **Crawnnon**) is called by this same name, *Taf Fechan*, that is the obvious identification.

Elements

Taf + BYCHAN (fem.)

See under **Taf** above for a discussion of the river name.

Taf Maur: see **Taf (Fawr)**.

Taf Vaghan: see **Taf Fechan**.

Talabont: see †**Tal i Pont**.

Talacharn: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

talacharn LL p. 124 before 'c. 1025'

Location

The attestation is from a list of extra-diocesan properties claimed by Llandaf, in a reference to the location of †**Lann Ceffic**. *Talacharn* is known from elsewhere as the name of a commote of **Cantref Gwarthaf**, and, if the identification of †**Lann Ceffic** is correct, this commote is probably the place meant by the attestation on page 124.⁵ The word *Talacharn* also occurs on page 255, but this is almost certainly an error for **Talgarth**.

Elements

TÂL + *Lacharn*

The interpretation of the place-name *Lacharn* (Eng. *Laugharne* [SN302107]), which is within the commote of Talacharn, is uncertain, but it might be related to the name of the stream *Coran*, which flows out into the **Taf** estuary at this settlement.

Talebont: see †**Tal i Pont**.

Talgarth: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

cantref talacharn LL p. 255 'c. 1025'

Location

The attestation is a heading in a list of extra-diocesan properties claimed by

⁵ WATU, p. 248.

Llandaf. Of the three properties listed under this heading, only one (**Llan-gors**) can be confidently identified. As **Llan-gors** is in the cantref of *Talgarth*, and **Talacharn** is the name of a commote of **Cantref Gwarthaf** (a long way from **Llan-gors**),⁶ Evans is probably correct in taking *Talacharn* here to be an error for *Talgarth*.⁷ I am not, however, so confident of Evans's explanation of the nature of the error. He appears to assume that *Talacharn* was written instead of *Trahaiarn*, which he equates with *Talgarth*.⁸ I do not know what he means by *Trahaiarn*, which is a personal name (modern *Trahaearn*), but it seems to me more likely in any case that *Talgarth* and *Talacharn* should be more straightforwardly confused. The place-name **Talacharn** is attested, probably correctly, on page 124 (see above).

Elements

TÂL + GARTH

Tal i Lazhau: see **Talyllychau**.

†**Tal i Pont:** [?SN584029] (?mod. **Llandeilo Tal-y-bont**)

Attestations

<i>terra talabont</i>	LLb.26	p. 54	1129
<i>uilla talebont</i>	LLb.38i	p. 59	1131
<i>uilla Talipont</i>	LLb.38ii	p. 63	1131

Location

This property is named in two papal bulls (the latter of which survives in two copies). In both, the Pope (Honorius II for the former, and Innocent II for the latter) commands that Urban come to Rome (**Roma**) to answer Bernard's evidence concerning his see's possession of various territories, including *Tal i Pont*. It seems reasonable to assume that the same place is meant in each case, but this is not certain. Evans identified this as an alternative name for **Llandeilo Tal-y-bont**,⁹ and this the most likely solution, given that that place is the only *Tal-y-bont* place claimed by Llandaf in the Book (unless †**Tal Pon Brinan** and †**Tal Pont Escop** are counted as *Tal-y-bont* place-names). The

⁶ WATU, pp. 323 (*Talgarth*) and 248 (*Talacharn*).

⁷ LL, p. 419.

⁸ Ibid..

⁹ Ibid..

only other *Tal-y-bont* in the area in dispute between Bishops Bernard and Urban is Talybont-on-Usk [SO114225], so that too should be borne in mind as a possibility.

Elements

TÂL + YR + PONT (len.)

Tal i Pont: see **Llandeilo Tal-y-bont.**

†Tal ir Aithnauc: [on the †Gefiat]

Attestations

tal ir aithnauc LLch.171b p. 173 s. xi²

Location

This place-name (if it is such —it might just be a common-noun description) denotes a point in the bounds of **Llangunville**. The point is on or near the †Gefiat, for which there are a number of possible identifications.

Elements

TÂL + YR + AETHNOG

The Book of Llandaf spelling *Aithnauc* would normally represent Modern Welsh *aethnog*. GPC does indeed attest a word *aethnog* ‘place where aspens grow’, created from the stem of *aethnen* ‘aspen, trembling poplar’ + the adjectival suffix -OG, but the only attestation it adduces is this one from LL.¹⁰ The Cornish cognate of *aethnog* (Old Cornish **aidloc*) might be present in *Trevadlock*.¹¹

Talley: see **Talyllychau.**

†Tal Pon Brinan: [?nr †Ager Cynfall]

Attestations

talpon brinan LLch.155 p. 156 ‘c. 675’–c. 1010

Location

The bounds in which this feature is mentioned are either for †Lann Cincirill and †Ager Cynfall together, or for one of them alone. *Talpon Brinan* stands in the bounds between †Claud Trycan and the Ely (Elái), but seems to be at some remove from either of them. The only identifiable point in these bounds

¹⁰ GPC, I, 40.

¹¹ CPNE, pp. 3 (s.v. *aidlen*) and 91 (s.v. *-ek*).

is the Ely (Elái), so an identification is not possible on the present evidence.

Elements

?TÂL + ?PONT + ?*BRYNAN

Tal-y-bont names are relatively common, and such names, when qualified by a further genitive noun become *Tâl Pont* ... (e.g. †**Tal Pont Escop**), so that is a possible explanation of the 'talpon'.

Tal Pon Escop: see †**Tal Pont Escop**.

†**Tal Pont Escop:** [?]

Attestations

Talpontescop	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
talponescop	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
talpon escop	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

The three attestations are from three versions of a list of properties confirmed to Llandaf by the Pope. The section of the list in which the attestations occur does not have a particular geographical context, so this place could conceivably be anywhere in South Wales. Evans tentatively suggests an identification with 'Llys Tal y bont' (the manor in Cardiff (Caerdydd) referred to by Richards¹²), which is followed by Phillimore, but also points out the existence of a place-name *Pont Esgob* [SO284211].¹³ To my mind *Tal Pont Escop* bears more resemblance to the latter place-name, but there is no strong evidence for this place's location, unless Phillimore is right in linking this place with the *pons episcopi* mentioned in the agreement between Bishop Urban and Robert of Gloucester (page 28), which would place it in the Cardidd (Caerdydd) area.¹⁴

Elements

TÂL + PONT + ESGOB

GPC cites this place-name as an example of the noun *esgob* 'bishop'.¹⁵

¹² WATU, p. 147

¹³ LL, p. 419; Owen, *Description of Penbrokshire*, IV, 426.

¹⁴ Owen, *ibid.*.

¹⁵ GPC, I, 1243.

Talylychau: [SN632327] (Eng. *Talley*)Attestations

Abbas de Talilazhau LL p. 327 c. 1350

Location

The abbot of this place is listed among those owing tithes for property within the deanery of **Abergefenni**. Evans's identification, followed here, is probable given the name's distinctive appearance, and the fact that it was the site of a well-known abbey.¹⁶

Elements

TÂL + YR + LLWCH (pl.)¹⁷

Talley Abbey stands at the head (TÂL) of two lakes, *Upper* and *Lower Talley Lake* (both in SN6333), which are presumably the *llychau* (pl. of LLWCH) of the place-name.

Tal y Pont: see **Llandeilo Tal-y-bont**.

Tam: see **Taf, Taf (Fawr)**.

Tanasan: see †**Villa Tynysan**.

Tancaruilla: see **Tancarville**.

Tancarville: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

camerarium de tancaruilla LLb.39 p. 59 1131

Location

The attestation is from a letter of Pope Innocent II to the Archbishop of **Canterbury**, regarding a complaint from Bishop Urban that he had been violently ejected from **Llandeilo Ferwallt (Bishopston)** by Rabel, Chamberlain of *Tancaruilla*. Evans located this place in Normandy,¹⁸ and this seems likely as the only place known to me with a name like this is **Tancarville in Normandy**, twenty four kilometres east of Le Havre.

Tancuor: see †**Villa Tancuor**.

¹⁶ LL, p. 419.

¹⁷ Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 44.

¹⁸ LL, p. 419.

†**Taranpull, Ir:** [nr ST5294]Attestations

[i]rtaran pull	LLch.165	p. 166	c. 990–c. 1050
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Location

The name occurs as a point in the bounds of the MAENOR of †**Tnou Mur (St Kingsmark)**, and is mentioned in the bounds between †**Ol Huch** and †**[...]tauc**, neither of which have been identified. Since the bounds travel clockwise, with the Wye (**Gwy**) as their eastern limit, this place should be on the northern or north-western edge of the territory described. The grid reference above is an approximate one for **St Kingsmark**.

Elements

YR + TARAN + PWLL

GPC cites this place-name as an example of the noun *taran* 'thunder'.¹⁹Precisely the same name is seen in Cornish *Treamble*.²⁰†**Taratir:** [?SO550361] (?mod. *Tar's Brook*)Attestations

hostium Taratyr	LL	p. 134	?
hostio Taratyr	LL	p. 152	?
hostio taratyr	LLch.147	p. 147	'c. 665'
hostio Taratyr	LLch.176b	p. 177	'c. 700'
hostio taratyr	LLch.205	p. 205	'c. 708'
hostio taratyr	LLch.189	p. 189	'c. 735'
hostio taratir	LLch.212	p. 213	'c. 862'
taratir	LLch.214	p. 215	'c. 862'
hostium taratir	LLch.233	p. 233	'c. 905'
hostium taratir	LLch.237b	p. 238	'c. 925'
hostium taratir	LLch.222	p. 222	'c. 942'
hostium taratir	LLch.218	p. 219	955
taratir	LLch.217	p. 218	'c. 960'
blain taratyr	LLb.25	p. 43	s. xi ¹
hostium taratir	LLch.249b	p. 250	'c. 1015'

¹⁹ GPC, IV, 3447.²⁰ CPNE, p. 215, s.v. *taran*.

hostium taratir	LL	p. 252	1022–1120s
hostio taratyr	LL	p. 254	'c. 1025'
hostium taratir	LLch.255	p. 256	'c. 1035'
hostio taratir	LLch.259	p. 259	'c. 1040'
hostium taratir	LL	p. 252	1046–1120s
hostio taratir	LL	p. 270	'c. 1060'
hostium taratir	LLch.267	p. 267	'c. 1070'
blayn taratyr	LL	p. 135	c. 1120s
taratyr	LL	p. 135	c. 1120s
taratir	LLgloss	p. 135	s. xv ^{med}

Location

Almost all of the attestations are from standard phrases describing the extent of the diocese of Llandaf, most commonly in the forms 'ab hostio taratir super ripam guy usque ad ripam tigu' (LLch.259) or 'infra hostium taratir ingui. et hostium tigu' (LLch.237b). Of the remaining attestations, one (page 134) is in a definition of the part of the part of the diocese (known as **Anergyng**) supposedly lost to the Saxons during the episcopacy of St Euddogwy, and the rest are from the two versions of the diocesan bounds. All these references confirm that this stream is a tributary of the Wye (**Gwy**), and the diocesan bounds add the information that its source (**BLAEN**) is reached from †**Cair Rein**. The identification of †**Cair Rein** is partly dependent on that of the *Taratir*, and so cannot be admitted as evidence here, but †**Cair Rein** is reached from the source (**BLAEN**) of the **Worm**, which is independently identifiable. The general location of this stream, then, is clear (in Herefordshire, between the source of **Worm** and the Wye (**Gwy**)). Evans commented on this stream: 'This brook-name survives apparently in the name "*Tar's Mill*," N.E. of Aconbury, Her.'²¹ The name *Tar's Brook* (grid reference above) could conceivably be derived from *Taratir*, and the stream is a tributary of the Wye (**Gwy**) in the right area. Without further evidence, however, this identification cannot be regarded as secure.

Curiously, the name of the site of a mill at SO565327, for which Coplestone-Crow adduces the forms *Abethtarada* (1191), *Abbertaret* (1230), *Abetarader*

(c. 1260), *Abboteratis Myll* (1544), *Abbot Tarretts Mill* (1639), appears to indicate that it was at the mouth (ABER) of the *Taratir*.²¹ The stream which enters the Wye (Gwy) at this point is a very small one (whose visible course, at least, is less than a kilometre). Both this stream and Tar's Brook are modern parish boundary markers, but to make this stream, instead, the boundary between **Anergyng** and **Welsh Eryng** would fit better with the situation recorded in the Domesday Book, where Holme Lacy [SO5535] fell within Dinedor Hundred, outside **Archenfield** (see Figure 2.3 in §2.5.1 above, and also the map at the back of Morris, *Domesday Book*, xvii: *Herefordshire*). The principal difficulty with identifying this stream as the *Taratir* of the diocesan bounds and the bounds of **Anergyng** is that the route to be taken by the bounds between the **Worm** and the *Taratir* would then not be so obvious. It is, of course, possible that both Tar's Brook and the stream at SO565327 were originally called *Taratir*.

Elements

TARADR

GPC cites this place-name as an example of the noun *taradr* 'auger'.²² The sense is presumably 'the stream which pierces the land like an auger'. For other rivers or streams named after piercing tools, compare †**Guorrimi** and **Rumney**, and see Thomas's list.²⁴

Taratyr: see †**Taratir**.

†**Targuus**: [?SO482147]

Attestations

targuus	LLch.246	p. 247	c. 1080–c. 1120s
targuus	LLch.246	p. 247	c. 1080–c. 1120s
taruus	LLch.246	p. 247	c. 1080–c. 1120s
taruus	LLch.246	p. 247	c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

This stream is mentioned in one of the two (different) bounds of †**Lann**

²¹ LL, p. 368, n. 10.

²² *Herefordshire PLace-Names*, p. 39.

²³ GPC, IV, 3447.

²⁴ EANC, p. 100, s.v. *Gwachell*.

Guoronui, which has been identified with **Rockfield** (grid reference above). See the discussion under †**Ieuen** for the arguments behind the identification made above, which is by no means certain.

Elements

?

Taroci: see **Trogi**.

Tar's Brook: see †**Taratir**.

Taruus: see †**Targuus**.

Tathana: see **Sain Tathan**.

Tauauc: see †**Villa Sancti Tauauc**.

Tauel: see **Nant Tawel**.

†**Tauern**: see †**Licat Tauern**.

Taugeiel, Tauguel: see **Nant Tawel**.

Tau: see **Taf (Fawr), Tawe**.

†**Tau** **Urbs**: [?ST156781] (?mod. **Llandaf**; ?also †**Ecclesia Sancti Teli** **au**)

Attestations

princeps **Tau** **urbis** LLch.149 p. 149 'c. 680'

Location

Sadwrn, abbot (*princeps*) of this monastery, is one of the clerical witnesses to the grant of †**Podum Liuhess** (**Llowes**) in charter 149. Evans tentatively suggested the identification with **Llandaf**, and this was taken up by **Davies**, who pointed out, though, that the name could apply to any place on a river *Taf* (**Taf** or **Taf (Fawr)**).²⁵ Another major site on a river *Taf* is **Llanddowror**, so this should be borne in mind as an alternative identification. It should also be remembered that the element *Tau* does not necessarily refer to a river *Taf* (but note the attestation of *Tau* *fluminis*, discussed under **Taf (Fawr)**).

Elements

?*Taf* (Lat. gen.) + *URBS*

If this place-name refers to **Llandaf** (or possibly **Cardiff (Caerdydd)** which

could also be translated as *Tauī Urbs*), then the *Taf* of this name would be the **Taf (Fawr)**, but if it refers to **Llanddowror** then it would be the **Taf**.

Tauuy: see **Tawe**.

Tawe: [SS666916]

Attestations

tauī	LLb.25	p. 42	s. xi ¹
Tauuy	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s
Tauuy	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s

Location

This river is named in the two versions of the diocesan bounds. The bounds tell us that the **Twrch** is followed down to this river, which is then followed upwards to the **Cynlais**. As this description perfectly fits the **Tawe**, there need be no doubt over the identification.

Elements

Jackson suggests the following etymology for this river name: **Tamoujā* > OW [taŵui] > MW [tavui]/[taŷui].²⁶ This river name is therefore formed from two very common river-name elements: the stem **Tam-* and the suffix *-wy*. The LL spellings probably represent what would be spelt *Tawy* in Modern Welsh orthography.²⁷ It should be noted that the attestation from page 42 was originally written 'tyui',²⁸ presumably by confusion with the river name **Tywi**, which occurs earlier in the same bounds.

Tawel: see **Nant Tawel**.

Tecmed: see †**Merthir Tecmed**.

Tegan: see †**Tref Tecan**.

Teifi: see **Dyffryn Teifi**.

Teiliaui: see **Llandeilo Ferwallt**, †**Ecclesia Sancti Teliāui de Merthir Mimor**.

Teir Fin: see †**Guoun Teir Fin**.

²⁵ LL, p. 419; *Early Welsh Microcosm*, pp. 135–36.

²⁶ LHEB, p. 415.

²⁷ Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 40.

²⁸ LL, p. 346.

†**Teir Guernen Buell: [?]**Attestations

teirguernen buell	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s
teirguernen buell	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s

Location

This place is named as a point in the longer of the two versions of the diocesan bounds. The place is mentioned between the mouth (ABER) of the †Pyscotuc on the Tywi and †Castell Teir Tut. Neither of these two points has been certainly identified, though plausible suggestions have been made, but the general location is clear. Furthermore, there are good grounds for supposing that the bounds broadly follow the modern Carmarthenshire–Powys county boundary in this area between the Tywi and the Usk (Wysg)—see the discussion under †Castell Teir Tut. Probably the name refers to a prominent cluster of three alder trees (GWERNEN) on the border between **Buellt** and **Cantref Bychan**.

Elements

TRI (fem.) + GWERNEN + **Buellt**

Gwernen ‘alder tree’ is the singulative of GWERN.

Teir Tut: see †Castell Teir Tut.

Teithi: see †Insula Teithi.

Teiui: see Dyffryn Teifi.

Teliai: see †Ecclesia Sancti Teliaui.

Teliaui: see †Ecclesia Sancti Teliaui, †Ecclesia Sancti Teliaui de Merthir Mimor, **Llandeilo Ferwallt**.

Teliauui: see **Llandeilo Ferwallt**.

Teliawi: see **Llandeilo Ferwallt**, †Ecclesia Sancti Teliaui de Merthir Mimor.

†**Telich:** [?nr SS445864]

Attestations

telich	LLch.239	p. 240	‘c. 925’
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Location

This place is said to be next to (*IUXTA*) an unnamed AGER, granted together

with †**Penn i Bei**. Bounds are given for the unnamed AGER, which locate it on the coast, but it is not possible to offer a precise location. It is probably safe to say that *Telich* is near †**Penn i Bei**, which has been identified with Paviland, and near the coast.

Elements

?

There is a cluster of place-names around SN790330 containing an element *telych*, and the unlocated place-name †**Telich Clouman** might also be compared. It appears to me that the most suitable interpretation of *telich/telych* in these names is that it is a common-noun element, but I do not know what it might mean. The element also appears in the territorial name *Tir Telih* mentioned in the 'Surexit' Memorandum, of which Jenkins and Owen remark: 'We have treated "Tir Telych" as a permanent name rather than translating it as "the land of Telych", though Telych is no doubt in origin a personal name'.²⁹ While a personal name interpretation might be etymologically plausible, it does not well suit most of the examples of this element.

†**Telich Clouman**: [?in Rhos]

Attestations

Telichclouman	LLch.125a	p. 125	?
Telich clouuan	LL	p. 255	'c. 1025'
telichclouman	LLrub.	p. 125	c. 1120s

Location

Telich Cluman is one of three properties supposed, according to charter 125a, to have been granted to the church of Llandaf by Maredudd ap Rhain, King of **Dyfed**, which suggests a location in that region. The place is also named on page 255 in a list of extra-diocesan properties claimed by Llandaf where it is listed as one of three places in the cantref of **Rhos**. The formation of the name is highly distinctive, and there is no contradiction in a location in **Dyfed** and a location in **Rhos** (the latter is a division of the former), so we should seek this place in **Rhos**. Both Evans and Richards identified this place as *Tachloian* (Evans)/*Tachlouan* (Richards) near **Llandeilo Fawr**.³⁰ I cannot, however

²⁹ 'The Welsh Marginalia [Part I]', p. 52.

³⁰ LL, p. 420; WATU, p. 200.

locate this place, and I do not know whether the grounds for their identification are any stronger than the slight similarity of the LL forms to the forms that they supply. **Llandeilo Fawr** is nowhere near **Rhos**, so if Evans and Richards are correct, then we must assume that the LL listing of *Telich Clouuan* under **Rhos** is incorrect.

Elements

? + ?*CLEUFAN

For the element *telich* see †**Telich** above. The second element looks like a compound (unattested) of CLAU and MAN, perhaps with the sense ‘conspicuous place’.

Telich Clouuan: see †**Telich Clouman**.

Tenby: [SN1300] (*W. Dinbych-y-pysgod*)

Attestations

tenby	LLgloss	p. 77	s. xv ^{med}
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Location

A fifteenth-century glossator has added a marginal comment next to the rubric ‘DE Penn ALVN’ (‘concerning **Penally**’) of charter 77. He comments that **Penally** is next to (*IUXTA*) Tenby. Tenby (grid reference above) is indeed near **Penally** (it is less than two kilometres to the north-east), so the identification is obvious.

Elements

DIN + *BYCH³¹

Tenby, the English name for the place, is derived from Welsh *Dinbych*. The same name appears in Cornish as *Denby*.³²

Tencu: see †**Ager Tencu**.

†**Terra Conuoi:** [nr †**Lann Cingualan**] (also †**Lann Gemei**)

Attestations

<i>terre Conuoy</i>	LLch.140	p. 140	‘c. 655’
<i>terre conuoi</i>	LLrub.	p. 140	c. 1120s

³¹ Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, pp. 36 and 57; GPC, I, 360, s.v. *†bych*; CPNE, p. 21, s.v. **bich*.

³² CPNE, p. 21, s.v. **bich*.

Location

Terra Conuoi is equated in charter 140 with †Lann Gemei (q.v. for discussion of this place's location). We are probably to understand that *Terra Conuoi* is the name of the land associated with the church †Lann Gemei. Davies took *Conuoi* on its own to be the name of the land, but it seems to me more likely that *Conuoi* is a personal name.³³

Elements

TERRA + ?personal name

The first element is Latin *terra* 'land'—Welsh TIR with the same meaning is commoner in the place-names of the charters. See †Lann Gemei for a discussion of the possible relationship of *Conuoi* and *Gemei*.

Terra Conuoy: see †Terra Conuoi.

Territorium Aquilentium: see Llanddowror.

Teudus: see †Tralucg Teudus.

Teuir: see †Lann Teliau Garth Teuir.

Teukesbury: see Tewkesbury.

Tewkesbury: [SO8932]

Attestations

Abbas de Teukesbury	LL	p. 330	c. 1350
tewxburie	LLgloss	p. 88	1476x78

Location

The reference to the monastic invasion of Llandaf's property mentioned in a letter of Urban to Pope Calixtus II (pages 87–88) attracted a marginal comment from David Llywelyn, identifying the religious houses responsible as †Glastonia, Gloucester, and Tewkesbury. On page 330 the Abbot of Tewkesbury is named in a list of people and institutions owing tithes in the deanery of †Gorfynydd. As there seem to be no other places with this distinctive name, and as Tewkesbury has a famous abbey, this is the obvious identification.

Tewxburie: see Tewkesbury.

Thaw: see **Ddawan**.

Thawe: see †**Nant Auan**.

Thouberville: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

turbertiulla LL p. 29 1126

Location

The first attestation occurs as the locative surname of a certain *Paganus*, one of the witnesses to the agreement between Urban and Robert of Gloucester. We can be confident that this *Paganus* was Payn de Turberville, lord of Coety at the relevant time.³⁴ The surname seems likely to derive from *Thouberville*, the name of two neighbouring settlements (*Saint Ouen de* and *La Trinité de*) about eighteen kilometres south-west of **Rouen**. The place-name *Thouberville* is based on the personal name *Thorbert*, which accounts for the second *t* of the LL form.

Tiber: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

tiberim LL p. 25 1128

Location

The reference to this, the principal river of Rome (**Roma**), occurs in an account of the length of the city walls in a description of Rome and its churches.

Tidenham: see †**Ecclesia Istrat Hafren**.

Tigui: see **Tywi**.

Timauc: see †**Lann Guern Cinuc**.

Timuil: see †**Riu Timuil**.

Tindirn, Tindyrn: see †**Ryt Tindyrn**.

Tinnuhuc: see †**Sata Tinnuhuc**.

Tintarn, Tintern: see **Tyndyrn**.

³³ *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 97.

³⁴ See Lloyd and Jenkins, *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, p. 988, for a brief account of this man and his

Tinuiu: see †Riu Tinuiu.

Tir Cinbis: see †Pant Tir Cinbis.

†**Tir Collou:** [?nr SS882775]

Attestations

tirCollou	LLch.212	p. 213	'c. 862'
TIR COLLOV	LLrub.	p. 212	c. 1120s

Location

Tir Collou is one of three lands granted in charter 212, the others being **Merthyr Mawr** and †**Merthir Buceil**. It would be reasonable to suppose that *Tir Collou* was in the vicinity of **Merthyr Mawr** (hence the grid reference above), but this need not necessarily be so.

Elements

TIR + ?personal name

†**Tir Conloc:** [?around SO443391]

Attestations

agri Conloc	LLch.76a	p. 76	'c. 575'–c. 930
TIR CONLOC	LLrub.	p. 76	c. 1120s

Location

This land is the object of the grant recorded in charter 76a. It is described as being on the bank of the Wye (Gwy), below (*infra*) †**Inis Ebrdil**, and as stretching as far as †**Cum Barruc**. †**Inis Ebrdil** is the name of a large area of land on the south bank of the Wye (Gwy), so, depending on the interpretation of *infra*, *Tir Conloc* should be either upstream or downstream of this area. It would seem more natural to describe a place downstream of an area with the preposition 'below' (*infra*). What little can be said regarding the location of †**Cum Barruc** would allow *Tir Conloc* to be located either upstream or immediately downstream of †**Inis Ebrdil**. Evans tentatively suggested an identification with Eaton Bishop (grid reference above), whereas Davies identified the place as **Madley**.³⁵ Eaton Bishop and **Madley** are neighbouring settlements, both on the downstream side of †**Inis Ebrdil**, but I should prefer

family.

³⁵ LL, p. 393; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 94.

to follow Evans in suggesting a location around Eaton Bishop, on the grounds that Madley is probably within †Inis Ebrdil, and that the name of Madley was well known (so it would be odd for land around Madley to be referred to by a different name). Finberg followed Phillimore in suggesting an area between the Wye (Gwy) and Dorstone [SO314418] as the location of this territory,³⁶ which would place it upstream of †Inis Ebrdil.

Elements

TIR + personal name

AGER + personal name

A *Conloc* is named as one of the *heredes* in the witness list of this charter.

†Tir Cynir: [?]

Attestations

agrum Cinir	LLch.232a	p. 232	'c. 900'
TIR CYNIR	LLrub.	p. 232	c. 1120s

Location

This territory is the object of the grant recorded in charter 232a. No bounds or other topographical description is provided.

Elements

TIR + personal name

AGER + personal name

†Tir Dimuner: [in Gwent or Ergyng]

Attestations

agri [...] tir dimuner	LLch.198b	p. 198	'c. 755'
TIR DIMVNER	LLrub.	p. 198	c. 1120s

Location

This territory is the object of the grant recorded in charter 198b. No bounds are given, but the land is described as being around a long wood ('circa longum lignum'), and the grant is said to have been made before the elders of Gwent and Ergyng, which probably places the territory in one of those two districts.

³⁶ Owen, *Description of Penbrokshire*, III, 273, n. 1; Finberg, *The Early Charters*, p. 136.

Elements

TIR + DIFUNER

GPC cites this place-name as an example of the noun *difuner* 'free of dues'.³⁷†**Tir Hiernin**: [?nr SN538215]Attestations

agrum hiernin	LLch.150b	p. 150	'c. 690'
Tir hiernin	LLrub.	p. 150	c. 1120s

Location

This territory was granted together with †**Tir Retoc** in charter 150b. No bounds or other topographical description is provided, and the witness associations are with places over the whole extent of the diocese. Davies identified the land granted in the charter as '?Llanegwad, [SN 519214]',³⁸ which, I assume, derives from Richards's location of *Hiernin* (i.e. *Tir Hiernin?*) in the parish of Llanegwad.³⁹ I cannot find a *Hiernin*, as such, in the area of Llanegwad, but there is a farm called *Cefn-hernin* (grid reference above) within the parish.

Elements

TIR + ?HEYERNIN

AGER + ?HEYERNIN

The second element might be the adjective *heyernin* 'iron' (*haearn* 'iron' + -IN). *AGER/TIR* names are usually qualified by a personal name, so that might be a more likely interpretation (particularly since the second element has not been translated into Latin after *AGER*—we might expect 'agrum ferreum', if the qualifying element were an adjective).

†**Tir i Cair**: [?SS853779]Attestations

tir icair	LLch.224	p. 225	'c. 935'–c. 990
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Location

Tir i Cair is mentioned as a point in the dimensional bounds of †**Tref Ret**, opposed by †**Villa Oufreu**. †**Tref Ret** seems to have been in the area of

³⁷ GPC, I, 987.³⁸ *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 99.³⁹ WATU, p. 91.

Merthyr-mawr Warren [SS8676]. Evans located *Tir i Cair* 'S.W. of Tythegston',⁴⁰ by which he presumably meant the feature called *Y Gaer* at the grid reference above. As a named CAER feature in the right area, the identification is plausible.

Elements

TIR + YR + CAER

†**Tir Retoc:** [?nr SN538215]

Attestations

agrum redoc	LLch.150b	p. 150	'c. 690'
tir retoc	LLrub.	p. 150	c. 1120s

Location

This territory was granted together with †**Tir Hiernin** in charter 150b. No bounds or other topographical description is provided, and the witness associations are with places over the whole extent of the diocese. Davies identified the land granted in the charter as '?Llanegwad, [SN 519214]',⁴¹ which, I assume, derives from Richards's location of *Hiernin* (i.e. †**Tir Hiernin**?) in the parish of Llanegwad.⁴² If the association of †**Tir Hiernin** with Cefn-hernin (grid reference above) is correct, then *Tir Retoc* is likely to be nearby (though the territories are not necessarily in the same area).

Elements

TIR + ?personal name

AGER + ?personal name

Titiuc: see †**Hennlann Titiuc.**

Tiuauc: see †**Lann Guern Cinuc.**

Tiugui, Tiui: see **Tywi.**

Tiuuil: see †**Riu Tiuuil.**

†**Tnou Guinn, Ir:** [nr SO461172]

Attestations

[i]rtnou guinn	LLch.74	p. 74	'c. 860'–c. 930
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⁴⁰ LL, p. 389.

⁴¹ *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 99.

⁴² WATU, p. 91.

[i]rtnouguinn LLch.171b p. 172 'c. 860'–c. 930

Location

This valley is named as a point in the bounds of **Llanfocha** (the same bounds are used in both charters). Too few of the other points have been identified for it to be identifiable.

Elements

YR + ~~TNOU~~ + GWYN⁴³

YNO /

†**Tnou Mur**: [?between ST511964 and ST517943]

Attestations

manaur tnoumur	LLch.165	p. 165	?
mainaur tnoumur	LLch.165	p. 166	c. 990–c. 1050
fin tonou mur	LLch.218	p. 221	s. xi ¹
tnou mur	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Tnoumur	LLb.25	p. 44	1129

Location

The MAENOR of *Tnou Mur* is said to be coextensive with the territory of **St Kingsmark** in charter 165, which grants that church, and the bounds of the MAENOR are given at the end of the charter. The place is referred to again in the bounds of †**Lann Bedeui**, which describe †**Pibenn Eholch** as the boundary of *Tonou Mur* with †**Lann Bedeui**. The remaining two attestations are from two almost identical versions of a list of properties confirmed to Llandaf by the Pope, in a context of places in **Gwent** (Is Coed), immediately preceding the VILLA of *Lann Cinmarch* (**St Kingsmark**). The general area of the MAENOR is quite clear from its bounds: it covers land between the Wye (**Gwy**) and Moun-ton Brook (†**Pull Mouric**), including the church of **St Kingsmark**, to the north-west of Chepstow (**Cas-gwent**). The precise location of *Tnou Mur* itself, after which the MAENOR is named, is less easy to establish, but there is a large valley (a dry one) within the territory described, with its head at ST511964 and its opening at ST517943.

Elements

TYNO + MAWR⁴⁴

⁴³ GPC, II, 1770, s.v. *gwyn*; CPNE, p. 218, s.v. **tnou*.

(1) †Tollcoit: [?SO438035]Attestations

toll coit LLch.187 p. 188 s. x

Location

This name is used of a feature in the bounds of **Llan-soe**, between †**Cair Enuin** and †**Luch Cinahi**, or, more broadly, between †**Cair Enuin** and the **Olwy**. *Tollcoit* is met near ('emil') to †**Cair Enuin**, and is followed to the source or top end (BLAEN) of †**Luch Cinahi**. If *Tollcoit* is the name of a stream, then it might be the one whose confluence is at the grid reference above, as the source of this stream is only a little over one hundred metres from †**Cair Enuin**.

Elements

TYLLGOED

(2) Tollcoit: see †Fons Tollcoit.

Ton-Breigam: see †Villa Breican, †Villa Ellgnou.

†Tonou Cinscuit: [?nr the Elái]Attestations

tonou. cinscuit LLch.204a p. 204 'c. 748'–c. 930

Location

This valley is named as a point in the very brief, dimensional bounds of †**Strat Elei**. The location of the territory granted is uncertain, but *Tonou Cinscuit* is opposite the Ely (**Elái**) in the bounds.

Elements

TYNO + personal name

The same personal name is seen in †**Castell Conscuit**.

Tonou Mur: see †Tnou Mur.

†Tonou Pencenn: [?nr SN067003 or SN081002]Attestations

tonou pencenn LLch.125b p. 126 s. xi¹

⁴⁴ Richards, 'Tonfannau', p. 275.

Location

This valley is named as a point in the boundary of †Menechi. The bounds describe an area between †Nant hi Rotguidou and †Nant Castell Cerran, with the route between these streams defined by *Tonou Pencenn* and †Tref Eithinauc. *Tonou Pencenn* should be not far from the source (BLAEN) of †Nant Castell Cerran. The grid references above are for tributary valleys near the source of each of the two suggested identities of †Nant Castell Cerran.

Elements

TYNO + ?PEN + ?CEN

The second element looks like an unattested compound of PEN + CEN, *pengen, but what the sense of this would be in a place-name I cannot think.

Tormeneth, Tormynydd: see **Llanfihangel Torymynydd.**

Torr i Cair: see †Nant Torr i Cair.

†**Torr ir Allt:** [?nr ST529949, ST533953, or ST526967]

Attestations

torr irallt LLch.218 p. 221 s. xi¹

Location

This place is named in the bounds of †Lann Bedeui. Its place in the bounds is between †Pibenn Eholch and †Claud Tros Tref. These bounds are not very east to follow. The grid references above are for the three suggested identifications of †Pibenn Eholch.

Elements

TOR + YR + ALLT

Towy: see Tywi.

†**Tralucg Teudus:** [?nr ST5299]

Attestations

tralucg teudus LLch.218 p. 221 s. xi¹

Location

This feature is named in the bounds of †Lann Bedeui. It is reached from †Nant Gunos, and from it the bounds proceed along a dyke (CLAWDD), through a wood, to †Pibenn Eholch. Until more evidence from this area is

produced, a closer identification will not be possible.

Elements

TRALLWNG + personal name

The first element appears to be *trallwng* 'swamp, pool'.⁴⁵

Trecis: see **Troyes**.

Tredelerch: see **Rumney**.

Tredenauk, Tredunnock: see **Tredynog**.

Tredynog: [ST379948] (Eng. *Tredunnock*)

Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Tredenauk</i>	LL	p. 321	c. 1350
<i>Ecc'ia de Tredenauk</i>	LL	p. 328	c. 1350

Location

Both attestations are from lists of properties owing monies in the deanery of **Usk**. The identification followed here is probable given the appearance of the name, and the place's location in the right area.*

Elements

TREF + ?

The qualifying element here is uncertain. We should expect lenition after TREF, which would lead us to look for an element **tynog*, but I know of no such word. It is tempting to suggest a connexion with the name *Ton Farm* in the village (where *Ton* is probably TŪN).

†**Tref Bledgint:** [?]

Attestations

tref bledgint	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
tref bledgint	LLb.25	p. 44	1129

Location

This place-name occurs in the two longer versions of the list of properties confirmed as **Llandaf**'s by Pope Honorius II. The context of the attestation in the lists suggests a location within a few kilometres of **Llandaf** itself (it is between **Llwyneliddon** and †**Henriu Gunma**), but I cannot suggest a likely

⁴⁵ The element is discussed by Williams: *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 46.

identification in this area.

Elements

TREF + personal name

†Tref Bledgur mab Aches: [?]

Attestations

tref bledgur mab aches	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Tref bledgur mab aches	LLb.25	p. 44	1129

Location

This place-name occurs in the two longer versions of the list of properties confirmed as Llandaf's by Pope Honorius II. The context of the attestation in the lists suggests a location within a few kilometres of **Llandaf** itself (it is between **Llwyneliddon** and †**Henriu Gunma**), but I cannot suggest a likely identification in this area.

Elements

TREF + personal name

†Tref Canus: [?in Dyfed]

Attestations

Trem canus	LLch.125a	p. 125	?
Tref canus	LLrub.	p. 125	c. 1120s

Location

Tref Canus is one of three properties supposed, according to charter 125a, to have been granted to the church of Llandaf by Maredudd ap Rhain, King of **Dyfed**, which suggests a location in that region. Other than this, however, there is no evidence for the place's location, and I am not aware of any suggested identification.

Elements

TREF + ?personal name

The form with *Trem* shows uncertainty over the origin of the final [v] of TREF—a genuine Old Welsh spelling from the period before confusion of [v] < [m] and [v] < [b] would be *Treb*.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ LL, p. 421.

⁴⁷ LHEB, p. 485.

†**Tref Carn**: [?SN089022, ?around SN097020, or ?SN109011]

Attestations

tref carn	LLch.125b	p. 126	?
Trem carn	LL	p. 124	before 'c. 1025'
Tref carn	LL	p. 255	before 'c. 1025'
Tref carn	LLrub.	p. 125	c. 1120s

Location

The two attestations on pages 124 and 255 are from different versions of the same list of Teilo properties, in a Pembrokeshire context. The remaining two attestations are from charter 125b, which grants *Tref Carn*, †**Laith Ti Teiliau**, and †**Menechi**. Bounds are supplied with the charter, which locate the property between the †**Ritec** and †**Minid Garthon** in one dimension, and between the two streams †**Nant Brat** and †**Nant y Clauorion** (both of which flow down to the †**Ritec**) in the other. Three streams (†**Nant hi Rotguidou**, †**Nant Castell Cerran**, and †**Nant Torr i Cair**) are known from the bounds of other properties to run to the †**Ritec** from the south. While it might just be possible to locate two more streams as tributaries of the †**Ritec** on the south side (there are certainly four towards the head of the †**Ritec**, and there are a further two dry-looking valleys nearer its mouth, which might once have contained more noticeable streams), it would be easier to assume that *Tref Carn* lay on the north bank of the †**Ritec**. Campbell and Lane suggested the equation of *Tref Carn* with 'the farm of Carn Rock' [SN098029], which is to the north of the †**Ritec**.⁴⁸ Their suggestion seems to be based on the common element CARN, and on Rees's identification of †**Nant Brat**.⁴⁹ There are only four significant tributaries of the †**Ritec** from the north: SN090012, SN091013, SN108007, and SN118004. The one at SN108007 rises too far from any of the other three to be a likely candidate for either of *Tref Carn*'s boundary streams. If *Tref Carn* is to be located north of the †**Ritec** then it could be located between the first and third of the possible streams, between the first and second, or between the second and third. The sources of all three are quite close together (SN080039, SN096027, and SN098026, respectively),

⁴⁸ 'Excavations', p. 58.

⁴⁹ 'Excavations', pp. 58 and 76 (n. 142).

and Carn Rock would be on or near the northern boundary of any of the three possible territories described by the bounds, so, while the TREF might take its name from the CARN, it is unlikely that *Tref Carn* would be on the site of the CARN itself. There are three significant points of settlement within the possible area: Manor House [SN089022], Great/Little Wedlock [around SN097020], and Gumfreston [SN109011].

Elements

TREF + CARN

There is another *Trefgarn* in Pembrokeshire at SM9523. On the spelling *trem* see the discussion under †Tref Canus above.

†Tref Ceriau: [?SO114283] (?mod. *Llanfihangel Tal-y-llyn*; ?also †Lann Mihacghgel Tref Ceriau, †Lann Mihachgel Meibion Gratlaun, †Llann Mihangel)

Attestations

uillam tref ceriau LLch.237b p. 238 'c. 925'

VILLA TREF CERIAV LLrub. p. 237 c. 1120s

Location

Tref Ceriau is the name of the property granted by charter 237b. The rubric of the charter gives †Lann Mihachgel Meibion Gratlaun as an alternative name for the church. Charter 167 concerns the same property, which is there named †Lann Mihacghgel Tref Ceriau (we can be fairly confident that is the same, not just from the name, but also from the fact that the same bounds are used for both charters). The place is identified with Llanfihangel Tal-y-llyn by both Evans and Thomas, and with Llanfihangel Cwm Du by Richards and by Davies.⁵⁰ The identification favoured here is with Llanfihangel Tal-y-llyn, which is based on the suggested identity of the bounds' *Riuulum Taugeiel* with Nant Tawel—see †Lann Mihacghgel Tref Ceriau.

Elements

TREF + personal name⁵¹

⁵⁰ LL, p. 408, s.v. *L. M. Trev Ceriau*; EANC, p. 221, s.v. *Ceiro*; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 124; WATU, p. 122, s.v. *Llanfihangel Tref Geirio* (Richards lists *Trefgeirio* (p. 208) as an obsolete name for a township in 'Llanfihangel Tal-y-llyn ANG' (i.e. in Anglesey)—could this be an error for 'Llanfihangel Tal-y-llyn BRE'?).

⁵¹ EANC, p. 221, s.v. *Ceiro*.

The place-name appears as an element in †**Lann Mihacghel Tref Ceriau**.

†**Tref Crintorth**: [?nr ST1577]

Attestations

tref crintorth	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Tref cyrintord	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

This place-name occurs in two lists of Llandaf's properties, confirmed by papal privilege. No topographical information as such is provided, but the context of the surrounding identifiable names in the list (**Ystrad Elái**, †**Tref Ginhill**, †**Tref Laur**, †**Tref Miluc**, †**Carn Elfin**, †**Merthir Onbrit**, †**Inis Marchan**, †**Inis Bratguen**, †**Tref Gillic**) points to a location not far from Llandaf (hence the grid reference above), or perhaps a little further up the valley of the Ely (**Elái**).

Elements

TREF + ?personal name

Tref Cyrintord: see †**Tref Crintorth**.

Trefddyn: [SO284020] (Eng. *Trevethin*)

Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Treuedyn</i>	LL	p. 321	c. 1350
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Location

The attestation is from a list of churches in the deanery of **Abergefenni**, which suits the identification with *Trevethin* (in the south-western corner of the deanery).⁵²

Elements

TREF + *DYN⁵³

The Llandaf form, as the the modern English-language form, shows an epenthetic vowel between [v] and [d̪].

†**Tref Dinneul**: [ST493952] (W. **Llanddinol**, Eng. **Itton**)

Attestations

tref dinneul	LLb.25	p. 43	1129
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⁵² LL, p. 421.

⁵³ Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, pp. 56–57; GPC, I, 1140, s.v. †*dyn(n)*.

Location

This place-name occurs in one of the three versions of the list of properties confirmed as Llandaf's by Pope Honorius II. At the equivalent position in the other two versions of this list we find *Lann Diniuil* and *Lann Dineul*, and it is reasonable to assume that *Tref Dinneul* here is a reference to the same place. *Lann Diniuil/Lann Dineul* has been plausibly (though not certainly) identified as **Llanddinol**.

Elements

TREF + ?personal name

See **Llanddinol** for a discussion of the second element.

Tref Eiliau: see †**Tref Eliau**.

†**Tref Eithinauc**: [?nr SN062003 or SN085001]

Attestations

tref eithinauc LLch.125b p. 126 s. xi¹

Location

This valley is named as a point in the boundary of †**Menechi**. The bounds describe an area between †**Nant hi Rotguidou** and †**Nant Castell Cerran**, with the route between these streams defined by †**Tonou Pencenn** and *Tref Eithinauc*. *Tref Eithinauc* should be not far from the source (BLAEN) of †**Nant hi Rotguidou**. The grid references above are for the sources of each of the two suggested identities of †**Nant hi Rotguidou**.

Elements

TREF + EITHINOG

GPC cites this place-name as an example of the adjective *eithinog* 'gorsey' (*eithin* 'gorse' + -OG), but adds that the second element could also be a personal name.⁵⁴ Padel offers this attestation as a parallel to *Tredinnick* and *Tretrinnick* in Cornwall.⁵⁵

†**Tref Eliau**: [nr ST2076] (also †**Tref Meibion Guichtrit**)

Attestations

uillam tref eliau LLch.255 p. 256 'c. 1035'

⁵⁴ GPC, I, 1203.

⁵⁵ CPNE, p. 92, s.v. *eithin*.

Finis tref eliau	LLch.255	p. 257	'c. 1035'
tref eiliau	LLrub.	p. 255	c. 1120s

Location

Tref Eliau is one of three properties whose grant is recorded in charter 255. Bounds are given which define the property in terms of two unidentified properties (†Tref Licotuc and †Tref Tecan), a marsh (GWAUN), and the sea. *Villa Filiorum Quichtrit* (probably †Tref Meibion Guichtrit) is said to be an alternative name for the same place, but there is no independent evidence for its location. The strongest evidence for the location of *Tref Eliau* is the description of it as being in Senghennydd. Evans tentatively identified *Tref Eliau* as Roath [ST1977], and Richards (followed by Davies) tentatively suggested Splott [ST2076].* Both Roath and Splott are in Senghennydd and near the sea, but the specified size of the territory (three *modii*) would favour Splott (it being nearer the coast than Roath).

Elements

TREF + personal name

The same name is seen in Latin as †Villa Eliau, but the available evidence tends to suggest that that name refers to a different place.

Trefesgob: see †Lann Catgualatir.

Trefflemin: see Flemingston.

†Tref Gillic: [?nr ST1678] (also †Tref ir Cil)

Attestations

tref irgillicꝯ	LLch.159b	p. 159	'c. 685'–c. 930
tref gillic	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Trem gyllicꝯ	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

The rather confused boundary clause attached to charter 159b refers to a settlement called *Tref ir Gillicg*, which seems (according to how the bounds are read) to be adjacent to either *Villa Giurgii* (probably †Villa Gregurii) or †Lann Menechi/†Villa Meneich. †Villa Gregurii is an alternative name for Gabalfa, and †Lann Menechi/†Villa Meneich is plausibly identified with

* LL, p. 382; WATU, p. 207, s.v. *Trefeilio*; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 127..

Mynachdy. As **Gabalfa** and Mynachdy are neighbouring districts, in or near the grid square given above, the general location of this *Tref ir Gillicg* is clear enough. The other two attestations are from two versions of the list of properties confirmed to Llandaf by Pope Honorius II, and the properties on either side in this list are neighbouring places around ST1383. The attestations from the list, then, can be located close enough to the place in charter 159b to be fairly confident that they are references to the same place (as Evans supposed).⁵⁷

Elements

TREF + ?**Cil-yng* (len.)

I can find no noun or adjective that could explain *Gillicg/Gillic/Gyllicg*, unless it has been lenited after TREF. The equation of the name in the bounds with †**Tref ir Cil** suggests that *Gillicg/Gillic/Gyllicg* could contain CIL. If this is so, then *Gillicg/Gillic/Gyllicg* would be most easily explained as the lenited form of a place-name **Cil-yng* (CIL + YNG). The article seen in *Tref ir Gillicg* would be an error, then, (presumably influenced by †**Tref ir Cil**) as CIL is masculine and should not be lenited after the article. Rhŷs explains both *Irgillicg* and the *Ircil* of †**Tref ir Cil** as related personal names, but I do not find his argument convincing.⁵⁸

†**Tref Ginhill**: [?nr ST1177]

Attestations

uillam tref ginhill	LLch.258	p. 258	'c. 1038'
Tref gynnhill	LLrub.	p. 258	c. 1120s
tref ginhill	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
tref gynhil	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

Tref Ginhill is the name of the property whose grant is recorded in charter 258. Bounds are provided which locate the place between the Ely (Elái) and †**Abrenan**. †**Abrenan** has not been identified with much confidence, but it has been suggested that it might be the same place as †**Brenan Picet**.⁵⁹ If the

⁵⁷ LL, p. 421.

⁵⁸ Rhŷs, 'The Origin of the Welsh Englyn', pp. 19–20.

⁵⁹ LL, p. 378.

two names are the same, then *Tref Ginhill* would be located not far from †Henriu Gunma, to the north west of Llandaf. The same place-name also occurs in two lists of Llandaf's properties, confirmed by papal privilege, the context of which (from the surrounding identifiable names in the list— Ystrad Elái, †Tref Laur, †Carn Elfin, †Tref Crintorth, †Tref Miluc, †Merthir Onbrit, †Inis Marchan, †Inis Bratguen, †Tref Gillic) points to a location not far from Llandaf, or perhaps a little further up the valley of the Ely (Elái).

Elements

TREF + ?personal name

The qualifying element could be a personal name (?perhaps a Welsh development of Latin *Gentilius*⁶⁰).

†Tref Gloyiud: [?nr SO483148]

Attestations

tref gloyiud LLch.246 p. 247 c. 1080–c. 1120s

Location

This settlement is mentioned in one of the two (different) bounds of †Lann Guoronui, which has been identified with Rockfield (grid reference above). The bounds appear to indicate that this place is on the other side of the †Ieuen and the †Targuus from the bounds' focus. The grid reference above is for a location east of the suggested location for the confluence of the †Ieuen and the †Targuus. The location of the territory described by the bounds is open to doubt, however.

Elements

TREF + ?personal name

†Tref Guascar: [?nr ST4495]

Attestations

tref guascar LLch.244 p. 245 'c. 980'

Location

Tref Guascar is one of the four points in the dimensional bounds of †Villa Stifilat. †Villa Stifilat is granted together with †Lann Mihacgel Lichrit but neither has been securely identified, and, though it is probable, it is not certain

⁶⁰ I am grateful to Patrick Sims-Williams for this suggestion.

that the two properties are neighbours. One of the points in the bounds of †*Villa Stifilat* is †*Pull hi Guarach*, which Evans compared with “*Pwll y reuch*,’ nr. Earlswood Chapel, Mon.”. I cannot find this *Pwll y Reuch* now, but it should be somewhere near ST4495 (Earlswood). The territory of †*Villa Stifilat* is specified as four *modii* (about sixty seven hectares), so, assuming that the length to width ratio of the territory did not exceed 3:1, *Tref Guascar* should not be more than 1500 metres from †*Pull hi Guarach* (and would most probably be more like 600 metres distant).⁶¹

Elements

TREF + ?GWASGAR

There is a noun and adjective *gwasgar* ‘scattering, separation, division; dispersed, scattered, shared’,⁶² which would seem to make good sense with TREF (meaning perhaps ‘divided property’).

†*Tref Guid*: [nr ST4796]

Attestations

trefguid LLch.171b p. 173 s. xi¹

Location

Tref Guid is mentioned in the bounds of **Llanddinol (Itton)**, in the stretch of the bounds between **Pwll-y-cath** and †**Cilliuén**. The route taken by the bounds between these points is uncertain, and depends to some extent on how the description is punctuated. The bounds run down a PANT from **Pwll-y-cath**, and that PANT might be named *Pant Tref Guid* (though the fact that the article is used before *pant* here suggests that it is being used as a common noun and not as the generic element of a name-phrase). Assuming that *Tref Guid* here is not part of a name-phrase *Pant Tref Guid*, then we should probably agree with Evans in punctuating as follows:⁶³

O’r pull di’r guairet mal i duc ir pant, Tref Guid ad dexteram, di’r carn
 ‘From the *Pwll* downwards as the PANT leads, *Tref Guid* to the right, to
 the cairn’

(*Ad dexteram* here could also be translated ‘to the south’ here.) **Pwll-y-cath** is

⁶¹ See †*Cum Barruc* for the size of *unciae* and *modii*.

⁶² GPC, II, 1594–95.

⁶³ LL, p. 373.

on a hillside, and there is no PANT feature immediately adjacent to it which would carry the bounds in the right direction. The nearest appropriate feature is the little valley of the stream which enters Glyn Brook at ST474971. It is not clear whether *Tref Guid* is supposed to be to the right/south of the PANT or of the route taken between the PANT and the cairn (CARN) which is the next point. Whichever is the case, *Tref Guid* should not be very far from the grid square above.

Elements

TREF + ?GWYDD

There are several nouns and adjectives *gwydd* (sight, goose, wild, grave) which *guid* here could represent, but GWYDD seems slightly more likely.

†Tref Gulich: [nr ST095720] (also (2) †Gulich)

Attestations

uillam tref gulich	LLch.259	p. 259	'c. 1040'
Tref Gulych	LLrub.	p. 259	c. 1120s

Location

This place is the object of the grant recorded in charter 259. Bounds are given which describe a relatively simple perambulation in the angle of the two streams (1) †Gulich and †Guorrimi. The area described seems to be smaller than (i.e. within) that described (covering land in the same angle) in charter 157, St Lythans. The place-name implies a location on the (1) †Gulich, so the place should be somewhere near Dyffryn (grid reference above).

Elements

TREF + (1) †Gulich

Tref Gulych: see †Tref Gulich.

Tref Gynhil, Gynnhill: see †Tref Ginhill.

†Tref i Carnpont: [?]

Attestations

uillam treficarn pont	LLch.222	p. 223	'c. 942'
Tremicarn PONT	LLrub.	p. 222	c. 1120s

Location

This territory is the object of the grant recorded in charter 222. No bounds or

other topographical description is provided, but the witness associations are most strongly with charters 223 (†*Villa Segan*) and 224 (†*Tref Ret*), which would suggest a location in the Vale of Glamorgan. The TREF was granted by *Loumarch filius Catguocaun* in recompense for his depredation of †*Aper Guenfrut* (identified with Whitebrook), and the synod which settled the matter was held at *Llandogo*. The place granted need not necessarily be anywhere near †*Aper Guenfrut* or *Llandogo*, but if we are to infer that it is in the same area, then that area would be eastern or central *Gwent*. Evans, however, followed by Davies, identified this place with Aber-carn [ST216950], which takes its name from the stream Nant Carn.⁶⁴ I do not think, however, that the identification can be regarded as secure (unless further evidence is available), as it cannot be assumed that the element *Carnpont* is based on a stream name *Carn*, and even if it be, it cannot be assumed that the *Carn* of the name is the Nant Carn of Aber-carn.

Elements

TREF + YR + *Carnpont*

From the position of the article in the name's construction it is apparent that the name is based on a compound *Carnpont*, of CARN or *Carn* (as a stream name) + PONT. On the spelling *trem* see the discussion under †*Tref Canus* above.

Tref i Cerniu: see †*Lann Teliau Tref i Cerniu*.

†**Tref Ili:** [?]

Attestations

tref ili	LLch.232b	p. 232	'c. 910'
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TREF LILI	LLrub.	p. 232	c. 1120s
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Location

This territory is the object of the grant recorded in charter 232b. No bounds or other topographical description is provided, but the strongest witness associations are with charters 231, 232a, and 233, which perhaps suggests a location in *Gwent*. Without further evidence it is not possible to be sure whether the *Ili* or *Lili* form is correct—both *Ili* and *Lili* are attested as personal

⁶⁴ LL, p. 421; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 120.

names.

Elements

TREF + personal name

†Tref ir Cil: [?nr ST1678] (also †Tref Gillic)

Attestations

tref ircil	LLch.159b	p. 159	'c. 685'–c. 930
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Location

Tref ir Cil is said to be an alternative name for *Tref ir Gillicg* in charter 159b. See †Tref Gillic for discussion of the location of this place.

Elements

TREF + YR + CIL

The CIL of this place-name is probably the **Cil-yng* of †Tref Gillic. Rhŷs explains both *Ircil* here and the *Irgillicg* form of †Tref Gillic as related personal names, but I do not find his argument convincing.⁶⁵

Tref ir Gillicg: see †Tref Gillic.

†Tref ir Idiouen: [in Gwent (Is Coed)]

Attestations

tref iridiouen	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Tref iridiouen	LLb.25	p. 44	1129

Location

This place-name occurs in two lists of Llandaf's properties, confirmed by papal privilege. No topographical information as such is provided, but the context of the surrounding names in the list (**Porth Sgiwed**, †**Lann Mihacgel Lichrit**, †**Tnou Mur**, **St Kingsmark**) points to a location in **Gwent (Is Coed)**.

Elements

TREF + YR + ?*IDDIEUEN

The normal word for 'ivy' in Modern Welsh is *eiddew*, but GPC does seem to recognise the possibility of a form *iddiau*.⁶⁶ The form *iddiau* is closer to the

⁶⁵ Rhŷs, 'The Origin of the Welsh Englyn', pp. 19–20.

⁶⁶ GPC, II, 2009 (s.v. *iddiau*) and ¶187 (s.v. *eiddew*).

Cornish cognate *idhio*.⁶⁷ Modern Welsh does not seem to have a singulative form of *eiddew* with -EN, unlike the Cornish cognate (for which Nance offers a singulative *ydhyyowen*).⁶⁸ I should suggest that this place-name shows a singulative form of *iddiau* (+ -EN): **iddieuen* ‘ivy bush’.

†**Tref ir Isceiauc**: [on the Ddawan] (also †**Villa Proclivii**)

Attestations

tref irisceiauc LLrub. p. 204 c. 1120s

Location

Tref ir Isceiauc is given in the rubric of charter 204b as an alternative name for †**Villa Proclivii**, the object of the grant recorded in that charter. The place has not been more precisely located other than to say it is on the Thaw (**Ddawan**).

Elements

TREF + YR + ?*YSGEIFIOG

Williams connects this place-name with other names containing an element *ysgeifiog*, and, accordingly, suggests an emendation to ‘isceuiauc’.⁶⁹ On the assumption that the Latin name †**Villa Proclivii** was a translation of the Welsh, he proposes that the element *ysgeifiog* must mean ‘descent, slope’ (= *PROCLIVUM*).⁷⁰ However, as Charles points out †**Villa Proclivii** need not be a translation of the Welsh, and might only be a description of the site.⁷¹ Charles agrees with Phillimore’s view that Lhuyd was right to suggest that *ysgeifiog* might be a derivative of **ysgaf* (+ -OG), an older form of *YSGAW*.⁷² The suffix -iog/-OG here would have its sense of ‘place where X grows’, so the element *ysgeifiog* could be translated ‘place where ~~alders~~ grow’. Another example of the same element is probably to be seen in †**Isceuiauc**.

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⁶⁷ CPNE, p. 136.

⁶⁸ Nance, *New Cornish-English Dictionary and English-Cornish Dictionary*, p. 182.

⁶⁹ ‘*ysgi, ysgai, Ysgeiawc, Ysgeifiog*’.

⁷⁰ Ibid..

⁷¹ PNPemb., I, 308.

⁷² Lhwyd, *Parochialia*, pt 1, p. 75; Owen, *Description of Penbrokshire*, II, 410, n. 41, and IV, 572, n. 3; PNPemb., I, 308.

†Tref Laur: [nr ST1577]

Attestations

tref laur	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Tref laur	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

This place-name occurs in two lists of Llandaf's properties, confirmed by papal privilege. No topographical information as such is provided, but the context of the surrounding identifiable names in the list (**Ystrad Elái**, †Tref **Ginhill**, †Tref **Crinthorth**, †Tref **Miluc**, †Carn **Elfin**, †Merthir **Onbrit**, †Inis **Marchan**, †Inis **Bratguen**, †Tref **Gillic**) points to a location not far from **Llandaf** (hence the grid reference above), or perhaps a little further up the valley of the Ely (**Elái**).

Elements

TREF + personal name

†Tref Licotuc: [nr ST2076]

Attestations

tref licotuc	LLch.255	p. 257	'c. 1035'
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Location

This settlement is named as a point in the dimensional bounds of †Tref **Eliau**. †Tref **Eliau** is on the coast, probably not far from Splott (grid reference above). *Tref Licotuc* opposes †Tref **Tecan** in the opposite dimension to that which places †Tref **Eliau** between a marsh (**GWAUN**) and the sea, so we can say that *Tref Licotuc* should be up or down the coast from †Tref **Eliau**.

Elements

TREF + *LLYGODOG

The interpretation of *licotuc* as an adjectival form of *llygod* 'mouse' (with the dialectal [-ug] form of the suffix -OG) is reasonably secure. It could represent a personal name here, however (cf. the Gaulish personal name *Lucotios*).⁷³

Tref Lili: see †Tref **Ili**.

Trefloyne: see †Luin **Teliau**.

⁷³ GPC, II, 2265, s.v. *llygod*.

†**Tref Main:** [?nr ST1877]Attestations

Tref main	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
tref main	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Tref main	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

This place-name is attested in all three versions of a list of properties confirmed to Llandaf by papal privilege. Evans tentatively suggested an identification with '*Tremæn, Bridgend*', presumably Tremains [SS9079],⁷⁴ but the context of the immediately neighbouring properties in the list (†**Tref Meibion Ourdeuein** and †**Tref Meibion Guichtrit**) would suggest, rather, a location in the Cardiff (**Caerdydd**) area (hence the grid reference above).

Elements

TREF + MAEN

Patrick Sims-Williams has suggested to me that the qualifying element might alternatively be a personal name (?<*Magnus*).

†**Tref Marchan:** [?nr ST0977]Attestations

tref marchan	LLch.249a	p. 249	'c. 1040'
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Location

Tref Marchan is attested as a point in the brief, probably dimensional, bounds of †**Villa Elcu**. Until the focus of the grant is located it is not possible to make an suggestion as to the identity of this settlement. Given the possibility that †**Villa Elcu** might be in the vicinity of †**Mainaur Cruc Marc**, there might be a connexion between the *Marchan* of this place-name and the *Marc* of †**Mainaur Cruc Marc**.

Elements

TREF + ?personal name

Tref Mebion Guichtrit: see †**Tref Meibion Guichtrit**.

Tref Mebion Ourdeuein: see †**Tref Meibion Ourdeuein**.

⁷⁴ LL, p. 421.

†Tref Meibion Ambrus: [nr ST0979]

Attestations

tref meibion ambrus	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Tre meibion ambrus	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

The settlement name is attested in two versions of a list of properties confirmed to Llandaf by papal privilege. No topographical information as such is provided, but the context of the surrounding identifiable names in the list (†Lann Tilull, †Penn Onn, (2) †Lann San Bregit, Pen-tyrch) points to a location in the area between the rivers Taf (Fawr) and Elái, to the west and north-west of Llandaf.

Elements

TREF + MAB (pl.) + personal name

The second attestation shows loss of final [v] in TREF, which is relatively common anyway (particularly at a later period), but the development would have been aided in this case by the fact that the initial [m] of *meibion* would be lenited to [v] after feminine TREF, so that the final [v] of TREF and the initial [v] of *meibion* would merge as a single sound.

†Tref Meibion Guichtrit: [nr ST2076] (also †Tref Eliau)

Attestations

uilla filiorum quichtrit	LLch.255	p. 256	'c. 1035'
Tref mebion guichtrit	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
tref meibion guichtrit	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Tref meibion uchtrit	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

Uilla filiorum Quichtrit is given as an alternative name for †Tref Eliau in charter 255. The remaining, Welsh-language attestations are from the three versions of a list of a properties confirmed to Llandaf by papal privilege. The context of the attestations in the list is not particularly useful in suggesting a location. Evans is very likely to be correct, however, in his identification of the Latin form and the Welsh forms as references to the same place, so the

grid reference above is for †**Tref Eliau**.⁷⁵

Elements

TREF + MAB (pl.) + personal name

VILLA + FILIUS (gen. pl.) + personal name

For the *qu* spelling of [gʷ] (normally *gu* in Old Welsh), cf. the attested spellings *quac* (Modern *gwag*) and *quith* (?Modern *gŵyth*).⁷⁶

†**Tref Meibion Ourdeuein**: [ST1678] (mod. **Gabalfa**; also †**Penn i Porth**, †**Villa Gregurii**)

Attestations

Trefmeibion. ourldeuein	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
uilla filiorum .v. ourdeuINT	LLrub.	p. 151	c. 1120s
tref meibion ourdeuein	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Tref mebion ourdeuein	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

Uilla filiorum .v. Ourdeuint is given as one of several alternative names for **Gabalfa** in the rubric of charter 151a. The remaining, Welsh-language attestations are from the three versions of a list of a properties confirmed to Llandaf by papal privilege. The context of the attestations in the list suggests a location in the area of Cardiff (**Caerdydd**). Evans is very likely to be correct, therefore, in his identification of the Welsh forms as references to **Gabalfa** too.⁷⁷

Elements

TREF + MAB (pl.) + personal name

VILLA + FILIUS (gen. pl.) + personal name

The ‘.v.’ of the Latin form is presumably *quinque*, the numeral 5.

Tref Meibion Uchtrit: see †**Tref Meibion Guichtrit**.

†**Tref Miluc**: [?nr ST0284]

Attestations

uillam miluc	LLch.271	p. 271	‘c. 1075’
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⁷⁵ LL, p. 421, s.v. *Uchtrit*.

⁷⁶ Falileyev, *Etymological Glossary*, pp. 63 (s.v. *gwag*) and 134 (s.v. *quith*).

⁷⁷ LL, p. 415, s.v. *Ourdeuein*.

VILLA MILVC	LLrub.	p. 271	c. 1120s
tref miluc	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
Tremiluc	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

Villa Miluc is the object of the grant recorded in charter 271. Bounds are given which locate the settlement on the Ely (Elái)., but none of the other points have been identified. A *Tref Miluc* is recorded in two versions of a list of properties confirmed to Llandaf by papal privilege, and the context of the surrounding identifiable names in the list points to a location not far from Llandaf (hence the grid reference above), or perhaps a little further up Ystrad Elái. It seems reasonable to assume, with Evans, that the TREF and VILLA forms of the name refer to the same place, but the location in the area of Garth Maelwg (grid reference above) is more doubtful.⁷⁸ The identification is based presumably on the similarity of the elements *Miluc* and *Maelwg*, and the fact that Garth Maelwg does stand on the Ely (Elái).

Elements

TREF + ?personal name

VILLA + ?personal name

The final attestation shows loss of final [v] in TREF, which is relatively common anyway (particularly at a later period), but the development would have been aided in this case by the fact that the initial [m] of *Miluc* would be lenited to [v] after feminine TREF, so that the final [v] of TREF and the initial [v] of *Miluc* would merge as a single sound.

Trefonnen: see (2) Nash.

†**Tref Perenn:** [ST451878] (W. Llanfihangel, Eng. *Llanfihangel Rogiet*; also †Lann Mihacgel Maur)

Attestations

uillam tref Peren	LLch.233	p. 233	'c. 905'
Finis perenn	LLch.233	p. 234	s. x
tref perenn	LLch.233	p. 234	s. x
fin tref peren	LLch.235b	p. 236	s. xi ¹

⁷⁸ LL, p. 413, s.v. *Miluc*.

fin tref peren	LLch.235b	p. 236	s. xi ¹
TREF PEREN	LLrub.	p. 233	c. 1120s
Tref Peren	LLgloss	p. 234	s. xv ^{med}

Location

This property is the object of the grant recorded in charter 233. It is equated in the charter's rubric with †**Lann Mihacgel Maur**. Two sets of bounds are supplied with the charter, one which presumably describes the main part of the territory, and the other which seems to describe a coastal adjunct to the territory. Most of the points in the first set of bounds are not identified, but one place, †**Merthir Gerein**, can reasonably be located, on the basis of other evidence, in †**Nether Went**. The precise definition of the coastal territory is similarly obscure, but it is clear that it neighbours the main part of the territory and that the coast which it abuts is that of the Bristol Channel (*Sabrinum*, i.e. **Hafren**).

The bounds of charter 235b (†**Castell Conscuit/†Eccluis Sant Breit**) twice refer to the boundary (*fin*) of *Tref Perenn*. The bounds describe a territory near the coast, on one side or other of the **Trogi** (probably **Caldicot** on the stream's west bank). The two references to the boundary of *Tref Perenn* show that it is the next property along the coast, either west or east, from †**Castell Conscuit/†Eccluis Sant Breit**.

The final attestation is a long note by a fifteenth-century glossator stating that *Tref Perenn*, †**Yscuit Cyst**, †**Villa Cyuiu** are all in the area of **Matharn**.

All the commentators known to me to have identified *Tref Perenn* with Llanfihangel Rogiet (grid reference above).⁷⁹ This seems reasonable as Llanfihangel Rogiet is a *Llanfihangel* place-name in the area suggested by the evidence laid out above.

Elements

TREF + PEREN

The qualifying element is very likely *peren* 'pear tree', singulative of *pêr* (+ -EN).

⁷⁹ LL, p. 408, s.v. *L. M. Maur*; WATU, p. 205, s.v. *Treberen*; Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 123.

†Tref Petir: [?nr SO3517]

Attestations

fin tref petir	LLch.228	p. 229	s. xi ¹
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Location

The boundary of this settlement is mentioned in the bounds of **Llanwytherin**. The boundary is encountered in a PANT to the right (or, less likely, south—the expression used is ‘addexteram’) of the †**Cinluin**, after that stream has been followed some distance towards its upper reaches. The precise route followed by the bounds is uncertain, but it appears to run clockwise round **Llanwytherin**, and the boundary of *Tref Petir* is encountered between streams running west–east to the south and north of **Llanwytherin**. The **Troddi** constitutes the eastern boundary of **Llanwytherin**, so *Tref Petir* should be to the west of that place (hence the grid reference above).

Elements

TREF + personal name

†Tref Ret: [?nr SS8577]

Attestations

uillam ret	LLch.224	p. 224	‘c. 935’
TREF RET	LLrub.	p. 224	c. 1120s

Location

The grant of *Tref Ret* is recorded in charter 224. It is described in the rubric as being next to (*IUXTA*) **Merthyr Mawr**, and dimensional bounds are supplied which locate the territory between †**Merthir Gliuis** and the **Ogmore (Ogwr)**, and between †**Tir i Cair** and †**Villa Oufreu**. Of the defining points in the bounds, only the **Ogmore (Ogwr)** is certainly identifiable, but suggestions have been made for †**Merthir Gliuis** and †**Tir i Cair**, and if these are correct then we should locate *Tref Ret* in the area of **Newton Burrows** and **Merthyr-mawr Warren** (hence the grid reference above).

Elements

TREF + ?personal name

Evans compared the qualifying element here with a name **RETIS** on the

Llantwit Stone, but this is probably a misreading of REGIS.⁸⁰ *Ret* here could alternatively be either of the nouns *rhed* ‘running, race’ or *rhwyd* ‘net’, but neither of these seems particularly suitable as the name of a settlement. The most likely solution is that we have here the common noun *trefred* ‘homestead’, misunderstood (by the translator into Latin) as a phrase of TREF and a second element *Ret*.⁸¹

†**Tref Rita:** [nr ST338957]

Attestations

uillam tref rita	LLch.272	p. 273	‘c. 1072’
Tref rita	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
TREF RITA	LLrub.	p. 272	c. 1120s
tref rita	LLb.12	p. 32	1128
tref rita	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

This place is granted in charter 272, and it is also listed in the three versions of a list of a properties confirmed to Llandaf by papal privilege. The context of the attestations in the list is not particularly useful in suggesting a location, but in the charter the place is said to be next to (*IUXTA*) †**Merthir Tecmed (Llandegfedd)**, and this is the best evidence available.

Elements

TREF + ?personal name

I am not aware of any Welsh personal name similar to *Rita*, but Searle records the existence of both *Rida* and *Ridda* as Anglo-Saxon personal names.⁸²

Tref Saturn: see †**Pant Tref Saturn**.

†**Tref Tecan:** [nr ST2076]

Attestations

tref tecan	LLch.255	p. 257	‘c. 1035’
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Location

This settlement is named as a point in the dimensional bounds of †**Tref Eliau**.

⁸⁰ The inscription referred to is probably Nash-Williams, no. 222 (*Early Christian Monuments*, pp. 142–43), which includes the word REGIS. The word was misread as RETIS in Haddan & Stubbs *Councils*, I, 628.

⁸¹ I am grateful to Patrick Sims-Williams for this suggestion.

†Tref Eliau is on the coast, probably not far from Splott (grid reference above). *Tref Tecan* opposes †Tref Licotuc in the opposite dimension to that which places †Tref Eliau between a marsh (GWAUN) and the sea, so we can say that *Tref Tecan* should be up or down the coast from †Tref Eliau.

Elements

TREF + ?personal name

Tegan is both a personal name and a noun ‘toy, jewel, darling’, but Thomas considered the personal name to be the more likely interpretation of the element here.⁸²

Trefynwy: see Monmouth.

Tregatwg: see Cadoxton.

Tregolwyn: see Colwinston.

Tregrug: [ST372971]

Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Treygruk</i>	LL	p. 321	c. 1350
<i>Ecc'ia de Treygruk</i>	LL	p. 328	c. 1350

Location

Both attestations are from lists of properties owing monies in the deanery of Usk. Evans identified this place as ‘*Ll. Gibby, Mon.*’, which was presumably a reference to Tregrug at the grid reference above, as this place is only a few hundred metres north of Llangybi.⁸⁴ The identification is probable given the appearance of the name, and the place’s location in the right area.

Elements

TREF + ?CRUG (len.)

The attestations show that loss of final [v] occurred early in the first element. The diphthongal spellings *ei*, *ey*, and *ay* are probably attempts to represent the long [e] of TREF (as probably also in *Treguff*). Possibly, though, the place-name should be divided *Tre y Gruk*, with the article preceding the qualifying element. The expected form of the article, if this were the case, would be ‘*r*,

⁸² *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*, pp. 400–01.

⁸³ EANC, p. 89, s.v. *Tegan*. An Old Irish personal name *Tecán* is known: Sims-Williams, ‘The Additional Letters’, pp. 51–52.

⁸⁴ LL, p. 421.

however (**Tre'r-grug*). In the absence of the article, TREF would cause lenition of the following element, so CRUG would be the most likely candidate. *Grug* 'heather' should be borne in mind as an alternative possibility, however.

Treguff: [ST030711]

Attestations

villæ de Treigof	Cart SPG1 ⁸⁵	II, 50	1072–1104
Treygof	Cart SPG1 ⁸⁶	I, 115	1130
decimis de Traygof	Cart SPG1 ⁸⁷	II, 12	1149–79
Tregof	Cart SPG1 ⁸⁸	III, 271	s. xii ^{ex}
Manerio de Treigof	LL	p. 330	c. 1350

Location

The LL attestation is from a list of properties owing monies in the deanery of **Llandaf**. The identification made by both Evans and Pierce, followed here, can be regarded as secure on the basis of the name's appearance and the place's location in the right deanery.⁸⁹

Elements

TREF + ?personal name (len.)

The attestations show that loss of final [v] had already occurred by the end of the eleventh century in the first element. The diphthongal spellings *ei*, *ey*, and *ay* are probably attempts to represent the long [e] of TREF. As Pierce relates, the second element has long been assumed to be GOF, but if this were the case we should expect it to be related to TREF by the article (i.e. **Tre'r-gof*), and such forms do not appear until the seventeenth century.⁹⁰ There is some evidence for a personal name *Cof*, and Pierce suggests that this might be the qualifying element here.⁹¹

Treigof: see **Treguff**.

Trellech: see †**Trylec Bechan**, **Tryleg**.

⁸⁵ Hart, *Historia et Cartularium*.

⁸⁶ Ibid..

⁸⁷ Ibid..

⁸⁸ Ibid..

⁸⁹ LL, p. 421; PNDinas P., p. 100. Evans lists another occurrence of this name in LL on page 320, which I cannot account for.

⁹⁰ PNDinas P., pp. 100–01.

⁹¹ Ibid..

Trelleck Grange: see †Lann Mainuon, †Trylec Bechan, Tryleg.

Trem Canus: see †Tref Canus.

Trem Carn: see †Tref Carn.

Tre Meibion Ambrus: see †Tref Meibion Ambrus.

Trem Gyllicg: see †Tref Gillic.

Trem i Carnpont: see †Tref i Carnpont.

Tre Miluc: see †Tref Miluc.

Treoda: [ST1679]

Attestations

tre oda	LLgloss	p. 151	1476x78
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Location

David Llywelyn wrote a marginal note next to charter 151a, which concerns the grant of **Gabalfa**, locating that territory next to *Tre Oda*. Given that there is a *Gwaun Treoda* only about a kilometre from **Gabalfa**, the identification is obvious.⁹²

Elements

TREF + ?personal name

Tresimwn: see Bonvilston.

Treuedyn, Trevethin: see Trefddyn.

Treygruk: see Tregrug.

Trican: see †Cepetic Trican.

Tricassine: see Troyes.

Tricurrium: see Trigg.

Trigg: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

pagum [...] Tricurium	VAS	p. 216	c. 750
pagum [...] tricurrium	LL	p. 19	c. 1130

⁹² Evans's identification, 'In Whitchurch' (LL, p. 421), is a reference to the same place.

Location

The reference occurs in the Life of Samson, when the saint, on his way from Wales to Brittany, encounters a group of pagans in the district of *Tricurrium*. This episode is well known and the identification with the Cornish district of Trigg (north-east Cornwall) seems to be generally accepted.⁹³ The name can be compared with Breton *Tréguier*, and Gaulish *Tricorii*, and translated as 'district or tribe supplying three armies'.⁹⁴

Trilec, Trilecc: see Tryleg.

Trilleck: see Tryleg.

Trineint: see †Nant Trineint.

Troddi: [SO516116] (Eng. *Trothy*)

Attestations

trodi	LLch.123	p. 123	?
riuulo trodi	LLch.171b	p. 173	c. 990–c. 1010
trodi	LLch.201	p. 202	s. xi ¹
trodi	LLch.201	p. 202	s. xi ¹
trodi	LLch.201	p. 202	s. xi ¹
trodi	LLch.201	p. 202	s. xi ¹
trodi	LLch.240	p. 241	s. xi ¹
trodi	LLch.240	p. 242	s. xi ¹
trodi	LLch.240	p. 242	s. xi ¹
trodi	LLch.227b	p. 228	s. xi ¹
trodi	LLch.227b	p. 228	s. xi ¹
trodi	LLch.227b	p. 228	s. xi ¹
trodi	LLch.227b	p. 228	s. xi ¹
trodi	LLch.227b	p. 228	s. xi ¹
trodi	LLch.228	p. 229	s. xi ¹
trodi	LLch.228	p. 229	s. xi ¹
trodi	LLch.228	p. 229	s. xi ¹

⁹³ LHEB, p. 587; CPNE, pp. 64–65, s.v. **cor¹*.

⁹⁴ Ibid..

Trodi

LLrub.

p. 201 c. 1120s

Location

This river is named in descriptions (generally boundaries) of the location of the following properties: **Llandeilo Cresynni** (LLch.123), **Llanfable** (LLch.171b), **Llanwarw** (Wonastow; LLch.201), †**Lann Tituil** (LLch.240), **Llanddingad** (Dingestow; LLch.227b), and **Llanwytherin** (LLch.228). Of these places, all but †**Lann Tituil** can be identified on grounds independent of the reference to the Trothy. †**Lann Tituil** can probably, however, be located near **Llanwarw** on the basis of their likely common reference to †**Nant i Meneich**. In any case, though, no other river of this name is known, so the identification can be regarded as secure.⁹⁵

Elements

?TRAWDD + -I

Thomas took the name to be based on *trawdd* 'journey, course', which is likely also to be the stem of the verbal noun *troddi* 'to break through'—an appropriate name for a strong-flowing river in a hilly area, such as this.⁹⁶ A form of this name showing loss of intervocal [d] survives in the name *Mitchel Troy* (†**Troia**).

Trodi: see **Troddi**.

Trogi: [ST490872] (also *Castrogi Brook/Nedern Brook*)

Attestations

hostio Taroci	LLch.235b	p. 236	'c. 895'
aper taroci	LLch.235b	p. 236	s. xi ¹
taroci	LLch.235b	p. 236	s. xi ¹
hostio taroci	LLch.235b	p. 236	s. xi ¹
taroci	LLch.244	p. 244	s. xi ²
taroci	LLch.244	p. 245	s. xi ²
taroci	LLch.244	p. 245	s. xi ²
portus taroci	LLgloss	p. 236	s. xv ^{med}

Location

This stream is named in the bounds of both †**Castell Conscuit** and †**Lann**

⁹⁵ LL, p. 421; EANC, p. 169.

Mihacgel Lichrit. It is clear from the former bounds that the mouth (*hostium*/ABER) of this stream is on the Bristol Channel (**Hafren**), and it should run not far from **Caldicot** (see †**Castell Conscuit**). The latter bounds do not provide any useful evidence apart from the location near †**Lann Mihacgel Lichrit** (the identification of which does, however, depend largely on the identification of the *Taroci*). Evans's identification with the Trogi (grid reference above) is probable as regards the appearance of the name, combined with the evidence from the bounds of †**Castell Conscuit**, and is not contradicted by the evidence from the bounds of †**Lann Mihacgel Lichrit**.⁹⁶ This stream, called *Castrogi Brook* (CASTELL + *Trogi*) and *Nedern Brook* by the Ordnance Survey, flows into the Bristol Channel (**Hafren**) now at Caldicot Pill (grid reference above), but formerly further along the coast towards **Sudbrook**.⁹⁸

Elements

? + -OG + -I

Thomas took the name to be based on the stem *tar-* 'to rub, wear out' (seen in **TARADR**), with the adjectival suffix -OG, and the river-name suffix -I.⁹⁹ Cf. †**Taradr**.

†**Troia**: [SO492104] (W. *Llanfihangel Troddi*, Eng. *Mitchel Troy*)

Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Troia</i>	LL	p. 318	c. 1350
<i>Ecc'ia de Troia</i>	LL	p. 328	c. 1350

Location

The attestations are from lists of churches in the deanery of **Usk**, which suits the identification with *Mitchel Troy*.¹⁰⁰

Elements

Troddi

The *Llandaf* form represents a Latinisation (by adding a feminine -a ending) of *Troy*, derived from the name of the stream **Troddi**, on which the settlement

⁹⁶ EANC, p. 170, s.v. *Troddi*.

⁹⁷ LL, p. 419.

⁹⁸ EANC, p. 170, s.v. *Trogi*.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*.

¹⁰⁰ LL, p. 421; EANC, p. 169, s.v. *Troddi*.

stands, by loss of intervocal [d].¹⁰¹ The modern English and Welsh forms of the name commemorate the dedication of the church to St Michael.

Trostre: [SO359044] (Eng. *Trostrey*)

Attestations

Trostre	LL	p. 321	c. 1350
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Location

The attestation is from a list of churches in the deanery of Usk. It is listed together with **Llanbadog (Fawr)**, †**Kilgoygan**, and **Rhaglan** under the description 'De ecclesijs. de Vsk', which implies some special connexion between these churches and Usk. Trostrey (grid reference above) seems the most likely identification given that it is in the right deanery, and less than four kilometres from Usk.¹⁰²

Elements

?TRAWS + TREF

The use of the phrase *tros tref* in place-names is evidenced elsewhere (see †**Claud Tros Tref**).

Tros Tref: see †**Claud Tros Tref**.

Trostrey: see **Trostre**.

Trothy: see **Troddi**.

Troy: see †**Troia**.

Troyes: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

Trecis	LLb.42	p. 67	1131
tricassine ciuitatis	LLgloss	p. 68	s. xv ^{med}

Location

The name of the French city *Troyes* is derived from the tribal name *Tricasses*, and *Tricassina* is one of several forms taken by the name of the city from the Classical period onwards.¹⁰³ *Trecis* represents a later, mediaeval, development

¹⁰¹ EANC, p. 170, s.v. *Troddi*.

¹⁰² LL, p. 421.

¹⁰³ Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*, II, cols 1944–48.

in the direction of the modern form *Troyes* (< **Tricas*-).¹⁰⁴ The earlier attestation is from the *datum* of a papal letter. The later attestation is a gloss on the name of Lupus, the bishop who, according to legend, was sent with St Germanus to convert the Britons.¹⁰⁵

Trunci: see †**Vadum Trunci**.

Trycan: see †**Claud Trycan**.

Trylec: see **Tryleg**.

†**Trylec Bechan:** [?SO500054] (?mod. *Trellech*)

Attestations

trylec bechan LLch.156 p. 156 ‘c. 698’–c. 1010

Location

This place is named as a point in the bounds of **Llandogo**. As the bounds stand, the name occurs at the end of the bounds, after the †**Guenfrut**, but Evans suggested reversing †**Guenfrut** and *Trylec Bechan* to make †**Guenfrut** the final point in the bounds.¹⁰⁶ See †**Guenfrut** for a general discussion of the route of the perambulation. If the bounds are read in the way suggested, then *Trylec Bechan* stands between the **Olwy** and the †**Guenfrut**. *Trylec Bechan* is obviously related to the *Tryleg/Trelleck/Trellech* names in the same area (see **Tryleg**). *Trellech* [SO500054] does indeed stand between the **Olwy** (called *Penarth Brook* at this point) and the †**Guenfrut** (White Brook), but it is right on the bank of the **Olwy**, so it might be preferable to seek *Trylec Bechan* more centrally in the area between the two streams. It is interesting to note that the earliest references in LL to a church of **Tryleg** are referring to the site of *Trelleck Grange*, so it might be that *Trellech* was a secondary site, originally referred to as *Trylec Bechan*. Evans remarked that *Trilech Vechan* is a village or suburb immediately to the south of *Trellech*—it is quite possible that this represents the same place as the LL attestation, but it might also be coincidental.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Ibid..

¹⁰⁵ Colgrave, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, p. 54.

¹⁰⁶ LL, p. 370.

¹⁰⁷ LL, p. 370.

Elements

Tryleg + BYCHAN (fem.)

Tryleg: [SO491017 and SO500054] (mod. *Trelleck Grange* and *Trellech*)Attestations

ecclesiam Trilecc	LLch.199b	p. 200	'c. 755'
medio trilec podo	LLch.217	p. 217	'c. 960'
Ecclesia Trylec	LLrub.	p. 199	c. 1120s
[ecclesia] de Trillek	LL	p. 321	c. 1350
trylec	LLgloss	p. 200	s. xv ^{med}

Location

There is a difficulty in offering a precise identification for these attestations because there is a complex of *Tryleg/Trelleck/Trellech* place-names covering the area between SO4901 and SO5007. In fact, the attestations from charters 199b and 217, which are connected with †Lann Mainuon can be identified reasonably securely with Trelleck Grange [SO491017] because charter 199b has a boundary clause which locates the property between the two Anghidi streams (*fawr* and *fechan*).¹⁰⁸ The remaining attestation, from page 321, from a list of properties owing monies in the deanery of Usk, is less easy to locate, however. The whole area covered by *Tryleg/Trelleck/Trellech* place-names is within the deanery. The church is listed together with (2) Pen-allt, which implies a connexion of some sort, such as close proximity. The church of Trellech [SO500054] (Welsh *Tryleg*) is nearer to (2) Pen-allt than is the church of Trelleck Grange, but it is still over five kilometres away. See also †Trylec Bechan.

Elements?TRI + ?LLECH¹⁰⁹**Tullcoit:** see Tyllgoed.**Tulon:** see †Porth Tulon.

†Tumulus Guian: [?nr ST104779]

¹⁰⁸ Evans agrees with this: LL, p. 421, s.v. *Trilecc L. Mainvon*. Davies identifies the churches in 199b and 217 with two different places (the former with Trellech and the latter with Trelleck Grange), but the reasoning behind this is not clear to me: *The Llandaff Charters*, pp. 115 and 120.

¹⁰⁹ LL, p. 370, n. 14.

Attestations

tumulum guian LLch.223 p. 224 c. 990–c. 1010

Location

This tumulus is named as a point in the bounds of †**Villa Segan**. It is reached from an unidentified feature called †**Gronna**, and from the tumulus the bounds follow a ditch (*FOSSA*) to a long stone, and go on to (3) †**Palus Niger**. The identification of points in these bounds is dependent on the identification of †**Vadum Doubleis** [?ST104779]. A tumulus is shown on the map at ST100783, not far from †**Vadum Doubleis**, but there are no strong grounds for supposing this to be the one referred to as *Tumulus Guian*.

Elements

TUMULUS + ?personal name

Tunbulch: see †**Lontre Tunbulch**.

Turbertiulla, Turberville: see **Thouberville**.

Turc, Turch: see **Twrch**.

†**Turion:** [?]

Attestations

agri [...] turion	LLch.203b	p. 203	'c. 758'
TVRION	LLrub.	p. 203	c. 1120s

Location

This territory is the object of the grant recorded in charter 203b. No bounds or other topographical description is provided, and the witness associations are not helpful in suggesting a location.

Elements

This place-name might possibly be connected with the verb *turio* 'to burrow', or *Turion* could be a personal name (cf. the Breton saint *Turiaw*).¹¹⁰

Turnant: see †**Nant Trineint**.

Tut: see †**Castell Teir Tut**.

Tutteley: see **Dudley**.

¹¹⁰ I am grateful to Patrick Sims-Williams for this suggestion.

Tuy: see Tywi.

Twmpa: see Bwch.

Twrch: [SN771084]

Attestations

blain turc	LLb.25	p. 42	s. xi ¹
blain turch	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s
Turch	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s

Location

The attestations are from the two versions of the diocesan bounds. This river is followed by the bounds down from its source (BLAEN) on Fan Brycheiniog (†Mynid Du) to its confluence with the Tawe. As there is a river of this name, tributary to the Tawe, in the right area, the identification can be regarded as secure.

Elements

TWRCH¹¹¹

Tyddewi: see Mynyw, St David's.

Tygui: see Tywi.

Tyllgoed: [ST138779] (Eng. Fairwater; also †Estrat Agcr)

Attestations

tollcoit	LLch.188b	p. 188	'c. 710'
TVLL COIT	LLrub.	p. 188	c. 1120s

Location

This place is the object of the grant recorded in charter 188b. There are several places called *Tyllgoed* in the diocese, but Evans and Davies were probably right in their identification with the one at the grid reference above,¹¹² given that this one is the most significant place of this name, and that a fifteenth-century glossator also made this identification (glossing the rubric with the words *bella aqua* (i.e. Fairwater). The other *Tyllgoed*s in the area claimed by Llandaf are in Llanwynno [ST030955] parish, near Llyn Llech Owen [SN5615], and †Tollcoit.

¹¹¹ EANC, p. 90, s.v. *Trychan*; Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 35.

Elements

TYLLGOED

This particular instance of the name is used as an element in †Fons Tollcoit, and the same name is found elsewhere in LL in †Tollcoit.

Tylull: see Saint-y-nyll.

Tyndyrn: [SO533000 and SO531007] (Eng. *Tintern Abbey* and *Tintern Parva*; also †Ager Louhai)

Attestations

rupibus Dindyrn	LLch.141	p. 141	?
ecclesia de Parua Tynterna	LL	p. 322	c. 1350
Abbas de Tynterna	LL	p. 328	c. 1350
tintarn	LLgloss	p. 156	c. 1460
ecclesia de tynderna	LL	p. 282	s. xv ²
Tintarn	LLgloss	p. 141	1476x78
tintarn	LLgloss	p. 141	1476x78

Location

The first attestation is from the Narration of charter 141, which recounts how King Tewdrig handed his kingdom over to his son, in order that he might lead an heremital life in the caves of *Dindyrn* ('inrubibus Dindyrn'). After Saxon incursions, however, Tewdrig took back command, and led his men to victory, as predicted by an angel. If the appearance of the name *Dindyrn* were not enough to convince of the identification with modern *Tyndyrn*, then the setting of the story along the lower reaches of the Wye (Gwy), and particularly around †Ryt Tindyrn, should be sufficient.

The division of the site into two, the secular settlement of Tintern Parva, and the monastic settlement of Tintern Abbey, is shown in the attestations from pages 322 and 328, from lists of properties in the deanery of †Nether Went.

On page 156 a fifteenth-century hand has added a comment, noting that **Llandogo** is next to (*IUXTA*) *Tintarn*, and, given that that place is less than four kilometres north of Tintern, the identification is obvious.

The attestation on page 282 comes from a list of dues owed to the archdeacon

¹¹² LL, p. 398, s.v. *Estrat Agcr*; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 112.

of Llandaf. The church is described as being on the bank of the Wye (Gwy), and, though the deanery to which it belongs is not specified, the surrounding entries in the list (**Cilgwrrwg, Gwndy, Llanfihangel Torymynydd, and Llangadwaladr**) are in the deaneries of **Usk** and †**Nether Went**, all of which suits the identification with Tintern.

See also †**Drech Dindirn**.

Elements

DIN + ?DWRN (gen.)

The second element is probably an *i*-affected form of *dwrn* ‘fist’ (perhaps alluding to the shape of the hill on which the original fort of this name was situated), or a personal name.¹¹³ For the survival of a genitival *i*-affection in the second element of a name-phrase, compare **Pen-tyrch**, where the second element is TWRCH. Alternatively, *dyrn* here could represent the plural of DWRN. The name is found as an element in †**Drech Dindirn** and †**Ryt Tindyrn**.

Tynderna, Tynterna: see **Tyndyrn**.

Tynysan: see †**Villa Tynysan**.

Tyuauc: see †**Villa Sancti Tauauc**.

Tyugui, Tyui, Tyuui: see **Tywi**.

Tywi: [SN3406] (Eng. *Towy*)

Attestations

ripam tyui	LLch.77	p. 77	?
ripam Tyui	LL	p. 116	?
Tyui	LL	p. 133	?
Tyui	LL	p. 133	?
hostium tyui	LL	p. 152	?
tyui	LLch.147	p. 147	‘c. 665’
ripam Tyui	LLch.176b	p. 177	‘c. 700’
hostium tyui	LLch.205	p. 205	‘c. 708’
hostium tyui	LLch.180b	p. 181	‘c. 710’

¹¹³ Richards ‘Some Welsh Place-Names’, pp. 370–71.

hostium tyui	LLch.189	p. 189	'c. 735'
Tyui	LLch.169b	p. 169	'c. 850'
hostivm tiui	LLch.212	p. 213	'c. 862'
hostium tiui	LLch.214	p. 215	'c. 862'
hostium tiui	LLch.233	p. 233	'c. 905'
tyui	LLch.231	p. 231	'c. 910'
hostium tiguī	LLch.237b	p. 238	'c. 925'
ripam tiui	LLch.222	p. 222	'c. 942'
ripam tiugui	LLch.218	p. 219	'c. 955'
tiui	LLch.217	p. 218	'c. 960'
hostium tyui	LLch.240	p. 241	'c. 970'?
hostio tyui	LLb.25	p. 42	s. xi ¹
hostivm fluminis tywi	LLb.25	p. 43	s. xi ¹
hostium tiugui	LLch.249b	p. 250	'c. 1015'
hostium tiui	LL	p. 252	1022–1120s
tyugui	LL	p. 254	'c. 1025'
hostium tyui	LLch.255	p. 256	'c. 1035'
ripam tiguī	LLch.259	p. 259	'c. 1040'
hostium tiui	LL	p. 252	1046–1120s
ripam tiugui	LL	p. 270	'c. 1060'
ripam tyui	LLch.267	p. 267	'c. 1070'
tyui	LLch.77	p. 78	c. 1080–c. 1120s
tyui	LLch.77	p. 78	c. 1080–c. 1120s
aper Tyui	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s
tyui	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s
aper Tyui	LL	p. 135	c. 1120s
flumen tygūi	LL	p. 278	c. 1120s
tyuui	LL	p. 279	c. 1120s
[fluvius] Tyui	LLb.21	p. 41	1129
[fluvius] Tyui	LLb.22	p. 46	1129
[fluvius] Tyui	LLb.23	p. 47	1129
Tuy	LLgloss	p. 134	s. xv ^{med}
Tuy	LLgloss	p. 169	s. xv ^{med}

tuy

LLgloss

p. 254 s. xv^{med}Location

Almost all of the attestations are from standard phrases describing the extent of the diocese of Llandaf, most commonly in the forms ‘ab hostio taratir super ripam guy usque ad ripam tiguī’ (LLch.259) or ‘infra hostium taratir ingui. *et* hostium tiguī’ (LLch.237). Essentially the same description (between the rivers Wye (Gwy) and Tywi) is used secularly for the territory said to belong to King Morgan in charter 240, and to refer to the natives of this area in charters 169b and 231. On page 133, in the Life of Euddogwy there is an explanation of the events which led to the division of the diocese at the river Tywi. Llandeilo Fawr is described as being on the river in charter 77, and an unnamed church on this river (one of three claiming the right to St Teilo’s body after his death, so probably Llanddowror) is mentioned on page 116. Both the longer (pages 134–35) and shorter versions (pages 42–43) of the diocesan bounds begin and end at the mouth of the Tywi.

Elements

The name is attested from the Roman period, but the etymology is uncertain.¹¹⁴ The second element of the name is the -I river- and place-name suffix, whose origins are discussed in detail by Jackson.¹¹⁵ The first element is derived from a stem **teu-* ‘strong’ by Thomas, but this goes unnoticed by Rivet and Smith.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ PNRom. Brit., p. 474, s.v. *Tovius*.

¹¹⁵ LHEB, pp. 351–53.

¹¹⁶ EANC, p. 172; PNRom. Brit., p. 474, s.v. *Tovius*.

U

Uanon: see †Finnaun Uanon.

Uchel Olau: see †ȝoȝ Wanwol.

Uchtrit: see †Tref Meibion Guichtrit.

Uedeui: see †Lann Bedeui.

Ueithini: see Myddyfi.

Uinid Garthon, Uinyd Garthon: see †Minid Garthon.

Uisc: see Wysg.

Undy: see Gwndy.

†**Urbs XII Iugerorum:** [?nr ST4587]

Attestations

urbe .xii. iugerorum LLch.233 p. 234 s. x

Location

This settlement is named as a point in the dimensional bounds which define the coastal part of the territory of Llanfihangel Rogiet (†Lann Mihacgel Maur; grid reference above). As well as this settlement, the coastal territory is defined by the Severn (Hafren), †Poll Erbin (unidentified), and †Poll i Caith (unidentified). The best that can be said is that this is the name of a settlement near Llanfihangel Rogiet.

Elements

URBS + DUODECIM + IUGERUM (gen. pl.)

The place-name contains the Latin numeral *duodecim* 'twelve'. The element *iugerum* is a Latin areal measurement, usually translated 'acre'.¹

Urbs Guenti: see Caerwent.

Urbs Legionum: see Caerllion.

Vsc: see Wysg.

Vsca: see Usk.

¹ Lewis, *Latin Dictionary*, p. 1016, s.v. *iugerum*.

Usk: [SO376010] (W. *Brynbuga*)Attestations

decanatu de Vsca	LL	p. 284	s. xiii ²
Vsk'	LL	p. 318	c. 1350
Decanatu de Vsk'	LL	p. 318	c. 1350
ecclesia de Vsk'	LL	p. 318	c. 1350
Vsk'	LL	p. 321	c. 1350
Decanatu de Vsk'	LL	p. 321	c. 1350
ecclesijs. de Vsk'	LL	p. 321	c. 1350
Vsk'	LL	p. 328	c. 1350
Priorissa de vsk'	LL	p. 328	c. 1350
decanatu de vske	LL	p. 282	s. xv ²

Location

Usk is used as the English name of both a river (discussed under its Welsh name *Wysg*), and a settlement on the left bank of that river (grid reference above; the Welsh name is *Brynbuga*). Most of the attestations above are examples of the settlement name *Usk* used as the name of a deanery in the diocese of Llandaf. The settlement itself, or a church in that settlement, is referred to on pages 318, 321, and 328.

Elements**Wysg**

Vske: see *Usk*, *Wysg*.

Uicornia: see †*Wigornia*.

Uuien: see †*Lann Uuien*.

Uyncul: see †*Mincul*.

Uysc: see *Wysg*.

V

Vadem Rufum: see (2) †Vadum Rufum.

†Vadum Dupleis: [?ST104779]

Attestations

uado dupleis	LLch.223	p. 224	c. 990–c. 1010
uadum dupleis	LLch.216b	p. 217	s. xi ¹

Location

This ford is named in the bounds of both †Villa Segan and Saint-y-nyll. The second element in the place-name is the name of a stream, identified as the Dowlais. The identification with the Dowlais is reasonably safe in the case of the attestation from the bounds of Saint-y-nyll, but less so in the case of †Villa Segan. There is only one old-looking crossing point on the Dowlais in the vicinity of Saint-y-nyll, and that is the one at the grid reference above.

Elements

VADUM + Dowlais

†Vadum Pallan: [?nr the Gamber]

Attestations

uadum pallan	LLch.174a	p. 174	'c. 855'–c. 930
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Location

This place is mentioned in the bounds of charter 174a. The territory granted in this charter is not named but it is described as being on the *Amhyr* (probably the Gamber). I am also unable to locate the other places named in the bounds (†Cumulus Glas and †Silva Mam Ilet) more precisely.

Elements

VADUM + ?personal name

The second element might alternatively be a stream name, based on either *pâl* 'spade' or *pall* 'failure, fault' + -AN (more likely the latter, as we should not expect orthographic *ll* from *pâl*).

(1) †Vadum Rufum: [on the Elái] (also †Cepetic Trican, †Redyng)

Attestations

uado rufo	LLch.155	p. 155	'c. 675'–c. 1010
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Location

This place-name occurs in the bounds of charter 155, which grants †**Lann Cincirill** and †**Ager Cynfall**, the location of which is uncertain. The bounds begin with the name †**Cepetic Trican** and continue ‘hoc est auado rufo’, which would appear to indicate that *Vadum Rufum* is an alternative name for †**Cepetic Trican**. Furthermore ‘auado rufo’ is glossed †**Redyng** by a fifteenth-century hand. The only evidence for the location of this ford is the description of it as being on (*SUPER*) †**Rudlan Elei**, which presumably places it on the Ely (**Elái**).

Elements

VADUM + RUFUS (neut.)

(2) †**Vadum Rufum**: [nr SO461172]Attestations

uadem rufum	LLch.74	p. 74	‘c. 860’–c. 930
rufum uadum	LLch.171b	p. 172	‘c. 860’–c. 930
uallem rufini	Vesp.	fol. 57 ^v	‘c. 860’–c. 930

Location

This feature is named as a point in the bounds of **Llanfocha**, which are copied out in charters 74 and 171b, and in the equivalent charter from British Library manuscript, Cotton Vespasian A. XIV (‘Vesp.’; the bounds are edited together in Appendix 1). Too few of the other points have been identified for this feature to be identifiable.

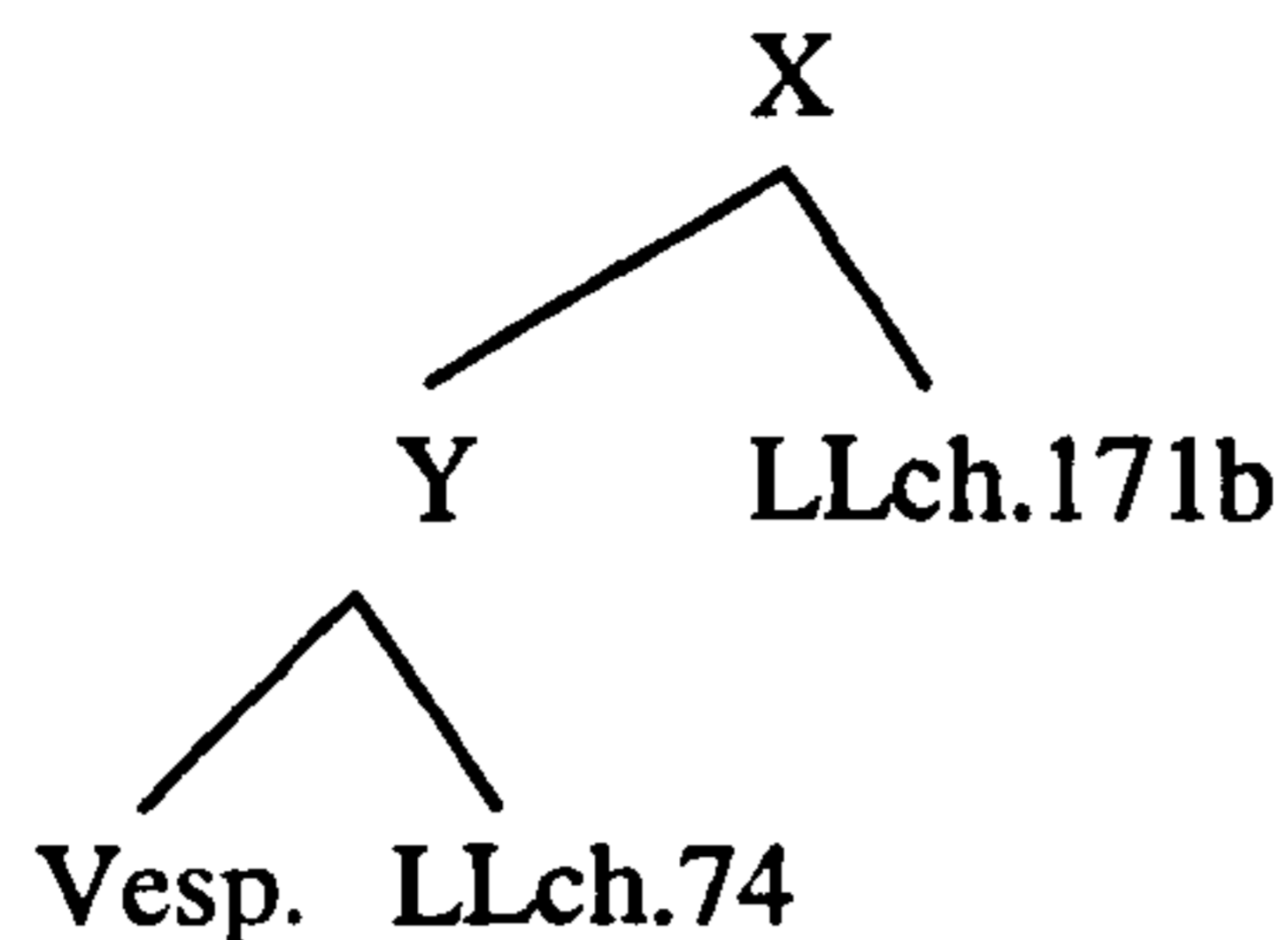
Elements

?*VADUM + RUFUS* (neut.)

Each of the attestations shows a different generic element: *VADUM* in charter 171b, *vas* ‘surety, bail’ in charter 74, and *VALLIS* in Vesp. The textual relationship of the documents has some bearing on the discussion at this point. The parts of Vesp. in common with LL have been shown not to be copies of LL, but copies of the material from which LL was compiled.¹ The Vesp. attestation is from material relating to St Dyfrig—it is a copy of the document from which charter 74 was copied. The bounds in charter 171b are so similar

¹ Hughes, ‘British Museum MS. Cotton Vespasian A.XIV’, pp. 196–97.

that there is obviously a close relationship with charter 74/Vesp., and the nature of the variant readings is such as to suggest that the following stemma pertains:



Consequently we can be confident of the reading ‘rufum’ for the original. We can also be confident in reconstructing an initial *vad-* for the generic element (thereby ruling out the possibility of Vesp.’s *VALLIS* reading). The choice is therefore between *vas* ‘surety, bail’ or *VADUM*, of which the former seems less likely as a place-name element (particularly when qualified by a colour adjective—a personal-name qualifier might be understood to mean a piece of land taken by somebody as surety).

†Vadum Selinam: [?SO564328]

Attestations

uado selinam LLch.164 p. 165 ‘c. 620’–c. 1010

Location

See †**Circhan** for a discussion of these bounds and their relationship to those in charter 171b, where I argue that *Vadum Selinam* is a ford, not on the †**Circhan**, but on some other stream or river. The bounds seem to run from the ford to the Wye (**Gwy**; referred to here as ‘flumine magno’), reaching that river at a point next to (*IUXTA*) the mouth of the †**Circhan**. From there the bounds run round, following the bend of the Wye (**Gwy**), back, presumably, to a point near where they started. This suggests that *Vadum Selinam* should either be on the Wye (**Gwy**) or on a stream which runs to it. Furthermore, since the river is followed in a circuit from the mouth of the †**Circhan** around the territory of Ballingham (†**Lann Budgualan**), we can assume that the ford should be on the northern side of the loop of the river which encloses Ballingham. No fords, as such, are shown on the river in the relevant area by the Ordnance Survey, though a ferrying place, *Mancell’s Ferry*, is shown at SO576327. I should prefer to argue, however, that *Vadum Selinam* might be

the crossing of the little stream at the grid reference above. This point is very close to the mouth of the stream on the Wye (Gwy), and it is possible to follow roads and paths in a fairly straight line from this point to a point near the mouth of the stream identified as the †**Circhan**.

Elements

VADUM + ?personal name

I am very uncertain of the second element.

Vadum Tindirn: see †**Ryt Tindyrn**.

†**Vadum Trunci:** [on the Tywi]

Attestations

uadum trunci LL p. 279 c. 1120s

Location

This ford on the Tywi is named in a brief description of the extent of the territory of King Cadwgon ap Meurig at the time of the Norman Conquest. Cadwgon is described as king of Glamorgan ('regis ingllatmorcant'; see **Gwlad Morgan**) as far as *Vadum Trunci* on the the Tywi. The Tywi is presumably the western limit of the territory, and I would assume *Vadum Trunci* to mark the northernmost point of that western limit (on the basis that the sea probably marks the southern limit). I cannot locate this ford more precisely, however, without further evidence as to the extent of Cadwgon's dominion.

Elements

VADUM + ?

The second element seems most likely to be either a personal name or a stream name.

Valence: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

. Valentię LLb.44 p. 65 1132

Location

The attestation is from the *datum* of a papal letter. *Valentia* was the name of several Roman towns, most notably Valencia in Spain and Valence in France.²

² Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, p. 1953.

Evans made the latter identification, but Davies made the former.³ Pope Innocentius II is known to have been in Vienne immediately before his time in *Valentia*, and then immediately after, he was in Avignon, so *Valentia* here must mean Valence in France.⁴

Valentia: see Valence.

Vallis: see †Villa Vallis.

Vallis Annuc: see †Pant Anhuc.

Vallis Brachan: see †Nant Brachan.

†**Vallis Cilcirch:** [nr SO461172]

Attestations

uallem cilcirch	LLch.74	p. 74	'c. 860'–c. 930
uallem cilcirch	LLch.171b	p. 172	'c. 860'–c. 930

Location

This valley is named as a point in the bounds of **Llanfocha** (the same bounds are used in both charters). Too few of the other points have been identified for this stream to be identifiable.

Elements

VALLIS + **Cilgyrch*

Thomas refers to this place-name in his discussion of †**Circhan**, where he concludes that *Cilcirch* here is based on a personal name **Cyrch* (in a name-phrase with CIL).⁵ However, *cyrch* 'journey, expedition, attack', perhaps as a stream name, would be a plausible alternative interpretation.

†**Vallis Cliduan:** [nr ST451878]

Attestations

ualle cliduan	LLch.233	p. 234	c. 990–c. 1010
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Location

This valley is mentioned as a point in the bounds of †**Lann Mihacgel Maur** (probably Llanfihangel Rogiet). I am unable to trace the route of the bounds, however, so the grid reference above is for Llanfihangel Rogiet.

³ LL, p. 421; 'The Book of Llandaf', p. 246.

⁴ Jaffé, *Regesta*, I, 855.

⁵ EANC, p. 63.

Elements*VALLIS* + ?*CLYDFAN*

GPC records a word *clydfan* 'warm and sheltered place' (*clyd* 'sheltered, dry, warm, comfortable' + *MAN*), which would make good sense in a valley name, but the earliest (and only) attestation offered for the word is from 1794.⁶

Vallis Eclin: see (1) †Eilin.

†**Vallis Lembi:** [nr SO461172]

Attestations

uallem lembi	LLch.74	p. 74	'c. 860'–c. 930
uallem lembi	LLch.171b	p. 172	'c. 860'–c. 930

Location

This valley is named as a point in the bounds of **Llanfocha** (the same bounds are used in both charters). Too few of the other points have been identified for this stream to be identifiable.

Elements*VALLIS* + ?

Thomas was not sure whether the second element was a personal name or a stream name. He concludes that the LL orthography represents what would be **Llemfi* in Modern Welsh, which is plausible (though this is somewhat contradicted by his comparison of the name with the stream name *Llambi* [SN884072]), which might contain a suffix *-fi* (though the evidence for such a suffix is doubtful).⁷

†**Vallis Leprosorum:** [?in Gwent]

Attestations

uallis leprosum	LLch.227a	p. 227	'c. 864'–c. 1010
uallem leprosum	LLch.227a	p. 227	'c. 864'–c. 1010

Location

This valley is named in the bounds of †**Villa Eliau**, which is probably somewhere in Gwent. The only other named point in the bounds is †**Fons Cincarui**.

⁶ GPC, i, 515.

⁷ EANC, p. 156.

Elements

VALLIS + LEPROSUS (gen. pl.)

Latin *leprosus* 'leprous' is probably translating Welsh CLAF or CLAFWR here. The name should be compared with †Nant y Clauorion and †Finnaun i Cleuion.

†Vallis Manochi: [?around SO426176]

Attestations

uallem manochi LLch.210a p. 210 'c. 780'–c. 1010

Location

The attestation is from the bounds of †Cair Riou. The bounds describe an *uncia* of land between the Crofft Hîr Brook (†Distin) and the *Liminan* (almost certainly to be identified with the Llymon). *Vallis Manochi* takes the bounds from the *Liminan* towards the Crofft Hîr Brook at the northern end of the territory. If the specified size of the territory (one *uncia*) can be trusted, then the northern limit of the territory should run west–east between the two streams between northings 17 and 18. The only significant valley opening onto the Llymon in the right area is the one around the grid reference above. After naming *Vallis Manochi* the bounds continue with the words 'deualle morcant', with no explanation of how this †Vallis Morcant is reached. It might be that *Morcant* here is an error for *Manochi* (or vice versa), in which case the bounds would go on from *Vallis Manochi* to †Fons Baraliuen, which does not raise any particular problems.

Elements

VALLIS + ?MONACHUS (gen.)

Manochi might be an error for *Monachi* (with confusion over the vowels, perhaps influenced by the *manach* form of MYNACH).

†Vallis Morcant: [nr SO4317]

Attestations

ualle morcant LLch.210a p. 210 'c. 780'–c. 1010

Location

See †Vallis Manochi above for a general discussion of the bounds from which the attestation comes, and for the possibility that *Vallis Morcant* is the same place as †Vallis Manochi. If the two names are not synonymous, then *Vallis*

Morcant should be between †**Vallis Manochi** and †**Fons Baraliuen**. This is difficult to explain, however, unless there is an error in the identification of one of those points. In any case this valley should be in or not far from the grid square above.

Elements

VALLIS + personal name

Vedeui: see †**Lann Bedeui**.

Veithini: see **Myddyfi**.

†**Via Iacinthina**: [?SO5026–SO5127, or SO5027–SO5028]

Attestations

uiam iacinthinam LLch.200 p. 201 ‘c. 758’–c. 990

Location

This road is named in the bounds of †**Hen Lenhic**. The church is described as being on the bank of the **Gamber**, and the bounds define the dimensions of its territory as: between the **Gamber** and the *Via Iacinthina* in one direction, and as far as †**Fossa Senex** in the other. The territory is three *modii* (about fifty hectares) in size.⁸ If Evans’s identification of †**Hen Lenhic** with Lenaston Farm [SO507271] is correct, then the bounds perhaps define a rough rectangle between the **Gamber** to the west and the road to the east. If the identification of †**Fossa Senex** with the track running between SO502264 and SO507262 is correct, then, given the specified size of the territory, the road would define the bounds between SO507262 and SO511275. If, on the other hand, the identification favoured by both Rollason and Davies with **Llanwarne** [SO505281] is correct, then we should probably accept Rollason’s suggestion that the road meant is the one which runs immediately to the north of the church,⁹ in which case it probably defines the bounds between SO501279 and SO507282.

Elements

VIA + *HYACINTHINUS* (fem.)

The generic element is Latin *via* ‘road’.

⁸ See †**Cum Barruc** for the size of *unciae* and *modii*.

⁹ Rollason, ‘The Boundaries’, pp. 75–76.

†Villa Bertus: [?in Glywysing]

Attestations

uillam bertus	LLch.190a	p. 190	'c. 728'
VILLA BERTVS	LLrub.	p. 190	c. 1120s

Location

Villa Bertus is the object of the grant recorded in charter 190a. The grant was made before the elders of **Glywysing**, which suggests a location in that region. The only other evidence for the places' location is that one of the witnesses is the abbot of *Podium Deui*, which might be Much Dewchurch (see †Lann Deui). I am not aware of any suggested identification.

Elements

VILLA + ?BERTHUS

GPC records an adjective *berthus* 'beautiful', which would be a plausible element in a settlement name, but the earliest attestation presented for the word is from 1595.¹⁰

Villa Birran: see †Cair Birran.

†Villa Branuc: [?nr SO523224]

Attestations

uillam branuc	LLch.230b	p. 230	'c. 866'
VILLA BRANUC	LLrub.	p. 230	c. 1120s

Location

Villa Branuc is the object of the grant recorded in charter 230b. A place associated with the grant is described as being 'iuxta messes oper humir' ('next to the crops at the mouth of the *Humir*'), where *Humir* might be either the †**Humir**, the **Gamber**, or some other stream entirely. Several of the clerical witnesses to the grant are associated with particular churches: †**Hennlann Titiuc** (?Dixton), †**Lann Suluc** (Sellack), †**Lann Timoi** (Foy), and †**Garth Benni** (?Welsh Bicknor). These churches are all located in **Ergyng**, which does strongly suggest that *Villa Branuc* too is in **Ergyng**. A location in **Ergyng** would favour the identification of the *Humir* with the **Gamber**, which informs Davies's location of *Villa Branuc* 'near the

¹⁰ GPC, I, 274.

Gamber'.¹¹ It could be that there is some connexion between this church and †Lann Guenn Aper Humur, which might also be located near the mouth of the Gamber.

Elements

VILLA + ?personal name

†Villa Breican: [?SS994796] (?mod. *Ton-Breigam*; also †Villa Ellgnou)

Attestations

uillam breican LLch.202 p. 202 'c. 745'

Location

This settlement is the object of the grant recorded in charter 202. In the Narration it is named *Villa Breican*, but later on (and in the rubric) the name †Villa Ellgnou is used. In the witness list, however, an *Elgnou* is named as the *heres* of the place, so it seems likely that †Villa Ellgnou is not really the primary name for the place, but merely a temporary description of it as being *Elgnou's VILLA*. In the rubric the place is described as being in **Gorfynydd**. Bounds are given which define the extent of the property in terms of four neighbouring properties, none of which have been identified. Essentially, then, identification of this place rests on the appearance of the name and its stated location in **Gorfynydd**, and these are presumably the bases of the identification with *Ton-Breigam* (grid reference above) made by Evans (following Phillimore), Richards, and Davies.¹² The only difficulty with this identification is that *Ton-Breigam* is not in **Gorfynydd**, as defined by Richards,¹³ but it is only just outside that region, and there are, in any case, other grounds for supposing that **Gorfynydd** as conceived of in LL covered a slightly larger area than that shown by Richards.

Elements

VILLA + ?

I am unable to offer a suggestion as to the meaning of the second element. The development of the LL form in *-an* to the modern form in *-am*, is probably the same change as is seen in DINAN > **Dinham**.

¹¹ *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 122.

¹² LL, p. 388, s.v. *Breican*; WATU, p. 19, s.v. *Breigan*; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 116.

¹³ It is, rather, in **Penychen** according to Richards: WATU, pp. 279 (**Gorfynydd**) and 313 (**Penychen**).

†Villa Carnou: [nr the †Mouric]

Attestations

uillam carnou	LLch.262	p. 262	'c. 1022'
Villa carnou	LLrub.	p. 262	c. 1120s

Location

The grant of *Villa Carnou* is recorded in charter 262. The rubric of the charter mentions this settlement in conjunction with two others: †Villa Crucou Leuirn and †Villa Crucou Morcan. The rubric states 'Villa carnou *id est* uilla crucov leuirn. *et* uilla crucou morcan', which could be interpreted as meaning either that *Villa Carnou* is equivalent to the other two places together, or that it is equivalent to †Villa Crucou Leuirn alone, and that †Villa Crucou Morcan is granted together with *Villa Carnou*/†Villa Crucou Leuirn. The Narration of the charter, however, refers to *Villa Carnou* and †Villa Crucou Leuirn as two separate properties (the former of two *modii*, and the latter of three *modii*), and refers to the bounds appended to the charter as those of †Villa Crucou Morcan. It is not really possible to reconcile the information in the rubric with that in the rest of the charter, and if there is a mistake somewhere it is more likely to be in the rubric. Perhaps the rubric should read 'Villa crucou morcan *id est* uilla carnou. *et* uilla crucov leuirn'. In any case, it is probably safe to assume that *Villa Carnou* is at least near to the area defined by the bounds appended to the charter.

I cannot identify enough of the points in the bounds to say more than that the area described includes land on both sides of Mounton Brook (†Mouric/†Pull Mouric). Richards identified †Villa Crucou Morcan with Crick, and Davies followed this in making the same identification for the lands granted by the charter.¹⁴ Crick is based on the element CRUG, which is also contained in †Villa Crucou Leuirn and †Villa Crucou Morcan, but Crick seems rather too far from Mounton Brook to be within the territory described by the bounds. If †Villa Crucou Leuirn is associated with †Finnaun Cruc Leuyrn (which is within the same district) then it would be to the east of Mounton Brook—the opposite side of the stream from Crick.

¹⁴ WATU, p. 51, s.v. *Crugau Morgan*; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 128.

Elements

VILLA + CARN (pl.)

†Villa Cathouen: [?Vale of Glamorgan]

Attestations

uillam Cathouen filii hindec LLch.198a p. 198 'c. 745'

Villa Cathouen LLrub. p. 198 c. 1120s

Location

The grant of this settlement follows on the grant of †Villa Ellcun with which it closely linked. Although it is not explicitly stated, the two places are probably not very far from each other.

Elements

VILLA + personal name

†Villa Congint: [?nr SS994796]

Attestations

uillam congint LLch.202 p. 202 'c. 745'

Location

This settlement is named in the definition of the extent of the territory of †Villa Breican. The territory is defined dimensionally with reference to four properties, including this one, none of which have been independently identified. The best that can be said, therefore, is that *Villa Congint* is near to †Villa Breican (hence the grid reference above). The opposite point to *Villa Congint* in the bounds is †Villa Guoidhearn.

Elements

VILLA + personal name

†Villa Conlipan: [?nr SS994796]

Attestations

uilla conlipan LLch.202 p. 202 'c. 745'

Location

This settlement is named in the definition of the extent of the territory of †Villa Breican. The territory is defined dimensionally with reference to four properties, including this one, none of which have been independently identified. The best that can be said, therefore, is that *Villa Conlipan* is near to †Villa Breican (hence the grid reference above). The opposite point to *Villa*

Conlipan in the bounds is †**Villa Marchleu**.

Elements

VILLA + personal name

The same personal name (minus the -AN suffix) is attested in an inscription CVNALIPI.¹⁵

†**Villa Conuc**: [?SS881767] (?mod. *Ogmore*)

Attestations

uillam Conuc	LLch.176a	p. 176	'c. 705'
VILLA CONVC	LLrub.	p. 176	c. 1120s

Location

This *VILLA* is the object of the grant recorded in charter 176a. The same charter has been copied out under a different heading (**Maerun**) and with different bounds, as charter 190b, but that charter 176a better represents the underlying document can reasonably be inferred from the fact that the Narration of the charter (both 176a and 190b) refers to the object of the grant as 'uillam inqua sepulcrum est Gurai', and the bounds of 176a refer to †**Mons Gurai**.

The evidence for the location of *Villa Conuc* is in the bounds which define the territory in dimensional terms as lying between †**Mons Gurai** and the (2) **Ewenni**, and between two ditches (*FOSSA*), one of which is described as 'contra mare'. If my suggested identification of †**Mons Gurai** with the hill of Beacons Down is correct, then the bounds describe an area encompassing much of Ogmore Down [SS8876], and the only settlement in this area is Ogmore (with its castle) at the grid reference above. Evans suggested an identification with '?*Cnwc*, St. Bride's Major', which I cannot find, but which would be in the right area (near **St Bride's Major**).¹⁶ However, the place-name *Cnwc* would be more likely derived from the common noun *cnwc* 'hillock' than from the personal name *Conuc*.

Elements

VILLA + personal name

¹⁵ Nash-Williams, *Early Christian Monuments*, p. 93 (no. 105). I am grateful to Patrick Sims-Williams for this information.

¹⁶ LL, p. 394, s.v. *Conuc*. Davies was less specific in her identification, saying just 'Ewenny river, Vale of Glamorgan' (*The Llandaff Charters*, p. 108).

Villa Crucou Leuguirn: see †**Villa Crucou Leuirn.**

†**Villa Crucou Leuirn:** [nr the †**Mouric**]

Attestations

uillam crucou leuguirn	LLch.262	p. 262	'c. 1022'
uilla crucov leuirn	LLrub.	p. 262	c. 1120s

Location

See the discussion under †**Villa Carnou**, with which this place is granted.

Elements

VILLA + CRUG (pl.) + LLEWYRN

†**Villa Crucou Morcan:** [nr the †**Mouric**]

Attestations

Finis crucou morcant	LLch.262	p. 262	'c. 1022'
uilla crucou morcan	LLrub.	p. 262	c. 1120s

Location

See the discussion under †**Villa Carnou**, with which this place is granted.

Elements

VILLA + CRUG (pl.) + personal name

†**Villa Cyuiu:** [nr ST387873] (?also †**Ecclesia Sancti Ciuiu**)

Attestations

uillam cyuiu	LLch.235a	p. 235	'c. 900'
VILLA CYUIV	LLrub.	p. 235	c. 1120s
villa Cyuyu	LLgloss	p. 234	s. xv ^{med}

Location

Villa Cyuiu is the main object of the grant recorded in charter 235. There are two pieces of evidence to suggest a general location. First is that the charter records that this place was granted together with a 'membrum' of the territory of †**Merthir Teudiric**, which was taken (probably rightly) by a fifteenth-century glossator to be a name for **Matharn**. Second is the possibility that the church of *Villa Cyuiu* is †**Ecclesia Sancti Ciuiu**, which is linked with †**Lann Catgualatir**, identified with **Bishton**. Accepting both, or either, of these two pieces of evidence would lead us to locate *Villa Cyuiu* in †**Nether Went**. There is a slight difficulty, however, if we accept both pieces of evidence, in that **Bishton** and **Matharn** are just too far apart for *Villa Cyuiu* to be literally

adjacent to be both. †**Ecclesia Sancti Ciuiu** is not necessarily next to †**Lann Catgualatir**, though that is implied by the linking preposition *cum* present in all its attestations. Furthermore, it is only the fifteenth-century glossator who locates *Villa Cyuiu* next to **Matharn**—the charter itself only associates the *VILLA* with a ‘membrum’ of that territory, and ‘membrum’ here could be taken to mean an outlying, separated piece of land. On balance, it seems that there is stronger justification for locating *Villa Cyuiu* next to †**Lann Catgualatir** (Bishton) than there is for locating it next to **Matharn**.¹⁷ The general location is clear enough, though.

Elements

VILLA + personal name

Villa Cyuyu: see †**Villa Cyuiu**.

†**Villa Deui:** [?]

Attestations

uillam deui. filii iust	LLch.203a	p. 203	‘c. 752’
Villa Deui	LLrub.	p. 203	c. 1120s

Location

This *VILLA* is one of three whose grant is recorded in charter 203a. The grant is a sizable one (three *unciae* in total), but no bounds or other topographical information are provided which would help suggest a location for this place.

Elements

VILLA + personal name

†**Villa Elcu:** [?nr ST0977]

Attestations

uillam elcu	LLch.249a	p. 249	‘c. 1040’
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Location

Villa Elcu is the object of the grant recorded in charter 249a. Bounds are given, but none of the points in them can be independently identified. The best evidence for the location of this place lies in its strong witness associations with charter 263, which concerns the grant of (2) †**Lann San Bregit** (St Bride’s-super-Ely) in †**Mainaur Cruc Marc**. Given the possibility that *Villa*

¹⁷ Davies also prefers the Bishton location: *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 123.

Elcu might be in the vicinity of †Mainaur Cruc Marc, there might be a connexion between the qualifying element in †Tref Marchan, one of the boundary points in charter 249a, and the *Marc* of †Mainaur Cruc Marc. The grid reference above is for a location near St Bride's-super-Ely. Evans tentatively located *Villa Elcu* near Llandaf (though on what grounds, I do not know), and this was repeated by Davies.¹⁸

Elements

VILLA + personal name

†Villa Eliau: [?in Gwent]

Attestations

VILLA ELIAV	LLrub.	p. 227	c. 1120s
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Location

Villa Eliau is the name given by the LL rubricator to the small territory granted in charter 227a. In fact *Villa Eliau* might be a descriptive phrase than a place-name, as the element *Eliau* appears to be from the name of the donor, *Eliau filius Acheru*. Davies tentatively located the territory in Splott [ST196768], presumably on the assumption that *Villa Eliau* and †Tref Eliau are the same place. The charter has a boundary clause, but none of its features have been identified. The only guide to the location of this place is in the associations of its witnesses (predominantly charters 74/171b, 227b, 228, 229b, 230a, and 230b), which are very strongly with places in Gwent.

Elements

VILLA + personal name

†Villa Ellcun: [?Vale of Glamorgan]

Attestations

uillam Ellcon	LLch.197	p. 198	'c. 748'
uilla ellcun	LLch.198a	p. 198	'c. 745'
VILLA ELLCON	LLrub.	p. 197	c. 1120s

Location

This place is the object of the grant in charter 197, and is mentioned incidentally in charter 198a. The two charters have a significant number of

¹⁸ LL, p. 397, s.v. *Elcu*; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 126.

witnesses in common with each other, and with charters 202 (†**Villa Breican**), 204a (†**Strat Elei**), and 204b (†**Villa Proclivii**). There are problems with the reliability of charter 204b's witness list, but even if that charter is ignored, the evidence of the other two would suggest a location in the Vale of Glamorgan area. The *VILLA* is described as being sited on the (2) †**Dubleis**, which cannot, however, be independently identified.

Elements

VILLA + personal name

†**Villa Ellgnou**: [?SS994796] (?mod. *Ton-Breigam*; also †**Villa Breican**)

Attestations

uilla ellgnou	LLch.202	p. 202	'c. 745'
Villa Ellgnov	LLrub.	p. 202	c. 1120s

Location

See †**Villa Breican**.

Elements

VILLA + personal name

Villa Filiorum Ourdeuint: see †**Tref Meibion Ourdeuein**.

Villa Filiorum Quichtrit: see †**Tref Meibion Guichtrit**.

Villa Filiorum Quinque Ourdeuint, .v. Ourdeuint: see †**Tref Meibion Ourdeuein**.

†**Villa Fratus**: [nr SS999750]

Attestations

uillam fratus	LLch.260	p. 260	'c. 1040'
Villa FRatRus	LLrub.	p. 260	c. 1120s

Location

This *VILLA* is the object of the grant recorded in charter 260. Bounds are given which describe an area on the Thaw (**Ddawan**), near the mouth of the **Aberthin**. Evans identified *Villa Fratus* as the settlement of Aberthin [ST008751], which is near the mouth of the stream of the same name—this is certainly in the right area, but there is insufficient evidence to regard this as the precise location.

Elements

VILLA + ?

Villa Giurgii, Greguri: see †**Villa Gregurii**.

†**Villa Gregurii:** [ST1678] (also **Gabalfa**, †**Penn i Porth**, †**Tref Meibion Ourdeuein**)

Attestations

uillam Greguri	LLch.151a	p. 151	'c. 680'
uilla Giurgii	LLch.159b	p. 159	'c. 685'
Villa <i>gregurii</i>	LLrub.	p. 151	c. 1120s

Location

The attestations are from two charters which Davies regarded as probably deriving from a single original record.¹⁹ Charter 151a deals with the grant of **Gabalfa**, for which several alternative names are given, including *Villa Gregurii*. Charter 159b records the grant of †**Lann Menechi**, and refers to *Villa Giurgii* in its rather badly worded boundary clause. Although †**Lann Menechi** itself cannot be identified independently of *Villa Giurgii*, an additional, unnamed parcel of land granted together with it can be located in the vicinity of **Llandaf** (due to a common reference to †**Riu Finion**), and this can probably be taken as a general indication of the location of *Villa Giurgii*. The basis for the identification of *Villa Gregurii* and *Villa Giurgii* is the similarity of the names, the fact that both charters concern territory in broadly the same area, and the probable relationship between the two charters (159b refers to the fact that *Villa Giurgii* had earlier been granted by the grantor of †**Lann Menechi**).

Elements

VILLA + ?*personal name* (gen.)

The attestations from charter 151a appear to show genitive forms of the Latin personal name *Gregorius*, whereas charter 159b appears to show the genitive form of the Latin personal name *Georgius*. One might be an error for the other, or both might be erroneous copies of some other name or word.

Villa Guennonoe: see †**Villa Guinnonui**.

Villa Guerberth: see †**Villa Gurberdh**.

¹⁹ *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 100.

†Villa Gueruduc: [?]

Attestations

uillam gueruduc	LLch.211a	p. 211	'c. 765'
GVERITVC	LLrub.	p. 211	c. 1120s

Location

The grant of this *VILLA* is recorded in charter 203. No bounds or other topographical information are provided which would help suggest a location for this place.

Elements

VILLA + ?*GWERYDOG

I am uncertain as to what the two different forms are supposed to represent. The first syllable *gwer-* is clear enough, and the final '-uc' probably represents -*wg*, the South-Eastern form of -OG. I would suggest that this might be an unattested adjective derived from *gweryd* 'earth, soil, land'. Padel lists several examples of a Cornish name-phrase *tre* (W. TREF, Lat. *VILLA*) + *gweras* (W. *gweryd*).²⁰

Villa Guicon: see †Villa Guidcon.

†Villa Guidcon: [?nr SO491017]

Attestations

uillam guidcon	LLch.217	p. 218	'c. 960'
uilla guicon	LLrub.	p. 217	c. 1120s

Location

This is the name of the territory granted by King Nowy in penance for his violation of †Lann Mainuon. The rubric of the charter equates the names *Ecclesia Mainuon* (i.e. †Lann Mainuon) and *Villa Guicon*, but, in fact, the wording of the Narration suggests that the two are different places.²¹ No bounds are given, so the best that can be said is that this *VILLA* might be near Trelleck Grange (†Lann Mainuon), but need not necessarily be so. Wakeman reports an alternative name *Kil Withan* as an alias of Trelleck Grange (presumably the manor of *Cilwethan* located by Richards in the parish of

²⁰ CPNE, p. 118, s.v. *gweras*.

²¹ As Davies points out: *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 201, n. 9.

Tintern (Tyndyrn)),²² and if this *Withan* can be connected with the *Guidcon/Guicon* of the LL forms, then this would be evidence in favour of a location near Trelleck Grange for the *VILLA*.

Elements

VILLA + personal name

Guidcon is attested as a personal name in charter 163b.

†*Villa Guilbiu*: [on the Thaw (Ddawan)]

Attestations

uillam Guilbiu	LLch.148	p. 148	'c. 688'
VILLA GVILBIV	LLrub.	p. 148	c. 1120s

Location

This *VILLA* is the object of the grant recorded in charter 148. Bounds are given which locate the territory on the Thaw (Ddawan). Evans tentatively located this place near Llansannor,²³ which is presumably based on the fact that *Villa Guilbiu* is adjacent to the *VILLA* in which King Meurig killed *Cynuetu*, one of the four properties granted in charter 147, which include †Nant Auan possibly to be identified with Llansannor. The identification of †Nant Auan with Llansannor is far from certain, however, and neither is it certain that the four properties granted in charter 147 are neighbours. If we do accept these points, then it should be noted that the *VILLA* in which King Meurig killed *Cynuetu* is described in charter 147 as being on the other side of (*ultra*) the Thaw (presumably on the other side from †Nant Auan), so the same could be said of *Villa Guilbiu*.

Elements

VILLA + ?personal name

†*Villa Guinnoui*: [?in ST5192]

Attestations

uillam Guinnoui	LLch.179b	p. 179	'c. 730'
uillam Guennonoe	LLch.191	p. 191	'c. 730'
VILLA GVINNONVI	LLrub.	p. 179	c. 1120s

²² 'Supplementary Notes', p. 15; WATU, p. 44.

²³ LL, p. 401, s.v. *Guilbiu*.

GVENNO*NOE

LLrub.

p. 191 c. 1120s

Location

Villa Guinnonui is the object of the grant recorded in the charter pair 179b/191. In the Narration of both it is described as next to (*IUXTA*) †**Palus Mourici**, but no more topographical information is given. The witness associations of the charter pair are most strongly with places in **Gwent**, which suits the suggestion of a relationship between †**Palus Mouric** and the river name †**Mouric** (Moun-ton Brook). Wakeman states: 'The village of *Gwinnonui* must be in Mathern, and near Pwll Meurig. The ruins of the chapel exist in a brake between Pwll Meurig Village and Moun-ton.'²⁴ He does not give the grounds for this identification but it is not too implausible.

Elements

VILLA + personal name²⁵

Villa Guinnoui: see †**Villa Guinnonui**.

Villa Gulible: see †**Villa Guliple**.

†**Villa Guliple:** [?]

Attestations

uillam Guliple minorem LLch.214 p. 215 'c. 862'

VILLA GULIBLE LLrub. p. 215 c. 1120s

Location

The grant of this *VILLA* is recorded in charter 203. No bounds or other topographical information are provided which would help suggest a location for this place. Davies located this place near Bishton (†**Lann Catgualatir**),²⁶ which I can only suppose is based on the fact that the bounds of †**Lann Catgualatir** refer to a **GWLYBLE** as a point. **GWLYBLE** is too common a word, however, to be used alone as evidence for a place's location.

Elements

VILLA + **GWLYBLE**

Villa Gunhucc: see †**Villa Gunnuc**.

²⁴ 'Supplementary Notes', p. 12.

²⁵ Lloyd-Jones, *Geirfa*, p. 663, s.v. *Gwenonwy*.

²⁶ *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 119.

†**Villa Gunnuc**: [?ST427997] (?mod. *Beiliau*)Attestations

uillam gunnuc	LLch.274	p. 274	'c. 1075'
VILLA GUNHVCC	LLrub.	p. 274	c. 1120s

Location

Villa Gunnuc is granted in charter 274. Both the Narrative and the rubric describe it as being in **Warthacwm**. The bounds of the charter show *Villa Gunnuc* to be on **Nant y March**, and not far from **Llangwm** (the bounds of *Villa Gunnuc* and **Llangwm** both feature †**Nant Broueni**). †**Nant Broueni** has been identified as Dyffryn Brook, so the bounds of *Villa Gunnuc* describe a territory in one of the two angles between **Nant y March** and Dyffryn Brook. Evans identified *Villa Gunnuc* with *Beiliau* (grid reference above) and Davies identified it with the church of Llan-gwm Isaf at SO433007.²⁷ The bounds could encompass *Beiliau*, but not so the church favoured by Davies, so Evans's identification seems more likely.

Elements

VILLA + ?personal name

The second element could be a form of the personal name *Guinuc* (a witness to charter 204b), though the *nn/nh* spelling in the *VILLA* name does not favour the comparison. Alternatively the second element could be the adjective *gwynnog* 'windy, exposed to the wind', for which GPC offers an alternative form *gwnnog*.²⁸ In any case, it would seem to show the [ug] form of the -OG suffix.

†**Villa Guoidhearn**: [?nr SS994796]Attestations

uilla guoidhearn	LLch.202	p. 202	'c. 745'
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Location

This settlement is named in the definition of the extent of the territory of †**Villa Breican**. The territory is defined dimensionally with reference to four properties, including this one, none of which have been independently identified. The best that can be said, therefore, is that *Villa Guoidhearn* is near

²⁷ LL, p. 384; Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 129.

²⁸ GPC, II, p. 1778.

to †**Villa Breican** (hence the grid reference above). The opposite point to *Villa Guoidhearn* in the bounds is †**Villa Congint**.

Elements

VILLA + personal name

†**Villa Gurberdh**: [on the Ddawan]

Attestations

uilla Gurberdh	LLch.147	p. 148	'c. 665'
Villa gu<e>rberth	LLrub.	p. 147	c. 1120s

Location

This *VILLA* is one of four properties whose grant is recorded in charter 147. All four are on the Thaw (**Ddawan**), two on one side, and two on the other. *Villa Gurberdh* is on the other side of the river from †**Nant Auan**, which has been tentatively identified with Llanannor. The identification of †**Nant Auan** is doubtful, however, and the four properties are not necessarily neighbours, so all that can be said with confidence is that the *VILLA* should be somewhere on the Thaw (**Ddawan**).

Elements

VILLA + ?personal name

†**Villa Henriu**: [?ST387909] (?also Llan-bedr)

Attestations

Villam henriu cum ecclesia	LLb.2	p. 90	1119
uillam henriu cum ecclesia	LLb.12	p. 31	1128
uillam henriu cum ecclesia	LLb.25	p. 43	1129

Location

The attestations are from three versions of a list of churches claimed by Llandaf. The section of the list in which the entry occurs contains only Gwent churches, so it is reasonable to assume that *Villa Henriu* is also in Gwent. A place called †**Hennriu** in Gwent is referred to elsewhere in LL (charter 261), so it is probable that that is the district from which *Villa Henriu* takes its name. The land in †**Hennriu** which was granted to Llandaf by charter 261 was **Llan-bedr**, so that is the most likely identification for the church of *Villa Henriu*.

Elements*VILLA* + †**Hennriu**†**Villa hir Pant**: [?] (also †**Villa Vallis**)Attestations

Villa hirpANT	LLrub.	p. 168	c. 1120s
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Location

The grant of this *VILLA* is recorded in charter 168. No bounds or other topographical information are provided which would help suggest a location for this place.

Elements*VILLA* + ?YR + PANT

Although *hirpant* looks most like a compound of HIR and PANT, the fact that †**Villa Vallis** is used as a translation of it suggests that *hir* here is simply the article (a form of the article found not infrequently in LL).

†**Villa Iliman**: [?]Attestations

uillam iliman filii samson	LLch.203a	p. 203	'c. 752'
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Villa iliman	LLrub.	p. 203	c. 1120s
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Location

This *VILLA* is one of three whose grant is recorded in charter 203a. The grant is a sizable one (three *unciae* in total), but no bounds or other topographical information are provided which would help suggest a location for this place.

Elements*VILLA* + personal name†**Villa Iuduiu**: [in Ergyng]Attestations

uillam iuduiu	LLch.184	p. 184	'c. 738'
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IVDBIV	LLrub.	p. 184	c. 1120s
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Location

The grant of this *VILLA* is recorded in charter 168. The only topographical information provided is the fact that the grant was made in **Ergyng**. Evans suggested (after Phillimore) that this place might be identified with Treadow, near Peterstow [SO540249]—which is in **Ergyng**—and this was followed by

Davies.²⁹ The reasoning behind this identification is not explained, but presumably it is based on the possibility that the qualifying element of *Treaddow* might have developed from *Iudbiu*, which Coplestone-Crow, however, rejects.³⁰

Elements

VILLA + personal name

†Villa Iunuhic: [in Gwent]

Attestations

uillam iunuhic LLch.249b p. 250 'c. 1015'

Location

The grant of this *VILLA* is recorded in charter 249b. The grant is supposed to have been made by Edwin, King of Gwent, which implies a location in that region. Two sets of bounds are given, but none of the points used in them can be identified with much confidence. The references to 'pil' in the bounds could be to a PIL feature as a common noun (indicating a coastal location), or the name of the stream Pill brook. An identification for †Nant i Guolchetua has been proposed, but it does not seem to me to be soundly based. Evans (followed by Davies) suggested that *Villa Iunuhic* might be Undy (Gwndy), but this proposal depends on the identification of †Nant i Guolchetua and on the supposition of some rather drastic scribal errors having occurred in the transmission of the qualifying element.³¹

Elements

VILLA + ?personal name

Evans, with the object of relating the qualifying element to the place-name Undy (Gwndy), suggested emending *iunuhic* to **iunnhic*, which he suggested might have developed from **iunnitic* or **gunntic*, but this seems rather far-fetched.³²

²⁹ LL, p. 406, s.v. *Judbiu*; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 111.

³⁰ *Herefordshire Place-Names*, p. 100.

³¹ LL, p. 381, n. 23; *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 126.

³² LL, p. 381, n. 23.

†Villa Lath: [?]

Attestations

uillam Lath	LLch.151b	p. 151	'c. 675'
VILLA LATH	LLrub.	p. 151	c. 1120s

Location

The grant of this *VILLA* is recorded in charter 151b. No bounds or other topographical information are provided which would help suggest a location for this place. The fact that one of the witnesses is the abbot of Penally ('princeps aluni capitis') might be taken as evidence of a South Western location, but as an abbot of this place is also said to be present at the grant of *Llowes*, which is in the opposite corner of southern Wales, this cannot be regarded as secure evidence.

Elements

VILLA + ?*LLATH*

The qualifying element could be *llath* 'rod, yard'.

†Villa Marchleu: [?nr SS994796]

Attestations

uillam marchleu	LLch.202	p. 202	'c. 745'
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Location

This settlement is named in the definition of the extent of the territory of †*Villa Breican*. The territory is defined dimensionally with reference to four properties, including this one, none of which have been independently identified. The best that can be said, therefore, is that *Villa Marchleu* is near to †*Villa Breican* (hence the grid reference above). The opposite point to *Villa Marchleu* in the bounds is †*Villa Conlipan*.

Elements

VILLA + personal name

†Villa Meneich: [?ST1678] (?mod. *Mynachdy*; also †*Lann Menechi*)Attestations

uillam meneich	LLch.159b	p. 159	'c. 685'
uillę [...] meneich	LLch.159b	p. 159	'c. 685'

Location

This place (named *Lann Menechi* in the rubric) is granted by charter 159b. See

†**Lann Menechi** for the arguments over the location.

Elements

VILLA + ?MYNACH (pl.)

The second element looks very much like a plural form of MYNACH, but if this meaning had been transparent to the charter's author and to later redactors, one might expect the name to have been fully translated as **Villa Monachorum*. That this did not happen lends some weight to the possibility that the second element should really be MYNECHI (as it appears in the rubricator's form †**Lann Menechi**). See also †**Menechi**.

Villa Miluc: see †**Tref Miluc**.

†**Villa Nis:** [?]

Attestations

uillam Nis	LLch.186a	p. 186	'c. 743'
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VILLA NIS	LLrub.	p. 186	c. 1120s
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Location

The grant of this *VILLA* is recorded in charter 186a. No bounds or other topographical information are provided which would help suggest a location for this place.

Elements

VILLA + ?personal name

†**Villa Oufreu:** [?nr SS853779]

Attestations

uillam oufreu	LLch.224	p. 225	'c. 935'–c. 990
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Location

Villa Oufreu is mentioned as a point in the dimensional bounds of †**Tref Ret**, opposed by †**Tir i Cair**. The dimension described by *Villa Oufreu*–†**Tir i Cair** seems to be approximately north–south. If the identification suggested for †**Tir i Cair** (grid reference above) is correct then *Villa Oufreu* should either be on the coast around SS850770 (Evans's preferred identification)³³ or inland around SS860785.

³³ LL, p. 415, s.v. *Oufreu*.

Elements*VILLA* + ?personal name**Villa Penn Onn:** see †Penn Onn.**†Villa Proclivii:** [on the Ddawan] (also †Tref ir Isceiauc)Attestations

uillam procliuii LLch.204b p. 204 ‘?c. 715’

Villa *procliuii* LLrub. p. 204 c. 1120sLocation

The grant of this *VILLA* is the subject of charter 204b. †Tref ir Isceiauc (otherwise unattested) is given as an alternative name for this place in the rubric of the charter. The only indication of this place’s location is the description of it in the Narration as being next to (*IUXTA*) the Thaw (Ddawan).

Elements*VILLA* + *PROCLIVUM* (gen.)

The qualifying element appears to be *proclivum* ‘slope, declivity’. The Latin is probably not a translation of the Welsh †Tref ir Isceiauc, so it is possible that it should be taken as a description of the site rather than as a place-name.³⁴

Villa Ret: see †Tref Ret.**Villa Sancti Dubricii:** see †Hennlann Dibric et Lann Teliau.**Villa Sancti Nuuien:** see †Lann Uuien.**Villa Sancti Oudocei, Oudoeci:** see Llandogo.**†Villa Sancti Tauauc:** [?ST400903]AttestationsVillam *sancti* Tyuauc LLb.2 p. 90 1119uillam *sancti* tauauc LLb.12 p. 31 1128uillam *sancti* tauauc LLb.25 p. 43 1129Location

This *VILLA* is attested in three versions of a list of properties confirmed to Llandaf by papal privilege. The context in the list is one of places in Gwent. As regards the name’s appearance, Davies’s identification with †Lann Tiuauc

is reasonable,³⁵ but that place is some distance from **Gwent**. Evans commented on this name that ‘if Tavauc is a mistake for Tavaut the church is, probably, *Ll. Davaud, Mon.*’.³⁶ Confusion of *c* and *t* is not uncommon, so this is not implausible. By ‘Ll. Davaud’, Evans presumably meant *Llandevaud*, the name of a village at ST400903, a location in between Bishton (†**Lann Catgualatir**) and **Llan-bedr** (†**Villa Henriu**), the places on either side of *Villa Sancti Tauauc* in the list of properties. Evans’s identification can be regarded as probable if the qualifying element of *Llandevaud* can be derived from **Tavaut*.

Elements

[*ECCLESIA* +] *SANCTUS* (gen.) + ?personal name

Villa Sancti Teliui de Tal i Pont, Teliuui de Tal i Pont: see **Llandeilo Tal-y-bont**.

Villa Sancti Teliawi de Lan Merwalt: see **Llandeilo Ferwallt**.

Villa Sancti Thelïai: see †**Hennlann Dibric et Lann Teliâu**.

Villa Sancti Tyuauc: see †**Villa Sancti Tauauc**.

†**Villa Segan:** [?nr ST104779]

Attestations

uillam segan	LLch.223	p. 223	‘c. 940’
VILLA SEGAN	LLrub.	p. 223	c. 1120s

Location

The grant of this place is recorded in charter 223. The identification of this place depends on that of the ford, †**Vadum Dupleis**, referred to in the bounds. The bounds describe territory on one side of a stream which can be identified as the **Dowlais** if the identification of †**Vadum Dupleis** is correct. Too few of the points in the bounds have been identified to suggest more than a location near †**Vadum Dupleis** (grid reference above). Evans suggested a link between this name and †**Villa Seuan**,³⁷ but there is no evidence other than the similarity of the qualifying elements to support this.

³⁴ See the discussion under †**Tref ir Isceiauc**.

³⁵ ‘The Book of Llandaf’, p. 260.

³⁶ LL, p. 420, *Tavauc*.

Elements*VILLA* + ?personal name†**Villa Seuan**: [?]Attestations

uillam seuan	LLch.245	p. 245	'c. 975'
VILLA SEVAN	LLrub.	p. 245	c. 1120s

Location

The grant of this *VILLA* is recorded in charter 245. No bounds or other topographical information are provided which would help suggest a location for this place. Evans suggested a link between this name and †**Villa Segan**,³⁷ but there is no evidence other than the similarity of the qualifying elements to support this.

Elements*VILLA* + ?personal name†**Villa Stifilat**: [?ST449947]Attestations

uille stifat	LLch.244	p. 245	'c. 980'
uilla stifilot	LLrub.	p. 244	c. 1120s

Location

Charter 244 concerns the grant of two properties: †**Lann Mihacgel Lichrit** and *Villa Stifilat*. †**Lann Mihacgel Lichrit** can be located in **Gwent Is Coed**, on the **Trogi**, and it seems reasonable to suggest that *Villa Stifilat* should be in the same area. Dimensional bounds are given for *Villa Stifilat*, one of the points in which, †**Pull hi Guarach**, can possibly be identified with a place near Earlswood (grid reference above).

Elements*VILLA* + ?personal name

The second element of this name is clearly the same as the second element of †**Fraxinus Stifilat**. If the second element is not a personal name, it might possibly be connected with *stwffwl/ystwffwl* 'staple, column'.

³⁷ LL, pp. 418–19, s.v. *Segan* and *Seuan*.

³⁸ Ibid..

Villa Stifilot: see †Villa Stifilat.

Villa Strat: see †Estrat Ager.

Villa Tanasan: see †Villa Tynysan.

†**Villa Tancuor:** [?]

Attestations

uillam [...] tancuor filii condu LLch.203a p. 203 'c. 752'

Villa Tancuor LLrub. p. 203 c. 1120s

Location

This *VILLA* is one of three whose grant is recorded in charter 203a. The grant is a sizable one (three *unciae* in total), but no bounds or other topographical information are provided which would help suggest a location for this place.

Elements

VILLA + personal name

†**Villa Tynysan:** [?SO522107] (?mod. (2) Pen-allt)

Attestations

Villam Tynysan LLb.2 p. 90 1119

uillam tanasan LLb.12 p. 31 1128

uillam tanasan LLb.25 p. 43 1129

Location

This *VILLA* is attested in three versions of a list of properties confirmed to Llandaf by papal privilege. The context in the list is one of places in Gwent. Evans tentatively offers a suggestion of Phillimore's that this might be a name for (2) Pen-allt, which seems to be based on the similarity of the name *Villa Tynysan* to the name of a chapel, *Landenassen*, apparently in the area of Trellech (Tryleg) and Pen-allt according to an 'Inquisition Post Mortem' from 1306 or 1307.³⁹

Elements

VILLA + ?personal name

Evans suggested a connexion between the qualifying element here and (1) Llanisien,⁴⁰ which seems to be based on the personal name *Nisien*. *Tynysan*

³⁹ LL, p. 420, s.v. *Tynysan*; *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, IV, 326.

⁴⁰ LL, p. 408, s.v. *L. Nissien*.

could represent a variant of *Nisien* formed with the hypocoristic *Ty-* prefix.

†**Villa Vallis:** [?] (also †**Villa hir Pant**)

Attestations

uillam uallis LLch.168 p. 168 'c. 866'

Location

The grant of this *VILLA* is recorded in charter 168. No bounds or other topographical information are provided which would help suggest a location for this place.

Elements

VILLA + VALLIS

Villa Vallis is translated as †**Villa hir Pant** in the rubric of the charter.

Vyrdin: see **Caerfyrddin**.

W

Wales: [NGR N/A] (W. Cymru; also Britannia)Attestations

gualiam	LLch.240	p. 240	'c. 970'?
gualiam	LLch.240	p. 241	'c. 970'?
gualieꝥ	LL	p. 253	'c. 1025'
gualiam	LL	p. 253	'c. 1025'
gualiam	LL	p. 254	'c. 1025'
gualiam	LL	p. 252	1046–1120s
gualieꝥ	LL	p. 269	'c. 1060'
gualieꝥ	LLch.274	p. 274	'c. 1075'
ęcclesiarum gualieꝥ	LLb.1	p. 87	1119
gualensibus	LL	p. 87	c. 1120
gualieꝥ	LL	p. 2	1120s
gualieꝥ	LL	p. 275	c. 1120s
regum gualieꝥ	LL	p. 278	c. 1120s
Waliam	LLb.8	p. 48	1125
Ʒalis	LL	p. 27	1126
Ʒalenses episcopi	LL	p. 27	1126
Ʒalensibus consulibus	LL	p. 27	1126
Ʒalenses	LL	p. 29	1126
Ʒalensibus	LL	p. 29	1126
Ʒalensibus consulis	LL	p. 29	1126
wallie	LL	p. 248	before s. xiii ¹
suꝝ Wales	LL	p. 313	c. 1350
Suthwallie	LLgloss	p. 125	s. xv ^{med}
suthwalia	LLgloss	p. 128	s. xv ^{med}
Walice	LLgloss	p. 16	1476x78
Walice	LLgloss	p. 19	1476x78
walica	LLgloss	p. 120	1476x78
Walice	LLgloss	p. 131	1476x78
Ecclesiarum Wallie	LLgloss	p. 133	1476x78

<i>Walica</i>	LLgloss	p. 134	1476x78
<i>regem wallie</i>	LLgloss	p. 275	1476x78
<i>lingua gallica</i>	LLgloss	p. 303	1476x78

Location

These are all clearly references to Wales, the Welsh people, or the Welsh language. The place-name is derived from the Old English proper noun *Wealh* 'Briton, foreigner'. Included here are references to South Wales (pages 125, 128, 313).

Walia, Walis, Wallia: see **Wales**.

Wanwol: see †303 **Wanwol**.

Ʒarepic, Warewyk: see **Warwick**.

Warnestny: see **Gwernesni**.

Warthacwm: [?ST427995 or SO429003]

Attestations

<i>guarthafcum</i>	LLch.274	p. 274	'c. 1075'
GVARTHA CVM	LLrub.	p. 274	c. 1120s
Warthcomb	LL	p. 326	c. 1350
Warthcomb	LL	p. 330	c. 1350

Location

The first two attestations describe the location of †**Villa Gunnuc**, granted in charter 274. The bounds of †**Villa Gunnuc** show it to be not far from **Llangwm**. It seems probable, then, that the element **CVM** of both **Llangwm** and *Guarthaf Cum* refers to the same valley. †**Villa Gunnuc** seems to be a property on a hill above **Nant y March**, so perhaps the element **GWARTHAF** refers to this hill. Evans identified this place with 'Ll. Gwm Isa' [SO429006],¹ but this does not square with his identification of †**Villa Gunnuc**. See the further discussion under †**Villa Gunnuc**.

The second two attestations are references to a prebendary stall in **Llandaf Cathedral** (now called *Warthacwm*). It is by no means certain that both pairs of attestations refer to the same place—there is no link apart from the identical

¹ LL, p. 400.

formation of the name.

Elements

GWARTHAF + CWM

The formation of the name is strange. One would expect the article to be used in a name-phrase such as this, i.e. **Gwartha'r Cwm*. The name could be regarded as a true compound ('summit valley'), but in that case one might expect lenition of the second element, unless a form of provection has occurred.

Warthcomb: see **Warthacwm**.

Warwick: [SP2865]

Attestations

coMite. de Þarepic	LL	p. 29	1126
Warewyk	LL	p. 294	1304–05
collegium de warwyke	LLgloss	p. 78	1476x78

Location

The first attestation occurs in a reference to Roger, ~~Count~~ of Warwick, one of the witnesses to the agreement between Urban and Robert of Gloucester. The second attestation is used as the surname of a certain Nicholas, speaking for the king, in an extract from a plea roll concerning a dispute over the church of **Newland**. The final attestation is from a note by David Llywelyn concerning the spelling of *Peibio*, the name of St Dyfrig's father, in which he refers to the chronicle of the College at Warwick. The place-name is a distinctive one and there is no reason to doubt the identification.

Earl /

Warwyke: see **Warwick**.

Waycock: see (1) †**Gulich**.

Wecha Brook: see †**Henn Pont**.

Welsh Bicknor: see †**Garth Benni**, †**Lann Custenhin**.

Wencia: see **Gwent**, †**Nether Went**.

Wenfo: see **Gwenfô**.

Went: see †**Nether Went**.

Went Huc Coyt: see **Gwent**.

Wentwood: see †Allt Coit Guent.

Wenvoe: see Gwenfô.

Wen Ys Coyt: see Gwent.

Westminster: [TQ3079]

Attestations

Monasterii Westmonasteriensis LL p. 304 after 1441

Location

The name occurs in a list of the bishops of Llandaf, in a reference to Nicholas Ashby, one time prior of Westminster Abbey.

Westmonasterium: see Westminster.

Whitchurch: see †Lann Tiunauc, †Stuntav.

White Brook: see †Guenfrut.

Whitebrook: see †Aper Guenfrut.

White Castle: see †Castell Mei.

White Castle Brook: see (1) †Caruan.

Whitson: [ST381834]

Attestations

ecclesia de Wydeston LL p. 322 c. 1350

Location

This church is listed among properties owing monies in the deanery of †Nether Went. The identification is reasonable on grounds of the place-name's appearance and Whitson's location in †Nether Went, in between (2) Nash and Porton (the places on either side of *Wydeston* in the list).²

Elements

?personal name (gen.) + ?TŪN

Charles said of this name: "The meaning "wide stone" might be thought of, but the absence of spellings with *-stan* might point to TUN rather than STAN. In this

² LL, p. 422 (Evans gives *Witston* as the modern form of the name, but this must mean *Whitson*); Charles, *Non-Celtic Place-Names*, p. 256.

case the first element may be the Old English personal name *Wid'*.³

†**Wigornia:** [SO8555] (Eng. *Worcester, W. Caerwrangon*)

Attestations

<i>uuicornię episcopo</i>	LL	p. 246	982x1120s
<i>sede wigornie</i>	LL	p. 285	1199
<i>wygornie episcopo</i>	LLgloss	p. 246	1476x78

Location

Evans identified these as references to Worcester.⁴ The first attestation is from a note on the consecration of Bishop Gwgon, which is supposed to have occurred before a variety of important English clerics, including Bishop Oswald of *Uuicornia*. Oswald is known to have been Bishop of Worcester at this time, so there is no difficulty with this identification. The second attestation is from a list of the kings of England in a reference to King Edgar's replacement of the clerics of *Wigornia* with monks. This is more difficult—the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (s.a. 964) refers to Edgar's expulsion of priests from Winchester, Chertsey, and Milton, and his replacement of the priests with monks, so could *Wigornia* here be an error for †*Wintonia* (Winchester)? The place-name *Worcester* derives from Old English *Weogornaceaster* (attested as *Wigorna civitas* in 716), which is supposed to be based on an ethnonym **Weogoran*, itself based on a British river name **Vigora*.⁵

Wilcae: see Nant y Wilcae.

Wilcrick: [ST409879]

Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Wylde cryk</i>	LL	p. 323	c. 1350
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Location

The attestation is from a list of properties owing monies in the deanery of †*Nether Went*. Evans's identification, followed here, is likely, given the name's appearance and the place's location in the right deanery:

³ Charles, *ibid.*

⁴ LL, p. 422.

⁵ LHEB, p. 459; PNRom. Brit., p. 496, s.v. *Vertis*.

⁶ LL, p. 422.

Elements?WILDE + ?CRUG

The second element is most likely CRUG, probably also behind the name of **Crick**, which is only about eight kilometres away. The CRUG in this case would probably be the prominent hill-fort at the foot of which the hamlet of Wilcrick is situated. The first element is more difficult; I can think of three interpretations, the first of which is most likely to be the one represented by the LL spelling: *wilde* 'wild, waste', *ƿwield* 'strong, powerful' (from Old English *wielde*), or *weald* 'wooded district' (from Old English *weald*; the hill is wooded).

Wilcrick Hill: see †Cestill Dinan.

Winchester: see †Wintonia.

†**Wintonia:** [SU4829] (mod. *Winchester*)

Attestations

<i>villa Wintoniensi</i>	LL	p. 295	1107–34
<i>Ʒintoniensi. episcopo</i>	LL	p. 29	1126

Location

The first attestation is from a single-sentence document by a fifteenth-century hand which is probably a copy of the now missing conclusion to the account of Bishop Urban's consecration (page 280).⁷ *Villa Wintonia* is named as the place where the consecration ceremony was performed. The other attestation is from a list of those witnessing the agreement between Urban and Robert of Gloucester, where one of the witnesses is a certain William, bishop of this place. *Wintonia* is the mediaeval Latin name for Winchester, of which the adjectival form (used here) is *Wintoniensis*—the Classical name for the site was *Venta Belgarum*.⁸

Podestoke: see Woodstock.

⁷ JD, pp. 106–07.

⁸ PNRom. Brit., p. 492.

Wolvesnewton: [ST454997] (W. *Llanwynell*)Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Noua villa lupi</i>	LL	p. 321	c. 1350
<i>Ecc'ia de Woluesnewton̄</i>	LL	p. 328	c. 1350

Location

Evans made the identification followed here,⁹ which is practically certain given the context of the attestations—lists of churches in the deanery of Usk—and the name's distinctive appearance.

Elements

NOVUS (fem.) + *VILLA* + *LUPUS* (gen.)

WULF (gen.) + NIWE + TŪN

The Latin form is a straight calque on the English place-name. The element WULF/LUPUS 'wolf' is a personal name here—the manor was held by people with the surname *Wolf* in the fourteenth century.¹⁰

Womdye: see **Gwndy**.

Wonastow: [SO485108] (W. *Llanwarw*; also †*Ecclesia Gurthebiriuc*)Attestations

<i>ecclesia de Wonewarestowe</i>	LL	p. 320	c. 1350
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Location

Evans made the identification followed here,¹¹ which is plausible given the context of the attestation—a list of churches in the deanery of **Abergefenni**—and the place-name's appearance.

Elements

personal name + STŌW

The personal-name element *Gunguarui*, is preserved in full here, but has been contracted in the modern Welsh form of the place-name.

Wondy: see **Gwndy**.

Wonewarestowe: see **Wonastow**.

⁹ LL, p. 422, s.v. *Wolves Newton*.

¹⁰ Charles, *Non-Celtic Place-Names*, p. 258.

¹¹ LL, p. 408, s.v. *L. Gunguarui*.

Woodstock: [SP4416]Attestations

<i>Podestoke</i>	LL	p. 29	1126
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Location

This place is named as the location at which the agreement between Bishop Urban and Robert, Count of Gloucester, was witnessed. Evans identified this as the *Woodstock* at the grid reference above, in Oxfordshire, and this is very probably correct, as the name (despite the common elements from which it is made up) is unusual—the only other example known to me is the name of a small hamlet [SN0225] in Pembrokeshire.

Worcester: see †*Wigornia*.

Worm: [SO399264]Attestations

Gurmuy	LL	p. 134	?
guormui	LLb.25	p. 43	s. xi ¹
guormuy	LL	p. 135	c. 1120s
guormuy	LL	p. 135	c. 1120s
blayn guormuy	LL	p. 135	c. 1120s

Location

The attestations on pages 43 and 135 are from the versions of the diocesan bounds, in which this stream is followed up from its confluence with the **Dore** to its source (BLAEN) near †**Cair Rein**. The identification of †**Cair Rein** depends largely on the identification of this stream, so it cannot be used as evidence, but it is clear enough that the *Guormuy* must enter the **Dore** from the east, since the bounds run between the **Dore** and the **Wye (Gwy)**. The same stream is referred to on page 134 in the description of an area of land lost to the Saxons (clearly **Anergyng** though the territory is not named); the other features used in the description are the **Wye (Gwy)**, the **Dore**, and the †**Taratir**. Evans identified these, very probably correctly, as references to Worm Brook, a tributary of the **Dore**, which runs to it from the east, and Jackson followed this identification.¹²

¹² LL, p. 403, s.v. *Guormui*; LHEB, p. 382.

Elements

?GWRM + -wy

The name is probably based on *gwrn*, a colour term used to describe warm, dark colours.¹³ The name is mentioned by Jackson in his discussion of the origin of the suffix -wy, which commonly occurs in Welsh river names.¹⁴

Wormeto: see **St Wormet's**.**Wurhinit:** see **Gorfynydd**.**Wy:** see **Gwy**.**Wydeston:** see **Whitson**.**Wye:** see **Gwy**.**Wygornia:** see †**Wigornia**.**Wylde Cryk:** see **Wilcrick**.**Wysg:** [ST3281] (Eng. *Usk*)Attestations

huisc	LL	p. 26	?
blain huisc	LLb.25	p. 42	s. xi ¹
husc	LLb.25	p. 42	s. xi ¹
huisc	LLb.25	p. 42	s. xi ¹
uisc	LLch.183b	p. 184	s. xi ¹
huisc	LLch.183b	p. 184	s. xi ¹
uisc	LLch.225	p. 226	s. xi ¹
uisc	LLch.225	p. 226	s. xi ¹
Visc	LLch.225	p. 226	s. xi ¹
blayn uysc	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s
uysc	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s
uysc	LL	p. 134	c. 1120s
vsc	LLgloss	p. 134	s. xv ^{med}
vsk	LLgloss	p. 135	s. xv ^{med}

¹³ Ekwall, *English River Names*, pp. 471–72; GPC, II, 1711.

¹⁴ LHEB, p. 382.

husc	LLgloss	p. 184	s. xv ^{med}
vske	LLgloss	p. 26	1476x78
fluuium oskam	LLgloss	p. 69	1476x78
fluuium oscam	LLgloss	p. 225	1476x78

Location

Four of the attestations (page 26, and the glosses on pages 26, 69, and 225) occur in references to **Caerllion**, whose longer name is *Caerllion-ar-Wysg/Caerleon-upon-Usk*. The river is also referred to in the bounds of (2) **Cemais** (page 184), and of †**Merthir Iun et Aaron** (page 226), as well as in both versions of the diocesan bounds (pages 42 and 134–35). There is no reason to doubt the obvious identification with the river Usk.

Elements

This river name is attested as *Isca* in Roman sources, and the derivation of the name is discussed in detail by Rivet and Smith.¹⁵ The name can probably be derived from British **iscā* ‘water’, but this raises difficulties in explaining the Welsh form with the diphthong [ui], which would not normally develop from [i]. Williams attempted to get round this problem by deriving *Wysg* instead from British **eisc-* ‘fish’, and arguing that the Romans substituted [i] for [ei].¹⁶ The difficulty with this, however, is that by the Roman period the Indo-European [ei] had become a close [ē] in British,¹⁷ so Williams would have to argue instead that the Romans had instead substituted [i] for this close [ē], which seems less plausible. Rivet and Smith suggest tentatively that the Vulgar Latin development of [i] to close [ē] might have taken place in the case, at least, of the *Isca* which became *Wysg*—in other words, *Wysg* developed not from the native name for the river but from the Vulgar Latin

¹⁵ PNRom. Brit., pp. 376–78.

¹⁶ *Enwau Lleoedd*, pp. 38–39. The same argument was made by Förster at about the same time: *Der Flußname Themse*, pp. 822–41.

¹⁷ LHEB, p. 330.

pronunciation of that name.¹⁸ A full discussion of all of the many arguments that have been presented regarding this name can be found in Caerwyn Williams, 'Wysg (river-name), *wysg*, *hwysgynt*, *rhwysg*'. The settlement name **Usk** arose from the English form of the river name.

¹⁸ PNRom. Brit., pp. 377-78.

Y/3

Y Fenni: see **Abergefenni**.

Ylarij: see **Saint Hilari**.

Ylgui, Ylui: see **Olwy**.

Ynis Bratguen: see †**Inis Bratguen**.

Ynis Marchan: see †**Inis Marchan**.

Ynis Peithan: see †**Inis Peithan**.

†**Ynys Alarun:** [in SO3228]

Attestations

ynys alarun LLch.195 p. 196 s. xi²

Location

This place is named in the bounds of †**Merthir Clitauc**. It is reached by following the **Olchon** down from the influx of †**Nant Trineint**. The bounds then proceed to cross a stretch of land containing a holed stone (†**Main Tillauc**) and two tumuli (CRUG) before reaching the Monnow (**Mynwy**). *Ynys Alarun* is clearly, as Evans stated,¹ between the rivers **Olchon** and Monnow (**Mynwy**), and, furthermore, we can locate it south of the outflows into those rivers of †**Nant Trineint** and Escley Brook (see †**Nant Cum Cinreith**). If the element YNYS in this name refers to a meadow, then we can restrict the place described by the name to an area on the bank of the **Olchon**. It is possible, however, that the name applies to the whole triangle of land between the **Olchon** and Monnow (**Mynwy**), containing the settlement of Longtown (hence the grid reference above). If *Ynys Alarun* does refer to the whole area, then it is possible that there is a connexion between this name and the bridge *Pont yr Ynys* which crosses the Monnow (**Mynwy**) at SO327287.

Elements

YNYS + ?personal name

The second element might be compared with the nouns *alar* 'boredom, surfeit' or *galar* 'lamentation'.

†Ynys Echni: [?ST523908]

Attestations

insula Echni	LL	p. 138	?
insula [...] echni	LLch.141	p. 142	?
ynys Echni	LL	p. 135	c. 1120s

Location

The first attestation is from the longer of the two versions of the diocesan bounds, in which it is mentioned as a point on the Severn/Bristol Channel (**Hafren**) between the mouths of the Wye (**Gwy**) and Tywi. The second attestation is from the Narration of charter 141, which recounts the circumstances of King Tewdrig's martyrdom. Here it is quite clear that *Insula Echni* is the name of the meadow facing the Severn ('pratum unum uersus Sauernam') where Tewdrig gave up the ghost, the place which became the site of Tewdrig's chapel, i.e. **Matharn** (†**Merthir Teudiric**). The third attestation is from the final story in the Life of Euddogwy which refers to Gildas's abode on *Insula Echni*. In the story we are told that wood intended for Euddogwy's own buildings (apparently at **Llandogo**) was being carried off down the Wye (**Gwy**) by Gildas.

There is no contradiction as to the whereabouts of this place from the three attestations, and the most specific evidence comes from charter 141, which would point to a location around the grid reference above (†**Merthir Teudiric**). Thomas and Richards both agreed in the identification of *Echni* as Flat Holm [ST2264], an island in the Bristol Channel (**Hafren**) south of Cardiff (**Caerdydd**), but this is contradicted by the evidence of charter 141, and does not sit particularly well with the story of Euddogwy and Gildas (it seems unlikely that Gildas should travel all the way from Flat Holm to **Llandogo** to fetch wood). The identification with Flat Holm comes from the Life of Cadog, in which an *insula Echni* (said to be now called *Holma*) is implicitly a sea island, not far from an *insula Barran* (identified by modern scholars with Barry Island).² Possible explanations are:

- the LL or Life of Cadog references show a misunderstanding over the

¹ LL, p. 386, s.v. *Alarun*.

² ~~CBS, pp. 63-64~~ See **Barri** above for references to discussion of *Barren*.

place's location

- there was more than one place called *Echni*
- the identifications of *Holma* and/or *Barren* are wrong

Elements

YNYS + ?

INSULA + ?

Thomas mentions this name in his discussion of the name-forming suffix *-I/-NI*. If the suffix is *-NI* then the initial *ech-* might be the prefix/preposition *ech(-)* 'out of, from'.

Ynys Evrddyl: see †**Inis Ebrdil**.

Ynys Enlli: [SH1221] (Eng. *Bardsey*; also †**Roma Britanniae**)

Attestations

insulam Enli	LL	p. 1	1120s
insula enli	LL	p. 5	1120s
insula Enli	LL	p. 83	1120s?
Enli	LL	p. 84	1120s?
insula Enli	LL	p. 84	1120s?
insula Enli	LLgloss	p. 84	s. xvi

Location

The attestations are from the Lives of Elgar (pages 1 and 5) and Dyfrig (pages 83 and 84). Both of these holy men, first Dyfrig, and then Elgar, lived out their latter years on this island, and their relics were brought back to **Llandaf** on 7 May 1120, as recorded in related passages in both Lives. There is very little description of the location of this island in either source, apart from a connexion between the island and **Gwynedd** implied by a reference in the Life of Elgar,³ but there is no reason to doubt that the place intended is Bardsey Island, the Welsh name for which is *Ynys Enlli*, at the grid reference above, off the coast of **Gwynedd**.

Elements

INSULA + ?

³ LL, p. 2.

Ynysgynwraidd: [SO456203] (Eng. *Skenfrith*)Attestations

<i>ecclesia</i> de Skenefryth	LL	p. 318	c. 1350
<i>ecclesia</i> de Skenefryth	LL	p. 320	c. 1350
<i>Ecclesia</i> de Skenefrith'	LL	p. 327	c. 1350
<i>Vicaria</i> de Skenefryth	LL	p. 327	c. 1350

Location

The attestations are from lists of churches owing tithes in the deanery of **Abergefenni**, which suits the obvious identification with Skenfrith.

Elements

YNYS + ?personal name

The Welsh form of this place-name, *Ynysgynwraidd*, shows the first element to be YNYS (presumably in the sense 'meadow'), which has been contracted to *S-* in English.⁴ *Gynwraidd* would be lenited from **Cynwraidd* after the feminine noun YNYS. I can find no noun or adjective **cynwraidd*, so perhaps it is a personal name.

York: [SE6052]Attestations

<i>eboráci</i> metropolitano	LL	p. 280	1107–34
<i>ebroicensi</i> <i>episcopo</i>	LL	p. 29	1126
<i>eboracensi</i> [archiepiscopo]	LLb.42	p. 66	1131
<i>eboracensis</i> [archiepiscopi]	LLb.43i	p. 62	1132
<i>Archiepiscopus</i> <i>Eboracensis</i>	LLgloss	p. 97	1476x78

Location

The attestations are all references to the archbishop (or, mistakenly, bishop) of this place. There is no reason to doubt the identification with York.⁵ The Classical name for the place was *Eburacum* (of which *Eboracum* soon became the more common form).⁶ The Anglo-Saxons adopted this name in the form *Eoforwīc*, which was altered by Scandinavian settlers to *Jorvík*, from which

⁴ Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 30.

⁵ LL, p. 418.

⁶ PNRom. Brit., p. 356.

developed the modern form of the name, *York*.⁷ The form with *Ebroic-* might be the result of influence from Welsh *Efrog*, which also developed from *Eburacum*.

Y Pigwn: see †Castell Teir Tut.

Yr As Fach: see (1) Nash.

Yscaio: see †Isceuiauc.

†Yscuit Cyst: [nr ST520895]

Attestations

yscuit cyst	LLch.234	p. 234	'c. 895'
YSCVIT CYST	LLrub.	p. 234	c. 1120s
Yscuyt Cyst	LLgloss	p. 234	s. xv ^{med}

Location

Yscuit Cyst is the name given to the territory granted in charter 234. No bounds are given but the charter confirms rights to weirs on the Severn (**Hafren**) and on both banks of Mounton Brook (†**Mouric**), and confirms free landing rights at the mouth (*hostium*) of Mounton Brook (†**Mouric**). The place is also referred to in a long note by a fifteenth-century glossator stating that *Yscuit Cyst*, †**Tref Perenn**, †**Villa Cyuiu** are all in the area of **Matharn**. I am unable to suggest a specific location for this place, but it is clearly not far from the mouth of Mounton Brook (grid reference above).

Elements

?YSGWYD + ?CEST

I am unable to find any other examples of *ysgwyd* 'shield' as an element in a place-name. The noun *ysgwydd* 'shoulder' is used as an element, however (e.g. *Ysgwydd Hwch* [SO0437], *Ysgwydd Gwyn* [SO1201]), but final *-t* would not normally represent [ð] in LL orthography. The noun *cest* 'belly, basket' is attested as a place-name element, probably derived from Latin *cista*, but it would be difficult to explain the spelling *cyst*.⁸

⁷ Ekwall, *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, p. 545.

⁸ GPC, I, 470; CPNE, p. 55, s.v. *kest.

Ysgyryd (Fawr): [SO331182] (Eng. *Skirrid Fawr*)Attestations

iscirit maur	LLch.122	p. 123	s. xi ¹
iscirit	LLch.122	p. 123	s. xi ¹

Location

This place is named in the bounds of **Llandeilo Bertholau**. The identification with the hill, Ysgyryd Fawr, can be regarded as secure, given the appearance of the name, and the evidence for the place's location: in the vicinity of **Llandeilo Bertholau**, on the opposite side of the **Gefenni** from the **Cibi**.

Elements

YSGYRYD + MAWR

Williams takes *ysgyryd* here to be a rare, but elsewhere attested, adjective meaning 'rough'.

Ystrad Elái: see †Strat Elei.

Ystrad Hafren: [NGR N/A]

Attestations

istrat hafren	LLch.173	p. 173	'c. 860'
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Location

The attestation is from the bounds of **Llangwm**. *Istrat Hafren* should refer to the valley of the Severn (**Hafren**), but this does not fit well into the context of the **Llangwm** bounds. The syntax of the bounds would not be harmed (and would, in fact, be rather easier to read) if the words *Istrat Hafren* were removed from the bounds. I should suggest that the words might have originated as a gloss on †**Ecclesia Istrat Hafren**, the name of a property granted in charter 174a, which is on the same page of the manuscript.

Elements

YSTRAD + **Hafren**

This valley name is used as an element in †**Ecclesia Istrat Hafren**.

Ystrad Iv: see Ystrad Yw.

* *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 19.

Ystrad Yw: [NGR N/A]Attestations

ystrat yu	LL	p. 279	c. 1120s
istrat yu	LL	p. 279	c. 1120s
Istratiu	LLb.13	p. 35	1128
istrat iv	LLb.15	p. 36	1128
Estrat iu	LLb.21	p. 41	1129
Estrateu	LLb.25	p. 42	1129
Estrat eu	LLb.22	p. 46	1129
Estrateu	LLb.23	p. 47	1129
Ystrateu	LLb.24	p. 47	1129
Estrateu	LLb.29i	p. 55	1130
Estrateu	LLb.29ii	p. 286	1130
Istrateu	LLb.38i	p. 59	1131
Stra[t]yu	LLb.38ii	p. 63	1131
Ystradyw	LL	p. 248	before s. xiii ¹
ystradiv	LL	p. 248	before s. xiii ¹
Jstradiu	LL	p. 248	before s. xiii ¹
Jstradiu	LL	p. 248	before s. xiii ¹

Location

The majority of the attestations are from papal bulls, where the place is listed among territories in dispute between Bishop Urban and the bishops of **St David's** and **Hereford**. This would indicate a location on the edge of the diocese of Llandaf. On page 248 the territory is named, with **Ewias**, as one of the 'two true sleeves of **Gwent Uwch Coed**' ('dew. wur laweys. went huc coyt'), which suggests that the place could be regarded as a commote of that cantref, or, at least, some kind of adjunct to it. Page 248 goes on to relate how Hywel Dda attempted to wrest this territory and **Ewias** from the control of Morgan Hen, and how the English king, Edgar, adjudicated in favour of Morgan Hen. The first attestation from page 279 is in a statement of the political conditions during the episcopacy of Herewald. It makes one *Caratocus* (Caradog ap Gruffydd) king in *Ystrat Yu*, **Gwent Uwch Coed**, and **Gwynllŵg**, but there are grounds for believing that **Gwent Uwch Coed** here might be an error for **Gwent Is Coed** (see discussion under **Gwent Uwch**

Coed). The strongest evidence for the area intended by this designation is from the second attestation on page 279, which is taken from a list of properties over which Bishop Herewald is said to have exercised jurisdiction. *Istrat Yu* appears to head a section of the list containing four churches: (1) †**Ecclesia Sancti Michaelis**, †**Lann Cetguinn**, **Llanbedr Ystrad Yw**, †**Merthir Issiu**. Of which the latter two can be identified, on grounds independent of their appearance in this list, with places along the lower reaches of the **Grwyne Fawr**.

Ystrad Yw is listed by Richards as the name of a commote of **Talgarth**, which is certainly in the right kind of area to be the place meant by the LL attestations, but the specific definition of the area of the territory given by Richards does not correspond well to the LL evidence.¹⁰ As defined by Richards, **Ystrad Yw** does not border on **Gwent Uwch Coed**, and does not contain the churches of **Llanbedr Ystrad Yw** and †**Merthir Issiu**.¹¹ The two churches just mentioned are in the neighbouring commote of **Crucywel**, according to Richards,¹² and it seems odd to me that a place with a name such as **Llanbedr Ystrad Yw** should not be thought to be within **Ystrad Yw**. The later Hundred of **Crucywel** was formed, according to Richards, from the commotes of **Ystrad Yw** and **Crucywel**,¹³ and I would suggest that the LL use of *Ystrad Yw* is to describe an area corresponding to this Hundred—this would make it a territory bordering on **Gwent Uwch Coed** (as well as **Gwynllŵg**), and would include the churches of **Llanbedr Ystrad Yw** and †**Merthir Issiu**. There are grounds for believing that the valley (**YSTRAD**) to which the name originally referred was that of a small stream shown by the Ordnance Survey under the name *Ewyn Brook*, which joins the **Rhiangoll** at SO181213, and whose source seems to be commemorated in the farm name *Llygadwy* ([SO151214], recorded as *Llygad Yw* on the 1832 Ordnance Survey one-inch map).¹⁴ If this is so, we should perhaps suppose that this valley name came to be used of a larger district as a result of some local importance.

¹⁰ WATU, p. 323.

¹¹ *Ibid.*.

¹² *Ibid.*.

¹³ WATU, p. 50, s.v. *Crucywel*.

¹⁴ See Coe, 'River and Valley Terms', p. 19, for further references.

ElementsYSTRAD + *Yw*

The second element here is *yw* ‘yew trees’, most likely as a stream name (now *Ewyn*—see above).¹⁵

Ystrat Eu: see **Ystrad Yw**.

Ystrat Hafren: see †**Ecclesia Istrat Hafren**.

Ystrat Yu: see **Ystrad Yw**.

†**Ystum Guy:** [on the Wye (**Gwy**)]

Attestations

ystum guy LL p. 270 ‘c. 1060’

Location

Ystum Guy is named as the location at which the Privilege of Bishop Herewald was proclaimed. The Privilege mainly concerns the confirmation by King Gruffudd of Llandaf’s possession of various extra-diocesan properties, but also concerns the grant of (2) †**Penn Ros**. There is no indication of where this place might be, other than that it should be on a bend (YSTUM) in the Wye (**Gwy**), as can be surmised from the name, and I am not aware that any identification has been proposed.

ElementsYSTUM + **Gwy**

Ystum Llywern: [around SO432139]

Attestations

ecclesia de Estom lowern LL p. 320 c. 1350

Location

The attestation is from a list of churches in the deanery of **Abergefenni**, and almost certainly corresponds to **Llanfihangel Ystum Llywern** which occurs in a different list of the churches of the same deanery. *Ystum Llywern* could be the name of the district (albeit, perhaps, a very small one) in which **Llanfihangel Ystum Llywern** stands.

¹⁵ Ibid..

Elements

YSTUM + LLEWYRN

Williams suggested that the second element could be the name of a stream,¹⁶ which would probably be the stream [SO433140] on the banks of which **Llanfihangel Ystum Llywern** stands.

Yu: see **Ystrad Yw**.

Yueton: see **Ifftwn**.

Yw: see **Ystrad Yw**.

†**3o3 Wanwol:** [?ST097699] (?mod. *Highlight*)

Attestations

Hukheloleu	VN	p. 315	1254
Thowenwewel	Cart. ¹⁷	III, 956	c. 1291
<i>ecclesia de 3o3 Wanwol</i>	LL	p. 324	c. 1350
3olyuwole	Bute (Min Acc.) ¹⁸		1373–74
3okhamwole	Bute (Min Acc.) ¹⁹		1423–24
Yughawley	ECPW ²⁰	p. 202 (1059/66)	1538–44
Uchel Ole	Crd 2.1 ²¹	p. 45	1550–1600
Highlight	NLW 6947 ²²		1558–1603
Yeholey	NLW 6947 ²³		1566
Ycholey	DP 111 ²⁴		1566

Location

This place is named in a list of churches in the deanery of **Llandaf**. Evans has a rather confusing note on this name: ‘MS. Vitell. C. 10, reads *Thowenwewel*. Cp. *Wunfal* in Clark’s *Cartæ...de Glam.* p. 100, and *High Anvolle* (which is not “Highlight”) in *The Land of Morgan*, p. 144’.²⁵ I am not sure whether this

¹⁶ *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 38.

¹⁷ PNDinas P., p. 311.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Lewis, *Inventory of the Early Chancery Proceedings*.

²¹ PNDinas P., p. 311.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ LL, p. 422. The first reference is to Clark, *Cartæ*, I, 100, where a document of c. 1250 refers to a place called *Wunfal*; the second (Clark, *The Land of Morgan*, p. 144) refers to the institution of a

indicates that he supports the identification with Highlight (grid reference above) or not. Pierce includes this attestation under his discussion of *Highlight*, the name of a farm, but earlier also a church and parish.²⁶ The grounds for supposing *Highlight* to be a translation of a Welsh name *Uchel Olau* seem quite strong.²⁷ What is less certain to me is that LL's *303 Wanwol* can be taken to be a poor representation of *Uchel Olau* by a non-Welsh scribe, as supposed by Pierce.²⁸

Elements

?UCHEL + ?ÔL (pl.)

While the English form of the name *Highlight* is obviously based on an assumption that the second element of Welsh *Uchel Olau* is *golau* 'light' (where the first element is *uchel* 'high'), Pierce proposes the more likely interpretation that the second element is the plural of ÔL.²⁹

chaplain to 'the Church of High Anvolle' (which Clark translates as 'Highlight') in July, 1291.

²⁶ PNDinas P., pp. 311–14.

²⁷ Ibid..

²⁸ Ibid..

²⁹ Ibid..

3.3 List of Place-Name Elements

3.3.1 The Format of this Section

There follows a list of all the elements found in the Book of Llandaf place-names. Where an element occurs only in a single place-name, discussion of its meaning will be found thereunder, but otherwise the meaning will be discussed in the relevant entry here below. A definition is given for the meaning of each element discussed, together with references for further discussion where necessary. Unless otherwise stated all references to definitions of Welsh words are based on the relevant entries in GPC. Similarly references to Cornish are from CPNE; those to Breton from Hemon, *Nouveau Dictionnaire*; those to Irish from Quin, *Dictionary of the Irish Language*; and those to Latin from Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*.

3.3.2 The Elements

A: Conjunction 'and'. Found in †Lann Guern Teliau ha Dibric and †Lann Meilic ha Lyguess. The Latin equivalent *ET* is also found.

***-A:** See †Lecha.

ABER: Noun 'river mouth, confluence'. See under Aber- and †Aper names, and also †Lann Guenn Aper Humur, and Llandeilo Abercywyn.

-ACH: See GVARACH.

ADAR: See †Cil ir Adar.

ADWEDD: See †Atguedauc.

ÆSC: Noun 'ash tree'.¹ Found in Nash and Newton Nottage.

AETINOG: See †Tal ir Aithnauc.

AFRDDWL: Adjective 'sad, unfortunate, horrible', or noun 'disappointment, misfortune'. An element similar to **efrddyl* appears to lie behind the names Erddyl, †Finnaun Emrdil, †Inis Ebrdil, †Lann Ebrdil, and Llanerthill. GPC gives *efrddyl* as the plural form of AFRDDWL. Although it would not be completely inexplicable, the use of the plural in any of these names would be a

¹ Parsons, *Vocabulary of English Place-Names*, pp. 32–33.

little odd, so perhaps we should find, in some of these at least, a different explanation for the *i*-affection of AFRDDWL (perhaps caused by a different Brittonic termination). *Efrddil* also occurs as a personal name in LL, the name of Saint Dyfrig's mother, but it seems likely that the personal name and the place-name examples have a common origin.

AGER: Noun 'territory, district, field'. See under †**Ager** names, and also †**Tir Conloc**, †**Tir Cynir**, †**Tir Hiernin**, and †**Tir Retoc**. The element is frequently used as the Latin equivalent of TIR.

-AI: See †**Penn Hellei**.

ALANNOG: See †**Halannauc**.

ALLT: Noun 'hill, slope, cliff, height, wood, wooded slope, shore'. The notion of height is predominant in the North, whereas woodedness is the predominant sense in the South.² 'Sea-cliff' is the commonest sense for the Cornish cognate *als*. See under †**All**, **Allt**, and †**Alt** names, and also †**Hen Alt**, †**Torr ir Allt**, and **Pen-allt**.

ALLTUD: See †**Nant Bed ir Alltudion**.

AM: Preposition 'around, about', used as a prefix in district names to denote the area around a particular feature. Found in †**Amithieil**, **Amroth**, and **Emlyn**.

***AMRYGOR:** see †**Emricorua**.

AN-: See **Anergyng**.

-AN: Diminutive and river-name suffix. Found in the names **Cledan**, **Ddawan**, †**Kilgoygan**, **Llymon**, **Mawan**, †**Rivulus Penlucan**, †**Tumulus Guian**, †**Vadum Pallan**, †**Villa Breican**. The diminutive is seen in the elements **BAGLAN**, ***BRYNAN**, **CILAN**, **COGAN**, **DINAN**, **GARTHAN**, ***HALAN**, and **TEGAN**.

ANCR: See †**Estrat Agcr**.

ANNOG: See †**Pant Anhuc**.

AQUA: See **Fairwater**.

***AQUILENS:** See **Llanddowror**.

² Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 21.

*-AR: See **Llwchwr**.

*ARADUR: See **Radur**.

ARBOR: See †**Arbores Foton**.

ARFAETH: See †**Rit Aruaith**.

ARFAITH: See †**Rit Aruaith**.

ARIAN: See †**Arganhell**.

-AS: See **Ewias** and **DINAS**.

*AWG: See **Ogwr**.

BACH: See †**Nant Bach Latron**.

BAGAD: See †**Garth Bacat**.

BAGLAN: See †**Carn Baclan**.

BANGOR: See **Bangor**.

BANON: A noun *banon* 'queen, paragon, consort, maiden' is recorded by GPC. The earliest attestation of the noun is from the sixteenth century, but the dictionary relates the word to the personal name *Banon* (attested as the name of the parent of *Kysceint* in the Black Book of Carmarthen poem 'Pa Gur') and the Gaulish female personal name *Banōna*. The dictionary regards the very similar noun (and adjective) *manon* 'queen, maiden, queenly', earliest attestation from the thirteenth century, as a variant of *banon*. A stream name *Banon* is recorded from Pembrokeshire [SN137366], and there is also a hill named *Bryn Banon* near Llanfor [SH9336].⁴ Found in †**Finnaun Uanon** and †**Mail Uannon**.

BAR: Noun 'top, summit'. Found in **Barri**. Also seen in the element **BARROG**.

BARDD: Noun 'bard'. Found in †**Main i Bard** and **Nant-y-bar**.

BARROG: See †**Cum Barruc**.

BAW: See †**Baudur**.

BEATUS: Adjective 'blessed'. Found in **Eglwys Fair y Mynydd** and †**Lan Caddoc**

³ Jarman, *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin*, p. 66.

⁴ PNPemb., 1, 3.

Pen Ros.

BEDD: See †Nant Bed ir Alltudion.

BEDWOS: Noun 'grove of small birch trees'; = *bedw* 'birch trees' + -OS. Found in **Bedwas** and †**Betguos**. Ifor Williams investigated the relationship between **BEDWOS** and *betws* (< Old English *bed* + *hūs* 'bead-house') and concluded that the two became entangled to the extent that modern *betws* place-names owe something to both.⁵ However, the consonantal *w* of the names **Bedwas** and †**Betguos** makes it probable that the purely Welsh etymology is correct in these cases.

BELLUS: See Fairwater.

BEN: See †Garth Benni.

BERTHUS: See †Villa Bertus.

BISCOP: See Bishopston.

BISWEILIOG: See †Dugleis Bisgueiliauc.

BOL: See †Bolgros.

BRAD: See †Nant Brat.

BRÂN: Noun 'crow'. Found in †Riu Brein. Also seen in the elements **CIGFRAN** and **CYNFRAN**.

BRAWD: See †Brodlan.

BRE: Noun 'hill'. Found in **Efelffre** and **Pen-bre**.

***BRECHFIL:** See †Guoun Brechmil.

BRITH: Adjective 'speckled'. Found in †Guoun Breith and †Main Brith.

BRO: Noun 'territory'. Found in †Nant Broueni and **Penfro**.

BRŌC: See Sudbrook.

BRWYNOS: See †Mainaur Brunus.

BRYCG: Noun 'bridge'. Found in **Briton Ferry** and †Britton.

⁵ *Enwau Lleoedd*, pp. 68–72.

BRYCH: See **Brechfa**.

BRYN: Noun 'hill'. See under **Bryn**, †**Brinn**, and †**Brynn** names. Also seen in the element **BRYNAN**.

***BRYNAN:** Noun 'little hill'; = **BRYN** + **-AN**. This compound is not attested in GPC, but has been adduced to explain the names †**Abrenan**, †**Brenan Picet**, and †**Tal Pon Brinan**.

BU: See **Buellt**.

BUGAIL: Noun 'herdsman' (the first element is **BU**). Found in †**Brinn Bucelid** and †**Merthir Buceil**.

BURGUS: See **Newport**.

BWCH: Noun 'buck'. Found in **Bwch** and †**Nant i Buch**. Also seen in the element ***BYCHLYD**.

BWR: See †**Din Birrion**.

BYCH:** Adjective 'little'. Found in †**Bic** and **Tenby**. The element **BYCHAN** (BYCH** +
AN) replaced ***BYCH** at an early stage in the language, so that ***BYCH** is found only in place-names.

BYCHAN: Adjective 'little'; = ***BYCH** + **-AN**. Found in †**[...]nuc Bacan**, †**Anghidi Fechan**, **Cantref Bychan**, †**Cruc Petill Bechan**, †**Finnaun Bechan**, †**Lann Teliau Bechan**, †**Pillou Bichein**, **Taf Fechan**, and †**Trylec Bechan**.

***BYCHLYD:** See †**Lech Bichlit**.

BYR: See †**Din Birrion**.

BYS: Noun 'finger'. Found in †**Finhaun Bist** and †**Bis**.

CAD: Noun 'battle, army'. Found in †**Catfrut**. Also seen in the element **CADLAN**.

CADAIR: See †**Cateir Neueni**.

CADLAN: See †**Catlan**.

CAER: Noun 'fort'. See under **Caer** and †**Cair** names, and also **Gelli-gaer**, †**Nant Torr i Cair**, and **Tir i Cair**. Translated by Latin *CIVITAS* and *URBS*.

CAETH: Noun and adjective 'captive, bondman, slave, bondage, captivity'. Found in †**Poll i Caith** and **Pwll-y-cath**.

- CAIN:** Adjective 'fine, fair'. Found in †**Inis Cein**, **Machen**, †**Nant Cein**, and †**Sulcein**. The element is also used as a personal name, and this is the usage in **Keynsham** and †**Lan Cein**.
- CALD:** See **Caldicot**.
- CALED:** See **Cledan**.
- CAM:** Adjective 'crooked'. See under **Cam** names. Also seen in the elements **CAMBREN**, **CAMBWLL**, **CEMAIS**, and **CORNGAM**.
- CAMBREN:** See †**Rit i Cambren**.
- CAMBWLL:** See †**Campull**.
- CAMPUS:** See †**Mais Mail Lochou**.
- CAN:** See **Llan-gan**.
- CANNE:** See **Canton**.
- CANT:** See †**Finnaun Canthed**.
- CANTREF:** Noun 'hundred, cantred; province, district'. See under **Cantref** names.
- CAPRA:** See †**Portus Caprae**.
- CAPUT:** See **Penally**.
- CAR:** See †**Rit y Cerr**.
- CARN:** Noun 'cairn, mound'. See under **Carn** names, and also **Garn Lwyd**, **Gelligarn**, †**Tref Carn**, †**Tref i Carnpont**, and †**Villa Carnou**.
- CASEG:** Noun 'mare'. Found in †**Brinn i Cassec** and **Porthcaseg**.
- CASTELL:** Noun 'castle'. See under **Castell** names, and also †**Cair Castell**, **Cas-gwent**, †**Cestill Dinan**, †**Lis Castell**, and †**Nant Castell Cerran**. Commonly contracted in South Wales place-names to *Cas* (as in **Cas-gwent**). A curious feature of this element is that in two cases (*Cestill Meirch*—one of the forms of †**Castell Meirch**—and †**Cestill Dinan**) the *i*-affected plural form, *cestyll*, appears to be used. The same phenomenon is found in Cornish place-names with *castell*, and it might be that we should seek some other explanation for this *i*-affection.
- CASTELLUM:** See †**Castell Mingui**.

CASTRUM: See Castellnewydd.

CAWG: See COGAN.

CEFN: See †Hir Cemyn.

CEGIN: Noun 'ridge'. See under †Cecin and †Cecyn names. This element is well attested in the Book of Llandaf, both in proper nouns and as a common noun (where it is found in the spellings *cecin*, *cecgyn*, *cechen*, *cecn*, *cecycin*, and *cecyn*),⁶ but is otherwise only attested in the compounds *gorchegin*, *cegindderw*, and *ceginwrych*, and in a handful of place-names.⁷ GPC attempts to relate *cegin* to the hardly better attested **cain*, *ceing* 'ridge', but **cain* is probably derived from CEFN,⁸ and I see no reason why the two examples of **ceing* 'ridge' (one of which is LL's own *cecg*, page 73, and the other of which is *ceng*, from a gloss discussed by Falileyev⁹) should not be treated as examples of *caing*, a variant of *cainc* 'branch'.

CELL: See †Letuer Cell.

CELLA: Noun 'cell'. Used as a Latin translation of LLAN in †Lann Arthbodu, †Lann Cingualan, †Lann Conuur, and †Lann Pencreic.

CELLI: Noun 'grove'. Found in †Cecin Penn i Celli, †Celli Rudanhint, Gelli-gaer, Gelli-garn, †Penn Celli Guenhuc, †Penn Celli Gulible, and †Riu Celli Cintur. In two of the place-names CELLI occurs as part of what might be a phrasal element *pen (y) gelli* 'grove's end' (PEN + YR + CELLI), cognate with the Cornish **pen (an) gelli*.

CEMAIS: Noun 'river loop'; = CAM + ?. See under Cemais names. *Cemais* is a commonly occurring variant of *camas*, which has the same meaning. The etymology of the name has not been satisfactorily explained, though it is clearly related to Irish *camas* 'river bend'.¹⁰ The variation between *camas* and *cemais* is obviously the result of *i*-affection in the latter, but whether Williams was right in describing this as the plural or genitive singular marker is open to

⁶ See the Appendix 'Glossary to the Charter Bounds' below.

⁷ PNPemb., I, 99, s.v. *Pen-gegin Uchaf*.

⁸ LHEB, p. 419.

⁹ *Etymological Glossary*, p. 26.

¹⁰ PNPemb., I, 25.

doubt.¹¹

CEN: Noun 'lichen'. Found in **Cenarth** and †**Tonou Pencenn**.

CENAU: See †**Nant Cenou**.

CENNIN: See †**Ceninuc**.

***CENUBIA**: Noun 'monastery'; = Classical Latin *coenobium*. Translates LLAN in †**Lann Calcuch** (q.v.) and †**Lann Cerniu**.

CERNYW: Found in †**Lann Cerniu** and †**Lann Teliau Tref i Cerniu**. This element, formally identical to **Cernyw** 'Cornwall', appears in several Welsh place-names in addition to the two from the Book of Llandaf.¹² Charles suggests that *Cernyw* could refer to 'the people of Cornwall, Cornishman, -men' as well as to Cornwall itself.¹³ The place-name **Cernyw** is probably to be related to the tribal name *Cornovii*,¹⁴ so I should suggest that perhaps some instances of *Cernyw* might refer to other districts associated with the same, or a similarly named, tribe, or to members of the tribe. Charles's tentative suggestion that the element might alternatively be a derivative of CARN should also be borne in mind.¹⁵ See also ***CORNAU** and ***CORNUBIIS**.

CEST: See †**Yscuit Cyst**.

CETHIN: See †**Cecyn Chethin**.

CEUBALFA: See **Gabalfa**.

CIGFRAN: See †**Allt ir Cicbran**.

CIL: Noun 'recess, source'.¹⁶ See under **Cil** and **Kil** names, and also **Gillow**, †**Lann Mihacgel Cil Luch**, †**Lann Teliau Cil Retin**, †**Lann Teliau i Ciliou**, **Llanfair Cilgedin**, **Llanfihangel Crucornau**, †**Tref Gillic**, †**Tref ir Cil**, and †**Vallis Cilcirch**. Also seen in the element **CILAN**. Could sometimes be confused with **CUL**.

CILAN: See †**Cilieni**.

¹¹ *Enwau Lleoedd*, pp. 10–11.

¹² See PNPemb., I, 29, s.v. *Trecerni*, for a list.

¹³ PNPemb., I, 29, s.v. *Trecerni*.

¹⁴ LHEB, pp. 376–78, and 383.

¹⁵ PNPemb., I, 30, s.v. *Trecerni*.

CIRICE: See Coychurch.

CIVITAS: See Caerllion.

CLAF: See †Finnaun i Cleuion.

CLAFWR: See †Nant i Clauorion.

CLAU: Adjective 'conspicuous, audible, quick'. Found in †Clougur and †Clouuric.

Also seen in the element *CLEUFAN.

CLAWDD: Noun 'dyke, ditch'. See under †Claud names, and also Pen-clawdd.

CLEDDYF: See Daugleddau.

CLEGYR: See †Penn Clecir.

***CLEUFAN**: See †Telich Clouman.

CLIF: Noun 'cliff'. Found in †Eglesclif and Goldcliff.

CLYDFAN: See †Vallis Cliduan.

COED: Noun 'wood, trees'. Found in †Allt Coit Guent, †Cil Coit, Coychurch,

Goetre, and Llangoed. Also seen in the elements COETY and TYLLGOED.

Probably translated by Latin *arbores* in †Arbores Foton.

COETY: See Coety.

COGAN: See Cogan.

COLLEN: See †Finnaun he Collenn.

COLWYN: See †Coluin.

CÔR: See BANGOR and ONGYR.

CORN: Noun 'horn, cairn, corner'. Possibly found in †Brinn Cornou. Also seen in the element CORNGAM. The plural *cyrn* would be confusable with CURN.¹⁷

***CORNAU**: Found in †Brinn Cornou and Llanfihangel Crucornau. This element is mentioned by Jackson, who takes it to have the same etymology as Cernyw/CERNYW (q.v.).¹⁸ If this is right then the element might represent a lost

¹⁶ For the meaning 'source' in Southern Welsh place-names, see EANC, p. 45.

¹⁷ Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, pp. 15–16.

¹⁸ LHEB, p. 378.

district or tribal name.

CORNGAM: See †**Cruc Corncam**.

***CORNUBIIS:** See †**Lann Cerniu**.

CORROG: Adjective 'dwarfish'; = *cor* 'dwarf' + -OG. Found in **Cilgwrrwg** and †**Corricou**. The adjective is not recorded by GPC before 1851, but the formation is natural enough, so it is not implausible that the word might have existed earlier.

CORS: See **Llan-gors**.

COTE: See **Caldicot**.

COTH-: See **Cothi**.

COWYN: See **Cywyn**.

CRAF: See **Crawnnon**.

CRAIG: Noun 'rock'. Found in †**Lann Pencreic**, †**Luch i Crecion**, and **Pencreig**.

CROES: See †**Crois Guerion**.

CRUG: Noun 'hillock, cairn'. See under †**Cruc** names, and also **Crick**, †**Finnaun Cruc Leuyrn**, †**Lann i Cruc**, **Llanfihangel Crucornau**, †**Mainaur Cruc Marc**, **Tregrug**, †**Villa Crucou Leuirn**, †**Villa Crucou Morcan**, and **Wilcrick**.

CRUX: See **St Cross**.

CRWN: See †**Lann Cronnguern**.

CUDYN: See **Cilgedin**.

CUL: Noun 'narrow'. Possibly found in **Cilgedin**. Also seen in the element **MYNGUL**.
Could sometimes be confused with **CIL**.

CUMULUS: Noun 'hillock, ?cairn'. See under †**Cumulus** names.

CURN: See †**Cirn Cinfall**.

***CUST:** See †**Cruc Cust**.

CWCH: See **CYCHFAN**.

CWM: Noun 'deep narrow valley, coomb, glen, dale'. See under †**Cum** and **Cwm**

names, and also **Llangwm**, †**Nant Cum Cinreith**, and **Warthacwm**. GPC defines the noun as ‘a deep, narrow valley with steep sides’. Furthermore it is stated that ‘it occurs very commonly as an element in place-names, in particular connected with river- and stream-names [...]. In Glamorgan formerly, in speech, *cwm* could also mean “a wood”. There is a tendency for *cwm* sometimes to replace *glyn*’. Ifor Williams described a *cwm* as ‘[p]ant fel cafn, dysgl neu badell’.¹⁹ The word has cognates in all the Celtic languages. In Irish (*cúm*) the meanings as a common noun range from ‘bosom’ to ‘vessel’, but it can be used of a valley in place-names. Similarly in Breton, the word *komm* is used of a trough generally, but denotes a valley in place-names. Padel defined the word’s Cornish cognate **comm* as a ‘small valley’, contrasted with **glynn* ‘a large valley’. He states that the word is rare as a Cornish name element, but that ‘the topography of the sites suggests that the meaning in Cornish might have been specialised to “tributary valley”, leading off a main valley.’ The word *cwm* occurs in eleven place-names in the Book of Llandaf, all name-phrases. It is most common, with eight occurrences, as the generic element. It may be significant that it is never used as a common noun. Where the term is used as a qualifier it is with **LLAN**, **GWARTHAF**, and **NANT** in the sense of ‘stream’. Water is also associated with this kind of valley in charter 201 with a reference to *licat cum cetguinn* ‘the spring of †**Cum Cetguinn**’. Otherwise there is very little to support or contradict the definitions above. There may be some support for the woody associations of *cwm* in the juxtaposition of the names †**Lannerch Onnuiu** ‘The Glade of *Onnuiu*’ and †**Cum Onnuiu** in charter 140. The sense ‘tributary valley’ suggested by Padel might not be confined to Cornish. The *cymoedd* of the Book of Llandaf seem typically to be minor locations—many are still unidentified—so it would hardly be surprising if many are connected to larger valleys. †**Cum Barruc** in charter 76a is said to be in the Dore Valley (itself described as an **YSTRAD**). See also **DYFFRYN**.

CWR: See **CYRROG**.

CWRW: See †**Riu i Curum**.

¹⁹ *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 28 (‘a PANT like a trough, dish, or bowl’).

- *CYCHFAN:** See †Nant Cichmann.
- CYFAIR:** See †Ciuerdiued.
- CYFYLCHI:** See †Ciuilchi.
- CYHYR:** See †Cehir.
- CYN-:** See Cynlais.
- CYNFRAN:** See †Cinbran.
- CYNLLWYN:** See †Cinluin.
- CYNLLYFAN:** See †Dinas Cynlyuan.
- CYNNWR:** See †Riu Celli Cintur.
- CYNRHAITH:** See †Nant Cum Cinreith.
- CYRCH:** See †Vallis Cilcirch.
- CYRROG:** Adjective 'forked'; *cwr* 'corner' + -OG. Found in Cilgwrrwg and †Cum Cerruc.
- CYW:** Noun 'chick'. Found in †Ciu and †Pant Ciu.
- DA:** See †Finnaun i Da.
- DAEAR:** See †Duir in Dair.
- DAFAD:** Noun 'sheep'. Found in †Rit Deueit and †Ryt i Deueit.
- DÂR:** See †Deri Emreis.
- DAU:** Numeral 'two'. Found in Daugleddau, †Diufrut, †Diugurach, †Dou Ciuiu, †Douluin Helic, †Lann Dougarth, and †Pen Deulin. The feminine form in the modern language is *dwy*, but some of the forms might show an earlier (or dialectal) variant of the feminine form, *diu* (see †Diufrut). Also seen in the element DEUDEG. Could be confused with DU.
- DE:** Preposition 'from'. Found in †Castell Mingui, Dore Abbey, †Ecclesia de Sancto Audoeno, †Ecclesia Sancti Teliaui de Merthir Mimor, Grace Dieu Abbey, †Lan Caddoc Pen Ros, Llandeilo Bertholau, Llandeilo Ferwallt, Llandeilo Gresynni, Llandeilo Tal-y-bont, Llanelen, Llanfocha, Llanilid, Llansanffraid, Mynachlog Nedd, Sain Dunwyd, Sain Ffagan, Sain Nicolas.

Sain Pŷr, Sain Siorys, Saint Andras, St Arvans, Sain Tathan, St Kingsmark, St Lythan's, St Mellons, St Wormet's, and Saint-y-brid.

DENU: See Devauden.

DEUDEG: Numeral 'twelve'; DAU + *deg* 'ten'. Found in †Finnaun y Doudec Seint and †Lann i Doudec Seith. The Latin equivalent, *DUODECIM*, is also found.

DEUS: See Grace Dieu Abbey.

DIFUNER: See †Tir Dimuner.

DIN: Noun 'fort'. See under Din names, and also Gwaith Dinefwr, Llanddinol, Pyrddin, Tenby, and Tyndyrn. Also seen in the elements DINAN and DINAS. As in Cornish, there is variation between forms with [t] and forms with [d]—the latter is etymologically correct (< Brittonic *dūno-*), and Richards regards this provection as a symptom of Anglicisation.²⁰ The possibility of confusion with *tin* 'buttocks, bottom, rump' and *DYNN is very great, particularly given the overlapping semantic ranges of these words.²¹

DINAN: Noun 'little fort'; = DIN + -AN. Found in †Cestill Dinan and Dinham.

DINAS: See †Dinas Cynlyuan.

DIOGI: See †Finnaun Dioci.

DIRWEST: See †Finnaun Derguist.

DIWEDD: See †Ciuerdiued.

DORGLWYD: See †Porth i Dorcluit.

DRUD: See †Guern i Drution.

DRYCH: See †Drech Dindirn.

DU: Adjective 'black'. Found in †Dibleis, †Diufrut, †Diugurach, Dowlais, †Dubleis, †Dubnnant Du, †Dugleis Bisgueiliauc, Dulais, †Dulin, †Guern i Duon, †Hal Du, †Mynid Du, †Nant Du, and †Post Du. Could be confused with DAU.

DUODECIM: See †Urbs XII Iugerorum. The Welsh equivalent, DEUDEG, is also

²⁰ Richards, 'Some Welsh Place-Names', pp. 366–67; CPNE, p. 84.

found.

DWFN: Adjective 'deep'. Found in †Nant Duuin. Also seen in the element DYFNANT.

DŴR: Noun 'water'. Found in †Baudur, Dore, †Duir in Dair, †Guefrduur, Hepste, and Llanddowror. Also seen in the elements DYFFRYN and DYFRWR.

DWRN: See Tyndyrn.

DYFFRYN: Noun 'valley'; = DŴR + *hynt* 'course, track'. See under †Difrin and Dyffryn names. In defining the noun, GPC states that a GLYN is generally narrower and steeper-sided than a *dyffryn*. *Dyffryn* itself is defined as 'a long hollow or lowland lying between hills or mountain-land with a river or stream flowing through its centre (as a rule it is broader than a *glyn* or a *cwm*)', and etymologically its meaning is 'water course' (composed of *dwfr*—the ancestor of DŴR—and *hynt*). Williams allows the meaning to extend to the higher ground on either side of the lowland.²² The word is used in four names in the Book of Llandaf, all name-phrases with a river-name as qualifier. The rivers are the Teifi [SN160484], the Bachawy [SO105428], the Nofydd, and Nant Brân/River Waycock ((1) †Gulich), of which only the Teifi is of a significant size. *Dyffryn* is not used in the Book as a common noun. The name **Dyffryn Golych** occurs in the Book only in a mid-fifteenth century gloss on the river name (1) †Gulich). In 157, however, the same river is said to originate in, and flow through, †Pant Gulich, which is also referred to as a *VALLIS*. The valley is known as a *Dyffryn* nowadays. It is possible, of course, though not very likely, that the PANT and the *Dyffryn* in this case denote different parts of the river's course. Similarly the Book's †Difrin Annoid is now known as *Cwm Nofydd*. These examples may indicate some potential for synonymity between CWM, PANT, and *dyffryn*.

DYFNANT: See †Dubnnant Du.

DYFRWR: See Llanddowror.

*DYNN: Noun 'hill fort' (attested only in the compound *tyddyn* 'building, house' and

²¹ CPNE, p. 84; PNPemb., I, 240–41, s.v. *Trevine*.

²² *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 26.

in place-names).²³ Found in †**Din Birrion** and **Trefddyn**. The possibility of confusion with *tin* ‘buttocks, bottom, rump’ and **DIN** is very great, particularly given the overlapping semantic ranges of these words.²⁴

ECCLESIA: Noun ‘church’. See under †**Ecclesia**, †**Lann**, **Llan**, and **Sain/Saint** names, and also **Christchurch**, †**Eccluis Sant Breit**, **Eglwys Fair y Mynydd**, †**Lan Caddoc Pen Ros**, †**Merthir Iun et Aaron**, and **Mynachlog Nedd**.

-EDIG: See **SYNEDIG**.

-EG: See †**Ritec**.

EGLWYS: Noun ‘church’. See under †**Eccluis** names, and also **Eglwys Brewys** and **Llanisien**.

EIDDEW: see ***IDDIEUEN**.

***EILIN**: Noun ‘stag, doe’. Found in †**Eilin**, †**Luch ir Eilin**, and †**Nant ir Eilin**. GPC suggests that this is a variant form of **EILON**.

EILON: See †**Nant Eilon**.

EITHINOG: See †**Tref Eithinauc**.

-ELL: River-name forming suffix. Found in the names †**Arganhell** and **Caerfanell**. Also seen (as a diminutive) in the element **PRIDDELL**.

-EN: Singulative (fem.—the masc. form is **-YN**) and name-forming suffix, the two meanings having different origins—Thomas comments on the difficulty of distinguishing between the different meanings.²⁵ Found in the names **Hafren**, †**Ieuen**, †**Iulen**, and †**Pull ir Iulenn**. Also seen in the elements **COLLEN**, **GWERNEN**, **HESGEN**, ***IDDIEUEN**, **ONNEN**, **PEREN**, **PIBEN**, and **YWEN**.

-ES: See **GALLES**.

ESGOB: See †**Tal Pont Escop**.

ET: Conjunction ‘and’. Found in †**Ecclesia Sanctorum Iarmen et Febric**, †**Hennlann Dibric et Lann Teliau**, and †**Merthir Iun et Aaron**. The Welsh equivalent **A** is also found.

²³ See also the comments of Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, pp. 56–57.

²⁴ CPNE, p. 84; PNPemb., i, 240–41, s.v. *Trevine*.

EWIG: Noun ‘hind, doe’. Found in †**Nant ir Eguic** and †**Rit ir Euic**. See also **Ewias**.

FELD: Noun ‘open country’. Found in **Archenfield**, **Marshfield**, and **Rockfield**. The meaning of this English-language place-name element is discussed in detail by Gelling.²⁶

FFIN: Noun ‘border, boundary’. Found in †**Guoun Teir Fin** and †**Riu Finion**.

FFORCH: See †**Lech Forch**.

FFOS: Noun ‘ditch’. Found in †**Fos Cinahi** and †**Nant Foss Pluum**.

FFRWD: Noun ‘brook’. See under †**Frut** names, and also †**Aper Guenfrut**, **Camffrwd**, †**Camfrut**, †**Catfrut**, †**Diufrut**, and †**Guenfrut**. *Ffrwd* is generally defined in terms of stream words, and is used to denote a fast moving, and bubbling, but not extensive, flow of water. It can also be used, more generally, of ‘a rapid current’, ‘torrent’, or ‘flood’. *Ffrwd* has Cornish, Breton, and Irish cognates (*frot* (Old Cornish), *froud*, and *sruth* respectively), all rather strikingly within the same semantic range as the Welsh. *Ffrwd* occurs in reference to ten different streams in the Book of Llandaf. It is used twice as a common noun (charter 73a), but elsewhere the usage seems evenly divided between generic element in a name-phrase and generic element in a compound.

FFWRN: See †**Mafurn**.

FFYNNON: Noun ‘spring’. See under †**Finhaun**, †**Finnaun**, and †**Fynnaun** names.

The word is derived from Late Latin *fontāna*, itself based on Latin *fons*. The standard definition of the Welsh word, as of its Latin base, is ‘spring’, ‘fountain’, or ‘well’. The Cornish and Breton cognates, *fenten* and *feunteun* also denote the point of issue of water from the earth, rather than a linear water-course. Of the twenty seven examples of this noun in the Book of Llandaf, I feel confident in identifying seven as references to linear features (that is, streams of some kind). In these cases *ffynnon* is either a simplex place-name, or the generic element in a name-phrase. In each of these seven cases the *ffynnon* is said to have an **ABER**, that is a ‘mouth’ or a ‘confluence’ with

²⁵ EANC, p. 103.

²⁶ *Place-Names in the Landscape*, pp. 235–45.

another body of water, e.g. in charter 146 (normalised spacing, punctuation, and capitalisation): ‘O aper Finnaun [y] Doudecseint yn Linn Syuadon, ar hyt yr guer dy uinyd bet lycat yr finnaun [...] ar hyt yr lynn bet oper Finnaun y Doudecseint.’ (‘From the mouth of †**Finnaun y Doudec Seint** in **Llyn Syfaddan**, along the *gofer* upwards as far as the spring-head [...] along the lake as far as the mouth of †**Finnaun y Doudec Seint**.’) This example demonstrates another interesting feature of the use of the word to refer to a linear water-course: that it is frequently synonymous with *gofer* ‘brook’, which is fairly common as a common noun in the bounds, but is not found as a place-name element. Cognates of the word *gofer* occur in all the Celtic languages. It is derived from a root meaning ‘to boil’, or ‘bubble’.²⁷ The Irish cognate *fobhar* or *fofor* is used of a well. The Cornish and Breton cognates *gover* and *gouer* mean ‘stream’ or ‘brook’. There was also a river known as *Vobera* in Gaul.²⁸ Welsh appears to be a semantic bridge—*gofer* is defined either as ‘an overflow from a well or spring’ or as a kind of brook. Williams defined *gofer* as a kind of brook having an obvious spring or fountain.²⁹ The Book of Llandaf appears to back up this definition. Of the fourteen *goferydd* mentioned in the Book, eleven are specifically associated with a spring or fountain. There are nine occasions where other words may be being employed as synonyms for *ffynnon*: NANT twice (but these could be references to the valley through which the stream flows rather than the stream itself) and *gofer* seven times. *Ffynnon* appears to have begun the same semantic development as *gofer* away from an original meaning of ‘spring’ towards reference to an entire stream but not to have advanced so far.

FILIUS: Noun ‘son’. Found in †**Ager Filiorum Grucauc**, †**Guaissaf Liguallaun filius Tutbulch**, †**Tref Meibion Guichtrit**, and †**Tref Meibion Ourdeuein**. Translates Welsh MAB.

FLEMING: see **Flemingston**.

FLUMEN: Noun ‘river’. Found in †**Aper Menei** and †**Flumen Iacob**.

²⁷ GPC, II, 1429–30, s.v. *gofer*.

²⁸ Ibid..

²⁹ *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 41.

FONS: Noun 'spring'. See under †Fons names.

FOSSA: Noun 'ditch'. See under †Fossa names.

FRAXINUS: Noun 'ash tree'. Found in †Fraxinus Stifilat and Nash. In Nash *fraxinus* translates ÆSC.

FURLANG: See †Sladforlang.

GAFR: See †Ol i Gabr.

GALL, -ES: Noun 'foreigner'; the fem. in *-es* is hypothetical. Found in †Nant i Gall and †Nant i Galles.

GANNOG: See †Halannauc.

GARAN: See Llangarron.

GARDD: See †Ecclesia Cyngur Tros Gardi.

GARTH: Noun 'hill; woodland; enclosure, fort'. See under Garth names, and also Cenarth, †Lann Dougarth, †Lann Teliau Garth Teuir, †Lann Teliau Litgarth, †Lann Teliau Penn Litgarth, Llan-arth, Penarth, and Talgarth. Also seen in the element GARTHAN. Confusion is possible between this element and *ardd* 'height, hill' and GARDD.³⁰

GARTHAN: See †Minid Garthon.

GEAT: See Rogiet.

GEFEL: See Efelffre.

***GELLT:** See Buellt.

GERĒFA: See PORT-GERĒFA and SCĪR-GERĒFA.

GLAIN: See †Lin i Gleiniou.

GLAIS: Noun 'stream'. Found in Cynlais, †Dibleis, Dowlais, †Dubleis, †Dugleis (ated) / Bisgueiliauc, Dulais, Gwynlais, and Morlais. As a noun, *glais* is/by general stream terms. The Irish cognate *glais* is defined as 'a stream', 'rivulet', or 'current'. In both Welsh and Irish it seems that the word rarely occurs as a common noun. The word seems to be used of a feature of similar size to a

³⁰ Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, pp. 20–21.

FFRWD, but not necessarily of the same ferocity. In the Book of Llandaf the word only occurs as second element in compounds, most frequently with the colour adjective DU.

GLAN: Noun 'bank'. Found in †**Alt Rudlan**, †**Brodlan**, and †**Rudlan Elei**. Confusion is possible with the elements GLÂN and LLAN.

GLÂN: See †**Alt Rudlan**.

GLAS: Adjective 'blue, green, pale, grey, cool, fresh'. Found in †**Cruc Glas**, †**Cumulus Glas**, †**Glasguern**, †**Glaspull**, †**Glesius**, †**Henglas**, and †**Lannerch Glas**.

GLYN: Noun 'valley'. Found in **Emlyn**, †**Glin Mannou**, and †**Pen Deulin**. The element's Gaelic cognate was borrowed into English as *glen*. The word is defined by GPC as 'a long, narrow hollow between hills or mountains, for the most part with a river or stream running through its centre (as a rule it is narrower and steeper-sided than a *dyffryn*)', and Williams defines it as a narrow DYFFRYN.³¹ GPC also states that 'it occurs very commonly in place-names [...] (very frequently with a river-name)'. See CWM above for Padel's suggestion that Cornish **glynn* was used of a larger valley than **comm*. The definition I have just given does not seem to rule out the possibility that the same is true of *glyn* and CWM in Welsh.

GO-: Prefix cognate with Latin *sub* 'under', giving sense of 'under, somewhat, little'. Found in †**Gulich** and †**Guorrimi**. Also seen in the element GOFAL.

GOF: Noun 'smith'. Found in †**Gauanhauc**, **Gefenni**, †**Nant i Gob**, and **Treguff**.

GOFAL: See †**Guualon**.

***GOLCHEDFA:** See †**Nant i Guolchetua**.

GOLD: See **Goldcliff**.

GOR-: Prefix cognate with Latin *super* 'above', giving sense of 'over, very'. Found in **Gorfynydd** and †**Guornoid**. Also seen in the elements GORLLWRW, GORWEDD, and GORWYDD.

GORLLWRW: See †**Guorlurch Iudgual**.

GORWEDD: See †Riu Guorgued.

GORWYDD: See †Riu Guorgued.

GRAEAN: See GRAEANOG and GREYENYN.

GRAEANOG: See †Riu Graenauc.

GRATIA: See Grace Dieu Abbey.

GREIDIOL: See Greidol.

GREYENYN: See †Grenin.

GROS: See Grysmwnt.

GRUDD: See †Alt Rudlan.

GRUG: See Tregrug.

GRYM: See Eithrim.

GWAEDDAN: Noun 'shouter' (also personal name). Found in †Finnaun Guaidan and †Lann Teliau Luin Guaidan.

GWÄEG: See †Guaeck.

GWAESAF: See †Guaissaf Liguallaun filius Tutbulch.

GWAITH: See Gwaith Dinefwr.

GWAL: See Carnwyllion.

GWARACH: See †Pull hi Guarach.

GWARTHAF: Noun 'uppermost part, summit'. Found in Bwch, †Campull, Cantref Gwarthaf, and Warthacwm.

GWASGAR: See †Tref Guascar.

GWAUN: Noun 'high and wet level ground, moorland; low-lying marshy ground, meadow'. See under †Guoun names, and also Gwndy.

GDEN: See †Gudinn.

GWEFR: See †Guefrduur.

³¹ Ibid., p. 27.

***GWENNOG:** See †**Penn Celli Guenhuc**.

GWENWYN: See †**Guenuin Meirch**.

GWERN: Noun 'alder trees, marsh'; sg. **GWERNEN**. See under †**Guern** names, and also †**Cruc Guern**, †**Drausguern**, †**Frut i Guern**, †**Glasguern**, †**Hal Un Guernen**, †**Lann Cronnguern**, †**Lann Guern Cinuc**, †**Lann Guern Teliau ha Dibric**, †**Lan Waryn**, †**Lis Guern**, **Llanwarne**, and †**Rivulus i Guern**. Also seen in the element **GWERNOS**.

GWERNEN: See †**Teir Guernen Buell**.

GWERNOS: See **Gwernesni**.

***GWERYDOG:** See †**Villa Gueruduc**.

GWERYN: See **Grwyne Fawr**.

GWIDDON: See †**Frut i Guidon**.

GWLAD: See **Gwlad Morgan**.

GWLYBLE: Noun 'wet spot, damp place'; = *gwlyb* 'wet' + **LLE**. Found in †**Penn Celli Gulible** and †**Villa Guliple**.

GWLYCH: See †**Gulich**.

GŴR: Noun 'man, person'. Found in †**Clougur**, †**Clouric**, and **Llanddowror**. Also seen in the elements **CYNNWR**, **DYFRWR**, and **PYSGOTWR**.

GWRACH: Noun 'hag'. Found in †**Diugurach** and †**Pull hi Guarach**.

GWRM: See **Worm**.

GWŶDD: Noun 'trees, branches; woods'. Found in †**All Hilguid**, †**Gudinn**, and †**Tref Guid**. Also seen in the elements **GORWYDD** and **GWYDDOG**.

GWYDDOG: See †**Poll Hir Guidhuc**.

GWYN: Adjective 'white'. Found in **Bryngwyn**, †**Carn Guenn**, †**Din Guennham**, †**Guenfrut**, †**Guinnic**, **Gwynlais**, and †**Lann Guenn Aper Humur**. Also seen in the elements **GWYNDY** and **GWYNFA**.

GWYNDY: Noun 'holy house, stone-built church'; = **GWYN** + **TŶ**. Found in †**Gundy Teliau** and **Gwndy**.

- GWYNFA:** See † **Henriu Gunma**.
- GŴYR:** Adjective 'slanting, crooked'. Found in † **Guyragon** and **Gŵyr**.
- GŴYTH:** See † **Guyth Lunguyd**.
- HAEARN:** See **HEYERNIN**.
- HÂL:** Noun 'marsh, moor'. See under **Hal** names, and also † **Cil Hal**. Also seen in the element ***HALAN**.
- ***HALAN:** See † **Porta Halan**.
- HALOG:** See **Llandeilo Bertholau**.
- HAMM:** See **Keynsham**.
- HAWDD:** See **Honddu**.
- HEBOG:** Noun 'hawk'. Found in † **Hebaucmein** and † **Nant ir Hebauc**.
- HELA:** See † **Nant Hela**.
- HELYG:** Noun 'willow trees'. Found in † **Ager Helic**, † **Douluin Helic**, and † **Luin Helic**.
- HEN:** Adjective and noun 'old; old person'. See under **Hen** names, and also **Nant-yr-hen** and † **Villa Henriu**. Also seen in the element **HENDREF**.
- HENDREF:** Noun 'winter farm'; **HEN** + **TREF**. Found in † **Henntre Biguonui**, † **Henntref Gucaun**, and † **Hentref Merchitir**.
- HENLLAN:** See **LLAN**.
- HESGEN:** See † **Hescenn Iudie**.
- HEYERNIN:** See † **Tir Hiernin**.
- HIL:** See † **Hilin**.
- HIR:** Adjective 'long'. Found in † **Hir Cemyn** and † **Poll Hir Guidhuc**.
- HNOT:** See **Newton Nottage**.
- HŌH:** See **Pen-hw**.
- HRŌC:** See **Rockfield**.
- IRYCG:** See **Rogiet**.

HWCH: See †**OI Huch**.

HYACINTHINUS: Adjective 'hyacinthine' (probably translating Welsh GLAS).³² Found in
†**Petra Iacinthinus** and †**Via Iacinthina**.

HYACINTHUS: See †**Petra Iacantha**.

HYLL: See †**All Hilguid**.

HYSB: See **Hepste**.

-I: Name-forming suffix. The origins of this suffix, which is probably related to -NI, are discussed in detail by Jackson.³³ Found in the names **Anghidi**, **Cilieni**, **Cothi**, **Cydweli**, **Elái**, **Ewenni**, **Gefenni**, †**Guorrimi**, **Llynfi**, †**Mathenni**, **Myddyfi**, †**Nant Broueni**, †**Rivulus Mithri**, **Troddi**, **Trogi**, **Tywi**, and †**Vadum Trunci**. Also seen in the element MYNECHI.

-IAD: See †**Gefiat**.

IAU: Noun 'yoke'. Found in †**Ieuen** and †**Lann Teliau i Ciliou**.

*IDDIEUEN: See †**Tref ir Idiouen**.

-IG: Suffix with various uses (mainly diminutive and adjectival).³⁴ Found in the names †**Clouuric**, **Cresynni**, †**Guinnic**, and †**Villa Iunuhic**. Also seen in the element LLENNIG.

-IN: See **HEYERNIN** and **YSGEWIN**.

INFERIOR: See †**Nether Went**.

ING: See **YNG**.

-ING: See **Glywysing**.

INSULA: Noun 'island'. Found in †**Insula Teithi** and †**Longa Insula**. If it translates Welsh YNYS, then its semantic range might be extended to include 'meadow'.

-IOG: See -OG.

-ION: Suffix used to form district names (with a personal name), as, most famously,

³² Falileyev, *Etymological Glossary*, pp. 61–62, s.v. *glas* and *glasliu*. The same translation equivalence is found with Irish *glas*: Stancliffe, 'Red, White and Blue Martyrdom', pp. 28–29.

³³ LHEB, pp. 351–53.

³⁴ Thomas gives a summary of the various possible senses: EANC, p. 180.

llion / *Ceredigion*. Found in the names *Edeligion* and *Lanion*.

IS: See *Mynyddislwyn*.

IUGERUM: See †*Urbs Duodecim Iugerorum*.

IUXTA: Preposition 'next to'. Found in †*Ecclesia Sancti Michaelis iuxta Usk* and *Llangattock Nigh Usk*.

LACUS: See †*Rufus Lacus*.

LATUS: See †*Lech Meneich*.

LE: Definite article (French); fem. *la*. Found in †*Le Menede* and *Nash*.

LĒAH: See *Madley*.

LEGIO: See *Caerllion*.

LEPROSUS: See †*Vallis Leprosorum*.

LLAETHDY: See †*Laithi Teliau*.

LLAN: Noun 'church, church-yard'. See under †*Lan*, †*Lann*, *Llan*, and †*Llann* names, and also †*Alt Rudlan*, †*Brodlan*, †*Ecclesia Sancti Teliaui de Merthir Mimor*, †*Lamyhangel*, *Mynyddislwyn*, and *St Kingsmark*. Also seen in the elements *CADLAN*, *LLENNIG*, and *RHAGLAN*. Translated by Latin *CELLA*, *ECCLESIA*, *MONASTERIUM*, *PODUM*, and, possibly, *URBS*. A phrase *henllan* (*HEN* + *llan*) is used as an element in its own right in three place-names (see under †*Hennlann*).³⁵

LLANNERCH: Noun 'clearing, glade'. See under †*Lannerch* names.

LLATH: See †*Villa Lath*.

LLE: Noun 'place'. Possibly found in *Madley*. Also seen in the element *GWLYBLE*.

LLECH: Noun 'stone, slate'. See under †*Lech* names, and also †*Pull i Lech* and *Tryleg*. Also seen in the element *LLECHOG*.

LLECHOG: See †*Rit Lechauc*.

LLEIDR: Noun 'thief'. See †*Luhin Latron* and †*Nant Bach Latron*.

³⁵ The cognate is also seen in Cornish place-names: *CPNE*, p. 130, s.v. **hen-lann*.

LLENNIG: Noun 'little church'; LLAN + -IG. Found in †Hen Lenhic, †Hen Lenic Cinauc, and †Lennic.

LLEON: See Caerllion.

LLEWYRN: Noun 'foxes'. Found in †Finnaun Cruc Leuyrn, †Louern, †Villa Crucou Leuirn, and Ystum Llywern. GPC indexes the noun under *llewyrn*, but admits that this is probably originally the plural of a noun which should be **llywern* in the singular.³⁶ This follows Jackson's argument that *llewyrn* developed from Brittonic **louerni*, the plural of **louern-*.³⁷ Brittonic **louern-* would normally yield Modern Welsh **llywern*, and it is this form which is seen in †Louern and Ystum Llywern. In South-West Brittonic the final *-ern* developed to *-arn* (Cornish *lowarn*, Breton *louarn*) and Jackson and Padel refer to the Modern Welsh form too as *llywarn*, though such a form is not attested by GPC.³⁸

LLIN: See †Dulin.

LLODRE: Noun 'spot, site'. Found in †Hen Lotre Elidon and †Lontre Tunbulch.³⁹

LLOST: See †Lost ir Inis.

LLUG: Noun 'light, brightness'. Found in Lluchwr and †Rivulus Penlucan.

LLWCH: Noun 'pool, marsh, source of stream'.⁴⁰ See under †Luch names, and also Gillow, †Lann Mihacgel Cil Luch, †Lann Mihacgel Lichrit, Lluchwr, and Talyllychau.

LLWYD: Adjective 'grey'. Found in †Alt Luit, Garn Lwyd, †Lann Teliau Litgarth, †Lann Teliau Penn Litgarth, †Lech Luit, †Lechou Lition, and Nant Llwyd.

LLWYN: Noun 'grove'. See under †Luin names, and also †Douluin Helic, †Lann Teliau Luin Guaidan, Llwyneliddon, †Luhin Latron, Mynyddislwyn, and †Pen Deulin.

³⁶ Schrijver would prefer to explain the *i*-affection seen in *llewyrn* as reflecting an abstracted form of **llywern* rather than a plural: *Studies*, pp. 61–62.

³⁷ LHEB, p. 384.

³⁸ LHEB, p. 280; CPNE, p. 154, s.v. *lowarn*.

³⁹ This place-name element is discussed in EANC, p. 82; Williams, '*llodre*'; and Pierce, 'The Evidence', pp. 486b–87a.

LLYDAN: Adjective 'broad'. Found in †Din March Lythan and †Rit Litan.

LLYDW: See †Letuer Cell.

LLYFFANT: See †Pull Lifan.

LLYFN: See Llynfi.

LLYGAD: Noun 'spring'. See under †Licat names.

***LLYGODOG:** See †Tref Licotuc.

LLYM: See Llymon.

LLYN: Noun 'lake'. Found in †Dulin, †Lin i Gleiniou, Llyn Syfaddan, and †Pen Deulin.

LLYS: Noun 'court'. See under †Lis names, and also †Finnaun Liss.

***LLYWERNOG:** See †Licat Laguernnuc.

LONGUS: See †Longa Insula.

LUPUS: See Wolvesnewton.

-LYD: See *BYCHLYD.

MA: Noun 'plain, field; place, spot'. See under Ma names, and also Brechfa, †Emricorua, †Penn i Bei, and †Penn i Uei. Also seen in the elements CEUBALFA, *GOLCHEDFA, GWYNFA, and POWYSFA.

MAB: Noun 'son'. See under Tref Meibion names, and also †Lann Caddoc Auel, †Lann Mihacgel Meibion Gratlaun, and †Tref Bledgur mab Aches. Translated by Latin *FILIUS*.

MAD: See Madley.

MÆD: See Madley.

MAEN: Noun 'stone'. See under †Main names, and also †Hebaucmein, †Lann Mainuon, †Rit i Main Melin, †Rit ir Main, and †Tref Main. Also seen in the element MEINIOG.

MAENOR: Former Welsh territorial unit 'originally consisting of four (or more) TREF

⁴⁰ For the meaning 'source of stream' see EANC, p. 33, s.v. *Sawddai*.

units'.⁴¹ See under †**Mainaur** names, and also **Maenorbyr**.

MAES: Noun 'field, plain'. Found in **Llan-faes** and †**Mais Mail Lochou**. Translated by Latin *CAMPUS*.

MAGWYR: See **Magwyr**.

MAIOR: See **St Bride's Major**.

MALUS: See **Malpas**.

MAM: Noun 'mother'. Possibly found in **Mamheilad** and †**Silva Mamilet**.

MAN¹: See †**Glin Mannou**.

MAN²: See ***CLEUFAN**, **CLYDFAN**, and ***CYCHFAN**.

MARAIS: See **Saltmarsh**.

MARCH: Noun 'horse'. Found in †**Castell Meirch**, †**Cecin Meirch**, †**Din March Lythan**, †**Guenuin Meirch**, †**Mainaur Cruc Marc**, †**Nant March**, **Nant y March**, and **Pen-marc**.

MARTYRIUM: See †**Merthir Iun et Aaron**.

MAWR: Adjective 'large, great'. Found in **Anghidi Fawr**, **Cantref Mawr**, †**Frut Mur**, †**Lann Maur**, †**Lann Mihacgel Maur**, **Llandeilo Fawr**, **Llanilltud Fawr**, **Morlais**, †**Mustuir Mur**, **Ogwr**, **Taf Fawr**, †**Tnou Mur**, and **Ysgryd Fawr**. See under -OG for an explanation for the *mur* forms of this element.

MEINIOG: Adjective 'made of stone(s), stony'; MAEN + -OG. Found in †**Cil Meiniauc** and †**Pont Meiniauc**.

MELLT: See **Mellte**.

MELYN: Adjective 'yellow'; fem. *melen*. Found in †**Hal Melen**, †**Hitir Melin**, †**Hytyr Melin**, †**Lech Melen**, and †**Rit i Main Melin**. This colour adjective, in its masculine form *melyn* particularly, is confusable with the noun *melin* 'mill'.

MERSC: See **Marshfield**.

MERTHYR: Noun 'sanctified cemetery'. See under †**Merthir** and **Merthyr** names, and also **Matharn** and †**Nant Merthir**. In the sense 'sanctified cemetery' *merthyr*

⁴¹ PNPemb., II, 794.

is a borrowing from Latin *MARTYRIUM* 'the place where a martyr is buried'. There is a different word *merthyr*, meaning 'martyr', which might be the intended sense in †Nant Merthir.

MESUR: See †Messur Pritguenn.

MIL: See *BRECHFIL.

MINOR: See St Bride's Minor.

MOCH: See Moccas.

MOEL: Adjective and noun 'bald, bare; (bare) mountain, top of a hill or mountain'. Found in †Mail Uannon and †Mais Mail Lochou.

MONACHUS: Noun 'monk'. Found in †Lech Meneich and †Vallis Manochi. Translates Welsh MYNACH.

MONASTERIUM: Noun 'monastery'. Found in †Ecclesia Sancti Teliaui, †Lann Cingualan, and †Lann Conuur.

MONS: Noun 'hill, mountain'. Found in Eglwys Fair y Mynydd and †Mons Gurai. Translates Welsh MYNYDD.

MONT: See Grysmwnt.

MÖR: Noun 'marsh, barren upland' (Modern English *moor*). Found in †Eleyesmor and †Petresmor. From the local topography it is clear that the sense is 'marsh' in the two instances of the element in LL. Gelling discusses this element in detail.⁴²

MŪDA: See Monmouth.

MUNEDE: See †Menede.

MURN: See †Murn.

MŴN: See MYNGUL.

MYNACH: Noun 'monk'. Found in †Lann Menechi, †Lech Meneich, †Manach Rivulus, †Nant i Meneich, †Porth Manach, and †Villa Meneich. Also seen in the element MYNECHI. Translated by Latin *MONACHUS*. The LL forms all

⁴² *Place-Names in the Landscape*, pp. 54–56.

appear to show the variant form of *mynach*: *manach* (or its *i*-affected plural, *meneich*).

MYNECHI: Noun 'monastery'; **MYNACH** + -I. Found in †**Alt Minchei**, †**Lann Menechi**, †**Menechi**, and †**Villa Meneich**. The variant *menechi* is also attested (based on the *manach* variant of **MYNACH**). The Cornish and Breton cognates, **meneghy* and *minic'hi*, are also found in place-names.

MYNGUL: See †**Mincul**.

MYNYDD: Noun 'mountain'. See under **Mynydd** names, and also †**Llanfihangel Tormynydd**, †**Minid Garthon**, and †**Mynid Du**.

MYNYW: See **Mynyw**.

MYSTWYR: See †**Mustuir Mur**.

NANT: Noun 'valley; stream'. See under **Nant** names, and also †**Bis**, †**Catlan**, **Cilieni**, **Crawnnon**, **Dulais**, **Greidol**, †**Humir**, †**Lann Teliâu Nant Seru**, †**Lechou**, **Llancarfan**, **Llanthony**, **Llantridddy**, †**Morduc**, †**Murn**, and †**Ritnant**. The word *nant* was originally used of some kind of valley, that is its meaning in Cornish and Breton place-names, and we have the witness of the Latin gloss *valle* (ablative of *VALLIS*) on the Gaulish word *nanto* in further confirmation.⁴³ Several place-names in France contain this element, for example: Nantes, Nanteuil, and Nantua.⁴⁴ In Modern Welsh, however, the primary meaning of *nant* is 'stream'. Thomas explained this development as a result of the fact that 'y ceir bron yn ddieithriad afonig mewn nant neu gwm'.⁴⁵ The meaning 'stream' seems to have developed during the period covered by the Llandaf documents. Certainly we can see from his explanation of the place-name *Llanddewi Nant Hoddni* ((1) **Llanthony**) that that was how Gerald of Wales, in the twelfth century, understood the word. Gerald translated the *nant* element as 'rivus [...] aquae decurrentis'.⁴⁶ So it seems that originally the word referred to a valley, probably one with a fairly prominent stream or river. Later the focus shifted to the water itself, but could be used of a wide range of river and

⁴³ Whatmough, *Dialects of Ancient Gaul*, p. 577.

⁴⁴ EANC, p. 50.

⁴⁵ Ibid. ('almost without exception a rivulet is found in a valley').

⁴⁶ Dimock, *Itinerarium Kambriæ et Descriptio Kambriæ*, p. 37. 'A stream of running water.'

stream types, presumably, however, only of the kind that would be found running down a valley. *Nant* is the most frequently occurring of all the river and valley terms from the Book of Llandaf, and examples of both meanings of the word can be found, though in most cases it is difficult to be certain of the sense intended. The difficulty of interpretation arises because both rivers and valleys can be 'followed' in a boundary clause, and both can have features such as an 'end' or join other rivers or valleys. The term *blaen* is often used in the sense of 'source' with rivers, but it can equally well be applied to the summit of a hill, and there are enough examples of *blaen* with the valley term PANT in the sense of 'top end' to make us wary of assuming that a *nant* with a *blaen* must necessarily be a kind of stream. There are, however, a few cases where the terminology of the boundary helps to indicate the meaning; these are association with the terms LLYGAD (e.g. †Nant ir Eguic), ABER (e.g. †Nant Duuin), and RHYD (e.g. †Nant Broueni), all words with a solely aquatic application. Unfortunately, there are no similar terms which could assure us of the meaning 'valley' where that is meant. We can, I think, be confident, though, that 'valley' is sometimes the intended sense of *nant*. Some place-names in the Book are translated or half-translated into Latin and there is one clear example where *nant* is translated by Latin *VALLIS* in the well-known *Carbani Vallis* for *Nant Carban* (Llancarfan). One example also occurs of *nant* translated as *RIVULUS* (Nant Tawel). There is little in the Book to indicate with any high degree of confidence what kind of stream or valley a *nant* might be. As I have said, we should expect from the word's history that a *nant* (in the sense of 'stream') would flow through the kind of valley originally called *nant*. There is one example of a *nant* associated with a CWM (†Nant Cum Cinreith) and several examples of *nentydd* which appear to flow through PANT features (e.g. †Nant Ruisc). *Nant* is used as the generic in both compounds and name-phrases, though it is much more common in name-phrases. Almost all of the examples of the element are name-phrases, but one name, *Ritnant* (occurring in the boundary of the See at pages 42 and 134), might be a compound with RHYD as the qualifying element, i.e. 'Ford-Stream' (but omission of the definite article from an original **Rit ir Nant* 'Ford of the Stream' is possible). The word is also seen in the compounds DYFNANT and *sychnant* 'dry valley'.

NAWF: See **Nofydd**.

NĒAH: See **Llangattock Nigh Usk**.

NEODERA: See †**Nether Went**.

NEWYN: See †**Pull Neuynn**.

-NI: Name-forming suffix, probably related to **-I**.⁴⁷ Found in the names **Gwernesni**, **Honddu**, **Rumney**, and †**Ynys Echni**.

NIGER: Adjective ‘black’. Found in †**Fons Niger** and †**Palus Niger**.

NIWE: Adjective ‘new’. See under **New** names, and also **Shirenewton** and **Wolvesnewton**.

NOVUS: Adjective ‘new’. Translates **NIWE** and **NEWYDD** in **Castellnewydd**, †**Neweton**, **Newport**, and **Wolvesnewton**.

ODYN: Noun ‘kiln’. Found in †**Otyn Lunbiu** and †**Pull Otin Cincenn**.

OER: See †**Finnaun Oir**.

og : See *Ogwr*.

-OG: Adjectival suffix. The suffix is found in the corpus with and without [i] (that is, both *-auc* and *-iauc* spellings are found). The suffix is frequently found (again, with and without [i]) in the form [-ug] (Old Welsh *-uc*, Modern Welsh *-wg*), which is the South-Eastern dialectal reflex of **-OG**. I would relate this phonological phenomenon ([-aug] vs. [-ug]) to the similar treatment of **MAWR** (which is sometimes spelt *mur* in LL), *tros* ‘across (preposition)’ and *traws* ‘across (adverb)’ (both of which are sometimes spelt *trus* in LL). If the same sound change is responsible for all of *-uc*, *mur*, and *trus*, then it must have occurred at a stage when the same vowel sound was present in each, therefore before the accent shift (after which the vowel sound changed according to whether or not it was stressed). Found in the names †[...]**nuc Bacan**, †[...]**tauc**, †**Atguedauc**, **Brycheiniog**, †**Ceninuc**, †**Gauanhauc**, †**Glesius**, †**Gurthebiriuc**, **Gwynllŵg**, †**Istleidiauc**, **Llandyfodwg**, **Morgannwg**, **Pebidiog**, †**Pyscotuc**, †**Sata Tinnuhuc**, **Tredynog**, †**Villa Branuc**, and †**Villa Gunnuc**. Also seen in the elements **AETHNOG**, **ALANNOG**, **BARROG**, **BISWEILIOG**, **CORROG**, **CYRROG**, **EITHINOG**, **GANNOG**, **GRAEANOG**, ***GWENNOG**,

*GWERYDOG, GWYDDOG, MEINIOG, LLECHOG, *LLYGODOG, *LLYWERNOG, TYLLOG, and *YSGEIFIOG.

OGOF: Noun 'cave'. Found in †Carn Guocof and †Guocob. The noun originally began with [gʷo], which developed to [go] (in the same way as did the prefix GO-), and finally the [g] was lost through the influence of the lenited form.

ÔL: Noun 'track'. Found in †Ol Huch, †Ol i Gabr, and †3o3 Wanwol.

-OL: See Llanrothal.

ONGYR: See †Oncir.

ONN: Noun 'ash trees'; sg. ONNEN, pl. YNN. Found in †Carn Perth yr Onn and †Penn Onn. Also seen in the element ONGYR.

ONNEN: See †Rit yr Onnenn.

-OS: Diminutive plural suffix. Found in the name †Nant Gunos. Also seen in the elements BEDWOS, BRWYNOS, and GWERNOS.

PABELL: See Cilybebyll.

PADELL: See †Cruc Petill Bechan.

PALUS: Noun 'marsh'. See under †Palus names, and also †Fossa Paludis. Consistently treated as a masculine noun in LL, though it is feminine in Classical Latin.

PANT: Noun 'hollow, depression, valley'. See under Pant names, and also †Villa hir Pant. The word has a Cornish cognate, *pans, which Padel translated as 'a hollow' or 'dingle'. A diminutive form, *gobant*, also exists, but the Book of Llandaf has only one example of this word to offer, which is used as a common noun and little can be deduced from it. *Pant* itself is the commonest of the specifically valley terms in the Book by a long way with sixty nine occurrences, and it is the only one (apart from *gobant*, just mentioned) to be used as a common noun. All its place-names are name-phrases, and in all cases but one it is the generic. In three cases it is qualified by a NANT name, for example 'pant nant ruisc' ('the *pant* of †Nant Ruisc', charter 141). The *pant* is frequently associated with water. In addition to the several instances

⁴⁷ EANC, p. 127.

where a *pant* is named after a stream, there are many specific references to water flowing through or originating in this kind of valley. Very commonly where a *pant* is mentioned in a boundary clause, one travels up it or down it, which would seem to set it apart from the flatter kind of valley generally indicated by YSTRAD or DYFFRYN. There are many references to *pant* features having a *genau* 'mouth' and a *blaen* 'summit, source'. This would suggest a valley shape with a distinctive opening at the lower end narrowing away to a point at the upper end. The *pant* is associated with other features in the boundary clauses too. The names †Pant Trefguid and †Pant Tref Saturn show qualification by settlement names, and there are also references to *pant* features in woodland (e.g. charter 171b), and to a CELLI in a *pant* (charter 240). Only *pant* and NANT are translated by Latin *VALLIS* (e.g. †Pant Anhuc), and this, together with the facts that it is the most common of all the valley terms and, unlike the others, is frequently used as a common noun, would lead me to suggest that at this period in South East Wales *pant*, rather than CWM, GLYN, or DYFFRYN, was the basic word for 'valley'.

PASSUS: See Malpas.

PEBYLL: See Cilybebyll.

PEFR: See Pyrddin.

PEN: Noun 'head, end'. See under *Pen* names, and also †Lann Pencreic, †Lann Teliâu Penn Litgarth, †Lann Teliâu Penn Tiuinn, †Rivulus Penlucan, and †Tonou Pencenn. Translated by Latin *CAPUT*. The element several times occurs in the phrasal elements *pen-y-gelli/pen-celli* 'grove's end' (*pen* [+ YR] + CELLI) and *pen-rhos* (*pen* + RHOS): †Cecin Penn i Celli, †Penn Celli Guenhuc, and †Penn Celli Gulible; †Cecin Penn Ros, †Lan Caddoc Pen Ros, and †Penn Ros.⁴⁸

PENNYG: See †Pant Pull Penhic.

PEREN: See †Tref Peren.

PERTH: See †Carn Perth yr Onn.

⁴⁸ The cognates are also seen in Cornish place-names: CPNE, pp. 180 (s.v. **pen (an) gelli*) and 183 (s.v. **pen ros*).

PETRA: Latin 'stone'. See under †**Petra** names, and also †**Lech Meneich**. Translates Welsh **LLECH**.

PIBEN: See †**Pibenn Eholch**.

PIG: See †**Brenan Picet**.

PIL: Noun 'pill, tidal creek or stream'. Found in †**Hen Lenic Cinauc**, **Pill**, and †**Pull Cinguid**. Although the meaning of *pil* is quite clear, its origin is far less certain. The word occurs in both Welsh and English in the same phonological form and with the same meaning. Its distribution takes in both sides of the Bristol Channel, from Cornwall up to the mouth of the Severn and right across the south coast of Wales. There are also instances along the coast of South-East Ireland.⁴⁹ The authorities seem divided over whether the word was borrowed into English from Welsh or vice versa. Padel has concluded that the instances of the word from Cornwall are probably English in language rather than native Cornish.⁵⁰ The Oxford English Dictionary speculates on the possibility of a connexion with English *pool* or Welsh **PWLL** 'pit; pool', so it may be fruitful to note that in Carmarthenshire *pil* can have the meaning of a pit which fills with water after heavy rain or a high tide,⁵¹ and to compare the Cornish word *pol* 'pit; pool, stream; cove, creek'. The term occurs in five boundary clauses in the Book of Llandaf, four of which are clustered together in the manuscript in two charters (249b and 251). All five clauses appear to refer to locations in broadly the same area between the lower reaches of the Usk and the Wye. The clause of 187 and, probably, the second clause of the two in 251 refer to locations further inland, and the *pil* of the former can be securely identified as the modern Pill Brook (**Pill**), so perhaps the word's meaning has changed. This element certainly deserves a great deal more research.

PISTYLL: See †**Pistill Deui**.

PLUF: See †**Nant Foss Pluum**.

PODUM: Noun 'church'. Found in †**Lann Budgualan**, †**Lann Cingualan**, †**Lann**

⁴⁹ For example *Pillmore* at X0773 (five kilometres south-west of Youghal).

⁵⁰ CPNE, p. 185, s.v. **pyll*.

⁵¹ GPC, III, 2802, s.v. *pil*.

Deui, †**Lann Mainuon**, **Llancarfan**, **Llancloudy**, **Llandinabo**, **Llanilltud Fawr**, **Llan-soe**, and †**Podum Liuhess**. Translates Welsh **LLAN**.

PONT: Noun 'bridge'. Found in †**Henn Pont**, †**Pont Meiniauc**, and †**Tref i Carnpont**. The element several times occurs in the phrasal element *tal-y-bont/tal-pont* 'end of the bridge' (**TÂL** [+ **YR**] + *pont*): **Llandeilo Tal-y-bont**, †**Tal i Pont**, †**Tal Pon Brinan**, and †**Tal Pont Escop**.⁵²

PORT: See **Newport**.

PORT-GERÉFA: See **Porton**.

PORTA: See †**Porta Halan**.

PORTH: Noun 'port, gap, pass, ?outflow of stream'.⁵³ See under **Porth** names, and also †**Lann Teiliau Portulon**, **Llandeilo Bertholau**, and †**Penn i Porth**. Translated by Latin *PORTUS*.

PORTUS: Noun 'port'. Found in †**Mouric**, †**Porth Tulon**, and †**Portus Caprae**. Translates Welsh **PORTH**.

POST: Noun 'post, jet, shaft'. Found in †**Finhaun Bist** and †**Post Du**.

POWYSFA: See †**Pouisma Deui**.

PREN: See **CAMBREN**.

PRIDDELL: See †**Pridell**.

PROCLIVUM: See †**Villa Procliuii**.

PRYSG: See †**Penn i Prisc**.

PUMP: See †**Lann Teliâu Pimp Seint**.

PUTEUS: See †**Puteus Dotei**.

PWLL: Noun 'pool, pit'. See under †**Poll**, †**Pull**, and **Pwll** names, and also †**Glaspull**, †**Lann Mihacgel i Pull**, †**Pant Pull Penhic**, †**Pillou Bichein**, †**Rudpull**, †**Sichpull**, and †**Taranpull**. Note the possible connexion with **PIL**.

PYSGOD: See †**Pyscotuc**.

⁵² The cognate is also seen in the Cornish place-name *Tolponds*: CPNE, p. 190, s.v. *pons.

⁵³ See **Llandeilo Bertholau** for the meaning 'outflow of stream'.

QUINQUE: See †Tref Meibion Ourdeuein.

REGIO: See Brycheiniog.

RHAGLAN: See Rhaglan.

***RHATH:** See †Rath.

RHEDYN: See †Lann Teliau Cil Retin.

RHI: Noun 'king'. Found in †Cair Riou and †Cruc Ri.

RHIW: Noun 'slope, road or footpath on a slope or hillside'. See under †Riu names, and also †Ecclesia Riu. A phrase *henrhiw* (HEN + *rhiw*) is used as an element in its own right in the place-names †Hennriu, †Henriu, and †Villa Henriu.

RHODWYDD: See †Nant hi Rotguidou.

RHOS: Noun 'moor'. Found in †Bolgros, †Lann Deui Ros Cerion, Moccas, Rhos, and Rhosili. The element several times occurs in the phrasal element *pen-rhos* (PEN + *rhos*): †Cecin Penn Ros, †Lan Caddoc Pen Ros, and †Penn Ros.⁵⁴

RHUDD: Adjective 'red'. Found in †Alt Rudlan, †Celli Rudanhint, †Heithtir Rud, †Pull Rud, †Rudlan Elei, and †Rudpull. This element would be confusable in older orthographies with RHWD.

RHWD: Noun 'rust, filth'. Found in †Ritec and †Ritnant. This element would be confusable in older orthographies with RHUDD.

RHWMP: Noun 'auger'. Found in †Guorrimi and Rumney.

RHWYSG: See †Nant Ruisc.

RHYD: Noun 'ford'. See under †Rit and †Ryt names, and also †Lann Mihacgel Lichrit, †Redyng, and Rhydri. This element could be confused with RHWD and RHYDD. Translated by Latin *VADUM*.

RHYDD: See Llanrothal.

RHYN: See †Pullou Rinion.

RIVULUS: Noun 'rivulet'. See under †Rivulus names, and also †Circhan, †Humir, †Manach Rivulus, and Nant Tawel. Translates Welsh NANT.

⁵⁴ The cognate is also seen in Cornish place-names: CPNE, p. 183, s.v. **pen ros*.

ROKE: See **Rockfield**.

RUFUS: Adjective 'red'. Found in †**Rufus Lacus** and †**Vadum Rufum**.

SAINTE: See **SANT**.

SAINTE: See **St Kingsmark**.

SAITH: See **SANT**.

SALSUS: See **Saltmarsh**.

SAN: See **SANT**.

SANCTUS: Adjective 'holy'. See under †**Ecclesia Sancti**, **Sain**, and **Saint** names, and also †**Ecclesia de Sancto Audoeno**, †**Ecclesia Sanctorum Iarmen et Febric**, †**Hennlann Dibric et Lann Teliau**, †**Lann Budgualan**, †**Lann Cingualan**, †**Lann Conuur**, †**Lann Petyr**, †**Lann San Bregit**, †**Lann Tidiuc**, †**Lann Uuien**, **Llan-soe**, **Llandeilo Bertholau**, **Llandeilo Ferwallt**, **Llandeilo Gresynni**, **Llandeilo Tal-y-bont**, **Llandoche**, **Llandogo**, **Llanelen**, **Llanfihangel Crucornau**, **Llanfihangel-ar-Elái**, **Llanfocha**, **Llanilid**, **Llanilltud Fawr**, **Llanisien**, **Llansanffraid**, and †**Villa Sancti Tauauc**.

SANT: Noun 'saint'. Found in †**Eccluis Sant Breit**, †**Lann Sant Guainerth**, **Llantrisant**, and †**Sant Ilien**. The variants *san* and *saith* are seen in †**Lann San Bregit** and †**Lann i Doudec Seith**. The form *saint*, seen in †**Finnaun y Doudec Seint**, †**Lann Teliau Pimp Seint**, **Llantrisant**, and **Saint-y-nyll**, could be either the plural of **SANT**, or a variant singular form (a borrowing from Middle English or Old French, treated as a different word by GPC).

SATA: See †**Sata Tinnuhuc**.

SCĪR-GERĒFA: See **Shirenewton**.

SCOTUS: See †**Cruc Cynfall Scoti**.

SEDES: See †**Sedes Cetiau**.

SEL: See **Saltmarsh**.

SENEX: See †**Fossa Senex**.

SERW: See †**Lann Teliau Nant Seru**.

SICCUS: See †**Sicca Vallis**.

SILVA: See †Silva Mam Ilet.

SLÆD: See †Sladforlang.

STĀN: See †St[...].

STŌW: Noun 'holy place'. Found in Dewstow, Dingestow, †Michelestowe, and Wonastow. Translates Welsh LLAN.

SUD: See Sudbrook.

SUL: See †Sulcein.

SUPER: See Llanfihangel-ar-Elái.

SUPRA: Preposition 'above, over'. Found in Eglwys Fair y Mynydd and †Lann Mihacgel supra Mingui. In 'ecclesia beate Marie supra Montem' (Eglwys Fair y Mynydd) there might be confusion with the preposition *SUPER*.

SYCH: See †Sichpull.

SYNEDIG: See †Ryt Sinetic.

TAFARN: See †Licat Tauern.

TAITH: See †Insula Teithi.

TĀL: Noun 'end, front'. See under Tal names, and also Llandeilo Tal-y-bont. Occurs frequently in a phrasal element with PONT.

TARADR: See †Taratir.

TARAN: See †Taranpull.

TAWEL: See Nant Tawel.

TEGAN: See †Tref Tecan.

TEITHI: See †Insula Teithi.

TERRA: See †Terra Conuoi.

TERRITORIUM: See Llanddowror.

TIR: Noun 'land'. See under Tir names, and also †Heithtir Rud and †Pant Tir Cinbis. Also seen in the element *YTIR.

TOR: Noun ‘break, gap’ or ‘belly’.⁵⁵ Found in **Llanfihangel Tormynydd**, †**Nant Torr i Cair**, and †**Torr ir Allt**. All the instances of the element qualify features which are already bulges on the landscape (MYNYDD, CAER, ALLT), so it seems slightly more likely that the *tor* in these names is the word meaning ‘break, gap’.

TRALLWNG: See †**Tralucg Teudus**.

TRAWDD: See **Troddi**.

TRAWS: Noun ‘traverse, cross, land etc. lying athwart’.⁵⁶ The adverb/preposition *traws/dros* ‘across’ is occasionally found in compounds and name phrases—I have indexed the element as a noun, following Charles.⁵⁷ Found in †**Claud Trostref**, †**Drausguern**, †**Ecclesia Cyngur Tros Gardi**, and **Trostre**.

TREF: Noun ‘homestead, settlement’. See under **Tre** and **Tref** names, and also †**Claud Tros Tref**, **Goetre**, †**Lann Teliau Tref i Cerniu**, †**Pant Tref Saturn**, and **Trostre**. Translated by Latin *VILLA*.

TRI: Numeral ‘three’. Found in †**Castell Teir Tut**, †**Guoun Teir Fin**, **Llantrisaint**, **Llantrisant**, †**Nant Trineint**, †**Teir Guernen Buell**, †**Trylec Bechan**, and **Tryleg**. It is hard to tell whether some examples contain the simple numeral, or a prefix **try-* ‘triple’/‘very’ (the two of which are of different origins).⁵⁸

TROS: See **TRAWS**.

TRU: See **Mathri**.

TUD: See †**Castell Teir Tut**.

TUMULUS: See †**Tumulus Guian**.

TŪN: Noun ‘enclosure, farmstead, village’. Found in †**Beganeston**, **Bishopston**, **Bonvilston**, **Briton Ferry**, †**Britton**, **Cadoxton**, **Cadoxton-juxta-Neath**, **Cantwn**, **Colwinston**, **Flemingston**, **Ifftwn**, **Itton**, †**Neweton**, **Newton Nottage**, †**Petreston**, **Porton**, **Runston**, **Shirenewton**, †**St[...]**, †**Tredynog**, **Whitson**, and **Wolvesnewton**. Translated by Latin *VILLA*.

⁵⁵ PNPemb., II, 817 (treated as two different nouns).

⁵⁶ PNPemb., II, 818.

⁵⁷ Ibid..

⁵⁸ As in Cornish: CPNE, pp. 233–34, s.v. **try-*².

TURIO: See †**Turion**.

TWLL: See **TYLLGOED** and **TYLLOG**.

TWRCH: Noun 'boar'. Found in **Pen-tyrch** and **Twrch**.

TŶ: See **COETY** and **GWYNDY**.

TYLLGOED: Noun 'hole-wood'; = **TWLL** + **COED**. Found in †**Tollcoit**, and **Tyllgoed**.

The meaning of this compound (which seems to be an old one—there are examples from Cornwall, Lancashire, and Somerset) is obscure; Padel offers as suggestions 'wood pierced by a stream' or 'wood in a hollow'.⁵⁹ The LL examples of the compound could be interpreted as stream names, which supports Thomas's suggestion that such names were applied to streams which flow through (i.e. 'hole' or pierce) woodland.⁶⁰

TYLLOG: See †**Main Tillauc**.

TYNO: Noun 'valley, dale, meadow'. See under †**Tnou** and †**Tonou** names. The word is defined by the *Geiriadur Mawr* as 'dale' or 'meadow', which implies something similar to **YSTRAD**.⁶¹ Williams equated the word straightforwardly with **PANT**.⁶² Padel defined the Cornish cognate element **tnou* simply as 'valley' and stated that it is not clear how its sense differed from other valley words, but suggested that perhaps it signified a 'side-valley' or 'tributary valley' rather like Cornish **comm*. The modern Breton cognate *traoñ* is defined as 'a lower area', 'a bottom', or 'a valley'. The element occurs in four place-names in the Book of Llandaf, all name-phrases, and as generic in each. Of these †**Tnou Mur** (+ **MAWR**) appears to be applied to quite a large district; †**Tnou Guinn** (+ **GWYN**) is merely a boundary point of **Llanfocha**; †**Tonou Pencenn** (+ ?) occurs in the boundary of †**Menechi**; and †**Tonou Cinscuit** (+ personal name) is named as a point in the bounds of †**Strat Elei**.

TYWYN: See †**Lann Teliau Penn Tiuinn**.

UCHEL: See †**303 Wanwol**.

⁵⁹ CPNE, pp. 219–20, s.v. **toll-gos*.

⁶⁰ EANC, pp. 170–71.

⁶¹ Evans, *Geiriadur Mawr*, p. 425, s.v. *tyno*.

⁶² *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 33.

UN: See †Hal Un Guernen.

URBS: Noun 'city'. Found in **Caerllion**, **Caerwent**, †**Guentonia Urbs**, †**Tauir Urbs**, and †**Urbs Duodecim Iugerorum**. Translates Welsh **CAER** and possibly **LLAN** (if †**Tauir Urbs** refers to **Llandaf** or **Llanddowror**). When translating **CAER** it may be that there is some recollection of the Roman significance of the locations.

VADUM: Noun 'ford'. See under †**Vadum** names, and also †**Ryt Tindyrn**. Translates Welsh **RHYD**.

VALLIS: Noun 'valley'. See under †**Vallis** names, and also †**Eilin**, **Llancarfan**, †**Nant Brachan**, †**Pant Anhuc**, †**Sicca Vallis**, and †**Villa Vallis**. Translates Welsh **NANT** and **PANT**.

VIA: See under †**Via Iacinthina**.

VILLA: Noun 'farm, estate'. See under †**Villa** names, and also †**Cair Birran**, †**Hennlann Dibric et Lann Teliau**, †**Lann Uuien**, **Llandeilo Ferwallt**, **Llandogo**, †**Neweton**, †**Tref Meibion Guichtrit**, †**Tref Meibion Ourdeuein**, †**Tref Miluc**, and **Wolvesnewton**. Translates Welsh **CAER** and **TREF**, and English **TŪN**, and also used to refer to the secular portion of some **LLAN** places.

VILLE: See **Rockfield**.

WILDE: See **Wilcrick**.

WULF: See **Wolvesnewton**.

YCH: See **Penychen**.

-YDD: Agent and territorial suffix. Found in the names **Gorfynydd**, **Llebenydd**, **Nofydd**, **Senghenydd**, and †**Sergunhid**.

YN: Preposition 'in, into'. Found in †**Duir in Dair** and †**Lann Teliau i Ciliou**.

-YN: Singulative suffix (masc.—the fem. form is **-EN**). Possibly found in †**Gudinn**. Seen in the element **GREYENYN**.

YNG: Adjective 'narrow'. Found in †**Redyng** and †**Tref Gillic**.

YNN: See †**Brinn Hinn Hitian**.

YNYS: Noun 'island, meadow'. See under †**Inis** and **Ynys** names, and also †**Lost ir**.

Inis and Machynys.

YR: Definite article 'the' (at the end of the Old Welsh period the *-r* is often lost before consonants). Found in †Allt ir Cicbran, †Alt Luit, †Betguos, †Brinn i Cassec, †Carn Perth yr Onn, †Cecin Penn i Celli, †Cil ir Adar, Cilybebyll, †Ciuilchi, †Cumulus ir Iuenn, †Dou Ciuiu, †Drausguern, †Dubnnant Du, †Finnaun Bechan, †Finnaun he Collenn, †Finnaun i Cleuion, †Finnaun i Da, †Finnaun y Doudec Seint, †Frut i Guern, †Frut i Guidon, Garn Lwyd, †Glasguern, †Glaspull, Grysmwnt, †Gudinn, †Guern i Drution, †Guern i Duon, †Guoun Breith, †Halannauc, †Hal Du, †Hal Melen, †Hebaucmein, †Hen Alt, †Hir Cemyn, †Hitir Melin, †Hytyr Melin, †Istleidiauc, †Iulen, †Lann i Cruc, †Lann i Doudec Sent, †Lann Mihacgel i Pull, †Lann Teliau i Ciliou, †Lann Teliau Tref i Cerniu, †Letuer Cell, †Lin i Gleiniou, Llandeilo Tal-y-bont, Llanfihangel Torymynydd, †Lost ir Inis, †Luch i Crecion, †Luch ir Eilin, †Main Brith, †Main i Bard, †Main Tillauc, †Mincul, †Mynid Du, Mynyddislwyn, †Nant Bed ir Alltudion, †Nant Du, †Nant hi Rotguidou, †Nant i Buch, †Nant i Gall, †Nant i Galles, †Nant i Gob, †Nant i Guolchetua, †Nant i Meneich, †Nant ir Eguic, †Nant ir Eilin, †Nant ir Hebauc, †Nant Torr i Cair, Nant-y-bar, †Nant y Claforion, Nant-yr-hen, Nant y Wilcae, †Ol i Gabr, †Oncir, †Penn i Bei, †Penn i Porth, †Penn i Prisc, †Penn i Uei, †Pillou Bichein, †Poll i Caith, †Pont Meiniauc, †Porth i Dorcluit, †Post Du, †Pridell, †Pull hi Guarach, †Pull i Colimet, †Pull i Lech, †Pull ir Iulenn, †Pull Rud, Pwll-y-cath, †Rit i Cambren, †Rit i Main Melin, †Rit ir Euic, †Rit ir Main, †Rit Lechauc, †Rit yr Onnenn, †Riu i Curum, †Rivulus i Guern, †Rudpull, †Ryt i Deueit, †Ryt y Cerr, †Sichpull, †Tal i Pont, †Tal ir Aithnauc, Talyllychau, †Taranpull, †Tir i Cair, †Torr ir Allt, †Tref i Carnpont, †Tref ir Cil, †Tref ir Idiouen, †Tref ir Isceiauc, Tregrug, Treguff, and †Villa hir Pant.

*YSBERN: See †Cruc Hisbernn.

YSGAW: See YSGEIFIOG and YSGEWIN.

*YSGEIFIOG: Noun 'place where *alders* grow'; = YSGAW + -OG. Found in †Isceuiauc and †Tref ir Isceiauc (see which for a discussion of this element).

*YSGEWIN: See **Porth Sgiwed**.

YSGWYD: See †**Yscuit Cyst**.

YSGWYDD: See †**Yscuit Cyst**.

YSGYRYD: See **Ysgyryd Fawr**.

YSTRAD: Noun 'valley'. See under **Ystrad** names, and also †**Estrat Agcr**, †**Istrat Dour**, and †**Strat Elei**. The element *ystrad* is restricted to five names in the Book. In the Modern language the word is used similarly to DYFFRYN, but the emphasis appears to be more on the flat meadow-land alongside a river, as with its Irish cognate *srath*.⁶³ In three of the examples the element is qualified by a river-name: the Ely (**Elái**), the **Dore**, and the Severn (**Hafren**). The application of one example, †**Estrat Agcr**, is uncertain. In the remaining case, **Ystrad Yw**, the qualifying element means 'yew trees', but is more likely, instead, to be a river-name.

YSTUM: Noun 'bend'. See under **Ystum** names, and also †**Stun taf**.

*YTIR: Noun 'corn land'; *yđ* 'corn' + TIR. Found in †**Hitir Melin** and †**Hytyr Melin**.
The existence of this element is postulated by Evans.⁶⁴

YW: See **Ystrad Yw**.

YWEN: Noun 'yew tree'; YW + -EN. Found in †**Cilliuen** and †**Cumulus ir Iuenn**.

⁶³ For general discussion of *ystrad* see Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, pp. 28–29.

⁶⁴ LL, p. li.

4. Conclusion

4.1 Achievements

I hope that this work will prove useful both to those working on the problems posed by the Book of Llandaf in general, and to those interested in specific place-name identifications. I realise that much is missing from this work as it stands, but I hope that it might be treated as a framework to which material can be added to create a definitive guide to the place-names of the Book of Llandaf.

4.1.1 The Bounds

For the boundary clauses (and other bounds) I have prepared new editions and translations (Appendix 1), which should be an improvement on the translations (nonetheless very useful) supplied by Evans and Rhŷs,¹ drawing as they do on a further century of knowledge of the early stages of the Welsh language, and on my own attempts to relate the descriptions of the bounds to the actual route taken by them (and, besides, Evans confined his attention to bounds defined in Welsh, whereas I have included the Latin-language ones). The glossary of the vocabulary contained in the bounds (Appendix 2) will be useful to students of Old Welsh, because, I believe, it is the first time that this valuable corpus of language data has been made accessible in this way—Falileyev's extremely useful *Etymological Glossary of Old Welsh* deliberately excludes the Book of Llandaf. Although the methodology applied to the dating of the bounds is in need of further refinement, it should be a stepping stone to future research, and even as it stands it provides a useful set of approximate dates for the bounds.

4.1.2 The Place-Names

The primary objectives of the thesis were twofold: first, to identify the location or feature intended by each place-name; and second, to identify the elements used in the formation of each place-name. Insofar as identifications already existed for the great majority of the place-names, the usefulness of the exercise with regard to the former objective might be questioned. However, the basis for the pre-existing identifications of these place-names is often not immediately apparent (the main sources for these

identifications—Evans, Richards, and Davies²—generally provide no explanation of how they arrived at an identification), so I should argue that it is useful simply to state the evidence on which the identifications rest. In many cases my work serves merely to confirm what has already been taken for granted, but in some I have been able to demonstrate that the grounds for a particular identification are not as strong as might have been supposed (for example †Petreston). There are a few examples of pre-existing identifications which I have been able to demonstrate are wrong (for example †Ynys Echni), and a few where I have been able to suggest an identification for a previously unidentified place (for example Pwll-y-cath). I have identified (or attempted to identify) the elements used in the formation of the Welsh-language place-names and names of places within the territory claimed by Llandaf, and listed these elements (§3.3). Unusual elements and interesting uses of elements have been discussed. To my knowledge, such data on the elements used in the Book of Llandaf place-names have not previously been available, and I believe that this represents a useful contribution to the (at present rather small) body of secondary literature on Welsh place-name formation.

4.2 Further Work

Given sufficient time the Register of the place-names could be expanded further, particularly by the addition of more attestations from non-LL sources. It could also be used as a starting point for a conventional place-name survey of the area (or, more likely, of a part of the area, such as Monmouthshire).

The methodology employed in the dating of the bounds is in need of further refinement, but I firmly believe that it will be possible to establish reliable approximate dates for them based on the linguistic, orthographical, and stylistic developments which they show. The Old Welsh found in the Book of Llandaf could serve as a very valuable anchor in the study of Old Welsh in general. Comparison for dating purposes of the the non-LL samples of Old Welsh is hindered by the fact that in so many cases the location at which the sample was written is unknown (in many cases it is difficult to be certain even which Brittonic language is represented by the

¹ LL, pp. 363–84.

² LL, WATU, *The Llandaff Charters*.

sample), and it would be difficult to say whether differences between the samples reflected diachronic developments, or synchronic dialectal (or scribal orthographical) differences, or, worse, a combination of both. The samples of Welsh from LL, on the other hand, can be more accurately associated with particular geographical locations, or, at least, with a particular region, so there is less danger of dialectal 'noise' drowning out the evidence for chronological development. Further tests which might usefully be employed with the LL corpus include separate tests of linguistic vs orthographic features, and a full analysis of the orthographical system(s) used to represent Welsh. Further dating criteria might be brought in, for example the form of the adjectival suffix *-OG/-uc* (and other lexemes, such as *TRAWS/trus* and *MAWR/mur*, having a variant form showing the development of Brittonic [a:] > Old Welsh [u]), though this could only be applied to samples from those areas in which the phenomenon responsible for the variation is known to have happened. One of the dating criteria in particular is deserving of further study, that being the preposition *behit/bet*.

The Welsh-language material in the Book of Llandaf should be of interest to students of the Brittonic languages because it stands on two borders. The first border is chronological: much of its language is on the cusp of Old Welsh and Middle Welsh (viz. loss of defining features of Old Welsh such as the *r*-form of the article and the loss of initial [d] in the preposition *di*).³ This evidence for the development of the Welsh language has been largely overlooked precisely because it does not fit well into the category of Old Welsh, nor into that of Middle Welsh. The Old and Middle phases of Welsh have now been well examined, and I should argue that the time is now right for a study of the transition between the two. The second border on which the Welsh seen in the Book of Llandaf stands is a geographical one. Recent scholarship has tended to view language separation as a natural, gradual process with degrees of difference emerging over time, dependent on the degree of cultural separation. This concept has not been much applied to the Brittonic languages. It ought to be possible to demonstrate that specimens of Old Welsh from South-East Wales have more in common with Cornish than have specimens from other regions of Wales, and I believe that the Book of Llandaf does contain evidence for this (for example, in the

³ §§2.2.2 and 2.2.3 respectively.

vocabulary items *behil/bet*, *IDDIEUEN, and *YSBERN). I should very much like to make this thesis more accessible by publication, probably in paper and electronic (and therefore searchable) format.

Appendix 1: The Bounds of the Book of Llandaf

The bounds are numbered according to the conventions described in §2.1 above. For each boundary I have supplied first a diplomatic edition (representing the text as it appears in LL), second a critical edition with modern word division and punctuation, and, third, a translation into English. Due to the abbreviated nature of the language used in such boundary descriptions, there is a high degree of ambiguity, and, in many cases, alternative translations would be equally likely. In the critical editions *italic text* represents Latin, and in both the critical editions and the translations brackets enclose editorially supplied text, and angle brackets enclose editorially deleted text.

(42) The Bishopric of Llandaf (see also (134ii)):

Ab hostio tyui inmare. sursum usque iblain. Deinde adpendouluinhelic adblain huisc. admynid du. adblain turc. usque tau i sursum. usque cingleis. Deinde halunguemen. ad blain peurdin. deorsum. usque ned. sursum usque meldou. adgauannauc ad deri emreis. ad cechencлисти. adblainfrutguidon. usque tafmaur. usque ychimer. Sursum riticambren. adhaldu. dinant crafnant. arhit usque husc. trui huisc dichilidris. diralt luit. dilech bichlit. i pinnmarch. diguornoid. dirtnant. di hanner. dinmarchtan. dioligabr. dibronn cateir neueni. di licat guerinou. diguarthaf buch. dirmincul. dirpidell. di halruua. di main i bard. nant i bard nihit usque dour. ni hit usque guormui. ni hit usque hiblain. Deinde adcair rein adblain taratyr. *per longitudinem usque guy. et per longitudinem fluminis gui. admare hafren. deinde ad hostivm fluminis tywi ubi landauensis episcopatus parrochia incipit.*

Ab hostio Tyui in mare sursum usque i blain. Deinde ad pen Douluin Helic, ad blain Huisc, ad Mynid Du, ad blain Turc, usque Tau i, sursum usque Cingleis. Deinde Hal Un Guemen, ad blain Peurdin, deorsum usque Ned, sursum [read 'deorsum'] usque Meldou, ad Gauannauc, ad Deri Emreis, ad Cechen Clisti, ad blain Frut i Guidon, usque Taf Maur, usque y chimer, sursum [ad] Rit i Cambren, ad Hal Du, di nant Crafnant, ar

hit *usque* Husc. Trui Huisc, di Chil Idris, di'r Alt Luit, di Lech Bichlit, di Guornoid, di Ritnant, di hanner Din March [Lil]tan, di Ol i Gabr, di bronn Cateir Neueni, di licat Guerinou, di guarthaf Buch, di'r Mincul, di'r Pridell, di Hal Ruua, di Main i Bard, Nant i Bard 'n i hit, *usque* Dour, 'n i hit *usque* Guormui, 'n i hit *usque* hi blain. *Deinde ad Cair Rein, ad blain Taratyr, per longitudinem usque Guy, et per longitudinem fluminis Gui. ad Mare Hafren. Deinde ad hostium fluminis Tywi ubi Landauensis episcopatus parrochia incipit.*

From the mouth of the Towy at the sea upwards as far as its source. Then to the end of †Douluin Helic, to the source of the Usk, to Fan Brycheiniog, to the source of the Twrch, as far as the Tawe, upwards as far as the Cynlais. Then †Hal Un Guemen, to the source of the Pырddin, downwards as far as the Neath, upwards [read 'downwards'] as far as the Mellte, to †Gauanhauc, to †Deri Emreis, to †Cecin Clysty, to the source of †Frut i Guidon, as far as the Taf Fawr, as far as its confluence, upwards [to] †Rit i Cambren, to †Hal Du, to the stream Crawnon, along as far as the Usk. Across the Usk to †Cil Idris, to the †Alt Luit, to †Lech Bichlit, the mill-stream, to the †Ritnant, to the middle of †Din March Lythan, to †Ol i Gabr, to the breast of †Cateir Neueni, to the source of the Grwyne, to the head of the Bwch, to the †Mincul, to the †Pridell, to †Hal Ruma, to †Main i Bard, along Nant-y-bar as far as the Dore, along it as far as the Worm, along it as far as its source. Then to †Cair Rein, to the source of the †Taratir, along as far as the Wye, and along the River Wye to the Bristol Channel. Then to the mouth of the River Towy where the territory of the bishopric of Llandaf begins.

(69) Llandaf:

Vesp. [fol. 56^r]:

A Henriu gunua *usque* adriu finion. & agungleis *usque* ad mare totum ariugunja /i. decliuo/ *usque* adriu finion /i. declium/. & agungleis infra taf & elei *usque* ad mare. totum infra taf 7 elei.

A Henriu Gunua *usque* ad Riu Finion, et a Gungleis *usque* ad mare, totum infra Taf et Elei.

From †Henriu Gunma as far as †Riu Finion, and from the Gwynlais as far as the sea, all between the Taff and the Ely.

72b †Lann Cerniu:

Vesp. [fol. 57^r]:

Finis eius or nant dy licat nant yreguic. Onant ireguic. cehit inant. Finis eius ornant diligat nant yreguyc. ornant ireguic cehutinant. dirheith turrud ini perued. ircoit behit pan a nir halmelen. ynhaun behet direith. turrud. iniperued. ir coit behit pana nir halmelen. ynhaun. pan cuid inlost irinis. O lost irinis hit bronn iralt. behet. pancuid. inlost. irinis. Olost irinis hit bronn iralt.

Finis eius: O'r nant dy licat Nant yr Eguic. O Nant ir Eguic, cehit i nant, di'r Heithtir Rud, in i perued, ir coit behit pan a'n ir Hal Melen, yn haun behet pan cuid in Lost ir Inis. O Lost ir Inis hit bronn ir alt.

Its boundary: From the stream to the source of †Nant ir Eguic. From †Nant ir Eguic, along the stream, to the †Heithtir Rud, into its centre, the wood until it goes into the †Hal Melen, straight along until it falls into †Lost ir Inis. From †Lost ir Inis as far as the breast of the hill.

73a Llandinabo:

Vesp. [fol. 57^r]:

Finis autem huius agri est. or rit diuch ilan. dirguoiret huch irguduit dir Finis autem huius agri est o rit diuchilan. dirguoriet. huchir guduit bronn ir alt. recte trus ircecg. usque dum descendit guar irhennrit. issid dirbronn iralt. recte trus ircecg. usque dum descendit guar irhen rit. arifrut. inircoit maur. per siluam recte diguartham campull. Orcampull issit. arifrut. inircoit maur. per siluam recte diguartham campull. O recte usque Guy. campull recte usque gui.

Finis autem huius agri est: O' r rit di uch i lan di' r guoiret huch ir guduit, di' r bronn ir alt, recte trus ir cecg usque dum descendit guar ir henn rit
issid ar i frut, in ir coit maur. *Per siluam recte di guartham Campull. O' r Campull recte usque Guy.*

The boundary, then, of this territory is: From the ford above the church downwards above the wood, to the breast of the hill, straight across the ridge until it descends on the old ford which is on the stream, into the big wood. Through the wood straight to the head of the †Campull. From the †Campull straight to the Wye.

73b †Cum Barruc:

Vesp. [fol. 57*]:

Finis huius agri est a ualle usque adlech. longitudo latitudo delech Finis huius agri est a ualle usque ad petram. crita.
usque ad petram crita.

Finis huius agri est: A ualle usque ad lech: longitudo. Latitudo: de lech usque ad Petram Crita.

The boundary of this territory is: From the valley to the stone: the length. The width: from the stone to †Petra Crita.

74 Llanfocha:

171bi:

Vesp. [fol. 57^v]:

Finis istius podi est de fossa ad castell Finis illius est. Incipit afossa usque ad Finis istius po{n}di /i. pagi/ est de fossa merych. exhinc tendit aduallem lembi castell meirch. Exhinc tendit ad uallem ad cas tell meyrch. exhinc tendit ad usque aduallem cilcirch recte tendit lembi usque ad uallem cilcirch. recte uallem lembi usque uallem cilcirch recte inlongitudinem uallis usque adbaudur. inlongitudinem uallis usque baudur. deinde tendit in longitudinem uallis usque ad deinde inlongitudinem uallis eclin usque in longitudine eilin usque ad caput silue. baudur. deinde in longitudinem uallis adcaput silue. deinde medium silue usque deinde permedium silue tendit usque eclin usque ad caput silue. deinde adcaput nan pedecon. & inhit dirtnou adcaput nan pedecou. deinde medium silue. usque. ad caput nan guinn usque aduadem rufum sata tinnu dirtnouginn usque adrufum uadam. pedecon. 7 inhit dirtnon guin usque ad huc dirauallen hendreb iouoniu deinde sata tinnu huc diraballen hennre iguonui uallem rufini sata tinnu huc dira uallem exit adrubum saliculum & destendit deinde ad rubum desalimbus descendit hendreb iouoniu deinde exiit ad rubum inprimam fossam ubi inceptus est finis inprimam fossam ubi inceptus finis est. saliculum. 7 destendit in primam fossam i agri istius podij.

ubi inceptus est finis. podii.

Finis illius est: A fossa usque ad Castell Meirch. Exhinc tendit ad Vallem Lembu, usque ad Vallem Cilcirch. Recte tendit in longitudine uallis usque ad Baudur. Deinde in longitudine uallis Eilin usque ad caput siluae. Deinde per medium siluae tendit, usque ad caput Nant Pedecou. Et in hit di'r Tnou Guinn, usque ad Vadum Rufum. Sata Tinnuhuc di'r aballen. Hennre Biguonui. Deinde ad rubum. De salimbus descendit in primam fossam ubi inceptus est finis.

Its boundary is: From the ditch as far as †Castell Meirch. Thence it extends to †Vallis Lembu, as far as †Vallis Cilcirch. It runs straight the length of the valley as far as the †Baudur. Then the length of the valley of the †Eilin as far as the head of the wood. Then through the middle of the

wood it extends, as far as the head of †Nant Pedecou. And right along to the †Tnou Guinn, as far as †Vadum Rufum. †Sata Tinnuhuc to the apple tree. †Henntre Biguonui. Then to the bramble bush. From the willows it extends to the original ditch where the boundary began.

75 †Cil Hal:

Vesp. [fols 57v–58^r]:

Finis illius apalude magno usque adarganhell.

Finis illius a palude magno usque ad arganhell.

Finis illius: A palude magno usque ad Arganhell.

Its boundary: From the big marsh as far as the †Arganhell.

76a †Tir Conloc:

Vesp. [fol. 58^r]:

[...] quattuor uncias agri Conloc super ripam gui infra insulam ebrdil
usque Cumbarruc ynis stratdour [...]

[...] quattuor untias agri conloc super /ripam/ gui infra insulam ebrdil.
usque cumbarruc ynis starat dour [...]

[...] *quattuor uncias Agri Conloc super ripam Gui infra Insulam Ebrdil usque Cum Barruc yn Isstrat Dour* [...]

[...] the four *unciae* of †Tir Conloc on the bank of the Wye below †Inis Ebrdil as far as †Cum Barruc in the Golden Valley [...]

77i Llanddwrwr:

Vesp. [fol. 58^v]:

Finis territorii ecclesie aquilensium. Maliduc guern iduon intaf. trans
iminid inhiaun ipenn nant eilon. nant eilon nihit di cehir. O cehir iuinid
transminid inhiaun. ipennant eilon. Nant eilon nihit dice/h/ir. O cheir.

Finis territorii ecclesie aquilensium Maliduc. guern iduon intaf.
iminid inhiaun ipenn nant eilon. nant eilon nihit dice/h/ir. O cheir.

dinant bachlatron maliduc nant bachlatron iuinid. intraus digirchu blain iuinid dinant bach latron iuinid. intraus. di gir chublain nant duguern nant duuin. maliduc nant duuin ditaf. O apernant duuin maliduc taf iduon. *ubi inceptit.*
dirguairet diaper guern iduon. *ubi inceptit.*

Finis territorii Ecclesiae Aquilensium: Mal i duc Guern i Duon in Taf. *Trans* i minid in hiaun i penn Nant Eilon. Nant Eilon 'n i hit di Cehir. O Cehir i uinid di Nant Bach Latron. Mal i duc Nant Bach Latron i uinid. In traus, di girchu blain Nant Duuin. Mal i duc Nant Duuin di Taf. O aper Nant Duuin mal i duc Taf di'r guairet di aper Guern i Duon *ubi inceptit.*

The boundary of the territory of Llanddowror: As †Guern i Duon leads into the Taf. Across the mountain right to the end of †Nant Eilon. Along †Nant Eilon to the †Cehir. From the †Cehir upwards to †Nant Bach Latron. As †Nant Bach Latron leads upwards. Across, so as to make for the source of †Nant Duuin. As †Nant Duuin leads to the Taf. From the mouth of †Nant Duuin as the Taf leads downwards to the mouth of †Guern i Duon where it began.

77ii Llandeilo Fawr:

Finis territorii Lann Teiliau maur. Y finnaun ida. ypenn yglaspull. arpenn arall nir hytyr melin. Or hytyr melin hit yn euyrdil. Euyrdil nihit bet indubleis. Odugleis hit icimer. Ycimer ynniaun bet inant luit. Onant luit icecyn meryrc. O cecin meirch nihit bet icruc hi cecin meryrc. O cecin meircht nihit bet icruc petill bechan. Odina hit petill bechan. O dina hit irhebauc mein. Orhebauc mein yndugleis irhebauc mein. Orhebauc mein indugleis bisgueiliauc O dugleis bis gueiliauc. O dugleis bis gueiliauc bet nant ireilin. O nant ireilin bet icruc cust. O cruc cust icruc corn cam. O dina bet imblain isceuiauc. isceuiauc nihit bet ar ueithini iniaun irhen alt. O dina icil ir adar ilicat uentium iniaun ibistill deui nihit bet igueithineuur. O gueithineuur dirgaret bet inletuer cell artyui.

Finis territorii Lann Teiliau Maur: Y Finnaun i Da y penn y Glaspull ar Tyui, a'r penn arall 'n ir Hytyr Melin. O'r Hytyr Melin hit yn Euyrdil. Euyrdil 'n i hit bet in Dupleis. O Dugleis hit i cimer. Y cimer ynn iaun bet i Nant Luit. O Nant Luit i Cecyn Meryrc. O Cecin Meirch 'n i hit bet i Cruc Petill Bechan. Odina hit ir Hebaucmein in Dugleis Bisgueiliauc. O Dugleis Bisgueiliauc bet Nant ir Eilin. O Nant ir Eilin bet i Chruc Cust. O Cruc Cust i Cruc Corncam. Odina bet i mblain Isceuiauc. Isceuiauc 'n i hit bet ar Ueithini. In iaun i'r Hen Alt. Odina i Cil ir Adar, i Licat Tauern, in iaun i Bistill Deui, 'n i hit bet i Gueith Tineuur. O Gueith Tineuur di'r guairet bet in Letuer Cell ar Tyui.

The boundary of the land of Llandeilo Fawr: From †Finnaun i Da at the end of the †Glaspull on the Towy, and the other end in the †Hytyr Melin. From the †Hytyr Melin as far as the Erddyl. Along the Erddyl as far as the Dulais. From the Dulais to the confluence. The confluence straight to Nant Llŵyd. From Nant Llŵyd to †Cecin Meirch. From †Cecin Meirch along as far as †Cruc Petill Bechan. From there to the

Vesp. [fol. 58^v]:

Finis territorii lanteliau maur yfin auon. ida i peneglas pull artyui. arpenn arall nirhitir melin. Ort/h/ir melin hit yneuyrdil. Euyrdil nihit bet indugleis. O dugleis. hit icimer. ycimer inniaun bet nan liut O nant liut hi cecin meryrc. O cecin meircht nihit bet icruc petill bechan. Odina hit irhebauc mein. Orhebauc mein indugleis bisgueiliauc O dugleis bis gueiliauc bet nant ireilin Or nant ireilin bet icruc cust Or cruc cust i icruc corcam. Odina bet imblain isceuiauc. isceuiauc ni hit bet ar uentium inaanir enalt. Odina icil iradar. ilicat tauern iniaun ilustill deui nihit bet igueit tin euur. Orgueit tin euur dirguaret bet inletu er cell artyui.

†Hebaucmein. From the †Hebaucmein into †Dugleis Bisgueiliauc. From †Dugleis Bisgueiliauc as far as †Nant ir Eilin. From †Nant ir Eilin as far as †Cruc Cust. From †Cruc Cust to †Cruc Corncam. From there as far as the source of the †Isceuiauc. Along the †Isceuiauc as far as the Myddyfi. Right along to the †Hen Alt. From there to †Cil ir Adar, to †Licat Tauem, straight to †Pistill Deui, along as far as Dynevor Castle. From Dynevor Castle down as far as †Letuer Cell on the Towy.

121 Llan-arth:

Finis istius podi est. Clougur per uiam magnam usque ad cumulum frutmur. acumulo frut mur recte dir fos. usque adpetram inquattuor confinibus. orlech cihitan dital ircecyn. behet tal ir fos. o penn ifos. usque adfontem nigrum. afonte per siluam diclour eminus tal ifos cihitan clouuric diclour.

Finis istius podi est: Clougur per uiam magnam usque ad cumulum Frut Mur. A cumulo Frut Mur recte di'r fos, usque ad petram in quattuor confinibus. O'r lech cihitan di tal ir cecyn, behet tal ir fos. O penn i fos usque ad Fontem Nigrum. A fonte per siluam di Clour eminus. Tal i fos.

Cihitan Clouuric di Clour.

The boundary of this church is: The †Clougur along the great road as far as †Cumulus Frut Mur. From †Cumulus Frut Mur straight to the ditch, to the stone at the four boundaries. From the stone along to the end of the ditch, as far as the end of the ditch. From the end of the ditch as far as †Fons Niger. From the spring, through the wood to the †Clougur a short distance away. The end of the ditch. Along the †Clouuric to the †Clougur.

122 Llandello Bertholau:

O blain cubi. trus mailuannon. diblain diufrut. Arhit diufrut dirguairet bet gebenni trio di aper nantmaur. maliduc nantmaur diuinid betiblain. in iscirit maur. trusiscirit di blain mor duc. arhit morduc dirguairet trui icoit. dir iulen. ar hit inant morduc bet geuenni. geuenni dirguairet betirit. lechauc. or rit dirlech luit ni cruc bracd diguern idrution. di luch icrecion. di cubi. maliduc cubi diuinid. betiblain ubi inceptit.

O blain Cubi, trus Mail Uannon, di blain Diufrut. Ar hit Diufrut di'r guairet bet Gebenni, trio di aper Nant Maur. Mal i duc Nant Maur di uinid bet i blain in Iscirit Maur. Trus Iscirit di blain Morduc. Ar hit Morduc di'r guairet trui i coit, di'r Iulen, ar hit i nant (Morduc) bet Geuenni. Geuenni di'r guairet bet i Rit Lechauc. O'r rit di'r Lech Luit 'n i Cruc Bracd, di Guern i Druition, di Luch i Crecion, di Cubi. Mal i duc Cubi di uinid bet i blain *ubi inceptit*.

From the source of the Cibi across †Mail Uannon to the source of the †Diufrut. Along the †Diufrut downwards as far as the Gavenny, across to the mouth of †Nant Maur. As †Nant Maur leads upwards, as far as its source on Skirrid Fawr. Across the Skirrid to the source of the †Morduc, along the †Morduc downwards through the wood, to the †Iulen, along the stream (the †Morduc) as far as the Gavenny. The Gavenny downwards as far as the †Rit Lechauc. From the ford to the †Lech Luit in the †Cruc Bracd, to †Guern i Druition, to †Luch i Crecion, to the Cibi, as the Cibi leads upwards, as far as its source, where it began.

123 Llandello Gresynni:

Finis oaper ciuerdiued icaruan. ciuerdiued nihit bet aper guaech. o aperguaech irguber bichan. nihit bet penn claud etern nyhit. bet fos cinahi. nihit bet aper grenin. grenin nihit bet inlicat grenin. O licat grenin intrausynniaun icarn gunstan. O camgunstan icastell mei. O castell mei. diaper caruan. iciuerdiued.

Finis: O aper Ciuerdiued i Caruan. Ciuerdiued 'n i hit bet aper Guaech. O aper Guaech i'r guber bichan. 'N i hit bet penn Claud Etern. 'N y hit bet Fos Cinahi. 'N i hit bet aper Grenin. Grenin 'n i hit bet in licat Grenin. O licat Grenin in traus ynn iaun i Carn Gunstan. O Carn Gunstan i Castell Mei. O Castell Mei di aper Caruan i Ciuerdiued.

The boundary: From the confluence of the †Ciuerdiued in the †Caruan. Along the †Ciuerdiued as far as the mouth of the †Guaech. From the mouth of the †Guaech to the little brook. Along it as far as the end of †Claud Etern. Along it as far as †Fos Cinahi. Along it as far as the mouth of the †Grenin. Along the †Grenin as far as the source of the †Grenin. From the source of the †Grenin across, straight to †Carn Gunstan. From †Carn Gunstan to †Castell Mei. From †Castell Mei to the confluence of the †Caruan in the †Ciuerdiued.

(124) †Lann Rath, †Lann Cronnguern, and the three territories of (255):

Amroth:

Finis illorum o frut gurcant hit glann rath.

Finis illarum ofrut gurcant hitglan rath.

Finis illorum: O Frut Gurcant hit glann Rath.

Their boundary: From †Frut Gurcant as far as the bank of the †Rath.

125bi †Tref Carn:

Finis ouinyd garthon di blain nant brat yrguaret hit in ritec. Exalia parte o uinid garthon hit nant y clauorion bet in ritec.

Finis: O Vinyd Garthon di blain Nant Brat, y'r guaret hit in Ritec. *Ex alia parte:* O Vinid Garthon hit Nant y Clauorion, bet in Ritec.

The boundary: From †Minid Garthon to the source of †Nant Brat, downwards as far as into the †Ritec. On the other side: From †Minid Garthon as far as †Nant y Clauorion, as far as into the †Ritec.

125bii †Laihti Teliau:

o carn baclan dicil meiniauc bet in ritec.

O Carn Baclan di Cil Meiniauc, bet in Ritec.

From †Carn Baclan to †Cil Meiniauc, as far as into the †Ritec.

125biii †Menechi:

otref eithinauc di nant hiroguidou bet in ritec. Exalia parte otonou pencenn diblain nant castell cerran bet inritec.

O Tref Eithinauc di Nant hi Rotguidou, bet in Ritec. *Ex alia parte:* O Tonou Pencenn di blain Nant Castell Cerran, bet in Ritec.

From †Tref Eithinauc to †Nant hi Rotguidou, as far as into the †Ritec. On the other side: From †Tonou Pencenn to the source of †Nant Castell Cerran, as far as into the †Ritec.

127a †Cil Tutuc and †Penn Clecir:

Finis est o castell cerran dinant torr icair bet hi locnhty. Exalia parte. o nant castell carran bet in ritec.

Finis est: O Castell Cerran di Nant Torr i Cair, bet hi locnhty. *Ex alia parte:* O Nant Castell Carran bet in Ritec.

The boundary is: From †Castell Cerran to †Nant Torr i Cair, as far as the boathouse. On the other side: From †Nant Castell Cerran as far as into the †Ritec.

(134i) Anergyng:

a mochros supra ripam Guy ex illa parte usque ad riuulum Dor. ex ista parte *et usque* ad Gurmuy. & ad hostium Taratyr in Guy flumine.

A Mochros *supra ripam* Guy *ex illa parte, usque ad riuulum* Dor *ex ista parte; et usque ad hostium* Taratyr *in* Guy *flumine.*

From Moccas on the bank of the Wye on the one side, as far as the Dore rivulet on the other side; and as far as the Worm, and to the mouth of the †Taratir on the River Wye.

(134ii) The Bishopric of Llandaf (see also (42)):

O aper Tyui nyhyt. hyt aper pycotvc. yntyui. O pycotuc hyt teirguemen buell. O teirguemen buell y uynyd nyhyt dy castell teirtut. idest cantref bychan. ha cantref selif. ha buell. O castell teirtut iuynyd nyhyt dydoulwyn helyc. O doulwyn helyc y blayn uysc. hyt y mynyd du. Y mynyd du ny hyt hyt blain turch. Turch nyhyt yguair& hyt Tauuy. Tauuy nyhyt hyt cingleis. Cingleis nyhyt bet yblayn. O blayn cygleis y all unguernenn. O all unguern nenn hyt blayn peurdin. O peurdin hyt pandiscynn yn ned. Ned iuinyd hyt melltou. Melltou ny hyt yuynyd hyt hepstur. Hepstur y uynyd dyguyragon. Guyragon hyt y blayn. Oy blain hyt gauanhauc. O gauanauc bet deri emreis. O deri emreis ycecin clysty. Cecycin clysty nyhyt bet blain frut yguidon. aryhyt bet taf maur. Taf maur yguayret hyt cymer. O cymer iuynyd arhyt taf bechan. Taf bechan nyhyt bet ryt y

cambrenn. Oryt y camprenn hyt hal du. Or hal du dyr hir cemyn. dy nant crafnant hyt crafnell bet pandiscynn yn uysc. Truy uysc dycilydris. dyr all luyt. dy lech bychlyt dy cecyn y pennypyn march diguomoyd dyrytnant. dy hanher din march lythan. dyol ygabr dy bron cateir neueni. dy latguerinou. dyguarthafbuch. dyr uyncul. dyr brydell. dy hal ruma. dy main ybard ynlycat nant y bard. nant ybard nihyt yrguayret hyt pandyscin yn dour. dour nyhyt y guairet hyt pandyscynn y gourmuy. guormuy ny hyt iuynyd hyt yblayn. O blayn guormuy dicayr rein. O cayr rein dyblayn taratyr. taratyr nyhyt youayret hyt pandiscynn ygy. Guy ny hyt. hyt pandiscynn ynn Hafren. Hafren nyhyt can ynys Echni bet aper Tyui.

O aper Tyui 'n y hyt hyt aper Pyscotuc yn Tyui. O Pyscotuc hyt Teir Guernen Buell. O Teir Guernen Buell y uynyd, 'n y hyt dy Castell Teir Tut (*id est* Cantref Bychan, ha Cantref Selif, ha Buell). O Castell Teir Tut i uynyd 'n y hyt dy Douluyn Helyc. O Douluyn Helyc y blayn Uysc, hyt y Mynydd Du. Y Mynydd Du 'n y hyt hyt blain Turch. Turch 'n y hyt y guairet hyt Tauuy. Tauuy 'n y hyt hyt Cingleis. Cingleis 'n y hyt bet y blayn. O blayn Cygleis y All Un Guernenn. O All Un Guernenn hyt blayn Peurdin. O Peurdin hyt pan discynn yn Ned. Ned i uynyd [read 'i guairet'] hyt Melltou. Melltou 'n y hyt y uynyd hyt Hepstur. Hepstur y uynyd dy Guyragon. Guyragon hyt y blayn. O'y blain hyt Gauanhauc. O Gauanauc bet Deri Emreis. O Deri Emreis y Cecin Clysty. Cec<yc>in Clysti 'n y hyt bet blain Frut y Guidon. Ar y hyt bet Taf Maur. Taf Maur y guayret hyt cymer. O cymer i uynyd ar hyt Taf Bechan. Taf Bechan 'n y hyt bet Ryt y Cambrenn. O Ryt y Camprenn hyt Hal Du. O'r Hal Du dy'r Hir Cemyn, dy nant Crafnant, hyt Crafnell bet pan discynn yn Uysc. Truy Uysc dy Cil Ydris, dy'r All Luyt, dy Lech Bychlyt, dy cecyn y penn y pynmarch, di Guomoyd, dy Rytant, dy hanher Dinmarch Lythan, dy Ol y Gabr, dy bron Cateir Neueni, dy lliclat Guerinou, dy guarthaf Buch, dy'r Vyncul, dy'r Brydell, dy Hal Ruma, dy Main y Bard yn llycat Nant y Bard. Nant y Bard 'n i hyt y'r guayret hyt pan dyscin yn Dour. Dour 'n y hyt y guairet hyt pan discynn y Gourmuy. Guormuy 'n y hyt i uynyd hyt y blayn. O blayn Guormuy di Cayr Rein. O Cayr Rein dy blayn Taratyr. Taratyr 'n y hyt y ouayret hyt pan discynn y Guy. Guy 'n y hyt hyt pan discynn ynn Hafren. Hafren 'n y hyt, can Ynys Echni, bet aper Tyui.

From the mouth of the Towy along as far as the mouth of the †Pyscotuc on the Towy. From the †Pyscotuc as far as †Teir Guernen Buell. From

†Teir Guermen Buell upwards, along to †Castell Teir Tut (i.e. Cantref Bychan, Cantref Selyf, and Buellt). From †Castell Teir Tut upwards along to †Douluin Helic. From †Douluin Helic to the source of the Usk, as far as Fan Brycheiniog. Fan Brycheiniog along as far as the source of the Twrch. Along the Twrch downwards as far as the Tawe. Along the Tawe as far as the Cynlais. Along the Cynlais as far as its source. From the source of the Cynlais to †Hal Un Guermen. From †Hal Un Guermen as far as the source of the Pyrddin. From the Pyrddin until it falls into the Neath. Up [read 'down'] the Neath as far as the Mellte. Along the Mellte upwards as far as the Hepste. Up the Hepste to the †Guyragon. The †Guyragon as far as its source. From its source as far as †Gauanhauc. From †Gauanhauc as far as †Deri Emreis. From †Deri Emreis to †Cecin Clysty. Along †Cecin Clysty as far as the source of †Frut i Guidon. Along it as far as the Taf Fawr. Down the Taf Fawr as far as [the] confluence. From [the] confluence upwards along the Taf Fechan. Along the Taf Fechan as far as †Rit i Cambren. From †Rit i Cambren as far as †Hal Du. From the †Hal Du to the †Hir Cemyn, to the stream Crawnon, the length of the Caerfanell until it falls into the Usk. Across the Usk to †Cil Idris, to the †Alt Luit, to †Lech Bichlrit, to the ridge at the end of the millstream, to †Guornoid, to the †Ritnant, to the middle of †Din March Lythan, to †Ol i Gabr, to the breast of †Cateir Neueni, to the source of the Grwyne, to the head of the Bwch, to the †Mincul, to the †Pridell, to †Hal Ruma, to †Main i Bard at the source of Nant-y-bar. Down along Nant-y-bar until it falls into the Dore. Down along the Dore until it falls into the Worm. Up along the Worm as far as its source. From the source of the Worm to †Cair Rein. From †Cair Rein to the source of the †Taratir. Down along the †Taratir until it falls into the Wye. Along the Wye until it falls into the Severn. Along the Severn, by †Ynys Echni, as far as the mouth of the Towy.

140i †Lann Gemei:

Finis Iann Gemei adorso montis diuidente siluam et usque ad oculum diugurach malyduc dirguaiaret betymor.

Finis Lann Gemei: A dorso montis diuidente siluam et campum in mare, et usque ad oculum Diugurach, mal y duc di'r guaiaret bet y mor.

The boundary of †Lann Gemei: From the ridge of the mountain which divides the wood and the plain into the sea, and as far as the source of the †Diugurach, as it leads downwards as far as the sea.

140ii Llandeilo Tal-y-bont:

Finis lanteliav talypont. O aper morcleis dyguailaut lannerch Onnuu. trus cum Onnuu dyr guyth lunguyd dy camguili. truy camguili dyr hitir melin. Or hytir melin hyn hiaun di Luchur exalia parte. Arhit luchuc dy uinyd bet camfrut. arhit camfrut inparte ecclesiae bet iblain. dyalt minchei arhyt iralt di dubleis. truy dubleissou bet dinas cynlyuan. arhit yrochyr bet ar cyueyr blain Cynbran. arhit cinbran eithaf bet lychur

Finis Lan Teliau Talypont: O aper Morcleis dy guailaut Lannerch Onnuu. Trus Cum Onnuu dy'r Guyth Lunguyd, dy Camguili. Truy Camguili dy'r Hitir Melin. O'r Hytir Melin hyn hiaun di Luchur. Ex alia parte ar hit Luchur dy uinyd bet Camfrut. Ar hit Camfrut in parte ecclesiae bet i blain, dy Alt Minchei. Ar hyt ir alt di Dubleis. Truy Dubleissou bet Dinas Cynlyuan. Ar hit yr ochyr bet ar cyueyr blain Cynbran. Ar hit Cinbran eithaf bet Lychur.

The boundary of Llandeilo Tal-y-bont: From the mouth of the Morlais to the bottom of †Lannerch Onnuu. Across †Cum Onnuu to the †Guyth Lunguyd, to the Gwili. Through the Gwili to the †Hitir Melin straight to the Loughor. Along the Loughor upwards on the other side as far as the Camffrwd. Along the Camffrwd on the side of the church as far as its source, to †Alt Minchei. Along the hill to the Dulais. Through the Dulais streams as far as †Dinas Cynlyuan. Along the side as far as opposite the source of the †Cinbran. Along the furthest †Cinbran as far as the Loughor.

141 Matharn:

Finis Oaper pull Muric sursum yrpull. yrlech lybiau. orpull yrlech bet blain dyr ardir ny hyt bet fynnaun elichguid sursum arhit ymant dy finnaun cruc leuym. O finnaun cruc leuym eminus dygenou nant byuguan. nant biuguan yny hit bet pullou rinion dyr dou pull. Or dou pull hynyaun dyrguayret dyr cam. orcam dirguairet dirfoss indorso montis. orfoss uersus orientem yntraus trus blain pant nant ruisc arhyt yclaud aryhit bet otyn Lunbiu. Or otyn dyrguairret hyt yclaud bet cam perth yronn dyr guayret dyr macyrou dyrpull. ar hyt y pull dy aper pull neuynn yGuy. Ar hyt Guy hahafrenn can ychoretou haidiscynua yloggou betaper muric.

Finis: O aper Pull Muric *sursum* y'r pull <yr Lech Lybiau>. O'r pull y'r lech, bet blain, dy'r ardir. Yr ardir 'n y hyt bet Fynnaun Elichguid. *Sursum* ar hit yr nant dy Finnaun Cruc Leuym. O Finnaun Cruc Leuym *eminus* dy genou Nant Byuguan. Nant Biuguan yn y hit bet Pullou Rinion, dy'r dou pull. O'r dou pull hyn yaun dy'r guayret dy'r cam. O'r cam di'r guairet, di'r foss *in dorso montis*. O'r foss *uersus orientem* yn traus trus blain pant Nant Ruisc. Ar hyt y claud. Ar y hit bet Otyn Lunbiu. O'r otyn dy'r guairet hyt y claud, bet Cam Perth yr Onn, dy'r guayret dy'r macyrou, dy'r pull. Ar hyt y pull dy aper Pull Neuynn y Guy. Ar hyt Guy ha Hafrenn (can y choretou ha'i discynua y loggou) bet aper Muric.

The boundary: From the mouth of Mouton Brook upwards to the pool. From the pool to the stone (†Lech Lybiau),¹ as far as the summit, to the high ground. Along the high ground as far as †Fynnaun Elichguid. Upwards along the stream to †Finnaun Cruc Leuym. From †Finnaun Cruc Leuym a short distance to the mouth of †Nant Biuguan. Along †Nant Biuguan as far as †Pullou Rinion, to the two pools. From the two pools straight down to the cairn. From the cairn downwards to the ditch on the ridge of the mountain. From the ditch across eastwards across the end of the hollow of †Nant Ruisc. Along the dyke. Along it as far as †Otyn Lunbiu. From the kiln downwards as far as the dyke, as far as †Cam Perth

¹ See discussion under †Lech Lybiau.

yr Onn, downwards to the ruins, to the pool. Along the pool to the mouth of †Pull Neuynn on the Wye. Along the Wye and the Severn (with its weirs and its landing for ships) as far as the mouth of Mounton Brook.

143 †Ecclesia Guruid:

Finis autem huius agri est. apalude nigro usque ad sedem cetiau. & ahescenn iudie usque ad arbores foton.

Finis autem huius agri est: A Palude Nigro usque ad Sedem Cetiau. Et a Hescenn Iudie usque ad Arbores Foton.

The boundary of this territory, moreover, is: From †Palus Niger as far as †Sedes Cetiau. And from †Hescenn Iudie as far as †Arbores Foton.

144 †Lann Cingualan:

Finis Lann Cyngualan infra duas fossas admare malyduc irdiu foss dyr mynyd arhyt yrceecyn fin Lann Gemei.

Finis Lann Cyngualan: Infra duas fossas ad mare. Mal y duc ir diu foss dy'r mynyd. Ar hyt yr cecyn (fin Lann Gemei).

The boundary of †Lann Cingualan: Between the two ditches to the sea. As the two ditches lead to the mountain. Along the ridge (the boundary of †Lann Gemei).

145 Llandeilo Ferwallt/Bishopston:

Finis illius O aper finnaun canthed ynymor arhyt irpant dyuynynd dyr pyllou dycarn cymlyr dymain dycecin yr mynyd trus yr mynyd

dyguoun brechmil dyblain yr hytyr. orhytyr dymant. arhyt yr nant bet dubleis. dubleis bet ryt ideueit. o ryt dy nant bychan. ar hyt y nant ad sinistram di penn Luhin latron. orluhinn dinant aryhit bet ymor hafreN.

Finis illius: O aper Finnaun Canthed yn y mor. Ar hyt ir pant dy uynydd dy'r pyllou, dy Carn Cymlyr, dy Main Dyastur, dy cecin yr mynydd. Trus yr mynid dy Guoun Brechmil, dy blain yr hytyr. O'r hytyr dy'r nant. Ar hyt yr nant bet Dubleis. Dubleis bet Ryt i Deueit. O[r] ryt dy[r] nant bychan. Ar hyt y nant *ad sinistram* di penn Luhin Latron. O'r luhinn di[r] nant. Ar y hit bet y Mor Hafren.

Its boundary: From the mouth of †Finnaun Canthed at the sea. Along the hollow upwards to the pools, to †Cam Cymlyr, to †Main Dyastur, to the mountain ridge. Across the mountain to †Guoun Brechmil, to the top end of the corn land. From the corn land to the stream. Along the stream as far as the †Dubleis. The †Dubleis as far as †Ryt i Deueit. From [the] ford to [the] little stream. Along the stream to the left to the end of †Luhin Latron. From the grove to [the] stream. Along it as far as into the Bristol Channel.

146 Llan-gors:

Finis illius est O aper finnaun doudecseint ynlinn Syuadon. arhyt yrguuer dy uinydd bet lycat yrfinnaun dypenn claud lyuarch hen arhyt irclaud bet pan dyscynn yn Lyfni aryhit dirguaret bet ypen brynn eital. ad sinistram trus dipen ybryn di blain nant tael. arhyt yr nant bet lyfni. Lyfni ynyhit bet y lynn. ar hyt yr lynn betoper finnaun ydouceiseint. ubi *inceptit*.

Finis illius est: O aper Finnaun Doudecseint yn Linn Syuadon ar hyt yr guuer dy uinydd bet lycat yr finnaun, dy penn Claud Lyuarch Hen. Ar hyt ir claud bet pan dyscynn yn Lyfni. Ar y hit di'r guaret bet y pen Brynn Eital. *Ad sinistram* trus di pen y bryn, di blain Nant Tael. Ar hyt yr nant bet Lyfni. Lyfni yn y hit bet y lynn. Ar hyt yr lynn bet oper Finnaun y Doudecseint *ubi inceptit*.

Its boundary is: From the mouth of †Finnaun y Doudec Seint in Llangorse Lake upwards along the brook as far as the spring-head, to the end of

†Claud Lyuarch Hen. Along the dyke until it falls into the Llynfi. Along it downwards as far as the end of †Brynn Eital. Leftwards across to the end of the hill, to the source of Nant Tawel. Along the stream as far as the Llynfi. Along the Llynfi as far as the lake. Along the lake as far as the mouth of †Finnaun y Doudec Seint where it began.

147i †Villa Gurberdh:

Apalude Elleti usque nadauan. idest uilla Gurberdh.

A Palude Elleti usque Nadauan, id est Villa Gurberdh.

From †Palus Elleti as far as the Thaw, that is †Villa Gurberdh.

147ii †Riu Graenauc:

Finis Riugraenauc anadauan ducente fossa per longitudinem sursum adrufum lacum intriuo montis.

Finis Riu Graenauc: A Nadauan ducente fossa per longitudinem sursum ad Rufum Lacum in triuio montis.

The boundary of †Riu Graenauc: From the Thaw, with the ditch leading along upwards to †Rufus Lacus at the crossroads of the mountain.

148 †Villa Guilbiu:

Finem eiusdem agri supradiximus. afine illius uillae inqua occidit Mouric cynuetu usque ad cumulum lapidum. & usque ad cumulum alium. &

postea usque innauldauan.

Finem eiusdem agri supra diximus: A fine illius uillæ in qua occidit Mouric Cynuetu usque ad cumulum lapidum, et usque ad cumulum alium, et postea usque in Na<u>dauan.

We have stated the boundary of this same territory above: From the boundary of that settlement in which Meurig killed Cynfedw as far as the mound of stones, and as far as the other mound, and afterwards as far as into the Thaw.

154 Llandeilo'r-fân:

Finis illius est. blain ethrim arhit ircecin iuinid nihit dicarn erchan. orcam erchan dir henford iford nihit bet porth idorcluit hit cecin nihit bet blain nant dincat inant nihit betpan discinn innant cilieni. cilieni nihit dirguaiet betinaper nant irhen ni hit beticruc hisbermn. o cruc hisbermn cecin iminid nihit bet imon crois guerion dirguaiet bet iguoun teirfin dinant cenou. nant cenov nihit bet arcilieni. cilieni ni hit bet inaper ipost du. postdu nihit bet ar cloutac. cloutac nihit betiblain dir guern traus iminid nihit bet brinn bucelid irbrinn nihit betiblain mauan. obtain mauan iminid ni hit betiblain ethrim ubi inceptit.

Finis illius est: Blain Ethrim [read 'Mauan'], ar hit ir cecin i uinid. 'N i hit di Cam Erchan. O<'r> Cam Erchan di'r hen ford. I ford 'n i hit bet Porth i Dorcluit, hit [i] cecin. 'N i hit bet blain Nant Dincat. I nant 'n i hit bet pan discinn in nant Cilieni. Cilieni 'n i hit di'r guaiet bet in aper Nant ir Hen. 'N i hit bet i Cruc Hisbermn. O Cruc Hisbermn. Cecin i minid 'n i hit bet i mon Crois Guerion, di'r guaiet bet i Guoun Teir Fin, di Nant Cenou. Nant Cenou 'n i hit bet ar Cilieni. Cilieni 'n i hit bet in aper i Post Du. Post Du 'n i hit bet ar Cloutac. Cloutac 'n i hit bet i blain, di'r guern traus i minid. 'N i hit bet Brinn Bucelid. Ir brinn 'n i hit bet i blain Mauan [read 'Ethrim']. O blain Mauan [read 'Ethrim']. I minid 'n i hit bet i blain Ethrim [read 'Mauan'] ubi inceptit.

Its boundary is: The source of the Eithrim [read 'Mawan'], upwards along the ridge. Along it to †Carn Erchan. From <the> †Carn Erchan to the old road. Along the road as far as †Porth i Dorcluit, as far as [the] ridge. Along it as far as the source of †Nant Dincat. Along the stream until it falls into the Cilieni stream. Downwards along the Cilieni as far as the confluence of Nant-yr-hen. Along it as far as †Cruc Hisbernn. From †Cruc Hisbernn. Along the ridge of the mountain as far as the base of †Crois Guerion, downwards as far as †Guoun Teir Fin, to †Nant Cenou. Along †Nant Cenou as far as the Cilieni. Along the Cilieni as far as the confluence of the †Post Du. Along the †Post Du as far as the Clydach. Along the Clydach as far as its source, to the marsh across the mountain. Along it as far as †Brinn Bucelid. Along the hill as far as the source of the Mawan [read 'Eithrim']. From the source of the Mawan [read 'Eithrim']. Along the mountain as far as the source of the Eithrim [read 'Mawan'] where it began.

155 †Lann Cincirill:

Finis istius agri. Cepetic trican. hoc est auado rufo super rudlan Elei dehinc sursum eregione persiluam super cliuium siluæ usque ad cruc cynfall scoti. Exin fossa diuidente sursum supra montem perlongitudinem fosse usque adfontem. defonte deorsvm per spatium usque ad capud claudtrycan inualle fossa ducente usque ad montem descendente deorsum perfossam perlongitudinem adtalpon brinan ad uiam latam. perlongitudinem uiæ fossa ducente ad Elei.

Finis istius agri: Cepetic Trican (hoc est, a uado rufo) super Rudlan Elei, de hinc sursum e regione, per siluam, super cliuium siluæ usque ad Cruc Cynfall Scoti. Exin fossa diuidente sursum supra montem, per longitudinem fosse usque ad fontem. De fonte deorsum per spatium usque ad capud Claud Trycan in ualle. Fossa ducente usque ad montem. Descendente deorsum per fossam per longitudinem ad Talpon Brinan, ad uiam latam. Per longitudinem uiæ. Fossa ducente ad Elei.

The boundary of this territory: †Cepetic Trican (that is, from †Vadum Rufum) on †Rudlan Elei, from here upwards out of the area, through the wood, over the hill of the wood as far as †Cruc Cynfall Scoti. Thence, with the ditch dividing, upwards over the mountain, along the ditch as far as the spring. From the spring downwards for a while as far as the end of †Claud Trycan in the valley. By the ditch leading as far as the mountain. By descending down along the ditch along to †Talpon Brinan, to the wide road. Along the road. By the ditch leading to the Ely.

156 Llandogo:

Finis istius podi est. orciuilchi dilech oudoucui dicribiralt irtu guartha nihit dir rit hit caletan. cemn nihit hetguailaut iguoun dihannher irminid. dir rudpull. usque adylui. & deinde aguenfrut usque adtrylec bechan.

Finis istius podi est: O'r Ciuilchi di Lech Oudoucui, di crib ir alt, i'r tu guartha. 'N i hit di'r rit, hit Caletan. Cemn 'n i hit het guailaut i guoun, di hannher ir minid, di'r Rudpull, usque ad Ylui. Et deinde a [Trylec Bechan] usque ad [Guenfrut].

The boundary of this church is: From the †Ciuilchi to †Lech Oudoucui, to the ridge of the hill, to the upper side. Along it to the ford, as far as the Cleddon. Along the ridge as far as the bottom of the marsh, to the middle of the mountain, to the †Rudpull, as far as the Olway. And then from [†Trylec Bechan] as far as [the White Brook].²

157 St Lythans and †Guocob:

Finis illarum uillarum est Orpant neshaf dilicatgurrimi. O gurrimi hinniaun genou pant ciu iuinid nihit hit guartha iralt dirclaud. claud nihit

intraus trus iford iclaud nihit trui i coit iguaret irpant arhit iclaud dircarn. claud nihit irfinnaun. orfinnaun dirclaud. claud nihit dirfinnaun arall. orfinnaun ar hit ifoss iuinid trui icoit. dirminid ar irall arhit foss. foss nihit irpant. pant nihit iuinid trus i ford maur arhit i claud trus iminid iniaun iblain pant gulich. dihen lotre elidon iblain ipant. ipant iguaret permedium uallis dirfinnaun licat gulich. gulich irguaret arihit hi iciueir pouisua deuui i penn i carn. ynys teireru i parth arall ir nant. nant iguaret arihit hit ni aper iguorrimi. guorrimi ni hit sursum hitpennguociueir i pant ubi inceptit finis.

Finis illarum uillarum est: O'r pant neshaf di licat Gurrimi. O Gurrimi hinn iaun [di] genou Pant Ciu. I uinid 'n i hit hit guartha ir alt, di'r claud. Claud 'n i hit in traus trus i ford. I claud 'n i hit trui i coit i guaret i'r pant. Ar hit i claud di'r carn. Claud 'n i hit i'r finnaun. O'r finnaun di'r claud. Claud 'n i hit di'r finnaun arall. O'r finnaun ar hit i foss i uinid trui i coit, di'r minid ar ir all ar hit [i] foss. [I] foss 'n i hit i'r pant. Pant 'n i hit i uinid trus i ford maur. Ar hit i claud trus i minid in iaun i blain Pant Gulich, di Hen Lotre Elidon, i blain i pant. I pant i guaret *per medium uallis* di'r finnaun-licat Gulich. Gulich i'r guaret. Ar i hit hi i ciueir Pouisua Deuui, i penn i carn. Ynys teir eru i parth arall ir nant. Nant i guaret. Ar i hit hit 'n i aper i Guorrimi. Guorrimi 'n i hit *sursum* hit penn guociueir i pant *ubi inceptit finis*.

The boundary of those settlements is: From the hollow nearest to the source of the †Guorrimi straight [to] the mouth of †Pant Ciu. Upwards along it as far as the summit of the hill, to the dyke. Across along the dyke across the road. Along the dyke through the wood downwards to the hollow. Along the dyke to the cairn. Along the dyke to the spring. From the spring to the dyke. Along the dyke to the other spring. From the spring along the ditch up through the wood, to the mountain above the slope along [the] ditch. Along [the] ditch to the hollow. Along the hollow up across the great road. Along the dyke across the mountain straight to the top of †Pant Gulich, to †Hen Lotre Elidon at the top of the valley. Down the valley through the middle of the valley to the spring-of the source of the †Gulich. The †Gulich downwards.

² See the discussion under †Guenfrut.

Along it towards †Pouisma Deui, to the end of the caim. Three-acre meadow on the other side of the stream. The stream downwards. Along it as far as into its confluence on the †Guorrimi. Along the †Guorrimi upwards as far as the end opposite the hollow where the boundary began.

158 Cas-gwent/Chepstow:

Finis illius est. Vallis annuc super ripam Guy. finis lanncinuarch ex alia parte pant annuc diuinid bet penn foss in hipant diuinid dirpant arall ariscuid uersus orientem diguaret bet irallt dir finnaun arhit iguuer betguy. arhit guy diuinid cum coretibus suis bet pant annuc super ripam guy ubi inceptit.

Finis illius est: Vallis Annuc super ripam Guy (finis Lann Cinuarch ex alia parte), Pant Annuc di uinid bet penn foss in hi pant, di uinid di'r pant arall ar i scuid uersus orientem, di guaret bet ir allt, di'r finnaun, ar hit i guuer bet Guy. Ar hit Guy di uinid (cum coretibus suis) bet Pant Annuc super ripam Guy ubi inceptit.

Its boundary is: †Pant Anhuc on the bank of the Wye (the boundary of St Kingsmark on the other side³), †Pant Anhuc upwards as far as the end of the ditch in the hollow, upwards to the other hollow on the shoulder towards the east, downwards as far as the hill, to the spring, along the brook as far as the Wye. Along the Wye upwards (with its weirs) as far as †Pant Anhuc on the bank of the Wye where it began.

159a Llanerthill:

Finis illius est. Orit i main arilgui arhit imant maliduc diuinid. bet iblain bet allt ircicbran diblain nant ir hebauc arihit bet pan discinn hi

guefrduur maliduc dirguairet bet ilgui. maliduc ilgui dirguairet bet rit irmain ar ylgui ubi inceptit.

Finis illius est: O Rit i Main ar Ilgui ar hit ir nant mal i duc di uinid bet i blain, bet Allt ir Cicbran, di blain Nant ir Hebauc. Ar i hit bet pan discinn hi Guefrduur. Mal i duc di'r guairet bet Ilgui. Mal i duc Ilgui di'r guairet bet Rit ir Main ar Ylgui *ubi inceptit*.

Its boundary is: From †Rit ir Main on the Olway along the stream as it leads upwards as far as its source, as far as †Allt ir Cicbran, to the source of †Nant ir Hebauc. Along it until it falls into Pontyrhydan Brook. As it leads downwards as far as the Olway. As the Olway leads downwards as far as †Rit ir Main on the Olway where it began.

159bi †Lann Menechi:

Finis illius uille est. uilla Giurgii exaltero latera [...]. Finis istius uillæ est. idest meneich hoc est ad aquilonem tref irgillig. id est tref ircil antiquo nomine.

Finis illius uille est: Uilla Giurgii *ex altero latera* [...]. *Finis istius uillæ est (id est Meneich), hoc est ad aquilonem Tref ir Gillicg (id est Tref ir Cil antiquo nomine).*

The boundary of that settlement is: Gabalfa on the one side [...]. The boundary of that settlement is (i.e. †Villa Meneich), it is to the north of †Tref Gillic (that is †Tref ir Cil by its older name).

³ See the bounds of charter 165.

159bii †[...].nuc Bacan:

auia magna quæ ducit quæ ducit aporta halan usque adriu finion extendente permarginem monticuli usque ad riu tinuiu. id est henriu. Iterum per circuitum usque aduiam magnam. quæ ducit ad riu finion.

A uia magna quæ ducit <quæ ducit> a Porta Halan usque ad Riu Finion, extendente per marginem monticuli usque ad Riu Tinuiu, id est Henriu.

Iterum per circuitum usque ad uiam magnam quæ ducit ad Riu Finion.

From the great road which leads <which leads> from †Porta Halan as far as †Riu Finion, reaching out by the edge of the little mountain as far as †Riu Tinuiu, that is †Henriu. Again by a circuit as far as the great road which leads to †Riu Finion.

160 Llancillo:

Finis illius est. openn claud ismael amant igalles iclaud nihit trui i coit betimais. dilicat finnalnaun guualon. guualon nihit bet nant greitiaul. arihit bet mingui. mingui nihit bet aper nant igalles. nant igalles nihit bet penn claud ismael ubi inceptit.

Finis illius est: O penn Claud Ismael ar Nant i Galles. I claud 'n i hit trui i coit bet i mais, di licat finnaun Guualon. Guualon 'n i hit bet nant Greitiaul. Ar i hit bet Mingui. Mingui 'n i hit bet aper Nant i Galles. Nant i Galles 'n i hit bet penn Claud Ismael ubi inceptit.

Its boundary is: From the end of †Claud Ismael on †Nant i Galles. Along the dyke through the wood as far as the field, to the spring-head of the †Guualon. Along the †Guualon as far as the stream Cwm Brook. Along it as far as the Monnow. Along the Monnow as far as the mouth of †Nant i Galles. Along †Nant i Galles as far as the end of †Claud Ismael where it began.

162b †Mafurn:

Finis illius est mafurn di guar alt rudlan dour.

Finis Mafurn: Di guar Alt Rudlan [...] Dour.

The boundary of †Mafurn: From on †Alt Rudlan [...] the Dore.

171bvi:

Finis mafurn Diguarr alt rudlan dour.

164 †Lann Budgualan:

Finis illius est. A uado selinam super transuersum usque in flumine magno iuxta riulum circhan incircuitu fluminis guy.

Finis illius est: A Uado Selinam super [...] transuersum usque in flumine magno iuxta riulum Circhan, in circuitu fluminis Guy.

Its boundary is: From †Vadum Selinam on [...] across as far as the great river next to the stream †Circhan, in a circuit of the river Wye.

165 St Kingsmark:

Finis est mainaur tnoumur. afissura uallis annuc inguy. sursum longitudine uallis ad fossam inualle. fossa custodiente iuxta uiam latam per longitudinem ad pull mouric. sursum diuidente pull mouric dir pant maur nant catguistil arihit iuinid diol huch dirtaran pull dir tauc ad cumulum iriuen trui ir coit dirguairet dirclaud ari hit bet iguy cann i choretou dirguairet bet pant anhuc ubi inceptit.

Finis est mainaur Tnou Mur: A fissura Uallis Annuc in Guy sursum longitudine uallis ad fossam in ualle. Fossa custodiente iuxta uiam latam, per longitudinem ad Pull Mouric. Sursum diuidente Pull Mouric di'r pant maur. Nant Catguistil ar i hit i uinid di Ol Huch, di'r Taranpull, di'r

[...]tauc, *ad Cumulum* ir Iuenn, trui ir coit di'r guairet di'r claud. Ar i hit bet i Guy cann i choretou di'r guairet bet Pant Anhuc *ubi inceptit*.

The boundary of the *maenor* of †Tnou Mur is: From the opening of †Pant Anhuc on the Wye upwards the length of the valley to the ditch in the valley. Keeping to the ditch next to the wide road, along to Mounton Brook. Upwards, bisecting Mounton Brook, to the large hollow. Along †Nant Catguistil upwards to †Ol Huch, to the †Taranpull, to the †[...]tauc, to †Cumulus ir Iuenn, through the wood downwards to the dyke. Along it as far as into the Wye, downwards (including its weirs) as far as †Pant Anhuc where it began.

167 †Tref Ceriau:

237b:

Finis illius est deuia magna quæ est ab austro *per spineum rubum* inde *Finis illius est deuia magna quæ est ab austro per spineum rubum. inde usque ad riuum taugel. qui est abaquilone. inde per riuum usque ad riuum taugel qui est abaquilone inde perriuum orientem orientem uersus usque ad fontem ceneian. postea afonte ceneian. postea afonte cheneian. postea afonte cheneian per siccam persiccam uallem quæ ducit sursum usque ad predictam uiam magnam. uallem quæ ducit sursum usque ad predictam uiam magnam iterum iterum quæ est ab austro ubi inceptit.*

Finis illius est: De uia magna quæ est ab austro per spineum rubum, inde usque ad Riuum Tauguel qui est ab aquilone, inde per riuum orientem uersus usque ad Fontem Ceneian. Postea a Fonte Ceneian per Siccam Uallem quæ ducit sursum usque ad predictam uiam magnam iterum (quæ est ab austro) ubi inceptit.

Its boundary is: From the great road which is to the south through the thorny bramble bush, thence as far as Nant Tawel which is to the north, thence along the stream eastwards in the direction of †Fons Ceneian. Afterwards from †Fons Ceneian through †Sicca Vallis which leads upwards as far as the aforesaid great road again (which is to the south) where it began.

170 †Cum Mouric:

Finis illius ariiuulo iguern usque ad cliuium.

Finis illius: A Riuulo i Guern usque ad cliuium.

Its boundary: From †Rivulus i Guern as far as the hill.

171bi Llanfocha: See 74.**171bii Llanfable:**

Finis illius est. Orglasguern dir dubnnant du. dehinc pertransuersum inter flumen iacob et brinn comou. iterum persiluam dehinc descendit inmanach riuulo. recte dirhalannauc recte persiluam dironcir bet irfinnaun eithaf. fraxina custodiende tendit recte inter duo castella ad longam insulam istius donec descendit in riuulo trodi.

Finis illius est: O'r Glasguern di'r Dubnnant Du. De hinc per transuersum inter Flumen Iacob et Brinn Cornou. Iterum per siluam. De hinc descendit in Manach Riuulo. Recte di'r Halannauc, recte per siluam di'r Oncir, bet ir finnaun eithaf. Fraxina custodiende, tendit recte inter duo castella ad Longam Insulam. Istius donec descendit in riuulo Trodi.

Its boundary is: From the †Glasguern to the †Dubnnant Du. From here across between †Flumen Iacob and †Brinn Cornou. Again through the wood. From here it descends into †Manach Rivulus. Straight to the †Halannauc, straight through the wood to the †Oncir, as far as the furthest

spring. Keeping to the ashes, it extends between the two castles to †Longa Insula. This until it falls in the Trothy stream.

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eriving [as a
ound] /

171biii †Lann Tipallai:

Finis lanntipallai. Licat arganhell artraus ir coit arhit iclaud diluch ireilin hit irpant nihit dicestill meirch iniaun di cil fotul traus imais arhit i claud bet duuir indair arhit i pant trui i coit bet licat argannel. ubi inceptit.

Finis Lann Tipallai: Licat Arganhell. Ar traus ir coit, ar hit i claud di Luch ir Eilin, hit ir pant. 'N i hit di Cestill Meirch, in iaun di Cil Fotul, traus i mais ar hit i claud bet Duuir in Dair, ar hit i pant trui i coit bet licat Argannel *ubi inceptit*.

The boundary of †Lann Tipallai: The source of the †Arganhell. Across the wood, along the dyke to †Luch ir Eilin, as far as the hollow. Along it to †Castell Meirch, straight to †Cil Fotul, across the field along the dyke as far as †Duuir in Dair, along the hollow through the wood as far as the source of the †Arganhell where it began.

171biv Llangunville:

Finis Lann Cinfall. Cirm cinfall ital ir foss arhit ir foss dilicat finnaun efrdil iguuer nihit bet mingui. mingui nihit bet pull rud di uinid bet tal irbrinn diguaret di lech forch diaper gefiat. gefiat nihit di tal ir aithnauc ad dexteram irall. maliduc iclaud bet cirm cinfall ubi inceptit.

Finis Lann Cinfall: Cirm Cinfall i tal ir foss. Ar hit ir foss di licat Finnaun Efrdil. I guuer 'n i hit bet Mingui. Mingui 'n i hit bet Pull Rud, di uinid bet tal ir brinn, di guaret di Lech Forch, di aper Gefiat. Gefiat 'n i hit di tal ir aithnauc, *ad dexteram* i'r all, mal i duc i claud bet Cirm Cinfall *ubi inceptit*.

The boundary of Llangunville: †Cirn Cinfall to the end of the ditch. Along the ditch to the source of †Finnaun Emrdil. Along the brook as far the Monnow. Along the Monnow as far as †Pull Rud, upwards as far as the end of the hill, downwards to †Lech Forch, to the mouth of the †Gefiat. Along the †Gefiat to the end of the aspen grove, to the right of the hill, as the dyke leads as far as †Cirn Cinfall where it began.

171bv Llanddino/Itton:

Finis lann diniul. Mouric digenou pant pull penhic *per* medium maliduc irpant diuinid betiford maur dipull iceth iuxta uiam magnam orpull dirguaret maliduc irpant trefguid ad dexteram dircarn dirford. arhit irford cilliuén nihit trui icoit. arhit iford bet Mouric inhi sich pull. maliduc mouric diuinid arihit bet genou pant pull pennic ubi inceptit.

Finis Lann Diniul: Mouric di genou Pant Pull Penhic. *Per medium* mal i duc ir pant di uinid bet i ford maur, di Pull i Ceth *iuxta uiam magnam*. O'r Pull di'r guaret mal i duc ir pant, Tref Guid *ad dexteram*, di'r cam, di'r ford. Cilliuén 'n i hit trui i coit. Ar hit i ford bet Mouric in hi Sichpull. Mal i duc Mouric di uinid. Ar i hit bet genou Pant Pull Pennic *ubi inceptit*.

The boundary of Itton: Moun-ton Brook to the mouth of †Pant Pull Penhic. Through the middle as the hollow leads upwards as far as the great road, to Pwll-y-cath next to the great road. From the Pwll downwards as the hollow leads, †Tref Guid to the right, to the cairn, to the road. Along the road. Along †Cilliuén through the wood. Along the road as far as Moun-ton Brook at the †Sichpull. As Moun-ton Brook leads upwards. Along it as far as the mouth of †Pant Pull Penhic where it began.

171bvi †Mafurn: See 162b.

173 Llangwm:

Finis illius est. O aper nant bis imich maliduc bis diminid arihit betimblain betiford orford dirard arhitirard uersus occasum beſcecin iralt or t/
dirguaret bet rit yronnenn annant broueni arihit bet nant foss pluum arhit diuinid istrat hafren. orblain beticecin arhit ircecin betirford dirard arhit
irard bet licat irfinnaun arhit dirguaret bet ibic maliduc bic dirguaret oper bis ubi inceptit.

Finis illius est: O aper nant Bis i Mich. Mal i duc Bis di minid. Ar i hit bet i mblain, bet i ford. O'r ford di'r ard. Ar hit ir ard *uersus occasum*, bet
cecin ir alt. O'r [alt] di'r guaret bet Rit yr Onnenn ar Nant Broueni. Ar i hit bet Nant Foss Pluum. Ar hit di uinid <Istrat Hafren>. O'r blain bet i
cecin. Ar hit ir cecin bet ir ford, di'r ard. Ar hit ir ard bet licat ir finnaun. Ar hit di'r guaret bet i Bic. Mal i duc Bic di'r guaret. Oper Bis *ubi*
inceptit.

Its boundary is: From the mouth of the stream †Bis in the †Bic. As the †Bis leads upwards. Along it as far as the source, as far as the road. From
the road to the hill. Along the hill towards the west, as far as the ridge of the hill. From the [hill] downwards as far as †Rit yr Onnenn on Dyffryn
Brook. Along it as far as †Nant Foss Pluum. Along upwards <Ystrad Hafren>.⁴ From the source as far as the ridge. Along the ridge as far as the
road, to the hill. Along the hill as far as the mouth of the spring. Along downwards as far as the †Bic. As the †Bic leads downwards. The mouth
of the †Bis where it began.

⁴ See the discussion under **Ystrad Hafren**.

174a Unnamed territory on the Gamber:

Finis illius est. uadum pallan ad fossam. fossa ducente ad cumulum glas. et acumulo eregione usque ad amyrr flumen cum parte illius agri de silua mamilet.

Finis illius est: Vadum Pallan ad fossam. Fossa ducente ad Cumulum Glas, et a cumulo e regione usque ad Amyrr flumen cum parte illius agri de Silua Mam Ilet.

Its boundary is: †Vadum Pallan to the ditch. By the ditch leading to †Cumulus Glas, and from the mound out of the area as far as the river Gamber, with a part of that enclosure from †Silva Mam Ilet.

174b †Ecclesia Istrat Hafren:**229b:**

Finis illius est. a silua usque ad mare. et usque ad podum ceuid. [...] o guarthaf luin ili usque admare. & aglasguern behet longuern.

Finis oguarthaf luin ili usque admare. et aglasguern behet louern.

Finis illius est: A silua usque ad mare, et usque ad Podum Ceuid. [...] Finis: O guarthaf Luin Ili usque ad mare, et a Glasguern behet Louern.

Its boundary is: From the wood as far as the sea, and as far as Lancaut. [...] The boundary: From the top of †Luin Ili as far as the sea, and from †Glasguern as far as †Louern.

176a †Villa Conuc:

Finis illius Auertice montis gurai usque adamnem Euenhi. Latitudo autem afossa magna usque ad fossam contra mare.

Finis illius: A uertice Montis Gurai usque ad amnem Euenhi. Latitudo autem: a fossa magna usque ad fossam contra mare.

Its boundary: From the summit of †Mons Gurai as far as the river Ewenhy. The width, moreover: from the great ditch as far as the ditch by the sea.

180b †Lann Catgualatir:

Finis illius est. Aper nant alun inicors maliduc inant diuinid betiblain. Oiblain trus icecn iniaun statim diblain irsichnant in alia parte ircecyn maliduc ir sichnant dirguairet bet irpant inicoit. maliduc irsichnant addexteram nihit dirguairet bet crib iralt emil cestill dinan. maliduc cecyn crib iralt arihit diriu merchiau. arhit ir riu dirguairet bet licat iglible. iglible inihit diguairet het icors. trui icors iniaun di circhu hentref merchitir. orhentref dirmarulinniou uersus occasum arhit cecyn chethin trui ircors bet lontre tunbulch. or lontre tunbulch iniaun trui ircors bet aper nant alun ubi inceptit.

Finis illius est: Aper Nant Alun in i cors. Mal i duc i nant di uinid bet i blain. O'i blain trus i cecn in iaun statim di blain ir sichnant in alia parte ir cecyn. Mal i duc ir sichnant di'r guairet bet ir pant in i coit. Mal i duc ir sichnant ad dexteram. 'N i hit di'r guairet bet crib ir alt emil Cestill Dinan. Mal i duc cecyn crib ir alt. Ar i hit di Riu Merchiau. Ar hit ir riu di'r guairet bet licat i glible. I gulible in i hit di guairet het i cors. Trui i cors in iaun di circhu Hentref Merchitir. O'r hentref di'r marulinniou uersus occasum. Ar hit Cecyn Chethin trui ir cors bet Lontre Tunbulch. O<r> Lontre Tunbulch in iaun trui ir cors bet aper Nant Alun ubi inceptit.

Its boundary is: The mouth of †Nant Alun in the marsh. As the stream leads upwards as far as its source. From its source across the ridge straight on at once to the source of the dry valley ~~in another part~~ of the ridge. As the dry valley leads downwards as far as the hollow in the wood. As the dry valley leads to the right. Along it downwards as far as the ridge of the hill near †Cestill Dinan. As the spine of the hill's ridge leads. Along it to †Riu Merchiau. Along the slope downwards as far as the spring of the wet place. Along the wet place downwards as far as the marsh. Through the marsh straight on so as to make for †Hentref Merchitir. From the winter farm to the stagnant lakes towards the west. Along †Cecyn Chethin through the marsh as far as †Lontre Tunbulch. From <the> †Lontre Tunbulch straight through the marsh as far as the mouth of †Nant Alun where it began.

183a †Lann Tidiuc:

Finis illius podi est inter duos riuulos irgudinn usque guy flumen.

Finis illius podi est: Inter duos riuulos. Ir Gudinn usque Guy flumen.

The boundary of this church is: Between the two brooks. The †Gudinn as far as the river Wye.

183b Cemais/Kemeys Inferior:

Finis illius est. Aper humir inuisc maliduc betiblain. huisc arihit betaper nant bichan maliduc diuinid dirbron iralt addexteram dir ard trui irdouciu u arhit irard nihit ny bron irallt di circhu blain nant humir. idest nant merthir ubi incepit.

Finis illius est: Aper Humir in Uisc. Mal i duc bet i blain. Huisc ar i hit bet aper nant bichan. Mal i duc di uinid di'r bron ir alt. *Ad dexteram*, di'r ard, trui ir Dou Ciuiu ar hit ir ard. 'N i hit [d]y bron ir allt di circhu blain nant Humir (*id est* Nant Merthir) *ubi inceptit*.

Its boundary is: The mouth of the †Humir on the Usk. As it leads as far as its source. Along the Usk as far as the mouth of the little stream. As it leads upwards to the breast of the hill. To the right, to the hill, through the †Dou Ciuiu along the hill. Along it to the breast of the hill so as to make for the source of the stream †Humir (that is †NantMerthir) where it began.

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187 Llan-soe:

Finis illius est. inter siluam *et* campum & infra riuulum elgui *et* pill. & in alia parte Oilgui bet pill uersus orientem oaper ceninuc in ilgui arhit ceninuc diuinid bet aper ifinnaun. arhit ifinnaun betiblain. orblain arhit irpant dirguairet bet pill. arhit pill bet nant murn arhit murn bet iblain. bet cair enuin. Oemil ircair toll coit bet blain luch cinahi. maliduc dir guairet bet main cinahi bet ilgui. arhit ilgui bet aper cennichuc ubi inceptit.

Finis illius est: *Inter siluam et campum et infra riuulum Elgui et Pill, et in alia parte, o Ilgui bet Pill uersus orientem.* O aper Ceninuc in Ilgui ar hit Ceninuc di uinid bet aper i finnaun. Ar hit i finnaun bet i blain. O'r blain ar hit ir pant di'r guairet bet Pill. Ar hit Pill bet nant Murn. Ar hit Murn bet i blain, bet Cair Enuin. O emil ir cair, Tollcoit bet blain Luch Cinahi. Mal i duc di'r guairet bet Main Cinahi, bet Ilgui. Ar hit Ilgui bet aper Cenni[n]huc *ubi inceptit*.

Its boundary is: Between the wood and the plain and between the Olway and the Pill, and on the other side, from the Olway as far as the Pill towards the east. From the mouth of the †Ceninuc on the Olway along the †Ceninuc upwards as far as the mouth of the brook. Along the brook as far as its source. From the source down along the hollow as far as the Pill. Along the Pill as far as the stream †Murn. Along the †Murn as far as its source, as far as †Cair Enuin. From near the fort, †Tollcoit as far as the end of †Luch Cinahi. As it leads downwards as far as †Main Cinahi, as far as the Olway. Along the Olway as far as the mouth of the †Ceninuc where it began.

188b Tyllgoed/Fairwater:

Finis ab oculo fontis tollcoit usque adfossam paludis incapite. *et ab occidente per transuersum usque ad petram iacinthinum uallo ducente usque ad petram onnbrit.*

Finis: Ab oculo Fontis Tollcoit usque ad Fossam Paludis in capite, et ab occidente per transuersum usque ad Petram Iacinthinum. Vallo ducente usque ad Petram Onnbrit.

The boundary: From the spring of †Fons Tollcoit as far as †Fossa Paludis at the end, and from the west across as far as †Petra Iacinthinus. With the valley leading as far as †Petra Onnbrit.

190b Maerun/Marshfield:

Fin imain brith dir claud. bet ipillou bichein. di dibleis. dirdrausguern. arihit bet y penniguern du diluch edilbiv arhit iclaud bet imor.

Fin: I Main Brith, di'r claud, bet i Pillou Bichein, di Dibleis, di'r Drausguern. Ar i hit bet y penn i Guern Du, di Luch Edilbiu. Ar hit i claud bet i mor.

The boundary: The †Main Brith, to the dyke, as far as the †Pillou Bichein, to the †Dibleis, to the †Drausguern. Along it as far as the end of the †Guern Du, to †Luch Edilbiu. Along the dyke as far as the sea.

195 Clodock:

Vesp. [fol. 86^r]:

Finis illius est Lapis iniguoun breith. icecin inihit diriu i curum. finis illius *est* lapis in i guoun breith. i cecin. iralt. arith. cecit. diuinid dirmain icecin iralt arhit cecin diuinid bet imein arciueir nant trineint betimein arciueir nant trineint diguaret arihit. bet in elchon. arihit diguaret arihit bet in elchon arihit diguaret bet ynys alarun iniguartha diguareth bet ynys. alarun iniguarcha dirmein tillauc dir cruc. dir cruc dir main tillauc dir cruc. dir cruc arall. dimynui. mynugui truio di aper arail. diminui. minigui truio di aper nant cum cinreith /.i. nant cum/ nant cum. cinreith /.i. nant cum/ nant inihit bet minid ferdun diar iralt nant inihit bet minid. ferdun di ariralt. minid ferdun nihit dir luch minid ferdun. nihit dir luch ferdun iminid inihit bet blain hilin. hilin ferdun iminid inihit. bet blain hilin inihit bet myngui. mingui nihit inihit bet mingui. mingui nihit diguaret bet aper finhaun bist bet diguaret bot aper finhaim bist bet iblain oi blain ircecin iniaun iuinid. iblain. oi blain ircecin iniaun iuinid dicirchu irguoun breith arcecin dicirchu irguoun breith arcecin i minid bet imain ubi inceptit. iminid bet imain ubi inceptit.

Finis illius est: Lapis in i Guoun Breith. I cecin in i hit di Riu i Curum, di'r main i cecin ir alt. Ar hit [i] cecin di uinid bet i mein ar ciueir Nant Trineint. Di guairet ar i hit bet in Elchon. Ar i hit di guairet bet Ynys Alarun in i guartha, di'r Main Tillauc, di'r cruc, di'r cruc arall, di Mynui. Mynugui truio di aper Nant Cum Cinreith (.i. Nant Cum). Nant in i hit bet Minid Ferdun di ar ir alt. Minid Ferdun 'n i hit di<r> Luch Ferdun. I minid in i hit bet blain Hilin. Hilin in i hit bet Mingui. Mingui 'n i hit di guairet bet aper Finhaun Bist, bet i blain. O'i blain i'r cecin. In iaun i uinid di circhu ir Guoun Breith ar cecin i minid, bet i main *ubi inceptit*.

Its boundary is: The stone in the †Guoun Breith. Along the ridge to Rhiw Arw, to the stone in the ridge of the hill. Along [the] ridge upwards as far as the stones opposite the Turnant. Downwards along it as far as into the Olchon. Along it downwards as far as †Ynys Alarun at its top end, to the †Main Tillauc, to the mound, to the other mound, to the Monnow. The Monnow across to the mouth of †Nant Cum Cinreith (i.e. †Nant Cum). Along the stream as far as Mynydd Merddin above the hillside. Along Mynydd Merddin to <the> †Luch Ferdun. Along the mountain as far as the source of the †Hilin. Along the †Hilin as far as the Monnow. Along the Monnow downwards as far as the mouth of †Finhaun Bist, as far as its source. From its source to the ridge. Straight upwards so as to make for the †Guoun Breith on the ridge of the mountain, as far as the stone where it began.

197a †Lech Luit:

Vesp. [fol. 85']:

Finis lechou lition. Mingui exuna parte & infra duos riuulos. Finis finis lethou lition. mingui ex una parte. 7 infra duos riuulos. finis lennic Lennic infra Myngui. & mingui bet oucimer. lech eneuris ex alia parte infra mingui. 7 mingui. Betoucimer leth eneuris ex alia parte uersus uersus aquilonalem plagam. aquilonalem plagam.

Finis Lechou Lition: Mingui *ex una parte et infra duos riulos. Finis* Lennic: *Infra* Myngui *et* Mingui *bet ou cimer. Lech* Eneuris *ex alia parte uersus aquilonalem plagam.*

The boundary of †Lechou Lition: The Monnow on the one side and between the two streams. The boundary of †Lennic: Between the Monnow and the Monnow as far as their confluence. †Lech Eneuris on the other side towards the northern area.^s

199b Trelleck Grange:

Finis *infra* duo flumina. aghiti maur. & aghiti bichan.

Finis: Infra duo flumina, Aghiti Maur *et* Aghiti Bichan.

The boundary: Between the two rivers, the Angidy River and Nant y Defaid.

200 †Hen Lenhic:

Finis illius est inter amyr *et* uiam iacinthinam *latitudo* eius *et* *longitudo* usque ad fossam senem.

Finis illius est: *Inter* Amyr *et* Uiam *Iacinthinam—latitudo* eius; *et longitudo—usque ad Fossam Senem.*

Its boundary is: Between the Gamber and †Via Iacinthina—its breadth; and the length—as far as †Fossa Senex.

201 Llanwarw/Wonastow:

Finis illius est irford artrodi. arhit irford maur di uinid bet ir onnenn. oronnenn trus irford iniaun dir ispidatenn iruch irdou tir dilicat cùm cetguinn arihit betiford. trus iford bet inant imeneich arihit bet trodi. maliduc trodi diuinid bet ir rit artrodi ubi inceptit.

Finis illius est: Ir ford ar Trodi. Ar hit ir ford maur di uinid bet ir onnenn. O'r onnenn trus ir ford in iaun di'r ispidatenn, i ruch ir dou tir di licat Cum Cetguinn. Ar i hit bet i ford. Trus i ford bet i Nant i Meneich. Ar i hit bet Trodi. Mal i duc Trodi di uinid bet ir rit ar Trodi *ubi inceptit*.

Its boundary is: The ford on the Trothy. Along the great road upwards as far as the ash tree. From the ash tree over the road straight to the hawthorn, between the two lands to the spring of †Cum Cetguinn. Along it as far as the road. Over the road as far as †Nant i Meneich. Along it as far as the Trothy. As the Trothy leads upwards as far as the ford on the Trothy where it began.

202 †Villa Ellgnou:

Finis illius est auilla guoidhearn longitudine eius aduillam congint. latitudine eius auilla conlipan usque uillam marchleu.

Finis illius est: A *Uilla* Guoidhearn, *longitudine eius, ad Uillam* Congint. *Latitudine eius: a Uilla* Conlipan *usque Uillam* Marchleu.

Its boundary is: From †Villa Guoidhearn, in its length, to †Villa Congint: In its breadth: from †Villa Conlipan as far as †Villa Marchleu.

^s See the discussion under †Lech Luit.

204a †Strat Elei:

Finis illius est inlatitudine ortonou. cinscuit bihet Elei.

Finis illius est: In latitudine o'r Tonou Cinscuit bihet Elei.

Its boundary is: In breadth from the †Tonou Cinscuit as far as the Ely.

206 †Lann Uuien:

Finis illius est. orfordmaur diblain irbetguos. arhit irbetguos. ar hit ipant dirguairet bet cehir. dirguairet bet aper irguuer. ari hit diuinid uersus orientem dilicat iguuer inmedio iniscein. olicat i guuer diuinid dircoit. trui icoit bet diariralt. oralt dirguairet dinant cein. arihit bet penn arcieueir uersus austrum har lech melen diar iralt orlech arhit ircecin bet irmainti. or mainti diguairet dirpant di nant sulcein. sulcein arihit bet cehir. trui Cehir dibronn iniaun diralt iuinid uersus aquilonem diguuer licat laguernnuc arihit iniaun diuinid bet irauallen. oraballenn dirluhin maur. arhit iluin uersus orientem dimessur pritguenn. o messur pritguenn arhitiford maur diuinid bet pennarcieueir hapennibetgues inparte delxera ubi inceptit.

Finis illius est: O'r ford maur di blain ir betguos. Ar hit ir betguos. Ar hit i pant di'r guairet bet Cehir, di'r guairet bet aper ir guuer. Ar i hit di uinid uersus orientem di licat i guuer in medio Inis Cein. O licat i guuer di uinid di'r coit. Trui i coit bet di ar ir alt. O'r alt di'r guairet di Nant Cein. Ar i hit bet penn ar ciueir, uersus austrum, ha'r Lech Melen di ar ir alt. O'r lech ar hit ir cecin bet ir mainti. O'r mainti di guairet di'r pant, di nant Sulcein. Sulcein ar i hit bet Cehir. Trui Cehir di[r] bronn, in iaun di'r alt, i uinid uersus aquilonem di guuer Licat Laguernnuc. Ar i hit in iaun di uinid bet ir auallen. O'r aballenn di'r luhin maur. Ar hit i luin uersus orientem di Messur Pritguenn. O Messur Pritguenn ar hit i ford maur di uinid bet penn ar ciueir ha penn i betgues in parte dex[t]era ubi inceptit.

Its boundary is: From the main road to the top of the birch grove. Along the hollow downwards as far as the †Cehir, downwards as far as the mouth of the brook. Along it upwards towards the east to the source of the brook in the middle of †Inis Cein. From the source of the brook upwards to the wood. Through the wood as far as above the hill. From the hill downwards as far as †Nant Cein. Along it as far as the end in the direction, towards the south, of the †Lech Melen above the hill. From the stone along the ridge as far as the stone house. From the stone house downwards to the hollow, to the stream †Sulcein. Along the †Sulcein as far as the †Cehir. Through the †Cehir to [the] breast, straight to the hill, upwards towards the north to the brook of †Licat Laguernnuc. Along it straight upwards as far as the apple tree. From the apple tree to the great grove. Along the grove eastwards to †Messur Pritguenn. From †Messur Pritguenn along the main road upwards as far as the end in the direction of the end of the birch grove in the southern area where it began.

208 †Mathenni:

Finis illius est olicat idiuguinid arhit guuer bet hennpont. ar hit hennpont dirguairet betguilca. guilca arihit diuinid bet pennarciueir irpant inparte dextera arhit ir pant uersus occasum bet penn arciueir ar mein adinant arhit irpant dirguairet bet licat irdiuguinid ubi inceptit.

Finis illius est: O licat i Diuguinid ar hit [ir] guuer bet Henn Pont. Ar hit Hen Pont di'r guairet bet Guilca. Guilca ar i hit di uinid bet penn ar ciueir ir pant *in parte dextera*. Ar hit ir pant *uersus occasum* bet penn ar ciueir a'r mein, ad i nant. Ar hit ir pant di'r guairet bet licat ir Diuguinid *ubi inceptit*.

Its boundary is: From the source of the †Diuguinid along the brook as far as the †Henn Pont. Along the †Henn Pont downwards as far as Nant y Wilcae. Along Nant y Wilcae upwards as far as the end opposite the hollow in the southern area. Along the hollow towards the west as far as the end opposite the stones, to the stream. Along the hollow downwards as far as the source of the †Diuguinid where it began.

209b Tyndyrn/Tintern Parva:

Finis illius est aper catfrut in guy arihit diuinid bet penn ar ciueir hadrech din dirn allt diuinid di drec din dim. o drec din dim diguaret di guy. maliduc guy arihit cum coretibus suis bet aper catfrut. ubi inceptit.

Finis illius est: Aper Catfrut in Guy. Ar i hit di uinid bet penn ar ciueir ha Drech Dindim, di'r allt, di uinid di Drec Dindim. O Drec Dindim di guaret di Guy. Mal i duc Guy ar i hit (*cum coretibus suis*) bet aper Catfrut *ubi inceptit*.

Its boundary is: The mouth of the Cat Brook on the Wye. Along it upwards as far as the end opposite to †Drech Dindim, to the hill, upwards to †Drech Dindim. From †Drech Dindim downwards to the Wye. As the Wye leads along its length (including its weirs) as far as the mouth of the Cat Brook where it began.

210a †Cair Riou:

Finis illius est inter distin et liminan. usque uallem manochi. deualle morcant usque ad fontem baraliuen. cliuo ducente adriuulum penlucan dir pull rud dulin ducente usque distin.

Finis illius est: Inter Distin et Liminan usque Uallem Manochi. De Ualle Morcant usque ad Fontem Baraliuen. Cliuo ducente ad Riuulum Penlucan, di'r Pull Rud. Dulin ducente usque Distin.

Its boundary is: Between the Croffit Hîr Brook and the Llymon as far as †Vallis Manochi. From †Vallis Morcant as far as †Fons Baraliuen. Following the hill to †Rivulus Penlucan, to the †Pull Rud. Following the †Dulin as far as the Croffit Hîr Brook.

212 Merthyr Mawr:

Finis Merthir Miuor Opennarciueir aperfinnaun uanon areuenhi truirgueirclaud arhitirfoss betircruc. or cruc dirguaiet dir mein iniaun di Ocmur dipull ilech orpull iniaun digenou irpant. arhit irpant dipull icolimet diclaud ipenn iralt arhit irclaud dir sichpull dirhitir iniaun dir claud. iclaud nihit dipant tref satum ipant diguaiet bet pant tir cinbis dircreic uersus orientem arhit iclaud dirpull arhit iclaud dirpant inihit iniaun digueli banadil guailaut ilinn ar ocmur. occur nihit di guaiet bet cimer euenhi nihit diuenid bet aper finnaun uanon.

Finis Merthir Miuor: O penn ar ciueir aper Finnaun Uanon ar Euenhi, trui'r gueirclaud, ar hit ir foss bet ir cruc. O'r cruc di'r guaiet di'r mein, in iaun di Ocmur, di Pull i Lech. O'r pull in iaun di genou ir pant. Ar hit ir pant di Pull i Colimet, di[r] claud i penn ir alt. Ar hit ir claud di'r Sichpull, di'r hitir, in iaun di'r claud. I claud 'n i hit di Pant Tref Saturn. I pant di guaiet bet Pant Tir Cinbis, di'r creic, *uersus orientem* ar hit i claud di'r pull, ar hit i claud di'r pant. In i hit in iaun di gueli banadil. Guailaut i linn ar Ocmur. Occur 'n i hit di guaiet bet cimer Euenhi. 'N i hit di uenid bet aper Finnaun Uanon.

The boundary of Merthyr Mawr: From the point opposite the mouth of †Finnaun Uanon on the Ewenny, through the meadow, along the ditch as far as the mound. From the mound downwards to the stones, straight to the Ogmore, to †Pull i Lech. From the pool straight to the mouth of the hollow. Along the hollow to †Pull i Colimet, to [the] dyke at the end of the hill. Along the dyke to the †Sichpull, to the corn land, straight to the dyke. Along the dyke to †Pant Tref Saturn. Down the hollow as far as †Pant Tir Cinbis, to the rock, towards the east along the dyke to the pool, along the dyke to the hollow. Along it straight to the broom bed. The bottom of the pool on the Ogmore. Along the Ogmore downwards as far as the confluence of the Ewenny. Along it upwards as far as the mouth of †Finnaun Uanon.

216b Saint-y-nyll:

Finis illius est. deualle brachan perlongitudinem latae uiae usque adfontem. defonte uia lata ducente usque uadum dubleis aboccidentali parte denant brachan per longitudinem fossa ducente recte usque adaliam fossam longitudine illius usque riu guorgued. or riu eregione usque penniclaud. longitudine irclaud diranguairet beticecin orcecin bet ibrinn hinn hitian bet dubleis.

Finis illius est: De Ualle Brachan per longitudinem latae uiae usque ad fontem. De fonte, uia lata ducente, usque Uadum Dubleis ab occidentali parte. De Nant Brachan per longitudinem fossae. Fossa ducente recte usque ad aliam fossam. Longitudine illius usque Riu Guorgued. O'r riu e regione usque penn i claud. Longitudine ir claud di'r anguaret, bet i cecin. O'r cecin bet i Brinn Hinn Hitian bet Dubleis.

Its boundary is: From †Nant Brachan along the broad road as far as the spring. From the spring, following the broad road, as far as †Vadum Dubleis on the western side. From †Nant Brachan along the ditch. Following the ditch directly as far as the other ditch. Along it as far as †Riu Guorgued. From the slope out of the area as far as the end of the dyke. Along the dyke to the slope, as far as the ridge. From the ridge as far as †Brinn Hinn Hitian as far as the Dowlais.

218 †Lann Bedeui:

Finis lann Vedeui. iclaud nipant fin lannuedeui hafin tonou mur idest pib henn eholch arhit ipant diuinid ditorr irallt diclaud tros tref. arhit irclaud frut iguem. trus i frut dirfos difinnaun diguinid aruen. arhit irnant. arhit nant gunos. maliduc ipant bet tralucg teudus dir claud arihit trui ircoit. arhit irclaud bet ipant. pibenn eholch ubi inceptit. Glin mannou et ros ireithin ha cilcoit bet acghiti ha fincil catan pertinent territorio lannuedeui & ecclesiae landauiae et pastoribus eius.

Finis Lann Uedeui: I claud 'n i pant (fin Lann Uedeui ha fin Tonou Mur), *id est* Pibhenn Eholch. Ar hit i pant di unid di Torr ir Allt, di Claud Tros Tref. Ar hit ir claud, Frut i Guern. Trus i frut di'r fos, di Finnaun Diguinid Aruen. Ar hit ir nant. Ar hit Nant Gunos. Mal i duc i pant bet Tralucg Teudus, di'r claud. Ar i hit trui ir coit. Ar hit ir claud bet i pant Pibenn Eholch *ubi incepit*. Glin Mannou, *et* Ros ir Eithin, ha Cil Coit bet Acghiti ha fin Cil Catan *pertinent territorio* Lann Uedeui *et ecclesiae landauiæ et pastoribus eius*.

The boundary of †Lann Bedeui: The dyke in the hollow (the boundary of †Lann Bedeui and the boundary of †Tnou Mur), i.e. †Pibenn Eholch. Along the hollow upwards to †Torr ir Allt, to †Claud Tros Tref. Along the dyke, †Frut i Guern. Across the brook to the ditch, to †Finnaun Diguinid Aruen. Along the stream. Along †Nant Gunos. As the hollow leads as far as †Tralucg Teudus, to the dyke. Along it through the wood. Along the dyke as far as the hollow of †Pibenn Eholch where it began. †Glin Mannou, and †Ros ir Eithin, and †Cil Coit as far as the Angidy River and the boundary of †Cil Catan belong to the territory of †Lann Bedeui and the church of Llandaf and its pastors.

223 †Villa Segan:

Finis illius est. auado dubleis uia magna custodiente usque petram magnam. uia lata custodiente & erigente trans uiam usque adputevm dotei. aputeo dotei adfossam erigit. fossa custodiente permedium gronnæ usque tumulum guian. fossa custodiente & recte tendente adlapidem longum. alapide longo ad paludem nigrum usque dum descendit indugleis.

Finis illius est: A Uado Dubleis, uia magna custodiente, usque petram magnam. Uia lata custodiente et erigente trans uiam usque ad Puteum Dotei. A Puteo Dotei ad fossam erigit. Fossa custodiente, per medium Gronnæ, usque Tumulum Guian. Fossa custodiente et recte tendente ad lapidem longum. A lapide longo ad Paludem Nigrum usque dum descendit in Dugleis.

Its boundary is: From †Vadum Dupleis, keeping to the great road, as far as the big stone. Keeping to the broad road and rising across the road as far as †Puteus Dotei. From †Puteus Dotei it rises to the dyke. Keeping to the dyke, through the middle of †Gronna, as far as †Tumulus Guian. Keeping to the dyke and heading straight to the long stone. From the long stone to †Palus Niger until it falls into the Dowlais.

224 †Tref Ret:

Finis illius est longitudine amerthir gliuis usque ad amnem ocmur. latitudine autem atir icair usque aduillam oufreu.

Finis illius est: Longitudine a Merthir Gliuis usque ad amnem Ocmur. Latitudine autem a Tir i Cair usque ad Uillam Oufreu.

Its boundary is: By length from †Merthir Gliuis as far as the river Ogmor. By width, moreover, from †Tir i Cair as far as †Villa Oufreu.

225 †Merthir Iun et Aaron:

Finis illius est. penn irclaud. ar uisc maliduc irclaud arihit dibronn irall arhit irclaud bet blain nant merthir. idest amir. oiblain dirpant diuinid bet blain nant lechou. maliduc lechou dirguaiet bet genou pant arparth dehou. arhit irpant diuinid bet iblain dirclaud arihit uersus occasum di diuscuid irallt. di blain nant bed iralltudion arhit irnant bet uisc. Visc arihit cum coretibus suis bet penniclaud ubi inceptit.

⁶ See the bounds of charter 165.

Finis illius est: Penn ir claud ar Uisc. Mal i duc ir claud. Ar i hit di bronn ir all. Ar hit ir claud bet blain Nant Merthir, *id est* Amir. O'i blain di'r pant, di uinid bet blain nant Lechou. Mal i duc Lechou di'r guairet bet genou pant a'r parth dehou. Ar hit ir pant di uinid bet i blain, di'r claud. Ar i hit *uersus occasum* di <di>uscuid ir allt, di blain Nant Bed ir Alltudion. Ar hit ir nant bet Uisc. Uisc ar i hit (*cum coretibus suis*) bet penn i claud *ubi incepit*.

Its boundary is: The end of the dyke on the Usk. As the dyke leads. Along it to the breast of the hill. Along the dyke as far as the source of †Nant Merthir, that is †Humir. From its source to the hollow, upwards as far as the source of the stream †Lechou. As the †Lechou leads downwards as far as the entrance of the hollow and the ~~the~~ southern side. Along the hollow upwards as far as its summit, to the dyke. Along it towards the west to the shoulder of the hill, to the source of †Nant Bed ir Alltudion. Along the stream as far as the Usk. Along the Usk (including its weirs) as far as the end of the dyke where it began.

227a †Villa Eliau:

Finis illius est. uallis leprosorom aualle usque adfontem cincarui. recte uia ducente dehinc usque adtorrentem iterum territorio declinante per circuitum ad eundem uallem leprosorom.

Finis illius est: Vallis Leprosorum. A ualle usque ad Fontem Cincarui. Recte, uia ducente, de hinc usque ad torrentem. Iterum, territorio declinante, per circuitum ad eundem Uallem Leprosorum.

Its boundary is: †Vallis Leprosorum. From the valley as far as †Fons Cincarui. Straight on, following the road, from here as far as the torrent. Again, with the territory turning away, by a circuit to the same †Vallis Leprosorum.

227b Llanddingad/Dingestow:

Finis illius est. aper camfrut introdi maliduc diuinid betifoss ad dexteram arhitirfoss artraus dir nant arihit diguairret bet licat finnaun icleuion trus ifoss ha trus i cecin bet inant i buch. arhit inant betifoss ad sinistram dicirchu trodi. inant bichan arihit bet trodi. dirit iguein artrodi. trui trodi arhit irfoss diuinid arhit inant betiblain. oiblain trus icecin diblain nant arall maliduc inant arihit di aper henglas. henglas arihit bet trodi diuinid bet aper camfrut ubi inceptit.

Finis illius est: Aper Camfrut in Trodi. Mal i duc di uinid bet i foss. *Ad dexteram* ar hit ir foss. Ar traus di'r nant. Ar i hit di guairret bet licat Finnaun i Cleuion. Trus i foss ha trus i cecin bet i Nant i Buch. Ar hit i nant bet i foss *ad sinistram* di circhu Trodi. I nant bichan ar i hit bet Trodi, di Rit Iguein ar Trodi. Trui Trodi, ar hit ir foss di uinid. Ar hit i nant bet i blain. O'i blain trus i cecin di blain nant arall. Mal i duc i nant ar i hit di aper Henglas. Henglas ar i hit bet Trodi. Di uinid bet aper Camfrut *ubi inceptit*.

Its boundary is: The mouth of the †Camfrut on the Trothy. As it leads upwards as far as the ditch. To the right along the ditch. Across to the stream. Along it downwards as far as the spring of †Finnaun i Cleuion. Across the ditch and across the ridge as far as †Nant i Buch. Along the stream as far as the ditch to the left so as to make for the Trothy. Along the little stream as far as the Trothy, to †Rit Iguein on the Trothy. Through the Trothy, along the ditch upwards. Along the stream as far as its source. From its source across the ridge to the source of another stream. As the stream leads along to the mouth of the †Henglas. Along the †Henglas as far as the Trothy. Upwards as far as the mouth of the †Camfrut where it began.

228 Llanwytherin:

Finis O aper pull lyfann introdi arhit guuer ipull iniaun beti blain. Orblain iniaun trus i cecin bet cinluin. cinluin inihit diuinid betinfin tref petir ini pant addexteram. arhit ir pant bet ircarn litan diar ir allt. orcarnlitan ad dexteram iniaun dirguaiet bet rit ir euic aratguedauc. or rit iniaun trus icecin ad dexteram. bet licat coluin. coluin inihit dirguair& bet iluin. orluin beticruc. or cruc arhit irluin bet trodi. dir rit. or rit maliduc trodi dir guaiet bet pull lifan ubi inceptit.

Finis: O aper Pull Lyfann in Trodi ar hit guuer i pull in iaun bet i blain. O'r blain in iaun trus i cecin bet Cinluin. Cinluin in i hit di uinid bet in fin Tref Petir, in i pant *ad dexteram*. Ar hit ir pant bet ir cam litan di ar ir allt. O'r cam litan *ad dexteram* in iaun di'r guaiet bet Rit ir Euic ar Atguedauc. O'r rit in iaun trus i cecin *ad dexteram* bet licat Coluin. Coluin in i hit di'r guaiet bet i luin. O'r luin bet i cruc. O'r cruc ar hit ir luin bet Trodi, di'r rit. O'r rit mal i duc Trodi di'r guaiet bet Pull Lifan *ubi inceptit*.

The boundary: From the mouth of †Pull Lifan on the Trothy straight along the brook of the pool as far as its source. From the source straight across the ridge as far as the †Cinluin. Along the †Cinluin upwards as far as the boundary of †Tref Petir, into the hollow to the right. Along the hollow as far as the broad cairn above the slope. From the broad cairn to the right straight downwards as far as †Rit ir Euic on the †Atguedauc. From the ford straight across the ridge to the right as far as the source of the †Coluin. Along the †Coluin downwards as far as the grove. From the grove as far as the mound. From the mound along the grove as far as the Trothy, to the ford. From the ford as the Trothy leads downwards as far as †Pull Lifan where it began.

229b †Ecclesia Istrat Hafren: See 174b.

233 Llanfihangel/Llanfihangel Rogiet:

Finis illius est ariu timuil usque ad fossam. deinde aduam quæ uadit demerthirgerein & uadit ad alteram uiam quæ ducit adcarneu. deinde ariu celli cintur uia custodiende ad collem. ualle cliduan tota recte pergit perillum usque aduam quæ uenit asant ilien. Finis perenn in maritima & uadit apoll icaith usque ad sabrinvm. & aburbe .XII. iugerorum usque adpoll erbin. dimidiam partem illius terræ hit bet tref perenn duobus iugers diuidentibus.

a) *Finis illius est: A Riu Timuil usque ad fossam. Deinde ad uiam quæ uadit de Merthir Gerein et uadit ad alteram uiam quæ ducit ad Carneu. Deinde a Riu Celli Cintur, uia custodiende, ad collem. [...] Ualle Cliduan tota recte pergit per illum usque ad uiam quæ uenit a Sant Ilien.*

b) *Finis Perenn in maritima: <&> Uadit a Poll i Caith usque ad Sabrinum, et ab Urbe XII Iugerorum usque ad Poll Erbin. Dimidiam partem illius terræ hit bet Tref Perenn duobus iugers diuidentibus.*

a) Its boundary is: From †Riu Timuil as far as the ditch. Then to the road which goes from †Merthir Gerein and goes to the other road which leads to †Carneu. Then from †Riu Celli Cintur, keeping to the road, to the hill. [...] the whole of †Vallis Cliduan, it proceeds straight through that as far as the road which comes from †Sant Ilien.

b) The boundary of Llanfihangel Rogiet in the maritime part: It goes from †Poll i Caith as far as the Severn, and from †Urbs XII Iugerorum as far as †Poll Erbin. A half of that land along as far as Llanfihangel Rogiet with the acres dividing in two.

235b †Castell Conscuit and †Eccluis Sant Breit:

Finis illarum est. aper taroci maliduc taroci arihit bet ipant. maliduc irpant permedium diuinid beti blain dircruc infin tref peren. ad dexteram dir cruc arall. orcruc dircarnou fin tref peren orcam dicilid diguaret bet imor. arhit imor hafren cum coretibus suis *et anfractibus nauium. cum applicatione libera in hostio taroci ubi inceptit.*

Finis illarum est: Aper Taroci. Mal i duc Taroci. Ar i hit bet i pant. Mal i duc ir pant, *per medium*, di uinid bet i blain, di'r cruc in fin Tref Peren. *Ad dexteram* di'r cruc arall. O'r cruc di'r camou. Fin Tref Peren o'r cam di cilid. Di guaret bet i mor. Ar hit i Mor Hafren *cum coretibus suis et anfractibus nauium cum applicatione libera in hostio Taroci ubi inceptit.*

Their boundary is: The mouth of the Trogi. As the Trogi leads. Along it as far as the hollow. As the hollow leads, through the middle, upwards as far as its summit, to the mound in the boundary of Llanfihangel Rogiet. To the right to the other mound. From the mound to the cairns. The boundary of Llanfihangel Rogiet from the one cairn to the other. Downwards as far as the sea. Along into the Severn Estuary with its weirs and ships' windings with free mooring^fat the mouth of the Trogi where it began.

237a †Cair Birran:

Finis illius est oguorlurch iudgual usque adfrut elhaith. hac obrenan picet in

Finis illius est: O Guorlurch Iudgual *usque ad* Frut Elhaith, hac o Brenan Picet in ...

Its boundary is: From †Guorlurch Iudgual as far as †Frut Elhaith, and from †Brenan Picet in ...

237b †Tref Ceriau: See 167.

239 †Penn i Bei:

Finis illius est in longitudine a uertice montis usque adriuulum mithri. Latitudo autem eius adimidio siluæ quæ est ab oriente usque ad agrum cinguali qui est ad occasum cum duobus agris meinporth. Quorum finis est amari inlongitudine usque adpetram iacintham. latitudine autem afossa orientali usque agrum filiorum grucauc cum heredibus suis boduc atque eimin. & cum uno modio agri qui est iuxta telich. Finis illius amari usque portum capræ. & ita inter duas fossas per longitudinem usque ad petram iacintam.

Finis illius est: In longitudine a uertice montis usque ad Riuum Mithri. Latitudo autem eius—a dimidio siluæ, quæ est ab oriente, usque ad Agrum Cinguali, qui est ad occasum; cum duobus agris Meinporth (quorum finis est: A mari in longitudine usque ad Petram Iacintham. Latitudine autem a fossa orientali usque Agrum Filiorum Grucauc cum heredibus suis Boduc atque Eimin) et cum uno modio agri qui est iuxta Telich (finis illius: A mari usque Portum Capræ, et ita inter duas fossas per longitudinem usque ad Petram Iacintam).

Its boundary is: By length from the summit of the mountain as far as †Rivulus Mithri. Its breadth moreover—from the midway point of the wood, which is to the east, as far as †Lann Cingualan, which is to the west; together with the two fields of †Meinporth (whose boundary is: From the sea by length as far as †Petra Iacintha. In breadth, moreover, from the eastern dyke as far as †Ager Filiorum Grucauc with its tenants, *Boduc* and *Eimin*) and together with the single *modius* of land which is next to †Telich (its boundary: From the sea as far as †Portus Capræ, and thus, along between the two dykes as far as †Petra Iacintha).

240i Llan-llwydd:

Finis lann Liuit machumur. lecha exuna parte occidentali dirpant diguaret ar ihit bet liman. maliduc liman diuinid bet ipant. maliduc ipant artraus ad his guaissaf liguallaun filius tutbulch. arhit imant trui irpant betiblain. di nant arall. mali yduc arihit bet pann discinn inlecha. maliduc lecha dirguaret bet genou ir pant Acuid inliman ubi inceptit.

Finis Lann Liuit Machumur: *Lecha ex una parte occidentali* di'r pant. Di guaret ar i hit bet Liman. Mal i duc Liman di uinid bet i pant. Mal i duc i pant ar traus ad his Guaissaf Liguallaun filius Tutbulch. Ar hit ir nant trui ir pant bet i blain, di[r] nant arall. Mal i <y> duc ar i hit bet pann discinn in Lecha. Mal i duc Lecha di'r guaret bet genou ir pant a cuid in Liman *ubi inceptit*.

The boundary of Llan-llwydd of †Machumur: The †Lecha from the one side, the western, to the hollow. Downwards along it as far as the Llymon. As the Llymon leads upwards as far as the hollow. As the hollow leads across to below †Guaissaf Liguallaun filius Tutbulch. Along the stream through the hollow as far as its summit, to [the] other stream. As it leads along it until it descends into the †Lecha. As the †Lecha leads downwards as far as the opening of the hollow which falls into the Llymon where it began.

240ii Llanfaenor:

Finis lann uannar demachumur. Oaper nant distir ha liman. nant distir diuinid bet ipant maliduc ipant bet inant bichan. maliduc dirguaret bet liman. liuan ari hit bet distir ubi inceptiT.

Finis Lann Uannar *de* Machumur: O aper nant Distir ha Liman. Nant Distir di uinid bet i pant. Mal i duc i pant bet i nant bichan. Mal i duc di'r guaret bet Liman. Liuan ar i hit bet Distir *ubi inceptit*.

The boundary of Llanfaenor of †Machumur. From the confluence of the stream Crofft Hîr Brook and the Llymon. The stream Crofft Hîr Brook upwards as far as the hollow. As the hollow leads as far as the little stream. As it leads downwards as far as the Llymon. Along the Llymon as far as the Crofft Hîr Brook where it began.

240iii †Lann Guoronui:

Finis lann Guoronui. Mingui ex una parte dicirchu irpant inhi cecin uersus occasum in parte aquilonali æcclesiæ. orpant dirguaret dilicat finnaun dioci. arhit iguuer bet nant catlan. catlan ini hit bet aper periron. catlan nihit bet mingui. mingui nihit diuinid bet penn arciueir arpant in icecin ubi inceptit armingui.

Finis Lann Guoronui: Mingui *ex una parte*, di circhu ir pant in hi cecin *uersus occasum in parte aquilonali æcclesiæ*. O'r pant di'r guaret dilicat Finnaun Dioci. Ar hit i guuer bet nant Catlan. Catlan in i hit bet aper Periron. Catlan 'n i hit bet Mingui. Mingui 'n i hit di uinid bet penn ar ciueir a'r pant in i cecin *ubi inceptit* ar Mingui.

The boundary of †Lann Guoronui: The Monnow on one side, making for the hollow in the ridge towards the west ~~in the northern area~~ of the church. From the hollow downwards to the spring of †Finnaun Dioci. Along the brook as far as the stream †Catlan. Along the †Catlan as far as the confluence of the †Periron. Along the †Catlan as far as the Monnow upwards as far as the point opposite to the hollow in the ridge where it began on the Monnow.

240iv †Lann Tituil:

Finis lann tituill. ifoss in parte dextrali maliduc di guairet bet trodi. arhit ifoss diuinid diall ar hit cecyn crib irall betipenn ir all dirfoss. arhit irfoss bet nant meneich. nant meneich nihit bet trodi. trodi diguairet betpenn irfoss ubi inceptit.

Finis Lann Tituill: I foss *in parte dextrali*; mal i duc di guairet bet Trodi. Ar hit i foss di uinid di all. Ar hit cecyn crib ir all bet i penn ir all, di'r foss. Ar hit ir foss bet Nant Meneich. Nant Meneich 'n i hit bet Trodi. Trodi di guairet bet penn ir foss *ubi inceptit*.

The boundary of †Lann Tituil: The ditch ~~in the southern part~~; as it leads downwards as far as the Trothy. Along the ditch upwards to the hill. Along the spine of the hill's ridge as far as to the end of the hill, to the ditch. Along the ditch as far as †Nant i Meneich. Along †Nant i Meneich as far as the Trothy. The Trothy downwards as far as the end of the ditch where it began.

240v Llanfihangel Crucornau:

Finis lann mihacgel cruc cornou. igueirclaud arihit in austro bet guuer trui irgueirclaud arhit irguuer di guairet bet hodni. hodni diuinid bet aper ifinnaun bechaN maliduc iguuer diuinid dilicat. oilicat trus irall iniaun. dirguliret betiguoun irgueirclaud ubi inceptit.

Finis Lann Mihacgel Cruc Cornou: I gueirclaud ar i hit *in austro* bet guuer. Trui ir gueirclaud ar hit ir guuer di guairet bet Hodni. Hodni di uinid bet aper i Finnaun Bechan. Mal i duc i guuer di uinid di licat. O'i licat trus ir all in iaun di'r gu[al]iret bet i guoun ir gueirclaud *ubi inceptit*.

The boundary of Llanfihangel Crucornau: Along the meadow in the south as far as the brook. Through the meadow along the brook downwards as far as the Honddu. Up the Honddu as far as the confluence of the †Finnaun Bechan. As the brook leads upwards to its source. From its source, across the hill, straight downwards as far as into the marsh of the meadow where it began.

240vi †Lann Mihacgel i Pull:

Finis lann mihacgel ipull cecin irall inicreic arparth gulleugin dir eccluis bet mouric di penn irinis ad huchti ha penn irall adisti.

Finis Lann Mihacgel i Pull: Cecin ir all in i creic ar parth gulleugin di'r eccluis bet Mouric di penn ir inis ad huchti, ha penn ir all ad isti.

The boundary of †Lann Mihacgel i Pull: The ridge of the hill in the rock on the western area of the church, as far as Mounton Brook, to the end of the island as regards above it, and the end of the hill as regards below it.

240vii Llanisien:

Finis lann nissien openn iriu inis teireru arglan ilgui. ilgui nihit diuinid bet nant cichmann. nant cichman nihit bet iblain. Oiblain diluin helic diblain aghiti maur ari hit diguaret bet irguoun. inparth gulleuin dirmainti iniaun diblain acgiti bechan. oiblain diuinid di all hilguid trui ircoit dir riu. arhit irriu. ibron ir all adís ir eccluis nissien. arihit diguaret inis teireru bet ilgui. ubi inceptit.

Finis Lann Nissien: O penn i riu. Inis teir eru ar glan Ilgui. Ilgui 'n i hit di uinid bet Nant Cichmann. Nant Cichman 'n i hit bet i blain. O'i blain di Luin Helic, di blain Aghiti Maur. Ar i hit di guaret bet ir guoun in parth gulleuin, di'r mainti. In iaun di blain Acgiti Bechan. O'i blain di uinid di All Hilguid, trui ir coit di'r riu. Ar hit ir riu i bron ir all, ad is <ir> Eccluis Nissien. Ar i hit di guaret. Inis teir eru bet Ilgui *ubi inceptit*.

The boundary of Llanishen: From the end of the slope. The three-acre meadow on the bank of the Olway. Along the Olway upwards as far as †Nant Cichmann. Along †Nant Cichmann as far as its source. From its source to †Luin Helic, to the source of the Angidy River. Along it downwards as far as the marsh on the western side, to the stone-house. Straight to the source of ~~the~~ Nant y Defaid. From its source upwards to †All Hilguid, through the wood to the slope. Along the slope to the breast of the hill, to below Llanishen. Along it downwards. The three-acre meadow as far as the Olway where it began.

240viii †Lann Guern Cinuc:

Finis lannguem timauc dubleis digenou irfoss ciu arihit diuinid dir alt dir carfin. penn celli guennuc ar hit irfoss uersus orientem bet pandiscinn diguaret ipenn celli guennuc inirpant. arhit irpant arhit irclaud uersus austrum diguaret bet licat irfinnaun. Oilicat diuinid uersus orientem arhit irguuer. irallt diuinid dicirchu bronn irallt dirminid arhit irguuer bet imain. ormain iniaun trus ir minid dirguoun dirguliple. iperued irguoun. arhit irguliple uersus aquilonalem plagam dirfoss maur icecyn irminid maliduc irfoss diguaret dirford maur trus iford arhit ifoss bet guenuin meirch arihit diuinid dir coit betiblain. Oiblain uersus occasum intraus trus ircoit didubleis. maliduc dubleis diguaret bet penn irfoss ubi inceptit.

Finis Lann Guern Timauc: Dubleis di genou ir foss. Ciu ar hi hit di uinid di'r alt, di'r cam. Fin Penn Celli Guennuc. Ar hit ir foss *uersus orientem* bet pann discinn di guaret i Penn Celli Guennuc in ir pant. Ar hit ir claud *uersus austrum* di guaret bet licat ir finnaun. O'i licat di uinid *uersus orientem* ar hit ir guuer i'r allt di uinid, di circhu bronn ir allt di'r minid. Ar hit ir guuer bet i main. O'r main in iaun trus ir minid di'r guoun, di'r guliple i perued ir guoun. Ar hit ir guliple *uersus aquilonalem plagam*, di'r foss maur i cecyn ir minid. Mal i duc ir foss di guaret di'r ford maur. Trus i ford ar hit i foss bet Guenuin Meirch. Ar i hit di uinid di'r coit, bet i blain. O'i blain *uersus occasum* in traus trus ir coit di Dubleis. Mal i duc Dubleis di guaret bet penn ir foss *ubi inceptit*.

The boundary of †Lann Guem Cinuc: The †Dubleis to the mouth of the ditch. Along the †Ciu upwards to the hill, to the caim. The boundary of †Penn Celli Guenhuc. Along the ditch eastwards until it descends downwards into †Penn Celli Guenhuc in the hollow. Along the hollow. Along the dyke southwards down as far as the source of the spring. From its source up eastwards along the brook to the hill upwards, so as to make for the breast of the hill, to the mountain. Along the brook as far as the stone. From the stone straight across the mountain to the marsh, to the wet place in the middle of the marsh. Along the wet place towards the northern bank, to the great ditch in the ridge of the mountain. As the ditch leads downwards to the great road. Across the road along the ditch as far as †Guenuin Meirch. Along it upwards to the wood, as far as its source. From its source across westwards across the wood to the †Dubleis. As the †Dubleis leads downwards as far the end of the ditch where it began.

244i †Lann Mihacgel Lichrit:

Finis illius est. or rit artaroci arhit irpont meiniauc trui irgueirclaud digenou inant arhit igupant iuinid dirallt. arhit irall uersus aquilonem arhit irallt. ni hit bet ipenn arciueir hagenou irpant uersus occidentem dilicat irguuer ni pant. arhit irpant betpann discinn intaroci. taroci nihit bet nirit ubi *inceptit.*

Finis illius est: O'r rit ar Taroci ar hit ir Pont Meiniauc trui ir gueirclaud di genou i nant. Ar hit i gupant i uinid di'r allt. Ar hit ir all *uersus aquilonem.* Ar hit ir allt 'n i hit bet i penn ar ciueir ha genou ir pant, *uersus occidentem* di licat ir guuer 'n i pant. Ar hit ir pant bet pann discinn in Taroci. Taroci 'n i hit bet 'n i rit *ubi inceptit.*

Its boundary is: From the ford on the Trogi along the †Pont Meiniauc through the meadow to the mouth of the stream. Along the little hollow upwards to the hill. Along the hill northwards. Along it as far as the point opposite to the mouth of the hollow, westwards to the source of the brook in the hollow. Along the hollow until it falls into the Trogi. Along the Trogi as far as the ford where it began.

244ii †Villa Stifilat:

limite seruante apoll hir guidhuc usque adpull higuarach perlongitudinem. & afraxino stifilat usque ad tref guascar. inlatitudine.

Limite seruante: A Poll hir Guidhuc usque ad Pull hi Guarach per longitudinem, et a Fraxino Stifilat usque ad Tref Guascar in latitudine.

Serving as a boundary: From †Poll hir Guidhuc as far as †Pull hi Guarach lengthwise, and from †Fraxinus Stifilat as far as †Tref Guascar in width.

246 †Lann Guoronui:

Finis illius est. O ryt ycerr bet cecyn bet finnaun guaidan. or finnaun hit y cecgyn bet targuus. truy targuus hit dou ceuiou ynntraus bet finnaun he collenn. ynn traus bet celli rudan hint. hieuen bet taruus. Otaruus bet tref gloyiud hit ieueN bet minugui. idest teir eru iss rit deueit.

Finis illius est: O Ryt y Cerr bet [y] cecyn, bet Finnaun Guaidan. O'r finnaun hit y cecgyn, bet Targuus. Truy Targuus hit dou ceuiou, ynn traus bet Finnaun he Collenn, ynn traus bet Celli Rudan Hint. Hieuen bet Taruus. O Taruus bet Tref Gloyiud, hit Ieuen, bet Minugui (id est teir eru iss Rit Deueit.)

Its boundary is: From †Ryt y Cerr as far as [the] ridge, as far as †Finnaun Guaidan. From the spring as far as the ridge, as far as the †Targuus. Through the †Targuus as far as the two joint-fields, across as far as †Finnaun he Collenn, across as far as †Celli Rudanhint. The †Ieuen as far as the †Targuus. From the †Targuus as far as †Tref Gloyiud, as far as the †Ieuen, as far as the Monnow (that is, the three acres below †Rit Deueit.)

249a †Villa Elcu:

Finis illius est. alata uia usque adcrucglas. & atref marchan usque adiguern.

Finis illius est: A lata uia usque ad Cruc Glas. Et a Tref Marchan usque ad i guern.

Its boundary is: From the broad road as far as †Cruc Glas. And from †Tref Marchan as far as the alder marsh.

249bi †Villa Iunuhic:

Finis illius est opull cinguid bet nant louhelic nihit bet pill.

Finis illius est: O Pull Cinguid bet Nant Louhelic. 'N i hit bet [?i] pill.

Its boundary is: From †Pull Cinguid as far as †Nant Louhelic. Along it as far as the pill.

249bii †Villa Iunuhic:

Finis nant igof exuna parte. exalia parte nant iguolchetua betipill dir onnenn uersus orientem. Oronnenn iniaun dirguairet dirnant iguolchetua maliduc bet pill. Oronnenn inparte alia diblain iguuer maliduc di guairet bet nant igob bet pill.

Finis: Nant i Gof ex una parte. Ex alia parte, Nant i Guolchetua bet i pill, di' r onnenn. Uersus orientem o' r onnenn in iaun di' r guairet di' r Nant i Guolchetua. Mal i duc bet [?i] pill. O' r onnenn, in parte alia, di blain i guuer. Mal i duc di guairet bet Nant i Gob, bet [?i] pill.

The boundary: †Nant i Gob on the one side. On the other side, †Nant i Guolchetua as far as the pill, to the ash tree. Eastwards from the ash tree straight down to †Nant i Guolchetua. As it leads as far as the pill. From the ash tree, on the other side, to the source of the brook. As it leads downwards as far as †Nant i Gob, as far as the pill.

251i †Penn Celli Guenhuc:

Finis illius est orduur pill perdimidiam partem linei uallis usque adsalices hir helicluin beticelli. deinde ualle ducente usque carnguenn.

Finis illius est: [O] orduur Pill per dimidiam partem linei uallis usque ad salices. Hir helicluin bet i celli. Deinde, ualle ducente, usque Carn Guenn.

Its boundary is: [From] the headwaters of the Pill through the middle part of the line of the valley as far as the willows. The willow-grove as far as the grove. Then, following the valley, as far as †Carn Guenn.

251ii †Hen Lenic Cinauc:

Finis henlenic cinauc arpill. oper guinnic ipill maliduc gunnic diuinid betipridpull. orpridpull dicecn irallt fin tir lanngunnhoill maliduc cecn irallt uersus occasum nihit bet pill. maliduc pill dirguairet bet gunnic ubi inceptit.

Finis Hen Lenic Cinauc ar Pill: Oper Guinnic i Pill. Mal i duc Gunnic di uinid bet i pridpull. O'r pridpull di cecn ir allt. Fin tir Lann Gunnhoill. Mal i duc cecn ir allt uersus occasum. 'N i hit bet Pill. Mal i duc Pill di'r guairet bet Gunnic ubi inceptit.

The boundary of †Hen Lenic Cinauc on the Pill: The confluence of the †Guinnic in the Pill. As the †Guinnic leads upwards as far as the clay pit. From the clay pit to the ridge of the hill. The boundary of the land of †Lann Gunnhoill. As the ridge of the hill leads towards the west. Along it as far as the Pill. As the Pill leads downwards as far as the †Guinnic where it began.

(255) †Lann Rath, †Lann Cronnguern, and the three territories of Amroth: See (124).

255i Cwm Nofydd:

Finis difrin annouid est ofinnaun derguist hit irallt nihit bet riu tiuuil di pull ir iulenn dir carn luit erigens sursum penn arciueir cruc ri dir cair bet annouid ni hit bet ibudinn.

Finis Difrin Annouid est: O Finnaun Derguist hit ir allt. 'N i hit bet Riu Tiuuil, di Pull ir Iulenn, di'r Cam Luit erigens sursum. Penn ar ciueir Cruc Ri, di'r cair, bet Annouid. 'N i hit bet i budinn.

The boundary of Cwm Nofydd is: From †Finnaun Derguist as far as the hill. Along it as far as †Riu Tiuuil, to †Pull ir Iulenn, to Garm Lwyd heading upwards. The end opposite †Cruc Ri, to the fort, as far as the Nofydd. Along it as far as the fold.

255ii †Tref Eliau:

Finis tref eliau orguoun betimor longitudine o tref licotuc bet tref tecan latitudine.

Finis Tref Eliau: O'r guoun bet i mor longitudine. O Tref Licotuc bet Tref Tecan latitudine.

The boundary of †Tref Eliau: From the marsh as far as the sea by length. From †Tref Licotuc as far as †Tref Tecan by breadth.

255iii †Lann Tiuauc:

Finis lanntiuauc latitudo eius inter corricou. longitudo eius usque ad longum lapidem.

Finis Lann Tiuauc: Latitudo eius—inter corricou. Longitudo eius—usque ad longum lapidem.

The boundary of †Lann Tiuauc: Its breadth—between the Corrwgs. Its length—as far as the long stone.

257i †Riu Brein:

Finis illius est. O rit litan arannouid ni hit bet iristleidiauc dipull otin cincenn dir cruc glas dirford litan hit ifos nihit betiguoun guenn inihit bet luin ina.

Finis illius est: O Rit Litan ar Annouid 'n i hit bet ir Iistleidiauc, di Pull Otin Cincenn, di'r Cruc Glas, di'r ford litan, hit i fos. 'N i hit bet i Guoun Guenn. In i hit bet Luin Ina.

Its boundary is: From †Rit Litan on the Nofydd along as far as the †Istleidiauc, to †Pull Otin Cincenn, to the †Cruc Glas, to the wide road, as far as the ditch. Along it as far as the †Guoun Guenn. Along it as far as †Luin Ina.

257ii †Inis Peithan:

Finis illius siluæ est cum illa silua quæ pertinet di inis bratguenn o aper gungleis intaf. maliduc arihit diuinid bet i blain. Oiblain trusso diblain inant du. arhit inant du dir guaret betpan discinn inidair cin circhu taf. Odina ditaf arhit taf cum piscibus dirguaret bet aper gungleis ubi inceptit.

Finis illius siluæ est (cum illa silua quæ pertinet di Inis Bratguenn): O aper Gungleis in Taf. Mal i duc ar i hit di uinid bet i blain. O'i blain trusso di blain i Nant Du. Ar hit i Nant Du di'r guaret bet pan discinn in i dair cin circhu Taf. Odina di Taf. Ar hit Taf *cum piscibus* di'r guaret bet aper Gungleis *ubi inceptit*.

The boundary of that wood is (with that wood which belongs to †Inis Bratguen): From the confluence of the Gwynlais into the Taf. As it leads along it upwards as far as its source. From its source across to the source of the †Nant Du. Along the †Nant Du downwards until it falls into the ground before reaching the Taf. From there to the Taf. Along the Taf (with the fish) downwards as far as the confluence of the Gwynlais where it began.

258 †Tref Ginhill:

Finis illius est. O elei uia custodiante usque ad abrenan. erigens sursum transuersum usque dum descendit inelei.

Finis illius est: O Elei, uia custodiante, usque ad Abrenan. Erigens sursum transuersum usque dum descendit in Elei.

Its boundary is: From the Ely, keeping to the road, as far as †Abrenan. Rising upwards across until it falls into the Ely.

259 †Tref Gulich:

Finis illius est. or poguisma dircrucc dir lech in hit ifoss di carn gistlerth hit ifoss. dicarn guocof hit i carn dimant hit inant digurimmi. gurimmi inihit hit gulich. gulich nihit iuinid kann teireru ir ynis rac pouisma deui.

Finis illius est: O'r poguisma di'r crucc, di'r lech. In hit i foss di Carn Gistlerth. Hit i foss di Carn Guocof, hit i carn, di'r nant. Hit i nant di Gurimmi. Gurimmi in i hit hit Gulich. Gulich 'n i hit i uinid, kann teir eru ir ynis rac Pouisma Deui.

Its boundary is: From †Pouisma [Deui] to the mound, to the stone. Along the ditch to †Carn Gistlerth. Along the ditch to †Carn Guocof, as far as the cairn, to the stream. Along the stream to the †Guorrimi. Along the †Guorrimi as far as the †Gulich. Along the †Gulich upwards, including the three acres of the meadow in front of †Pouisma Deui.

260 †Villa Fratus:

Finis illius est. ebirthun. deinde dircarn. orcarn dirclaud. di ard irallt diuscuid irallt nihit diar icelli arhit bet ipenlipenn diguaret inhiaun uersus occasum dirford maur. trus iford dipenn i claud iniaun nihit. arhit iclaud dimant diguaret bet nadauan. arihit bet aper epyrthun nihit betiford maur nihit bet irit ubi *inceptit*.

Finis illius est: Ebirthun. *Deinde* di'r cam. O'r cam di'r claud, di ard ir allt, di uscuid ir allt. 'N i hit di ar i celli. Ar hit bet <i pen> i penn. Di guaret in hiaun *uersus occasum* di'r ford maur. Trus i ford di penn i claud. In iaun 'n i hit. Ar hit i claud di'r nant. Di guaret bet Nadauan. Ar i hit bet aper Epyrthun. 'N i hit bet i ford maur. 'N i hit bet i rit *ubi inceptit*.

Its boundary is: The Aberthin. Then to the cairn. From the cairn to the dyke, to the peak of the hill, to the shoulder of the hill. Along it above the grove. Along as far/its end. Straight downwards to the west to the great road. Across the road to the end of the dyke. Straight along it. Along the dyke to the stream. Downwards as far as the Thaw. Along it as far as the confluence of the Aberthin. Along it as far as the great road. Along it as far as the ford where it began.

261 †Hennriu:

Finis illius est. dubleis. deinde dinant igall nihit betiblain o blain irallt coit guent cecyn irallt nihit diuinid bet pennarciueir lann mihacgel dirford maur iuinid trui y coit. arhit crib irallt. o crib irallt iniaun diguaret dilicat nant marchnant march arihit bet dyfleis.

Finis illius est: Dubleis. *Deinde* di Nant i Gall. 'N i hit bet i blain o blain <ir> Allt Coit Guent. Cecyn ir allt 'n i hit di uinid bet penn ar ciueir Lann Mihacgel, di'r ford maur. I uinid trui y coit. Ar hit crib ir allt. O crib ir allt in iaun di guaret di licat Nant March. Nant March ar i hit bet Dyfleis.

Its boundary is: The †Dubleis. Then to †Nant i Gall. Along it as far as its source in front of <the> †Allt Coit Guent. Along the ridge of the hill upwards as far as the point opposite †Lann Mihacgel, to the great road. Upwards through the wood. Along the ridge of the hill. From the ridge of the hill straight down to the source of †Nant March. Along †Nant March as far as the †Dubleis.

262 †Villa Crucou Morcan:

Finis crucou morcant. rit aruaith ar mouric arhit ir ford bet diar irallt ad dexteram iniaun di lin dir luhinn maur trus iford difoss. arhit irfoss diuinid di garth bacat dirluhinn exalia parte garth bacat diguartha nant hela arhint ipaNT nant ela dirmain dirford dir foss arhit irfoss betpull mouric diguairet guers trui i pull di brinn icassec di penniguern. iuainaur dirfoss ari hit diguairet betpull mouric arhit aruaith ubi inceptit.

Finis Crucou Morcant: Rit Aruaith ar Mouric. Ar hit ir ford bet di ar ir allt *ad dexteram*, in iaun di lin, di' r luhinn maur. Trus i ford di foss. Ar hit ir foss, di uinid di Garth Bacat, di' r luhinn *ex alia parte* Garth Bacat, di guartha Nant Hela ar hint i pant. Nant Ela di' r main, di' r ford, di' r foss. Ar hit ir foss bet Pull Mouric, di guairet guers trui i pull di Brinn i Cassec, di penn i guern. I uainaur di' r foss. Ar i hit di guairet bet Pull Mouric a R^hit Aruaith *ubi inceptit*.

The boundary of †Villa Crucou Morcan: †Rit Aruaith on Mounton Brook. Along the road as far as above the hill to the right, straight to a lake, to the large grove. Across the road to a ditch. Along the ditch, upwards to †Garth Bacat, to the grove on the other side of †Garth Bacat, to the top of †Nant Hela along the hollow. †Nant Hela to the stone, to the road, to the ditch. Along the ditch as far as Mounton Brook, downwards for a while through the pool [i.e. Mounton Brook] to †Brinn i Cassec, to the end of the alder marsh. The *maenor* to the ditch. Along it downwards as far as Mounton Brook and †Rit Aruaith where it began.

263 Llansanffraid-ar-Elái/St Bride's-super-Ely:

Finis illius est. latitudine o nantbrachan bet glesius. longitude ofinnaun liss bet cimer irdounant brachan.

Finis illius est: Latitudine—o Nant Brachan bet Glesius. *Longitude*—o Finnaun Liss bet cimer ir dou Nant Brachan.

Its boundary is: In breadth—from †Nant Brachan as far as †Glesius. In length—from †Finnaun Liss as far as the confluence of the two †Nant Brachans.

264a †Cecin Penn Ros:

Finis illius est openn arciueir aperfinnaun emrdil trui mingui cecin penn ros arihit ad dexteram dicirchu penn gueirclaud audi arihit dirguairet bet mingui. mingui nihit bet aper finnaun efrdil ubi inceptit.

Finis illius est: O penn ar ciueir aper Finnaun Emrdil trui Mingui. Cecin Penn Ros ar i hit *ad dexteram* di circhu penn gueirclaud Audi. Ar i hit di'r guairet bet Mingui. Mingui 'n i hit bet aper Finnaun Efrdil *ubi inceptit*.

Its boundary is: From the point opposite the confluence of †Finnaun Emrdil through the Monnow. Along †Cecin Penn Ros to the right so as to make for the end of *Audi*'s meadow. Along it downwards as far as the Monnow. Along the Monnow as far as the confluence of †Finnaun Emrdil where it began.

264b †Cecin Penn i Celli:

Finis illius est licat finnaun Oir diguairet arhit iguuer bet i pridpull diguairet di genou irpant iparth guocled arhit irpant diuinid dir ford maur. arhit irford part gulleuin bet finnaun Oir ubi inceptit.

Finis illius est: Licat Finnaun Oir. Di guairet ar hit i guuer bet i pridpull, di guairet di genou ir pant i parth guocled. Ar hit ir pant di uinid di'r ford maur. Ar hit ir ford part gulleuin bet Finnaun Oir *ubi inceptit*.

Its boundary is: The spring of †Finnaun Oir. Downwards along the brook as far as the clay pit, downwards to the mouth of the hollow on the northern side. Along the hollow upwards to the great road. Along the road westwards as far as †Finnaun Oir where it began.

267 †Henriu Gunma:

Finis illius est penn i guoun ipenn ifos inihit bet i ford di crib ir allt icelli cecin icelli inihit bet pandiscinn diguaret dir pull ibronn emil igueirclaud uersus orientem arhit iclaud ni pant trus iford iuinid trui ipant di genou iriu arcrib iralt inhenn tref gucaun diguaret trui icoit bet inant. inant arihit bet irhelicluin. deinde iparth cled dir cruc arall iniaun trusiford dipenncelli gulible diguorlurch iudgual. guorlurch nihit dircarn dircruc dircarn arhit iford maur o mais igueirclaud inhit penn igueirclaud ubi inceptit.

Finis illius est: Penn i guoun i penn i fos. In i hit bet i ford, di crib ir allt i celli. Cecin i celli in i hit bet pan discinn di guaret di'r pull. I bronn emil i gueirclaud. *Versus orientem* ar hit i claud 'n i pant, trus i ford i uinid trui i pant di genou. I riu ar crib ir alt in Hentref Gucaun di guaret trui i coit bet i nant. I nant ar i hit bet ir helicluin. *Deinde*, i parth cled, di'r cruc, di'r cruc arall. In iaun trus i ford di Penn Celli Gulible, di Guorlurch Iudgual. Guorlurch 'n i hit di'r cam, di'r cruc, di'r cam. Ar hit i ford maur. O mais i gueirclaud in hit penn i gueirclaud *ubi inceptit*.

Its boundary is: The end of the marsh at the end of the ditch. Along it as far as the road, to the ridge of the hill in the grove. Along the ridge of the grove until it falls downwards to the pool. The slope near the meadow. Eastwards along the dyke in the hollow, across the road upwards through the hollow to its mouth. The slope on the ridge of the hill in †Hentref Gucaun downwards through the wood as far as the stream. Along the stream as far as the willow grove. Then, on the left side, to the mound, to the other mound. Straight across the road to †Penn Celli Gulible, to †Guorlurch Iudgual. Along the track to the cairn, to the mound, to the cairn. Along the great road. From the plain of the meadow along the end of the meadow where it began.

271 †Tref Miluc:

Finis illius est Cecyn irallt ipenn iclaud tú há tál arhit bronn iralt ad .iiij. dexteram dir cruc. orcruc iniaun ipenn icelli dir claud. iclaud nihit diguaret betiford trusiford iniaun betimain. ormain diperved lin igleiniou inelei elei diuinid bet islau rit imain melin. Oelei diuinid dirriv arhit irriu nihit trui icoit diarirallt diuscuidd icoit nihit betpenniclaud trui ircoit arhit iclaud bet elei trus Elei dirclaud. Claud nihit dirford dirclaud iuinid dirbronN irallt ubi inceptit.

Finis illius est: Cecyn ir allt i penn i claud tu ha tal. Ar hit bronn ir alt *ad* <.iiij.> *dexteram*, di'r cruc. O'r cruc in iaun i penn i celli di'r claud. I claud 'n i hit di guaret bet i ford. Trus i ford in iaun bet i main. O'r main di perued Lin i Gleiniou in Elei. Elei di uinid bet islau Rit i Main Melin. O Elei di uinid di'r riu. Ar hit ir riu. 'N i hit trui i coit di ar ir allt, di uscuidd i coit. 'N i hit bet penn i claud. Trui ir coit, ar hit i claud, bet Elei. Trus Elei di'r claud. Claud 'n i hit di'r ford, di'r claud, i uinid di'r bronn ir allt *ubi inceptit*.

Its boundary is: The ridge of the hill at the end of the dyke towards the end. Along the breast of the hill to the right, to the mound. Straight from the mound at the end of the grove to the dyke. Along the dyke downwards as far as the road. Straight across the road as far as the stone. From the stone to the middle of †Lin i Gleiniou in the Ely. Up the Ely as far as below †Rit i Main Melin. From the Ely upwards to the slope. Along the slope. Along it through the wood above the hill, to the shoulder of the wood. Along it as far as the end of the dyke. Through the wood, along the dyke, as far as the Ely. Across the Ely to the dyke. Along the dyke to the road, to the dyke, upwards to the breast of the hill where it began.

274 †Villa Gunnuc:

Finis illius est OnaNT broeni hit irpant in oriente ad fossam quæ iuxta uiam tendit usque nant march. arhit nant march usque nant broeni ubi inceptit.

Finis illius est: O Nant Broeni hit ir pant *in oriente, ad fossam quæ iuxta uiam tendit usque* Nant March. Ar hit Nant March *usque* Nant Broeni *ubi inceptit.*

Its boundary is: From Dyffryn Brook as far as the hollow in the east, to the ditch which, next to the road, extends as far as Nant y March. Along Nant y March as far as Dyffryn Brook where it began.

Appendix 2: Glossary to the Bounds

The following is a glossary of the vocabulary (excluding the place-names) found in the bounds as they are presented in Appendix 1 above. The Latin items are distinguished from the Welsh by underlining.

Abbreviations: **a.** adjective, **abl.** ablative, **acc.** accusative, **adv.** adverb, **art.** article, **conj.** conjunction, **dat.** dative, **def.** definite, **dem.** demonstrative, **dim.** diminutive, **fem.** feminine, **gen.** genitive, **len.** lenited, **masc.** masculine, **n.** noun, **nas.** nasalised, **neut.** neuter, **nom.** nominative, **num.** numeral, **part.** participle, **perf.** perfect, **pers.** personal, **pl.** plural, **pl.-name** place-name, **poss.** possessive, **prep.** preposition, **pres.** present, **pron.** pronoun, **rel.** relative, **sg.** singular, **sp.** spirantised, **spv.** superlative, **v.** verb, **vn.** verbal noun.

1. **a** direct rel. particle 240i.

2. **a**, see *ha*.

3. **a**, see *minet*.

4. **a** prep. from (69)x2, 73b, 75, 121x2, (134i), 140i, 143x2, 147i, 147ii, 148, 155, 156, 159biix2, 164, 165, 167, 170, 171bi, 174a, 174bx2, 176ax2, 202x2, 223x3, 224x2, 227a, 229b, 233x4, 237b, 239x5, 244iix2, 249ax2; before vowels and some consonants **ab**, (42), 167x3, 188bx2, 216b, 233, 237bx3, 239.

aballen n. apple-tree 171bi, *aballenn* 206, *auallen* 74, 206.

1. **ad** prep. to 208, 240i, 240vix2, 240vii. It is difficult to be sure which examples are Welsh and which are Latin.

2. **ad** prep. to (42)x14, 74 x3, (134i), 144, 145, 146, 147ii, 155x3, 159bi, 159bii, 165x3, 171bix2, 171bii, 171biv, 171bv, 174ax2, 180b, 183b, 202, 210a, 223x3, 227a, 227bx2, 228x3, 233x4, 235b, 239, 262, 264a, 271, 274; *usque ad*, see *usque*. It is difficult to be sure which examples are Welsh and which are Latin.

aeclesia n. church; gen. sg. *aeclesiae* 240iii.

ager n. enclosure; gen. sg. *agri* 73a, 73b, 74, 143, 148, 155, 174a, 239; abl. pl. *agris* 239.

aithnauc n. place where aspens grow 171biv.

alius a. other; masc. acc. sg. alium 148; fem. acc. sg. aliam 216b; fem. abl. sg. alia 125bi, 125biii, 127a, 140ii, 158, 180b, 187, 197, 249biix2, 262.

alt n. hill, slope 72b, 73a, 140ii, 156, 157, 173, 180bx2, 183b, 195x2, 206x4, 212, 240viii, 267, 271, *allt* 158, 183b, 209b, 225, 228, 240viiix2, 244ix2, 251iix2, 255i, 260x2, 261x3, 262, 267, 271x3, *all* 157, 171biv, 225, 240ivx3, 240v, 240vix2, 240vii, 244i.

alter a. the one, the other; fem. acc. sg. alteram 233; neut. abl. sg. altero 159bi.

amnis n. river; acc. sg. amnem 176a, 224.

anfractus n. winding; abl. pl. anfractibus 235b.

anguairet n. slope 216b.

aper n. confluence 77i x2, 122, 123x5, (134ii)x3, 140ii, 141x3, 145, 146, 154x2, 157, 160, 171biv, 173, 180bx2, 183bx2, 187x3, 195x2, 206, 209bx2, 212x2, 227bx3, 228, 235b, 240ii, 240iii, 240v, 257iix2, 260, 264ax2, *oper* 146, 173, 251ii.

applicatio n. mooring; abl. sg. applicatione 235b.

aquilensis n. water-dweller; gen. pl. aquilensium 77i.

aquilo n. north; acc. sg. aquilonem 159bi, 206, 244i; abl. sg. aquilone 167, 237b.

aquilonalis a. northern; fem. acc. sg. aquilonalem 197, 240viii; fem. abl. sg. aquilonali 240iii.

1. ar, see *guar*.

2. ar prep. in front of; *bet ar*, see *behit*.

ar ciueir (ha) prep. opposite (to) 195, 206x2, 208x2, 209b, 212, 240iii, 244i, 255i, 261, 264a, *ar cyueyr* 140ii.

a'r, see *ha*.

arall a. other 77ii, 157x2, 158, 195, 227b, 235b, 240i, 267.

ard n. hill 173x4, 183bx2, 260.

ardir n. high ground? 141x2.

atque conj. and 239.

auallen, see *aballen*.

Audi [pers. name] 264a.

auster n. south; acc. sg. *austrum* 206, 240viii; abl. sg. *austro* 167x2, 237bx2, 240v.

autem conj. moreover 73a, 143, 176a, 224, 239x2.

banadil n. broom 212.

behit prep. as far as, *behet* 121, 174b, 229b, *bihet* 204a, *bet* 77ii, 122x5, 123x4, 127a, (134ii)x6, 140i, 140iix5, 141x6, 145x3, 146x5, 154x4, 158x4, 159ax4, 160x5, 165, 171bii, 171biiix2, 171bivx4, 171bvix3, 173x7, 180bx6, 183bx2, 187x11, 190bx2, 195x8, 197, 201x4, 206x8, 208x5, 209bx2, 212x4, 216bx2, 218x2, 225x6, 227bx7, 228x9, 233, 235bx3, 240ix4, 240iix4, 240iiix4, 240ivx4, 240vx3, 240vi, 240viix4, 240viiix5, 246x8, 249bix3, 249biix3, 251ix2, 251iix2, 255ix3, 255iix2, 257ix3, 257iix2, 260x5, 261x3, 262x3, 263x2, 264ax2, 264bx2, 267x3, 271x5.

behit ar prep. as far as, *bet ar* 77ii, 154x2.

behit in prep. as far as, *bet i* 77iix5, 154x5, 165, 173x2, 201, 216b, 218, 227b, 240iv, 240v, 244i, *bet in* 77ii x2, 123, 125bi, 125bii, 125biiix2, 127a, 154x2, 195, 228, *bet 'n* 244i, *bet y* 146, 190b.

behit pan conj. until 72b, *behet pan* 72b, *bet pan* (134ii), 146, 154, 159a, 257ii, 267, *bet pann* 240i, 240viii, 244i.

betguos n. birch grove 206x2, *betgues* 206.

bichan a. little 123, 183b, 227b, 240ii, *bychan* 145.

bihet, see *behit*.

blain n. source, summit? (42)x7, 77i, 122x5, 125bi, 125biii, (134ii)x3, 140iix2, 141x2, 145, 146, 154x6, 157x2, 159ax2, 173, 180bx3, 183bx2, 187x4, 195x3, 206, 225x5, 227bx3, 228x2, 235b, 240i, 240viix5, 240viiix2, 249bii, 257iix3, 261x2, *blayn* (134ii)x8; nas. *mblain* 77ii, 173; *o blain*, see *o*.

Boduc [pers. name] 239.

bon n. base; nas. *mon* 154.

bot vn. be; pres. 3 sg. rel. *issid* 73a.

brinn n. hill 154, 171biv, *bryn* 146.

bronn n. breast (42), 72b, 73a, 206, 225, 240viii, 267, 271x2, *bron* (134ii), 183bx2, 240vii.

bryn, see *brinn*.

budinn n. fold 255i.

bychan, see *bichan*.

cair n. fort 187, 255i.

campus n. plain; acc. sg. *campum* 140i, 187.

cann prep. with, by 165, 259, *can* (134ii), 141.

caput n. head, end 74x2, 171bix2, *capud* 155; abl. sg. *capite* 188b.

carn n. cairn 141x2, 157x2, 171bv, 228x2, 235b, 240viii, 259, 260x2, 267x2; pl. *carnou* 235b.

carran, see *cerran*.

castellum n. castle; acc. pl. *castella* 171bii.

cecg n. ridge 73a.

cecin n. ridge 145, 154x3, 173x3, 195x5, 206, 216bx2, 227bx2, 228x2, 240iiix2, 240vi, 267, *cecgyn* 246, *cecn* 180b, 251iix2, *cecyn* 121, (134ii), 144, 180bx2, 240iv, 240viii, 246, 261, 271.

cehit prep. along 72b. Cf. *cihitan*.

celli n. grove 251i, 260, 267x2, 271.

cemn n. ridge 156.

ceuiou n. shared field 246.

chimer, see *cimer*.

choretou, see *coret*.

chruc, see *cruc*.

cihitan prep. along 121x2. Cf. *cehit*.

cilid n. fellow 235b.

cimer n. confluence 77iix2, 197, 212, 263, *chimer* (42), *cymer* (134ii)x2.

cin prep. before 257ii.

circhu vn. make for 180b, 183b, 195, 227b, 240iii, 240viii, 257ii, 264a; len. *girchu* 77i.

circuitus n. circuit; acc. sg. *circuitum* 159bii, 227a; abl. sg. *circuitu* 164.

ciueir n. area; *ar ciueir*, see 2. *ar*; *i ciueir*, see 2. *in*. See also *guociueir*.

claud n. dyke 141x2, 146, 157x8, 160, 165, 171biiix2, 171biv, 190bx2, 212x6, 216bx2, 218x4, 225x5, 240viii, 260x3, 267, 271x8. See also *gueirclaud*.

cled n. left side 267.

cliuus n. hill; acc. sg. *cliuium* 155, 170; abl. sg. *cliuo* 210a. i /

coit n. wood 72b, 73a, 122, 157x2, 160, 165, 171biiix2, 171bv, 180b, 206x2, 218, 240vii, 240viiix2, 261, 267, 271x3.

collis n. hill; acc. sg. *collem* 233.

confinis n. boundary; abl. pl. *confinibus* 121.

contra prep. against 176a.

coret n. weir; pl. sp.? *choretou* 141, 165; abl. pl. *coretibus* 158, 209b, 225, 235b.

cors n. marsh 180bx5.

creic n. rock 212, 240vi.

crib n. ridge 156, 180bx2, 240iv, 261x2, 267x2.

cruc n. mound 195x2, 212x2, 228x2, 235bx3, 267x3, 271x2, *crucc* 259.

cuidau vn. fall; 3 sg. pres. *cuid* 72b, 240i.

cumulus n. mound; acc. sg. *cumulum* 148x2; abl. sg. *cumulo* 174a.

custodire v. to keep; pres. part. abl. sg. *custodiente* 165, 171bii, 223x4, 233, 258.

cymer, see *cimer*.

Cynuetu [pers. name] 148.

cyueyr, see *ciueir*.

dair n. earth 257ii.

de prep. from 73b, 74, 155x2, 167, 171bi, 171biix2, 174a, 210a, 216bx3, 227a, 233, 237b, 240ii.

declinare v. to turn away; pres. part. abl. sg. *declinante* 227a.

dehou n. south 225.

deinde adv. then (42)x4, 74x3, 156, 171bix4, 233x2, 251i, 260, 261, 267.

deorsum adv. downwards (42), 155x2.

descendere v. to descend; 3 sg. pres. *descendit* 73a, 171bi, 171biix2, 223, 258, *destendit* 74; pres. part. abl. sg. *descendente* 155.

dexter n. right, south; acc. sg. *dexteram* 171biv, 171bv, 180b, 183b, 227b, 228x3, 235b, 262, 264a, 271; abl. sg. *dextera* 206, 208.

dextralis a. southern; fem. abl. sg. *dextrali* 240iv.

1. **di** prep. from 162b, 171bvi, ?y 77ii. See also *odina*.

di ar adv. above 195, 206x2, 228, 260, 262, 271.

di uch adv. above 73a.

2. **di** prep. to, for (42)x12, 73a, 77i x4, 121x3, 122x6, 123, 125bi, 125bii, 125biiix2, 127a, (134ii)x2, 140iix2, 145x2, 146x2, 154x2, 156x3, 157x2, 159a, 160, 165, 171biiix3, 171bivx4, 171bvix2, 180bx3, 183b, 190bx2, 195x4, 201, 206x7, 209bx2, 212x7, 218x3, 225x3, 227bx4, 240i, 240iix2, 240iv, 240vi, 240viix4, 240viiix3, 244ix2, 249bii, 251ii, 255i, 257i, 257iix3, 259x3, 260x3, 261x2, 262x6, 264a, 264b, 267x3, 271x2, *dy* 72b, (134ii)x16, 140iix3, 141x3, 145x6, 146, *i* 77i, 77ii x5, 123x2, 157x4, 171biv, 240vii, *ny* (error for *dy*?) 183b, *y* (134ii)x3, 141; with art. *di'r* (42)x3, 72b, 73a, 74x2, 121, 122x2, 141, 154x2, 156x2, 157x6, 158x2, 165x4, 171bix2, 171biix3, 171bvix2, 173x2, 180b, 183bx2, 190bx2, 195x5, 201, 206x4, 209b, 210a, 212x7, 216b, 218x2, 225x2, 227b, 228, 235bx3, 240i, 240iv, 240vi, 240viix2, 240viiix8, 244i, 249biix2,

255ix2, 257ix2, 259x3, 260x4, 261, 262x6, 264b, 267x6, 271x7, *dy'r* (134ii)x4, 140iix2, 141x5, 144, 145x2, *i'r* 77ii, 123, 156, 157x3, 171biv, 195, *y'r* 141x2; with poss. 3 sg. *di* 235b, 240v, 267.

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2. **in** prep. in, into 72bx2, 73a, 77i, 122, 165, 171bv, 180bx2, 183b, 187, 195x2, 209b, 227b, 228x2, 235b, 237a, 240ix2, 240iiix2, 240vi, 240vii, 240viii, 244i, 257iix2, 267, 271, *hi* 159a, *i* 123x2, 173, 195, 235b, 240viiiix3, 251ii, 267x2, 271x2, 'n 72b, 77ii, 122, 157, 218, 244i, 267, *y* 77ii, (134ii)x2, 141, 145, *yn* 76a, (134ii)x5, 145, 146x2, *ynn* 77ii, (134ii); *bet in*, see *behit*; *hit in*, see *hit*.

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2. y, see *l. i*.

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6. y, y penn, see *2. in*.

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y'r, y'r guairet, y'r guayret, see *2. di*.

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