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LANDAVENSIUM ORDO CHARTARUM

ALFRED ANSCOMBE

THE chartulary of the ancient church of Llandaff deserves to be numbered among the most venerable of the many monuments of Latin Christianity which have originated in countries beyond the borders of Italy. The series of charters it preserves begins in the middle of the fifth century, and runs onward for seven hundred years. The study of the earliest documents of the series is complicated and difficult. This is owing partly to their isolated antiquity ; but chiefly to the fact that no chronographical data whatever appear in any one of them until we have penetrated to the middle of the tenth century. This curious feature of the Llandaff charters has hitherto met with only slight recognition. It must be obvious, however, that the views of the collective value of the charters of any particular period are, in the circumstances, merely tentative, and that conclusions based upon those views cannot avoid being unreliable. Real progress, in short, cannot be made in research in connection with these documents until they have been arranged in their due and proper order.

The criteria of distribution are numerous and reliable. The lists of witnesses—royal, prelatie, clerical, and lay—are fairly full, and from time to time we get a note of sonship, or even of more remote descent, and of motherhood, also, in reference to princely families. There are four methods of arrangement available : (1) by the bishops ; (2) by the kings ; (3) by the abbots of the diocese, of whom the three principal ones are named and identified in many charters ; and (4) by any two or more of the preceding methods employed concurrently. The first two methods are so obvious that I need not comment upon their use. The third has not been adopted as yet by any investigator.

Its *ratio* is this: In the second half of the fifth century three eminent British ecclesiastics, named Catoc, Ildut, and Dochu, founded abbeys in the bishopric of Llandaff. Their successors in the sixth century are respectively styled: (1) *abbas altaris Sancti Catoci*, or *Carbani Uallis*, or *Nant Carban*; (2) *abbas Sancti Ilduti*, or *Ilduti*, or *Lannildut*; (3) *abbas Docunni*, or *Docuinni*, or *Dochou*. Whether the three abbeys were founded in the order in which I have named them, I cannot say. But this is the order of precedence, and, except in a few instances, it is the order in which the three abbots subscribed the deeds they witnessed to. Now, in the time of Bishop Oudoceus at least twenty grants were made to his church. Fifteen of these preserve the names and abbacies of fifteen successive abbots, and it should follow that the threefold course of concurrent tenancy must have been broken so frequently, that the succession of the abbots ought to be exactly determinable, and the chronological order of the grants themselves be no less clearly revealed. In the following tables we get, first, the order of the names as they are given in the chartulary; second, the true order. The arabic numbers indicate the first; the capital letters the second. *C*, *I*, and *D* indicate the abbeys. The commas show that the preceding name on the same line reappears.

I.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
B	C	A	N	H	D	I	K	G
<i>C. Iacob</i>	„	„	Sulgen	Concen	„	„	„	„
		Catgen						
<i>I. Catgen</i>	„	Biuron	Gurhauual	Colbrit	Catgen	Colbrit	„	„
<i>D. Eutigirn</i>	„	„	Saturn	—	Sulgen	Iudhurb	„	Sulgen
10	11	12	13	14	15			
E	F	O	M	P	L			
<i>C. Concen</i>	„	Sulgen	„	Dagan	Concen			
<i>I. Congen</i>	„	Gurthauar	Colbrit	Eluoin	Colbrit			
<i>D. Sulgen</i>	„	Saturn	Iudhubr	Saturn	Iudhubr			

The method of compilation of the chartulary of Llandaff

for Oudoceus's times, is quite clear: the register or compiler knew that Iacob was abbot of Llangatoc at Oudoceus's consecration, and took three 'Iacob' deeds. He then, quite by chance, and out of order, transcribed a 'Sulgen' deed. He detected his error, and copied all the 'Concen' grants he had, except one, and then completed the 'Sulgen' ones. After that he wrote out the 'Dagan' charter in the last place but one under Oudoceus, and then transcribed the 'Concen' deed he had passed over. The broken succession is clearly indicated by the recurrence of names in the wrong places, and the true chronological order of the three abbots, and of the grants they witnessed in Oudoceus's day is as follows:—

II.

3	1	2	6	10	11	9	5	7
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
C. Iacob	„	„	Concen	„	„	„	„	„
I. Biuon	Catgen	„	„	Congen	„	Colbrit	„	„
D. Eutigirn	„	„	Sulgen	„	„	„	*	Iudhurb
8	15	13	4	12	14			
K	L	M	N	O	P			
C. Concen	„	Sulgen	„	„	Dagan			
I. Colbrit	„	„	Gurthauar	„	Eluoin			
D. Iudhubr	„	„	Saturn	„	„			

* ⁵_H was apparently granted during a vacancy in Dochu's abbey.

In the second instalment of this series I hope to be allowed to apply this criterion to the questions involved in the re-arrangement of the documents relating to Bishop Oudoceus, *ca.* 520. In this paper I shall only deal with the grants made to Dubricius and his suffragans.

I.—LAY WITNESSES.

I. (p. 75, fo. 22)	II. (p. 72, fo. 21)	III. (p. 76, fo. 22)	IV. (p. 76, fo. 22)	V. (p. 77, fo. 22)	VI. (p. 121, fo. 36)	VII. (p. 123, fo. 36)	VIII. (p. 122, fo. 36)	IX. (p. 125, fo. 37)	X. (p. 125, fo. 37)	XI. (p. 127, fo. 37)	XII. (p. 167, fo. 49)
Cil Hal Erb rex guenti et ercic	Lann Custen- hin	Tir Conloc	Porth Tylon Merchguin rex filius gluiis	Penn Alvn Noe filius arthur	Lann Garth Iudon rex f. gnyr guent	Lann Teiliau Idon rex	Lann Maur Idon rex vide XIX.	Mainaur Brunus Margetud f. rex, rex demetice re- gionis	Tref Carn Aircol lauhir f. Trefun, rex demetice regionis	Cil Tutuc Aircol rex	Lann Mihac- ghel Teudur f. rein rex Brecheinauc
ii. pepiau	Peipiau rex f. erb	Peipiau rex f. erb, et filii erus	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
5	ii. custenbin	ii. cinust et	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
iii. gurtauan	iii. guourir	iii. guidci	ii. matauc	.	ii. morguid	.	ii. morguid	.	.	.	.
iv. mabon	iv. dihiruc	iv. heredes conloc	iii. garu	.	iii. merchion	.	iii. merchion	.	.	.	ii. conurit f. concolen iii. petran
v. condiuill	v. condiuill	v. conguall	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
10	vi. guidgol	.	iv. lugobil	.	iv. freudubri	.	.	.	.	.	iv. eluiu v. baene
.	vii. clem	.	v. lunaet	.	vi. guinabui	.	iv. guinabui	.	.	i. tutuc iii. luathru iv. letclit v. ina vi. rec vii. douid	.
15	Erb accepit unam tellu- rem de pro- pria sua here- ditate nomine Cil Hal.	Constantinus rex socer Pei- piau regis. Iunapeius consobrinus Peipiau regis.	regnante Merchguino filio Gluiis innolauit Gu- ordoc filiam suam Dulon uirginem ar- chiepiscopo Dubricio.	Teliau al- umnus sancti Dubricii et discipulus conuersatus est Lann maur super ripam Tyvi. Dubricio.	monsin medio Cristinic pro- pe Trodi.	Margetud filius Rein rex Demetice regionis occi- dit Gufrer (All these are place-names.) Teliau. Mainaur Brunus et Telichelou- man Tref Cannus.	.	.	.	.	Teudur filius Rein rex Bre- cheinauc El- gastil filium Augusti re- gem Breche- inauc occidit. Lann Mihac- ghel Tref Ceriau in Brecheinauc.

II. CLERICAL WITNESSES.

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.	XI.	XII.
DUBRICIO	DUBRICIO	DUBRICIO	DUBRICIO	DUBRICIO	TELLAIO	TELLAIO	TELLAUS	TELLAUS	TELLAUS	TELLAUS	
<i>ii. arguistil</i>	<i>ii. arguistil</i>	<i>ii. arguistil</i>	<i>ii. vbeluino</i>	<i>ii. arguistil</i>	<i>ii. arguistil</i>	<i>ii. arguistil</i>	.	.	.	.	.
<i>iii. vbeluin</i>	<i>iii. uelbiu</i>	<i>iii. uelbiu</i>	.	<i>iii. ubelbiu</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>iv. iouann</i>	<i>iv. iouan</i>	<i>iv. iouan</i>	.	<i>iv. iouann</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>v. iunapius</i>	<i>v. iunapius</i>	<i>v. iunapius</i>	.	<i>v. iunabui</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>vi. conuran</i>	<i>vi. conuran</i>	<i>vi. conuran</i>	.	<i>vi. conbran</i>	<i>v. conbran</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>vii. goruan</i>	<i>vii. goruan</i>	<i>vii. goruan</i>	.	<i>vii. guoruan</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>ii. elhearn</i>	.	.	.	<i>viii. elhearn</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>iii. iudner</i>	.	.	.	<i>ix. iudnou</i>	<i>vi. iudou</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>iv. guordocui</i>	.	.	.	<i>x. gurdocui</i>	<i>vii. guordocui</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>v. guernabui</i>	.	.	.	<i>xi. guernabui</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	<i>iii. merchguin</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	<i>iv. cuelin</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
				.	<i>iii. elguoret</i>	<i>iii. elguoret</i>	.	.	.	.	.
				.	<i>iv. conguarui</i>	<i>iv. conguarui</i>	.	.	.	.	.
				.	<i>viii. gurnoi</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.
				.	<i>ix. gurhal</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.
									<i>i. iouil, disci- pulus Tellaui</i>	<i>ii. iougul, disc. T.</i>	<i>ii. elind</i>
									<i>i. typhei, nepos T.</i>	<i>iii. cuan</i>	<i>iii. cuan</i>
									<i>ii. fidelis, dis- cipulus T.</i>	<i>iii. fidelis, disc. T.</i>	<i>i. concu</i>

N.B.—The upright bar indicates that the witness does not re-appear; the dotted line is carried along till he does; the absence of both bar and line indicates possible connection.

LAY WITNESSES—*contd.*

XIII. (p. 72, fo. 21)	XIV. (p. 73, fo. 21)	XV. (p. 160, fo. 47)	XVI. (p. 161, fo. 47)	XVII. (p. 162, fo. 48)	XVIII. (p. 73, fo. 21)	XIX. (p. 166, fo. 49)	XX. (p. 163, fo. 48)	XXI. (p. 162, fo. 48)	XXII. (p. 163, fo. 48)	XXIII. (p. 164, fo. 48)	XXIV. (p. 165, fo. 49)
Lann Cerniu	Lann Iunabui	Lann Sulbiv	Bolgros	Lann Guorboe	Cvin Barre	Lann Coit	Cvin Barre	Mafrin	Lann Louden <i>in ereyeg</i>	Lann Bad- gualan	Lann Cin- march
		Mouric rez	Gurodius <i>rez ereyeg</i>	Gvornodu <i>rez ereyeg</i> <i>regionis</i>		Idon rez			Gurcant rez <i>ereyeg, f. cinuin et filii eius</i>	Gurcant rez <i>f. cinuin</i>	Athruis rez <i>guanti regi- onis</i>
Peipiau rez	Peipiau rez		<i>ii. eruc f. eius</i>	<i>ii. eruc f. eius</i>	<i>ii. Cinuin f. peptau</i>			<i>i. Cinvin rez i. Cinuin rez f. peptau et</i>	<i>ii. morcant et</i>		<i>ii. gruedian</i>
.	<i>ii. cinuin</i>	.	.	.	<i>i. guoidoi f. peptau</i>	.	.	<i>ii. guidoi fr. eius</i>	<i>iii. carstauc</i>		<i>iii. gurguol</i>
.	.	.	.	.	<i>iii. collbiu</i>	.	.	<i>iii. coluin</i>			<i>iv. catgruei- dan</i>
<i>ii. collbiu</i>	<i>iii. colt</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.			<i>v. iudgual- laun</i>
<i>iii. centiuit</i>	<i>vii. cintimit</i>	.	.	.	.	.	<i>iv. cintuit</i>	<i>v. cintant</i>			<i>vi. morgon</i>
	<i>iv. arcon</i>	.	.	.	<i>iv. arcon</i>	.	<i>iii. aireol</i>	<i>iv. aireot</i>		<i>ii. uebresel f. eifst</i>	
	<i>v. guobrir</i>	.	.	.	<i>iii. guebrgur f. eifst</i>				<i>v. guruthon</i>	<i>iii. guordoi f. madon</i>	
		.	.	.		<i>iii. iouan</i>			<i>vii. guidcon f. garhanar</i>	<i>v. gurcon f. gurgauarn</i>	
									<i>iv. gubruc</i>		
		<i>ii. cinuin</i>				<i>ii. gurhai</i>					
						<i>iv. biuoc</i>					
						.	.	.		<i>vi. gurtanau f. teliau</i>	<i>iv. gurtanau f. teliau</i>
		<i>iii. elcon</i>				<i>v. biuan</i>		.	<i>viii. conuc</i>	<i>vi. conoc f. condniul</i>	
						<i>vi. gurgal</i>					
						<i>vii. guinan</i>					

Lann Cinnmarch id est Mainaur Thou-
mur ubi sepulchrum Sancti Cinnmarch,
discipuli Sancti Dubricii, et Lann Deu,
et Lann Iunabui et Lann Guorboe in
campo Malochu et podium Majfurn et Lann
Caleuch et Lann Cerniu.

CLERICAL WITNESSES—(contd.).

XIII.	XIV.	XV.	XVI.	XVII.	XVIII.	XIX.	XX.	XXI.	XXII.	XXIII.	XXIV.
ELGISTIL	ARGUSTIL	VUELUI	VUELUI	VUELBIT	ARGUSTIL	ARGUSTILO	ELGISTIL	ADAN	IUNAPEUS	IUNAPEUS	COMEREIUS
.	.	ii. iohannes	iii. deni f. circan sacerdotis	ii. deni summus sacerdos, f. circan	ii. iunabui	.	ii. iunabui	.	ii. helhearn abbas lann-guorboe	.	iii. elhearn abbas lann-guorboe
.	.	cum clericis suis	.	.	v. elhairun	v. conuran	iv. elhearn	.	iii. iudnou abbas boleros	iii. iudnou abbas boleros	ii. iudon abbas boleros
5 ii. iunabui	ii. iunabui presbiter.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	v. guordocce abbas lann-devi	iv. guordocce abbas lann-devi	iv. gurdocce abbas lann-devi
.	iii. elharnn	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	vii. guennor abbas lann-garth benni	viii. guernabui princeps garthbenni	v. guernapui guritpenni
.	ii. iudnou	.	.	.	.	.	.	ii. guenopoui	viii. et gurgu-are alumnus eius	viii. et gurgu-are alumnus eius	vi. gurguarui lann enniaun
10	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	in. gurguarui	.	.	.
ic. merchuit	.	ii. eu abbas	ii. mellic lector, f. merchu	iii. mellic lector, f. merchu	iii. cinguarui	iii. elguaret	iii. cinguarui	v. guern	ii. comereg abbas moch-ros	ii. comereg abbas moch-ros	vii. bithen lann ceuid
.	iii. cinguarui	.	.	.	v. cimmarcia	ii. conan	ii. cinguarui	iii. lilli	iii. bithen princeps lannou-garth	vi. bithen princeps lannou-garth	v. anauoc magister
15	iv. cimmaird	.	iv. uelauc f. guordbriit equonimi	et ibi Guoruise sacerdotem suum Guoruise vocat rex posuit	.	iv. adguen	iv. adguen	vi. eloc	.	.	.