River and Valley Terms in the Book of Llandaf

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The Book of Llandaf has been the subject of controversy for its entire history, and the twentieth century has proved no exception.[1] What we can say for certain is that the manuscript dates from twelfth-century South-East Wales.[2] It is a record of a territorial dispute between Bishop Urban of Llandaf and his neighbours, the bishops of St David's and Hereford. The diocese of Llandaf corresponds roughly to Glamorgan and Gwent, but the church claimed territory both to the west and to the east. The dispute is itself fascinating, in that it is a very early example of a direct appeal to papal authority: Urban made two journeys to Rome, the first in 1128 and the second, on which he died, in 1134. Initially it appears that he had some success in persuading the pope of the justice of his case, but ultimately he failed as a result of the interference of King Henry and the Archbishop of Canterbury. In pursuit of the diocese's claims a large number of papal bulls and charters were copied into the Book, together with a small number of saints' Lives. 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 very high and no information can be reliably obtained from them.[3] While it is true that the charters were substantially manipulated by the compilers of the

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[2] For further discussion of the codicology of the Book of Llandaf see D. Huws, 'The making of *Liber Landavensis*', *National Library of Wales Journal*, 25 (1987–88), 133–66.

[3] For this view see C. N. L. Brooke, *The Church and the Welsh Border in the Central Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 16–49 (esp. pp. 44–48). Some of the opinions expressed in this reprinted article are retracted somewhat at p. ix.

manuscript, recent work by both Prof. Wendy Davies and Prof. Patrick Sims-Williams has demonstrated the veracity of parts, at least, of most of these charters.[4] Of the 153 charters, only one gives an *anno domini* date for the transaction it records (charter 218).[5] The Llandaf compilers attempted to place their material in chronological order, but were frequently misled by such factors as long-dead saints appearing in witness lists, and their notion of the history of south-east Wales was rather inaccurate. Davies discovered that it was possible to follow generations of witnesses through certain groups of charters, and, armed with this information, she produced a relative chronology of the documents in three sequences. She then determined absolute dates for the small number of charters which refer to events or characters recorded and dated elsewhere. Finally, working to the rule of thirty years to a generation, she established approximate dates for all the charters. Her methodology has been generally accepted as sound, though Sims-Williams has argued for some revisions, particularly in the dating of the first Sequence.[6] The earliest of these charters have been revealed, then, as records of probably seventh-century transactions, and the very latest belong to the end of the eleventh century. All this work, important as it is, must be presented with the warning, however, that the dates can only safely be applied to the witness lists.

Although it can only be an assumption, it seems reasonable to argue that these witness lists would not have been transmitted on their own, and, therefore, if the Llandaf compilers had had access to genuine documents, wouldn't they have made use of more than just the witness names? The uniformity of phrasing found throughout the charters is one of the features

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[4] W. Davies, *The Llandaff Charters* (Aberystwyth, 1979) (reviewed by P. Sims-Williams, 'The Llandaf Charters: review article', in *Britain and Early Christian Europe: Studies in Medieval History and Culture* (Aldershot, 1995), chapter 6); P. Sims-Williams, 'The emergence of Old Welsh, Cornish and Breton orthography, 600–800: the evidence of archaic Old Welsh', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 38 (1991), 20–86.

[5] The charters are numbered according to the page on which they begin in the edition (*The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv: Reproduced from the Gwysaney Manuscript*, edited by J. G. Evans (Oxford, 1893)); where more than one charter begins on a particular page, they are further distinguished by the addition of 'a', 'b', and (rarely) 'c'. It should be assumed that references are to charter number rather than page number unless it is stated otherwise.

[6] Sims-Williams, 'The Llandaf Charters', pp. 126–27.

which gave rise to suspicions of forgery. It is not to be doubted that the compilers of the manuscript interfered with the texts of the documents in their hands, for example by making the bishop of Llandaf the recipient of donations, but the precise degree of their interference is a matter for debate.

As a record of a territorial dispute, the Book of Llandaf naturally contains a great many place-names, in the charters and in the other documents. While some use has previously been made of place-names from the Book for comparative purposes, there has not as 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 Anglo-Saxons. A high proportion of the place-names are still unidentified, or only rather doubtfully identified.

In the course of this article I should like to examine the terms employed for river and valley features in the Book. For rivers seven Welsh and three Latin words are employed,

1.1.1. *nant*
1.1.2. *ffrwd*
1.1.3. *glais*
1.1.4. *gofer*
1.1.5. *ffynnon*
1.1.6. *g_yth*
1.1.7. *pil*
1.2.1. *amnis*
1.2.2. *flumen*
1.2.3. *rivulus*,

and for valleys six Welsh words and one Latin word,

2.1.1. *cwm*
2.1.2. *glyn*
2.1.3. *dyffryn*
2.1.4. *ystrad*
2.1.5. *tyno*
2.1.6. *pant*
2.2.1. *vallis*.

This rich choice of vocabulary suggests some differentiation of sense. It would be nice to know why one stream was known as *ffrwd* but another as *gofer*, for example. I present all this with the caveat that river and stream terminology in general can vary from individual to individual: one man's

'river' is another's 'stream'. My methodology is essentially to concentrate on what we can learn of each term from its use in the Book of Llandaf. There are two internal keys here: the first is in the wording of the charter boundary clauses (is a particular term commonly associated with another feature such as a spring or a marsh?), and the second is in glossing or alternative names for the same feature used elsewhere in the manuscript. I have also looked at dictionary definitions and discussions in other secondary literature, though these are often of limited value.[7] Where possible I try to look at the modern name of the feature for comparison. One might argue that I should settle the matter by investigating the locations in person and perhaps measuring size or flow-rate at particular points. It must be remembered, however, that these names are over eight hundred years old, and I suspect that the pertinent features of many rivers and streams, if not also the valleys, could have changed significantly over such a timescale.

1.0.0. RIVERS

If one looks up the word 'river' in any standard English–Welsh dictionary, one finds that it is translated as *afon*. It may come as a surprise, then, that the word occurs nowhere in the Book. This may be accounted for, however, by the fact that *afon* would apply to larger flows of water than other terms whose meanings are closer to 'stream' or 'brook'. Larger rivers, particularly, are often referred to by their name alone, for example, *Gui* 'the Wye', rather than **Abon Gui* 'the River Wye'. *Afon* hardly ever occurs as an element in Welsh compound names, and this may be another factor in its absence from the sample, since elements in name-phrases are much more commonly translated into Latin than their equivalents in compounds.

1.1.1. *nant*

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[7] Unless otherwise stated, all references to definitions of Welsh words are based on the relevant entries in *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru: A Dictionary of the Welsh Language* [henceforth *GPC*], edited by R. J. Thomas and others (Cardiff, 1950–). Similarly, references to Cornish are from O. J. Padel, *Cornish Place-Name Elements* (Nottingham, 1985); those to Breton from *Nouveau Dictionnaire Breton–Français*, edited by R. Hemon, 8th edn (Brest, 1993); those to Irish from *Dictionary of the Irish Language Based Mainly on Old and Middle Irish Materials (Compact Edition)*, edited by E. G. Quin (Dublin, 1983); and those to Latin from *A Latin Dictionary Founded on Andrews' Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary*, edited by C. T. Lewis and C. Short (Oxford, 1879).

Pages: 32, 42, 44, 72, 74, 78x2, 123, 124, 126x2, 127, 134, 142, 145, 146, 154, 158, 159, 160, 166, 172x2, 174, 182, 184, 188, 196, 202, 207, 208, 217, 221, 226, 228, 241x3, 242x2, 244, 250, 251, 254, 258, 260, 261x3, 263, 268, 275.[8]

The word *nant* was, in a way, the starting point for this examination of terms for rivers and valleys. Its location in this article, just as its meaning in Welsh place-names, is ambiguous.[9] It is clear that the word 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* on the Gaulish word *nanto* in further confirmation.[10] Several place-names in France contain this element, for example: Nantes, Nanteuil, and Nantua.[11] In Modern Welsh, however, the primary meaning of *nant* is 'stream'. R. J. Thomas explained this development as a result of the fact that 'y ceir bron yn ddieithriad afonig mewn nant neu gwm'.[12] 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 that that was how Gerald of Wales, in the twelfth century, understood the word. Gerald translated the *nant* element as 'rivus […] aquae decurrentis'.[13] 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 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 examined in this article, 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

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[8] Reference will be made at the head of each section to the page numbers of *The Text*, edited by Evans, on which the examples of the term under discussion occur. Please note that these lists are by no means exhaustive.

[9] For general discussion of *nant* see I. Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, 2nd edn (Liverpool, 1962), pp. 32–34 (chapter 3).

[10] J. Whatmough, *The Dialects of Ancient Gaul* (Cambridge, MA, 1970), p. 577.

[11] R. J. Thomas, *Enwau Afonydd a Nentydd Cymru* (Cardiff, 1938) [henceforth *EANC*], p. 50.

[12] *EANC*, p. 50 ('almost without exception a rivulet is found in a valley').

[13] *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera: Itinerarium Kambriae et Descriptio Kambriae*, VI (London, 1868), edited by J. F. Dimock, p. 37 (= *Itinerarium Kambriae*, Liber I, Cap. III).

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 *pant* (a valley term, see §2.1.6 below) 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* 'a source' (e.g. 72b), *aber* 'a confluence' (e.g. 77), and *rhyd* 'a ford' (e.g. 173), all words with a solely aquatic application. Unfortunately, there aren't really any 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 are a few examples where *nant* is translated as *vallis*, most famously *Carbani Vallis* for *Nant Carban* (e.g. 147 and 145), but also *Vallis Leprosorum* for *Nant y Clauorion* (e.g. 227a and 125b), and *Sicca Vallis* for *Sichnant* (e.g. 167 and 180b). One example also occurs of *nant* translated as *rivulus* (146: *nant tauel*, 167: *riuulum tauguel*). 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 would 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* (195: *Nant Cum Cinreith*) and several examples of *nentydd* which appear to flow through *pantau* (e.g. 141).[14] *Nant* is used as the generic in both compounds and name-phrases, though it is much more common in name-phrases. Most of the clear-cut river-name examples of the word are name-phrases, but one name, *Ritnant* (occurring in the boundary of the See at pages 42 and 134), may be a compound with *rhyd* 'ford' as the qualifying element, i.e. 'Ford-Stream' (but omission of the definite article from an original *Rit i Nant* 'Ford of the Stream' is possible). There is no apparent relationship between the usage of *nant* in names to mean 'valley' or 'river', and the form assumed by those names (whether compound or name-phrase), which must cast doubt on the suggestion that compound names are older than name-phrases. For the moment, at least, it is not possible to provide dates for most of the uses of *nant* in the Book of Llandaf, but I hope that my

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[14] I shall discuss the valley terms *cwm* and *pant* below at §§2.1.1 and 2.1.6.

work on the language of the boundary clauses may help to establish some kind of chronology.

1.1.2. *ffrwd*
Pages: 42, 73, 122x2, 124, 134, 140, 156, 180, 209, 221, 222, 228, 237, 255. *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*, *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 (73a), but elsewhere the usage seems evenly divided between generic element in a name-phrase and generic element in a compound. There are three references to an unidentified place called *Frutmur* (121 and 180a); it is possible that *ffrwd* is employed in this case as the qualifier. In 73a the boundary passes via *ir henn rit issid ar i frut* 'the old ford which is on the *ffrwd*', which suggests that a *ffrwd* might be large enough to have a noteworthy fording point.

1.1.3. *glais*
Pages: 42, 69, 78, 133, 134, 141, 145, 191, 198, 217, 224, 242, 258, 261. Welsh *glais* is also defined 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 *ffrwd*, but not necessarily of the same ferocity. In the Book of Llandaf the word only occurs as second element in compounds with the prefix *cyn-*, or the colour adjectives *gwyn* 'white' and *du* 'black', yielding Cynlais, Gwynlais, and Dulais respectively. Of these Dulais, or its by-forms, is the most common.

1.1.4. *gofer*
Pages: 123, 146, 158, 173, 207, 208, 229, 241, 242x2, 245, 251, 265. Cognates of the word *gofer* occur in all the Celtic languages. It is derived from a root meaning 'to boil', or 'bubble'.[15] 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

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[15] *GPC*, II (1987), 1429–30, s.v. *gofer*.

Gaul.[16] Welsh appears to be a semantic bridge—*gofer* is defined either as 'an overflow from a well or spring' or as a kind of stream. A *gofer* is a kind of stream having an obvious spring or fountain.[17] 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. All but one appear as common nouns (and the possible exception is *Ir Guber Bichan* 'The Little *Gofer*', which could easily be a common-noun usage too). We have some hints at topographical contexts for the term: in 228 a *gofer* has a pool; in 240 a *gofer* runs through a meadow; and in 244 one rises in and follows a *pant*—a word usually translated as 'hollow'.[18]

1.1.5. *ffynnon*
Pages: 78, 142, 145, 146, 157, 158, 160, 172, 173, 174, 188, 196, 213, 221, 228, 241, 242x2, 247, 257, 263, 264, 265.

Next we come to *ffynnon*. The word is derived from Late Latin *fontana*, 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. So why discuss this word here in a paper on rivers and valleys? Of the twenty-seven examples of *ffynnon* in the Book of Llandaf, I feel confident in identifying seven as references to linear features. 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 another body of water. A good example for illustrative purposes is from 146 (normalised spacing, punctuation, and capitalisation): 'O aper Finnaun [y] Doudecseint yn Linn Syuadon, ar hyt yr guuer dy uinyd bet lycat yr finnaun […] ar hyt yr lynn bet oper Finnaun y Doudecseint.' ('From the mouth of Ffynnon y Ddeuddegseint in Lake Syfaddon, along the *gofer* upwards as far as the spring-head […] along the lake as far as the mouth of Ffynnon y Ddeuddegseint.') 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* (Old Welsh *guuer*). There are nine occasions where other words may be being employed as synonyms for *ffynnon*: *nant* twice

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[16] *Ibid*.
[17] Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 53 (chapter 4).
[18] I shall discuss the term *pant* below at §2.1.6.

(but these could be references to the valley through which the stream flows rather than to the stream itself) and *gofer* seven times. This equation between *ffynnon* and *gofer* reinforces my impression that a *gofer* was a kind of stream with a significant spring at its source. *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.

1.1.6. *g_yth*
Page: 140.
The least common of the river terms dealt with here is *g_yth*. The primary meaning of this word in Modern Welsh is 'vein' (either the anatomical or mineralogical variety). It is related to the Irish *féith* 'vein' or 'sinew', and the Latin *vitta* 'bandage' or 'diadem'. It is derived from an Indo-European stem connected with 'turning' or 'twining'. The Cornish and Breton cognates (*goth* and *gwazh* respectively) are both used of water courses, though the Breton cognate can also mean 'marsh'. Where *g_yth* is used to denote a stream in Welsh, it is defined as *ffrwd* or *cornant*, without qualifying adjectives. *G_yth* can also mean 'ditch', 'drain', or 'estuary'. The word's etymology and the prevalent sense of 'vein' are suggestive of 'twistiness', but the functional meaning, 'ditch', and the Breton 'marsh', lead us to think in terms of slower flowing water. Having said all that, there is only one example of the word in the Book of Llandaf. This sole example occurs in 140, where it appears to be qualified by the otherwise unattested word *lunguyd*, which I would very tentatively translate as 'branchy thicket'. In this one instance the word need not necessarily be referring to a linear feature, but given its usage elsewhere in Welsh, that is probable.

1.1.7. *pil*
Pages: 188, 250, 251x2, 252.
Although the meaning of *pil*—'tidal creek or stream'—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.[19] The authorities seem divided over

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[19] For example Pillmore at X0773 (three miles south west of Youghal).

whether the word was borrowed into English from Welsh or vice versa. Oliver Padel has concluded that the instances of the word from Cornwall are probably English in language rather than native Cornish. The Oxford English Dictionary speculates on the possibility of a connexion with English *pool* or Welsh *pwll* 'pit' or '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,[20] 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 (SO408026), so perhaps the word's meaning has changed. All the occurrences of the word bar one are unqualified, the exception being the *duur pill*—which appears to mean 'water pill'—of the first clause of 251. This element certainly deserves a great deal more research.

1.2.1–3. Latin Terms

amnis—pages: 72, 176, 225.
flumen—pages: 43, 134, 165, 172, 174x2, 183, 200.
rivulus—pages: 134, 165, 168, 170, 172, 183, 184, 188, 197, 210, 238, 240. Three Latin words are used in the Book of Llandaf to refer to rivers and streams. These are *amnis*, *flumen*, and *rivulus*. The terms *amnis*, *flumen*, and *rivus* (of which *rivulus* is the diminutive form) are regarded by Lewis and Short as virtual synonyms. The term *rivulus* ought, therefore, to imply something rather smaller than the other two terms, it being a diminutive. It is unclear to me whether there was a perceived distinction between *amnis* and *flumen*, and, if so, what that distinction might have been. It may be noteworthy that the River Wye is described by both *amnis* and *flumen*, which demonstrates that the two terms could be synonymous. There is little internal evidence from the Book of Llandaf for equivalences between Latin and Welsh terms. One mid-fifteenth-century hand glosses *Nant Humir* as *Humer Rivulus* (183b), and it seems likely that the *Nant Tauel* of 146 is the same as the *Rivulus Tauguel/ Taugeiel* of the charter pair 167 and

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[20] *GPC*, III (1998), 2802, s.v. *pil*.

237b—certainly their foci are only six kilometres apart (SO135276 and SO180239). So apparently *rivulus* can be used as a synonym for *nant*. It is tempting also to equate the *Rivulus i Guern* of 170 with the *Frut i Guern* of 218, but as the location of the former is still uncertain this is simply speculation.

2.0.0. VALLEYS

Terms for rivers can be almost as variable as the flows they describe. I shall move on now to what, I think, is the more solid ground of valley terminology. The standard modern translations of 'valley' are *dyffryn*, *glyn*, and *cwm*, all of which occur in the Book of Llandaf (although *glyn* is only found once).

2.1.1. *cwm*

Pages: 31, 43, 73, 76, 90, 140, 163, 170, 173, 179, 192, 196, 202, 274, 275, 277, 284, 321, 323, 326, 330.

For once the dictionary is fairly specific in its definition. A *cwm* is described 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'.[21] 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* 'a church enclosure', *gwarthaf* 'a summit', and

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[21] Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 34 (chapter 3) ('a *pant* like a trough, dish, or bowl').

nant in the sense of 'stream'. Water is also associated with this kind of valley in 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 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 76a is said to be in the Dore Valley (itself described as an *ystrad*).[22]

2.1.2. *glyn*
Page: 221.
The word *glyn*, whose Gaelic cognate was borrowed into English as *glen*, is used once in the Book. The word is defined by the dictionary 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*.[23] The dictionary also states that 'it occurs very commonly in place-names […] (very frequently with a river-name)'. I have already referred to 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. The only occurrence of the word in the Book of Llandaf is in the unidentified place-name *Glin Mannou*, and unfortunately the context conveys no topographical information.

2.1.3. *dyffryn*
Pages: 124, 254, 255, 256, 257, 260.
The dictionary stated that a *glyn* was 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* and *hynt*). Williams allows

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[22] For discussion of *ystrad* see §2.1.4 below.
[23] Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 34 (chapter 3).

the meaning to extend to the higher ground on either side of the lowland.[24] 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 (ST146835), and the Golych (ST097725), 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 Golych (259). 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 Annouid* is now known as Cwm Nofydd. These examples may indicate some potential for synonymity between *cwm*, *pant*, and *dyffryn*.

2.1.4. *ystrad*

Pages: 32, 35, 36, 41, 42, 43, 46, 47x2, 55, 59, 63, 76, 174x2, 179, 188, 204, 229, 248, 279, 286.

The element *ystrad* is restricted to five names in the Book. 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*.[25] In three of the examples the element is qualified by a river-name: the Ely (ST185726), the Dore (SO398264), and the Severn (ST880532). One example, *Estrat Agcr*, is uncertain; the area can be identified (ST1377) but I have not been able to ascertain whether the second element is a river-name—it is listed by the main dictionary as an example of the common noun *ancr* 'an anchorite'. In the remaining case, *Ystrad Yw*, the second element means 'yew trees', which could refer to the wooded nature of the area, but might, instead, be a river-name (so named, presumably, from the predominant vegetation along its banks).[26] The 1996 1:25,000 OS map shows a farm at SO151214

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[24] Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 32 (chapter 3).

[25] For general discussion of *ystrad* see Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, pp. 35–36 (chapter 3).

[26] See *EANC*, p. 51, for a selection of rivers and streams with vegetable names. I am grateful to this article's referee for the remarks on *Ystrad Yw*. A discussion of the name can be found in J. E. Lloyd, 'Ystrad Yw: its original situation', *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 3 (1903), 82–84, and also in R. Morgan and R. F. Peter Powell, *A*

bearing the name *Llygadwy*, at the source of a small stream (as the element *llygad* 'source' would imply). The same name appears in the form *Llygad Yw* on the 1832 one-inch map. The stream flowing from this location, now indicated by the OS as *Ewyn Brook*, joins the Rhiangoll at SO181213. If this stream is the *Yw* of *Ystrad Yw*, it flows through just the kind of flat, open land that we would expect of an *ystrad*. In fact, in the Book of Llandaf and other, later documents, *Ystrad Yw* is used as a district name, broadly corresponding with Crickhowell Hundred.

2.1.5. *tyno*
Pages: 32, 44, 74, 126, 165, 166, 172, 204, 221.
The next element is *tyno*. Unfortunately the principal Welsh dictionary has not yet reached the letter *T*, but the word is defined by *Y Geiriadur Mawr* as 'dale' or 'meadow', which implies something similar to *ystrad*.[27] Williams equated the word straightforwardly with *pant*.[28] 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* (Modern Welsh *Tyno Mawr* 'Great *Tyno*' according to Melville Richards) appears to be applied to quite a large district around Chepstow (ST535940);[29] *Tnou Guinn* 'White *Tyno*' is merely a boundary point of St Maughan's (SO462172); *Tonou Pencenn* (unknown second element) occurs in the boundary of *Menechi*, near Tenby (SN1300); *Tonou Cinscuit* (unknown second element) appears to be somewhere on the edge of the *ystrad* of the Ely, perhaps in the town of Ely itself (ST1476).

2.1.6. *pant*
Pages: 143, 145, 157, 158, 166, 168, 173x2, 182, 188, 207, 208, 213, 221,

Study of Breconshire Place-Names, Welsh Heritage Series, 9 (Llanrwst, 1999), pp. 156–57 (the latter of which I have been unable to consult).
[27] *Y Geiriadur Mawr: The Complete Welsh–English English–Welsh Dictionary*, edited by H. M. Evans and W. O. Thomas (Llandysul, 1958), p. 425, s.v. *tyno*.
[28] Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 41 (chapter 3).
[29] Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*, p. 105; M. Richards, 'Tonfannau', *Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society*, 4 (1961–64), 274–76 (p. 275).

226, 229, 236, 241x3, 242, 244, 262, 265, 268, 275.

After the very full definitions of *cwm*, *glyn*, and *dyffryn*, we have for *pant* only 'hollow', 'depression', and 'valley'. 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: it 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 Rhwysg' (141). The *pant* is frequently associated with water. In addition to the several instances 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*s 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* (171b) and *Pant Tref Saturn* (212) show qualification by settlement names, and there are also references to *pantau* in woodland (e.g. 171b) and to a *celli* 'grove' in a *pant* (240). Only *pant* and *nant* are translated by Latin *vallis* (e.g. *Pant/Vallis Annuc* in 158), and, as I have said, *pant* is the most common of all the valley words and, unlike the others, is frequently used as a common noun. All this would lead me to suggest that at this period in South-East Wales *pant*, rather than *cwm*, *glyn*, or *dyffryn*, may have been the basic word for a valley.

2.2.1. *vallis*

Pages: 74x2, 147, 148, 149x2, 151x2, 152, 154, 155, 156x2, 157x2, 158x2, 160, 166, 168x2, 172, 175, 176, 177, 179, 187, 189, 191, 196, 205, 206, 210, 217, 227, 234, 239, 251.

The only Latin term used for 'valley' in the Book is *vallis*. It often translates *nant*—almost half of the occurrences of the term are examples of the name *Carbani Uallis* (Llancarfan, ST052703)—and *pant*, but cannot, at present, be shown to translate any other Welsh terms, though this may be a result of

the prevalence of *nant* and *pant* over the other terms.

I hope that this survey will at least have illustrated the range of river and valley terms used in the Book of Llandaf. Some words probably had quite specific meanings, such as *gofer* 'a brook with a spring', or *ystrad* 'a flat vale between hills'. Other words are more difficult to define, either because we can ascertain little specific topographical detail about them, or because what details we do have appear to be contradictory. With regard to this last point, it should be remembered that among the body of charters from which this corpus of terminology was obtained there is plenty of scope for both dialectal and historical change. The word *nant* may still have meant only 'valley' to a seventh-century witness, but would have generally meant 'stream' by the time the Book of Llandaf was written.

Just as rivers, and the valleys that contain them, may change their shape and appearance over time, so too can the manner of words and names for them, and their appearance, change.